THE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS
EGYPT, SYRIA, AND ASSYRIA

BY
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EDITED BY
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TRANSLATED BY M. L. McCLURE

WITH MAP, THREE-COLOURED PLATES, AND OVER 100 ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is my pleasant lot to introduce to the English reader another volume of Professor Maspero's important work. It is no longer the Dawn of Civilization in which we find ourselves, but the full light of an advanced culture. The nations of the ancient East are no longer each pursuing an isolated existence, and separately developing the seeds of civilization and culture on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia and Africa have met in mortal combat. Babylonia has carried its empire to the frontiers of Egypt, and Egypt itself has been held in bondage by the Hyksos strangers from Asia. In return, Egypt has driven back the wave of invasion to the borders of Mesopotamia, has substituted an empire of its own in Syria for that of the Babylonians, and has forced the Babylonian king to treat with its Pharaoh on equal terms. In the track of war and diplomacy have come trade and commerce: Western Asia is covered with roads, along which the merchant and the courier travel incessantly, and the whole civilized world of the Orient is knit together in a common literary culture and common commercial interests.

The age of isolation has thus been succeeded by an age of intercourse, partly military and antagonistic, partly literary and peaceful. Professor Maspero paints for us this age of intercourse, describes its rise and character, its decline and fall. For the unity of Eastern civilization was again shattered. The Hittites descended from the ranges of the Taurus upon the Egyptian province of Northern Syria, and cut off the Semites of the west from those of the east. The Israelites poured over the Jordan out of Edom and Moab, and took possession of Canaan, while Babylonia itself, for so many centuries the ruling power of the Oriental world, had to make way for its upstart rival Assyria. The old imperial powers were exhausted and played out, and it needed time before the new forces which were to take their place could acquire sufficient strength for their work.

As usual, Professor Maspero has been careful to embody in his history the
very latest discoveries and information. Notice, it will be found, has been taken even of the stele of Memphib, disinterred last spring by Professor Petrie, on which the name of the Israelites is engraved. Other discoveries of the past year which relate to the period covered by the Dawn of Civilization must wait to be noticed until a new edition of that volume is called for. Thus, at Elephantine, I found last winter, on a granite boulder, an inscription of Khufu himself—whose sarcophagus of red granite is one of the most beautiful objects in the Gizeh Museum—which carries back the history of the island to the age of the pyramid-builders of the fourth dynasty. The boulder was subsequently concealed under the southern side of the city-wall, and as fragments of inscribed papyri coeval with the sixth dynasty have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood, on one of which mention is made of “this domain” of Pepi II, it would seem that the town of Elephantine must have been founded between the period of the fourth dynasty and that of the sixth. Manetho is therefore justified in making the fifth and sixth dynasties of Elephantine origin.

It is in Babylonia, however, that the most startling discoveries have been made. At Tello, M. de Sarzec has found a library of more than thirty thousand tablets, all neatly arranged, piled in order one on the other, and belonging to the age of Gudea (A.D. 2700). Many more tablets of an early date have been unearthed at Abu-Habba (Sippara) and Jokha (Iain) by Dr. Schäfler, working for the Turkish government. But the most important finds have been at Nisser, the ancient Nipper, in Northern Babylonia, where the American expedition has at last brought to a close its long work of systematic excavation. Here Mr. Haynes has dug down to the very foundations of the great temple of El-ul, and the chief historical results of his labours have been published by Professor Hilprecht (in The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. i. pt. 2, 1898).

About midway between the summit and the bottom of the mound, Mr. Haynes laid bare a pavement constructed of huge bricks stamped with the names of Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin. He found also the ancient wall of the city, which had been built by Naram-Sin, 1375 metres wide. The débris of ruined buildings which lies below the pavement of Sargon is as much as 925 metres in depth, while that above it, the topmost stratum of which brings us down to the Christian era, is only 11 metres in height. We may form some idea from this of the enormous age to which the history of Babylonian culture and writing reaches back. In fact, Professor Hilprecht quotes with approval Mr. Haynes's words: "We must cease to apply the adjective 'earliest' to the time of Sargon, or to any age or epoch within a
thousand years of his advanced civilization." "The golden age of Babylonian history seems to include the reign of Sargon and of Ur-Gur."

Many of the inscriptions which belong to this remote age of human culture have been published by Professor Hilprecht. Among them is a long inscription, in 132 lines, engraved on multitudes of large stone vases presented to the temple of Eh-Ili by a certain Lugal-zaggisi. Lugal-zaggisi was the son of Ukus, the paten or high priest of the "Land of the Bow," as Mesopotamia, with its Bedawin inhabitants, was called. He not only conquered Babylonis, then known as Kungi, "the land of canals and reeds," but founded an empire which extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. This was centuries before Sargon of Akkad followed in his footsteps. Erech became the capital of Lugal-zaggisi's empire, and doubtless received at this time its Sumerian title of "the city" "per excellence."

For a long while previously there had been war between Babylonia and the "Land of the Bow," whose rulers seem to have established themselves in the city of Kis. At one time we find the Babylonian prince En-sag(sag)-ana capturing Kis and its king; at another time it is a king of Kis who makes offerings to the god of Nippur, in gratitude for his victories. To this period belongs the famous "Stela of the Vultures" found at Tello, on which is depicted the victory of E-dingir-ana-gin, the King of Lagas (Tello), over the Semitic hordes of the Land of the Bow. It may be noted that the recent discoveries have shown how correct Professor Maspero has been in assigning the kings of Lagas to a period earlier than that of Sargon of Akkad.

Professor Hilprecht would place E-dingir-ana-gin after Lugal-zaggisi, and see in the Stela of the Vultures a monument of the revenge taken by the Sumerian rulers of Lagas for the conquest of the country by the inhabitants of the north. But it is equally possible that it marks the successful reaction of Chaldaea against the power established by Lugal-zaggisi. However this may be, the dynasty of Lagas (to which Professor Hilprecht has lately added a new king, En-Khugal) reigned in peace for some time, and belonged to the same age as the first dynasty of Ur. This was founded by a certain Lugal-killah-nidudu, whose inscriptions have been found at Niffer. The dynasty which arose at Ur in later days (cir. B.C. 2700), under Ur-Gur and Dungi, which has hitherto been known as "the first dynasty of Ur," is thus detoured from its position, and becomes the second. The succeeding dynasty, which also made Ur its capital, and whose kings, Ina-Sin, Pur-Sin II., and Gimil-Sin, were the immediate predecessors of the first dynasty of Babylon (to which Khammurabi belonged), must henceforth be termed the third.

Among the latest acquisitions from Tello are the seals of the pateri,
Lugal-umugal, which finally remove all doubt as to the identity of "Sargani, king of the city," with the famous Sargon of Akkad. The historical accuracy of Sargon’s annals, moreover, have been fully vindicated. Not only have the American excavators found the contemporary monuments of him and his son Naram-Sin, but also tablets dated in the years of his campaigns against "the land of the Amorites." In short, Sargon of Akkad, so lately spoken of as "a half-mythical" personage, has now emerged into the full glare of authentic history.

That the native chronologists had sufficient material for reconstructing the past history of their country, is also now clear. The early Babylonian contract-tablets are dated by events which officially distinguished the several years of a king’s reign, and tablets have been discovered compiled at the close of a reign which give year by year the events which thus characterized them. One of these tablets, for example, from the excavations at Niffer, begins with the words: (1) "The year when Pur-Sin (II.) becomes king. (2) The year when Pur-Sin the king conquers Urbillium," and ends with "the year when Gimmil-Sin becomes King of Ur, and conquers the land of Zaball" in the Lebanon.

Of special interest to the biblical student are the discoveries made by Mr. Pinches among some of the Babylonian tablets which have recently been acquired by the British Museum. Four of them relate to no less a personage than Kudur-Lagghhamar or Chedor-laomer, "King of Elam," as well as to Eri-Aku or Ahnoch, King of Larsa, and his son Dar-makh-ilani; to Tudghania or Kid’al, the son of Gazza[lim], and to their war against Babylon in the time of Khama[n][rahi]. In one of the texts the question is asked, "Who is the son of a king’s daughter who has sat on the throne of royalty?" "Dar-makh-ilani, the son of Eri-Aku, the son of the lady Kur... has sat on the throne of royalty," from which it may perhaps be inferred that Eri-Aku was the son of Kudur-Lagghhamar’s daughter; and in another we read, "Who is Kudur-Lagghhamar, the door of mischief? He has gathered together the Umman Manda, has devastated the land of Bel (Babylonia), and [has marched] at their side." The Umman Manda were the "Barbarian Hordes" of the Kudlahi mountains, on the northern frontier of Elam, and the name corresponds with that of the Goyyim or "nations" in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. We here see Kudur-Lagghhamar acting as their suzerain lord. Unfortunately, all four tablets are in a shockingly broken condition, and it is therefore difficult to discover in them a continuous sense, or to determine their precise nature.

They have, however, just been supplemented by further discoveries made by Dr. Scholl at Constantinople. Among the tablets preserved there, he has
found letters from Khammurabi to his vassal Sin-idinum of Larsa, from which we learn that Sin-idinum had been dethroned by the Elamites Kudur-Mahal and Eri-Ahu, and had fled for refuge to the court of Khammurabi at Babylon. In the war which subsequently broke out between Khammurabi and Kudur-Lagashamar, the King of Elam (who, it would seem, exercised suzerainty over Babylonia for seven years), Sin-idinum gave material assistance to the Babylonian monarch, and Khammurabi accordingly bestowed presents upon him as a "recompense for his valour on the day of the overthrow of Kudur-Lagashamar."

I must not conclude this Preface without referring to a fine scarab—found in the rubbish-mounds of the ancient city of Kom Ombo, in Upper Egypt—which bears upon it the name of Setkhun-Apoq. It shows us that the author of the story of the Expulsion of the Hyksos, in calling the king Ra-Apopi, merely, like an orthodox Egyptian, substituted the name of the god of Heliopolis for that of the foreign deity. Equally interesting are the scarabs brought to light by Professor Flinders Petrie, on which a hitherto unknown Yahapb-bal or Jacob-bel receives the titles of a Pharaoh.

A. H. SAYCE.
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting to the public Professor Maspero's latest volume, the "Premières Mêles des Peuples," in its English form, I have little to add to the words I prefixed to the first volume of the series. I have in the present, as in the previous work, preserved Professor Maspero's spelling of the Egyptian proper names, inserting in the Index the forms in general use among English Egyptologists. With regard to such Syrian personal and place names as occur in the Bible, I have followed the spelling of the Revised Version; though here, as in the Assyrian portion of the work, the forms represented on the monuments, whether cuneiform texts, Tel el-Amarna tablets, or Egyptian hieroglyphs, are also given.

While this translation was passing through the press, fresh discoveries were made which have thrown further light upon a few points dealt with in the text, and in these cases the Editor or Translator has ventured to add such short notes as seemed useful. As an example of these, I may call attention to the notes on p. 29, in which Professor Hommel's unhesitating identification of Khammrani with the Anrathel of Genesis xiv. 1 is given, and also the true reading of Rim-Sin as determined by Mr. Pinches.

I have not referred in the notes to Professor Hommel's letter in the Academy of October 17th last, dealing with the word "Arpachshad," which he considers to be an Egyptianised form of the territorial name "Ur Kaslim," or "Ur of the Chaldees." This important elucidation of an ethnographical term occurring in Genesis x., in a passage ascribed by recent critics to the time of the Exile, will doubtless receive the consideration it merits.

M. L. McClure.

London,
November 18, 1886.
Les éditions de ce volume ont pour qu'elles se prêtent pas malheureusement les passages qui ont été édités en manière dans la version originale. De cet ensemble satisfait aux réclamations qu'ils ont renoumé de divers côtés, et je ne puis que les approuver. Je veux ici bien se croire que les abus dont il a été fait pour en tirer, et de l'obligation où il s'est trouvé de faire quelque part la rédaction de l'édition ancienne avec celle du manuscrit français, expliquant la plupart des modifications qui ont été pratiquées, et qui auraient été réalisées certainement s'il avait eu le temps de les examiner par une édition. Je crois que toutes les notes qui ont été reportées dans les éditions précédentes pourront, en même temps qu'elles seront considérées les plus importantes de celles qui ont été attribuées par les éditeurs, et qui pourraient sembler cruciales à l'esprit général de l'œuvre.

Mars 12, 1868.

CORRIGENDA.

G. MASPERO.

Page 13, line 4, "ver 5.

Page 14, note 3, "uc non est en

Page 30, line 2, "les notes et éditions de Lagues s'étaient un peu mieux que les...".

Page 43, note 2, "At just the change it is possible..."

Page 70, line 39, "are the Histories of the Périodes royales...

Page 74, line 14, "Les périodes d'histoire que les chroniques, etc.

Page 74, line 10, "ces versets nécessaires du manuscrit..."

Page 84, note 4, "De nouveau,..."

Page 84, note 3, "A number of these)..."

Page 84, line 1, "Les traditions..."

Page 84, note 3, "On trouvera dans les spéculations des manuscrits..."

Page 87, note 3, "Je me demande..."

Page 87, note 2, "The Hebrews did not..."

Page 87, note 1, "Israel fought..."
The episode of Ahithophel is in many copies related as an epigraph.

We have some details of the Saulite history.

The authors carried off with them the priest of Michal and his ephod, teraphim, and graven images.

The structure of the gargoyle image (Judg. xviii. 26) is represented in the history of the image, which is given, annuls. In Judg. xvi. 47, a blend of two accounts, the "Baale Rehob, Rehob Rehob," etc.; has anticipated ourselves in the narrative of the Baale Rehob, etc.

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THE EASTERN WORLD
in the XIVth century
B.C.

- Egyptian Kingdom
- Hittite
- Babylonian
- Assyrian
- /Israel

Scale in Kilometres
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THE FIRST CHALDAEAN EMPIRE AND THE HYKSOS IN EGYPT.


Syria, owing to its geographical position, continued to be subject to neighbouring powers—Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, the valley of the Jordan and of the Lycus, and surrounding countries; the northern table-land, the country about Damascus, the Mediterranean coast, the Jordan and the Dead Sea—Civilization and primitive inhabitants, Semites and Atadites; the almost entire absence of Egyptian influence, the predominance of those of Chaldea.

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THE FIRST CHALDAEAN EMPIRE AND THE HYKSÓS IN EGYPT.

CHAPTER 1.

SOME countries seem destined from their origin to become the battle-fields of the contending nations which environ them. Into such regions, and to their cost, neighbouring peoples come from century to century to settle their quarrels and bring to an issue the questions of supremacy which disturb their little corner of the world. The nations around are eager for the possession of a country thus situated; it is seized upon bit by bit, and in the strife dismembered and trodden underfoot; at best the only course open to its inhabitants is to join forces with one of its invaders, and while helping the intruder to overcome the rest, to secure for themselves a position of permanent servitude. Should some unlooked-for chance relieve them from the presence of their foreign lord, they will probably be quite incapable of profiting by the

1 Drawn by Rambert-Galilé, from a photograph by Emil Bergsch-Buy. The vignette, also by Fourier-Galilé, from a photograph by Désiré在他, in 1859, represents the gilted neck of the calf of Queen Ahhotep I. Cf. p. 95 et seq. of the present volume.
respite which fortune puts in their way, or of making any effectual attempt to organize themselves in view of future attacks. They tend to become split up into numerous rival communities, of which even the pettyest will aim at autonomy, keeping up a perpetual frontier war for the sake of becoming possessed of or of retaining a glorious sovereignty over a few acres of corn in the plains, or some wooded ravines in the mountains. Year after year there will be scenes of bloody conflict, in which petty armies will fight petty battles on behalf of petty interests, but so fiercely, and with such furious animosity, that the country will suffer from the strife as much as, or even more than, from an invasion. There will be no truce to their struggles until they all fall under the sway of a foreign master, and, except in the interval between two conquests, they will have no national existence, their history being almost entirely merged in that of other nations.

From remote antiquity Syria was in the condition just described, and thus destined to become subject to foreign rule. Chaldea, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia presided in turn over its destinies, while Macedonia and the empires of the West were only waiting their opportunity to lay hold of it. By its position it formed a kind of meeting-place where most of the military nations of the ancient world were bound sooner or later to come violently into collision. Confined between the sea and the desert, Syria offers the only route of easy access to an army marching northwards from Africa into Asia, and all conquerors, whether attracted to Mesopotamia or to Egypt by the accumulated riches on the banks of the Euphrates or the Nile, were obliged to pass through it in order to reach the object of their cupidity. It might, perhaps, have escaped this fatal consequence of its position, had the formation of the country permitted its tribes to mass themselves together, and oppose a compact body to the invading hosts; but the range of mountains which forms its backbone subdivides it into isolated districts, and by thus restricting each tribe to a narrow existence maintained among them a mutual antagonism. The twin chains, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, which divide the country down the centre, are composed of the same kind of calcareous rocks and sandstone, while the same sort of reddish clay has been deposited on their slopes by the glaciers of the same geological period. Arid and bare on the northern side, they send out towards the south featureless monotonous ridges, fringed here and

* Deeks remarked in the Lebanon several varieties of Limestone (Bouyron-Duazy, Unexplored Syria, vol. i, pp. 56, 57), which have been carefully catalogued by Biache and Lattie (Dict du Nomre, Fig. d'explorations a la mer, vol. iii, pp. 60, 61, 63-68). Above these strata, which belong to the Jurassic formation, come reddish sandstones, then beds of very hard yellowish limestone, and finally marl. The name Lebanon, in Assyrian Lebanon, would appear to signify "the white mountain." The Assyrians called the Anti-Lebanon Sarrua, Roman, according to the Assyrians Sarrua (En. Batacosa, Be leg des Pheniciens p. 101) and the Hebrew books (Deut. xi. 20; 1 Chron. v. 32).
there by short narrow valleys, hollowed out in places into basins or funnel-shaped ravines, which are widened year by year by the down-rush of torrents. These ridges, as they proceed southwards, become clothed with verdure and offer a more varied outline, the ravines being more thickly wooded, and the summits less uniform in contour and colouring. Lebanon becomes white and ice-crowned in winter, but none of its peaks rises to the altitude of perpetual snows: the highest of them, Mount Taimarun, reaches 10,526 feet, while only three others exceed 2000. Anti-Lebanon is, speaking generally, 1000 or 1300 feet lower than its neighbour: it becomes higher, however, towards the south, where the triple peak of Mount Hermos rises to a height of 9184 feet. The Orontes and the Litâni drain the intermediate space. The Orontes rising on the west side of the Anti-Lebanon, near the ruins of Baalbek, rushes northwards in such a violent manner, that the dwellers on its banks call it the rebel—Nahr el-Asi. About a third of the way towards its mouth it enters a depression, which ancient dykes help to transform into a lake; it flows thence, almost parallel to the sea-coast, as far as the 30th degree of latitude. There it meets the last spurs of the Amanus, but, failing to cut its way through them, it turns abruptly to the west, and then to the south, falling into the Mediterranean after having received an increase to its volume from the waters of the Afrin. The Litâni rises a short distance from the Orontes; it flows at first through a wide and fertile plain, which soon contracts, however, and forces it into a channel between the spurs of the Lebanon and the Galilean hills. The water thence makes its way between two cliffs of

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1. Benev. Diacre, Unexplored Syria, vol. i. p. 88, attributed to it an altitude of 9175 English feet; others estimate it at 10,529 feet. The mountains which exceed 3000 metres are Dahr el-Kosh 3044 metres; Jebel-Mashayik 3090 metres; and Jebel-Makhmur or Malem 3040 metres (Sarrasini, N. G. d. Universelle, vol. iv. pp. 585, 586). As a matter of fact, these heights are not yet determined with the accuracy desirable.

2. It was sometimes called in the plural, Harmatim, the Harmonti (Ps. xiii. 6).


4. The Egyptians knew it in early times by the name of Aimwati, or Aimnitu (E. de Rouge, Le Peuple de l’Exode, 1850, p. 5) whose opinion has since been adopted by all Egyptologists; it is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions under the name of Arbuti (F. Delaveau, W. de Joy, des Persees, c. 274). All are agreed in acknowledging that this name is not Semitic, and an Arman origin is attributed to it, but without convincing proof; according to Strabo (xvi. ii. 7. p. 730), it was originally called Typhon, and was only styled Orontes after a certain Orontes had built the first bridge across it. The name is Assyr which it sometimes bears appears to have been given to it by Greek colonists, in memory of a river in Meso-Persia (Sarrasini, Histoire, vol. ii. 13). This is probably the origin of the modern name of Asî, and the meaning, rebellious river, which Arab tradition attaches to the latter term, probably comes from a popular etymology which likened Asî to Ais; the identification was all the easier since it justifies the epithet by the violence of its current (Forshee, Traves, French tr. 1777, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415).

5. The Afrin is the Apros of ununiform inscriptions; it at first confounded with one of the two rivers of Damascus, the Barzakh (Ferré, Note di nuove Prose Studio dell’Antica Sirena, p. 363), the exact position of which was discovered by H. Kaidin (G. Kawlin, The First Monographs, vol. ii. p. 80).

6. The Litâni was identified by Reuband (Palestinae nec tantum ex libris selectis illustrata, vol. i. pp. 220, 221) with the river of the Lus, nubervus recentis of Phocian (v. 15), commonly called Lomet. Strabo, who mentions the river, gives it no name at all (xvi. ii. 7. p. 730). Reuband’s hypothesis has been strenuously opposed by Paulin de Bouay (Essai de restitution et d’interprétation d’un
perpendicular rock; the ravine being in several places so narrow, that the branches of the trees on the opposite sides interlace, and an active man could readily leap across it. Near Yakhmurr some detached rocks appear to have been arrested in their fall, and, leaning like flying buttresses against the mountain face, constitute a natural bridge over the torrent. The basins of the two rivers lie in one valley, extending eighty leagues in length, divided by an almost imperceptible watershed into two beds of unequal slope. The central part of the valley is given up to marshes. It is only towards the south that we find cornfields, vineyards, plantations of mulberry and olive trees, spread out over the plain, or disposed in terraces on the hill-sides. Towards the north, the alluvial deposits of the Orontes have gradually formed a black and fertile soil, upon which grow luxuriant crops of cereals and other produce. Cœle-Syria, after having generously nourished the Oriental empires which had preyed upon her, became one of the granaries of the Roman world, under the capable rule of the Cœsars.

Syria is surrounded on all sides by countries of varying aspect and soil. That to the north, flanked by the Amanus, is a gloomy mountainous region, with its greatest elevation on the seaboard: it slopes gradually towards the interior, spreading out into chalky table-lands, dotted over with bare and rounded hills, and seamed with tortuous valleys which open out to the Euphrates, the Orontes, or the desert. Vast, slightly undulating plains succeed the table-lands; the soil is dry and stony, the streams are few in number and contain but little water. The Sajur flows into the Euphrates, the Afrîn and the Karasu when united yield their tribute to the Orontes, while the others for the most part pour their waters into enclosed basins. The Khalal of the Greeks sluggishly pursues its course southward, and after reluctantly leaving the gardens of Aleppo, finally loses itself on the borders of the desert in a small salt lake full of islets: about halfway between the Khalal and the passage de Syphon, pp. 29, 140), and it is now acknowledged that the Euphrates River and the Litany have nothing in common (Kiepert, Handbuch der Altertumskunde, p. 120, n. 2). The semiannual Chronicles published by Neubauer call it the Nahar Littah (Journal Asiatique, 1869, vol. ii. p. 442). The Assyro-Babylonian, No. 1, pl. xx. 1, 3, pl. xxxi. 1, 8, mentions a watercourse between Tyre and Sidon, called the Namm, which can only be the Nahar Khalal, that is to say, the lower stream of the Litany (Malalas, Notas sur diversos puntos de gramatica et d'histoire, p. 15, in the Mélanges d'Archéologie Egyptienne et Assyrienne, vol. i, pp. 140, 141).

1. The gorges of the Litany are described by Von den Velde, Reise durch Syrien und Palastina, vol. i. p. 112; and the natural bridge at Yakhmurr by Robinson, Lower Biblical Researches, pp. 421, 423.

2. The Sajur is the Sakara of the cuneiform texts (Fr. Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradiš, p. 120).

3. For the Afrîn, cf. p. 6 of this volume. The modern Karasu was called by the Assyrians Saluas, the River of Ebal, and it preserved this name until the Arab period (Halâki, Recherches historiques et archéologiques, p. 278, Saluas, Zur historischen Topographie von Nordsyrien, in the Summenberichte of the Academy of Science at Berlin, vol. xx. pp. 229-336).

4. The Assyrian monuments have not yet given us the native name of this river; Xenophon (Anabasis, vol. i. p. 9) calls it Khalas, and says that it was full of large edible fish.
Elphirates a second salt lake receives the Nahr el-Dahah, the “golden river.” The climate is mild, and the temperature tolerably uniform. The sea-breeze which rises every afternoon, tempers the summer heat; the cold in winter is never piercing, except when the south wind blows which comes from the mountains, and the snow rarely lies on the ground for more than twenty-four hours. It seldom rains during the autumn and winter months, but frequent showers fall in the early days of spring. Vegetation then sways again, and the soil lends itself to cultivation in the hollows of the valleys and on the table-lands wherever irrigation is possible. The ancients dotted these now all but desert spaces with wells and cisterns; they intersected them with canals, and covered them with farms and villages, with fortresses and populous cities. Primorval forests clothed the slopes of the Armanas, and pinewoods from this region was famous both at Babylon and in the towns of Lower Chalden.

The plains produced barley and wheat in enormous quantities, the vine thrived there, the gardens teemed with flowers and fruit, and pistachio and olive trees grew on every slope. The desert was always threatening to invade the plain, and gained rapidly upon it whenever a prolonged war disturbed cultivation, or when the negligence of the inhabitants slackened the work of defence beyond the lakes and salt marshes it had obtained a secure hold. At the present time the greater part of the country between the Orontes and the Euphrates is nothing but a rocky table-land, ridged with low hills and dotted over with some impoverished oases, excepting at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, where two rivers, fed by innumerable streams, have served to create a garden of marvellous beauty. The Barada, dashing from cascade to cascade, flows for some distance through gorges before emerging on the plain; scarcely has it reached level ground than it widens out, divides, and forms around Damascus a miniature delta, into which a thousand interlacing channels carry refreshment and fertility. Below the town these streams rejoin the river, which, after having flowed merrily along for a day’s journey, is swallowed up in a kind of elongated chasm from whence it never again emerges. At the melting of the snows a regular lake is formed here, whose blue waters are surrounded by wide grassy margins “like a sapphire set in emeralds.” This lake dries up almost completely in summer, and is converted into swampy meadows, filled with gigantic rushes, among which the birds build their nests, and multiply as unmolested as in the marshes of Chaldea. The Awaj, unfed by any tributary,

1 The modern native name of the Nahr el-Dahah, like that of the Khabur, is unknown.
3 The Barada is the Abana or Annn, mentioned in the Hebrew books as one of the rivers which watered the country round Damascus (2 Kings v. 12), the Bacilias or Chryseorhoas of the Greeks.
fills a second, deeper though smaller basin, while to the south two other lesser depressions receive the waters of the Anti-Lebanon and the Hauran. Syria is protected from the encroachments of the desert by a continuous barrier of pools and beds of reeds; towards the east the space reclaimed resembles a verdant promontory thrust boldly out into an ocean of sand. The extent of the cultivated area is limited on the west by the narrow strip of rock and clay which forms the littoral. From the mouth of the Litany to that of the Orontes, the coast presents a rugged, precipitous, and inhospitable appearance. There are no ports, and merely a few ill-protected harbours, or narrow beaches lying under formidable headlands. One river, the Nahr el-Kebir, which elsewhere would not attract the traveller's attention, is here noticeable as being the only stream whose waters flow constantly and with tolerable regularity; the others, the Leum, the Adonis, and the Nahr el-Kelb, can scarcely even be called torrents, being precipitated as it were in one leap from the Lebanon to the Mediterranean. Olives, vines, and corn cover the maritime plain, while in ancient times the heights were clothed with impenetrable forests of oak, pine, larch, cypress, spruce, and cedar. The mountain range drops in altitude towards the centre of the country and becomes merely a line of low hills, connecting Gebel Ansarit with the Lebanon proper; beyond the latter it continues without interruption, till at length, above the narrow Phoenician coast road, it rises in the form of an almost insurmountable wall.

Near to the termination of Cade-Syraya, but separated from it by a range of hills, there opens out on the western slopes of Hermon a valley unlike any other in the world. At this point the surface of the earth has been rent in pre-historic times by volcanic action, leaving a chasm which has never since closed up. A river, unique in character—the Jordan—flows down this gigantic

1 The modern Awa is identified with the Pharaoh of the Hebrew text (Ex. Kings ii. 12).
2 The Nahr el-Kebir is the Ellimites of classical geographers (Strabo, xvi. ii. § 12, 13; p. 704, 705; Pliney, Natural History, iv. 17), the Phoenician name has not yet been discovered; it was perhaps called Shebah or Shebat, from whence the River-name Subabium might be derived.
3 The Leum of Phineasa (r. 18) is perhaps the river which the majority of Roman geographers call Tamyrus (Strabo, xvi. ii. § 12, p. 715).
4 Ismaurus (Pol. 47, 89), the present Nahr Damph (C. de Béray, Études et Recherches d'Interprétation d'un passage de Sénèque, pp. 28, 40).
5 The Adonis of classical authors is now Naher-Daishim. We have no direct evidence as to the Phoenician name of this river; it was probably identical with that of the divinity worshiped on its banks. The fact of a river bearing the name of a god is not surprising; the Phoe. and the neighbourhood of Acre, affords us a parallel case to the Adonis (Rimar, Mission de Phénicie, p. 288).
6 The present Nahr el-Kelb is the Lyca of classical authors. The Dic de Lépinas (Travels of exploration to the source of the Jordan, vol. i. p. 4, n. 1) thought he recognized a corruption of the Phoenician name in that of Alchaba, which is mentioned elsewhere in the history of the pilgrimage of Boniface. The order of the itinerary does not favor this identification, and Alchaba is probably Jobshai (M. de Varthæ, Mémoires d'Amont, Orientale, pp. 18, 19). It is now the less probable that the original name of the Nahr el-Kelb contained from earliest times the Phoenician equivalent of the Arabic word balah, “dog.”
The most northerly source of the Jordan, the Naḥr al-Hasbany, arises from a spring, fertilizing the valley formed by it from end to end. Its principal source is at Tell el-Qadi, where it rises out of a basaltic mound whose summit is crowned by the ruins of Latš. The water collects in an oval rocky basin hidden by bushes, and flows down among the brashwood to join the Naḥr el-Hasbany, which brings the waters of the upper torrents to swell its stream; a little lower down it mingles with the Banias branch, and winds for some time amidst desolate, marshy meadows before disappearing in the thick beds of rushes bordering Lake Huleh. At this point the Jordan reaches the level of

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1. Drawn by Houdiné, from a photograph by the Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer Morte*, vol. iv. pl. 96.
2. The Jordan is mentioned in the Egyptian texts under the name of Vordam (Ammianus Pappus, No. 5, vi. xxii. 1. 1). — the name appears to mean the descent, the descending.
3. This source is mentioned by Josephus (Ant. Jud. V. iii. 1; VIII. viii. 4) as being that of the Little Jordan, *μικρόν εὔνομον*, not *μεγαλόν*. Huleh.
4. The ancient geographers do not appear to have considered the Naḥr al-Hasbany as a source of the Jordan. This is proved by the passage where S. Jerome (Comment. in Mattheum, xvi. 2), after his own fashion, gives the etymology of the name: "Jordanius ortus ad montem Libanon et habens eum Fontes, eum quaeventur Joash al silium Dominum qui simul mitit Jordania nomine effluat." The two sources which he indicates being those of Banias and Tell el-Qadi, the Naḥr al-Hasbany is thus excluded.
5. For the source of the Jordan at Banias, cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XV. ii. 3; and *Jewish War*, I. xxii. 8; III. 357; for the difference between the ancient and present condition of the place, see Gerhard, *Galilä*, vol. iii. pp. 312-314.
6. Lake Huleh is called the Waters of Meron, Mc-Meron, in the Book of Joshua, ix. 7, 7; and Lake Hamacedinoule in Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, V. v. 5; cf. *Jewish War*, III. 74; IV. 1. 1. The name of Huleh, which is given to the surrounding country (Josephus, *Jewish War*, XV. x. 2; 5), shows that the modern word Huleh is derived from an ancient form, of which, unfortunately, the original has not come down to us (Neubauer, *la topographie de Talmud*, p. 47).
THE LAKE OF NANTAFFI.

Drawn by Headley, from a photograph brought back by Lartet.
the Mediterranean, but instead of maintaining it, the river makes a sudden drop on leaving the lake, cutting for itself a deeply grooved channel. It has a fall of some 300 feet before reaching the Lake of Gennesareth, where it is only momentarily arrested, as if to gather fresh strength for its headlong career southwards. Here and there it makes furious assaults on its right and left banks, as if to escape from its bed, but the rocky escarpments which hem it in present an insurmountable barrier to it; from rapid to rapid it descends with such capricious windings that it covers a course of more than 62 miles before reaching the Dead Sea, nearly 1300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.⁶ Nothing could offer more striking contrasts than the country on either bank. On the east, the ground rises abruptly to a height of about 3000 feet, resembling a natural rampart flanked with towers and bastions; behind this extends an immense table-land, slightly undulating and intersected in all directions by the affluents of the Jordan and the Dead

⁶ Down by Emscher, from several photographs brought back by Lucet.
⁷ Its most ancient name in the Sea of Gennesareth, Yām-Kinnerēth (Young, xxxiv. 11; Josh. xiii. 37), or Yām-Elisāth (Josh. xii. 3): from the time of the Greek period it was called the Lake of Gennesareth (Galilee) (L. Mos. xi. 67; Josephus, Jewish War, III. x. 7. 8; L. Niebuhr, Geschichte des Ptolemaier, p. 233).
⁸ The exact figures are: the Lake of Huleh 7 feet above the Mediterranean; the Lake of Gennesareth 682 feet, and the Dead Sea. 1221 feet below the sea-level; to the south of the Dead Sea, towards the water-parting of the Araloi, the ground is over 720 feet higher than the level of the Red Sea (Elisséus Reclus, Geographie naturelle, vol. iv. pp. 730-733).
Sea—the Yarmuk, the Jabbok, and the Arnon. The whole of this district forms a little world in itself, whose inhabitants, half shepherds, half banditas, live a life of isolation, with no ambition to take part in general history. West of the Jordan, a confused mass of hills rises into sight, their sparsely covered slopes affording an impoverished soil for the cultivation of corn, vines, and olives. One ridge—Mount Carmel—detached from the principal chain near the southern end of the Lake of Gennesaret, runs obliquely to the north-west, and finally projects into the sea. North of this range extends Galilee, abundant in refreshing streams and fertile fields; while to the south, the country falls naturally into three parallel zones—the littoral, composed alternately of dunes and marshes—an expanse of plain, a *Shephelah,* dotted about with woods and watered by intermittent rivers—and finally the mountains. The region of dunes is not necessarily barren, and the towns situated in it—Gaza, Jaffa,
Ashdod, and Ascalon—are surrounded by flourishing orchards and gardens. The plain yields plentiful harvests every year, the ground needing no manure and very little labour. The higher ground and the hill-tops are sometimes covered with verdure, but as they advance southwards, they become denuded and burnt by the sun. The valleys, too, are watered only by springs, which are dried up for the most part during the summer, and the soil, parched by the continuous heat, can scarcely be distinguished from the desert. In fact, till the Sinaitic Peninsula and the frontiers of Egypt are reached, the eye merely encounters desolate and almost uninhabited solitudes, devastated by winter torrents, and overshadowed by the volcanic summits of Mount Seir. The spring rains, however, cause an early crop of vegetation to spring up, which for a few weeks furnishes the flocks of the nomad tribes with food.

We may summarise the physical characteristics of Syria by saying that Nature has divided the country into five or six regions of unequal area, isolated by rivers and mountains, each one of which, however, is admirably suited to become the seat of a separate independent state. In the north, we have the country of the two rivers—the Naharaim—extending from the Orontes to the Euphrates and the Balikh, or even as far as the Khabur; 1 in the centre, between the two ranges of the Lebanon, lie Coele-Syria and its two unequal neighbours, Aram of Damascus and Phœnicia; while to the south is the varied collection of provinces bordering the valley of the Jordan. It is impossible at the present day to assert, with any approach to accuracy, what peoples inhabited these different regions towards the fourth millennium before our era. Wherever excavations are made, relics are brought to light of a very ancient semi-civilization, in which we find stone weapons and implements, besides pottery, often elegant in contour, but for the most part coarse in texture and execution. These remains, however, are not accompanied by any monument of definite characteristics, and they yield no information with regard to the origin or affinities of the tribes who fashioned them. 2 The study

1 The Naharaim of the Egyptians (cf. for the pronunciation, Maarrus), a term now in colloquial Egyptian, in the Recueil des Travaux, vol. 24, pp. 129–133) was first identified with Mesopotamia (Brunner, Geographische Beiträge, vol. 2, p. 29). It was located between the Orontes and the Balikh or the Euphrates by Maarrus (io Carthamis apud Ptolemaio Historiae antiquissimae, cap. 11). This opinion is now adopted by the majority of Egyptologists, with slight differences in detail (W. Max Müller, Atlas and Europe nach äthiopischen Fundplätzen, p. 249, et seq.). In Meroë (Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 227) has recently compared the Egyptian Naharaim with the Parapolydos of the administration of the Lebanon (P.M. N., v. 8; Sphavo, xlvi. 1, § 41, p. 733).

2 Comparisons with regard to the primitive inhabitants of Syria and their remnants have not as yet been presented in any system. The cases noticed by Heidelberg at Ant-Elia, near Tripoli, and by Botta at Nabi-Salih (Observations sur le Liban et l'Anti-Liban in the Memòires de la Société philologique de Syria, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 183), and at Adham by the Den de Luyne, have been successively noticed by Longuet (De la Lette, Voyage d'exploration de la mer Morin, vol. i. p. 222; vol. ii. pp. 319–342), Tristram, Locat, and Dawson (Notes sur quelques sites en Egypte et le Liban, in the Transactions of the Vicars Institute, vol. xxi. pp. 267–301). The groves of Palestine proper, at
of the geographical nomenclature in use about the VIth century B.C. reveals the existence, at all events at that period, of several peoples and several languages. The mountains, rivers, towns, and fortresses in Palestine and Coele-Syria are designated by words of Semitic origin: it is easy to detect, even in the hieroglyphic inscription which they bear on the Egyptian geographical lists, names familiar to us in Hebrew or Assyrian. But once across the Orontes, other forms present themselves which reveal no affinities to these languages, but are apparently connected with one or other of the dialects of Asia Minor. The tenacity with which the place-names, once given, cling to the soil, leads us to believe that a certain number at least of those we know in Syria were in use there long before they were noted down by the Egyptians, and that they must have been heirlooms from very early peoples. As they take a Semitic or non-Semitic form, according to their geographical position, we may conclude that the centre and south were colonized by Semites, and the north by the immigrant tribes from beyond the Taurus. Facts are not wanting to support this conclusion, and they prove that it is not so entirely arbitrary as we might be inclined to believe. The Asiatic visitors, who, under a king of the XIIth dynasty, came to offer gifts to Khnumhotep, the Lord of Beni Hasan, are completely Semitic in type, and closely resemble the Bedouins of the present day. Their chief—Abishah—bears a Semitic name, as too does the Sheikh Ammianesh, with whom Sinaiit took refuge. Ammianesh himself


1. On the question of the transcription of Syriac geographical names into the hieroglyphs, see Basset, Genie des, vol. I, pp. 11-15; E. de Rémusat, Mémorial sur l’original leséécrite de la plupart des inscriptions; and lastly, W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe nach altheläischen Denkmalen, pp. 58-109.

2. The non-Semitic origin of the names of a number of towns in northern Syria preserved in the Egyptian lists, is admitted by the majority of scholars who have studied the question (Lenormant, Les Origines de l’Égypte, vol. II, p. 310, et seq.; Max Müller, Asia and Europe nach altheläischen Denkmalen, pp. 282-289; cf. for the question of Semitic origin, Harris, Researches éléeviques, § 12, pp. 270-278).

3. See the representation of the whole series in the Revue de Civilisation, pp. 402, 460.

4. His name has been shown to be cognate with the Hebrew Nahhal (I Sam. xxii. 16, 27; 1 Sam. viii. 18, 34; xxxi. 17), and with the Chaldean-Assyrian. Ahabbash (cf. the list of Babylonian kings on p. 27 of the present volume).

5. The name Ammianesh is once recorded as Amanianes, Amanianes, and perhaps Ammianes, in Khnamian, one of the Babylonian-Aramaic; it occurs with the element Amin, a sign of loyalty (Mattar, Notes sur quelques points de grammatica et d’histoire, p. 7, in the Revue d’Assyrie, vol. XVII, p. 76; cf. Babylon, Paléorient, pp. 22, 94, 98). Chabas connects it with the Hebrew words Ammon, which he does not translate (Chabas sur l’antiquité historique, 2nd ed., pp. 162, 195).
reigned over the province of Kadm, a word which in Semitic denotes the East. Finally, the only one of their gods known to us, Hadad, was a Semitic deity, who presided over the atmosphere, and whom we find later on ruling over the destinies of Damascus. Peoples of Semitic speech and religion must, indeed, have already occupied the greater part of that region on the shores of the Mediterranean which we find still in their possession many centuries later, at the time of the Egyptian conquest.

For a time Egypt preferred not to meddle in their affairs. When, however, the "lords of the sands" grew too insolent, the Pharaoh sent a column of light troops against them, and inflicted on them such a severe punishment, that the remembrance of it kept them within bounds for years. Offenders banished from Egypt sought refuge with the turbulent kinglets, who were in a perpetual state of unrest between Sinai and the Dead Sea. Egyptian sailors used to set out to traffic along the seacoast, taking to piracy when hard pressed; Egyptian merchants were accustomed to penetrate by easy stages into the interior. The accounts they gave of their journeys were not reassuring. The traveller had first to face the solitudes which confronted him before reaching the Isthmus, and then to avoid as best he might the attacks of the pillaging tribes who inhabited it. Should he escape these initial perils, the Amm— an agricultural and settled people inhabiting the fertile region—would give the stranger but a sorry reception; he would have to submit to their demands, and the most exorbitant

1 CL. the story relating to Prince Ammisadu in the Days of Civilization, pp. 472, 473.

2 A seal affixed to contracts of the time of Ramesses belonged to a "servant of the god of Marta" who is some other than the god usually known as Ra-man (cf. Days of Civilization, pp. 528-529). This seal was published by Harem (Geschichte Bubastis und Amasis, pp. 349, 412). See also (Die Staatliche Hauptbibliothek in Berlin, the Zeitschrift für Ägyptologie, vol. ii., pp. 388-384) and Oppert (Die Zeitschrift für Ägyptologie, vol. viii., p. 219-214) who proved that the god Ra-man was also called Hadad.

3 CHANAL (Étude sur l'anciennité historique, d'après les sources égyptiennes et les monuments réjouis), 2nd ed., p. 29, et seq., had already arrived at the same conclusions, which are also those of W. J. M. READE (Arabs und Europae, p. 32, et seq.).

4 Drawn by Farnisa Grundy, from a photograph by Langdon; cf. the whole series from which these too, and the following figures are taken, in the Days of Civilization, p. 419.

5 Persons banished from Egypt are mentioned in the Memoirs of Strabof, ii., 27-34 (cf. Matras, Les Cours populaires, 2nd ed., pp. 163, 180), and Strabo himself is no caller for the navigation of the Straits; no one from the time of the current empire, cf. Days of Civilization, pp. 336-334.
levies of toll did not always preserve caravans from their attacks. The country seems to have been but thinly populated; tracts now denuded were then covered by large forests in which herds of elephants still roamed, and wild beasts, including lions and leopards, rendered the route through them dangerous. The notion that Syria was a sort of preserve for both big and small game was so strongly implanted in the minds of the Egyptians, that their popular literature was full of it; the hero of their romances bestowed himself there for the chase, as a prelude to meeting with the princess whom he was destined to marry, or, as in the case of Kamzi, chief of Assur, that he might encounter there a monstrous hyena with which to engage in combat. These merchants' adventures and explorations, as they were not followed by any military expedition, left absolutely no mark on the industries or manners of the primitive natives: those of them only who were close to the frontiers of Egypt came under her subtle charm and felt the power of her attraction, but this slight influence never penetrated beyond the provinces lying nearest to the Dead Sea. The remaining populations looked rather to Chaldea, and received, though at a distance, the continuous impress of the kingdoms of the Euphrates. The tradition which attributes to Sargon of Agade, and to his son Naramisin, the subjection of the people of the Amanus and the Orontes, probably contains but

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1. The merchant who sets out for foreign lands "leaves his possessions to his children—for fear of lions and Asiatics" (Sallust, Pugnax, No. 2, pl. vii. ii. 6, 7; cf. Burns of Civilization, p. 470).
3. As to the extent of the forest which separated Jaff from Carmel, cf. Maspero, Entre Aggès et Mayyédh, in les Études Historiques, Numismatiques, et Archéologiques de M. E. P. E. Lévi, pp. 3-5; what was true under the XIXth dynasty would be still more likely to be the case in earlier times.
5. As, for instance, this hero in the Story of the Presumed Prince, called from Egypt with his dogs, pursues his way hunting till he reaches the confines of Nahrism, where he is to marry the prince's daughter; cf. Maspero, Les Civilisations de l'Égypte ancienne, 3rd edition, p. 151. Petrie, Egyptian Life, 2nd series, p. 12, et seq.

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Drawn by Farnier-Gardin, from a photograph by Roux. (Cf. p. 16 of this work, note 6.)

Amanus, Pugnax, No. 1, pl. xxi, ii. 6, 7; cf. Charles, Le Voyage d'as Egypte, pp. 228-229.
a slight element of truth; but if, while awaiting further information, we hesitate to believe that the annals of these princes ever crossed the Lebanon or landed in Cyprus, we must yet admit the very early advent of their civilization in these western countries which are regarded as having been under their rule. More than three thousand years before our era, the Assyrians who figure on the tomb of Khammaran, clothed themselves according to the fashions of Ur or Lagaash, and affected long robes of striped and spotted stuff.* We may well ask if they had also borrowed the cuneiform syllabary for the purposes of their official correspondence,* and if the professional scribes, with his stylus and clay tablet, was to be found in their cities. The Babylonian courtiers were, no doubt, more familiar visitors among them than the Memphite nobles, while the Babylonian kings sent regularly to Syria for statuary stones, precious metals, and the timber required in the building of their monuments; Urban and Gudea, as well as their successors and contemporaries, received large conveyances of wood and materials from the Amorites, and if the forests of Lebanon were more rarely utilized, it was not because their existence was unknown, but because distance rendered their approach more difficult and transport more costly. The Mediterranean mariners were, in their language, classed as a whole under one denomination—Mariti, Amurru, the West—but there were distinctive names for each of the provinces into which they were divided. Probably even at that date they called the north Khatti, and Cody-Syrus, Amurru, the land of the

* Of what is said on the subject of these conquests in Mariatu, Drive of Civilization, pp. 303-305.

* Cf. Maclagan, Drive of Civilization, for the Assyrians reached by the Prince of Bad-Bruma, pp. 265-269, for the resemblance of their costume to that of the Chaldeans, cf. ibid. p. 719, note 1.

* The most ancient cuneiform tablets of Syriac origin are not older than the XIXth century before our era; they contain the official correspondence of the native princes with the Pharaohs Amenemhet II. and IV. of the XVIIIth dynasty, as we shall see later on: in this volume, they were discovered in the ruins of one of the palaces of Tel el-Amarna in Egypt.

* This communication with Syria has been pointed out by Mephar in the Drive of Civilization, pp. 610-611. It has been carefully described by Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyrums, pp. 263-269.

* Formally read Akharru. For a general notion of these names, see F. Delitzsch, Die Uebers. pp. 371-373; and Soest, After, Apok. Uber die Textwissenschaft, 2nd edit., pp. 96-97. Marius was the Semitic, and Akharru the Semitic form, Akharru meaning that which is behind. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets threw doubt on the meaning of the name Akharru; some thought that it might be kept in any case (Hallett, Notes geographiques, § 84, in the Revue Scien. Phil. vol. 1, p. 195); others, with more or less certainty, think that it should be explained by Amurru, Amorites, the country of the Amorites (Delitzsch, O. H. R., in the Proceedings of the Biblical Arch., Nov., 1887, vol. xiii. pp. 203-204; cf. Monneret, On Palestine and Syria in the Jews of Nehemia, in the Zelt, de l'An. Asyrique, vol. ii., p. 2, note 1; Hommel-Rasman, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, p. 201, note 23). But the question has not been settled by Babylonic cuneiform and later tablets of the period of Khammaran, in which the name is written Amurru-ru (§ 43). Hommel originated the idea that Marius should be an abbreviation of Amorites, that is, Amurri with the feminine termination of nouns in the Canaanitic dialect. Marius would thus actually signify the country of the Amorites (Hommel's Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyrums, p. 270; cf. Asyriologisches Notizen, § 2, in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch., 1882-94, vol. xiv. p. 215).
Amorites. The scattered references in their writings seem to indicate frequent intercourse with these countries, and that, too, as a matter of course which excited no surprise among their contemporaries: a journey from Lagash to the mountains of Tidamun and to Gublan, or to the Lebanon and beyond it to Byblos, meant to them no voyage of discovery. Armies undoubtedly followed the routes already frequented by caravans and furtillas of trading boats, and the time came when kings desired to rule as sovereigns over nations with whom their subjects had peaceably traded. It does not appear, however, that the ancient rulers of Lagash ever extended their dominion so far. The governors of the northern cities, on the other hand, showed themselves more energetic, and inaugurated that march westwards which sooner or later brought the peoples of the Euphrates into collision with the dwellers on the Nile for the first Babylonian empire without doubt comprised part if not the whole of Syria. 2

Among the most celebrated names in ancient history, that of Babylon is perhaps the only one which still suggests to our minds a sense of vague magnificence and undefined dominion. Cities in other parts of the world, it is true, have rivalled Babylon in magnificence and power; Egypt could boast of more than one such city, and their ruins to this day present to our gaze more monuments worthy of admiration than Babylon ever contained in the days of her greatest prosperity. The pyramids of Memphis and the colossal statues of Thebes still stand erect, while the allegories and the palaces of Chaldea are but mounds of clay crumbling into the plain; but the Egyptian monuments are visible and tangible objects: we can calculate to within a few inches the area they cover and the elevation of their summits, and the very precision with which we can gauge their enormous size tends to limit and lessen their effect upon us. How is it possible to give free rein

Nabonidus (cf. Maspero, Bases of Civilization, p. 334); or, however, the text which we possess of it is merely a copy of the time of Assurbanipal, it is possible that the word Khath is merely the translation of a more ancient term, perhaps Mari (cf. Lowman, Les Délivres de Mari, vol. III, pp. 340, 347; Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 374, note 6). Whistler (Altertumliche Forschungen, p. 142, note 1) thinks it is to be included in Lower Assur and the Mililu of classical authors. Gublan is probably Gublata, Kepu, of the Egyptians, the Byblus of Phoenicians (Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 339). Aristander (Sparta, pp. 11-13) has proposed a most extraordinarily identification with Koplos in Egypt. In the time of Tuk-Sin, King of Ur, mention is found of Sinmara, Ziusura (Hommel, Ans der Babyloniens Alterthumskunde, ii, 2nd ed., 1925, vol. 1, p. 397).

2 It is only since the discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets that the 26th of the dynastic succession of Khaldan over Syria and of the conquest has been definitely realized. It is now clear that the state of things of which the tablets discovered in Egypt give us a picture, could only be explained by the hypothesis of a Babylonish supremacy of long duration over the peoples situated between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean (cf. Jerram, On Palästina und Asien in the Days of Joseph, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vii, pp. 1-17; Wachsmuth, Babylonische Texte zur Messenien und zum Elam, in Palästina und die Meden, in der Altertumskunde, in der Altertumskunde, pp. 148-158, 231-233; and Geschichte Syriens, vol. i, pp. 120-182; Netzer, Palästina und Palästina, p. 55, etc.).
to the imagination when the subject of it is strictly limited by exact and determined measurements! At Babylon, on the contrary, there is nothing remaining to check the flight of fancy: a single hillock, scoured by the rains of centuries, marks the spot where the temple of Bel stood erect in its splendour; another represents the hanging gardens, while the ridges running to the right and left were once the ramparts. The vestiges of a few buildings remain above the mounds of rubble, and as soon as the pickaxe is applied to any spot, irregular layers of bricks, enameled tiles, and inscribed tablets are brought to light—in fine, all those numberless objects which bear witness to the presence of man and to his long sojourn on the spot. But these vestiges are so mutilated and disfigured that the principal outlines of the buildings cannot be determined with any certainty, and afford us no data for guessing their dimensions. He who would attempt to restore the ancient appearance of the place would find at his disposal nothing but vague indications, from which he might draw almost any conclusion he pleased. Palaces and temples would take a shape in his imagination on a plan which never entered the architect's mind; the sacred towers as they rose would be disposed in more numerous stages than they actually possessed; the enclosing walls would reach such an elevation that they must have quickly fallen under their own weight if they had ever been carried so high: the whole restoration.

* Drawn by Bouchot, from a drawing reproduced in Haverg, P. Angros et la Chalde, pl. 10. It shows the state of the ruins in the first half of our century, before the excavations carried out at European instigation.

* A very just criticism of the various proposed reconstructions of the walls of Babylon will be found in Delaporte, P. Despots du Seor, pp. 194, 196, and also an explanation of the figures given by Herodotus, which permits of their altitudes being brought within possible limits.
accomplished without any certain data, embodies the concept of something vast and superhuman, well befitting the city of blood and tears, cursed by the Hebrew prophets. Babylon was, however, at the outset, but a poor town, situated on both banks of the Euphrates, in a low-lying, flat district, intersected by canals and liable at times to become marshy. The river at this point runs almost directly north and south, between two banks of black mud, the base of which it is perpetually undermining. As long as the city existed, the vertical thrust of the public buildings and houses kept the river within bounds, and even since it was finally abandoned, the masses of debris have almost everywhere had the effect of resisting its encroachment; towards the north, however, the line of its ancient quays has given way and sunk beneath the waters, while the stream, turning its course westwards, has transferred to the eastern bank the gardens and mounds originally on the opposite side. E-sagitta, the temple of the lofty summit, the sanctuary of Merodach, probably occupied.

2 The first detailed description that we possess of the ruins of Babylon is that of J. C. Rich, Voyage aux ruines de Babylone, traduit et enrichi d'observations, avec des notes explicatives, par J. Raymond, sous le mandat de la France, Paris, 1818. They have been very carefully studied by Count de Besenval's Expedition en Mesopotamie, vol. i. pp. 253-255, who proposed identifications for the various divisions of the ruins, all of which are not accepted at the present day. A very clear exposition of all the facts relating to the subject is found in G. Rawlinson, On the Topography of Babylon (Herodotus, ii. 472-830). The difficulties raised could only be solved by systematic excavation, of which there is
the vacant space in the depression between the Ishtar and the hill of the Kish. In early times it must have presented much the same appearance as the sanctuaries of Central Chaldea; a mound of crude brick formed the substructure of the dwellings of the priests and the household of the god, of the shops for the offerings and for provisions of the treasury, and of the apartments for purification or for sacrifices, while the whole was surrounded by a ziggurat. On other neighbouring platforms rose the royal palace and the temples of lesser divinities, elevated above the crowd of private habitations. The houses

of the people were closely built around these stately piles, on either side of narrow lanes. A massive wall surrounded the whole, shutting out the view on all sides; it even ran along the bank of the Euphrates, for fear of a surprise from that quarter, and excluded the inhabitants from the sight of their own river. On the right bank rose a suburb, which was promptly fortified and enlarged, so as to become a second Babylon, almost equaling the first in extent and population. Beyond this, on the outskirts, extended gardens and fields, finding at length their limit at the territorial boundaries of two other towns.

no talk for the present; the little that has been undertaken in this direction has been accomplished by Rev. E. Hall, Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities, in the Transactions of the Biblical Arch. Soc., vol. viii. p. 184, et seq.

1. The temple of Merodach, called by the Greeks the temple of Belus, has been placed on the site called Balil by the two Instead (On the Topography of Babylon, in G. Rawlinson, Herodotus, ii. pp. 477-478; The Five Great Monarchies, 2nd ed., vol. iii. pp. 333-334); and by Oppert (Expedition en Mesopotamie, vol. i. pp. 266-270). Herodotus (2) and Fr. Dallinach locate it between the hill of Cyparissus and the Eab, and consider Balil to be a palace of Nebuchadnezzar.

2. As, for instance, the temple Eshmunwall on the summit of Arbuk-Os-Suli (Fr. Duplessis, Oeuvres de Scipio Africanus, ii. p. 31), the temple of Shamash (Polack, Les Monuments de l'Orient Ancien, pp. 19, 16), and others, which there will be occasion to mention later on in dealing with the second Chaldean empire.


4. The description of the walls of Babylon will be found farther on when treating of the great works undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar in the VIth century B.C.
Kutha and Borsippa, whose black outlines are visible to the east and south-west respectively, standing isolated above the plain. Sippar on the north, Nippur on the south, and the mysterious Agade, completed the circle of sovereign states which so closely hemmed in the city of Bel. We may surmise with all probability that the history of Babylon in early times resembled in the main that of the Egyptian Thebes. It was a small seigniory in the hands of petty princes ceaselessly at war with petty neighbours: bloody struggles, with alternating successes and reverses, were carried on for centuries with no decisive results, until the day came when some more energetic or fortunate dynasty at length crushed its rivals, and united under one rule first all the kingdoms of Northern and finally those of Southern Chaldea.

The lords of Babylon had, ordinarily, a twofold function, religious and military, the priest at first taking precedence of the soldier, but gradually yielding to the latter as the town increased in power. They were merely the priestly representatives or administrators of Babel—shalkunakhe.

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* For these neighbouring towns of Babylon, cf. Masius, Done of Chaldaea, pp. 382, 383.
* The history of Thebes is given, as far as is possible at present, in Masius, Done of Chaldaea, p. 358.

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* The title of the Kings of Babylon has been studied by Tiele, Babylonische Geschichte, pp. 494, 495, and by Wissman, Die Kassitenzeitliche Geschichte, p. xxx, note. Wissman believed that the title of abar was only given, every year, to the sovereign of Babylon after "the taking of the hands of Bel" (Geschichte Babylonians und Assyriens, pp. 85, 86, 126, 127). But belief is current only up to a certain point, as has been shown by Tiele (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. viii. p. 370).
Babli—and their authority was not considered legitimate until officially confirmed by the god. Each ruler was obliged to go in state to the temple of Bel at Merodach within a year of his accession; there he had to take the hand of the divine statue, just as a vassal would do homage to his liege, and those only of the native sovereigns or the foreign conquerors could legally call themselves Kings of Babylon—sharru Babli—who had not only performed this rite, but renewed it annually. 1 Sargon the Elder had lived in Babylon, and had built himself a palace there; hence the tradition of later times attributed to this city the glory of having been the capital of the great empire founded by the Akkadian dynasties. 2 The actual seat of Babylonia, though, was to the south by the petty states of Lower Chaldaea, had not encountered in the north or north-west any enemy to menace seriously its progress in that semi-fabulous period of its history. The vast plain extending between the Euphrates and the Tigris is as it were a continuation of the Arabian desert, and is composed of a grey, or in parts a whitish, soil impregnated with selenite and common salt, and irregularly superimposed upon a bed of gypsum, from which asphalt oozes up here and there, forming slimy pits. Frost is of rare occurrence in winter, and rain is infrequent at any season; the sun soon burns up the scanty herbage which the spring showers have encouraged, but fleshy plants successfully resist its heat, such as the common salaline, the salsola soda, the pallasia, a small mimosa, and a species of very fragrant wormwood, forming together a varicoloured vegetation which gives shelter to the ostrich and the wild ass, and affords the flocks of the annuals a grateful pasturage when the autumn has set in. 3 The Euphrates bounds these solitudes, but without watering them. The river flows, as far as the eye can see, between two ranges of rock or bare hills, at the foot of which is a narrow strip of alluvial soil supports rows of date-palms intermingled bare and there with poplars, sycamors, and willows. Wherever there is a break

1 The meaning of the ceremony in which the kings of Babylonia "took the hand of Bel" has been given by Winckler (On inscriptions Sargonis et Assuris quattuor saecvlos Annalibus, thesis, and Studies and Briefe zur Babylonisch-Assyrischen Geschichte, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. II, p. 392; et seq., and Die Halberstätterische Sargonne p. 21 et seq.); L. Littmann, Schumacher'sche, König von Babylone (pp. 44-88); Tiele (Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte, pp. 370, 514) compares it very aptly with the rite performed by the Egyptian kings—at Heliopolis, for example, when they entered about the sanctuary of Bel, and there contemplated the grot how to bow. The rite was probably repeated annually (Littmann, Schumacher'sche, pp. 51, 57); W. Riezler, Studies and Notes, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. II, pp. 369, 369, and Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte, p. 85), at the time of the Zikikah, that is, the New Year festival.


3 This region, which comprises the second and third zones into which the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates may be divided, has been admirably depicted by Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, l'Illigie, les Perses, vol. II, pp. 419-422, as seen finished to modern travelers for precise details, but not any of them has studied the country with the method and power of geographical display by Olivier.
in the two cliffs, or where they recede from the river, a series of shadowy
forests, and every inch of the soil is brought under
cultivation. The aspect of the country remains unchanged as far as the
embouchure of the Khabur; but there a black alluvial soil replaces the
saliferous clay, and if only the water were to remain on the land in suffi-
cient quantity, the country would be unrivalled in the world for the abundance
and variety of its crops. The fields, which are regularly sown in the
neighbourhood of the small towns, yield magnificent harvests of wheat and barley; while in the prairie-land beyond the cultivated ground the grass grows so high
that it comes up to the horses' girths. In some places the meadows are so
covered with varieties of flowers, growing in dense masses, that the effect
produced is that of a variegated carpet; dogs sent in among them in search
of game, emerge covered with red, blue, and yellow pollen. This fragrant
prairie-land is the delight of bees, which produce excellent and abundant
honey, while the vine and olive find there a congenial soil. The population
was unequally distributed in this region. Some half-savage tribes were


2. The description of the country bordering the Euphrates is given in detail by Charnay, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, vol. III. p. 477, seq. Palms trees are numerous as far as Abah (Charnay, The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, vol. I. p. 35); beyond that spot they are only found in isolated groups as far as Deir, where they roam altogether (Amer-Neve, Researches on Asyria, p. 72).

3. This fact was noticed in Assyria by Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, vol. I. p. 78; since recent travellers have assured me that it was equally true of the country bordering the Khabur.
accustomed to wander over the plain, dwelling in tents, and supporting life by the chase and by the rearing of cattle; but the bulk of the inhabitants were concentrated around the affluents of the Euphrates and Tigris, or at the foot of the northern mountains wherever springs could be found, as in Assur, Singar, Nisibis, Thilis. Kharramun, and in all the small fortified towns and nameless towlets whose ruins are scattered over the tract of country between the Khabor and the Balikh. Kharramun, or Harran, stood, like an advance guard of Chaldean civilization, near the frontiers of Syria and Asia Minor. To the north it commanded the passes which opened on to the basins of the Upper Euphrates and Tigris; it protected the roads leading to the east and south-east in the direction of the table-land of Iran and the Persian Gulf, and it was the key to the route by which the commerce of Babylon reached the countries lying around the Mediterranean. We have no means of knowing what affinities as regards origin or race connected it with Uru, but the same moon-god presided over the destinies of both towns, and the Sin of Harran enjoyed in very early times a renown nearly equal to that of his namesake. He was worshipped under the symbol of a conical stone, probably an aerolite, surmounted by a gilded crescent, and the ground-plan of the town roughly described a crescent-shaped curve in honour of its patron. His cult, even down to late times, was connected with cruel practices: generations after the advent to power of the Abbaside caliphs, his faithful worshippers continued to sacrifice to him human victims, whose heads, prepared according to the ancient rite, were accustomed to give oracular responses. The government of the surrounding country was in the hands of princes who were merely viceroys: Chaldean civilization before the

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1 Till, the only one of these towns mentioned with any certainty in the inscriptions of the first Chaldaean kings (cf. Mariak, Dium of Civilization, p. 174, note 3), is the Tell of classical authors, and probably the present Warka, close to the sea of the Balikh.

2 Kharramun was identified by the earlier Assyriologists with the Harran of the Halbwachs (Geogr. 3, 1; 2, 2, p. 747; Petrie, Nat. Hist. v. 23), and this identification is still generally accepted (Pissi, Ricerche per lo studio dell'Assiria, vol. 2, 184, 190; cf., however, what is added on p. 25 of this work).

3 Winkler (Altorientalische Forschungen, pp. 83, 84) believes that the Sin of Harran is probably a moon-god of the country, transferred from Nippur and Uru, who was more specially the moon-god of the Sumerians. For the text cf. Sayce, The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, pp. 169-172, who gives his opinion with greater reserve.

4 Sayce, Relics in Syria and Mesopotamia, p. 225; and Buhl-Haruss in einer Akkadischen Inschrift auf einem Relief des Koeniglichen Museums zu Berlin, p. 3.

5 For the names of Sin at Harran, cf. Mariak, Dium of Civilization, p. 658, 669. Without seeking to specify exactly which were the doctrines introduced into Harranian religion subsequent to the Christian era, we may yet affirm that the basis of this system of faith was merely a very distorted form of the ancient Chaldaean worship practised in the town. The information collected with regard to their history by Gavonassi, Die Sabiers, vol. 1, has been compiled by the text published by Dutch-Moisson, Nouveaux Documents pour Etude de la religion des Harraniens, in the series de l'École des Orientalistes, tom. 1887, 1892, 2nd part, sect. 1, pp. 241-368.

6 Only one viceroy of Mesopotamia is known at present, and he belongs to the Assyrian epoch. His seal is preserved in the British Museum (Pictura, Guide to the Pictura and Gogolifit Gallers, p. 195).
The First Babylonian Dynasty.

The beginnings of history had more or less laid hold of them, and made them willing subjects to the kings of Babylon.1

These sovereigns were probably at the outset somewhat obscure personages, without much prestige, being sometimes independent and sometimes subject to the rulers of neighbouring states, among others to those of Ashur. In later times, when Babylon had attained to universal power, it was desired to furnish her kings with a continuous history, the names of these earlier rulers were sought out, and added to those of such foreign princes as had from time to time enjoyed the sovereignty over them—that forming an inextricable list which, for materials and authenticity would well compare with that of the Thinite Pharaohs.2 This list has come down to us incomplete, and its remains do not permit of our determining the exact order of reign, or the status of the individuals who composed it. We find in it, in the period immediately subsequent to the Deluge, mention of mythical heroes, followed by names which are still semi-legendary, such as Sargon the Elder; the princes of the series were, however, for the most part real beings, whose memories had been preserved by tradition, or whose monuments were still existing in certain localities.3 Towards the end of the XXVth century before our era, however, a dynasty rose into power of which all the members come within the range of history.4 The first of them, Sumuabum, has left us some contracts bearing the dates of one

1 The importance of Harran in the development of the history of the first Chaldean empire was pointed out by Weitzmann, Geschichtliche Babylonien und Assyrien, pp. 31, 32, 188-190, and Altertumskunde Forschungen, pp. 74-77, 140-143, 230, 201: but the theory according to which this town was the capital of the kingdom, called by the Chaldean and Assyrian scribes "the kingdom of the world" (cf. Darius of Civilization, p. 380, note 3), is justly combated by Tell in the Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie, vol. vii. pp. 328-370.

2 For the compilation of these dynasties, cf. Mariwên, Daced Civilization, pp. 236-242.

3 The kings subsequent to the Deluge are mentioned in the Dares of Civilization, p. 232.

4 This dynasty, which is known to us only in the majority by the two lists of G. Smith (On Progeny of an Inconsistency), is part of the Chronology from which the Canon of Secures was copied, in the Provisions of the Biblical Archival Society, vol. iii. pp. 332, 355 (372, 377) and 106. (The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period, in the Proceedings, 1938-84, p. 128), was legitimately composed of only eleven kings, and was known as the Babylonian dynasty, although Sayers considers it to be of Arabian origin (Provisions of Civilization, pp. vii., viii., 22-64). It is composed as follows—

| I. | 18 | 2418-2401 | 6. | Khirmas | 55 | 2304-2267 |
| II. | 19 | 2301-2268 | VII. | Sarrukin | 33 | 2240-2211 |
| III. | 18 | 2269-2203 | VIII. | Alurban | 22 | 2214-2103 |
| [Sumer] | | | | | |
| IV. | 18 | 2202-2200 | IX. | Amihtan | 25 | 2199-2144 |
| V. | 20 | 2304-2301 | X. | Ashihtan | 21 | 2166-2145 |
| | | | XI. | Sarrukin | 21 | 2158-2133 |

The dates of this dynasty are not fixed with entire certainty. Hoffer (Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien, pp. 162, 173, 174, 301-309; cf. A Supplementary Note to Geil, American Journal of the Biblical Archival Society, vol. xvi., 1933-84, p. 11) believes that the order of the dynasties has been reversed, and that the first upon the list we possess was historically the second; he thus places the Babylonian dynasty between 2086 and 1731 B.C. His opinion has not been generally accepted, but every Assyriologist dealing with this period proposes a different date for the reigns of this dynasty; to take only one characteristic example, Khamradan is placed by Oppert (The Real Chronology and the True History of the Babylonian Dynasty, in the Babylonian and Oriental Survey, vol. ii., p. 186) in the year 2204-2199, by Delitzsch-Mueller (Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien, 2nd ed., p. 45 and vol. 2), in 2207-2202, by Wunkeiser (Vorderasiatische und Allerhei-
or other of the fifteen years of his reign, and documents of public or private interest abound in proportion as we follow down the line of his successors. Samuelita, who reigned after him, was only distantly related to his predecessor, but from Samuelita to Samuelatana the kingly power was transmitted from father to son without a break for nine generations, if we may credit the testimony of the official lists. Contemporary records, however, prove that the course of affairs did not always run so smoothly. They betray the existence of at least one usurper—Imnaren—who, even if he did not assume the royal titles, enjoyed the supreme power for several years between the reigns of Zabu and Abilsin. The lives of these rulers closely resembled those of their contemporaries of Southern Chaldaea. They dredged the ancient canals, or constructed new ones; they restored the walls of their fortresses, or built fresh strongholds on the frontier; they religiously kept the festivals of the divinities belonging to their terrestrial domain, to whom they annually rendered solemn homage. They repaired the temples as a matter of course, and enriched them according to their means; we even know that Zabu, the third in order of the line of sovereigns, occupied himself in building the sanctuary Eulbar of Ammit, in Sippar. There is evidence that they possessed the small neighbouring kingdoms of Kish, Sippar, and Kuta, and that they had consolidated them into a single state, of which Babylon was the capital. To the south their

1. Geschichts, p. 35; and Geschichts-Babylonder und Assyria, p. 60); in 2264-2210, and by Pihler (Die Babyloniens Chronologie, in the Zeitchrift für Assyriologie, vol. 1, p. 267) in 2139-2094, and by Carl Neubuk (Die Chronologie der Geschichten Erathia, p. 73) in 2181-2095.
2. See the notice of some contracts of Samuelita in Bunte, Mecanek, Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Literatur, p. 6.
3. Samuelita, also written Samu-la-a, whom Mr. Pinches has found in a contract tablet connected with Pungiaddu as king, was not the son of Samuelita, since the lists do not mention him as such; he must, however, have been connected by some sort of relationship, or by marriage, with his predecessor, since both are placed in the same dynasty. A few contracts of Samuelita are given by Mecanek, Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Literatur, p. 1. Samuelita calls him "my grandfather (Gedemana), the fifth king before me" (Cyl. Sama. ii. 67-69).
5. See the description given of them in Mecanek, Daten der Zivilisation, pp. 617-619.
6. Contract dated in "the year in which Immaren dug the canal Asshukum" (Bunte, op. cit., p. 22, n. 10); contract dated "the year of the canal Tum-Tighal" (Iv. Bude, pp. 24, 25, 88, 89). The exact site of Tum-Tighal is still unknown.
7. Samuelita had built six such large strongholds of brick, which were repaired by Samumalik two generations later (Weidner, Uberbauungen der altbabylonischen Geschichte, pp. 7, 141, and Kulturgeschichte, vol. 11, pp. 132, 133; Hommel, Geschichte des Babyloniens und Assyria, p. 363). A fortress on the Edumite frontier, Kar-Dur-Abisin, mentioned in a mutilated inscription (Reallexicon, Cix, vol. 8, p. 98, No. 2, verse, 1, 64), had probably been built by Abisin, whose name it perpetuates (G. Dietrich, Die Sprache des Kassiter, pp. 67, 68). Hommel, Geschichte des Babyloniens und Assyria, p. 355). A contract of Samuelita is dated the year in which he built the great wall of a strong place, the name of which is unfortunately illegible on the fragment which we possess (Mecanek, Beiträge, etc., pp. 87, 88).
8. Contract of Samuelita, dated "the year of the throne of Sin" (Mecanek, Beiträge, etc., p. 70); also the "year of Shamash and of Kamkara" (Iv. Bude, p. 71).
*possessions touched upon those of the kings of Ur, but the frontier was constantly shifting; so that at one time an important city such as Nippur belonged to them, while at another it fell under the dominion of the southern provinces. Perpetual war was waged in the narrow borderland which separated the two rival states, resulting apparently in the balance of power being kept tolerably equal between them under the immediate successors of Sumu-abum—the obscure Sumu-abum, Zabum, the usurper Immurnu, Abilain, and Sinmuballit—until the reign of Khannumabu (the son of Sinmuballit), who finally made it incline to his side. The struggle in which he was engaged, and which, after many vicissitudes, he brought to a successful issue, was the more decisive, since he had to contend against a skilful and energetic adversary who had considerable forces at his disposal. Rimzim was, in reality, of Elamite race, and as he held the province of Yamutul in appanage, he was enabled to muster, in addition to his Chaldæan battalions, the army of foreigners who had conquered the maritime regions at the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It was not the first time that Elam had audaciously interfered in the

1 None of these facts are as yet historically proved, we may, however, conjecture with some probability what was the general state of things, when we remember that the first kings of Babylon were contemporaries of the last independent sovereigns of Southern Chalæa.

2 The name of this prince has been read in several ways—Hammarakhi, Khummarrakhi, by the earlier Assyriologists, subsequently Hammurraggakhi, Khummurraggakhi, as being of Khitite or Caspian extraction; the reading Khummurakhi is at present the prevailing one. The bilingual list published by Pickard (Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings, in the Proceedings of the Biblical Archeological Society, 1899-91, p. 28) makes Khummurakhi an equivalent of the Semitic name Khimmurapatum. Hoppin Halây concluded that Khummurakhi was a series of ideograms, and that Kimamurapatum was the true rendering of the name (Melanges du Critique et d'Histoire, p. 257; Récherches bibliques, pp. 254-255, 267-271; C. C. F. D. E. P. S. A., in the Revue des Religions, vol. vi, p. 273); his proposal, partially adopted by Hommel (Geschichte Babyloniens, in the Proceedings, 1899-94, vol. vii, p. 310; Assyriological Notes, in the Proceedings, 1899-94, vol. vii, p. 312), furnished us with a mixed rendering of Khummurraggakhi, Amurakhi. (Hommel now considers the identity of the Anu-aplu of Gen. xiv. 1 with Khummurakhi.—Tr.) Sayce, moreover, adopts the reading Khummurakhi, and assigns to him an Aramaean origin (Patrocnesch Polotkien, pp. viii, viii, 62-64). The part played by this prince was pointed out at an early date by Mommsen (Inschriften des Hamannes, vol. de Babylonien, XVI. Jahrhundert J.-C., 1863). Recent discoveries have shown the importance these kings, so far as developing the Chaldean empire and increasing his reputation with Assyriologists (Tell, Babyloniens, Assyrolog., pp. 124, 137; Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyrolog., p. 407, et seq.; Delitzsch-Mühlmeier, Geschichte Bab. und Assyr., 2nd ed., pp. 48-47; Wüstenhagen, Geschichte Bab. und Assyr., pp. 60-65).

3 The name of this king has been the theme of heated discussions; it was at first pronounced Aradian, Archiana, or Zabarian (Ottley, Exposition of Mesopotamia, vol. i, p. 201); it is now read in several different ways—Rimzim (Delitzsch-Mühlmeier, Geschichte Bab. und Assyr., 2nd ed., pp. 62-64; Wüstenhagen, Geschichte Bab. und Assyr., p. 45; or Erlacher, Blau, Reinau (Hommel, Geschichte Babyl., etc., pp. 352, 367; Die Semitischen Sitten und Sprache, p. 245; Halévy, Notes Assyrologiques, p. 4, etc.), Reuvé, sophomore, vol. vi, pp. 279-276; Sayce, Patriarche Polotkien, p. 64; etc.) Others have made a distinction between the two terms, and have made out of them the name of two different kings (G. Smith, Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Biblical Arch. Soc., vol. i, pp. 42, 43, and 53-54, where the author preserves, side by side with Rimzim, Opper's reading of Aradian, Aradian; Fa. Delitzsch, Die Sprache des Kassers, pp. 68, 69; Tell, Rel. Assyriol., Geschichte Babyl., pp. 122-123). They are all variations of the same sound. I have adopted the form Rimzim, which is preferred by a few Assyriologists. (The Babylon recently discovered by Mr. Paribos, referring to Kudur-bilgames and Tiddalit, which he has published in a Paper read before the Victims, Institute, Jan. 29, 1886, have shown that this term is Eri-Ashur, the Elamite name of Ashur.)—Servant of the moon-god, as shown by none of his inscriptions into the Babylonian Rim-Sun.

4 Have mercy, O Moon-god!; that is Abishkhu, the Hebr. Abishkhu ("father of wealth") was transformed into the Babylonian Muskum ("the moon")—Ex.
affairs of her neighbours. In fabulous times, one of her mythical kings—Khumbals the Faramous—had oppressed Uruk, and Gilgamesh, with all his valour, was barely able to deliver the town. Sargon the Elder is credited with having subdued Elam; the kings and vice-regents of Lagash had measured forces with Anshan as well as with Uru and Larsam, but with uncertain issue. From time to time they obtained an advantage, and we find recorded in the annals victories gained by Gudea, In-sin, or Bursin, but to be followed only by fresh reverses; at the close of such campaigns, and in order to seal the ensuing peace, a princess of Susa would be sent as a bride to one of the Chaldean cities, or a Chaldean lady of royal birth would enter the harem of a king of Anshan. Elam was protected along the course of the Tigris and on the shores of the Nar-Marratum by a wide marshy region, impassable except at a few fixed and easily defended places. The alluvial plain extending behind the marshes was as rich and fertile as that of Chaldea. Wheat and barley ordinarily yielded an hundred and at times two hundredfold; the towns were surrounded by a shadeless belt of palms; the almond, fig, amicia, poplar, and willow extended in narrow belts along the rivers' edge. The climate closely resembles that of Chaldea; if the midday heat in summer is more pitiless, it is at least tempered by more frequent east winds. The ground, however, soon begins to rise, ascending gradually towards the north-east. The distant and uniform line of mountain-peaks grows loftier on the approach of the traveller, and the hills begin to appear one behind another, clothed halfway up with thick forests, but bare on their summits, or scantily covered with meagre vegetation. They comprise, in fact, six or seven parallel ranges.
resembling natural ramparts piled up between the country of the Tigris and the table-land of Iran. The intervening valleys were formerly lakes, having had for the most part no communication with each other and no outlet into the sea. In the course of centuries they had dried up, leaving a thick deposit of

**Map of Chaldea and Elam.**

mud in the hollows of their ancient beds, from which sprang luxurious and abundant harvests. The rivers—the Ukhun, the Ildi, and the Ulai—which water this region are, on reaching more level ground, connected by

2. The Ukhun is the Kirkshah of the present day, the Chios, or the Orsha (F. H. H. M. W. Deacon, *Paradise*), pp. 192-198).
3. The Ildi was at first identified with the ancient Fadogia (Fraen, *History of the ancient Anti-
ythia, p. 281*), which scholars then desired to distinguish from the Elaum; and it is now known to be the stream of the Karun, which runs to Dairul (F. H. H. M. W. Deacon, *Paradise*), p. 282; the Kurnah of classical times (Strabo, *xxv. 7. 3. 6, p. 729*), which has sometimes been confused with the Elaum.
4. The Ulai, mentioned in the *Historia* text (Strabo, *vii. 3. 16*), the Halmy of classical writers.
cannals, and are constantly shifting their beds in the light soil of the Susian plain; they soon attain a width equal to that of the Euphrates, but after a short time lose half their volume in swamps, and empty themselves at the present day into the Shatt-el-Arab. They flowed formerly into that part of the Persian Gulf, which extended as far as Kurnah, and the sea thus formed the southern frontier of the kingdom.

From earliest times this country was inhabited by three distinct peoples, whose descendants may still be distinguished at the present day, and although they have dwindled in numbers and become mixed with elements of more recent origin, the resemblance to their forefathers is still very remarkable. There were, in the first place, the short and robust people of well-knit figure, with brown skins, black hair and eyes, who belonged to that negro-race which inhabited a considerable part of Asia in prehistoric times. These prevailed in the lowlands and the valleys, where the warm, damp climate favoured their development; but they also spread into the mountain region, and had pushed their outposts as far as the first slopes of the Iranian table-land. They there came into contact with a white-skinned people of medium height, who were probably allied to the nations of Northern and Central Asia—to the Scythians,

\[\text{AN ANCIENT SUSIAN OR NEBRITIC HEADDRESS.}\]

\(1\) (Arias, Ancien VI. 7. (Diodorus Sicul. xiv. 19), also-called  Panteig (Arias, Hist. Ind., still Strabo, xix. 4, 14), pp. 718-729. Plut. Hist. Nat. xvi. 31. It is the Kurna of the present day (V. De la Motte, 9. 150. 19-41) and the Sumur itself, which wets the foot of the Susian hills.

\(2\) For the ancient limits of the Persian Gulf and the alluvial deposits which have gradually filled it from early times, cf. Maltof, Zischon of Civilization, pp. 348, 541.

\(3\) The comparison of the megalith type of Susians with the megalith races of India and Oceania, suggested by Quatrefages-Hardy, Gospels, Eines, pp. 103, 169, has been proved, in the course of M. Diodore's journey to the Susian plains and the ancient provinces of Kurna, by the researches of Fr. Ritzel, Les Races bassaines de la Perse, pp. 38-45, 46; cf. Diodore, L'Asie de Sud, pp. 7. 9. 10. 11: 27-35, 36. 37.

\(4\) Drawn by Faberino-Staline, from a bas-relief of Sargon II, in the Louvre.
for instance, if it is permissible to use a vague term employed by the Ancients, 1 Semites of the same stock as those of Chaldea pushed forward as far as the east bank of the Tigris, and settling mainly among the marshes led a precarious life by fishing and pillaging. 2 The country of the plain was called Anzân, or Anahá, 3 and the mountain region Numma, or Ihamma, "the high lands;" these two names were subsequently used to denote the whole country, and Ihamma has survived in the Hebrew word Elam. 4 Susa, the most important and flourishing town in the whole kingdom, was situated between the Tigris and the Eula, some twenty-five or thirty miles from the nearest of the mountain

This last-mentioned people is, by some authors, for reasons which, so far, are hardly to be considered conclusive, associated with the so-called Sumerian race, which we found settled in Chaldaea (cf. Maxey, *Drama of Civilization,* p. 559, 551). They are said to have been the chief in employment and character in warfare (Hittites, *ibid.,* p. 24).

1 From the earliest times we meet beyond the Tigris with names like that of Dumuzî (cf. *Mémoires,* *Drama of Civilization,* p. 365), a fact which proves the existence of races speaking a Semitic dialect in the country under the influence of the Babylonian empire, they had assumed certain traits which the Hittites made out Elam to be one of the rival states of Shúma (Gen. 1: 22).

2 Anahán, Anahán, and, by assimilation of the nasal with the syllable, Așánán. This name has already been mentioned in the inscriptions of the kings and viscounts of Lagash (cf. *Maxey, Drama of Civilization,* pp. 625, 810) and in the Rock of Peshnogor of the ancient Chaldæan empire, 8 it also occurs in the royal præliminary of Cyprus and his ancestors (Maxey, *Can. Jr. W.,* vol. v., p. 13, ii. 12, 21, with the like he was styled "Kings of Anahán."

3 It has been applied to the whole country of Elam (Herodotus, *De Medo & Persico,* *ibid.,* p. 625, 117-119, 128, 130), and afterwards to París (Alm-Ly, *Cypris, De Persi,* in the Mélanges Ranzier, *ibid.,* p. 290-292); Orsens, in the *Dictionnaire géographique,* 1851, No. 3, 1245-50, where the author questions the identity of Anahán with Anahán; according to the latter, as the name of Elam, and the former as that of a Persian town, Pasargada (or Persepolis); others are of opinion that it was the name of a part of Elam, viz., that inhabited by the Turanian Medes who spoke the second language of the Accadian inscriptions (Diecker, *Le Peuple et la Langue des Perses,* p. 39, 40); the eastern half (H. Rynslev, *Notes on the Chal Civilization of Cyprus the Great,...* in the *J. R. As. Soc. New Series,* vol. ii., pp. 78, 79, where the author enumerates the name with a town called Anahán, mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of Shúma: Tuck, *Etymologische-Agyptische Gedichte,* p. 463), bound by the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, consisting of a flat and swampy land (Saxo, *The Languages of the Osra State of Elam,* in the *Travaux Bibl. Arch. Soc.,* vol. iii., p. 273, and the Inscriptions of Meso-Persia, *ibid.,* vol. iv., p. 3, 3). These differences of opinion gave rise to a heated controversy; it is now, however, pretty generally admitted that Anahán-Anahán was really the plain of Elam, from the mountains to the sea, and was set of authorities affirms that the word Anahán may have meant "plain" in the languages of the country (Orsens, *Les Inscriptions en langues orientales,* in the *Mémoires des Sciences Orientales,* vol. ii., p. 191; St. Fur Terence, 874 les Parthes, *ibid.,* p. 867); while others insist so yet pronounce definitely on this point (Weissbach, *Assyrische Inschriften,* in the *Abhandlungen der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* vol. iii., p. 387; vol. iv., p. 796).

4 The meaning of "Numma," "Hamán," "Hamant," in the group of words used to indicate Elam, had been concealed even by the earliest Assyriologists; the name originally referred to the hilly country on the north and east of Susa (St. Fur Terence, *Les Inscriptions en langues orientales,* p. 200). To the Hittites, Elam was one of the states of Sham (Gen. 1: 22). The Greek form of the name is Elamica, and some of the classical geographers were well enough acquainted with the meaning of the word to be able to distinguish the region to which it referred from Susian proper (Elam (St. Fur Terence), *see Adoré, tableau des Époques des inscriptions élamites et d'Assyriens,* p. 1.)

5 Drawn by Furness-Edkins, from a photograph furnished by Marcel Duplado.
ranges. Its fortress and palace were raised upon the slopes of a mound which overlooked the surrounding country; at its base, to the eastward, stretched the town, with its houses of sun-dried bricks. Further up the course of

the Ukar, lay the following cities: Madakkar, the Badoua of classical authors, rivaling Susa in strength and importance; Nadin, Til-Khuma, Dur-Udass, Khaishia—all large walled towns, most of which assumed the title of royal cities. Elam in reality constituted a kind of feudal empire, composed

1 Susa, in the languages of the country, was called Shushan (Owen, Les Inscript. du Langue assyrienne, Essai d'interprétation, in the Mémoires du Congrés international des Orientistes de Paris, vol. ii. p. 170; this name was transmitted into Chaldaean-Aramaic, by Shams; Ishmael (W. Tholuck, Wörterbuch der Pers. Spr. p. 205, 282).

2 On the site of the citadel of M. Dümmler, L'Archeologie de Susa, p. 117, et seq. Strabo (xv. 2, 1, 2, p. 739) tells us, in the authority of Polybius, that the town had no walls in the time of Alexander, and extended over a space two hundred stades in length; in the VIIth century a.c. it was enclosed by walls with bastions, which are shown on a bas-relief of Assurnasirpal II, but it was surrounded by uninhabited suburbs (Laide, Monuments de Niniveh, vol. ii. p. 19).

3 Drawn by Emmanuel, after a plate in Crass. Exercit. for the Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, vol. i. p. 286. It represents the temple of Susa as it appeared prior to the excavations of Loftus and the Franks.

4 Madakkar, Madakkar, the badoua of Diodorus (xiv. 19), situated on the Eulab, between Susa and Khedama, has been placed by Rawlinson (The First Great Rulers, vol. ii. p. 172, No. 3) near the information of the Eulab, either of the Eulab, or near Atara-ill-Khordia, where there are some rather important and ancient ruins; Böcher (Susa, pp. 71, 72) prefers to put it at the mouth of the valley of Zalber, on the site at present occupied by the citadel of Khel-Ilia.

5 Nadin is identified by Finn (Ricerche intorno alia Storia dell'Antica Assiri, p. 558) with the village of Natarsa, near Isphahan; it might rather be looked for in the neighbourhood of Susa.

6 Til-Khuma, the Mount of Khuma, so named after one of the principal Edomite gods, was, perhaps, situated among the ruins of Badoua, towards the confines of the Aed-Khuma and Khordia; or possibly higher up in the mountains, in the vicinity of Amu-Nishur (Bilhershands, Susa, p. 78).

7 Dur-Udass, Dur-Udass, has been identified, without absolutely conclusive reason, with the northern of Khaishia on the Dush-Pak (Bilhershand, Susa, p. 78).

8 Khainda, Khaishia, is perhaps the present-burgh of Dar-Madaan (Bilhershand, Susa, p. 72).

9 J. M. Mascher (Ravenna, Con. Imm. W. At, vol. ii. p. 36, p. 78, 79; Nadin (loc. cit., 1, 77); Dur-Udass (loc. cit., 1, 91); Khainda (loc. cit., p. 2, 4).
of several tribes—the Habardip, the Khushshil, the Umbiysh, the people of Yamal had and of Yathur—all independent of each other, but often united under the authority of one sovereign, who as a rule chose Susa as the seat of government. The language is not represented by any idioms now spoken, and its affinities with the Sumerian which some writers have attempted to establish, are too uncertain to make it safe to base any theory upon them. The little that we know of Elamite religion reveals to us a mysterious world, full of strange names and vague forms. Over their hierarchy there presided a deity who was called Shushinak (the Sasanian), Dinsnar or Samshe, Dzagman, Aassy, Adam, and possibly Khubla and Ummra, whom the Chaldæans identified with their god Nimip; his statue was consecrated in a sanctuary inaccessible to the profane, but it was dragged thence by Assurbanipal of Nineveh in the VIIth century B.C. 1

1 Seeou. H. 12, § 6, 5, pp. 221, 224, on the authority of Nestorin, an ancient author Alexander, divides the people of Susian into four races of kings—Dinarti, Uxians, Elamites, and Oseans. The Mardii or Amurians are the Habardip of the Assyrian-Chaldæan inscriptions, the Khashari of the Assyrian and Chaldæan texts, who inhabited the region to the north-east of Susa, where are the monuments of Mal-Aan (Nomina, Syllogis Version of the Elamite Inscription in the Journal of the Assyrian, vol. cv. p. 184; Saxe, The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Antiquities, vol. xii. p. 188; and the Inscriptions of Mal-Aan, pp. 6-9); the Uxians are the Khushshil (Oxsher, Les inscriptions on langue susienne, Essai d'Interpretation, in the Memoires du Congrè international des Orientalistes de Paris, vol. iv. p. 163; and the Elamites are the Elamites (cf. p. 25, note 2, of the present work). The identity of the Oseans will be discussed at greater length on pp. 237-240 of this volume. The country of Yamal and Yatthar extended into the plain between the mountains of the Tigres and the mountains; the town of Dursh was near the Yatthar region, if not in that country itself (Fr. Deissmann, We legen das Formen? p. 230). Hommel, Geschicht der Babylonier and Assyrer, pp. 324, 343, who derives this name from that of Mabad, governor of Dursh. Umbiysh lay between the Uxians and the Tigres (Fr. Deissmann, We legen das Formen? pp. 230, 233).


1 There are only about twenty lines on the reliefs of the inscriptions in Fr. Lhomond's La Monarchie des Chaldæens, pp. 322, note i, and a page in Fr. Deissmann's Die Sprache des Assyrian, pp. 47, 48, 49.


Note: The page is a continuation and contains additional text.
This deity was associated with six others of the first rank, who were divided into two triads—Shumud, Lagamar, Partikir; Ammankasibar, Uduran, and Sapak; of these names, the least repellant, Ammankasibar, may possibly be the Memnon of the Greeks. The dwelling of these divinities was near Susa, in the depths of a sacred forest to which the priests and kings alone had access; their images were brought out on certain days to receive solemn homage, and were afterwards carried back to their shrine accompanied by a devout and reverent multitude. These deities received a tenth of the spoil after any successful campaign—the offerings comprising statues of the enemies' gods, valuable vases, ingots of gold and silver, furniture, and staffs. The Elamite armies were well organized, and under a skilful general became irresistible. In other respects the Elamites closely resembled the Chaldaeans, pursuing the same industries and having the same agricultural and commercial instincts. In the absence of any bas-reliefs and inscriptions peculiar to this people, we may glean from the monuments of Lagaash and Babylon a fair idea of the extent of their civilisation in its earliest stages.

The cities of the Enlilites, therefore, could have been sensible of but little change, when the chances of war transferred them from the rule of their native princes to that of an Elamite. The struggle once over, and the resulting evils
.repinned as far as practicable, the people of these towns resumed their usual ways, hardly conscious of the presence of their foreign ruler. The victors, for their part, became assimilated so rapidly with the vanquished, that at the close of a generation or so the conquering dynasty was regarded as a legitimate and national one, loyally attached to the traditions and religion of its adopted country. In the year 2285 B.C., towards the close of the reign of Naram-Sin, or in the earlier part of that of Sutiddinum, a King of Elam, by name Kudur-nakhunte, triumphantly marched through Chaldea from end to end, devastating the country and sparing neither town nor temple. Uruk lost its statues of Nana, which was carried off as a trophy and placed in the sanctuary of Susa. The inhabitants long mourned the destruction of their goddess, and a hymn of lamentation, probably composed for the occasion by one of their priests, kept the remembrance of the disaster fresh in their memories.

"Until when, oh lady, shall the impious enemy ravage the country!—In thy queen-city, Uruk, the destruction is accomplished,—in Eilbar, the temple of thy oracle, blood has flowed like water,—upon the whole of thy land has been poured out flame, and it is spread abroad like smoke.—Oh, lady, verily it is hard for me to bend under the yoke of misfortune!—Oh, lady, thou hast wrapped me about, thou hast plunged me, in sorrow!—The impious mighty one has broken me in pieces like a reed,—and I know not what to resolve, I trust not in myself,—like a bed of reeds I sigh day and night!—I, thy servant, I bow myself before thee!"  

It would appear that the whole of Chaldea, including Babylon itself, was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the invader; ¹ a Susian empire thus

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¹ Cf. Matzrius, Diirr of Cuneiforms, p. 619, 620 a summary of the tablets we know as regards the reign of Naram-Sin and Sutiddinum.

² Cf. Sartori, History of Assur, p. 231—231, where Assur-bani-pal tells how he restored, at Susa, the statues of Nana, which King Kudur-nakhunte had carried off 1025 years (other copies of the same text give 1250 years) before his time. This document, discovered by G. Smith (Babylonian Canon of Assur-bani-pal and Assur-bani-pal in the Notitiatum of Assur-bani-pal, 1858, pp. 118, 119), has enabled historians to establish approximately the chronology of the first Babylonian empire. As we do not know the date of the capitals of Susa by Assur-bani-pal, the possible error in regard to the date of this Kudur-nakhunte is about twenty years, more or less; the invasion of Chaldea falls, therefore, between 2273 and 2293 B.C. If we accept the figures 1850, or between 2273 and 2293 if we take 1800 to be correct. Kudur-nakhunte is a corruption of the name Kudur-nakhunte, which occurs in the Susian inscriptions. As Elam, or rather Esar, means servant [Rava], The Language of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam, is the Translations of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. III, p. 459, Kudur-nakhunte signifies "servant of the goddess, Nana." 


⁴ The soubbunis of Babylon is evident from the title Acha Maruz, "soubbunis of the West," assumed by several of the Elamite princes (cf. p. 97 of the present work) so as to extend his authority beyond Susa. Elamites, it was necessary for the King of Susa to be the first of all masters of
absorbed Chaldaea, reducing its states to feudal provinces, and its princes to humble vassals. Kudur-nakhunta having departed, the people of Larsa exerted themselves to the utmost to repair the harm that he had done, and they succeeded but too well, since their very prosperity was the cause only a short time after of the outburst of another storm. Siniddinum, perhaps, desired to shake off the Elamite yoke. Sintišilkik, one of the successors of Kudur-nakhunta, had conceded the principality of Yamtibal as a fief to Kudur-mahing, one of his sons. Kudur-mahing appears to have been a conqueror of no mean ability, for he claims, in his inscriptions, the possession of the whole of Syria. He obtained a victory over Siniddinum, and having dethroned him, placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his own son Rimain. This prince, who was at first a feudatory, afterwards associated in the government with his father, and finally sole monarch after the latter’s death, married a princess of Chaldaean blood, and by this means legitimized his usurpation in the eyes of his subjects. His dominion, which lay on both sides of the Tigris and of the Euphrates, comprised, besides the principality of Yamtibal, all the towns dependent on Sumer and Accad—Uru, Larsa, Ur, and Nippur. He acquired himself as a good sovereign in the sight of gods and men; he repaired the brickwork in the temple of Nannar at Ura; he embellished the temple of Shamash at Larsa, and caused two statues of copper to be cast in honour of the god; he also rebuilt Lugal and Girsu. The city of Ur, had been left a heap of ruins after the withdrawal of Kudur-nakhunta; he set about the work of restoration, constructed a sanctuary to Papsukal, raised the zigurrat of Nand, and consecrated to the goddess an entire set of temple...

Babylon... In the early days of Assyriology it was supposed that this period of Elamite supremacy terminated with the Median dynasty of Shamash-ibni-nam-Sin (G. Rawlinson, The Four Great Monarchies, vol. 1, 1880, p. 400, et seq.; Geikie, History of the Empires of Chaldea and Assyria, pp. 10-11),

1. His preamble contains the titles adda Marti (Rawlinson, Cos. Ion. A. A., vol. 1, pt. 2, No. 3, i. 43; "prince of Syria," sylu Shamash; id., idem., pt. 3, No. 10, i. 9), "prince of Yamtibal." The word adda means properly to mean "father," and the literal translation of the full title would probably be "father of Syria," "father of Yamtibal," which is the secondary meanings of the words, "master, lord, prince." (G. Smith, Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. 1, p. 43), which have been provisionally adopted by most Assyriologists. Thus (Babylonian-Aramaic Grammar, pp. 123, 124), and Winckler after him (Untersuchungen zur älteren medinaischen Geschichte, p. 37, n. 3), have suggested that Marduk is here equivalent to Yamtibal, and that it was merely used to indicate the western part of Elam. Winckler afterwards rejected this hypothesis, and has come summi to the general opinion (Arzoevskii, Forschungen, p. 125, et seq.; and Geschichte der Erzahlungen, vol. 1, pp. 129, 131).

2. In regard to the reading of the word Rimain, cf. p. 39, n. 3, of the present work. His preamble contains the titles adda Marti (Rawlinson, Cos. Ion. A. A., vol. 1, pt. 2, No. 10, i. 2-7), "mighty shepherd of Nippur" (Fr. Lepsius, Chose de Texte Cunéiformes établies, No. 70, p. 104, l. 11).

3. Winckler, during and after, in the Mittlerebemisch. des Al. Geuss, Vermon de Berle, vol. 1, p. 37. Her name, which has been mistranslated, was compounded with that of the goddess Ninhursag. (3. 13).

4. Related bearing his name, brought from Nineveh, now in the British Museum (Rawlinson, Cos. Ion. A. A., vol. 1, pt. 3, No. 10, i. 3-5, No. 10), stone plaque, from the same source (id., idem., pt. 5, No. 10).

furniture to replace that carried off by the Elamites. He won the adhesion of the priests by piously augmenting their revenues, and throughout his reign displayed remarkable energy. Documents exist which attribute to him the reduction of Urulii, on the borders of Elam and the Chaldean states; others contain discreet allusions to a perverse enemy who disturbed his peace in the north, and whom he successfully repulsed. He drove Simmuballit out of Isin, and this victory so forcibly impressed his contemporaries, that they made it the starting-point of a new semi-official era; twenty-eight years after the event, private contracts still continued to be dated by reference to the taking of Isin. Simmuballit's son, Khammurabi, was more fortunate. Rimsin vainly appealed for help against him to his relative and suzerain Kudur-lagamar, who had succeeded Simtishilkkhat at Susa. Rimsin was defeated, and disappeared from the scene of action, leaving no trace behind him, though we may infer that he took refuge in his fief of Yamutal. The conquest by Khammurabi was by no means achieved at one blow, the enemy offering an obstinate resistance. He was forced to destroy several fortresses, the inhabitants of which had either risen against him or had refused to do him homage, among them being those of Murb and Malgu.


- Contract dated "the year in which King Rimsin [vanquished] the perverse, the ensnared [Mannesu, Beidagi was all Babyloniens anch Freimord]," pp. 37, 96; the epic left the phrase incomplete, the remainder of the formula being authentically familiar at the time for the reader to supply it for himself. A variant, indicating that it was a time of peace, is found on another contract of the same year (Rawlinson, Can. Ins. W. 34, vol. iv, pt. 5, No. 1, id. Sarru, Early History, in the Transactions Ribl Arch. Soc., vol. i, p. 35; Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens, etc., pp. 361). Many Assyriologists regard this as indicating a defeat suffered by Hammurabi at Smmuballit's hands. In Smmuballit's "early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions, vol. i, pp. 35-37." The contract published by Mannesu, Beidagi was all Babyloniens anch Freimord, pp. 32, 33, states that the event took place under Simmuballit. This prince is stated to have been one of the most ardent of the kings of Babylonia, according to the document being sworn by him and by the name of Suppar, but the date is that of "the year of the taking of Isin."

- Contracts dated "the taking of Isin." (Mannesu, Beidagi was all Babyloniens anch Freimord, pp. 32, 33; the year V, (id. Sarru, Early History, p. 34), the year VI, (Mannesu, Beidagi, pp. 40, 41, the years VII, VIII, XIII, XXVII, (id. Sarru, Early History, p. 34), where the name is transcribed Xarrak.

- This is contradicted by the year in which Khammurabi defeated Rimsin, thanks to the help of Assur and Babil (Rawlinson, Can. Ins. W. 34, vol. ii, pt. 4, No. 21, id. Sarru, Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology, vol. i, p. 37; Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyrien, pp. 301, 302, 303; James, (Luwian and the Zeit Hammurabes), in the Keilinschriften Bibliothek, vol. iii, p. 127, note) is so far as I know, alone in believing that we cannot, with any certainty deduce from this passage that Rimsin was really defeated by Khammurabi. A number of the names of Rimsin and Kudur-lagamar have been discovered by Fuchs (Hommel, from the Babyloniens anch Agypten Geschichte, in the Academy, Sept. 7, 1864, pp. 193, and Furtwängler, Catalogue pp. 70, 47, 75).

- Murb, Murb, has been identified with Shargüya (Fr. Delitzsch, Wo liegt das Paradis, p. 224, Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyrien, pp. 114): but if so, rather, the name of Murb, son Tellchab, and Lagamar, the Titans, Lagamar, were worshipped there. It was the seat of a human sacrifice, and possessed large shipping (Mannesu, Beidagi was all Babyloniens anch Freimord, p. 18).

- Contract dated "the year in which King Hammurabi, by virtue of Assur and Babil, destroyed the
When the last revolt had been put down, all the countries speaking the language of Chaldaean and sharing its civilization were finally united into a single kingdom, of which Khammurabi proclaimed himself the head. Other princes who had preceded him had enjoyed the same opportunities, but their efforts had never been successful in establishing an empire of any duration; the various elements had been bound together for a moment, merely to be dispersed again after a short interval. The work of Khammurabi, on the contrary, was placed on a solid foundation, and remained unimpaired under his successors. Not only did he hold sway without a rival in the south as in the north, but the titles indicating the rights he had acquired over Sumer and Accad were inserted in his Protocol after those denoting his hereditary possessions,—the city of Bel and the four houses of the world. Khammurabi's victory marks the close of those long centuries of gradual evolution during which the peoples of the Lower Euphrates passed from division to unity. Before his reign there had been as many states as cities, and as many dynasties as there were states; after him there was but one kingdom under one line of kings.1

Khammurabi's long reign of fifty-five years has hitherto yielded us but a small number of monuments—seals, heads of sceptres, alabaster vases, and pompous inscriptions, scarcely any of them being of historical interest. He was famous for the number of his campaigns, no details of which, however, have come to light, but the dedication of one of his statues celebrates his good fortune on the battle-field. "Bel has lent thee sovereign majesty: thou, what awaited thou?—Sin has lent thee royalty: thou, what awaited thou?—Ninip has lent thee his supreme weapon: thou, what awaited thou?—The goddess of light, Ishtar, has lent thee the shock of arms and the fray: thou, what awaited thou?—Shamash and Ramman are thy allies: thou, what awaited thou?—It is Khammurabi, the king, the powerful chieftain—who cuts the enemies in pieces,—the whirlwind of battle—who overthrows the country of the rebels—who stays combats, who crushes rebellions,—who destroys the stubborn like images of clay,—who overcomes the obstacles of inaccessible mountains.2 The majority of these expeditions were, no doubt, consequent on the victory which

walls of Mari, and the walls of Malat" (Rawlinson, Chal. Hist. W. Asia, vol. 1v, pl. 36, No. 43; cf. 0. Siemens, Kurz Geschichte der babylonischen, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. 1, p. 53, where Malat, Malat, is called Malatun, Jansen, Inschriften aus der Entwickelung Kassarwares, in the Keilinschriften Bibliothek, vol. iii, pp. 126, 127; Memminger, Befunde aus assyrischen, Pries, pp. 22, 30, 118, where the name is written Sinatru, Bit-sta; contracts dated simply from the taking of Mari (Moser), Befunde aus assyrischen, Pries, pp. 31, 185.


destroyed the power of Rimmin. It would not have sufficed merely to drive back the Elamites beyond the Tigris; it was necessary to strike a blow within their own territory to avoid a recurrence of hostilities, which might have endangered the still recent work of conquest. Here, again, Khannamunabi seems to have met with his habitual success. Ashur-nak was a border district, and shared the fate of all the provinces on the eastern bank of the Tigris, being held sometimes by Elam and sometimes by Chaldea; properly speaking, it was a country of Semitic speech, and was governed by viceroyos owning allegiance, now to Babylon, now to Susa. Khammurabi seized this province, and permanently secured its frontier by building along the river a line of fortresses surrounded by earthworks. Following the example of his predecessors, he set himself to restore and enrich the temples. The house of Zannun and Nimri, at Kish, was out of repair, and the ziggurat threatened to fall; he pulled it down and rebuilt it, carrying it to such a height that its summit "reached the heavens." Merodach had delegated to him the government of the faithful, and had raised him to the rank of supreme ruler over the whole of Chaldean. At Babylon, close to the great lake which served as a reservoir for the overflow of the Euphrates, the king restored the sanctuary of Esagilla, the dimensions of which did not appear to him to be proportionate to the growing importance of the city. "He completed this divine dwelling with great joy and delight, he raised the sumit to the firmament," and then

1. **Proof of his conquests of these two countries is afforded by inscriptions on contract fonts dated."the year in which Ashur-nak was translated, under King Hammurabi."** (Barclay, G. S. A., vol. iv. p. 40, No. 40; cf. O. Elliot, Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. i. p. 58, 59; Manesse, Beiträge zu alfeyshnischen Pudrecht, pp. 30-37, 40, 69; Schmit, Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Asiatiques, in the Revue du Travail, vol. 26. p. 55). Ashur-nak or Isharnak, in accord with some documents, the same country as Umniyak (Ha. Narrm, Wo. A. 2202). The probability is, however, that it was originally an independent province, subsequently incorporated with Umaniak.


3. **Drawn by Foucault-Guérin, from a rapid sketch made at the British Museum.** (Barclay, G. S. A., vol. ii. p. 34, No. 34; cf. G. S. A., Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. i. p. 58; Manesse, Beiträge zu alfeyshnischen Pudrecht, pp. 44-46; Houbart, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 111. The temple was called Enkimenna, the house of the image of the god Nimri. "Zannun of Kish, being identified with Nimi (Ha. Narrm. Wo. 417). Nimri, like Nimi, is a form of Ishtar.
enthralled Marduk and his spouse, Zarchu, within it, amid great festivities. He provided for the ever-recurring requirements of the national religion by frequent gifts; the tradition has come down to us of the granary for wheat which he built at Babylon, the sight of which alone rejoiced the heart of the god. While surrounding Sippar with a great wall and a fosse, to protect its earthly inhabitants, he did not forget Shamash and Mulkatu, the celestial patrons of the town. He enlarged in their honour the mysterious Ebara, the sacred seat of their worship, and "that which no king from the earliest times had known how to build for his divine master, that did he generously for Shamash his master." He restored Ezida, the eternal dwelling of Marduk, at Borsippa; Eturkalanna, the temple of Anu, Ninii, and Nami, the saviouresses of Kish; and also Eblulanna, the house of the godless Ninna, in the village of Zarrilah. In the southern provinces, but recently added to the crown,—at Larsa, Uruk, and Ur— he displayed similar activity: he had, doubtless, a political as well as a religious motive in all he did; for if he succeeded in winning the allegiance of the priests by the prodigality of his pious gifts,  


2 Jansen, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. p. 142-143; it is a copy of an ancient text made by a scribe of the late Assyrian epoch.  

3 Cylinder of Khammaradu, vol. 2. p. 1-20. Contract dealt the year in which the foundations of the wall of Sippar were laid (Merkant, Beiträge zu dem babylonischen Privatrecht, pp. 31, 32).  


7 Rawlinson, Gk. J. 17, 18, vol. 1, p. 4, No. 15, 18; of Merkant, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. pp. 1, 2).  

8 Rawlinson, Gk. J. 17, 18, vol. 1, p. 4, No. 15, 18; of Merkant, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. pp. 1, 2).  

9 Rawlinson, Gk. J. 17, 18, vol. 1, p. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20; of Merkant, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. pp. 1, 2).  

10 Rawlinson, Gk. J. 17, 18, vol. 1, p. 4, No. 15, 18; of Merkant, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. pp. 1, 2).  

11 Rawlinson, Gk. J. 17, 18, vol. 1, p. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20; of Merkant, "Zuschriften aus der Regentschaft Hammurabi's, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, vol. 3. pp. 1, 2).
he could count on their gratitude in securing for him the people's obedience, and thus prevent the outbreak of a revolt. He had, indeed, before him a difficult task in attempting to allay the ills which had been growing during centuries of civil discord and foreign conquest. The irrigation of the country demanded constant attention, and, from earliest times its sovereigns had directed the work with real solicitude; but owing to the breaking up of the country into small states, their respective resources could not be combined in such general operations as were needed for controlling the inundations and effectually remedying the excess or the scarcity of water. Khammurabi witnessed the damage done to the whole province of Umliyash by one of those terrible floods which still sometimes ravage the regions of the Lower Tigris, and possibly it may have been to prevent the recurrence of such a disaster that he undertook the work of canalization. He was the first that we know of who attempted to organize and reduce to a single system the complicated network of ditches and channels which intersected the territory belonging to the great cities between Babylon and the sea. Already, more than half a century previously, Siniddimmah had enlarged the canal on which Larsa was situated, while Rimsin had provided an outlet for the "River of the Gods" into the Persian Gulf; the junction of the two a navigable channel was formed between the Euphrates and the marshes, and an outlet was thus made for the surplus waters of the inundation. Khammurabi informs us how Anu and Bel, having confided to him the government of Sumer and Accad, and having placed in his hands the reins of power, he dug the Nār-Khammurabi, the source of wealth to the people, which brings abundance of water to the country of Sumer and Accad. I turned both

2 Contracts dated the year of an inundation which last was at Umliyash (Nimrod, Apod, anno ulthoblenische Perspektive, p. 30). In our own time, the inundation of April 10, 1831, which in a single night destroyed half the city of Bagdad, and in which fifteen thousand persons lost their lives either by drowning or by the collapse of their houses.

3 P. Delattre, in Transact. Hespéridae, vol. II, p. 37, says the first to estimate the canal works of Khammurabi at their true value.


6 Contract dated "the year the Tigris, river of the gods, was canalized down to the sea." (Mesopotamia, Beitrage zur althoblenischen Perspektive, p. 10; cf. W. Deissmann, Les Ulthoblenïches, p. 35; cf. W. Deissmann, Early History of Babylonia, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. I, p. 59; i.e. as far as the point to which the sea then penetrated in the terrains of Larsa.)
its banks into cultivated ground. I heaped up mounds of grain and I furnished perpetual water for the people of Sumir and Accad. The country of Sumer and Accad, I gathered together its nations who were scattered, I gave them pasture and drink. I ruled over them in riches and abundance, I caused them to inhabit a peaceful dwelling-place. Then it was that Khammurabi, the powerful king, the favourite of the great gods, I myself, according to the prodigiums strength with which Merodach had endowed me, I constructed a high fortress, upon mounds of earth; its summit rises to the height of the mountains, at the head of the Nar-Khammurabi, the source of wealth to the people. This fortress I called Dur-Sinnumallit-abim-sulaliya, the Fortress of Sinnumallit, the father who begat me, so that the name of Sinnumallit, the father who begat me, may endure in the habitations of the world.1 This canal of Khammurabi ran from a little south of Babylon, joining those of Siniddinam and Kriosin, and probably cutting the alluvial plain in its entire length.2 It drained the stagnant marshes on either side along its course, and by its fertilizing effects, the dwellers on its banks were enabled to reap full harvests from the lands which previously had been useless for purposes of cultivation. A ditch of minor importance pierced the isthmus which separates the Tigris and the Euphrates in the neighborhood of Sippur.3 Khammurabi did not rest contented with these; a system of secondary canals doubtless completed the whole scheme of irrigation which he had planned after the achievement of his conquest, and his successors had merely to keep up his work in order to ensure an univalued prosperity to the empire.

Their efforts in this direction were not unsuccessful. Samaulluma, the son of Khammurabi, added to the existing system two or three fresh canals, one, at least of which still bore his name nearly fifteen centuries later;4 it is mentioned in the documents of the second Assyrian empire in the time of:

3 Delattre, Les Traitements hydrauliques de Babylone, pp. 35, 50, is of opinion that the main dug by Khammurabi is the Arakhim of later epochs (cf. Bibliothèque, 900, etc., l., p. 74-76), which begins at Babylon and extended as far as the Larqas canal. It cannot therefore be unequivocally identified with the Shatt-al-Thar, the canal of Siniddinam.
4 Gypode de Hammurabi, ed. l. ii., 20-36, in Winnecke's, Einige neuerschlossene Texte Hammurabi, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nebuchadnezzar, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. ii. pp. 136-158, where it is evident the Khamnumallit is meant. Winnecke seems to think (cf. Einige neuerschlossene Texte Hammurabi, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. ii. p. 74) that the canal which Khammurabi wished to be dug or drugged may be the Nar-Manhah, or "royal canal" (Winnecke, Einige neuerschlossene Texte Hammurabi, p. 70; Delattre, Les Traitements hydrauliques de Babylone, p. 50), which was from the Tigris to the Euphrates, passing Sippur on the way. The digging of this canal is mentioned in a cuneiform (Manzemi, Bildert von assyrischen Freunden, pp. 22, 84, 93).
Assurhazib, and it is possible that traces of it may still be found at the present day. Abiashshuk, Ammisatana, Ammisadderu, and Samsusatana, all either continued to elaborate the network planned by their ancestors, or applied themselves to the better distribution of the overflow in those districts where cultivation was still open to improvement. We should know nothing of these kings had not the scribes of those times been in the habit of dating the contracts of private individuals by reference to important national events. They appear to have chosen by preference incidents in the religious life of the country; as, for instance, the restoration of a temple, the annual enthronization of one of the great divinities, such as Shamash, Merodach, Tebat, or Nin, as the eponymous god of the current year; the celebration of a solemn festival, or the consecration of a statue; while a few scattered allusions to works of fortification show that meanwhile the defence of the country was jealously watched over. These sovereigns appear to have enjoyed long reigns, the shortest extending over a period of five and twenty years; and when at length the death...
of any king occurred, he was immediately replaced by his son; the notaries' acts and the judicial documents which have come down to us betraying no confusion or abnormal delay in the course of affairs. We may, therefore, conclude that the last century and a half of the dynasty was a period of peace and of material prosperity. Chaldaea was thus enabled to fully reap the advantage of being united under the rule of one individual. It is quite possible that those cities—Uru, Larsa, Isin, Uruk, and Nippur—which had played so important a part in the preceding centuries, suffered from the loss of their prestige, and from the blow dealt to their traditional pretensions. Up to this time they had claimed the privilege of controlling the history of their country, and they had bravely striven among themselves for the supremacy over the southern states; but the revolutions which had raised each in turn to the zenith of power, had never exalted any one of them to such an eminence as to deprive its rivals of all hope of supplanting it and of enjoying the highest place. The rise of Babylon destroyed the last chance which any of them had of ever becoming the capital; the new city was so favourably situated, and possessed so much wealth and so many soldiers, while its kings displayed such tenacious energy, that its neighbours were forced to bow before it and resign themselves to the subordinate position of leading provincial towns. They gave a loyal obedience to the officers sent them from the north, and sank gradually into obscurity, the loss of their political supremacy being somewhat compensated for by the religious respect in which they were always held. Their ancient divinities—Nana, Sin, Anu, and Ea—were adopted, if we may use the term, by the Babylonians, who claimed the protection of these gods as fully as they did that of Marduk or of Nebo, and prided themselves on amply supplying all their needs. As the inhabitants of Babylon had considerable resources at their disposal, their appeal to these deities might be regarded as productive of more substantial results than the appeal of a merely local kinglet. The increase of the national wealth and the concentration, under one head, of armies hitherto owning several chiefs, enabled the rulers, not of Babylon or Larsa alone, but of the whole of Chaldaea, to offer an invincible resistance to foreign enemies, and to establish their dominion in countries where their ancestors had enjoyed merely a precarious sovereignty. hostilities never completely ceased between Elam and Babylon; if

Sin river. (Mesopotamia, Budge, was all Babylonion to the extreme, pp. 29, 37.) and "the year in which Asa Nabu, the king, gave his name to Dur-kur-sin, near the mound of Ammi-danu" (T. t. 7. and p. 39). Contract dated "the year in which the king Ammi-danu repaired Dur-kur-sin" (T. t. 7. and p. 39). Contract dated "the year in which Sennacherib named the wall of Uru and Uruk" to be built (Gardiner, unpublished, but communicated by Father Schult).
arrested for a time, they broke out again in some frontier disturbance, at times speedily suppressed, but at others entailing violent consequences and ending in a regular war. No document furnishes us with any detailed account of these outbreaks, but it would appear that the balance of power was maintained on the whole with tolerable regularity, both kingdoms at the close of each generation finding themselves in much the same position as they had occupied at its commencement. The two empires were separated from south to north by the sea and the Tigris, the frontier leaving the river near the present village of Amara and running in the direction of the mountains. Durilu probably fell ordinarily under Chaldean jurisdiction. Ummiyan was included in the original domain of Khammurabi, and there is no reason to believe that it was evacuated by his descendants. There is every probability that they possessed the plain east of the Tigris, comprising Nineveh and Arbela, and that the majority of the civilized peoples scattered over the lower slopes of the Kurdish mountains rendered them homage. They kept the Mesopotamian table-land under their suzerainty, and we may affirm, without exaggeration, that their power extended northwards as far as Mount Masius, and westwards to the middle course of the Euphrates.

At what period the Chaldeans first crossed that river is as yet unknown. Many of their rulers in their inscriptions claim the title of suzerains over Syria, and we have no evidence for denying their pretensions. Kudur-mabug proclaims himself “adda” of Martu, Lord of the countries of the West, and we are in the possession of several facts which suggest the idea of a great Elamite empire, with a dominium extending for some period over Western Asia, the existence of which was vaguely hinted at by the Greeks, who attributed its glory to the fabulous Memnon. Contemporary records are still wanting which might show whether Kudur-mabug inherited these distant possessions from one of his predecessors—such as Kudur-makkanta, for instance—or whether he won them himself at the point of the sword; but a fragment of an old chronicle, inserted in the Hebrew Scriptures, speaks distinctly of another Elamite, who made war in person almost up to the Egyptian frontier. This is the Kudur-lagamar.

1 See remarks on the title and its probable meaning on p. 37 of the present work.

2 See remarks on the title and its probable meaning on p. 37 of the present work.

3 We know that a descendant (v. 35) Sama was the city of Memnon and that Sama (at 6, 1, 2, p. 727) stands for foundation to Tithome, father of Memnon. According to Oppert (Les Inscriptions en langue cunéiforme, Études d'interprétation, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. II, p. 179) the word Memnon is the equivalent of the Sumerian Ummu-aniu, “the house of the king.” Weisenbacher (Assyriologie, p. 135) declares that “anu” does not mean king, and contradicts Oppert's view, though he does not venture to suggest a new explanation of the name.

4 In regard to Kudur-makkanta, see what has been said above on pp. 35, 37 of the present work.

5 See above. From the earliest Assyriologists have never doubted the historical accuracy of this chapter, and they have connected the facts which it contains with those which seem to be revealed by the Assyrian monuments. The view of the Babylonian (The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, vol. I, p. 41, note) inscriptions Kudur-lagamar between Kudur-makkanta and Kudur-mabug
(Chedorlaomer) who helped Rimsin against Khammurabi, but was unable to prevent his overthrow. In the thirteenth year of his reign over the East, the cities of the Dead Sea—Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zebalu, and Bela—revolted against him: he immediately convened his great vassals, Amraphel of Chaldaea, Arioch of Ellasar,1 Tidal the Gotti, and marched with them to the confines of his dominions. Tradition has invented many of the tribes then inhabiting Southern Syria with semi-mythical names and attributes. They are represented as being giants—Rephaim; men of prodigious strength—Zuzim; as having a buzzing and indistinct manner of speech—Zimmâmân; as formidable monsters—Emin or Anakim, before whom other nations appeared as grasshoppers; as the Hurrim who were encamped on the confines of the Sinaitic desert, and as the Amalekites who ranged over the mountains to the west of the Dead Sea. Kudrat-lagamar defeated them one after another—the Rephaim near to Ashtaroth-Karnaim, the Zuzim near Ham, the Emin at Shaveh-Kiriathaim, and the Hurrim on the spurs of Mount Seir as far as El-Paran; then retracing his footsteps, he entered the country of the Amalekites by way of En-mish-}

and Oppert place him about the same period (Histoire des royaumes de Chaldée et d’Assyrie d’après les monuments, pp. 30, 31). Fr. Lenormant regards him as one of the successors of Kudrat-lagamar, possibly his immediate successor (La Langue germaine de la Chaldee et de l’Assyrie anciennes, pp. 375, 376). G. Smith does not hesitate to declare positively that the Kudrat-lagamar and Kudrat-nahamun of the inscriptions are one and the same with the Kudrat-lagamar (Chedorlaomer) of the Bible (Egyptian Campaign of Eanneshaun, in the Zeitsehrift fiir Agyptische Sprache, 1866, vol. I, p. 119). Finally, Schrader, while he repudiates Smith’s view, agrees in the main fact with the other Assyriologists (Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament, 2nd edit., pp. 132, 137). We find the same view, with but slight modification, in Delitzsch-Müller (Geschichtliche Babylonische und Assyrische Geschichts, p. 38, note), in St. Meyer (Geschichte des Althebraum, vol. I, pp. 165, 166), and in Hummel (Geschichte Babylonische und Assyrische, p. 256, et seq.). On the other hand, the majority of modern Biblical critics have absolutely refused to credit the story in Genesis, e.g., Rumsch (L’Histoire sainte et la Loi, vol. 1, pp. 305, 306). Wendlandt (Untersuchungen aus dem Kelch des Alten Testament, p. 156, et seq.), Eich (Babylonische und Assyrische Geschichts, p. 88), Where Kudrat-lagamar is not mentioned at all. Sayce (The Higher Criticism, 3rd edit., pp. 169–170) thinks that the Bible story rests on an historic basis, and his view is strongly confirmed by Friede’s discovery of a Chaldæan document which mentions Kudrat-lagamar as one of his allies (Hommage Aux des Babylonische Alterthebrähe, in De Juda, 1883, vol. I, p. 552; Sayce, Recent Discoveries in Babylonische and Egyptian History, in this Journal, Sept. 7, 1884, p. 189, and Bulletin der Palästina, pp. 1, 61, 64–76). The Hebrew historian reproduced an anachronistic fact from the chronicle of Babylon, and contextual it with one of the events in the life of Abraham. The very date generally assigned to Gen. xiv. in no way diminishes the intrinsic probability of the facts narrated by the Chaldaean document which is preserved to us in the pages of the Hebrew book.

1 Ellasar has been identified with Larsa since the researches of Fr. Delitzsch, Wo lieg das Paradies? p. 224; Schalman, Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament, 2nd edit., pp. 155, 157; the Gotti, over whose Tikl was king, with the Gotti (Schleiholm, Die Keilschriften, p. 137).

2 Sayce, The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monument, 3rd edit., pp. 166, 167, makes Zimmân and Zimmâmân to be two readings of the same word Zimmân, written in cuneiform characters on the original document. The sounds represented in the Hebrew alphabet, by the letters 1 and 2, are expressed in the Chaldaean syllabary by the same character, and a Hebrew or Babylonian writer, who had no other means of getting the true pronunciation of a name once mentioned in the story of the campaign, would have been quite as much at a loss as any modern scholar to say whether he ought to transcribe the word as Zimmân or as Zimmâmân—some popular read it Zimmâmân, others read Zimmâmân.

3 Numbers xiii. 33. 34.

4 In Deut. ii. 20 it is stated that the Zimmâmân lived in the country of Ammon. Sayce points out that we often find the variant also for the character usually read Him or Khos, the same Chammámân,
KHAMMURABI AND HIS SUCCESSORS IN SYRIA.

In the meantime, the kings of the five towns had concentrated their troops in the vale of Siddim, and were there resolutely awaiting Kudur-lagamar. They were, however, completely routed, some of the fugitives being swallowed up in the pits of bitumen with which the soil abounded, while others with difficulty reached the mountains. Kudur-lagamar sacked Sodom and Gomorrah, re-established his dominion on all sides, and returned laden with booty. Hebrew tradition adding that he was overtaken near the sources of the Jordan by the patriarch Abraham.

After his victory over Kudur-lagamar, Khammurabi assumed the title of King of Martu, which we find still borne by Ammisaduca sixty years later. We see repeated here almost exactly what took place in Ethiopia at the time of its conquest by Egypt: merchants had prepared the way for military occupation, and the civilization of Babylonia had taken hold on the people long before its kings had become sufficiently powerful to claim them as vassals. The empire may be said to have been virtually established from the day when the states of the Middle and Lower Euphrates formed but one kingdom in the hands of a single ruler. We must note, however, imagine it to have been a compact territory, divided into provinces under military occupation, ruled by a uniform code of laws and statutes, and administered throughout by functionaries of various grades, who received their orders from Babylonia or Susa, according as the chances of war favoured the ascendency of Chaldea or Elam. It was in

for instance, is often formal written Ammurabi (of p. 15, n. 6, of the present work); the Ham in the narrative of Genesis would, therefore, be identical with the land of Amor in Deuteronomy, and the difference between the spelling of the two would be due to the fact that the document reproduced in the XIVth chapter of Genesis had been originally copied from a uniform tablet in which the name of the place was expressed by the sign house (SÁrin SÁR). The Higher criticism, 3rd ed., pp. 169, 181). An attempt has been made to identify the three vassals of Kudur-lagamar with kings mentioned on the Chaldean monuments. Tidal, or, if we adopt the Sargonid variant, Tisnad, has been considered by some as the text of a Sumerian name, Tis-nad = great chief = great king (Ungerer, Histoire des Empires de Chaldée, p. 11), while others put him on one side as not having been a Babyloni (Hasselt, Recherches Bibliques, p. 224, and Notes Semitiques, in the Revue Semitique, vol. ii. pp. 272-280); Pubsus, Sasyu, and Hansadd are identified by him with Tarkhumu, an ally of Kudur-lagamar against Khammurabi (Hommel, Aus der Babylonischen Alterthumskunde, in Die Arch. 1885, vol. 1. p. 222; Sassy, Revue Persan, in the Academy, Sept. 7, 1835, p. 138, and Patriarchal Palestine, p. 70). Arzio is Rinka, Est-Aku (cf. p. 29, n. 5, of the present work, and Fr. Lecouret, La Langue persane de la Chalde, pp. 379, 377); Schrader, Die Keltischen, 2nd ed., p. 135, 136; Hesiod, Die Sumerische Tafel, p. 84; Hasselt, Recherches Bibliques, pp. 224, 225, and Notes Semitiques, in the Revue Semitique, vol. ii. pp. 272-273). Schrader was the first to suggest that Amarnab was really Khammurabi (Die Keltischen Bibliothek des Königs, p. 22-27), and found the Amurb of the biblical text into Amarnabi or Amnum, in order to support this identification. Hales, while the while accepting this theory, derives the name from the pronunciation Kinarapaddin; or Kinarapadda, which he attributes to the name generally read Khānummāru (Hasselt, Recherches Bibliques, pp. 282-288, 293-315), and in this he is partly supported by Hommel, who calls it Khammarapattu (Geographical Notes, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology, vol. ix. p. 213). It is, indeed, the sole name which he attributes to himself on a stone tablet now in the British Museum; cf. Winslow, Alterthumliche Funde, pp. 143, 146.

In an inscription by the prince, copied probably about the time of Nebuchadrezzar by the scribe Belshazzar, he is called "king of the vast land of Martu." (Pirchon, Text of Ammâmaddutu, King of Babylon, from about 1750 to about B.C., in the Syria of the Past, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 192-193).
realities a motley assemblage of tribes and principalities, whose sole bond of union was subjection to a common yoke. They were under obligation to pay tribute and furnish military contingents and show other external marks of obedience, but their particular constitution, customs, and religion were alike respected; they had to purchase, at the cost of a periodical ransom, the right to live in their own country after their own fashion, and the head of the empire forbore all interference in their affairs, except in cases where their internecine quarrels and dissensions threatened the security of his sovereignty. Their subordination lasted as best it could, sometimes for a year or for ten years, at the end of which period they would neglect the obligations of their vassalage, or openly refuse to fulfill them: a revolt would then break out at one point or another, and it was necessary to suppress it without delay to prevent the bad example from spreading far and wide. The empire was maintained by perpetual reconquests, and its extent varied with the energy shown by its chiefs or with the resources which were for the moment available.

Separated from the confines of the empire by only a narrow isthmus, Egypt loomed on the horizon, and appeared to beckon to her rival. Her natural fertility, the industry of her inhabitants, the stores of gold and perfumes which she received from the heart of Ethiopia, were well known by the passage to and fro of her caravans, and the recollection of her treasures must have frequently provoked the envy of Asiatic courts. Egypt had, however, strangely declined from her former greatness, and the line of princes who governed her had little in common with the Pharaohs who had rendered her name so formidable under the XIIth dynasty. She was now under the rule of the Saites, whose influence was probably confined to the Delta, and extended merely in name over the Soud and Nubia. The feudal lords, ever ready to reassert their

1 Cf. the account of the revolt of the kings of the valley of Salfim against Kadim-Amon (pp. 43, 44 of the present work), which, if not absolutely accurate in every detail, gives nevertheless a very clear idea of what the Elamite or Chaldean rule must have been. As the same is upon the same state of things as late as on the bill of the Egyptian conquest.

2 As we proceed, we shall continually meet indications, in letters written by Asiatic princes, of the existence of this idea that Egypt was a kind of Phoenician grove; gold was as plentiful as fruit upon the high-road. (Brunner, Murarges presence on Egypt, in the Rev. des Queups, vol. 1, p. 231.)

3 See what is said concerning the Phalas in Mammisi, Deos of Olive-branches, pp. 233, 234. I may recall the fact that Lapani placed the Hyksos invasion first at the end of the XIIth dynasty and then at the beginning of the XIIIth (Kleophrates des Altes. Alten. p. 21, et seq.), and that his theory, at first adopted by Brunner (Kleophrates des Altes Alten, vol. 10, p. 9, et seq.), by Libsen (Egypt Chem. p. 62-70, and Robbers sur la Chem. Egypt., pp. 84-153), was vigorously contested by K. Re (Revue de l'Arch. et de l'Histoire de l'Egypte, 5, pp. 28-30). It has gradually been abandoned by most Egyptologists, and finally by Naville (Bocairent, pp. 15, 16). The history of the Hyksos has been dealt with by Charles (Les Phoisons en Egypte, 1866) in a special monograph, and by Pierre Chasse & Curs (Les Hyksos de l'Égito, 1889), who collected with much care and discussed at great length all the references to them contained in the texts of ancient writers and in all the Egyptian documents, finally, Naville devotes a chapter in hisl grundrig, pp. 89-90, to the history of the shepherd kings. Here, as in the preceding pages, the materials are so scanty that we are obliged to fall back on conjecture in endeavoring to interpret them and to work out the elements of a connected narrative from the various hypotheses I have chosen those which appear to be the simplest and best adapted to the scope of my work.
independence as soon as the central power waned, shared between them the possession of the Nile valley below Memphis: the princes of Thebes, who were probably descendants of Usritasen, owned the largest fiefdom, and though some slight sample may have prevented them from donning the pharaoh or placing their names within a carouche, they assumed notwithstanding the pretension of royal power. A favourable opportunity was therefore offered to an invader, and the Chaldeans might have attacked with impunity a people thus divided among themselves. They stopped short, however, at the southern frontier of Syria, or if they pushed further forward, it was without any important result; distance from head-quarters, or possibly reiterated attacks of the Hamites, prevented them from placing in the field an adequate force for such a momentous undertaking. What they had not dared to venture, others more audacious were to accomplish. At this juncture, so runs the Egyptian record, "there came to us a king named Timaeus. Under this king, then, I know not wherefrom, the god caused to blow upon us a beneficent wind, and in the face of all probability, bands from the East, people of ignoble race, came upon us unawares, attacked the country, and subdued it easily and without fighting." It is possible that they owed this rapid victory to the presence in their armies of a factor hitherto unknown to the African—the war-chariot—and before the horse and his driver the Egyptians gave way in a body. The invaders appeared...

1 The theory that the division of Egypt, under the XXVth dynasty, and the discord between its feudal princes, were one of the main causes of the success of the Shepherds (Maspero, Histoire ancienne du Peuple d'Orient, 4th ed., p. 522), is never admitted to be correct, among others, by En. Meyer, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 201, et seq.; and by NATIVE, Babbelis, pp. 16, 20.

2 From a legend of a name in the text of Manetho the Atenites and Ammonites (Manetho, e Strab, vol. III, p. 42, note 5), and Lapalus has identified this new Ammonites with the last Pharaoh of the XIXth dynasty, Amenas IV. Then, with the third king of the XIXth, Bâ-Amenes II (Kanebochka, p. 29), Pausanias (Geographica, vol. III, p. 42, note 5), suggests the identification of Amenas II with the third king of the Shepherds. We have only here a parallelism of names, as well as a parallelism of objects, which is to identify the name of this Pharaoh with that of Amenas, mentioned by Herodotus. I do not think it worth accepting. We know too little of Manetho's style to be able to decide whether the phrase Egyptian shepherds or Egyptian shepherds, is as is not in harmony with his manner of narrating historical facts: the phrase is correct, and that should be enough to doubt our text and alter it, at any rate in our present stage of knowledge.

3 Maspero, in MILLER-DUROY, Fragments Historiciens Greciens, vol. II, p. 368. The apparent contradiction between the facts in which Maspero explains the conquest of Egypt: Pharaoh Akeri or Akeri, was a port, is solved by Papyrus Montet (1844), vol. II, p. 70; Paris, Bibl. N. (Truth about the choise, p. 34, et seq.), who states that the Hyksos had not been guilty of the atrocities of which the Egyptians accused them.

4 The horse was unknown, or at any rate was not employed in Egypt prior to the invasion (cf. Maspero, Dossiers de Civilisation, p. 35, note 7); we need, however, in general war immediately the expulsion of the Shepherds, the tomb of Thoth (CAMPIONI, Monumenti de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xiv. 1, vol. I, p. 228; HENRIETE, Lateran, pp. 322-323; LEBLON, Description, vol. III, p. 228-229). Moreover, all historians agree in admitting that it was introduced into the country under the rule of the Shepherds (Plucknett, Les chefs d'œuvre de l'histoire Egyptienne, p. 59; En. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 210; P. H. LEVY, From the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Century, p. 435, et seq.; En. Meyer, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 210, 311). The use of the war-chariot in Chaldean as an object prior to the Hyksos invasion, is proved by a fragment of the Vulture State (cf. Maspero, Dossiers de Civilisation, pp. 496, 497, 792); as, therefore, natural to suppose that the Hyksos used the chariot in war, and that the rapidity of their conquest was due to it.
as a cloud of locusts on the banks of the Nile. Towns and temples were alike pillaged, burnt, and ruined; they massacred all they could of the male population, reduced to slavery those of the women and children whose lives they spared, and then proclaimed as king Salatis, one of their chiefs. He established a semblance of regular government, chose Memphis as his capital, and imposed a tax upon the vanquished. Two perils, however, immediately threatened the security of his triumph: in the south the Theban lords, taking matters into their own hands after the downfall of the Xoites, refused the oath of allegiance to Salatis, and organised an obstinate resistance; in the north he had to take measures to protect himself against an attack of the Chaldians or of the Elamites who were oppressing Chaldaea. From the natives of the Delta, who were temporarily paralysed by their reverses, he had, for the moment, little to fear: restricting himself, therefore, to establishing forts at the strategic points in the Nile valley in order to keep the Thebans in check, he led the main body of his troops to the frontier on the isthmus. Pacific immigrations had already introduced Asiatic settlers into the Delta, and thus prepared the way for securing the supremacy of the new rulers: in the midst of these strangers, and on the ruins of the ancient town of Hawarit-Avari, in the Sethrote nome—

1 The name Salatis (caw. Saltay) seems to be derived from a Semitic word, Saltay—"the chief," "the governor;" this was the title which Joseph received when Pharaoh gave him authority over the whole of Egypt (Gen. xi. 41). Salatis may not, therefore, have been the real name of the Pharaoh's king, but his title, which the Egyptians misunderstood, and from which they evolved a proper name: Uihmann has, indeed, pointed out to me from this that Manetho, being familiar with the passage referring to Joseph, had forged the name of Salatis (Hermopolis and Upper Egypt, p. 76). Here I imagined that he could decipher the Egyptian form of this prince's name on the columns of Tell-Min+W (Hermopolis and the Saite Monuments, p. 295; cf. Bo. Maxe, Ele-Tsiop, p. 36, Lisse, les Egyptian e Fouilles, p. 295), where Naville has since read with certainty the name of a Pharaoh of the XIIIth and XIVth dynasty, Salatis (in the Rosettes, in the Rosettes, in the Rosettes, vol. x. pp. 37, 307).


3 The text of Manetho speaks of taxes which he imposed on the high and low lands, on the great and small, which would seem to include the Thespians in the kingdom: it is, however, stated in the next few pages that the successors of Salatis waged an incessant war against the Egyptians, which can only refer to hostilities against the Thebans. We are forced, therefore, to admit, either that Manetho took the title of lord of the high and low lands which belonged to Salatis literally, or that the Thespians, after submitting at first, subsequently refused to pay tribute, thus provoking a war.

4 Manetho here speaks of Assyrians; this is an error which is to be explained by the imperfect state of historical knowledge in Greece at the time of the Macedonian supremacy. We need not, for this reason, be led to cast doubt upon the historic value of the narrative (Wiederschn, Egyptenische Geschichte, p. 208); we must remember the uncertainty which the kings of Babylon exercised over Syria (cf. p. 47, et seq. of the present work), and read Chaldaea where Manetho has written Assyria. In Hermopolis—Assyria—is the regular term for "Babylon," and Babylonitis is used "the land of the Assyrians" (I.—193).

5 The manuscript of Josephus placed this town in the Sethrote nome; the governor of a country is usually corrected from the royal lists, where the Sethrote nome is inscribed (MANNETT, in MULLER-DINON, Fragment. Hist. Græc. vol. ii. p. 267). The first commentaries on Manetho place Assur in the lists of Ptolemaus (Maxe, Confer. Grec., Lib. I., pp. 107, 108, Zeren, De Oriiinitye Orin., pp. 277, 278), relying on the fact that Chronicon (Chron. 1, in MULLER-DINON, Frag., vol. ii. p. 267) names ELOMATHES as the town which Manetho places among the lists of Ptolemaus (Chron. 1, in MULLER-DINON, Frag., vol. iv. p. 489), and Azari. Lanzer identifies it with Harpagos, and Cambodiou (1'Egypte was the solemn place, vol. ii. pp. 37, 392) endeavoured to support this view by evidence derived from Egyptian mythology. Really Lepsius connects Assar with the name of the Hebrews, and tried to make out that it had been occupied by those during their sojourn in Egypt (Chron. Des Egyptes, p. 311).
a place connected by tradition with the myth of Osiris and Typhon—Salatis constructed an immense entrenched camp, capable of sheltering two hundred and forty thousand men. He visited it yearly to witness the military manoeuvres, to pay his soldiers, and to preside over the distribution of rations. This permanent garrison protected him from a Chaldian invasion, a not unlikely event as long as Syria remained under the supremacy of the Babylonian kings; it furnished his successors also with an inexhaustible supply of trained soldiers, thus enabling them to complete the conquest of Lower Egypt. Years elapsed before the princes of the south would declare themselves vanquished, and five kings—Baš, Apachmas, Apŏphis I, Iannus, and Asses—passed their lifetime in a perpetual warfare, desirous of tearing up Egypt to the very root. These Theban kings, who were continually under arms against the barbarians, were subsequently classed in a dynasty by themselves, the XVIIth of Manetho, but they at last succumbed to the invader, and Asses became master of the entire country. His successors in their turn formed a dynasty, the XVIth, the few remaining monuments of which are found scattered over the length and breadth of the valley from the shores of the Mediterranean to the rocks of the first cataract.

The Egyptians who witnessed the advent of this Asiatic people called

The hieroglyphic name for the town of Tanis was added by Champollion (Dict. Hier., p. 116); then E de Rouge cited it as "Zén," which seemed to confirm the etymology; then the same scholar discovered the true reading Dēβεῖτ, and at once proposed to recognize in this name the original of Avaris, while still continuing to identify the site with that of Tanis (Summary of a lecture—see the Athénées des Égyptiens, 1824, p. 332). This conjecture found general acceptance, but doubts were expressed regard to the identity of the two sites, and it was rightly pointed out that in the text of Manetho Avaris is described as an entrenched camp. Lepsius, returning to the old theory, proposed to look for the site in the country of Pelissoi (Klairophos, p. 46, note 1), and was not long in locating it among the ruins of Tell-Birk, the name of which city would probably be derived from that of Dāravit (Dāravit was the name of the Egyptian Dāravit, in the Zeitsschrift, 1870, pp. 31, 92). Khors (Pelloux, ibid., pp. 72, 74) recognized even Pelissoi, and consequently Avaris, in Tell-Birk. This hypothesis, approved by Charles (Les Fouilles en Égypte, p. 427, does not seem to be in favour at present; the only person who appears to support it is F. de Callis (Das Hesperos, p. 932, at vol.) Dēβεῖτ is placed either at Tanis Himmour, Kandia Deir von Tanis, in the Zeitsschrift, 1872, pp. 10, 20, Dict. gēry., pp. 143, 144, or in the neighbourhood of Daphnae (St. Meyer, Gesta Egyptians, p. 307), or at Migeld Tell en-Seum (Brunner, Die Egyptologen, p. 36).

None of these five kings have left monuments which can be identified with certainty, either, indeed, we agree with Naville in supposing that Khlidan (cf. pp. 50, 60 of the present work) represents Amun of Ramses (Breasted, pp. 25-26). Dēβεῖτ (Lettre à M. Auguste Mariette, etc., in the Revue Arch., 1881, vol. 16, pp. 256-257) thought he could recognize three of them—Baš, Apachmas, and Apŏphis—in the three half-effaced names of fragment No. 112 of the royal names at Tanis (Lama, Ramessi, etc., pl. vi, c.), he connected fragment No. 130, on which he made out the name of the god Set, with the same name. His hypothesis was accepted by Prince (Les Religions des Phœniciens, p. 23), and Lellou, who had made the same suggestion almost simultaneously with Dēβεῖτ, added to the two fragments 112-130 fragment 144, on which he thought he could decipher the name of Seth (Manoe et des Thariers Tchepaprons, p. 247). The theory is now only accepted with large reservations. Lellou had also found the name of Baś in the Saller Papyrus, No. 1, pl. ii, 1, 7, but Erman proved that in this passage the correct reading was Aβ = "ancient," and not a proper name at all (Vener, in the Zeitsschrift, 1887, p. 75). Finally, Erman, in the same article in which he pointed out Lellou's mistake, proposed to recognize Apachmas in the St-Apahthi Nutqy of the side of the year 400 (Abb., p. 37); it appears to me, however, that this does not refer to a mortal king, but to the god Set, described by his archaic title Nebthi, the son of Osiris, and considered as king of the divine dynasty.

them by the general term Ἅμιν, Ammutes, or Monaxin, the men of the desert. They had already given the Bedouin the opprobrious epithet of Shuṣah—pillagers or robbers—which aptly described them; and they subsequently applied the same name to the intruders—Hiq Shuṣah—from which the Greeks derived their word Hyksōs, or Hykeusès, for this people. But we are without any clue as to their real name, language, or origin. The writers of classical times were unable to come to an agreement on these questions; some confounded the Hyksōs with the Phœricians, others regarded them as Arabs.

1 Göttlicher, Notice sur un texte de Sokh-Arät, in the Asiatic, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3, and vol. vii. p. 1, 37. Dr. Meyer thinks that these princes extended their rule over part of Syria; he points out in this connection, though he admits the hypothesis to be a bold one, the identity of state established by the Jewish chroniclers (Neh. xiii. 23) for the foundations of Amsa and Holon (Greek, Egypt, p. 216).

2 The meaning of the term Monaxin was discovered by R. de Hugues, who translated it Shepherd, and applied it to the Hyksōs (Emanna de l'Ouissance de M. de Roman, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42; Nouv. sur l'Ouissance de Amma, p. 171); from hence it passed into the works of all the Egyptologists who concerned themselves with this question (Romein, Egypt, Stud., vol. ii. pp. 10, 20, and Egypt, Stud., pp. 217, 218; Lhassar, Monaxes Egyptians, 1st series, pp. 23-38, and Les Funérailles en Egypt, pp. 24, 25); but Shepherd has not been universally accepted as the meaning of the word. It is generally agreed that it was a generic term, indicating the races with which their conquerors were supposed to be connected, and not the particular term of which Manetho’s word Baisces would be the literal translation. It is in fact a word semitic, in fact, to be derived from a word which means “to rob,” “to pillage.” The name Shama, Shem, was not used by the Egyptians to indicate a particular race. It was used of all Bedouins, and in general of all the wandering tribes who infested the desert or the mountains. The Shamae most frequently referred to in the monuments are those from the desert between Egypt and Syria; but there is a reference, in the time of Ramess II., to those from the Lebanon and the valley of Orontes. Kraelim finds an allusion to them in a word (Shashaa) in Judges ii. 14, which is generally translated by a generic expression, “the spoilers” (Aristotle, Geschichts, der Aeg. Ägyptischen, p. 39).

3 Manetho (Malliaris-Dever, Frag. Hist. Græc., vol. ii. p. 387) denotes that the people were called Hyksōs, from Ἵψις, which means “king” in the sacred language, and αἴθριόν, which means “sphinx” in the popular language. As a matter of fact, the word Ὅψις means “prince” in the classical language of Egypt, as, Manetho styles it, the sacred language, i.e., in the idiom of the old religious, historical, and literary texts, which in later ages the language no longer understood. Stobaeus, on the contrary, belongs to the popular language of the latter time, and does not recur in the ancient inscriptions, so that Manetho’s explanation is valuable; there is but one material fact to be reconciled from his evidence, and that is the name Ὅψις-Hyksōs or Ὅψις-Shen, given by him to a family of kings, or to the whole kings. Champollion (Lettres à M. de Bunsen, relations aux Muses Égyses de Ferige, 2d Lettre, p. 67) and Rosellini (Manethi Hierarch., vol. i. pp. 179, 179) were the first to identify these Stobi with the Shens whom they found represented on the monuments, and their opinion, adopted by some (Biot, Traité d’Egypte, p. 87, and Compte Rendu, p. 210; Wiedemann, Egyptische Geschichthe, pp. 322, 323; Dr. Miller, Geschichte der Ägypten, p. 265), contradicted by others (Lituan, Monaxes Egyptians, 1st series, p. 22; and Vespasi, p. 116), seems to me an extremely plausible one: the Egyptians, at a given moment, bestowed the generic name of Shens on these strangers, just as they had given those of Ammens and Monaxin. The texts or writers from whose Manetho drew his information evidently mentioned certain kings Ἰψίας-Shesnet; other passages, or the same passages strongly interpreted, were applied to the race, and were rendered Ὅψις-Shen = “the princes taken from the Shens,” a substantive derived from the root Ὅψις = “to take,” being substituted for the noun Ἰψίας = “princes.” Josephus (Antiq., lib. ii. 13) declares, on the authority of Manetho, that some manuscripts actually suggested the derivation—a fact which is easily explained, by the custom of the Egyptian court officers (Græci, Stud. sur Græc, des Aeg. Ägyptischen, ii, des decret, 5th., p. 90). I may mention, in passing, that Marciel (Hist. d’un Ministre Indien, Questions relatives aux Monarches fouillés par les Egyptiens, p. 41) recognized in the element “Shen” an Egyptian word šēn = “soldier,” and in the name of King Mermakaha, which he read Mérašet, an equivalent of the title Ὅψις-Shen (cf. Maxmara, Decree of Sesostris, pp. 321-322, in regard to Mermakaha).

Modern scholars have put forward at least a dozen contradictory hypotheses on the matter. The Hyksos have been asserted to have been Canaanites, Levantines, Hittites, Accadians, Scythians, etc. The last opinion found great favour with the learned, as long as they could believe that the sphinxes discovered by Mariette represented Apophis or one of his predecessors. As a matter of fact, these monuments present all the characteristics of the Mongolid type of countenance—the small and slightly oblique eyes, the arched but somewhat flattened nose, the pronounced cheek-bones and well-covered jaw, the salient chin and full lips slightly depressed at the corners. These peculiarities are also observed in the three heads found at Damakhir, in the colossal torso dug up at Mit-Fares in the Fayum, in the twin figures of the Nilo removed to the Bulaq Museum from Tunis, and upon the remains of a statue in the collection at the Villa Ludovisi in Rome. The same foreign

but he adds that certain writers thought them to be Arab (cf. St. Miller’s review: Journ. Egyptian Arch., p. 214-217) but the Arab legend of a companion of the Prophet by Shehab and the Affs was of recent origin, and was inspired by traditions in regard to the Hyksos current during the Byzantine epoch; we cannot, therefore, allow it to influence us (Weissbach, Geschichte der Hyksos, p. 288). We must wait before expressing a definite opinion in regard to the facts which Miller believes he has obtained from the Monument inscriptions which date from the time of the Hyksos.

* The theory of the Canaanite-Kushite origin has been defended by Lepsius (Klein, Geschichte der Hyksos, p. 227) and by Mayer (Histoire des Peuples de l’Orient, vol. 4, pp. 161, 162), who base their argument on the fact that the Phoenicians came from the shores of the Euphrates (cf. infra, pp. 62-63), and on the Phoenician origin attributed to the Pharaohs by one of Menander’s authorities (cf. Menander, Gesch. Egypti, p. 221, and G. Strecker, Zur Geschichte der Hyksos, p. 3-7).

* En. Meyer, Gesch. des Alterth., vol. 1, pp. 166, 167.; he has since rejected this view (Geogr. Japyp., 200, note 1), which has been taken up again by Weissbach, Gesch. der Hyksos, vol. 1, pp. 168, 169.

* Mariette, Apologie, p. 284; 1824, pp. 90, 102, and Padre Careri, de Cara, Gu Híseos, pp. 173-177, and Gu Híseos, p. 5, 9, which take them to have been Semites; while L. Taylor, Canade, and others, regarding the Hyksos as Mongolians or Scythians, incline to the theory of a Mongol-Hittite origin.

* Rosellini, Mon. Storici, vol. 1, p. 185, 186, and in our time by L. Lemoine, Monument des Statues de la Re Fautet de Egypte, p. 15; with, however, considerable reserve, and fully admitting a large admixture of Phoenician and Canaanite elements; cf. Pugliesi, Die Altpalästina, 1884, in the Abhandlungen der d. Wissenschaften, 7, 3, 1887-1888, and 1, 1878-1879.

* Mariette, who was the first to describe these various monuments, recognized in them all the inconceivable characteristics of a Semitic type (Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé, sur les statues de Tino, pp. 7, 10), and the correctness of this view was, at first, universally admitted (En. Lemoine, Manuel d’Archéologie et d’Histoire, p. 1, p. 367); to this the latter imagined that he could distinguish traces of Mongolian influence, and L. Lemoine (Les Premières Civilisations, vol. 1, pp. 208-209; 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 445; and Histoire Ancienne, 1st ed., vol. iii, p. 145) and they Mariette himself (Voyages, pp. 127, 130) came to admit this view; it has recently been supported in England by Flower, and in Germany by Wechel.


* Mariette, Notice des Principaux Monuments, 1854, p. 70; No. 9, and Monuments divers, p. 301.

* Mariette, Monument des Statues de la Re Fautet de Egypte, 1858, p. 3, 4, 18, 19, and Notice sur les Principaux Monuments, 1859, No. 14, p. 264, 265. The group really belongs to the XXIst dynasty (Manuel, Archéologie Egyptienne, p. 260), and is many respects reminds us of a number of Egyptian art.

type of face is also found to exist among the present inhabitants of the villages scattered over the eastern part of the Delta, particularly on the shores of Lake Menzaleh, and the conclusion was drawn that these people were the direct descendants of the Hyksos. This theory was abandoned, however, when it was ascertained that the sphinxes of San had been carved, many centuries before the invasion, for Amenemhat III, a king of the XII	extsuperscript{a} dynasty. In spite of the facts we possess, the problem therefore still remains unsolved, and the origin of the Hyksos is as mysterious as ever.

We gather, however, that the third millennium before our era was repeatedly disturbed by considerable migratory movements. The expeditions far afield of Elamite and Chaldean princes could not have taken place without seriously perturbing the regions over which they passed. They must have encountered by the way many nomadic or unsettled tribes whom a slight shock would easily displace. An impulse once given, it needed but little to accelerate or increase the movement: a collision with one horde reacted on its neighbours, who either dispersed or carried other tribes with them, and the whole multitude, gathering momentum as they went, were precipitated in the direction first given. A tradition, picked up by Herodotus on his travels, relates that the Phœminians had originally peopled the eastern and southern shores of the Persian Gulf; it was also said that Indathyrises, a Scythian king, had victoriously secured the whole of Asia, and had penetrated as far as Egypt. Either of these invasions may have been the cause of the Syrian migration. In comparison with the meagre information which has come down to us under the form of legends, it is provoking to think how much actual fact has been lost, a tithe of which would explain the cause of the movement and the mode of its execution.

The least improbable hypothesis is that which attributes the appearance of the Shepherds about the XXIII	extsuperscript{a} century B.C., to the arrival in Naharaïm of those Khatti who subsequently fought so obstinately against the armies both of the Phœminians and the Ninevite kings. They descended from the

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1. Massycre, Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Bouge sur les fouilles de Tebou, pp. 10, 11; and Note, see La Révolution et la Restauration, in the Mémoires d’Archéologie Egyptienne et Asiatique, vol. i, pp. 21-20.
4. Herodotus, I. 1, 7. It was to the extent of this race, in the last analysis, that I have attributed the invasion of the shepherds (Histoire ancienne, 4th ed., pp. 181, 182).
5. Herodotus, I. 1, § 6, § 5, p. 537, and Arrianus, Indica, v. § 61; Justinus, I. 1. A certain number of commentators are of opinion that the Banco attributed to Indathyrises have been confounded with that Herodotus tells of the exploits of Madyan (IV. 80; 519), and are nothing more than a distanced remembrance of the great Scythian invasion which took place in the latter half of the VII	extsuperscript{a} century B.C.
mountain region in which the Halys and the Euphrates take their rise, and if the bulk of them proceeded no further than the valleys of the Taurus and the Amanos, some at least must have pushed forward as far as the provinces on the western shores of the Dead Sea. The most adventurous among them, reinforced by the Canaanites and other tribes who had joined them on their southward course, crossed the isthmus of Suez, and finding a people weakened by discord, experienced no difficulty in replacing the native dynasties by their own barbarian chiefs. Both their name and origin were doubtless well known to the Egyptians, but the latter nevertheless declined to apply to them any term but that of “shumah” or strangers, and in referring to them used the same vague appellations which they applied to the Beluim of the Sinai peninsula, Monath, the shepherds, or Satiu, the archers. They succeeded in hiding the original name of their conquerors so thoroughly, that in the end they themselves forgot it, and kept the secret of it from posterity.

The remembrance of the enormities with which the invaders sullied their conquest lived long after them; it still stirred the anger of Manetho after a lapse of twenty centuries. The victors were known as the “Plagues” or “Ravages,” and every possible crime and impiety was attributed to them. But the brutalities attending the invasion were past, the invaders soon lost their barbarity and became rapidly civilized. These of them stationed in the encampment at Avaris retained the military qualities and characteristic energy of their race; the remainder became assimilated to their new compatriots, and were soon.

1 Manzini, Aspetti de l’Historia de l’Egitto, 1874, pp. 49-54, 172-175, deliberately committed himself to this view, and Pascal Duarte de Casa, El Sub de Egipto, has written in support of it. At the present time, those scholars who admit the Turanian origin of the Hyksos are of opinion that only the remnants of the race, the royal tribe, was composed of Mongols, while the main body consisted of elements of all kinds—Canaanites, or, more generally, Semites (Nestorius, Rubensohn, pp. 38, 22).

2 The term “shumah,” variant of “shamuh,” is applied to them by Quispel (Hieroglyphica, Notes sur le texte de Shab-tabet, in the Revue Etn., vol. iii, p. 53); the same term is employed shortly afterwards by Thaumares III., to indicate the enemies whom he had defeated at Megiddo (Biblical, Revue du Mon., vol. i, pl. 38, L. 1, where the text is defective).

3 He speaks of them in contemptuous terms as “menc” or “meu” of “ménu” in Avaris (Miller, Dict. Frang. Histoire, vol. ii, p. 506).

4 The epithet “Atti, Tatti, Tatti” was applied to the Nabataeans by the writer of the inscription of Amanah-at-Abia (I, 21), and to the Shepherds of the Delta by the author of the Sibylline Prophecy, No. 4, I, 1, 1. Brugsch explained it as “the rebels,” or “disobedient” (Egypt. Stud., II, p. 10), and Goodwin translated it “invaders” (Bibl. Pop., in the Camb. Engag., 1888, p. 243). Chabas rendered it by “plague-strickens,” an interpretation which was in closer conformity with its etymological meaning (Med. Pop. 22, text, pp. 30-41), and Goye explained it as the melody called Atti, or Atit, in Egypt, is the malignant fever still frequently to be met with at the present day in the marshy cuspatae of the Delta, and furnished the proper rendering, which is “The Fever-stricken” (Sibyls Archæology, Le Maladies).
recognizable merely by their long hair, thick beard, and marked features. Their sovereigns seem to have realized from the first that it was more to their interest to exploit the country than to pillage it; as, however, none of them was competent to understand the intricacies of the treasury, they were forced to retain the services of the majority of the scribes, who had managed the public accounts under the native kings. Once schooled to the new state of affairs, they readily adopted the refinements of civilized life. The court of the Pharaohs, with its pomp, and its usual assemblage of officials, both great and small, was revived around the person of the new sovereign, the titles of the Amennihitas and the Usirtasen, adapted to these “princes of foreign lands,” legitimized them as descendants of Horus and sons of the Sun. They respected the local religions, and went so far as to favour those of the gods whose attributes appeared to connect them with some of their own barbarous divinities. The chief deity of their worship was Baal, the lord of all, a cornel and

The name Baal, transferred Habu, is found on that of a certain Potamon, “the Gift of Baal,” who must have flourished in the time of the last shepherd-kings, or rather under the Theban kings of the XVIIth dynasty, who were their contemporaries (Lepsius, Recherches sur la Chronologie Egyptienne, pp. 139-143, whose conjectures have been adopted by Petrie; Greek Egypt, p. 236, 249).
savage warrior; his resemblance to Stb, the brother and enemy of Osiris, was so marked, that he was identified with the Egyptian deity, with the emphatic additional title of Sutkh, the Great Stb. He was usually represented as a fully armed warrior, wearing a helmet of circular form, ornamented with two plumes; but he also bore the emblematic animal of Stb, the fennec, and the winged griffin which haunted the deserts of the Thebaid. His temples were erected in the cities of the Delta, side by side with the sanctuaries of the feudal gods, both at Bubastis and at Tanis. Tanis, now made the capital, reopened its palaces, and acquired a fresh impetus from the royal presence within its walls. Apophis Aquarii, one of its kings, dedicated several tables of offerings in that city, and engraved his cartouches upon the sphinxes and standing colossi of the Pharaohs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties. He was, however, honest enough to leave the inscriptions of his predecessors intact, and not to appropriate to himself the credit of works belonging to the Amarna-balls or to Mirmash. Khnun, who is possibly the Jannas of

1 Sutkh, Sutkh, are lengthened forms of Solkh or Soluk, and Chatna, who had at first denied the existence of the Pharaoh Melange, Egypt, 2nd series, p. 167-168, and Voyage de l'égypte, p. 202, afterwards himself supplied the philological arguments which proved the correctness of the reading (Le Fauter, p. 183). He rightly refused, however, to recognize in Sutkh or Sutkh—the name of the conqueror's god—a transliteration of the Phenician Syrkh, and would only see in it that of the ancient Egyptian deity. This view is now accepted as the right one, and Sutkh is regarded as the indigenous equivalent of the great Asiatic god, elsewhere called Beul, or supreme lord. (Preface.)


3 Dedicated by Ptolemy, from a photograph by E. B. Eggers, cf. Manesson, Monuments Anciens, pl. 36.

4 Fragment of an inscription which states that Apophis raised columns and had a metal door made for his god (Naukes, Bubastis, pl. 92, 93, pl. 96, 97, 98, 10, 11, 12, etc. for Sutkh, etc.).

5 As to the restoration or building of temples of Tanis, cf. Manesson, Lettres de l'Egypte, p. 1, etc., and Vitruvius, I, 1, p. 7, 8, 9, and II, p. 10, 11, 12.

6 Well-known name of this king, wrongly deciphered at first by Manesson (Ptolemy, p. 10, 11, 12, etc. for Sutkh, etc.).

7 Restoration of the temple of Tanis, cf. Manesson, Monuments Anciens, etc. (pl. 92, 93, pl. 96, 97, 98, 10, 11, 12, etc. for Sutkh, etc.).

8 All the offerings discovered at Tanis, and brought thither from Haligdah or Memphis, cf. perhaps from Tanis (Manesson, Monuments Anciens, pl. 26); sphynxes and sphynxes inscribed at Tanis itself (Bouton, Description historique, pl. 81; Manesson, Notes du Principat, pl. 262, No. 6, etc.), etc. sphynxes at Tell el-Maskhidi (Manesson, Quatre monumens monnaies...
Manetho, was not, however, so easily satisfied. The statue bearing his inscription, of which the lower part was discovered by Naville at Bubastis, appears to have been really carved for himself or for one of his contemporaries. It is a work possessing no originality, though of very commendable execution, such as would render it acceptable to any museum; the artist who conceived it took his inspiration with considerable cleverness from the best examples turned out by the schools of the Delta under the Socharophis and the Notrophips. But a small gray granite lion, also of the reign of Khaini, which by a strange fate had found its way to Bagdad, does not raise our estimation of the modelling of animals in the Hyksos period. It is heavy in form, and the muzzle in no way reveals the fine profile of the lions executed by the sculptors of earlier times. The pursuit of science and the culture of learning appear to have been more successfully propagated than the fine arts; a treatise on mathematics, of which a copy has come down to us, would seem to have been received, if not remodelled, in the twenty-second year of Apophis II. Ab导师.

1. De rose de Rosœ 2, pp. 1, 2, where the sphinx is given, though attention is not called to the fact that it had been expressly sculptured on the front of the temple of the Bosanor, in the Lower Egypt, and as a portrait of a Pharaoh, mentioned by Manetho (D’Aubur, Lettre a M. A. Mariette sur quelques monuments sculptés sur Leop-Sacii, in the Revue Archeologique, 9th series, vol. 16, 1864, pp. 256, 257).

2. Naville, Bubastis, pl. xlii, xxxv. A, and pp. 23-26, who reads the name Ayhyk-nam, and thinks that this prince must be the Akhty-nam mentioned by Manetho (Mémoires de l’Acadeîme de France, Hist. d’Egypte, vol. 6, p. 607) as being one of the six shepherd-kings of the XXVIth dynasty. Mr. Petrie proposed to read Êhanka, Khaini, and the fragment discovered at Gobedan confirms this reading (Darmesteter, Notes et Mémoires, in the Revue, vol. 12, pp. 42, 123). As well as a certain number of cylinders and amulets (Cf. Petrie, Hist. Scenes, pl. 25). Mr. Petrie prefers to place this Pharaoh in the VIIIth dynasty (Hist. of Egypt, vol. i, pp. 117-121), but makes him one of the leaders in the foreign occupation to which he supposes Egypt to have submitted at that time (as to this point, cf. Mariette, Texte de Cœusses, pp. 410, 441; but it is almost certain that he ought to be placed among the Hyksos of the XVIth dynasty (See Mariette, Hist. Sc. Egy., p. 4). The name Khaini, more correctly Khîpya or Khayya, is connected by Tomkins (Hist. Atlantidique, 1868, p. 188), and Hilschwar (Aegypten, vol. 1, p. 30, note 3) with that of a certain Khayya or Khyan, son of Gadber, who ruled in Ammon in the time of Siamun III, King of Assyria.

1. Drawn by Boulenger, from a sketch made in the British Museum. This miniature lion was first brought into notice by de Verderon (Lettres a M. Anguine Mariette sur quelques monuments sculptés sur Lesop-Sacii, in the Revue Archeologique, 9th series, vol. 16, pp. 256, 257), who read the cartouches Ha-ta-uba; it was reproduced by Pucheu (Les Reliques des Prêts-Temps, pl. 1b, fig. 1), from de Verderon’s sketch, and was bought for the British Museum by P. Smith, who believed he could detect on it the name of Sathu (Cœtures d’Abydos, 1809, p. 420). Mr. Tomkins made a new drawing of it, and published it in his Studies on the Sphinx of Abydos, 1847, p. 140-142. The cartouches of the true reading of the cartouch, Ha-ta-uba, and its identification with the cartouches-peuves of Khaini, are due to Griffith (Naville, Bubastis, pl. 24, 25). E. Mayer (Geschichte des Alterthums, vol. 3, p. 190) considers this lion not to be Egyptian, not at all, but pseudo-Egyptian, and that it was executed in Asia; the head, which had been mutilated, has been restored at a much later date, and has little lost its ancient character, but the body shows it to have been of pure Egyptian origin.

4. The cartouches-ment A-abour, which only is to be found in the pyramid, was painted by Eburch (Geometrische Papyri, in the Zeitung, 1858, p. 100) who did not classify it. Eburch recognizes the fact that it must date from the time of the XVIIIth dynasty (Ubers altkögyptische Musen, in the Zeitung, 1858, p. 3), and E. Mayer (Geschichte des Alterthums, vol. 3, p. 190) considers this lion not to be Egyptian, not at all, but pseudo-Egyptian, and that it was executed in Asia; the head, which had been mutilated, has been restored at a much later date, and has lost its ancient character, but the body shows it to have been of pure Egyptian origin.
If we only possessed more monuments or documents treating of this period, we should doubtless perceive that their sojourn on the banks of the Nile was instrumental in causing a speedy change in the appearance and character of the Hyksos. The strangers retained to a certain extent their coarse countenances and rude manners; they showed no aptitude for tilling the soil or sowing grain, but delighted in the marshy expanses of the Delta, where they gave themselves up to a semi-savage life of hunting and of tending cattle. The nobles among them, clothed and schooled after the Egyptian fashion, and holding fiefs, or positions at court, differed but little from the native feudal chiefs.

We see here a case of what generally happens when a horde of barbarians settles down in a highly organised country, which by a stroke of fortune they may have conquered: as soon as the Hyksos had taken complete possession of Egypt, Egypt in her turn took possession of them, and those who survived the enervating effect of her civilization were all but transformed into Egyptians.

If, in the time of the native Pharaohs, Asiatic tribes had been drawn towards Egypt, where they were treated as subjects or almost as slaves;...
the attraction which she possessed for them must have increased in intensity under the shepherds. They would now find the country in the hands of men of the same races as themselves—Egyptianised, it is true, but not to such an extent as to have completely lost their own language and the knowledge of their own extraction. Such immigrants were the more readily welcomed, since there lacked a feeling among the Hyksōs that it was necessary to strengthen themselves against the slumbering hostility of the indigenous population. The royal palace must have more than once opened its gates to Asiatic counsellors and favourites. Canaanites and Bedouin must often have been enlisted for the camp at Avaris. Invasions, famines, civil wars, all seem to have conspired to drive into Egypt not only isolated individuals, but whole families and tribes. That of the Beni-Israel, or Israelites, who entered the country about this time, has since acquired a unique position in the world's history. They belonged to that family of Semitic extraction which we know by the monuments and tradition to have been scattered in ancient times along the western shores of the Persian Gulf and on the banks of the Euphrates. Those situated nearest to Chaldia and to the sea probably led a settled existence; they cultivated the soil, they employed themselves in commerce and industries, their vessels—from Dilmun, from Māgan, and from Meluhha—coasted from one place to another, and made their way to the cities of Sumer and Accad. They had been civilised from very early times, and some of their towns were situated on islands; so as to be protected from sudden incursions. Other tribes of the same family occupied the interior of the continent; they lived in tents and delighted in the unsettled life of nomads. There appeared to be in this distant corner of Arabia an inexhaustible reserve of population, which periodically overflowed its borders and spread over the world. It was from this very region that we see the Kashdim, the true Chaldæans, issuing, ready armed for combat,—a people whose name was subsequently used to denote several tribes settled between the lower waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It was there; among the marshes on either side of these rivers, that the Aramaeans established their first settlements after quitting the desert.

There also the oldest legends of the race placed the cradle of the Phœnicians; it was even believed, about the time of Alexander, that the earliest rains attributable to this people had been discovered on the Balearic Islands, the

2 As to the position occupied by the Chaldæans in the marshes, at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, cf. Delarue, Weis der Paradies, p. 134, at seq.
3 The Assyrian inscriptions show that there were Aramaeans in this region also (Anc. Delarue, Weis der Paradies pp. 287, 298). The tendency to trace all the Aramaeans who settled in Syria in the marshy regions which border on the lower Euphrates has become very pronounced of late; cf., amongst others, Hâlayì, Mélanges, pp. 29-81; Rodenkrebs Bib., pp. 27, 38, 160, 287, 288; and Revue, Histoire des Peuples d'Israël, vol. 1, p. 19.
4 Cf. p. 35 of the present work for a passing allusion to this legend.
largest of which, Tylos and Arados, bore names resembling the two great ports of Tyre and Arvad. We are indebted to tradition for the cause of their emigration and the route by which they reached the Mediterranean. The occurrence of violent earthquakes forced them to leave their home; they travelled as far as the Lake of Syria, where they halted for some time; then resuming their march, did not rest till they had reached the sea, where they founded Sidon. The question arises as to the position of the Lake of Syria on whose shores they rested, some believing it to be the Bahr-el-Najif and the environs of Babylon; others, the Lake of Bambikēs near the Esphrataes, the emigrants doubtless having followed up the course of that river, and having approached the country of their destination on its north-eastern frontier. Another theory would seek to identify the lake with the waters of Meroe, the Lake of Galilee, or the Dead Sea; in this case the horse must have crossed the neck of the Arabian peninsula, from the Esphrataes to the Jordan, through one of those long valleys, sprinkled with fountains, which afforded an occasional route for caravans. Several writers assure us that the Phoenician tradition of this exodus was misunderstood by Herodotus, and that the sea which they remembered on reaching Tyre was not the Persian Gulf, but the Dead Sea. If this had been the case, they need not have hesitated to assign their departure to causes mentioned in other documents. The Bible tells us that, soon after the invasion of Kutur-bagamar, the anger of God being kindled by the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah, He resolved to destroy the five cities situated in the valley of Siddim. A cloud of burning brimstone broke over them and consumed them; when the flames and smoke, as “of a furnace,” had passed away, the very site of the towns had disappeared. Previous to their destruction, the lake into which the Jordan empties itself had had but a restricted area: the subsidence of the southern plain, which had been occupied by the impious cities, doubled the size of the lake, and enlarged it to its present

1 Strabo, vii. 3, § 1, p. 766, according to the missing narrative of Androthemen, son of Alexander's admiral. A place on the Persian Gulf named Dora (Strabo, s. v.) is also mentioned; it was known to Plutarch (vi. 7) by the name of Thama Sasa.

2 Justin, xliii. 24: 'Tyrrhonius genitum Phoenicisorns est, qui terrae noctis extat relicto parte sole ad Syrum eaque primum, non usque praecum litora incoluntur, sedita ibi urbis, quam s. fortis atque Sidon appellaverunt, non placere Phoenicis sociis voluerunt.' The ancient editions read 'Asiaticum digammata primum, non usque praecum litora incoluntur.'

3 O. Ratzel, Israel, vol. iv. p. 261, and Hist. of Phoenicia, pp. 33, 34, from the reading 'Asyrium.'


5 They would thus have arrived at the shores of Lake Meroe (HETTIN, Jergen der Philister, pp. 187-189), or at the shores either of the Dead Sea or of the Lake of Gennesareth (Rassam, Phoenicia, p. 47); the Arab tradition speaks of an illusory, which would have led the emigrants across the desert (C. DE PERUGIA, Relazioni dei Arabi, vol. i. p. 38, 48, 49), but they possess no historic value so far as those early epochs are concerned (Niessen, Uber die Aussiedler, p. 24).

6 Gen. xiv. 1-22: the whole of this episode belongs to the Judaeotische narrative.
dimensions. The earthquake which caused the Phoenicians to leave their ancestral home may have been the result of this cataclysm, and the sea on whose shores they squatted would thus be our Dead Sea. One fact, however, appears to be certain in the midst of many hypotheses, and that is that the Phoenicians had their origin in the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf. It is useless to attempt, with the inadequate materials as yet in our possession, to determine by what route they reached the Syrian coast, though we may perhaps conjecture the period of their arrival. Herodotus asserts that the Tyrians placed the date of the foundation of their principal temple two thousand three hundred years before the time of his visit, and the erection of a sanctuary for their national deity would probably take place very soon after their settlement at Tyre; this would bring their arrival there to about the XXVIIIth century before our era. The Elamite and Babylonian conquests would therefore have found the Phoenicians already established in the country, and would have had appreciable effect upon them.

The question now arises whether the Beni-Israel belonged to the group of tribes which included the Phoenicians, or whether they were of Chaldaic race. Their national traditions leave no doubt upon that point. They are regarded as belonging to an important race, which we find dispersed over the country of Padan-Aram, in Northern Mesopotamia, near the base of Mount Masina, and extending on both sides of the Euphrates. Their earliest chiefs bore the names of towns or of peoples,—Nakhor, Peleg, and Serog: all were descendants of Arphazad, and it was related that Terah, the direct ancestor of the Israelites, had dwelt in Ur-Kassitium, the Ur or Urn of the Chaldeans. He is said to have

1 The theory which endeavours to prove that the southern part of the Dead Sea was originally a plain covered with cypress has been vigorously opposed by Lartet (Histoire Naturelle du Proche-Orient, vol. iii. p. 241, 242 seq.; cf. Ritter, Palästina im Altertum, pp. 177-179).
2 This opinion was first published by Bunsen (Abh. Köl. Akad., vol. iii., pp. 234, 242); it was afterwards accepted by him (Kleine Schriften, vol. iii., pp. 41, 42, 28, 87), and from him passed into Weidemann, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, pp. 114-116.
4 The country of Padan-Aram is situated between the Euphrates and the upper reaches of the Khabur, on both sides of the Bulush, and is usually explained as the "plain" or "table-land" of Aram, through the etymology is in doubt; certain, the name seems to be preserved in that of Tell-Faddana, near Harran.
5 Nakhor has been associated with the ancient village of Khama, or with the ancient village of Hama-en-Num, in the south of Amat; Peleg probably corresponds with Pelaga or Phaliges, which was situated at the mouth of the Khabur; Serog with the present Saruk in the neighborhood of Florence, and the other names in the genealogy were probably borrowed from as many different localities.
6 The name of Arphazad is doubtless, as is after its meaning: its second element is undoubtedly the name of the Chaldeans, but the first is interpreted in several ways,—"frontier of the Chaldeans," "homeland of the Chaldeans." The similarity of sound was the cause of its being for a long time associated with the Armakhi of classical times; the territory is now to be recognized in it the country nearest to the ancient domain of the Chaldeans, i.e., Babylonia proper (Vol. Diez, Völker des Altertums, pp. 294, 295; Schober. Die Baudenker, pp. 114, 115; Starke, Die Rel. Gegen. p. 443, note).
7 Ur-Kassitium has long been sought for in the north, either at Orfa, in accordance with the tradition of the Syrian Church, which still exist in the East, or in a certain Ur of Mesopotamia, placed by Auctoumua Mascollin (xxiv. 8, 7) between Nisibo and the Tigre (cf. for a very clear summary of these early opinions, Vincenz, La Bible de les Kneumes de moderne, 1884, vol. i. pp. 281-284).
THE MIGRATION OF THE ISRAELITES FROM CHALDEA INTO SYRIA. 65

had three sons—Abraham, Nakhör, and Harān. Harān bogat Lot, but died before his father in Ur-Kashdian, his own country; Abraham and Nakhör both took wives, but Abraham's wife remained a long time barren. Then Terah, with his son Abraham, his grandson Lot, the son of Harān, and his daughter-in-law Sarah, went forth from Ur-Kashdian (Ur of the Chaldees) to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Kharān, and dwelt there, and Terah died in Kharān. It is a question whether Kharān is to be identified with Harān in Mesopotamia, the city of the god Sin; or, which is more probable, with the Syrian town of Harān, in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The tribes who crossed the Euphrates became subsequently a somewhat important people. They called themselves, or were known by others, as the Tribes, or Hebrews, the people from beyond the river; and this appellation, which we are accustomed to apply to the children of Israel only, embraced also, at the time when the term was most extended, the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, and many other tribes settled on the borders of the desert to the east and south of the Dead Sea. These peoples all traced their descent from Abraham, the son of Terah, but the children of Israel claimed the privilege of being the only legitimate issue of his marriage with Sarah, giving naive or derogatory accounts of the relations which connected the others with

of the present day Halévy still looks for it on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates, to the south-east of the ancient city of Tadmur, in the province of Damascus. [Halévy, Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques, p. 581, and Archéologie Biblique, p. 715, note 1.] It is, therefore, to be identified in the town of Ur, which has been successively accepted by nearly all Assyriologists: by Oppert (Les Inscriptions de Dour-Saraka, in Palæstina's Nationaler Atlas, 1835, p. 235, 284), and lately by the articles, Ur-Karim, in the Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, 1870, p. 1726; and by Furtwängler, in the Biblical Paleontology, 1870, p. 1726. [Furtwängler, in the Biblical Paleontology, 1870, p. 1726.]

The names of Sarah and Abraham, or rather the earlier form, Abram, have been found, the latter under the form Abiram, in the cuneiform of the first Chaldean empire (Halévy, Archéologie Biblique, p. 730). [Furtwängler, in the Biblical Paleontology, 1870, p. 1726.] Further explanation of Sarah in Chaldean inscriptions (Furtwängler, in the Biblical Paleontology, 1870, p. 1726).

In the opinion of most critics (Brunner, Die Bibelgeschichte, p. 503, note 3, Buxtorf, Historia du People d'Israel, vol. 1, p. 36), others prefer to recognize it as being the Jordan (E. Meyer, Geschichten der Alterthümer, vol. 1, p. 215; Stade, Geschichten der Völker Israel, vol. 1, p. 110, note 1). Halévy (Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques, p. 581) prefers to identify it with one of the rivers of Damascus, probably the Abnah (cf. E. Meyer, 1870, p. 1726, note 1).
their common ancestor; Ammon and Moab were, for instance, the issue of the incestuous union of Lot and his daughters. Midian and his sons were descended from Keturah, who was merely a second wife; Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave, while the "hairy" Esaun had sold his birthright and the primacy of the Edomites to his brother Jacob, and consequently to the Israelites, for a dish of lentils. Abraham left Kharan at the command of Jahweh, his God, receiving from Him a promise that his posterity should be blessed above all others. Abraham pursued his way into the heart of Canaan till he reached Shechem, and there, under the oaks of Moreh, Jahweh, appearing to him a second time, announced to him that He would give the whole land to his posterity as an inheritance. Abraham virtually took possession of it, and wandered over it with his flocks; building altars at Shechem, Bethel, and Mamre, the places where God had revealed Himself to him, treating as his equals the native chief, Abimelech of Gerar and Melchizedek of Jerusalem, and granting the valley of the Jordan as a place of pasture to his nephew Lot, whose flocks had increased immensely. His nomadic instinct having led him into Egypt, he was here robbed of his wife by Pharaoh. On his return he purchased the field of Ephron, near Kirjath-Arba, and the cave of Machpelah, of which he made a burying-place for his family. Kirjath-Arba, the Hebron of subsequent times,

1 Gen. xxx. 30-38. For the origin of this account, cf. Heros, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. p. 355, n. 3: it appears from the passage in Deut. ii. 9-19, which speaks of the Midianites and Amalekites, that the writer did not then know of this tradition, or did not choose to take it into consideration, and confined himself to stating the descent of the two peoples without connecting it with any progeny from origin.

2 Gen. xxv. 1-5. Other Hebrew documents prefer to classify the Midianites among the descendants of Ishmael (Gen. xxxvi. 25, 27, 28; Judges viii. 23).

3 Gen. xxi. 9-21, xxvii. 12-18, where we have two different forms of the narrative, the first, Jerahmeel's (ch. xxi.), the second Eliechiel's (xxvi. 9-21); cf. Heros, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. p. 127, note 73, for the comparison of the two versions.

4 For Wellhausen's theory of the probable date of this episode, cf. his Prolegomena zur Geschichtslehre, p. 246, 4th expr.

5 Gen. xvi. 1-4, 6-8. The mention of these three places would indicate, as far as the reduction is concerned, that it was made of a period anterior to that when all other localities for worship except the temple at Jerusalem were proscribed by the law.

6 Cf. the meeting with Melchizedek after the victory over the Elamites (Gen. xiv. 18-20) and the agreement with Abimelech about the well (Gen. xxv. 22-34). The mention of the covenant of Abraham with Abimelech belongs to the oldest part of the national tradition, and is given to us in the Jehovistic narrative (Heraus, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. pp. 368, 380). Many critics have questioned the historical existence of Melchizedek, and believed that the passage in which he is mentioned is merely a kind of passage intended to show the bond of the race paying tribute to the priest of the supreme God residing at Jerusalem (Heraus, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. p. 139); the information, however, furnished by the Tel-al-Amau tablets about the ancient city of Jerusalem (Kutarna, Die Bootsherebrithe aus Jerusalem, in the Zeitpflicht der Assyriologie, vol. vi. pp. 243-260) and the characteristic of its early kings have determined Seyde to pronounce Melchizedek to be an historical personage (The Higher Criticism and the Monuments, pp. 174-178, and Archäologische Palästina, p. 74, 3rd expr.).

7 Gen. xxiv. 1-15. Lot has been sometimes represented as having with the people under the Egyptian monarchs Kotham or Lisanu, whom we shall have occasion to mention frequently further on; he is supposed to have been their eponymous hero (Heraus, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. pp. 12, 115). Lidan, which is the name of an Edomite clan (Gen. xxxvi. 29, 39), is a racial adjective, derived from Lid (Sade, Geschichtedes Volkes Israel, vol. i. pp. 119, 119).

8 Gen. xii. 20-22, xxiv. 1. Abraham's visit to Egypt reproduces the principal events of that of Jacob (Heraus, D'Histoire Sainte et de Loi, vol. i. pp. 342, note 5).

9 Gen. xxiii. 18, xxiv. 1 (Eliechiel narrative). The towns of the patriarchs are believed by the
became from henceforth his favourite dwelling-place; and he was residing there when the Elamites invaded the valley of Siddim, and carried off Lot among their prisoners. Abraham set out in pursuit of them, and succeeded in delivering his nephew. God (Jahveh) not only favoured him on every occasion, but expressed His will to extend over Abraham's descendants His sheltering protection. He made a covenant with him, enjoining the use on the occasion of the mysterious rites employed among the nations when affecting a treaty of peace. Abraham offered up as victims a heifer, a goat, and a three-year-old ram, together with a turtle-dove and a young pigeon; he cut the animals into pieces, and piling them in two heaps, waited till the evening. "And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abraham; and lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him," and a voice from on high said to him: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs; and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance. And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces." Jahveh sealed the covenant by consuming the offering.

Two less important figures fill the interval between the Divine prediction of

Mohammedans so exist to the present day in the cave which is situated within the enclosure of the mosque at Hebron, and the tradition on which this belief is based goes back to early Christian times; cf. Veyssonex, Les Bibles et les Discoveres modernes, 1884, vol. 1, pp. 318-328, where we find summed up the results of the most recent researches on the subject.

1. Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph brought home by Loriot.
2. On the subject of this invasion, cf. pp. 47, 48 of the present work.
servitude and its accomplishment. The birth of one of them, Isaac, was ascribed to the Divine intervention at a period when Sarah had given up all hope of becoming a mother. Abraham was sitting at his tent door in the heat of the day, when three men presented themselves before him, whom he invited to repose under the oak while he prepared to offer them hospitality. After their meal, he who seemed to be the chief of the three promised to return within a year, when Sarah should be blessed with the possession of a son. The announcement came from Jahveh, but Sarah was ignorant of the fact, and laughed to herself within the tent on hearing this amazing prediction; for she said, "After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?" The child was born, however, and was called Isaac, "the laugher," in remembrance of Sarah's mocking laugh. There is a remarkable resemblance between his life and that of his father. Like Abraham he dwelt near Hebron, and departing thence wandered with his household round the wells of Beersheba. Like him he was threatened with the loss of his wife; like him, also, he renewed relations with Atimelech of Gerar. He married his relative Rebecca, the granddaughter of Nahor and the sister of Laban. After twenty years of barrenness, his wife gave birth to twins, Esau and Jacob, who contended with each other from their mother's womb, and whose descendants kept up a perpetual feud. We know how Esau, under the influence of his appetite, deprived himself of the privileges of his birthright, and subsequently went forth to become the founder of the Edomites. Jacob spent a portion of his youth in Padan-Aram, where he served Laban for the hands of his cousin Rachel and Leah; then, owing to the bad faith of his uncle, he left him secretly, after twenty years' service, taking with him his wives and innumerable flocks. At first he wandered aimlessly along the eastern bank of the Jordan, where Jahveh revealed Himself to him in his troubles. Laban pursued and overtook him, and, acknowledging his own injustice, pardoned him for having taken flight. Jacob

1 Gen. xxviii. 1-14, according to the Jubilistic narrative. Gen. xxvi. 15-23 gives another account, in which the Elohist writer predicate the birth of Isaac in a different way. The name of Isaac, "the laugher," possibly abridged from Ismael, "he on whom God smiles." (Renaud, Histoire de l'Israel, vol. i. p. 1073, is explained in three different ways: first, by the laugher of Abraham (ch. xxvii. 17); secondly, by that of Sarah (xxxvi. 12), when her son's birth was foretold to her; and lastly, by the laugher of those who made sport of the delayed maternity of Sarah (xxxvi. 6).)

2 Many critics see in the life of Isaac a colored copy of that of Abraham, while others, on the contrary, consider that the primitive episodes belonged to the former, and that the parallel portions of the two lives were borrowed from the biography of the son to augment that of his father (Wallis, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, p. 235).

3 Gen. xxxvii. 27, Elohist narrative.

4 Gen. xxxvi. 1-31, Jubilistic narrative. In Gen. xxxvii. 11 an Elohist interpolation makes Isaac dwell in the south, near to the "Well of the Living One Who save me."

5 Gen. xxvii., where two narratives appear to have been amalgamated; in the second of these, Abraham seems to have played no part, and Eisner apparently conducted Rebecca direct to her kinsman Isaac (vers. 61-67).


7 Gen. xxxvii. 25-31; cf. what is said of this descent on pp. 65, 66 of the present volume.

8 Gen. xxvi. 41-45, xxvii., xxxii., xxxii. 1
ISAAC, JACOB, AND JOSEPH

raised a heap of stones on the site of their encounter, known at Mizpah to after-ages as the "Stone of Witness"—Gal-Ed (Galeed). This having been accomplished, his difficulties began with his brother Esau, who bore him no good will. One night, at the ford of the Jabbok, when he had fallen behind his companions, "there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day," without prevailing against him. The stranger endeavoured to escape before day-break, but only succeeded in doing so at the cost of giving Jacob his blessing. "What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Jacob called the place Peniel, "for," said he, "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." The hollow of his thigh was "strained as he wrestled with him," and he became permanently lame. Immediately after the struggle he met Esau, and endeavoured to appease him by his humility, building a house for him, and providing booths for his cattle, so as to secure for his descendants the possession of the land. From this circumstance the place received the name of Succoth—the "Booths"—by which appellation it was heretoforth known. Another locality where Jahveh had met Jacob while he was pitching his tents, derived from this fact the designation of the "Two Hosts"—Mahamah. On the other side of the river, at Shechem, at Bethel, and at Hebron, near to the burial-place of his family, traces of him are everywhere to be found blended with those of Abraham. By his two wives and their maids he had twelve sons. Leah was the mother of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulon; Gad and Asher were the children of his slave Zilpah; while Joseph and Benjamin were the only sons of Rachel—Dan and Naphtali* being the offspring of her servant Bilhah. The preference which his father showed to him caused Joseph to be hated by his brothers; they sold him to a caravan of Midianites on their way to Egypt, and persuaded Jacob that a wild beast had devoured him. Jahveh was, however, with Joseph, and "made all that he did to prosper in his hand.

* Gen. xxxii. 43-54, where the writer evidently traces the origin of the word Gilgal to Gal-Ed. We gather from the context that the narrative was connected with the scene at Mizpah which separated the Hebrews from the Aramean-speaking peoples.

* Gen. xxxii. 22-32. This is the account of the Jahvistic writer. The Elohist gives a different version of the circumstances which led to the change of name from Jacob to Israel; he places the scene at Bethel, and suggests no reason etymology for the name Israel (Gen. xxxii. 9-15).

* Gen. xxxii. 1-17. (The Hebrew states that Jacob built the house, etc., for himself and not for Esau—45.)

* Gen. xxxii. 2-3; where the discrepancy is indicated rather than directly stated.

* Gen. xxxii. 18-20. Here should be placed the episode of Bilhah denuded by an Amorite prince, and the consequent massacre of the inhabitants by Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxviii.). The almost complete disappearance of the two tribes of Simeon and Levi is attributed to this massacre; cf. Gen. xxxii. 3-7.

* Gen. xxxiii. 1-14, where is found the Elohist version (9-15) of the circumcisions which led to the change of name from Jacob to Israel.

* Gen. xxxvii. 27-30.

* The enumeration of all the sons is given in Gen. xxxvi. 25-36; the details of the births of the children of Leah are found in Gen. xxxii. 31-35, xxxvi. 14-21; those of the children of Rachel in Gen. xxxii. 22-34, xxxix. 16-19; and those of the children of Bilhah and Zilpah in Gen. xxxvi. 1-11.
He was bought by Potiphar, a great Egyptian lord and captain of Pharaoh's guard, who made him his overseer; his master's wife, however, "cast her eyes upon Joseph," but finding that he rejected her shameless advances, she accused him of having offered violence to her person. Being cast into prison, he astonished his companions in misfortune by his skill in reading dreams, and was summoned to Court to interpret to the king his dream of the seven lean kine who had devoured the seven fat kine, which he did by representing the latter as seven years of abundance, of which the crops should be swallowed up by seven years of famine. Joseph was thereupon raised by Pharaoh to the rank of prime minister. He stored up the surplus of the abundant harvests, and as soon as the famine broke out, distributed the corn to the hunger-stricken people in exchange for their silver and gold, and for their flocks and fields. Hence it was that the whole of the Nile valley, with the exception of the lands belonging to the priests, gradually passed into the possession of the royal treasury. Meanwhile his brethren, who also suffered from the famine, came down into Egypt to buy corn. Joseph revealed himself to them, pardoned the wrong they had done him, and presented them to the Pharaoh. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye: load your beasts, and go, get ye unto the land of Canaan; and take your father and your household, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land." Jacob thereupon raised his camp and came to Beer-sheba, where he offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac, and Jehovah commanded him to go down into Egypt, saying, "I will there make of thee a great nation: I will go down with thee into Egypt: and I will also surely bring thee up again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes." The whole family were installed by Pharaoh in the province of Goshen, as far as possible from the centres of the native population, "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." 

In the midst of these stern yet touching narratives in which the Hebrews of later times delighted to trace the history of their remote ancestors, one important fact arrests our attention: the Beni-Israel quitted Southern Syria and settled on the banks of the Nile. They had remained for a considerable time in what was known later as the mountains of Judah. Hebron had served as their rallying-point; the broad but scantily watered wadys separating the cultivated lands from the desert, were to them a patrimony, which they shared

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1 For the resemblance which has been remarked between this episode and a passage in the "Tale of the Two Brothers," where the wife of Anpu persuades her young brother-in-law Bima, her friend, that he repulses her advances, cf. Exodus, Egyptian and German text, pp. 381, 215; and Maspéro, "Les collections populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne," 2nd ed., pp. 211-212.

2 The history of Joseph is contained in Gen. xxxvii. xxxix.-xlvi. The commentary of Vermaseren, "Le Règne et les Découvertes Archéologiques," Vol. I, pp. 1-237, and that of Bunsen, "Rechtschäft und Bibel," pp. 75-103, give an idea of the masses in which orthodox commentators and Egyptologists can defend the authenticity of the narrative by references to the ancient monuments.
with the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. Every year, in the spring, they led their flocks to browse on the thin herbage growing in the bottoms of the valleys, removing them to another district only when the supply of fodder was exhausted. The women spun, wove, fashioned garments, baked bread, cooked the viands, and devoted themselves to the care of the younger children, whom they suckled beyond the usual period. The men lived like the Bedouin—periods of activity alternating regularly with times of idleness, and the daily routine, with its simple duties and casual work, often gave place to quarrels for the possession of some rich pastureage or some never-failing well.¹

A comparatively ancient tradition relates that the Hebrews arrived in Egypt during the reign of Apebés, a Hyksos king, doubtless one of the Apopi, and possibly the monarch who restored the monuments of the Theban Pharaohs, and engraved his name on the sphinxes of Amenemhût III, and on the colossi of Mirmáshá. The land which the Hebrews obtained is that which, down to the present day, is most frequently visited by nomads, who find there an uncertain hospitality. The tribes of the isthmus of Suez are now, in fact, constantly shifting from one continent to another, and their encampments in any place are merely temporary. The lord of the soil must, if he desire to keep them within his borders, treat them with the greatest prudence and tact. Should the government displease them in any way, or appear to curtail their liberty, they pack up their tents and take flight into the desert. The district occupied by them one day is on the next vacated and left to desolation.² Probably the same state of things existed in ancient times, and the border homes on the east of the Delta were in turn inhabited or deserted by the Bedouin of the period. The towns were few in number, but a series of forts protected the frontier. These were mere village-strongholds perched on the summit of some eminence, and surrounded by a strip of cornland. Beyond the frontier extended a region of bare rock, or a wide plain saturated with the ill-regulated surplus water of the inundation. The land of Goshen was bounded by

¹ Compare the picture of the Semitic nomads traced by Renan, History of the People of Israel, vol. 1, pp. 13-23, with that of the Bedouin furnished by the Memoire de Steinkirch (cf. Marcuse, Days of Civilization, pp. 471-473); the narrative of Genesis bears witness to a state of things analogous to that revealed by the Egyptian text as existing in the age of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties.

² The year XVII of Apebés has been pointed out as the date of their arrival (Georgius Strepellus, Chronography, Brussee’s ed., p. 201), and this conclusion, probably proposed by some learned Jew of Alexandria, was adopted by Christian chroniclers. It is unsupported by any fact of Egyptian history, but it rests on a series of calculations founded on the information contained in the Bible. Starting from the assumption that the Exodus must have taken place under Amenemhût, and that the children of Israel had been four hundred and thirty years on the banks of the Nile, it was found that the beginning of their sojourn fell under the reign of the Apopi mentioned by Josephus, and, to be still more accurate, in the XVIIth year of that prince (Renan, Zür Chronologie der Alten, in the Zeitschrift, 1860, pp. 120-127).

³ In the last century, and even in our own times, we have examples of several migrations of tribes established on the isthmus in the eastern districts of the Delta, who passed from Egypt into Syria or from Syria into Egypt, to escape the exactions of Egyptian or Turkish governors.
the cities of Helopolis on the south, Bubastis on the west, and Tanis and Mendes on the north; the garrison at Avaris could easily keep watch over it and maintain order within it, while they could at the same time defend it from the incursions of the Monastí and the Hiru-Shaír. The Bani-Israel thrived in these surroundings so well adapted to their traditional tastes. Even if their subsequent importance as a nation has been over-estimated, they did not at least share the fate of many foreign tribes, who, when transplanted into Egypt, waned and died out, or, at the end of two or three generations, became merged in the native population. In pursuing their calling as shepherds, almost within sight of the rich cities of the Nile valley, they never forsook the God of their fathers to bow down before the Emneeds or TrfindViewById Egypt; whether He was already known to them as Jahveh, or was worshipped under the collective name of Elohim, they served Him with almost unbroken fidelity even in the presence of Re and Osiris, of Ptah and Sûrkhû.

The Hyksôs conquest had not in any way modified the feudal system of the country. The Shepherd-kings must have inherited the royal domain just as they found it at the close of the XIVth dynasty, but doubtless the whole Delta, from Avaris to Baal, and from Memphis to Buto, was their personal appanage. Their direct authority probably extended no further south than the pyramids, and their supremacy over the five of the Sadat was at best

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1 The limits of the land of Goshen are not clearly defined. I have adopted those indicated by Rums, Dictey Gazetteer: Sinai, pp. 73, 74; 488-513; and NAVILE, Goshen and the Sphere of Soh of Hamad, pp. 15-20; also Buzon, Descriptions of Sinai, pp. 116, 117. (Goshen comprised the plains situated on the borders of the cultivated veldland, and watered by the irrigation of the Nile, which caused the growth of a vegetation sufficient to support the flocks during a few weeks; and it may also have included the imperfectly irrigated provinces which were covered with pools and muddy swamps after each inundation; of the description of the district frequented by the Bedouins in Tawer, Observations sur les Arabes de l’Egypte Maghre, in the Description de l’Egypte, vol. xii. pp. 325, 311.)

2 We are told that when the Hebrews left Egypt, they were “about six hundred thousand on foot, besides children, besides的女人. And a mixed multitude went up with them; and flocks and herds, even very small cattle” (Exod. xii. 37; 38).

3 Buxton, History of People of Israel, vol. i, pp. 145-153, where exception must be taken to what the author says with regard to the perilous influences of Egypt. If any Egyptian influences took effect, it is impossible to say at the present time whether it were good or bad: every definite trace of it has disappeared from the Biblical narrative.

4 This is evident from the very passage in which Moses describes the expulsion of the Hyksôs: “And the Lord said to Moses: ‘Rise up and lead the children of Israel out of Egypt; for I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel under the hand of the Egyptians. And I will stretch out my hand and smite with the Egyptians; and now am I come to rescue them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of the land of Egypt to the land of Canaan.” (Exod. i., 12-13.)

5 The monuments found at Tanis and Bubastis (cf. pp. 38, 39 of the present work) sufficiently prove that the eastern part of the Delta was under the immediate authority of the Shepherd-kings. As for the remainder of the country, there is adequate proof afforded by a passage of the inscription in the Stab-Autor, in which Queen Hâbûhotep relates that she “raised up the monuments destroyed in the time when the Anûth reigned over the country of the north.” (GOUPIL, Notice sur le Texte hiéroglyphique du Stab-Author, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. i, p. 39.) The fragment of the text in which Minnsûd speaks of “the kings of Lower Egypt, who possessed the whole land” (OEDOCHEON, Histoire de l’Egypte, vol. ii. p. 29, 40; BANÉRISSE, Baron, pt. 2, iii. 30, 40) refers to the same period, but it recalls the fact of their supremacy over the entire valley. (Cf. RAVID, Mémoire sur les Attiques dirigées contre l’Egypte pour les pièces de la Mer, p. 7.)
THEBES REBOLTS AGAINST THE HYKSOS.

precarious. The turbulent lords who shared among them the possession of the valley had never lost their proud or rebellious spirit, and under the foreign a
under the native Pharaohs regulated their obedience to their ruler by the energy he displayed, or by their regard for the resources at his disposal. Thebes had never completely lost the ascendancy which it obtained over them at the fall of the Memphite dynasty. The accession of the Xoite dynasty, and the arrival of the Shepherd-kings, in delegating Thebes unceremoniously to a second rank, had not discouraged it, or lowered its royal prestige in its own eyes or in those of others: the lords of the south instinctively rallied around it, as around their natural citadel, and their resources, combined with its own, rendered it as formidable a power as that of the masters of the Delta. If we had fuller information as to the history of this period, we should doubtless see that the various Theban princes took occasion, as in the Heracleopolitan epoch, to pick a quarrel with their sovereign lord, and did not allow themselves to be discouraged by any check. The centuries of rule attributed by the chronicles to the Hyksos of the XVIth dynasty were not probably, as far as they were concerned, years of perfect tranquillity, or of undisputed authority. In inscribing their sole names on the lists, the compilers denoted merely the shorter or longer period during which their Theban vassals failed in their rebellious efforts, and did not dare to assume openly the title or ensigns of royalty. A certain Apophis, probably the same who took the pseudonym of Aqbari, was reigning at Tanis when the decisive revolt broke out, and Saqinari Tiaa I., who was the leader on the occasion, had no other title of authority over the provinces of the south than that of king, or regent.

The length of time during which Egypt was subject to Asiatic rule is not fully known. Historians are agreed in recognizing the three epochs referred to in the narrative of Manetho (Müther-Ducr, Frag. Historicon Grammata, vol. ii. pp. 556-568) as corresponding with: (1) the conquest and the six first Hyksos kings, including the XVIth Theban dynasty; (2) the complete su...
We are unacquainted with the cause of the outbreak or with its sequel, and the Egyptians themselves seem to have been not much better informed on the subject than ourselves. They gave free flight to their fancy, and accommodated the details to their taste, not shrinking from the introduction of daring fictions into the account. A romance, which was very popular with the literati four or five hundred years later, asserted that the real cause of the war was a kind of religious quarrel. \(^1\)

"It happened that the land of Egypt belonged to the Fever-stricken, and, as there was no supreme king at that time, it happened then that King Saquntari was regent of the city of the south, and that the Fever-stricken of the city of Rå were under the rule of Rå-Apôpi in Avaris.\(^2\) The Whole Land tribute to the latter in manufactured products, and the north did the same in all the good things of the Delta.

Now, the King Rå-Apôpi took to himself Suthkhâ for lord, and he did not serve any other god in the Whole Land except Suthkhâ, and he built a temple of excellent and everlasting work at the gate of the King Rå-Apôpi, and he arose every morning to sacrifice the daily victims, and the chief vassals were there with garlands of flowers, as it was accustomed to be done for the temple of Phrã-Harmâkhis.\(^3\) Having finished the temple, he thought of imposing upon the Thebans the cult of his god, but as he shrank from employing force in such a delicate matter, he had recourse to stratagem. He took counsel with his princes and generals, but they were unable to propose any plan, cartouche, pronoun, as Brugsch may as soon as Mariâds had given the true reading of the name (Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 323, where the pronoun of one of the two Tôsas is mistakenly read Aqûntari, like that of the Shepherd-king); the two epithets, Saquntari, Aqûntari, are formed on the same model, and as Apôpi regained before his rival, it was evidently Tôsa who derived the pronoun Saquntari from that of Aqûntari.

\(^*\) The Séller Papyrus, No. 1, was written in the year X. of probably in the reign of Amenophis II; in any case, under the rule of a Pharaoh who is to be placed in the second half of the XIX.\(^*\) dynasty. The value of the document forming its first pages was recognised by E. de Rouge (Histoire d'Egypte, 1844, p. 409), and the interpretation of a few lines attempted shortly after by Brugsch (Egyptische Studien, vol. 1, pp. 8-21). It has since been translated by Godwin (Heritage Egypt, in the Cambridge Essays, 1858, pp. 242-253), by Clerc (Les Pasteurs en Egypte, pp. 10-19), by Brugsch (Histoire d'Egypte, p. 75; Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 272-275), by Kien (Ägypten und die Rotte Mose, p. 224, et seq.), by Livingston (Travels of the 1st Séller Papy., in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. VIII, pp. 1-4), by Maspero (Etudes Egyptiennes, vol. 1, pp. 198-214). The results were at first received as historical, except by Godwin (cf. Boussen, Egypt's Peace, vol. IV, p. 671). The true nature of the document was indicated at length by Maspero (Etudes Egyptiennes, vol. 1, pp. 195-216, and Les Textes populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne, 2nd edn., pp. xxvii-xxxii), and the majority of Egyptologists have since fallen in with this opinion (Wackernagel, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 71, and Egyptische Geschichte, pp. 250, 306; Eves, Nouvellées Egyptiennes, vol. 2, p. 3, and Ägyptische Grammatik, p. 592; En. Mâtr, Geschichte der Alterthümer, vol. 1, pp. 135, 356, and Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 312), without, however, accepting my view that the Egyptian story belongs to the class of fable and chivalric narratives.

\(^*\) The text is here uncertain, and Pluton, Paris, p. 241, in the Zeitschrift, 1899, p. 60, as well as le Roux, Les Noms de la Regnent septentrionale, in the Zeitschrift, 1899, vol. xxxi, p. 416, has proposed readings of both different from mine. Le Roux renders it, "The source of the streams, Apêp-Ra, was chief of the north in Avaris, while Sekhen-Ra was chief of the south at Thebes," but "there was no king in that day."
The college of diviners and scribes was more complaisant: "Let a messenger go to the regent of the city of the South to tell him: The King Râ-Ăpòpi commands thee: 'That the hippopotami which are in the pool of the town are to be exterminated in the pool, in order that slumber may come to me by day and by night.' He will not be able to reply good or bad, and thou shalt send him another messenger: The King Râ-Ăpòpi commands thee: 'If the chief of the South does not reply to my message, let him serve no longer any god but Sûtkhî. But if he replies to it, and will do that which I tell him to do, then I will impose nothing further upon him, and I will not in future bow before any other god of the Whole Land than Amnûrî, king of the gods!'" Another Pharoah of popular romance, Nectanebo, possessed, at a much later date, mares which conceived at the neighing of the stallions of Babylon, and his friend Lyceerus had a cat which went forth every night to wring the necks of the cocks of Memphis: 1 the hippopotami of the Theban lake, which troubled the rest of the King of Tanis, were evidently of close kin to these extraordinary animals. The sequel is unfortunately lost. We may assume, however, without much risk of error, that Saqnûrî came forth safe and sound from the ordeal; that Apópi was taken in his own trap, and saw himself driven to the dire extremity of giving up Sûtkhî for Amnûrî or of declaring war. He was likely to adopt the latter alternative, and the end of the manuscript would probably have related his defeat.

Hostilities continued for a century and a half from the time when Saqnûrî Thûkîa declared himself son of the Sun and king of the two Egyptians. From the moment in which he surrounded his name with a cartouche, the princes of the Said threw in their lot with him, and the XVIIth dynasty had its beginning on the day of his proclamation. 2 The strife at first was indecisive and without marked advantage to either side. 3 at length the Pharaoh whom the

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1 Found in a popular story, which came in later times to be associated with the traditions connected with Meni: cf. La Vie d'Egypte le Pharaon, translated by La Fugainne (Public, ed. Lamerwe, vol. i, pp. 41, 42, 43). The correctness of this interpretation is called in question by Piren, Paris, in the Zeitchrift, 1885, p. 60, note 2.

2 Drawn from the original by Vaucher-Guillaume. cf. Chabroux, Mémorials de l'Egypte, etc., pl. xli, a, 3, and Pimmier, Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne, p. 153, No. 614 Mâ. This small object, which was attributed to Saqnûrî III. Thûkîa, has been restituted to Thûkîa by Masson, Une Esquile judiciaire a Thèbes, p. 78.

3 Masson, Une Esquile judiciaire, pp. 70, 89; cf. Revue Critique, 1870, vol. i, pp. 119, 120. In this, as in many other cases, a change of dynasty in the lists of Manetho does not indicate the accession of a new family, but a change in the position of the reigning family.

4 Manetho says no formally: "Cest là les Fils de Râ ....... SÈNNÔTÔ NÔTÔ NÔTÔ NÔTÔ TÔMÔ KÔTÔS TÔMÔ KÔTÔS SÈNNÔTÔ NÔTÔ NÔTÔ NÔTÔ TÔMÔ KÔTÔS. La sai septe ans en egypte, au cyprès et au poème sibyllogique. (MULLER-BIDOT, Rec. Hist. Grecque, vol. i, p. 367.) Erman thinks, on the contrary, that Thûkîa found no support among the petty princes, but that they preferred to continue vassals of a foreigner rather than renounce the sovereignty of one of their equals (Egyptien und Ägyptischen Leben, p. 152).
Greek copyists of Manetho call Allaphragmatica, defeated the barbarians, drove them away from Memphis and from the western plains of the Delta, and shut them up in their entrenched camp at Avaris, between the Sebennytic branch of the Nile and the Wady Tumilat. The monuments bearing on this period of strife and misery are few in number, and it is a fortunate circumstance if some insignificant object turns up which would elsewhere be passed over as unworthy of notice. One of the officials of Tiassa I. has left us his writing palette, on which the cartouches of his master are incised with a rudeness baffling description. We have also information of a prince of the blood, a king's son, Taâ, who accompanied this same Pharaoh in his expeditions; and the Gizeh Museum is proud of having in its possession the wooden sabre which this individual placed on the mummy of a certain Aghoro, to enable him to defend himself against the monsters of the lower world. A second Saquinini Tiassa succeeded the first, and like him was buried in a little brick pyramid on the border of the Theban necropolis. At his death the series of rulers was broken, and we meet with several names which are difficult to classify — Sakkonthiniâ, Sanakhthiâ-ni, Hotpêti, Manhotpêti, * 

* Mânerhi, in Muller-Drew, Eng. Rev. Grec., vol. ii. pp. 367, 368. The various readings Mepitizamonthisa and Mepitizamonthisa are found in the MSS., and much labour has been expended in the effort to identify the disfigured name with one of the known kings. Unger sees in it that of Atumaspîr (cf, p. 94 of the present work), one of the sons of Atumâs who did not reign (Chronologie des Manethos, pp. 155, 156), but the majority of Egyptologists have identified it with the name of Thaamde III., following Lepsius in assuming that the Hubsâ were not expelled until the reigns of that prince, which is incorrect, as we shall see later on. Others are of opinion that the Hubsâ were expelled in the reign of Atumâs, but consider Manetho's account to be a romance in which facts and names are jumbled together without any regard to truth (Vandenhove, Egyptiçs qreciç, p. 303.

The two Tiassa and their pyramids were much known by the Abbot Popyas, pl. ii. n. 8-11, where Tiassa is called Tiassa-ni, &c. Tin, the twice great. Their true place in the series was determined by Canars, in Revue de l'Egypte, p. 39-40. It is worth considering whether Tiassa-ni is not the same person as Thaamde, whose name is sometimes written in the short form Tiassa (Boulay, Notices de l'Egypte, p. 6, in the Revue de l'Egypte, vol. iv. p. 125), and that there were, therefore, only two instead of the usually assumed three Tiassas.

* Drawn by Ewanier-Quelin from a photograph taken by Emil Beugnet-Bay of Manthoë, Notice des Principaux Monuments, 1861, p. 210, and Manthoë, Une Esquisse judiciale à Thébes, p. 77. The object is reproduced by Manthoë, Monuments divers, pl. 31-3; and p. 16: Album Photographique du Musée de Boula, pl. 37.

* No contemporary monument of Sakkonthiniâ or Sanakhthiâ-ni has yet been found. The first is mentioned, as far as I know, only in the series of Theban kings to whom the official of the Necropolis, Khantakh, rendered homage in the time of the XXth dynasty (Birum, Exposition Egyptièse, pl. 52; Wymbier, Exposition Egyptièse, plate II; Canars, Monuments de l'Egypte, vol. ii. p. 302; Parcier d'Antigny, Monuments, pl. iii. p. 5; Leuba, Tebali, vol. 2, c.

The second is mentioned on the table of offerings in the Muscillens Museum (B. en Sûr, Études sur la série des noms levantins à la Salle des Archives de Tebali III, p. 47.)
As we proceed, however, information becomes more plentiful, and the list of reigns almost complete. The part which the princesses of older times played in the transmission of power had, from the XIIth dynasty downward, considerably increased in importance, and threatened to overshadow that of the princes. The question presents itself whether, during these centuries of perpetual warfare, there had not been a moment when, all the males of the family having perished, the women alone were left to perpetuate the solar race on the earth, and to keep the succession unbroken. As soon as the veil over this period of history begins to be lifted, we distinguish among the personages emerging from the obscurity as many queens as kings presiding over the destinies of Egypt. The sons took precedence of the daughters when both were the offspring of a brother and sister born of the same parents, and when, consequently, they were of equal rank; but, on the other hand, the sons forfeited this equality when there was any inferiority in origin on the maternal side, and their prospect of succession to the throne diminished in proportion to their mother’s remoteness from the line of It. In the latter case all their sisters, born of marriages which to us appear incestuous, took precedence of them, and the eldest daughter became the legitimate Pharaoh, who sat in the seat of Horus on the death of her father, or even occasionally during his lifetime. The prince whom she married governed for her, and discharged those royal duties which could be legally performed by a man only,—such as offering worship to the supreme gods, commanding the army, and administering justice; but his wife never ceased to be sovereign, and however small the intelligence or firmness of which she might be possessed, her husband was obliged to leave to her, at all events on certain occasions, the direction of affairs. At her death her children inherited the crown; their father, had

No. 3: Maspero, Catalogue des Musées Égyptiens de Marseille, p. 4), and on one of the walls of the Hall of Annunmat at Karnak (Précis d’Avenel, Monuments Égyptiens, pl. ii.; E. de Sacy, Études sur le dieu des rois, pp. 35, 36, in such a position as to associate him with the end of the XVIth dynasty, and more especially with the group of Seti II, Tuthmosis III, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenhotep. They might, strictly speaking, be called accessory kings, who were contemporaneous with the Suankurs of Almous (Maspero, Les Musées royales du Désert, ch. ii, in the Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission de Caire, vol. i., pp. 638, 639).

Hotspuri and Menehotep are both mentioned in the fragments of a fantastic story (copied during the XXII dynasty), bits of which are found in most European museums (Maspero, Les Cents populations de l’Egypt ancienne, 2nd edit., pp. 217-238). In one of these fragments, preserved in the Louvre, mention is made of Hotspuri’s tomb, certainly situated at Thebes (ibid., p. 201, 202): we possess records of this king, and Ptolemy discovered at Coptos a fragment of a stela bearing his name and titles, and describing the works which he executed in the temples of the town (History of Egypt, pp. 246, 247). The XVIIth year of Menehotep is mentioned in a passage of the story, as being the date of the death of a personage born under Hotspuri (Maspero, Les Cents populations de l’Egypt ancienne, 2nd edit., p. 239). These two kings belong, as far as we are able to judge, to the middle of the XVIIth dynasty; I am inclined to place between them the Pharaoh Nibbhotep, of whom we possess a few rather obscure records (Faulkner, Palermo, Historical Records, pl. 90).

On the subject of these queens, see Maspero, Hours of Civilization, pp. 255, 256, 270-276.
formally to invest the eldest of them with royal authority in the room of the deceased, and with him he shared the externals, if not the reality, of power. It is doubtful whether the third Saqun was known to us—he who added an epithet to his name, and was commonly known as Tnu, “Tnu the brave”—united in his person all the requisites of a Pharaoh qualified to reign in his own right. However, this may have been, at all events his wife, Queen Ahhotep, possessed them. His eldest son Ahmos was killed prematurely; the two younger brothers, Kamose and a second Ahmos, the Amosis of the Greeks, assumed the crown after him. It is possible, as frequently happened, that their young sister Ahmose-Neferti entered the harem of both brothers consecutively. We cannot be sure that she was united to Kamose, but at all events she became the wife of Ahmos, and the rights which she possessed, together with those which her husband had inherited from their mother Ahhotep, gave him a legal claim such as was seldom enjoyed by the Pharaohs of that period, so many of them being sovereigns merely de facto, while he was doubly king by right.

Tnu, Kamose, and Ahmos quickly succeeded each other. Tnu, his widow, and Amosis, the queen Ahhotep.

1 Thus we find Thutmosis I, formally ennobling his daughter Hethpe, towards the close of his reign. (E. de Rouge, Études des Monuments du Musée de Karnak, in Membrances de l'École Égyptienne, vol. 1, p. 47, 48; Naville, The Temple of Deir-al-Bahri, pp. 15, 16.)

2 It would seem that the epithet Qen (the brave, the robust) did not form an indispensable part of his name, any more than Ahmos did of the name of members of the family of Ahmos, the conqueror of the Shepherds (Maxim, Les Monuments de Deir-al-Bahri, in Membrances de l’École Égyptienne, vol. 1, p. 627). It is to him that the Tnu, cartouche name, which is to be found on the stele mentioned by Damiel-Pothu published by Bouquet (Notes de Voyage, p. 6), in the Museum of Brussels, vol. 2, p. 125), and on which we find Ahmos, a princess of the same name, together with Queen Ahhotep.

3 Drawn by Feschou-Guad, from a photograph by Filandre Pyrée.

4 I have attempted to construct a genealogy of this family in Les Monuments de Deir-al-Bahri (Membrances de l’École Égyptienne, vol. 1, p. 626-627). One part of it is certain: (1) the marriage of Ahhotep I. with Thutmose III. (Bouquet, Notes de Voyage, p. 6, in the Museum of Brussels, vol. 2, p. 125), where a deceased elder son, named Ahmos, is mentioned together with his mother Ahhotep.
very probably waged war against the Shepherds, and it is not known whether he fell upon the field of battle or was the victim of some plot; the appearance of his mummy proves that he died a violent death when about forty years of age. Two or three men, whether assassins or soldiers, must have surrounded and despatched him before help was available. A blow from an axe must have severed part of his left cheek, exposed the teeth, fractured the jaw, and sent him senseless to the ground; another blow must have seriously injured the skull; and a dagger or javelin has cut open the forehead on the right side, a little above the eye. His body must have remained lying where it fell for some time; when found, decomposition had set in, and the embalming had to be hastily performed as best it might. The hair is thick, rough, and matted; the face had been shaved on the morning of his death, but by touching the cheek we can ascertain how harsh and abundant the hair must have been. The mummy is that of a fine, vigorous man, who might have lived to a hundred years, and he must have defended himself resolutely against his assailants; his features bear even now an expression of fury. A flattened patch of exuded brain appears above one eye, the forehead is wrinkled, and the lips, which are drawn back in a circle about the gums, reveal the teeth still hitting into the tongue. Kamose did not reign long; we know nothing of the

and his sister Ahmosis, probably the future Queen Ahmose-Nofrihir. The other sons are not named on this monument, which is dedicated by the deceased by his father, his mother, and the sister who would have reigned had he lived: (2) the percentage of Ahhotep I. and of Ahmosis (State of Egypt, published by U. BOULANGER, Petit Monument de la Rome Egypte, in the Besançon de Travaux, vol. I. pp. 89, 90; o. Maspero, Les Monceaux populaires, pp. 625-628); (3) the fact that Nofrihir was her husband's sister, both on the father's side, as is shown by the words "royal sister" on her portrait between the titles "daughter" and "wife of a king" (Les Monceaux populaires, p. 535), and also on the mother's side, as is proved by the place which she occupies by the side of Ahhotep on Dendera-Pasha's statue (BOULANGER, Notes de Voyage, 8, in the Besançon de Travaux, vol. I. p. 180). The order in which Kamose should be placed is not quite certain; the probability is, however, that he ought to come between Thutque and Ahmosis, and that he was a brother of the latter.

1 All these details as to the king's appearance and the manner of his death are furnished by the mummy which is at present in the museum at Ghizeh (Maspero, Les Monceaux populaires de la Vieille-Babylone, in the Mem. de la mission Frangaise, vol. I. pp. 525-529). The name Thutque, which Wiedemann assigns to this prince (Egyptische Geschich, p. 301), is merely a misspelling of the name Thutque, due to the engraver who executed the inscription on the coffin (Maspero, Les Monceaux populaires, pp. 525, 527). The worship of Thutque was continued down to the XX dynasty (Lazarus, Dictionn., iii. 3, 4).)

2 Drawn by Bouchet, from a photograph by Emil Burntis-Bat, taken in 1886.

3 With regard to Kamose, we possess, in addition to the miniature bust which was discovered on the sarcophagus of Queen Ahhotep, and which is now in the museum at Ghizeh (Viret, Notes sur les Principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Ghizeh, pp. 210, 211, No. 655), a few scattered references to his worship existing on the monuments, on a stele at Ghizeh (Lazarus, Dictionnaire des Noms
events of his life, but we owe to him one of the prettiest examples of the Egyptian goldsmith's art—the gold boat mounted on a carriage of wood and bronze, which was to convey his double on its journeys through Hades. This boat was afterwards appropriated by his mother Ahhotep. Ahmosis must have been about twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne; he was of medium height, as his body when mummified measured only 5 feet 6 inches in length, but the development of the neck and chest indicates extraordinary strength. The head is small in proportion to the bust, the forehead low and narrow, the cheek-bones project, and the hair is thick and wavy. The face exactly resembles that of Tháouâ, and the likeness alone would proclaim the affinity, even if we were ignorant of the close relationship which united these two Pharaohs. Ahmosis seems to have been a strong, active, warlike man; he was successful in all the wars in which we know him to have been engaged, and he ousted the Shepherds from the last towns occupied by them. It is possible that modern writers have exaggerated the credit due to Ahmosis for expelling the Hyksôs. He found the task already half accomplished, and the warfare of his forefathers for at least a century must have prepared the way for his success; if he appears to have played the most important rôle in the history of the deliverance, it is owing to our ignorance of the work of others, and he thus benefits by the oblivion into which their deeds have passed. Taking this into consideration, we must still admit that the Shepherds, even when driven into Ayurs, were not adversaries to be despised. Forced by the continual pressure of the Egyptian armies into this corner of the Delta, they were as a compact body the more able to make a protracted resistance against very superior forces. The impenetrable marshes of Manralish on the north, and the desert of the Red Sea on the south, completely covered both their wings; the shifting network of the branches of the Nile, together with the artificial canals, protected them as by a series of moats in front, while Syria in their rear offered them inexhaustible resources for revictualing their troops, or levying recruits among tribes of kindred race. As long as they could hold their ground there, a re-invasion was always possible;
one victory would bring them to Memphis, and the whole valley would again fall under their suzerainty. Ἀλμοσία, by driving them from their last stronghold, averted this danger. It is, therefore, not without reason that the official chroniclers of later times separated him from his ancestors and made him the head of a new dynasty. His predecessors had in reality been merely Pharaohs on sufferance, ruling in the south within the confines of their Theban principality, gaining in power, it is true, with every generation, but never able to attain to the suzerainty of the whole country. They were reckoned

in the XVIIth dynasty together with the Hyksos sovereigns of uncontested legitimacy, while their successors were chosen to constitute the XVIIIth, comprising Pharaohs with full powers, tolerating no competitors, and uniting under their firm rule the two regions of which Egypt was composed—the possessions of Sit and the possessions of Horus.

The war of deliverance broke out on the accession of Ἀλμοσία, and continued during the first five years of his reign. One of his lieutenants, the king's

1 Drawn by Furtado-Godin, from a photograph by Emil Brugué-Bey, taken in 1875.
2 Manetho, on his shielders, call the king who drove out the Shepherd Amasis or Tathmisas (Müller-Droott, Fragmenta Historiocrum Graecorum, vol. iii, pp. 572-578). Lepsius thought he saw grounds for preferring the second reading, and identified this Tathmisas with Tathmis Menakhpitré, the Thothmes III. of our lists; Amasis could only have driven out the greater part of the nation. This theory, to which Naville still adheres (Biblioth. Egypt. pp. 19, 20), is also adopted by Steindorff (Zur Geschichte der Hykosen, pp. 7, 8), was disputed nearly fifty years ago by E. de Rouge (Études de l'histor. de M. le Comte de Blacas, ii, pp. 36-49); nowadays we are obliged to admit that, subsequent to the 20th year of Amasis, there were no longer Shepherd-kings in Egypt, even though a part of the conquering race may have remained in the country in a state of slavery, as we shall soon have occasion to observe (cf. pp. 88, 89 of the present work).
3 This is evident from a passage in the biography of Ἀλμοσία-Αβιν (1, 14), where it is stated that, after the taking of Avaris, the king passed into Asia in the year 19 (cf. pp. 88 of the present work). The first few lines of the Great Inscription of E'khir (II, 2-15) seem to refer to four successive campaigns, i.e. four years of surface, up to the taking of Avaris, and to a fifth year spent in pursuing the Shepherd into Syria.
namesake—Ahmosi-si-Ahmu—who belonged to the family of the lords of Nekhabit, has left us an account, in one of the inscriptions in his tomb, of the numerous exploits in which he took part side by side with his royal master.

and, thus, thanks to this fortunate record of his vanity, we are not left in complete ignorance of the events which took place during this crucial struggle between the Asiatic settlers and their former subjects. Nekhabit had enjoyed considerable prosperity in the earlier ages of Egyptian history, marking as it did the extreme southern limit of the kingdom, and forming an outpost against the barbarous tribes of Nubia.

As soon as the progress of conquest had pushed the frontier as far south as the first cataract, it declined in importance, and the remembrance of its former greatness found an echo only in proverbial expressions or in titles used at the Pharaonic court.

The names situated to the south of Thebes, unlike those of Middle Egypt, did not comprise any extensive fertile or well-watered territory calculated to enrich its possessors or to afford sufficient support for a large population: they consisted of long strips of alluvial soil, shut in between the river and the mountain range, but above

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1 The inscriptions on the tomb of Ahmosi-si-Ahmu (Ahmosi, son of Ahmu) were copied by Champollion, Monument de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, vol. 1, pp. 382-388; afterwards by Lepsius, Denkm., ii, 17-18, and by Reisner, Egyptian Chrestomathy, vol. 1, pp. 6. The principal inscriptions was hastily examined by Champollion, Lettres ecrites d'Egypte, 2nd edit., pp. 184, 105 (ed. CHAMPOLLIEN-FENI), L'Egypte Ancienne, pp. 168, 3002; it was then made use of by E. de Rado, Documents de l'époque de M. le Chevalier de Rosen, ii, pp. 31-42, and particularly in the Memorie sur l'inscription de tombeau d'Ahmu, the conclusion to which they were used by A. C. Bouchard, Historie d'Egypte, pp. 36, 36. 56. It has been translated in full by Ackerman, Recherches sur l'Egypte, pp. 217-220, and afterwards by Geschichtliche Egypten, pp. 220-222; by Chánhia, Les Pauvres de l'Egypte, pp. 19-22; by Lepsius-Buch, 111 Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. vi, pp. 5-10; and lastly by Padre Calame in Cara, Gli Egitiani Re Posteri di Egypto, pp. 324-325.


3 The vulture of Nekhabit is used to indicate the south, while the name of Buto denotes the extreme north: the title Re-Sukhnut, "Chief of Sukhnut," which is, hypothetically supposed to refer to a judicial function (Hommage, Debdoumas bïbliothecaegyptiaca, Supplementum, pp. 284-308), Mama, Commentos sur l'Enchrifit des Pau, in the Zeitschrift, 1, and, Egytia and, Egyptianische Lit, p. 131), is given the term associated with the expression, "Nekhabt-Sukhnut," as an indication of the south, and, therefore, may be traced to the prehistoric epoch when Nekhabit was the primary designation of the south.
the level of the inundation, and consequently difficult to irrigate. These nomes were cultivated, moreover, by a poor and sparse population. It needed a fortuitous combination of circumstances to relieve them from their poverty-stricken condition — either a war, which would bring into prominence their strategic positions; or the establishment of markets, such as those of Syene and Elephantine, where the commerce of neighbouring regions would naturally centre; or the erection, as at Ombos or Edfu, of a temple which would periodically attract a crowd of pilgrims. The principality of the Two Feathers comprised, besides Nekhbit, at least two such towns — Amt, on its northern boundary, and Nekhbit almost facing Nekhbit on the left bank of the river. These three towns sometimes formed separate estates for as many independent lords; even when united they constituted a fiefdom of but restricted area and of slender revenues, its chief ranking below those of the great feudal princes of Middle Egypt. The rulers of this fiefdom led an obscure existence during the whole period of the Memphite empire, and when at length Thoth gained the ascendancy, they rallied to the latter and acknowledged her suzerainty. One of them, Sokkhmakhiti, gained the favour of Sokkhhotep III Sakkiemazatuiru, who granted him lands which made the

1 In regard to the markets of Elephantine and Syene, and the profits derived from them by the local magnates, cf. Marrou, Races de Civilisation, p. 424, et seq.; the greatness of Edfu and Ombos dates principally from the Greek era, when the Ptolemies rebuilt and enlarged the temples of these two cities.
2 Amt is one of the most frequently occurring names of lands (Boussau, Dictionnaire Geographique, pp. 33, 46, 352, 355).
3 Nekhbit (Boussau, Die Egyptologen, p. 485) is the Hieracopolis of Greek and Roman times. Hâl-Khâkh, the modern name of which is Homar-Almahar (Boussau, Dictionnaire Geographique, p. 310). A summary description has been given of it by Bouhiant, Les Tombes de Hiersopolis, in the Annales Archéologiques, Historiques et Liturgiques, dédiées à M. le Dr C. Lebassus, pp. 32-40.
4 Drawn by Faudou-Gudin, from a photograph, by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.
5 Fûhir was, therefore, prince of Nekhbit and of Amt at once and the same time (Tylor-Gasquet, The Tomb of Fûhir at El-Kah, p. 53), whereas the town of Nekhbit had its own special ruler, several of whom are known to us from the tombs at Homar-Almahar (Bouhiant, Les Tombes de Hiersopolis, pp. 39, 40).
fortune of his house; another of them, At, married Khonsu, one of the daughters of Sowkhun mest.1 And his Queen Nubkheh,2 and it is possible that the misshapen pyramid of Qalh, the most southern in Egypt proper, was built for one of these royally connected personages. The descendants of At attached themselves faithfully to the Pharaohs of the XVth dynasty, and helped them to the utmost in their struggle against the invaders. Their capital, Nekhabt, was situated between the Nile and the Arabian chain, at the entrance to a valley which penetrates some distance into the desert, and leads to the gold-mines on the Red Sea. The town profited considerably from the precious metals brought into it by the caravans, and also from the extraction of natron, which from prehistoric times was largely employed in embalming.3 It had been a fortified place from the outset, and its walls, carefully repaired by successive ages, were still intact at the beginning of this century. They described at this time a rough quadrilateral, the two longer sides of which measured some 1000 feet in length, the two shorter being about one-fourth less. The southern face was constructed in a fashion common in brick buildings in Egypt, being divided into alternate panels of horizontally laid courses, and those in which the courses were concave; on the north and west façades the bricks were so laid as to present an undulating arrangement running uninterruptedly from one end to the other.4 The walls are 33 feet thick, and their average height 27 feet; broad and easy steps lead to the foot-walk on the top. The gates are unsymmetrically placed, there being one on the north, east, and west sides respectively; while the southern side is left without an opening. These walls afforded protection to a dense but unequally distributed population, the bulk of which was housed towards the north and west sides, where the remains of an immense number of dwellings may still be seen. The temples were crowded together in a small square enclosure, concentric with the walls of the sanctuary, and the principal sanctuary was dedicated to Nekhabt, the vulture goddess, who gave her name to the city.5 This enclosure formed a kind of citadel, where the garrison could hold out when

3 In regard to this Nekhabt natron and the use to which it was put, cf. MASPERO, Études sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre, p. 30, and DUMAS, Der Grabfund des Petenmenseh, pp. 10-18.
4 Of what is said in regard to these arrangements in MASPERO, Divers de Civilisation, p. 153.
5 A part of the latter temple, that which had been ruined in the Sabaite epoch, was still standing at the beginning of the present century, with columns bearing the carvings of hawk (Strix-Aegina), Description des ruines d'El-Kab, in the Description de l'Egypte, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 340-350, and Antiquités, vol. i. pl. 66; it was destroyed about the year 1825, and Champollion found only the foundations of the walls (Lettres écrites d'Egypte, 2nd edit., pp. 160, 164, 193, 383). Of in regard to these buildings, BOURNE, Dictionnaire Géographique, pp. 353-355.
the outer part had fallen into the enemy’s hands. The times were troublesome; the open country was repeatedly wasted by war, and the peasantry had more than once to seek shelter behind the protecting ramparts of the town, leaving their lands to lie fallow. Famine constantly resulted from these disturbances, and it taxed all the powers of the ruling prince to provide at such times for his people. A chief of the Commissariat, Belid by name, who lived about this period, gives us a lengthy account of the number of loaves, oxen, goats, and pigs, which he allowed to all the inhabitants both great and little, down even to the quantity of oil and incense, which he had taken care to store up for them: his prudence was always justified by the issue, for “during the many years in which the famine recurred, he distributed grain in the city to all those who hungered.”

Babai, the first of the lords of El-Kab whose name has come down to us, was a captain in the service of Saqumiri Tiuny. His son Ahmosi, having approached the end of his career, cut a tomb for himself in the hill which overlooks the northern side of the town. He relates on the walls of his

1. Drawn by Foucher-Goudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1882.
2. The description of the town of Nekhabu is borrowed from SAXE-GRAND, Description des ruines d’El-Kab au Égypte, in the Description de l’Égypte, 2nd edit., vol. 1, pp. 311–388.
3. Tomb No. 10, El-Kab (Chabas, Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, vol. 1, pp. 273, 274, 620). The inscription has been copied and translated several times by Brugsch (Bouquid de Monuments, vol. I, pl. xxii, 8; Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 244–247; Thébais Inscription, Ägyptenmuseum, pp. 157, 158), who thought it might refer to the seven years of famine described in Gen. xli. 4 seq.
4. Great Inscription of El-Kab, 1: 4. There are still some doubts as to the descent of this Ahmosi. Some authorities hold that Babai was the name of his father and Ahmosi that of his grandfather (E. de ROYAL: Mémoire sur l’inscription d’Ahmosi, pp. 125, 126); others think that Babai was the father and Ahmosi his mother (VYÉN-GUERRATI, The Tomb of Pharaoh at El-Kab, p. 7; EGERMANN, Das Leben der Bahn von Dr. L. SHARH, in the Zeitschrift, 1883, p. 57); others, again, make out Babai and Ahmosi to be variants of the same name, probably a Semitic one, borne by the father of Ahmosi (Bouquet, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 227, et seq.); KARL, Ägyptische Studien, pp. 70, 71); the majority of modern Egyptologists (including myself) regard this last hypothesis as being the most probable one.
sepulchre, for the benefit of posterity, the most praiseworthy actions of his long life. He had scarcely emerged from childhood when he was called upon to act for his father, and before his marriage he was appointed to the command of the barque The Caly. From thence he was promoted to the ship The North, and on account of his activity he was chosen to escort his namesake the king on foot, whenever he drove in his chariot. He repaired to his post at the moment when the decisive war against the Hyksos broke out. The tradition current in the time of the Ptolemies reckoned the number of men under the command of King Ahmosis when he encamped before Avaris at 180,000. This immense multitude failed to bring matters to a successful issue, and the siege dragged on indefinitely. The king at length preferred to treat with the Shepherds, and gave them permission to retreat into Syria safe and sound, together with their wives, their children, and all their goods. This account, however, in no way agrees with the all too brief narration of events furnished by the inscription in the tomb. The army to which Egypt really owed its deliverance was not the undisciplined rabble of later tradition, but, on the contrary, consisted of troops similar to those which subsequently invaded Syria, some 15,000 to 20,000 in number, fully equipped and ably officered, supported, moreover, by a fleet ready to transfer them across the canals and arms of the river in a vigorous condition and ready for the battle. As soon as this fleet arrived at the scene of hostilities, the engagement began. Ahmosi si-Ahlu conducted the manœuvres under the king’s eye, and soon gave such evidence of his capacity, that he was transferred by royal favour to the Rising in Memphis—a vessel with a high freeboard. He was shortly afterwards appointed to a post in a division told off for duty on the river Zadiku, which ran under the walls of the enemy fortress. Two successive and vigorous attacks made in this quarter were barren of important results. Ahmosi si-Ahlu succeeded in each of the attacks in killing an enemy, bringing back as trophies a hand of each of his victims, and his prowess, made known to the king by one of the heralds, twice procured for him “the gold of valor,” probably in the form of collars, chains, or bracelets.

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1 Great Inscription of St.-Keb. II. 3-7.
3 It may be pointed out that Ahmosi, son of Ahlu, was a sailor and a leader of sailors; that he passed from one vessel to another, until he was at length appointed to the command of one of the most important ships in the royal fleet. Transport by water always played considerable part in the wars which were carried on in Egyptian territory; I have elsewhere drawn attention to campaigns conducted in this manner under the Heliopolitan dynasty (Masterson, Days of Foundation, pp. 436-438), and we shall see that the Ethiopian conquerors adopted the same mode of transit in the course of their invasion of Egypt.
4 The name of this canal was first recognized by Bruschel (Recherches sur l’Egypte n. 218), then misunderstood and translated “the water bearing the name of Avaris” (Histories’ Egypte, p. 315; cf. Charles, Les Passions en Egypte, p. 10). It is now read “Zadiku,” and, with the Egyptian article, Ba-zadiku, on Faustini, De Re Divinna, in Faustini, De Re Divinna, in Faustini, De Re Divinna, p. 1898. C. C. Casa, Gh ‘Halfa ou le Pays de Zadiku (Stt), p. 235. The name of Scuthi origin, and is derived from the root meaning “to be just,” we do not know in which of the watercoursesImposing the east of the Delta it ought to be applied.
5 Inscription of St.-Keb. II. 4-10. The fact that the attacks from this side were not successful in
The taking of Avaris

The assault having been repulsed in this quarter, the Egyptians made their way towards the south, and came into conflict with the enemy at the village of Taqmit. Here, again, the battle remained undecided, but Ahmosi-si-Abna had an adventure. He had taken a prisoner, and in bringing him back lost himself; fell into a muddy ditch, and, when he had freed himself from the dirt as well as he could, pursued his way by mistake for some time in the direction of Avaris. He found out his error, however, before it was too late, came back to the camp safe and sound, and received once more some gold as a reward of his brave conduct. A second attack upon the town was crowned with complete success: it was taken by storm, given over to pillage, and Ahmosi-si-Abna succeeded in capturing one man and three women, who were afterwards, at the distribution of the spoil, given to him as slaves. The enemy evacuated in haste the last strongholds which they held in the east of the Delta, and took refuge in the Syrian provinces on the Egyptian frontier. Whether it was that they assumed here a menacing attitude, or whether Ahmosi hoped to deal them a

proved by the sequel. If they had succeeded, as is usually supposed, the Egyptians would not have fallen back on another point further south in order to relieve the struggle.


2. Drawn by Puchner-Göldin, from a photograph by Emil Bengsch-Bey, taken in 1884.

3. Inscription of El-Kab, II, 10-12: the text is not very explicit, but I see no other possible interpretation of it than that here adopted (cf., a different explanation in Puchner: Notes de Philologie Egyptiennes, in the Proceedings, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 227, 238).

4. Inscription of El-Kab, II, 12, 13. The priestess who was given to Ahmosi after the victory, is probably Pema, the Avarite, mentioned in the list of his slaves which he had engraved on one of the walls of his tomb (Lecan, Denken, III, 12, 8, 12).
crushing blow before they could find time to breathe, or to rally around them sufficient forces to renew the offensive, he made up his mind to cross the frontier, which he did in the 5th year of his reign. It was the first time for centuries that a Pharaoh had trusted himself in Asia, and the same dread of the unknown which had restrained his ancestors of the XIIth dynasty, doubtless arrested Ahmosis also on the threshold of the continent. He did not penetrate further than the border provinces of Zahi, situated on the edge of the desert, and contented himself with pillaging the little town of Sharabana. Ahmosis-Abina was again his companion, together with his cousin, Ahmosis-Pannekhabe, then at the beginning of his career, who brought away on this occasion two young girls for his household. The expedition having accomplished its purpose, the Egyptians returned home with their spoil, and did not revisit Asia for a long period. If the Hyksos generals had fostered in their minds the idea that they could recover their lost ground, and easily re-enter upon the possession of their African domain, this reverse must have cruelly disillusioned them. They must have been forced to acknowledge that their power was at an end, and to renounce all hope of returning to the country which had so summarily ejected them. The majority of their own people did not follow them into exile, but remained attached to the soil on which they lived, and the tribes which had successively settled down beside them—including the Beni-Israel themselves—no longer dreamed of a return to their fatherland. The condition of these people varied according to their locality. Those who had taken up a position in the plain of the Delta were subjected to actual slavery. Ahmosis destroyed the camp at Avaris, quartered his officers in the towns, and constructed forts at strategic points, or rebuilt the ancient citadels to resist the incursions of the Bedouin. The

1 Campbell's copy is dated in the year V. (Monuments de l'Egypte et de I'Asie, vol. I. p. 696, 1. 14, as also at Avaris, Deuser, ii. 12, 4. 1. 14); Bingen (Recherches sur l'Egypte, p. 218, and Geschichten der Pharisäen, in the Proceedings, 1822-30, vol. xvi. p. 205), so quaintly assumes, not that Sharabana was taken in the year V., but that the Egyptians besieged it for five years.

2 Sharabana, which is mentioned again under Tell-Hammah III. (Lartet, Deuser, ii. 11. 3. 11. 12), is not the plain of Shuram, as Rumphius imagined (The Annals of Theban III, as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions, p. 28), but the Sharabana of the Biblical texts, in the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xix. 6), as Bingen recognized it to be (Geographische Uebersichten, vol. ii, p. 32). It is probably identical with the modern Tell-el-Sharab, which lies north-west of Bersheba.

3 Inscription of El-Kah, 1. 13-15; Inscription of the statue of Ahmosis Pannekhebit, from A. B. 2, 4. Ahmosis Pannekhebit lay in tomb No. 2, at El-Kah (Champion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de I'Asie, pl. cxiv. 4). His history is briefly told on one of the walls (Champion Frères, Notice sur les Monuments de la Péninsule, de la Route Archéologique, 1st series, vol. vii. pp. 63-78; Lartet, Deuser, iii. 134, 30); and on two sides of the pedestal of his statue. We have one of them, or rather two plates from the pedestal of one of them, in the Louvre (Franke et Avenel, Monuments Egyptiens, pl. iv. 2. 5; Lartet, Annette des antiquités Égyptiennes, pl. xiii. A. B. 14; cf. Bingen, The Annals of Theban III, as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions, pp. 122, 123; Chassin, Mémorial sur les Tombeaux, pp. 27, 33; Bubenberg, Geschichten der Pharisäen, pp. 226, 230; C. H. Cass, Die Hyksos, pp. 225-230; the other is in a good state of preservation, and belongs to M. Flinders Petrie, Notes sur quelques Points de Géographie, etc., 16th. xiv, in the Zértbcher, 1883, pp. 77, 78). The inscription is found in a mutilated condition on the wall of the tomb (Lartet, Deuser, iii. 45), but the three monuments which have come down to us are sufficiently complimentary to one another to enable us to restore nearly the whole of the original text.
vanquished people in the Delta, hemmed in as they were by a network of fortresses, were thus reduced to a rabble of serfs, to be taxed and subjected to the corvée without mercy. But further north, the fluctuating population which roamed between the Sebennytic and Pelusian branches of the Nile were not exposed to such rough treatment. The marshes of the coast-line afforded them a safe retreat, in which they could take refuge at the first threat of exactions on the part of the royal emissaries: Secure within dense thickets, upon islands approached by interminable causeways, often covered with water, or by long tortuous canals concealed in the thick growth of reeds, they were able to defy with impunity the efforts of the most disciplined troops, and treason alone could put them at the mercy of their foes. Most of the Pharaohs felt that the advantages to be gained by conquering them would be outweighed by the difficulty of the enterprise; all that could result from a campaign would be the destruction of one or two villages, the acquisition of a few hundred refractory captives, of some ill-favoured cattle, and a trophy of nets and worm-eaten boats. The kings, therefore, preferred to keep a close watch over these undisciplined hordes, and as long as their depredations were kept within reasonable limits, they were left unmolested to their wild and precarious life.

The Asiatic invasion had put a sudden stop to the advance of Egyptian rule in the vast plains of the Upper Nila. The Theban princes, to whom Nubia was directly subject, had been too completely engrossed in the wars against their hereditary enemy, to devote much time to the continuation of that work of colonization in the south which had been carried on so vigorously by their forefathers of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties. The inhabitants of the Nile valley, as far as the second cataract, rendered them obedience, but without any change in the conditions and mode of their daily life, which appear to have remained unaltered for centuries. The temples of Usirisenu and Amenemhat were allowed to fall into decay one after another, the towns waned in prosperity, and were unable to keep their buildings and monuments in repair; the inundation continued to bring with it periodically its fleet of boats, which the sailors of Kush had laden with timber, gum, elephants' tusks, and gold dust: from time to time a band of Bedouin from Cush or Mazaír would suddenly bear down upon some village and carry off its spoils; the nearest garrison would be called to its aid; or, on critical occasions, the king himself, at the head of his guards, would fall on the marauders and drive them back into the mountains. Ahmosis, being greeted on his return from Syria by the news of such an outbreak, thought it a favourable moment to impress

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1 In regard to Kush, see what is said in Mariette, *History of Civilization*, pp. 334-335, 478, et seq., 352, 353.

2 As will be seen later on, the temples of Senmuk and Wady-Haletah were rebuilt under Thothmosis III.
upon the nomadic tribes of Nubia the greatness of his conquest. On this occasion it was the people of Khonamûnûtû, settled in the wadies east of the Nile, above Semnâh, which required a lesson. The army which had just expelled the Hyksôs was rapidly conveyed to the opposite borders of the country by the fleet, the two Ahmosi of Nekhûtût occupying the highest posts. The Egyptians, as was customary, landed at the nearest point to the enemy's territory, and succeeded in killing a few of the rebels. Ahmosi-si-Abînû brought back two prisoners and three heads, for which he was rewarded by a gift of two female Bedouin slaves, besides the "gold of valour." This victory in the south following on such decisive success in the north, filled the heart of the Pharaoh with pride, and the view taken of it by those who surrounded him is evident even in the brief sentences of the narrative. He is described as descending the river on the royal galley, elated in spirit and elated by his triumph in Nubia, which had followed so closely on the deliverance of the Delta. But scarcely had he reached Thebes, when an unforeseen catastrophe turned his confidence into alarm, and compelled him to retrace his steps. It would appear that at the very moment when he was priding himself on the successful issue of his Egyptian expedition, one of the sudden outbreaks, which frequently occurred in those regions, had culminated in a Sudanese invasion of Egypt. We are not told the name of the rebel leader, nor those of the tribes who took part in it. The Egyptian people, threatened in a moment of such apparent security by this inroad of barbarians, regarded them as a fresh incursion of the Hyksôs, and applied to these southerners the opprobrious term of "Fever-stricken," already used to denote their Asiatic conquerors. The enemy descended the Nile, committing terrible atrocities, and polluting every sanctuary of the Theban gods which came within their reach. They had reached a spot called Tenos, before they fell in with the Egyptian troops. Ahmosi-si-Abînû again distinguished himself in the engagement. The vessel which he commanded, probably the Rising in Memphis, ran alongside the chief galley of the Sudanese fleet, and took possession of it after a struggle, in which Ahmosi made two of the enemy's sailors prisoners with his own hand. The king generously rewarded those whose valour had thus turned the day in his favour, for the danger had appeared to him imminent; he allotted to every man on board the victorios

1 Inscription of 21 Iah, ii. 15-17. As to the position of the land of Khonamûnûtû, of what is said in Herrmann, Lives of the Dictators, p. 196.

2 The name of this locality does not occur elsewhere; it would seem to refer, not to a village, but rather to a canal or the branch of a river, or a large bend somewhere along the Nile. I am unable to locate it distinctly, but am inclined to think we ought to look for it, if not in Egypt itself, at my rate in that part of Nubia which is nearest to Egypt. M. Richter, taking up a theory which had been abandoned by Chabot (Mémoires sur le Soudan, pp. 43, 53, and recognizing in this expedition an offensive movement of the Shepherds, suggests that Tenos must be the modern Tantah in the Delta (Annales Égyptiologiques, vol. vii. p. 83, n. 1).
vessel five slaves, and five acres of land situated in his native province of each respectively. The invasion was not without its natural consequences to Egypt itself. A certain Titiâni, who appears to have been at the head of a powerful faction, rose in rebellion at some place not named in the narrative, but in the rear of the army. The rapidity with which Ahmosis repulsed the Nubians, and turned upon his own enemy, completely baffled the latter's plans, and he and his followers were cut to pieces, but the danger had for the moment been serious. It was, if not the last expedition undertaken in this reign, at least the last commanded by the Pharaoh in person. By his activity and courage Ahmosis had well earned the right to pass the remainder of his days in peace.

A revival of military greatness always entailed a renaissance in art, followed by an age of building activity. The claims of the gods upon the spoils of war must be satisfied before those of men, because the victory and the booty obtained through it were alike owing to the divine help given in battle. A tenth, therefore, of the slaves, cattle, and precious metals was set apart for the service of the gods, and even fields, towns, and provinces were allotted to them, the produce of which was applied to enhance the importance of their cult or to repair and enlarge their temples. The main body of the buildings was strengthened, halls and pylons were added to the original plan, and the impulse once given to architectural work, the co-operation of other artificers soon followed. Sculptors and painters whose art had been at a standstill for generations during the centuries of Egypt's humiliation, and whose hands had lost their cunning for want of practice, were now once more in demand. They had probably never completely lost the technical knowledge of their calling, and the ancient buildings furnished them with various types of models, which they had to copy faithfully in order to revive their old traditions. A few years after this revival a new school sprang up, whose originality became daily more patent, and whose leaders soon showed themselves to be in no way inferior to 1

1 Inscription of Ezb-Kah, ii. 17-21.

2 Inscription of Ezb-Kah, p. 11-23. The wording of the text is so much condensed that it is difficult to be sure of its meaning. Modern scholars agree with Brugsch (Recherches sur l'Egypte, pp. 211, 220, and Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 328) that Titiâni is the name of a man; but several Egyptologists believe his brother to have been chief of the Ethiopian tribes (Wenckert, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 209, 310), while others think he was a rebellious Egyptian prince (Braun, Egypte et Égyptiens Libres, p. 122). Martens, Historie Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient, ii. ed., p. 170, of a king of the Shepherds (Ruttonz, Neue Ägyptenleben, vol. vii. p. 82, note 1), or give up the task of identification in despair (Charles, Monarque sur les Ebers ou Egypte, p. 48). The erroneous wording of the text, and the expressions which occur in it, seem to indicate that the rebel was a prince of the royal blood, and even that the name he bears was not his real one. Let us see what is said. On a similar occasion, the official documents refer to a prince who took part in a plot against Ramses III., by the fictitious name of Penthard (Braun, Les Penfarès acadiens de France, pp. 99-912; 153, 156). Titiâni was probably a nickname of the same kind inserted in place of the real name. It seems that, in cases of high treason, the criminal not only lost his life, but his name was proscribed both in the world and in the text.
the masters of the older schools. Almoseis could not be accused of ingratitude to the gods; as soon as his wars allowed him the necessary leisure, he began his work of temple-building. The ascension to power of the great Theban families had been of little advantage to Thebes itself. Its Pharaohs, on assuming the sovereignty of the whole valley, had not hesitated to abandon their native city, and had made Hesanaopolis, the Fayum or even Memphis, their seat of government, only returning to Thebes in the time of the XIIIth dynasty, when the decadence of their power had set in. The honour of furnishing rulers for its country had often devolved on Thebes, but the city had reaped but little benefit from the fact; this time, however, the tide of fortune was to be turned. The other cities of Egypt had come to regard Thebes as their metropolis from the time when they had learned to rally round its princes to wage war against the Hyksos. It had been the last town to lay down arms at the time of the invasion, and the first to take them up again in the struggle for liberty. Thus the Egypt which vindicated her position among the nations of the world was not the Egypt of the Memphite dynasties. It was the great Egypt of the Amenemhatn and the Usirtasen, still further aggrandised by recent victories. Thebes was her natural capital, and its kings could not have chosen a more suitable position from whence to command effectually the whole empire. Situated at an equal distance from both frontiers, the Pharaoh residing there, in the outbreak of a war either in the north or south, had but half the length of the country to traverse in order to reach the scene of action. Almoseis spared no pains to improve the city, but his resources did not allow of his embarking on any very extensive schemes; he did not touch the temple of Amun, and if he undertook any buildings in its neighbourhood, they must have been minor edifices. He could, indeed, have had but little leisure to attempt much else, for it was not till the XXIIth year of his reign that he was able to set seriously to work. An opportunity then occurred to revive a practice long fallen into disuse under the foreign kings, and to set once more in motion an essential part of the machinery of Egyptian administration. The quarries of Turah, as is well known, enjoyed the privilege of furnishing the finest materials to the royal architects; nowhere else could be found limestone of such whiteness, so easy to cut, or so calculated to lend itself to the carving of delicate inscriptions and bas-reliefs. The commoner veins had never ceased to be worked by private enterprise.
gangs of quarrymen being always employed, as at the present day, in cutting small stone for building purposes, or in ruthlessly chipping it to pieces to burn for lime in the kilns of the neighbouring villages; but the finest veins were always kept for State purposes. Contemporary chroniclers might have formed a very just estimate of national prosperity by the degree of activity shown in working these royal preserves; when the amount of stone extracted was lessened, prosperity was on the wane, and might be pronounced to be at its lowest ebb when the noise of the quarryman's hammer finally ceased to be heard. Every dynasty whose resources were such as to justify their resumption of the work proudly recorded the fact on stelae which lined the approaches to


4 The Faunhus are, properly speaking, all white quarries, without distinction of race. Their name is derived from the root faun-hus, faunus = to blind, cause to wander, destroy (Maspero, Les Cones Populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne, 1st edit., p. 128, note 2; Max Miller, Asia and Europe nach Asiatischen Denkmälern, pp. 286-212); if it is sometimes used in the sense of Phaonites (Brunner, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 212, 238, 663; Wiedemann, Ägyptische Geschicht., p. 310), it is only in the Pharaonic epoch, by association with the Greek sphinx. Here the term "Faunhus" refers to the Shaphrane and Asasif quarries of the campaign of the year V. against shrubbery.

Ahmosis had several children by his various wives, six at least owned by their mother and possessed near claims to the crown, but she may have borne him others whose existence is unrecorded. The eldest appears to have been a son, Sipri; he received all the honours due to an hereditary prince, but died without having reigned, and his second brother, Amenhotep—called by the Greeks Amenothes—took his place. Ahmosis was laid to rest in the chapel which he had prepared for himself in the cemetery of Deir-al-Bahri, among the modest pyramids of the XI\textsuperscript{th}, XIII\textsuperscript{th}, and XVII\textsuperscript{th} dynasties. He was venerated as a god, and his cult was continued for six or eight centuries later, until the increasing insecurity of the Theban necropolis at last necessitated the removal of the kings from their funeral chambers. The coffin of Ahmosis was found to be still intact, though it was a poorly made one, shaped to the contours of the body, and smeared over with yellow; it represents the king with the false beard depending from his chin, and his breast covered with a pectoral ornament, the features, hair, and accessories being picked out in blue. His name has been hastily inscribed in ink on the front of the winding-sheet, and when the lid was removed, garlands of faded pink flowers were still found about the neck, laid there as a last offering by the priests who placed the Pharaoh and his companions in their secret burying-place. Amenothes I. had not attained his majority when his father "thus winged his way to heaven," leaving him as heir


The Sema Anamunifié, which is usually employed, is, properly speaking, the equivalent of the name Anamunifié, or Anamunith, which belongs to a king of the XX\textsuperscript{th} Theban dynasty (WERNER, Textes de la XX\textsuperscript{th} dynastie Mouta, in the Zeitschrift, 1882, pp. 35-40; the Greek transcription of the Pharaonic name, corresponding to this pronunciation Anamunifié, or Amenemnifié, is Amenhotep (MAURICE, Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire, p. 390., in the Zeitschrift, 1882., pp. 125, 126). Under the XVII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty the same form transcription of the name of Thoth Amanu, Amenhotep, seems to indicate the pronunciation Amenemnifié, Amenemnati, side by side with the pronunciation Anamunifié, Anamunith.

The precise site, at present unknown, we see, however, that it was in this place, where we observe that Ahmosis was worshipped by the Egyptians in the Necropolis, amongst the kings and princes of his family who were buried at Deir-al-Bahri (LISLE, Notes, iii. 2, c. 2).

His priests and the minor officials of his state are mentioned on a stele in the museum at Turin (No. 86, Catalogue Bruxellensis du Musée d'Egypte, vol. ii., pp. 43, 44), and on a brick in the Berlin Museum (LISLE, Notes, iii. 25, d. 17). He is worshipped as a god, along with Osiris, Horus, and Isis, on a stele in the Lyons Museum (DAVIES, Notices sur les Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée de Lyon, pp. 11, 12, and pl. iv., No. 82), brought from Abydos; he had, probably, during one of his journeys across Egypt, made a donation to the temple of that city, on condition that he should be worshipped there for ever; for a stele at Marseille shows him amusing himself in Osiris in the back of the god inside (MAURICE, Catalogue des Monuments du Musée, No. 92, pp. 29, 30), and another stele in the Lyons Museum in that Pharaoh Titidemia IV, several times sent one of his messengers to Abydos for the purpose of presenting him to Osiris, and to his own ancestor Ahmosis (C. 35, in Pusieux, Recueil d'Inscriptions égyptiennes du Musée Egyptien de Marseille, vol. ii., pp. 14, 15).
to the throne. Nofritari assumed the authority; after having shared the royal honours for nearly twenty-five years with her husband, she absolutely refused to resign them. She was thus the first of those queens by divine right who, scorning the inaction of the harem, took on themselves the right to fulfil the active duties of a sovereign, and claimed the recognition of the equality or superiority of their titles to those of their husbands or sons. The aged Ahhotpû, who, like Nofritari, was of pure royal descent, and who might well have urged her superior rank, had been content to retire in favour of her children; she lived to the tenth year of her grandson’s reign, respected by all her family, but abstaining from all interference in political affairs. When at length she passed away, full of days and honour, she was embalmed with special care, and her body was placed in a gilded mummy-case, the head of which presented a faithful copy of her features. Beside her were piled the

7 The last date known is that of the year XXII. at Turah; cf. pp. 92, 93 of the present work. Manetho’s lists give, in one place, twenty-five years and four months after the expulsion; in another, twenty-six years in round numbers, as the total duration of his reign (Maximin-Durant, Empereurs Historiques de l’Egypte, vol. ii. p. 728, 73, 82), which has every appearance of probability.

8 There is no direct evidence to prove that Amenophis I. was a minor when he came to the throne; still the presumptions in favour of this hypothesis, afforded by the monuments, are so strong that many historians of ancient Egypt have accepted it (Diodorus, Histoire d’Egypte, p. 46, and Geschichte Aegypten, pp. 200, 201; Weidner, Geschichte Aegypten, p. 313). Queen Nofritari is represented as being married, side by side with her reigning son, on some few Tachos bowls which can be attributed to their epoch (Riesser,broken, 71, 11, 12).

* Drawn by Fauquier-Duval, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Rey, taken in 1885.

* Maximin, Les Monts royaux de Deir-el-Bahari, in the Monuments de la Mission Française, vol. i. p. 327, where the true condition of this Ahhotpû has been presented for the first time.

* This high position which she occupied is clearly shown by the inscriptions on the tomb of her steward Hânâm, published by Brugsch, Petits Monument, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xii. pp. 94, 95; then by Pirée, Petits Travaux, in the Zeitschrift, 1886, pp. 147, 118.

* Her portrait is given above on p. 3 of the present work, in the form of an initial letter. For an
jewels she had received in her lifetime from her husband and son. The majority of them are for feminine use: a fan with a handle plated with gold, a mirror of gilt bronze with ebony handle, bracelets and ankle-rings, some of solid and some of hollow gold, edged with fine chains of plaited gold wire, others formed of beads of gold, lapis-lazuli, cornelian, and green kispar, many of them engraved with the cartouches of Ahmosis. Belonging also to Ahmosis we have a beautiful quiver, in which figures of the king and the gods stand out in high relief on a gold plaque, delicately chased with a graving tool; the background is formed of small pieces of lapis and blue glass, cunningly cut to fit each other. One bracelet in particular, found on the queen’s wrist, consisted of three parallel bands of solid gold set with turquoises, and having a variety with extended wings on the front. The queen’s hair was held in place by a gold circlet, scarcely as large as a bracelet; a cartouche was affixed to the circlet, bearing the name of Ahmosis in blue paste, and flanked by small sphinxes, one on each side, as supporters. A thick flexible chain of gold was passed several times round her neck, and attached to it as a pendant was a beautiful scarab, partly of gold and partly of blue porcelain striped with gold. The breast ornament was completed by a necklace of several rows of twisted cords, from which depended antelopes pursued by tigers, sitting jackals, hawks, vultures, and the winged uraeus all attached to the winding-sheet by means of a small ring soldered on the back of each animal.¹ The fastening of this necklace was formed of the beads of two gold hawks, the details of the heads being worked out in blue enamel. Both weapons and amulets

¹ Drawn by Bonnier, from the photograph by M. de Martens taken in the Berlin Museum.

² This necklace has been reproduced on p. 2 of the present work, where it serves as a frontispiece to the chapter.
were found among the jewels, including three gold flies suspended by a thin chain, nine gold and silver axes, a lion's head in gold of most minute detail.

[Diagram: The Jewels and Weapons of Queen Ahhotpe, in the Queen's House.]

Drawn by Pauline Gaulin, from a photograph by Boecker, in Mariette, Album photographique du Musée de Boulog, pl. 3. The dagger is reproduced by itself on p. 216 of the present volume, side by side with a Mycenaean dagger of similar form and ornamentation.
workmanship, a sceptre of black wood plated with gold, daggers to defend the deceased from the dangers of the unknown world, boomerangs of hard wood, and the battle-axe of Ahmosis. Besides these, there were two boats, one of gold and one of silver, originally intended for the Pharaoh Ramesses—models of the ship in which his mummy crossed the Nile to reach its last resting-place, and to sail in the wake of the gods on the western sea.6

Noftari thus reigned conjointly with Amenophis, and even if we have no record of any act in which she was specially concerned, we know at least that her rule was a prosperous one, and that her memory was revered by her subjects. While the majority of queens were relegated after death to the crowd of shadowy ancestors to whom habitual sacrifice was offered, the worshippers not knowing even to which sex these royal personages belonged, the remembrance of Noftari always remained distinct in their minds, and her cult spread till it might be said to have become a kind of popular religion. In this veneration Ahmosis was rarely associated with the queen, but Amenophis7 and several of her other children shared in it—her son Sipri, for instance,8 and her daughters Sitamou,9 Sitkamois,10 and Miritamon,11 Noftari became, in fact, an actual goddess, taking her place beside Amun, Khonæ, and Maut,12 the members of the Theban Triad, or standing alone as an object of worship for her devotees.9 She was identified with Isis, Hathor, and the mistresses of Hades, and adopted their attributes, even to the black or blue coloured skin of these funerary divinities.10

Considerable endowments

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6 It is reproduced, as nearly as possible full size, as a half-page on p. 166 of the present volume.
7 The drawing is by Fornes-Guillén, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.
8 See the drawing of the gold sceptre and its carriage on p. 81 of the present volume.
9 A list of the monuments on which she is represented as being worshipped in conjunction with her son Amenophis I has been very carefully compiled by Wedell, Die Pyramidenbilder, pp. 315, 314.
10 Stèle from Karnak in Mariette, Monuments divers, pl. 87; stèle at Turin in Champollion-Figeac, Egypte Ancienne, pl. 67, and Mariette, Recherches sur les Monuments de l'Égypte, vol. iii. p. 113; coffins of Bithamine in Schiaparelli, Ritorno dei Fenici, pp. 77, 18; cf. loc. cit. These representations collectively, Mariette, Les Monuments véritables de l'Égypte et de Sobekhén, p. 327.
11 Sitamou is mentioned, with her mother, on the Karnak stele (Mariette, Monuments divers, p. 87) and on the coffins of Bithamine (Schaaparelli, Ritorno, pp. 77, 18); for the position to be assigned to this princess, cf. Mariette, Les Monuments véritables, etc., p. 327.
12 Amédée-Boime-Bizet, Galerie d'Antiquités selected from the Brit. Mus., pl. 1, p. 78, pl. 36, fig. 132; and Furtet d'Anjou, Notes sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes de Musée Britannique, pp. 10, 17; cf. Mariette, Les Monuments, etc., pp. 440-442, 625, 624.
13 Coffins of Bithamine in Schiaparelli, Ritorno dei Fenici, pp. 77, 18; tomb of Queen at Deir al-Medînî, in Wiedemann, Denkmäler der Ägyptischen Alterthümer, p. 10, fig. 11; cf. Mariette, Les Monuments véritables, etc., vol. ii. p. 32, where her sacred bark is represented, and col. 1 in addition before her.
14 Her statue in the Turin Museum represents her as having black skin (Champollion, Lettres à M. le duc de Berri, i. p. 21, 22). She is also painted black standing before Amun (who is white) in the Deir al-Medînî tomb, now preserved in the Berlin Museum (Laurens, Denkmäler, iii. 227); cf. Mariette, Denkmäler, iii. 249 a.)
15 Coffins of Bithamine, Mariette, Les Monuments véritables, etc., vol. ii. p. 32, where her sacred bark is represented, and col. 1 in addition before her.
16 She was worshipped with the Theban Triad by Hercher, at Karnak, in the temple of Khonæ, (Champollion, Monument de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, vol. ii. p. 227; Laurens, Denkmäler, iii. 249 a.)
17 Mariette, Les Monuments véritables, etc., vol. ii. p. 32, where her sacred bark is represented, and col. 1 in addition before her.
were given for maintaining worship at her tomb, and were administered by a special class of priests. Her mummy reposed among those of the princes of her family, in the hiding-place at Deir-el-Bahari; it was enclosed in an enormous wooden sarcophagus covered with linen and stucco, the lower part being shaped to the body, while the upper part representing the head and arms could be lifted off in one piece. The shoulders are covered with a network in relief, the meshes

and in that of Sennedjem at Sheikh Abu el-Qarnah (ib., ibid., p. 324). Her face is painted blue in the tomb of Ramses (Wiedemann, Tomb of the XXIst Bce. at Deir el-Medineh, in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1883, vol. xvi. p. 236). The representations of this queen, with a black skin, have caused her to be taken for a negro, the daughter of an Ethiopian Pharaoh (Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, vol. iii. p. 89; Aubert-Bonnet-Sinant, Gallery of Antiquities, ii. p. 70; Brunton, Hist. d'Égypte, pp. 63, 86; Egyptische Briefe aus Egypten, p. 286; Wiedemann, Egyptianisches Grundbden, p. 120), or at any rate the daughter of a king of some Nubian tribe (Co. Moor, Grundbden Grundbden, p. 221, note 1); it was thought that Ahmose must have married her to secure the body of the negro tribes in his wars, and that it was owing to this alliance that he succeeded in expelling the Hyksos. Later discoveries have not confirmed these hypotheses. Noferitari was most probably an Egyptian of mixed race, as we have seen, and daughter of Aahhotep I (see p. 72 of this column), and the black or blue colour of her skin is merely owing to her identification with the goddess of the dead (Rosellini, Grundbden, Grundbden, pp. 225, 229; Launay, Aegyptische Forsch., pp. 245, 248).

1. The monuments connected with her priest, her cultus, and the appanage of her sons are enumerated exhaustively in Wiedemann, Grundbden, Grundbden, p. 315.

2. Drawn by Fournier-Quinon, from a photograph by Emil Burgardt-Rey, taken in 1882.
of which are painted blue on a yellow background. The Queen's hands are
crossed over her breast, and clasp the crux ansata, the symbol of life. The whole
mummy-case measures a little over nine feet from the sole of the foot to the
top of the head, which is furthermore surmounted by a cap, and two long ostrich-
feathers. The appearance is not so much that of a coffin as of one of those
enormous caryatides which we sometimes find adorning the front of a temple.

We may perhaps attribute to the influence of Neferirari the lack of zest
evinced by Amenophes for expeditions into Syria. Even the most energetic
kings had always shrunk from penetrating much beyond the isthmus. Those
who ventured so far as to work the mines of Sinai had nevertheless felt a secret
fear of invading Asia proper—a dread which they never succeeded in overcoming.
When the raids of the Bedouin obliged the Egyptian sovereign to cross the
frontier into their territory, he would retire as soon as possible, without
attempting any permanent conquest. After the expulsion of the Hyksos,
Ahmosis seemed inclined to pursue a less timorous course. He made an
advance on Sharishana and pillaged it, and the booty he brought back ought
to have encouraged him to attempt more important expeditions; but he never
returned to this region, and it would seem that when his first enthusiasm had
subsided, he was paralysed by the same fear which had fallen on his ancestors.
Neferirari may have counselled his son not to break through the traditions
which his father had so strictly followed, for Amenophes I confined his
campaigns to Africa, and the traditional battle-fields there. He embarked for
the land of Kush on the vessel of Ahmosi-si-Ahna "for the purpose of enlarging
the frontiers of Egypt." It was, we may believe, a thoroughly conventional
campaign, conducted according to the strictest precedents of the XIIth dynasty.
The Pharaoh, as might be expected, came into personal contact with the enemy,
and slew their chief with his own hand; the barbarian warriors sold their
lives dearly, but were unable to protect their country from pillage, the victors
carrying off whatever they could seize—men, women, and cattle. The pursuit
of the enemy had led the army some distance into the desert, as far as a halting-
place called the "Upper cistern"—Khemett hirat; instead of retracing his
steps to the Nile squadron, and returning slowly by boat, Amenophes resolved
to take a short cut homewards. Ahmosis conducted him back overland in
two days, and was rewarded for his speed by the gift of a quantity of gold,
and two female slaves. An insurrection into Libya followed quickly on the

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1. Marçano, "Les Monnaies royales du Dalœl-Bahari, in the Monnaies de la Mission Françoise, etc.,
2. Of what is said on this subject in Mançano, "Ou, de Civilisations, pp. 269, 528, et seq., and pp.
16, 17, and 58 of the present volume.
3. Great Inscription of El-Kab, II, 29-31. A monument at Yamun informs us that Amenophes I
was worshiped in the Ethipian district of Kena or Bar (Hammar, loc. cit. junctu/dita Dissek, in the
Ethiopian campaign. The tribe of the Kihaka, settled between Lake Meroe and the Oasis of Amon, had probably attacked in an audacious manner the western provinces of the Delta; a raid was organized against them, and the issue was commemorated by a small wooden stele, on which we see the victor represented as brandishing his sword over a barbarian lying prostrate at his feet. The exploits of Amenophis appear to have ended with this raid, for we possess no monument recording any further victory gained by him. This, however, has not prevented his contemporaries from celebrating him as a conquering and victorious king. He is portrayed standing erect in his chariot ready to charge, or as carrying off two barbarians whom he holds half suffocated in his sinewy arms, or as gracefully uniting the princes of foreign lands. He acquitted himself of the duties of the chase as became a true Pharaoh, for we find him depicted in the act of seizing a lion by the tail and raising him suddenly in mid-air previous to despatching him.

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1 Statue of Anmus Pan-gakhabi, A.I.I. 3, 6. The name is written Amun Kihaka, and the combination of these two terms appears to me to designate the part of the tribe living near Amun (cf., for a parallel construction, Prenzl, Forsch. S. 184, in the Zeitschrift, vol. 212, p. 217), the capital of the Libyan nome (Forsch. S. 185, and p. 272). Brugsch identifies them with the Libinchi, the Libyans mentioned by Ptolemy (IV. 7, 28) as IGNAT OR DESIRE-MAZIN, LE NORD DE L'AfRIQUE. P. 445. Bencnaci, Geschichte Agyptens, pp. 269, 265. Windmann would look for them on the Asiatic side (Egyptische Geschichte, pp. 317, 318).

2 Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, vol. III: 1, pp. 102, 100, and pl. II, B.

3 Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph supplied by F. Lindes Petrie.

4 Small wooden stele in the British Museum, probably belonging to the same find as the stele in the Louvre (AMBLASTES-DECOQ-DRACO, Gallery of Antiquities, p. 76, and pl. 30, fig. 114).


6 Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, vol. III: 1, p. 110, and pl. II, B.
These are, indeed, but conventional pictures of war, to which we must not attach an undue importance. Egypt had need of reposes in order to recover from the losses it had sustained during the years of struggle with the invaders. If Amenôthès courted peace from preference and not from political motives, his own generation profited as much by his indulgence as the preceding one had gained by the energy of Ahmosis. The towns in his reign resumed their ordinary life, agriculture flourished, and commerce again followed its accustomed routes. Egypt increased its resources, and was thus able to prepare for future conquest. The taste for building had not as yet sufficiently developed to become a drain upon the public treasury. We have, however, records showing that Amenôthès excavated a cavern in the mountain of Ibrim in Nubia, dedicated to Sattî, one of the goddesses of the cataract. It is also stated that he worked regularly the quarries of Sibalîth, but we do not know for what buildings; the sandstone thus extracted was destined. Karnak was also adorned with chapels, and with at least one colossus, while several chambers built of the white limestone of Tôrah were added to Coptos. Thebes had thus every reason to cherish the memory of this pacific king. As Nosritî had been metamorphosed into a form of Isis, Amenôthès was similarly

[1] Drawn by Furnas-y-Grafin from the western side No. 842 in the Louvre (Pissart, Catalogue de la Salle Historique, p. 22); cf. Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, vol. iii. 1, p. 120, and pl. 101.


[3] A bas-relief on the western bank of the river represents him seated (Champollion, Monumentes de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, vol. i. p. 244, and pl. viii. 8; Rosellini, Mon. Storici, vol. iii. 1, pp. 75, 80, and pl. 15 of the same volume). Positively, the name of a superintendent of the quarry who lived in his reign, has been preserved in several graffiti (Kosma, As Historic Monument in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc. 1881, p. 101; Plinianus Petrus, A Scena in Egypt, pl. xx., No. 470), while another graffiti gives us only the protocol of the sovereign, and indicates that the quarries were worked in his reign (Plinianus Petrus, ibid., pl. xvi., No. 480).

[4] The chambers of white limestone are marked I, K, on Mariette's plan (Karnak, pl. v). It is possible that they may have been merely decorated under Thûtmosis III, whose cartouches alternate with those of Amenôthès I. (Mariette, Karnak, pp. 31, 32). The colossus now in front of the third pylons, and Wiedemann concluded from this fact that Amenôthès had begun extensive works for enlarging the temple of Amón (Egyptische Geschichte, p. 328). Mariette believed, with greater probability, that the colossus formerly stood at the entrance to the XIXth dynasty temple, but was removed to its present position by Thûtmosis III (Karnak, pp. 27, note 9, 39).

The Cult of Amenothes I. and His Mummy.

represented as Osiris, the protector of the Necropolis, and he was depicted as such with the sombre colour of the funerary deities; his image, moreover, together with those of the other gods, was used to decorate the interiors of coffins, and to protect the mummies of his devotees. One of his statues, now in the Turin Museum, represents him sitting on his throne in the posture of a king giving audience to his subjects, or in that of a god receiving the homage of his worshippers. The modelling of the bust betrays a flexibility of handling which is astonishing in a work of art so little removed from barbaric times; the head is a marvel of delicacy and natural grace. We feel that the sculptor has taken a delight in chiselling the features of his sovereign, and in reproducing the benevolent and almost dreamy expression which characterised them.

The cult of Amenothes lasted for seven or eight centuries, until the time when his coffin was removed and placed with those of the other members of his family in the place where it remained concealed until our own times. It is

1 Drawn by Pansieri-Guilla, from a photograph by Emlt Bongeh-Bey, taken in 1883.
2 The cult of Amenothes I. and the principal monuments which are as yet known, are given in WEIGERT, Égyptische Geschich, pp. 219, 330. A black Amenothes, followed by his son Osiris, is reproduced in ROUX, Monuments Industrie, vol. 1, p. 94-100, pl. xxix.
3 Weigert, Égyptische Geschicht, p. 240, has collected several examples, to which it would be easy to add others. The mummies of the king are in this case constantly accompanied by unusual epithets, which are enclosed in one or other of his titles: Men, Re, Wadjet, etc., one of these unusual epithets of Amenothes V. (Le Re Amenophis V. in the Bulletin des Musées, vol. iv. p. 112-114.) For "Pashtu-ah-Thun," a surname of the chief Amenothes I., frequently met with, and signifying "the intimate friend or image of Amen," see LITWAK, DOUARD, iii. 2 b, 57; and of A. A. B. ENAUD, On a Fragment of Mummy-Cases, in the Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes de Leyde, part 3, pp. 175-178.
5 We know, from the Abydos Papyri, pl. vii. 2, 7, p. 11 (cf. MARTIN, Les Nécropoles judaïques à Abydos, pp. 119, 120, 71, 72; CHARES, Un Symposium des Hypogées de Thèbes, in the Mélanges de l'Institut de France, Sér
shaped to correspond with the form of the human body and painted white; the face resembles that of his statue, and the eyes of enameled, touched with kohl, give it a wonderful appearance of animation. The body is swathed in orange-coloured linen, kept in place by bands of brownish linen, and is further covered by a mask of wood and cartonnage, painted to match the exterior of the coffin. Long garlands of faded flowers dappled the mummy from head to foot. A wasp, attracted by their scent, must have settled upon them at the moment of burial, and become imprisoned by the lid; the insect has been completely preserved from corruption by the balsams of the embalmer, and its gauzy wings have passed unrumpled through the long centuries.

Amenothes had married Ahhotep II., his sister by the same father and mother; Ahmose, the daughter born of this union, was given in marriage to Thutmosis, one of her brothers, the son of a mere concubine, by name Semisanbê. Ahmose, like her ancestor Noftari, had therefore the right to exercise all the royal functions, and she might have claimed precedence of her husband. Whether from conjugal affection or from weakness of character, she yielded, however, the priority to Thutmosis, and allowed him to assume the sole government. He was crowned at Thebes on the 21st of the third month of Pith; and a circular, addressed to the representatives of the ancient serviorial families and to the officers of the crown, announced the names assumed by the new sovereign.

This is the royal rescript to announce to you that my Majesty has arisen king of the two Egypt, on the seat of the Horus of the living, without equal, for ever, and that my titles are as follows: The vigorous bull Horus, beloved of Mâit, the Lord of the Vulture and of the Uraeus who raises itself as a flame, most valiant, the golden Horns, whose years are good and who puts life into all hearts, king of the two Egypt, Akhorînekh, son of the Sun, Thutmosis, living for ever.

Caesar, therefore, sacrifices to be offered to the gods of the

2 Ahhotep II. may be seen beside her husband on several monuments given by Weidemann, Egypt. Geschichte, pp. 336, 337. The proof that she was full sister of Amenôthes I. is furnished by the title of "hereditary princess" which is given to her daughter, Ahmose; this princess would not have taken precedence of her brother and husband Thutmosis, who was the son of an inferiour wife, had she not been the daughter of the only legitimate spouse of Amenôthes I. The marriage had already taken place before the accession of Thutmosis I., as Ahmose figures in a document dated the first year of his reign (Elman, Handbuch der Thutmosis I. mit den Bedürfnissen der Annahme seinen Regierungsbeginnges, in the Zeitschrift, vol. xxx., p. 117).
3 Elman, ibid., in the Zeitschrift, vol. xxx., pp. 117-119. The absence of any cartouche shows that Senachris did not belong to the royal family, and the very form of the name points her out to have been of the middle classes, and merely a concubine. The exclusion of her son, however,embalmed her, and he represents her as a queen on the walls of the temple at Deir el-Bahri (Nabyl, The Temple of Deir el-Bahri, etc., pp. 32-44); even then he merely styles her "Royal Mother," the only title of which can be really denied, as her inferior position in the harem prevented her from being that of "Royal Queen."

4 This is really the protocol of the king, as we find it in the monuments (Pennefather, Kingship, pl. xxiv.), with his two Horus names and his solar titles.
south and of Elephantine, \(^1\) and hymns to be chanted for the well-being of the King Àkhopitérêit, living for ever, and then cause the oath to be taken in the name of my Majesty, born of the royal mother Senusiritâ, who is in good health. — This is sent to thee that thou mayest know that the royal house is prosperous, and in good health and condition, the 1st year, the 21st of the third month of Êxhril, the day of coronation.\(^2\) The new king was tall in stature, broad-shouldered, well knit, and capable of enduring the fatigue of war without flagging. His statues represent him as having a full, round face, long nose, square chin, rather thick lips, and a smiling but firm expression. Thutmosis brought with him an ascending the throne the spirit of the younger generation, who, born shortly after the deliverance from the Hyksos, had grown up in the peaceful days of Amenothes, and, elated by the easy victories obtained over the nations of the south, were inspired by ambitions unknown to the Egyptians of earlier times. To this younger race Africa no longer offered a sufficiently wide or attractive field; the whole country was their own as far as the confluence of the two Nile, and the Thuban gods were worshipped at Napata no less devoutly than at Thebes itself.\(^3\) What remained to

\(^1\) The copy of this letter which has come down to us is addressed to the commander of Elephantine; hence the mention of the gods of that town. The names of the divinities must have been altered to suit each district, to which the order to offer sacrifices for the prosperity of the new sovereign was sent.


\(^3\) Drawn by Fautras-Guillaum from the photograph taken in 1853 by B. Menges-Bey.

\(^4\) A misinterpreted passage of Gussere (Description des Monuments Égyptiens du Jeu de Maâ, p. 28).
be conquered in that direction was scarcely worth the trouble of reducing to a province or of annexing as a colony; it comprised a number of tribes hopelessly divided among themselves, and consequently, in spite of their renowned bravery, without power of resistance. Light columns of troops, drafted at intervals on either side of the river, ensured order among the submissive, or despoiled the refractory of their possessions in cattle, slaves, and precious stones. Thutmose I. had to repress, however, very shortly after his accession, a revolt of these borderers at the second and third cataracts, but they were easily overcome in a campaign of a few days' duration, in which the two Ahmoses of El-Kahb took an honourable part. There was, as usual, an encounter of the two fleets in the middle of the river: the young king himself attacked the enemy's chief, pierced him with his first arrow, and made a considerable number of prisoners. Thutmose had the corpse of the chief suspended as a trophy in front of the royal ship, and sailed northwards towards Thebes, where, however, he was not destined to remain long. An ample field of action presented itself to him in the north-east, affording scope for great exploits, as profitable as they were glorious. Syria offered to Egyptian cupidity a virgin prey in its large commercial towns inhabited by an industrious population, who by maritime trade and caravan traffic had amassed enormous wealth. The country had been previously subdued by the Chaldeans, who still exercised an undisputed influence over it, and it was but natural that the conquerors of the Hyksos should act in their turn as invaders. The incursion of Asians into Egypt thus provoked a reaction which issued in an Egyptian invasion of Asiatic soil. Thutmose and his contemporaries had inherited none of the instinctive fear of penetrating into Syria which influenced Ahmosis and his successor: the Theban legions were, perhaps, slow to advance, but once they had trodden the roads of Palestine, they were not likely to

1. Description of Ahmosis-Jebus, i. 23, et seq.; cf. Lauriwill, Fecken, iii. 12, &c.; Cheats, Les Founes on Syrie, pp. 21, 22, 29, 40, 49; Durand, Guizachile, Egypte, p. 288. That this expedition must be placed at the beginning of the king's reign, in his first year, is shown by two facts: (1) It precedes the Syrian campaign in the biography of the two Ahmosis of El-Kahb; (2) the Syrian campaign must have ended in the second year of the reign, since Thutmose I. on the stone of Thumes which bears that date (Prima, Fecken, iii. 5 a; &c., 13, 14), gives particulars of the course of the Hyksos, and records the submission of the countries subdued by that river (K. du Ru, Eude des Monuments du Monde de Karnak, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Egypte, i. 1, p. 561).

2. It is impossible at present to draw up a correct table of the divine or foreign sovereigns who reigned over Egypt during the time of the Hyksos. I have given (Marsden, Jews of Civilization,
forego the delights of conquest. From that time forward there was perpetual warfare and pillaging expeditions from the plains of the Blue Nile to those of the Euphrates, so that scarcely a year passed without bringing to the city of Amon its tribute of victories and riches gained at the point of the sword. One day the news would be brought that the Amorites or the Khâti had taken the field, to be immediately followed by the announcement that their forces had been shattered against the valour of the Egyptian battalions. Another day, Pharaoh would re-enter the city with the flower of his generals and veterans; the chiefs whom he had taken prisoners, sometimes with his own hand, would be conducted through the streets, and then led to die at the foot

pp. 788, 790 the list of the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth dynasties which are known to us from the Tutis Papyri. I have appended that of the Pharaohs of the following dynasties, who are mentioned either in the fragments of Manetho or on the monuments:

**XVth Dynasty.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Shepherds in the Delta.</th>
<th>The Thebans in the Said.</th>
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<tr>
<td>II. Reis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. / Aharnas, Aharonas.</td>
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<td>IV. (Amen I.), Azonis, Amen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. / Sann, Lensa, Anais.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI. / Assar, Assar.</td>
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**XVIth Dynasty.**

The Shepherds over the whole of Egypt.

Sekhem Kham.

Amon II. Amen.

**XVth Dynasty.**

The Shepherds in the Delta.

I. Amen III. Amenem.

**XVIIth Dynasty.**

The Thebans in the Said.

I. Thúta. I. Sanchub I.

II. Thúta. II. Sanchub II.

Amenemhat Thwara.

Tehemun.

Sanchub Thihini.

Sanchub Thwara.

Hammurabi.

Mammonu.

Nécharam.

Thúta Sanchub III.

Lakarenum Karo.

Nécharam Amen I.

The date of the invasion may be placed between 2190 and 2150 B.C.; if we count 641 years for the three dynasties together, as Kranz proposes (Zur Chronologie der Hylands, in the Zeitschrift, 1879, pp. 123-127), we find that the accession of Amenem would fall between 1541 and 1500 (see p. 73, note 1, of the present volume). I should place it provisionally in the year 1500, in order not to leave the position of the succeeding reigns uncertain; I estimate the possible error at about half a century.
of the altars, while fantastic processions of richly clothed captives, beasts led by halters, and slaves bending under the weight of the spoil would stretch in an endless line behind him. Meanwhile the Tumibi, roused by some unknown cause, would attack the outposts stationed on the frontier, or news would come that the Peoples of the Sea had landed on the western side of the Delta; the Pharaoh had again to take the field, invariably with the same speedy and successful issue. The Libyans seemed to fare no better than the Syrians, and before long those who had survived the defeat would be paraded before the Theban citizens, previous to being sent to join the Asiatic prisoners in the mines or quarries, their blue eyes and fair hair showing from beneath strangely shaped helmets, while their white skins, tall stature, and tattooed bodies excited for a few hours the interest and mirth of the idle crowd. At another time, one of the customary raids into the land of Kush would take place, consisting of a rapid march across the sands of the Ethiopian desert and a cruise along the coasts of Phunt. This would be followed by another triumphal procession, in which fresh elements of interest would appear, heralded by flourish of trumpets and roll of drums; Pharaoh would re-enter the city borne on the shoulders of his officers, followed by negroes heavily chained, or coupled in such a way that it was impossible for them to move without grotesque contortions, while the acclamations of the multitude and the chanting of the priests would resound from all sides as the cortège passed through the city gates on its way to the temple of Amon. Egypt, roused as it were to warlike frenzy, hurled her armies across all her frontiers simultaneously, and her sudden appearance in the heart of Syria gave a new turn to human history. The isolation of the kingdoms of the ancient world was at an end; the conflict of the nations was about to begin.
SYRIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

NISSYR AND THE FIRST OBESEAN KINGS—THE PEOPLES OF SYRIA, THEIR TOWNS, THEIR CIVILIZATION, THEIR RELIGION—PHILOSOPHY.

The dynasty of Urnezzar—The Cunneus: their country, their gods, their conquest of Chaldea—The first sovereigns of Assyria, and the first Cunneus Kings: Assurnakhris.

The Egyptian names for Syria: Kanaan, Zahi, Lohana, Koskia—The military highway from the Nile to the Euphrates: first section from Zahi to Gaza—The Cusos: their fortress, their agricultural character; the fencet between Jafa and Mount Carmel, Megiddo—The three routes beyond Megiddo: Qophen, Alemon, Naharaim, Gerashim: Misrura and the countries beyond the Euphrates.


Ethiopia—Arvad, Mariath, Semjara, Batyos—Babylon, its temple, its goddess; the myth of Assur: Ashdod and the valley of the Nahr-Ishzal, the festivals of the death and resurrection of Assur: Berytos and its god El; Sidon and its antelope—Tyre: its foundation, its gates, the acropolis, its domain in the Lebanon.
Isolation of the Phoenicians with regard to the other nations of Syria: their love of the sea and the causes which developed it—Legendary accounts of the beginning of their colonization—Their commercial enterprises, their banks and factorries; their ships—Cyprus, its wealth, its insurrections—The Phoenician colonies in Asia Minor and the Aegean Sea: purple dye—The nations of the Aegean.
CHAPTER II.

SYRIA: AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST

Nimrod and the first Canaan Kings—The peoples of Syria, their towns, their civilization, their religion—Phoenicia.

THE world beyond the Arabian desert presented to the eyes of the enterprising Pharaohs an active and bustling scene. Babylonian civilization still maintained its hold there without a rival, but Babylonian rule had ceased to exercise any longer a direct control, having probably disappeared with the sovereigns who had introduced it. When Ammisaduca died, about the year 2099, the line of Hammurabi became extinct, and a family from the Sea-lands came into power. This unexpected revolution of affairs did not by any means restore to the cities of Lower Chaldea the supreme authority which they once possessed. Babylon had made such good use of its centuries of rule that it had gained upon its rivals, and was not likely now to fall back into a secondary place. Henceforward, no matter what dynasty came into power, as soon as the fortune of war had placed it upon the throne, Babylon succeeded in adopting it, and at once made it its own.

1 Drawn by Romlier, from a photograph; the vignette, by Faucher-Gudin, represents an Asiatic draped with a blue and a red shawl: cf. CHABOT, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xcxxvii, t. 2; ROZET, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxxv.

2 The origin of this second dynasty and the reading of its name still afford matter for discussion. The name was provisionally written Schedimu, Sisun, by Pinches, who was the first to discover it (Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings, in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1880-81, vol. iii, pp. 21, 27); it was at once conjectured by Lauth (Remarques sur le Name-Schedimu, ibid., 1880-81, vol. ii, pp. 45-48) with the name Schedim, which signifies Babylon in Jeremiah (ch. xxv, 29 and...
The new lord of the country, Damašu, having abandoned his patrimonial inheritance, came to reside near to Merodach. He was followed during the four next centuries by a dynasty of ten princes, in uninterrupted succession. Their rule was introduced and maintained without serious opposition. The small principalities of the south were theirs by right, and the only town which might have caused them any trouble—Assur—was dependent on them, being satisfied with the title of vassals for its princes. Khalhu, Irišshú, Isinidânu and his son Samšarrâmânu I, Iqurkapkapa and his son Samšarrâmânu II. As to the course of events beyond the Khabur, and any efforts Humâlu's descendants may have made to establish their authority in the direction of the Mediterranean, we have no inscriptions to inform us, and must be content to remain in ignorance. The last two of those princes, Malamukurru and Eâgamil, were not connected with each other, and had no direct relationship with their predecessors. The shortness of their

But Sîn-šarrum was only an indirect way of writing Baby. by scribes, and Ptolemaus had observed that the group might be read Sîn-šarrum, Urmum, or Ubritu, as well as Shilahru, the reading Ubritu even included H zusimmu, to make Ubritu-Eschi the name of the 11th Babylonian dynasty (Ptolemy, 1887-94, vol. ii. pp. 48, 49). Erastas endeavored to prove by means of philology what excellent grounds there were for this comparison (Urbritu zuummu Shilahru, 585, 1887-92, vol. iv. pp. 3-9), while Wilkinson, after deciding for a short time to accept the reading Urmum (Geschichte der Babylonier und Assyrier, pp. 190, 365), now declares Urbritu to be merely certain (A Supplementary Note to Sîn-šarrum, in his Ptolemy, 1887-90, vol. iv. pp. 13-15). Fr. Dumont accepts the reading Urmum and recognizes Babylon in it, but Winckler (Geschichte der Babylonier und Assyrier, pp. 67, 63, 317, 328) believes he is merely the name of a district of Babylon, where the dynasty may have originated. Finally, Hilprecht (Assyria, vol. i. pp. 28-29, 101-102) asserts, from Kondisou's copy (Assyrische Reliefs aus dem Sargonzeit, vol. i. p. 60), that the second sign in the name is the syllable uru, and while recognizing the correctness of H. Rawlinson's and H. Rawlinson's hypothesis, declares himself unable to affirm anything concerning the value and the true significance of the group written Sîn-šarrum. Among these conflicting opinions, it behoves us to remember that (though the only prince of this dynasty whose title we possess, calls himself, King of the Country of the Sea, that is to say, of the seaport country at the mouth of the Euphrates (Hilprecht, Babylon, Kept of University of Pennsylvania, vol. i. pp. 30, 3-6), this simple fact demands us to find the whole of the family in those districts of southern Chaldia (Hilprecht, Assyria, vol. i. pp. 21-29, 32). This rejects the identification on philological and chronological grounds, and assumes in Ortlepp's "King of the Southern," a rival Elamite prince (Assyria, March 2, 1893).

reigns presents a striking contrast with the length of those preceding them, and probably indicates a period of war or revolution. When these princes disappeared, we know not how or why, about the year 1714 B.C., they were succeeded by a king of foreign extraction; and one of the semi-barbarous race of Kashsham ascended the throne which had been occupied since the days of Khumarrat by Chuldaans of ancient stock.  

These Kashsham, who spring up suddenly out of obscurity, had from the earliest times inhabited the mountainous districts of Zagros, on the confines of Elymais and Media, where the Cossans of the classical historians flourished in the time of Alexander. It was a rugged and unattractive country, protected by nature and easy to defend, made up as it was of narrow tortuous valleys, of plains of moderate extent but of rare fertility, of mountain chains whose grim sides were covered with forests, and whose peaks were snow-crowned during half the year, and of rivers, or, more correctly speaking, torrents, for the rains and the melting of the snow rendered them impassable in spring and summer.

Kuhikalliplam, his son 1584-1780 B.C.
Akkarakallam, his son 1780-1750
Kuhikallam 1750-1730
Melakkallam 1730-1723
Bashkallam 1723-1714

No mention remains of any of these princes, and even the reading of their names is merely problematic; those placed between brackets represent Doldischen's readings. A Gulkishar is mentioned in an inscription of Baktunmahi (Hieremer, Die Babylonian Exile of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 6, and Assyria, vol. 1, pp. 228-231); but Jemson is doubtful if the Gulkishar mentioned in this place is identical with the one in the texts (Gulkishar—Mubabbis-Kushitarun—Kings of Babylon of the Dynasty of Birsam and Gulkishar, King of the Medes, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. viii, pp. 230-231).

The Kashsham are identified with the Cossans by Sayce (The Language of the Cossan Inscriptions of Elymais and Media, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iv, pp. 175, 176), by Schäfer (Klingenschreiben und Geschichtephänomen, pp. 176, 271), by W. Doldischen (Wo liegt das Paradies? pp. 31, 82, 124, 125, 129, and Die Sprache der Kaiser, pp. 1-4), by Halne (Notes Assyriologiques, § 32, Les Cossants de Kouyunjik, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iv, pp. 208, 228), by Thal (Kenahitale—Asiatische Geschichtsreihen, pp. 62, 63, 67-71), by Hormay (Geschichte der Babylonischen und Assyrischen, pp. 276-278), and by Jemson (Gulkishar—Mabakkas—Kushitarun—Kings of Babylon of the Dynasty of Birsam and Gulkishar, King of the Medes, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. viii, pp. 229, note 1). Oppert maintains that they answer to the Kasians of Herodotus (III, xiv, 7), and of Strabo (XVIII, 3, 2, p. 735), but that is to say, to the inhabitants of the district of which Susa is the capital (La Langue Cossantes ou Cassite au Cassite, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iii, pp. 421-427). Lammara supports this opinion (Schmaischschämbata, Könige von Babylonien, p. 69, c. 3, and Noch einmal Kassia; Krieger, nicht Könige, Zeitschrift, vol. vii, pp. 288-294). W. Murner gives more (Geschichte des Altertums, p. 192), according to which the Kasians are identical with the Cassans.

Of the description of it given by Semachor in his second campaign (G. Smith, History of Assyria, pp. 85, 44, II, 2-690), which can be supplemented by that given by E. Renan, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, vol. 14, pp. 107, 108, from the accounts of modern travellers.
autumn. The entrance to this region was by two or three well-fortified passes; if an enemy were unwilling to incur the loss of time and men needed to carry these by main force, he had to make a detour by narrow goat-tracks, along which the assailants were obliged to advance in single file, as best they could, exposed to the assaults of a foe concealed among the rocks and trees. The tribes who were entrenched behind this natural rampart made frequent and unexpected raids upon the marshy meadows and fat pastures of Chaldea; they dashed through the country, pillaging and burning all that came in their way, and then, quickly regaining their hiding-places, were able to place their booty in safety before the frontier garrisons had recovered from the first alarm. These tribes were governed by numerous chiefs acknowledging a single king—Sennacherib—who had a throne over nearly the whole country: some of them had a slight veneer of Chaldaean civilization, while among the rest almost every stage of barbarism might be found. The remains of their language show that it was remotely allied to the dialect of Susa, and contained many Semitic words. What is recorded of their religion reaches us merely at second hand, and the groundwork of it has doubtless been modified by the Babylonian scribes who have transmitted it to us. They worshipped twelve great gods, of whom the chief—Khashshu, the lord of heaven—gave his name to the principal tribe, and possibly to the whole race: Shulmania, queen of the snowy heights, was enthroned beside

1 It was thus in the time of Alexander and his successors (Polybios, V. 20, 1; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 117; Strabo, xii. 8, § 8, p. 324, and xvi. 1, § 15, 18, pp. 702, 714; Arrian, Indicae, vii. 4, 1), and the information given by the classical historians about this period is equally applicable to earlier times, as we may conclude from the numerous passages from Assyrian inscriptions, which have been collected by Fr. Dillmann, Die Sprache der Konner, pp. 5, 56, 82.

2 Dillmann conjectures that Torm, or Zarse, had become a kind of proper name, analogous to the term Pharaoh employed by the Egyptians (ibid., pp. 23, 24-26).

3 A certain number of Chaldaic words have been preserved and translated, some in one of the royal Babylonian lists (Hawkins, Cune. Ins. W. A., vol. ii. p. 46; No. 2, second edition, Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings, in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1882-83, vol. ii. pp. 34-41), and some on a tablet in the British Museum, discovered and interpreted by Fr. Delitzsch (Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 22-25). Several Assyriologists think that they show a marked affinity with the Sumerian inscriptions, and with that of the Akkadian inscriptions of the second type (Sayce, The Language of the Amorites, Inscriptions of Kuss and Median, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 475, 476).—Kuscel. Handwörter Babylonische and Assyrische, pp. 303-308, others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78), others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78; 70-78), others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78; 70-78), others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78; 70-78), others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78; 70-78).—Kuscel. Handwörter Babylonische and Assyrische, pp. 303-308; others deny the proposed connection (Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 59-59; 67-78; 70-78).—Kuscel. Handwörter Babylonische and Assyrische, pp. 303-308.

4 It has been studied by Fr. Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 34-36; and rests on the influence which daily intercourse with the Chaldeans had on it after the conquest; Hawkin (Cune. Ins. W. A., vol. ii. pp. 343-344, in most of the names of the gods given on Cunean, see merely cuneiform, 1884, vol. i. pp. 382-384), to the increase of the gods given on Cunean, now merely cuneiform, 1884, vol. i. pp. 382-384; and rests on the influence which daily intercourse with the Chaldeans had on it after the conquest; Hawkin (Cune. Ins. W. A., vol. ii. pp. 343-344, in most of the names of the gods given on Cunean, see merely cuneiform, 1884, vol. i. pp. 382-384); the existence of Khashshu is proved by the name of Khashshulnakhada (Fr. Dillmann, Die Sprache der Kosser, pp. 29-31); Ashdok also bears a name identical with that of his worshippers.
THE GODS OF THE CASSANANS.

line,4 and the divinities next in order were, as in the cities of the Euphrates, the Moon, the Sun (Sakh or Shuriash), the air or the tempest (Ubrish, and Khudilha.5 Then followed the stellar deities or secondary incarnations of the sun,—Mirzir, who represented both latar and Beltis;6 and Khala, answering to Guha.7 The Chaldan Nimp corresponded both to Gihar and Maruttash, Bel to Kharbe and Targe, Merodach to Shipak, Nergal to Shagul.8 The Cassanans kings, already enriched by the spoils of their neighbours, and supported by a warlike youth, eager to enlist under their banner at the first call,1 must have been often tempted to quit their barren domains and to swoop down on the rich country which lay at their feet. We are ignorant of the course of events which, towards the close of the XVIIIth century B.C., led to their gaining possession of it. The Cassanans king who seized on Babylon was named Gandish, and the few inscriptions we possess of his reign are cut with a clumsiness that betrays the barbarism of the conqueror. They cover the pivot stones on which Sargon of Agade or one of the Bursins had hung the doors of the temple of Nippur, but which Gandish dedicated afresh in order to win for himself, in the eyes of posterity, the credit of the work of these sovereigns.7 Bel found favour in the

1 She is mentioned in a cuneiform of Nebochadnezar I., at the head of the gods of Nainak, that is to say, the Cassanans deities, as "the lady of the shining mountains, the inhabitant of the summit, the frequent of peaks." (RAMSEYER, Das. Ins. W. A., vol. ii. p. 27; col. 11, 30, 47; cf. PERROT, Histoire de la Babylone Nabonidadens du 2e, sur CHALAYI, Keltischefische Bibelthek, vol. iii. p. 1, pp. 175, 177.) She is called Sin-shezek in Restiak, Cun. Ins. W. A., vol. ii. p. 33, l. 33, where Delitzsch has restored her name, which was slightly mutilated (Die Sprache der Kassaner, p. 24, note 1); one of her statues was taken by Sennacherib III., King of Assyria, in one of that sovereign's campaigns against Chaldan (PERRY-WEISER, Die assyrische epochengeschichte, p. 280, 293, vol. iv. l. 1, 4, 8.)

2 All these identifications are furnished by the glossary of Delitzsch (Die Sprache der Kassaner, p. 23); Ubrish, under the term of Nebochadnezar, is met with in a large number of proper names, Hurumbershe, Shagashadanishirah, Ulamarribah, Kadishanumabshar, where the Assyrian words translate it Belf-i-ashtr, lord of the world: Nurbah is, therefore, an epithet of the god who was called Ramunik in Chaldan (ib. ibid., pp. 22, 25, 27). The name of the moon-god is mutilated, and only the formal syllable Sin... remains, followed by an indistinct sign: it has not yet been restored. Halley (Notes Assyriologiques, § 21, of Canaanite and early, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iv. p. 210) reads Khudilha instead of Khudilha.

3 On the double divinity of Mirzir, of what is said by Fe. DELITZSCH, Die Sprache der Kassaner, pp. 23, 54.

4 Id., ibid., pp. 21, 22, 23, 33. Halley (Notes Assyriologiques, § 21, of Canaanite and early, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iv. p. 210) concludes Khala, or Khali, as a corrupt form of Gain (cf. MAXMERO, Dictionnaire, p. 265) if this is the case, the Cassanans must have borrowed the name, and perhaps the goddess herself, from their Chaldan neighbours.


6 Study of an unknown manuscript of Alexander, that the Cassanans "had formerly been able to place as many as thirty thousand archers: in fine, in the case which they wagged with the help of the Elamites against the inhabitants of Suse and Babylon." (XI, 191, § 6, p. 341)

7 The full name of this king, Guvalish or Guvalish, which is furnished by the royal lists (PERSIA, The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period, in the Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vi. 1892-93, p. 129), is written Guhalish on a monument in the British Museum discovered by Puchter (Babylonian
eyes of the Cossans who saw in him Kharbi or Targu, the recognised patron of their royal family: for this reason Gandish and his successors regarded Bel with peculiar devotion. These kings did all they could for the decoration and endowment of the ancient temple of Ekur, which had been somewhat neglected by the sovereigns of purely Babylonian extraction, and this devotion to one of the most venerated Chaldean sanctuaries contributed largely towards their winning the hearts of the conquered people.

The Cossan rule over the countries of the Euphrates was doubtless similar in its beginnings to that which the Hyksos exercised at first over the nomes of Egypt. The Cossan kings did not merely bring with them an army to protect their persons, or to occupy a small number of important posts: they were followed by the whole nation, who spread themselves over the entire country. The bulk of the invaders instinctively betook themselves to districts where, if they could not resume the kind of life to which they were accustomed in their own land, they could at least give full rein to their love of a free and wild existence. As there were no mountains in the country, they turned to the marshes, and, like the Hyksos in Egypt, made themselves at home about the mouths of the rivers, on the half-submerged low lands, and on the sandy islets of the lagoons which formed an undefined borderland between the alluvial region and the Persian Gulf. The covert afforded by the thickets furnished scope for the chase which these hunters had been accustomed to pursue in the depths of their native forests, while fishing, on the other hand, supplied them with an additional element of food. When their depredations drew down upon them reprisals from their neighbours, the mound occupied by their fortresses, and surrounded by muddy swamps, offered them almost as secure retreats as their former strongholds on the lofty sides of the Zagros. They made alliances with the native Aramaeans—with these Kashdi, properly called Chaldeans, whose name we have imposed upon all the nations who, from a very early date, bore rule on the banks of the Lower Euphrates. Here they formed themselves into a State—Kardurish—whose princes at times rebelled against all external authority, and at other times acknowledged the sovereignty of the

Notes: 1. Gedidil, an Early Babylonian King, and Additional Note on the Name of the Babylonian King Gedidil, in the Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. 1, pp. 64, 78, whose conclusions have been erroneously denied by Winckler (Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte, p. 34; cf. Huenkel, Geschichte Babylonum und Assyriam, p. 599, and Hilprecht, Die Volke Israels [eine nicht ewrhmten Kunde], in the Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie, vol. viii. pp. 309, 310). A process of abbreviation, of which there are examples in the names of other kings of the same dynasty (Hilprecht, Assyriana, vol. 1, pp. 88-90), reduced the name to Gandi in the current language (In, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, pp. 28-48, and pl. 14).

1 In, ibid., vol. 1, pp. 38-39. Hilprecht calls attention to this point (p. 39, note 1) to the fact that no one has yet discovered at Nippur a single emblem similar to any king of the two great Babylonian dynasties.

2 H. B. M. M., Greek, Bab. and Assyrian, 2nd edit., pp. 17, 18, 86, 89; Huenkel, Greek, Bab. and Assyrian, p. 425, et seq.; Winckler, Greek, Bab. and Assyrian, pp. 77-78, 81, 82.
Babylonian monarchs. The people of Sumur and Akkad, already a composite of many different races, absorbed thus another foreign element, which, while modifying its homogeneity, did not destroy its natural character. Those Cossan tribes who had not quitted their own country retained their original barbarism, but the hope of plunder constantly drew them from their haunts, and they attacked and devastated the cities of the plain unhindered by the thought that they were now inhabited by their fellow-countrymen. The raid once over, many of them did not return home, but took service under some distant foreign ruler—the Syrian princes attracting many, who subsequently became the backbone of their armies, while others remained at Babylon and enrolled themselves in the body-guard of the kings. To the last they were an undisciplined militia, dangerous, and difficult to please: one day they would hurl their chiefs with clamorations, to kill them the next in one of those sudden outbreaks in which they were accustomed to make and unmakes their kings. The first

1 The state of Kariumnash, whose name appears for the first time on the monuments of the Cossan period, has been localized in a somewhat vague manner, in the north of Babylonia, in the country of the Kabili, by Poggio (L'Impression de Darius, pp. 129-131), and afterwards casually identified with the Country of the Sun, and with the principality which was called Shu-Talim in the Assyrian period, by Thio (Revue Asiatique, 1856, pp. 78-80), whose opinion Wosklof, first proposed (Sumur et Akkad, i. p. 32, line 8), but afterwards accepted (Geist der Schol. (i. p. 86). In the Tel-el-Amarna tablets the name is already applied to the entire country reclaimed by the Cossan kings or their descendants, that is, to say, to the whole of Babylonia. Sargon II, at that time distinguishable between an Upper and a Lower Kariumnash, Kariumnash with a hospital (Note Inscription of Khorsabad, i. 21); and in consequence the earliest Assyriologists considered it as an Assyrian designation of Babylon, or the district surrounding it (Pa. Lexicon, Lexicon Assyria, i. p. 237, a. 2; Tello Ascalon, i. p. 5, note 1; Tello, Tello of the Bible, Tello of the Assyrians, 2nd ed., p. 87; Hesekel, Geist der Schol. pp. 425, 426). From one frequent spelling of the name, the meaning seems to have been Kommene (P. L. Meditation, Lexicon Assyria, i. p. 237, note 2), whose meaning is uncertain, ph. 1, 18, not a god), in this Dallmair interpreted the transliteration as Kommene, from an erroneous identification of Kommene = Gemmene (Fr. Tite, Histoire des Papalites, i. p. 128); Dallmair, from the first derived from a Chaldean god Eem, whose name may exist in the inscription (i. p. 192); this is a Cossan name, which the Assyrians transliterated as they did Buriq, Babkini, last of the country. Wosklof rejects the above etymology (Uebersetzungen aus Altoriental. Geist, i. p. 153, 129); and proposes to divide the word as Karium＝nas, and to see in it a Cossan translation of the expression sun-bálu, country of the Chaldeans: Hommel on his side, as well as Dallmair, had thought of making in the Chaldean proper—Kabili, or Kabili, or Kablu—as the domain of the Chaldeans—the descendants of the Cossan of Kariumnash, at least as far as men are concerned (Hesekel, Geschichte Bab. und Ass. pp. 425, note 1; Pa. L. Meditation, Wege der Franken, i. p. 228; and Die Schreibung der Kossen, p. 91). In the circumflex form the name is written Kizz. D. F. Dahmen, The Wall of the god Dumante (cfr. the Median Wall or Wall of Semiramis which defended Babylon in the north).—Hommel has at last proved that the Kabili mentioned in the Tel-Assyr. tablets were Cossan (Note sur quelques Noms proper Assyro-Palatinaux, in the Journal d'Asie, 1881, i. p. 92, 93; Tello and Assyr., pp. 69, 724; cfr. Sennar, Notes d'Égyptologie, in the Rec. de Trav. Arch. et Mém. d'Assyr., i. p. 22, and Hesekel, Geschichte Bab. und Ass. i. p. 47, note 1); contrary to the opinion of Sayce, who makes them tribes grouped round Babylon (Dahmen, Tabellen aus Tell-el-Amarna, in the Proceedings, 20th, 21st and 22nd, p. 469; The Higher Critical Studies, cfr., pp. 177, and Patriarchal Palestine, pp. 113-126), which W. Max Müller seems to accept (Abyssen und Europa, p. 297); Wosklof (Geist der Schol., Geest der Schol. 2nd ed., pp. 87), returning to an old opinion, believes them to have been Hebrews—Cossan (Cfr. Sennar, 22nd year, p. 191).—This is the opinion of Hommel (Geest der Schol. pp. 22 and 47), supported by the testimony of the Schreibung der Kossen, in this table discuss the Cossans are found revolting against King-Kalahshumkal-Har, and replacing him on the throne by a certain Naqmashsh, who was of obscure origin (cfr. Geest der Schol., pp. 22 and 47).
SYRIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

invaders were not long in acquiring; by means of daily intercourse with the old inhabitants, the new civilization: sooner or later they became blended with the natives, losing all their own peculiarities, with the exception of their outlandish names, a few heroic legends, and the worship of two or three gods

Sh flora, Shunah, and Shumana. As in the case of the Hyksos in Africa, the barbarian conquerors thus became merged in the more civilized people which they had subdued. This work of assimilation seems at first to have occupied the whole attention of both races, for the immediate successors of the Hyksos were unable to retain under their rule all the provinces of which the empire was formerly composed. They continued to possess the territory situated on the middle course of the Euphrates as far as the mouth of the Balik, but they lost the region extending to the east of the Khabur, at the foot of the Musa, and in the upper basin of the Tigris: the viceroyalty of Assyur also withdrew from them, and, declaring that they owed no obedience excepting to the god of their city, assumed the royal dignity. The first four of these kings whose names have come down to us, Sulili, Belkaphynu, Adasu, and Belbanu, appear to have been but indifferent rulers, but they knew how to hold their own against the attacks of their neighbours, and when, after a century of weakness and inactivity, Babylon asserted herself, and endeavoured to recover her lost territory, they had so completely established their independence that every attack on it was unsuccessful. The Cossian king at that time—an active and enterprising prince, whose name was held in honour.

1. This has excited attention (Hrothgar's Anglo-Saxon Geschichte, p. 57) to the fact that a considerable number of these names are constructed with Cossian words after the Babylonian manner (cf. Darius, Die Synagoge der Kassiter, p. 207; HOSKING, Geschichtliche Religionskunde und Assyrien, p. 421, note 1).

2. By Belkaphynu (We Jans der Verwunderung, pp. 48-56, 124, 128, and Die Synagoge der Kassiter, p. 51) and Belbanu (Der Religionswissen und das alte Testament, 2nd ed., pp. 87-93) compare their names with those of Nebi, who appears in the Bible as the father of Nimrod (Gen. x: 8-12); Hamman (Gesch. Bab. und Assy., pp. 376-378) and Sayyid (Ucharch Chemerqi und die Monumenta, pp. 122, 123, 148-151, and Patriarchal Palaeon, p. 292) think that the history of Nimrod is a remembrance of the Cossian rule. Assurban al in his attempt (Geschichtliche-Olphüthes, ed. Knauber, in Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie, vol. 3, pp. 191-193) to attribute to the Cossians the first idea of the epic of Gilgames (cf. Masson, Dorf der Uvaniiten, pp. 54-52).

3. Whether the gods Belkaphynu became has been shown above (p. 103, note 1), of the present column. The god Shum ana, or Shina, is mentioned in the text published by Rawlinson, Can. Ins., vol. iv. pl. 39, vol. ii. 27, 182, with sides with Shumana.

4. These four names do not so much represent four consecutive kings as three separate traditions, which were current respecting the beginnings of Assyria. The most ancient of them gives the third place to two persons named Belkaphynu and Sulili; this tradition has been transmitted to us by Roscher's Geschichtliche Religionswissen, II, because it connected the origin of his race with those kings (Die Synagoge der Kassiter, Can. Ins. W. A., vol. i. p. 52, No. 2, 23-27; cf. Assur, Geschichtliche Religionswissen, in Scorza's, Realenfichische Bibliothek, vol. 1, pp. 118-119). The second tradition places a certain Belkaphynu, the son of Adasu, in the room of Belkaphynu and Sulili; Roscher, besides, made use of it in order to restore to his own family an antiquity at least equal to that of the family to which Roscher's Geschichtliche Religionswissen belonged (G. Smith, Assyrian History, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologische Forschung, 1862, pp. 93, 94). Each king appropriated from the earlier popular traditions the names which suited to him best adapted to explain the position of his dynasty, but we cannot tell how far the permanence which he enjoyed an authentic historical existence; it is best to treat them at least provisionally into the royal series, without trusting too much in what is related of them.

up to the days of the Ninevite supremacy—was Agumakirim, the son of Tussipurnash. This "brilliant scion of Shukamuna" entitled himself lord of the Kashshu and of Akkad, of Babylon the widespread, of Padan, of Almen, and of the swarthy Gutu. Ashurnak had been devastated; he reprieved it, and the four "houses of the world" rendered him obedience; on the other hand, Elam revolted from its allegiance; Assur resisted him, and if he still exercised some semblance of authority over Northern Syria, it was owing to a traditional respect which the towns of that country voluntarily rendered to him, but which did not involve either subjection or control. The people of Khani still retained possession of the statues of Merodach and of his consort Zarpashtit, which had been stolen, we know not how, some time previously from Chaldea. Agumakirim recovered them and replaced them in their proper temple. This was an important event, and earned him the good will of the priests. The king reorganised public worship; he caused new fittings for the temples to be made to take the place of those which had disappeared, and the inscription which records this work enumerates with satisfaction the large quantities of crystal, jasper, and lapis-lazuli which he lavished on the sanctuary, the utensils of silver and gold which he dedicated, together with the "seas" of wrought bronze decorated with monsters and religious emblems. This restoration of the statues,
so flattering to the national pride and piety, would have been exacted and insisted upon by a Khannumati at the point of the sword, but Agumakrimé doubtless felt that he was not strong enough to run the risk of war; he therefore sent an embassy to the Khâni; and such was the prestige which the name of Babylon still possessed, from the deserts of the Caspian to the shores of the Mediterranean, that he was able to obtain a concession from that people which he would probably have been powerless to extort by force of arms.¹

The Egyptians had, therefore, no need to anticipate Chaldaean interference when, forsaking their ancient traditions, they penetrated for the first time into the heart of Syria. Not only was Babylon no longer supreme there, but the coalition of those cities on which she had depended for help in subduing the West was partially dissolved, and the foreign princes who had succeeded to her patrimony were so far conscious of their weakness, that they voluntarily kept aloof from the countries in which, previous to their advent, Babylon had held undivided sway. The Egyptian conquest of Syria had already begun in the days of Agumakrimé, and it is possible that ahead of the Pharanah was one of the chief causes which influenced the Cossaeans to return a favourable answer to the Khâni.² Thothmes I, on entering Syria, encountered therefore only the native levies and it must be admitted that, in spite of their renowned courage, they were not likely to prove formidable adversaries in Egyptian estimation. Not one of the local Syrian dynasties was sufficiently powerful to collect all the forces of the country around its chief, so as to oppose a compact body of troops to the attack of the African armies. The whole country consisted of a collection of petty states, a complex group of peoples and territories which even the Egyptians themselves never completely succeeded in disentangling. They classed the inhabitants, however, under three or four very comprehensive names—Kharân, Zahi³, Lutilâ, and Kefâtû—they of which frequently recur in the inscriptions, but without having always that exactness of meaning we look for in geographical terms. As was often the case in similar circumstances, these names were used at first to denote the districts close to the Egyptian frontier with which the inhabitants of the Delta had constant intercourse. The Kefâtû seem to have been at the outset the people of the sea-coast, more especially of the region occupied later by the Phoenicians, but all the tribes with whom the Phoenicians came in contact on

¹ Strictly speaking, one might suppose that a war took place Cfr. Duhon, Rechtzeit, 66, p. 130; but most Assyriologists declare unhesitatingly that there was merely an embassy and a diplomatic negotiation (Hosner, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 22 and 23) which indeed, not only indirectly, the Khani refers, in the first, to the Medes.

² W. Max Müller, Aftas und Negyop, p. 170-181), after E. de Rougé (Notes sur quelques fragments de l'inscription de Karkar, p. 24), gives the name of Zahi or Zahi to the whole of Phoenicia, and by a misappellation in Uzda-Syria, for the original meaning of the name and for the probable history of the subsequent changes which it underwent, cf. Masueo, Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire, § 4, in the Revue des Travaux, vol. xvii, pp. 180-205.
the Asiatic and European border were before long included under the same name. Zahi originally comprised that portion of the desert and of the maritime plain on the north-east of Egypt which was crossed by the fleets, or traversed by the armies of Egypt, as they passed to and fro between Syria and the banks of the Nile. This region had been ravaged by Almocas during his raid upon Sharhunia, the year after the fall of Avariis. To the south-east of Zahi lay Kharr; it included the greater part of Mount Saïr, whose wadys, thinly dotted over with oases, were inhabited by tribes of more or less stationary habits. The approaches to it were protected by a few towns, or rather fortified villages, built in the neighbourhood of springs, and surrounded by cultivated fields and poverty-stricken gardens; but the bulk of the people lived in tents or in caves on the mountainsides. The Egyptians constantly confounded those Krauri, whom the Hebrews in after-times found scattered among the children of Edom, with the other tribes of Bedouin marauders, and designated them vaguely as Shansa. Lotanu lay beyond; to the north of Kharr and to the north-east of Zahi, among the hills which separate the "Shophelah" from the Jordan. As it was more remote from the isthmus, and formed the Egyptian horizon in that direction, all the new countries with which the Egyptians became acquainted beyond its northern limits were by degrees included under the one name of Lotanu, and this term was extended to comprise successively the entire valley of the Jordan, then that of the Orange, and finally even that of the Euphrates. Lotanu

1 The Kollin, whose name was first read Kols, and later Kols, were originally identified with theonauts of Cyprus or Crete (Pausanias, G. c., vol. ii, pp. 37, 88); cf. Паспаниада, Geschichte des Pausanias, pp. 225-227, and Strabo, Geography, vi., 400; and the Mythologie Culture, in the Jahrbuch des K. Arch. Institutes, 1892, vol. vii, p. 15, who hesitates whether to place them in Cyprus or Northern Syria); and subsequently, with those of Cilicia (W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 397-398), although the source of Cassius Helvius in Phocaea (L. C. 17, p. 43), of Cramoisy, Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire, p. 3, be the Remarque, vol. xvi, p. 178, et seq. 1873. 1873.

2 The Kollin has been identified with the whole of Syria by Mihir (Observations on the Statistical Table of Kollin, pp. 19, 20); by Bürgisch (Geographische Inkraft, vol. i, pp. 26, 29); and by Chabas (Papyri d'Égypte, pp. 97, 122-132); W. Max Müller restricts the term to the land of Canaan (Asia and Europe, pp. 149-150). The identification of the term with that of the Hom of the Bible (Gen. vi. 8; xxxi. 39-39; Dan. ii, 12, 22) has been proposed by Haug (Naxos, Naxos and Shem, in the Zeitung der Berliner, 1875, pp. 33-34) and by E. Steiner (Die XXII. Schloßfrieden, in the Zeitung der Berliner, 1873, p. 25; note 23, acknowledged to be original by E. Meyer (Geographische Inkraft, p. 217, note 3) but opposed by W. Max Müller (Asia and Europe, p. 135, 136); cf. Marius, Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire, in the Remarque, vol. xvii, pp. 140-142.

3 The name of Lotanu or Lotanu has been assigned by Bürgisch (Geographische Inkraft, vol. ii, pp. 32, 59); to the Assyrian but subsequently, by connecting it, more logically than plausibly, with the Assyrian Zalma, extended it to all the peoples of the north (Die alljährliche Völkerkunde, in the Jahrbuch der International Congress at Berlin, Afrikaner, p. 37-38); we now know that the term it denotes the whole of Syria, and, more generally, all the peoples dwelling in the basins of the Orontes and the Euphrates (W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, nach Moscheischer Beschreibung, p. 141, et seq.). The attempt to connect the name Lotanu or Lotanu with that of the Edomite tribe of Lotan (Gen. xxxi. 38, 39) was first made by F. de Stally (Calvina k. M. Chabas sur quelques points de la Géographie antique de la Syrie selon le Manuscrit de Stein, die Algemeine Zeitschrift für Sprache und Geschichte, vol. i, pp. 108-110); it was afterwards taken up by Haug (Naxos, Naxos and Shem, in the Zeitung der Berliner, 1875, p. 109) and adopted by Remy (Die tartareische Sprache, vol. i, pp. 12, 17); cf. p. 66, note 7, of the present volume. For further remarks on Lotanu, cf. Marius, Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire, in the Remarque, vol. xvi, pp. 141, 142.
became thenceforth a vague and fluctuating term, which the Egyptians applied indiscriminately to widely differing Asiatic nations, and to which they added another indefinite epithet when they desired to use it in a more limited sense: that part of Syria nearest to Egypt being in this case qualified as Upper Lotam, while the towns and kingdoms further north were described as being in Lower Lotam. In the same way the terms Zahi and Kharā were extended to cover other and more northerly regions. Zahi was applied to the coast as far as the mouth of the Nahir el-Kebir and to the country of the Lebanon which lay between the Mediterranean and the middle course of the Orontes. Kharā ran parallel to Zahi, but comprised the mountain district, and came to include most of the countries which were at first ranged under Upper Lotam; it was never applied to the region beyond the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, nor to the trans-Jordanic provinces. The three names in their wider sense preserved the same relation to each other as before, Zahi lying to the west and north-west of Kharā, and Lower Lotam to the north of Kharā and north-east of Zahi, but the extension of meaning did not abolish the old conception of their position, and hence arose confusion in the minds of those who employed them; the scribes, for instance, who registered in some far-off Theban temple the victories of the Pharaoh would sometimes write Zahi where they should have inscribed Kharā, and it is a difficult matter for us always to detect their mistakes. It would be unjust to blame them too severely for their inaccuracies, for what means had they of determining the relative positions of that confusing collection of states with which the Egyptians came in contact as soon as they had set foot on Syrian soil?

A choice of several routes into Asia, possessing unequal advantages, was open to the traveller, but the most direct of them passed through the town of Zahi.1 The old entrenchments running from the Red Sea to the marshes of the Pelusiac branch2 still protected the isthmus, and beyond these, forming an additional defence, was a canal on the banks of which a fortress was constructed. This was occupied by the troops who guarded the frontier, and no traveller was allowed to pass without having declared his name and rank, signified the business which took him into Syria or Egypt, and shown the letters with which he was entrusted.6 It was from Zahi that the Pharaoh set out with

2 For the wall and forts of the isthmus, cf. Maspero, Duits van Civilisation, pp. 362, 373, 460.
3 The name of an official living at Zahi in the time of Muijahih are preserved on the back of pl. r, cf. of the Aswani Papyrus III; his business was to keep a register of the movements of the corns and goods between Egypt and Syria during a few days of the month Pashons, in the year III. This text was first translated by Chauncey, Recherches pour servir a l'Histoire de la XXX dynaste, pp. 98-99;
their troops, when summoned to Khurá, by a hostile confederacy; they were welcomed by the magnates of the kingdom. The road ran for some distance over a region which was covered by the inundation of the Nile during six months of the year; it then turned eastward, and for some distance skirted the sea-shore, passing between the Mediterranean and the swamp which writers of the Greek period called the Lake of Sirbonia. This stage of the journey was beset with difficulties, for the Sirbonian Lake did not always present the same aspect, and its margins were constantly shifting. When the canals which connected it with the open sea happened to become obstructed, the sheet of water subsided from evaporation, leaving in many places merely an expanse of shifting mud, often concealed under the sand which the wind brought up from the desert. Travellers ran imminent risk of sinking in this quagmire, and the Greek historians tell of large armies being almost entirely swallowed up in it. About halfway along the length of the lake rose the solitary hill of Mount Cæsare; beyond this the sea-coast widened till it became a vast slightly undulating plain, covered with

subsequently by Nairn, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 379-381; and finally by Ranke, Topographie Ägypten, in the Abhandl. 1857, pp. 22-22, and Ägypten und die Ägyptischen Lebens, pp. 709, 710.


2 See the picture from the temple of Karnak, which represents the triumphal entry of Sett I. into Zalā (Bentor, Études Hieroglyphiques, pl. LXVI.; Chambaud, Monument du Liban et de la Noéie, pl. viii.; Renouard, Monuments historiques pl. 109; Leenhardt, Dessins, pl. 129 a.), who, however, in other places confounds the Dead Sea with the Lake of Sirbonia. The Sirbonian Lake is sometimes half full of water, even more or less entirely dry (Chambaud in the Eng. Trans. of Setl i. Ybk., and Chambaud in the Recueil d'Égyptologie, vol. 56. p. 221-224; Cherrin, The Antiquities of Tell el-Telabbil, pp. 37, 38); at the present time it bears the name of Suddin Bortabel, from King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem, who on his return from his Egyptian campaign died on its shore, in 1148, before he could reach El-Aslăb.

3 Drawn by Fischler-Guille, from a photograph by Tschajan, R. (Chambaud, Monuments du Liban et de la Noéie, pl. 50; Renouard, Monuments historiques, pl. 9; Leenhardt, Dessins, pl. 125).
scanty herbage, and dotted over with wells containing an abundant supply of water, which, however, was brackish and disagreeable to drink. Beyond these lay a grove of palms, a brick prison, and a cluster of miserable houses, bounded by a broad wady, usually dry. The bed of the torrent often served as the boundary between Africa and Asia, and the town was for many years merely a convict prison, where ordinary criminals, condemned to mutilation and exile, were confined; indeed, the Greeks assure us that it owed its name of Rhinocerota to the number of noseless convicts who were to be seen there. At this point the coast turns in a north-easterly direction, and is flanked with high sandhills, behind which the caravans pursue their way, obtaining merely occasional glimpses of the sea. Here and there, under the shelter of a tower or a half-ruined fortress, the traveller would have found wells of indifferent water, till on reaching the confines of Syria, he arrived at the fortified village of Raphia, standing like a sentinel to guard the approach to Egypt. Beyond Raphia vegetation becomes more abundant, groups of acacias and mimosas and clusters of date-palms appear on the horizon, villages surrounded with fields and orchards are seen on all sides, while the bed of a river, blocked with gravel and fallen rocks, winds its way between the last fringes of the desert and the fruitful Shephelah; on the further bank of the river lay the suburbs of Gaza, and, but a few hundred yards beyond, Gaza itself came into view among the trees standing on its well-crowned hill. The Egyptians, on their march from the Nile valley, were wont to stop at this spot to recover from their fatigue; it

1 GUERTER, The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahudiyeh, pp. 25, 27, where this part of the road is described. 2 Guerter, in Jour. Arch. x, pp. 254, 255: the ruins of the ancient town, which were of considerable extent, are half buried under the sand, out of which an Egyptian name of the Pharaonic period has been dug, and placed near the well which supplies the fort, where it serves as a drinking trough for the horses. 3 Strabo, iii. 1, p. 241, 242: the site is occupied by a modern village, with a church, an inn, and a mosque. 4 See, e. g., in the Bashan, A. T., p. 231, 232, the ancient name of the town in unknown, the Greek form varies between Rhinocerota (Stocheius, ix. 5), Jos. Ant. xiii. 8, 4, and Rhinoceros. The history of the multitudes that are to be found inNum. i, 5. 2, as well as in Strabo, xvii. ii, § 31, p. 732, it rests on a historical basis. 5 See, e. g., in the Bashan, A. T., p. 231, 232, the ancient name of the town in unknown, the Greek form varies between Rhinocerota (Stocheius, ix. 5), Jos. Ant. xiii. 8, 4, and Rhinoceros. The history of the multitudes that are to be found inNum. i, 5. 2, as well as in Strabo, xvii. ii, § 31, p. 732, it rests on a historical basis. 6 The term Shephelah signifies the plain (cf. p. 12 of the present volume); it is applied by the Biblical writers to the plain bordering the coast, from the heights of Gaza to those of Joppa, which were inhabited at a later period by the Philistines (Jud. x. 26); it is also found under that of Raphia, in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Sargon II., King of Assyria (Chavannes, Oud. Mes. 1: 23, p. 71). 7 The name Shephelah signifies the plain (cf. p. 12 of the present volume); it is applied by the Biblical writers to the plain bordering the coast, from the heights of Gaza to those of Joppa, which were inhabited at a later period by the Philistines (Jud. x. 26); it is also found under that of Raphia, in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Sargon II., King of Assyria (Chavannes, Oud. Mes. 1: 23, p. 71). 8 Saba, in Jour. Arch. x, pp. 239, 240, describes the road from Gaza to Raphia. The only town of importance between them in the first period was Joppa (Herod. iii. 70, and V. Hill), the ruins of which are to be found near Raba' Yunes, but the Egyptian name for this locality is unknown. Ammang, the name of which Brugsch thought he could identify with it (Casal. Egyp., p. 230), should be placed much farther away, in Southern or Central Syria.
was their first halting-place beyond the frontier, and the names which would reach them here prepared them in some measure for what awaited them further on. The army itself, the "troop of Rams," was drawn from four great races, the most distinguished of which came, of course, from the banks of the Nile: the Amu, born of Solkhit, the horse-headed goddess, were classed in the second rank; the Nabai, or negroes of Ethiopia, were placed in the third; while the Tamhi, or Libyans, with the white tribes of the north, brought up the rear. The Syrians belonged to the second of these families, that next in order to the Egyptians, and the name of Amu, which for centuries had been given them, met so satisfactorily all political, literary, or commercial requirements, that the administrators of the Pharaohs never troubled themselves to discover the various elements concealed beneath the term. We are, however, able at the present time to distinguish among them several groups of peoples and languages, all belonging to the same family, but possessing distinctive characteristics. The kinsfolk of the Hebrews, the children of Ishmael and Edom, the Moabites and Ammonites, who were all qualified as Shuniah, had spread over the region to the south and east of the Dead Sea, partly in the desert, and partly on the confines of the cultivated land. The Canaanites were not only in possession of the coast from Gaza to a point beyond the Nahar el-Kebir; but they also occupied almost the whole valley of the Jordan, besides that of the Litany, and perhaps that of the Upper Orontes. There were Aramaean settlements at Damascus, in the plains of the Lower Orontes, and in Naharain. The country beyond the Aramaean territory, including the slopes of the Antanos and the deep valleys of the Taurus, was inhabited by peoples of various origin; the most powerful of these, the Khatti, were at this time slowly forsaking the mountain region, and spreading by degrees over the country between the Afin and the Euphrates.

1 This is the way they are frequently represented in the tombs of the Thothic kings of the XVIIIth and XXth dynasties (Quintin-le-Bon, Monuments de l'Egypte et du Nubie, pl. xxxiv; Delou, Mem. de l'Inst. de France, sér. 3, t. xvi.; Lepsius, Denkma., XIII, 385, 386).

2 For the chronology and the period of the same Amu, see W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 121-125.

3 See what is said of the Shuniah on p. 34 of the present volume. W. Max Müller (Asia and Europe, pp. 140-142) appears to me to restrict too closely the area of country inhabited by the people to whom the Egyptians gave this name.

4 I see the term Amuana, the meaning most frequently attached to it, according to the Hebrews (see Gen. 16-19). For the presence of this word in the Egyptian texts, cf. the examples collected by W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 205-208. It is found several times under the form Knemuna, Knemuhu, and probably Knemhush, in the transformation texts of Tel-Amen (Wiencke, Forsch. der ass. und Ägypt. Kriegerisch. Histor. f. Zeitschriften, 1889, p. 45, n. 1).

5 As far as I know, the term Afin is not to be found in any Egyptian text of the time of the Pharaohs; the only known example of ḫ (Ouutmè des Papyrus III, 1. 5) is a writer's error corrected by Chabas (Recherches pour l'Histoire de l'Egypte sous le XXIe dynastie, p. 97, note). W. Max Müller (Asia and Europe, p. 291) very justly observes that the reductio ad absurdum of the existence of the same name and of the acquaintance of the Egyptians with it.

6 The Egyptian pronunciation of their name is Afin, with the feminine Khuth, Khath, as
The Canaanites were the most numerous of all these groups, and had they been able to amalgamate under a single king, or even to organize a lasting confederacy, it would have been impossible for the Egyptian armies to have broken through the barrier thus raised between them and the rest of Asia; but, unfortunately, so far from showing the slightest tendency towards unity or concentration, the Canaanites were more hopelessly divided than any of the surrounding nations. Their mountains contained nearly as many states as there were valleys, while in the plains each town represented a separate government, and was built on a spot carefully selected for purposes of defence. The land, indeed, was clequered with these petty states, and so closely were they crowded together, that a horseman, travelling at leisure, could easily pass through two or three of them in a day's journey. Not only were the royal cities fenced with walls, but many of the surrounding villages were inclosed, while the watch-towers, or migdols, built at the bends of the roads, at the fords over the rivers, and at the openings of the ravines, all testified to the insecurity of the times and the aptitude for self-defence shown by the inhabitants. The aspect of these migdols, or forts, must have appeared strange to the first Egyptians who beheld them. These strongholds bore no resemblance to the large square or oblong enceintes to which they were accustomed, and which in their eyes represented the highest skill of the engineer. In Syria, however, the positions suitable for the construction of fortresses hardly ever lent themselves to a symmetrical plan. The usual sites were on the projecting

I have long ago pointed out (see W. M. Flaxman, Asia and Europe, p. 324, note 3); but the text of the Amarna tablets employ the week-name Khšš, Khšš, which must be more correct than that of the Egyptians. The form Khšš seems to me to be explicable by an error of popular etymology. Egyptian survival of appellations of the formed their plural by -šš, -šš, -šš, so that if Khšš, Khšš, were taken for a plural, it would naturally have succeeded in the annals therefore. Khšš for the singular.

Thutmose III, speaking to his soldiers, tells them that all the shields in the country are shut up in Migdolos, so that "no take it to be the "knoon" of the text. B. M. 121, A. 1, in the "knoon" of the reference, in the "knoon" of the text, but the exaggeration itself shows how numerous were the shields, and consequently the small states in Central and Southern Syria.

Drawn by Flaxman-Clark, from a photograph by Heath. It is one of the migdols built by Sa-li I on the highway to Syria, of Caralhuel, Musaeum de Pignol at de la noble, vol. II, p. 36; Bouches, Musaeum de la noble, pl. xxxv. 2; Lewis, Tablet, vol. II, p. 125 6.

This Canaanite word was borrowed by the Egyptians from the Semites at the beginning of their Asiatic wars; they employed it in forming the names of the military posts which they established on the eastern frontiers of the Delta; it appears for the first time among Syrian places in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III (Maspero, Memoir, pl. 12, No. 74, and Text, p. 24).

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1 Cf. what is said of Egyptian fortifications in Maspero, Diverse del' Egittologia, pp. 327-329.
spur of some mountain, or on a solitary and more or less irregularly shaped eminence in the midst of a plain, and the means of defence had to be adapted in each case to suit the particular configuration of the ground. It was usually a mere wall of stone or dried brick, with towers at intervals; the wall measuring from nine to twelve feet thick at the base, and from thirty to thirty-six feet high, thus rendering an assault by means of portable ladders nearly impracticable. The gateway had the appearance of a fortress in itself. It was composed of three large blocks of masonry, forming a re-entering face, considerably higher than the adjacent curtains, and pierced near the top with square openings furnished with mantlets, so as to give both a front and flank view of the assailants. The wooden doors in the recessed face were covered with metal and raw hides, thus affording a protection against axe or fire. The building was strong enough not only to defy the bands of adventurers who roamed the country, but was able to resist for an indeterminate time the operations of a regular siege. Sometimes, however, the inhabitants, when constructing their defences did not confine themselves to this rudimentary plan, but threw up earthworks round the selected site. On the most exposed side they raised an advance wall, not

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1. This is, at least, the result of investigations made by modern engineers who have studied these questions of military archeology; with regard to this, cf. the elementary information furnished by A. de Rochas d'Arlus, **Principes de la Fortification antiques**, p. 12.

2. Drawn by Fanchet-Galleon, from a photograph taken at Kerak by Lekeux. Another representation of the same town was found at Lucca, on one of the walls which have been excavated since 1884.

3. Most of the Canaanite towns taken by Rameses II. in the campaign of his VIIIth year were fortified in this manner (CHATEAUNEUF, **Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie**, vol. II, pp. 290, 294; Laroche, **Desina**, III, 1881). It must have been the usual method of fortification, as it seems to have served as a type for conventional representation, and was sometimes used to denote cities which had fortifications of another kind. For instance, Épinay-Tahor is represented in this way in the list referred to above, while a picture on another monument, which is reproduced in the illustration on this page, represents what seems to have been the particular form of its encompassing walls (CHATEAUNEUF, **Voyage d'Egypte**, vol. II, pl. LXXXIII, 1; CHATEAUNEUF, **Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie**, pl. 663; Laroche, **Desina**, II, 1881).
The curtain or barrier, 80 or 15 feet in height, at the left extremity of which the entrance was so placed that the assailants, in endeavouring to force their way through, were obliged to expose an unprotected flank to the defenders. By this arrangement it was necessary to break through two lines of fortification before the place could be entered. Supposing the enemy to have overcome these first obstacles, they would find themselves at their next point of attack confronted with a citadel which contained, in addition to the sanctuary of the principal god, the palace of the sovereign himself. This also had a double enclosing wall and massively built gates, which could be forced only at the expense of fresh losses, unless the cowardice or treason of the garrison made the assault an easy one. Of these bulwarks of Canaanite civilization, which had been thrown up by hundreds on the route of the invading hosts, not a trace is to be seen to-day. They may have been razed to the ground during one of those destructive revolts to which the country was often exposed, or their remains may lie hidden underneath the heaps of ruins which thirty centuries of change have raised over them. The records of

1 Drawn by Flamsteed-Guilla from a photograph taken by Davis in 1868.
2 The type of town described in the text is based on a representation on the walls of Karnak, where the name of Lapiq-Tahor by Ramses II. is depicted (Chambers, Vaquer, etc., vol. ii. pl. xxvii.); Chambers, Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxxiv.xv.; Lavers, Desden, iii. 186. Another type is given in the case of Ascalon (Chambers, Monuments de l’Egypte, etc., vol. ii. pp. 191, 192; Lavers, Desden, iii. 180 et al.). On the frontispiece on p. 129, where Lapiq is represented.
3 The only remains of a Canaanite fortification which can be assigned to the Egyptian period are those which Professor E. Dandridge brought to light in the ruins of Tell el-Hesy, and in which he rightly recognized the remains of Laconia (Fed. Peires, Tell el-Hesy, Lejeune, pp. 14, 15, 22, pl. iii.).
victories graven on the walls of the Theban temples furnish, it is true, a general conception of their appearance, but the notions of them which we should obtain from this source would be of a very confused character had not one of the last of the conquering Pharaohs, Ramses III., taken it into his head to have one built at Thebes itself, to contain within it, in addition to his funerary chapel, accommodation for the attendants assigned to the conduct of his worship. In the Greek and Roman period a portion of this fortress was demolished, but the external wall of defence still exists on the eastern side, together with the gate, which is commanded on the right by a projection of the enclosing-wall, and flanked by two guard-houses, rectangular in shape, and having roofs which jut out about a yard beyond the wall of support. Having passed through these obstacles, we find ourselves face to face with a migdol of cut stone, nearly square in form, with two projecting wings, the court between their loopholed walls being made to contract gradually from the point of approach by a series of abutments. A careful examination of the place, indeed, reveals more than one arrangement which the limited knowledge of the Egyptians would hardly permit us to expect. We discover, for instance, that the main body of the building is made to rest upon a sloping sub-structure which rises to a height of some sixteen feet. This served two purposes: it increased, in the first place, the strength of the defence against scaling; and in the second, it caused the weapons launched by the enemy to rebound with violence from its inclined surface, thus serving to keep the assailants at a distance. The whole structure has an imposing look, and it must be admitted that the royal architects charged with carrying out their sovereign's idea brought to their task an attention to detail for which the people from whom the plan was borrowed had no capacity, and at the same time preserved the arrangements of their model so faithfully that we can readily realise what it must have been. Transport this migdol of Ramses III. into Asia, plant it upon one of those hills which the Cannaonites were accustomed to select as a site for their fortifications, spread out at its base some score of low and miserable hovels, and we have before us an improvised pattern of a village which recalls in a striking manner Zerif or Belin, or any other small modern town which gathers the dwellings of its fellahin round some central stone building—whether it be a hospitium for be-nighted travellers, or an ancient castle of the Crusading age.

There were on the littoral, to the north of Gaza, two large walled towns, Ascalon and Joppa, in whose roadsteads merchant vessels were accustomed to

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1 The idea that the royal palace of Medinet-Abu is a reproduction of a migdol was first suggested by MAUROIS, Histoire des Incas sous Pére d'Exiguavits, p. 130, 190; cf. Histoire de la Statue Egypte, p. 213. Dümmler, at about the same time, could not see in it anything but the remains of the gate of an Egyptian fortress (Rechste der Phara. Exag., vol. I. p. 21).

2 This arrangement was brought into notice for the first time by MAUROIS, Arch., Egypte, p. 85.
take hasty refuge in tempestuous weather. There were to be found on the plains also, and on the lower slopes of the mountains, a number of similar forter"...
maintained themselves upon the soil. The plough which they employed was like that used by the Egyptians and Babylonians, being nothing but a large hoe to which a couple of oxen were harnessed. The scarcity of rain, except in certain seasons, and the tendency of the rivers to run low, contributed to make the cultivators of the soil experts in irrigation and agriculture. Almost the only remains of these people which have come down to us consist of indestructible walls and cisterns, or wine and oil presses hollowed out of the rock. Fields of wheat and barley extended along the flanks of the valleys, broken in upon here and there by orchards, in which the white and pink almond, the apple, the fig, the pomegranate, and the olive flourished side by side. If the slopes of the valley rose too precipitously for cultivation, stone dykes were employed to collect the falling earth, and thus to transform the sides of the hills into a series of terraces rising one above the other. Here the vines, planted in lines or in trellises, blended their clusters with the fruits of the orchard-trees. It was, indeed, a land of milk and honey, and its topographical name, Beth-Deda, which may indicate the presence in this region of a temple of Amon with its priestly attendants (identified with Xandrion by Maspero, Les Beaux Lieux Géographiques, etc., p. 18, 19), is drawn by Benoît, from a photograph and original sketches.

* This is the form of plough still employed by the Syrians in some places. It resembles the ancient Egyptian plough (hastilis) in History of Civilization, p. 37.

* Monuments of this kind are encountered at every step in Judaea, but it is very difficult to date them. The aqueducts of Siloam, which go back perhaps to the time of Hezekiah, and the cisterns which conducted water into Jerusalem, possibly in part at least, may be attributed to the reigns of Solomon, are the only instances in which anything like a certain date may be assigned. But those are long posterior to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Good judges, however, attribute some of these monuments to a very distant period: the memory of the walls of Jerusalem is very ancient (M. P. M. The History of the Hebrews, vol. ii, pp. 287-293). If it be as it is at present, at least as it was when it was repaired in the time of the Caesars (Grégoire, Judges, vol. ii, pp. 292, 287); the olive and wine presses here in the rock do not all date back to the Roman period, but many belong to a still earlier period, and modern excavations (cf. Grégoire, Judges, vol. iii, pp. 291-293) correspond with what we know of such presses from the Bible (Ezra. viii. 22; Jer. v. 25, viii. 10, xxxvii. 33, 1).
nomenclature in the Egyptian geographical lists reflects as in a mirror the agricultural pursuits of its ancient inhabitants. One village, for instance, is called Aschila, "the meadow," while others bear such names as Ganutn, "the gardens;" Magraphot, "the mound;" and Karmun, "the vineyard." The further we proceed towards the north, we find, with a diminishing aridity, the hillsides covered with richer crops, and the valleys decked out with a more luxuriant and warmly colored vegetation. Shechem lies in an actual amphitheatre of verdure, which is irrigated by countless untailing streams; rushing brooks babble on every side, and the vapor given off by them morning and evening covers the entire landscape with a luminous haze, where the outline of each object becomes blurred, and quivers in a manner to which we are accustomed in our Western lands. Towns grew and multiplied upon this rich and loamy soil, but as these lay outside the usual track of the invading hosts—which preferred to follow the more rugged but shorter route leading straight to Carmel across the plain—the records of the conquerors only casually mention a few of them, such as Bishshuin, Birkana, and Duttin. Beyond one reddish-coloured

* Van der Vleut, vol. 1, pp. 388, 389; Granjon, "Cartes de la Palestine," pp. 240, 250. Shechem is not mentioned in the Egyptian geographical lists, but Max Müller thinks he has discovered it in the name of the mountains of Sichama which figure in the Assuan Papyrus, No. 1, p. xxii. 6 (Africa and Europe, p. 294).
* Bishshuin, identified by Charles ("Voyage en Egypte," pp. 285-286) with Benin, and with Sheshk by Mariette ("Les Tableaux Geographiques," p. 42) and Magenne ("Les Tableaux Geographiques qui sont rapportés à la Jérusalem," pp. 17, 19), is more probably Hezban, written His-sha-Hin, either with α,
sandy clay took the place of the dark and compact loam: only began to appear, sparsely at first, but afterwards forming vast forests, which the peasants of our own days have thinned and reduced to a considerable extent. The stunted trunks of these trees are knotted and twisted, and the tallest of them do not exceed some thirty feet in height, while many of them may be regarded as nothing more imposing than large bushes. Muddy rivers, infected with crocodiles, flowed slowly through the shady woods, spreading out their waters here and there in pestilential swamps. On reaching the seacoast, their exit was impeded by the sands which they brought down with them, and the banks which were thus formed caused the waters to accumulate in lagoons extending behind the dunes. For miles the road led through thickets, interrupted here and there by marshy places and clumps of thorny shrubs. Bands of Shashan were accustomed to make this route dangerous; and even the bravest heroes shrank from venturing alone along this route. Towards Aluma the way began to ascend Mount Carmel by a narrow and giddy track cut in the rocky side of the precipice. Beyond the Mount, it led by a rapid descent into a plain covered with corn and verdure, and extending in a width of some thirty miles, by a series of undulations, to the foot of Tabor, where it came to an end. Two side ranges running almost parallel—little Hermon and Gilboa—disposed in a line from east to west, and united by an almost imperceptibly rising ground, serve rather to connect the plain of Megiddo with the valley of the Jordan than to separate them. A single river, the Kishon, cuts the route diagonally—or, to speak more correctly, a single river-bed, which is almost waterless for nine months of the year, and becomes swollen only during the winter rains with the numerous torrents bursting from the hill-sides. As the flood approaches the sea it becomes of more manageable proportions, and finally distributes its waters among the desolate lagoons formed behind the sand-hanks of the open and wind-swept

1 The forest was well known to the geographers of the Greco-Roman period (Strabo, vii, 2, p. 239), and was still in existence at the time of the Crusades; cf. Curtius, Monographie de Palestine, Arabie, vol. ii, p. 388. It was described by Guerini, Description de la Palestine, Arabian, vol. i, p. 258.

2 For all this part of the route, which had been previously wrongs placed owing to the ignorance of the existence of a forest in this region, see Mauern, Notice sur la vigne de Magdala, in the Archives de l'Institut de France, vol. xcii, pp. 5-6. This article is described in length in the Arabic Geography, No. 1, pl. xxiii, L. 1, at sec, and the terraces made by the water are in them used to store water, which the place inspired the Egyptians. The annals of Thutmose III, are equally explicit as to the difficulties which the army had to encounter here (Mauern, La Route de la vigne de Magdala, in Quarterly Statement, vol. ii, pp. 34-36, 140, 141). I have placed this notice near the point which is now called Jannat el Fanai (See for Notice Geography, No. pp. 7, 8), and this also seems to agree better with the account of the expedition of Thutmose III, than that of Arranu proposed by Conder (Palestine Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1889, p. 290).
bay, towered over by the sacred summit of Carmel. No corner of the world has been the scene of more sanguinary engagements, or has witnessed century after century so many armies crossing its borders and coming into conflict with one another. Every military leader who, after leaving Africa, was able to seize Gaza and Ascalon, became at once master of Southern Syria. He might, it is true, experience some local resistance, and come into conflict with bands or isolated outposts of the enemy, but as a rule he had no need to anticipate a battle before he reached the banks of the Kishon. Here, behind a screen of woods and mountains, the enemy would concentrate his forces and prepare resolutely to meet the attack. If the invader succeeded in overcoming resistance at this point, the country lay open to him as far as the Orontes; nay, often even to the Euphrates. The position was too important for its defence to have been neglected. A range of forts, Ible’am, Taanach, and Megiddo, drawn like a barrier across the line of advance, protected its southern face, and beyond these a series of strongholds and villages followed one

1. Drawn by Benoist, from a pencil sketch by Lartet.

2. In the list of Thutmose III we find under No. 42 the town of Bashsholdon, the “Sacred Cape,” which was evidently situated at the end of the mountain range (Maspero, Notes sur quelques points de Geographie et d’Historie, in the Zeitschrift, 1881, pp. 54, 55), or probably at the site of Halah; the name itself suggests the association with which Carmel was connected from the earliest times.

3. Dibon, the Egyptian Halahun, is No. 45 in the list of Thutmose III (Maspero, Les Listes Geographiques, p. 26). Osier had recognized at the site of Tell el-Muqarn or Taanach in the list of Shishak (Egypt, see Taanach in the Truth, p. 159).

4. Megiddo, the “Ledge” of the Roman period, has been identified since Bulismee’s time (Biblical
another at intervals in the bends of the valleys or on the heights, such as Shunem, Kassum, Anaharath, the two Apnus, Cana, and other places which we find mentioned on the triumphal lists, but of which, up to the present, the sites have not been fixed.

From this point the conqueror had a choice of three routes. One ran

in an oblique direction to the west, and struck the Mediterranean near Acre, leaving on the left the promontory of Carmel, with the sacred town, Rosh-Qodshu, planted on its slope. Acre was the first port where a fleet could find safe anchorage after leaving the mouths of the Nile, and whoever was able to make himself master of it had in his hands the key of Syria, for it stood in the same commanding position with regard to the coast as that held by Megiddo in respect of the interior. Its houses were built closely together on a spit of rock which projected boldly into the sea, while fringes of reefs formed for it a kind of natural breakwater, behind which ships could find

Pompey's, vol. II, p. 330) with Khiribeh-Lujun, and more especially with the little mound known by the name of Talil-Simeallen. Cudor proposed to place its site more to the east, in the valley of the Jordan, at Khiribeh-el-Mujeddeh (Megiddo, in the Palestine Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statements, 1887, pp. 18-20).

The name of Sennom (Samosma) was recognised by E. de Jongé, together with that of Anaharath (Anaharath), and Kana-Cana (Fonds de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1872, pp. 42, 51, 52). The identity of the two Apnus-Aphnus with Philae and Athena of Gallus was discovered by Coreau, Palestine before Joshua, Quarterly Statements of Palestine Expl. Fund, 1874, p. 141.

† Drawn by Foucher-Gaudin, from a photograph by Lovib.

‡ Mauzen, Notes sur quelques points de Geographie, etc., in the Zeitschrift, 1879, p. 56; cf. Max Müller, Asia und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, p. 103.
a safe harbourage from the attacks of pirates or the perils of bad weather. From this point the hills come so near the shore that one is sometimes obliged to wade along the beach to avoid a projecting spur, and sometimes to climb a zig-zag path in order to cross a headland. In more than one place the rock has been hollowed into a series of rough steps, giving it the appearance of a vast ladder. Below this precipitous path the waves dash with fury, and when the wind sets towards the land every thund causes the rocky wall to tremble, and detaches fragments from its surface. The majority of the towns, such as Akaupu (Edidippa), Mashal, Lubbins, Ushu-Shukhan, lay back from the sea on the mountain ridges, out of the reach of pirates; several, however, were built on the shore, under the shelter of some promontory, and the inhabitants of these derived a miserable subsistence from fishing and the chase. Beyond the Tyrian Ladder Phoenician territory began. The country was served throughout its entire length, from town to town, by the coast road, which turning at length to the right, and passing through the defiles formed by the Nahal el Kebr, entered the region of the middle Orontes.

The second of the roads leading from Megiddo described an almost symmetrical curve eastwards, crossing the Jordan at Bethshan, then the Jabbock, and finally reaching Damascus after having skirted at some distance the last of the hilly parts of the Hauran. Here extended a vast but badly watered

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1 Acre (Aku) was already noticed by Barna, Geographiska Föreningens, vol. ii, pp. 40, 41.
2 Hence the name Tyrian Ladder, owing Ypres (Journal, Bell. Jud., xi. 56, 25), which is applied, in one of these phrases, either to the Nekrub or to the-Abiad.
3 Drawn by Panchon-Galez, from a photograph by Bata. The sketch is taken from the bas-reliefs of the Musuem of El Chemillou, Monuments de l’Egypte, vol. pl. 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411. The drawings of these have been supplied in outline. Elsewhere the town is given a more elongated form (El Chemillou, Monuments de l’Egypte, etc., pls. xxiii, xxiv, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi).
4 The site of Akaupu was recognized by Zunbig, Geogr. Jud., vol. ii. p. 44, and that of Mashal (the Biblical Midrash) by le Roux, Études sur les Monuments du royaume de Théodose III, p. 51. Luscinia may be Khirbat-Luscinia, Khirbet-Lubins, at some distance from Ras-un-Nakrash, almost in sight of the sea (Manasseh, Sur les Noms Geographiques, etc., qui sont propres a la Syrie, p. 8). Ushu-Shukhan, which appears to be the Canaan of the Assyrians, was probably the Alexander tomb of classical times, named possibly at Ushu-el-Awamid (Marini, De Quelques Localités colonnes de Salom, in le Bulletin des Travaux, vol. xvii, pp. 163, 184).
pasture-land, which attracted the Bedouin from every side, and scattered over it were a number of walled towns, such as Hamath, Magaet, Ashtaroth, and Oeno-Chuph. Probably Damascenus was already at this period the dominant authority over the region watered by these two rivers, as well as over the villages nestling in the gorges of Hermon,—Abila, Helbon of the vineyards, and Yabrud,—but it had not yet acquired its renown for riches and power. Protected by the Anti-Lebanon range from its turbulent neighbours, it fed a sort of vegetative existence apart from invading hosts, forgotten and hushed to sleep, as it were, in the shade of its gardens.

The third road from Megiddo took the shortest way possible. After crossing the Kishon almost at right angles to its course, it ascended by a series of steep inclines to arid plains, fringed or intersected by green and flourishing valleys, which afforded sites for numerous towns,—Palabra, Meron near Lake Huch, Qart-Nazaum, Beeron, and Lauds, situated in the marshy district at the headwaters of the Jordan. From this point forward the land begins to fall, and taking a hollow shape, is known as Judea-Syria, with its luxuriant vegetation spread between the two ranges of the Lebanon. It was inhabited then, as at the time of the Babylonian conquest, by the Amorites, who probably included Damascenus also in their domain. Their capital, the sacred Qadesh, was situated on the left bank of the Orontes, about five miles from the lake which for a long time bore its name, Buhel-Kades. It crowned one of those barem oblong eminences which

1 Proof that the Egyptians knew this road, followed even to this day in certain circumstances, is furnished by the lists of Theban III, in which the principal stations which it compasses are enumerated among the towns given up after the victory of Megiddo (Nos. 18-19, 28-30). Hamath was identified with Damascus by E. de Roux, Etudes sur divers Monuments de l’expe de Tyr-Pharmah III, p. 67, and Ashteroth by Achille de Guérin (Manusc. p. 49). Hamath (No. 18) is probably Hamath of the Godsmen: Margash (No. 20), the Magar of the Memnon. Is it possible the present Muchtan? and Oeno-Chuph (No. 23), Sophiah, Sophina, Arrays of Desopotep, is the modern deskib (Masara, See la Neve Geographique, etc., qui pro desopotep a le Goddih, pp. 8, 9).

2 Palabra is probably Raphia, or Qart-Nazaum, the "burning city," See Karsh. of Zebedee (Jot. 211); and Beerah, the Beroth of Josephus (Hist. of the Jews, i. 7, 12), near Meron (Meron, See la Neve, etc., qui pro beroth a le Goddih, pp. 2, 9). Maroma and Lauds, Lauds, have been identified with Meron and Leah of Desopotep (G. M. vol. ii. pp. 72, 74) and by E. de Roux (Etudes sur divers Monuments de Tyr-Pharmah III, p. 95).

3 The identification of the country of Amorites with that of the Amorites was submitted from the first by Gresche, Egypte, See Tawadrous, pp. 69, 69; History. An Attempt to ascertain the Number, etc. of Hieroglyphic Alphabet, p. 49; Bremmer, Geog. Ind., vol. ii. pp. 21, 49, 67, etc. The only doubt was as to the locality occupied by these Amorites; the mention of Qadesh on the Orontes, in the country of the Amorites, showed that Celle-Syria was the region in question. In the Tell-Amaran tablets the same Amorite is applied also to the country east of the Phœnician coast (Hamath-Orontes. The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus. pl. xlvii. note 2), and we have seen that there is reason to believe that it was used by the Egyptians to denote all Syria (cf. p. 18, note 2, of this volume). If this origin given by the uniform inscriptions to Damascus and its neighbourhood—"Amorites," "Amorites," "Amoritis," really means "the Fortress of the Amorites" (G. M. in the Academy, 1881, p. 101), History, See Schiitfacher, Papyr., p. 178; F. L. von, Inslau. Les Origines de l’Histologie, vol. ii. pp. 288, etc., we should have in this fact a proof that this people were in actual possession of the Damascus Syria. This must have been taken from them by the Hittites towards the close of the XXI century before our era, according to Hormuz over the end of the XVIII dynasty, according to Lapparent. If, on the other hand, the Amorite used the name "Sun-bearer," with the synonym, "the sheen of the sun" (Hovet. Die Urzeitfurche in der Karte von Damascenus in the Zeth. See Amra, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282), it is simply a play upon words, and has no bearing upon the primitive meaning of the name.

* The name Qadesh-Kadesh was for a long time read Ransah, Ramses, and, owing to a
are so frequently met with in Syria. A muddy stream, the Tannur, flowed, at some distance away, around its base, and, emptying itself into the Orontes at a point a little to the north, formed a natural defence for the town on the west. Its encompassing walls, slightly elliptic in form, were strengthened by towers, and surrounded by two concentric ditches which kept the sapper at a distance. A dyke running across the Orontes above the town caused the waters to rise and to overflow in a northern direction, so as to form a shallow lake, which acted as an additional protection from the enemy. Qudshu was thus a kind of artificial island, connected with the surrounding country by two

continuam with Quad. Alt. or Ault. The town was identified by Chabot with Dahlia (Lettres 

Esth. d'Egypte, 2nd edit. pp. 267, 268. compared with 267), then transferred to Messopotamia by Rosellini; in the land of Odena, which, according to Pliny (Hist. Nat., v. 23), was given to the Taurus (Monuments Shawk, vol. III. pt. I. pp. 423-433), and far from the Kana or from the plain of 

Aleppo (Bunsen, Observations on the South-east Table of Armenia, pp. 26-265). Osbourn (Egypt, her 

Testimony to the Truth, pp. 25, 26, 86, 87), tried to connect it with Rimahah (J. Soc. arch. Soc. 21), an Amuqian town in the southern part of the plain of Tellin; and some have placed it in Hamah (Report Syria, Egypt, Soc. 1877, p. 41; cf. Bonnet, Ruines de l'Egypte, p. 123). The reading Kedesh, Kedesh, Kedesh, the result of the observations of Lepsius, has finally prevailed. Bonner connected this 

name with that of Ruhe al-Kedrah, a designation attached to the Middle Age to the lake through which the Orontes flowed, and placed the town on the shores of a small island on the lake (Gen. 

Isra., vol. IV. pp. 21, 93). Thomas (The Land and the Rock, p. 110) pointed out Tell Nebi- Moran, the ancient Landing of theLebanon, as satisfying the requirements of the site. Camilleri developed this 

idea, and showed that all the conditions presented by the Egyptian texts to regard to Qudshu find 

here, and here alone, their application (Camilleri, in Pal., d'Fr., Quarterly Statement, 1881, pp. 

166-173). The description given in the text is based on Conder's observations.

1 Drawn by Roulier, from a photograph. cf. Samail, Qudshu in Syria and Mesopotamia, pl. vi. p. 61.
flying bridges, which could be opened or shut at pleasure. Once the bridges were raised and the gates closed, the boldest enemy had no resources left but to arm himself with patience and settle down to a lengthened siege. The invaders, fresh from a victory at Megiddo, and following up his good fortune in a forward movement, had to reckon upon further and serious resistance at this point, and to prepare himself for a second conflict. The Amorite chiefs and their allies had the advantage of a level and firm ground for the evolutions of their chariots during the attack, while, if they were beaten, the citadel afforded them a secure rallying-place, whence, having gathered their shattered troops, they could regain their respective countries, or enter, with the help of a few devoted men, upon a species of guerilla warfare in which they excelled.

The road from Damascus led to a point south of Qadeid, while that from Phoenicia came right up to the town itself or to its immediate neighbourhood. The dyke of Bahr el-Kaies served to keep the plain in a dry condition, and thus secured for numerous towns, among which Hamath stood out pre-eminently, a prosperous existence. Beyond Hamath, and to the left, between the Orontes and the sea, lay the commercial kingdom of Alasia, protected from the invaders by bleak mountains. On the right, between the Orontes and the Balikh, extended the land of rivers, Naharaim. Towns had grown up here thickly,—on the sides of the torrents from the Amunus, along the banks of rivers, near springs or wells,—wherever, in fact, the presence of water made culture possible. The fragments of the Egyptian chronicles which have come down to us number these towns by the hundred, and yet of how many more must the records have perished with the crumbling Theban walls upon which the Pharaohs had their names inscribed! Khilabu was the Aleppo of our own day, and grouped around it lay Turmanus, Tuman, Zarabu, Nisabu, Durbaniti, Niranu, Sarmatu,1 and a score of others which depended upon it, or

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1 For the dyke of Bahr el-Kaies, see: Oates, Miletus, Duraea, Unexplored Syria, vol. iv. p. 352, et seq.
4 The hundreds and literary names belonging to Naharaim are still inscribed on the lists of Tithimanius III. (Maaspeh, Khilabu, p. 30, 31), and a hundred others have been observed from the mummiu.
5 Khilabu was identified by Chabot (Voyage d' to Egypte, pp. 160-162) with Khaylubeh, the modern Aleppo, and his opinion has been adopted by most Egyptologists; cf. E. M. Miller, Journ. and Reuqet, pp. 338-337.
6 Khilabu (Geog. Fac. vol. ii. pp. 43, 45) had Khilabu, near Damascus, in his eye; Halley would read Kilabu, and finds this name in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Nebi Geber, in the Revue Scientifique d'Egypte, vol. i. p. 381).
7 Tuman has been found in Tebek, Tzana, by Noblick (Tzana and Chara, in the Zeitschrift, 1876, pp. 10, 11); Zarabu, in Zaraib, and Sarmatu in Sarmanu, by Tschudi (In the Topographia of N. Syria, ...
upon one of its rivals. The boundaries of this portion of the Lower Luneau have come down to us in a singularly indefinite form, and they must also, moreover, have been subject to continual modifications from the results of tribal conflicts. We are at a loss to know whether the various principalities were accustomed to submit to the leadership of a single individual, or whether we are to relegate to the region of popular fancy that Lord of Naharin of whom the Egyptian writers made such a hero in their fantastic narratives. Carchemish represented in this region the position occupied by Megiddo in relation to Khirbat, and by Qasadhu among the Amorites; that is to say, it was the citadel and sanctuary of the surrounding country. Whoever could make himself master of it would have the whole country at his feet. It lay upon the Euphrates, the winding of the river protecting it on its southern and south-eastern sides; while around its northern front ran a deep stream, its defence being further completed by a double ditch across the intervening region. Like Qasadhu, it was thus situated in the midst of an artificial island beyond the reach of the battering-ram or the sapper. The encompassing wall, which tended to describe an ellipse, hardly measured two miles in circumference; but the suburbs extending, in the midst of villages and gardens, along the riverbanks furnished in time of peace an abode for the surplus population. The wall still rises some five and twenty to thirty feet above the plain. Two mounds divided by a ravine command its north-western side, their summits being occupied by the ruins of two fine buildings—a temple and a palace. Carchemish was the

1 According to the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. ii. pp. 222-234; Durand in Dois. de l'Orient, the Canaan-Palestine and of the chronicles of the Chaldeans: Nisirah to Ninas, and Tushin to Tushin, now of Ahab (Maspero, Notes sur différentes parties du Cronologie, etc., in the Zeitschrift, 1882, pp. 420); Nisirah is mentioned under the form Nispal in Darius' order of Cambyses (Fug. 22, in Müller-Dobie, Prog. Hist. Gramm., vol. iii. p. 272). Nisil, being confounded with Nisirah after Cambyses (Graves, Egyptia, p. 150), was identified by Jomard (Les Olnites, vol. iii. p. 318, et seq.) with Nitria, Vstone, Membeli, and by Max Muller (Asia and Europe, p. 267) with Ballya on the Euphrates. I am inclined to make it Elam-Naya, between Alphio and Tarsamian.


3 In the "story of the Prophets of Ammon," the heroine is daughter of the Pharaoh of Naharin, who seems to exercise authority over all the tribes of the country (Maspero, Les Ostraca syriens de l'Egypte antique, i. Ed., pp. 231-241); as the manuscript shows, and data back further than the 3d c. B.C., we are justified in supposing that the Egyptian writer had a knowledge of the Hittite domination, during which the King of the Elam was actually the ruler of all Naharin.

4 Karkamis, Tarsamian, was from the beginning associated with the Carchemish of the Bible.
last stage in a conqueror's march coming from the south. For an invader approaching from the east or north it formed his first station. He had before him, in fact, a choice of the three chief fords for crossing the Euphrates. That of Thapsacus, at the bend of the river where it turns eastward to the Arabian plain, lay too far to the south, and it could be reached only after a march through a parched and desolate region where the army would run the risk of perishing from thirst. For an invader proceeding from Asia Minor, or intending to make his way through the defiles of the Taurus, Samosata offered a convenient fording-place; but this route would compel the general, who had Naharaim or the kingdoms of Chaldea in view, to make a long detour, and although the Assyrians used it at a later period, at the time of their expeditions to the valley of the Halys, the Egyptians do not seem ever to have travelled by this road. Carechemish, the place of the third ford, was about equally distant from Thapsacus and Samosata, and lay in a rich and

[Here the text is cut off.]

fertile provinces, which was so well watered that a drought or a famine would not be likely to enter into the expectations of its inhabitants. Hither pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, and all the wandering denizens of the world were accustomed to direct their steps, and the habit once established was perpetuated for centuries. On the left bank of the river, and almost opposite Carcemish, lay the region of Mithanni, which was already occupied by a people of a different race, who used a language cognate, it would seem, with the imperfectly-classified dialects spoken by the tribes of the Upper Tigris and Upper Euphrates. Harran bordered on Mithanni, and beyond Harran one may recognize, in the vaguely defined Sinjar, Assur, Arrapcha, and Babel, states that arose out of the dismemberment of the ancient Chaldaean Empire. The Carcemish route was, of course, well known to caravans, but

1 For the history of the Euphrates, see Maspero, De Carcemis, Oppadi etc., nos. pp. 1-31; for that of Sumeria, cf. Armbruster, Marchantia, ed. 3, 11; for that of Assur, Sturza, Ev., iv. § 21, p. 767; for those of Zanguesh and Erivan, Felix, H. Id., xxvii. 12.

2 Mithanni is mentioned in several Egyptian monarchs (E. de Verdel, Shaw et Altiere Monumenti degli Egitii, etc., vol. i. p. 11), 12, 16, 17); but its importance was not recognized until after the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and of its situation (W. M. Müller, Asia et Europe, pp. 281-285). The fact that a letter from the Prince of Mithanni is stated in a historic document to have come from Naharin (Essen, Nustrand u. Westphal's Nachrichten, in the Zeitschrift, 1889, vol. xxvii. p. 62) has been used as a proof that the country was Median (Essen, Die Themistoklea von Tel-Amenor, in the Berliner Kammern, 1889, vol. ii. p. 65); also the observations of Schurin, p. 287; v. Büll, Mithanni, in the Egyptian Monuments, in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. pp. 65, 66, 67; I have shown that the document proves only that Mithanni formed a part of Naharin (Essen, ib. Deut. 19, 1888). It extended over the province of Edessa and Harran, stretching out towards the sources of the Tigris (cf. Essen, Fortsetzungen zu Keilinschriften des Mithanni, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vi. p. 62). Nicholas places it on the southern side of the Marshes, in Lydiana (Essen, ibidem, in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. pp. 65, 66). I have shown that the region was occupied by the people before their migration to the east.


4 Drawn by Fusscher-Guillaud, from a photograph; cf. Fusscher, Biblical Types, No. 63.

5 These names were recognized from the first in the inscriptions of Thutmose III, and in those of other Pharaohs of the XVIIth and XIXth Dynasties, as of W. M. Müller, Asia et Europe, pp. 277-289.
armed bodies had rarely occasion to make use of it. It was a far cry
from Memphis to Carchemish, and for the Egyptians this town continued to
be a limit which they never passed, except incidentally, when they had to
chastise some turbulent tribe, or to give some ill-guarded town to the flames. It
would be a difficult task to define with any approach to accuracy the
distribution of the Canaanites, Amorites, and Aramans, and to indicate the
precise points where they came into contact with their rivals of non-Semitic
stock. Frontiers between races and languages can never be very easily de-
termined, and this is especially true of the peoples of Syria. They are so
broken up and mixed in this region, that even in neighbourhoods where one
predominant tribe is concentrated, it is easy to find at every step representatives
of all the others. Four or five townships, singled out at random from the middle
of a province, would often be found to belong to as many different races, and
their respective inhabitants, while living within a distance of a mile or two,
would be as great strangers to each other as if they were separated by the
breadth of a continent. It would appear that the breaking up of these
populations had not been carried so far in ancient as in modern times, but the
confusion must already have been great if we are to judge from the number of
different sites where we encounter evidences of people of the same language and

1 A certain number of towns mentioned in the lists of Thutmose III were situated beyond the
Euphrates; and these belonged some to Mekane and some to the region of northern Assyria. Various
authors have been made to identify them; e.g. P. Fabre, Mekane, Les Origines, vol. ii. pp. 328-331; R. O.
Towrie, Geographical Topography of Northern Syria, etc., in the Transactions, Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iv.,
pp. 257-274; and W. Max Muller, Jews and Europe, pp. 260-261.
2 Drawn by Frau J. H. O. Felsen from a photograph by Petten, Natural Types, No. 447.
3 Cf. Reisner, Mission de Palmyre, pp. 634-635, for the complete separation which still exists, for
instance, between the Mekane and the other peoples of Syria.
blood. The bulk of the Khāti had not yet departed from the Taurus region, but some stragglers of them, carried away by the movement which led to the invasion of the Hyksos, had settled around Hebron, where the rugged nature of the country served to protect them from their neighbours. The Amorites had their head-quarters around Qoldūt, in Coele-Syria, but one section of them had taken up a position on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias in Galilee, others had established themselves within a short distance of Jaffa on the Mediterranean, while others had settled in the neighbourhood of the southern Hittites in such numbers that their name in the Hebrew Scriptures was at times employed to designate the western mountainous region about the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan. Their presence was also indicated on the table-lands bordering the desert of Damascus, in the districts frequented by Bedouin of the tribe of Terah, Ammon and Moab, on the rivers Yarmuk and Jabbok, and at Edrei and Heshbon. The fuller, indeed, our knowledge is

1 In very early times they are described as dwelling near Hebron or in the mountains of Judah (Gen. xxiv, xxi, 10, xxvii, 24, 23, xxxii, 27-29, Num. xiii, 29; cf. Jud. x, 2, 5). Since we have learned from the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments that the Khāt had settled in Northern Syria, the amulatory of commentators have been disposed to adopt the evidence of southern Hyksos; this name, it is alleged, having been introduced into the Biblical text through a misapprehension of the original documents, whence the term Hittite was only applied to the inhabitants in the Jordan Valley, and the region, for the purposes of the text, was described as the land of Amorites (cf. Ps. xxxvii, 47, 48, Thomas, Geschichte der Phöniker, vol. i, p. 152).

2 In the present volume, pp. 18, 19, 45, 145. En, Mann, Kreuz der Beschir, 2. Aufl. der Deutschenologie, 1889, vol. i, p. 177, et seq., and vol. iii, p. 519, et seq.; one of the principal reasons for the designation of the inhabitants of Palestine before the arrival of the Hyksos was the former belonging to the prevailing tradition in the kingdom of Israel; the latter to that which was current in Judah (cf. Winckler, Geschichte der Juden, vol. i, p. 31-4). This opinion was based upon the evidence obtained from the Egyptian monuments as to the power of expansion and the diffusion of the peoples; cf. for the Egyptian side of the question, W. M. Müller, Israel and Babylon (p. 220)."
of the condition of Syria at the time of the Egyptian conquest, the more we are forced to recognise the mixture of races therein, and their almost infinite subdivisions. The mutual jealousies, however, of these elements of various origin were not so inveterate as to put an obstacle in the way, I will not say of political alliances, but of daily intercourse and frequent contracts. Owing to intermarriages between the tribes, and the continual crossing of the results of such unions, peculiar characteristics were at length eliminated, and a uniform type of face was the result. From north to south one special form of countenance, that which we usually call Semitic, prevailed among them. The Syrian and Egyptian monuments furnish us everywhere, under different ethnical names, with representations of a broad-shouldered people of high stature, slender-figured in youth, but with a fatal tendency to obesity in old age. Their heads are large, somewhat narrow, and artificially flattened or deformed, like those of several modern tribes in the Lebanon. Their high cheek-bones stand out from their hollow cheeks, and their blue or black eyes are buried under their enormous eyebrows. The lower part of the face is square and somewhat heavy, but it is often concealed by a thick and curly beard. The forehead is rather low and receding, while the nose has a distinctly aquiline curve. The type is not on the whole so fine as the Egyptian, but it is not so heavy as that of the Chaldæans in the time of Gudea. The Theban artists have represented it in their battle-scenes, and while individualising every soldier or Asiatic prisoner with a happy knack so as to avoid monotony, they have with much intelligence impressed upon all of them the marks of a common parentage. One feels that the artists must have recognised them as belonging to one common family. They associated with their efforts after true and exact representations a certain satirical humour, which impelled them often to substitute for a portrait a more or less jocose caricature of their

1 Of on this subject see remarks of W. MAX MULLER, Asia and Europe, pp. 233, 234, and also on another score, WARD, The Races of the Old Testament, pp. 106-120, who distinguishes several types on the Egyptian monuments: the Assyrions must have lost the same physiognomy, and must have belonged to the same race as the Libyans at the monuments of Sakkæ, Pottery and Palæstine, pp. 47.

2 Drawn by Professor Glaize, from a photograph by PERTUS, Syrian Types, No. 31.

adversaries. On the walls of the Pylons, and in places where the majesty of a god restrained them from departing too openly from their official gravity, they contented themselves with exaggerating from panel to panel the contortions and pitiful expressions of the captive chiefs as they followed behind the triumphal chariot of the Pharaoh on his return from his Syrian campaigns. Where religious scruples offered no obstacle they abandoned themselves to the inspiration of the moment, and gave themselves freely up to caricature. It is an Amorite or Canaanite—that thick-lipped, flat- nosed slave, with his brutal lower jaw and smooth conical skull—who serves for the handle of a spoon in the museum of the Louvre. The stupefied air with which he trudges under his burden is rendered in the most natural manner, and the flattening to which his forehead has been subjected in infancy is unfeelingly accentuated. The model which served for this object must have been intentionally brutalised and disfigured in order to excite the laughter of Pharaoh's subjects.

The idea of uniformity with which we are impressed when examining the faces of these people is confirmed and extended when we come to study their costumes. Men and women—we may say all Syrians according to their condition of life—had a choice between only two or three modes of dress, which, whatever the locality, or whatever the period, seemed never to change. On closer examination slight shades of difference in cut and arrangement may, however, be detected, and it may be affirmed that fashion ran even in ancient

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* An illustration of this will be found in the line of prisoners, brought by Sen. L. from his great Syrian campaign, which is inscribed on the entire face of the north wall of the hypostyle at Karnak (Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte, etc., pl. xxi.; Bouchard, Monuments Scrits, pl. 1.) With regard to the numerous representations of foreign races on the Egyptian monuments of the second empire, see Séméne, Egypéen et Egyptiennes Egyptens, p. 389.

* D. Bouchard, Les figuratives orientales, etc. (p. 209, XIX, p. 157, 158), thinks that the head was artificially deformed in infancy: the binding necessary to effect it must have been applied very low on the forehead in front, and to the whole scalp behind. If this is the case, the instance is not an isolated one; for a deformity of a similar character is found in the case of the numerous Amalisci represented on the Banks of Rakhmuid; a similar practice will obtain in certain parts of modern Syria (Harm. Études sur les Peintures éthiopiques, etc., de l'XVIII dynastie, pp. 12, 13; see p. 149 of this volume).

* Drawn by Turché-Houdin, from the original wooden object (preserved in the Louvre after Champollion's travels); cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte, pl. xxi.; and Mariette in G. Hanf, Les Monuments de l'Art antique, vol. i.

* The costume and the individual trappings of the Syrians as they are represented on the Egyptian monuments were studied in a general way by Wilkinson, Monuments andGA, etc., ed. vol. 4, pp. 243-249, by Quatremère, Egypt, etc., Testimonie a la Truth, pp. 146-147; and by W. Max Muller, Asia and Africa, pp. 284-285, 305-306, which constitute all the existing literature on the subject.
Syria through as many capricious evolutions as with ourselves; but these variations, which were evident to the eyes of the people of the time, are not sufficiently striking to enable us to classify the people, or to fix their date.

The peasants and the lower class of citizens required no other clothing than a loin-cloth similar to that of the Egyptians, or a shirt of a yellow or white colour, extending below the knees, and furnished with short sleeves. The opening for the neck was cruciform, and the hem was usually ornamented with coloured needlework or embroidery. The burglers and nobles wore over this a long strip of cloth, which, after passing closely round the hips and chest, was brought up and spread over the shoulders as a sort of cloak. This was not made of the light material used in Egypt, which offered no protection from cold or rain, but was composed of a thick, rough wool, like that employed in Chaldea, and was commonly adorned with stripes or bands of colour, in addition to spots and other conspicuous designs. Rich and fashionable folk substituted for this cloth two large shawls—one red and the other blue—in which they dexterously arrayed themselves so as to alternate the colours; a belt of soft leather gathered the
loose around the figure. A Red morocco buskins, a soft cap, a handkerchief, a koftagh, confined by a fillet, and sometimes a wig after the Egyptian fashion, completed the dress. Beards were almost universal among the men, but the moustache was of rare occurrence. In many of the figures represented on the monuments we find that the head was carefully shaved, while in others the hair was allowed to grow, arranged in curls, frizzed and shingled with oil or sweet-smelling pomades, sometimes thrown back behind the ears and falling on the neck in bunches or curly masses, sometimes drawn out in stiff spikes so as to serve as a projecting cover over the face. The women usually tied their hair in three great masses, of which the thickest was allowed to fall freely down the back; while the other two formed a kind of framework for the face, the ends descending on each side as far as the breast. Some of the women arranged their hair after the Egyptian manner, in a series of numerous small tresses, brought together at the ends so as to form a kind of plat, and terminating in a flower made of metal or enamelled terra-cotta. A network of

1 Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, ed. pl. 6th; Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xvi.; Lepsius, Desc., III. 271 a, 272 b.

2 Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. 4th. People of all classes are generally represented bearded.

3 The robed, cap, handkerchief, the cap, the arrangement of the hair and the fillet are illustrated in Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, xxe. pl. 6, xxe. 2, xxe. 3, xxe. 4, xxe. 5; Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xvi. 3, xvi. 2, xvi. 1, xvi. 7, xxii. 9; Lepsius, Deut. 32, 57, 182, 185, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 197, 254; Visnoble, Trav. de Ramonc Onésimo, in the Museo de la Mission françois, vol. x, p. 204.

4 As in the head, see Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, xxe. pl. 4, xxe. 5, xxe. 6; Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xvi. 9, xvi. 10. Lepsius, Deut., III. 110 a, b, 134 a, 6, 135 a, 190 a, 191 a, 192 a; Visnoble, Trav. de Ramonc Onésimo, in the Museo de la Mission françois, ed. 4, p. 204, where the history of the fashion of wearing it is succinctly given.

5 Drawn by Fouquet-Gallois, from Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, pl. 6th. Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xvi. 2; Lepsius, Monumenti Ciltli, pl. xxiii. No. 8. Of late neglect with masses of curls, the vignette on table of contents of chapter III of the present volume.

6 A singular instance of dressing the hair in this fashion is given in Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, pl. 6th, pl. 2, pl. 4th, pl. 6th. (cf. Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xxiii., No. 25). The figure exhibiting it on the tomb of Rachmaer has been Since mutilated, and is extracted from the sketches of Prince d'Arquy in Egypt, made m the Evora Museum. Jean Pouquelet, p. 11, and Vernet, La Tombale de Rachmaer, in the Musée de la Mission françois, vol. iv., pl. vii. The various shape would lead one to believe that the artist had in his eye a primitive saw (W., Max Michel, Asia and Europe, p. 120). Wilkinson saw clearly that it was really a special form of coiffure (Memorie and Scolare, vol. iv., p. 120): other examples, where the form is less exaggerated (Vernet, La Tombale de Rachmaer, pl. vii.) have no anch on the subject.

7 Drawn by Fouquet-Gallois, from a figure on the tomb of Ramun III. Caminopolis, Mem de Ploggge, pl. xvi. 2; Rosellini, Mem. storici, pl. xvi. 1.) A Syrian dressed in a double shawl, is given in a vignette to this chapter, p. 123.
glass ornaments, arranged on a semicircle of beads, or on a background of embroidered stuff, was frequently used as a covering for the top of the head. The shirt had no sleeves, and the fringed garment which covered it left half of the arm exposed. Children of tender years had their heads shaved, and rejoiced in no more clothing than the little ones among the Egyptians. With the exception of bracelets, anklets, rings on the fingers, and occasionally necklaces and earrings, the Syrians, both men and women, wore little jewellery. The Chaldean women furnished them with models of fashion to which they accommodated themselves in the choice of stuffs, colours, cut of their mantles or petticoats, arrangement of the hair, and the use of cosmetics for the eyes and cheeks. In spite of distance the modes of Babylon reigned supreme. The Syrians would have continued to expose their right shoulder to the weather as long as it pleased the people of the Lower Euphrates to do the same; but as soon as the fashion changed in the latter region, and it became customary to cover the shoulder, and to wrap the upper part of the person in two or three thicknesses of heavy woof, they at once accommodated themselves to the new mode, although it served to restrain the free motion of the body. Among the upper classes, at least, domestic arrangements were modelled upon the fashions observed in the palaces of the nobles of Carchemish or Assyria; the same articles of toilet, the same ranks of servants and scribes, the same luxurious habits, and the same use of perfumes were to be found among both.

1 Examples of Syrian Semitic costume are somewhat rare on the Egyptian monuments. In the case of the capturing of towns we see a few. Here the women are represented on the walls, including the enemy of the Assyrians (Chapuliê, Mon. de l’Egypte, pl. xli., lxxv.), where the anthropomorphous has shocked the head of a male figure. Bousset, Mon. des Études Egyptiennes, vol. ii., p. 115. Other figures are those of prisoners being led captive into Egypt (Vernet, Le Tombeau de Thoth, in the Musée de la Musée du Caire, vol. i., pl. viii.).

2 For this form of wearing, see, in addition to the figure on the right of the page, Chapuliê, Mon. de l’Egypte, pl. xli.; Bousset, Mon. des Études Egyptiennes, vol. ii., p. 211.; Bethune-Browne, Mes. de l’Égypte, pl. 145.


5 See the ancient Anahita palanquin, Douard de Uphal, Mon. de l’Égypte, pl. 145.; and Perrot, Histoire de l’Art Égyptien.
From all that we can gather, in short, from the silence as well as from the misunderstandings of the Egyptian chroniclers, Syria stands before us as a fruitful and civilized country, of which one might be thankful to be a native, in spite of continual wars and frequent revolutions.

The religion of the Syrians was subject to the same influences as their customs; we are, as yet, far from being able to draw a complete picture of their theology, but such knowledge as we do possess recalls the same names and the same elements as are found in the religious systems of Chaldea.\(^1\) The myths, it is true, are still vague and misty, at least to our modern ideas; the general characteristics of the principal divinities alone stand out, and seem fairly well defined. As with the other Semitic races, the deity in a general sense, the primordial type of the godhead, was called El or Ilah, and his feminine counterpart Iblis, but we find comparatively few cities in which these nearly abstract beings enjoyed the veneration of the faithful.\(^2\) The gods of Syria, like those of Egypt and of the countries watered by the Euphrates, were feudal princes distributed over the surface of the earth, their number corresponding with that of the independent states. Each nation, each tribe, each city, worshipped its own lord—\(Adon\)—or its master—\(Baal\)—and each of these was designated by a special title to distinguish him from neighbouring \(Baalah\), or masters. The \(Baal\) who ruled at Zebah was styled \"Master of Zebah,\" or \(Baal-Zebah,\)\(^3\)

found even in the XX\(^{1}\) dynasty (CHAMPOUX, Mem. de l'Egypte; pl. xii. ; BEECHER, Mem. Bull., pl. xxiii.). The Tel-el-Amarna tablets prove that, as far as the scribes were concerned, the customs and training of Syria and Chaldaea were identical. The Syrian princes are there represented as employing the same divinities in their correspondence, being accompanied by names brought about after the Chaldaean manner. (For the materials used by the scribes, see \textit{Du Calendrier, p. 706, et seq.}) We shall see later on that the King of the Khatti, who represented in the time of Rameses II. the type of an accomplished Syrian, but resembles similar to those of the Chaldaean kings.


\(^2\) The frequent occurrence of the term \(Ilah\) or \(Ily\) in names of towns in Southern Syria seems to indicate pretty conclusively that the inhabitants of those countries used this term by preference to designate their supreme god (Maspero, \textit{sur les Noms Géograph. de la Basse du Phénicie III}, etc., p. 10; cf. Ritschl, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 188, n. 4, of the present work.). Similarly we meet with the Aramaic name (Lev. xi. 30, 31, 32), and later on among the Nabataeans (M. le Veron, \textit{Jevres-Sab., p. 197); it predominates at Mybor and Dyrus (ib. pp. 172, 173, 179, 180 of the present work.) in Phœnicia and among the Aramaic people of North Syria, in the Samaritan country, for instance, during the VIIIth century B.C. (\textit{Bouquet, Description Mésopotam. de Syrie}, in the Sciences, Vol. II. p. 25). The extension of this term to Syrian divinities is proved in the Israelitish epoch by Canaanitish names, such as Adonirad (Jos. i. 1) and Adonisebab (Judea 1: 2—3), etc., also in the Aramaic names such as Adonija (2 Sam. xii. 4. 2 Chor. vii. 16), Adonias (Ezra i. 18, xiv. 13), Adoniram (2 Sam. xx. 14; 1 Kings vi. 32, 36).\(^3\)

\(^3\) Moses tried to prove that there was one particular god, named Baal (De Phœniciens, vol. i., pp. 138—139), and his ideas, popularised in France by M. le Veron (Mémoires de l'Inst. d. Arab. Orientales, pp. 65—68), prevailed for some time; since then scholars have gone back to the view of M. le Veron (Religion des Karthaginois, p. 89, et seq.) and of the scribes at the beginning of this century, who regarded the term \(Baal\) as a common epithet applicable to all gods.

\(^4\) Zebah-Zebab was worshipped at Elam, during the Proto-Elamite supremacy (2 Kings v. 2). As to
and the Baal of Hermun, who was an ally of God, goddess of fortune, was sometimes called Baal-Hermun, or “Master of Hermun,” sometimes Baal-God, or “Master of God;” 1 the Baal of Shechem, at the time of the Israelite invasion, was “Master of the Covenant” —Baal-Berith—doubtless in memory of some agreement which he had concluded with his worshippers in regard to the conditions of their allegiance. 2 The prevalent conception of the essence and attributes of these deities was not the same in all their sanctuaries, but the more exalted among them were regarded as pervading the sky in the daytime or at night, the atmosphere, the light, 4 or the sun. Shamash, as creator and prime mover of the universe; 5 and each declared himself to be king —melch—over the other gods. 6 Rashaf represented the Lightning and the

1. The Baal-Berith, the Baal-Zebul, only occurs, so far as we know, represented in the Hebrew Scripture (Judges 18:11, 18, 19), where, by the way, the first element, Baal, is written as Baal, El-Berith (v. 10).

2. The monument of Baal-Hermun ( Judges iii. 9) (v. i. Judges v. 23) is the mountain of Hermus, where the Jordan has one of its sources, and the town of Baal-Hermun is Hermus itself. The earliest Baal-God occurs several times in the Biblical books (Josh. ii. 17, ch. 6, ch. 15) as to God the goddess of good luck, of p. 135 of the present work.

3. The Baal-Zebul, the Baal-Zebul, only occurs, so far as we know, represented in the Hebrew Scripture (Judges 18:11, 18, 19), where, by the way, the first element, Baal, is written as Baal, El-Berith (v. 10).

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thunderbolt; Shalman, Hadad, and his double Rimmon held sway over the air like the Babylonian Rammän; Dagon, patron god of fisherman and husbandman, seems to have watched over the fruitfulness of the sea and the land. We are beginning to learn the names of the races whom they specially protected: Hashish the Amorites, Hadad and Rimmon the Aramaeans of Damascus, Dagon the peoples of the coast between Ashkelon and the forest.

**Mémoires d’Archéologie, pp. 2, 6; Haduscle, Bulimakelk, etc., but to mention the gods Millechus worshipped at Sparda (Siriace, ibid. iii. 184), who was really more other than Melcart. As to the Liokabasion of Malte with the Chaldaic Middle of Staat, Pergamöland Palestine, pp. 92, 292, 293.

- The character and nature of the god Beshulah of Ramath were elucidated by M. le Yousi, Mémoires d’Archéologie, pp. 20, 26-22. The Egyptian name of the god had been read as Rapiis by the early Egyptologists (Wilkinson, Monuments, 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 234, 245, and p. 45; Pirenne d’Arleens, Monumente Egyptische, p. 221, and Notices sur les Monuments Egyptiens des Nubiens, pp. 17, 18, L. du Roi, Letter inserted in L’âge, no. 10, 1781, and to Câole and Circé Papyri, etc. in the Recueil de la Société de l’Hist. du Papyrus, vol. ii. p. 1781. Beshulah was the name of it to restore it to its real form (Mémoires sur une Paire Egyptienne de Stone of Lower Egypt, pp. 45). Beshulah has since been made an object of study by Dr. Müller, Chez les Chaldéens Sitôt de l’Zeitschrift der d. Moschi. Gesellschaft, p. 157, 1779; by the Abbé-Geines, Mém. de la Soc. de Géne, pp. 18, 18, 1822; by Lévis, Egypte Alexandre, in the Zeitschrift der d. Moschi. Gesellschaft, p. 1822, 1823; by Pirenne d’Arleens, Geschichte der Völker, pp. 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111. The Phcenician inscription of Seljuk is that of the Seljuk dynasty, and it refers to several local Beshulahs, the one by which this god is coupled with the goddess Qatesh on the Egyptian side leads me to think that the spell was not used in the day. We specially worshiped by the Arameans, just as his equivalent, Hadad was by the inhabitants of Damascus, neighbor of the Amorites, and perhaps of those Amurghians (p. 612 of the present work).

- Hadad and Rimmon are represented in Assyri-Chaldaean by a very similar eschaton, which may be read. The head Beshulah of Damascus; or, on this point what is said in Mardus, Doris de l’Asie, pp. 225, 226, 227.

- The identity of the expressions employed shows how close the connection; the two Ommans must have been, even if they were not identical in all respects, from theHomers writings as we know of the temple of RMMAN at Damassus (2 Kings v. 18) and that of one of the kings of this city was called TEBERMARUS (= Bismar is good) (1 Kings viii. 2). While Homeros gave him no less than two kings of the same city (Nicholas de DAMASCUS, Progr. i. 31, MULLE-THORE, Progr. Hist. Gen., vol. iv. p. 231; cf. Josias in the VIIth, 24. Even as late as the Gross-Roman epoch, kingship over the other god was still attributed both to Rimmon, Beshulah, etc. In the time of the Reformation, a. a. P. Thevards, in the Reign of Damascus, etc. d’Arleens, Progr. Hist. Gen., vol. vi. p. 230; MACCOUR, Syria, p. 231), but his latter was identified with the same as the true name of Rimmon and Hadad, cf. Schoutsen, Bismar-Rimmon, in the Zeitschrift für Ges. Theol. 1872, vol. i. p. 231, and Der Klinikon. Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204). In the document which he presents in regard to Dagon, we see Beshulah and Rimmon, represent him as worshiped by the Philistines (Judges xi. 19, 21; 1 Sam. v. 22; 1 Chron. x. 10). We know, however, from the text of Jersualem tablets, a document of a Levant, (Bismar-Rimmon, Die Tell-Assurban Tablets, pp. 231, 232, 233), and Der Klinikon. Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204). In the document which he presents in regard to Dagon, we see Beshulah and Rimmon, represent him as worshiped by the Philistines (Judges xi. 19, 21; 1 Sam. v. 22; 1 Chron. x. 10). We know, however, from the text of Jersualem tablets, a document of a Levant, (Bismar-Rimmon, Die Tell-Assurban Tablets, pp. 231, 232, 233), and Der Klinikon. Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204). In the document which he presents in regard to Dagon, we see Beshulah and Rimmon, represent him as worshiped by the Philistines (Judges xi. 19, 21; 1 Sam. v. 22; 1 Chron. x. 10). We know, however, from the text of Jersualem tablets, a document of a Levant, (Bismar-Rimmon, Die Tell-Assurban Tablets, pp. 231, 232, 233), and Der Klinikon. Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204). In the document which he presents in regard to Dagon, we see Beshulah and Rimmon, represent him as worshiped by the Philistines (Judges xi. 19, 21; 1 Sam. v. 22; 1 Chron. x. 10). We know, however, from the text of Jersualem tablets, a document of a Levant, (Bismar-Rimmon, Die Tell-Assurban Tablets, pp. 231, 232, 233), and Der Klinikon. Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204), Bismar-Rimmon, des d. Osset, 2nd ed. (pp. 202, 203, 204).
of Carmel. Baalat is the only one whose appearance is known to us. He possessed the restless temperament usually attributed to the thunder-gods, and was, accordingly, pictured as a soldier armed with javelin and mace, bow and buckler; a gazelle's head with pointed horns surmounts his helmet, and sometimes, it may be, serves him as a cup.

Each god had for his complement a goddess, who was proclaimed "mistress" of the city, Baalat, or "queen," Milluat, of heaven, just as the god himself was recognised as "master" or "king." As a rule, the goddess was associated with the generic name of Astarté; but to this was often added some epithet, which lent her a distinct personality, and prevented her from being confounded with the Astartés of neighbouring cities, her companions or rivals. Thus she would be styled the "good" Astarté, Ashtoreth Naamah, or the "horned" Astarté, Ashtoreth Qarnaim, because of the lunar crescent which appears on her forehead, as a sort of head-dress. She was the goddess

Astartes 48. 1. Syria, 1.

1 As the general patroness of the goddesses, cf. En. Matt. Glosse de l'Etoile, vol. 1, pp. 211, 246-248, 250-251. Among goddesses to whom the title "Baalat" was ascribed, we have the goddesses of Byblos, Baalat-Gebal (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. 1, pp. 4, 5), and the goddess of Byblos, Baalat-Rekhit, or Betrat (P.), Syria, Perg. 7, p. 43; Mezerez-Desclay, Façons d'Histoire, vol. 3, p. 207). The epithet "spouse of heaven" is applied to the Phoenician Astarté by Herodotus (Dei. cit. 47, 18, 19-23) and Littin. Bihor (Hippocr. v. 4, 10). Aspero expresses Astarté's jealousy undeclared, because she is "the first of all the Egyptian, when they adopted Rome Canaanish goddess, possessed the title, and called each of them Still piy, 'fate of heaven' (P. 4, 3, 4, 17; D'Alemb. Mem. Égypt. p. 48; and p. 71; Ebers., Das ägyptische Pergament, in the Beiträge zu Theologie, vol. 31, p. 100). In the Phoenician inscriptions their names are frequently preceded by the word Baalit, rabitat, Baalat-Gebal, "fate of heaven" (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. 1, p. 1).

2 As was known by Enocle-Ahenob, from a copy of an original in chased gold; cf. Piss. d'Alemb., Hist. de l'Ét. Égypt., p. 60.

3 The Hebrew writer frequently equates the Canaanite goddesses by the generic title "the Astarté" (Qoriat 14, 7, q. 8; 1 Sam. vii. 2, q. 10), and a town in Northern Syria bears the significant name of Ararat; "the lady, the Astarté." (Dean-Beers, The Tell Amarna Tablets, No. 43, 2, 22). A name which finds a parallel in Amribah, "the Astarté," a title assumed by a friend of the king of Ammon; similarly, the Assyrians called their goddess by the plural of Ishtar (cf. Stru. Bourse de Oldbiet, p. 674). The inscription on an Egyptian amulet found in the Louvre tells us of a possession of the XXth dynasty, who, from his name, Ishtarake, most likely been of Syrian origin, and who styled himself "Prophet of the Astarté," Horne's Assur, 1864, p. 311, p. 312, and Horn. Amurat, Ménorit et quelques Papyrus et Leb., pp. 2, 3, 4. W. W. Miller, Assyrie und Babylonien, v. 2, p. 99, note 1).

4 This is the Astarté mentioned by Damascus, a name which ought rather to be written "Astarte," as suggested by Moreau (De Palmyre, vol. 1, p. 380, at seq.) of En. Langmuir, Assur. Archaeol., vol. 6, p. 285, note 1)

5 The so-called Astarté gave her name to a city beyond the Jordan, of which she was, probably, the eponymous goddess (Gen. xxiv. 47), she would seem to have represented, on the vase of Bismarck, the centre of the Habiru in the Zara in the Palestine Survey, vol. 3, p. 142, at seq. of vol. x. p. 260). It was
of good luck, and was called Gadd; she was Anat or Asht, the chaste and the warlike. The statues sometimes represent her as a sphinx with a woman's head, but more often as a woman standing on a lion passant, either nude, or encircled round the hips by merely a girdle; her hands filled with flowers or with serpents, her features framed in a mass of heavy tresses—a faithful type of the priestesses who devoted themselves to her service, the Qeibladet. She was the goddess of love in its animal, or rather in its purely physical, aspect, and in this capacity was styled Qaddishat the Holy, like the hetaires of her family; Qodshu, the Amorite capital, was consecrated to her service, and she was there associated with Rashtu, the thunder-god. But she often comes before us as a warlike Amazon, brandishing a club, lance, or shield, mounted on horseback like a soldier, and wandering through the desert in quest of her prey. This dual temperament rendered her a goddess of uncertain attributes and of violent contrasts; at times reserved and chaste, at other times shameless and dissolute, but always cruel, an analogous goddess whom the Egyptians sometimes identified with their Hathor, and whom they represented co-coveted with a crook.
always barren, for the countless multitude
of her excesses for ever shut her
out from motherhood: she con-
ceives without ceasing, but
never brings forth children. The Baalim and Astartes fre-
quented by choice the tops
of mountains, such as Leba-
non; Carmel; Harmon, or
Kasios; they dwelt near
springs, or hid themselves in
the depths of forests. They
revealed themselves to mortals
through the heavenly bodies, and
in all the phenomena of nature:
the sun was a Baal, the moon was
Astarte, and the whole host of
heaven was composed of more or
less powerful genii, as we find in
Chaldea. They required that offer-
ings and prayers should be brought
to them at the high places, but
they were also pleased—and espe-
cially the goddesses—to lodge in
trees; tree-trunks, sometimes leafy, sometimes bare and branchless (tahreka),
long continued to be living emblems of the local Astartes among the peoples of

1 This conception of the Syrian goddesses had already become firmly established at the period
with which we are dealing, for an Egyptian magical formula dedicates Astarte and Astarte as "the great
 goddesses who confiding do not being their name, for the Horaces have sealed them, and So hath
established them" (Charles, Le Papyrus Maqyuq Harus, pp. 55-65).

* The details in regard to the mountains, springs, and forests held sacred by the Syrian population,
see Baedeker, Studien zur Schottischen Religionsgeschichte, vol. ii., pp. 155-169. The land of Lebanon
is mentioned in an archaic Phoenician inscription (Corpus Ins. Semit., i.), pp. 21-23, and the name
"Holy Cape" (Rouel-ghadde), borne in the time of Thammas III. either by Hala or by a neighbour-
ing town, proves that Carmel was held sacred as far back as the Egyptian epoch (cf. supra, p. 135, note 1).
Baal Horace has already been mentioned, op. p. 134.; the evidence in reference to the worship of El
Keat (Cyp. Kav) has been collected by M. van Wouda (Cyprus Centuria, Inscriptiones, pp. 103-105).

* The sources of the Jordan, near Banias, was the seat of a Baal whom the Greeks identified with
Pana. This was probably the Baal-Abai who often bore the same name to the neighboring town of Baal
Harmon (cf. supra, p. 135); many of the cities of Phoenicia were called after the deities worshipped in
the nearest city, e.g. the Anaius; the Bilba; the Assiokodi, the Tabures (Bavneus, Studien zur

* There are the "high places" (banith) so frequently referred to by the Horace prophets, and
which we find in the country of Moab, according to the Munich inscription (X), and to the pho-
encian Benoith-Baal (Vind. xx. 10, xiii. 41; Jud. xiii. 17); many of them seem to have served for
Canaanite places of worship before they were granted to by the children of Israel. Cfr. Bavnerus,

* Drawn by Fünksch-Gadka, from the original in the Library.
Southern Syria. Side by side with these plant-gods we find everywhere, in the
innocent recesses of the temples, at cross-roads, and in the open fields, blocks of
stone hewn into pillars, isolated boulders, or natural rocks, sometimes of meteoric
origin, which were recognised by certain mysterious marks to be the house of
the god, the Betyli or Beth-els in which he enclosed a part of his intelligence
and vital force.

The worship of these gods involved the performance of ceremonies more
bloody and licentious even than those practised by other races. The Realm
thirsted after blood, nor would they be satisfied with any common blood such
as generally contained their brethren in Chaldea or Egypt: they imperatively
demanded human as well as animal sacrifices. Among several of the Syrian
nations they had a prescriptive right to the firstborn male of each family; 3 this
right was generally commuted, either by a money payment or by subjecting
the infant to circumcision. 4 At important junctures, however, this
pretence of bloodshed would fail to appease them, and the death of the child
alone availed. Indeed, in times of national danger, the king and nobles
would furnish, not merely a single victim, but as many as the priests chose
to demand. 5

While they were being burnt alive on the knees of the statues, or before the sacred emblem, their cries of pain were drowned by the piping
of flutes or the blare of trumpets, the parents standing near the altar, without
a sign of pity, and dressed as for a festival: the ruler of the world could
refuse nothing to prayers backed by so precious an offering, and by a

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1 As to the Ashkali (or, sometimes in the masses, Ashkali), who have been made out to have
been regular Grecians, analogous to the Abkeasis, or distant from them (cf. especially Mowatt, De
Philoetes, vol. i. pp. 260-284, see Erckmann, Geschichte des Volkes Israels, vol. i. pp. 488-491, and Vernet,
De pretiosis Polytheis des Hebreos, vol. i. pp. 94-96.

2 A stone hewn into a pillar of oracle, was called a bessel by the Hebrews and Phoenicians (Corpus
Int. Sacr., vol. i. pp. 53, 88, 78-80), less frequently aushel (Gen. xiv. 20, A.V. "pillar of salt." Corpus
Int. Sacr., vol. i. pp. 104, 125, 191). As to the Bethel, and their history, of the very extensive article by Dr. Leemans, Les Tefilah, in the Revue des Recherches Religieuses, vol. 10, pp. 51-55, and
Dr. Reuss, Neue ort historische untersuchungen, extracted from the Journal Asiatique, 1877.

3 This last is proved, in as far as the Hebrew people is concerned, by the texts of the
Pentateuch (Exod. xxxii. 38, xxxiv. 19, 20) and of the prophets (Necho vi. 1, Ezek. xx. 20) amongst the
Moabites also it was his eldest son whom King Nebon had to offer to his gods (2 Kings ii. 27). We
have the same custom among other Syrian races. Publ. of Beilina (Pouma, 2, § 22, in Mémoires,
his brother's son and set the example of this kind of offering. Cf. also the authority of this practice,
E. Meyers, Geschichte des Altenthums, vol. 1. pp. 240, 250, who does not hesitate to conclude that it
was in full force from the time of the Egyptian supremacy onwards.

4 Redemption by a payment in money was the case among the Hebrews (Necho vi. 15, 16), as also
the substitution of an animal in the place of a child (Gen. xvi. 1-11); so is redemption by
mammonnam, i.e. the story of Moses and Zipporah, whom the father sent her son from Akella by
sacrificing him (Exod. 13, 21-27). Circumcision was practised amongst the Syriacs of Palestine in
the time of Herod (Ex. 21, 21-24). Circumcision was practised amongst the Syriacs of Palestine in
the time of Herod and his successors (cf. the texts collected by Mowatt, Les Phéniciens, vol. i. pp. 299-311.

5 As to sacrifices of children among peoples of Syrian origin, cf. the texts collected by Mowatt,

6 Pass. Rom. De Superstitione, § 35. - If we may credit Turturitius, Apolog. 9, the abominable custom
of offering up children as sacrifices lasted down to the prechristian age of Thasius.
purpose so determined to move him. Such sacrifices were, however, the exception, and the shedding of their own blood by his priests sufficed, as a rule, for the daily wants of the god. Seizing their knives, they would slash their arms and breasts with the view of compelling, by this offering of their own persons, the good will of the Baalim. The Astartes of all degrees and kinds were hardly less cruel; they imposed frequent flagellations, self-mutilation, and sometimes even emasculation, on their devotees. Around the majority of these goddesses was gathered an infamous troop of prodigates (keshethem); "dogs of love" (kalaiim), and courtesans (kalai-lo). The temples bore little resemblance to those of the regions of the Lower Euphrates: nowhere do we find traces of those "rippled" which serve to produce the peculiar jagged outline characteristic of Chaldean cities. The Syrian edifices were stone buildings, which included, in addition to the halls and courts reserved for religious rites, dwelling-rooms for the priesthood, and store-houses for provisions: though not to be compared in size with the sanctuaries of Thebes.

1 Done by Beurler, from a photograph. It is one of the demonstrated in the neighborhood of Amalka.

2 Cf. for the Hezirim, queen, the scene where the priests of Baal, in a trial of power with Elijah, before Ahab, offered up sacrifices on the highest point of Carmel, and " severed their hands and their feet with sharp knives in the sight of all Israel." (I Kings xxiv. 38.)

3 See on this subject the passages collected by Murum, Die Phalantur, vol. 1, pp. 681-688. The legend of Combates at Hierapolis (Lucian, De Deo Syr., III. 19-27) is supposed to explain the origin of emasculation in honour of the goddess.

4 As to the Astartes and Ishtates, cf. Meyer, Die Phalantur, vol. 1, pp. 677-684, where most of the facts concerning them have been collected. The expression " dogs," sometimes employed in the Hebrew texts (Heb. xiv. 17, 19), is met with in a Phoenician inscription at Cyprus (Corp. Ins. Semit., vol. 4, p. 92-93).

they yet answered the purpose of strongholds in time of need, and were capable of resisting the attacks of a victorious foe. A numerous staff, consisting of priests, male and female singers, porters, butchers, slaves, and artisans, was assigned to each of these temples: here the god was accustomed to give forth his oracles, either by the voice of his prophets, or by the movement of his statues. The greater number of the festivals celebrated in them were closely connected with the pastoral and agricultural life of the country; they inaugurated, or brought to a close, the principal operations of the year—the sowing of seed, the harvest, the vintage, the shearing of the sheep. At Shechem, when the grapes were ripe, the people flocked out of the town into the vineyards, returning to the temple for religious observances and sacred banquets when the fruit had been trodden in the winepress. In times of extraordinary distress, such as a prolonged drought or a famine, the priests were wont to ascend in solemn procession to the high places in order to implore the pity of their divine masters, from whom they strove to extort help, or to obtain the wished-for rain, by their dances, their lamentations, and the shedding of their blood. Almost everywhere, but especially in the regions east of the Jordan, were monuments which popular piety surrounded with a superstitious reverence. Such were the isolated boulders, or, as we should call them, "menhirs," reared on the summit of a knoll, or on the edge of a tableland; dolmens, formed of a flat slab placed on the top of two roughly hewn supports, cromlechs, or, that is to say, stone circles, in the centre of which might be found a hallowed spot. We know not by whom were set up these monuments there, nor at what time: the fact that they are in no way different from those which are to be met with in Western Europe and the north of Africa has given rise to the theory that they were the work of some one primordial race which wandered ceaselessly over the ancient world. A few of them may have marked the tombs of some forgotten personages, the discovery of human bones beneath them confirming such a conjecture; while others seem to have been holy places of a later date.

1 The story of Abimelech gives us some idea of what the Canaanite temple of Baal-Berith at Shechem was like (Judges i. 27, 46-49).

2 As to the regular organization of Baal-worship, we possess only documents of a comparatively late period, such as the fragments of an omen published in the Corp. Ins. Sciri, vol. i. pp. 25-30, or the symposium of an ethnic haftah discovered at Marseilles and in Africa. In the Hebrew era we have incidental mention of the prophets and priests of Baal, e.g. in 1 Kings xvi. 10, 22-25, 19. The priesthood of Baal, Azchar, and Zabdiel, as organized in Egypt under the Thibarid dynasty, is familiar to us from the stela so frequently quoted (Cf. supra, pp. 193, 195), and from other small monuments of the same age, naturally, these assumed by the Egyptian priests, the inscriptions being written in hieroglyphics.

3 Judges ii. 28, 27. It is probable that the vintage festival, celebrated at Shiloh in the time of the Judges (Judges xi. 19-32), dated back to a period of Canaanite history prior to the Hebrew invasion, e.g. to the time of the Egyptian supremacy.

4 Cf. (in the Hebrew period, the scene where the priests of Baal go up to the top of Mount Carmel with the prophet Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 29-40)).
places and altars from the beginning. The nations of Syria did not in all cases recognise the original purpose of these monuments, but regarded them as marking the seat of an ancient divinity, or the precise spot on which he had at some time manifested himself. When the children of Israel caught sight of them again on their return from Egypt, they at once recognised in them the work of their patriarchs. The dolmen at Shishum was the altar which Abraham had built to the Eternal after his arrival in the country of Canaan. Isaac had raised that at Beersheba, on the very spot where Jehovah had appeared in order to renew with him the covenant that He had made with Abraham. One might almost reconstruct a map of the wanderings of Jacob from the altars which he built at each of his principal resting-places—at Gilead (Galaad), at Ephraim, at Bethel, and at Shechem. Each of such

1. Drawn by Boulanger, from a photograph.

2. The Syrian dolmens were first examined by Lord-Lothian, French in Egypt and Syrian, etc., during the years 1847-48, pp. 20, 142, probably those at Assukh and at Manfaluda; others were afterwards discovered by P. de Sauley, in the land of Ammon, at Shihem, in Egypt on Ture-Skour, vol. 1, pp. 312-313, and at Shaba, near the north of Namar (Karnak, vol. 1, pp. 273-278). Both can and the other have been carefully examined by Lachter in the work of the Deux Languesses, Figures of Exploration autour de la mer Morte, vol. 1, pp. 194-197, and vol. 3, pp. 233-240. Since then, quite a large number of these remains have been reported, especially near the Jordan and the Hezron, where there are whole fields of them (Scharmarck, Across the Jordan, p. 63, et seq., and The Jordan, p. 132, et seq.). In the Hebrew books, names are given with sacred stones, under the name of cairns, and dolmens with others (golads); cairns are called golad, or steles of stone (Judg. 16:20).

3. Gen. xlii. 7; there is an inscription by Jacob in the same locality (Gen. xxxviii. 20), probably identical with that which another tradition attributes to Abraham.


5. 'The heap of stones at Galaad, in Aramea Japh—Sahta'; the heap of stones, marked the spot where Laban and Jacob were reconciled (Gen. xxxv. 18-23; cf. supra, p. 63, 69); the place on.
still existing objects probably had a history of its own, connecting it inseparably with some far-off event in the local annals. Most of them were objects of worship; they were anointed with oil, and victims were slaughtered in their honour; the faithful even came at times to spend the night and sleep near them, in order to obtain in their dreams glimpses of the future.¹

Men and beasts were supposed to be animated, during their life-time, by a breath or soul which ran in their veins along with their blood, and served to move their limbs; the man, therefore, who drank blood or ate bleeding flesh assimilated thereby the soul which inhered in it.² After death the fate of this soul was similar to that ascribed to the spirits of the departed in Egypt and Chaldaea. The inhabitants of the ancient world were always accustomed to regard the surviving element in man as something restless and unhappy—a weak and pitiful double, doomed to hopeless destruction if deprived of the succour of the living. They imagined it as taking up its abode near the body wrapped in a half-conscious lothargy; or else as dwelling in the region of the earth, like the region ruled by the Chaldaean Allát, its doors gaping wide to engulf new arrivals, but allowing none to escape who had once passed the threshold.³ There it wasted away, a prey to sullen melancholy, under the sway of inexorable destinies, chief amongst whom, according to the Phoenician idea, was Munt (Death),⁴ the grandson of El; there the slave became the equal of his former master, the rich man no longer possessed anything which could raise him above the poor, and dreaded monarchs were greeted on their entrance by the jeers of kings who had gone down into the night before them.⁵ The corpse, after it had been anointed with perfumes and enveloped in linen, the way in Ephraim was the tomb of Rachel (Gen. xxxv. 20); the altar and stile at Bethel marked the spot where God appeared unto Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 10–22, xxxiv. 1–13); for the altar at Shechem, see Gen. xxxiii. 20.

¹ For the anointing with oil, see Gen. xxviii. 16, xxxii. 13, xxxiv. 14, and 2 Sam. xxii. 24. The mass of the Bethel was the identical one whose Jacob rested his head on the night in which Jehovah appeared to him in a dream (Gen. xxviii. 17). In Phœnicia there was a legend which told how God set up two stiles to the elements of wind and fire, and how he offered the blood of the animals he had killed in the chase as a libation (Pitsou's Barcass, Fragm. 2, § 8, in Mémoires-Doctr., Fragm. Hist. Grec., vol. iii. p. 386); cf. supra, p. 184, for what is said on this subject.

² This is the shepherd of the Bible. As to the Hebrew view of the soul and the seat of the soul, see Deut. xvii. 23; 1 Sam. xiv. 25–26. The Phœnician doctrine in respect to the soul and its condition have been very clearly summarized by Frenour-Curtiss, History of Art since Antiquity, vol. iv. pp. 157–14, and by Pitsou's Barcass, Gestalt und Gebrauch der Phœnicier, pp. 184–190.

³ The expression αἰθιόπια (Corp. In S. Matt., vol. i. pp. 19, 19, 19, 20, 1, 8) means "the sooths" (cf. Eccl. xiv. 10); it was the epithet applied by the Hebrews to a part of the primitive races of Palestine (cf. supra, p. 48). A description of this kingdom of the departed, as conceived by the Hebrews in late in the 7th century, occurs in Isa. xiv. 2–9, and in Ezek. xxiii. 17–22; cf. the description of the Chaldaean hall in Neophron, Dons de Cérès, p. 298, al. sqq.

⁴ The expression μαλακία (Corp. In S. Matt., vol. i. pp. 19, 19, 19, 20, 1, 8) means "the sooths" (cf. Eccl. xiv. 10); it was the epithet applied by the Hebrews to a part of the primitive races of Palestine (cf. supra, p. 48). A description of this kingdom of the departed, as conceived by the Hebrews in late in the 7th century, occurs in Isa. xiv. 2–9, and in Ezek. xxiii. 17–22; cf. the description of the Chaldaean hall in Neophron, Dons de Cérès, p. 298, al. sqq.

⁵ For the altar, and stile at Bethel, see Deut. xvii. 23; 1 Sam. xiv. 25–26. For the altar at Shechem, see Gen. xxviii. 10–22, xxxiv. 1–13; for the altar at Shechem, see Gen. xxxiii. 20.
and impregnated with substances which retarded its decomposition, was placed in some natural grotto or in a cave, hollowed out of the solid rock; sometimes it was simply laid on the bare earth, sometimes in a sarcophagus or coffin, and on it, or around it, were piled amulets, jewels, objects of daily use, vessels filled with perfume, or household utensils, together with meat and drink. The entrance was then closed, and on the spot a cippus was erected — in popular estimation sometimes held to represent the soul — or a monument was set up on a scale proportionate to the importance of the family to which the dead man had belonged. On certain days beasts ceremonially pure were sacrificed at the tomb, and libations poured out, which, carried into the next world by virtue of the prayers of those who offered them, and by the aid of the gods to whom the prayers were addressed, assuaged the hunger and thirst of the dead man. The chapels and steles which marked the exterior of

3 The pillar or stele was used among both Hebrews (Gen. xxxv. 16, 20) and Phoenicians (Buxtorf, Monum. de Phoen., pp. 73, 80) to mark the graves of distinguished persons. Among the Semitic-speaking Arameans it was called imploq (Cog. Isc Reshi, p. 4. vol. 3. pp. 143, 178, etc.); especially when it took the form of a pyramid (Cog. Isc Reshi, p. 4. vol. 1. p. 125, and Reclus Duval, Note sur le monument funerario appelé imploq, in the Revue Scientifique, vol. 11. pp. 253-257); the word means "basket," "soul," and clearly shows the ideas associated with the object.

4 An altar was sometimes placed in front of the sarcophagus to receive those offerings (F. de
these "eternal" houses have disappeared in the course of the various wars by which Syria suffered so heavily; in almost all cases, therefore, we are ignorant as to the sites of the various cities of the dead in which the nobles and common people of the Canaanite and Amorite towns were laid to rest. In Phoenicia alone do we meet with burial-places which, after the vicissitudes and upheavals of thirty centuries, still retain something of their original arrangement. Sometimes the site chosen was on level ground: perpendicular shafts or stairways cut in the soil led down to low-roofed chambers, the number of which varied according to circumstances: they were often arranged in two stories, placed one above the other; fresh vaults being probably added as the old ones were filled up. They were usually rectangular in shape, with horizontal or slightly arched ceilings; niches cut in the walls received the dead body and the objects intended for its use in the next world, and were then closed with a slab of stone. Elsewhere some isolated hill or narrow gorge, with sides of fine homogeneous limestone, was selected. In this case the doors were placed in rows on a sort of façade similar to that of the Egyptian rock-tomb, generally without any attempt at external ornament. The vaults were on the ground-level, but were not used as chapels for the celebration of festivals in honour of the dead: they were walled up after every funeral, and all access to them forbidden, until such time as they were again required for the purposes of burial. Except on these occasions of sad necessity, those whom "the mouth of the pit had devoured" dreaded the visits of the living, and resorted to every means afforded by their religion to protect themselves from them. Their inscriptions declare repeatedly that neither gold nor silver, nor any object which could excite the greed of robbers, was to be found within their graves; they threaten any one who should dare to deprive them of such articles of little value as belonged to them, or to turn them out of their chambers in order to make room for others, with all sorts of vengeance, divine and human. These imprecations have not, however,

Faub PROPERTY OWNERS WERE NO MORE MERELY ENTRUSTERS OF THEIR TOIL, BUT TAKEN TO THE HOUSES OF THEIR TRADESMEN, WHERE THEY ENJOYED THE PRIVILEGES OF THE上のイラストについての説明は不要です。
availed to save them from the desecration: the danger of which they foresew, and there are few of their tombs which were not occupied by a succession of tenants between the date of their first making and the close of the Roman supremacy. When the modern explorer chance to discover a vault which has escaped the spade of the treasure-seeker, it is hardly ever the case that the bodies whose remains are unearthed prove to be those of the original proprietors.

The gods and legends of Chaldea had penetrated to the countries of Amurru and Cappadocia, together with the language of the conquerors and their system of writing: the stories of Adapa's struggles against the south-west wind, or of the incidents which forced Ishshuggal, queen of the dead, to wed Nergal, were accustomed to be read at the courts of Syrian princes. Chaldean theology, therefore, must have exercised influence on individual Syrians and on their belief; but although we are forced to allow the existence of such influence, we cannot define precisely the effects produced by it. Only on the coast and in the Phoenician cities do the local religions seem to have become formulated at a fairly early date, and crystallised under pressure of this influence into cosmogonic theologies. The Baalim and Ashtaroth reigned there as on the banks of the Jordan or Orontes, and in each town Baal was "the most high," master of heaven and eternity, creator of everything which exists, though the character of his creating acts was variously defined according to time and place. Some regarded him as the personification of Justice, Sydyt, who established the universe with the help of eight indefatigable Cabiri. Others held the whole world to be the work of a divine family, whose successive generations gave birth to the various elements. The storm-wind, Colpias, wedded to Chaos, had begotten two mortals, Utum (Time) and Kalmon (the First-Born), and these in their turn engendered Qin and Qinath, who dwelt in Phoenicia: then came a drought, and they lifted up their heads to the Sun, imploring him, as Lord of the Heavens (Baalsam), to put an end to their woes. At


These fragments were discovered at Tel ed-Amarna, among the diplomatic correspondence between the Syrian princes and Amenophis III and IV. (Harnon-Bruno, The Tel ed-Amarna Tablets, pp. 189-200.) The legend of Adapa will be found in Mariens, Eclaims de Civilisations, pp. 623-681, as the significance attached to it in Syria, cf. Sirac. Fabricius Philostr., pp. 257, 258.

6 This is the account of the ceremony preserved for us by Philostratus in a fragment of De amore (Ceciliae Philostr. fragm. 2, 5, 6). It is but a general outline of the teaching of the Neoplatonists. See also, Berlin, Dios. of Callipolis, p. 155, and 325, a fact which may be due to Egyptian influence.

7 Putho or Byblos, Fugues, 2, 3, in Pauw's Dict. Prov., vol. 1, p. 340. Byblos is most probably a transliteration of the Egyptian name Kyphitis, "the Voice of the Birds." (Herod. ii. 1; Diodor. iv. 5.) See also, Celebria Philostr., vol. 1, p. 211. Sometimes, Do (Philistines Spr. p. 52); as with the Hebrews, Chance is Real. (Dioscor. 16, 113, 124.) In the language of the Punic, pur est a verba, leco, and verbo, leco, p. 237, 239, 240, shows that the words Adel and Hensover in the Greek text correspond to the expressions Adel, in Phoenician (Bab. Schimn.), Do Philistines Spr. pp. 123, 127, and Hensover. Baalsam is, in an Aramaic form of Baalsam of Hal lemos (Scotis., Do Philistines Spr., p. 131), and 2, p. 175).
Tyre it was thought that Chaos existed at the beginning, but chaos of a dark and troubled nature, over which a Breath (pneuma) floated without affecting it; and this Chaos had no ending, and it was thus for centuries and centuries.

Then the Breath became enamoured of its own principles, and brought about a change in itself, and this change was called Desire.—now Desire was the principle which created all things, and the Breath knew not its own creation.

The Breath and Chaos, therefore, became united, and Mēt the Clay was born, and from this clay sprung all the seed of creation, and Mēt was the father of all things; now Mēt was like an egg in shape.—And the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the great planets, shone forth. There were living beings devoid of intelligence, and from these living beings came intelligent beings, who were called Zephasamis, or 'watchers of the heavens.'

Now the thunder-claps in the war of separating elements awake these intelligent beings as it were from a sleep, and then the males and the females began to stir themselves and to seek one another on the land and in the sea. A scholar of the Roman epoch, Philo of Byblos, using as a basis some old documents hidden away in the sanctuaries, which had apparently been classified by Sanchamath, a priest long before his time, has handed these theories of the cosmogony down to us; after he has explained how the world was brought out of Chaos, he gives a brief summary of the dawn of civilization in Phoenicia and the legendary period in its history. No doubt he interprets the writings from which he compiled his work in accordance with the spirit of his time; he has none the less preserved their substance more or less faithfully. Beneath the veneer of abstraction with which the Greek tongue and mind have overlaid the fragment just quoted, we discern that groundwork of barbaric ideas which is to be met with in most Oriental theologies, whether Egyptian or Babylonian. At first
we have a black mysterious Chaos, stagnating in eternal waters; the primordial Nih or Apsê; then the slime which precipitates in this chaos and cloths into
the form of an egg, like the mud of the Nile under the hand of Khânâmâ; then the
hatching forth of living organisms and indolent generations of barely conscious
creatures, such as the Lakhmâ, the Ansar, and the Illiû of Chaldaean speculation; finally the abrupt appearance of intelligent beings. The Phœnicians, how-
ever, accustomed as they were to the Mediterranean, with its blind outbursts of fury, had formed an idea of
Chaos which differed widely from that of most of the
inland races, to whom it presented itself as something silent and motionless; they imagined it as swept by
a mighty wind, which, gradually increasing to a roaring
tempest, at length succeeded in stirring the chaos to
its very depths, and in fertilising its elements amidst
the fury of the storm. No sooner had the earth been
thus brought roughly into shape, than the whole family of the north winds
swooped down upon it and reduced it to civilized order. It was but natural
that the traditions of a seafaring race should trace its descent from the winds.

In Phœnicia the sea is everything; of land there is but just enough to
furnish a site for a score of towns, with their surrounding belt of gardens, Mount Lebanon, with its impenetrable forests, isolated it almost entirely from
Cœle-Syria, and acted as the eastward boundary of the long narrow quadrangle
hemmed in between the mountains and the Rocky shore of the sea. At
frequent intervals, spurs ran out at right angles from the principal chain,
forming steep headlands on the sea-front: these cut up the country, small
to begin with, into five or six still smaller provinces, each one of which
possessed from time immemorial its own independent cities, its own religion,
and its own national history. To the north were the Zahi, a race half sailors,
half husbandmen, rich, brave, and turbulent, ever ready to give battle to
their neighbours, or rebel against an alien master, be he who he might. Arvad, which was used by them as a sort of stronghold or sanctuary, was

1. C. Martini, Dives of Geographical, p. 127; seq, for the concepts of Nh, and p. 327; seq, for those of Apsê and of the gods which gave him life; as is Khânâmâ and the god who made the clay of the Nh, see p. 325 of the same work.

2. Drawn by Fumane-Guatt, from the original in the Cabinet des Médailles, of a similar model, published in Harler, Les Pierres amphiboles, pl. xxii.; No. 2, the verse of which, also drawn by Fumane-Guatt, serves as a headpiece to the contents of the present chapter, p. 147.


5. The chief feature of Phœnician art, as they existed in the time of Hânnâm II., is given by the author of the Amos of Ephraim, No. 1, pl. xxi. 2, seq, and, of Usâna, Le Fragm. de les Égyptiens, pp. 126-125.

6. As to the forms of the men Zahi among the Egyptians, vide supra, pp. 213-214.

7. The name Arvad was identified in the Egyptian Inscriptions by Bich. (On the Hieroglyphics)
buddled together on an island, some two miles from the coast; it was only about a thousand yards in circumference, and the houses, as though to make up for the limited space available for their foundations, rose to a height of five stories. An Astarté reigned there, as also a sea-Baal, half man, half fish, but not a trace of a temple or royal palace is now to be found. The whole island was surrounded by a stone wall, built on the outermost ledges of the rocks, which were levelled to form its foundation. The courses of the masonry were irregular, laid without cement or mortar of any kind. This bold piece of engineering served the double purpose of sea-wall and rampart, and was thus fitted to withstand alike the onset of hostile fleets and the surges of the Mediterranean. There was no potable water on the island, and for drinking purposes the inhabitants were obliged to rely on the fall of rain, which they stored in cisterns—still in use among their descendants. In the event of prolonged drought they were obliged to send to the mainland opposite; in time of war they had recourse to a submarine spring, which bubbles up in mid-channel. Their divers let down a leaden bell, to the top of which was fitted a leather pipe, and applied it to the orifice of the spring; the fresh water coming up through the sand was collected in this bell, and rising in the pipe, reached the surface uncontaminated by salt water.

Association of the Goddess of the Assurall antimene (p. 6, note 30), who, with Baal, in the name a reference to the people of Arad (Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karkar, pp. 14-15). The identification adopted by Brugsch (Geogr. Anc., vol. ii, p. 58) is now accepted by all Egyptologists. The name is written Arara or Aruda in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Bruce in Roscher, Thes. Text of Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, p. 118, n. 11; cf. Bruce, Oriental Dictionary, p. xii. § 5, as to the meaning of one of the signs which enter into the composition of the name).

1 The ancient Arad of the Hellenistic period has been described by Strabo, XVI. 2, § 12, p. 724; for details in regard to the modern Arad, see Renan, Mission de Philistie, pp. 10-42.

2 The Aradv Assurall has been identified by the Egyptians with their Goddess Bastet (Brugsch, Mission de Philistie, pp. 96, 57; cf. Diodorus, the female Asperrilla in Memphis, in the Zeitschrift, 1863, p. 39). The sea-Baal, who has been connected by some with Baal of Ashkelon, is represented on the earliest Aradite coins, of one of them on the preceding page. He has a fish-like tail, the body still bearded head of a man, with an Asuran head-dress; on his breast are sometimes fixed a circular opening, which seems to show the umbilicus (Berrouet, Les Peuples Archéologique, Sur l'Asyrisme et les Dynasties phéniciennes de leur Empire, Cairo, 1868, pp. 123-125, and pls. iv-vii, fig. 1-6).

3 The antiquity of the wall of Arad, recognized by archaeologists of the last century, is now universally admitted by all archaeologists (Renan, Mission de Philistie, pp. 89-91; Pincher-Carre, Histoire de Phénicie, etc.)

4 Le temps (antiquité, vol. iii, p. 106).

5 Strabo, XVI. 2, § 12, p. 724; for what is said on these cisterns in Renan, Mission de Philistie, etc., p. 10-41.

6 Strabo, XVI. 2, § 12, p. 724. Renan, Mission de Philistie, p. 41, 22 tells us that "M. Galland, when coming from the island to the mainland, noticed a spring of sweet water bubbling up from the bottom of the sea..." Thomas and Walpole noticed the same spring at similar spots a little to the north of Tyreiner."
The harbour opened to the east, facing the mainland: it was divided into two basins by a stone jetty, and was doubtless insufficient for the sea-traffic, but this was the less felt insomuch as there was a safe anchorage outside it—the best, perhaps, to be found in these waters. Opposite to Arvad, on an almost continuous line of coast some ten or twelve miles in length, towns and villages occurred at short intervals, such as Marath,

Antarados, Ethydrus, and Karna, into which the surplus population of the island overflowed. Karna possessed a harbour, and would have been a dangerous neighbour to the Arvadians had they themselves not occupied and carefully fortified it.* The cities of the dead lay close together in the background, on the slope of the barest chain of hills;* still further back lay a plain, celebrated for its fertility and the luxuriance of its verdure: Lebanon, with its wooded peaks, was shut in on the north and south, but on the east the mountain slanted downwards almost to the sea-level, furnishing a pass through which ran the road which joined the great military highway not far from Qadeh.* The influence of Arvad, penetrated by means of this pass into the valley of the

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* Picture of Phoenician Grain, from the engraving published in Renan's Mission de Phénicie, pl. 2.

* Marchi, now Antel, possesses some ancient remains which have been described in some detail by Renan (Mission de Phénicie, p. 44; pl. viii.); Antarados, which prior to the Greek-Roman era was a place of no importance (Ptolemy, V. viii. 10), appears the site of Tordes (Renan, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 89, 90, 91, 107, at sqq.). Ethydrus (Renan, l. xvi., p. 12; p. 76) is not known, and Karna has been replaced by Karman in the north of Tordes (Renan, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 21, 22); none of the "neighbourhood of Antirium" (in Arth. episcop., Arn. Avi., H. xvi. 17) are mentioned by name in the Assyrian inscriptions; W. Muir, with great ingenuity demonstrated that the Egyptian form Antirium or Atrimium corresponds with a Semitic place Antarados, and consequently refers not only to Karman, but also to the fortified cities and towns which formed its continual suburbs (Ass. and Egypt. pp. 186, 187).

* Renan, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 75-84.

* In regard to this pass, see what is said on pp. 138-144.
Orontes, and is believed to have gradually extended as far as Hamath itself—in other words, over the whole of Zahi. For the most part, however, its rule was confined to the coast between Gabala and the Nahr el-Kebir; Simyra at one time acknowledged its suzerainty, at another became a self-supporting and independent state, strong enough to compel the respect of its neighbours. Beyond the Orontes, the coast curves abruptly inward towards the west, and a group of wind-swept hills ending in a promontory called Phanuel, the reputed scene of a divine manifestation, marked the extreme limit of Aradian influence to the north; if, indeed, it ever reached so far. Half a dozen obscure cities flourished here, Arka, Siam, Mahallat, Kafz, Maza, and Botrys; some of them on the seacoast, others inland on the bend of some minor stream. Botrys, the last of the six, barred the roads which cross the Phanuel headland, and commanded the entrance to the holy ground where Byblos and Berytos celebrated each year the amorous mysteries of Adonis.

Gibla, or—as the Greeks named it—Byblos, prized itself on being the most ancient city in the world. The god El had founded it at the dawn of

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1. **Phylis of Byblos, an Egyptian, whose tomb is said to be in Philae near Aswan.**
2. **Simyra is the modern Samra, near the Nahr el-Kebir; it was already known from the passage in *Gens.* v. 18, when E. du Lange designated it as the *home of Phanuel III.* (Notice de quelques observations de l'archéologie de Béryte, pp. 15, note 29.)
3. **The name has only come down to us under its Greek form, *Symeia!* The name, *Theodote of Philae,* was the name of the Phanuel of Philae. (Notice de quelques observations de l'archéologie de Béryte, p. 15, note 29.)
4. **Ares is perhaps referred to in the tablets of Tell el-Amarna under the form *Izki or Izkia.* (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,* p. 6.)
5. **Simto or Simo is mentioned in the Assyrian texts (Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295.) In the Bible (Gen. x. 14), and in the Assyrian texts (Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295.), it is the name of a town in Babylonia, which was also the name of the Phoenician town of *Tell-Arslan.* (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 159, 160.)
6. **Samto or Simo is mentioned in the Assyrian texts (Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295.) In the Bible (Gen. x. 14), and in the Assyrian texts (Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295.), it is the name of a town in Babylonia, which was also the name of the Phoenician town of *Tell-Arslan.* (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 159, 160.)
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1. **According to the Assyrian inscriptions, there were the names of the three towns which formed the Tripolis of Greek-Roman times (Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295, 295.)
2. **Botrys is the vulgarized form of the name *Botran or Botra,* which appears in the tablets of Tell el-Amarna (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 295.) In the modern name, Botran or Botra, preserves the final letter which the Greeks lost.**
3. **Gibla or Giblia is the pronunciation indicated for this name in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 295.) The Egyptians transliterated it *Kepnui* or *Kepnui* by assimilating a *φ* as Consonant and then by substituting a *σ* for the *σ* of *Kepnui.* (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 295.)
4. **Given from Giblia by establishing a *σ* for the *σ* of *Kepnui.* (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 295.)
5. **Phylis of Byblos, Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295; at *Tell el-Amarna, Ps. *Babylonian, We lag das Formale!* p. 295.) The location between the two cities is currently occupied by the town, once supposed to be in the same Elaphis (Moore, *Des Phéniciens Allèteres,* vol. i. pp. 195, 195.), is now no longer admitted (Report and Notes, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets,!* p. 295, 295.) Thiersch, *Geschichte der Phönizier,* p. 48.)
of time, on the flank of a hill which is visible from some distance out at sea. A small bay, now filled up, made it an important shipping centre. The temple stood on the top of the hill, a few fragments of its walls still serving to mark the site; it was, perhaps, identical with that of which we find the plan engraved on certain imperial coins. Two flights of steps led up to it from the lower quarters of the town, one of which gave access to a chapel in the Greek style, surmounted by a triangular pediment, and dating, at the earliest, from the time of the Seleucids: the other terminated in a long colonnade, belonging to the same period, added as a new façade to an earlier building, apparently in order to bring it abreast of more modern requirements. The sanctuary which stands hidden behind this incongruous veneer is, as represented on the coins, in a very archaic style, and is by no means wanting in originality or dignity. It consists of a vast rectangular court surrounded by cloisters. At the point where lines drawn from the centres of the two doors seem to cross one another stands a crouched stone mounted on a cube of masonry, which is the birth-animated by the spirit of the god: an open-work balustrade surrounds and protects it from the touch of the profane. The building was perhaps not earlier than the Assyrian or Persian era, but in its general plan it evidently reproduced the arrangements of some former edifices. At an early time El was spoken of as the first king of Gablu in the same manner as each one of his Egyptian fellow-gods had been in their several names, and the story of his exploits formed the inevitable prelude to the beginning of human history. Grandson of Elšem who had brought

1 Sumer, Xvi. 1, 118, p. 396: aššu ‘išu ’arāša ude in el-nišar. The present condition of the town is described at some length by Renan, Mission de Babylone, pp. 139-174.

2 Renan, Mission de Babylone, pp. 139-141; the Annals of Tukulti-Ninurta III mention Gilboa ships (baalim) which sailed to Egypt (Histoire, Geschichtte de l'Egypte, p. 319).

3 Renan, Mission de Babylone, p. 178, carried out excavations in the hill of Kassotan which brought to light some remains of a Greco-Egyptian temple; he puts forward, subject to cavillation, the hypothesis which I have adopted above.

4 For the Babylonesian, from the original in the Cabinet des Médailles; cf. Bieber, Les Peres Arabes, pl. xxi, No. 12, 12.

The author of the De Deo Egypt. visited the temple of Bictis among the Egyptians temples of the old order, which were almost as ancient as the temples of Egypt; and he made the discovery, according to (5-8), and it is probable that from the Egyptian epoch onwards the plan of this temple must have been that of the others; the smaller temple might, however, to be represented by pillars or by columns supporting vertical axes, and the fact of their presence leads me to the conclusion that the temple did not exist in the form known to us at a date earlier than the last Assyrian period.


* The concept of his history forms the basis of one of the Babylonesian eschatologies recorded by Sanchotain (Pseudo-de Syrie, Syriac: 1, 18-27, in Muller-Diós, Syriac Hist., vol. vi, pp. 387-389).
Chaos into order, son of Heaven and Earth, he dispossessed, vanquished, and mutilated his father, and conquered the most distant regions one after another—the countries beyond the Euphrates, Libya, Asia Minor and Greece: one year, when the plague was ravaging his empire, he burnt his own sun on the altar as an expiatory victim; and from that time forward the priests took advantage of his example to demand the sacrifice of children in moments of public danger or calamity. He was represented as a man with two faces, whose eyes opened and shut in an eternal alternation of vigilance and repose: six wings grew from his shoulders, and spread fan-like around him. He was the incarnation of time, which destroys all things in its rapid flight; and of the summer sun, cruel and fateful, which eats up the green grass and parches the fields. An Astarté reigned with him over Byblos—Baalat-Gubel, his own sister; like him, the child of Earth and Heaven. In one of her aspects she was identified with the moon, the personification of coldness and chastity, and in her statues or on her sacred pillars she was represented with the crescent or cow-horns of the Egyptian Hathor; but in her other aspect she appeared as the amorous and wanton goddess in whom the Greeks recognised the popular concept of Aphrodite. Tradition tells us how, one spring morning, she caught sight of and desired the youthful god known by the title of Adonis, or "My Lord." We scarcely know what to
make of the origin of Adonis, and of the legends which treat him as a hero—the representation of him as the incestuous offspring of a certain King Kinyras and his own daughter Myrrha is a comparatively recent element grafted on the original myth; at any rate, the happiness of the two lovers had lasted but a few short weeks when a sudden end was put to it by the attack of a monstrous wild bear. Baalat-Gubhlu wept over her lover’s body and buried it, then her grief triumphed over death, and Adonis, ransomed by her tears, rose from the tomb, his love no whit less passionate than it had been before the catastrophe. Thus nothing else than the Chaldean legend of Ishtar and Dumuzi presented in a form more fully symbolic of the yearly marriage of Earth and Heaven. Like the Lady of Byblos at her master’s approach, Earth is thrilled by the first breath of spring, and abandons herself without shame to the caresses of Heaven: she welcomes him to her arms, is fructified by him, and pours forth the abundance of her flowers and fruits. Then comes summer and kills the spring: Earth is burnt up and withers, she strips herself of her ornaments, and her fruitfulness departs till the gloom and icy numbness of winter have passed away. Each year the cycle of the seasons brings back with it the same joy, the same despair, into the life of the world; each year Baalat falls in love with her Adonis and loses him, only to bring him back to life and lose him again in the coming year.

The whole neighbourhood of Byblos, and that part of Mount Lebanon in which it lies, were steeped in memories of this legend from the very earliest times. We know the precise spot where the goddess first caught sight of her lover, where she unravelled herself before him, and where at the last she buried his mutilated body, and chanted her lament for the dead. A river which flows southward not far off was called the Adonis, and the valley watered by it was supposed to have been the scene of this tragic idyll. The Adonis rises near Aphake, at the base of a narrow amphitheatre, issuing from the entrance of an irregular grotto: the natural shape of which had, at some remote period, been altered by the hand of man; in three cascades it bounds

at seg., have discussed the question as to whether the proper name of Adonis was not Hadad. That of Tamman, which he takes after his death, probably came to him through Chaldean influence, when he was assimilated to Dumuzi (c.f. Maasri, Inscriptiones, 281, at seg.)

1 In Maasri, Inscriptiones, pp. 281-283, 342-343, 383, at seg., will be found a collection of texts of the ancient writers who enable us to reconstitute the final forms of the Adonis legend.

2 As in the present case of Byblus and of the localities in its neighbourhood, of what imminent way to Menen, de Palestine, pp. 212-222, they preserved the legend from the very earliest times, and the site of the Amasid Poppens, No. 1, 18-22, 7-8, speaking of them in the time of Eusebius II, refers to Byblus as a conspicuous city, whose military galleys he prefers to name at another time, being probably intended by the same motive of religious illusion which directed Hierocles from mentioning the name of Osiris (Cavace, Le Véritable faux Egyptiens, pp. 58-61; v. W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 188-191).

3 Menas de Palestine, pp. 282-284, This is the Nahr-Birkat el M, super, p. 93.

Aphake means “smiling” in Syrian; Birkat, Menas de Palestine, p. 282. The site of the temple and town of Aphake, where a temple of Aphrodite and Adonis still stood in the time of the Emperor Julian, has long been identified (Romeaux, Hist. Sib. 1, c. 2; Zonara, c. 1, Bih.)
into a sort of circular basin, where it gathers to itself the waters of the neighbouring springs, then it dashes onwards under the single arch of a Roman bridge, and descends in a series of waterfalls to the level of the valley below. The temple rises opposite the source of the stream on an artificial mound, a meteorite fallen from heaven having attracted the attention of the faithful to the spot. The mountain falls abruptly away, its summit presenting a red and bare appearance, owing to the alternate action of summer sun and winter frost. As the slopes approach the valley they become clothed with a garb of wild vegetation, which bursts forth from every fissure, and finds a foothold on every projecting rock: the base of the mountain is hidden in a tangle mass of glowing green, which the moist yet sumy Spring calls forth in abundance whenever the slopes are not too steep to retain a shallow layer of nourishing mould. It would be hard to find, even among the most picturesque spots of Europe, a landscape in which wildness and beauty are more happily combined, or where the mildness of the air and sparkling coolness of the streams offer a more perfect setting for the ceremonies attending the worship of Astarté.* In

* Drawn by Bowsher, from a photograph of Lozier, La Syrie d'apres-la-Lozière, p. 649.

* A full description of the site and ruins is given by Reiset, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 295-296. The temple had been rebuilt during the Roman period, as were nearly all the temples of this region.
THE AMPHITHEATRE OF AFFRAGA AND THE SOURCE OF THE RIMM-ISHMAIL.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.
the basin of the river and of the torrents by which it is fed, there appears a succession of charming and romantic scenes—gaping chasms with precipitous ochre-colored walls; narrow fields laid out in terraces on the slopes or stretching in emerald strips along the muddy river-banks; orchards thick with almond and walnut trees; sacred groves, into which the priests, seated at the corner of the road, endeavour to draw the pilgrims as they proceed on their way to make their prayers to the goddess; sanctuaries and mausolea of Adonis at Ushin, on the table-land of Mishnouk, and on the heights of Ghineh. According to the common belief, the actual tomb of Adonis was to be found at Byblos itself, where the people were accustomed to assemble twice a year to keep his festivals, which lasted for several days together. At the summer solstice, the season when the wild boar had ripped open the divine hunter, and the summer had already done damage to the spring, the priests were accustomed to prepare a painted wooden image of a corpse made ready for burial, which they hid in what were called the gardens of Adonis—terra-cotta pots filled with earth in which wheat and barley, lettuce and fennel, were sown. These were set out at the door of each house, or in the courts of the temple, where the sprouting plants had to endure the searching effect of the sun, and soon withered away. For several days troops of women and young girls, with their heads dishevelled or shorn, their garments in rags, their faces torn with their nails, their breasts and arms scarified with knives, went about over hill and dale in search of their idol, giving utterance to cries of despair, and to endless appeals: "Ah, Lord! Ah, Lord! what is become of thy beauty?" Once having found the image, they upon the site of a more ancient structure; this was probably the edifice which the author of De Dies Eregi considered to be the temple of Venus, built by Kyros within a day's journey of Byblos in the Lebanon.

1 Remarking that at Byblos the existence of one of these caverns which gave shelter to the beehive (Missions de Phénicie, pp. 224, 633), a. Many of the caves exist in this valley of the Nebi
dishmoun have doubtless served for the same purpose, although their walls contain no marks of the cut.


3 De Dies Eregi, § 6, 7. Melito placed it however, near Abydus (cf. Renan, Rollinde deisches Ajoung of M. Aurele Bas Prunier, in the Epigraphica Graeca, vol. ii. p. 83), and, indeed, there must have been, as many different traditions on the subject as there were celebrated sanctuaries.

4 For the date and the ceremonies preceding this festival, see the testimonies of ancient authors put together by Mevans, Die Phénicie, p. 225, et seq.

5 The analogy which they exhibit with the festivals of Osiris in the mouth of Khadik (Leviat, Les Études d'Otrée au sud de Khadik, in the Revue, vol. iii. pp. 43-277; vol. iv. pp. 21-52), and especially the size of the gardens, lead me to believe that they were practically the same at the time of the Egyptian conquest and that of the Cossacks.


7 In Greece there arose in later times a proverb, ἄνθος ἀνακάμπτει ἀνθός ἀνακάμπτει, "more barren than the gardens of Adonis" (Nerium, n. s. Abydos), etc.

8 Ambrose. Mancilin., xii. 1, § 10, is an authority for the seven days' search. For the Notitia, see the description, "Audaciorans," which Poppn. (Gronovit., lib. ix. § 3) gives of them, and also the passage in which Juvenali (xii. 68, cf. xxxiv. 8) describes King Jodebeh, whom that he will not receive after his death the usual honours; cf. Mevans, Phénicie, pp. 224-225.
brought it to the feet of the goddess, washed it while displaying its wound, anointed it with sweet-smelling unguents, wrapped it in a linen and woolen shroud, placed it on a catafalque, and, after expressing around the bier their feelings of desolation, according to the rites observed at funerals, placed it solemnly in the tomb. The close and dreary summer passes away. With the first days of September the autumnal rains begin to fall upon the hills, and washing away the ochreous earth lying upon the slopes, descend in muddy torrents into the hollows of the valleys. The Adonis river begins to swell with the ruddy waters, which, on reaching the sea, do not readily blend with it. The wind from the offing drives the river water back upon the coast, and forces it to cling for a long time to the shore, where it forms a kind of crimson fringe. This was the blood of the hero, and the sight of this precious stream stirred up anew the devotion of the people, who doomed once more their weeds of mourning until the priests were able to announce to them that, by virtue of their supplications, Adonis was brought back from the shades into new life. Shouts of joy immediately broke forth, and the people who had lately sympathized with the mourning goddess in her tears and cries of sorrow, now joined with her in expressions of mad and amorous delight. Wives and virgins—all the women who had refused during the week of mourning to make a sacrifice of their hair—were obliged to atone for this fault by putting themselves at the disposal of the strangers whom the festival had brought together, the reward of their service becoming the property of the sacred treasury.

Berytus shared with Byblos the glory of having had El for its founder. The road which connects these two cities makes a lengthy detour in its course along the coast, having to cross numberless ravines and rocky summits; before reaching Paphi-Berytus, it passes over a headland by a series of steps cut into the rock, forming a kind of "ladder" similar to that which is encountered lower down, between Acre and the plains of Tyre. The river Lykos runs like a kind

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1. The Adonis has disappeared in his fifth play (The Suppilones, p. 76, et seq.) the laying out and burial of Adonis as it was practised at Alexandrin in Egypt in the VIIth century before our era.
2. De Dict Spuli, § 8. The same phenomenon occurs in Egypt. Mamendil (Yeep, pp. 57, 58) says it on March 17, and Roman (Mission du Phénicte, p. 223) in the first days of February.
4. De Dict Spuli, § 6, cf. ibid, the similar rites at Babylonia, Descriptive Account, pp. 102, 103. A similar usage was found in later times in the countries colonized by or subjected to the influence of the Phoenicians, especially in Cyprus (Kotter, Yeep, vol I, p. 132, et seq.)
5. Sevener of Phoenicia, in loc. The same Berytus was found by Bickel in the Egyptian texts (De Attempt to ascertain the Name, et c., of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet, p. 47) under the form, Biritum, Beletu; it occurs frequently in the Tell el Amarna tablets (Brunner-Betz, Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, p. 24.),
6. This is the "Mount of Strabo (XIV, II, § 19, p. 751), which Roman (Mission du Phénicte, p. 233, 234) places "on the site of the mountain which forms the northern side of the sea of Jut and which takes the form of a salomor in a gorge of the rocks." It is inclined to place Paphi-Berytus at the modern village of Sarrah (Ixe, ibid., p. 292, 293). The name Paphi-Berytus contains probably a Phoenician word which the Greeks wrongly identified with "Salmois" (Mission du Phénicte, Des Phéniciens.
of natural fosse along the base of this steep headland. It forms at the present time a torrent, fed by the melting snows of Mount Sinai, and is entirely unnavigable. It was better circumstanced formerly in this respect, and even in the early years of the Roman conquest, sailors from Arvad (Arados) were accustomed to sail up it as far as one of the passes of the lower Lebanon, leading into Coele-Syria. Berytus was installed at the base of a great headland which stands out boldly into the sea, and forms the most striking promontory to be met with in these regions from Carmel to the vicinity of Arvad. The port is nothing but an open creek with a petty promontory, but it has the advantage of a good supply of fresh water, which pours down from the numerous springs to which it is indebted for its name. According to ancient legends, it was given by El to one of his offspring called Poseidon by the Greeks. Adonis desired to take possession of it, but was frustrated in the attempt, and the maritime Baal secured the permanence of his rule by marrying one of his sisters—the Baalat-Boyrut who is represented as a nymph on Gracco-Roman coins. The rule of the city extended as far as the banks of the Tamar, and an old legend narrates that its patron fought in ancient times with the deity of that river, hurling stones at him to prevent his becoming master of the land to the north. The bar formed of shingle and the dunes which contract the entrance were regarded as evidences of this conflict. Beyond the southern bank of the river, Sidon sits enthroned as "the firstborn of Canaan." In spite of this ambitious title it was at first nothing but a poor fishing village founded by Bel, the Agamem of the Greeks, on the southern slope of a spit of land which juts out obliquely towards the

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

* Strabo, XVI. 4. 1, p. 754, Bevan (Mission, etc., p. 742; cf. Strabo, XIX. 4. 4, Bevan, p. 90) does not accept the testimony of Suda, while other historians regard it as correct (Katharn, Phasis, pp. 13, 101) and modern geologists have pointed out on the banks of this small river traces of the waters having once attained a higher level than at present. The Dom de Loges has shown that the present name, Nahr es-Kell, probably preserves the original elements—Kell—of the ancient name which the Greeks rendered Akes.—"well?" (Voyage d'exploration du niv de la mer, vol. i. p. 3, n. 11; cf. p. 9, note b, of the present work.

* The name Berytus has been often derived from a Phæleian word signifying espars, and when may have been applied to the plain itself (Bevan, Mission, etc., pp. 325, 326). The Phœnicians themselves derived it from the word "well;" cf. Strabo, XIX. 4. 4, Bevan, p. 90; cf. Strabo, XIX. 4. 4, Bevan, p. 90.


* The term Nummus (De Cesar., il. xii. xxii.) has preserved a highly embellished account of this rivalry, where Adonis is called Dionysus, for the name of Berytus, on which the nymph appears, cf. Rastall, Les Puits Antiques, pl. xxv., No. 23, and pp. 130, 131.

* The original name appears to have been Tamar, Tamyra, from a word signifying "palm" in the Phœnician language (Schurmann, Die Phönizische Sprache, p. 155), it has been rendered in Greek by Adonis (Plutarch, Per. Lec., 9) sometimes by Tamar (Strabo, XVI. 4. 1, p. 754). The origin of the conflict between Poseidon and the god of the river, Bea-Demonicus (Pitcrès, Hist. Rom., p. 72, in Mühlner-Durant, Hist. Græc., vol. iii., p. 325), has been explained by Rastall (Les Puits Antiques, p. 110), who accepts the identification of the river-deity with Bea-Demonicus, already mentioned by M. Meunier (Die Phönizier, pp. 681, 682).
south-west. It grew from year to year, spreading out over the plain, and became at length one of the most prosperous of the chief cities of the country—a "mother" in Phoenicia. The port, once so celebrated, is shut in by three chains of half-sunken reefs, which, running out from the northern end of the peninsula, continue parallel to the coast for some hundreds of yards: narrow passages in these reefs afford access to the harbour; one small island, which is always above water, occupies the centre of this natural dyke of rocks, and furnishes a site for a maritime quarter opposite to the continental city. The necropolis on the mainland extends to the east and north, and consists of an irregular series of excavations made in a low line of limestone cliffs which must have been lashed by the waves of the Mediterranean long prior to the beginning of history. These tombs are crowded closely together, ramifying into an inextricable maze, and are separated from each other by such thin walls that one expects every moment to see them give way, and bury the visitor in the ruin. Many date back to a very early period, while all of them have been re-worked and re-appropriated over and over again. The latest occupants were contemporaries of the Macedonian kings or the Roman Caesars. Space was limited and costly in this region of the dead: the Sidonians made the best use they could of the tombs, burying in them again and again, as the Egyptians were accustomed to do in their cemeteries at Thebes and Memphis. The surrounding plain is watered by the "pleasant Bostrēnos," and is covered with gardens which are reckoned to be the most beautiful in all Syria—at least after those of Damascus: their praises were sung even in ancient days, and they had then earned for the city the epithet of "the flowery Sidon." Here, also, an Astartē ruled over the destinies of the people, but a chaste and immaculate Astartē, a self-restrained and warlike virgin, sometimes identified with the moon, sometimes with the pale and frigid morning

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1. Sidon is called "the cradle of Canaan" in Gen. x. 15: the same means a dwelling-place, as the classical authors already knew—"nunc placem Phoeniciæ addo appellans" (Strabo, xvi. 2. 3; cf. Herodotus or JUVENAL. Origines, x. 1, 38, where the passage from Justin is reproduced almost word for word). Its name was recognised in the Ammonite Papyri, No. 1, pl. xx. 1, 8. make the turn. Zidnam, by Hincks (An Attempt to re-establish the Name, etc., of the Hieroglyphic Alphabets, p. 15). It appears frequently in the Tod el-Amera Tablets (Bunbek-Bunbek, Tod el-Amera Tablets in the British Museum, p. 470.)

2. In the sons of classic genius, it is called "Sidon, the mother—Oa—of Hamle, Hippo, Gillim, and Tyro" (Bunbek, Les Poesies de Sibylles, pp. 99, 97).

3. ROUS. Mission de Phénicie, pp. 202, 203; GUÉRIN, Gallia, vol. i. pp. 384-390. The only description of the port which we possess is that in the romance of Citholepe and Lausiappes by Achille Talais; Flichmann (Recherches des Phéniciens, pp. 44-58) has commented on it at length, and has endeavoured to superintend on a modern map its different parts.

4. Excavations were made at these cemeteries some thirty years ago, and the results described by ROUS (Mission de Phénicie, p. 400, et seq.).

5. DIOGENES LaëRTIUS, V. 9, 127; et Xen. Hell., lib. iv. 11. 4. MULLER-DEON, Voy. Gén. Gen. (Memorial Mission, vol. i. p. 100). The Balearics, which is perhaps to be recognised under the form Borccan in the Peripat of Silvius (MULLER-DEON, ibid., vol. i. p. 166), is the modern Nahr el-Anya.
star,) In addition to this goddess, the inhabitants worshipped a Baal-Sidon, and other divinities of milder character—an Astarte-Shem-Baal, wife of the supreme Baal, and Eshmun, a god of medicine—each of whom had his own particular temple either in the town itself or in some neighbouring village in the mountain. Baal delighted in travel, and was accustomed to be drawn in a chariot through the valleys of Phoenicia in order to receive the prayers and offerings of his devotees. The immodest Astarte, excluded, it would seem, from the official religion, had her claims acknowledged in the cult offered to her by the people, but she became the subject of no poetic or dolorous legend like her namesake at Byblos, and there was no attempt to disguise her immately coarse character by throwing over it a garb of sentiment. She possessed in the suburbs her chapels and grottoes, hollowed out in the hillsides, where she was served by the usual crowd of Ephodes and sacred courtesans. Some half-dozen towns or fortified villages, such as Bettihi, the Lesser Sidon, and Sarah your, were scattered along the shore, or on the lowest slopes of the Lebanon. Sidonian territory reached its limit at the Cape of Sarapha, where the high-lands again meet the sea at the boundary of one of those basins into which Phoenicia is divided. Passing beyond this cape, we come first upon a Tyrian outpost, the Town of Birds; then upon the village of Nazana, with its river of the same name; beyond this upon a plain hemmed in by low hills, cultivated to their summits; then

1 Astarte is represented in the Bible as the goddess of the Sidonians (1 Kings xi. 5, 33; 2 Kings viii. 33), and she is in fact the object of the invocations addressed to the matrons. Daily in the Sidonian inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. i. pp. 21, 33), the presence of the town (Johannes Leclerc. De Monachis, iv. 4; Achilles Tatius. leg. de Chilophen, bk. ii. p. 16) . Kings and queens were her priests and priestesses respectively (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. i. pp. 33, 29; E. Becker, De Scymphogo de Taltet et de Sidon, pp. 22, 3). For the character of this Sidonian goddess, see with the necessary reserve, Novum, Die Kolonisten, pp. 405-427.

2 These damsels and their temples are mentioned in the inscription of Eshmun, ii. 10, 13, 15, in the Corp. Ins. S., vol. i. pp. 10, 29. As to Astarte-Shem-Baal, see M. M. Vellius, M. I. Arch. Orientalis, pp. 94-98, who translates it "Astarte Name of Baal.”

3 He is represented in the half-place at the foot of the table of contents of this chapter, p. 110 of the present work (cf. Basset, Les Perces Anatom., vol. xxvii., Nos. 18 and 19).

4 Roman has described the grottoes consecrated to the popular Astarte near El-Zehlun and Mts. al-Mans, in the neighborhood of Sidon (Mission of Phoenicia, pp. 313, 315).

5 Betihi is not mentioned except in the Assyrian texts, and has been identified by Delitzsch (Weg der Paradies)’ p. 291) with the modern region Ain-el-Zehlun to the south-east of Sidon (BREAD, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 310, 317). It is very probably the Elitha of Phoen. 17, in Medes. Oeuv. Prop. Hist. Grec., vol. iii. p. 573), the Elitha of the Breviary Periloup (Melius-Drury, Geog. Graec. Med., vol. i. p. 60), which Roman (Mission, etc., pp. 292, 293) is inclined to identify with Betihi, Khan-Khadid, by confounding Elitha as a corruption (Messene, de Querquis, Lexicon orientalis assym. de Sidon, in the Revue de Tumace, vol. xviii. p. 104, 105) on the basis of Sidon, known to-day as Kheirbet-Sidon, as Messene, etc., vol. xvi. p. 101, 102. Sarapha was recognized in the Egyptian texts for the first time by Roman, she attempts to demonstrate, etc., in the Reference, p. 10.

6 The Phenician name of Onthphadouga is unknown to us; the town is often mentioned by the geographers of classic times, Strabo (Melius-Drury, Geog. Graec. Med., vol. i. p. 73; Strabo (XVI. 11. 73, p. 767), Ptolemy (Chil. Not. x. 45), but with certain differences, some placing it to the north and others to the south of Sarapha. It was near to the site of Al-Dur, the Aluminium of his Latin historians, if it was not actually the same place.

7 Nazana was both the name of the place and the river, as Kasimiyeh and Khan Kasimiyeh, near the same locality, are to-day. It is known only from the Assurian Peggeus, No. 1, p. 29, 32, 24, l. 1; p. 2, note 6, of the present work.
on tombs and gardens in the suburbs of Antu; and, farther still, to a fleet of boats moored at a short distance from the shore, where a group of reefs and islands furnishes at one and the same time a site for the houses and temples of Tyre, and a protection from its foes.

It was already an ancient town at the beginning of the Egyptian conquest. As in other places of ancient date, the inhabitants rejoiced in stories of the origin of things in which the city figured as the most venerable in the world. After the period of the creating gods, there followed immediately, according to the current legends, two or three generations of minor deities—heroes of light and flame—who had learned how to subdue fire and turn it to their needs; then a race of giants, associated with the giant peaks of Kasius, Lebanon, Hermon, and Brathy; after which were born two male children—twins: Samemrum, the lord of the supernal heaven, and Usos, the hunter. Human beings at this time lived a savage life, wandering through the woods, and given up to shameful vices. Samemrum took up his abode among them in that region which became in later times the Tyrian coast, and showed them how to build huts, papyrus, or other reeds; Usos in the mean time pursued the avocation of a hunter of wild beasts, living upon their flesh and clothing himself with their skins. A conflict at length broke out between the two brothers, the inevitable result of rivalry between the ever-wandering hunter and the husbandman attached to the soil. Usos

1. Antu was identified by Herodotus (Geogr. Bk., v. ii, p. 33) with Antia, which is probably the Tell Atrash, on the hill facing Tyre (Roets, Miss, etc., pp. 183-185). See M. Denys, Notes sur différentes parties du Grand Monarque, in the Revue des Études Égyptiennes et Assyriennes, vol. ii, p. 293.

2. Miller, who made the work as Anta, Ory, prefers the Tur or Tabur of the Assyrian texts (Atlas and Europe, p. 174), which we shall have occasion to consider later on.

3. In the Tell el-Atrash tablets it appears under the form Zuru, Zurri (Herodotus-Bruse, The Tell el-Atrash Tablets of British Museum, p. 194, n. 2), and in the Egyptian texts with the transliteration Zarna, Zarnu (Assyro-Babylonian, No. 1, p. 21, 1, I: 1; cf. Berosus, As Aram, etc., p. 13). Theophylact Simocata calls A. Teropy (I, 511), in Müller-Bruse, Ges, Gesch, vol. ii, p. 193, and Strabo (XVI, 1, § 25, p. 756) says the same, with Theophylact.


5. The identification of the peak of Brathy is problematic. The name has been associated with Tahor (Revues, Mem. et Correspondance, etc., p. 129, note 131; Tchereskov, A. de Soudan and Somalie, 1882, p. 129, note 131), and with Usos, a name that echoes among them in that region which became in later times the Tyrian coast, and showed them how to build huts, papyrus, or other reeds; Usos in the mean time pursued the avocation of a hunter of wild beasts, living upon their flesh and clothing himself with their skins. A conflict at length broke out between the two brothers, the inevitable result of rivalry between the ever-wandering hunter and the husbandman attached to the soil. Usos...
succeeded in holding his own till the day when fire and wind took the part of his enemy against him. The trees, shaken and made to rub against each other by the tempest, broke into flame from the friction, and the forest was set on fire. Zeus, seizing a leafy branch, despoiled it of its foliage, and placing it in the water let it drift out to sea, bearing him, the first of his race, with it. Landing on one of the islands, he set up two menhirs, dedicating them to fire and wind that he might thenceforward gain their favour. He poured out at their base the blood of animals he had slaughtered, and after his death, his companions continued to perform the rites which he had inaugurated. The town which he had begun to build on the sea-girt isle was called Tyre, the "Rock," and the two rough stones which he had set up remained for a long time as a sort of talisman, bringing good luck to its inhabitants. It was asserted of old that the island had not always been fixed, but that it rose and fell with the waves like a raft. Two peaks looked down upon it—the "Ambrosian Rocks"—between which grew the olive tree of Astarte, sheltered by a curtain of flame from external danger. An eagle perched thereon watched over a viper coiled round the trunk: the whole island would cease to float as soon as a mortal should succeed in sacrificing the bird in honour of the gods. Zeus, the Herakles, destroyer of monsters, taught the people of the coast how to build boats, and how to manage them: he then made for the island and disembarked: the bird offered himself spontaneously to his knife, and as soon as its blood had moistened the earth, Tyre rooted itself finally opposite the mainland. Coins of the Roman period represent the chief elements in this legend: sometimes the eagle and olive tree, sometimes the olive tree and the stela, and sometimes the two stelae only. From this time forward the gods never ceased to reside on the holy island; Astarte herself was born there, and one of the temples there showed to the admiration of the faithful a fallen star—an aerolite which she had brought back from one of her journeys. Baal was called the Melkarth, king of the city, and the Greeks

1 The text simply states the material facts, the tempest and the fire; the general movement of the narrative seems to prove that the intervention of these elements is an episode in the quarrel between the two brothers—that in which Zeus is forced to fly from the region civilized by Samson.

2 This is the etymology given by the learned of classic times: Tyrrhoe, Tyrrhe, Τύρρης (St. Jerome, Liturgia Nova, De Vener. Vener., c. 9). The Greeks adopted the form Tere, while the form Sara, Sara, more like the original, was known in the Old Latin.

3 Drawn by Eustache-Dubois from the original in the Cabinet des médailles; cf. BAEZIN, Les Figures Athénoderques, pl. XXVI., No. 9-18.

4 NOCTIS, Deutereus, 1. 21, where the legend is related at length.

5 See notes in BAEBZIN, Les Figures Athénoderques, pl. XXVIII., 3, 4-11, 16, 23, 27, 30; pl. XXVII., 2, 23, 27.

6 CICERO, De Nat. Divin., 10, 26, 28.


afterwards identified him with their Hercules. His worship was of a severe and exacting character: a fire burned perpetually in his sanctuary; his priests, like those of the Egyptians, had their heads shaved; they wore garments of spotless white linen, held pork in abomination, and refused permission to married women to approach the altars. Festivals, similar to those of Aionis at Byblos, were held in his honour twice a year: in the summer, when the sun burst up the earth with his glowing heat, he offered himself, as an expiatory victim to the solar orb, giving himself to the flames in order to obtain some mitigation of the severity of the sky; 4 once the winter had brought with it a refreshing coolness, he came back to life again, and his return was celebrated with great joy. 5 His temple stood in a prominent place on the largest of the islands furthest away from the mainland. 6 It served to remind the people of the remoteness of their origin, for the priests relegated its foundation almost to the period of the arrival of the Phoenicians on the shores of the Mediterranean. 7 The town had no supply of fresh water, and there was no submarine spring like that of Arvad to provide a resource in time of necessity; the inhabitants had, therefore, to resort to springs which were fortunately to be found everywhere on the hill-sides of the mainland. The waters of the well of Ras el-Alu had been led down to the shore and dammed up there, so that boats could procure a ready supply from this source in time of peace; in time of war the inhabitants of Tyre had to trust to the cisterns in which they had collected the rains that fell at certain seasons. 8

4 The worship of Melkarth at Odessos (Cadiz) and the functions of his priests are described by Sillia Italica (lli. 21-24); as Odessos was a Tyrian colony, it has been naturally assumed that the main features of the religion of Tyre were reproduced there, and Sillius's account of the Melkarth of Gades then applies to his pantheon of the mother city (Moore, De Pilis, p. 101; cf. sqq. // Kirenus, Fama, pp. 223, 332).

5 The festival commemorating his death by fire was celebrated at Tyre, where his tomb was shown (Cassius on Brutus, Hesperidians, c. 21), and in the greater number of the Tyrian colonies (Moore, De Pilis, pp. 153-156, 394, 363); Ptolomaeus, Geog. Jcb. Pontis, p. 204, n. 3).

6 The festival of the "Awakening of Melkarth," or "Upaetlum Cyperum, is mentioned by Macrobius, Puglia, in Mellec-Durrer, Freg. Hist. Gen., vol. i. p. 146, where the editor gives a different text, as the Excubia sparsa, Gratia et Cyperum "(of it) and, taken from Justinius, Credi Aetilium, i. 12, the mention of the "Awakening" is found in a more complete and more correct form furnished by the same Josephus elsewhere (Ant. Julia, vol. ii. 20). Of this subject, Moore, De Pilis, pp. 382-347).

7 On the site marked by this insular temple of Melkarth, see the long discussion of the subject by Bevan, Mullet de Pilis, pp. 534-535.

8 For an account of this immigration of the Phoenicians, see pp. 41-42 of the present work.

9 Abilelah (Abinilk), King of Tyre, connects to the Pharaoh Amenemhet III. that in one of a
The strait separating the island from the mainland was some six or seven hundred yards in breadth, less than that of the Nile at several points of its course through Middle Egypt, but it was as effective as a broader channel to stop the movement of an army: a fleet alone would have a chance of taking the city by surprise, or of capturing it after a lengthened siege. Like the coast region opposite Arad, the shore which faced Tyre, lying between the mouth of the Litáni and Ras el-Al, was an actual suburb of the city itself—with its gardens, its cultivated fields, its cemeteries, its villas, and its fortifications. Here the inhabitants of the island were accustomed to bury their dead, and either they required for refreshment during the heat of the summer. To the north the little town of Mahallila, on the southern bank of the Litáni, and almost hidden from view by a turn in the hills, commanded the approaches to the Bekaa and the high-road to Coele-Syria. To the south, at Ras el-Al, Old Tyre (Palæstyrus) looked down upon the route leading into Galilee by way of the mountains. Eastwards Antioch commanded the landing-places on the shore, and served to protect the reservoirs; it lay under the shadow of a rock, on which was built, facing the insular temple of Molchat, protector of mariners, a sanctuary of almost equal antiquity dedicated to his namesake of the mainland. The latter divinity was probably the representative of the legendary Sannemuru, who


According to the writers who were contemporary with Alexander, the strait was 600 stades wide (nearly 4 miles), or 500 passes (almost 3 miles), at the period when the Macedonians undertook the siege of the town (Diodorus Siculus, xv. 85: Quintus Curtius, IV. II. 73); the author followed by Pinty says (R. Nat., v. 15) 700 passes, possibly more: 4 miles wide. From the observations of Ptolemy de Regeign (Recherches sur Tyre de Ptolémée, p. 7, et seq.), Renan thinks the space between the island and the mainland might be nearly a mile in width, but we should perhaps do well to reduce this higher figure and adopt one agreeing better with the statements of Diodorus and Quintus Curtius (Mission de Phalènes, pp. 327, 328).


Palæstyrus has often been considered as Tyre on the mainland of greater antiquity than the town of the same name on the island (Motier, Des Phalènes Algérie, vol. i. pp. 171-177; Ksarba, Phalènes, pp. 323-326); it is now generally admitted that it was merely an outport (Renan, Mission de Phalènes, pp. 376, 377; Perchmann, Geschichte der Phalènes, pp. 68-70), which is conjecturally placed by most scholars in the neighbourhood of Ras el-Al.

For Antioch, pl. 168 of the present work. If the name has been preserved, as it is, that of El-Alatita, the town must be that whose ruins we find on the back of Tell-Mastab, and which are often mistaken for those of Palæstyrus (Herodotus, Mission de Phalènes, pp. 273, 274). The temple on the summit of the Tell was probably that of Hamader, Ashtart, dedicated by Menander (Perrichot-Berenguer, xvi. 18), as it may be conjectured by Berosus (Recherches sur Tyre, p. 98), but not accepted by Movser (Des Phalènes Algérie, vol. i. p. 244, 245-246)—a conjecture, however, which has appeared possible, and even probable, to other scholars (Renan, Mission des Phalènes, pp. 322, 323), this is the temple which the Tyrians represented to Alexander as being older than that of Hamader Tyre (Herodotus, ix. 10) (Quintus Curtius, IV. 72).
had built his village on the coast, while Usos had founded his on the ocean. He was the Baalsamin of starry tunic, lord of heaven and king of the sun. As was customary, a popular Astarté was associated with these deities of high degree, and tradition asserted that Melkarth purchased her favour by the gift of the first robe of Tyrian purple which was ever dyed. Priestesses of the goddess had dwellings in all parts of the plain, and in several places the caves are still pointed out where they entertained the devotees of the goddess. Behind Antu the ground rises abruptly, and along the face of the escarpment, half hidden by trees and brackenwood, are the remains of the most important of the Tyrian burying-places, consisting of half-filled-up pits, isolated caves, and dark galleries, where whole families lie together in their last sleep. In some spots the chalky mass has been literally honeycombed by the quarrying gravedigger, and regular lines of chambers follow one another in the direction of the strata, after the fashion of the rock-cut tombs of Upper Egypt. They present a bare and dismal appearance both within and without. The entrances are narrow and arched, the ceilings low, the walls bare and colourless, unrealised by moulding, picture, or inscription. At one place only, near the modern village of Hanawa, a few groups of figures and coarsely cut steles are to be found, indicating, it would seem, the burying-place of some chief of very early times. These figures

1 Drawn by Renoué, from a photograph by Lartet; cf. La Syrie d’autrefois, p. 132.
3 See the legend, relating to the heroes of Melkarth and Astarté, cf. Perrot, Monuments, l. 45; Nusca, De Jode, pl. 39; the sacred trees of Yasitza, and their characteristic representations, are described in detail by Renoué, Monuments de Phénicie, pp. 517-523.
4 Renoué, Monuments de Phénicie, pp. 388-392, 387-392, insists on the antiquity of some of these tombs.
run in parallel lines along the rocky sides of a wild ravine. They vary from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet in height, the bodies being represented by rectangular pilasters, sometimes merely rough-hewn, at others grooved with carved lines to suggest the folds of the Asiatic garments; the head is carved full face, though the eyes are given in profile, and the summary treatment of the modelling gives evidence of a certain skill. Whether they are to be regarded as the product of a primitive Amorite art or of a school of Phcenician craftsmen, we are unable to determine. In the time of their prosperity the Tyrians certainly pushed their frontier as far as this region. The wind-swept but fertile country lying among the ramifications of the lowest spurs of the Lebanon bears to this day innumerable traces of their indefatigable industry—remains of dwellings, conduits and watercourses, cisterns, pits, millstems and vintage-troughs, are scattered over the fields, interspersed with oil and wine presses. The Phcenicians took naturally to agriculture, and carried it to such a high state of perfection as to make it an actual science, to which the neighbouring peoples of the Mediterranean were glad to accommodate their modes of culture in later times. Among no other people was the art of irrigation so successfully practised, and from such a narrow strip of territory as belonged to them no other cultivators could have gathered such abundant harvests of wheat and barley, and such supplies of grapes, olives, and other fruits. From Arvad to Tyre, and even beyond it, the littoral region and the central parts of the valleys presented a long ribbon of verdure of varying breadth, where fields of corn were blended with gardens and orchards and shady woods. The whole region was independent and self-supporting, the inhabitants having no need to address themselves to their neighbours in the interior, or to send their children to seek their fortune in distant lands. To insure prosperity, nothing was needed but a slight exercise of labour and freedom from the devastating influence of war.

The position of the country was such as to secure it from attack, and from the conflicts which laid waste the rest of Syria. Along almost the entire eastern border of the country the Lebanon was a great wall of defence running parallel to the coast, strengthened at each extremity by the additional protection of the rivers Nahar el-Kelûr and Litânû. Its slopes were further defended by the forest, which, with its lofty trees and brushwood, added yet another barrier to that afforded by rocks and snow. Hunters' or shepherds' paths led

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1 Leloir, La Syrie d'Apres les Pères, pp. 138-140, in which the author expresses his belief that this is a very ancient work of the Phcenicians.
2 Their taste in agriculture, and the comprehensive production of their modes of culture, are proved by the greatness of the remains still to be observed: “The Phcenians constructed a synagogue, a trough, to last for ever” (Leloir, Mission de Phœnecie, pp. 635-637; ed. p. 272). Their colonies at Carthage carried with them the same clever methods, and the Romans borrowed many excellent things in the way of agriculture from Carthaginian books, especially from those of Mago.
here and there in tortuous courses from one side of the mountain to the other. Near the middle of the country two roads, practicable in all seasons, secured communications between the littoral and the plain of the interior. They branched off on either side from the central road in the neighbourhood of Tubaki, south of Qedahu, and served the needs of the wooded province of Magara. This region was inhabited by pillaging tribes, which the Egyptians called at one time Lammana, the Libanites; at others Shanaa, using for them the same appellation as that which they bestowed upon the Bedouin of the desert. The roads through this province ran under the dense shade afforded by oaks, cedars, and cypresses, in an obscurity favourable to the habits of the wolves and hyenas which infested it, and even of those thick-maned lions known to Asia at the time; and then proceeding in its course, crossed the ridge in the neighbourhood of the snow-peak called Shama, which is probably the Samim of our times. While one of these roads, running north along the lakes of Yammush and through the gorge of Akura, then proceeded along the Adonis to Byblus; the other took a southern direction, and followed the Naher el-Kebi to the sea. Towards the mouth of the latter a wall of rock opposes the progress of the river, and leaves at length but a narrow and precipitous defile for the passage of its waters: a pathway cut into the cliff at a very remote date leads almost perpendicularly from the bottom of the precipice to the summit of the promontory. Commerce followed these short and direct routes, but invading hosts very rarely took

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1 Magara is mentioned in the Amarna Papyri, No. 1, p. 18, 1, 2, and Chalmetta (Egypte, p. 120, 127) has identified it with the plain of Memry, which Strabo (XVI, 11, 417, p. 724) places in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Seleucia. The same locality has been associated with Chalmetta by M. A. C. M. M. F. (Correspondence avec les Noms des Russes, pl. B, 1, 2, and by the same writer (Scholia sur les Noms des Russes), pp. 31, 22, with the Magara of the loss of Tithmam III (M. A. C. M. M. F., p. 39, No. 944); for arguments against this view, see F. Max Müller, Syria and Europe, p. 435, note 2, and 436, note 1. The modern shows that the wooded region extending along the eastern slopes of the Lebanon, such as the level of Tali el-Muhal and Rasouk, is meant. Perhaps as rare of the name as preserved in the same Magara, which was that of the river at Beirut in Greece. It was thus.

2 The same Lammana is given in a picture of the campaigns of Seti I. (Champollion, Monumentes de l'Egypte, etc., p. 790, and vol. ii, pp. 87, 88), Roux, Semites, M. M. M. F., pl. 273), whom Wilkinson was the first to recognize the name of Lebanon (Topography, p. 107, 108), and then known by its modern name. (Max Müller, Syria and Europe, p. 497, et seq.)

3 Amarna Papyri, No. 1, p. 18, 1, 2; Chalmetta, Egypte, p. 437, 438; M. A. C. M. M. F., p. 126, 127. W. Max Müller (Africa and America, p. 187, note 2) has rightly associated the Egyptian term Shama with the same Shama, which occurs to designate in the inscriptions of Tithmam III (Roux, Le Roi de Chalmetta, Tithmam III, p. 38, 39) at the site of the peaks of the Lebanon. From the general import of the Egyptian name Shma cannot be other than the Samim of the present day.

4 This is the road pointed out by Burn's (Mission de Phénicie, pp. 203, 209) as the earliest and least known of those which cross the Lebanon; the remains of an Assyrian inscription found on the rocks near Ain el-Antar show that it was employed from a very early date, and Burn's thought that it was used by the armies which came from the upper valley of the Orontes.

5 This road, which runs along the Naher el-Kebi, is probably that followed by the Egyptians in the Amarna Papyri, No. 1, p. 18, 1, 2; and Chalmetta, Egypte, p. 189, et seq., to pass from the neighbourhood of Qedahu to Byblus and Beirut in the valley of the Orontes.
advantage of them: although they offered access into the very heart of Phoenicia. Invaders would encounter here, in fact, a little known and broken country, lending itself readily to surprises and ambushes; and should they reach the foot of the Lebanon range, they would find themselves entrapped in a region of slippery defiles, with steep paths at intervals cut into the rock, and almost inaccessible to chariots or horses, and so narrow in places that a handful of resolute men could have held them for a long time against whole battalions. The enemy preferred to make for the two natural branches at the respective extremities of the line of defence, and for the two inustrial cities which flanked the approaches to them—Tyre in the case of those coming from Egypt, Arvad and Simyra for assailants from the Euphrates. The Arvadians, bollicose by nature, would offer strong resistance to the invader, and not permit themselves to be conquered without a brave struggle with the enemy, however powerful he might be. When the disproportion of the forces which they could muster against the enemy convinced them of the folly of attempting an open conflict, their island-home offered them a refuge where they would be safe from any attacks. Sometimes the burning and pillaging of their property on the mainland might reduce them to throw themselves on the mercy of their foes, but such submission did not last long, and they welcomed the slightest occasion for regaining their liberty. Conquered again and again on account of the smallness of their numbers, they were never discouraged by their reverses, and Phoenicia owed all its military history for a long period to their prowess. The Tyrians were of a more accommodating nature, and there is no evidence, at least during the early centuries of their existence, of the display of those obstinate and blind transports of fury by which the Arvadians were carried away. Their foreign policy was reduced to a simple arithmetical question, which they discussed in the light of their industrial or commercial interests. As soon as they had learned from a short experience that a certain Pharaoh had at his disposal armies against which they could offer no serious opposition, they at

1 Thannmu I. was obliged to enter on a campaign against Arvad in the year X.XX. (Anušu, II. 4-7), in the year XXX (Ili, II. 7-9), and probably twice in the following years. Under Amemnon I. and IV. we see that these people took part in all the intrigues directed against Egypt (Diodorus, Bihnti. The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, pp. 118, 119, 120); they were the allies of the Egyptian against Hammy II. in the campaign of the year V. (Pencu de Perroux, vol. II. 2, 4, 6, in Roncin, in the Revue Égyptologique, vol. III. p. 167, 1, 4), and later on we find them involved in most of the wars against Assyria.

2 No campaign against Tyre is mentioned in any of the Egyptian annals: the expedition of Thannmu I. against Somaratu (Annales d'Assyrie, I. 20) was not directed against the "double Tyre," as Bihnti thought (Dios Gr. 20, p. 155), but against the "one Tyre." If one takes without discussion Lidderdale's interpretation of the name (Sur la Ville de Tyre, in the \'Attel del IV Congresso, p. 31), but against a form of Copts-Syria mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna tablets with the orthography Zinari (Bihnti. The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, pp. 167, 177), the Phoenician names of Phoenico-Roman times (Strabo, in Stephani, A. C. 2, 240, the Story of the Arab Chieftains. On this subject, the Tell el-Amarna tablets contain several passages which manifest the fidelity of Tyre and its governors to the King of Egypt (Bihnti. The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, pp. 151-152).
once surrendered to him, and thought only of obtaining the greatest profit from the vassalage to which they were condemned. The obligation to pay tribute did not appear to them so much in the light of a burden or a sacrifice, as a means of purchasing the right to go to and fro freely in Egypt, or in the countries subject to its influence. The emperors acquired by these privileges recouped them more than a hundredfold for all that their overlords demanded from them. The other cities of the coast—Sidon, Berytus, Byblos—usually followed the example of Tyre, whether from mercenary motives, or from their naturally pacific disposition, or from a sense of their impotence; and the same intelligent resignation with which, as we know, they accepted the supremacy of the great Egyptian empire, was doubtless displayed in earlier centuries in their submission to the Babylonians. Their records show that they did not accept this state of things merely through cowardice or irresolution, for they are represented as ready to rebel and shake off the yoke of their foreign master when they found it incompatible with their practical interests. But their resort to war was exceptional; they generally preferred to submit to the powers that be, and to accept from them as on lease the strip of coast-line at the base of the Lebanon, which served as a site for their warehouses and docks.

Thus they did not find the yoke of the stranger irksome—the sea opening up to them a realm of freedom and independence which compensated them for the limitations of both territory and liberty imposed upon them at home.

The epoch which was marked by their first venture on the Mediterranean, and the motives which led to it, were alike unknown to them. The gods had taught them navigation, and from the beginning of things they had taken to the sea as fishermen, or as explorers in search of new lands. They were not driven by poverty to leave their continental abode, or inspired thereby with a zeal for distant cruises. They had at home sufficient corn and wine, oil and fruits, to meet all their needs, and even to administer to a life of luxury. And if they lacked cattle, the abundance of fish within their reach compensated for the absence of flesh-meat. Nor was it the number of commodiously situated ports on their coast which induced them to become a seafaring people, for their harbours were badly protected for the most part, and offered no shelter when

1 See letters from the prince of Berytus (Herodotus, Hist., ii. 72-74), and others of Tyre (ibid., vi. 71, 72), showing their zeal for the interests of Pharaoh. Sidon was more turbulent (ibid., vi. 73, 76, 77, 78), but seems never to have gone too far in spirit of rebellion. It is not found any more than Tyre, among the Egyptian triumphal lists known up to the present time.

2 Cf. in regard to the Assyro-Chaldaean epoch, their long resistance to the encroachments of Assurbanipal IV.: Sargons, Semachthii, and Nebuchadnezzar II.

3 According to one of the corruptions of Sennacherib's Kinait, who has been identified with Harphon, was the ancestor of the Berytite, and was the first among men and gods who taught navigation (Papyri Berytani, Fragm. 2, 8, in Müller-Deich, Fragm. Hist. Græc., vol. iv. p. 369). According to another legend, Melkart taught the Tyrians how to make a raft from the branches of a fig-tree (Herodotus, Hist., iv. 13, 44, 45), while the construction of the first ships is elsewhere ascribed to the Cidrus (Papyri Berytani, Fragm. 2, 8, in Müller-Deich, Fragm. Hist. Græc., vol. iv. p. 369). Cf. Moreau, Das Phenizische Alterthum, vol. ii. pp. 149-152.
the wind set in from the north, the rugged shore presenting little resource against the wind and waves in its narrow and shallow havens. It was the nature of the country itself which contributed more than anything else to make them mariners. The precipitous mountain masses which separate one valley from another rendered communication between them difficult, while they served also as lurking-places for robbers. Commerce endeavoured to follow, therefore, the sea-route in preference to the devious ways of this highwayman's region, and it accomplished its purpose the more readily because the common occupation of sea-fishing had familiarised the people with every nook and corner on the coast. The continual wash of the surge had worn away the bases of the limestone cliffs, and the superincumbent masses tumbling down into the sea formed lines of rocks, hardly rising above the water-level, which fringed the headlands with perilous reefs, against which the waves broke continuously at the slightest wind. It required some bravery to approach them, and no little skill to steer one of the frail boats, which these people were accustomed to employ from the earliest times, seaworthy amid the breakers. The coating trade was attracted from Arvad successively to Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, and finally to the other towns of the coast.\(^1\) It was in full operation, doubtless, from the VIth Egyptian dynasty onwards, when the Pharaoh no longer hesitated to embark troops at the mouths of the Nile for speedy transmission to the provinces of Southern Syria, and it was by this coating route that the tin and amber of the north succeeded in reaching the interior of Egypt.\(^2\) The trade was originally, it would seem, in the hands of those mysterious Kaffiti of whom the name only was known in later times. When the Phenicians established themselves at the foot of the Lebanon, they had probably only to take the place of their predecessors and to follow the beaten tracks which they had already made. We have every reason to believe that they took to a seafaring life soon after their arrival in the country, and that they adapted themselves and their civilization readily to the exigencies of a maritime career.\(^3\) In their towns, as in most seaports, there was a considerable foreign element, both of slaves and freemen, but the Egyptians confounded them all under one name, Kaffiti, whether they were Cypriotes, Asatics, or Europeans, or belonged to the true Tyrian and Sidonian race. The costume of the Kaffiti was similar to that worn by the people of the interior— the loin-cloth, with or without a long upper garment; while in tiring

\(^1\) REXA, Mission de Phénicie, pp. 572-577, where the trading effects of the sea, peculiar to the Phenician coast, are described and explained.

\(^2\) For the natural motives determining the maritime calling of the populations dwelling on the Phenician coast, see especially the summary of Friche, Graft de la Phenicie, pp. 25-34.

\(^3\) For an account of the commerce, see Dues of Civilisation, pp. 392-394.

\(^4\) Commerce between Phenicia and Greece was fully established at the outbreak of the Egyptian wars (K. Meyer, Gesch. der Arabier, vol. i, pp. 261-265; vol. ii, p. 129, at sq.), and we may safely assume their existence in the countries immediately preceding the second millennium before our era (Friche, Graft de la Phenicie, p. 250); for the probable period of the Phenician immigration, see supra, p. 62.
the hair they adopted certain refinements, specially a series of curls which the men arranged in the form of an aigrette above their foreheads. This motley collection of races was ruled over by an oligarchy of merchants and shipowners, whose functions were hereditary, and who usually paid homage to a single king, the representative of the tutelary god, and absolute master of the city. The industries pursued in Phoenicia were somewhat similar to those of other parts of Syria: the stuffs, vases, and ornaments made at Tyre and Sidon could not be distinguished from those of Hamath or of Carthage. All manufacturers bore the impress of Babylonian influence, and their implements, weights, measures, and system of exchange were the same as those in use among the Chaldeans. The products of the country were, however, not sufficient to freight the fleets which sailed from Phoenicia every year bound for all parts of the known world, and additional supplies had to be regularly obtained from neighbouring peoples, who thus became used to pour into Tyre and Sidon, the surplus of their manufactures, or of the natural wealth of their country. The Phoenicians were also accustomed to send caravans into regions which they could not reach in their caracks, and to establish trading stations at the sources of rivers, or in the passes over mountain ranges. We know of the existence of such emporia at Laish near the sources of the Jordan, at Thapsacus, and at Nisibis, and they must have served the purpose of a series

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Footnotes:
1. The little that is known of the organisation of the Phoenician cities before the Greek period has been set forth at length by Mettern, "Das Phönizische Alterthum," vol. 1, pp. 476–561, and has been summarised by Piemonte, "Geschichte der Phöniener," pp. 225, 226. Under the Egyptian supremacy, the local princes did not assume the royal title in the despatches which they addressed to the kings of Egypt, but styled themselves governors of their cities.
3. Mettern, "Das Phönizische Alterthum," vol. 1, pp. 128–147, 233–271, has shown most ingeniously what was the nature of, and the routes followed by, this constant trade with the nations of the East.
of posts on the great highways of the world. The settlements of the Phoenicians always assumed the character of colonies, and however remote they might be from their fatherland, the colonists never lost the manners and customs of their native country. They collected together into their cities or storehouses such wares and commodities as they could purchase in their new localities, and, transmitting them periodically to the coast, shipped them thence to all parts of the world.

Not only were they acquainted with every part of the Mediterranean, but they had even made voyages beyond its limits. In the absence, however, of any specific records of their naval enterprise, the routes they followed must be a subject of conjecture. They were accustomed to relate that the gods, after having instructed them in the art of navigation, had shown them the way to the setting sun, and had led them by their example to make voyages even beyond the mouth of the ocean. 1 El of Byblos was the first to leave Syria; he conquered Greece and Egypt, Sicily and Libya, civilizing their inhabitants, and laying the foundation of cities everywhere. 2 The Sidonian Astath, with her head surmounted by the horns of an ox, was the next to begin her wanderings over the inhabited earth. 3 Melkarth completed the task of the gods by discovering and subjugating those countries which had escaped the notice of his predecessors. Hundreds of local traditions, to be found on all the shores of the Mediterranean down to Roman times, bore witness to the pervasive influence of the old Canaanite colonization. At Cyprus, for instance, we find traces of the cultus of Kinyra, 4 King of Byblos and father of Adonis; 5 again, at Crete, it is the daughter of a Prince of Sidon, Europa, who is carried off by Zeus under the form of a bull; 6 it was Kadmus, sent forth to seek Europa, who visited Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades before building Thebes in Boeotia and dying in the forests of Illyria. 7 In short, wherever the Phoenicians had obtained a footing.

1 The fullest of these traditions have been collated and examined at length, often without useful criticisms, by Movius, Das Phönizische Alterthum, vol. ii. pp. 125-145.
2 The concrete evidences of El-Kenzea are mentioned by Erich Sylla (Perga, ii. pp. 23, 57, and 59), in Mülner-Dioch, Perga, Hist, Greco, vol. ii. pp. 258, 271); for what has been gathered from the scattered traces found in Greek tradition, cf. with necessary precaution, the work of Movius, Das Phönizische Alterthum, vol. ii. pp. 80-94.
4 Legends of a late date subscribed and related by Movius, loco cit., vol. ii. pp. 100-105.
6 Rev. Cret. vol. ii. pp. 83-104; Movius, Das Phön. Alterth., vol. ii. pp. 77-85. The present tendency of scholarship is to regard the legends of Europa and Kadmus as almost entirely western, (Er. Meda, Geschichte der Altertheum, vol. ii. pp. 148-160) without going into the question, which I am not competent to discuss, who first bore all others is tolerable, namely, the connection within the Greek themselves established between the stories relating to Europa and Phoenician colonization.
7 Movius, Das Phön. Alterth., vol. ii. pp. 82-92, where the fullness of ancient writers is brought
their audacious activity made such an indelible impression upon the mind of the native inhabitants that they never forgot those vigorous thick-set men with pale faces and dark beards, and soft and specious speech, who appeared at intervals in their large and swift sailing vessels. They made their way cautiously along the coast, usually keeping in sight of land, making sail when the wind was favourable, or taking to the oars for days together when occasion demanded it, anchoring at night under the shelter of some headland, or in bad weather hauling their vessels up the beach until the morrow. They did not shrink when it was necessary from trusting themselves to the open sea, directing their course by the Pole-star; in this manner they often traversed long distances out of sight of land, and they succeeded in making in a short time voyages previously deemed long and costly. It is hard to say whether they were as much merchants as pirates—indeed, they hardly knew themselves—and their peaceful or warlike attitude towards vessels which they encountered on the sea, or towards the people whose countries they frequented, was probably determined by the circumstances of the moment. If on arrival at a port they felt themselves no match for the natives, the instinct of the merchant prevailed, and that of the pirate was kept in the background. They landed peaceably, gained the good will of the native chief and his nobles by small presents, and spreading out their wares, contented themselves, if they could do no better, with the usual advantage obtained in an exchange of goods. They were never in a hurry, and would remain in one spot until they had exhausted all the resources of the country, while they knew to a nicety how to display their goods attractively before the expected customer. Their wares comprised weapons and ornaments for men, axes, swords, incised or damascened daggers with hilts of gold or ivory, bracelets, necklaces, amulets of all kinds, enamelled vases, glass-work, stuffs dyed purple or embroidered with gay colours. At times the natives, whose curiosity was excited by the exhibition of such valuables, would attempt to gain possession of them either by craft or by violence. They would kill the men who had landed, or attempt to surprise the vessel during the
night. But more often it was the Phoenicians who took advantage of the friendliness or the weakness of their hosts. They would turn treacherously upon the unarmed crowd when absorbed in the interest of buying and selling; robbing and killing the old men, they would make prisoners of the young and strong, the women and children, carrying them off to sell them in those markets where slaves were known to fetch the highest price. This was a recognised trade, but it exposed the Phoenicians to the danger of reprisals, and made them objects of an unyielding hatred. When on these distant expeditions they were subject to trivial disasters which might lead to serious consequences. A mast might break, an ear might damage a portion of the bulwarks, a storm might force them to throw overboard part of their cargo or their provisions; in such predicaments they had no means of repairing the damage, and, unable to obtain help in any of the places they might visit, their prospects were of a desperate character. They soon, therefore, learned the necessity of establishing cities of refuge at various points in the countries with which they traded—stations where they could go to rest and revictual their vessels, to fill up the complement of their crews, to take in new freight, and, if necessary, pass the winter or wait for fair weather before continuing their voyage.

For this purpose they chose by preference islands lying within easy distance of the mainland, like their native cities of Tyre and Arvad, but possessing a good harbour or roadstead. If an island were not available, they selected a peninsula with a narrow isthmus, or a rock standing at the extremity of a promontory, which a handful of men could defend against any attack, and which could be seen from a considerable distance by their pilots. Most of their stations thus happily situated became at length important towns. They were frequented by the natives from the interior, who allied themselves with the new-comers, and furnished them not only with objects of trade, but with soldiers, sailors, and recruits for their army; and such was the rapid spread of

1 Drawn by Fornier-Leclerc from a photograph by M. de Marteau; this figure-head is in the Berlin Museum (Künstler, Ausführlicher Verzeichniss, No. 11, 64, p. 225), and the photograph has been reproduced in the above drawing by the kind permission of the owner.
these colonies, that before long the Mediterranean was surrounded by an almost unbroken chain of Phoenician strongholds and trading stations.

All the towns of the mother country—Arvad, Byblos, Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon—possessed vessels engaged in cruising long before the Egyptian conquest of Syria. We have no direct information from any existing monument to show us what these vessels were like, but we are familiar with the construction of the galleys which formed the fleets of the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty. The art of shipbuilding had made considerable progress since the times of the Memphite kings. From the period when Egypt aspired to become one of the great powers of the world, she doubtless endeavoured to bring her naval force to the same pitch of perfection as her land forces could boast of, and her fleets probably consisted of the best vessels which the dockyards of that day could turn out. Phoenician vessels of this period may therefore be regarded with reason as constructed on lines similar to those of the Egyptian ships, differing from them merely in the minor details of the shape of the hull and manner of rigging. The hull continued to be built long and narrow, rising at the stem and stern. The bow was terminated by a sort of hook, to which, in time of peace, a bronze ornament was attached.

1 For the existence of a navy at Byblos, see p. 172 of the present work: its vessels, together with those of Siumyn, Berytus, and Sidon, are mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Brasch-Britton, The Tel el-Amarna Tablets, No. 23, pl. 30, ii. 13-14, 17-20; No. 24, pl. 31, 61, 62, 65-66, No. 28, p. 61, ii. 37-38).

2 Drawn by Dendera, from a photograph by Debel.

fashioned to represent the head of a divinity, gazelle, or bull, while in time of war this was superseded by a metal cut-water made fast to the hull by several turns of stout rope, the blade rising some couple of yards above the level of the deck. The poop was ornamented with a projection firmly attached to the body of the vessel, but curved inwards and terminated by an open lotus-flower. An upper deck, surrounded by a wooden rail, was placed at the bow and stern to serve as forecastle and quarter-decks respectively, and in order to protect the vessel from the danger of heavy seas the ship was strengthened by a structure to which we find nothing analogous in the shipbuilding of classical times: an enormous cable attached to the gammonings of the bow rose obliquely to a height of about a couple of yards above the deck, and, passing over four small crutched masts, was made fast again to the gammonings of the stern. The hull measured from the blade of the cut-water to the stern-post some twenty five and twenty yards, but the lowest part of the hold did not exceed five feet in depth. There was no cabin, and the ballast, arms, provisions, and spare-rigging occupied the open hold. The bulwarks were raised to a height of some two feet, and the thwart of the rowers ran up to them on both the port and starboard sides, leaving an open space in the centre for the long-boat, hales of merchandise, soldiers, slaves, and additional passengers. A double set of steering-oars and a single mast completed the equipment. The latter, which rose to a height of some twenty-six feet, was placed amidships, and was held in an upright position by stays. The masthead was surmounted by two arrangements which answered respectively to the top ["gabin"] and sail of the masts of a galley. There were no shrouds on each side from the masthead to the rail, but, in place of them, two stays ran respectively to the bow and stern. The single square-sail was extended between two yards some sixty to

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1. To get a clear idea of the details of this structure, we have only to compare the appearance of ships with and without a cut-water in the scene at Thebes, representing the celebration of a festival at the return of the Theban forces, Bdl al-Bakir, pl. 11, 123.

2. M. Glase thinks that these were earlier for the oars under the deck, and he recognizes in the sixteen oblong marks on the sides of the vessels at Bdl al-Bakir as many dead-lights (Die Szenen des altertümlichen, p. 16) as there could not have been space for so many scales. I had concluded that these were ports for cars to be used in time of battle (Les premières Navigations des Égyptiens, p. 13), and noted 1, 20, but on further consideration I am sure that it represented the ends of the beams supporting the deck.

3. One of the inscriptions exhibits a long-boat in fine water at the base the first was an anchor at Plinth (Mansur, Bdl al-Bakir, pl. 9). As we do not find any vessel bearing one after her, we are bound to conclude that the last had been stowed on board.

4. For the mode in which the mast was stepped and maintained firmly in its place see Dönhoff, Die Rodenkunde und Matrosenpflichten der Ägypter, der Römer und die Griechen, in the Zeitsschr., vol. xxxii, pp. 27-29.

5. The "gabin" was a species of top where a sail was placed on the boom-cut. It is the equivalent of the Greeks, the "calceus" of the Italics. The "calceus," properly speaking, a square block of wood forming the shelf on which the ladders travelled. The Egyptian apparatus had no shrouds, and answers to the "calceus" on the mast of a galley only in serving the same purpose. Its details are given on a large scale by Démocrit, Die Schiffahrt der Ägyptischen Zeiten, pl. x.
seventy feet long, and each made of two pieces spliced together at the centre. The upper yard was straight, while the lower curved upward at the ends. The yard was hoisted and lowered by two halyards, which were made fast at the feet of the steersmen. The yard was kept in its place by two lifts which came down from the masthead, and were attached respectively about eight feet from the end of each yard-arm. When the yard was hauled up it was further supported by six auxiliary lifts, three being attached to each yard-arm. The lower yard, made fast to the mast by a figure-of-eight knot, was secured by sixteen lifts, which, like those of the upper yard, worked through the "valent." The crew comprised thirty rowers, fifteen on each side, four top-men, two steersmen, a pilot at the bow, who signalled to the men at the helm the course to steer, a captain and a governor of the slaves, who formed, together with ten soldiers, a total of some fifty men. In time of battle as the rowers would be exposed to the missiles of the enemy, the bulwarks were further heightened by a mantlet, behind which the oars could be freely moved, while the bodies of the men were fully protected, their heads alone being visible above it. The soldiers were stationed as follows: two of them took their places on the forecastle, a third was perched on the masthead in a sort of cage improvised on the bars forming the top, while the remainder were posted on the deck and poop, from which positions and while waiting for the order to board they could pour a continuous volley of arrows on the archers and sailors of the enemy.

The first colony of which the Phoenicians made themselves masters was that island of Cyprus whose low, lurid outline they could see on fine summer evenings in the glow of the western sky. Some hundred and ten miles in length and thirty-six in breadth, it is driven like a wedge into the angle which Asia Minor makes with the Syrian coast. It stretches out to the north-east a narrow strip of land, somewhat like an extended finger pointing to where the two coasts meet at the extremity of the gulf of Issus. A limestone cliff, of almost uniform height throughout, bounds, for half its length at least, the northern side of the island, broken occasionally by short, deep valleys, which open out into creeks deeply embayed. A scattered population of fishermen exercised their calling in this region, and small towns, of which

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1 I have made this calculation from an examination of the scenes in which ships are alternatively represented as at anchor and under way. (Marcellus, De or. Belli, 16.) I know of records of smaller size, and consequently with a smaller crew, but I know of none larger or more fully manned.

2 The details are taken from the only representation of a naval battle which we possess up to this moment, viz. that of which I shall have occasion to speak further on in connection with the reign of Numa Pompilius. (Cassianus, Monarchia de P. Salvia, etc., pl. xcvii. Rostevin, Monum. Histor., pl. xcviii. xcviii.)

3 For the various names of Cyprus in classical antiquity, see De cic. Xiv. xiv., vol. l. pp. 12-21.
we possess only the Greek or Grecised names—Karpathia, Aphrodision, Kerynia, Lapeithos—to there a slumbering existence. Almost in the centre of the island two volcanic peaks, Troodos and Olympus, face each other, and rise to a height of nearly 7000 feet, the range of mountains to which they belong—that of Aeae—forming the framework of the island. The spurs of this range fall by a gentle gradient towards the south, and spread out either into stony slopes favourable to the culture of the vine, or into great maritime flats fringed with brackish lagoons. The valley which lies on the northern side of this chain runs from sea to sea in an almost unbroken level. A scarcely perceptible watershed divides the valley into two basins similar to those of Syria, the larger of the two lying opposite to the Phœnician coast. The soil consists of black mould, as rich as that of Egypt, and renewed yearly by the overflowing of the Pediaces and its affluents. Thick forests occupied the interior, promising inexhaustible resources to any naval power. Even under the Roman emperors the Cypriotes boasted that they could build and fit out a ship from the keel to the masthead without looking to resources beyond those of their own island. The ash, pine, cypress, and oak flourished on the sides of the range of Aeae, while cedars grew there to a greater height and girth than even on the Lebanon. Wheat, barley, olive trees, vines, sweet-smelling woods for burning on the altar, medicinal plants such as the poppy and the ladanum, henna for staining with a deep orange colour the lips, eyelids, palm, nails, and finger-tips of the women, all found here a congenial habitat; while a profusion everywhere of sweet-smelling flowers, which saturated the air with their penetrating odours—spring violets, many-coloured anemones, the lily, hyacinth, crocus, narcissus, and wild rose—led the Greeks to bestow upon the island the designation of "the balmy Cyprus." Minors also contributed their share to the riches of which the island could boast. Iron in small quantities, alum, asbestos, agate and other precious stones, are still to be found there, and in ancient times the neighbourhood of Tamarass yielded copper in such quantities that the Romans were accustomed to designate this metal by the name "Cyprium," and the word passed from them into all the languages of

1 AMBROSIO MARCELLINUS, AN. 8, 15, who draws his information from an elder source.
2 The enumeration of the different species of forest trees known to ancient authors is to be found fully given in Kessell, Appes, vol. I. pp. 30, 32, 33.
3 THUCYDIDES, Hist. Peloponnesoi, v. 9, 3, on the development to which forests had attained in ancient times, see the evidence given by Eudossilus in Strabo, N. IV. vi. 4, p. 364.
4 PLINY, Nat., xii. 27.
5 HESTIA, Hestia, Hestia, was called "Sophia" in Hebrew, κηρών in Greek, and the flower κηρών, like the goddess of Cyprus; cf. Kessell, Appes, vol. I. pp. 34, 35. The plant was introduced into Egypt about the middle of the second Thracian empire (LOEWS, Le Plante Phanerogame, 2nd ed., pp. 30, 31). The ancients derived the name of the island from that of the plant (STRABON, Geogr., xvi. 2, 26; PLINY, Nat., xii. 27, 30). In MÜLLER-PIERCE, Geographical Names, vol. II. p. 312. 
Europe. It is not easy to determine the race to which the first inhabitants of the island belonged, if we are not to see in them a branch of the Kaffiti, who frequented the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean from a very remote period. In the time of Egyptian supremacy they called their country Aal, and this name inclines one to connect the people with the Aegeans. An examination of the objects found in the most ancient tombs of the island seems to confirm this opinion. These consist, for the most part, of weapons and implements of stone—knives, hatchets, hammers, and arrow-heads; and mingled with these rude objects are scores of different kinds of pottery, chiefly hand-made and of course design—pitchers with convoluted bowls, shallow buckets, especially of the milk-pail variety, provided with spouts and with pairs of rudimental handles. The pottery is red or black in colour, and the ornamentation of it consists of incised geometrical designs. Copper and bronze, where we find examples of these metals, do not appear to have been employed in the manufacture of ornaments or arrow-heads, but

1 For the copper mining industry in ancient times, see Eustor, Egypt., vol. i, pp. 43-33.

2 Birch and Childe saw in Cyprus the Egyptian name Kaffi, Kaffi, Memorie sur une Poterie égyptienne du Muse du Louvre, pp. 23-28, 30-33. Birch thought that the first syllable of kaffi contained the element “Kaf,” “Kaf,” from which Kaffi is derived, and that the name Aal, given to the Cypriots, is another form of the same word; cf. Horne, Geog. Tadder., vol. ii, pp. 86, 87, who connects it with the Hebrew Kaphir.

3 “Aal,” “Aaf,” was at first sought for on the Asiatic continent—at Lev on the Euphrates (Barn. Obs. on the Scriptural Tablet of Kurehe, pp. 48, 47), or in Palestine (Horn, Geog. J., vol. ii, pp. 81, 82); the discovery of the Cypriots allows us to identify it with Cyprus, and this has now been generally done (Barnett, Geok. Egypt., p. 201; F. M. Mayer, Geok. Egypt., p. 239; W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 316, 317). The reading “Amal,” is still maintained by some. On the possible connection of Aal and Asia, see Mazzarino, in the Memorie Critiche, 1885, vol. ii, p. 126. W. Max Müller has tried to show that Aal and Asia are two forms of the same word, and consequently that Asia is also Cyprus (Das Land Asien, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. 2, pp. 227-241).
usually in making daggers. There is no indication anywhere of foreign influence, and yet Cypros had already at this time entered into relations with the civilized nations of the continent. According to Chaldæan tradition, it was conquered about the year 3800 B.C. by Sargon of Agadæ; without insisting upon the reality of this conquest, which in any case must have been ephemeral in its nature, there is reason to believe that the island was subjected from an early period to the influence of the various peoples which lived one after another on the slopes of the Lebanon. Popular legend attributes to King Kyuya and to the Giblites (i.e. the people of Byblos) the establishment of the first Phœnician colonies in the southern region of the island—one of them being at Paphos, where the worship of Adonis and Astarte continued to a very late date. The natives preserved their own language and customs, had their own chiefs, and maintained their national independence, while constrained to submit at the same time to the presence of Phœnician colonists or merchants on the coast, and in the neighbourhood of the mines in the mountains. The trading centres of these settlers—Kition, Amathus, Solimes, Golgos, and Tamassos—were soon, however, converted into strongholds, which ensured to Phœnia the monopoly of the immense wealth contained in the island.

Tyre and Sidon had no important centres of industry on that part of the Cilician coast which extended to the south of Carmel, and Egypt, even in the time of the shepherd kings, would not have tolerated the existence on her territory of any great empire not subject to the immediate supervision of her official agents. We know that the Libyan chiefs long presented an obstacle to incursions into Egyptian territory, and baffled any attempts to land to the westwards of the Delta; the Phœnicians consequently turned with all the greater ardour to those northern regions which for centuries had furnished them with most valuable products—bronze, tin, amber, and iron, both native and wrought. A little to the north of the Orontes, where the Syrian border is crossed and Asia Minor begins, the coast turns due west and runs in that direction for a considerable distance. The Phœnicians were accustomed to trade along this region, and we may attribute, perhaps, to them the foundation of those obscure cities

1 An examination into the origin of the Cyprosians formed part of the original scheme of this work, together with that of the movements of the various races scattered along the coast of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipel; but I have been obliged to curtail it, in order to keep within the limits I had prescribed for myself, and I have merely epitomised, as finely as possible, the results of the researches undertaken in those regions during the last five years, particularly those of Guilmard-Richter.

2 Of what is said on the subject of this conquest in Mardonius, Droit de Césarisation, p. 108.

3 All the legends relating to the foundation of Paphos have been brought together by Escan, Kypros, vol. i. p. 124, 158-159, vol. ii. p. 94 et seq.; and by Morveau, Des Phéniciens de Syrie et d’Asie Mineure, vol. ii. pp. 224, 227.

4 The Phœnician origin of these towns is proved by the passages from classical writers collected by Escan, Kypros, vol. i. pp. 71, 73, 102-103, 109-111, 124-124 (who admits it only in the case of Paphos, Amathus, and Kition), and by Morveau, Des Phéniciens de Syrie et d’Asie Mineure, vol. ii. p. 223, et seq. The date of the colonisation is uncertain, but with the knowledge we possess of the efficient trades belonging to the various Phœnician towns, it would seem difficult not to allow that the Greeks at least of Cypros must have been partially occupied at the time of the Egyptian invasion.
Kibyra, Maura, Ruspopus, Syllon, Mygale, and Sidyma—all of which preserved their apparently Semitic names down to the time of the Roman epoch. The whole of the important island of Rhodes fell into their power, and its three ports, Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros, afforded them a well-situated base of operations for further colonisation. On leaving Rhodes, the choice of two routes presented itself to them. To the south-west they could see the distant outline of Karpathos, and on the far horizon behind it the summits of the Cretan chain. Crete itself lies on the south the entrance to the Ægean, and is almost a little continent, self-contained and self-sufficing. It is made up of fertile valleys and mountains clothed with forests, and its inhabitants could employ themselves in mines and fisheries. The Phoenicians effected a settlement on the coast of Itanos, at Kairatos, and at Arelatos, and obtained possession of the peak of Cytheria, where it is said, they raised a sanctuary to Astarius. If, on leaving Rhodes, they had chosen to steer due north, they would soon have come into contact with numerous rocky islets scattered in the sea between the continents of Asia and Europe, which would have furnished them with as many stations, less easy of attack, and more readily defended than posts on the mainland. Of these the Ghibétes occupied Melos, while the Sidonians chose Oliacur and Thera, and we find traces of them in every island where any natural product, such as metals, sulphur, alum, fuller's earth, emery, medicinal plants, and shells for producing dyes, offered an attraction. The parale used by the Tyrians for dyeing is secreted by several varieties of mollusca common in the Eastern Mediterranean; those most esteemed by the dyers were the Murex trunculus and the Murex B-unclarius, and solid masses made up of the detrinitus of these shells are found in enormous

1 See direct evidence exists to lead us to attribute the formation of these towns to the Phoenicians, but the Semitic origin of many of them is an unproved fact (Mover, Das Phönischwe Althethum, vol. ii, pp. 260, 261.

2 For the cycle of legends which has preserved the memory of the Phoenician connection with Rhodes, cf. Mover, ibid., vol. ii, pp. 217-218; Renshaw, Phyllite, pp. 75-89; R. Rawlinson, Hist. of Phoenicia, pp. 103, 104; En. Mover, Geschichte der Althethus, vol. ii, pp. 45, 46; vol. iii, pp. 140, 141.


5 Thea Ilges (L. vii) states that “the Phoenicians and the Carthagians had subdued the greater number of the islands of the Ægean, both Cretoans and Sporades.”

6 Sulphur, alum, and fuller's earth at Mado (Orosoros, E. P., v. 125, 128; Euphranes Semius, x. 14; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxvii, 240, 242; Fanny (Corsica) is mentioned in the Annals of Thracon II (Lett. des Dandia, iii. 30 e. i. 129) under the Roman name. Schwerdtfahr has drawn attention to a letter from Crete among the papers collected at Olney (B. and. 45) and Pannaros on the allegorical creture in the Republique der Deutschen, Bahn. Gesch. 3, 1891, p. 172, No. 485.)
quantities in the neighbourhood of many Phoenician towns. The colouring matter was secreted in the head of the shellfish. To obtain it the shell was broken by a blow from a hammer, and the small quantity of slightly yellowish liquid which issued from the fracture was carefully collected and stirred about in salt water for three days. It was then boiled in leaden vessels and reduced by simmering over a slow fire; the remainder was strained through a cloth to free it from the particles of flesh still floating in it, and the material to be dyed was then plunged into the liquid. The usual tint thus imparted was that of fresh blood, in some lights almost approaching to black; but careful manipulation could produce shades of red, dark violet, and amethyst. Phoenician settlements can be traced, therefore, by the heaps of shells upon the shore, the Cycades and the coasts of Greece being strewed with this refuse. The veins of gold in the Pangaeus range in Macedonia attracted them to that region, while the islands off the Thracian coast received also frequent visits from them, and they carried their explorations even through the tortuous channel of the Hellespont into the Propontis, drawn thither, no doubt, by the silver mines in the Bithynian mountains, which were already being worked by Asiatic miners. Beyond the calm waters of the Propontis they encountered an obstacle to their progress in another narrow channel, having more of the character of a wide river than of a strait; it was with difficulty that they could make their way against the violence of its current, which either tended to drive their vessels on shore, or to dash them against the reefs which hampered the navigation of the channel. When, however, they succeeded in making the passage safely, they found themselves upon a vast and stormy sea, whose wooded shores extended east and west as far as eye could reach. From the tribes who inhabited them, and who acted as intermediaries, the Phoenician traders were able to procure tin, lead, amber, Carpathian gold, bronze, and iron, all products of the extreme north—a region which always seemed to elude their

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1. Kranz, Pantheon, pp. 237-237. The principal references to Tyrian purple in classical authors are those in Aristotelus (Hist. Anim. v. 18) and in Pliny (II. Nat. x. 50, 71); the best experiments made by Cole in England Observations on the Purple, in the Philosophical Trans. of London, vol. xx. p. 1866, continued and extended in France by Béhameur (savant d'une acrètis estanterie des poisons, in the Memoria des Academie des Sciences, 1711), pp. 193-195 and by Dr. Hanke (cf. Annales des Sciences naturelles, Zool. 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 1-92), and have enabled us to discover the various processes used in the preparation of the purple dye.

2. The fact that they worked the mines of Thassus is attested by Herodoto (V. xvi. 42); cf. Parker, v. 35, 41; for their settlements in these regions see Morey, Das Phönizische Alththunum, vol. ii. pp. 278-328, and En. Morey, Geschichtliche des Alththunum, vol. i. p. 354; vol. ii. p. 144.

3. From the Gulf of Aspenda, was supposed to be a Phoenician colony (Stephan of Byzantium, vol. 9, 50).
persevering efforts to discover it. We cannot determine the furthest limits reached by the Phoenician traders, since they were wont to designate the distant countries and nations with which they traded by the vague appellations of "Isles of the Sea," and "Peoples of the Sea," refusing to give more accurate information either from jealousy or from a desire to hide from other nations the sources of their wealth.

The peoples with whom they traded were not mere barbarians, contented with worthless objects of barter; their clients included the inhabitants of

the Aegean, who, if inferior to the great nations of the East, possessed an independent and growing civilization, traces of which are still coming to light from many quarters in the shape of tombs, houses, palaces, utensils, ornaments, representations of the gods, and household and funeral furniture—not only in the Cyclades, but on the mainland of Asia Minor and of Greece. No inferior goods or tinsel wares would have satisfied the luxurious princes who reigned in such ancient cities as Troy and Mycenae, and who wanted the best industrial products of Egypt and Syria—costly stuff, rare furniture, ornate and well-wrought weapons, articles of jewellery, vases of curious and delicate design—such objects, in fact, as would have been found in use among the sovereigns and nobles of Memphis or of Babylon. For articles to offer in exchange they were not limited to the natural or roughly worked products of their own country. Their craftsmen, though less successful in general technique than their Oriental contemporaries, exhibited considerable artistic intelligence and an extraordinary manual skill. Acustomed at first merely to copy the objects sold to them by the Phoenicians, they soon developed a style of their own; the Mycenaean dagger, in the illustration on this page, though several centuries later in date than that of the Pharaoh Ahmose, appears to be traceable to this ancient source of inspiration, although it gives evidence of new elements in

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1. These are the names used by the Egyptians of the XIXth and XXth dynasties (E. de Rouen, Études Égyptiennes sur le Monnaie d'époque médiéva de l'Egypte, pp. 5, 10, et seq.).
its method of decoration and in its greater freedom of treatment. The inhabitants of the valleys of the Nile and of the Orontes, and probably also those of the Euphrates and Tigris, agreed in the high value they set upon these artistic objects in gold, silver, and bronze, brought to them from the further shores of the Mediterranean, which, while reproducing their own designs, modified them to a certain extent; for just as we now imitate types of ornamental work in vogue among nations less civilized than ourselves, so the Egyptian people set themselves the task through their potters and engravers of reproducing exotic models. The Phoenician traders who exported to Greece large consignments of objects made under various influences in their own workshops, or purchased in the bazaars of the ancient world, brought back as a return cargo an equivalent number of works of art, bought in the towns of the West, which eventually found their way into the various markets of Asia and Africa. These energetic merchants were not the first to ply this profitable trade of maritime carriers, for from the time of the Memphite empire the products of northern regions had found their way, through the intermediation of the Hittites, as far south as the cities of the Delta and the Thebaid. But this commerce could not be said to be either regular or continuous; the transmission was carried on from one neighbouring tribe to another, and the Syrian sailors were merely the last in a long chain of intermediaries—a tribal war, a migration, the caprice of some chief being sufficient to break the communication, and even cause the suspension of transit for a considerable period. The Phoenicians desired to provide against such risks by undertaking themselves to fetch the much-coveted objects from their respective sources, or, where this was not possible, from the ports nearest the place of their manufacture. Reappearing with each returning year in the localities where they had established emporia, they accustomed the natives to collect against their arrival such products as they could profitably use in bartering with one or other of their many customers. They thus established, on a fixed line of route, a kind of maritime trading service, which placed all the shores of the Mediterranean in direct communication with each other, and promoted the blending of the youthful West with the ancient East.
THE EIGHTEENTH THEBAN DYNASTY.


Thothmes I.'s campaign in Syrion—The organization of the Egyptian army: the infantry of the line, the cavalry, the horsemen, and the charioteers; the classification of the troops according to their arms—Marching and encampment in the camp's various battle array—Charioteers.—The enumeration and distribution of the spoil.—The viceroyalty of Kesh and the adoption of Egyptian customs by the Pharaoh's viceroy.

The first successes of Thothmes I.: Alaliah and Hathorthe; Thothmes II. : The temple of Elie el-Bahari and the buildings of Ebron.—The emir of Tesor.—The expedition to Pishon: bartering with the natives, the return of the fleet.

Thothmes III.'s departure for Asia, the battle of Megiddo and the subjection of Southern Syrion.—The year 20 to the year 28 of his reign. —Conquest of Lebanon and of Hittite.—The campaigns of the 29th year of the king's reign and the taking of Qadesh in the 30th year.—The jubilee of the south.—The triumph of Amen.

The constitution of the Egyptian empire.—The Crown council and their relations with the Pharaoh.—The king's sovereignty.—The allied states—Royal presents and marriages; the status of foreigners in the royal harem.—Commerce with Asia, its resources and its rulers; production granted to the national industry; and system of co-operation.
Amneithes II., his campaigns in Syria and Nubia—Thothmes IV.; his dreams under the shade of the Sphinx and his marriage—Amenhath III.; and his peaceful reign—The great building works—The temples of Nubia: Seth and his sanctuary built by Amenhotep III.; Qoi at Beni, Elephantine—The beautifying of Thebes: the temple of Mut, the temple of Amun at Luxor and at Karnak, the tomb of Amenhotep III., the chapel and the column of Memnon.

The enormous importance of Amun and his great preference shown by Amenhotep III., for the Heliopolitan gods, his marriage with Ti—The influence of Ti over Amenhotep IV.; the decline of Amun and of Thebes, Akhen and Khakhmumu—Change of physiognomy in Khakhasia, his character, his government, his relations with Asia; the tomb of Pa di-Amarna and the art of the period—Tuthmosis III.; the return of the Pharaohs to Thebes and the end of the XVIIIth dynasty.
CHAPTER III.

THE EIGHTEENTH THEBAN DYNASTY.


The account of the first expedition undertaken by Thothmes in Asia, a region at that time new to the Egyptians, would be interesting if we could lay our hands upon it. We should perhaps find in the midst of official documents, or among the short phrases of funerary biographies, some indication of the impression which the country produced upon its conquerors. With the exception of a few merchants or adventurers, no one from Thebes to Memphis had any other idea of Asia than that which could be gathered from the scattered notices of it in the semi-historical romances of the preceding age. The actual sight of the country must have been a revelation; everything appearing new and paradoxical to men of whom the majority had never left their fatherland, except on some warlike expedition into Ethiopia or on some rapid raid along the coasts of the Red Sea. Instead of their own narrow valley, extending between its two mountain ranges, and fertilised by the periodical overflowing of the Nile which occurred regularly almost to a day,

1 Drawn by Roadier, from a photograph by Goldschmidt. The vignette, by Farners-Coppa, represents the fine statue of Amenophis II. in red granite, which came from Thebes, and is now in the Turin Museum; cf. Quatremère, Catalogue Historique des Monuments Égypt., vol. 1, p. 29, n. 3.
they had before them wide irregular plains, owing their fertility not to inundations, but to occasional rains or the influence of insignificant streams; hills of varying heights covered with vines and other products of cultivation; mountains of different altitudes irregularly distributed, clothed with forests, furrowed with torrents; their summits often crowned with snow even in the hottest period of summer: and in this region of nature, where everything was strange to them, they found nations differing widely from each other in appearance and customs, towns with crenellated walls perched upon heights difficult of access; and finally, a civilization far excelling that which they encountered anywhere in Africa outside their own boundaries.

Thutmose succeeded in reaching on his first expedition a limit which none of his successors was able to surpass, and the road taken by him in this campaign—from Gama to Megidda, from Megidda to Qodsh, from Qodsh to Carchemish—was that which was followed henceforward by the Egyptian troops in all their expeditions to the Euphrates. Of the difficulties which he encountered on his way we have no information. On arriving at Naharaim, however, we know that he came into contact with the army of the enemy, which was under the command of a single general—perhaps the King of Mitanni himself, or one of the lieutenants of the Cossan King of Babylon—who had collected together most of the petty princes of the northern country to resist the advance of the intruder. The contest was hotly fought out on both sides, but victory at length remained with the invaders, and innumerable prisoners fell into their hands. The veteran Ahmos, son of Abna, who was serving in his last campaign, and his cousin, Ahmos, Parnachalt, distinguished themselves according to their wont. The former, having seized upon a chariot, brought it, with the three soldiers who occupied it, to the Pharac, and received once more "the collar of gold;" the latter killed twenty-one of the enemy, carrying off their hands as trophies, captured a chariot, took one prisoner, and obtained as reward a valuable collection of jewellery, consisting of collars, bracelets, sculptured lumps, choice vases, and costly weapons. A stele, erected on the banks of the Euphrates not far from the scene of the battle, marked the spot which the conqueror wished to be recognised henceforth as the frontier of his empire. He re-entered Thebes with immense booty, by which gods as well as men profited, for he consecrated a part of it to the embellishment of the temple of Amon, and the sight of the spoil undoubtedly removed the lingering prejudices.
which the people had cherished against expeditions beyond the isthmus. Thutmosis was held up by his subjects to the praise of posterity as having come into actual contact with that country and its people, which had hitherto been known to the Egyptians merely through the more or less veracious tales of exiles and travellers. The aspect of the great river of the Naharain, which could be compared with the Nile for the volume of its waters, excited their admiration. They were, however, puzzled by the fact that it flowed from north to south, and even were accustomed to joke at the necessity of reversing the terms employed in Egypt to express going up or down the river. This first Syrian campaign became the model for most of those subsequently undertaken by the Pharaoh. It took the form of a bold advance of troops, directed from Zala towards the north-east, in a diagonal line through the country, who routed on the way any armies which might be opposed to them, carrying by assault such towns as were easy of capture, while passing by others which seemed strongly defended—pillaging, burning, and slaying on every side. There was no suspension of hostilities, no going into winter quarters, but a triumphant return of the expedition at the end of four or five months, with the probability of having to begin fresh operations in the following year should the vanquished break out into revolt.

The troops employed in these campaigns were superior to any others hitherto put into the field. The Egyptian army, inured to war by its long struggle with the Shepherd-kings and kept in training since the reign of Atumosis by having to repulse the perpetual incursions of the Libyan or Libyan barbarians, had no difficulty in overcoming the Syrians; not that the latter were wanting in courage or discipline, but owing to their limited supply of recruits, and the political disintegration of the country, they could not readily place under arms such enormous numbers as those of the Egyptians. Egyptian military organisation had remained practically unchanged since early times; the army had always consisted, firstly, of the militia who held fields, and were under the obligation of personal service either to the prince of the nome or to the sovereign; 3

1 A passage from the inscription of Thutmosis (Jenner, Design, III. 2 n. 11, 14) thus describes the Esphahat; and plen. mss. mintaff as Naeuth. Now, mintaff means to go north, and mintaff, to go south, so that the literal translation of the phrase would call the Esphahat, “The river where he goes north as it is going south.” But is to say, where the contrary term to that used on the Nile must be employed in speaking of going up or down the river. The solution of this little problem was first given by E. de Roos (Études des Monuments du Monarque de Karnak, in the Mémoires de l'Institut de France, t. 1869, p. 161) from which it was borrowed by Brugsch (Geographical Egypt, p. 295; Die ägyptische Volksstamme, in the Abhandlungen der Berliner Gesell., phil. hist. Classe, t. 1879, p. 395, and Die Ägyptologie, pp. 269, 283), and from Brugsch has been passed on to other Egyptologists.

2 From the account of the campaign of Amenemhat II, I thought we might conclude that this Pharaoh visited Syria at least once (Histoire Ancienne des peuples du Proche-Orient, 1878, p. 297) of Lamy, who long ago eranator chronologique des scribes des royaumes pharaoniques en Syrie, in the Revue de Philol., t. 1890, p. 341); but the text does not admit of this interpretation, and we must, therefore, for the present give up the idea that the Pharaohs ever visited more than a few months of the year on hostile territory (W. M. Flinders Petrie, Asia and Europe, p. 182, n. 4).

3 At that time, the active part of this contingent, which served in the infantry went by the name
secondly, of a permanent force, which was divided into two corps, distributed respectively between the Saïd and the Delta. These companies which were quartered on the frontier, or about the king either at Thebes or at one of the royal residences, were bound to hold themselves in readiness to muster for a campaign at any given moment. The number of natives liable to be called out, by "generations," or as we should say by classes, may have amounted to over a hundred thousand men, but they were never all called out, and it does not appear that the army on active service ever contained more than thirty thousand men at a time, and probably on ordinary occasions not much more than ten or fifteen thousand. The infantry was, as we should expect, composed of troops of the line and light troops. The former wore either short wigs arranged in rows of curls, or a kind of puffed cap by way of a helmet, thick enough to deflect blows; the breast and shoulders were defended, but a short loin-cloth was wrapped round the hips, and the stomach and upper part of the thighs were protected by a sort of triangular apron, sometimes scalloped at the sides; and composed of leather thongs attached to a belt. A buckler of moderate dimensions had been substituted for the gigantic shield of the earlier Theban period; it was rounded at the top and

at Qasr, or, as a collective, saïd (Maspero, Notes sur la École, p. 266; vol. xii. p. 303; Baudouin, Die Ägyptologie, p. 223; W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, p. 270, n. 2). Bonnat, A Thebes, in the Bulletins de la Société Nationale, p. 13, 1857; W. Max Müller, Denkmäler der guzinschen Dahbris des Kâthib Harâm el Bek, in the Zeitschrift, 1888, pp. 22-34. On the organisation of military service in Egypt, see Maspero, Dice of Civilization, pp. 365-368, 422, 473. Recruiting is represented in several Theban books (Vine, Toussaint de Fauvisier, in the Musée de la Mission française, vol. vi. pp. 251, 256; Champollion, Monument de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. cxxv, 1, 2, 3, 4, and vol. i. pp. 684-687, 831; Bonnat, Le Tombeau d'Harambe, in the Mission de la Mission française, vol. i. pp. 119-122.) Zemâl. On the meaning of this word, C. Maspero, Notes sur la École et de l'Archéologie Égyptienne, vol. i. p. 25, n. 2. The soldiers taken from these classes were represented at Delc el-Bahri, as hastening armed to meet the troops returning from the Paksili (Maspero, Deir ed-Bahari, pp. 11, 12.) The only numbers which we know are those given by Herodotus for the Saïd period (II. clxxxviii), which are evidently exaggerated (Wiedemann, Herodot's zweite Band, p. 577). Coming down in modern times, we see that Mouhâmed Ali, from 1829 to 1840, had nearly 120,000 men in Syria, Egypt, and the Sudan; and in 1841, at the time when the Khedive imposed upon him the ill-kept obligation of reducing his army to 15,000 men, it still contained 81,000. We shall probably not be far wrong in estimating the total force which the Thronoi of the XVIIIth dynasty, heads of the whole valley of the Nile, and part of Asia, and to their disposal at 120,000 or 130,000 men; these, however, were never all called out at once. We have no direct information respecting the armies acting in Syria; we only know that, at the battle of Qadina, Ramses II. had against him 2000 chariots containing three men each, making 7500 charioteers, besides a troop estimated at the Basilius of 8000 men, at Laverd 3000 (Steevens, Tests historiques d'Alepssal, in the Recueil des Notices, vol. viii. p. 133), so that the Syrian army probably contained about 25,000 men. It would seem that the Egyptian army was less numerous, and I estimate it with great hesitation at about 13,000 or 15,000 men; it was considered a powerful army, while that of the Hittites was regarded as an innumerable host. A passage in the Antiqua (Papyrus, No. 1, p. 247, 1. 1.-841, 1. 2, tells us the composition of a corps led by Ramses II. against the tribes of Qessir, and the Belwya valley; it consisted of 3000 men, of whom 120 were Shams, 1000 Qushit, 70 Maschalin, and 150 Negroes (Chamou, Papyrus d'Asie, p. 32, 243). For an illustration of this shield, taken from the tomb of Seti, see Maspero, Notes sur la École, p. 427.)
often furnished with a solid metal boss, which the experienced soldiers always endeavoured to present to the enemy's lance and javelin. Their weapons consisted of pikes about five feet long, with broad bronze or copper points, occasionally of flails, axes, daggers, short curved swords, and spears; the trumpeters were armed with daggers only, and the officers did not as a rule encumber themselves with either buckler or pike, but bore an axe and dagger, and occasionally a bow. The light infantry was composed chiefly of bowmen—pidatório—the celebrated archers of Egypt, whose long bows and arrows, used with deadly skill, speedily became renowned throughout the East; the

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1. Drawn by Emanuel Guillaume, from a photograph taken by Naville, The Temple of Tete el Bahari, the Pylon, its Foundations, and its First Explorers, Introductory Memoirs, pl. viii.

2. Besides the soldiers pictured above, we possess hardly any military illustrations from the earlier reigns of the XVIIIth dynasty, excepting the troops represented in the pictures of the Bible celebrated on the return of the first from the Pharaoh, under Babelopolis (Dessauer, Die Volker unter Ägyptischen Königen, pl. 4, vi, vili, xii, xiiii; Marten, Dessauer, pl. 4, 11, 13, 19); we meet with some of them again on the monuments of Amenophis IV. (Jastrow, Denkm., II. 191) and of Horemhab (Urkundenbuch, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. cxxi.) Buxtorf, Monument Storia, p. xlix for; Locarno, Penna, III. 122. 14; and 14 details, Wilkismans, Malcons and Costains, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 166, etc., Bayne, Egypten und Ägyptenarcheologie, pp. 714-725.

3. These packages are mentioned in the Tete el Amarna despatches as forming the principal part of the troops which governed these little towns, which were subject to the Egyptians or allied to them (Weinmann, Declerck, Letters de Tell el Amara, in the Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Amh., vol. xix. 1882-83, pp. 347, 348; Bunsen, in Zimmern’s The Kellisch-Judäen aus Jerusalem, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. viii. p. 250; a. T. W. Max Müller, Zu den Kellisch-Judäen aus Jerusalem, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vii. p. 84, 85.) The idea that these archers were foreign mercenaries might seem natural when their collective name was read phonetically, and compared with the Coptic
quiver, of the use of which their ancestors were ignorant, had been borrowed from the Asiatics, probably from the Hyksos; and was carried hanging at the side or slung over the shoulder. Both spearmen and archers were for the most part pure-bred Egyptians, and were divided into regiments of unequal strength, each of which usually bore the name of some god—as, for example, the regiment of Re or of Ptah, of Amon or of SETH,)—in which the feudal contingents, each commanded by its lord or his lieutenants, fought side by side with the king's soldiers furnished from the royal domains. The effective force of the army was made up by auxiliaries taken from the tribes of the Sahara and from the negroes of the Upper Nile. These auxiliaries were but sparingly employed in early times; but their numbers were increased as wars became more frequent and necessitated more troops to carry them on. The tribes from which they were drawn supplied the Pharaoh with an inexhaustible reserve; they were courageous, active, indefatigable, and imbued to hardships; and if it had not been for their turbulent nature, which inclined them to continual internal dissensions, they might readily have shaken off the yoke of the Egyptians. Incorporated into the Egyptian army, and placed under the instruction of picked officers, who selected them to rigorous discipline, and accustomed them to the evolutions of regular troops, they were transformed from disorganised hordes into tried and invincible battalions.

The old army, which had conquered Nubia in the days of the Paps and the Usurpations, had consisted of these three varieties of foot-soldiers only, but

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2 These Egyptian auxiliaries were occasionally represented in the Thirteen tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty, among others, in the tomb of Pa-djatkhety (VREY, Le Tombeau de Pa-djatkhety, in the Memes des de Meunier, Francaire de Caire, vol. 2, pp. 171, 229).

3 The auxiliaries of Kush, I think, already included Libyan auxiliaries, some of which are represented at Deir el-Bahari (DEMURIE, Die Freihe einer Aegyptischen Könige, pl. 25; HUMMERT, Deir el-Bahari, pl. 12); others of Asiatic origin are found under Amenhotep IV. (Late: Josh. J., iii. 203, but they were not represented on the monuments among the regular troops until the reign of Rameses II., when the Semitic troops appear for the first time among the king's body-guard (E. B. ROSCH, Extrait d'une missive ancienne des paupers de la cour, pp. 23-25).
since the invasion of the Shepherds, a new element had been incorporated into the modern army in the shape of the chariotry, which answered to some extent to the cavalry of our day as regards their tactical employment and efficacy. The horse, when once introduced into Egypt, soon became fairly adapted to its environment. It retained both its height and size, keeping the convex forehead—which gave the head a slightly curved profile—the slender neck, the narrow hind-quarters, the lean and sinewy legs, and the long flowing tail which had characterised it in its native country. The climate, however, was exhausting, and constant care had to be taken, by the introduction of new blood from Syria, to prevent the breed from deteriorating. The Pharaohs kept studs of horses in the principal cities of the Nile valley, and the great feudal lords, following their example, vied with each other in the possession of numerous breeding stables. The office of superintendent to these establishments, which was at the disposal of the Master of the Horse, became in later


2 The characteristic of the Egyptian horse have been described by Pliny the Elder, Historiae Naturalis de Animalibus, vol. i. pp. 129-133; and by Bavon, Traité de Zoologie, pp. 48-50; and by Preuss, Les Climats dans les langues historiques et contemporaines, pp. 418-419. On the date of the introduction of the horse into Egypt, cf. p. 51 of the present work.

3 Drawn by Van der Gucht from a photograph; cf. Dümmler, Die Flotte einer Ägyptischen Künstler, pl. viii, x, and Martenet, Die u-Bekh, pl. 11.

4 The numbers of horses brought from Syria either as spoils of war or as tribute paid by the vanquished are frequently recorded in the Annals of Thothmes III. (279 mares are mentioned in 1890-1880, 188 mares in 1880-1870, 190 mares in 1870-1860, 190 mares in 1860-1850), and the number would be far larger were the inscriptions not mutilated. Besides the usual species, powerful stallions were imported from Northern Syria, which were known by the Semitic name of Anu, the strong (Anastasi Papyrus IV, pl. xxv, 4. 39; cf. Rosellin de Terracon, vol. ii. p. 140, n. 37; Kersa, Notes Égyptologiques et Archéologiques, pp. 24-27). In the tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty, the arrival of Syrian horses in Egypt is sometimes represented (Bouchard, Le Tombeau d'Haremhab, pl. ir, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. vii, p. 167).
times one of the most important State appointments. The first chariots introduced into Egypt were, like the horses, of foreign origin, but when built by Egyptian workmen they soon became more elegant, if not stronger, than their models. Lightness was the quality chiefly aimed at; and at length the weight was so reduced that it was possible for a man to carry his chariot on his shoulders without fatigue. The materials for them were on this account limited to oak or ash and leather; metal, whether gold or silver, iron or bronze, being used but sparingly, and then only for purposes of ornamentation. The wheels usually had six, but sometimes eight spokes, or occasionally only four. The axle consisted of a single stout pole of acacia. The framework of the chariot was composed of two pieces of wood mortised together so as to form a semicircle or half-

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1 On the Masters of the Horse.—My statement—on the place which they occupied in the Hieroglyphics, etc. See masto. *Ludus Egyptianus*, vol. ii. pp. 38-41, and Reisner, *Die Eppyhloge*, pp. 213, 238. In the story of the conquest of Egypt by the libyques, Portikus, etc. are indicated at Hermopolis (ll. 49-50), at Abydos (ll. 102, 119), in the Seues to the east and in the centre of the Delta (ll. 111-119), and at Sais (l. 118). Diodorus *Siculus* (1. 15) relates that, in his time, the foundations of 109 stables, each capable of containing 200 horses, were still to be seen on the western bank of the river between Memphis and Thebes. On the management of the chariot and of horses, cf. VEDET, *Les anciens chariots scribes de l'Egypte*, in *Vieuteies de la Mission Francaise*, vol. i. pp. 180-200, where too wide a sense is not attributed to the word *chak*.

2 This fact is proved by the very form of the names conciliatis, which is the Hieroglyphic for a bow, and square, which is the Hieroglyphic for a horse. For everything relating to this subject, cf. CHARL., *Etude sur L'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd ed., pp. 421-457, and BES, *Den HBozeisch-philologischen Sprachkunde geographische und historische Unteroffen in Hieroglyphen und Hieratische* Texten, pp. 26-37, 110.

3 Drawn by Bamblin-Belin, from the photograph taken by Pottier (cf. Rosellini, *Monumenti Cirel*, pl. 80-81); the original is deposited in the Florence Museum (MUSEI, Storia antica, Raccolta dei monumenti egypesi e Musum di Firenca, 1820, pp. 84, 85, No. 2078). Rosellini considered this chariot to be of Scythian origin (*Monumenti Cireli*, vol. iii. pp. 180-189), and his opinion is still sometimes accepted; it is, however, an Egyptian chariot, but constructed for temporary use, to be placed in a tomb, and its destination explains the excessive lightness of the construction, and the imperfection of its build.
ellipse, and closed by a straight bar; to this frame was fixed a floor of yew wood, or of plaited leather thongs. The sides of the chariot were formed of upright panels, solid in front and open at the sides, each provided with a hand-rail. The pole, which was of a single piece of wood, was bent into an elbow at about one-fifth of its length from the end, which was inserted into the centre of the axletree. On the gigantic T thus formed was fixed the body of the chariot, the hinder part resting on the axle, and the front attached to the bent part of the pole, while the whole was firmly bound together with double leather thongs. A yoke of hornbeam, shaped like a bow, to which the horses were harnessed, was fastened to the other extremity of the pole. The Asiatics placed three men in a chariot, but the Egyptians only two; the warrior—sacred, whose business it was to fight, and the shield-bearer—gamen—who protected his companion with a buckler during the engagement. A complete set of weapons was carried in the chariot—lances, javelins, and daggers, curved spear, club, and battle-axe—while two bow-cases as well as two

1 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photography of the Cairo Museum, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. 536; Rouxville, Monument Stories, pl. 35, 36, 37. The picture is of the time of Ramses II, and comes from the temple of Heliopolis in Nubia.

2 The names of the different parts of the Egyptian chariot are enumerated in two texts preserved in the Amarna Papyri No. 2 and 3, pl. 1, 2, 3, and the Karl Papyrus, pl. 1, 2, 3, published by Winnefeld, Hieratische Texte aus dem Museum zu Berlin und Paris, pl. 8, 10. The text of the hammer has been interpreted by Ramsay, Hymnus sur le char du roi, in the Quarterly of Egypt, vol. II, pp. 189-192, and Hével, Oudhem, in Zeitschrift fur Altertumskunde, 365, pp. 94, 95.

3 Two parts played by the gamen, as well as his Semitic origin, was discovered by E. Macler, Notices de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques récentes publiées par M. Green, p. 26; that of the sword by Maspero, Eléments Egyptiens, vol. II, p. 41, whereas it has passed to Bunsen, Die Ägyptologie, p. 215, 217. The former is the founder of poetry, the latter the author of the Homeric poems.
large quivers were hung at the sides. The chariot itself was very liable to upset, the slightest cause being sufficient to overturn it. Even when moving at a slow pace, the least inequality of the ground shook it terribly, and when driven at full speed it was only by a miracle of skill that the occupants could maintain their equilibrium. At such times the charioteer would stand astride of the front panels, keeping his right foot only inside the vehicle, and planting the other firmly on the pole, so as to lessen the jolting, and to secure a wider base on which to balance himself. To carry all this into practice long education was necessary, for which there were special schools of instruction, and those who were destined to enter the army were sent to these schools when little more than children. To each man, as soon as he had thoroughly mastered all the difficulties of the profession, a regulation chariot and pair of horses were granted, for which he was responsible to the Pharaoh or to his generals, and he might then return to his home until the next call to arms. The warrior took precedence of the shield-bearer, and both were considered superior to the foot-soldier; the chariots, in fact, like the cavalry of the present day, was the aristocratic branch of the army, in which the royal princes, together with the nobles and their sons, enlisted. No Egyptian ever willingly trusted himself to the back of a horse, and it was only in the thick of a battle, when his chariot was broken, and there seemed no other way of escaping from the mélée, that a warrior would venture to mount one of his steeds. There appear, however, to have been here and there a few horsemen, who acted as couriers or aides-de-camp; they used neither saddle-cloth nor stirrups, but were provided with reins with which to guide their animals, and their seat on horseback was even less secure than the footing of the driver in his chariot.

The infantry was divided into platoons of six to ten men each, commanded by an officer and marshalled round an ensign, which represented either a

1 Of the representations of the king fighting in Chaeronea, Monumenti de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. 144, and in Rosellini, Monumenti Sacri, pl. 137, 1, lxxvi, one of which is reproduced on p. 227 of the present work. It was a posture frequently adopted in the mélée, when the king was about to strike the enemy on either hand with the javelin, club, or spear, when he drew the bow he would stand with both feet on the floor of the chariot.

2 Jean de Puymade, III, H. 1, ii, 1-19; cf. Marmou, De Genealogia sacra, nos. 44, 47, Eros, Apollon, and Egyptiares Lebens, 73, 74, 75.

3 On this precedence of the officers of the chariots over those of the infantry, cf. the treatise on the hierarchy published and commented on by Marmou, Studies Egyptian, vol. ii, pp. 40, 41; the king's son, as for example those of Ramses II. and Ramses III., often acted as shield-bearers to their fathers.

4 In the great inscription in which Memphite relates his victory over the people of the sea, Chides thought he discovered the mention of officers who were on the king's horses, and who set off in pursuit of the vanquished (Esther et les bibliothéques, 2nd ed., pp. 157, 438, n. 2), but, on the contrary, the text says that it was charioteers, horsemen, and riders, who did this (Marmou, Kerekh, pp. 63, 1, 1-2).

5 There is a picture of a horseman on an inlaid bowl, ex the British Museum (Wilkinson, Mastaba and Costume, 2nd edit., vol. i, p. 284), and several others are represented in battle pictures, as in Chartres, Monument de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xii., or Bocchini, Monumenti Civili, pl. xxv., vol. iii, pp. 248, etc., and Monumenti Storici, pl. xiv, 2, livi, livi, xcviii, xcviii, etc., etc., where there are so many Egyptians as Asiatics. On this subject, cf. Chartres, Etudes sur l'Antiquité Méromite, 2nd edit., pp. 380-387, and D'Anthes, De l'Egyptologie, p. 257.
sacred animal, an emblem of the king or of his double, or a divine figure placed upon the top of a pile; this constituted an object of worship to the group of soldiers to whom it belonged. We are unable to ascertain how many of these platoons, either of infantry or of chariots, went to form a company, or a battalion, or by what ensigns the different grades were distinguished from each other, or what was their relative order of rank. Bodies of men, to the

number of forty or fifty, are sometimes represented on the monuments, but this may be merely by chance, or because the draughtsman did not take the trouble to give the proper number accurately. The inferior officers were equipped very much like the soldiers, with the exception of the buckler, which they do not appear to have carried, and certainly did not when on the march; the superior officers might be known by their umbrella or flabellum, a distinction which gave them the right of approaching the king's person. The military exercises to which all these troops were accustomed probably differed but little from those which were in vogue with the armies of the Ancient Empire; they consisted in

1 Either Pliny, or whoever wrote the treatise De iOS (274, Parberry's edit., p. 126), mentions that the companies and regiments of the Egyptian army were analogous to the tetrarchies and the allies of the Greeks. On the standards, cf. Theodore Smirke, t. 86; Pliny, De iOS et Ostio, 172, Parberry's edit., pp. 123, 127; and the examples collected by Wilkinson, Mummies and Canopes, 2nd edit., vol. i., pp. 120-127.

2 Drawn by Dessirier-Godin, from a photograph by Windser, Paris.

3 Wilkinson, Mummies and Canopes, 2nd edit., vol. i., pp. 126, 127, seems to have been the first to observe this fact. The umbrella-bearer, subtler, was inferior in rank to the flabellum-bearer, whose place was on the king's right hand, not his left as Saxon (cf. Wilkinson, Canoes, Antiquities, vol. ii., p. 46, and Bunsen, Die Egyptianen, pp. 249, 257.

4 See the representation of some of these exercises in Maspero, Rassas of Civilization, pp. 432, 433.
wrestling, boxing, jumping, running either singly or in line at regular distances from each other, manual exercises, fencing, and shooting at a target; the warfare had ceased to be in use among the Egyptian regiments as a military exercise, but it was practised by the Ethiopian and Libyan auxiliaries. At the beginning of each campaign, the men destined to serve in it were called out by the military scribes, who supplied them with arms from the royal arsenals.

Thick followed the distribution of rations. The soldiers, each carrying a small linen bag, came up in squads before the commissariat officers, and each received his own allowance. Once in the enemy's country the army advanced in close order, the infantry in columns of four, the officers in rear, and the chariots either on the right or left flank, or in the intervals between divisions. Skirmishers thrown out to the front cleared the line of march, while detached parties, pushing right and left, collected supplies of cattle, grain, or drinking-water from the fields and unprotected villages. The main body was

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1 We see the distribution of arms made by the scribes and other officials of the royal arsenal represented in the pictures at Meidum (Borchardt, Manmaades de l'Égypé, pl. 25, 26, 27); Rosellini, Memorie Sopra la Religione, pl. XXX, and vol. 1, p. 298. The whole view was represented in the Egyptian tomb of the XvIIIth dynasty (Viète, Les Tombeaux d'Amennakht, in the Monuments de la Mission de Turin, vol. 1, pp. 231, 232, 257, 258, 259), as well as the distribution of supplies. Questions relating to the army of the Thoth dynasty have been fully treated by Rosellini, Memorie Sopra le Religione, vol. 1, pp. 217-222.

2 Drawn by Vambery-Guth, from a photograph of Dümont, De Flots aus ägyptischen Kairo, pls. vi, vii, and viii, etch. 192, pl. 12.

3 The march of the army of Ramess II., as represented in Calmet's work, Memmaades de l'Égypé, pl. V, XI, Rosellini, Mem. Sopra, pl. XXX, XXXI, XXXVII.; Lardner, Deux, iii. 102; Mariette, Histoire de la Basse-Égypé, vol. i. pl. 293. Those of the army of Ramess III., are first reproduced in the Description de l'Égypte, Ant. vol. x. p. 16, and subsequently by Calmet's work, Memmaades, pl. XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIII; Rosellini, Mem. Sopra, pl. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV. The march in columns of four of the archers and heavy infantry is illustrated by the discovery, made at Meidum, of the two bands of soldiers who are represented on p. 225 of the present volume. They are of the time of the first Thoth dynasty, as is shown by the shields being without quivers, but, with the exception of this detail, their equipment is the same as that of the infantry of the XvIIIth dynasty. The equipment of one of these commanding officers is said to be in London, in the hands of Captain Mycet.

4 See the scene represented on the wall of Dürér, in which the troops of Ramess II. are pillaging the country (Rosellini, Mem. Sopra, pl. XXXIII.; Lardner, Deux, iii. 103; Mariette, Histoire de la Basse-Égypé, vol. ii. pl. 98), and also those in which the Samian with their shields are fleeing from the
followed by the baggage train; it comprised not only supplies and stores, but cooking-utensils, coverings, and the entire paraphernalia of the carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops necessary for repairing bows, lances, daggers, and charioteers, the whole being piled up in four-wheeled carts drawn by asses or oxen. The army was accompanied by a swarm of non-combatants, scribes, soothsayers, priests, heralds, musicians, servants, and women of loose life, who were a serious cause of embarrassment to the generals, and a source of perpetual danger to military discipline. At nightfall they halted in a village, or more frequently bivouacked in an entrenched camp, marked out to suit the circumstances of the case. This entrenchment was always rectangular, its length being twice as great as its width, and was surrounded by a ditch, the earth from which, being banked up on the inside, formed a rampart from five to six feet in height; the exterior

king in person (Campbell, Monuments, pl. vii.; Riessner, Mem. Soc., pl. xxxi.); in the same way, at Mamluk-Abo, the troops of Basara III. were pillaging the country near a beguaged town (Campbell, Monuments, pl. xxviii.).

1. Drawn by Beuzelin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. Mariette, Voyage de la Haute-Egypte, vol. i. pl. 51. The bas-relief, which is in the temple of Basara III. at Abydos, represents the march of one of the divisions of the Egyptian army at the battle of Qadita.

2. The whole of this description is taken from the pictures of camp-life in the time of Basara II., at Luxor and the Ramesseum (Campbell, Monuments, pls. xvi., xxx., xxxii.); some of them are reproduced on pp. 228, 229 of the present volume.

of this was then entirely faced with shields, square below, but circular in shape at the top. The entrance to the camp was by a single gate in one of the longer sides, and a plank served as a bridge across the trench, close to which two detachments mounted, guard, armed with clubs and naked swords. The royal quarters were situated at one end of the camp. Here, within an enclosure, rose an immense tent, where the Pharaoh found all the luxury to which he

was accustomed in his palace, even to a portable chapel, in which each morning he could pour out water and burn incense to his father, Amon-Râ, of Thebes. The princes of the blood who formed his escort, his shield-bearers and his generals, were crowded together hard by, and beyond, in closely packed lines, were the horses and chariots, the draught bullocks, the workshops and the stores. The soldiers, accustomed from childhood to live in the open air, erected no tents or huts of boughs for themselves in these temporary encampments, but bivouacked in the open, and the sculptures on the façades of the Theban pylons give us a minute picture of the way in which they employed themselves when off duty.

1 Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Reisner in 1896. It represents the camp of Ramses II. after Qalhân; the upper angle of the enclosure and part of the surrounding wall have been destroyed by the wind. These chariots are pouring in at the base. In the centre is the royal tent, surrounded by tents of military life. This picture has been sculptured partly even earlier and representing one of the episodes of the battle. The stalls had been covered with stores, on which the new subject was executed. Part of the scene has fallen away, and the king in his chariot, with a few other figures, has reappeared, to the great detriment of the latter picture.
TWO COMPANIES OF INFANTRY ON THE MARCH.

Drawn by Dennis, from a photograph by Paul Brugsch-Boh.
Here one man, while cleaning his armour, superintends the cooking. Another, similarly engaged, drinks from a skin of wine held up by a slave. A third has taken his chariot to pieces, and is replacing some portion the worse for wear. Some are sharpening their daggers or lances; others mend their loin-cloths or sandals, or exchange blows with flints and sticks. The baggage, limes, arms, and provisions are piled in disorder on the ground; horses, oxen, and asses are eating or chewing the cud at their ease; while here and there

a donkey, relieved of his burden, rolls himself on the ground and brays with delight.¹

The success of the Egyptians in battle was due more to the courage and hardihood of the men than to the strategical skill of their commanders. We find no trace of manœuvres, in the sense in which we understand the word, either in their histories or on their bas-reliefs, but they joined battle boldly with the enemy, and the result was decided by a more or less bloody conflict.² The heavy infantry was placed in the centre, the chariots were massed on the flanks, while light troops thrown out to the front began the action by letting fly


² We are speaking of the camp of Thutmose III. near Almea, the day before the battle of Megido, and the words put into the mouths of the soldiers to mark their vigilance are the same as those which we find in the Hamessum and at Luxor, written above the guards of the camp where Ramess II. is repulsing (Monuments, Bas-rel de la campagne contre Megido, in la Habess du Tyre.more, vol. iii. p. 144.)

volleys of arrows and stones, which through the skill of the bowmen and slingers did deadly execution; then the pikemen laid their spears in rest, and pressing straight forward, threw their whole weight against the opposing troops. At the same moment the charioteers set off at a gentle trot, and gradually quickened their pace till they dashed at full speed upon the foe, amid the confused rumbling of wheels and the sharp clank of metal. The Egyptians, accustomed by long drilling to the performance of such evolutions, executed these charges as methodically as though they were still on their parade-ground at Thebes: if the disposition of the ground were at all favourable, not a single chariot would break the line, and the columns would sweep across the field.

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1 Drawn by Vanden-Neve, from a drawing by Caffarelli, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xlviii.; Breccia, Memorie della Società, pl. xliii. This represents a charge of the Egyptian chariots against those of the Hittites at the battle of Qadunan.
without swerving or falling into disorder. The charioteer had the reins tied round his body, and could, by throwing his weight either to the right or the left, or by slackening or increasing the pressure through a backward or forward motion, turn, pull up, or start his horses by a simple movement of the loins; he went into battle with bent bow, the string drawn back to his ear, the arrow levelled ready to let fly, while the shield-bearer, clinging to the body of the chariot with one hand, held out his buckler with the other to shelter his comrade. It would seem that the Syrians were less skilful: their bows did not carry so far as those of their adversaries, and consequently they came within the enemy’s range some moments before it was possible for them to return the volley with effect. Their horses would be thrown down, their drivers would fall wounded, and the disabled chariots would check the approach of those following and overturn them, so that by the time the main body came up with the enemy the slaughter would have been serious enough to render victory hopeless. Nevertheless, more than one charge would be necessary finally to overturn or scatter the Syrian chariots, which, once accomplished, the Egyptian charioteer would turn against the foot-soldiers, and, breaking up their ranks, would tread them down under the feet of his horses. Nor did the Pharaoh spare himself in the fight: his splendid dress, the urna on his forehead, and the nodding plumes of his horses made him a mark for the blows of the enemy, and he would often find himself in positions of serious danger. In a few hours, as a rule, the conflict would come to an end. Once the enemy showed signs of giving way, the Egyptian chariots dashed upon them precipitously, and turned the retreat into a rout: the pursuit was, however, never a long one: a strong fortress was always to be found close at hand where the remnant of the defeated host could take refuge. The victors, moreover, would be too eager to secure the booty, and to strip the bodies of the dead, to allow time for following up the foe. The prisoners were driven along in platoons, their arms bound in strange and contorted attitudes, each under the charge of his captor; then came the chariots, arms, slaves, and provisions collected on the battle-field or in the camp, then other

1 The whole of the above description is based on incidents, from the various pictures of battles which appear on the monuments of Ramses II (CHAMPION, Monumentes de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxii, fig. 14xx; ROUSSEAU, Monumenti Storici, pl. lxxvi et seq.; LENOIR, Recueil, III, 151, 155) and of Ramses III (CHAMPION, Monumentes, etc., pl. cxxxii-cxxxiii, fig. 150; ROUSSEAU, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxxvii, cxxviii, cxxix, cxxx).

2 A good factious of this, under Mungathri, will be found in MARETTI, Kurchi, pl. xx, 1, 28.

3 After the battle of Megido, the remnants of the Syrian army took refuge in the city, where Thothmes III, brought them (MARETTI, Recueil de la campagne contre Mungathri, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. ii, pp. 142, 143), similarly under Ramses II, the Hittite princes took refuge in Qalath after their defeat (LEROI-GOURHAN, loc. cit., p. 143).

4 Colonel of prisoners after the battle of Qalath (CHAMPION, Monumentes, etc., pl. cxv; ROUSSEAU, Monumenti Storici, pl. lxxxvi, cxxxii, cxxxiii); and after the victories of Ramses III (CHAMPION, Monumentes, etc., pl. cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxxxiv; ROUSSEAU, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxxxv, cxxxvi, cxxxvii). Thothmes III approached his soldiery with having beloved in quondi flag. The following the leaders of the enemy to escape (MARETTI, Recueil de la campagne contre Mungathri, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. ii, pp. 142, 145).
trophies of a kind unknown in modern warfare. When an Egyptian killed or mortally wounded any one, he cut off, not the head, but the right hand or the phallicus, and brought it to the royal scribes. These made an accurate inventory of everything, and even Pharaoh did not disdain to be present at the registration. The body did not belong to the persons who obtained it, but was thrown into a common stock which was placed at the disposal of the sovereign: one part he reserved for the gods, especially for his father Amun of Thebes, who had given him the victory; another part he kept for himself, and the remainder was distributed among his army. Each man received a reward in proportion to his rank and services, such as male or female slaves, bracelets, necklaces, arms, vessels, or a certain measured weight of gold, known as the “gold of bravery.” A similar sharing of the spoil took place after every successful engagement: from Pharaoh to the meanest camp-follower, every man who had contributed to the success of a campaign returned home richer than he had set out, and the profits which he derived from war were a liberal compensation for the expenses in which it had involved him.

The results of the first expedition of Thutmose I. were of a decisive character; so much so, indeed, that he never again, it would seem, found it necessary during the remainder of his life to pass the isthmus. Northern Syria, it is true, did not remain long under tribute, if indeed it paid any at all after the departure of the Egyptians, but the southern part of the country, feeling itself in the grip of the new master, accepted its defeat: Gaza became the head-quarters of a garrison which secured the door of Asia for future invasion, and Pharaoh, freed from anxiety in this quarter, gave his whole time to the consolidation of his power in Ethiopia. The river and desert tribes of this region seem forgotten the severe lesson which he had given them; as soon as the last Egyptian soldier had left their territory they rebelled once more, and began a fresh series of forays which had to be repelled anew year after year. Thutmose I. had several times to drive them back in the years II. and III., but was able to make

1. The bringing in and registration of hands are mentioned in the Description de l’Egypte, Ant. vol. ii. pl. 12, now in the Musée, Monument de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxx., xxvii., and in Monumenti Storici, pl. xxxii., xxxvii.; that of the phallic, in the Description, Monumenti, pl. xxxv.; and in Monumenti Storici, pl. xxxvii. We find frequent references to hands brought in by the soldiers in the biographies of the two Asiatics at El-Keb, and of Ammennakhte; the numbers of the phallic are given in the Inscriptions of Amenophis (Mastretta, Kerash, pl. 25. fig. 30, at seq.) and of Ramses III. (Monumenti Storici, pl. xxxvii.).

2. On the biography of the two Asiatics at El-Keb see pp. 85, 86, 90, 91, 100, 108 of the present work.

3. This fact is nowhere explicitly stated in the monuments, but may be inferred, however, from the way in which Thutmose III. tells how he reached Thebes without opposition at the beginning of his first campaign, and re-founded the sanctuary of his predecessor there (Mastretta, fig. 74, in the Correspondance des Missionnaires, pl. 30). On the other hand, we learn from details in the Inscriptions of Ramses III. (Mastretta, Kerash, pl. 18, 19) that the mountains and plains beyond Thebes were in a state of open rebellion.

4. Inscription of the year II., engraved on the rocks of the Theban desert, published in the Asiatic, January 10, 1885, p. 47, interpreted by Fiumi, Hieroglyphica Inscriptiones super Obelisco di Tepid, in
short work of their rebellions. An inscription at Tombos on the Nile, in the very midst of the disturbed districts, told them in brave words what he was, and what he had done since he had come to the throne. Wherever he had gone, weapon in hand, "seeking a warrior, he had found none to withstand him; he had penetrated to valleys which were unknown to his ancestors, the inhabitants of which had never beheld the wearers of the double diadem." All this would have produced but little effect had he not backed up his words by deeds, and taken decisive measures to restrain the insolence of the barbarians. Tombos lies opposite to Hannek, at the entrance to that series of rapids known as the Third Cataract. The course of the Nile is here barred by a formidable dyke of granite, through which it has hollowed out six winding channels of varying width, dotted here and there with huge polished boulders and verdant islets. When the inundation is at its height, the rocks are covered and the rapids disappear, with the exception of the lowest, which is named Lokoli, where faint eddies mark the places of the more dangerous reefs; and were it not that the fall here is rather more pronounced and the current somewhat stronger, few would suspect the existence of a cataract at the spot. As the waters go down, however, the channels gradually reappear. When the river is at its lowest, the three westernmost channels dry up almost completely, leaving nothing but a series of shallow pools; these on the east still maintain their flow, but only one of them, that between the islands of Tombos and Abadin, remains navigable. Here Thûmusis built, under invocation of the gods of Heliopolis, one of those brickwork citadels, with its rectangular keep, which set at nought all the efforts and all the military science of the Ethiopians; attached to it was a harbour, where each vessel on its way downstream put in for the purpose of hiring a pilot. The monarchs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties had raised fortifications at the approaches to Wady Halfa, and their engineers skilfully chose the sites so as completely to protect from the ravages of the


The construction of this fortress is indicated in an inscrutable manner in II. 10, 11 of the Tombos inscription. The mastaba of the Great Palace (the gods of Heliopolis) have made a form on the soldiers of the king, which the nine peoples of Nubia excelled not by any degree, for, like a young panther before a bull which lowers his head, the gods of his Majesty have’Brien them with fear." (cf. Pras, "Petits Etudes Egyptologiques," pp. 3, 4, 24, 25). Quoique de considerable size, where Gebhoudt imagined he could distinguish an overgrown reedgrass where the importance which the establishment had assumed in ancient times (Matthaei, "Empire du Monde," vol. ii. pp. 251-252) the name of the town covers a fairly large area near the modern village of Kenman (Lecerf, "Postal et Asylas," etc., "Egypte," pp. 261-254).
Nubian pirates that part of the Nile which lay between Wady Halfa and Philae. Henceforward the garrison at Tombos was able to defend the mighty curve described by the river through the desert of Mahas, together with the island of Argo, and the confines of Dongola. The distance between Thebes and this southern frontier was a long one, and communication was slow during the winter months, when the subsidence of the waters had rendered the task of navigation difficult for the Egyptian ships. The king was obliged, besides, to concentrate his attention mainly on Asiatic affairs, and was no longer able to watch the movements of the African races with the same vigilance as his predecessors had exercised before Egyptian armies had made their way as far as the banks of the Euphrates. Thutmose placed the control of the countries south of Assuan in the hands of a vizcroy, who, invested with the august title of “Royal Son of Kâsh,” must have been regarded as having the blood of Râ himself running in his veins. 1 Sura, the first of these vizcroyos whose name has reached us, was in office at the beginning of the campaign of the year III. 2 He belonged, it would seem, to a Theban family, and for several centuries afterwards his successors are mentioned among the nobles who were in the habit of attending the court. Their powers were considerable: they commanded armies, built or restored temples, administered justice, and received the homage of loyal sheikhs or the submission of rebellious ones. 3 The period for which they were appointed was not fixed by law, and they held office simply at the king’s pleasure. 4 During the XIX. 5 dynasty it was usual to confer this office, the highest in the state, on a son of the sovereign, preferably the heir-apparent. Occasionally his appointment was purely formal; and he continued in attendance on his father, while a trusty substitute ruled in his place; often, however, he took the government on himself, and in the regions of the Upper Nile served an apprenticeship to the art of ruling. This district was in a perpetual state of war—a war without danger, but full of trickery and surprises: here he prepared himself for the larger arena of the Syrian campaigns, learning the arts

1 The meaning of this title was at first misunderstood. - Champollion (Lettres écrirés d’Égypte, 2nd ed., p. 166) and Benoist (Monuments Serv., vol. III, pp. 1, pp. 228, 296) took it literally, and thought it referred to Egyptian princes who were vassals or enemies of Egypt. But it would be a mistake to suppose that they or Ethiopia’s princes were driven on their subjects, restored by the Egyptians as vizcroyos, while admitting that they may have belonged to the same family (Arnold-Boscobel-Hemm, Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum, pp. 94, 95, 110).

2 He is mentioned in the Senen inscription as “the royal son Sura.” - Becker, Containing the Inscriptions in the Rosellae de Transvaal, vol. XIII, p. 202. Nahu, who had been regarded as the first branch of the line (Rosellae, Upon a Historical Tablet of Ramess II., p. 20; Budge, History of Egypt, vol. i, p. 56, and Geschichte Ägypten, p. 260), and who was still in office under Thutmose III., had been appointed by Thutmose I. (Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 47, no. 4), but after Sura.

3 Under Thutmose III., the vizcroy Nahu restored the temple at Tanis (Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 47, no. 20) and, under Tutankhamen, the vizcroy Hui received tribute from the Ethiopian princes, and presented them to the sovereign (Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 117, 118).

4 Cf. the list of these princes under Ramesses IV., in Wiedemann, Egyptian Geschichte, pp. 408, 409.
of generalship, more perfectly than was possible in the manœuvres of the parade-ground. Moreover, the appointment was dictated by religious as well as by political considerations. The presumptive heir to the throne was to his father what Horus had been to Osiris—his lawful successor, or, if need be, his avenger, should some act of treason impose on him the duty of vengeance: and was it not in Ethiopia that Horus had gained his first victories over Typhon?

To begin like Horus, and flesh his maiden steel on the descendants of the accomplices of Sit, was, in the case of the future sovereign, equivalent to affirming from the outset the reality of his divine extraction.

As at the commencement of the Theban dynasties, it was the river valley only in those regions of the Upper Nile which belonged to the Pharaohs. From this time onward it gave support to an Egyptian population as far as the juncture of the two Niles; it was a second Egypt, but a poorer one, whose cities presented the same impoverished appearance as that which we find to-day in the towns of Nubia. The tribes scattered right and left in the desert, or distributed beyond the confines of the two Niles among the plains of Sennar, were descended from the old indigenous races, and paid valuable tribute every year in precious metals, ivory, timber, or the natural products of

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1. Drawn by Farnier-Galiné, from a photograph by Bœtinger, taken in 1881.
2. E. de Hous was the first to point out, "Traité d'une Memoire Egyptien en histoire historique," p. 14, in the Revue Archéologique, 1st series, vol. 15 (1833), that in the Oedipus Papyrus the title of "Prince of Kush" was assigned to the heir-presumptive to the throne.
their districts, under penalty of armed invasion. Among these races were still to be found descendants of the Mazaiit and Cusaiit, who in days gone by had opposed the advance of the victorious Egyptians; the name of the Cusaiit was, indeed, used as a generic term to distinguish all those tribes which frequented the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea, but the wave of conquest had passed far beyond the boundaries reached in early campaigns, and had brought the Egyptians into contact with nations, with whom they had been in only indirect commercial relations in former times. Some of those were light-skinned men of a type similar to that of the modern Abyssinians or Gallus; they had the same haughty and imperious carriage, the same well-developed and powerful frame, and the same love of fighting. Most of the

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1. The tribute of the Gendiit, or people of the south, and that of Kesh and of the Cusaiit, is mentioned repeatedly in the Jumala & Thaïma VII, II, 15-17 for the year XXXI, II, 37-39 for the year XXXIII, and II, 68-70 for the year XXXIV. The regularity with which this item occurs, unaccompanied by any mention of war, following after each Syrian campaign, shows that it was an established operation which was registered as an understood thing. True, the collection does not give the sum for every year, but then it only dealt with Ethiopian affairs as far as they were subsidiary to events in Asia; the payment was made the less an annual war, the amount varying in accordance with local agreement.


3. The Jumala & Thaïma VII mentions the tribute of Cusaiit for the peoples of the south, the tribute of Cusaiit for the people of the mountain between the Nile and the sea, the tribute of Kesh for the people of the south, & Gendiit (cf. for this term the term, Rect. Hieroglyphes, pp. 165. X 11, and The aethiopic & Hausserli, of the Berlin Congress, Archäologische Zeitung, p. 37, 45).
remaining tribes were of black blood, and such of them as we see depicted on the monuments resemble closely the negroes inhabiting Central Africa at the present day. They have the same elongated skull, the low prominent forehead, hollow temples, short flattened nose, thick lips, broad shoulders, and salient breast, the latter contrasting sharply with the undeveloped appearance of the lower part of the body, which terminates in thin legs almost devoid of calves. Egyptian civilization had already penetrated among these tribes, and, as far as dress and demeanour were concerned, their chiefs differed in no way from the great lords who formed the escort of the Pharaoh. We see these provincial dignitaries represented in the white robe and pattens of starched, pleated, and gusseted linen; an innate taste for bright colours, even in those early times, being betrayed by the red or yellow scarf in which they wrapped themselves, passing it over one shoulder and round the waist, whence the ends depended and formed a kind of apron. A panther's skin covered the back, and one or two ostrich-feathers waved from the top of the head or were fastened on one side to the fillet confining the hair, which was arranged in short curls and locks, stiffened with gum and mattali with grease, so as to form a sort of cap or grotesque arrope round the skull. The men delighted to load themselves with rings, bracelets, earrings, and necklaces, while from their arms, necks, and belts hung long strings of glass beads, which jingled with every movement of the wearer. They seem to have frequently chosen a woman as their ruler, and her dress appears to have closely resembled that of the Egyptian ladies. She appeared before her subjects in a chador drawn by men, and protected from the sun by an umbrella edged with fringe. The common people went about.

1 Cf. in addition to the Egyptian name represented in the woodcut on p. 272, the type of tertiary aspect popular among, for instance, on the Theban tombs of the XVIIth dynasty, and on those of Ramses (Viénot, Le Tombeau de la Reine, pl. 24, in the Memoria de la Mission de Egypte, vol. 1, pp. 25-26), of Amenemhet (Viénot, Tombeau de la Reine, in the Memoria, vol. 1, pp. 347, 348), and of Haremhab (Bouché-Leclercq, Tombeau d'Haremhab, in the Memoria, vol. 1, pp. 353, 354, and pl. 74).

2 Cf. in regard to these strings of glass beads, the cut published by Burnouf, in Le Tombeau d'Haremhab, in the Memoria, vol. 1, pl. 19.

3 Of the queen represented in the cut on p. 272; later on, when the Abydos element overran...
nearly naked, having merely a loin-cloth of some woven stuff or an animal's skin thrown round their hips. Their heads were either shaven, or adorned with tufts of hair stiffened with gum. The children of both sexes were no clothes until the age of puberty; the women wrapped themselves in a rude garment or in a covering of linen, and carried their children on the hip or in a basket of esparto grass on the back, supported by a leather band which passed across the forehead. One characteristic of all these tribes was their love of singing and dancing, and their use of the drum and cymbals; they were active and industrious, and carefully cultivated the rich soil of the plain, devoting themselves to the raising of cattle, particularly of oxen, whose horns they were accustomed to train fantastically into the shapes of lyres, bows, and spirals, with bifurcations at the ends, or with small human figures as terminations. As in the case of other negro tribes, they plied the blacksmith's and also the goldsmith's trade, working up both gold and silver into rings, chains, and quaintly shaped vases, some specimens of their art being little else than toys, similar in design to those which delighted the Byzantine Caesars of later date. A wall-painting remains of a gold epergne, which represents men and monkeys engaged in gathering the fruit of a group of dôm-palms. Two individuals lead each a tame giraffe by the halter, others kneeling on the rim raise their hands to implore mercy from an unseen enemy, while negro prisoners, groveling on their stomachs, painfully attempt to raise their head and shoulders from the ground. This, doubtless, represents a scene from the everyday life of the people of the Upper Nile, and gives a faithful picture of what took place among many of its tribes during a rapid inroad of some viceroy of Kish or a raid by his lieutenants.

The resources which Thothmes I. was able to draw regularly from these southern regions, in addition to the wealth collected during his Syrian campaign, enabled him to give a great impulse to building work. The tutelary deity of his capital—Amon-Re—who had ensured him the victory in all his battles, had a prior claim on the bulk of the spoil; he received it as a matter of course, and his temple at Thebes was thereby considerably enlarged; we are not, however, able to estimate exactly what proportion fell to other cities, such as

the Egyptian, the Ethiopian empire was governed by a succession of queens, the Cendees of classical historians (Wardlaw, L'Ethiopie au temps de Thèbes, p. 109).

1 Burchardt, Le Tombeau d'Heracle, pl. iv.; Sebill, Tombes de Médè in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. v. p. 551, where different examples of this mode of dressing the hair are shown.

2 See the processions of negro scribes or captives in Charlemagne, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxv. and cxxv. Nos. XXX., XXXI., XXXIX., 3 Vincent, Le Tombeau de Bekhmas, pl. vi.; and Borchardt, Le Tombeau d'Haronka, pl. vi. (Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. v.).

4 Cf. Hiler, p. 225. Some of these objects, mounted in gold or silver, and dating from the time of Ramesses II., were to be seen represented at Buit al Wally (Chambon, Monuments, pl. ixxiv., ixxv.; Borchardt, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxvii.; Lefèvre, Monum. iii., 917).

Kurnach, Elephantine, Abydos, and Memphis, where a few scattered blocks of stone still bear the name of the king. Troubles broke out in Lower Egypt, but they were speedily subdued by Thothmes, and he was able to end his days in the enjoyment of a profound peace, undisturbed by any cares save that of ensuring a regular succession to his throne, and of restraining the ambitions of those who looked to become possessed of his heritage. His position was, indeed, a curious one; although de facto absolute in power, his children by Queen Ahmose took precedence of him, for by her mother's descent she had a better right to the crown than her husband, and legally the king should have retired in favour of his sons as soon as they were old enough to reign. The eldest of them, Aahmosis, died early. The second, Amenmosis, lived at least to attain

**GOLD EMBLEMS REPRESENTING SCENES FROM EGYPTIAN LIFE.**

LEONET, Revue, t. vi. 39, where Thothmosis II. subordinates his own coronation for those of his father. The second of the two small statues at Heliopolis described by Guerlot, *Egyp. Revue*, 1878, p. 210, and *Musée de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 92, 93, was erroneously attributed to Thothmosis I.; it is really the work of Thothmosis III., named Manenkhepera, a variant of his cartouches pronounced.

WILHELM, *Egypische Geschichte*, p. 282, found his name three can in a block of hard limestone.


GARAN, Inscription bilingue de Thotmosis I., in the *Cassell de Traité*, vol. vi. p. 142.

Drawn by Flucher-Gollin, from a painting on the tomb of Hat (Lavater, *Ritual*, iii. 118).

The expressions from which we gather that his reign was disturbed by outbreaks of internal rebellion (Lavater, *Ritual*, ii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24), E. in Richt., *Études de Musée de Karnak*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc., vol. i. p. 27) seem to refer to a period subsequent to the Syrian expedition, and prior to his alliance with the Princess Hatshepsut.

Of what has already been said in regard to this queen and her rights we refer to p. 104 of the present work.

Aahmosis is represented on the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab (CHEMBAILLY, *Monuments*, vol. i. pp. 681, 682; LIEBES, *Ritual*, iii. 186-190), H. and J. on Excav., *Inscriptions hiérophylaiques*, pl. xix. viii., TRAUM, *Rituel* Paheri, pl. iv. vii. 25, where Mr. Griffith (p. 127) imagines he can trace two distinct Aahmosis, for the present, I am of opinion that there was but one, the son of Thothmosis I. (MASCARON, *Les Monuments du Palais de Deir el-Habère*, in the *Musée de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pp. 286-288). His funereal chapel was discovered at Thebes by GEBHARD, *Le Musée Egyptien*,
adolescence, he was allowed to share the crown with his father from the fourth year of the latter's reign, and he also held a military command in the Delta, but before long he also died, and Thutmose I was left with only one son—a

Thatmosis like himself—to succeed him. The mother of this prince was a certain Mutnofret, half-sister to the king on his father's side, who enjoyed such a high rank in the royal family that her husband allowed her to be portrayed in royal dress, her pedigree on the mother's side, however, was not so distinguished, and precluded her son from being recognised as heir-apparent, hence the occupation of the "seat of Horus" reverted once more to a woman, Hatshepsut, the eldest daughter of Ahmose. Hatshepsut herself was not, however, of purely divine descent. Her matrilineal ancestor, Siamun, had not been a son of the royal house, and this flaw in her pedigree threatened to mar, in her case, the sanctity of the solar blood. According to Egyptian belief, this defect of birth could only be remedied by a miracle, and the ancestral god, becoming


1 Mutnofret was supposed by Marcou (Karnak, pl. 38: 4, and Text, pp. 59, 60) to have been a daughter of Thutmose II.; the statue reproduced on p. 237 has shown us that she was sister of Thutmose II. and mother of Thutmose III. Paris, Paris, in the Zeitschrift, 1887, p. 122; Marcou, Les Monuments révolus de Deir el-Bahari, in the Memôres de la Mission du Caire, vol. i., pp. 621, 624.

2 Drawn by Benoist, from a photograph by Naville (The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, pl. 11.)

3 Cf. for this theory what has been said in Marcou, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pp. 258, 235, and at pp. 77, 78 of the present work. A similar instance of divine constitution is known to us in the case of
incarnate in the earthly father at the moment of conception, had to descend to infuse fresh virtue into his race in this manner. The inscriptions with which Hatashpsut decorated her chapel relate how, on that fatal night, Amon descended upon Ahmus in a flood of perfume and light. The queen received him favourably, and the divine spouse on leaving her announced to her the approaching birth of a daughter, in whom his valour and strength should be manifested once more here below. The sequel of the story is displayed in a series of pictures before our eyes. The protecting deities who preside over the birth of children conduct the queen to her couch, and the sorrowful resignation depicted on her face, together with the languid grace of her whole figure, display in this portrait of her a finished work of art. The child enters the world amid shouts of joy, and the purifying gush which nourishes both her and her double constitutes themselves her nurses. At the appointed time, her earthly father summons the great nobles to a solemn festival, and presents to them his daughter, who is to reign with him over Egypt and the world. From henceforth Hatashpsut adopts every possible device to conceal her real sex.

She changes the termination of her name, and calls herself Hatashpsut, the chief of the nobles, in lieu of Hatashpsut, the chief of the favourites. She becomes the King-Maker, and on the occasion of all public ceremonies also appears in male costume. We see her represented on the Theban monuments with...
uncovered shoulders, devoid of breasts, wearing the short loin-cloth and the keffleb, while the diadem rests on her closely cut hair, and the false beard depends from her chin. She retained, however, the feminine pronunciation in speaking of herself, and also an epithet, inserted in her cartouch, which declared her to be the betrothed of Amon —khensit Amentiu. Her father united her while still young to her brother Thutmose who appears to have been her junior, and this fact doubtless explains the very subordinate part which he plays beside the queen. When Thutmose I died, Egyptian etiquette demanded that a man should be at the head of affairs, and this youth succeeded his father in office; but Hatchespeth, while relinquishing the semblance of power and the externals of pomp to her husband, kept the direction of the state entirely in her own hands.

1 *Naville,* The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir, p. 15, et seq. We know how greatly puzzled the early Egyptologists were by this manner of designating the queen, and bow Champollion, in striving to explain the monuments of the period, was driven to suggest the existence of a regent, Amunmaat, the male counterpart and husband of Hatchespeth (Champollion, Lettres extraits d‘Egypte, 2nd edit., pp. 202–208), whose name he read Amenares. This hypothesis, adopted by Rossellini (Mammisi Bodl., vol. i, pp. 229–230), and vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 126, et seq., with some slight modifications, was rejected by Borch. This latter writer pointed out the identity of the two personages represented by Champollion, and proved them to be one and the same queen; the Amenares of Manetho; he called her Amun-wedjed (Archeological Society, Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum, pp. 77–79), but he made her out to be a sister of Amenophis I, associated in the throne with her brother Thutmose I and Thutmose II, and regent at the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III. He tried to show that she was the daughter of Thutmose I, the wife of Thutmose II, and the sister of Thutmose III. (On the Years and Cyphers used by the Ancient Egyptians, in the Memoirs of the Dublin Academy, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 122, et seq., and On the Reform of Divine and Temporal Names, pp. 17–18; of Brussels, On the Reliefs on the Amon-heru at Constantinople, p. 17) it is only quite recently that her true descent and place in the family tree has been recognised. She was not the sister, but the aunt of Thutmose III. (Maspero, Notes sur la jonne du 16, in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., 1888, vol. xi. pt. i, p. 170–182). The queen, called by Borch Amun-wedjed, the latter part of her name being dropped, and the royal patron being joined to her cognomen, was subsequently styled Heser or Hesenni, and this form is still adopted by some authors. The true reading is Hatchesvth or Hatchhespeth, then Hatchespeth or Hatchespeth, as Naville has pointed out.


3 It is evident from the expressions employed by Thutmose I in associating his daughter with himself on the throne, that she was unmarried at the time, and Naville thinks that she married her
The portraits of her which have been preserved represent her as having refined features, with a proud and energetic expression. The oval of the face is elongated, the cheeks a little hollow, and the eyes deep set under the arch of the brow, while the lips are thin and tightly closed. She governed with so firm a hand that neither Egypt nor its foreign vassals dared to make any serious attempt to withdraw themselves from her authority. One raid, in which several prisoners were taken, punished a rising of the Shasu, in Central Syria, while the usual expeditions maintained order among the peoples of Ethiopia, and quenched any attempt which they might make to revolt. When in the second year of his reign the news was brought to Thutmosis II that the inhabitants of the Upper Nile had ceased to observe the conditions which his father had imposed upon them, he "became furious as a panther," and assembling his troops set out for war without further delay. The presence of the king with the army filled the rebels with dismay, and a campaign of a few weeks put an end to their attempt at rebellings.

The earlier kings of the XVIIIth dynasty had chosen for their last resting-

[Image of a statue of Thutmosis II]
place a spot on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, where the cultivated land joined the desert, close to the pyramids built by their predecessors. Probably, after the burial of Amenophis, the space was fully occupied, for Thutmose I had to seek his burying-ground some way up the ravine, the mouth of which was blocked by their monuments. The Libyan cliff here forms a kind of amphitheatre of vertical cliffs, which descend to within some ninety feet of the valley, where a sloping mass of detritus connects them by a gentle declivity with the plain. The great lords and the queens in the times of the Antus and the Unas were taken possession of this spot, but their chapels were by this period in ruins, and their tombs almost all lay buried under the waves of sand which the wind from the desert drives perpetually over the summit of the cliffs.

This site was seized on by the architect Thutmose, who laid there the foundations of a building which was destined to be unique in the world. Its ground plan consisted of an avenue of sphinxes, starting from the plain and running between the tombs till it reached a large courtyard, terminated on the west by a colonnade, which was supported by a double row of pillars. Above

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1 Cf. what is said with regard to the tombs of Amenophis when the Pharaohs of various dynasties were buried, in Maspero, Drama of Civilization, pp. 409, 441, 538-539, and p. 20 of the present work.

2 Drawn by Pouillon, from a photograph by Henri Bergnachey, taken in 1881, from the edge of the plateau overlooking the valley, or the path leading to the Tombs of the Kings.

3 We still find there, for instance, the tombs of Queen Nofret and Taus (Laffane, Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah, p. 37, n. 1, and Notes sur l'Egypte dans le Graecismes et d'histoire, 1890, in the Burek, 1884, p. 77).
and beyond this was the vast middle platform, connected with the upper court by the central causeway which ran through it from end to end; this middle platform, like that below it, was terminated on the west by a double colonnade, through which access was gained to two chapels hollowed out of the mountain side, while on the north it was bordered with excellent effect by a line of proto-Doric columns ranged against the face of the cliff. This northern colonnade was never completed, but the existing part is of as exquisite proportions as anything that Greek art has ever produced. At length we reach the upper platform, a nearly square courtyard, cutting on one side into the mountain slope, the opposite side being enclosed by a wall paved by a single door, while to right and left ran two lines of buildings destined for purposes connected with the daily worship of the temple. The sanctuary was cut out of the solid rock, but the walls were faced with white limestone; some of the chambers are vaulted, and all of them decorated with bas-reliefs of exquisite workmanship, perhaps the finest examples of this period. Thutmose I. scarcely did more than lay the

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* Drawn by Bouchier, from a photograph supplied by Naville.
* A sketch of the history of the temple was furnished in part by Marilhac (Deir el-Bahari, Documents topographiques, historiques et photographiques recueillis dans un temple pendant les fouilles, Texte, 1877, pp. 1-11, 20-26), and fully by Naville (The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, its Plan, its Founders, and its new Engineers, 1886, pp. 1-12, 13-23), who completely cleared the ruins for the Egypt Exploration Fund, in the years 1882-92. Marilhac, struck by the strange appearance of the edifice, thought that it betrayed a foreign influence, and supposed that Queen Hathsapet had constructed it on the model of some buildings seen by her officers in the land of Punt (Deir el-Bahari, pp. 10, 11). It is, however, a purely Egyptian structure of the Heno-Sperian kind.

* The English commentary employed in describing this temple is that used in the Guide to Deir el-Bahari, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.
foundations of this magnificent building, but his mummy was buried in it with great pomp, to remain there until a period of disturbance and general insecurity obliged those in charge of the necropolis to remove the body, together with those of his family, to some secure hiding-place.¹ The king was already advanced in age at the time of his death, being over fifty years old, to judge by the incisor teeth, which are worn and corrodosed by the impurities of which the Egyptian bread was full. The body, though small and emaciated, shows evidence of unusual muscular strength; the head is bald, the features are refined, and the mouth still bears an expression characteristic of sorrow and cunning.² Thutmose II. carried on the works begun by his father, but did not long survive him.³ The mask on his coffin represents him with a smiling and amiable countenance, and with the fine pathetic eyes which show his descent from the Pharaohs of the XIIth

1. Both P. de Rouge, *Études des Mon. du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Bibliothèque Archéologique Egyptienne*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 11, and Mariette (*Deir el-Bahari*, p. 35) were opposed to the view that the temple was founded by Thutmose I., and Naville agrees with them (*The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 16, 17). Judging from the many new texts discovered by Naville, I am inclined to think that Thutmose I. began the structure, but that, from time, it would appear, which had not been so fully developed as they afterwards became. From indications to be found here and there in the inscriptions of the Ramesside period, I am not, moreover, inclined to regard Deir el-Bahari as the funerary chapel of tombs which were situated in some unknown place elsewhere (*Mariette, Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 2, 7). *Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 8-9), but I believe that it included the burial-place of Thutmose I., Thutmose II., Queen Hatshepsut, and of numerous representatives of their family; indeed, it is probable that Thutmose III., and his children were also in their resting-places.

² The coffin of Thutmose I. was usurped by the priest-king Piankhi (Maurice, *Les Monuments royaux*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. 1, p. 543), and the mummy was lost. I fancy I have discovered it in mummy No. 1823, of which the hand presents a striking resemblance to those of Thutmose II. and III. (J. de Sall, pp. 381, 382), a fact which may be established by comparing the illustration given above with those on pages 233 and 239.

³ The latest year to the present known of this king is the 17th, found upon the Amon stele (Lepsius, Denkm. III, III a), in *Egypt*, p. 71), followed by Ed. Meyer (*Géographie Egyptienne*, pp. 292, 293), in which it is stated that Hatshepsut died in the prime of her life, but I am inclined to believe, from the marks of disease found on the skin of his mummy, that the queen was insane at the time he was sacriified to her (cf. *Wiedemann, Egyptische Geschichte, Supplement*, p. 93).

dynasty. His statues bear the same expression, which indeed is that of the mummy itself. He resembles Thothmes I., but his features are not so marked, and are characterised by greater gentleness. He had scarcely reached the age of thirty when he fell a victim to a disease of which the process of embalming could not remove the traces. The skin is scabrous in patches, and covered with scars, while the upper part of the skull is bald; the body is thin and somewhat shrunken, and appears to have lacked vigour and muscular power.

By his marriage with his sister, Thothmes left daughters only, but he had one son, also a Thothmes, by a woman of low birth, perhaps merely a slave, whose name was Isis. Hatshepsut proclaimed this child her successor, for his youth and humble parentage could not excite her jealousy. She betrothed him to her one surviving daughter, Hatshepsut II., and having thus settled the succession in the male line, she continued to rule alone in the name of her nephew who was still a minor, as she had done formerly in the case of her half-brother.

Her reign was a prosperous one, but whether the flourishing condition of things was owing to the ability of her political administration or to her fortunate choice of ministers, we are unable to tell. She pressed forward the work of building with great activity, under the direction of her architect Sanmût, not only at Deir el-Bahari, but at Karnak, and indeed everywhere in Thebes. The

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1. Maspero, Les Monuments royaux, in the Mem. de la Fouqué, vol. i., pp. 315-347, where a complete description of the body is given from its examination by Dr. Bouquet.

2. Two daughters of Queen Hatshepsut I., are known, one, Nofertari, died young (Charpin, Mem. de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. ex n., 1-3; Lassus, Denkm., ii. iii. 39, 52, 55 bis, vol. ii.), and Hatshepsut II. Hattot, who was married to her half-brother on her father's side, Thothmes III., who was thus her cousin as well (Lassus, Denkm., ii., 39, 52, 55 bis, vol. ii.). Amenhotep II. was offspring of this marriage.

3. The name of the mother of Thothmes III. was revealed to us on the wrappings found with the mummy of the king at the harking-place of Deir el-Bahari (Maspero, Les Monuments royaux, in the Mem. de la Fouqué, vol. i., pp. 347, 348), the abbeuse of precisely this character, whilst it shows the humble extraction of the holy Isis, explains at the same time the somewhat obscure relations between Hatshepsut and her nephew (Maspero, Notes sur différents points de Géographie, etc., in the Zett.chrift., 1862, pp. 103, 104; cf. Naudin, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, p. 10).


5. Drawn by Bouquet, from a photograph in the possession of Emir Bourgeois-Dey, taken in 1888.

6. This is the individual represented on p. 315; besides his statues in the Berlin Museum (Eggen, Ausführliche Verzeichnisse, p. 88, No. 32057), an inscription exists on the rocks at Aswan, which ascribes to him the erection of two obelisks, probably those at Karnak (Lassus, Denkm., ii. iii. 39, 52, 55 bis, vol. ii.: J. de Morgan, Catalogue des Monuments, vol. i., p. 41, No. 181 bis). A standing statue of him was found in 1886 by Miss Bouchier in the temple of Mut at Karnak.
plans of the building had been arranged under Thutmose I., and their execution had been carried out so quickly, that in many cases the queen had merely to see to the sculptural ornamentation on the all but completed walls. This work, however, afforded her sufficient excuse, according to Egyptian custom, to attribute the whole structure to herself, and the opinion she had of her own powers is exhibited with great naivety in her inscriptions. She loves to pose as prudently meditating her actions long beforehand, and as never venturing on the smallest undertaking without reference to her divine father. "This is what I teach to mortals who shall live in centuries to come, and whose hearts shall inquire concerning the monument which I have raised to my father, speaking and explaining as they contemplate it: as for me, when I sat in the palace and thought upon him who created me, my heart prompted me to raise to him two obelisks of electrum, whose apices should pierce the firmaments, before the noble gateway which is between the two great pylons of the King Thutmose I. And my heart led me to address these words to those who shall see my monuments in after-years and who shall speak of my great deeds: Beware of saying, 'I know not, I know not why it was resolved to carve this mountain wholly of gold!' These two obelisks, My Majesty has made them electrum for my father Amon, that my name may remain and live on in this temple for ever and ever, for this single block of granite has been cut, without let or obstacle, at the desire of My Majesty, between the first of the second month of Pirit of the V* year, and the 30th of the fourth month of Shouma of the VI* year, which makes seven months from the day when they began to quarry it."* One of these two monoliths is still standing among the ruins of Karnak, and the grace of its outline, the finish of its hieroglyphes, and the beauty of the figures which cover it, amply justify the pride which the queen and her brother felt in contemplating it. The tops of the pyramids were gilt, so that "they could be seen from both banks of the river," and "their brilliancy lit up the two lands of

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* Drawn by Paucker-Delius, from a photograph in the possession of E. Bouchac-Bey, taken in 1881.

* Plume d'Aveza, Monuments Egyptiens, p. 278; West, ii, 3-8 North, ii, 1-2, 3-8; Le Strange, Mem. ii. 24 sq. ii. 2-3, and ii. 7-2, 2-8; cf. La Posad, Report in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 128-136. These two obelisks were not in the quarry under the supervision of Sais, as we are informed by the entire monuments put up by this individual at Aveza (Le Strange, Denon, ii. 29 bis 31.) M. M. S. O. C. Monuments, vol. i. p. 44, No. 181 (4).
Egypt: "needless to say these metal spices have long disappeared." Later on, in the VIIth or VIIIth year of the queen's reign, Amon enjoined a work which was more difficult to carry out. On a day when Hâthopesitt had gone to the temple to offer prayers, "her supplications arose up before the throne of the Lord of Karnak, and a command was heard in the sanctuary, a benediction of the god himself, that the ways which lead to Pânti should be explored, and that the roads to the 'Ladders of Incense' should be trodden." The aromatic gums required for the temple services had hitherto reached the Theban priests solely by means of foreign intermediaries; so that in the slow transport across Africa they lost much of their freshness, besides being dulled by passing through impure hands. In addition to these drawbacks, the merchants confounded under the one term "Anti" substances which differed considerably both in value and character, several of them, indeed, scarcely coming under the category of perfumes, and hence being unacceptable to the gods. One kind, however, found favour with them above all

The date of this expedition depends on an inscription, incompletely reproduced by Dümichen, "Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin," p. 19; and in its entirety by Naville, Travel Inscriptions de la reine Hâthopesitt, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xv., pp. 103-106, which records that in the year IX the incense trees brought from Pânti had been recently planted. The voyage lasted probably from the year VII. to the year VIII. The illustrations of this voyage discovered by Mariette in 1858 were first published by Dümichen, "Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin," folio, 1868, and in Historische Inschriften, vol. ii. pp. xli-xvii., and later by Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Documents topographiques, etc., in folio, Text in quarto, 1877. Dümichen and Mariette, in the course of their respective collections of plates, examined them, and Chabas restored special considerations on them. (See i. "Natürliche Geschichte", vol. iii., pp. 151-172. They were afterwards sketched by Budge, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 251-256; Mariette, Les plus récents Inscriptions de l'Égypte, pp. 9-29; Lepsius, Handbuch und Schlüssel zu den Denkmälern des alten Ägypten, IV. Der Landeswillen, Denkmäler auf dem Roten Meer in allen Zeiten, pp. 23-37; Keimer, Studien zum Landeswillen des alten Ägypten, in the Zeitschrift der von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, 1880, vol. xxii., by Okke, Die Pharaonen des Oktobfr, pp. 15-16, 131-149, and added by Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, pp. 21-25.

"Deir el-Bahari," in the translation of the Egyptian word "Kishâr," employed in the text about the country laid out in terraces where the incense trees grew, is, with a different meaning, the "Bedlah" (Cloisters) of the eastern Mediterranean.

"Drawn by a native-Leuch, from a photograph by M. de Maricis: the original is in the Berlin Museum, wherein Lepsius brought it; cf. Rümer, Ägyptische Ereignisse, p. 24, No. 225." Sammun is squatting and fishing between his toes and knows the young king Tuthmosis III, whose hand with the youthful side lock appears from under his chin.
others, being that which still abounds in Somaliland at the present day—a gum secreted by the incense acacia. It was accounted a pious work to send and obtain it direct from the locality in which it grew, and if possible to procure the plants themselves; for accclimatisation in the Nile valley. But the relations maintained in former times with the people of these aromatic regions had been suspended for centuries. None now climbed the ‘Ladders of Incense,’ none of the Egyptians; they knew of them from hearsay, from the stories of people of ancient times, for these products were brought to the kings of the Delta, thy fathers, to one or other of them, from the times of thy ancestors the kings of the Sait who lived of yore.” All that could be recalled of this country was summed up in the facts, that it lay to the south or to the extreme east, that from thence many of the gods had come into Egypt, while from out of it the sun rose anew every morning. Amon, in his omniscience, took upon himself to describe it and give an exact account of its position. “The ‘Ladders of Incense’ is a secret province of Tonitir, it is in truth a place of delight. I created it, and I thereto lead Thy Majesty, together

1 From the form of the tree depicted on the monument (cf. p. 233 of the present volume, where some are represented), it is certain that the Egyptians went to Puntul in search of the Boswellia Tharif Kast. (Lonier, La Flore Pharaonique, Teil zwei, p. 305); but they brought back with them other products also, which they confounded together under the same ‘Incense’.


3 Drawn by Paouier-Guilla, from a photograph by Beato.

4 See pp. 84, 85 of the Dawn of Civilization concerning the Egyptian gods who came from Puntul, and pp. 282-283, 333, 434, 494-496 for the relations between Puntul and Egypt, both under the Memphite, and during the first Theban empire.
with Mr. Hathor, Urdu, the Lady of Phænit, Urdu-hikan, the magician and regent of the gods, that the aromatic gum may be gathered at will, that the vessels may be laden joyfully with living incense trees and with all the products of this earth." 1 Hathorspin chose out five well-built galleys, and manned them with picked crews. She caused them to be laden with such merchandise as would be most attractive to the barbarians, and placing the vessels under the command of a royal envoy, she sent them forth on the Red Sea in quest of the incense. 2

We are not acquainted with the name of the port from which the fleet set sail, nor do we know the number of weeks it took to reach the land of Phænit, neither is there any record of the incidents which befell it by the way. It sailed past the places frequented by the mariners of the XII dynasty—Suakin, Massowah, and the islands of the Red Sea; it touched at the country of the Ilmi which lay to the west of the Bab al-Mandab, went safely through the Straits, and landed at last in the Land of Perfumes on the Somali coast. 3 There, between the bay of Zollah and Ras Hafun, stretched the Barbaric region, frequented in later times by the merchants of Myos Hormos and of Berenice. The first stations which the latter encountered beyond Cape Direh—Avalis, Malao, Mundos, and Moyno—were merely open roadsteads offering no secure shelter; 4 but beyond Moyno, the classical navigators reported the existence of several wadys, the last of which, the Elephant River, lying between Ras el-Fit and Cape Guardafui, appears to have been large enough not only to

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1 *Description, Hist. Ind.,* vol. 2, p. 122, 139-175; *Marzuber, Deir el-Bahari,* p. 69. 11, 13-15.

2 An enumeration of the libraries of Phœnis is found, as early as the *Memorial of Stamboul,* vol. II, pp. 31, 31.


4 It was for some time believed that the five vessels portrayed were merely representations of a more uncertain epoch (Burnouf, *Géogr. d'Egypte,* p. 291); the proof that they formed the entire squadron is given in *Maxime,* *La Pompe de Sétite,* No. 1, *Géogr. d'Egypte,* p. 291.

5 That part of Phœnis where the Egyptians landed, was at first located in Arabia by Brugsch (Geogr. Arab., vol. II, p. 14, and infra, pp. 62, 65), then transferred to Somaliland by Marcotte (Les Tentes de Marcotte, pp. 30-35, and *Deir el-Bahari,* pp. 131-135), whose opinion was accepted by most Egyptologists (Brunner, *Géogr. d'Egypte,* p. 283, 284; Maxime, in *La Pompe de Sétite,* p. 301); this suggestion was adopted by Lichten (Handbuch der Schiffahrt, etc., pp. 52, 53), and subsequently by E. Meyer, who believed that its inhabitants were the ancestors of the Somalis (Gesch. der Alten Egyptians, p. 224). Since Preuss has endeavored to shorten the distance between this country and Egypt, and he places the Phœnicians' between Suakin and Massowah (Studien zur Gesch. des Alten Egypt., pp. 170, 171, and *Die Landesk. Forsch.,* vol. I, p. 22), this was, indeed, the port of Suakin known under the XII dynasty (cf. Dames de Constantin, pp. 498, 499) as late as the time when it was believed that the Nile supplied itself there, and the present Somali coast can be equated with the island of the Serapis King (Marcotte, *Deir el-Bahari,* p. 303; cf. *La Pompe de Sétite,* p. 35). But, according to Marcotte, that the Phœnicians when the Egyptians of Hathorspin's time landed is the present Somali coast—a view which is also shared by Sylla (Les Tentes de Marcotte, pp. 34, 35, and *Reisezuf. des Reisen,* p. 3), but which Brugsch, in the latter part of his life, abandoned (Nouvelles, *Reisez. des Reisen,* p. 35, 36) from the *Preuss.* (Die Landesk. Forsch., vol. I, pp. 170, 171, and *Die Landesk. Forsch.*)}

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1 *For the shores of Malao, Mundos, and Moyno, cf. the information furnished in the* *Reisez. des Reisen,* vol. I, pp. 170, 171. 2 *Die Landesk. Forsch.*}
afford anchorage to several vessels of light draught, but to permit of their performing easily any evolutions required. During the Roman period, it was there, and there only, that the best kind of incense could be obtained, and it was probably at this point also that the Egyptians of Hatchepstes’s time landed. The Egyptian vessels sailed up the river till they reached a place beyond the influence of the tide, and then dropped anchor in front of a village scattered along a bank fringed with sycamores and palms. The huts of the inhabitants were of circular shape, each being surmounted with a conical roof; some of them were made of closely plaited reeds, and there was no opening in any of them save the door. They were built upon piles, as a protection from the rise of the river and from wild animals, and access to them was gained by means of movable ladders, often having the end rested beneath them. The natives belonged to a light-coloured race, and the portraits we possess of them resemble the Egyptian type in every particular. They were tall and thin, and of a colour which varied between brick-red and the darkest brown. Their beards were pointed, and the hair was cut short in some instances, while in others it was arranged in close rows of curls or in small plaits. The costume of the men consisted of a loin-cloth only, while the dress of the women was a yellow garment without sleeves, drawn in at the waist and falling halfway below the knee.

The royal envoy landed under an escort of eight soldiers and an officer, but, to prove his pacific intentions, he spread out upon a low table a variety of

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1 I have shown, from a careful examination of the bas-reliefs, that the Egyptians must have landed not on the east side, as was at first believed (Dilke, The Phœnix of Egypt, Vol. i, pp. 17, 18), but on the west bank of the Nile (infra, p. 31), and this observation has been accepted as decisive by many Egyptologists (Kästel, Geschichte des Geschlechts, etc., IV. Die Land, p. 17.) NATICKER, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, p. 23: records this, newly discovered fragment: since the presence of a hippopotamus (NAVIER, Egypt, etc., ibid., 1854, p. 34). Since then, I have sought to identify the landing-place of the Egyptians with the most important of the craters mentioned by the Greek-Roman mariners as assembled for their vessels (Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, § 10, in Millin-Trotter, Geography, etc., Muscovia, vol. i, pp. 207, 208, 62; this which they called the Elephant River, now to the present Ras el-Fil.

2 Taken by Pornier-Guillain, from a photograph by Gayet; cf. Vernier, Races of Egypt, vol. i, 1853, p. 103.
presents, consisting of five bracelets, two gold necklaces, a dagger with strap and sheath complete, a battle-axe, and eleven strings of glass beads. The inhabitants, dazzled by the display of so many valuable objects, ran to meet the new-comers, headed by their sheikh, and expressed a natural astonishment at the sight of the strangers. "How is it," they exclaimed, "that you have reached this country hitherto unknown to men? Have you come down by way of the sky, or have you sailed on the waters of the

8 VILLAGE ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER, WITH LAUNDRY OF PLENTY.

Tomait Sea? You have followed the path of the sun, for as far the king of the land of Egypt, it is not possible to elude him, and we live, yea, we ourselves, by the bresth which he gives us." The name of their chief was Parikhy, who was distinguished from his subjects by the boomerang which he carried, and also by his dagger and necklace of beads; his right leg, moreover, appears to have been covered with a kind of sheath composed of rings of some yellow metal, probably gold. He was accompanied by his wife Ati, riding on an ass, from which she alighted in order to gain a closer view of the strangers. She was endowed with a type of beauty much admired by the people of Central Africa, being so inordinately fat that the shape of her body was completely recognisable under the rolls of flesh which hung down from it. Her daughter, who appeared to be still young, gave promise of one day rivalling, if not exceeding, her mother in size.


3 Marteau compares this kind of armour to the "bogolò" of the Congo tribes (Desert d’Oubari, p. 379), but the "bogolò" is worn on the arm. Livingstone saw a woman, the sister of SeliNamuh, the highest lady of the Sechelal, who wore on each big finger rings of solid brass as thick as the finger, and three rings of copper above the knuckle. The weight of these shining rings impeded her walking, and produced marls on her ankles. But it was the fantasia, and the liliares which became exciting. As in the palm, it was relieved by a bit of rag applied to the lower rings (Exploration of the Zambezi, p. 202, and the Faznet translation).

4 There are two instances of abnormal hul extraction—the method with which we are acquainted (Chamis, Études Annais et Antiquités historiques, p. 151; Marteau, Désert d’Oubari, p. 50). Several similar instances are cited by Reisse, The Sources of the Nile, p. 150, and in Schwatka, The Heart of Africa, p. 255.
After an exchange of compliments, the more serious business of the expedition was introduced. The Egyptians pitched a tent, in which they placed the objects of barter with which they were provided, and to prevent these from being too great a temptation to the natives, they surrounded the tent with a line of troops. The main conditions of the exchange were arranged at a banquet, in which they spread before the barbarians a sumptuous display of Egyptian delicacies, consisting of bread, beer, wine, meat, and carefully prepared flavoured vegetables.

Payment for every object was to be made at the actual moment of purchase. For several days there was a constant stream of people, and asses groaned beneath their burdens. The Egyptian purchases comprised the most varied objects: ivory tusks, gold, ebony, cassia, myrrh, cynocephalum and green monkeys, greyhounds, leopard skins, large oxen, slaves, and last, but not least, thirty-one incense trees, with their roots surrounded by a ball of earth and placed in large baskets. The lading of the ships was a long and tedious affair. All available space being at length exhausted, and as much cargo placed on board as was compatible with the navigation of the vessel, the squadron set sail and with all speed took its way northwards.

The Egyptians touched at several places on the coast on their return journey, making friendly alliances with the inhabitants; the Iunu added a quota to their freight, for which room was with difficulty found on board,—it consisted not only of the inevitable gold, ivory, and skins, but also of live leopards and a giraffe, together with plants and fruits unknown on the banks of the Nile.

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2. Drawn by Fuchs-Gauthier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Beck; *H. Marotte, Die el-Bahari, pl. 42.*
5. As to the country of the Iunu, see *Marquet, Les Iunu, in the Revue de Travaux,* vol. viii. p. 36; and *J. Touseou, Remarque sur Mr. Wiedersen Petrie’s Collection of Ethnographical Types from the Monuments of Egypt,* p. 234. Lickleman thought that their country was explored, not by the author who ventured to Pianit, but by a different body who proceeded by land *Oege Inschriften des Tempels von*
The fleet at length made its reappearance in Egyptian ports, having on board the chiefs of several tribes on whose coasts the sailors had landed, and "bringing back so much that the like had never been brought of the products of Phœnix to other kings, by the supreme favour of the venerable god, Amon Rê, lord of Karnak." The chiefs mentioned were probably young men of superior

![The Embarkation of the Incense-Sacred on Board the Egyptian Fleet.](image)

family, who had been confirmed to the officer in command of the squadron by local sheikhs, as pledges to the Pharaoh of good will or as commercial hostages. National vanity, no doubt, prompted the Egyptians to regard them as vassals coming to do homage, and their gifts as tributes denoting submission. The Queen inaugurated a solemn festival in honour of the explorers. The Theban militia was ordered out to meet them, the royal flotilla escorting them as far as the temple landing-places, where a procession was formed to carry the spoil to the feet of the god. The good Theban folk, assembled to witness their arrival, beheld the march past of the native hostages, the incense sacromes, the precious gum itself, the wild animals, the giraffe, and the oxen, whose numbers were doubtless increased a hundredfold in the accounts given to posterity with the usual official exaggeration. The trees were planted at Deir el-Bahari,
where a sacred garden was prepared for them, square trenches being cut in the rock and filled with earth, in which the sycamore, by frequent watering, came to flourish well. The great heaps of fresh resin were next the objects of special attention. Hatchepsut gave a bushel made of electrum to gauge the mass of gum. it being the first time that they had the joy of measuring the perfumes for Amon, lord of Karnak, master of heaven, and of presenting to him the wonderful products of Pianit. Thot, the lord of Hermopolis, noted the quantities in writing: Safkhitabai verified the list. Her Majesty herself prepared from it, with her own hands, a perfumed incense for her shrines; she gave forth the smell of the divine dew, her perfume reached even to Pianit, her skin became like wrought gold; and her countenance shone like the stars in the great festival hall, in the sight of the whole earth. Hatchepsut commanded the history of the expedition to be carved on the wall of the colonnades which lay on the west side of the middle platform of her funerary chapel: we there see the little fleet with sails spread, winging its way to the unknown country, its safe arrival at its destination, the meeting with the natives, the animated palaverings, the consent to exchange freely accorded; and thanks to the minuteness with which the smallest details have been portrayed, we can see the vessel, as if on the spot, all the phases of life on board ship, not only on Egyptian vessels, but, as we may infer, those of other Oriental nations generally. For we may be tolerably sure that when the Phenicians ventured into the distant parts of the Mediterranean, it was after a similar fashion that they managed and armed their vessels. Although the natural features of the Asiatic or Greek coast on which they effected a landing differed widely from those of Pianit, the Phenician navigators were themselves provided with similar objects of exchange, and in their commercial dealings with the natives the methods of procedure of the European traders were doubtless similar to those of the Egyptians with the barbarians of the Red Sea. 

Hatchepsut reigned for at least eight years after this memorable expedition and traces of her further activity are to be observed in every part of the Nile valley. She even turned her attention to the Delta, and began the task of

1 Naville found those trenches still filled with vegetable mould, and in several of them roots, which gave every indication of the purpose to which the trenches were applied (Egypt Expl. Fund, Arch. Report, 1888-90, pp. 36, 37). A scene represents seven of the lienas sycamores still growing in their pots, and offered by the queen to the Majesty of this god Amon of Karnak (Dümichen, Hist. Pianitica, vol. ii, pl. xvii., where the slougherman has by mistake drawn only the heads of Marotte, Deir el-Bahari, pl. 8). The picture on the next page shows others planted in the ground, in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, and sufficiently grown to shade from the sun the rear bunch from Pianit.

2 In order to understand the full force of the imagery here employed, one must remember that the Egyptian artists painted the flesh of women in light yellow: see Dana of Civilisation, p. 67.


4 For remarks on the economy of the Phenicians, see pp. 194-197 of this present work.
reorganising this part of her kingdom, which had been much neglected by her predecessors. The wars between the Tholosan princes and the lords of Avaris had lasted over a century, and during that time no one had had either sufficient initiative or leisure to superintend the public works, which were more needed here than in any other part of Egypt. The canals were silted up with mud, the marshes and the desert had encroached on the cultivated lands, the towns had become impoverished, and there were some provinces whose population consisted solely of shepherds and landlacks. Hatchepsût desired to remedy these evils, if only for the purpose of providing a practicable road for her armies marching to Zulû on route to Syria. She also turned her attention to the mines of Sinai, which had not been worked by the Egyptian kings since the end of the XIIth dynasty. In the year XVI. an officer of the queen's household was despatched to the Wady Magharah, the site of the ancient works, with orders to inspect the valleys, examine the veins, and restore there the

1 Drawn by Emile Guilm. from a photograph by Béato. C. Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Illustrated Memoir, p. 42.

2 This follows from the great inscription at Sebîl-Akhter (Government, Notice sur la tombe Ménetephou de Sebit-Akhter, II. 35-39, in Revue d'Egypte, vol. III, pp. 2, 3, and vol. v. p. 26), which is commonly interpreted as proving that the Shepherd-kings still held sway in Egypt in the reign of Thutmose III., and that they were driven out by him and his aunt (Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, p. 26). It seems to me that the queen is simply boasting that she had regained the immunities which had been enjoyed by the Shepherds during the time they sojourned in Egypt, in the land of Avaris. Up to the present time no trace of these inscriptions has been found on the site. The expedition to Punti being mentioned in lines 13, 14., they must be of later date than the year IX. of Hatchepsût and Thutmose III.
temple of the goddess Hathor; having accomplished his mission, he returned, bringing with him a consignment of those blue and green stone statues which were so highly esteemed by the Egyptians.  

Meanwhile, Thutmosis III was approaching manhood, and his aunt, the queen, instead of abdicating in his favour, associated him with herself more frequently in the external acts of government. She was forced to yield him precedence in those religious ceremonies which could be performed by a man only, such as the dedication of one of the city gates of Ombos, and the foundation and carving out of a temple at Medinet-Habu; but for the most part she obliged him to remain in the background and take a secondary place beside her. We are unable to determine the precise moment when this dual sovereignty came to an end. It was still existent in the XVIth year of the reign, but it had ceased before the XXIIth year. Death alone could take the sceptre from the hands that held it, and Thutmosis had to curb his impatience for many a long day before becoming the real master of Egypt. He was about twenty-five years of age when this event took place, and he immediately revived himself for the long repression he had undergone, by endeavouuring to display the very remembrance of her whom he regarded as a usurper. Every portrait of her that he could deface without exposing himself to being accused of sacrilege was cut away, and he substituted for her name either that of Thutmosis I. or of Thutmosis II. A complete political change was effected both at home and abroad from the first day of his accession to power. Hâtshoput had been averse to war. During the whole of her reign there had not been a single campaign undertaken beyond the isthmus of Suez, and by the end of her life she had lost nearly all that her father had gained in Syria; the people of Kârîth had

1 Stele of the year XVI., in the Wady Maghara (LAMORRE, Voyage de l'Antiqute Egypte, pt. 3, No. 1; LEMERY, La Peinture Archéologique, pl. iv.; LEMERY, Denkm. Ill. 23, No. 6). For male in the temple of Hâbû, see DIERS DE CRÉDÎNION, pp. 424-455.  

2 The account of the youth of Thutmosis III., such as Brugsch made it out to be from an inscription of this king (MASSERNA, Karnak, pl. 16, II. 47-49), the exaltation of the royal child at Buto, his long sojourn in the marshes, his triumphal return (GESCHICHTE EGYPTENS, pp. 268, 269, 385), must all be rejected. Brugsch accepted as actual history a poetical passage where the king identifies himself with Herakles, son of Itis, and goes so far as to attribute to himself the adventures of the god (MASSERNA, in the Revue Critique, 1882, vol. i. p. 197, n. 1, and Notes sur différentes points de Géographie, § xvii., in the Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 193; NAVILLE, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, p. 37).  

3 Dedication of the gate of Ombos by Thutmosis III., and by his queen, in CHRISTOPHEIN, Mon. de l'Egypte, etc., vol. i. pp. 231, 232, and in ROBERT, Monument du Nil, pl. xxviii. and pp. 196-198; second in the dedication of the little temple of Medinet-Habu, in CHRISTOPHEIN, Mon. de l'Egypte, etc., pl. xxvi., and in LEMERY, Denkm. Ill. 39 a, b.  

4 Stela from Kôm, discovered in the XVIth year of her joint reign with Thutmosis III. (LAMORRE, Voyage de l'Antiqute Egypte, pt. 3, No. 1; LEMERY, La Peinture Archéologique, pl. iv.; LEMERY, Denkm. Ill. 23, No. 2.) The earliest monument in which Thutmosis III. appears as sole sovereign is the year XXXI. (LAMORRE, Denkm. Ill. 39 a, b, 185).  

5 EMNI (Egyptian and Egyptianisches Leben, p. 72) and HEINRICH MEYER (GESCHICHTE DES Alten Egyptens, p. 283) were inclined to think, without pressing the conjecture, that she was deposed by Thutmosis.  

6 NAVILLE (The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, Introf. Memoire, p. 28) thinks that we ought not to attribute the mutilation of Hâtshoput's sculptures to Thutmosis III, only, for Amenophis III. must take his responsibility for a good share in this work, as well as Amenophis IV.
shaken off the yoke, probably at the instigation of the king of the Amorites, and nothing remained to Egypt of the Asiatic province but Gaza, Sharûnah.  

and the neighboring villages. The young king set out with his army in the latter days of the year XXII. He reached Gaza on the 3rd of the

1. E. de Rougé, Études de Muséologie, t. 5, ed. de Kernev, p. 301, thought that he had discovered, in a slightly damaged inscription bearing upon the Phœnician expedition (Delamarre, Historische Inschriften, vol. II, p. 24, Mariette, Des Béïtân, pl. 4, etc.), the mention of a tribut paid by the Libyans (cf. Denon, Geschichte der ägypt. p. 289, Reehkens, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 241). There is nothing in the passage cited but the mention of the usual annual dues paid by the subjects of Pharaoh and of the Umm Almara, Schaf'at und Bomaht, p. 91, El. Meier, Geschichte der Altertumspalast, p. 202, n. 4).

2. This is at least what may be inferred from the account of the campaign, where the Prince of Qadah, a town of the Amorites (Amorites), signs as the head of the coalition formed against Thûmosis III. (Manuel, le Roi de la Campagne contre les Canophes, in the Revue de Travail, vol. II, pp. 51, 52).

3. This is the conclusion to be adopted from the beginning of the inscription of Thûmosis III. (Now, during the duration of these same years, the country of the Libyans was in dispute until other times succeeded there, when the people who were in the town of Sharûnah, from the town of Yarn, in the most distant regions of the earth, succeeded in making a revolt against his Majesty) (Manuel, Reni de la campagne, etc., in the Revue de Travail, vol. II, pp. 19, 20).

month of Pakhons, in time to keep the anniversary of his coronation in that town, and to inaugurate the 24th year of his reign by festivals in honour of his father Ammon. They lasted the usual length of time, and all the departments of State took part in them, but it was not a propitious moment for lengthy ceremonies. The king left Gaza the following day, the 5th of Pakhons: he marched slowly at first, following the usual caravan route, and despatching troops right and left to levy contributions on the cities of the Plain—Migdol, Yaphu (Jaffa), Lotanu, Ono—and those within reach on the mountain spurs, or situated within the easily accessible wadys, such as Sanka (Socho), Gadid, and Harith. On the 10th day he had not proceeded further than Yammun, where he received information which caused him to push quickly forward. The lord of Qodshu had formed an alliance with the Syrian princes on the borders of Naharin, and had extorted from them promises of help; he had already gone so far as to summon contingents from the Upper Orontes, the Litany, and the Upper Jordan, and was concentrating them at Megiddo, where he proposed to stop the way of the invading army. Thutmose called together his principal officers, and having imparted the news to them, took counsel with them as to a plan of attack. Three alternative routes were open to him. The most direct approached the enemy's position on the front, crossing Mount Carmel by the saddle now known as the Umm el-Fahm; but the great drawback attached to this route was its being so restricted that the troops would be forced to advance in too thin a file; and the head of the column would reach the plain and come into actual conflict with the enemy while the rear-guard would only be entering the defiles in the neighbourhood of Atarna. The second route bore a little to the east, crossing the mountains beyond Duttina and reaching the plain near Tahana; but it offered the same disadvantages as the other. The third route ran north of Zafiti, to meet the great highway which cuts the hill-district of Nabkis, skirting the foot of Tabor near Jenin, a little to the north of Megiddo. It was not so direct as the other two, but it was easier for troops, and the king's

1 The account of this campaign has been preserved to us in a wall adjoining the granite sanctuary at Eark; and the fragment of it were examined by Curtius, Monumenta de l'Egypte, etc., vol. ii, pp. 154-158, and afterwards published in their entirety by Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 315, sqq. It had been drawn up by one of the officials of Thutmose III., the scribe Zaunnum (cf. Wiener Annalen der archologischen Egyptischen Dynamite, p. 32; Maspero, Rapport sur une mission en Syrie, in the Revue de Travon, vol. iv, p. 120). It was completely translated by Bunsen, The Annals of Thutmose the Third, derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions, 1863, pp. 5-12; by Gurney, The Monumental History of Egypt, vol. ii, pp. 228-232; by Burnouf, Grammaire d'Egypte, pp. 295-305, and by Maspero, Le baite de la campagne d'Egypte sous Thoutmose III, in the Revue de Travon, vol. ii, pp. 18-26, 128-130, critically examined by E. de Reclus, Notices de quelques fragments de l'inscription de Karnak, pp. 27, 58, and studies on various Monumenta de l'Egypte, etc., pp. 38-40; afterwards by Warburton, Geschichte der archologischen Dynamite, etc., pp. 34-40, and Geschichte der Geschichte, etc., pp. 306-308.

2 Maspero, Sur les noms de la liste de Thoutmose III qui se peut rapporter à la Judée, pp. 21, 22.
generals advised that it should be followed. The king was so incensed that he was tempted to attribute their prudence to cowardice. "By my life! by the
love that Ra hath for me, by the favour that I enjoy from my master Amon, by
the perpetual youth of my nostril in life and power, My Majesty will go by the
way of Aluna, and let him that will go by the roads of which ye have spoken,
and let him that will follow My Majesty. What will be said among the
tile enemies detested of Ra: 'Dost not His Majesty go by another way?
For fear of us he gives us a wide berth; they will cry.' The king's coun-
sellers did not insist further. "May thy father Amon of Thebes protect thee!" they exclaimed; "as for us, we will follow Thy Majesty whith-
soever thou goest, as it behoveth a servant to follow his master." The word
of command was given to the men; Thutmose himself led the vanguard,
and the whole army, horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed in single file,
wending their way through the thickets which covered the southern slopes
of Mount Carmel.

They pitched their camp on the evening of the 19th near Aluna, and on
the morning of the 20th they entered the wild defiles through which it was
necessary to pass in order to reach the enemy. The king had taken pre-
cautionary measures against any possible attempt of the natives to cut the main
column during this crossing of the mountains. His position might at any
moment have become a critical one, had the allies taken advantage of it and
attacked each battalion as it issued on to the plain before it could re-form. But
the Prince of Qefaleh, either from ignorance of his adversary's movements, or
confident of victory in the open, declined to take the initiative. Towards one
o'clock in the afternoon, the Egyptians found themselves once more united on
the farther side of the range, close to a torrent called the Qina, a little to the
south of Megiddo. When the camp was pitched, Thutmose announced his
intention of engaging the enemy on the morrow. A council of war was held to
decide on the position that each corps should occupy, after which the officers
returned to their men to see that a liberal supply of rations was served out, and to
organise an efficient system of patrols. They passed round the camp to the cry:

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* The position of the towns mentioned and of the three roads has been discussed by E. de Rouge (Études sur divers monuments de Thaumus III, pp. 37–80); also by E. de Sauley (Lettre à M. Chabas sur quelques points de la Géographie antique de la Syrie, etc., in the Mémoires de l'Académie Égyptiennes, vol. 3, pp. 126–127); who fixed the position of Aluna at El-Khoshah, and showed that the Egyptian
army must have passed through the defiles of Um el-Fahm. Conder disagreed with this opinion, in certain respects, and identified Aluna, Aruma, and Arras, at first with Arradah, and afterwards with Arraalek; he thought that Thutmose came out upon Megiddo from the south-east, and he placed Megiddo at Mejdelah, near Beisan (Palestine before Joshua, in the Quarterly Statement, 1874, pp. 90, 91, and
Megiddo, ibid., 1877, pp. 15–20), while Tolkien placed Aluna in the Wady el-Arish (The Kernel
Transactions, vol. 14, pp. 267, 268). W. Max Müller seems to place Aluna too much to the north, in
the neighbourhood of Jaffa (Asia and Europe, pp. 157–160).
"Keep a good heart: courage! Watch well, watch well! Keep alive in the camp!" The king refused to retire to rest until he had been assured that "the country was quiet, and also the host, both to south and north." By dawn the next day the whole army was in motion. It was formed into a single line, the right wing protected by the torrent, the left extended into the plain, stretching beyond Megiddo towards the north-west. Thutmosis and his guards occupied the centre, standing "armed in his chariot of electrum like unto Horus brandishing his pike, and like Mout the Theban god." The Syrians, who had not expected such an early attack, were seized with panic, and fled in the direction of the town, leaving their horses and chariots on the field; but the citizens, fearing lest in the confusion the Egyptians should effect an entrance with the fugitives, had closed their gates and refused to open them. Some of the townsmen, however, let down ropes to the leaders of the allied party, and drew them up to the top of the ramparts: "and would to heaven that the soldiers of His Majesty had not so far forgotten themselves as to gather up the spoil left by the vile enemy! They would then have entered Megiddo forthwith; for while the men of the garrison were drawing up the Lord of Qadesh and their own princes, the fear of His Majesty was upon their limbs, and their hands failed them by reason of the carnage which the royal arms carried into their ranks." The victorious soldiery were dispersed over the fields, gathering together the gilded and silvered chariots of the Syrian chiefs, collecting the scattered weapons and the hands of the slain, and securing the prisoners; then rallying about the king, they greeted him with acclamations and fled past to deliver up the spoil. He reproached them for having allowed themselves to be drawn away from the heat of pursuit. "Had you carried Megiddo, it would have been a favour granted to me by my father this day; for all the kings of the country being shut up within it, it would have been as the taking of a thousand towns to have seized Megiddo." The Egyptians had made little progress in the art of besieging a stronghold since the times of the XIIth dynasty. When scaling failed, they had no other resource than a blockade, and even the most stubborn of the Pharaohs would naturally shrink from the toil and of such an undertaking. Thutmosis, however, was not inclined to lose the opportunity of closing the campaign by a decisive blow, and began the investment of the town according to the prescribed modes. His men were placed under canvas, and working under the protection of immense shields, supported on posts, they made a ditch around the walls, strengthening it with a palisade. The king constructed also on the east side a fort which he called "Manakhte-holds-the-Atlantic." Famine soon told on the demoralised citizens, and their surrender brought about the submission of the entire country. Most of the countries situated between the Jordan and the sea—Shim'on, Ge'a,昆ereth, Hazor, Edipsa,
Laish, Merom, and Acre—besides the cities of the Hamrān—Hamath, Magaeto, Ashurīth, Ono-repha, and even Damascus itself—recognised the suzerainty of Egypt, and their lords came in to the camp to do homage. The Syrian losses did not amount to more than 83 killed and 400 prisoners, showing how easily they had been routed; but they had abandoned considerable supplies, all of which had fallen into the hands of the victors. Some 724 chariots, 20,114 mares, 200 suits of armour, 502 bows, the tent of the Prince of Qodsān with its poles of cypress inlaid with gold, besides oxen, cows, goats, and more than 20,000 sheep, were among the spoil. Before quitting the plain of Kdreren, the king caused an official survey of it to be made, and had the harvest reap'd. It yielded 208,000 bushels of wheat, not taking into account what had been looted or damaged by the marauding soldiery. The return homewards of the Egyptians must have resembled the exodus of some emigrating tribes rather than the progress of a regular army.

Thothmosis caused a long list of the vanquished to be engraved on the walls of the temple which he was building at Karnak, thus affording the good people of Thebes an opportunity for the first time of reading on the monuments the titles of the king's Syrian subjects written in hieroglyphics. One hundred and nineteen names follow each other in unbroken succession, some of them representing mere villages, while others denoted powerful nations;

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[2] Drawn by Bouchier, from a photograph by Bosche of the representation of the siege of Damascus under Thothmosis II.

the catalogue, however, was not to end even here. Having once set out on a career of conquest, the Pharaoh had no inclination to lay aside his arms. From the XXIIIrd year of his reign to that of his death, we have a record of twelve military expeditions, all of which he led in person. Southern Syria was conquered at the outset—the whole of Khari as far as the Lake of Gennesareth, and the Amorite power was broken at one blow. The three succeeding campaigns consolidated the rule of Egypt in the country of the Negeb, which lay to the south-west of the Dead Sea, in Phecia, which prudently resigned itself to its fate, and in that part of Lotan occupying the northern part of the

basin of the Orontes.* None of these expeditions appear to have been marked by any successes comparable to the victory at Megiddo, for the coalition of the Syrian chiefs did not survive the blow which they then sustained; but Qadishu long remained the centre of resistance, and the successive defeats which its inhabitants suffered never disarmed for more than a short interval the hatred which they felt for the Egyptian. During these years of glorious activity considerable tribute—pourcd in to both Memphis and Thebes, not only ingots of gold and silver, bars and blocks of copper and lead, blocks of lapis-lazuli and valuable vases, but horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and useful animals of every kind, in addition to all of which we find, as in Hatshepsut's reign, the mention of rare plants and shrubs brought back from countries traversed by the armies in their various expeditions. The Theban priests and servants exhibited much interest in such curiosities, and their royal pupil gave orders to his generals to collect for their benefit all that appeared either rare or novel. They

* Drawn by Fauchet-Guillain from a photograph; cf. Mariette, Karnak, pl. 31.

* We know of these three campaigns from the indirect testimony of the Amarna, which end in the year XXII, with the mention of the fifth campaign (Karnak, Anuwyld der nöchstigen Drbeiten, pl. vii. l. 1.). The only dated one is referred to the year XXX (Mariette, Karnak, pl. 31); and we know of that of the Negeb only by the Inscription of Amarna, II. 3-5: the campaign began in the Negeb of Judah, but the king carried it to Naharaim the same year.
endeavoured to acclimatise the species or the varieties likely to be useful, and in order to preserve a record of these experiments, they caused a representation of the strange plants or animals to be drawn on the walls of one of the chapels which they were then building to one of their gods. These pictures may still be seen there in interminable lines, portraying the specimens brought from the Upper Lulan in the XXVth year of Thutmosis, and we are able to distinguish,

side by side with many plants peculiar to the regions of the Euphrates, others having their habitat in the mountains and valleys of tropical Africa.

This return to an aggressive policy on the part of the Egyptians, after the weakness they had exhibited during the later period of Hâthor-paâ's regency, seriously disconcerted the Asiatic sovereigns. They had vainly flattered themselves that the invasion of Thutmosis I. was merely the caprice of an adventurous prince, and they hoped that when his love of enterprise had subsided itself, Egypt would permanently withdraw within her traditional boundaries, and that the relations of Elam with Babylon, Carchemish with Qodshu, and the barbarians of the Persian Gulf with the inhabitants of the Iranian table-land would resume.

1 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.
2 Mariette, Recueil, pls. 32-34; some of the figures have not been reproduced by Mariette, and they are still awaiting publication. Neither the plants nor the animals have been seriously studied, we have no certain knowledge as to which species belong to Asia and which to Africa.
their former course. This vain delusion was dispelled by the advent of a new Thothmosis, who showed clearly by his actions that he intended to establish and maintain the sovereignty of Egypt over the western dependencies, at least, of the ancient Chaldæan empire, that is to say, over the countries which bordered the middle course of the Euphrates and the coasts of the Mediterranean. The audacity of his marches, the valour of his men, the facility with which in a few hours he had crushed the assembled forces of half Syria, left no room to doubt that he was possessed of personal qualities and material resources sufficient to carry out projects of the most ambitious character. Babylon, ensnared by the perpetual dissensions of its Cosscean princes, was no longer in a position to contest with him the little authority she still retained over the peoples of Naharin or of Cœle-Syria; protected by the distance which separated her from the Nile valley, she preserved a sullen neutrality, while Assyria hastened to form a peaceful alliance with the invading power. Again and again its kings sent to Thothmosis presents in proportion to their resources, and the Pharaoh naturally treated their advances as undeniable proofs of their voluntary vassalage. Each time that he received from them a gift of metal or lapis-lazuli, he proudly recorded their tribute in the annals of his reign; and if, in exchange, he sent them some Egyptian product, it was in smaller quantities, as might be expected from a lord to his rassal. Sometimes there would accompany the convoy, surrounded by an escort of slaves and women, some princes, whom the king would place in his harem or graciously pass on to one of his children; but when, on the other hand, an even distant relative of the Pharaoh was asked in marriage for some king on the banks of the Tigris or Euphrates, the request was met with a disdainful negative; the daughters of the Sun were of too noble a race to stoop to such alliances, and they would count it a humiliation to be sent in marriage to a foreign court.

Free transit on the main road which ran diagonally through Khirb was ensured by fortresses constructed at strategic points, and from this time forward Thothmosis was able to bring the whole force of his army to bear—

1 The "tribute of Amarn" is mentioned in this way under the years XXIII. and XXIV. (Champollion, Journ. de l'Inst. 32, p. 39). The presents sent by the Pharaoh in return are not mentioned in any Egyptian text, but there is frequent reference to them in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (Botta-Dieterich, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, pp. 104, 182). It may be mentioned here that the name of Ninive does not occur on the Egyptian monuments, but only that of the town Nil, in which Champollion (Dictionnaire Égyptien, p. 187) strongly recommended the later capital of Assyria.

2 See the subject of these complaints of King Kusiumarri of Babylon in Ammianus III, see Botta-Dieterich, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, pp. 104, 182. There is a record of the same event in Ammianus, pp. 17-18.

3 The castle, for instance, near Megiddo, previously referred to, which, after having contributed to the siege of the town, probably served to keep it in subjection; see p. 268 of the present work.
upon both Cade-Syria and Naharin. He encamped, in the year XXVII., on the table-land separating the Arin and the Orontes from the Philiplates, and from that centre devastated the district of Ulait, which lay to the west of Aleppo; then crossing "the water of Naharin" in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, he penetrated into the heart of Mitanni. The following year he reappeared in the same region. Tawus, which had made an obstinate resistance, was taken, together with its king, and 329 of his nobles were forced

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{of the conquest carried in tribute to the Syrian.}\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Drawn by Foucher-Guidic after Chantrellon, Mem. de l'Egypte, 8th, pl. 223, 140, and vol. i. p. 413; cf. Bossert, Monuments Greco, pl. viii., et al. 116.)}

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Inscription of Amenemhat, II. 5-8, where perhaps two campaigns are to be distinguished.}\end{align*}\]
to yield themselves prisoners. Thûmûsis "with a joyous heart" was carrying them away captive, when it occurred to him that the district of Zahi, which lay away for the most part from the great military high-roads, was a tempting prey teeming with spoil. The barns were stored with wheat and barley, the cellars were filled with wine, the harvest was not yet gathered in, and the trees bent under the weight of their fruit. Having pillaged Samârûd on the Orontes, he made his way to the westwards through the ravine formed by the Nahr el-Kebir, and descended suddenly on the territory of Arrad. The towns once more escaped pillage, but Thûmûsis destroyed the harvests, plundered the orchards, carried off the cattle, and pitilessly wasted the whole of the maritime plain. There was such abundance within the camp that the men were continually getting drunk, and spent their time in anointing themselves with oil, which they could do only in Egypt at the most solemn festivals. They returned to Syria in the year XXX., and their good fortune again favoured them. The stubborn Qodshu was hardly dealt with; Simyra and Arrad, which hitherto had held their own, now opened their gates to him; the lords of Upper Lotam poured in their contributions without delay, and gave up their sons and brothers as hostages. In the year XXXI., the city of Anamut in Tikhias, on the shores of Lake Nisra, yielded in its turn; on the 3rd of Takhum, the anniversary of his coronation, the Lotam renewed their homage to him in person. The return of the expedition was a sort of triumphal procession. At every halting-place the troops found quarters and provisions prepared for them, bread and cakes, perfumes, oil, wine, and honey being provided in such quantities that they were obliged on their departure to leave the greater part behind them. The scribes took advantage of this peaceful state of affairs to draw up minute accounts of the products of Lotam—corn, barley, millet, fruits, and various kinds of oil—prompted doubtless by the desire to arrive at a fairly just apportionment of the tribute. Indeed, the results of the expedition were considered so satisfactory that they were recorded on a special monument dedicated in the palace at Thebes. The names of the towns and peoples might change with

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1 Stern was thought by Rams, Thétis und Zell Thémen III., in the Zeitschrift, 1873, p. 4, to be "the double Tyre." Bruguiël considered it to be Tyre itself. (Der Tempel der Zeit, 1856, p. 183, note 35.) It is, I believe, the Sana of classical writers, the Sanae of the Arabs, and is mentioned in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in connection with Zil.

2 The account of this campaign is taken from the Annales of Thûmûsis III., II. 1-7, except the mention of Simchar, which occurs only in the Inscription of Amenemhat II., II. 11-13.

3 Annales of Thûmûsis III., II. 7-39; Inscription of Amenemhat II., II. 13-19. For the meaning of the geographical names in the Aramaic, see p. 174, note 2, of the present volume.

4 The name of the Tikhias country is imperfectly defined (Fouquet, Geog. de l'Orient, vol. I. p. 36; ii. pp. 44, 49); W. Max Müller, Atlas and Europa, pp. 254, 259). Simchar was seemingly applied to the marshy lake into which the Kowât flows, and it is perhaps to be found in the name Kino-ches (Koa-nahaya in Nebra, Geog. de Talmud, p. 39). In this case Tikhias would be the country near the lake, the district of the Gymn-kowsu Chakdat is situated on the right of the military roads.

every war, but the spoils suffered no diminution. In the year XXXIII, the kingdoms situated to the west of the Euphrates were so far pacified that Thutmose was able without risk to carry his arms into Mesopotamia. He entered the country by the fords of Carchemish, near to the spot where his grandfather, Thutmose I., had erected his stela half a century previously. He placed another beside this, and a third to the eastward to mark the point to which he had extended the frontier of his empire. The Mitanni, who exercised a sort of hegemony over the whole of Naharin, were this time the objects of his attack. Thirty-two of their towns fell one after another, their kings were taken captive and the walls of their cities were razed, without any serious resistance. The battalions of the enemy were dispersed at the first shock, and Pharaoh "pursued them through the space of a mile, without one of them daring to look behind him, for they thought only of escape, and fled before him like a flock of goats." Thutmose pushed forward as far certainly as the Balikh, and perhaps on to the Khasur or even to the Herme; and as he approached the frontier, the king of Singar, a vassal of Assyria, sent him presents of lapis-lazuli. When this prince had retired, another chief, the lord of the Great Khatti, whose territory had not even been threatened by the invaders, deemed it prudent to follow the example of the petty princes of the plain of the Euphrates, and despatched envoys to the Pharaoh bearing presents of no great value, but testifying to his desire to live on good terms with Egypt. Still further on, the inhabitants of Nitig begged the king's acceptance of a troop of slaves and two hundred and sixty mares; he remained among them long enough to erect a stela commemorating his triumph; and to indulge in one of those extensive hunts which were the delight of Oriental monarchs. The country abounded in elephants. The soldiers were employed as beaters, and the king and his court succeeded in killing one hundred and twenty head of big game, whose tusks were added to the spoils. These numbers indicate how the extinction of such animals in these parts was brought about. Beyond these regions, again, the sheikhs of the Lamamniat came to meet the Pharaoh. They were a poor people, and had but little to offer, but among their gifts were some birds of a species unknown to the Egyptians; and two geese, with which, however, His Majesty deigned to be satisfied.1

1 The campaign of the year XXXIII is mentioned in the Annals of Thutmose III., l. 17-27; the reference to the elephant-hunt occurs only in the Inscription of Amehekaat, II. 82, 83; an allusion to the defeat of the kings of Mitanni is found in a mutilated inscription from the temple of Manahpipshemshak (VON BÉDROS, La Place de l'Assemblée, in the Mem. de la Mus. fr., vol. v. p. 298). It was probably on his return from this campaign that Thutmose caused the great list to be engraved which, while it includes a certain number of names assigned to places beyond the Euphrates (von BÉDROS, On the Tipos of N. Syria, in Trans. Brit. Arch. Soc., vol. ix. pp. 327-354) W. M. MIDDER, Asia and Europe, pp. 291-292), ought necessarily to contain the cities of the Mitanni (MARIETTE, Karaka, pl. 28, 29). As to the site of Nitig and of the Lamamna-Lamamna, see p. 142, note 6, and p. 189 of this vol.
In the year XXXIV. the Egyptians reappeared in Zahl. The people of Amargas, having revolted, two of their towns were taken, a third surrendered, while the chiefs of the Lotam hastened to meet their lord with their usual tribute. Advantage was taken of the encampment being at the foot of the Lebanon to procure wood for building purposes, such as beams and planks, masts and yards for vessels, which were all shipped by the Kasari to Byblos for exportation to the Delta. This expedition was, indeed, little more than a military march through the country. It would appear that the Syrians soon accustomed themselves to the presence of the Egyptians in their midst, and their obedience henceforth could be fairly relied on. We are unable to ascertain what were the circumstances or the intrigues which, in the year XXXV, led to a sudden outbreak among the tribes settled on the Euphrates and the Orontes. The King of Mitanni rallied round him the princes of Naharaim, and awaited the attack of the Egyptians near Aru. Thutmose displayed great personal courage, and the victory was at once decisive. We find mention of only ten prisoners, one hundred and eighty mares, and sixty chariots in the lists of the spoil. Amargas again revolted, and was subdued afresh in the year XXXVIII.; the Shahi rebelled in the year XXXIX., and the Lotam or some of the tribes connected with them two years later; the campaign of the year XLII. proved more serious. Troubles had arisen in the neighbourhood of Aru. Thutmose, instead of following the usual caravan route, marched along the coast-road by way of Phœnicia. He destroyed Aru in the Lebanon and the surrounding strongholds, which were the haunts of robbers who lurked in the mountains; then turning to the north-east, he took Tunip and extorted the usual tribute from the inhabitants of Naharaim. On the other hand, the Prince of Qodshu, trusting to the strength of his walled city, refused to do homage to the Pharaoh, and a deadly struggle took place under the ramparts, in which each side availed themselves of all the artifices which the strategic warfare of the times allowed. On a day when the assailants and besieged were about to come to close quarters, the Amorites let loose a mare among the chariots of Thutmose. The Egyptian horses threatened to become unmanageable, and had begun to break through the ranks, when Amenemhabi, an officer of the guard, leaped to the ground, and, running up to the creature, disembowelled it with a thrust of his sword: this done, he cut off its tail and presented it to the king. The besieged were eventually obliged to slink themselves within their newly built walls, hoping by this means to tire out the patience of their assailants; but a picked body of men, led by the same brave
Amemnants, who had killed the mare, succeeded in making a breach and forcing an entrance into the town.1 Even the numerous successful campaigns we have mentioned, form but a part, though indeed an important part, of the wars undertaken by Thotmesis II, "fix his frontiers in the ends of the earth." Scarcely a year elapsed without the viceroy of Ethiopia having a conflict with one or other of the tribes of the Upper Nile; 2 little merit as he might gain in triumphing over such foes, the spoil taken from them formed a considerable adjunct to the treasure collected in Syria, while the tributes from the people of Kish and the Chanaan were paid with as great regularity as the taxes levied on the Egyptians themselves. It comprised gold both from the mines and from the rivers, feathers, oxen, with curiously trained horses, giraffes, lions, leopards, and slaves of all ages. The distant regions explored by Hadeshphils continued to pay a tribute at intervals. A fleet went to Pianit to fetch large cargoes of incense,3 and from time to time some Baalan chief could feel himself honoured by having one of his daughters accepted as an inmate of the harem of the great king.4 After the year XLI, we have no further records of the reign, but there is no reason to suppose that its closing years were less eventful or less prosperous than the earlier. Thotmesis III, when conscious of failing powers, may have delegated the direction of his armies to his sons or to his generals, but it is also quite possible that he kept the supreme command in his own hands to the end of his days. Even when old age approached and threatened to abate his vigour, he was upheld by the belief that his father Amon was ever at hand to guide him with his counsel and assist him in battle. "I give to thee, declared the god,5 the rebels that they may fall beneath thy sandals, that thou mayest crush the rebellious, for I grant to thee by decree the earth in its length and breadth.

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1 Amarna Letters XXXII, 11t, 27-32; these times are almost as good unmediated as the account of the succeeding campaigns. The story of Qebeh, and the military exploits which rendered it famous, are known to us only at present from the hands of Amemnants, II, 33-34. ii, 34-35. It is also true that Amemnants has qualified the act of the king, for the king, in his own words, III, 11, 30, II, 34, 35.

2 The tribute was divided, as I have already said (see p. 292. 24. 25, of the present work), into that of Kish and that of Chanaan. They are both given for the year XXXIV, (Amarna Letters XXXIV, 11, 14), for the years XXXIII, (II, 34, 35), XXXIV, (II, 35, 36), as well as for the years XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, and XLI.

3 The expedition to the land of Pasit and the year XXXIX, (Amarna Letters XXXIX, 1, 27) and in the year XXXVIII, (II, 39, 40) of the fragment published in L'art de l'Egypte, Num. 39, 40.

4 Amarna Letters XXXIX, 1, 31, in the year XXXIV... the passage is muddled, and Brugsch thought that a son, and not a daughter, of the Prince of the Lim was mentioned (Geb. 69, 75).

5 This was the case that the text was discovered by Marquet, and it was reproduced in the Album photographique du Musée du Bardo, pl. 32, and to Rassam, pl. 11. The text was translated and annotated by Borchard, in a Historical Tablet of the Reign of Thotmesis III (extracted from Archivio, vol. xxx, p. 378, et seq.; id. Tablet of Thotmes III, in the Records of the Past, 119, et seq., vol. ii. pp. 19-34, afterwards by E. de ROUW, Études sur l'Egypte postérieures au règne de Thoutmosis III, pp. 2-51; by M. M. De GENNES, Études, pp. 35-80; and Guide du Flâneur, pp. 76-80; and by Borchard, Ges. Ägypt., pp. 89-92, 92; by WULFF, Ges. Für altertum, Sphynx, pp. 74-75; and some interesting corrections have been made in these translations by Péret, Notes de Philologie Egypte, in the Encyclopædia Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1879-80, vol. xv. pp. 259-261.
The tribes of the West and those of the East are under the place of thy countenance, and when thou goest up into all the strange lands with a joyous heart, there is none who will withstand Thy Majesty, for I am thy guide when thou treadest them underfoot. Thou hast crossed the water of the great curve of Naharin, in thy strength and in thy power, and I have commanded thee to let them hear thy roaring which shall enter their dens; I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life, I have granted to thee that thy deeds shall sink into their hearts, that my name which is upon thy head may burn them, that it may bring prisoners in long files from the peoples of Qodh, that it may consume with its flame those who are in the marshes, that it may cut off the heads of the Asiatists without one of them being able to escape from its clutch. I grant to thee that thy conquests may embrace all lands, that the vassals which shine upon my forehead may be thy vassals, so that in all the compass of the heaven there may not be one to rise against thee, but that the people may come bearing their tribute on their backs and bowing before Thy Majesty according to my behest; I ordain that all aggressors arising in thy time shall fall before thee, their heart burning within them, their limbs trembling!

I.—I am come that I may grant unto thee to crush the great ones of Zabdi, I throw them under thy feet across their mountains,—I grant to thee that they shall see Thy Majesty as a lord of shining splendour when thou shinest before them in my likeness.

II.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those of the country of Asia, to break the heads of the people of Lothan,—I grant thee that they may see Thy Majesty, clothed in thy panoply, when thou seizest thy arms, in thy war-chariot.

III.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the land of the East, and invade those who dwell in the provinces of Tomyr,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty as the comet which rains down the heat of its flame and sheds its dew.

IV.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the land of the West, so that Kaffi and Cyprus shall be in fear of thee,—I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the young bull, stout of heart, armed with horns which none may resist.

V.—I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those who are in their marshes, so that the countries of Mitanni may tremble for fear of thee,—

1. The Euphrates, in the great curve described by it across Naharin; after leaving the mountains of Cilicia. For the impression made upon the Egyptians by this river, see p. 311 of the present work.
2. On the nature and fire-breathing character of the arms which dismembered the head of the king, see Pires of Civilization, p. 263.
3. The meaning is doubtful. The word signifies pious, munificent, the provinces situated beyond Egyptian territory, and consequently the distant parts of the world—those which are nearest the ocean which reaches the earth, and which was considered so far by the stagnant waters of the celestial Nile, just as the extremities of Egypt were watered by those of the terrestrial Nile. Cf. W. MAX MILLAN, Asia and Europe, pp. 281-288.
I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the crocodile, lord of terrors, in the midst of the water, which none can approach.

VI. — I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush those who are in the isles, so that the people who live in the midst of the Very-Green may be reached by thy roaring. — I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like an avenger who stands on the back of his victim.

VII. — I am come, to grant that thou mayest crush the Thomon, so that the isles of the Útanáhú may be in the power of thy souls, — I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like a spell-weaving lim, and that thou mayest make corpses of them in the midst of their own valleys.

VIII. — I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the ends of the earth, so that the circle which surrounds the ocean may be grasped in thy fist. — I grant that they may see Thy Majesty as the sparrow-hawk, lord of the wing, who sees at a glance all that he desires.

IX. — I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the peoples who are in their "duars," so that thou mayest bring the Hírú-sháitú into captivity, — I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like the jackal of the south, lord of swiftness, the runner who provokes through the two lands.

X. — I am come, to grant thee that thou mayest crush the nomads, so that the Nubians as far as the land of Pśit are in thy grasp. — I grant that they may see Thy Majesty like unto thy two brothers Horus and Stu, whose arms I have joined in order to establish thy power.

The poem became celebrated. When Sat atributed two centuries later, commanded the poet lamented of his court to celebrate his victories in verse, the latter, despairing of producing anything better, borrowed the finest strophes from this hymn to Thothmosis III, merely changing the name of the hero. The composition, unlike so many other triumphal inscriptions, is not a mere piece of official rhetoric, in which the poverty of the subject is concealed by a multitude of common-places whether historical or mythological. Egypt indeed ruled the world, either directly or through her vassals, and from the mountains of Abyssinia to those of Cilicia her armies held the nations in awe with the threat of the Pharaoh.

1 For the translation of the last stanzas of the prayer, see Pümmel, Forsch., p. 27, in the Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 16. The name of the people associated with the Thomon was read at first as Anub, and identified with the Dacii of the Greeks (E. de Reclus, Études sur divers monuments du royaume de Thébaïde, p. 29). Chabik was believed to be a Benin (Chadès sur l'Afrique, Histoires, 1921, ed. p. 181, 182), and Benin, Zambézia (Greek, Egypt, p. 555), were correctly Útanáhú, Útanáhú, the people of Útanáhú. The transcription of this name with that of the Libyans compasses us to look towards the west for the site of this people: may we assign to them the Ionian Islands, or even those in the western Mediterranean?

2 With regard to the Hírú-sháitú and their "duars," see Flinders Petrie, op. cit., pp. 330-333.

3 The best of Sat attributed to Amon, see Châlifour, Man. des Égyptes, éd., vol. II, p. 63; of Maspero, To Outer Mysteries, n. 1, and Egyptian Egypt, p. 90, note 2. Wernher, Gesch. der ägyptischen Religionen, p. 73, note 2, has printed out in Documents Historiques, Zwei Schriften, ed., II, p. 141, 142, some expressions which recall those of our text.
The conqueror, as a rule, did not retain any part of their territory. He confined himself to the appropriation of the revenue of certain domains for the benefit of his gods. Amon of Karnak thus became possessor of seven Syrian towns which he owed to the generosity of the victorious Pharaohs. Certain cities, like Tumpa, even begged for statues of Thutmose for which they built a temple and instituted a cultus. Amon and his fellow-gods too were sheltered there, side by side with the sovereign the inhabitants had chosen to represent them here below. These rites were at once a sign of servitude, and a proof of gratitude for services rendered, or privileges which had been confirmed. The princes of neighbouring regions repaired annually to these temples to renew their oaths of allegiance, and to bring their tributes "before the face of the king." Taking everything into account, the condition of the Pharaoh's subjects might have been a pleasant one, had they been able to accept their lot without any mental reservation. They retained their own laws, their dynasties, and their frontiers, and paid a tax only in proportion to their resources, while the hostages given were answerable for their obedience. These hostages were as a rule taken by Thutmose from among the sons or the brothers of the enemy's chief. They were carried to Thebes, where a suitable establishment was assigned to them, the younger members receiving an education which practically made them Egyptians. As soon as a vacancy occurred in the succession either in Syria or in Ethiopia, the Pharaoh would choose from among the members of the family whom he held in reserve, that prince on whose loyalty he could best count, and placed him upon the throne. The

1 The seven towns which Amon possessed in Syria are mentioned in the time of Ramses III, in the list of the domains and revenues of the god (The Great Harris Papyrus, British Museum, pl. 63, c. 1-2).
2 In the year XXVIII, on his return from his first campaign, Thutmose III provided offerings, guaranteed from the three towns Amathus, Ismant, and Harikara, for his father Amon (Larsen, Dieu, He, III, 29-II, 8-10; Borchardt, Recueil de Monuments, vol. ii, pl. 210, II, 8-10).
4 In this the expression used, in the time of Ramses III, in the Great Harris Papyrus, pl. 40, I. 3; cf. Borchardt, Gesch. Ägypten, pp. 688, 689, and W. M. Müller, Ägypten und Europa, p. 271.
5 The various titles of the list of Thutmose III as Thebes show us "the children of the Syrian chiefs conducted as princes," into the town of Sibnin (Marquet, Koreos, pl. 17), which is elsewhere mentioned as the place, the prince of the temple of Amon (ibid., pl. 10). W. M. Müller was the first to remark the historical value of this indication (Ägypten und Europa, p. 258), but without sufficiently insisting on it; the same indicates, perhaps, as he says, a great prince, but a prince like those where the princes of the family of the pharaoh-sultans were confirmed by the reigning monarch—a palace usually provided with all the comforts of Oriental life.
6 Ammon of Thutmose III, p. 9. Among the Tell al-Amarna tablets there is a letter of a petty Syrian king, Ashmar, whose father was enthroned after a fashion in Nubia by Thutmose III. (Weinland-Klein, Das Thebaische Land vor al-Amarna, No. 30, p. 37, Westermann, Forschungen, etc., in the Zeitschrift, pp. 23, 38, where the prince in question is wrongly given as a son of Thutmose III.)
method of procedure was not always successful, since these princes, whom one would have supposed from their training to have been the least likely to have asserted themselves against the man to whom they owed their elevation, often gave more trouble than others. The sense of the supreme power of Egypt, which had been insculpted in them during their exile, seemed to be weakened after their return to their native country, and to give place to a sense of their own importance. Their hearts misgave them as the time approached for them to send their own children as pledges to their suzerain, and also when called upon to transfer a considerable part of their revenue to his treasury. They found, moreover, among their own cities and kinsfolk, those who were adverse to the foreign yoke, and secretly urged their countrymen to revolt, or else competitors for the throne who took advantage of the popular discontent to pose as champions of national independence, and it was difficult for the vassal prince to counteract the intrigues of these adversaries without openly declaring himself hostile to his foreign master. A time quickly came when a vestige of fear alone constrained them to conceal their wish for liberty; the most trivial incident then sufficed to give them the necessary encouragement, and decided them to throw off the mask,—a repulse or the report of a repulse suffered by the Egyptians, the news of a popular rising in some neighbouring state, the passing visit of a Chaldean emissary who left behind him the hope of support and perhaps of subsidies from Babylon, and the unexpected arrival of a troop of mercenaries whose services might be hired for the occasion. A rising of this sort usually brought about the most disastrous results. The native prince or the town itself could keep back the tribute and own allegiance to no one during the few months required to convince Pharaoh of their defection and to allow him to prepare the necessary means of...
vengeance; the advent of the Egyptians followed, and the work of repression was systematically set in hand. They destroyed the harvests, whether green or ready for the sickle, they cut down the palms and olive trees, they tore up the vines, seized on the flocks, dismantled the strongholds, and took the inhabitants prisoners. The rebellious prince had to deliver up his silver and gold, the contents of his palace, even his children, and when he had finally obtained peace by means of endless sacrifices, he found himself a vassal as before, but with an empty treasury, a wasted country, and a decimated people. In spite of all this, some headstrong native princes never relinquished the hope of freedom, and no sooner had they made good the breaches in their walls as far as they were able, than they entered once more on this unequal contest, though at the risk of bringing irreparable disaster on their country. The majority of them, after one such struggle, renounced themselves to the inevitable, and fulfilled their feudal obligations regularly. They paid their fixed contribution, furnished rations and stores.

1 Cf. the ravages, for instance, of the region of Arvad and of the Zab by Thuthmosis III, described in the Annals, ii. 34, 55, and also what is said on this subject on pp. 283, 284 of the present work. We are still in possession of the threats which the messenger Khani made against the rebellious chief of a province of the Zab—possibly Asur (WEBER-Add. Die Thutmosis und assy. Annalen, No. 52, pl. 96 a, sect. ii. 30-32; cf. DELATTRE, Archéol. Proe. of Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1894-95, vol. xiii. p. 222).

2 See, in the accounts of the campaigns of Thuthmosis, the record of the spoils, as well as the mention of the children of the chiefs brought as prisoners into Egypt (Annals, i. 9).

3 Drawn by Boulot, from a photograph by Gayet. It is a bas-relief of the time of Rameses II at Luxor, which was brought to light in the excavations of 1886.
to the army when passing through their territory, and informed the ministers at Thebes of any intrigues among their neighbours.\footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.}\footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.} \footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.} Years elapsed before they could so far forget the failure of their first attempt to regain independence, as to venture to make a second, and expose themselves to fresh reverses.

The administration of so vast an empire entailed, but a small expenditure on the Egyptians, and required the officers of merely a few functionaries.\footnote{The officers and functionaries of the Pharaoh, in the 18th dynasty, were usually called *arkhams*, or "chiefs of the army," and were stationed in the various parts of the Empire. See Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.} The garrisons which they kept up in foreign provinces lived on the country, and were composed mainly of light troops, archers, a certain proportion of heavy infantry, and a few minor detachments of chariots dispersed among the principal fortresses.\footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.} The officers in command had orders to interfere as little as possible in local affairs, and to leave the natives to dispute or even to fight among themselves unharmed, so long as their quarrels did not threaten the security of the Pharaoh.\footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.} It was never part of the policy of Egypt to insist on her foreign subjects keeping an unbroken peace among themselves. If, theoretically, she did not recognize the right of private warfare, she at all events tolerated its practice. It mattered little to her whether some particular province passed out of the possession of a certain Ribaddi into that of a certain Aziru, or vice versa, as long as both Ribaddi and Aziru remained her faithful slaves. She never sought to repress their incessant quarrelling until such time as it threatened to take the form of an insurrection against her own power. Then alone did she throw off her neutrality; taking the side of one or other of

\footnote{See in Beulé-Brunet, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, p. 160.}
the discontented, she would grant him, as a pledge of help, ten, twenty, thirty, or even more archers. 1 No doubt the discipline and personal courage of these veterans exercised a certain influence on the turn of events, but they were after all a mere handful of men, and their individual action in the combat would scarcely ever have been sufficient to decide the result; the actual importance of their support, in spite of their numerical inferiority, lay in the moral weight they brought to the side on which they fought, since they represented the whole army of the Pharaoh which lay behind them, and their presence in a camp always ensured final success. The vanquished party had the right of appeal to the sovereign, through whom he might obtain a mitigation of the lot which his successful adversary had prepared for him; it was to the interest of Egypt to keep the balance of power as evenly as possible between the various states which looked to her, and when she prevented one or other of the princes from completely crushing his rivals, she was minimising the danger which might soon arise from the vassal whom she had allowed to extend his territory at the expense of others.

These relations gave rise to a perpetual exchange of letters and petitions between the court of Thebes and the northern and southern provinces, in which all the petty kings of Africa and Asia, of whatever colour or race, set forth, either openly or covertly, their ambitions and their fears, imploring a favour or begging for a subsidy, revealing the real or suspected intrigues of their fellow-chief, and while loudly proclaiming their own loyalty, denouncing the perfidy and the secret projects of their neighbours. As the Ethiopian peoples did not, apparently, possess an alphabet of their own, half of the correspondence which concerned them was carried on in Egyptian, and written on papyrus. In Syria, however, where Babylonian civilisation maintained itself in spite of its conquest by Thutmose, cuneiform writing was still employed, and tablets of dried clay. 2 It had, therefore, been found necessary to establish in the Pharaoh's palace a department for this service, in which the scribes should be competent to decipher the Chaldaean character. Dictionaries and easy mythological texts had been procured for their instruction, by means of

1 Abulilid (Abd-al-lah) demands on one occasion from the king of Egypt ten men to defend Tyre (Hammurabi, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 30, verso, l. 14-15, p. 64) or another hundred twenty (ibid., No. 32, verso, l. 47, 18, p. 28); the text of Gilgamesh, requisitioned thirty or forty to guard (Thoth., No. 36, rev., l. 30-32, p. 90); cf. Hurry, Correspondence of Amenophis III, etc., in the Journal Asiatique, vol. x. p. 201. Delattre thinks that these are rhetorical expressions answering to a general word, and that if we should say "a hundred of men" (Lavisse de Tell el-Amarna, in the Proceedings, 1893-94, vol. xx. p. 208), the difference of value in the figures is to be a proof of their reality.

2 A discovery made by thefellahin in 1887, at Tell el-Amarna, in the ruins of the palace of Harkhāton (Pirenne, Tell el-Amarna, pp. 23, 24), brought to light a portion of the correspondence between Akkadian monarchs, whether vassals or independent of Egypt, with the rulers of Amarna III and IV; and with these Pharaohs themselves. The bibliography of the principal publications related to the discovery is to be found in Bardenhewer, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, pp. 201-202.
which they had learned the meaning of words and the construction of sentences. Having once mastered the mechanism of the syllabary, they set to work to translate the despatches, marking on the back of each the date and the place from whence it came, and if necessary making a draft of the reply.¹ In these the Pharaoh does not appear, as a rule, to have insisted on the endless titles which we find so lavishly used in his inscriptions, but the shortened protocol employed shows that the theory of his divinity was as fully acknowledged by strangers as it was by his own subjects. They greet him as their sun, the god before whom they prostrate themselves seven times seven, while they are his slaves, his dogs, and the dust beneath his feet.² The runners to whom these documents were entrusted, and who delivered them with their own hand, were not, as a rule, persons of any consideration; but for missions of grave importance "the king's messengers" were employed, whose functions in time became extended to a remarkable degree. Those who were restricted to a limited sphere of activity were called "the king's messengers for the regions of the south," or "the king's messengers for the regions of the north," according to their proficiency in the idiom and customs of Africa or of Asia. Others were deemed capable of undertaking missions wherever they might be required, and were, therefore, designated by the bold title of "the king's messengers for all lands."³ In this case extended powers were conferred upon them, and they were permitted to cut short the disputes between two cities in some province they had to inspect, to excuse from tribute, to receive presents and hostages, and even princesses destined for the harem of the Pharaoh, and also to grant the support of troops to such as could give adequate reason for seeking it.⁴ Their tasks were always of a delicate and not infrequently of a perilous nature, and constantly exposed them to the danger of being robbed by highwaymen or

³ The prominence of the letters of Ahmose: śi may be taken as an example (Wasserman-Anti, Der Thammisfahrd, No. 67, p. 97), or those of Ahmosei (Herman-Brener, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 33, p. 16), to Pharaoh (Delatour, Lettres de Tell el-Amarna, in Proc. Bibl. Arab. Soc., 1892, vol. xx. pp. 501, 502, 603-605); sometimes there is a development of the protocol which assumes papamurlic features similar to those met with in Egypt (Herman-Brener, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 29, p. 62, ii. 4-10).
⁴ As to the fluid functions of the messengers, see Masson, Etudes Egypzologiques, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36; their political functions were brought to light in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence. The Tell el-Amarna correspondence shows the messengers in the time of Amenhotep III. and IV. as receiving tribute (Letter from Asir, in Breton-Burriel, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 32, p. 29, III. 15-26), as bringing an army to the succors of a chief in difficulty (Letter ibid., No. 38, p. 60, II. 32-47), as threatening with the anger of the Pharaoh the violators of doubtful loyalty (Wasserman-Anti, Der Thammisfahrd, no. 1, p. 95, a, b), as giving to a faithful vassal compliments and honours from his sovereign (Letter of Ahmosei, in Breton-Burriel, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 29, pp. 62, 63), as charged with the conveyance of a gift of slaves (Wasserman-Anti, Der Thammisfahrd, p. 69, suum, ii. 6, 7), or of escorting princes to the harem of the Pharaoh (Ibid., Ibid., p. 18, sutu, ii. 8-27).
maltreated by some insubordinate vassal, at times even running the risk of mutilation or assassination by the way. They were obliged to brave the dangers of the forests of Lebanon and of the Taurus, the solitudes of Mesopotamia, the marshes of Chaldea, the voyages to Phœnix and Asia Minor. Some took their way towards Assyria and Babylon, while others embarked at Tyre or Sidon for the islands of the Ægean Archipelago. The endurance of all these officers, whether governors or messengers, their courage, their tact, the ready wit they were obliged to summon to help them out of the difficulties into which their calling frequently brought them, all tended to enlist the public sympathy in their favour. Many of them achieved a reputation, and were made the heroes of popular romance. More than three centuries after it was still related how one of them, by name Thutït, had reduced and humbled Jaffa, whose chief had refused to come to terms. Thutït set about his task by feigning to throw off his allegiance to Thûtmose III., and withdrew from the Egyptian service, having first stolen the great magic wand of his lord; he then invited the rebellious chief into his camp, under pretext of showing him this formidable talisman, and killed him after they had drunk together. The cunning envoy then packed five hundred of his soldiers into jars, and caused them to be carried on the backs of asses before the gates of the town, where he made the herald of the murdered prince proclaim that the Egyptians had been defeated, and that the pack train which accompanied him contained the spoil, among which was Thutït himself. The officer in charge of the city gate was deceived by this harangue, the asses were admitted within the walls, where the soldiers quitted their jars, massacred the garrison, and made themselves masters of the town. The tale is, in the main, the story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves.  

The frontier was continually shifting, and Thûtmose III., like Thûtmose I.,  

1 A letter of Rhadames, in the time of Amenophis III., represents a royal messenger so blockaded in Byblos by the rebels (Bruns-Werdes, Tell al-Amarna Tablets, No. 12, pp. 30, 31, II. 22-23).  

2 We learn from the tablets of several messengers to Babylon, and the Mitanni, Rasil (Wenckheim-Arnell, Der Tadankhartu, p. 4, II. 10, 17), Mazi (Dietrich, p. 18 a, b), Rhadames-Recon, Tell al-Amarna Tablets, pp. 18-21), Khassena (Wenckheim-Arnell, Der Thadankhartu, p. 20, edtext, I. 37). The royal messenger Thutî, who governed the countries of the coast, speaks of having satisfied the heart of the king in "the lands which are in the midst of this sea" (Renaud-Quetin, Mémoire sur les Tablettes Égyptiennes du Musée de Louvres, p. 7, II. 18, et seq.). This was not, as some think, a name of a province (W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, p. 302, note 1), for the messengers could embark on Phœnician vessels, they had a short distance to cover in order to reach the Egyptians, that the royal messenger of Quem Béchampt had before arriving at the country of the Semites and the "Ladins of Lebanon" (see p. 216, et seq., of the present work).  

3 The text of the Assurban-Epigraph, No. 4, with which Chabot made acquaintance in Rassam's Egyptian, is probably a type of the "message" of the time of Rameses II.; in any case, his history and adventures are natural to a "royal messenger" compelled to traverse Syria above.  


5 De La Cotte populaire de L'Égypte antique, 2nd ed., pp. 147-160, and Prof. E. Porraz, Égyptian Tales, 2nd series, pp. 1-12. The resemblance to Ali Baba and the forty thieves was pointed out by Roscher, Gnomon des Vorzeitlichen, pp. 229, 404.
mainly endeavoured to give it a fixed character by erecting stèle along the banks of the Euphrates, at these points where he contemplated it had run formerly. While Kharn and Phoenicia were completely in the hands of the conqueror, his suzerainty became more uncertain as it extended northwards in the direction of the Taurus. Beyond Qodrah, it could only be maintained by means of constant supervision, and in Naharain its duration was coextensive with the sojourn of the conqueror in the locality during his campaign, for it vanished of itself as soon as he had set out on his return to Africa. It will be thus seen that, on the continent of Asia, Egypt possessed a nucleus of territories, so far securely under her rule that they might be actually reckoned as provinces; beyond this immediate domain there was a zone of waning influence, whose area varied with each reign, and even under one king depended largely on the activity which he personally displayed. This was always the case when the rulers of Egypt attempted to carry their supremacy beyond the Ischemm; whether under the Ptolemies or the native kings, the distance to which her influence extended was always practically the same, and the teaching of history enables us to note its limits on the map with relative accuracy. The coast towns, which were in maritime communication with the ports of the Delta, submitted to the Egyptian yoke more readily than those of the interior. But this submission could not be reckoned on beyond Berytos, on the banks of the Lykos, though occasionally it stretched a little further north as far as Byblos and Arvad; even then it did not extend inland, and the curva marking its limits traverses Core-Syria from north-west to south-east, terminating at Mount Hermon. Damassus, securely entrenched behind Anti-Lebanon, almost always lay outside this limit. The rulers of Egypt generally succeeded without much difficulty in keeping possession of the countries lying to the south of this line; it demanded merely a slight effort, and this could be furnished for several centuries without encroaching seriously on the resources of the country, or endangering its prosperity. When, however, some provinces ventured to break away from the control of Egypt, the whole mechanism of the government was put into operation to provide soldiers and the necessary means for an expedition. Each stage of the advance beyond the frontier demanded a greater expenditure of energy, which, with prolonged distances, would naturally become exhausted. The expedition would scarcely

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1 See the mention of these stèles at pp. 219, 245 of the present work. None of those which were erected in Naharain exist now, but we still have some others at the mouth of the Nahr al-Kahl, which were put up in the time of Ramses II. (Lavarca, Deska, ill. 197.)

2 The development of the Egyptian navy enabled the Pharaohs to exercise authority over the coasts of Asia Minor and of Turkey, but this extension of their power beyond the indicated limits only hastened the exhaustion of their empire (Dumbrée, Geschichte der Epigraphen, 2nd. edit., vol. i. pp. 161-163). This instance, like that of Mahmut Ali, thus confirms the position taken up in the text.
have reached the Taurus or the Euphrates, before the force of circumstances would bring about its recall homewards, leaving but a slight band of vassalage between the recently subdued countries and the conqueror, which would speedily be cast off or give place to relations dictated by interest or courtesy. Tho-1

mose III. had to submit to this sort of necessary law; a further extension of territory had hardly been gained when his dominion began to shrink within the frontiers that appeared to have been prescribed by nature for an empire like that of Egypt. Khari and Phannicia proper paid him their tithes with due regularity; the cities of the Amurra and of Zahi, of Damascus, Qadosh, Hamath, and even of Tiro, lying on the outskirts of these two subject nations, formed an ill-defined borderland, kept in a state of perpetual disturbance by the secret intrigues or open rebellions of the native princes. The kings of Alasia, Naharaim, and Mitanni preserved their independence in spite of repeated reverses, and they treated with the conqueror on equal terms. The tone of their letters to the Pharaoh, the polite formulas with which they addressed him, the special protocol which the Egyptian ministry had drawn up for their reply, all differ widely from those which we see in the despatches coming from commanders of garrisons or actual vassals. In the former it is no longer a slave or a fenodary addressing his master and awaiting his orders, but equals holding courteous communication with each other, the brother of Alasia or of Mitanni with his brother of Egypt. They inform him of their good health, and then, before entering on business, they express their good wishes for himself, his wives, his sons, the lords of his court, his brave soldiers, and for his horses. They were careful never to forget that with a single word their correspondent could let loose upon them a whirlwind of chariots and archers without number, but the respect they felt for his formidable power never degenerated into a fear which would humiliate them before him with their faces in the dust.

This interchange of diplomatic compliments was called for by a variety of exigencies, such as incidents arising on the frontier, secret intrigues, personal alliances, and questions of general politics. The kings of Mesopotamia and of Northern Syria, even those of Assyria and Chaldæa, who were preserved by distance from the dangers of a direct invasion, were in constant fear of an expected war, and heartily desired the downfall of Egypt; they endeavoured meanwhile to occupy the Pharaoh so fully at home that he had no leisure to attack them. Even if they did not venture to give open encouragement to the disposition in his subjects to revolt, they at least experienced no scruple in hiring emissaries who secretly fanned the flame of discontent. The Pharaoh,
aroused to indignation by such plotting, reminded them of their former oaths and treaties. The king in question would thereupon deny everything, would speak of his tried friendship, and recall the fact that he had refused to help a rebel against his beloved brother. These protestations of innocence were usually accompanied by presents, and produced a twofold effect. They soothed the anger of the offended party, and suggested not only a courteous answer, but the sending of still more valuable gifts. Oriental etiquette, even in those early times, demanded that the present of a less rich or powerful friend should place the recipient under the obligation of sending back a gift of still greater worth. Every one, therefore, whether great or little, was obliged to regulate his liberality according to the estimation in which he held himself, or to the opinion which others formed of him, and a personage of such opulence as the King of Egypt was constrained by the laws of common civility to display an almost boundless generosity: was he not free to work the mines of the Divine Land or the diggings of the Upper Nile; and as for gold, "was it not as the dust of his country"? He would have desired nothing better than to exhibit such liberality, had not the repeated calls on his purse at last constrained him to parsimony; he would have been ruined, and Egypt with him, had he given all that was expected of him. Except in a few extraordinary cases, the gifts sent never realised the expectations of the recipients; for instance, when twenty or thirty pounds of precious metal were looked for, the amount despatched would be merely two or three. The indignation of these disappointed beggars and their remembrances were then most amusing: "From the time when my father and thine entered into friendly relations, they loaded each other with presents, and never waited to be asked to exchange amities; and now my brother sends me two minas of gold as a gift! Send me abundance of gold, as much as thy father sent, and even for as it must be, more than

1 See the letter of Amenophis III. to Kallimannon of Babylon, where the King of Egypt complains of the hundred designs which the Babylonian messenger had plotted against him, and of the injuries they had conspired on their return to their own country (Benois-Bridge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 1, trans. pp. 2, 3, 4, 66, 69, 72, 76, 80; cf. Delattre, Lettres de Tell-el-Amarna, in the Proconsulage, 1892-93, vol. ii. pp. 27, 28); see also the letter from Birmaburiris to Amenophis IV., in which he defends himself from the accusation of having plotted against the King of Egypt at any time, and recalls the circumstances that his father Narĝa-pri had refused to encourage the rebellion of one of the Syrian tribes, subjected of Amenophis III. (Benois-Bridge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 2, pp. 6, 7, 11, 35, 50).

2 See the letter of Tudhatra, King of Mitanni, to the Pharaoh Amenophis IV. (Benois-Bridge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 26, pp. 29, 31, trans. ii. 61, 62).


4 Birmaburiris complains that the king's messenger had only brought him on one occasion twenty minas of gold (Benois-Bridge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 3, p. 1, l. 14), on another occasion twenty minas: moreover, that the quality of the metal was so bad that hardly five minas of pure gold could be extracted from it (ibid., vol. i. 8, 74, pub., i. 18-21; cf. H. B. H. E. 11, IV. Correspondance d'Amenophis III., p. 26; in the Revue Scientifique, vol. 1, pp. 56-59).
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thy father" 1 Pretexts were never wanting to give reasonable weight to such demands: one correspondent had begun to build a temple or a palace in one of his capitals, 2 another was reserving his fairest daughter for the Pharaoh, and he gave him to understand that anything he might receive would help to complete the bride's trousseau. 3 The princesses thus sent from Babylon or Mitanni to the court of Thebes enjoyed on their arrival a more honourable welcome, and were assigned a more exalted rank than those who came from Khari and Phoenicia. As a matter of fact, they were not hostages given over to the conqueror to be disposed of at will, but queens who were united in legal marriage to an ally. 4 Once admitted to the Pharaoh's court, they retained their full rights as his wife, as well as their own fortune and mode of life. Some would bring to their betrothed chests of jewels, utensils, and stuffs, the enumeration of which would cover both sides of a large tablet; 5 others would arrive escorted by several hundred slaves or matrons as personal attendants 6 A few of them preserved their original name, 7 many assumed an Egyptian designation, 8 and so far adapted themselves to the costumes, manners, and language of their adopted country, that they dropped all intercourse with their native land, and became regular Egyptians. When, after

1 Literally, "and they would never make such other a fair request." The meaning I propose is doubtful, but it appears to be required by the context. The letter from which this passage was taken is from Bunsenbachi, King of Babylon, to Ammochtes IV. (BENSEL-BROOKE, Tell of Amenemes Tomb, No. 2, ed., p. 6, ll. 7-13).

2 This is the pretext advanced by Bunsenbachi in the letter just cited, ll. 10, 11.

3 This seems to have been the motive in a somewhat embarrassing letter which Dualhatia, King of Mitanni, wrote to the Pharaoh Ammochtes III, on the occasion of his fixing the dwelling of his daughter (WISCHER, Der Thutmosisfund, p. 18 a, 5; cf. DELATTRE, Etudes de Tell el-Amarna, in the Proccsdes d'Egypte, Arch. Soc. 1898-99, vol. xvi. pp. 328, 333).

4 For the condition of these women, see DELATTRE, Marriages princesse en Egypte, Cetres les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, in the Revue des Quinze Années, vol. II, pp. 222-233, and La Correspondence d'Amenophis III, etc., ibid., vol. I, pp. 327-339. The daughter of the King of the Khak, wife of Ramesses II, was treated, as we see from the monuments, with such honour as would have been accorded to Egyptian princesses of pure blood (MARIETTE, Fragments textuels et fouilles du Sina en l'annee de l'exposition, vol. xiv. pp. 10, 11).

5 WISCHER, Der Thutmosisfund, pp. 23, 26, where the objects belonging to the dowry of the mother of King Dualhatia of Mitanni, are enumerated on the occasion of her marriage with Ammochtes IV.

6 Gilukhipa, who was sent to Egypt to become the wife of Amenemes III, took with her a company of three hundred and seventy women for her service (REDLICH, Uber die nordische historische Denkmacl des Zeiten Amenophis III., in the Zeitschrift, 1889, pp. 81-87: BUCK, Sources d'Amenophis III, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. xi, pp. 356, 360). She was a daughter of Subarna, King of Mitanni, and is mentioned several times in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence (ROMMEL, Raume aus Tell el-Amarna, in the Zeitschrift, vol. xxviii. p. 118; WISCHER, Subarna, Ein Lied von Machtwerken, ibid., pp. 114, 115).

7 For example, Gilukhipa, whose name is transmitted in Egyptian, and another princess of Mitanni, known as Gilukhipa, called Tadukhipa, daughter of Dualhatia, and wife of Amenemes IV. (BENSEL-BROOKE, Tell of Amenemes Tomb, No. 2, p. 22, ll. 3, 5).

8 The prin's of the Khak's daughter, who married Ramesses II, is an example; we know her only by her Egyptian name Malakhatia (LEONE, Babyl., iii, p. 196 a.; MARIETTE, Fragments et fouilles du Tell el-Amarna, in the Records of the Past, vol. xii, p. 10, 12). The wife of Ramesses III (LEONE, Babyl., No. 699, 731) added to the Egyptian name of her original name, Huenenbachi.
several years, an ambassador arrived with greetings from their father or brother, he would be puzzled by the changed appearance of these ladies, and would almost doubt their identity; indeed, those only who had been about them in childhood were in such cases able to recognise them. These princesses all adopted the gods of their husbands, though without necessarily renouncing their own. From time to time their parents would send them, with much pomp, a statue of one of their national divinities—Ishtar, for example—which, accompanied by native priests, would remain for some months at the court. The children of these queens ranked next in order to those whose mothers belonged to the solar race, but nothing prevented them marrying their brothers or sisters of pure descent, and being eventually raised to the throne. The numbers of their families who remained in Asia were naturally proud of these bonds of close affinity with the Pharaoh, and they rarely missed an opportunity of reminding him in their letters that they stood to him in the relationship of brother-in-law, or one of his brothers-in-law; their vanity stood them in good stead, since it afforded them another claim on the favours which they were perpetually asking of him.

These foreign wives had often to interfere in some of the contentions which were bound to arise between two States whose subjects were in constant intercourse with one another. Invasions or provincial wars may have affected or even temporarily suspended the passage to and fro of caravans between the countries of the Tigris and those of the Nile; but as soon as peace was re-established, even though it were the insecure peace of those distant ages, the desert traffic was again resumed and carried on with renewed vigour. The Egyptian traders who penetrated into regions beyond the Euphrates, carried with them, and almost unconsciously disseminated along the whole extent of their route, the numberless products of Egyptian industry, hitherto but little known outside their own country, and rendered expensive owing to the difficulty of transmission or the greed of the merchants. The Syrians now saw for the first time in great quantities, objects which had been known to them hitherto merely through the few rare specimens which made

1 This was the case with the daughter of Kallimann, King of Babylon, married to Amenophis III. (Borch-Reuter, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 1, pp. 2-4, ii. 29-32, and pp. xxxi., xxi., &c. Delattre, Lettres de Tell el-Amarna, in the Proceedings, 1892-93, vol. xv. pp. 26, 27; Halévy, La Correspondance d'Amenophis III, etc., in the Revue Scientifique, vol. 1. p. 31); her father's ambassador did not recognise her.

2 The daughter of the King of the KHA, wife of Ramses II., is represented in an attitude of worship before her father-in-law and two Egyptian gods (Lavisse, Denkm., iii. 195 a).

3 Delattre of Mutsen, sending a statue of Ishtar to his daughter, wife of Amenophis III., reminded her that she possessed a statue which he had already sent from Egypt in the time of his father Sinann (Delattre of Mutsen, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 14, pp. 24, 25, ii. 43-46, and pp. xliii., xliii.).

4 Delattre of Mutsen never lost an opportunity of calling Amenophis III., husband of his sister Winiya, and one of his daughters, "akhinya," my brother, and "kilmant-ru," my semi-brother (Wissowsky-Azara, Der Thutem/Akhend, p. 17, n. 1-3).
their way across the frontier: arms, stuffs, metal implements, household utensils—in fine, all the objects which ministered to daily needs or to luxury. These were now offered to them at reasonable prices, either by the hawkers who accompanied the army or by the soldiers themselves, always ready, as soldiers are, to part with their possessions in order to procure a few extra pleasures in the intervals of fighting. On the other hand, whole convoys of spoil were despatched to Egypt after every successful campaign, and their contents were distributed in varying proportions among all classes of society, from the militiaman belonging to some feudal contingent, who received, as a reward of his valour, some half-dozen necklaces or bracelets, to the great lord of ancient family or the Crown Prince, who carried off waggon-loads of booty in their train. These distributions must have stimulated a passion for all Syrian goods, and as the spoil was insufficient to satisfy the increasing demands of

7 Drawn by Bouches, from a photograph by Imhofer. The scene here reproduced occurs in one of the Tylowy tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty.
the consumer, the waning commerce which had been carried on from early times was once more revived and extended, till every river, whether by land or water, between Thebes, Memphis, and the Asiatic cities, was thronged by those engaged in its pursuit. It would take too long to enumerate the various objects of merchandise brought in almost daily to the marts on the Nile by Phoenician vessels or the owners of caravans. They comprised slaves destined for the workshop or the harem, hittite bulls and stallions, horses from Singar, oxen from Alasia, rare and curious animals such as elephants from Nili, and brown bears from the Lebanon, smoked and salted fish, live birds of many-colored plumage, goldsmiths' work and precious stones, of which lapiz-lazuli was the chief, wood for building or for ornamental work—pine, cypress, yew, cedar, and oak, musical instruments, helmets, leathern jerkins covered with metal scales, weapons of bronze and iron.

1 A partial list has been drawn up by Bunsen, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 322-325; by Renan, L'Egypte et le Sphinx, pp. 681, 682; by Bunsen, Das Herrschafts- und Formenwesen der Ägypter, p. 34, et seq.; and by W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 363-369.
2 Syrian slaves are mentioned along with Ethiopian in the Amarna Papyri, No. 1, p. xvi, II. 2-5; and there is mention in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence of Hittite slaves whom Damascus of Mitanni brought to Amansheh III (Babur-Benn, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, Nos. 2, p. 23, II. 30-33, and of other presents of the same kind made by the King of Alasia as a testimonio of his grateful homage.
3 Amarna Papyri, No. 1, p. xxvii, II. 8, 9; cf. p. 430 of the present work.
6 The Annals of Thothmes III make a record in each campaign of the importation of gold and silver vessels, objects in lapiz-lazuli and crystal, of blocks of the same materials (II. 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, 26, 25, 25, 25, 25, 25), the Thutân mounds of this period afford examples of the vase blocks brought by the Syrians (Vigny, Le Tombeau de Rââmâ, etc., pl. viii, in the Mission de la Mission, etc., vol. v. Le Tombeau de Amenhotep Ier, etc., p. 226, et seq.). The Tell el-Amarna letters also mention vases of gold or blocks of precious stone sent as presents or as objects of exchange to the Pharaoh by the King of Babylon (Babur-Benn, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 1, p. 7, 116, No. 3, p. 9, II. 40-44), by the King of Mitanni (M. de la Roque, vol. viii, p. 25, II. 41-45), by the King of the Hittites (Wessely, Der Thurtululun, p. 14, II. 11-12), and by other princes. The lapiz-lazuli of Babylon, which probably came from Persia, was that which was most prized by the Egyptians on account of the golden specks in it, which enhanced the blue color; this, or perhaps, the tunic of the canopic inscriptions, has been used for a long time as "crystal" (Lydek, Ueber die Lapis-Lazuli, in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1882, pp. 419-437).
7 Building and ornamental woods are often mentioned in the inscriptions of Thothmes III (Annals, II. 25, 26, 27, 27, 24). A scene at Karnak represents Sesi I sending building-wood to be cut in the region of the Lebanae (Chamberlain, Monuments de l'Egypte, etc., pl. xxvi, 1, 2, etc., and vol. vi, pp. 87, 88; Rosellini, Monuments Assyrias, pl. xvi, 1). A letter of the King of Amasis speaks of contributions of wood which several of his subjects had to make to the King of Egypt (Babur-Benn, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 3, p. 12, II. 27-28, and pl. xxv).
8 Some stringed instruments of metal, and two or three kinds of flutes and flagellants, are designated in Egyptian by names borrowed from the same Slantite tongue—a fact which proves that they were imported (Amarna Papyri, No. 4, p. xvi, I. 1, et seq.); the wooden framework of the harp, decorated with the heads of Asiatic figures among the objects coming from Syria in the temple of the Thoth Amun (Petrie, Histoire de l'art égyptien, vol. vii, p. 250), of the cut out p. 353 of the present work.
9 Several names of arms borrowed from the same Slantite dialect have been noticed in the texts of this period. The objects as well as the words must have been imported into Egypt, e.g. the quiver (Amarna Papyri, No. 7, p. xxxv, 1. 7; Denon, Histoire de l'art égyptien, vol. v, pl. 13, I. 33), the
chariots, dyed and embroidered stuffs, perfumes, dried cakes, oil, wines of Khare, liqueurs from Alasam, Khát, Singar, Naharain, Amurrn, and beer from Qori. On arriving at the frontier, whether by sea or by land, the majority

were and procured maid by the charioteers (Assyrian Papyri, No. 1, p. xvi. 1, 1). Coloured and leathern wallkings are mentioned in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III. (Assylo, II. II. 41; Marien, Reziet de la campagne contre Magdelo, in the Recueil de Travanc, vol. II. p. 47).

Grown by Ezechiel-Ammun, from a photograph of Prince d'Armand's sketch.

Charcoal, plated with gold and silver,40 frequendy among the spoils of Thutmose III. (Marien, Reziet de la campagne, ete., in the Recueil de Travanc, vol. II. pp. 142-144, 146, 148, 150, 159; Assyro, II. 8-11, 34-41); the Assyrian Papyri, No. 1, contains a detailed description of Syrian chariots—Marabliti—with a reference to the localities where certain parts of them were made:—the country of the Amurr, that of Aspa, the town of Patura (pi. xvi. 1, 6, et seq.). The Tell Al-Ammur correspondence mentions very frequently chariots sent to the Pharaoh by the King of Babylon, either as presents (Bassu-Belus, Tell el-Amurrah Tablets, No. 2, p. 7, II. 67, 78) or to be sold in Egypt (Tell el-Amurrah Tablets, No. 1, p. 5, II. 58-59), others sent by the King of Alasia (Ibn, ibid., No. 6, p. 1., II. 20, 21) and the King of Ecbatana (Ibn, ibid., No. 9, p. 23, II. 26-27).

Some linen, cotton, or woolen, stuffs are mentioned in the Assyrian Papyri, No. 4, p. xvi. 12, et seq.; elsewhere as coming from Syria. The Egyptian love of white linen always prevented their embroidering highly the coloured and tissued stuffs of Asia, and one may conclude, in the representations, any examples of stuffs of such origin, except on furniture or in ships equipped with something of the kind in the form of sails.

The perfumed oils of Syria are mentioned in a general way in the Assyrian Papyri, No. 1, p. xvi. II. 1, 2; the King of Alasia speaks of essences which he is sending to Amen-em-Ha III. (Bassu-Belus, Tell el-Amurrah Tablets, No. 9, p. 14, II. 23, 25-28); the King of Ecbatana refers to bottles of oil which he is forwarding to Gebelkupri (Ibn, ibid., No. 9, p. 28, II. 44) and to Tis (No. 11, p. 27, II. 56-58).

A list of vases of Syrian origin is found in the Assyrian Papyri (No. 1, p. xvi. II. 5-6); also a reference to balance vases from Naharain, and to various vases which had arrived in the ports of the Delta (pl. xvi. II. 1, 2); to the wines of Syria (pl. xvi. II. 1, 2); to palm wine and various liquors manufactured in Alasia, Singar, among the Knath, Amurrn, and the people of Tikkis (pl. xvi. II. 2-4); finally, to the beer of Qori (pl. xvi. II. 1, 2).
of these objects had to pay the custom dues which were rigorously collected by the officers of the Pharaoh. This, no doubt, was a reprisal tariff, since independent sovereigns, such as those of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon, were accustomed to impose a similar duty on all the products of Egypt. The latter, indeed, supplied more than she received, for many articles which reached her in their raw condition were, by means of native industry, worked up and exported as ornaments, vases, and highly decorated weapons, which, in the course of international traffic, were dispersed to all four corners of the earth. The merchants of Babylon and Assyria had little to fear as long as they kept within the domains of their own sovereign or in those of the Pharaoh; but no sooner did they venture within the borders of those turbulent states which separated the two great powers, than they were exposed to dangers at every turn. Safe-conducts were of little use if they had not taken the additional precaution of providing a strong escort and carefully guarding their caravan, for the Shemšu concealed in the depths of the Lebanon or the needy sheikhs of Kharios could never resist the temptation to rob the passing traveller. The victims complained to their king, who felt no hesitation in passing on their woes to the sovereign under whose rule the pillagers were supposed to live. He demanded their punishment, but his request was not always granted, owing to the difficulties of finding out and seizing the offenders. An indemnity, however, could be obtained which would nearly compensate the merchants for the loss sustained. In many cases justice had but little to do with the negotiations, in which self-interest was the chief motive; but repeated refusals would have discouraged traders, and by lessening the facilities of transit, have diminished the revenue which the state drew from its foreign commerce.

The question became a more delicate one when it concerned the rights of subjects residing out of their native country. Foreigners, as a rule, were well received in Egypt; the whole country was open to them; they could marry, they could acquire homes and lands, they enjoyed permission to follow their own religion unhindered, they were eligible for public honours, and more than one of the officers of the crown whose tombs we see at Thebes were themselves


2 The writer who in the reign of Ramses II composed the "Travels of an Egyptian," speaks in several places of narrating tales and stories, which involved the reader followed by the verse (Achates, "Papyrus, No. I, pl. xii. II, 1-6; pl. xalii. II, 6-7; pl. xxiv. I, 8; pl. xxv. I, 1; et seq.). The Tel-el-Amarna correspondence contains a letter from the King of Alasia, who extols himself from being implicated in the rival transactions which Egypt had received in passing through his territory (Wilkinson, "Aegypti," p. 10, II, 7-22), and another letter in which the King of Babylonia complains that Chaldean merchants had been robbed at Kharnattu, in Gallio, by the Prince of Akks (A assumption that the quality persons (Wilkinson, "Aegypti," p. 7, I, 8; et seq.).
Syrians, or born of Syrian parents on the banks of the Nile. Hence, those who settled in Egypt without any intention of returning to their own country enjoyed all the advantages possessed by the natives, whereas those who took up a merely temporary abode there were more limited in their privileges. They were granted the permission to hold property in the country, and also the right to buy and sell there, but they were not allowed to transmit their possessions at will, and if by chance they died on Egyptian soil, their goods lapsed as a forfeit to the crown. The heirs remaining in the native country of the dead man, who were ruined by this confiscation, sometimes petitioned the king to interfere in their favour with a view of obtaining restitution. If the Pharaoh consented to waive his right of forfeiture, and made over the confiscated objects or their equivalent to the relatives of the deceased, it was solely by an act of mercy, and as an example to foreign governments to treat Egyptians with a like clemency should they chance to proffer a similar request. It is also not improbable that the sovereigns themselves had a personal interest in more than one commercial undertaking, and that they were the partners, or, at any rate, interested in the enterprises, of many of their subjects, so that any loss sustained by one of the latter would eventually fall upon themselves. They had, in fact, reserved to themselves the privilege of carrying on several lucrative industries, and of disposing of the products to foreign buyers, either to those who purchased them out and out, or else through the medium of agents, to whom they intrusted certain quantities of the goods for warehousing. The King of Babylon, taking advantage of the fashion which prompted the Egyptians to acquire objects of Chaldaean goldsmiths' and cabinet-makers' art, caused ingots of gold to be sent to him by the Pharaoh, which he returned worked up into vases, ornaments, household utensils, and plated chariots. He further fixed the value of all such objects, and took a considerable commission for having acted as intermediary in the transaction. In Asia, which was the land of metals, the king appears to have held a monopoly of the bronze. Whether he smelted it in the country, or received it from more distant regions ready prepared, we cannot say, but he claimed and retained for himself the payment for all that the Pharaoh despatched to order of him.

1 See letter from the King of Alasia (Babylonian, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 9, p. 15, ll. 30–34), where there is question of a subject who had died in Egypt. Among other memorials proving the presence of Syrians about the Pharaoh, is the stela of Hesy-Amen, of the town of Zutekhana (cf. Bahr, Correspondance entre Palainie et Egypte, 1st ed. vol. ii, p. 30; note 1),��עיהו ברייהו (Marie, Alasia, vol. ii, p. 25–30), and Col. 1001 du Monnisme d’Alasia, No. 1306, pp. 225, 325; he was surrounded with Semites like himself.

2 All this seems to result from a letter in which the King of Alasia demands from Amasis III. the restitution of the goods of one of his subjects who had died in Egypt (Babylonian, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 5, p. 13, ll. 28–34, and p. 383; cf. Hoogewen, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, in Egypt, and Oriental Record, vol. vii, pp. 29, 31; the tone of the letter is that of one asking a favour, and on the supposition that the King of Egypt had a right to keep the property of a headman lying on his territory. Cf. the letter of Purnamukhi to Amasis III. (Babylonian, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 6).
From such instances we can well understand the jealous watch which these sovereigns exercised, lest any individual connected with corporations of workmen should leave the kingdom and establish himself in another country without special permission. Any emigrant who opened a workshop and initiated his new compatriots in the technique or professional secrets of his craft, was regarded by the authorities as the most dangerous of all evil-doers. By thus introducing his trade into a rival state, he deprived his own people of a good customer, and thus rendered himself liable to the penalties inflicted on those who were guilty of treason. His savings were confiscated, his house razed to the ground, and his whole family—parents, wives, and children—treated as partakers in his crime. As for himself, if justice succeeded in overtaking him, he was punished with death, or at least with mutilation, such as the loss of eyes and ears, or amputation of the feet. This severity did not prevent the frequent occurrence of such cases, and it was found necessary to deal with them by the insertion of a special extradition clause in treaties of peace and other alliances. The two contracting parties decided against conceding the right of habitation to skilled workmen who should take refuge with either party on the territory of the other, and they agreed to seize such workmen forthwith, and mutually restore them, but under the express condition that neither they nor any of their belongings should incur any penalty for the desertion of their country. It would be curious to know if all the arrangements agreed to by the kings of those times were sanctioned, as in the above instance, by properly drawn up agreements. Certain expressions occur in their correspondence which seem to prove that this was the case, and that the relations between them, of which we can catch traces, resulted not merely from a state of things which, according to their ideas, did not necessitate any diplomatic sanction, but from conventions agreed to after some war, or entered on without any previous struggle, when there was no question at issue between the two states. When once the Syrian conquest had been effected, Egypt gave permanency to its results by means of a series of international decrees, which officially established the constitution of her empire, and brought about her concerted action with the Asiatic powers.

p.12, 1.19-22), says, whilst pretending to have nothing else in view than making a present to his royal brother, he proposes to make an exchange of some bronze for the products of Egypt, especially for gold. Treaty of Ramses II. with the King of the Khatti, § 211-214, 14, 241. E. de Roux, Traité entre Ramses II. et le prince de Chōte, in Études sur les traités-publiques, pp. 218-231, and Charre, Voyage d'un Égyptien, pp. 331-335.

4 The treaty of Ramses II. with the King of the Khatti, the only one which has come down to us, was a renewal of other treaties effected one after another between the fathers and grandparents of the two contracting sovereigns (5 viii.; cf. E. de Roux, Traité entre Ramses II. and le prince de Chōte, p. 214, and Charre, Voyage d'un Égyptien, p. 326). Some of the Tel el-Amarna letters probably refer to treaties of this kind, e.g. that of Borsippa of Babylon, who says that since the time of Khabash there had been an exchange of ambassadors and friendship between the sovereigns of Chōteas and of Egypt (Ramses-Ibns, Tel el-Amarna Tablets, No. 3, p. 8, L 8-19), and also that of Pishirtu of Mittana, who sends the Queen of the secret negotiations which had taken place between him and Amenophis III. (To, 1664, No. 11, p. 35, HL 17, 18).
She had already occupied an important position among them, when Thûtômosis III. died, on the last day of Phamenoth, in the LVth year of his reign. He was buried, probably, at Deir el-Bâhri, in the family tomb wherein the most illustrious members of his house had been laid to rest since the time of Thûtômosis I. His mummy was not securely hidden away, for towards the close of the XXth dynasty it was torn out of the coffin by robbers, who stripped it and rifled it of the jewels with which it was covered, injuring it in their haste to carry away the spoil. It was subsequently re-interred, and has remained undisturbed until the present day; but before re-burial some renovation of the wrappings was necessary, and as portions of the body had become loose, the restorers, in order to give the mummy the necessary firmness, compressed it between four oval-shaped slips of wood, painted white, and placed, three inside the wrappings and one outside, under the bands which confined the winding-sheet. Happily the face, which had been plastered over with pitch at the time of embalming, did not suffer at all from this rough treatment, and appeared intact when the protecting mask was removed. Its appearance does not answer to our ideal of the conqueror. His statues, though not representing him as a type of manly beauty, yet give him refined, intelligent features, but a comparison with the mummy shows that the artists have idealised their model. The forehead is abnormally low, the eyes deeply sunk, the jaw heavy, the lips thick, and the cheek-bones extremely prominent, the whole recalling the physiognomy of Thûtômosis II., though with a greater show of energy. Thûtômosis III. is a mitlûn of the old stock, squat, thickset, vulgar in character and expression, but not lacking in firmness and vigour. Amenôthès II., who succeeded him, must have closely

1 Inscription of Amenôthès, II. 35-37; cf. EAN, Thûtômos, and Zeit Thêsos III., in the Zeitchrift, 1873, p. 7, and CHÂTEL, Mémoires de la Société d'Égyptologie, 3rd series, vol. 1, pp. 288, 302-304. Dr. Malher (History Thûtômosis III., in the Zeitchrift, 1883, pp. 97-105) has, with great precision, fixed the date of the accession of Thûtômosis III. on the 26th of March, 1385, and that of his death on the 16th of February, 1419, a.c. I have mentioned (Rêve de Cementia, pp. 299, 210) the reasons which seem to me to make the application of astronomical calculations to Egyptian dates difficult. I do not think that the date furnished to Dr. Malher by Brugsch with respect to certain conclusions being drawn from them, and that I should fix the 487-488 years of the reign of Thûtômosis III. in a less decided manner, between 1355 and 1400 a.c., allowing, as I have said before, for an error of half a century more or less in the dates which go back to the time of the second Thûtômosian empire.

* Drucks von E. Reisch 1883. Le Mouton royaux du Deir el-Bahari, in the Mouton of the Mouton Français, vol. 1, pl. VI A.

† He died in the Mouton, vol. 1, pp. 317, 348. The mummy remains allow us to estimate the height at about 5 ft. 3 in. By the order of Mons. Giraudet, the head has been freed from the mask of linen which covered it.
resembled him, if we may trust his official portraits. He was the son of a princess of the blood, Hātšepṣut II., daughter of the great Hātšepṣut, and consequently he came into his inheritance with stronger claims to it than any other Pharaoh since the time of Amenophis I. Possibly his father may have associated him with himself on the throne as soon as the young prince attained his majority; at any rate, his accession aroused no appreciable opposition in the country, and if any difficulties were made, they must have come from outside. It is always a dangerous moment in the existence of a newly formed empire when its founder having passed away, and the conquered people not having yet become accustomed to a subject condition, they are called upon to submit to a successor of whom they know little or nothing. It is always problematical whether the new sovereign will display as great activity and be as successful as the old one; whether he will be capable of turning to good account the armies which his predecessor commanded with such skill, and led so bravely against the enemy; whether, again, he will have sufficient tact to estimate correctly the burden of taxation which each province is capable of bearing, and to lighten it when there is a risk of its becoming too heavy. If he does not show from the first that it is his purpose to maintain his patrimony intact at all costs, or if his officers, no longer controlled by a strong hand, betray any indecision in command, his subjects will become unruly, and the change of monarch will soon furnish a pretext for widespread rebellion. The beginning of the reign of Amenophis II. was marked by a revolt of the Libyans inhabiting the Theban Oasis, but this rising was soon put down by that Amenemhabi who had so distinguished himself under Thutmose.

1 His parentage is proved by the pictures preserved in the tomb of his great-grandfather, where he is represented in company with the royal mother, Mariam Hātšepṣut (Chasson), Monuments, pt. i, pl. 2; Lauer, Denkm., iii. 62 b, 37 of pt. 64 a.

2 It is thus that Wiedemann (Kempische Geschlechte, p. 278) explains his presence by the side of Thutmose III. on certain bas-reliefs in the temple of Amada (Chasson, Monuments, pls. 1-6, and vol. i, pp. 191-198; Lauer, Denkm., iii. 65 b, c).

3 Drawn by Baudier, from a photograph lent by M. Guglielm and taken in 1890 by Knollys Brengle, of the statue of the king on p. 223 of this present volume.

4 Inscription of Amenemhabi, ii. 39-42. Brengel (Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 335) and Wiedemann (Ägypt. Reise, p. 74) place this expedition at the time when Amenophis II. was either hereditary prince or co-ruler with his father; the inscription of Amenemhabi places it explicitly after the death of Thutmose III., and this evidence outweighs every other consideration until further discoveries are made.
Soon after, fresh troubles broke out in different parts of Syria, in Galilee, in the country of the Amurru, and among the peoples of Naharaim. The king’s prompt action, however, prevented their resulting in a general war. He marched in person against the malecontents, reduced the town of Shamshiniduma, fell upon the Lamanait, and attacked their chief, slaying him with his own hand, and carrying off numbers of captives. He crossed the Orientes on the 26th of Pachons, in the year II, and seeing some mounted troops in the distance, rushed upon them and overthrew them; they proved to be the advanced guard of the enemy’s force, which he encountered shortly afterwards and routed, collecting in the pursuit considerable booty. He finally reached Naharaim, where he experienced in the main but a feeble resistance.

Nah surrendered without resistance on the 10th of Epiphi, and its inhabitants, both men and women, with censers in their hands, assembled on the walls and prostrated themselves before the conqueror. At Akaiti, where

\[\text{AMENÔTHES II., FROM THE STATUE AT TURIN.}\]

1 The campaigns of Amenophis II. were related on a granite stele, which was placed against the second of the southern pylons at Karnak; its inscription has been published by Crandall, Massachusetts, vol. ii, p. 189; by H. and J. de Rouge, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques curieusement complétées en Egypte, pl. xlix, by Rosellini, Notes de voyage, in the Journal de Travées, vol. xii, pp. 160, 161; and in part by Weigall, Texts of the Second Part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in the Proceedings of the Egyptian Soc., 1888-90, vol. ii, pp. 422, 423. It has been translated and commented on by Maspero, Notes sur quelques textes, etc., in the Zeitschrift, 1879, pp. 32-35 and later by Fiechter, Die Epythische Feldherr Amenophis II., in the Zeitschrift, 1885, vol. xxx, pp. 30-41, who has suggested several important corrections in the text. The date of this monument is almost certainly the year II.; there is strong evidence in favour of this, if it is compared with the inscription of Akkaba, where Amenophis II. relates that in the year III. he sacrificed the prisoners whom he had taken in the country of Tihliba.

2 Drawn by Franck-Guérin; see the entire statue in the portfolio on p. 260 of the present volume.
the partisans of the Egyptian government had suffered persecution from a considerable section of the natives, order was at once re-established as soon as the king's approach was made known. No doubt the rapidity of his marches and the vigour of his attacks, while putting an end to the hosile attitude of the smaller vassal states, were effectual in inducing the sovereigns of Asia, of Mitanni, and of the Hittites to renew with Amenêthes the friendly relations which they had established with his father. This one campaign, which lasted three or four months, secured a lasting peace in the north, but in the south a disturbance again broke out among the Barbarians of the Upper Nile. Amenêthes suppressed it, and, in order to prevent a repetition of it, was guilty of an act of cruel severity, quite in accordance with the manners of the time. He had taken prisoner seven chiefs in the country of Tithiun, and had brought them, chained, in triumph to Thebes, on the forecastle of his ship. He sacrificed six of them himself before Amen, and exposed their heads and hands on the façade of the temple of Karnak; the seventh was subjected to a similar fate at Napata at the beginning of his third year, and thenceforth the heathen of Kush thought twice before defying the authority of the Pharaoh.

Amenêthes' reign was a short one, lasting ten years at most, and the end of it seems to have been darkened by the open or secret rivalries which the question of the succession usually stirred up among the kings' sons. The king had daughters only by his marriage with one of his full sisters, who like himself possessed all the rights of sovereignty; those of his sons who did not die young were the children of princesses of inferior rank or of concubines, and it was a subject of anxiety among these princes which of them would be chosen to inherit the crown and be united in marriage with the king's heiresses, Khêt and Mutemân. One of his sons, named

1 Amenêthes II. mentions trpción from Mitanni on one of the columns which he decorated at Karnak, in the Hall of the Caryatides, close to the pillars finished by his predecessors (E. and J. de Rouge, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pl. xxxiv. 1; Piém. Sur l'origine des colonnes de la Salle des Caryatides au Grand Temple de Karnak, in the Actes du Congrès de Leyde, 4th part, pp. 213, 216).
2 The sarcophagi on the pedestal of the throne of Amenêthes II., in the tomb of one of his officials at Sheikh-Abd-el-Qâræs, represent—together with the inhabitants of the Oasis, Libya, and Kush—the Kushites, the people of Nubia, and the Upper Nubia; that is to say, the entire dominion of Thutmose III., besides the people of Meroe, probably Meroe, in the Cilician plain (Erichsen, Egyptian and its Bichter Moten, p. 130; W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 341, 344, 345; cf. Champollion, Monuments, p. xii. 3, and vol. i. p. 94; Lescius, Deux, iii. 83 ad).
3 From the remains of a statue at Heliopolis, where Amenêthes II. related the suppression of this revolt (Champollion, Monuments, vol. 1: p. 83).
4 Inscriptions in the temple of Amada, published by Champollion, Monuments, vol. 1. pp. 106-107, and more fully by Lescius, Deux, iii. 83 n., li. 16-26. It is there said that the king offered this sacrifice on his return from his first expedition into Asia, and for this reason I have connected the facts thus related with those known to be through the statue of Karnak. For the interpretation of the last lines of the Inscription of Amada, cf. Roccamontes, L'histoire de l'Egypte, pp. 119, 111, and Consolati, Egypte, pp. 392-393; Chevalier, Les inscriptions des rois d'Egypte, pp. 19-21.
5 The last known date of his reign is that of the year 41, which has been preserved in one of the papyri in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Papyrus Nubien de la Bibliothèque Impériale, p. xx. pp. 23, 24).
THE GREAT SPHINX AND THE CHAPEL OF THOTHOS IV.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph taken in 1887 by Emil Brugsch-Bey.
Thothmosis, who resided at the “White Wall,” was in the habit of betaking himself frequently to the Libyan desert to practise with the javelin, or to pursue the hunt of lions and gazelles in his chariot. On these occasions it was his pleasure to preserve the strictest incognito, and he was accompanied by two discreet servants only. One day, when chance had brought him into the neighbourhood of the Great Pyramid, he lay down for his accustomed siesta in the shade cast by the Sphinx, the miraculous image of Khopri, the most powerful, the god to whom all men in Memphis and the neighbouring towns raised adoring hands filled with offerings. The gigantic statue was at that time more than half buried, and its head alone was seen above the sand. As soon as the prince was asleep it spoke gently to him, as a father to his son: “Behold me, gaze on me. O my son Thothmosis, for I, thy father Harmakhis-Khopri-Tutmose, grant thee sovereignty over the two countries, in both the South and the North, and thou shalt wear both the white and the red crown on the throne of Siâ, the sovereign, possessing the earth in its length and breadth; the flashing eye of the lord of all shall cause to rain on thee the possessions of Egypt, vast tribute from all foreign countries, and a long life for many years as one chosen by the Sun, for my countenance is thine; my heart is thine, no other than thyself is mine! Now am I covered by the sand of the mountain on which I rest, and have given thee this price that thou mayest do for me what my heart desires, for I know that thou art my son, my defender; draw nigh, I am with thee, I am thy well-beloved father.” The prince understood that the god promised him the kingdom on condition of his swearing to clear the sand from the statue. He was, in fact, chosen to be the husband of the queens, and immediately after his accession he fulfilled his oath; he removed the sand, built a chapel between the paws, and erected against the breast of the statue a stele of red granite, on which he related his adventure. His reign was as short as that of Amenophis, and his campaigns both in Asia and Ethiopia were unimportant. He had succeeded to an empire so firmly established from Naharin to Kuti, that,  


2 The latest date of his reign at present known is that of the year VII., in the rock of Kommos (Champollion, Monuments, vol. i. p. 164; Layard, Discoveries, iii. 65 a), and on a stele of Shoshu-el-Elkena (in the Survey of Upper Egypt, 1893). There is an allusion to his wars against the Ethiopians in an inscription of Amen (Layard, Discoveries, iii. 65 a), and to his campaigns against the peoples of the North and South on the stele of Nubians (Mauelit, Osiris, vol. ii. p. 47; and Catalogue General, No. 10099, p. 38).  

3 The peoples of Naharaim and of Northern Syria are represented bringing him tribute, in a form
apparently, no rebellion could disturb its peace. One of the two hairless princesses, Khuit, the daughter, sister, and wife of a king, had no living male offspring, but her companion Mutemnau had at least one son, named Amenophis. In his case, again, the noble birth of the mother atoned for the defects of the paternal origin. Moreover, according to tradition, Amen-Râ himself had intervened to renew the blood of his descendants; he appeared in the person of Thutmose IV, and under this guise became the father of the heir of the Pharaohs. Like Queen Ahmose in the bas-reliefs of Deir el-Bahari, Mutemnau is shown on those of Luxor in the arms of her divine lover, and subsequently greeted by

at Sheikh Abd-al-Qurnah (Champlinere, Musées, vol. i, pp. 469, 490, 464, and pl. xvi. 1). The inscription published by Maspero, Karstadt, pl. 93, l. 4, speaks of the first expedition of Thutmose IV to the land of [Nubia], and of the gifts which he lavished on this occasion on the temple of Amen.

Drawn by Boulanger, from a photograph taken in 1886 by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

The bas-reliefs relating to this incursion of Amen are published in Champlinere, Musées, pl. xxx. 1, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 1, Boulanger, Monumental Raouf, pl. xxxvi. 11; Laennec, Tebou, iii. 74 r., 72 a-l; Gley, Le Temple de Luxor, pl. iv. l.-xxxv. It was at first thought that Mutemnau was an Ethiopian (Wilkinson, Monuments and Characters, 2nd edit., vol. i, p. 82; Birch, On a Remarkable Object of the Reign of Amenophis III, p. 5; and History of Egypt, p. 187; F. B. Horsman, History of Ancient Egypt, vol. i, p. 203), afterwards that she was a Syrian (Snoe, Les deux Empires en Nubie, and books on Egyptian Speech), who had changed her name on arriving at the court of her husband (Kemén, Notes sur les Tufels et Fl. Amarna, in the Zeitschrift, vol. xxviii. pp. 122, 114). The manner in which she is represented at Luxor, and in all the texts where she figures, proves not only that she was of Egyptian race, but that she was the daughter of Amenophis II, and born of the marriage of that prince with one of his sisters, who was herself an inerrudite princess.
him with the title of mother; in another bas-relief we see the queen led to her couch by the goddesses who preside over the birth of children; her son Amenothy, on coming into the world with his double, is placed in the hands of the two Niles, to receive the nourishment and the education meant for the children of the gods. He profited fully by them, for he remained in power forty years, and his reign was one of the most prosperous ever witnessed by Egypt during the Theban dynasties.

Amenothy III. had spent but little of his time in war. He had undertaken the usual raids in the South against the negroes and the tribes of the Upper Nile. In his fifth year, a general defection of the sheikhs obliged him to invade the province of Abhai, near Semneh, which he devastated at the head of the troops collected by Marimose, the Prince of Khash; the punishment was salutary, the booty considerable, and a lengthy peace was re-established. The object of his rare expeditions into Nahuraim was not so much to add new provinces to his empire, as to prevent disturbances in the old ones. The kings of Alasia, of the Khati, of Mitanni, of Singir, of Assyria, and of Babylon did not dare to provoke so powerful a neighbour. The remembrance of the victories of Thothmosis III. was still fresh in their memories, and, even had their hands been free, would have made them cautious in dealing with his great-grandson; but they were incessantly engaged in internecine quarrels, and had recourse to

1 Slate of the year V. in the island of Kommo (CHAMPELON, Monuments, vol. i. pp. 162, 163; LARROUX, Désert, iii. 324), and between Asén and Pita (In, iii. 324, 325) (plate of Asén, In, iv. 325, iii. 81, 83) and of Semneh (HERM, On a Remarkable Egyptian Object of the Reign of Amenothy III., pp. 6, 9). The long list of names of Asiatic peoples, engraved on the base of the column A 28 in the Louvre, belonged to the Pharaoh of the XII dynasty, who erected the statue of (Maspero, Days of Civilization, p. 491). Amenothy III. wanted it, probably because his campaigns had led him into the countries inhabited by the same peoples. The tribute paid by the people of Usbat is mentioned in the tomb of Het at Sheikh-Abd-al-Qurnah (CHAMPELON, Monuments, vol. i. p. 378).

2 Drawn by Foucher-Gaiz, from the photograph, taken in 1884 by Daniel Heron, of one of the bas-reliefs in the temple of Laxur.

3 Amenothy entitles himself on a sarcophagus "he who takes prisoner the country of Singir" (PERRAR, Historical Records, pl. iii. No. 1486); no other document has yet been discovered to show whether this is hypobole, or whether he really reached this distant region.

4 The lists of the time of Amenothy III. contain the names of Thothmosis, Nahuraim, Singir, Gosen, Tumpha, Daham, Camunde, and Assur; that is to say, of all the subject or allied nations mentioned in the correspondence of Tuthmosis III. (LARROUX, Désert, iii. 97, 98, 88; Vol. of Solely. Certain episodes of these expeditions had been engraved on the exterior face of the pylons constructed by the king for the temple of Assur at Kerakh; at the present time they are concealed by the wall at the lower end of the Hypostyle Hall (MARTINET, Karnak, Texte, p. 26). The tribute of the Laxur was represented on the south of Hol at Sheikh-Abd-al-Qurnah (CHAMPELON, Monuments, vol. i. pp. 479, 480).
Amenophis III

[Cubanian Head in the British Museum]
Pharaoh merely to enlist his support, or at any rate make sure of his neutrality, and prevent him from joining their adversaries. Whatever might have been the nature of their private sentiments, they professed to be anxious to maintain, for their mutual interests, the relations with Egypt entered on half a century before, and as the surest method of attaining their object was by a good marriage, they would each seek an Egyptian wife for himself, or would offer Amenotès a princess of one of their own royal families. The Egyptian king was, however, firm in refusing to bestow a princess of the solar blood even on the most powerful of the foreign kings; his pride rebelled at the thought that she might one day be consigned to a place among the inferior wives or concubines, but he gladly accepted, and even sought for wives for himself, from among the Syrian and Chaldaean princesses. Khaliamma (Khaliamma) of Babylon gave Amenotès his sister, and when age had deprived this princess of her beauty, then his daughter Ista (Istah) in marriage. Sutarna of Mitanni had in the same way given the Pharaoh his daughter Giluhkhipa; indeed, most of the kings of that period had one or two relations in the harem at Thebes. This connexion usually proved a support to the Asiatic sovereigns, such alliances being a safeguard from the suspicions of the Pharaoh.

1 Drawn by Blümner, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Daniel Heiser.
3 Letter from Amenotès to Khaliamma, concerning a sister of the latter, who was married to the King of Egypt, but of whom there are no further records remaining at Babylon, and also one of his daughters whom Amenotès had disowned in marriage (Brunner-Ross, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 3, pp. 1-4, II. 38-39, 77); and letters from Khaliamma, consenting to bestow his daughter Ista (Istah) on the Pharaoh (Wucherl-Ack, Der Tempelbuch von El-Amarna, p. 1, I. 7, 9), and proposing to give to Amenotès whichever one he might choose of the daughters of his house (Brunner-Ross, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 3, p. 8, II. 28-32).
against the rivalries of their brothers or cousins. At times, however, they were the means of exposing them to serious dangers. When Sutarmu died he was succeeded by his son Dushratta, but a numerous party put forward another prince, named Artassumurra, who was probably Gilukhipa's brother, on the mother's side; a Hittite king of the name of Pirkhi espoused the cause of the pretender, and a civil war broke out. Dushratta was victorious, and caused his brother to be strangled, but was not without anxiety as to the consequences which might follow this execution should Gilukhipa desire to avenge the victim, and to this end stir up the anger of the suzerain against him. Dushratta, therefore, wrote a humble epistle, showing that he had received provocation, and that he had found it necessary to strike a decisive blow to save his own life; the tablet was accompanied by various presents to the royal pair, comprising horses, slaves, jewels, and perfumes. Gilukhipa, however, bore Dushratta no ill-will, and the latter's anxieties were allayed. The so-called expeditions of Amenothes to the Syrian provinces must constantly have been merely visits of inspection, during which amusements, and especially the chase, occupied nearly as important a place as war and politics. Amenothes III. took to heart that pre-eminently royal duty of ridding the country of wild beasts, and fulfilled it more conscientiously than any of his predecessors. He had killed 112 lions during the first ten years of his reign, and as it was an exploit of which he was remarkably proud, he perpetuated the memory of it in a special inscription, which he caused to be engraved on numbers of large scarabs of fine green enamel. Egypt prospered under his peaceable government, and if the king made no great efforts to extend her frontiers, he spared no pains to enrich the country by developing industry and agriculture, and also

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1 Her exact relationship is not explicitly expressed, but is implied in the facts for there seems no reason why Gilukhipa should have taken the part of one brother rather than another, unless Artassumurra had been nearer to her than Dushratta; that is to say, her brother on the mother's side as well as on the father's.


3 Drawn by Scharf, from the photograph published in Mariette, Album photographique du Monde de Babylone, p. 62, No. 583.

4 Sources of this type are very numerous; most of them will be found catalogued in Weidner, Rapports (Mariette, p. 291, note 6. The text has been translated by Budge, Sources of Amenophis III., in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. iii., p. 49.]
endeavoured to perfect the military organisation which had rendered the conquest of the East so easy a matter. A census, undertaken by his minister Amenothes, the son of Hapi, ensured a more correct assessment of the taxes, and a regular scheme of recruiting for the army. Whole tribes of slaves were brought into the country by means of the border raids which were always taking place, and their opportune arrival helped to fill up the vacancies which repeated wars had caused among the rural and urban population; such a strong impetus to agriculture was also given by this importation, that when, towards the middle of the reign, the minister Khamsah presented the tax-gatherers at court, he was able to boast that he had stored in the State granaries a larger quantity of corn than had been gathered in for thirty years.\footnote{Lecuyer, Denkm., iii, 267, 270.\textsuperscript{1}} The traffic carried on between Asia and the Delta by means of both Egyptian and foreign ships was controlled by custom-houses erected at the mouths of the Nile, the coast being protected by cruising vessels against the attacks of pirates. The fortresses of the isthmus and of the Libyan border, having been restored or rebuilt, constituted a check on the turbulence of the nomad tribes, while garrisons posted at intervals at the entrance to the Wadis leading to the desert restrained the plunderers scattered between the Nile and the Red Sea, and between the chain of Oases and the unexplored regions of the Sahara.\footnote{Lecuyer, Denkm., ii, 359.\textsuperscript{2}} Egypt was at once the most powerful as well as the most prosperous kingdom in the world, being able to command more labour and more precious metals for the embellishment of her towns and the construction of her monuments than any other.

Public works had been carried on briskly under Thutmose III. and his successors. The taste for building, thwarted at first by the necessity of financial reforms, and then by that of defraying the heavy expenses incurred through the expulsion of the Hyksos and the earlier foreign wars, had free scope as soon as spoil from the Syrian victories began to pour in year by year. While the treasure seized from the enemy provided the money, the majority of the prisoners were used as workmen, so that temples, palaces, and citadels began to rise as if by magic from one end of the valley to the other.\footnote{For this use of prisoners of war, cf. the pictures from the tomb of Rakhmose on p. 306 of the present work, in which most of the earlier Egyptologists believed they recognized the Bactrians condemned by Ptolemy to build the cities of Bactria and Parthia in the Delta (Champollion, Monuments, pl. xlii, 1-2; Rosellini, Monuments Célesti, pl. xlvii, xlix, 2. Lepsius, Denkm., iii, 30, 41; Vernet, Le Tombeau de Rakhmose, pl. xliv, xlix, in the Mémoires de la Mission française, vol. i.) Nubia, divided into provinces, formed merely an extension of the ancient feudal Egypt.} Nubia,
—at any rate as far as the neighbourhood of the Tacazzeh—though the Egyptian religion had here assumed a peculiar character. The conquest of Nubia having been almost entirely the work of the Theban dynasties, the Theban triad, Amon, Maat, and Montu, and their immediate followers were paramount in this region, while in the north, in witness of the ancient Elephantinite colonisation, we find Khnum of the cataract being worshipped, in connexion with Isis, mother of the indigenous Nubians. The worship of Amon had been the means of introducing that of Ra and of Horus, and Osiris as lord of the dead, while Ptah, Sokhbit, Atum, and the Memphite and Heliopolitan gods

were worshipped only in isolated parts of the province. A being, however, of less exalted rank shared with the lords of heaven the favour of the people. This was the Pharaoh, who as the son of Amon was foreordained to receive divine honours, sometimes figuring, as at Bubastis, as the third member of a triad, at other times as head of the Ennead. Æsrates III. had had his chapels at Semneh and at Kûmmeh, they were restored by Thutmosis III., who claimed a share of the worship offered in them, and whose son, Amenethes II., also assumed the symbols and functions of divinity. Amenethes I. was venerated in the province of Kari, and Amenethes III., when founding the fortress Hâlt-Khâmâmât in the neighbourhood of a Nubian village, on a


2 Drawn by R. H. Martyn, from the chronology of Lévy's, "Ennead," n. 46.


4 Borchardt, "Baukünstler des Alten Ägypten," vol. xiv., p. 12.; ed. on the same subject, p. 120, note 3, of the present volume.

5 The name signifies literally "the Child of Khâmâmât," and it is formed, as Lévy notes, from the first, from the name of the sunlight hawk Khâmâmât, "Hail rising at darkness," which Amenethes had assumed on his accession ("Dawn of Civilisation," etc., p. 415).
spot now known as Soleb, built a temple there, of which he himself was the protecting genius. The edifice was of considerable size, and the columns and walls remaining reveal an art as perfect as that shown in the best monuments of Thebes. It was approached by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, while colossal statues of lions and hawks, the sacred animals of the district, adorned the building. The sovereign condescended to preside in person at its dedication on one of his journeys to the southern part of his empire, and the mutilated pictures still visible on the façade show the order and detail of the ceremony observed on this occasion. The king, with the crown upon his head, stood before the centre gate, accompanied by the queen and his minister Amen-mothes, the son of Hapi, who was better acquainted than any other man of his time with the mysteries of the ritual. The king then struck the door twelve times with his mace of white stone, and when the approach to the first hall was opened, he repeated the operation at the threshold of the sanctuary previous to entering and placing his statue there. He deposited it on the painted and gilded wooden platform on which the gods were exhibited on feast-days, and enthroned beside it the other images which were thenceforth to constitute the local Emeq, after which he kindled the sacred fire before them. The queen, with the priests and nobles, all bearing torches, then passed through the halls, stopping from time to time to perform acts of purification, or to recite formulas to dispel evil spirits and pernicious influences; finally, a triumphal procession was formed, and the whole cortège returned to the

1 Laerzus, Jansen, iii. 82-88. Lepsius had recognized the nature of the divinity worshipped in this temple (Bruns van Egypten und Ethiopia, p. 293, 415); the phallic statue of the king, “his living statue on earth,” which represented the god of the temple, is there named “Nibanah, lord of Nakh.” (I.e., Deuter., iii. pl. 87 a-f). Thutmose III had already worked at Soleb.
2 In Amenmahto, the son of Hapi, see pp. 298, 299 of the present volume; it will be seen in the following chapter, in connection with the Egyptian accounts of the Exodus, what traditions made of him.
3 Known by Vaillant-Audin, from a photograph by Mme. De Mores; the original was carried away from Soleb by Lepsius, and is at the present time in the Berlin Museum (Kerame, Archäologische Forschungen, 1894, pp. 25, 26, No. 7252).
palace, where a banquet brought the day's festivities to a close. It was Amenothes III. himself, or rather one of his statues animated by his double, who occupied the chief place in the new building. Indeed, wherever we come across a temple in Nubia dedicated to a king, we find the homage of the inhabitants always offered to the image of the founder, which spoke to them in oracles. All the southern part of the country beyond the second cataract is full of traces of Amenothes, and the evidence of the veneration shown to him would lead us to conclude that he played an important part in the organisation of the country. Sedeinga possessed a small temple under the patronage of his wife Ti. The ruins of a sanctuary which he dedicated to Amon, the Sun-god, have been discovered at Gebel Barkal; Amenothes seems to have been the first to perceive the advantages offered by the site, and to have endeavoured to transform the barbarian village of Napata into a large Egyptian city. Some of the monuments with which he adorned Soheb were transported, in later times, to Gebel Barkal, among them some rams and lions of rare beauty. They lie at rest with their paws crossed, the head erect, and their expression suggesting both power and repose. As we descend the Nile, traces of the work of this king are less frequent, and their place is taken by those of his predecessors, as at Sai, at Sameh, at Wady Halfa, at Amada, at Kerma, and at Dakkeh. Distinct traces of Amenothes again

8 Thus the small temple of Sameh, to the north of Wady Halfa, is dedicated to "the living statue of Ramses II. in the land of Nubia," a statue to which his Majesty gave the name of "Taarnrit Keret-Setat." (See G.)" (p. 303).

9 These scenes and legends are represented in Leserr Deuse, III, 25, 26, 39, 40, and were first studied by Legrain, Ribbe Egyptiens, Construction et protection des sanctuaires, pp. 38-41, who was also the first to recognize their value in the history of religion.


appear in the neighbourhood of the first cataract, and in
the island of Elephantine, which he endeavoured to restore
to its ancient splendour. Two of the small buildings which
he there dedicated to Khnum, the local god, were still in
existence at the beginning of
the present century. That
least damaged, on the
south side of the island,
consisted of a single
chamber, nearly
forty feet in
length. The sand-
stone walls, ter-
minating in a
curved cornice,
rested on a hollow substructure raised rather more than six feet above the
ground, and surrounded by a breast-high parapet. A portico ran round the
building, having seven square pillars on each of its two sides, while at
each end stood two columns having lotus-shaped capitals; a flight of ten
or twelve steps between two walls of the same height as the basement,
projected in front, and afforded access to the cells. The two columns of
the façade were further apart than these at the opposite end of the
building, and showed a glimpse of a richly decorated door, while a second
door opened under the peristyle at the further extremity. The walls were
covered with the half-brutish profile of the god Khnum, and those of
his two companions, Amnik and Satth, the spirits of stormy waters. The
 treatment of these figures was broad and simple, the style free, light, and
graceful, the colouring soft; and the harmonious beauty of the whole is
unsurpassed by anything at Thebes itself. It was, in fact, a kind of oratory,
built on a scale to suit the capacities of a decaying town, but the design
was so delicately conceived in its miniature proportions that nothing more
graceful can be imagined. 1

1 Drawn by Fumari-GHID, from one of the ten busts of Khnum Barak in the British Museum.
The cartouches on its checker are those of the Theban king Aak-hankh-flf. Amen-Mesoe, who appre-
tained these busts about the Persian period; these of Ameinthal III. are still to be read on the base.
2 Amenophis II. erected some small obelisks at Elephantine, one of which is at present in Eng-
lund (Pisse, Collections d'Antiquites Egyptiennes par Cairo, pl. 3, 5). The two buildings of Amenophis
III. at Elephantine were still in existence at the beginning of the present century. They have been
described and drawn by French scholars (D'Anu, Description of the Elephantine, in the Description de
l'Egypte, vols. 1, pp. 189-197, and 2, pl. 33-38); but between 1828 and 1829 they were
destroyed, and the materials used for building barracks and magazines at Syene (Champollion,
28-44).
Ancient Egypt and its feudal cities, Ombos, Edfu, Nekhben, Eneh, Medamut, Coptos, Denderah, Abydos, Memphis, and Heliopolis, profited largely by the generosity of the Pharacas. Since the close of the XIIth dynasty these cities had depended entirely on their own resources, and their public buildings were either in ruins, or quite inadequate to the needs of the population, but now gold from Syria and Kish furnished them with the means of restoration. The Delta itself shared in this architectural revival, but it had suffered too severely under the struggle between the Theban kings and the Shepherds to recover itself as quickly as the remainder of the country. All effort was concentrated on those of its names which lay on the Eastern frontier, or which were crossed by the Pharacas in their journeys into Asia, such as the Bulbasthe and Atribrite; the rest remained sunk in their

1 Buildings of Thutmosis III. at Ombos (CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, vol. I, pp. 234, 235, 247). ROULLET, Mon. de la Soc. de Géographie, p. 161, no. 1. 2 Edfu, MEMMOIRS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉTIQUE EN ÉGYPTE, p. 268. 3 ROULLET, Mon. de la Soc. de Géographie, p. 161, no. 1. 4 Buildings of Thutmosis III. and Amenemhet III. at El-Kab (CHAMPOLLION, Leçons, 2nd ed., vol. I, pp. 191, and Monuments, vol. I, p. 168, 262, 263, 274; LETETR, Documents, ill. 80). 5 An inscription of the Roman period attributes the rebuilding of the great temple of Edfu to Thutmosis III. (CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, vol. I, p. 728; LETETR, Documents, ill. 77 a, 78 a). 6 SAHIB found some fragments of it in the quarry of the modern town. 7 Amenemhet II. appears to have built the existing temple (CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, vol. 1, p. 281; ROULLET, Petits Monuments et Petites Tables, in the Recueil, vol. VII, p. 129). 8 Ruines de la ville de Thoutmosis III, à Copée (WICKRAM, Modern Egypt and Thebes, p. 411), a. FEYER, Catalogue of a Collection of Antiquities from the Temple of Coptos, discovered 1895 (pp. 3, 24, 41). 9 One of the pillars was overturned by treasure-seekers in 1838. 10 Rebuilding of the temple of Hathor by Thutmosis III., from an inscription published by DYNASTIES, Ruines de la ville de Thoutmosis III, p. 244, and Bagardle, Vues des divers monuments, p. 18, cd. 9); MARTET, Documents, ill. 39. Some fragments found in the Pharaonic temple before the overturning of Thutmosis III. (IV, Documents, suppl. pl. H, a, b). 11 Works of Thutmosis I. and Thutmosis III. in the temple of Osiris (K. and J. de ROBERT, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, etc., pl. 217-221; MARTET, Coptos, vol. II, pl. 27, and Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Egypte, No. 1, p. 6, No. 1045). 12 Buildings of Amenemhet II. certainly erected on works at Memphis, for he opened a new quarry at Tanis. In the year IV. (PARKER, Vues des monuments extérieurs, vol. I, p. 94) on the clearing of the Sphinx of Tanis by Thutmosis III., see pp. 294 of the present volume. Amenemhet III. also worked on temples quartum (PARKER, Vues, vol. II, pp. 38-39; MARTET, Documents, ill. 23 a, b), and built at Soqquish the earliest chapel of the Sopastum which are at present known to me (MARTET, Contribution a la cartographie de l'Égypte, 1862, p. 563). 13 Statu of the year XXVI., where Thutmosis III. erects the building of a sail in the temple of Ra (MARTET, Documents, ill. 29 b), also remains of bas-reliefs representing that prince (Baren, Recueil de Monuments, vol. I, pl. x, 23 b, a, b, and pp. 29, 21). 14 Remains of a building of Amenemhet III., discovered by NAVILLE, Reliefs, pl. xcv. 10, and pp. 100 and 101; monuments of Amenemhet III. at Busiris (NESTOR, Documents, pl. 20, xcvii, and pl. xxii, xcvii, a, b, and pp. 21-23). It was perhaps from this that the columns came after Amenemhet II. and Thutmosis IV. were brought, which were carried to Alexandria by Ramses II. and recently presented to the Vienna Museum (J. de BURGHE, Inscriptions des monuments Thébais, in the Recueil, vol. VII, pp. 147-149). 15 Monuments of Amenemhet III. at Abydos, from whose came the serpent in the Ghizhi Museum (MARTET, Documents, Monuments d'Abou, pl. 29 b, and p. 25).
ancient torpor. Beyond the Red Sea the mines were actively worked, and even the oasis of the Libyan desert took part in the national revival, and buildings rose in their midst of a size proportionate to their slender revenues. Thebes naturally came in for the largest share of the spoils of war. Although her kings had become the rulers of the world, they had not, like the Pharaohs of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties, forsaken her for some more illustrious city; here they had their ordinary residence as well as their seat of government, hither they returned after each campaign to celebrate their victory, and hither they sent the prisoners and the spoil which they had reserved for their own royal use. In the course of one or two generations Thebes had spread in every direction, and had enclosed within her circuit

1 Iten by Foucher-Guille, from the Description de l'Égypte, Ant., vol. i, p. 35. A good restoration of it, made from the statements in the Description, is to be found in Pauthier-Chassin, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. ii, pp. 467, 468.
2 Marnier, Dominique Laboré à M. le vicomte de Rouge sur les familles de Tanis, pp. 15, 16, and E. de Rouge, Jugées professées au Collège de France, Feb.-June, 1866, in the Mémoires de l'Archéologie, vol. ii, pp. 384, 385, attribute this torpor, at least as far as Tanis is concerned, to the arrest felt by the Pharaohs of Egyptian blood for the Hyksos capital, and for the province where the invaders had formerly established themselves in large numbers.
3 Restoration of the temple of Hathor, at Sakkâ, by Hübl (Jahrbuch, pp. 324-325), by Thutmose III, and dates of the years XXV, XXVI, and XXVII. of that Pharaoh in the same locality (Loye de Laval, Fouque de l'Arche Pérez, pl. II, i, 2, xxv. Lavoüe, Denon, III, 28; Survey of Egypt, vol. iii, pl. 14, and vol. iv, pp. 187-188). State of the year III. of Thutmose IV, and of the year XXXVII, of Amenophis III, are also to be found there (Survey of Egypt, vol. iv, p. 188. Lavoüe, Denon, III, 71 a, b).
4 State of Thutmose II. at El-Allau in the Small Oasis, and remains of buildings at El-Ramlee (Assmann in the Zeitbuch, 1876, p. 120). Unfortunately these fragments have been hitherto unpublished.
The neighbouring villages of Ashrā, the sifi of Maut, and Apit-risit, the southern Thebes, which lay at the confluence of the Nile with one of the largest of the canals which watered the plain. The monuments in these two new quarters of the town were unworthy of the city of which they now formed part, and Amenophis III. consequently bestowed much pains on improving them. He entirely rebuilt the sanctuary of Maut, enlarged the sacred lake, and collected within one of the courts of the temple several hundred statues in black granite of the Memphite divinity, the lioness-headed Sokhêt, whom he identified with his Theban goddess.¹ The statues were crowded together so closely that they were in actual contact with each other in places, and must have presented

![Image of the Great Court of the Temple of Luxor during the Foundation.](image)

something of the appearance of a regiment drawn up in battle array. The succeeding Pharaohs soon came to look upon this temple as a kind of storehouse, whence they might provide themselves with ready-made figures to decorate their buildings either at Thebes or in other royal cities. About a hundred of them, however, still remain, most of them without feet, arms, or head; some overturned on the ground, others considerably out of the

¹ Maspero, Karnak, Ttats, pp. 8, 14, 17. Ramses II. placed a certain number of them in the small temple of Medinet Hab (Maspero, Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes, vol. 3, p. 219).
² Drawn by Benfier, from a photograph by Reis, taken in the summer of 1887.
perpendicular, from the earth having given way beneath them, and a small number only still perfect and in situ. At Luxor Amun-Moses demolished the small temple with which the sovereigns of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties had been satisfied, and replaced it by a structure which is still one of the finest yet remaining of the times of the Pharaohs. The nose rose sheer above the waters of the Nile, indeed its cornices projected over the river, and a staircase at the south side allowed the priests and devotees to embark directly from the rear of the building. The sanctuary was a single chamber, with an opening on its side, but so completely shut out from the daylight by the long dark hall at whose extremity it was placed as to be in perpetual obscurity. It was flanked by narrow, dimly lighted chambers, and was approached through a pronaoe with four rows of columns, a vast court surrounded with porticoes occupying the foreground. At the present time the thick walls which enclosed the entire building are nearly level with the ground, half the ceilings have crumbled away, air and light penetrate into every nook, and during the

2 Drawn by Fouquet-Stélin, from a photograph by Beato, taken in 1887.
inundation the water flowing into the courts, transformed them until recently into lakes, whether the flocks and herds of the village resorted in the heat of the day to bathe or quench their thirst. Pictures of mysterious events never meant for the public gaze now display their secrets in the light of the sun, and reveal to the eyes of the profane the supernatural events which preceded the birth of the king. On the northern side an avenue of sphinxes and crouching sphinxes led to the gates of old Thebes. At present, most of these creatures are buried under the ruins of the modern town, or covered by the earth which overlies the ancient road; but a few are still visible, broken and shapeless from barbarous usage, and hardly retaining any traces of the inscriptions in which Amenophis claimed them boastingly as his work. Triumphal processions passing along this route from Luxor to Karnak would at length reach the great court before the temple of Amon, or, by turning a little to the right after passing the temple of Mau, would arrive in front of the southern façade, near the two gilded obelisks whose splendour once rejoiced the heart of the famous Hâtchepsût. Thûtmosis III. was also determined on his part to spare no expense to make the temple of his god of proportions suitable to the patron of so vast an empire. Not only did he complete those portions which his predecessors had merely sketched out, but on the south side towards Ashirû he also built a long row of pylons, now half ruined, on which he engraved, according to custom, the list of nations and cities which he had subdued in Asia and

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* Drawn by Roughlan, from a photograph by Hauke.

Africa. To the east of the temple he rebuilt some ancient structures, the largest of which served as a halting-place for processions, and he enclosed the whole with a stone rampart. The outline of the sacred lake, on which the mystic boats were launched on the nights of festivals, was also made more symmetrical, and its margin edged with masonry. By these alterations the harmonious proportion between the main buildings and the façade had been destroyed, and the exterior wall was now too wide for the pylon at the entrance. Amenophis III. remedied this defect by erecting in front a fourth pylon, which was larger, and in all respects more worthy to stand before the enlarged temple. Its walls were partially covered with battle-scenes, which informed all beholders of the glory of the conqueror.

Progress had been no less marked on the left bank of the river. As long as Thebes had been merely a small provincial town, its cemeteries had covered but a moderate area, including the sandy plain and low mounds opposite Karnak and the valley of Deir el-Bahari beyond; but now that the city had more than doubled its extent, the space required for the dead was proportionately greater. The tombs of private persons began to spread towards the south, and soon reached the slopes of the Assasif, the hill of Sheikh-Abel-el-Qurnah and the district of Qurnet-Murni—in fact, all that part which...
the people of the country called the "Brow" of Thebes. On the borders of the cultivated land a row of chapels and mastabas with pyramidal roofs sheltered the remains of the princes and princesses of the royal family. The Pharaohs themselves were buried either separately under their respective brick pyramids or in groups in a temple, as was the case with the first three Thothmosis and Hâthlepisis at Deir el-Bahari. Amenâthès II and Thothmosis IV could doubtless have found room in this crowded necropolis, although the space was becoming limited, but the pride of the Pharaohs began to rebel against this promiscuous burial side by side with their subjects. Amenâthès III, sought for a site, therefore, where he would have ample room to display his magnificence, far from the vulgar crowd, and found what he desired at the further end of the valley which opens out behind the village of Qurnah. Here, an hour's journey from the bank of the Nile, he cut for himself a magnificent rock-tomb with galleries, halls, and deep pits, the walls being decorated with representations of the Voyage of the Sun through the regions which he traversed during his twelve hours of his nocturnal course. A sarcophagus of red granite received his mummy, and Thutâb's of extraordinary dimensions and admirable workmanship mounted guard around him, so as to release him from the cares in the fields of Ialtâ. The chapel usually attached to such tombs is not to be found in the neighbourhood. As the road to the funeral valley was a difficult one, and as it would be unreasonable to condemn an entire priesthood to live in solitude, the king decided to separate the component parts which had hitherto been united in every tomb since the Memphite period, and to place the vault for the mummy and the passages leading to it some distance away in the mountains, while the necessary buildings for the cultus of the statue and the accommodation of the priests were transferred to the plain, and were built at the southern extremity of the lands which were at that time held by private persons. The divine character of Amenâthès, ascribed to him on account of his solar origin and the co-operation of Amon-Râ at his birth, was, owing to this separation of the funerary constituents, brought into further prominence. When once

7 The generally received opinion is that these sovereigns of the XVIIIth dynasty were buried in the lihan el-Mollâk, but I have made several excavations of this valley, and cannot think that this was the case. On the contrary, the scattered notices in the fragments of papyrus preserved at Turin seem to me to indicate that Amenâthès II and Thothmosis IV must have been buried in the neighbourhood of the Antarctic of Deir el-Bahari.
8 Several of these Uâbâtâs or "Bespectacles" are reproduced in the Description de l'Egypte, Isis, vol. 2, pls. 89, 81; cf. Emmanuel, Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Egyptienne du Musée de Louvres, No. 32, p. 12, and for the smaller Uâbâtâs of various materials, Nos. 50-52, p. 34.
9 This division of the royal tomb into two separate parts, and the content of the temple which rises on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, were first pointed out by Maxime, Découvertes d'Egypte, p. 97, et seq.; cf. the development of Mâhûtâ's theory in Pâmer-Curium, Histoire de l'Art dans Châlâgoute, vol. 1, pp. 281-283.
THE CHAPEL AND COLOSSI OF MEMNON.

The body which he had animated while on earth was removed and hidden from sight, the people soon became accustomed to think only of his Double enthroned in the recesses of the sanctuary: seeing him receive there the same honours as the gods themselves, they came naturally to regard him as a deity himself. The arrangement of his temple differed in no way from

![The Two Colossi of Memnon in the Plain of Thebes](image)

those in which Amon, Maat, and Montu were worshipped, while it surpassed in size and splendour most of the sanctuaries dedicated to the patron gods of the chief towns of the nomes. It contained, moreover, colossal statues, objects which are never found associated with the heavenly gods. Several of these figures have been broken to pieces, and only a few scattered fragments of them remain, but two of them still maintain their positions on each side of the entrance, with their faces towards the east. They are each formed of a single block of red breccia from Syené, and are fifty-three feet high, but the more northerly one was shattered in the earthquake which

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1. Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Haute. The "Vocal Statue of Memnon" is that on the right-hand side of the illustration.

2. The remains of this temple have been described and restored by Jean-Baptiste de Jerson, Description des Colonne de la Plaine de Thèbes et des Ruines qui les environnent, in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. ii., pp. 129-200: all that has been said about them since has been taken almost exclusively from this description.

3. It is often asserted that they are made of true granite, but Jéquier and Bonnatius describe them as being of "a species of volcanic breccia, composed of a mass of agate fluid, conglomerated together by a remarkably hard cement. This material, being very dense and of a heterogeneous composition, presents to the sculptor perhaps greater difficulties than even granite." (Description des Colonnes de la Plaine de Thèbes, in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. ii. p. 134.)
completed the ruin of Thebes in the year 27 B.C. The upper part toppled over with the shock, and was dashed to pieces on the floor of the court, while the lower half remained in its place. Soon after the disaster it began to be rumoured that sounds like those produced by the breaking of a harp-string proceeded from the pedestal at sunrise, whereupon travellers flocked to witness the miracle, and legend soon began to take possession of the giant who spoke in this marvellous way. In vain did the Egyptians of the neighbourhood declare that the statue represented the Pharaoh Amenhotep; the Greeks refused to believe them, and forthwith recognised in the colossal an image of Memnon the Ethiopian, son of Tithonus and Autonoë, slain by their own Achilles beneath the walls of Troy—maintaining that the music heard every morning was the clear and harmonious voice of the hero saluting his mother. Towards the middle of the second century of our era, Hadrian undertook a journey to Upper Egypt, and heard the wonderful song: sixty years later, Septimus Severus restored the statue by the employment of courses of stones, which were so arranged as to form a rough representation of a human head and shoulders. His piety, however, was not rewarded, for Memnon became silent, and his oracle fell into oblivion. The temple no longer exists, and a few ridges alone mark the spot where it rose; but the two colossi remain at their post. In the same condition in which they were left by the Roman Caesar, the features are quite obliterated, and the legs and the supporting female figures on either side are scored all over with Greek and Latin inscriptions expressing the appreciation of ancient tourists. Although the statues tower high above the fields of corn and bereain which surround them, our first view of them, owing to the scale of proportion observed in their construction, so different from that to which we are accustomed, gives us the impression that they are smaller than they really are, and it is only when we stand close to one of them and notice the insignificant appearance of the crowd of sightseers clustered on its pedestal that we realize the immensity of the colossi.

The descendants of Ahmose had by their energy won for Thebes not only the supremacy over the peoples of Egypt and of the known world, but had also secured for the Theban deities pre-eminence over all their rivals. The booty collected both in Syria and Ethiopia went to enrich the god Amon as much as it did the kings themselves; every victory brought him the tenth part of the spoil gathered on the field of battle; of the tribute levied on vassals, and of the prisoners taken as slaves. When Thutmose III., after having reduced
Megiddo, organised a systematic plundering of the surrounding country; it was for the benefit of Amon-Ra that he reaped the fields and sent their harvest into Egypt; if during his journeys he collected useful plants or rare animals, it was that he might dispose of them in the groves or gardens of Amon as well as in his own, and he never retained for his personal use the whole of what he won by arms, but always reserved some portion for the sacred treasury. His successors acted in a similar manner, and in the reigns of Amenophis II, Thutmose IV, and Amenophis III, the patrimony of the Theban priesthood continued to increase. The Pharaohs, perpetually called upon as they were to recompense one or other of their servants, were never able to retain for long their share of the spoils of war. Gold and silver, lands, jewels, and slaves passed as quickly out of their hands as they had fallen into them, and although their fortune was continually having additions made to it in every fresh campaign, yet the increase was rarely in proportion to the trouble expended. The god, on the contrary, received what he got for all time, and gave back nothing in return: fresh accumulations of precious metals were continually being added to his store, his meadows were enriched by the

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1 The gifts of Thutmose III to his father Amon, on his return from his first campaign, are enumerated in Lepsius, Denk., iii, 30 & cf. Borchard, Reise de Monuments, vol. i, pls. xxxii, xxxv.
2 On the rearing of plants and animals, cf. p. 221 of the present volume.
3 Drawn by Beudier, from a photograph by Reinaer, taken in 1885.
4 For inscriptions, unfortunately much mutilated, which mention the donations of Thutmose IV and Amenophis III, in favour of Amen-Ra, see Maurey, Karnieh, Texts, pp. 52, 57, and pls. 22-23.
addition of vineyards, and with his palm forests he combined fish-ponds full of fish; he added farms and villages to those he already possessed, and each reign saw the list of his possessions increase. He had his own labourers, his own tradespeople, his own fishermen, soldiers, and scribes, and, presiding over all these, a learned hierarchy of divines, priests, and prophets, who administered everything. This immense domain, which was a kind of State within the State, was ruled over by a single high priest, chosen by the sovereign from among the prophets. He was the irresponsible head of it, and his spiritual ambition had increased step by step with the extension of his material resources. As the human Pharaoh showed himself entitled to homage from the lords of the earth, the priests came at length to the conclusion that Amon had a right to the allegiance of the lords of heaven, and that he was the Supreme Being, in respect of whom the others were of little or no account, and as he was the only god who was everywhere victorious, he came at length to be regarded by them as the only god in existence. It was impossible that the kings could see this rapid development of sacerdotal power without anxiety, and with all their devotion to the patron of their city, solicitude for their own authority compelled them to seek elsewhere for another divinity, whose influence might in some degree counterbalance that of Amon. The only one who could vie with him at Thebes, either for the antiquity of his worship or for the rank which he occupied in the public esteem, was the Sun-lord of Heliopolis, head of the first Ennund. Thuthmosis IV. owed his crown to him, and displayed his gratitude in clearing away the sand from the Sphinx, in which the spirit of Harmakhis was considered to dwell; and Amenothes III., although claiming to be the son of Amon himself, inherited the disposition shown by Thuthmosis in favour of the Heliopolitan religions, but instead of attaching himself to the forms most venerated by theologians, he bestowed his affection on a more popular deity—Atont, the fiery disk. He

1 We possess no catalogue of this period, but the Great Harris Papyrus has preserved the list of Amon's names under the rule of Ramses III.: cf. **Kemay, Egyptien**, p. 463, et seq.,

* Décrire, Monument biographique de Sabenchaman, pp. 19, 10, and Mémorial et fragments, vol. 1, pp. 286, 287; A. BÉHOF, De l'élection et de la durée des fonctions du Grand-priêtre d'Amon à Thèbes (extract from the Annales Archéologiques, 1892, vol. viii.).

2 On the assumption of this king with the god, cf. pp. 288-246 of the present volume.

* The worship of the solar disk was first studied by Nissoh Limbour, Lettres écrites d'Egypte, pp. 33, 53 (cf. Lavan, Lette du royaume. **Sphinxen Schitteren**, in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy, 1851, pp. 196-200); and by Furst d'Aubosse, REMARQUE SUR L'ANTICHE MATIERE DE LA PAGANISE DE KARNAK (in the Transactions of the Society of Literature, new series, vol. 1, pp. 76-22); the documents which explain the nature of it were first examined by Darnay, Histoire d'Egypte, pp. 112, 125 (cf. Geschkôte d'Egypte, pp. 483-488); by Bignon, A Thebais, in the Mémorial de l'Égypte, vol. vi., pp. 53-55, and Bignon, Histoire des statues d'Amon a Amarna, in the Mémoires de la Mission Françoise, vol. 2, pp. 1-29, by E. MÜLLER, Geschichte des Alten. **Egypten**, pp. 267-298, and finally by BEHOF, De Hymnus in Solen et rapport Amemnetos IV. tomatis, 1891. Atont, the same given to the disk, has been compared with Adonis or Adonis, and the form of its worship explained by a Syrian influence; this theory still has some advocates (DARETT-RAO, An inscription of Khnumaten, in the Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Arch., 1885-93, vol. xv., pp. 206, 207). Other scholars have thought that Khnuma-
may have been influenced in his choice by private reasons. Like his predecessors, he had taken, while still very young, wives from among his own family, but neither these reasonable ties, nor his numerous diplomatic alliances with foreign princesses, were enough for him. From the very beginning of his reign he had loved a maiden who was not of the blood of the Pharaohs, Ti, the daughter of Iva and his wife Thia. Connexions of this kind had been frequently formed by his ancestors, but the Egyptian women of inferior rank whom they had brought into their harems had always remained in the background, and if the sons of these concubines were ever fortunate enough to come to the throne, it was in default of heirs of pure blood. Amenophis III, married Ti, gave her for her dowry the town of Zalit in Lower Egypt, and raised her to the position of queen, in spite of her low extraction. She basied herself in the affairs of State, took precedence of

*MARILOUS SCARABEOUS.*

*tow's reform was an attempt to establish a monotheistic religion in Egypt (Titus, Geschichte der Religion im Altertum, vol. 2, pp. 24–25; Herstett, De Bypassu in Siero, pp. 6–8.).

* For the last thirty years Queen Ti has been the subject of many hypotheses and much confusion. The search for her origin under Amenophis III. (Rosellini, Mon. Socr., L. xlv. 1, and vol. ii. p. 1, pp. 203–204; Héras, Histoire de l'Égypte, p. 220) was explicitly that she was the daughter of two persons, Iva and Thia, but these names are not accompanied by any of the signs which are characteristic of foreign names, and were considered Egyptian by contemporaries. Hence was the first who seemed to have believed her to be a Hyksos; he compared her father's name with that of Avar, and attributed the religious revolution which followed to the influence of her foreign education. This theory has continued to predominate; it is found in Markit, Apogee de l'histoire de l'Égypte, vol. 1, pp. 70, 71; in Ducrocq, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 418; and in Lauer, Das Ägyptische Königreich, p. 269. Wiedemann, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 289, 294, and in Meyer, Geschichte der Alten Ägypten, p. 199, proposes a Libyan origin to the Avarian one, and latterly there has been an attempt to recognize in Ti one of the princesses of Mittani mentioned in the correspondence of Tel-el-Amarna (Bouss. de la Correspondence des Expeditiones, de la Mission de l'École Française d'Archéologie, 1887–88, vol. 2, pp. 295, 296; Piron, Tel-el-Amarna, p. 40). As long ago as 1867, I showed at the École des Hautes Études that Ti was an Egyptian of middle rank, probably of Helio-

* Figures by Pauzé, from a photograph of the scarabæus preserved at Gizeh, and published in Markit, Album du Musée de Boulaq, pl. 38, No. 321.

the princesses of the solar family, and appeared at her husband's side in public ceremonies, and was so figured on the monuments. If, as there is reason to believe, she was born near Heliopolis, it is easy to understand how her influence may have led Amenopet to pay special honour to a Heliopolitan divinity. He had built, at an early period of his reign, a sanctuary to Aton, at Memphis,3 and in the Xth year he constructed for him a chapel at Thebes itself,2 to the south of the last pylon of Thutmose III, and endowed this deity with property at the expense of Amon.

He had several sons;2 but the one who succeeded him, and who, like him, was named Amenopet, was the most paradoxical of all the Egyptian sovereigns of ancient times.4 He made up for the inferiority of his birth, on account of the plebeian origin of his mother Ti,5 by his marriage with Nefertiti, a princess of the pure solar race.6 Ti, long accustomed to the management of affairs,

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1 Manette, Monumentes divers, pt. 55-5, and p. 18, where the collective representations, and above all the presence of the name of Aton, shows that the stone belongs to the reign of Amenophis III.
2 This temple seems to have been raised on the site of the building marked S.K. in Rowan, Étude sur les monuments de Manou, in the Recueils d'Archéologie, etc., vol. iv. pp. 45-45; Manette, Karnak, pt. i, A-D, and E-F., pp. 11-12., which is usually attributed to Amenophis II. and Amenophis III. The blocks bearing the name of Amenophis II. had been used previously, like most of those which bear the cartouches of Amenophis III. The temple of Aton, which was demolished by Harnakhi or one of the Harnaks, was subsequently rebuilt with the remains of earlier edifices, and dedicated to Amon.
3 One of them, Thutmose, was high priest of Ptah (Marie, Remarques sur les sanctuaires d'Apis, in Bull. Arch. de l'Égypte, Française, 1885, p. 32), and we possess several monuments erected by him in the temple of Memphis (Darmste, Notes on Remains, in the Karnak, vol. iv., pp. 174-175; another, Tetouakhenn, subsequently became king (cf. pp. 254, 325 of the present volume). He also had several daughters by Ti—Shanon (Buniat, On an Egyptian object of the Reign of Amenophis III. p. 3; cf. Rosellini, Mem. Soc., vol. i. p. 249), Ita, and Hennakhan (Lavenne, Décors, iii. 60 a-b).
4 The absence of any cartouches of Amenophis IV, or his successors in the table of Atonites prevents Champollion and Rosellini from identifying these sovereigns with any precision. Nectar the Office tried to recognize in the first of them, whom he called Bakhtes, together, a king belonging to the very ancient dynasty, perhaps the Huytah Aphanu (Letter des Agypten, pp. 25, 68, 67, 68, 72), but Lepsius (Briefe aus Agypten, pp. 109, 110) and Hinro (On the discovery of Egyptian Monuments, pp. 5-6) showed that he must be placed between Amenophis III. and Harnakhi, that he was first called Amenophis like his father, but that he afterwards took the name of Bakhtes, which is now read Khonem or Khonam. His singular aspect made it difficult to decide at first whether a man or a woman was represented (Napeutic, Letters des Agypten, pp. 68, 69; Bunsen, Egyptian Stellen in der Weltgeschichte, vol. iii. pp. 38, 93). Maratte, while pronouncing him to be a man, thought that he had perhaps been taken prisoner in the Siamese and mutilated, which would have explained his effeminate appearance, almost like that of an empress (Remarques sur les sanctuaires d'Apis, in the Bulletin Arch. etc., 1866, p. 37). Recent attempts have been made to prove that Amenophis IV. and Khonam were two distinct persons (Villeneuve, Néan, pp. 299-300, and Egypt after the War, pp. 375-391); or that Khonam was a queen (Weissmann, Description of the Time of Amonophis IV. in the Vigneiss, vol. viii. p. 328), and by others that she was the mother of Queen Nefertiti (Weissmann, Inscriptions of the Time of Amonophis IV. in the Vigneiss, vol. viii. p. 328); but they have hitherto been rejected by Egyptologists.
5 The question of Amenophis IV. and Ti has given rise to more than one controversy. The Egyptian texts do not define it explicitly, and the title bearers of Ti (Lavenne, Décors, iii. 101, 102) has been considered by some to prove that Amenophis IV. was her son (Buniat, Geschichte der Ägypten, pp. 418, 420; Weismann, Geschichte des Alten Agypten, p. 412; E. Meyer, Geschichte der Alten Agypten, p. 289), and by others that she was the mother of Queen Nefertiti (Weissmann, Inscriptions of the Time of Amonophis IV. in the Vigneiss, vol. viii. p. 328), in which Ti is called 'my mother.'—Etc.
6 Nefertiti, the wife of Amenophis IV., like all the princesses of that time, has been supposed to...
exerted her influence over him even more than she had done over her husband. Without officially assuming the rank, she certainly for several years possessed the power, of regent, and gave a definite Oriental impress to her son’s religious policy. No outward changes were made at first; Amenëth, although showing his preference for Heliopolis by inscribing in his protocol the title of prophet of Harmakhis, which he may, however, have borne before his accession, maintained his residence at Thebes, as his father had done before him, continued to sacrifice to the Theban divinities, and to follow the ancient paths and the conventional practices. He either built a temple to the Theban god, or enlarged the one which his father had constructed at Karnak, and even opened new quarries at Syene and Silaheb for providing granite and sandstone for the adornment of this monument. His devotion to the invincible Disk, however, soon began to assert itself, and rendered more and more irksome to him the religious observances which he had constrained himself to follow. There was nothing and no one to hinder him from giving free course to his inclinations, and the nobles and priests were too well trained in obedience to venture to censure anything he might do, even were it to result in putting the whole population into motion, from Elephantine to the sea-coast, to prepare for the intruded deity a dwelling which should eclipse in magnificence the splendour of the great temple. A few of these around him had become converted of their own accord to his favourite worship, but these formed a very small minority. Thebes had belonged to Amon so long that the king could never hope to bring it to regard Atum as anything but a being of inferior rank. Each city, belonged to some god, to whom was attributed its origin, its development, be of Syrian origin, and to have changed her name on her arrival in Egypt (Lepsius, Sur Différents Monuments égyptiens, in the Proceedings, 1846-47, vol. iii, p. 470; Breasted, An Inscription of Amon, ibid., 1882-83, vol. xxvii, p. 209). The place which she holds beside her husband is the same as that which belongs to legitimate princesses, like Neferaton, Ammoni, and Hathorpati, and this explains why these princesses is enough to show us what was her real position; she was most probably a daughter of one of the princesses of the solar blood, perhaps of son of the sisters of Amenëth III., and Amenëth IV. married her as to obtain the right of the rights, which were wanting to him through his mother Ti.

1 Lepsius, Denkm., iii. 110 4, 12.

2 The tomb of Ramses, governor of Thebes and priest of Amon, shows us in one part of it the king, still faithful to his name of Amanëth, paying homage to the god Amon, lord of Karnak (Veiller-Stuart, Egypt after the War, pl. 27, and pp. 281-288; Breasted, Le Tombeau de Ramses à Chevêches et le Grain, in the Revue Archéologique, 1892, vol. xxi, p. 276, of seqq.), where everywhere else the worship of Amon predominates. The inscription in the tomb of Pharaoh, read by Breasted Akekhofti (Nouveau Voyage, in the Revue, vol. xiv, pp. 70-71), and by Schuchet more correctly Neferkheperure (Le Tombeau de Pharo, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. v, p. 388), seem to me to represent a transitional form of the protocol of Amenëth IV., and not the name of a new Pharaoh; the inscription in which they are to be found bears the date of his third year.

3 Lepsius, Denkm., iii. 110 1. Of Ramses, Greek, Egypt, pp. 424, 425, where the value of this monument has been well shown; the king in it still calls himself Amenëth. The remains of the temple, used later by Harmakhis, have been collected and commented on for the first time by Frere d’Avennes, Remains on the Ancient Materials of the Pyramids of Karnak, in the Transactions of the Society of Literature, new series, vol. 1, pp. 29-32, and MonumentsEgyptiens, pls. vii-xi, and subsequently by Breasted, A Theban, in the Revue, vol. xxi, pp. 33-35.
and its prosperity, and whom it could not forsake without renouncing its very existence. If Thebes because separated from Amon it would be Thebes no longer, and of this Amenâtes was so well aware that he never attempted to induce it to renounce its patron. His residence among surroundings which he detested at length became so intolerable, that he resolved to leave the place and create a new capital elsewhere. The choice of a new abode would have presented no difficulty to him had he been able to make up his mind to relegate Atoni to the second rank of divinities; Memphis, Hermopolis, Siut, Khmûnû, and, in fact, all the towns of the valley would have deemed themselves fortunate in securing the inheritance of their rival, but not one of them would be false to its convictions or accept the degradation of its own divine founder, whether Ptah, Harashaftà, Amabis, or Thot. A newly promoted god demanded a new city; Amenâthes, therefore, made selection of a broad plain extending on the right bank of the Nile, in the eastern part of the Hermopolitan nome, to which he removed with all his court about the fourth or fifth year of his reign. He found here several obscure villages without any historical or religious traditions, and but thinly populated; Amenâthes chose one of them, the Et-Tel of the present day, and built there a palace for himself and a temple for his god. The temple, like that of Re at Heliopolis, was named Hât-Habâmû, the Mansion of the Obelisk. It covered an immense area, of which the sanctuary, however, occupied an inconsiderable part; it was flanked by brick storehouses, and the whole was surrounded by a thick wall. The remains show that the temple was built of white limestone, of fine quality, but that it was almost devoid of ornament, for there was no time to cover it with the usual decorations. The palace was

*The last date with the name of Amenâthes is that of the year V., on a papyrus from the Fayûm (Pompeii, Tóban, Zhaox, and Gens, p. 59): elsewhere we find from the year VI. the name of Khânumatû (Pompeii d'Avenel, Monumenti Egyptiaci, pl. xii-xiv.; Lepsius, Denkm., iii. 110 D.); by the side of monuments with the cartouche of Amenâthes (Pompeii, Tôf eis-Amon. pl. xlii.) we may conclude from this that the establishment of the town dates from the year IV. or V.; at the latest, when the prince, having renounced the worship of Amon, left Thebes that he might be able to celebrate freely that of Atoni.

* For the description of the plain end of the ruins of Tôf eis-Amon, see Jomard, Description des Antiquités de l'Égypte Moderne, in the Description de l'Égypte, vol. vi., p. 298-312; and Nieson Luvina, Lettres circulaires de l'Egypte, pp. 23-70; and for its present condition, Varius-Periit, Égypte after the War, pp. 48-49, and above all, Pompeii, Tôf eis-Amon, pp. 1-6. The plan of it is briefly described in the Description de l'Égypte, vol. vi., p. 29, fig. 16; by Lepsius, Denkm., i. 62, 64, who seems to have developed the indications given in the Description, and by Pompeii d'Avenel, Histoire de Tôf eis-Amon, who confines himself to reproducing the data given in the Description and by Lepsius.

* Luvina, Denkm., iii. 27 b, where the king speaks of the chambers he has caused to be built and decorated in Hât-Habâmû (Ptolemaic).

* The ruins of the temple have been explored by Pompeii, Tôf eis-Amon, pp. 15-25, and the plan of it is given on plate xxxvi. of that work. The opinion of Bunschach (Gesch. Ägyptens, p. 310), that the arrangement of the various parts differed from that of other temples, and was the effect of foreign influence, has not been borne out by the examinations of Prof. Petrie, the little which he has brought to light being entirely of Egyptian character. The temple is represented on the tomb of the high priest Mariû (Luvina, Denkm., iii. 94-96); cf. Pompeii, Egyptiaci, pp. 387-390.)
built of brick; it was approached by a colossal gateway, and contained vast halls, interspersed with small apartments for the accommodation of the household, and storehouses for the necessary provisions, besides gardens which had been hastily planted with rare shrubs and sycomores. Fragments of furniture and of the roughest of the utensils contained in the different chambers are still unearthed from among the heaps of rubbish, and the cellars especially are full of potsherds and cracked jars, on which we can still see written, an indication of the reign and the year when the wine they once contained was made.

Altars of massive masonry rose in the midst of the courts, on which the king or one of his ministers heaped offerings and burnt incense morning, noon, and evening, in honour of the three decisive moments in the life of Atum. A few painted and gilded columns supported the roofs of the principal apartments in which the Pharaoh held his audiences, but elsewhere the walls and pillars were coated with cream-coloured stucco or whitewash, on which scenes of private life were depicted in colours. The pavement, like the walls, was also decorated. In one of the halls which seems to have belonged to the harem,

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1 Naville discovered at Deir el-Bahari a similar altar, partly intact. (The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, pp. 10-12). No other example was before known in any of the ruined towns or temples, and we can had any idea of the dimensions to which these altars attained.
2 Furtw. Tell el-amarna, pp. 7-10; also the remains reproduced in pls. v.-xii. The plan of the palace is to be found in pl. xxxvi. of the same work.
there is still to be seen distinctly the picture of a rectangular piece of water containing fish and lotus-flowers in full bloom; the edge is adorned with water-plants and flowering shrubs, among which birds fly and calves graze and gambol; on the right and left were depicted rows of stands laden with fruit, while at each end of the room were seen the grinning faces of a gang of negro and Syriam prisoners, separated from each other by gigantic arches. The tone of colouring is bright and cheerful, and the animals are treated with great freedom and facility. The Pharaoh had collected about him several of the best artists then to be found at Thebes, placing them under the direction of Baalki, the chief of the corporation of sculptors, and probably others subsequently joined these from provincial studies. Work for them was not lacking, for houses had to be built for all the courtiers and government officials who had been obliged to follow the king, and in a few years a large town had sprung up, which was called Khoptatef, or the “Horizon of the Disk.” It was built on a regular plan, with straight streets and open spaces, and divided into two separate quarters, interspersed with orchards and shady trellises. Workmen soon began to flock to the new city—metal-founders, glass-founders, weavers; in fine, all who followed any trade indispensable to the luxury of a capital. The king appropriated a territory for it from the ancient nome of the Harœ, thus compelling the gods Thot to contribute to the fortune of Atomâ; he fixed its limits by means of stolns placed in the mountains, from Gebel-Tânah to Deshîlût on the west, and from Sheikh-Sâid to El-Hâbata on the eastern bank; it was a new nome improvised for the divine parasce.

Atomâ was one of the forms of the Sun, and perhaps the most material one of all those devised by the Egyptians. He was defined as “the good god who rejoices in truth, the lord of the solar course, the lord of the disk, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the living disk which lights up the two worlds, the living Harmakhis who rises on the horizon bearing his name

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1 The vignette on p. 321 gives only an idea of it. To judge of the delicacy of detail and the richness of the effect, see the coloured plates in which Petrie has reproduced the principal scenes (Tell el-Amarna, plz. III., IV.).

2 Baalki belonged to a family of artists, and his father Mâni had assisted him in the post of chief of the sculptors (Maximin, Monuments d'Asie, plz. 26 a). The part played by those personages was first defined by Budge, with perhaps some exaggeration of their artistic merit and originality of talent (Grands Mêmoires, pp. 421-423).

3 Nouveaux Monuments d'Egypte, pp. 76, 77, who consider them two separate texts.

4 We know at present of fourteen of these stelae, and the position of the principal of them will be seen in the map of the nome. The earliest discovered were published by Pierre N'Axen, Monuments Egyptiens, plz. xii.-xxiv., partly from the copies made by Nézel L'hotte, and others have been gradually added to them through the labours of Lorette, Delaté, ill. III., 130 a, 6; of Bârâ, Tombes et Reliques d'Égypte, in the Recueil de Travaille, vol. xrv, pp. 36-62, and of Pruvart, Tell el-Amarna, pp. 5, 6. A certain number must still remain to be discovered on both banks of the Nile.
of Shu, which is disk, the eternal infuser of life." 1 His priests exercised the same functions as those of Heliopolis, and his high priest was called "Otrimah," like the high priest of Ra in Aton. This functionary was a certain Mari, upon whom the king showered his favours, and he was for some time the chief authority in the State after the Pharaoh himself. 3 Aton was represented sometimes by the ordinary figure of Horus, 3 sometimes by the solar disk, but a disk whose rays were prolonged towards the earth, like so many arms ready to lay hold with their little hands of the offerings of the faithful, or to distribute to mortals the cross usata, the symbol of life. The other gods, except Amon, were sharers with humanity in his benefits. Aton proscribed him, and tolerated him only at Thebes; he required, moreover, that the name of Aton should be effaced wherever it occurred, but he respected Ra and Horus and Harmakhis— all, in fact, but Amon: he was content with being regarded as their king, and he strove rather to become their chief than their destroyer. 4 His nature, moreover, had nothing in it of the mysterious or ambiguous; he was the glorious torch which gave light to humanity, and which was seen every day to flame in the heavens without ever losing its brilliancy or becoming weak. When he hides himself "the world rests in darkness, like those dead who lie in their rock-tombs, with their heads swathed, their nostrils stuffed up, their eyes sightless, and whose whole property might be stolen from them, even that which they have under their head, without their knowing it; the lion issues from his lair, the serpent roams ready to bite, it is an obscure as in a dark room, the earth is silent whilst he who creates everything dwells in his horizon." He has hardly arisen when "Egypt becomes festal, one awakens, one rises on one's feet; when thou hast caused men to clothe themselves, they adorn thee with outstretched hands, and the whole earth attends to its work, the animals betake themselves to their herbage, trees and green crops abound, birds fly to their marshy thickets with wings outstretched in adoration of thy double, the cattle skip, all the birds which were in their nests shake themselves when thou risest for them; the boats come and go, for every way is open at thy appearance, the fish of the river leap before thee as soon as thy rays descend upon the ocean." It is not without reason that all living things rejoice at his advent; all of them owe their existence to him, for "he creates the female germ, he gives virility to men, and furnishes life to

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1 This is the title of Aton, considered as god-king in Thebes, Jordan, iii. 303 b, 307 d, 311
2 Some of the less-reliable from the book are reproduced in Larzer, Jordan, iii. 37 b-c.
3 Bouisset, Les Thébais, in the Revue de l'Égypte, vol. vi. p. 32. It was probably this form of Horus which had, in the temple of Thebes, the statue called "the red image of Aton in Pachmum." (Bouisset, La Tombeau de Mentou et Chabed-el-Kerawes, p. 77.)
4 Parrot, 2nd ed. (Remarks on Preposterous Essays, in the Transactions of the Society of Literature, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 76-92) has thought at Edfu, on fragments of the temple, the names of other divinities than Aton worshipped by Khnum. 5
the infant in its mother's womb; he calms and stills its weeping, he nourishes it in the maternal womb, giving forth the breathings which animate all that he creates, and when the infant escapes from the womb on the day of its birth, then opnens his mouth for speech, and then satisfies his necessities. When the chick is in the egg, a cackle in a stone, then gives to it air while within to keep it alive; when thou hast caused it to be developed in the egg to the point of being able to break it, it goes forth proclaiming its existence by its cackling, and walks on its feet from the moment of its leaving the egg." Atonû presides over the universe and arranges within it the lot of human beings, both Egyptians and foreigners. The celestial Nile springs up in Hades far away in the north; he makes its current run down to earth, and spreads its waters over the fields during the inundation in order to nourish his creatures. He rules the seasons, winter and summer; he constructed the far-off sky in order to display himself therein, and to look down upon his works below. From the moment that he reveals himself there, "cities, towns, tribes, routes, rivers—all eyes are lifted to him, for he is the disk of the day upon the earth." 1 The sanctuary in which he is invoked contains only his divine shadow; for he himself never leaves the firmament. His worship assumes none of the savage and gloomy forms of the Theban cults: songs resound therein, and hymns accompanied by the harp or flute; bread, cakes, vegetables, fruits, and flowers are associated with his rites, and only on very rare occasions one of those bloody sacrifices in which the other gods delight. The king made himself supreme pontiff of Atonû, and took precedence of the high priest. He himself celebrated the rites at the altar of the god, and we see him there standing erect, his hands outstretched, offering incense and invoking blessings from on high. 4 Like the Caliph Hakim of a later age, he formed a school to propagate his new doctrines, and preached them before his courtiers; if they wished to please him, they had to accept his teaching, and show that they had profited by it. 2 The renunciation of the traditional religions

1 These extracts are taken from the hymns of Tel el-Amarna. They have been translated by GOURARY, Deux jours de famille à Tel el-Amarna, in the Memoires de la Mission Francaise, vol. 1, pp. 3-7, and afterwards by BESANCON, De Hymnes sur Sethos et Rama Amarnite, IV, novembar, 1886.

2 In one of the tents at Tel el-Amarna the king is depicted leading his mother Ti to the temple of Atonû in order to see "the Shadow of His Disk" (LAYER, Denkm., III, 101, 102); and it was thought with some reason that "the Shadow of His Disk" was one of the names of the temple (HUYDENS-BEY, in the Inscription of Khonsou; in the Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1872-73, vol. XX, pp. 209, 213, 215). I think that this designation applied also to the statue or symbol of the god; the shadow of a god was attached to the statue in the same manner as the "double," and transformed it into an animated body.

3 Choose of singers and musicians are represented in LAYER, Denkm., III, 94, 95 a, 100 a; some of them seem to be blind.

4 Naville-L'EBE, Lettres d'Egypte, pp. 62, 63. The allusion which the king should apply is one of those scribes of memory of which Naville discovered such a fine example in the temple of Hatchepsut at Deir el-Bahari (The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, pp. 10-12).

5 LAYER, Denkm., III, 107 a, b, 10, where Telû, the royal messenger who carried the letters of Tel el-Amarna, says that every morning he took his name from the king, "because of the great love which he bore to the royal teachings." At the same time, moreover (chap., 107 a, b, 4), that his name penetrated
observances of the solar house involved also the rejection of such personal
names as implied an ardent devotion to the banished god: in place of
Amenothes, "he to whom Amon is united," the king assumed after a time
the name of Khumiaton, "the Glory of the Disk," and all the members
of his family, as well as his adherents at court, whose appellations involved
the name of the same god, soon followed his example. The proscription of
Amon extended to inscriptions, so that while his name or figure, wherever
either could be got at, was chiselled out, the vulture, the emblem of Mût,
which expressed the idea of mother, was also avoided. The king would
have nothing about him to suggest to eye or ear the remembrance of
the gods or doctrines of Thebes. It would consequently have been fatal
to them and their pretensions to the primacy of Egypt if the reign of
the young king had continued so long as might naturally have been ex-
pected. After having been for nearly two centuries almost the national
head of Africa, Amon was degraded by a single blow to the secondary rank
and banishing existence in which he had lived before the expulsion of the
Hyksôs. He had surrendered his sceptre as king of heaven and earth, not
to any of his rivals who in old times had enjoyed the highest rank, but
to an individual of a lower order, a sort of demigod, while he himself had
thus become merely a local deity, confined to the corner of the Sali in
which he had had his origin. There was not even left to him the peaceful
possession of this restricted domain, for he was obliged to act as host to
the enemy who had deposed him: the temple of Atum was erected at the
door of his own sanctuary, and without leaving their courts the priests of
Amon could hear at the hours of worship the chants intoned by hundreds of
hierchies in the temple of the Disk. Amon's priests saw, moreover, the royal
gifts flowing into other treasuries, and the gold of Syria and Ethiopia no longer
came into their hands. Should they still their complaints, and bow to this
insulting oppression, or should they raise a protest against the action which had
condemned them to obscurity and a restricted existence? If they had given
indications of resistance, they would have been obliged to submit to prompt
repression, but we see no sign of this. The bulk of the people—clerical as well
as lay—accepted the deposition with complacency, and the nobles hastened to

into the palace calling to the mind with which he applied himself: "To hear the doctrine" of the king.
Khumiaton, speaking elsewhere to the high priest Marid, calls him: "my servant—sons of god—who
hears the doctrine." (Br. cit., 87). Other expressions of a similar kind are found in many of the
inscriptions in the temples of Edfu, Asyut, leaving no doubt in the mind as to the proselytising spirit
which animated the prince. The Coffin Texts seems to us, of all known individuals, to resemble
Khumiaton the most, both in his character and in the role he played: his reign seems to have repro-
duced in Medjunmun Egypt that of Khumiaton in the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

4 "Aegyptische Sämtliche, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences in
Berlin, 1853, pp. 198, 199. We find, however, one instance where the draughtsman, either from
malice or design, had used the vulture to express the word "mother," without troubling
himself to think whether it answered to the name of the goddess.
offer their adherence to that which afterwards became the official confession of faith of the Lord King. The Lord of Thebes itself, a certain Ramses, bowed his head to the new cult, and the bas-reliefs of his tomb display to our eyes the proofs of his apostasy: on the right-hand side Amun is the only object of his devotion, while on the left he declares himself an adherent of Atum.

Religious formularies, divine appellations, the representations of the costume, expression, and demeanour of the figures are at issue with each other in the scenes on the two sides of the door, and if we were to trust to appearances only, one would think that the two pictures belonged to two separate reigns, and were concerned with two individuals strangers to each other.

The rupture between the past and the present was so complete, in fact, that the sovereign was obliged to change, if not his face and expression, at least the

1 The political character of this reaction against the growing power of the high priests and the town of Amun was pointed out for the first time by Maspero (in 1875, in his course of lectures at the School for Advanced Studies, and dealt with briefly by O. RACKH, Les Monuments de l'Art antiques, vol. 1, Anemphab IV, musées de l'Egypte, musées du Louvre, pp. 3, 4; cf. BOURJAY, A Thèbes, in the Revue de l'Egypte, vol. vi, p. 53. The idea was developed by ER. METZER, Geschicht der Altertums, vol. 1, pp. 269-274, and Geschicht der Ägypten, p. 288, et seq.; cf. WIELAND, Geschichte von Alten Ägypten, pp. 97-104, and TAEHEL, Geschichte der Religion im Altertum, vol. 1, p. 50. Ed. Meyer and Tiele blend with the political idea a monolithic conception which does not seem to me to be fully justified, at least at present, by anything in the materials we possess.


3 Drawn by Foucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Tréma. Foul Adameran, pl. l, 10, and frontispiece of the drawing in LAFER, Déeses, iii, 111, in which the Hommes is at given above is striking. Petrie thinks that the monument discovered by him, which is of fine plaster, is a cast of the best king, executed possibly to enable the sculptor to make可以看出 "Repentance," for him (LAFER, Déeses, pp. 17, 18, 19).
mode in which they were represented. The name and personality of an Egyptian
were so closely allied that interference with one implied interference with the
other. Khnumatonu could not continue to be such as he was when Amenothes
and, in fact, their respective portraits differ from each other to that degree that
there is some doubt at moments as to their identity. Amenothes is hardly
to be distinguished from his father; he has the same regular and somewhat
heavy features, the same idealised body and conventional shape as those
which we find in the orthodox Pharaohs. Khnumatonu affects a long
and narrow head, conical at the top, with a receding forehead, a large
aquiline and pointed nose, a small mouth, an enormous chin projecting
in front, the whole being supported by a long, thin neck. His shoulders are
narrow, with little display of muscle, but his breasts are so full, his abdomen
so prominent, and his hips so large, that one would think they belonged
to a woman. Etiquette required the attendants upon the king, and those
who aspired to his favour, to be portrayed in the bas-reliefs of temples
or tombs in all points, both as regards face and demeanour, like the king
himself. Hence it is that the majority of his contemporaries, after having
borne the likeness of Amenothes, came to adopt, without a break, that of
Khnumatonu. The scenes at Tel el-Amarna contain, therefore, nothing but
angular profiles, pointed skulls, ample breasts, flowing figures, and swelled
stomachs. The outline of these is one that lends itself readily to caricature,
and the artists have exaggerated the various details with the intention, it may
be, of rendering the representations grotesque. There was nothing ridiculous
however, in the king, their model, and several of his statues attribute to him
a languid, almost valetudinarian grace, which is by no means lacking in
dignity. He was a good and affectionate man, and was passionately fond of

1 Cf. Deyr of Cléron, pp. 259, 260, for further information on this subject.
2 Drawn by Bonnay, from a photograph by Faucher-Gudin; cf. Massen, to O. Bayet, Les
Monuments de l'Art égyptien, vol. 1. The lower part of the legs has been restored by a modern sculptor.
his wife, Nofritti, associating her with himself in his sovereign acts. If he
set out to visit the temple, she followed him in a chariot; 1 if he was about to
reward one of his faithful subjects, she stood beside him and helped to dis-
tribute the golden necklaces. 2 She joined him in his prayers to the Solar
Disk; 3 she ministered to him in domestic life, when, having broken away from
the worries of his public duties, 4 he sought relaxation in his harem; and their
union was so tender, that we find her on one occasion, at least, seated in a
coaxing attitude on her husband's knees—a unique instance of such affection among all the repre-
sentations on the monuments of Egypt. They had
six daughters, whom they brought up to
live with them on terms of the closest
intimacy; they accompanied their
father and mother everywhere,
and are exhibited as playing
around the throne while their
parents are engaged in per-
forming the duties of their
office. 5 The gentleness and
gaiety of the king were
reflected in the life of his subjects; all the scenes which they have left us
consist entirely of processions, cavalcades, banquets, and entertainments.
Krūniatōnū was prodigal in the gifts of gold and the eulogies which he bestowed
on Mariri, the chief priest: the people dance around him while he is receiving
from the king the just recompense of his activity. 6 When Hāva, who came
back from Syria in the XIIth year of the king's reign, brought solemnly before
him the tribute he had collected, the king, borne in his jolting palanquin on
the shoulders of his officers, proceeded to the temple to return thanks to his
god, to the accompaniment of chants and the waving of the great fans. 8 When
the divine father At had married the governor of one of the king's daughters,
the whole city gave itself up to enjoyment, and wine flowed freely during the
wedding feast. 9 Notwithstanding the frequent festivals, the king found time

1 Lescot, Desoum., ii. 22, 32.
2 Id., ibid., iii. 97 a, 105, 106.
3 Navrot, L'Égypte, p. 57; Pennes d'Avennes, Histoire de l'Art Égyptien: Lescot, Desoum., ii. 22 a, 106 b, 110 b, 6.
4 Navrot, L'Égypte, p. 57; Lescot, Desoum., iii. 97 b.
5 Lescot, Desoum., ii. 22, where the princesses are seen following the king to the temple of Atum in a chariot; ibid., 100, 106, where they are present at the distribution of the golden necklaces.
6 Drawn by Vancher-Gelin, from a drawing by Poyntz, Tell de Janassur, pl. 10, and pl. 40, 81. A picture by Lescot, Desoum., iii. 98 b, shows them seated on the same seat and embracing each other.
7 Navrot, L'Égypte, p. 57; Lescot, Desoum., iii. 91-94, 97.
8 Lescot, Desoum., iii. 100 b. We ought possibly to read the name Hāva; the emendations transcriptions, however, place after the 2nd final a, which inclines me to prefer Hōba.
9 Lescot, Desoum., 102, 106 a.
to watch jealously over the ordinary progress of government and foreign affairs. The architects, too, were not allowed to stand idle, and without taking into account the repairs of existing buildings, had plenty to do in constructing edifices in honour of Amun in the principal towns of the Nile valley, at Memphis, Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Hermopolis, and in the Fayum. The provinces in Ethiopia remained practically in the same condition as in the time of Amenophis III. Kush was pacified, notwithstanding the raids which the tribes of the desert were accustomed to make from time to time, only to receive on each occasion rigorous chastisement from the king’s viceregal. The sudden degradation of Amun had not brought about any coldness between the Pharaoh and his princely allies in Asia. The aged Amenophes had, towards the end of his reign, asked the land of Dushratta’s daughter in marriage, and the Mitannian king, highly flattered by the request, saw his opportunity and took advantage of it in the interest of his treasury.

1 *Described by Fawkes-Gudin, from a photograph by Ialinger, taken in 1882.*
3 *H. Hubert, Monuments Deux, pl. 27.*
4 *Marriage, Notes on a couple de Grammont, § 5, in Zeitschr. 1881, p. 116.*
5 *The greater part of the fragments from Heliopolis are mailed up in the mosque of the Caliph Hakim at Cairo.*
6 *A granite altar from Ashmunein is described by F. J. G. A. C. G. F. P. K. 1. 1907.*
7 *In the Recueil Archéologiques, 1881, p. 790; I saw, in 1882, in the village of Ashmunein itself, some insignificant remains which seemed to bear the marks of Khnumhotep.*
8 *W. H. H. H. H. H. H.*
9 *Peters, Ashmun, Palaeo, and Greek, pp. 16, 20, and pl. xxiv, 10.*
10 *The name and the forms of Khnumhotep are met with on the gate of the temple of Sobk (Layard, Denk. 110, 4), and he received in his XIIth year the tribute of Kush, as well as those of Syria (Ib. ibid., pl. 126, 1, 1, 2).*
He discussed the amount of the dowry, demanded a considerable sum of gold, and when the affair had been finally arranged to his satisfaction, he despatched the princess to the banks of the Nile. On her arrival she found her affianced husband was dead, or, at all events, dying. Amenôthes IV., however, stepped into his father's place, and inherited his bride with his crown. The new king's relations with other foreign princes were no less friendly; the chief of the Khâti (Hittites) complimented him on his accession, the King of Alasia wrote to him to express his earnest desire for a continuance of peace between the two states. Bunnaburiash of Babylon had, it is true, hoped to obtain an Egyptian princess in marriage for his son, and being disappointed, had endeavoured to pick a quarrel over the value of the presents which had been sent him, together with the notice of the accession of the new sovereign.

But his kingdom lay too far away to make his ill-will of much consequence, and his complaints passed unheeded. In Coele-Syria and Phoenicia the situation remained unchanged. The vassal cities were in a perpetual state of disturbance, though not more so than in the past. Azira, son of Abdiashirii, chief of the country of the Amorites, had always, even during the lifetime of Amenôthes III., been the most turbulent of vassals. The smaller states of the Orontes and of the coast about Arvad had been laid waste by his repeated incursions and troubled by his intrigues. He had taken and pillaged twenty towns, among which

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1 Marriage of Amenôthes IV. with Tadaships, daughter of Dushratta (Hardie-Hodge, Tell of Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, No. 11, p. 25; II. 4, 35).
3 Breusch-Bender, Tell of Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, No. 6, pp. 11, 15, and xxxi.
4 Drawn by Puchet-Gadmir, from a photograph by Inzaghi. The tomb is that of Tush.
5 Breusch-Bender, Tell of Amarna Tablets, etc., Nos. 2-3, pl. 6-11, and pp. xxxi-xxvii.
were Simyra, Sini, Iqata, and Qodshu, and he was already threatening Byblos, Berenice, and Sidon. It was useless to complain of him, for he always managed to exculpate himself to the royal messengers. Khai, Dudâ, Amenemhat had in turn all pronounced him innocent. Pharaoh himself, after citing him to appear in Egypt to give an explanation of his conduct, had allowed himself to be won over by his fair speaking, and had dismissed him uncondemned. Other princes, who lacked his cleverness and power, tried to imitate him, and from north to south the whole of Syria could only be compared to some great arena, in which fighting was continually carried on between one tribe or town and another—Tyre against Sidon, Sidon against Byblos, Jerusalem against Laishish. All of them appealed to Khâniatonâ, and endeavored to enlist him on their side. Their despatches arrived by seers, and the perusal of them at the present day would lead us to imagine that Egypt had all but lost her supremacy. The Egyptian ministers, however, were entirely unmoved by them, and continued to refuse material support to any of the numerous rivals, except in a few rare cases, where a too prolonged indifference would have provoked an open revolt in some part of the country.

Khâniatonâ died young, about the XVIII\textsuperscript{a} year of his reign.\textsuperscript{1} He was buried in the depths of a ravine in the mountainside to the east of the town, and his tomb remained unknown till within the last few years. Although one of his daughters who died before her father had been interred there, the place seems to have been entirely unprepared for the reception of the king's body. The funeral chamber and the passages are scarcely even rough-hewn, and the reception halls show a mere commencement of decoration.\textsuperscript{2} The other tombs of the locality are divided into two groups, separated by the ravine reserved for the burying-place of the royal house. The noble families possessed each their own tomb on the slopes of the hillside; the common people were laid to rest in pits lower down, almost on the level of the plain. The cutting and decoration of all these tombs had been entrusted to a company of contractors, who had executed them according to two or three stereotyped plans, without any variation, except in size.\textsuperscript{3} Nearly all the walls are bare, or present but few inscriptions; these tombs only are completed whose occupants died before the Pharaoh. The façades of the tombs are cut in the rock, and contain, for the most part,
but one door, the jambs of which are covered on both sides by several lines of hieroglyphs: and it is just possible to distinguish traces of the adoration of the radiant Disk on the lintels, together with the cartouches containing the names of the king and god. The chapel is a large rectangular chamber, from one end of which opens the inclined passage leading to the coffin. The roof is sometimes supported by columns, having capitals decorated with designs of flowers or of geese hung from the abaci by their feet with their heads turned upwards.

The religious teaching at Tel el-Amarna presents no difference in the main from that which prevailed in other parts of Egypt. The Double of Osiris was supposed to reside in the tomb, or else to take wing to heaven and embark with Atum, as elsewhere he would embark with Ra. The same funerary furniture is needed for the deceased as in other local cults—ornaments of

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1. Drawn by Bonfante, after a photograph by Unsinger of the interior of the tomb of Thut.
2. In the drawing of the columns ornamented with geese, in Loretto, Dodds, III. 100 c; Payne d'Antenor, Histoire de l'Art Egyptien. Fragments of similar columns have been found in the palace of the king, in the middle of the ruins of the town, by Petrie, Tel el-Amarna, pls. vii., 1, 6, and p. 8.
3. According to Hébréen, De Hymnes A Sethou et Amenophis IV, eunuch, p. 3, there was an essential difference. But the peculiar treatment of the two extremities of the sign for the sky, which corroborates the great sense on the tomb of Ahmosis, shows that there had been no change in the ideas concerning the two horizons of the divine tree found in them (Napier, L'âme, P, 3261; the aspirations for the soul of Mazir, the high priest of Atum (I. 241, 62, 324); or for that of the sculptor Bubisch, are the same as those usually found (Bunemann, Geschichten der Erzählen, pp. 112, 137, and the formulae on the funerary stele differs only in the name of the god from that on the ordinary stele of the same kind (Weidmann, Descriptions of the Tombs of Amenophis IV., in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. xxi. pp. 155-156).
vivants pastis, amulets, and Ḫubatitu, or "Respondents," to labour for the dead man in the fields of Iah. Those of Khnumatui were, like those of Amenæs III., actual statuettes in granite of admirable workmanship. The dead who reached the divine abode, retained the same rank in life that they had possessed here below, and in order to ensure the enjoyment of it, they related, or caused to be depicted in their tombs, the events of their earthly career. A citizen of Khnumatui would naturally represent the manners and customs of his native town, and this would account for the local colouring of the scenes in which we see him taking part. They bear no resemblance to the traditional pictures of the buildings and gardens of Thebes with which we are familiar; we have instead the palaces, colonnades, and pylons of the rising city, its courts planted with sycamores, its treasuries, and its storehouses. The sun's disk hovers above and darts its benevolent rays over every object; its beams presents the armaments to the nostrils of the various members of the family, they touch caressingly the queen and her daughters, they handle the offerings of bread and cakes, they extend even into the government warehouses to pilfer or to bless. Throughout all these scenes Khnumatui and the ladies of his harem seem to be ubiquitous: here he visits one of the officers, there he repairs to the temple for the dedication of its sanctuary. His chariot, followed at a little distance by that of the princesses, makes its way peaceably through the streets. The police of the city and the soldiers of the guard, whether Egyptians or foreigners, run before him and clear a path among the crowd, the high priest Marrit stands at the gate to receive him, and the ceremony is brought to a close by a distribution of gold necklaces or rings, while the populace dance with delight before the sovereign. Meantime the slaves have cooked the repast, the dancers and musicians within their chambers have rehearsed for the evening's festival, and the inmates of the house carry on animated dialogues during their meal. The style and the technique of these wall-paintings differ in no way from those in the necropolis of the preceding period, and there can be no doubt that the artists who decorated these monuments were trained in the schools of Thebes. Their drawing is often very refined, and there is great freedom in their composition; the perspective of some of the bas-reliefs almost comes up to our own, and the movement of animated crowds is indicated with perfect accuracy. It is, however, not safe to conclude from these examples that the artists who executed them would have developed Egyptian art in a new direction, had not subsequent events caused a reaction against the worship of Atoni and his followers. Although the tombs in which they worked differ from the generality of Egyptian burying-places, their originality does not arise from any

Footnote: For these granic: Ḫubatitu, cf. PERTUM, Tel el-Amarra, pp. 17, 18. For others of the same period, see WEHNEMANN, On a Monument of the Time of King Nsâ-Åmî, in Proceedings, vol. iv., pp. 200-203.
effort, either conscious or otherwise, to break through the ordinary routine of the art of the time; it is rather the result of the extraordinary appearance of the sovereign whose features they were called on to portray, and the novelty of several of the subjects which they had to treat. That artist among them who first gave concrete form to the ideas circulated by the priests of Amon, and drew the model cartoons, evidently possessed a master-hand, and was endowed with undeniable originality and power. No other Egyptian draughtsman ever expressed a child's grace as he did, and the portraits which he sketched of the daughters of Khnumaton playing undressed at their mother's side, are examples of a refined and delicate grace. But these models, when once composed and finished even to the smallest details, were entrusted for execution to workmen of mediocre powers, who were recruited not only from Thebes, but from the neighbouring cities of Hermopolis and Siut. These estimable people, with a praiseworthy patience, traced bit by bit the cartoons confided to them, omitting or adding individuals or groups according to the extent of the wall-space they had to cover, or to the number of relatives and servants whom the proprietor of the tomb desired should share in his future happiness. The style of these draughtsman betrays the influence of the second-rate schools in which they had learned their craft, and the clumsiness of their work would often repel us, were it not that the interest of the episodes portrayed redeems it in the eyes of the Egyptologist.

Khnumaton left no son to succeed him; two of his sons-in-law successively occupied the throne—Sakkeri, who had married his eldest daughter

* Drawn by Poison-Gully, from a photograph by Frear, Tell el-Amarna, pl. 4, No. 12.

1 This king's name was discovered by Duncan H. N. Macgregor, Memoirs of Egyptology, p. 15, and was incorrectly copied by him, as that Pensehi Ger (Egypt. Arch. p. 633 thorough, and Wiedemann (Egypt. Arch. p. 406) in his edition, while Petrie (Tell el-Amarna, p. 32, and pl. 37, 162-163) gives to it the form Amenakhi Reeshknopfer. I know of no example, during this period, of the verb smashed being expressed by the verb only; I therefore read provisionally the name Shakeri with the sign
Marintamœ, and Tutanakhmen, the husband of Ankhnaaaton; he showed himself a zealous partisan of the "Disk," and he continued to reside in the new capital during the few years of his sole reign. The second son-in-law was a son of Amenhotep III., probably a concubine. He returned to the religion of Amon, and his wife, abjuring the creed of her father, changed her name from Ankhnaaaton to that of Ankhnaaamon. Her husband abandoned Khuihœmon at the end of two or three years, and after his departure the town fell into decadence as quickly as it had arisen. The streets were unfrequented, the palaces and temples stood empty, the tombs remained unfinished and uncleared, and its patron god returned to his former state, and was relegated to the third or fourth rank in the Egyptian Pantheon. The town struggled for a short time against its adverse fate, which was no doubt retarded owing to the various industries founded in it by Khuihœmon, the manufactories of enamel and coloured glass requiring the presence of many workmen; but the latter emigrated ere long to Thebes or the neighbouring city of Hermopolis, and the "Horizon of Atonœ" disappeared from the list of names, leaving of what might have been the capital of the Egyptian empire, merely a mound of crumbling bricks with two or three fellahin villages scattered on the eastern bank of the Nile. Thebes, whose influence and population had meanwhile never lessened, resumed her supremacy undisturbed. If, out of respect for the past, Tutanakhmen continued the decoration of the

\footnote{1 Letter to Dendera, iii. 190 a., where he and his wife are represented by the side of Khuihœmon, with the protocol and the attributes of royalty. Petrie assigns to this double reign two minor objects on which the king's prenomen, Ankhnaaaton, is followed by the epithet "heir of Amon," which formed part of the name of Mohammed (Tell ed Amarna, p. 22).

2 Petrie thinks, on the testimony of the lists of Manetho, where four years before Amonhotep, daughter of Amon (Muller-Direr, Symmachia Heliopolitanæ, vol. ii. p. 573-575), and Sanheri reigned twelve years, and only two or three years as sole monarch without his father in-laws (Tell ed-Amarna, pp. 33-34). I think these two or three years a probable maximum length of his reign, whatever may be the value we should here assign to the lists of Manetho.

3 This relationship was recognized by the early Egyptologists (Wernher, Sekhmet from Ramses to Alexander; Subjeets, p. 111). Letter to Amonhotep, son of Maleph, 1849, vol. ii. p. 490; the same name is found, with the suffix "wet," in the Instruction to Amenhotep III., in the Riere Archéologie, 1847, pp. 128-129; Mariette, Correspondance sur les inscriptions quatuor Age, in the Bulletin Archéologique de l'Acalemie Française, 1852, p. 1134, but was forgotten for some thirty years. It has been again pointed out by Leclercq, Tout-archéologie, p. 183-184, and Mariette, in the Revue de l'Egypte, vol. xx. p. 112. Mariette, in the Annals of the Society of Biblical Archéologists, 1890-91, vol. xiii. p. 476. The Princess Mariette was another his mother nor his grandmother, as Wernher (Egyptische Geschichten, p. 493) and Leclercq (Tout-archéologie, p. 347) have affirmed, but was the author of a hieratic inscription, whose position cannot yet be determined (Mariette, Notices, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 300).

4 Petrie, in Tell ed-Amarna, pp. 43-44, judging from the number of minor objects which he has found in his excavations at Tell ed-Amarna, believes that he was in the length of Tutanakhmen's sojourn at Khuihœmon at six years, and that of his whole reign at nine years.

5 Numerous specimens may be seen in Petrie's Tell ed-Amarna, pl. xii.-xx.

6 Petrie thinks that the temples and palaces were systematically destroyed by Hermopolis, and the ruins used by him in the buildings which he erected at different points in Egypt (Tell ed-Amarna, p. 44). But there is no need for this theory: the beauty of the Inscriptions which Khuihœmon had made sufficiently amply the rapid disappearance of the deserted edifices.
temple of Atum at Karnak, he placed in every other locality the name and figure of Amon: a little stucco spread over the parts which had been mutilated, enabled the outlines to be restored to their original purity, and the alteration was rendered inviable by a few coats of colour. Tutankhamun was succeeded by the divine father Ai, whom Khnumaton had assigned as husband to one of his relatives named Til, so called after the widow of Amenêthes III. Ai laboured no less diligently than his predecessor to keep up the traditions which had been temporarily interrupted. He had been a faithful worshipper of the Disk.

1. Drawn by Franck-Beulé, after the drawing of Prince d'Avennes (cf. Histoire de l'Art Égyptien, vol. 4, and Lepsius, Bogen, III, sqq.).

2. Stamps from this temple bearing the name of Atum have been noticed by Martin, Lettres étranges d'Egypte, pp. 94-97, by Prince d'Avennes, Monumentas Egyptiacis, pl. clxv, and by Lepsius, Bogen, III, ill. 77 c, d (cf. Trum, Lettres d. M. J. Fergus, sur un dépotoir concernant le second pygys de Karnak, in the Zeitschrift, 1888, p. 11), in the construction of the pygys of Haruchâbê at Karnak, and even in the buildings of Seti I. and Ramses II. at Luxor.

3. The name of this king and his place in the sequence of dynasties have been frequently discussed by early Egyptologists. Dumont, called him Solof, and placed him before the XVIIth dynasty (Lettres écrites d'Egypte, 2nd ed., p. 107). In this he was followed by Charles Lepsius (Éléments pour la cartes du roi Menouhet Mentuwé, p. 54), while Borchardt (Monumenta Nubica, vol. 1, p. 145) calls him Menouhet Tawit, and Necker Uchté (Lettres écrites d'Egypte, pp. 19, 98) places him in order to identify him with Brothers of the XVth dynasty. Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Nubia, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 579) styles him Pansk, and Mayer, Pâsk Amun (Note sur la chronologie des Pharaons, p. 18). Prince tends his name Saturn au Sèvène, and gives him too his position (Recherches sur les légendes royales de l'Egypte du roi Séver et Sébéli, in the Revue Archéologique, vol. ii, pp. 457-474), while Lepsius and Borchardt (Monumenta Nubica, vol. iii, pp. 58, 98), though they keep the form Bantaniê, Beantani, place him among the last Pharaohs of the XVIIth dynasty. E. de Rouge, after having proposed the reading Schoen (which is then corrected by J. le Goyse de Bussac, vol. ii, pp. 57, 58), at last found the true one: 'Ai, the divine father Ai (Nouvelles des Monuments Egyptiens des Légers, 1845, p. 57). The order of succession of the three sovereigns is not quite certain; this is given in the text is accepted as the most probable by the majority of historians (Borchardt, Geschichtliche Entstehung, pp. 452-455; Werners, Égyptologie Geschichtliche, pp. 468-469). Mayer (Geschichtliche Descriptio Egyptiaca, pp. 269-271) reverses the order of the two last and places Tutankhamun's reign before that of Ai, but Petrie's discoveries (Tell el-Amarna, pp. 42-44) have now rendered this view improbable.
and had given orders for the construction of two funerary chapels for himself in the mountain-side above Tel el-Amarna, the paintings in which indicate a complete adherence to the faith of the reigning king. But on becoming Pharaoh, he was proportionally zealous in his submission to the gods of Thebes, and in order to mark more fully his return to the ancient belief, he chose for his royal burying-place a site close to that in which rested the body of Amenophes III. His sarcophagus, a large oblong of carved rose granite, still lies open and broken on the spot. Figures of goddesses stand at the four angles and extend their winged arms along its sides, as if to embrace the mummy of the sovereign. Tutankhamon and Akhenaton were buried from one end of Egypt to the other, from Napata to the shores of the Mediterranean. The peoples of Syria raised no disturbances during their reigns, and paid their accustomed tribute regularly; if their rule was short, it was at least happy. It would appear, however, that after their deaths troubles arose in the state. The lists of Manetho give two or three princesses—Râhty, Khebhes, and Akerres—who names are not found on the monuments. It is possible that we ought not to regard them as historical personages, but merely as heroes of popular romances, of the same type as those introduced so freely into the history of the preceding dynasties by the chroniclers of the Saite and Greco-Roman periods. They were, perhaps, merely short-lived pretenders who were overthrown one by the other before either had succeeded in establishing himself on the seat of Horus. But that as it may, the XVIIIth dynasty drew to its close amid strife and quarrelling, without our being able to discover the cause of its overthrow, or the name of the last of its sovereigns.

Scarcely half a century had elapsed between the moment when the XVIIIth dynasty reached the height of its power under Amenophes III, and that of its downfall. It is impossible to introduce with impunity changes of any kind into the constitution or working of so complicated a machine as an empire.

1 The first tomb seems to have been dug before his marriage, at the time when he had no visible ambitions; the second (the No. 3 of Lepsius) was prepared for him and his wife Ti. The identity of the divine father At of Tel el-Amarna with the Pharaoh At who was buried at Thebes has been shown by Lepsius (Briefe aus Agypten, and Einblicke, p. 41); only Weidmann, as far as I know, has contested it.

2 For the description of the tomb, see Noreau-Lacroix, L’institut d’Egypte, pp. 2-11.

3 Tutankhamon received the tribute of the Nabatae as well as that of the Syriae (Bruns, Monumenta Aegyptiaca et de la Nubia, vol. i», pp. 477-482). Lepsius, Deut. III, 118-118); At is represented at Shandak in Nubia as accompanied by Psamtek, the prince of Kius (Lepsius, Deut., II, 144 n. 8).

4 Mariette, in Mem. des Diers, Provençal Historiens, Gréciers, vol. ii, pp. 379-379. Weidmann (Lepsius, Briefe aus Agypten, pp. 406-409) has collected six royal names which, with Amenemhat, appear in the records of this time.


6 The list of kings who made up the XVIIIth dynasty can be established with certainty, with the exception of the order of the three last sovereigns who succeed Khonsu. It is here given in its
founded on conquest. When the parts of the mechanism have been once put together and set in motion, and have become accustomed to work harmoniously at a proper pace, interference with it must not be attempted except to replace such parts as are broken or worn out, by others exactly like them. To make alterations while the machine is in motion, or to introduce new combinations, however ingenious, into any part of the original plan, might produce an accident or a breakage of the gearing when perhaps it would be least expected. When the devoir Khnumaten exchanged one city and one god for another, he thought that he was merely transposing equivalents, and that the safety of the commonwealth was not concerned in the operation. Whether it was Amon or Atun who presided over the destinies of his people, or whether Thebes or Tel el-Amarna were the centre of impulse, was, in his opinion, merely a question of internal arrangement which could not affect the economy of the whole. But events soon showed that he was mistaken in his calculations. It is probable that if, on the expulsion of the Hyksos, the earlier princes of the dynasty had attempted an alteration in the national religion, or had moved the capital to any other city they might select, the remainder of the kingdom would not have been affected by the change. But after several centuries of faithful adherence to Amon in his city of Thebes, the governing power would

According to the Monuments:

I. Amenemhet I. Nubian.
II. Amenemhet II. Anonymous.
III. Amenemhet III. Anonymous.
IV. Amenemhet IV. Anonymous.
V. Tutmosis I. Amenemhet.
VI. Tutmosis II. Amenemhet.
VII. Tutmosis III. Amenemhet.
VIII. Amenemhet III. Amenemhet.
IX. Amenemhet IV. Anonymous.
X. Amenemhet V. Anonymous.
XI. Amenemhet VI. Amenemhet.

According to Manetho:

I. Amenemhet.
II. Khnumaten.
III. Amenemhet.
IV. Amenemhet.
V. Amenemhet.
VI. Amenemhet.
VII. Amenemhet.
VIII. Amenemhet.
IX. Amenemhet.
X. Amenemhet.
XI. Amenemhet.
XII. Amenemhet.
XIII. Amenemhet.

Manetho's list, as we have it, is a very ill-made extract, wherein the official kings are mixed up with the illegitimate queens, as well as, at least towards the end, with persons of doubtful authenticity. Several kings between Khnumaten and Amenemhet, are sometimes added at the end of the list (Wiedemann, Egyptische Geschichle, pp. 105-108). Some of these, I think, belonged to previous dynasties, e.g. The to see VII (cf. Books of Ceremonies, p. 410, note 3), Mentuhotep in the XVIIth (cf. p. 77 of this volume); several are titles of romance, as Meroeaphet or Meskhesaphet (Manetho, Les Règles populaires, 2nd ed., pp. xxxiii-xxv), while the names of the others are either variants from the various names of known princes, or else are nicknames, such as was seen, Sicarii for Ramses II. Dr. Mackie believes that he ran its, within a few days, the date of the kings of whom the list is compiled, from Amenemhet I, to At. I hint to the approximate state which I have given on p. 197 of this volume, and I give the years 1698 to 1530 as the period of the dynasty, with a possible error of about fifty years, more or less.
find it no easy matter to accomplish such a resolution. During three centuries the dynasty had become wedded to the city and to its patron deity, and the locality had become so closely associated with the dynasty, that any blow aimed at the god could not fail to destroy the dynasty with it; indeed, had the experiment of Khnumhotep been prolonged beyond a few years, it might have entailed the ruin of the whole country. All who came into contact with Egypt, or were under her rule, whether Asiatics or Africans, were quick to detect any change in her administration, and to remark a falling away from the traditional systems of the times of Thutmose III and Amenophis II. The successors of the heretic king had the sense to perceive at once the first symptoms of disorder, and to refrain from persevering in his errors; but however quick they were to undo his work, they could not foresee its serious consequences. His immediate followers were powerless to maintain their dynasty, and their posterity had to make way for a family who had not incurred the hatred of Amun, or rather that of his priests. If those who followed them were able by their tact and energy to set Egypt on her feet again, they were at the same time unable to restore her former prosperity or her boundless confidence in herself.
THE REACTION AGAINST EGYPT

THE XXIVTH DYNASTY: HAMAHDI—THE HITTITE EMPIRE IN SYRIA AND IN ASIA MINOR—
SEUT I. AND RAMSES II.—THE PEOPLE OF THE SEA: HENEFYAH AND THE PHALANX.

The birth and reared of Harnahdi, his youth, his anathematism—The final triumph
of Amon and his priests—Harnahdi invades under into the government; his war against
the Ethiopians and Arabs—The Khali, their civilization, religion; their political and
military constitution; the extension of their empire towards the north—The countries and
populations of Asia Minor; commercial contacts between the Egyptians and the Assyrians.

The treaty concluded between Harnahdi and Sapydun.

Rames I., and the uncertainty as to his origin—Selb I., and the campaign against Syria
in the 1st year of his reign; the re-establishment of the Egyptian empire—Working of the
wild-oxes at Elbe—The monuments constructed by Selb I., in Sapha, at Kersheh, Levan,
and Bypol—The mining of the bronze and tomb of Selb I., at Tholema.

Rames II., his infamy, his association in the Government, his defeat in Ethiopia; his
buildings to continue in the Delta—His campaign against the Khali in the 16th year of his
reign—The taking of Qufaken, the victory of Rames II., and the town established with Khali—
war—The peace of Ventahri—His treaty with the Khali in the 21st year of his reign; the
balance of power in Syria; the marriage of Roman II. with a Hittite princess—Public
enemies: the Sphinx of Abu-Simbel; Luxor, Karnak, the Ramesseum, the monuments in the
Delta.—The reign of Khuenists- and Mernphoth.—the legend of Sesostris, the coffin and
memorial of Roman II.

Mernphoth.—The kingdom of Libyca, the people of the sea.—The first invasion of Libyca;
the Egyptian victory at Piree; the triumph of Mernphoth.—Seti II., Amenopers, Siphkak.
Mernphoth.—The foreign captive in Egypt; the Exodus of the Hebrews and their march
in Sinai.—As Egyptian vassals of the Exodus: Amenophis, son of Ptolemy.
CHAPTER IV.

THE REACTION AGAINST EGYPT

The XIXth Dynasty—Haremhab—The Hittites empire in Syria and in Asia Minor—Set I., and Ramses II.—The people of the sea: Minephant and the Libyan Egyptians.

While none of these ephemeral Pharaohs left behind them a son, either legitimate or illegitimate, there was no lack of princesses, any of which, having on her accession to the throne to choose a consort after her own heart, might thus become the founder of a new dynasty. By such a chance alliance Haremhab, who was himself descended from Thutmose III., was raised to the kingly office. His mother, Mutnozit, was of the royal line, and one of the most beautiful statues in the Cynx Museum probably represents her. The body is mutilated, but the head is charming in its intelligent and animated expression, in its full eyes and somewhat large, but finely modelled, mouth. The material of the statue is a fine-grained limestone, and its milky whiteness tends to soften the malaria.

* Drawn by Bonnin, from a photograph by Emil Brunner-Bryg; the statue, which is by Foucher-Guille, represents a photograph by Petrie of Annessi and Haremhab, a group now in the Paris Museum (Catalogue des Monuments Egiptiens, vol. I., pp. 20, 20).

* A fragment of an inscription at Karnak calls Thutmose III. "the father of his fathers" (Wickhoff, Monument Historiques, pt. II., pl. 4; Lepsius, Denkm., III. 119-21. Champollion called
character of her look and smile. It is possible that Mutnozit was the daughter of Amenhotep III, by his marriage with one of his sisters; it was from her, at any rate, and not from his great-grandfather, that Harmahoi derived his indisputable claim to royalty. He was born, probably, in the last years of Amenhotep, when Tia was the exclusive favourite of the sovereign; but it was alleged later on, when Harmahoi had emerged from obscurity, that Amon, desiring him for the throne, had contrived to become his father by Mutnozit—a customary procedure with the god when his race on earth threatened to become debased. It was he who had rocked the newly born infant to sleep, and, while Haraxes was strengthening his limbs with protective amulets, had spread over the child's skin the freshness and brilliance which are the peculiar privilege of the immortals. While still in the nursery, the great and the insignificant alike prostrated themselves before Harmahoi, making him liberal offerings. Every one recognised in him, even when still a lad and incapable of reflection, the carriage and complication of a god, and Horus of Cynopolis was acclimated to follow his steps, knowing that the time of his advancement was near. After having called the attention of the Egyptians to Harmahoi, Amon was anxious, in fact, to hasten the coming of the day when he might confer upon him supreme rank, and for this purpose inclined the heart of the reigning Pharaoh towards him. At proclaimed him his heir over the whole land, his Horomons (Lettres M. le Duc de Rotere, vol. i., pp. 255-88), Rossemb, Harmahoi, these having a Monumentum storicum, vol. i., p. 241, and vol. iii. p. 475, and both identified him with the Eros of Mochon, hence the attempts among Egyptians for a long time to designate him by the name Horus. Diorsis was the first to show that the name corresponded with the Ammas of the Osiris of Mochon (La Figure des Ammas de Turin, pp. 88-89) and, in fact, Ammas is the Greek transcription of the name Harmahoi in the Inlaid text of the Ptolemaic period (Breccia, Studien Uber Arabische und Griechische Namen, pp. 17, No. 109).

See the article at bottom of p. 238 of the present work, shown by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. Mariette called her Tah, thinking it was a statue of Tia. Excavations at Karmek have resulted in the discovery of some parts of the body which have enabled me to see in the statue some woman of the family of Harmahoi (Grieke des Vierer auf Samen der Rossem, p. 412, No. 117), probably Mutnozit.

Mutnozit was at first considered the daughter and successor of Harmahoi (Lettres M. le Duc de Rotere, vol. ii. pp. 180-241, Breccia, Meon, Nubia, vol. i. pp. 240-241, and vol. ii. p. 226-227, Gauthier, Fouilles d'Egypte, pp. 292-297, etc. to be of the wife (Wallerius, Novum Iconograph, pp. 121-122, Breccia, Turin, pp. 80, 81; Breccia, Script. Rer. Egypt. p. 230, and Gourount, Egypt, pp. 412, 413, 414, Wurm, Egyptische Gesch. p. 411; En Men, Greek des Alken, Egypt, p. 279), Birch showed that the monuments did not contain these hypotheses, and he was led to think that she was Harakeh's mother (Inscriptions of Harakeh in his Status at Turin, in Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 328-394). As far as I was able for the present, it is the only solution which agrees with the evidence in the principal monument which has made known her existence.


The king is not named in the inscription. It cannot have been Amenhotep IV, for an individual
He never gave cause for any dissatisfaction when called to court, and when he was asked questions by the monarch, he replied always in fit terms, in such words as were calculated to produce serenity, and thus gained for himself a reputation as the incarnation of wisdom, all his plans and intentions appearing to have been conceived by That the Isis himself. For many years he held a place of confidence with the sovereign. The nobles, from the moment he appeared at the gate of the palace, bowed their backs before him; the barbaric chiefs from the north or south stretched out their arms as soon as they approached him, and gave him the adoration they would bestow upon a god. His favourite residence was Memphis, his preference for it arising from his having possibly been born there, or from its having been assigned to him for his abode. Here he constructed for himself a magnificent tomb, the bas-reliefs of which exhibit him as already king, with the sceptre in his hand and the uraeus on his brow, while the adjoining cartouche does not as yet contain his name. He was the mightiest of the mighty, the great among the great, the general of generals, the messenger who ran to convey orders to the people of Asia and Ethiopia, the indispensable companion in council or on the field of battle, at the time when Horus of Cynopolis resolved to seat him upon his eternal throne. At no longer occupied it. Horus took Harmhab with him to

at the importance of Harmhab, living alongside this king, would at least have had a much better for him of Tel el Amarna. We may hesitate between AI and Tubaumunu; but the inscription seems to say definitely that Harmhab succeeded directly to the kings under whom he had held imperial offices for many years, and this compels us to fix upon AI, who, as we have said p. 234, at least was to all appearances, the last of the so-called heretical sovereigns.


2. This part of the account is but borrowed from the Turin inscription, but is based upon a study of a certain number of texts and representations all coming from Harmhab’s tomb at Saqqarah, and now scattered among the various museums — at Cairo, (Maukert, *Monumente Osiris,* pl. 74, 75, and text, pp. 25, 26); at Leyden (Lemm, *Description des Monuments Egyptiens,* pp. 40, 41, 1-3), and Monument de Musee d’Antiquite, vol. 1, pp. 21-26); at London (Direct Guide to the Egyptian Collections, Nos. 110, 112, p. 307); at Berlin, *Egyptische Inschriften,* vol. 3., p. 40, at Alexandria (Windon’s *Text of the Second Part of the XVIII. Dynasty,* in the Proceedings Bibl. Arch., vol. 1888-89, vol. 3., p. 254). Hoch was the first to assign these monuments to the Pharaoh Harmhabu, supposing at the same time that he had been mentioned by Psammis I., and had lived at Memphis, an intermediate position between that of a prince and that of a private individual (see of, Harmhabu, in the Transactions, vol. 18., pp. 401); this opinion was adopted by E. Mayer (Die Säule des Harmhabu, in the Zeitschrift, 1875, pp. 142, 143), adopted by Windon’s *Egyptische Geschichte,* pp. 412, 413, and Supplement, p. 481, and by myself (Hist. Asiatique des Peuples de l’ Orient, 4th edit., p. 221, note 6). After full examination, I think the Harmhabu of the tomb at Saqqarah and the Pharaoh Harmhabu are one and the same person; Harmhabu, sufficiently high placed to warrant his wearing the uraeus, but not high enough to have his name inscribed in a cartouche, must have had his tomb constructed at Saqqarah, as AI and possibly Ramses I., and theirs built for them at Tel el Amarna (see pp. 232, 233 of the present work); this is now the opinion of E. Mayer, as recorded in his *Geographia Egypt.,* pp. 371, 372.

3. The fragments of the tomb preserved at Leyden (Lem., *Description des Monuments Egyptiens,* p. 410 show him leading to the Pharaoh Atlastes and Bethnath, furnished with tribute; the expressions and titles given in the text on this page are borrowed from the fragments at Greek.)
Thebes, escorted him thither amid expressions of general joy, and led him to Amon in order that the god might bestow upon him the right to reign. The reception took place in the temple of Luxor, which served as a kind of private chapel for the descendants of Amenhoteps. Amon rejoiced to see Harunahib, the heir of the two worlds; he took him with him to the royal palace, introduced him into the apartments of his august daughter, Mutmaat; then, after she had recognised her child and had pressed him to her bosom, all the gods broke out into acclamations; and their cries ascended up to heaven. Behold, Amon arrives with his son before him, at the palace, in order to put upon his head the diadem, and to prolong the length of his life! We install him, therefore, in his office, we give to him the insignia of Ra, we pray Amon for him, whom he has brought as our protector: may he as king have the festivals of Ra and the years of Horus; may he accomplish his good pleasure in Thebes, in Heliopolis, in Memphis, and may he add to the veneration with which these cities are invested.

And they immediately decided that the new Pharaoh should be called Horus-Strong, mighty in wise projects, lord of the Vulture and of the very marvellous Uranus in Thebes, the conquering Horus who takes pleasure in the truth, and who maintains the two lands, the lord of the south and north, Sozir, Khopdrutt, chosen of Ra, the offspring of the Sun, Harunahib Miamon, giver of life. The cortège came afterwards to the palace, the king walking before Amon: there the god embraced his son, placed the diadems upon his head, delivered to him the rule of the whole world, over foreign populations as well as those of Egypt, inasmuch as he possessed this power as the sovereign of the universe.

This is the customary subject of the records of enthronement. Pharaoh is the son of a god, chosen by his father, from among all those who might have a claim to it, to occupy for a time the throne of Horus; and as he became king only by a divine decree, he had publicly to express, at the moment of his elevation, his debt of gratitude to, and his boundless respect for, the deity, who had made him what he was. In this case, however, the protocol embodied something more than the traditional formality, and its hackneyed phrases borrowed a special meaning from the circumstances of the moment. Amon, who had been

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8 Owing to a gap, the text cannot be accurately transcribed at this point (Turu Inscription, II, 55, 6). The reading can be made out that Amon "took himself to his prince, placing the prince before him, as he in the sanctuary of his (Amon's) daughter, the very august ... she poured water on his hands, she embraced the breast of the prince; she placed himself before him." It will be seen that the name of the daughter of Amon is missing, and Budge thought that a terrestrial princess whom Harunahib had married was in question (Inscription of Harunahib on a Stele of Turin, in the Transactions of the Biblical and Archaeological Society, vol. III, pp. 409-411). Mutmaat, according to Breasted ( Geschichte der Egyptianen, pp. 434-441); if the reference is not to a goddess, who along with Amon took part in the ceremonies, but to Mutmaat, we must come to the conclusion that she, as here too, queen by birth, was the one who ruled by some ritual in her son before he could be crowned.

insulted and proscribed by Khonsiaton, had not fully recovered his prestige under the rule of the immediate successors of his enemy. They had restored to him his privileges and his worship, they had become reconciled to him, and avowed themselves his faithful ones, but all this was as much an act of political necessity as a matter of religion: they still continued to tolerate, if not to favour, the rival doctrinal system, and the temple of the hated Diso still dishonoured by its vicissitude the sanctuary of Khonsi. Harmhab, on the other hand, was devoted to Amon, who had moulded him in embryo, and had trained him from his birth to worship none but him. Harmhab's triumph marked the end of the evil days, and inaugurated a new era, in which Amon saw himself again master of Thebes and of the world. Immediately after his enthronement Harmhab rallied the first Amenothes in his zeal for the interests of his divine father; he overturned the obelisks of Amen and the building before which they stood; then, that no trace of them might remain, he worked up the stones into the masonry of two pylons, which he set up upon the site, to the south of the gates of Thutmose III. They remained concealed in the new fabric for centuries, but in the year 27 B.C. a great earthquake brought them abruptly to light. We find everywhere among the ruins, at the foot of the dismantled gates, or at the bases of the headless colossal figures, heaps of blocks detached from the structure, on which can be made out remnants of prayers addressed

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1 Drawn by Fange-du-lain, from a photograph taken by Botta in 1884.
to the Disk, scenes of worship, and cartouches of Amenemhet IV., Ai, and Thothankaunen. The work begun by Harmhab at Thebes was continued with untainted zeal through the length of the whole river-valley. He restored the sanctuaries from the marshes of Atfah even to Nubia; he repaired their sculptures so that they were better than before, not to speak of the fine things he did in them, rejoicing the eyes of Rā. That which he had found injured he put into its original condition, erecting a hundred statues, carefully formed of valuable stone, for every one which was lacking. He inspected the ruined towns of the gods in the land, and made them such as they had been in the time of the first Hammur, and he allotted to them estates and offerings for every day, as well as a set of sacred vessels entirely of gold and silver; he settled priests in them, bookmen, carefully chosen soldiers, and assigned to them fields, cattle, all the necessary material to make prayers to Rā every morning." These measures were inspired by consideration for the ancient deities; but he added to them others, which tended to secure the welfare of the people and the stability of the government. Up to this time the officials and the Egyptian soldiers had displayed a tendency to oppress the fellahin, without taking into consideration the injury to the treasury occasioned by their rapacity. Constant supervision was the only means of restraining them, for even the best-served Pharaohs, Thutmose, and Amenemhet III., themselves, were obliged to have frequent recourse to the rigour of the law to keep the scandalous depredations of the officials within bounds. The religious disputes of the preceding years, in diminishing the authority of the central power, had given a free hand to those oppressors. The scribes and tax-collectors were accustomed to exact contributions for the public service from the ships, whether laden or not, of those who were in a small way of business, and once they had laid their hands upon them, they did not readily let them go. The poor fellow falling into their clutches lost his cargo, and he was at his wits' end to know how to deliver at the royal storehouses the various wares with which he calculated to pay his taxes. No sooner had the Court arrived at some place than the servants secured the neighbourhood, confiscating the land produce, and seizing upon slaves, under pretence that they were acting for the king, while they had only their personal ends in view. Soldiers appropriated all the hides of animals with the object, doubtless, of making from them leather jackets and helmets, or of duplicating their shields,

1 The rolls of these inscriptions have been put together in Master Lahun, Papyri cutthes, vol. ii. pp. 93, 95, 101. 104. 105. In Pliny's Natural History, viii. 54, and in Lassone, Dictom., ii. 116 n. 2, 116 n. 2. 2 For the meaning of this expression, see Burns of Civilization, pp. 142, 159. 3 Taris, Inscriptions, II. 23-25; cf. Dutten, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 347, 344. 4 Harmhab refers to the deeds of Thutmose III. (Description of Harmhab, l. 29); for the fiscal measures of Amenemhet III., see p. 529 of the present work.
with the result that when the treasury made its claim for leather, none was to be found. It was hardly possible, moreover, to bring the culprits to justice, for the chief men of the towns and villages, the prophets, and all those who ought to have looked after the interests of the taxpayer, took money from the criminals for protecting them from justice, and compelled the innocent victims also to purchase their protection. Harmhabl, who was continually looking for opportunities to put down injustice and to punish deceit, at length decided to promulgate a very severe edict against the magistrates and the double-dealing officials: any of them who was found to have neglected his duty was to have his nose cut off, and was to be sent into perpetual exile to Zalu, on the eastern frontier.\(^1\) His commands, faithfully carried out, soon produced a salutary effect, and as he would on no account relax the severity of the sentence, executions were no longer heard of, to the advantage of the revenue of the State. On the last day of each month the gates of his palace were open to every one. Any one on giving his name to the guard could enter the court of honour, where he would find food in abundance to satisfy his hunger while he was awaiting an audience. The king, all the while was seated in the sight of all at the tribunal, whence he would throw among his faithful friends necklaces and bracelets of gold; he inquired into complaints: one after another, heard every case, announced his judgments in brief words, and dismissed his subjects, who went away proud and happy at having had their affairs dealt with by the sovereign himself.\(^2\)

The portraits of Harmhabl which have come down to us give us the impression of a character at once energetic and agreeable. The most beautiful of these is little more than a fragment broken off a black granite statue. Its mournful expression is not pleasing to the spectator, and at the first view alienates his sympathy. The face, which is still youthful, breathes an air of melancholy,

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\(^1\) See pp. 22, 23 of the present work for a notice of Zalu and his exploits.

\(^2\) Drawn by Perrier-Guill, from a sketch by Pons, in Jean, Monument Égyptiens, pl. xi. 3. It is one of the bas-reliefs of the temple of Akhen at Karnak, re-employed by Harmhabl in the construction of one of his own pylons.

\(^3\) All these details are taken from a note discovered in 1882 [Maspero, Notes sur quelques palais de l'Egypte, in the Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 128], published in a brief summary by Bouriant (L'Egypte, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xi, pp. 1-30), afterwards translated and commented upon by W. Max Müller, Inscr. du tombeau Discoveries on the Nahr El-Geish, in the Zeitschrift, 1888, pp. 76-94). The text is so mutilated that it is impossible to give a literal rendering of it in all its parts, but the sense is sufficiently clear to warrant one filling up the whole with conscientious certainty.
an expression which is somewhat rare among the Pharaohs of the best period: the thin and straight nose is well set on the face, the elongated eyes have somewhat heavy lids; the large, fleshy lips, slightly contracted at the corners of the mouth, are cut with a sharpness that gives them singular vigour; and the firm and finely modelled chin loses little of its form from the false beard depending from it. Every detail is treated with such freedom that one would think the sculptor must have had some soft material to work upon, rather than a rock almost hard enough to defy the chisel; the command over it is so complete that the difficulty of the work is forgotten in the perfection of the result.

The dreamy expression of his face, however, did not prevent Harmhabu from displaying beyond Egypt, as within it, singular activity. Although Egypt had never given up its claims to dominion over the whole river-valley, as far as the plains of Sennar, yet since the time of Amenophis III. no sovereign had condescended, it would appear, to conduct in person the expeditions directed against the tribes of the Upper Nile. Harmhabu was anxious to revive the custom which imposed upon the Pharaohs the obligation to make their first essay in arms in Ethiopia, as Horus, son of Isis, had done of yore, and he seized the pretext of the occurrence of certain raids there to lead a body of troops himself into the heart of the negro country. He had just ordered at this time the construction of the two southern pylons at Karnak, and there was great activity in the quarries of Silsileh. A commorative chapel also was in course of excavation here in the sandstone rock, and he had dedicated it to his father, Ammon-Râ of Thebes, coupling with him the local

Footnote 1: Drawn by Foucher-Guille, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. This monument was reproduced in Mariette, Album photographique du Musée du Louvre, pl. 19; in Basset, Monuments de l'Art Antiqué, vol. i., afterwards in Petrie-Crimes, Musée de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. i. p. 744; and in Mariette, Archéologie Egyptienne, p. 322. Mariette was under the impression that it was a statue of Menephtah, son and successor of Ramses II. (Mémoires des premiers Monuments, 1870, p. 92, No. 22). While carrying out excavations at Karnak at the spot where it had been found, I thought to light other fragments from which it seems to be clear that it represents Harmhabu, and not Menephtah (Gudea du Visiteur au Musée du Louvre, p. 428, No. 610); his expression is very similar to that of the statue at Turin.
divinities, Hapi the Nile, and Sobek the patron of Ombos. The sanctuary is excavated somewhat deeply into the hillside, and the dark rooms within it are decorated with the usual scenes of worship, but the vaulted approach to them displays upon its western wall the victory of the king. We see here a figure receiving from Amon the assurance of a long and happy life, and another letting fly his arrows at a host of fleeing enemies; Ethiopians raise their heads to him in supplicant gesture; soldiers march past with their captives; above one of the

* Drawn by Foucher-Guilla, from a photograph by Insinger.
doors we see twelve military leaders marching and carrying the king aloft upon their shoulders, while a group of priests and nobles salute him, offering incense. At this solemn moment the Egyptian ships were ploughing the Red Sea, and their captains were renewing official relations with Pianu. Some chiefs were paying visits to the palace, as in the time of Thutmose III. The wars of Amon had, in fact, begun again. The god, having suffered neglect for half a century, had a greater need than ever of gold and silver to fill his coffers; he required masons for his buildings, slaves and cattle for his farms, perfumed essences and incense for his daily rites. His resources had gradually become exhausted, and his treasury would soon be empty if he did not employ the usual means to replenish it. He invited Harmhab to proceed against the countries from which in olden times he had enriched himself—to the south in the first place, and then, having decreed victory there, and having naturally taken for himself the greater part of the spoils, he turned his attention to Asia. In the latter campaign the Egyptian troops took once more the route through Carchemish, and, if the expedition experienced here more difficulties than on the banks of the Upper Nile, it was, nevertheless, brought to an equally triumphant conclusion. Those of their adversaries who had offered an obstinate resistance were transported into other lands, and the rebel cities were either razed to the ground or given to the flames: the inhabitants having taken refuge in the mountains, where they were in danger of perishing from hunger, made supplications for peace, which was granted to them on the usual conditions of doing homage and paying tribute. We do not exactly know how far he penetrated into the country; the list of the towns and nations over which he boast of having triumphed contains, along with names unknown to us, some already famous or soon to become so—Arvad, Phibikhu, the Khatti, and possibly Alasia. The Hapi-Nile themselves must have felt the effects of the campaign, for several of their chiefs, associated with the Phoenicians, presented themselves

1 Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte, etc., pl. xx., xxiii., and vol. 1. pp. 280, 281: Rossellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. xiv. 2-5, and vol. iii. pl. 1. pp. 257-267; Lescot, Dacia, iii. 110. 121. The significance of the monument was pointed out first by Champollion, Lettres écrites d'Egypte, 2nd edn., pp. 183-187. The series of more comparates was presented at Karnak on the internal face of one of the pylons built by Harmhab (Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178: Rossellini, Monumenti Storici, vol. iii. pl. 1. p. 280) it appears to have been "overspent" by Ramses II.

2 Champollion, Monuments, etc., vol. ii. pp. 179, 180; Bietenter, Recueil de Monuments, vol. i. pl. vii. and p. 60; Mariette, Monuments divers, pl. 88, and Text, p. 27; Routinet, Jutes d'h. W. Max Miller, in the Recueil de Treves, vol. xxii. p. 45.

3 These details are taken from the fragment of an inscription now in the museum at Vienna, and published by Wiedemann (Texte of the Second Part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in the Proceedings of the Phil. Arch. Soc. 1866-80, vol. xi. p. 242), afterwards by Neumann (Anleitung zum Studium der monumenten des Kgypten, in the Zeitschrift, vol. xxvii. pp. 125-127). Neumann, and also Keesen, think that we have in this text the indication of an immigration into Egypt of a tribe of the Mandites.

4 The list of northern tribes coming allegiance more or less to Harmhab, was published in 1872 (Mariette, Histoire et monuments de l'Egypte, 6th edn., p. 213, note 3). It was also published by Routinet (Jutes d'h. W. Max Miller, in the Recueil de Treves, vol. xvii. pp. 41-44), and commented upon briefly by W. Max Miller (Asia und Europa, p. 392).
before the Pharaoh at Thebes. Egypt was maintaining, therefore, its ascendancy, or at least appearing to maintain it in those regions where the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty had ruled after the campaigns of Thutmose I., Thutmose III., and Amenophis II. Its influence, nevertheless, was not so undisputed as in former days; not that the Egyptian soldiers were less valiant, but owing to the fact that another power had risen up alongside them whose armies were strong enough to encounter them on the field of battle and to obtain a victory over them.

Beyond Naharain, in the deep recesses of the Euphrates and Taurus, there had lived, for no one knows how many centuries, the rude and warlike tribes of the Khatti, related not so much to the Semites of the Syrian plain as to the populations of doubtful race and language who occupied the upper basin of the Halya and Euphrates. The Chaldean conquest had barely


2 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Daniel Hapon. The black spots are due to the torches of the inhabitants of the neighborhood who have visited the rock-tomb in bygone years.

3 Upon the localisation of this name, see p. 125, note 6, of the present work. History asserts that the Khatti were Semites, and bases his assumptions on materials of the Assyrian period (La Langue des Bilbitti d’Assyrie et les tribus Assyriennes, in the Recueil de Bibliothèques, pp. 270-288, and Three Inscriptions Hittites de Wardkhali, in the Revue Semitique, vol. i. pp. 212-229). The Khatti, absorbed in Syria by the Semites, with whom they were blended, appear to have been by origin a non-Semitic people, as Syra and others have pointed out (The Hittiteh Inscriptions, in the Transactions of the Ethn. Soc.)
touched them; the Egyptian campaign had not more effect, and Thutmose III, himself, after having crossed their frontiers and sacked several of their towns, made no serious pretence to reckon them among his subjects. Their chiefs were accustomed, like their neighbours, to use, for correspondence with other countries, the cuneiform mode of writing; they had among them, therefore, for this purpose, a host of scribes, interpreters, and official registrars of events, such as we find to have accompanied the sovereigns of Assyria and Babylon. These chiefs were accustomed to send from time to time a present to the Pharaoh, which the latter was pleased to regard as a tribute, or as they would offer, perhaps, one of their daughters in marriage to the king at Thebes, and after the marriage show themselves anxious to maintain good faith with their son-in-law. They had, moreover, commercial relations with Egypt, and furnished it with cattle, chariots, and those splendid Cappadocian horses whose breed was celebrated down to the Greek period. They were already, indeed, people of consideration; their territory was so extensive that the contemporaries of Thutmose III, called them the Greater Khatti; and the epithet "silo," which the chancellors of the Pharaohs added to their names, only shows by its virulence the impression which they had produced upon


So see pp. 243, 276, 278-279 of the present work. Upon this ignorance of the Khatti, in the time of Thutmose III, cf. the position taken up by E. H. Brugsch in Louisse, professeur du Collège de France, in the Mélanges d'archéologie égyptiennes des Aegyptologen, vol. ii. pp. 194-197: this was the first serious contribution to the discussion of the subject, and has served as the starting-point of subsequent works on the rise of the Hittite power.


It is thus possible we must understand the mention of Khatti. The Khatti in the Annals of Thutmose III, p. 26, in the year XXXIII, also in the year XLI (Herod. iii. 39 a, b, 7), One of the Tell el-Amarna letters refers to presents of this kind (Wissmuss-Assy., Der Thaube/landt, No. 18, pl. 14), in which the King of Khatti addresses to Ammonius IV, to celebrate his enthronement, and to ask him to maintain with himself the traditional good relations of their two families; see p. 229 of the present work.

The sources of the Khatti were mixed, most, strong, vigorous, as also their bulls (Assurrites Passus, 17, pl. xxx. 12, 19, et seq.). The King of Khatti, while offering to Ammonius III, a profitable speculation, advise him to have nothing to do with the King of Khatti or with the King of Egypt or with the King of Syria (Ramesses-Merneptah, Tell el-Amarna Tables, No. 3, p. 15, 20, 21), and thus furnish us proof that the Egyptians had ceased commercial relations with the Khatti.
the mind of their adversaries. Their type of face distinguishes them clearly from the nations conterminous with them on the south. The Egyptian draughtsmen represented them as squat and short in stature, though vigorous, strong-limbed, and with broad and full shoulders in youth, but as inclined frequently to obesity in old age. The head is long and heavy, the forehead flattened, the chin moderate in size, the nose prominent, the eyebrows and cheeks projecting, the eyes small, oblique, and deep-set, the mouth fleshy, and usually framed in by two deep wrinkles; the flesh colour is a yellowish or reddish white, but clearer than that of the Phenicians or the Amurru. Their ordinary costume consisted, sometimes of a short-sleeved tunic, sometimes of a short cloak of wool, more or less ample according to the rank of the individual wearing it, and bound round the waist by a belt. To these they added a scanty mantle, red or blue, fringed like that of the Chaldæans, which they passed over the left shoulder and brought back under the right, so as to leave the latter exposed. They wore shoes with thick soles, turning up distinctly at the toes, and they excised their hands

a Annales de Damascus III, p. 29, and Linear, Daniel, n° 39 a. 17; M. de Roussy suggested that Khattu "the Little" was the name of the Hittites of Hobeïr (Journal de la Medecine d'Archéologie, vol. ii. p. 240). The expression "Khattu le Grand," has been compared with that of Kassitean "Khasitou le Grand," which in the Arabic texts would seem to designate a part of Cappadocia, in which the periphery of Mithradates, and the identification of the two has been found an ancient defender in W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, p. 354; of Nippon; Moll and Recherches sur les Géographes des Altes Orient., pp. 84—94. With further light is thrown upon it, the most probable resting of the word is not Khattu-nakht, but Khânu-oud, i.e., Khânu-oud, as in the Egyptian n. 127, and Grundlagen für die Geschichte der Geflechten, (Gerstner, pp. 4, 5; Weyer, Ztschr. Gesch. Religions- und Ges. pp. 74, 228). The name Khânu-oud is possibly preserved in Nebi, which the Arabic geographers applied to the Middle Asia of the present climate in Lesser Armenia (Hâlayy). From Inscriptions Araméennes de Syrie, in the Revue Semitique, vol. i. p. 244)

b Drawn by Flandre-Guilla, from a photograph by Jusserand. There were three Hittite soldiers engaged in the battle of Gudea, in the time of Enmetar II.


c This detail, which cannot fail to be of considerable importance, was pointed out for the first time
in gloves, reaching halfway up the arm. They shaved off both moustache and beard, but gave free growth to their hair, which they divided into two or three locks, and allowed to fall upon their backs and breasts. The king’s head-dress, which was distinctive of royalty, was a tall pointed hat, resembling to some extent the white crown of the Pharaohs. The dress of the people, taken all together, was of better and thicker material than that of the Syrians or Egyptians. The mountains and elevated plateaus which they inhabited were subject to extraordinary vicissitudes of heat and cold. If the summer burnt up everything, the winter reigned here with an extreme rigour, and dragged on for months; clothing and foot-gear had to be seen to, if the snow and the icy winds of December were to be resisted. The character of their towns, and the domestic life of their nobles and the common people, can only be guessed at. Some, at least, of the peasants must have sheltered themselves in villages half underground, similar to those which are still to be found in this region. The town-folk and the nobles had adopted for the most part the Chaldean or Egyptian manners and customs in use among the Semites of Syria. As to their religion, they reverenced a number of secondary deities who had their abode in the tempest, in the clouds, the sea, the rivers, the springs, the mountains, and the forests. Above this crowd there were several sovereign divinities of the thunder or the air, sun-gods and moon-gods, of which the chief was called Khâti; and was considered to be the father of the nation. They ascribed to all their deities a warlike and savage character. The Egyptians pictured some of them as a kind of Ra, others as representing Sirius.

by §ayes (ed. Wemer), The Empire of the Hittites, 1st ed., pp. 210, 303). This characteristic is found on the majority of the monuments which the peoples of Asia Minor have left to us (Phoeniœ, Monumetm JArcheologie, etc., pp. 55, 56, and Histoire de l’Art dans l’Antiquité, vol. iv. pp. 567-569), and it is one of the most striking indications of the northern origin of the Khûati (F. LIEBERG, Les Origines de l’Histoire, vol. iii. p. 209, et seq.). W. MAX MÜLLER, Asia and Europe, pp. 322, 324, sees reasons for doubts on this subject (Grundlagen für eine Retragerung der Alteuropäischen Geschichte, pp. 3, 6). The Egyptian artifices and modern draughtsmen have often neglected it, and the majority of them have represented the Khûati without shins.


3 The little that can be gathered about the religion of the Khûati has been summarised by E. M. ROBIN, Lessons at the College de France, in the Revue des Études, vol. II. pp. 275, 276, 277-278; afterwards by F. LIEBERG, Les Origines, vol. iii. pp. 209-211, and by Wemer, The Empire of the Hittites, 1st ed., pp. 79-79; W. MAX MÜLLER, Asia and Europe, pp. 320, 321. The principal source of our information is the treaty of Kadesh, with which the later volumes (I. 25-35, 36-37) break the gods of Egypt and those of the Khûati; and the text in Bianchi’s Notes de Tarascon, in the Revue de Tarascon, vol. xlii. pp. 167-169.

4 The German inscriptions of the Great-Numm period reveal the existence in this region of a god called Ras. See Semir, Recherches sur les Inscriptions du Kölner Kopf, vol. vii. pp. 88-90. But this god exists among the Khûati, and the similarity in the pronunciation of it to that of the god Ra suggest to the Egyptians the existence of a solar god among these people, or did they simply translate into their language the name of the Hittite god representing the sun.
or rather Sàtkhú, that patron of the Hyksos which was identified by them with Sit; every town had its tutelary heroes, of whom they were accustomed to speak as if of its Sàtkhú—Sàtkhú of Paliqa, Sàtkhú of Khissapa, Sàtkhú of Sarat, Sàtkhú of Sálpin. The goddesses in their eyes also became Astartés, and this one fact suggests that these deities were, like their Phœnician and Canaanite sisters, of a double nature—in one aspect chaste, fierce, and warlike, and in another lascivious and pacific. One god was called Manu, another Targu, others Qam and Khipa. Tishnu, the Ramman of the Assyrians, was doubtless lord of the tempest and of the atmosphere; Shamshe answered to Shala and to Ishtar the queen of love; but we are frequently in ignorance as to the attributes covered by each of these divine names, and as to the forms with which they were invested. The majority of them, both male and female, wore of gigantic stature, and were arrayed in the vestures of earthly kings and queens; they brandished their arms, displayed the insignia of their authority, such as a flower or bunch of grapes, and while receiving the offerings of the people were seated on a chair.


1 Drawn by Fruenert, from the picture in Laron, Deuts., iii. 190 et seq.; it represents Khnû, king of Khnû, who was for thirty years a contemporary of Khnû II.
2 The association of Tishnu, Tishnu, Tishnu, with Khnû, in fact, is made out from an Assyrian tablet published by Berthel (Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1885-86, vol. vii. p. 577), and J. Chastellain's Liste des Oes, 1885, vol. ii. p. 149; it was recorded for Khnû (The Language of...
before an altar, or stood each on the animal representing him—such as a lion, a stag, or wild-goat. The temples of their towns have disappeared, but they could never have been, it would seem, either large or magnificent: the favourite places of worship were the tops of mountains, in the vicinity of springs, or the depths of mysterious grottoes, where the deity revealed himself to his priests, and received the faithful at the solemn festivals celebrated several times a year.\footnote{\textit{Mitteil., in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vi, pp. 289, 279} and \textit{Jensen (Forschungen, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vii, pp. 39, 69) to determine the nature of the god. Shaami (Annales, \textit{Der Thesal.} pl. 39, t. 98) has been identified with Tahkar or Shila by Jensen (\textit{Forschungen, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vi, p. 202, note 1; vol. vii, p. 71).}

We know as little about their political organisation as about their religion. We may believe, however, that it was feudal in character, and that every clan had its hereditary chief and its proper gods: the clans collectively rendered obedience to a common king, whose effective authority depended upon his character and age. The various contingents which the sovereign could collect together and lead would, if they were an incaecable general, be of little avail against the well-officered and veteran troops of Egypt. Still they were not to be despised, and contained the elements of an excellent army, superior both in quality and quantity to any which Syria had ever been able to put into the field. The infantry consisted of a limited number of archers or slingers. They had usually neither shield nor cuirass, but merely, in the way of protective armour, a padded head-dress, ornamented with a tuft. The bulk of the army carried short lances and broad-bladed choppers, or more generally, short thin-handled swords with flat two-edged blades, very broad at the base and terminating in a point. Their mode of attack was in close phalanxes, whose shock must have been hard to bear, for the soldiers forming them were in part at least recruited from among the strong and hardly mountaineers of the Taurus.\footnote{\textit{Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. iv, pp. 222, 228, 340, 330, 707.}} The chariots comprised the nobles and the \textit{élite} of the army, but it was differently constituted from that of the Egyptians, and employed other tactics. The Hittite chariots were heavier, and the framework, instead of being a mere skeleton, was panelled on the sides, the contour at the top

\footnote{\textit{For figures of this character, of which several will be reproduced later on, see Féréol-Churchill, \textit{Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. iv, pp. 222, 228, 340, 330, 707.}}\footnote{\textit{The religious rites and the festivals of the Greek epoch are described by Strabo, XII, \textit{p. 338, 390, 597}; these festivals were very summer, and their institution, if not the method of celebrating them, may go back to the time of the Hittite empire (\textit{Schliemann, Preli de Monuments de Cappadoce, in the Revue de Travest, vol. iv, p. 77, et seq.}).\footnote{\textit{The description of the battle of Qadho, in the time of Ramses II, shows as the King of the Hittites surmounted by his name (see the passage in pp. 307, 308 of the present work). The evidence of the existence of a similar feudal organisation from the time of the XVIII dynasty is furnished by a letter of Darius, King of Mitanni, where he speaks in Anumbers 17, the revolt of his brother Arslanamu, p. 307 of the present work, and speaks of the help which one of the neighbouring chiefs, Pidkhi, and all the Hittites had given to the rebel.\footnote{The passage bearing upon the weapons of the Hitites have been put together by \textit{W. Max Muller, John and Europa nach althellasischen Denk zuaren, pp. 324, 325.}}}}}}
being sometimes quite square, at other times rudely curved. It was bound
in the front by two disks of metal, and strengthened by strips of
copper or bronze, which were sometimes plated with silver or gold. There
were no quiver-cases as in Egyptian chariots, for the Hittite charioteers rarely
resorted to the bow and arrow. The occupants of a chariot were three in
number—the driver, the shield-bearer, whose office it was to protect his com-
panions by means of a shield, sometimes of a round form, with a segment takes out
on each side, and sometimes square; and finally, the warrior, with his sword
and lance. The Hittite princes whom fortune had brought into relations with
Thothmes III., and Amen-
ti-Had II., were not able to
avail themselves properly of
the latent forces around them. It was owing probably to the feebleness of their
character or to the turbulence of their barons that we must ascribe the poor
part they played in the revolutions of the Eastern world at this time. The
establishment of a strong military power on their southern frontier was certain,
miserable, to be anything but pleasing to them; if they preferred not to risk
everything by entering into a great struggle with the invaders, they could,
without compromising themselves too much, harass them with sudden attacks
and intrigue in an underhand way against them to their own profit. Pharaoth’s
generals were accustomed to punish, one after the other, these bands of invading
tribes, and the sculptors duly recorded their names on a pylon at Thebes
among those of the conquered nations, but these disasters had little effect in
restraining the Hittites. They continued, in spite of them, to march south-
ward, and the letters from the Egyptian governors record their progress year
after year. They had a hand in all the plots which were being hatched
among the Syrians, and all the discontented who wished to be free from foreign
oppression—such as Abdi-shirri and his son Aziru—addressed themselves to

1 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Chevrier’s Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie,
pl. xxvi. This is one of the Hittite chariots which took part in the battle of Qutlaq in the time
of Ramess III., cf. Hormuz, Monuments Récueils, pl. xvi., and the vignette on p. 235 of the present
work.

2 There is an allusion to these inscriptions of the Khlit in the letters from Aziru (Weissbach, Akko,
from Akkî (Bomar-Bunge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 310, p. 75, 20, 37, and No. 37, p. 79, 1, 9,
them for help in the way of chariots and men. Even in the time of Amenophis III, they had endeavoured to reap profit from the discord of Mitanni, and had asserted their supremacy over it. Dushratta, however, was able to defeat one of their chiefs. Reputed on this side, they fell back upon that part of Naharin lying between the Emirrites and Orontes, and made themselves masters of one town after another in spite of the desiring appeals of the conquered to the Ilesian king. From the accession of Khaniatou, they set to work to annex the countries of Nukbas: Ti, Tunipa, and Zinamsir: they looked with covetous eyes upon Phoenicia, and were already menacing Cilicia-Syria. The religious confusion in Egypt under Taharqon and At left them a free field for their ambitions, and when Harmhabu ventured to cross to the east of the isthmus, he found them defiantly installed in the region stretching from the Mediterranean and the Ilesian to the Emirrites. Their then reigning prince, Sapadulbu, appeared to have been the founder of a new dynasty: he united the forces of the country in a solid body, and was within a little of making a single state out of all Northern Syria. All Naharin had submitted to him; Zahi, Alasia, and the Amurru had passed under his government from that of the Pharaohs: Carchemish, Tunipa, Niti, Harmath, figured among his royal cities, and Qadshu was the defence of his southern frontier. His progress towards the east was not less considerable. Mitanni, Arzapi, and the principalities of the Emirrites as far as the Balkh, possibly even to the Khabur, paid him homage; beyond this, Assyria and Chaldea barred his way. Here, as on his other frontiers, fortune brought him face to face with the most formidable powers of the Asiatic world.

Had his sufficient forces at his disposal to triumph over them, or only...
enough to hold his ground? Both hypotheses could have been answered in the affirmative if each one of these great powers, confiding in its own resources, had attacked him separately. The Amorites, the people of Zohar, Alasia, and Naharaim, together with recruits from Hittite tribes, would then have put him in a position to resist, and even to carry off victory with a high hand in the final struggle. But an alliance between Assyria or Babylon and Thebes was always possible. There had been such things before, in the time of Thutmose IV, and in that of Amenhotep III, but they were lukewarm agreements, and their effect was not much to boast of, for the two parties to the covenant had then no common enemy to deal with, and their mutual interests were not, therefore, bound up with their united action. The circumstances were very different now. The rapid growth of a nascent kingdom, the restless spirit of its people, its trespasses on domains in which the older powers had been accustomed to hold the upper hand,—did not all this tend to transform the convention, more commercial than military, with which up to this time they had been content, into an offensive and defensive treaty? If they decided to act in concert, how could Sipalula, or his successors, seeing that he was obliged to defend himself on two frontiers at the same moment, muster sufficient resources to withstand the double assault? The Hittites, as we know them more especially from the hieroglyphic inscriptions, might be regarded as the lords only of Northern Syria, and their power be measured merely by the extent of territory which they occupied to the south of the Taurus and on the two banks of the Middle Euphrates. But this does not by any means represent the real facts. This was but the half of their empire; the rest extended to the westward and northward, beyond the mountains into that region, known afterwards as Asia Minor, in which Egyptian tradition had from ancient times confused some twenty nations under the common vague epithet of Hittites. Official language still employed it as a convenient and comprehensive term, but the voyages of the Phoenicians and the travels of the "Royal Messengers," as well as, probably, the maritime commerce of the merchants of the Delta, had taught the scribes for more than a century and a half to make distinctions among these nations which they had previously summed up in one. The Laku were to be found there, as well as

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* See pp. 325, 326, 327 of the present work for notices of those alliances.

* The Luku, Lulub, are mentioned in the Amarna correspondence under the form LUKUB (Amarna-Perišap, the Thutmos's, No. 11, p. 10, II, 10-22; cf. de Delahaye, Lébaux de Tell-el-Amarna, de Lyon; Bibl. Arch., 1881-82, vol. 21, p. 132-145), as tribes and highway robbers. The identity of these people with the Lulub was pointed out for the first time by H. de Kératry, Études d'Asie, etc., p. 4. It was opposed by Brugsch, who prefers the identification with the Lycians (Dechamps, Egypte, p. 378), by Hunger (Mycena, p. 218), by Halévy (Études Archéologique, p. 1, note 7 of the Lycians, pp. 171-173), by Weidmann (Die Altertum Erzgebirge und die Hattische und Troja, p. 9, 14, and Hoppé, Gesch., p. 478), by Ed. Meyer (Ochsen, des Altertums, vol. 1, pp. 288, 312, and Dechamps, des Altertums, p. 211). Along with W. Max Miller, I hold it as well established (Orient and Europe, pp. 324-330).
the Danaans, the Shardans, and others besides, who lay behind one another on the coast. Of the second line of populations behind the region of the coast tribes, we have up to the present no means of knowing anything with certainty. Asia Minor, furthermore, is divided into two regions, so distinctly separated by nature as well as by races that one would be almost inclined to regard them as two countries foreign to each other. In its centre it consists of a well-defined undulating plain, having a gentle slope towards the Black Sea, and of the shape of a kind of convex trapezium, clearly bounded towards the north by the highlands of Pontus, and on the south by the tortuous chain of the Taurus. A line of low hills fringes the country on the west, from the Olympus of Mycia to the Taurus of Phrygia. Towards the east it is bounded by broken chains of mountains of unequal height, to which the name Anti-Taurus is not very appropriately applied. An immense volcanic cone, Mount Ararat, rises from a height of some 15,000 feet over the wide isthmus which connects the country with the lands of the Euphrates. This volcano is now extinct, but it still preserved in old days something of its languishing energy, throwing out flares at intervals above the sacred forests which clothed its slopes. The rivers having their sources in the region just described, have not all succeeded in piercing the obstacles which separate them from the sea, but the Pyramus and the Sarus find their way into the Mediterranean, and the Iris, Halys and Sangarius into the Euxine. The others flow into the lowlands.

1 The Danaans are mentioned along with the Luksa in the Amarna correspondence (Beschorr, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 50, p. 63; 41), and p. 121; cf. Delattre, Lettres de Tell el-Amanus, in the Proceedings Bibl. Arch. Soc. 1882-83, vol. 477, pp. 63-73; E. de Rouge, Mises au Monuments de l'Antiquité III, p. 29; cf. F. Luschetzky, Les Premiers Civilisations, vol. II, p. 318, Les Anti-Antiquité de la Troade, in Bull. Arch. 1863-64, pp. 45-50; Groach to identify them with the Danaans; Chabas, Études sur l'Antiquité historique, 2nd ed., p. 232, and Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX dynastie, pp. 36-40; the Demotists, De Rouge, and Brugsch (Gréc. Egyptien, p. 578) with the Lybian inhabitants of the Taurus of Lake Marasit. The terminology, same, same of this word appears to be the mutilation of amos (see a possible explanation of this term in Jéquier, Forschungen, in the Zentralblatt für Ägyptologie, vol. 11, p. 98-99) found in Asiatic names like Lykos, by the side of Lykos, Kayak, by the side of Kikis and Kast-patrides, while the form of the name Danae is preserved in Greek legend, Danae is found only on Oriental monuments. The Danaans came "from their island," that is to say, from the coast of Asia Minor, or from Greece, the term not being pressed too literally, as the Egyptians were inclined to call all distant lands situated to the north beyond the Mediterranean Sea "islands."

2 E. de Rouge, Études d'Apollon sur l'Antiquité des divinités de l'Egypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée, pp. 19-22 was inclined to identify the Shardans with the Sarbacs and the island of Sarkinos; also Chabas (Études sur l'Antiquité historique, 2nd ed., p. 232, 237-238, and Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX époque, pp. 35-38). Lenger (Miscèles, p. 312) made them out to be the Khartians of Lydia, and was followed by Brugsch (Gréc. Egyptien, pp. 578, 579), W. Max Müller (Asia and Europe, pp. 371-372) revived the hypotheses of De Rouge and Chabas, and saw in them bands from the Italian island. I am still perplexed, as I was twenty-five years ago, that they were Anatians—the Hittites, who gave its name to Asia (Hecata, Athens, 1873, vol. II, pp. 44-45); 1875, vol. I, p. 320; 1880, vol. I, p. 315, 316; cf. F. Luschetzky, Les Anti-Antiquités de la Troade, I, pp. 73, 74; Bouchar, Trois écoles d'Egypte, in Schleiner, Deux, Entrez et mieux, p. 965). The Scordis or Shardans are mentioned as serving in the Egyptian army in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

3 I am obliged here, for want of space, to omit my original plan. I have preserved in it only a summary description of Asia Minor, and the most necessary facts for understanding the history of Egypt and Syria. Cf. for the geographical position, Ramm, Rasses, Geogr. Ditt., vol. 1, p. 367, 368.
forming merees, marshes, and lakes of fluctuating extent. The largest of these lakes, called Tatta, is salt, and its superficial extent varies with the season. In brief, the plateau of this region is nothing but an extension of the highlands of Central Asia, and has the same vegetation, fauna, and climate, the same extremes of temperature, the same aridity, and the same wretched and poverty-stricken character as the latter. The maritime portions are of an entirely different aspect. The western coast which stretches into the Aegean is furrowed by deep valleys, opening out as they reach the sea, and the rivers—the Caiones, the Hermus, the Cayster, and Meander—which flow through them are effective makers of soil, bringing down with them, as they do, a continual supply of alluvium, which, deposited at their mouths, causes the land to encroach there upon the sea. The littoral is penetrated here and there by deep creeks, and is fringed with beautiful islands—Lesbo, Chios, Samos, Cos, Rhodes—of which the majority are near enough to the continent to act as defences of the seaboard, and to guard the mouths of the rivers, while they are far enough away to be secure from the effects of any violent disturbances which might arise in the mainland. The Cyclades, distributed in two lines, are scattered, as it were, at hazard between Asia and Europe, like great blocks which have fallen around the piers of a broken bridge. The passage from one to the other is an easy matter, and owing to them, the sea rather serves to bring together the two continents than to divide them. Two groups of heights, imperfectly connected with the central plateau, tower above the Aegean slope—wooded hills on the north, veiled in cloud, rich in the rocks and herds upon its sides, and in the metals within its bosom; and on the south, the volcanic basins of Lycia, where tradition was wont to place the fire-breathing Chimera. A rocky and irregularly broken coast stretches to the west of Lycia, in a line almost parallel with the Taurus, through which, at intervals, torrents leaping from the heights make their way into the sea. At the extreme eastern point of the coast, almost at the angle where the Cilician littoral meets that of Syria, the Pyramus and the Salmus have brought down between them sufficient material to form an alluvial plain, which the classical geographers designated by the name of the Level Cilicia, to distinguish it from the rough region of the interior, Cilicia Trachea.

The populations dwelling in this peninsula belong to very varied races. On the south and south-west certain Semites had found an abode—the mysterious inhabitants of Solyma, and especially the Phcenicians in their scattered trading stations. On the north-east, beside the Khâti, distributed throughout the valleys of the Anti-Taurus, between the Euphrates and Mount Argaeus, there were tribes allied to the Khâti—possibly at this time the Talal and

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1 See pp. 262, 263 of the present work for notices of the Phoenician trading posts.
2 A certain number of these tribes or of their towns are to be found in the list contained in the
the Muskas—and, on the shores of the Black Sea, those workers in metal, which, following the Greeks, we may call, for want of a better designation, the Chatybes. We are at a loss to know the distribution of tribes in the centre and in the north-west, but the Bosporus and the Hellespont, we may rest assured, never formed an ethnographical frontier. The continents on either side of them appear at this point to form the banks of a river, or the two slopes of a single valley, whose bottom lies buried beneath the waters. The barbarians of the Balkans had forced their way across at several points. Dardanians were to be encountered in the neighbourhood of Mount Itha, as well as on the banks of the Axios, from early times, and the Kebrenes of Macedonia had colonized a district of the Troad near Ilium, while the great nation of the Mysians had issued, like them, from the European populations of the Hebrus and the Strymon. The hero Dardanus, according to legend, had at first founded, under the auspices of the Ithacan Zeus, the town of Dardania; and afterwards a portion of his progeny followed the course of the Scamander, and entrenched themselves upon a precipitous hill, from the top of which they could look far and wide over the plain and sea. The most ancient Ilium, at first a village, abandoned on more than one occasion in the course of centuries, was rebuilt and transformed, earlier than the X\textsuperscript{v} century before Christ, into an important citadel, the capital of a warlike and prosperous kingdom. The ruins on the spot prove the existence of a primitive civilization analogous to that of the islands of the Archipelago before the arrival of the Phoenician navigators. We find that among both, at the outset, flint and bone, clay, baked and unbaked, formed the only materials for their utensils and furniture; metals were afterwards introduced, and we can trace their progressive employment to the gradual exclusion of the older implements. These ancient Trojans used copper, and we encounter only rarely a kind of bronze, in which the proportion of tin was too slight to give the requisite hardness to the alloy, and we find still fewer examples of iron and lead. They were fairly adroit workers in silver, electrum, and especially in gold. The amulets, cups, necklaces, and jewellery discovered in their tombs or in the ruins of their houses, are sometimes of a not ungraceful form. Their pottery was made by hand, and was not painted or varnished, but they often gave to it a fine lustre by means of a stone-poliisher. Other peoples of uncertain origin, but who had attained a treaty of Hannan H. with the Khair (J. 26-39); cf. Bockrass, Notes de Voyage, in the Revue de Travellers, vol. xi. pp. 157-169, and W. Max Müller, Jures and Europe, pp. 224, 225.

1. En. Marx, Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos, pp. 11, 12, and C. de Cazal, Op Cérul-Trojans, vol. i., pp. 248-256, have brought together the greater part of the scattered notices on this of these races.

2. See the monograph of En. Marx, Geschichte des Pontos, p. 151, et seq.; for all the legends relating to the earliest Trojan population.

3. See pp. 261, 262 of the present work.

4. For information on this early civilization, consult, in addition to Stuttgarter’s Ilios and Troja, where the muskites are shielded, the summary of them given by Pasquier-Chiray, Histoire de l’art, pp. 151-153, and En. Marx, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. ii. pp. 127-131.
civilization as advanced as that of the Trojans, were the Maconians, the Leleges, and the Carians who had their abode to the south of Troy and of the Mysians. The Maconians held sway in the fertile valleys of the Hermos, Cayster, and Meander. They were divided into several branches, such as the Lydians, the Tyrseni, the Tarcheli, and the Sharchius, but their most ancient traditions looked back with pride to a flourishing state to which, as they alleged, they had all belonged long ago on the slopes of Mount Sipylos, between the valley of the Hermos and the Gulf of Smyrna. The traditional capital of this kingdom was Magnesia, the most ancient of cities, the residence of Tantalus, the father of Niobe and the Palopidae. The Leleges rise up before us from many points at the same time, but always connected with the most ancient memories of Greece and Asia. The majority of the strongholds on the Trojan coast belonged to them—such as Antandros and Gargara—and Pedasos on the Satraxis boasted of having been one of their colonies, while several other towns of the same name, but very distant from each other, enable us to form some idea of the extent of their migrations. In the time of Strabo, ruined tombs and deserted sites of cities were shown in Caria which the natives regarded as Lelugia—that is, abode of the Leleges. The Carians were dominant in the southern angle of the peninsula and in the Aegean Islands; and the Lycians lay next them on the east, and were sometimes confounded with them. One of the most powerful tribes of the Carians, the Tymole, were in the eyes of the Greeks hardly to be separated from the mountainous district which they knew as Lycaon proper; while other tribes extended as far as the Halya.

A district of the Troad, to the south of Mount Ida, was called Lycia, and there was a Lycassia on both sides of the Middle Taurus; while Attica had its Lycia, and Crete its Lycians. These three nations—the Lycians, Carians, and Leleges—were so entangled together from their origin, that no one would venture now to trace the lines of demarcation between them, and we are often obliged to apply to them collectively what can be appropriately ascribed to only one.

How far the Hittite power extended in the first years of its expansion we have now hardly the means of knowing. It would appear that it took within its scope, on the south-west, the Cilician plain, and the undulating region bordering on it—that of Qedi: the prince of the latter district, if not his vassal, was at least the colleague of the King of the Khuti, and he acted in concert

1 According to the scholiast on Nicander (Thee. v. 204), the word "Pedasos" signified "mountain"—probably in the language of the Leleges. We know up to the present of four Pedasos, or Pedas: the first in Messenia (Schoell, VIII. v. § 3, p. 251), which later on took the name of Melaina; the second in the Troad, on the banks of the Satraxis (Schoell, XIII. 1, § 7, p. 341); the third in the neighbourhood of Cyrrhus (Antiquitates, § 4, in Meeus-Prime, Frag. Hist. Graec., vol. iv. p. 228); and the fourth in Caria.

2 With regard to the Leleges, consult the somewhat confused work of Dümmler, Die Leleges, where all the classical texts relative to these people are collected.
COMMERCIAL ROUTES FROM THE EUPHRATES TO THE AEGEAN. 365

with him in peace as well as in war. 1 It embraced also the upper basin of the Pyramos and its affluents, as well as the regions situated between the Euphrates and the Halys, but its frontier in this direction was continually fluctuating, and our researches fail to follow it. It is somewhat probable that it extended considerably towards the west and north-west in the direction of the Ægean Sea. The forests and escarpments of Lycaonia, and the desolate steppes of the central plateau, have always presented a barrier difficult to surmount by any invader from the east. If the Khatt at that period attacked it in front, or by a flank movement, the assault must rather have been of the nature of a hurried reconnaissance, or of a raid, than of a methodically conducted campaign. 2 They must have preferred to obtain possession of the valleys of the Thermophon and the Iris, which were rich in mineral wealth, and from which they could have secured an inexhaustible revenue. The extraction and working of metals in this region had attracted thither from time immemorial merchants from neighbouring and distant countries—at first from the south to supply the needs of Syria, Chaldea, and Egypt, then from the west for the necessities of the countries on the Ægean. The roads, which, starting from the archipelago on the one hand, or the Euphrates on the other, met at this point, fell naturally into one, and thus formed a continuous route, along which the caravans of commerce, as well as warlike expeditions, might homeward pass. Starting from the cultivated regions of Meconia, the road proceeded up the valley of the Hermos from west to east; then, scaling the heights of the central plateau and taking a direction more and more to the north-east, it reached the fords of the Halys. Crossing this river twice—for the first time at a point about two-thirds the length of its course, and for the second at a short distance from its source—it made an abrupt turn towards the Taurus, and joined, at Melitene, the routes leading to the Upper Tigris, to Nisibis, to Singara, and to Old Assyri, and connecting further down beyond the mountainous region, under the walls of Carchemish, with the roads which led to the Nile and to the river-side cities on the Persian Gulf. 3 There were other and shorter routes, if we think only of the number.

1 The country of Qdul, Qollu, Qoll, has been connected by Chabas with Gallilea (Voyage d’un Égyptien, pp. 108, 109, and Denys de Maymon the identification (Greek, hippotam, p. 114). 2 W. Max Mallowan identified it with Pharnacia (Chor and Khowar), pp. 243-251. I think the name served to designate the Cilician point and priest from the mouth of the Orontes, but the country which was known in the Greek-Roman period by the name Khota and Katonia (Man renal, De Cardona, sehr alte, p. 2, Schöl, Monumente der Haitaya, in TransArach, Soc, vol. vii, pp. 256-263; V. Herrmann, Les Origines de l’Histoire, vol. ii, p. 76, et seq.; En-Meter, Gesch de Althetä, vol. i, p. 277.)

2 The idea of a Haitayan empire extending over almost all Asia Minor was advanced by Sayce (Monumente der Haitaya, in the Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc, vol. vii, pp. 286-293; Schöl, Reise auf die Küsten des Kaspischen Meeres, 1863, pp. 7, 8, 45, et seq.; Knoche, Gesch. des Althetä, p. 36, et seq.; Hauser, Die Euphrat:, 1864, p. 42-64). This view has been opposed by Broomfield (Die Felsenschleifen in Khorasan, pp. 7, 8, 45, et seq.), defended by Remond (Hist. Gen. de l’Haitayan, pp. 38, 39), and cited by Hirt (ibid., pp. xiii, xx), and by Richter (ibid., pp. 24, 20, et seq.).

3 The very early existence of this road, which partly coincides with the royal roads of the Persian Achaemenida, was proved by Kjærring, Uder des Persiens Klosterrauere Durch Vorherrn, ehr
of miles from the Hermos in Pisidia or Lycosia, across the central steppe and through the Cilician Gates to the meeting of the ways at Carchemish; but they led through wretched regions, without industries, almost without tillage, and inhospitable alike to man and beast, and they were ventured on only by those who aimed at trafficking among the populations who lived in their neighbourhood. The Khatti, from the time even when they were enclosed among the fastnesses of the Taurus, had within their control the most important section of the great land route which served to maintain regular relations between the ancient kingdoms of the east and the rising states of the Aegean; and whoever would pass through their country had to pay them toll. The conquest of Naharaim, in giving them control of a new section, placed almost at their discretion the whole traffic between Chaldea and Egypt. From the time of Thutmose III. caravans employed in this traffic accomplished the greater part of their journey in territories depending upon Babylon, Assyria, or Memphis and enjoyed thus a relative security; the terror of the Pharaoh protected the travellers even when they were no longer in his domains, and he saved them from the flagrant exactions made upon them by princes who called themselves his brothers, or were actually his vassals. But the time had now come when merchants had to encounter, between Qodshu and the banks of the Khabur, a sovereign owing no allegiance to any one, and who would tolerate no foreign interference in his territory. From the outbreak of hostilities with the Khatti, Egypt could communicate with the cities of the Lower Euphrates only by the Wadya of the Arabian Desert, which were always dangerous and difficult for large convoys; and its commercial relations with Chaldea were practically brought thus to a standstill, and, as a consequence, the manufactures which fed this trade being reduced to a limited production, the fiscal receipts arising from it experienced a sensible diminution. When peace was restored, matters fell again into their old groove, with certain reservations to the Khatti of some common privileges: Egypt, which had formerly possessed these to her own advantage, now bore the burden of them, and the indirect tribute which she paid in this manner to her rivals furnished them with arms to fight her in case she should endeavour to free herself from the imposition. All the semi-barbaric peoples of the peninsula of Asia Minor were of an adventurous and warlike temperament. Herodotus, in the Manuscripts of Academy of Sciences of Berlin, 1857, pp. 123-140; and by Rassart, Hist. Gens. de Louv. Minor, pp. 27-36, sive the geography of the same are explained; cf. Rassart, La Lydie et le Monde Greco, pp. 23-35, and Rassart-Rabear, Procladones Monumenta de Coppendium, at the Brussels, vol. II., pp. 33-34, in which important coronaions of previous views are added.

1 On these secondary routes, see Rassart, Hist. Gens. de Louv. Minor, pp. 33-42, and Rassart, La Lydie et le Monde Greco, pp. 33-35, where the authors, while showing that the general use of these roads was not anterior to the Seleucid era that they existed to the centuries preceding the Macedonian conquest.

2 See on this occasion, p. 230 of the present work.

3 On these routes through Northern Arabia, see pp. 310, 314, of the Days of Civilization.
They were always willing to set out on an expedition, under the leadership of some chief of noble family or renowned for valor; sometimes by sea in their light craft, which would bring them unexpectedly to the nearest point of the Syrian coast; sometimes by land in companies of foot-soldiers and charioteers. They were frequently fortunate enough to secure plenty of booty, and return with it to their homes safe and sound; but as frequently they would meet with reverses by falling into some ambush or in other expeditions. In such a case their conqueror would not put them to the sword or sell them as slaves, but would promptly incorporate them into his army, thus making his captives into his soldiers. The King of the Khatti was able to make use of them without difficulty, for his empire was conterminous on the west and north with some of their native lands; and he had often whole regiments of them in his army—Mysians,\(^1\) Lydians, people of Augarit,\(^2\) of Ilium,\(^3\) and of Pedasos.\(^4\) The revenue of the provinces taken from Egypt, and the products of his tolls, furnished him with abundance of means for obtaining recruits from among them.

All these things contributed to make the power of the Khatti so considerable, that Harmhali, when he had once tested it, judged it prudent not to join issues with them. He concluded with Sapatulu a treaty of peace and friendship.

\(^1\) Attempts were made to identify the Mamas with the Mysians by E. de Renne (Revue de l'Asie Mineure, 2nd ed., 1882, p. 320), but this view, adopted by Chabas (Les peuples de la Méditerranée, p. 41), has been disputed without sufficient reason by Brugsch (Greek Geography, pp. 372-373), by R. Meyer (Greek and Roman History, p. 374), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372).

\(^2\) The country of the Augaritians was on the coast of Asia Minor, between the Orontes and the Euphrates, as seen in the Orontes of Homer and in the rivers of the Bible. They are mentioned by Josephus (Antiquities, 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 273), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Lydians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Ilians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Pedasians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372).

\(^3\) The country of the Khatti was on the coast of Asia Minor, between the Orontes and the Euphrates, as seen in the Orontes of Homer and in the rivers of the Bible. They are mentioned by Josephus (Antiquities, 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 273), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Lydians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Ilians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Pedasians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372).

\(^4\) The country of the Khatti was on the coast of Asia Minor, between the Orontes and the Euphrates, as seen in the Orontes of Homer and in the rivers of the Bible. They are mentioned by Josephus (Antiquities, 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 273), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Lydians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Ilians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372). The country of the Pedasians was within the orbit of the墩国, between the sea and the mountains, as seen in the rivers of the Bible (Ezek. v.), and by W. Max Müller (Athena and Egypt, p. 372).
which, leaving the two powers in possession respectively of the territory each then occupied, gave legal sanction to the extension of the sphere of the Khâti at the expense of Egypt. Syria continued to consist of two almost equal parts, stretching from Byblos to the sources of the Jordan and Damascus; the northern portion, formerly tributary to Egypt, became a Hittite possession, while the southern, consisting of Phoenicia and Canaan, which the Pharaoh had held for a long time with a more effective authority, and had more fully occupied, was retained for Egypt. This could have been but a provisional arrangement; if Thebes had not altogether renounced the hope of repossessing some day the lost conquests of Thothmes III., the Khâti, drawn by the same instinct which had urged them to cross their frontiers towards the south, were not likely to be content with less than the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria, and the absorption of the whole country into the Hittite dominion. Peace was maintained during Harmhabu’s lifetime. We know nothing of Egyptian affairs during the last years of his reign. His rule may have come to an end owing to some court intrigue, or he may have had no male heir to follow him. Ramses, who succeeded him, did not belong to the royal line, or was only remotely connected with it. He was already an old man when he ascended the throne, and we ought perhaps to identify him with one or other of the Ramses who flourished under the last Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty, 

1 It is not certain that Harmhabu was the Pharaoh with whom Sapolto entered into treaty, and it might be included with some reason that Ramses I. was the party to it on the side of Egypt (Harlou, Geogr. Egypt., pp. 496, 497); but this hypothesis is rendered less probable by the fact of the extremely short reign of the latter Pharaoh. I am inclined to think, as W. Max Müller has supposed (Asiat. and Eos., p. 392, note 1), that the passage in the Treaty of Ramses II. with the Prince of the Khâti (II. 3-7), which speaks of a treaty concluded with Sapolto, looks back to the time of Ramses II.’s predecessor, Harmhabu.

2 This follows from the situation of the two empires, as indicated in the account of the campaign of Seti I. in his first year. The king, after having defeated the nomads of the Arabian desert, passed on without further fighting into the country of the Amurru and the region of Lebanon (see p. 371 of the present work), which fact seems to imply the submission of Khaie. W. Max Müller was the first to discern clearly this part of the history of Egyptian conquest (Asiat. and Eos., pp. 253, 376); he appears, however, to have oversimplified somewhat the actually dominant position of Harmhabu in assigning Carmel as his limit. The list of the nations of the north who yielded, or were alleged to have yielded, submission to Harmhabu, were traced on the first pylon of this monarch at Karnak, and on the adjoining walls; what remains of this list has been preserved by Borchard, Lettres M. W. Max Müller sur le souverain de Karnak, in the Revue des Travaux, vol. xiii, p. 43-45. Among others, the names of the Khâti and of Apiru are to be read there.

3 It would appear, from an Ostraca in the British Museum (Buchner, Inscriptions in the Hieratische und Demotische Schriften, pl. xiv, No. 3824), that the year XXI. follows after the year VII. of Harmhabu’s reign (Buchner, Die Gruppe a, in the Zeitschrift, 1870, pp. 120-121, and Borchard, Egypt., pp. 447, 448; cf. Wiedemann, Versuch einer Rekonstruktion, p. 412); it is possible that the year XXI. may belong to one of Harmhabu’s successors, Seti I. or Ramses II., for example.

4 The efforts to connect Ramses I. with a family of Semitic origin, possibly the Shepherd-Pharaohs themselves, have not been successful (E. de Rouge, Lettres M. G. Landau, in the Revue Archéologique, 2nd series, vol. xii, p. 162; Mercat, Désertiers. Lettres M. le vicomte de Rouge sur les fosses de Tanis, p. 22; La Statue de Tanis, p. 3; Chabas, Les Ramses moites de la révère les Égyptiens? in the Athènées de l’Agora, 1903, pp. 24-26). Everything seems to prove that the Ramses family was and considered itself to be, of Egyptian origin (Borchard, Egypt., p. 456) and Ed. Meyer (Gesch. Egypt., p. 234) were inclined to see in Ramses II. a younger brother of Harmhabu. This hypothesis has nothing either to do against the present (Wiedemann, Versuch einer Rekonstruktion, p. 412).
perhaps the one who governed Thebes under Khuunitonu, or another, who began but never finished his tomb in the hillside above Tel el-Amarna, in the burying-place of the worshippers of the Disk. He had held important offices under Harmhabu, and had obtained in marriage for his son Seti the hand of Tula, who, of all the royal family, possessed the strongest rights to the crown. Ramses reigned only six or seven years, and associated Seti with himself in the government from his second year. He undertook a short military expedition into Ethiopia, and perhaps a raid into Syria; and we find remains of his monuments in Nubia, at Bohani, near Wady Halfa, and at Thebes, in the temple of Amun. He displayed little activity, his advanced age preventing him from entering on any serious undertaking; but his accession nevertheless marks an important date in the history of Egypt. Although Harmhabu was distantly connected with the line of the Ahmesides, it is difficult at the present day to know what position to assign him in the Pharosic lists; while some regard him as the last of the XVIII dynasty, others prefer to place him at the head of the XIX. No such hesitation, however, exists with regard to Ramses I., who was undoubtedly the founder of a new family. The old familiar names of Thutmosis and Amenemheb henceforward disappear from the royal lists, and are replaced by others, such as Seti, Minephtah.

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1 See what is said about this Ramses, governor of Thebes, pp. 523, 524, supra.
2 Descharnes, Deux jours de familistes a Tell el-Amarna, in Memorias la Mission Francesa, vol. 1, pp. 9-16. This Tell el-Amarna, Ramses I., perhaps, identical with the Thuten one; he may have followed his mother to his new capital, and have had a tomb dug for himself there, which he subsequently abandoned, on the death of Khentiakhonsu, in order to return to Thebes with Thutmosis and Akhenaton.
3 Ramses, Souvenirs de l'Egypte, p. 68, andaises, 1870. vol. II. p. 15. The fact that the marriage was celebrated under the auspices of Harmhabu, and that, consequently, Ramses must have occupied an important position at the court of that prince, is proved by the appearance of Ramses II., son of Tula, as early as the first year of Seti, among the ranks of the conscripted in the war service by that prince against the Tushratta (Champollion, Monuments, pl. xxxvi., 27; even granting that he was then six years old (ibid. p. 280); in fact, we are forced to admit that he must have been born before his grandfather came to the throne. There is in the Vatican a statue of Tula which has been remarked on by Loret. Notice sur deux statues egyptiennes, in the Annales de l'Institut d'Archéologie Archéologique, vol. 11, pp. 3-11, and pl. xi., other statues have been discovered at Si-id (Marotte, Notice sur les privilés de la Maison de Bécat, 1863, p. 267, and Fragments et Documents relatifs aux Fouilles de Si-id, in the Memoire de Trapani, vol. 11, pl. 15; Perrot, Traité, vol. I., pl. II., No. 11, and vol. II., p. 17).
4 See p. 177 in the Loret, published in Chantelou, Monuments, pl. I., 2; cf. Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. xiv. 1.
5 He began the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Maximilien, Karnak, pp. 21, 22, 24, 25, 30); E. de Rouge thinks that the idea of building this was first conceived under the XVIII dynasty (Maximilien d'archéologie, vol. i., p. 69).
6 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch in Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. vi., No. 17.
and, especially, Ramses, which now figure in them for the first time. The princes who bore these names showed themselves worthy successors of those who had raised Egypt to the zenith of her power; like them they were successful on the battle-field, and like them they devoted the best of the spoil to building innumerable monuments. No sooner had Seti celebrated his father's obsequies, than he assembled his army and set out for war.

It would appear that Southern Syria was then in open revolt. "Word had been brought to His Majesty: The vile Shaba were plotted rebellion; the chiefs of their tribes, assembled in one place on the confines of Khari, have been amiss with blindness and with the spirit of violence, every one cutteth his neighbour's throat." It was imperative to send succour to the few tribes who remained faithful, to prevent them from succumbing to the repeated attacks of the insurgents. Seti crossed the frontier at Zaith, but instead of pursuing his way along the coast, he marched due east in order to attack the Shaba in the very heart of the desert. The road ran through wide wadis, tolerably well supplied with water, and the length of the stages necessarily depended on the distances between the wells. This route was one frequented in early times, and its security was ensured by a number of fortresses and isolated towers built along it, such as "The House of the Lion"—ca. Tp emil—near the pool of the same name, the Migdol of the springs of Huruma, the fortress of Uazit, the Tower of the Brave, and the Migdol of Seti at the pools of Alkasaba. The Bedawin, disconcerted by the rapidity of this movement, offered no serious resistance. Their flocks were carried off, their trees cut down, their harvests destroyed, and they surrendered their strongholds at discretion. Pushing on from one halting-place to another, the conqueror soon reached Rabibbi, and finally Paksana. The latter town occupied a splendid

* The pictures of this campaign and the inscriptions which explain them were engraved by Seti I. in the outside of the north wall of the great hypostyle hall at Luxor. They were collected and published by CHURCHILL, Monuments, pls. 327-338, vol. ii, pp. 99-112; then by KEMPER, Monuments Sacri, pl. 339-340, and by Loret, Die Sterne, pls. 338-339. They have been illustrated and examined by BousNic, Pictorial Descriptions of Egypt, pp. 139-157, and Geschichte der Einsiedel, pp. 426-437; then by Loret, Uber Schaffel, Prahmschlag, in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1882, vol. iv, pp. 230-265, and by Loret, Uber Schaffel, Prahmschlag, in the Traveaux des Sciences, vol. vii, pp. 205-234; lastly, the texts have been carefully edited and translated by Hodor, Inscriptions Historiques de Seti I., in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. iv, pp. 23-77.

* Bouches has submitted to map out the route followed by Seti I., and his deductions on this subject carry him to the mouth of the Dead Sea (Dictionnaire Geographique, pp. 250-257, and Geschichte der Einsiedel, pp. 466, 467.) I agree with Tomkins (The Fortress of Caemus, in the Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1888, p. 29, 29) in thinking that the line followed by the Egyptian army coincided for the most part with the route explored by Holland (A Journey in Israel, pp. 674, 675; cf. Wilcox, Notes on accompanying a Map of the late Rev. J. N. Holland's Journey, in the Quarterly Statement, 1884, p. 4-85):

* The site of Paksana has, with much probability, been fixed by Conder (The Fortress of Caemus, in the Quarterly Statement, 1882, p. 175, 176; cf. Tomkins, The Fortresses of Canaan, in the Quarterly Statement, 1888, p. 674-675) at El-Kerun on Khartoum-Kalama, to the south of Helwan. Bouches has previously taken this name to indicate the country of Caemus (Conseil Palestine Antiquites, vol. i, pp. 35,
position on the slope of a rocky hill, close to a small lake, and defended the approaches to the vale of Hebron. It surrendered at the first attack, and by its fall the Egyptians became possessed of one of the richest provinces in the southern part of Kharû. This result having been achieved, Seti took the caravan road to his left, on the further side of Gaza, and pushed forward at full speed towards the Hittite frontier. It was probably unprotected by any troops,

and the Hittite king was absent in some other part of his empire. Seti pillaged the Amuru, seized Lankamu and Qodah by a sudden attack, marched in an oblique direction towards the Mediterranean, forcing the inhabitants of the Lekanum to cut timber from their mountains for the additions which he was premeditating in the temple of the Theban Amon, and finally returned by the coast road, receiving as he passed through their territory, the homage of the Phoenicians. His entry into Egypt was celebrated by solemn festivities. The nobles, priests, and princes of both south and north hastened to meet him at the bridge of Zalu, and welcomed, with their chants, both the king and

[Image of a relief on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, where Seti I represents some scenes of his fifth campaign.]

281. Vol. II, p. 517 of *Laurens, über Sakkas’ Tempelbau* (pp. 237, 238), but Charles rightly contested this view (Voyage dans l’Egypte, pp. 112, 113). W. Max Müller took up the matter again and it is probable that, on the basis of the text, the town of the south-east of Bajada, the name of which is still mentioned by the Egyptian sculptor (Jules and Europe, pp. 149, 209, 260): it seems to me that this name should be Pachon, and that the town bore the same name as the country.

*Drawn by Rowland, from a photograph by Emil Brugschi-Bey.*
the troops of captives whom he was bringing back for the service of his father Amon at Karnak. The delight of his subjects was but natural, since for many years the Egyptians had not witnessed such a triumph, and they no doubt believed that the prosperous era of Thothmes III. was about to return, and that the wealth of Naharaim would once more flow into Thebes as of old. Their illusion was short-lived, for this initial victory was followed by no other. Manrusarum, King of the Khatti, and subsequently his son Man- tellu, withstood the Pharaoh with such resolution that he was forced to treat with them. A new alliance was concluded on the same conditions as the old one, and the boundaries of the two kingdoms remained the same as under Haremhab, a proof that neither sovereign had gained any advantage over his rival. Hence the campaign did not in any way restore Egyptian supremacy, as had been hoped at the moment; it merely served to strengthen her authority in those provinces which the Khatti had failed to take from Egypt. The Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon had too many commercial interests on the banks of the Nile to dream of breaking the slender tie which held them to the Pharaoh, since independence, or submission to another sovereign, might have ruined their trade. The Khari and the Bedawin, vanquished wherever they had ventured to oppose the Pharaoh's troops, were less than ever capable of throwing off the Egyptian yoke. Syria fell back into its former state. The local princes once more resumed their intrigues and quarrels, varied at intervals by appeals to their suzerain for justice or succour. The "Royal Messengers" appeared from time to time with their escorts of archers and chariots to claim tribute, levy taxes, to make peace between quarrelsome vassals, or, if the case required it, to supersede some insubordinate chief by a governor of undoubted loyalty; in fine, the entire administration of the empire was a continuation of that of the preceding century. The peoples of Khed meanwhile had remained quiet during the campaign in Syria, and on the western frontier the Tihom had suffered so severe a defeat that they were not likely to recover from it for some time. The bands of pirates, Shardana and others, who infested the Delta, were hunted down, and the prisoners taken from among them

1 A part of this picture, that showing the bridge thrown across the canal at Zebi, is reproduced on p. 323, supra.
2 Treaty of Amarna, with the Prince of Khatti, ii. 5-7. The name is written Kothuna, but the combination as in the Egyptian texts, more often than not, represents an s or strong sound. It has been rightly connected with the name Mutahni, borne by a King of Kussumah, under Sargon of Assyria (Sayce, The Monuments of the Hittites, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. vii. pp. 286; cf. Jucker, Grundzüge für eine Deutung der altbabylonischen Inschriften, pp. 7, 9).
3 As to the boundaries of these provinces, cf. what is said by W. Max Müller, Assur and Egypt, pp. 200, 276. The organization of the provinces is briefly described on pp. 271-277 of the present work.
4 This act is represented at Karnak, and Amarna II. figures there among the children of Seti I. Champollion, Monuments, pi. xcvii. 27. Roeder, Monuments Storici, pi. Iv. 3, cf. Raedzen, Recueil de Monumens Egyptiens, vol. vi. pl. xivii. 8.)
were incorporated into the royal guard. Seti, however, does not appear to have had a confirmed taste for war. He showed energy when occasion required it, and he knew how to lead his soldiers as the expedition of his first year amply proved: but when the necessity was over, he remained on the defensive, and made no further attempt at conquest. By his own choice he was “the jackal who prowls about the country to protect it,” rather than “the wizard lion, marauding abroad by hidden paths,” and Egypt enjoyed a profound peace in consequence of his ceaseless vigilance.

A peaceful policy of this kind did not, of course, produce the amount of spoil and the endless relays of captives which had enabled his predecessors to raise temples and live in great luxury without overburdening their subjects with taxes. Seti was, therefore, the more anxious to do all in his power to develop the internal wealth of the country. The mining colonies of the Sinaiic Peninsula had never ceased working since operations had been resumed.

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1 We gather this, as E. de Boeuf points out (Extrait d’un Mémoire sur les attaques dirigées par les peuples de la mer, pp. 26, 27), from passages in the inscriptions from the year V, anno sacri, in which Rameses II boasts that he has a number of Shadames prisoners in his guard. Boeuf was, perhaps, mistaken in magnifying these partial raids into a war of invasion.

2 Drovye by Fouquet, from a photograph by E. Brugsch-Beck.

3 These phrases are taken direct from the inscriptions of Seti I (Boucard, Recueil de Monuments, vol. 1, pl. 41, c. 15, 16, 12, 11, 4, 3, 2, 1; cf. Gerhans, Les Campagnes de Sait Ier, in the Recueil de France, vol. 34, pp. 70, 71, 72.)
there under Hātšepṣut and Thātmose III, but the output had lessened during the troubles under the heretic kings. Seti sent inspectors thither, and endeavoured to stimulate the workmen to their former activity, but apparently with no great success. We are not able to ascertain if he continued the revival of trade with Pianiris inaugurated by Harnahb;* but at any rate he concentrated his attention on the regions bordering the Red Sea and the gold-mines which they contained. Those of Eiae, which had been worked as early as the XIIth dynasty, did not yield as much as they had done formerly; not that they were exhausted, but owing to the lack of water in their neighbourhood and along the routes leading to them, they were nearly deserted. It

was well known that they contained great wealth, but operations could not be carried on, as the workmen were in danger of dying of thirst. Seti despatched engineers to the spot to explore the surrounding wadis, to clear the ancient mists or cut others, and to establish victualling stations at regular intervals for the use of merchants supplying the gangs of miners with commodities. These stations generally consisted of square or rectangular enclosures, built of stones without mortar, and capable of resisting a prolonged attack. The entrance was by a narrow doorway of stone slabs, and in the interior were a few huts and one or two reservoirs for catching rain or storing the water of neighbouring springs. Sometimes a chapel was built close at hand, consecrated to the divinities of the desert, or to their compatriots, Min of Coptos, Horus, Munt, or Isis. One of these, founded by Seti, still exists near the modern town of Redenish, at the entrance to one of the valleys which form this gold region. It is built against, and partly excavated in, a wall of rock, the face

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* Cf. n. 2 to the resumption of these works, what is said on pp. 253, 254, supra.
* Inscriptions at Sareth-al-Khadum, one dated the year VII, in LOUTVIE DE LAVALL, Voyager dans la Penninsule de Sinait, pl. 10, t. i. 1; cf. Survey of Sinai, pl. iv.
* Cf. what is said in regard to these journeys in Pianiris on pp. 342, 352, supra.
* Travels by Franchet-Guillaum, from a photograph by M. de Roziere, plan of a certain number of these fortified stations will be found in CAMELIER, Voyage a l'Oeuse de Tunis, pl. ii.-viii., and pp. 3-39, and more especially in G. LEACH, Recherches et Memoires, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xii., pp. 18, 26, 28, 81, 83. Cf. in regard to other similar forts, the remarks of De Bellis-Atri, Memoire sur le site de Goupef et sur ses antiques, in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. xii., p. 205.
of which has been roughly squared, and it is entered through a four-columned portico, giving access to two dark chambers, whose walls are covered with scenes of adoration and a lengthy inscription. In this latter the sovereign relates how, in the IXth year of his reign, he was moved to inspect the roads of the desert, he completed the work in honour of Ammon, of Ptolemy of Memphis, and of Harmakhis, and he states that travelers were at a loss to express their gratitude and thanks for what he had done. "They repeated from mouth to mouth: 'May Ammon give him an endless existence, and may he prolong for him the length of eternity!" O ye gods of fountains, attribute to rendered back to us opened that which was the road is accessible, and the road has become good, gold can be brought back, as our lord and master has commanded. Plans were drawn on papyrus of the configuration of the district, of the beds of precious metal, and of the position of the stations. One of these plans has come down to us, in which the districts are coloured bright red, the mountains dull ochre, the roads dotted over with footmarks to show the direction to be taken, while the superscriptions give the local names, and inform

1 Drawn by Faraday-Gulbin, from a photograph by Goloubew; cf. the drawing of the temple and its plan given in Cailliaud, Figures et Plans de Thèbes, pl. ii., and the plan of the temple in Lepsius, Denkm., i. 101.

2 The inscriptions in the temple at Medinet Habu have been published by Lepsius, Denkm., iii. 189-14, afterwards more correctly by Goloubew, Études égyptiennes, vol. ii., pp. 77-80, pl. 14. They have been annotated and translated by Cauville, Les inscriptions historiques du royaume de Seti Ier et les inscriptions des mines d'or, pp. 3, 7; by Lepsius, Die antiken Landkarte, in the Mittheilungen of the Munich Academy of Sciences, 1871, vol. i., pp. 264-270; by Brun, Études égyptiennes, vol. iv., pp. 69-78; and finally by Schiaparelli, La colonie orientale dell'Egitto, pp. 82-83.
us that the map represents the Bakhti mountain and a fortress and stele of Sati. The whole thing is executed in a rough and naive manner, with an almost childish minuteness which provokes a smile; we should, however, not despise it, for it is the oldest map in the world.\footnote{\textit{It has been published by Lepsius, Auswahl der wichtigsten Funde,} pl. xxii. (cf. Brack, \textit{Ueber a Historische Tafeln von Ramses II.}, p. 295; by Canaa, \textit{Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or}, pp. 38-39, and pl. ii.) finally by Loret, \textit{Die Altere Landkarten undische Goldminen}, in the \textit{Sitzungsberichte of the Munich Academy of Sciences}, 1879, vol. ii., pp. 367-372. The fragments of a second map are to be found in Loret, ibid., \textit{D boa Papyrus Monastique}, pp. 41-45, and pl. vi.; and by Loret, \textit{Die antikischen Landkarten undische Goldminen}, in the \textit{Sitzungsberichte of the Munich Academy of Sciences}, 1874, vol. i., pp. 199-228.}

The gold extracted from these regions, together with that brought from Ethiopia, and, better still, the regular payment of taxes and custom-house duties, went to make up for the lack of foreign spoil all the more opportunely, for, although the sovereign did not share the military enthusiasm of Thutmose III, he had inherited from him the passion for expensive temple-building. He did not neglect Nubia in this respect, but required several of the monuments at which the XVII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty had worked—a among others, Kalubeh,\footnote{\textit{Produit de Yo-meras-Gudin in solarial sketch-drawing by Canaa, Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or, pl. ii.}}
Dakkeh, and Amada, besides founding a temple at Sesostris, of which three columns are still standing. The outline of these columns is not graceful, and the decoration of them is very poor, for art degenerated rapidly in these distant provinces of the empire, and only succeeded in maintaining its vigour and spirit in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pharaoh, as at Abydos, Memphis, and above all at Thebes. Seti’s predecessor Ramses, desirous of obliterating all traces of the misfortunes lately brought about by the changes effected by the heretic kings, had contemplated building at Karnak, in front of the pylon of Amenophis III., an enormous hall for the ceremonies connected with the cult of Amon, where the immense numbers of priests and worshippers at festival times could be accommodated without inconvenience. It devolved on Seti to carry out what had been merely an ambitious dream of his father’s. We long to know who was the architect possessed of such confidence in his powers that he

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1. Lepsius, Briefe aus Ägypten und Syriens, p. 113.
3. Lepsius, Briefe aus Ägypten und Syriens, p. 256. In Lepsius’s time, there were still four columns standing; Jansinger shows us only three.
4. Borchardt, from a photograph by Jansinger, taken in 1881, during one of the last journeys which he was able to take prior to the Mahdist invasion.
5. As to the construction and decoration of the great hypostyle hall of the temple of Medinet, Karnak, Texte, pp. 25–27. It was cleared, and the columns were strengthened in the winter of 1835–6, as far as possible, as it was possible to carry out the work of reconstruction without impairing the stability of the whole.
ventured to design, and was able to carry out, this almost superhuman undertaking. His name would be held up to almost universal admiration beside those of the greatest masters that we are familiar with, for no one in Greece or Italy has left us any work which surpasses it, or which with such simple means could produce a similar impression of boldness and immensity. It is almost impossible to convey by words to those who have not seen it the impression which it makes on the spectator. Failing description, the dimensions speak for themselves. The hall measures one hundred and sixty-two feet in length, by three hundred and twenty-five in breadth. A row of twelve columns, the largest ever placed inside a building, runs up the centre, having capitals in the form of inverted bells. One hundred and twenty-two columns with lotiform capitals fill the aisles, in rows of nine each. The roof of the central bay is seventy-four feet above the ground, and the cornice of the two towers rises sixty-three feet higher. The building was dimly lighted from the roof of the central colonnade by means of stone gratings, through which the air and the sun’s rays entered sparingly. The daylight, as it penetrated into the hall, was rendered more and more obscure by the rows of columns; indeed, at the further and a perpetual twilight must have reigned, pierced by narrow shafts of light falling from the ventilation holes which were placed at intervals in the roof. The whole building now lies open to the sky, and the sunshine which floods it, pitilessly reveals the mutilations.

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1. 'Taken by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato. Cf. the general view of the hypostyle hall at the beginning of the present chapter, p. 341.'
which it has suffered in the course of ages; but the general effect, though less mysterious, is none the less overwhelming. It is the only monument in which the first compulsion surpasses the expectations of the spectator instead of disappointing him. The size is immense, and we realize its immensity the more fully as we search our memory in vain to find anything with which to compare it. Seti may have entertained the project of building a replica of this hall in Southern Thebes. Amenothes III. had left his temple at Luxor unfinished. The sanctuary and its surrounding buildings were used for purposes of worship, but the court of the customary pylon was wanting, and merely a thin wall concealed the mysteries from the sight of the vulgar. Seti resolved to extend the building in a northerly direction, without interfering with the thin screen which had satisfied his predecessors. Starting from the entrance in this wall, he planned an avenue of giant columns rivalling those of Karnak, which he destined to become the central columnade of a hypostyle hall as vast as that of the sister temple. Either money or time was lacking to carry out his intention. He died before the aisles on either side were even begun. At Abydos, however, he was more successful. We do not know the reason of Seti's particular affection for this
town; it is possible that his family held some title there, or it may be that he desired to show the peculiar estimation in which he held its local god, and intended, by the homage that he lavished on him, to cause the fact to be forgotten that he bore the name of Siit the accursed. The king selected a favourable site for his temple to the south of the town, on the slope of a sand-hill bordering the canal, and he marked out in the hardened soil a ground plan

of considerable originality. The building was approached through two pylons, the remains of which are now hidden under the houses of Aamhat el-Madfânah. A fairly large courtyard, bordered by two crumbling walls, lies between the second pylon and the temple façade, which was composed of a portico resting on square pillars. Passing between these, we reach two halls supported by columns of graceful outline, beyond which are eight chapels arranged in a line, side by side, in front of two chambers built in to the hillside, and destined for the reception of Osiris. The holy of holies in ordinary temples is surrounded by chambers of lesser importance, but here it is concealed behind them. The building-material mainly employed here was the white limestone of Tûnah, but of a most beautiful quality, which lent itself to

1. Drawn by Pachon-Quito, from a photograph by Besant.
the execution of bas-reliefs of great delicacy, perhaps the finest in ancient Egypt. The artist who carved and painted them belonged to the Theban school, and while their subjects betray a remarkable similarity to those of the monuments dedicated by Amenophis III., the execution surpasses them in freedom and perfection of modelling; we can, in fact, trace in them the influence of the artists who furnished the drawings for the scenes at Tel el-Amaran. They have represented the gods and goddesses with the same type of profile as that of the king—a type of face of much purity and gentleness, with its aquiline nose, its decided mouth, almond-shaped eyes, and melancholy smile. When the decoration of the temple was completed, Seti regarded the building as too small for its divine inmate, and accordingly added to it a new wing, which he built along the whole length of the southern wall; but he was unable to finish it completely. Several parts of it are lined with religious representations, but in others the subjects have been merely sketched out in black ink with corrections in red, while elsewhere the walls are bare, except for a few inscriptions, scribbled over them after an interval of twenty centuries by the monks who turned the temple chambers into a convent. This new wing was connected with the second hypostyle hall of the original building by a passage, on one of the walls of which is a list of seventy-five royal names, representing the ancestors of the sovereign traced back to Mem. The whole temple must be regarded as a vast funerary chapel, and no one who has studied the religion of Egypt can entertain a doubt as to its purpose. Abydos was the place where the dead assembled before passing into the other world. It was here, at the mouth of the "Cleft," that they received the provisions and offerings of their relatives and friends who remained on this earth. As the dead flocked hither from all quarters of the world, they collected round the tomb of Osiris, and there waited till the moment came to embark on the Boat of the Sun. Seti did not wish his soul to associate with these of the common crowd of his vassals, and prepared this temple for himself, as a separate resting-place, close to the mouth of Hades. After having dwelt within it for a short time subsequent to his funeral, his soul could repair thither whenever it desired, certain at always finding within it the incense and the nourishment of which it stood in need.

Thebes possessed this king's actual tomb. The chapel was at Qurnah, a little to the north of the group of pyramids in which the Pharaohs of the XIth dynasty lay side by side with those of the XIIIth and XVIIth. Ramesses had begun to build it, and Seti continued the work, dedicating it to the cult of his father and of himself. Its pylons have altogether disappeared, but the façade with lotus-bud columns is nearly perfect, together with several

of the chambers in front of the sanctuary. The decoration is as carefully
carried out and the execution as delicate as that in the work at Abydos;
we are tempted to believe from one or two examples of it that the same hands
have worked at both buildings. The rock-cut tomb is some distance away
up in the mountain, but not in the same ravine as that in which Amenophis III,
Aâ, and probably Tutanakhmon and Harmhabâ, are buried. There then existed,

![The Temple of Quenam](image)

behind the rock amphitheatre of Deir el-Bahari, a kind of enclosed basin, which could be reached
from the plain only by dangerous paths above the temple of Hâtshôpsût. This basin is divided into two parts, one of which runs in a south-easterly direction, while the other trends to the south-west, and is subdivided into minor branches. To the east rises a barren peak, the outline
of which is not unlike that of the step-pyramid of Saaqâra, reproduced on a colossal scale. No spot could be more appropriate to serve as a cemetery for a family of kings. The difficulty of reaching it and of conveying thither the heavy accessories and of providing for the endless processions of the Pharaonic funerals, prevented any attempt being made to cut tombs in it during the

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1. The temple at Quenam has been described by CHÂTEAULION, Monuments, vol. i, pp. 290-313, 695-708; cf. FRANÇOIS-GOULLET, Histoire de l'Égypte, vol. i, pp. 398-401. The inscriptions which refer to it on the funerary chapel of Ramses I. and of Seti I. have been collected in CHÂTEAULION, Monuments, pl. clxi. 5-8, and vol. ii, pp. 390, 394, 397, 794-797.

2. There are, in fact, close to those of Aâ and Amenophis III., three other tombs, two at least of which have been decorated with paintings, now completely obliterated, and which may have served as the burying-places of Tutanakhmon and Harmhabâ; the earlier Egyptologists believed them to have been dug by the first kings of the XVIIIth dynasty (CHÂTEAULION, Notices et dôtres de l'Égypte, 2d ed., p. 267; WILKINSON, Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt, pp. 122, 123).

3. Drawn by Fancher-Védin, from a photograph by Bouch.
Ancient and Middle Empires. About the beginning of the XIX\textsuperscript{th} dynasty, however, some engineers, in search of suitable burial sites, at length noticed that this basin was only separated from the wady issuing to the north of Qurnah by a rocky barrier barely five hundred cubits in width. This presented no formidable obstacle to such skillful engineers as the Egyptians. They cut a trench into the living rock some fifty or sixty cubits in depth, at the bottom of which they tunneled a narrow passage giving access to the valley.\textsuperscript{1} It is not known whether this Herculean work was accomplished during the reign of Harmhab or in that of Rameses I. The latter was the first of the Pharaohs to honour the spot by his presence. His tomb is simple, almost coarse in its workmanship, and comprises a gently inclined passage, a vault and a sarcophagus of rough stone.\textsuperscript{2} That of Seti, on the contrary, is a veritable palace, extending to a distance of 325 feet into the mountain-side. It is entered by a wide and lofty door, which opens on to a staircase of twenty-seven steps, leading to an inclined corridor; other staircases of shallow steps follow with their landings; then come successively a hypostyle hall, and, at the extreme end, a vaulted chamber, all of which are decorated with mysterious scenes and covered with inscriptions. This is, however, but the first storey, containing the antechambers of the dead, but not their living-rooms. A passage and steps, concealed under a slab to the left of the hall, lead to the real vault, which held the mummary and its funereal furniture. As we penetrate further and further by the light of torches into this subterranean abode, we see that the walls are covered with pictures and formulae, setting forth the voyages of the soul through the twelve hours of the night, its trials, its judgment, its reception by the departed, and its apotheosis—all depicted on the rock with the same perfection as that which characterizes the bas-reliefs on the finest slabs of Turah stone at Qurnah and Abydos. A gallery leading out of the last of these chambers extends a few feet further and then stops abruptly; the engineers had contemplated the excavation of a third storey to the tomb, when the death of their master obliged them to suspend their task.\textsuperscript{3} The king's sarcophagus consists of a block of alabaster, hollowed out, polished, and carved with figures and hieroglyphs, with all the minuteness which we associate with the cutting of a gem.\textsuperscript{4} It contained a wooden coffin,

\textsuperscript{1} French scholars recognized from the beginning of this century that the passage in question had been made by human agency (Cotteau, Description des Tombeaux des Rois, in the Description d'Egypte, vol. III, pp. 198, 199). I attribute the execution of this work to Rameses I, as I believe Harmhab to have been buried in the eastern valley, near Abydos III.

\textsuperscript{2} Champollion, Monuments, vol. I, pp. 424-426; chalk-drawings of the paintings were in view for a long time in the Egyptian Museum at the Louvre.

\textsuperscript{3} The tomb was discovered in 1818 by Bouchard, Opérations de la Recherche dans les Pyramides; it was afterwards described and the greater part of it copied by Champollion, Monuments, vol. I, pp. 425-430, 736-737, and by Montet, Monuments Storici, vol. III, pp. 447, 448, and considerably by Lapparent, Les Hypogées Région de Thèbes, in the Mémorial de la Société Égyptologique de France, vol. II.

\textsuperscript{4} The sarcophagus was brought to London, and has been reproduced by Stuart and Revett, The
shaped to the human figure and painted white, the features picked out in black, and matted eyes inserted in a mounting of bronze. The mummy is that of a thin elderly man, well preserved; the face was covered by a mask made of linen smeared with pitch, but when this was raised by means of a chisel, the finely ringed hair was exposed to view. It was a masterpiece of the art of the embalmer, and the expression of the face was that of one who had only a few hours previously breathed his last. Death had slightly drawn the nostrils and constricted the lips, the pressure of the bandages had flattened the nose a little, and the skin was darkened by the pitch; but a calm and gentle smile still played over the mouth, and the half-opened eyelids allowed a glimpse to be seen from under their lashes of an apparently moist and glistening line—the reflection from the white porcelain eyes let in to the orbit at the time of burial.

Seti had had several children by his wife Ti, and the eldest had already reached manhood when his father ascended the throne, for he had accompanied him on his Syrian campaign. The young prince died.

\[\text{References:}\]
- On the Ramesseum, E. A. Wallis Budge, in the Ramesseum, pp. 70-100.
however, soon after his return, and his right to the crown devolved on his younger brother, who, like his grandfather, bore the name of Ramses. This prince was still very young, but Seti did not on that account delay enthroning with great pomp this son who had a better right to the throne than himself. "From the time that I was in the egg," Ramses writes later on, "the great ones stilled the earth before me; when I attained to the rank of eldest son and heir upon the throne of Sibyl, I dealt with affairs, I commanded as chief the foot-soldiers and the chariots. My father having appeared before the people, when I was but a very little boy in his arms, said to me: 'I shall have him crowned king, that I may see him in all his splendour while I am still on this earth!' The nobles of the court having drawn near to place the pharaoh upon my head: 'Place the diadem upon his forehead!' said he." As Ramses increased in years, Seti delighted to confer upon him, one after the other, the principal attributes of power: "while he was still upon this earth, regulating everything in the land, defending its frontiers, and watching over the welfare of its inhabitants, he cried: 'Let him reign!' because of the love he had for me." Seti also chose for him wives, beautiful "as are those of his palace," and he gave him in marriage his sisters Nefritari II, Mumut and Isismutet, who, like Ramses himself, had claims to the throne. Ramses was allowed to attend the State councils at the age of ten; he commanded armies, and he administered justice under the direction of his father and his viziers. Seti, however, although making use of his son's youth and activity, did not in any sense retire in his favour; if he permitted Ramses to adopt the insignia of royalty—the caracanues, the phaethon, the bicorned-shaped helmet, and the various sceptres—he still remained to the day of his death the principal State official, and he reckoned all the years of this dual sovereignty as those of his sole reign.

1. The history of the youth and the ascension of Ramses II. is known to us from the narrative given by himself in the temple of Seti I. at Abydos, which has been published by Maspero, Abydos, vol. ii. p. 9-10; it has been examined, and the inscription translated by Maspero, Recueil des Inscr. égypt. du temps de Ramses II. et de son fils Sety I., Paris, 1874; afterwards by Loret, Der grosse Sonnenpriest von Abydos, in der Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, vol. xxiv. p. 436, et seq.; and by Borchardt, Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 473-480, who has, for the most part, adopted the opinions of his predecessor (Geschichte Ägyptens, pp. 469-471). Wichmann (Agyptische Geschichts, pp. 418-420) has corrected some of the exaggerations of which previous historians were guilty, but the main of the narrative is confirmed by the evidence of the Karnak inscription (II. 10, 17); cf. Cachet, Les Inscriptions des Monuments d'époque, p. 31, 29, especially as to the extreme youth of Ramses at the time when he was first associated with the crown.

1. Great Inscription of Abydos, II. 47, 48.
2. Great Inscription of Abydos, II. 47, 48.
3. The evidence in regard to these two palaces, and the monuments of which they have come down to us, have been published in an almost complete form by Wackernagel, Egypt. Gesch., pp. 163, 404.
4. Karnak Inscription, II. 10, 17, which contains the address presented to Ramses himself by the royal counsellors.
5. Borchardt is wrong in reckoning the reign of Ramses II. from the time of his association in the crown (Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 471); the great inscription of Abydos, which has been translated by Borchardt himself, states events which immediately followed the death of Seti I., as belonging to the first year of Ramses II. (II. 22, 23, 72; cf. Maspero, La Grande Inscription d'Abydos et la Jeunesse de Ramses, pp. 14, 17, 87).
the Tihomib and put to the sword such of their horde as had ventured to invade Egyptian territory. He exercised the functions of viceroy of Ethiopia, and had on several occasions to chastise the pillaging negroes. We see him at Beit-Wally and at Abu Simbel charging them in his chariot: in vain they flee in confusion before him: their flight, however swift, cannot save them from captivity and destruction. He was engaged in Ethiopia when the death of Seti recalled him to Thebes. He at once returned to the capital, celebrated the king's funeral obsequies with suitable pomp, and after keeping the festival of Amon, set out for the north in order to make his authority felt in that part of his domains. He stopped on his way at Abydos to give the necessary orders for

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2 ROBELIN, Monuments Egypt. pl. lxxvii, lxxviii.
3 Drawn by Fantozzi-Giordanino, from a photograph taken by M. Hesse at Beit-Wally: cf. CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, pls. lixi, lixii, and vol. i. p. 146; ROBELIN, Monuments Egypt. pl. lxxvii, lxxviii; ASBURGH-BONNOR-DIECK, Gallery of Antiquities, pl. 78, fig. 155.
4 CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, pls. xlvii, xlviii, and vol. i. pl. 66, 64; ROBELIN, Monuments Egypt. pls. lxxvii, lxxviii.
5 MAIRIEW, Rastour Fhrousia, livres de temple d'Abydos, pp. 78, 79. We do not know how long Seti I. reigned: the best date is that of his 163rd year at Roda (Lesoux, Deux. III, 129 b. 1.); and of Amun (Lesoux, Deux. VIII, 141), and that of the year XXVII sometimes attributed to him (WERNER, L'Egypte, III, 341), which is between the third and fourth years of the reign of Seti II. (cf. the reign of Amon at the beginning of the reign of Seti I, and the reign of Amenemhat III). The mistake is caused by the mistake in the compilation of the calender, which is that of the year XXVII. It had at first supposed his reign to have been a long one, merely on the evidence afforded by Mauvéri's note (Brevia Colleqpio, 1870, vol. ii. p. 41), but the presence of Ramesses II as a soldier in the campaign of Seti I., forces us to limit its duration to fifteen or twenty years at most, possibly to only twelve or thirteen.
completing the decoration of the principal chambers of the resting-place built by his father, and chose a site some 320 feet to the north-west of it for a similar Memnonium for himself. He granted cultivated fields and meadows in the Thinite nome for the maintenance of these two mansions, founded a college of priests and sculptors in connexion with them, for which he provided endowments, and also assigned them considerable fields in all parts of the valley of the Nile. The Delta next occupied his attention. The increasing importance of the Syrian province in the eyes of Egypt, the growth of the Hittite monarchy, and the migrations of the peoples of the Mediterranean, had obliged the last princes of the preceding dynasty to reside more frequently at Memphis than Amenophis I, or Thutmose III, had done. Amenophis III, had set to work to restore certain cities which had been abandoned since the days of the Shepherds, and Habastis, Atiribis, and perhaps Tanis, had, thanks to his efforts, revived from their decayed condition. The Pharaohs, indeed, felt that at Thebes they were too far removed from the battle-fields of Asia; distance made it difficult for them to counteract the intrigues in which their vassals in Khars and the lords of Naharim were perpetually implicated, and a revolt which might have been easily anticipated or crushed had they been advised of it within a few days, gained time to increase and extend during the interval occupied by the couriers in travelling to and from the capital. Ramses felt the importance of possessing a town close to the Isthmus where he could reside in security, and he therefore built close to Zalô, in a fertile and healthy locality, a stronghold to which, he gave his own name, and of which the poets of the time have left an enthusiastic description. "It extends," they say, "between Zahi and Egypt—and is filled with provisions and victuals.—It resembles Hermus,—it is strong like Memphis,—and the sun rises—and sets in it—so that men quit their villages and establish themselves in its territory."—"The dwellers on the coasts bring cager oil and fish in hommage,—they pay it the tribute of their marishes. The inhabitants don their festal garments every day,—perfumed oil is on their heads and new wigs;—they stand at their doors, their hands full of bunches of flowers,—green branches from the village of Pithahor,—garlands of Pahrun,—on the day when Pharaoh makes his entry.—Joy then reigns and spreads, and nothing can stay it.—O, unarmed-southern, thou who art Mount!
in the two lands,—Rameses-Mammon, the god." The town acted as an advance post, from whence the king could keep watch against all intriguing adversaries, whether on the banks of the Orontes or on the coast of the Mediterranean.

Nothing appeared for the moment to threaten the peace of the empire. The Asiatic vessels had raised no disturbance on hearing of the king's accession, and Mandatton continued to observe the conditions of the treaty which he had signed with Seth. Two military expeditions undertaken beyond the isthmus in the IIth and IVth years of the new sovereign were accomplished almost without fighting. He repaired by the way the ravaging Saba, and on reaching the Nahar-el-Keth, which then formed the northern frontier of his empire, he inscribed at the turn of the road, on the rocks which overhang the mouth of the river, two triumphal steles in which he related his successes. Towards the end of his IVth year a rebellion broke out among the Khatti, which caused a rupture of relations between the two kingdoms and led to some irregular fighting. Kharnasar, a younger brother of Maurasara, murdered the latter and made himself king in his stead. It is not certain whether the Egyptians took up arms against him, or whether he judged it wise to oppose them in order to divert the attention of his subjects from his crime. At all events, he convoked his Syrian vessels and collected his mercenaries; the whole of Naharin, Khidymes, Carchemish, and Arvad sent their quota, while bands of Darchianians, Myssians, Trojans, and Lydians, together with the people of Pedasos and Gargarus, furnished further contingents, drawn from an area extending from the most distant coasts of the Mediterranean to the mountains of Cilicia. Ramses, informed

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1 Asaadul Fawwar III, ii. 1-9; cf. Guillaud, Metopes Egypto-Aegypt. 2nd series, pp. 123-124; Mayrhofer, Die Römer Auswanderer, pp. 102, 107; Bossow, Geschichte der Phryggen, p. 545.
2 The dates have been published by Leitch, Desiers, iii. 167 n. e. and are all of them in a very bad condition. In the best of them the date is no longer legible, and Leitch is doubtful whether the date is dated in the IIth or IVth year. Ehrlich, neue Spiegel, and El-Ahmetics, p. 103.
3 Treaty of Rameses II with the Prince of Khatti, 11. 7, 8, where the writer is content to use a different emphasis and states that Mandatton succeeded "in his dominion". The name of the Prince of the Khatti is found later on under the form Kharnasar, in that of a chief defeated by Tidhar, prince I, in the country of Karkanshi, though this name is generally been read Karkanshi (Wissmann, Geschichtsband, vol. i p. 186, note 9).
4 The name of this nation is written Karkasha, Kalkidisk, or Karkhids (Rasch't Fawwar, 1, 7, and Sulzer Fawwar III, pl. 1, 10, and Diodorus, History of Mankind, vol. i, p. 316; Naville, Kurnak, vol. iii, pl. clxxxii), by one of these names of which occurs so frequently in Assyro-Chaldaean before a dental, the two different spellings seem to show that the scribes of the inscriptions bearing on this war had before them a list of the names of Kharnasar, written in cuneiform characters (cf. W. Max Müller, Assyrische und Persische, p. 235). If we may identify the nation, and with the citations as W. Max Müller wishes to do (Ex, p. 315), the Kharnasar or Karksha of the Assyrian texts, the diminutives of the name of Kharnasar, which is the termination -sh of the Egyptian word would be the diminution -ik or -ik of the Kharnasar-Ahkenetaspal language which we find in many other names, as Adhakhi, Andamit, Ammahron, Ammon. Réjou (Relativ der Nom. ala. s. Hurrites des peoples de la mer, p. 104, Engraphe, Geschichte der Phryggen, p. 422) identified them with the Karkasha of the Kharnasar, and Turquie, adopting the spelling Karkash, endeavored to connect them with Karkasa (Carnuta), and now, vol. ii, p. 26, note 25, later work he identified them with the people of Gorgas in Thrace (Schrucher, p. 347). Ramsay recognizes in them the Kharkos of Cilicia.
of the enemy's movement by his generals and the governors of places on the frontier, resolved to anticipate the attack. He assembled an army almost as incongruous in its component elements as that of his adversary; besides Egyptians of unmixed race, divided into four corps bearing the names of Amon, Piitah, Harmakhis and Saktka, it contained Ethiopian auxiliaries, Libyans, Mazda, and Shardana. When preparations were completed, the force crossed the canal at Zala, on the 9th of Payni in his Vth year, marched rapidly across Canaan till they reached the valley of the Litâny, along which they took their way, and then followed up that of the Orants. They encamped for a few days at Shabbatna, to the south-west of Qodah, in the midst of the Amorite country, sending out scouts and endeavouring to discover the position of the enemy, of whose movements they possessed but vague information. Khâtnarn lay concealed in the wooded valleys of the Lebanon; he was kept well posted by his spies, and only waited an opportunity to take the field; as an occasion did not immediately present itself, he had recourse to a route with which the geneals of the time were familiar. Ramses, at length, uneasy at not falling in with the enemy, advanced to the south of Shabbatna, where he endeavoured to obtain information from two Bedawin. "Our brethren," said they, "who are

1 In the account of the campaign the Shardana only are mentioned; but we learn from a list in the Amarna Papyri (I, p. xvii. 1. 2) that the army of Ramses II. included, in ordinary circumstances, in addition to the Shardana, a contingent of Masuamait, Kahaba, and other Libyan and negro mercenaries (Carna, Exped. des Egyptiens, pp. 32–33).

2 The history of these events has been preserved to us in two documents of wholly different character; 1st, that which É. de Rouge described in the Bulletin de la Correspondance archéologique (1864, vol. lix. pp. 186–189); and, 2nd, the poem of Pentecost on the battle of Qodah. Here I follow the letter and the picture which accompany it. Texts of them still in existence are: Abu Simbel (Tell-el-Amarna, Monuments, pl. xxvi. ii, and vol. ii, pp. 61, 62; Rosellini, Monuments d'Egypte, pl. xii.; H DIFF. Doc. ii, pl. liii. 13); at Luxor (Harmel, Cours de Monuments, vol. i, pl. iii. 12; cf. Rosellini, Doc. ii, pl. lvii.; ii. 135; Steuern, Egyptian Inscriptions, and sources of 222); it has been critically examined by Charles and Frendel, Inscriptions, p. 38; and Leuret, 1864, pp. 28–38), translated by Charles (Translation of Dufrere de Fleurieu, according to Roux, in the Revue Archéologique, 1859, vol. xx. pp. 377–398, 390–396), critically restored from the various copies, and translated by M. Lippes (Vient historique du Campenaux, in the Revue de Travail, vol. xi. pp. 285–293). The pictures and their inscriptions have also been collected; these at Abu Simbel by Champollion (Monuments, pl. 2.2); and by Rosellini (Monuments d'Egypte, pl. xiv. 1–iv.), and at Ramses by Champollion (Carnac, Doc. ii, pl. xii, 1–iv.); these at Luxor by Rosellini (pl. xii, 1–iv.), and by Leuret, Doc. ii, pl. 135–135, 137–137, 140–140; these at Karnak by Champollion (Monuments, vol. i. pp. 102–102), and Champollion (pl. xvi. 1–iv.), and by Frendel, Inscriptions, p. 38; and Rosellini (pl. xii, 1–iv., and 1–iv.), and Lippes (Doc. ii. 135–135, 137–137, 140–140), and Rosellini (pl. xii, 1–iv., and 1–iv.), and Lippes (Doc. ii. 135–135, 137–137, 140–140). But the whole has been studied by É. de Rouge (Harmel, Sucrè de la Correspondance archéologique, 2nd series, 1864, vol. lix. pp. 186–189), by Champollion (Lettres d'Egypte, pp. 186–189), by Thoby (De Fleurieu, Monuments d'Egypte, Leyden, 1870), by Tomkins (On the Campaign of Ramses the Second in his First Year against Khonsu in the Dagenis, in the Transactions of the Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. vii. pp. 339–340), and in the Proceedings of the same Society, 1881–83, vol. iv. pp. 6–79, lastly by Goury (Vient historique d'Epineux, in the Revue de Travail, vol. viii. pp. 125–133).

3 Shabbatna had been placed on the Nahar el-Shab, on the site now occupied by Kallat el-Kedah (BLANCO, Notas de el Kallat el-Hassen, in the Bulletin de la Correspondance archéologique, 1874, vol. lxxi. pp. 115, 116, 133–137), a conjecture approved by Marchal; it was more probably a town situated in the plain, to the south of Bahr el-Kedah, a little to the south-west of Tell Nabi Miqdat, which represents Qodah, and close to some forests which at that time covered the slopes of Lebanon, and extending as they did in the bottom of the valley, concealed the position of the Khâtnarn from the Egyptians.
the chiefs of the tribes united under the vile Prince of Khâti, send us to give information to your Majesty: We desire to serve the Pharaoh. We are deserting the vile Prince of the Khâti; he is close to Khalupu (Aleppo), to the north of the city of Tanîpa, whither he has rapidly retired from fear of the Pharaoh. This story had every appearance of probability; and the distance—Khalupu was at least forty leagues away—explained why the reconnoitring parties of the Egyptians had not fallen in with any of the enemy. The Pharaoh, with this information, could not decide whether to lay siege to Qodshû and wait until the Hittites were forced to succour the town, or to push on towards the Euphrates and there seek the engagement which his adversary seemed anxious to avoid. He chose the latter of the two alternatives. He sent forward the legions of Amôn, Pûrä, Pthah, and Sûtthu, which constituted the main body of his troops, and prepared to follow them with his household chariotry. At the very moment when this division was being effected, the Hittites, who had been represented by the spies as being far distant, were secretly massing their forces to the north-east of Qodshû, ready to make an attack upon the Pharaoh's flank as soon as he should set out on his march towards Khalupu. The enemy

1. Tourmelin, Textes Historiques d'Égypte, ed. by the Besant de Tournon, vol. viii. p. 327, ii. 4-9, and p. 281.
had considerable forces at their disposal, and on the day of the engagement they placed 18,000 to 20,000 picked soldiers in the field. Besides a well-disciplined infantry, they possessed 2500 to 3000 chariots, containing, as was the Asiatic custom, three men in each.

The Egyptian camp was not entirely broken up, when the scouts brought in two spies whom they had seized—Asiatics in long blue robes arranged diagonally over one shoulder, leaving the other bare. The king, who was seated on his throne delivering his final commands, ordered them to be beaten till the truth should be extracted from them. They at last confessed that they had been despatched to watch the departure of the Egyptians, and admitted that the enemy was concealed in ambush behind the town. Ramses hastily called a council of war and laid the situation before his generals, not without severely reprimanding them for the bad organisation of the intelligence department. The officers excused themselves as best they could, and threw the blame on the provincial governors, who had not been able to discover what was going on. The king cut short these useless recriminations, sent swift

1. An army corps is mentioned as containing 3000 men on the wall scenes at Luxor, and 3000 at the battle scene (Hatschepsut, Tomb Material of Egypt, in the Rassell de Tournay, vol. viii. p. 110). The 3000 chariots were mentioned by 3000 men (ibid., p. 150). In allowing fewer than this thousand men for the rest of the soldiers engaged, we are not likely to be far wrong, and shall thus obtain the smallest total mentioned in the text, contrary to the opinion current among historians. In regard to the strength of the Egyptian army, cf. what is said on p. 212, supra.

2. The mercenaries are included in these figures, as is shown by the reckoning of the Lydian, Persian, and Phoenician soldiers who were in command of the chariots during the battles with Ramses II. (Cf. and J. de Rouen, Le Passe de Ramses, in the Revue Egypt., vol. vii. pp. 238-240.)

3. From a picture in the temple at Abu Simbel; cf. Cours d'Egypte, Monumental, pl. xxvii. Monument Sauve, pl. ixxvii., etc.; Livre, Tchoua, III. 137.
messengers to recall the divisions which had started early that morning, and gave orders that all those remaining in camp should hold themselves in readiness to attack. The council were still deliberating when news was brought that the Hittites were in sight. Their first onslaught was so violent that they threw down one side of the camp wall, and penetrated into the enclosure. Hamaus charged them at the head of his household troops. Eight times he engaged the chariots which threatened to surround him, and each time he broke their ranks. Once he found himself alone with Manna, his shield-bearer, in the midst of a knot of warriors who were bent on his destruction, and he escaped solely by his coolness and bravery. The same lion which accompanied him on his expeditions did terrible work by his side, and felled many an Asiatic with his teeth and claws. The soldiers, fired by the king's

1 Chantre, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, vol. 1, pl. xxiii., and p. 68; Rosellini, Monuments Stecchi, pl. xcv., where the messenger is seen galloping on horseback across the plain.

2 Drawn by Rosellini from a photograph taken by Direx of the rear front of the monument; cf. Chantre, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxvi.-xxvii., sect. ii. iii. 1892, and for the same scene at Lahun, Rosellini, Monuments Stecchi, pl. xcxi.

3 The lion is represented and named in the battle-scenes at Abu Simbel (Chantre, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xxvii., sect. iii., Rosellini, Monuments Stecchi, pl. xcvii.), at Deir (Jasayes, Deir of, 1884, 184), and at Lahun, where we see it in camp on the eve of the battle, with its two front paws tied, and its heart threatening it (Chantre, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. xcvii.).
example, stood their ground resolutely during the long hours of the afternoon; at length, as night was drawing on, the legions of Phra' and Sutkhû, who had hastily retraced their steps, arrived on the scene of action. A large body of Khâti, who were hemmed in in that part of the camp which they had taken in the morning, were at once killed or made prisoners, not a man of them escaping. Khâtušarû, disconcerted by this sudden reinforcement of the enemy, beat a retreat, and nightfall suspended the struggle. It was recommenced at dawn the following morning with unabated fury, and terminated in the rout of the confederates. Garbatus, the shield-bearer of the Hittite prince, the generals in command of his infantry and chariots, and Khâtušarû, the "writer of books," fell during the action. The chariots, driven back to the Orontes, rushed into the river in the hope of fording it, but in so doing many lives were lost. Mustamsu, the Prince of Khâti's brother, reached the opposite bank in safety, but the Chief of Tousa was drowned, and the lord of Khalipu was dragged out of the water more dead than alive, and had to be held head downwards to disgorge the water he had swallowed before he could be restored to consciousness. Khâtušarû himself was on the point of perishing, when the troops which had been shut up in Govshû, together with the inhabitants, made a general sortie; the Egyptians were for a moment held in check, and the fugitives meanwhile were able to enter the town. Either there was insufficient provisim for so many months, or the enemy had lost all heart from the disaster; at any rate, further resistance appeared useless. The next morning Khâtušarû sent to propose a truce or peace to the victorious Pharaoh. The Egyptians had probably suffered at least as much as their
adversaries, and perhaps regarded the eventuality of a siege with no small distaste; Ramses, therefore, accepted the offers made to him and prepared to return to Egypt. The fame of his exploits had gone before him, and he himself was not a little proud of the energy he had displayed on the day of battle. His predecessors had always shown themselves to be skilful generals and brave soldiers, but none of them had ever before borne, or all but borne, single-handed the brunt of an attack. Ramses loaded his shield-bearer Manna with rewards for having stood by him in the hour of danger, and ordered abundant provender and sumptuous harness for the good horses—"Strength-in-Thobaid," and "Nutit the satisfied—who had drawn his chariot. He determined that the most characteristic episodes of the campaign—the beating of the spies, the surprise of the camp, the king's repeated charges, the arrival of his veterans, the flight of the Syrians, and the surrender of Qadesh—should be represented on the walls and pylons of the temples. A poem in rhymed strophes in every case accompanies these records of his glory, whether at Luxor, at the Ramesseum, at the Memnonium of Abydos, or in the heart of Nubia at Abu Simbel. The author of the poem must have been present during the campaign, or must have had the account of it from the lips of his sovereign, for his work bears no traces of the coldness of

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2 Sallar Papiere III, pl. 8, IX, 7, 8. A gold ring in the Louvre bears in relief on its broad two little horses, which are probably "Strength-in-Thobaid" and "Nuitt sailed." (E. de Roussy, Notes des principaux Monuments, 1835, p. 62; Puecher, Catalogue de la Salle Sibéci du Louvre Egyptologique, p. 146, No. 146). It was published by Macrane, L’Archéologie Egyptienne, p. 419, and is also inserted as the tail-piece at the end of this chapter, on p. 150.
official reports, and a warlike strain runs through it from one end to the other, so as still to invest it with life after a lapse of more than thirty centuries. 1

But little pains are bestowed on the introduction, and the poet does not give free vent to his enthusiasm until the moment when he describes his hero, left almost alone, charging the enemy in the sight of his followers. The Pharaoh was surrounded by two thousand five hundred chariots, and his retreat was cut off by the warriors of the "perverted" Khatti and of the other nations who accompanied them—the peoples of Arvad, Mycia, and Pelasgus; each of their chariots contained three men, and the ranks were so pressed that they formed but one dense mass. "No other prince was with me, no general officers, no one in command of the chariots or charioteers. My foot-soldiers deserted me, my charioteers fled before the foe, and not one of them stood firm beside me to fight against them." Then said His Majesty: "Who art thou, then, my father Amon? A father who forgets his son? Or have I committed aught against thee? Have I not manced and hallowed according to thy command? When he does not violate thy orders, the lord of Egypt is indeed great, and he overthrows the barbarians in his path! What are these Asiatics to thy heart? Amon will humiliate those who know not the god. Have I not consecrated innumerable offerings to thee? Filling thy holy dwelling-place with my prisoners, I build thee a temple for millions of years, I lavish all my goods on thy storehouses, I offer thee the whole world to enrich thy domains.

A miserable fate indeed awaits him who sets himself against thy will, but happy is he who finds favour with thee by deeds done for thee with a

1 The author is unknown: Fantaisie, or rather Fantasia, to whom E. de Rouge attributed the poem (Le Poème de Poéto-la, pp. 6, 7, 88); it is more likely the transcriber of the copy we possess in papyrus (Blacas, Nécrophylaque Grecque, pp. 6, 7). The poem of Qeshesh was discovered at Aïn in Ptolemaic times by Champollion (Lettres autographe de l'Egypte, 1st ed., p. 37), who at once made a copy of the manuscript, and it was edited later on by Salzmann (Comptes de l'Académie des Sciences, Paris, 1819; the manuscript, acquired by the Brit. Museum, was published in full in Select Papyri, vol. 1, p. 251-259, with a notice by Hirsch (ibid., text, pp. 3-4). The poem was translated, just as it was found in the papyrus, by E. de Rouge (Le Poème de Poéto-la, 1836), and it is from this masterly work that the analysis and translations of Goodwin (On the Heraclean Papyrus, in the Cambridge Essays, 1838, pp. 232-243), J. Brugsch (Histoire d'Egypte, pp. 140-157), and Gough (Egyptian, pp. 281-313), and from Washington (The Third Shepherd's Papyrus, the War of Ramses III, with the Hittites, of Pianello, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. 1, pp. 62-76) are derived. A new fragment discovered at M. Rabie, and given by him to the Louvre, enabled E. de Rouge to continue his first translation (Le Poème de Poéto-la, nouvelle traduction, in the Revue des Travaux, vol. 2, pp. 1-9), while preparing a critical edition of the text, in which were inserted the fragments found at Karnak (Oxfordshire, Monuments d'Égypte de la Nubie, vol. 1, p. 24); Bruxelles, Recueil de Monuments, vol. 1, pl. cx., xii.; Mariette, Karnak, pls. 48-51; E. and J. de Rouge, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pl. cxxx.; etc., at Louvre (Bruxelles, Recueil de Monuments, vol. 1, pl. cl., xxii.; E. and J. de Rouge, Inscriptions renouvelles d'Egypte, pl. ocreo-cornélienne, etc.; and in the temple of Ammon (Mariette, Algerie, vol. 2, pls. 6, 7), the two principal fragments of the poem have been fully copied by E. de Rouge, in the Louvre, and the Collège de France from 1833 to 1873. A part of this work has appeared, thanks to the labours of J. de Rouge (Le Poème de Poéto-la, in the Rome Égyptologique, vol. 1, pp. 149-161; vol. 2, pp. 89-92, 137-142; vol. 3, pp. 25-32, 85-89, 103-112; vol. iv, pp. 21-28).
loving heart. I invoke thee, O my father Amon! Here am I in the midst of people so numerous that it cannot be known who are the nations joined together against me, and I am alone among them, none other is with me. All my soldiers have forsaken me, none of my charioteers looked towards me when I called them, not one of them heard my voice when I cried to them. But I find that Amon is more to me than a million soldiers, than a hundred thousand charioteers, than a myriad of brothers or young sons, joined all together, for the number of men is as nothing; Amon is greater than all of them. Each time I have accomplished these things, Amon, by the counsel of thy mouth, as I do not transgress thy orders, I render thee glory even to the ends of the earth." 

So calm an invocation in the thick of the battle would appear misplaced in the mouth of an ordinary man, but Pharaoh was a god, and the son of a god, and his actions and speeches cannot be measured by the same standard, as that of a common mortal. He was possessed by the religious spirit in the hour of danger, and while his body continued to fight, his soul took wing to the throne of Amon. He contemplates the lord of heaven face to face, reminds him of the benefits which he had received from him, and summons him to his aid with an imperiousness which betrays the sense of his own divine origin. The expected help was not delayed. "While the voice resounds in Harnmithis, Amon arises at my behest; he stretches out his hand to me, and I cry out with joy when he hails me from behind. "Face to face with thee, face to face with thee, Ramses Miamun, I am with thee! It is I, thy father! My heart is with thee, and I am worth more to thee than hundreds of thousands. I am the strong one who loves valour; I have beheld in thee a courageous heart, and my heart is satisfied; my will is about to be accomplished." I am like Mout; from the right I shoot with the dart, from the left I seize the enemy. I am like Bual in his hour, before them; I have encountered two thousand five hundred chariots, and as soon as I am in their midst, they are overthrown before my mares. Not one of all these people has found a hand wherewith to fight; their hearts sink within their breasts, fear paralyses their limbs; they know not how to throw their darts, they have no strength to hold their lances. I precipitate them into the water like as the crocodile plunges therein; they are prostrate face to the earth, one upon the other, and I stay in the midst of them, for I have willed that not one should look behind him, nor that one should return; he who falls rises not again." 

This sudden descent of the god has, even at the present day, an effect upon the reader,
prepared though he is by his education to consider it as a literary artifice; but on the Egyptian, brought up to regard Amon with boundless reverence, its influence was irresistible. The Prince of the Khatti, repulsed at the very moment when he was certain of victory, recoiled with terror. He sends against the enemy the various chiefs, followed by their chariots and skilled warriors,—the chiefs of Arvad, Lycia, and Ilion, the leaders of the Lyctans and Dardanian, the lords of Carchemish, of the Girsasites, and of Khabup; these allies of the Khatti, all together, comprised three thousand chariots." Their efforts, however, were in vain. "I fell upon them like Mouni, my hand devoured them in the space of a moment, in the midst of them I hewed down and slew. They said one to another: This is no man who is amongst us; it is Sitchis the great warrior, it is Baal incarnate! These are not human actions which he accomplishes: alone, by himself, he repulsed hundreds of thousands, without leaders or men. Up, let us flee before him, let us seek to save our lives, and let us breathe again!" When at last, towards evening, the army again rallies round the king, and finds the enemy completely defeated, the men hang their heads with mingled shame and admiration as the Pharaoh reproaches them: "What will the whole earth say when it is known that you left me alone, and without any to succour me? that not a prince, not a charioteer, not a captain of archers, was found to place his hand in mine? I fought, I repulsed millions of people by myself alone. 'Victory-in-Thebes' and 'Nacht satisfied' were my glorious horses; it was they that I found under my hand when I was alone in the midst of the quaking foe. I myself will cause them to take their food before me, each day, when I shall be in my palace, for I was with them when I was in the midst of the enemy, along with the Prince Manua my shield-bearer, and with the officers of my house who accompanied me, and who are my witnesses for the combat; these are those whom I was with. I have returned after a victorious struggle, and I have smitten with my sword the assembled multitudes."* 

The ordeal was a terrible one for the Khatti; but when the first moment of defeat was over, they again took courage and resumed the campaign. This single effort had not exhausted their resources, and they rapidly filled up the gaps which had been made in their ranks. The plains of Naharaim and the mountains of Gutem supplied them with fresh chariots and foot-soldiers in the place of those they had lost, and bands of mercenaries were furnished from the table-land of Asia Minor, so that when Ramses II. reappeared in Syria, he found himself confronted by a completely fresh army. Khatmurri, having profited by experience, did not again attempt a general engagement, but

* See the Papyrus XIII., pl. vii. 1. 6, et seq.; J. de Rouge, Le Pouvoirs de Pharaon, in the Revue Egyptologique, vol. vii. pp. 21, 32.
contented himself with disputing step by step the upper valleys of the Littany and Oronites. Meantime his emissaries spread themselves over Phoenicia and Kharb, sowing the seeds of rebellion, often only too successfully. In the king's VIIIth year there was a general rising in Galilee, and its towns—Ganaput in the hill-country of Bit-Aniti, Merom, Shalaim, Dapur, and Anamaita—and had to be reduced one after another. Dapur was the hardest to carry. It crowned the top of a rocky eminence, and was protected by a double wall, which followed the irregularities of the hillside. It formed a rallying-point for a large force, which had to be overcome in the open country before the investment of the town could be attempted. The siege was at last brought to a conclusion, after a series of skirmishes, and the town taken by scaling, four Egyptian princes having been employed in conducting the attack. In the Pharaoh's IXth year a revolt broke out on the Egyptian frontier, in the Shephelah, and the king placed himself at the head of his troops to crush it. Ascalon, in which the peasants and their families had found, as they hoped, a safe refuge, opened its gates to the Pharaoh, and its fall brought about the submission of several neighbouring places. This, it appears, was the first time since the beginning of the conquests in Syria that the inhabitants of these regions attempted to take up arms, and we may well ask what could have induced them thus to renounce their ancient loyalty. Their defection reduced Egypt for the moment almost to her natural frontiers. Peace had scarcely been resumed when war again broke out with fresh violence in Cela-Syria, and one year it reached even to Naharaim, and raged around Tmpha as in the days of Thutmose III. Pharaoh assembled his foot-soldiers and chariots, and he commanded his foot-soldiers and his chariots to attack the perverse Khati who were in the neighbourhood of Tmpha, and he put on his armour and mounted his chariot, and he waged battle against the town of the perverse Khati at the head of his foot-soldiers and his chariots, covered with his armour;” the fortress, however, did not yield till the second attack.
carried his arms still further afield, and with such results, that, to judge merely from the triumphal lists engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnak, the inhabitants on the banks of the Euphrates, those in Carchemish, Mitanni, Sinar, Assyria, and Mannea found themselves ones more at the mercy of the Egyptian battalions. These victories, however brilliant, were not decisive; if after any one of them, the princes of Assyria and Sinar may have sent presents to the Pharaoh, the Hittites, on the other hand, did not consider themselves beaten, and it was only after fifteen campaigns that they were at length sufficiently subdued to propose a treaty. At last, in the Egyptian king's XXIst year, on the 21st of the month Tybi, when the Pharaoh, then residing in his good town of Anakhith, was returning from the temple where he had been offering prayers to his father Amon-Ra, to Harmakhis of Heliopolis, to Phtah, and, to Shutkhu the valiant son of Ninh, Rameses, one of the "messengers" who filled the office of lieutenant for the king in Asia, arrived at the palace and presented to him Tartianbu, who was authorised to make peace with Egypt in the name of Khâtnasaru. Tartianbu carried in his hand a tablet of silver, on which his master had prescribed the conditions which appeared to him just and equitable. A short preamble recalling the alliances made between the ancestors of both parties, was followed by a declaration of friendship, and a reciprocal obligation to avoid in future all grounds of hostility; not only was a perpetual truce declared between both peoples, but they agreed to help each other at the first demand: "Should some enemy march against the countries subject to the great King of Egypt, and should he send to the great Prince of the Khâti, saying: 'Come, bring me forces against them,' the great Prince of the Khâti shall do as he is asked by the great King of Egypt, and the great Prince of the Khâti shall destroy his enemies. And if the great Prince of the Khâti shall prefer not to come himself, he shall send his archers and his chariots to the great King of Egypt to destroy his enemies." A similar clause ensured aid in return from Rameses to Khâtnasaru.

1 Lévi-Storchi, Roma, III, p. 178; Macanrue, Karnak, pl. III p. 14, where these names are mentioned in the various lists of the monuments of Rameses II.
2 The treaty of Rameses II with the Prince of the Khâti was sculptured at Karnak (Brunner, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pl. XXIV, and 25; and Guimard, Nouv. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, vol. II, pp. 282-285; Român, Monumenti Scarde, pl. 141; Le Goffe, Revue du Muséum, vol. I, pl. XXXI; and Bouchard, Notes du voyage de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, vol. II., pp. 286, 288; Bouchard, Notes du voyage, in the Revue du Muséum, vol. XXI, pp. 72-73; it has been partly translated by Români (Monumenti, vol. III, p. 2, p. 258-262), by Breton (Reisenreiche aus Ägypten, pp. 117-121) and hevres d'Égypte, pp. 130-145); and in summary by E. du Rios (in Koenig, Études sur les traités de paix, pp. 823-826; in Revue Archéologique, 2nd serie, vol. 111, p. 208, et seq); by Chatan (Le voyage d'Annes, pp. 259-259); by Goodwin (Treaty of Peace between Ramesses II. and the Hittites, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. I, p. 171-180); by Breton (Geschichte Assyriens, pp. 248-250), and by Wiedemann (Geschichte des Ägypten, p. 29).

5 Treaty of Rameses with the Prince of the Khâti, I., 13.
brother," while two articles enounced in identical terms made provision against the possibility of any town or tribe dependent on either of the two sovereigns withdrawing its allegiance and placing it in the hands of the other party. In this case the Egyptians as well as the Hittites engaged not to receive, or at least not to accept, such offers, but to refer them at once to the legitimate lord. The whole treaty was placed under the guarantee of the gods both of Egypt and of the Khâti, whose names were given at length: "Whoever shall fail to observe the stipulations, let the thousand gods of Khâti and the thousand gods of Egypt strike his house, his land, and his servants. But he who shall observe the stipulations engraved on the tablet of silver, whether he belong to the Hittite people or whether he belong to the people of Egypt, as he has not neglected them, may the thousand gods of Khâti and the thousand gods of Egypt give him health, and grant that he may prosper, himself, the people of his house, and also his land and his servants." The treaty itself ends by a description of the plaque of silver on which it was engraved. It was, in fact, a facsimile in metal of one of those clay tablets on which the Chaldeans inscribed their contracts. The preliminary articles occupied the upper part in closely written lines of cuneiform characters, while in the middle, in a space left free for the purpose, was the impress of two seals, that of the Prince of the Khâti and of his wife Pûnkhipa. Khâtusama was represented on them as standing upright in the arms of Sárkhâ, while around the two figures ran the inscription, "Seal of Sárkhâ, the sovereign of heaven." Pûnkhipa leaned on the breast of a god, the patron of her native town of Aranna in Qazanadûma, and the legend stated that this was the seal of the Sun of the town of Aranna, the regent of the earth. The text of the treaty was continued beneath, and probably extended to the other side of the tablet. The original draft had terminated after the description of the seals, but, to satisfy the Pharaoh, certain additional articles were appended for the protection of the commerce and industry of the two countries, for the prevention of the emigration of artisans, and for ensuring that steps taken against them should be more effectual and less cruel. Any criminal attempting to evade the laws of his country, and taking refuge in that of the other party to the agreement, was to be expelled without delay and consigned to the officers of his lord; any fugitive

1 Treaty of Ramessae II. with the Prince of the Khâti, II. 22-34.

2 The text of these last lines has been noticed by Bouriant from the obverse of the copy of the Elamite (Notes de Voyages, p. 67); cf. C. de Carné, Recherches de Tarse (Paris, 1859), pp. 166-169.

3 The monument reproduced in the Dice of Clessidnion, pp. 699, 691, representing the Chaldean Hall, furnishes an example of a model tablet similar to that on which the treaty was engraved. A clay tablet, inscribed in the manner noted in the text, is shown in the Dice of Clessidnion, p. 729.
not a criminal, any subject carried off or detained by force, any able artisan quitting either territory to take up permanent residence in the other, was to be conducted to the frontier, but his act of folly was not to expose him to judicial condemnation. "He who shall thus act, his fault shall not be brought up against him; his house shall not be touched, nor his wife, nor his children; he shall not have his throat cut, nor shall his eyes be touched, nor his mouth, nor his feet; no criminal accusation shall be made against him."

This treaty is the most ancient of all those of which the text has come down to us; its principal conditions were—perfect equality and reciprocity between the contracting sovereigns, an offensive and defensive alliance, and the extradition of criminals and refugees. The original was drawn up in Chaldæan script by the scribes of Khâsinara, probably on the model of former conventions between the Pharaohs and the Asiatic courts,² and to this the Egyptian ministers had added a few clauses relative to the pardon of emigrants delivered up by one or other of the contracting parties. When, therefore, Tartushu arrived in the city of Ramess, the acceptance of the treaty was merely a matter of form, and peace was virtually concluded. It did not confer on the conqueror the advantages which we might have expected from his successful campaigns; it enjoined, on the contrary, the definite renunciation of these countries, Mittanu, Naharaaim, Alasia, and Ammurru, over which Thûtmosis III. and his immediate successors had formerly exercised an effective sovereignty. Sixteen years of victories had left matters in the same state as they were after the expedition of Harumah; and, like his predecessor, Ramess was able to retain merely those Asiatic provinces which were within the immediate influence of Egypt, such as the Phœnician coast proper, Khurû, Pera, beyond Jordan, the oases of the Arabian desert, and the peninsula of Sinai.³ This apparently unsatisfactory result, after such supreme efforts, was, however, upon closer examination, not so disappointing. For more than half a century at least, since the Hittite kingdom had been developed and established under the impulse given to it by Sapa-lulu, everything had been in its favour. The campaign of Seti had opposed

¹ Treaty of Ramess II, II, 31, 52. Cf. what is said on the subject on pp. 277-288 of the present work.
² Cf. for the existence of analogous treaties concluded between Egypt and Asiatic powers under the XVIIIth dynasty, what is said on p. 328 of the present volume.
³ W. MAX MÜLLER, Asia and Europe, pp. 222-224, 279. The Assyrian Fostayr 3, p. xvii. 1 8, mentions a place called Zor a of Somalès, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. CASSAR, Fosayr d'Asyrie, pp. 96, 99. In a part of Syria which was not in Egyptian territory, the frontier in this locality must have passed between Arrak and Hylkès on the east, and between Quabni and Hazan from Marouli island. Egyptian rule on the other side of the Jordan seems to be proved by the monument discovered a few years ago in the Harran, and known under the name of the "Stone of Job" by the Babénath of the neighbourhood (Schriften des Palästina-Vereins, vol. xiv. p. 142, et seq., cf. Hilmer, Die Hittolhiten,tit, vol. xiv. pp. 210, 312).
merely a passing obstacle to its expansion, and had not succeeded in discouraging its ambitions, for its rulers still nursed the hope of being able one day to conquer Syria as far as the isthmus. The check received at Qodhû, the abortive attempts to foment rebellion in Galilee and the Shephelah, the obstinate persistence with which Ramses and his army returned year after year to the attack, the presence of the enemy at Timpâ, on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the provinces then forming the very centre of the Hittite kingdom—in short, all the incidents of this long struggle—at length convinced Khânutsarû that he was powerless to extend his rule in this direction at the expense of Egypt. Moreover, we have no knowledge of the events which occupied him on the other frontiers of his kingdom, where he may have been engaged at the same time in a conflict with Assyria, or in repelling an incursion of the tribes on the Black Sea. The treaty with Pharaoh, if made in good faith and likely to last, would protect the southern extremities of his kingdom, and allow of his removing the main body of his forces to the north and east in case of attack from either of these quarters. The security which such an alliance would ensure, therefore, worth his while to sue for peace, even if the Egyptians should construe his overtures as an acknowledgment of exhausted supplies or of inferiority of strength. Ramses doubtless took it as such, and openly displayed on the walls at Karnak and in the Ramesseum a copy of the treaty so flattering to his pride, but the indomitable resistance which he had encountered had doubtless given rise to reflections resembling those of Khânutsarû, and he had come to realise that it was his own interest not to lightly forego the good will of the Khâti. Egypt had neighbours in Africa who were troublesome though not dangerous: the Timitû, the Tihono, the Mâshâdâsha, the negroes of Kâfû and of Phâtû, might be a continual source of annoyance and disturbance, even though they were incapable of disturbing her supremacy. The coast of the Delta, it is true, was exposed to the piracy of northern nations, but up to that time this had been merely a local trouble, easy to meet if not to obviate altogether. The only real danger was on the Asiatic side, arising from empires of ancient constitution like Châdum, or from hordes who, arriving at irregular intervals from the north, and carrying all before them, threatened, after the example of the Hyksos, to enter the Delta. The Hittite kingdom acted as a kind of buffer between the Nile valley and these nations, both civilized and barbarous; it was a strongly armed force on the route of the invaders, and would henceforth serve as a protecting barrier, through which if the enemy were able to pass it would only be with his strength broken or weakened by a previous encounter. The sovereigns loyally observed the peace which they had sworn to each other, and in his XXXIVth year the marriage of Ramses with the eldest daughter of Khânutsarû
strengthened their friendly relations. Pharaoh was not a little proud of this union, and he has left us a naive record of the manner in which it came about. The inscription is engraved on the face of the rock at Abu Simbel in Nubia; and Ramses begins by boasting, in a heroic strain, of his own energy and exploits, of the fear with which his victories inspired the whole world, and of the anxiety of the Syrian kinglets to fulfil his least wishes. The Prince of the Khâti had sent him sumptuous presents at every opportunity, and, not knowing how further to make himself agreeable to the Pharaoh, had finally addressed the great lords of his court, and reminded them how their country had formerly been ruined by war, how their master Sûtôn had taken part against them, and how they had been delivered from their ills by the clemency of the Sun of Egypt. "Let us therefore take our goods, and placing my eldest daughter at the head of them, let us repair to the domains of the great god, so that the King Sesostris may recognise us." He accordingly did as he had proposed, and the embassy set out with gold and silver, valuable horses, and an escort of soldiers, together with cattle and provisions to supply them with food by the way. When they reached the borders of Khâru, the governor wrote immediately to the Pharaoh as follows: "Here is the Prince of the Khâti, who brings his eldest daughter with a number of presents of every kind; and now this princess and the chief of the country of the Khâti, after having crossed many mountains and undertaken a difficult journey from distant parts, have arrived at the frontiers of His Majesty. May we be instructed how we ought to act with regard to them." The king was then in residence at Ramses. When the news reached him, he officially expressed his great joy at the event, since it was a thing unheard of in the annals of the country that so powerful a prince should go to such personal inconvenience in order to marry his daughter to an ally. The Pharaoh, therefore, despatched his nobles and an army to receive them, but he was careful to conceal the anxiety which he felt all the while, and, according to custom, took counsel of his patron god Sûtôn: "Who are these people who come with a message at this time?

1 Drawn by Faucon-Guérin from the plate in Lassus, ii. 156 a.; the idol worshipped by Khâtnayr, and his daughter is composed of Ramses II., seated between Amon-Râ and Ptah-Tuthmosis.
to the country of Zahi?" The oracle, however, reassured him as to their intentions, and he thereupon hastened to prepare for their proper reception. The embassy made a triumphal entry into the city, the princess at its head, escorted by the Egyptian troops told off for the purpose, together with the foot-soldiers and charioteers of the Kháti, comprising the flower of their army and militia. A solemn festival was held in their honour, in which food and drink were served without stint, and was concluded by the celebration of the marriage in the presence of the Egyptian lords and of the princes of the whole earth. Ramses, unwilling to relegate a princess of such noble birth to the companionship of his ordinary concubines, granted her the title of queen, as if she were of solar blood, and with the cartouches gave her the new name of Ultrimanophratri—"She who sees the beauties of the Sun." She figures henceforth in the ceremonies and on the monuments in the place usually occupied by women of Egyptian race only, and these unusual honours may have compensated, in the eyes of the young princess, for the disproportion in age between herself and a veteran more than sixty years old. The friendly relations between the two courts became so intimate that the Pharaoh invited his father-in-law to visit him in his own country. "The great Prince of Kháti informed the Prince of Qodí: 'Prepare thyself that we may go down into Egypt. The word of the king has gone forth, let us obey Sesostir. He gives the breath of life to those who love him; hence all the earth loves him, and Kháti forms but one with him." They were received with pomp at Ramses-Anakhittá, and perhaps at Thebes. It was with a mixture of joy and astonishment that Egypt beheld her bitterest foe become her most faithful ally, and the men of Qodí having but one heart with the chiefs of the Kháti, a thing which had not happened since the ages of Ra."
The half-century following the conclusion of this alliance was a period of world-wide prosperity. Syria was once more able to breathe freely, her commerce being under the combined protection of the two powers who shared her territory. Not only caravans, but isolated travellers, were able to pass through the country from north to south without incurring any risks beyond those occasioned by an untrustworthy guide or a few highwaymen. It became in time a common task in the schools of Thebes to describe the typical Syrian tour of some soldier or functionary, and we still possess one of these imaginative stories in which the scribe takes his hero from Qadehó across the Lebanon to Byblos, Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon, "the fish" of which latter place "are more numerous than the grains of sand," he then makes him cross Galilee and the forest of oaks to Jaffa; climb the mountains of the Dead Sea; and following the maritime route by Baphia, reach Pelusium. The Egyptian galleys through the Phœnician ports, while those of Phœnicia visited Egypt. The latter drew so little water that they had no difficulty in coming up the Nile, and the paintings in one of the temples represent them at the moment of their reaching Thebes. The hull of these vessels was similar to that of the Nile boats, but the bow and stern were terminated by structures which rose at right angles, and respectively gave support to a sort of small platform. Upon this the pilot maintained

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"Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph published by Drovray in the Mem. acad. sc. de Caire.

"This is the Amund Egeria, published in the Select Papiers, vol. 1, pl. 24, by Jull.; used by Blöcke and Birch in several of their early works, and completely translated by Cuvier-Germain, Le Voyage d'Egypte, 1830; and after them by Bouchard, Le Voyage d'Egypte, by the Soc. des amis de l'Egypte, 1837, vol. 1, pp. 31-166, 183-254, and Descartès, Egypten, pp. 381-382; cf. Flourens, Egyptien et Papyrique, Leitho., pp. 268-270.

"The Great Ptolemaic Description of Thebes, II, 83, 91."
his position by one of those wondrous feats of equilibrium of which the Orientals were masters. An open rail ran round the sides of the vessel, so as to prevent goods stowed upon the deck from falling into the sea when the vessel lurched. Voyages to Thunet were undertaken more frequently in quest of invasive and precious metals. The working of the mines of Akirit had been the source of considerable outlay at the beginning of the reign. The measures taken by Seti to render the approaches to them practicable at all seasons had not produced the desired results; as far back as the 111th year of Ramses the overseers of the south had been forced to acknowledge that the managers of the convoys could no longer use any of the cisterns which had been hewn and built at such great expense. "Half of them die of thirst, together with their asses, for they have no means of carrying a sufficient number of skins of water to last during the journey there and back." The friends and officers whose advice had been called in, did not doubt for a moment that the king would be willing to complete the work which his father had merely initiated. "If thou sayest to the water: "Come upon the mountain," the heavenly waters will spring out at the word of thy mouth, for thou art Ra incarnate, Khopri visibly created, thou art the living image of thy father Tumm, the Heleopolitan."—

"If thou thyself sayest to thy father the Nile, father of the gods," added the Viceroy of Ethiopia, "raise the water up to the mountain," he will do all that thou hast said, for so it has been with all thy projects which have been accomplished in our presence, of which the like has never been heard, even in the songs of the poets." The cisterns and wells were thereupon put into such a condition that the transport of gold was rendered easy for years to come. The war with the Khatti had not suspended building and other works of public utility; and now, owing to the establishment of peace, the sovereign was able to devote himself entirely to them. He deepened the canal at Zafla; he repaired the walls and the fortified places which protected the frontier on the

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2. Cf. what is said on the subject of Seti I., in pp. 373-376 of this volume.


4. Classical authors say that he wished to establish communication between the Nile and the Red Sea (ARISTOROS, Monacs, I. xi.; STRUM, I. § 21, p. 83, XVII. § 25, p. 894; PLAUTUS, Nat. Hist., vi. 25, § 165); all affirm that this canal of Scenlitites was never completed; a similar fate befell that of Pharaoh Necho (HEINSOHN, II. 136).
side of the Sinaite Peninsula, and he built or enlarged the strongholds along the Nile at these points most frequently threatened by the incursions of nomad tribes. Ramses was the royal builder par excellence, and we may say without fear of contradiction that, from the second cataract to the mouths of the Nile, there is scarcely an edifice on whose ruins we do not find his name. In Nubia, where the desert approaches close to the Nile, he confined himself to cutting in the solid rock the monuments which, for want of space, he could not build in the open. The idea of the cave-temple must have occurred very early to the Egyptians; they were accustomed to house their dead in the mountainside, why then should they not house their gods in the same manner? The oldest forms of sepulchre, those near to Beni-Hasan, at Deir el-Bahari, at El-Kab, and at Gebel Silsileh, however, do not date further back than the time of the XVIIIth dynasty. All the forms of architectural plan observed in isolated

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* For this line of fortifications, cf. what is said in the *History of Civilization*, pp. 324, 332, 409, and also p. 122 of this volume. Some writers of the classical period attribute its foundation to Ramses II, and speak of it as "The Wall of Semotru." (Dumont, *Shahara*, i. 377.)

* Drawn by Fournier-Delabre, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Fussinger.

* Upon the sepulchre of Deir el-Bahari and that of Gebel Silsileh, see pp. 241-242, 348-359 of this volume; the Span Arshabian, at Beni-Hasan, is of the date of Queen Hibisvat, but it was restored by Seti I. (Schaeffer, *Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique du Saint Antoine*, in the *Journal de France*, vol. 65, pp. 1-57; that of El-Kab goes back to the reign of Amenemhat III.)
temples were utilized by Ramses and applied to rock-cut buildings with more or less modification, according to the nature of the stratum in which he had to work. Where space permitted, a part only of the temple was cut in the rock, and the approaches to it were built in the open air with blocks brought to the spot, so that the completed temple became only in part a grotto—a hemi-space of varied construction.

It was in this manner that the architects of Ramses arranged the court and pylon at Bell-Wally, the hypostyle hall, rectangular, court and pylon at Gerf-Rossekh, and the avenue of sphinxes at Wady es-Sebua, where the entrance to the avenue was guarded by two statues overlooking the river. The pylon at Gerf-Rossekh has been demolished, and merely a few traces of the foundations appear here and there above the soil, but a portion of the portico which surrounded the court is still standing, together with its massive architectures and statues, which stand

1 The description of the temple of Bell-Wally is given by Gar, Monumenta de la Nobis, pl. 22, 14-16; by Champollion, Lettres sur l'Egypte, and ed., pp. 109-110; and Monumenta de l'Egypte et de la Nobis, vol. 1, pp. 133-139, and pls. xcvii, xcvii, xcvii; by Rosellini, Mon. Sacri, pl. xxxi.-xxxii.; for the battle-pyramid of Amenemhet III., see, The Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, pl. 23, and pp. 32-32, and also Lassor, Dettes, iii. 170-177.


4 Drawn by Francis-Guille, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Baudon and Daniel Boven.
with their backs against the pillars. The sanctuary itself comprised an antechamber, supported by two columns and flanked by two oblong recesses; this led into the Holy of Holies, which was a narrow niche with a low ceiling.

THE TWO GIGANTS OF ABU SIMBEL TO THE SOUTH OF THE DOORWAY.¹

placed between two lateral chapels. A hall, nearly square in shape, connected these mysterious chambers with the propylaea, which were open to the sky and faced with Osiride Caryatides. These appear to keep rigid and solemn watch over the approaches to the tabernacle, and their faces, half hidden in the shadow, still present such a stern appearance that the semi-barbaric Nubians of the neighbouring villages believe them to be possessed by implacable genii. They are supposed to move from their places during the hours of night, and the fire which flashes from their eyes destroys or fascinates whoever is rash enough to watch them.

Other kings before Ramses had constructed buildings in these spots, and their memory would naturally become associated with his in the future; he wished, therefore, to find a site where he would be without a rival, and to this end he transformed the cliff at Abu Simbel into a monument of his greatness. The rocks here project into the Nile and form a gigantic conical promontory.

¹ Drawn by Foucher-Dubois, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Hauy and Daniel Heiron.
the face of which was covered with triumphal stelae, on which the sailors or troops going up or down the river could spell out as they passed the praises of the king and his exploits. A few feet from shore on the northern side, covered with dry and knotty bushes, affords in winter a landing-place for tourists. At the spot where the beach ends near the point of the promontory, sit four colossal, with their feet nearly touching the water, their backs leaning against a sloping wall of rock, which takes the likeness of a pylon. A band of hieroglyphs runs above their heads underneath the usual cornice, over which again is a row of crouching, cymocephali, looking straight before them, their hands resting upon their knees, and above this line of sacred images rises the steep and naked rock. One of the colossi is broken, and the bust of the statue, which must have been detached by some great shock, has fallen to the ground; the others rise to the height of 63 feet, and appear to look across the Nile as if watching the wanderers leading to the gold-mine. The pachent crown surmounts their foreheads, and the two ends of the head-dress fall behind their ears; their features are of a noble type, calm and serious; the nose slightly aquiline, the under lip projecting above a square, but rather heavy, chin. Of such a type we may picture Ramses, after the conclusion of the peace with the Khatti, in the full vigour of his manhood and

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*Charpigny, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, vol. i, pp. 77-78, and pl. xii; xxii.; Rosellini, Mem. Semitic, vol. iii, pl. 2, pp. 177-188. The general outline of these stelae may be distinguished in the illustration on the opposite page.

* Drawn by Deodice, from a photograph taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Hezen.
at the height of his power. The doorway of the temple is in the centre of the façade, and rises nearly to a level with the elbows of the colossal; above the lintel, and facing the river, stands a figure of the god Ra, represented with a human body and the head of a sparrow-hawk, while two images of the king in profile, one on each side of the god, offer him a figure of Truth. The first hall, 130 feet long by 58 feet broad, takes the place of the court surrounded by a colonnade which in other temples usually follows the pylon. Here eight Osiride figures, standing against as many square pillars, appear to support the weight of the superincumbent rock. Their profile catches the light as it enters through the open doorway, and in the early morning, when the rising sun casts a ruddy ray over their features, their faces become marvellously Heli- like. We are almost tempted to think that a smile plays over their lips as the first beams touch them. The remaining chambers consist of a hypostyle hall nearly square in shape, the sanctuary itself being between two smaller apartments, and of eight subterranean chambers excavated at a lower level than the rest of the temple. The whole measures 178 feet from the threshold to the far end of the Holy of Holies. The walls are covered with bas-reliefs in which the Pharaoh has vividly depicted the wars which he carried on in the four corners of his kingdom; here we see raids against the negroes, there the war with the Khâti, and further on an encounter with some Libyan tribe. Ramses, flushed by the heat of victory, is seen attacking two Timihi chiefs: one has already fallen to the ground and is being trodden underfoot; the other, after vainly letting fly his arrows, is about to perish from a blow of the conqueror.

1 Drawn by Boeckler, from a photograph by Mons. de Bock; cf. CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, etc., pl. XVII.; Rosellini, Mec. Stud.; pl. XXIII., in which, the colours are represented as they still appeared in the first half of the present century.

2 OAS, Monuments de la Nubie, pl. 55, 57-61; CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, etc., vol. i, pp. 56-77; Rosellini, Mec. Stud.; vol. ii, pl. 2, pp. 85-105; LEPRIUS, Basir, iii, 123-134; cf. DUMAS, Der Ägyptische Stelenkatalog und Münzkatalog, 1869.
His knees give way beneath him, his head falls heavily backwards, and the features are contracted in his death-agony. Pharaoh, with his left hand has seized him by the arm, while with his right he points his lance against his enemy's breast, and is about to pierce him through the heart. As a rule, this type of bas-relief is executed with a conventional grace which leaves the spectator unmoved, and free to consider the scene merely from its historical point of view, forgetful of the artist. An examination of most of the other wall-decorations of the spot will furnish several examples of this type: we see Ramses with a suitable gesture brandishing his weapon above a group of prisoners, and the composition furnishes us with a fair example of official sculpture, correct, conventional, but devoid of interest. Here, on the contrary, the drawing is so full of energy that it carries the imagination back to the time and scene of those far-off battles. The indistinct light in which it is seen helps the illusion, and we almost forget that it is a picture we are beholding, and not the action itself as it took place some three thousand years ago. A small niche, situated at some hundred feet further north, is decorated with standing columns of smaller size, four of which represent Ramses, and two of them his wife, Iset Nofritari. This spot possesses neither peristyle nor crypt, and the chapels are placed at the two extremities of the transverse passage, instead of being in a parallel line with the sanctuary; on the other hand,

1 Drawn by Bonnier, from a photograph taken by Leeniger in 1881; cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. 35; and Horsley, Mon. Scarab., pl. XXXII.

the hypostyle hall rests on six pillars with Hathor-headed capitals of fine proportions. A third excavated grotto of modest dimensions served as an accessory chamber to the two others. An inexhaustible stream of yellow sand poured over the great temple from the summit of the cliff, and partially covered it every year. No sooner were the efforts to remove it relaxed, than it spread into the chambers, concealing the feet of the colossi, and slowly creeping upwards to their knees, breasts, and necks; at the beginning of this century they were entirely hidden. In spite of all that was done to divert it, it ceaselessly reappeared, and in a few summers regained all the ground which had been previously cleared. It would seem as if the desert, powerless to destroy the work of the conqueror, was seeking nevertheless to hide it from the admiration of posterity.*

Seti had worked indefatigably at Thebes, but the shortness of his reign prevented him from completing the buildings he had begun there. There existed everywhere, at Luxor, at Karnak, and on the left bank of the Nile, the remains of his unfinished works: sanctuaries partially roofed in, porticoes incomplete, columns raised to merely half their height, halls as yet imperfect with blank walls, here and there covered with only the outlines in red and black

* It was discovered in 1875, and an account of it published by Mrs Amelia B. Edwards, in a Thousand Miles up the Nile, pp. 476-480.
* The English engineers have succeeded in boring out the sand, and here prevented it from pouring over the cliff any more.—En.
ink of their future bas-reliefs, and statues hardly blocked out, or awaiting the final touch of the polisher. Ramses took up the work where his father had relinquished it. At Luxor there was not enough space to give to the hypostyle hall the extension which the original plans proposed, and the great colonnade has an unfinished appearance. The Nile, in one of its capricious floods, had carried away the land upon which the architects had intended to erect the side aisles; and if they wished to add to the existing structure a great court and a pylon, without which no temple was considered complete, it was necessary to turn the axis of the building towards the east. In their operations the architects came upon a beautiful little edifice of rose granite, which had been either erected or restored by Thutmose III. at a time when the town was an independent municipality and was only beginning to extend its suburban dwellings to meet those of Karnak. They took care to make no change in this structure, but set to work to incorporate it into their final

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1 This is the description which Ramses gave of the edifice in which he found the Mammemia of Abydos (Great Inscription of Abydos, I. 32. 33); an examination of the inscriptions existing in the Theban temples which Seti I. had constructed, shows that it must have applied also to the appearance of certain portions of Qurnah, Luxor, and Karnak in the time of Ramses II.

2 Drawn by Famsher-Guilla, from a photograph taken in 1888 by Dever.
plans. It still stands at the north-west corner of the court, and the elegance of its somewhat slender little columns contrasts happily with the heaviness of the structure to which it is attached. A portion of its portico is hidden by the brickwork of the mosque of Abn el Haggag: the part brought to light in the course of the excavations contains between each row of columns a colossal statue of Ramses II. We are accustomed to hear on all sides of the degeneracy of the sculptor’s art at this time, and of its having fallen into irreparable neglect. Nothing can be further from the truth than this sweeping statement. There are doubtless many statues and bas-reliefs of this epoch which shock us by their crudity and ugliness, but these owed their origin for the most part to provincial workshops which had been at all times of mediocre repute, and where the artists did not receive orders enough to enable them to correct by practice the defects of their education. We find but few productions of the Theban school exhibiting bad technique, and if we had only this one monument of Luxor from which to form our opinion of its merits, it would be sufficient to prove that the sculptors of Ramses II. were not at all behind those of Harmhabu or Seti I. Adroitness in cutting the granite or hard sandstone had in no wise been lost, and the same may be said of the skill in bringing out the contour and life-like action of the figure, and of the art of infusing into the features and demeanour of the Pharaoh something of the superhuman majesty with which the Egyptian people were accustomed to invest their monarchs. If the statues of Ramses II. in the portico are not perfect models of sculpture, they have many good points, and their bold treatment makes them effectively decorative.1 Eight other statues of Ramses are arranged along the base of the façade, and two obelisks—one of which has been at Paris for half a century2—stood on either side of the entrance. The whole structure lacks unity, and there is nothing corresponding to it in this respect anywhere else in Egypt. The northern half does not join on to the southern, but seems to belong to quite a distinct structure, or the two parts might be regarded as having once formed a single edifice which had become divided by an accident, which the architect had endeavoured to unite together again by a line of columns running between two walls. The masonry of the hypostyle hall at Karnak was squared and dressed, but the walls had been left undecorated, as was also the case with the majority of the shafts of the columns and the surface of the architraves.

1 Three of these colossal figures, one of them seated, are represented on p. 419; and another is given in Maxime, Archéologie Égyptienn, p. 253, fig. 196.
2 The colossals and the little temple of Thutmose III. were surrounded under the houses of the village; they were first brought to light in the excavations of 1884-85. The transportation of the obelisk to Paris was the occasion of a book of literature, of which Windemann gives an account in Übergänge, p. 458, 9-10.
Rameses covered the whole with a series of sculptured and painted scenes which had a rich ornamental effect; he then decorated the pylon, and inscribed on the outer wall to the south the list of cities which he had captured. The temple of Amon then assumed the aspect which it preserved henceforward for centuries. The Ramessids and their successors occupied themselves in filling it with furniture, and in taking steps for the repair of any damage that might accrue to the hall or pillars; they had their cartouches or inscriptions placed in vacant spaces, but they did not dare to modify its arrangement. It was reserved for the Ethiopian and Greek Pharaohs, in presence of the hypostyle and pylon of the XIXth dynasty, to conceive of others on a still rarer scale. Rameses, having completed the funerary chapel of Seti at Qurnah upon the left bank of the river, then began to think of preparing the edifice destined for the cult of his "double"—that Rameses whose majestic ruins still stand at a short distance to the north

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1 Mariette, Karnak, Text, pp. 22, 23, 25, 60, 61. The list of the captured cities is found in Champollion, Monuments du Egypte, cit., vol. ii., pp. 118-123; in Renouf's, Monuments Ramesés, vol. ii. pl. 2, pp. 259-262, and in Leprohon, Descry, iii. 146 c.

2 Glass by Robert-Frati, from a photograph by Beato.

3 Champollion, Monuments du Egypte, cit., vol. i., p. 226; Renouf, Monuments Ramesés, vol. iii., pt. 2, pp. 292, 293. See pp. 322, 323 of the present work for what is known about this chapel.
of the giants of Amenophis. Did these colossal statues stimulate his spirit of emulation to do something yet more marvellous? He erected here, at any rate, a still more colossal figure. The earthquake which shattered Memnon brought it to the ground, and fragments of it still strew the soil where they fell some nineteen centuries ago. There are so many of them that the spectator would think himself in the middle of a granite quarry.1 The portions forming the breast, arms, and thighs are in detached pieces, but they are still recognisable where they lie close to each other. The head has lost nothing of its characteristic expres-

1 This is the almost expression employed by Jules-Devillers, Description du Tombeau d'Oegam- non, 1868, p. 328. The head measures 2 feet 6 inches in length; the frame is 58 feet high from the top of the head to the sole of the foot, and the weight of the whole has been estimated at over a thousand tons (ibid., ibid., p. 329).

2 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Bédier.
their domains—meat, vegetables, corn, fowls dried or preserved in fat, and wines procured from all the vineyards of Egypt.

These were merely the principal monuments put up by Ramses II at Thebes during the sixty-seven years of his rule. There would be no end to the enumeration of his works if we were to mention all the other edifices which he constructed in the necropolis or among the dwellings of the living, all those which he restored, or those which he merely repaired or inscribed with his cartouches. These are often cut over the name of the original founder, and his usurpations of monuments are so numerous that he might be justly accused of having striven to blot out the memory of his predecessors; and of claiming for himself the entire work of the whole line of Pharaohs. It would seem as if, in his opinion, the glory of Egypt began with him, or at least with his father, and that no victorious campaigns had been ever heard of before those which he conducted against the Libyans and the Hittites.

The battle of Qadesh, with its attendant episodes—the flogging of the spies, the assault upon the camp, the charge of the chariots, the flight of the Syrians—is the favourite subject of his inscriptions; and the poem of Pentadelt adds to the bas-reliefs a description worthy of the acts represented. This Epic reappears everywhere, in Nubia and in the Siö, at Abu Simbel, at Beh-\nWally, at Derr, at Luxor, at Kurnak, and on the Ramesseum, and the same battle-scenes, with the same accompanying texts, reappear in the Memnonium.

* Drawn by Bender, from a photograph by Deiss; the great blocks in the foreground are the fragments of the colossal statue of Ramses II.
whose half-ruined walls still crown the necropolis of Abydos. He had decided upon the erection of this latter monument at the very beginning of his reign, and the artisans who had worked at the similar structure of Seti I. were employed to cover its walls with admirable bas-reliefs. Ramses also laid claim to

have his own resting-place at "the Cleft;" in this privilege he associated all the Thespians, from whom he imagined himself to be descended, and the same list of their names, which we find engraved in the chapel of his father, appears on his building also. Some ruins, lying beyond Abydos, are too formless to do more than indicate the site of some of his structures. He enlarged the temple of Haroash and that of Osiris at Mendespolis, and, to accomplish these works more promptly, his workmen had recourse for material to the royal towns of the IVth and XIIth dynasties; the pyramids of Oaenope H. and Snefru at Medum suffered accordingly the loss of the best part of their covering. He finished the mausoleum at Memphis, and dedicated the statue which Seti had merely blocked out; he then set to work to fill the city with buildings of his own device—granite and sandstone chambers to the west of the Sacred Lake, monumental gateways to the

2 Drawn by Reisler from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.
3 This is the list now in the British Museum; see p. 226 of the "Notes of Correspondence for Information on these two tables.
4 Naville, Abou et-Mabius, pp. 2, 9—11, and pl. 1, xii, xx. v. v. of Perrier, Medea, pp. 5—10, and Hikais, Ningas and Gard, p. 22. [For the nature of this "resting-place," which was not his tomb, see above, p. 222.—Tr.]
5 The Great Enclosure of Abydos, i, 28.
6 Partly excavated and published by Mariette (Monuments divers, pl. 21), cf. Breccia, As the
north, and before one of them a fine colossal figure in granite. It lay not long ago at the bottom of a hole among the palm trees, and was covered by the inundation every year; it has now been so raised as to be safe from the waters. Ramses could hardly infuse new life into all the provinces which had been devastated years before by the Shepherd-kings; but Heliopolis, Bubastis, Anthribis, Pathum, Mendis, Tell Moqdam, and all the cities of the eastern corner of the Delta, constitute a museum of his monuments, every object within them testifying to his activity. He colonised these towns with his prisoners, rebuilt them, and set to work to cause them from the


4 These are probably those mentioned by Herodotus (II. xii, xii), where he says that Setoumar constructed a propylon in the temple of Hapshetsut; cf. Winter, Heracleon on Cleopatra, pp. 192-193, 427.

5 This is the Abud-jall of the Arabs. It was raised in 1888 by Major Basset, Account of the Journey in which Two Colonial Stations of Ramses II. at Memphis were raised; in the Proceedings Phil. Arch. Soc., 1887-88, vol. x. pp. 625-632.

6 Compare on this subject Bouchard, Ouvrages d'Egypte, pp. 283, 296, where although the alleged facts are indisputable, the author seems to us to go too far in assuming the existence of a foreign power which prevented Ramses II. from bearing rule in this part of the country.

7 Ruins of the temple of Asbes near the mastaba of Ramses II. see Mabreco, Notes sur quelques monuments d'Egypte, in the Zolocchi, 1814, p. 111, and Griffith, The Antiquities of Tell Helփeh, pp. 64-66. "Chopart's Needle," transported to Alexandria by one of the Ptolemies had been set up by Ramses at Heliopolis; it is probably one of the four obelisks which the traditional Septuagint is said to have erected in that city, according to Perty, H. Nat., XXXVII. 11. 44.

8 Naville, Bubastis, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, and pls. xvi, xvi, xxxvii-xxxviii.

9 Bouchard, Ouvrages d'Egypte, vol. iv. pl. 1, t. 2.


12 In., fig. 32, and pl. vi. c. 1, 2.

13 Drawn by Freycinet, from a photograph brought back by Bouchard.
torpor into which they had fallen after their capture by Ahmose. He made a third capital of Tanis, which rivalled both Memphis and Thebes. Before this it had been little more than a deserted ruin; he cleared out the débris, brought a population to the place; rebuilt the temple, enlarging it by aisles which extended its area threefold; and here he entombed, along with the local divinities, a tract, in which Amonra and Sátkhā sat side by side with his own deified “double.” The ruined walls, the overturned stele, the obelisks recumbent in the dust, and the statues of his usurped predecessors, all bear his name. His colossal figure of statuary sandstone, in a sitting attitude like that at the Ramesseum, projected from the chief court, and seemed to look down upon the confused ruin of his works.

We do not know how many wives he had in his harem, but one of the lists of his children which has come down to us enumerates, although mutilated at the end, one hundred and eleven sons, while of his daughters we know of fifty-five. The majority of these were the offspring of nieces companions of foreign princesses, and possessed but a secondary rank in comparison with himself, but by his union with his sisters Noffirai Maritmut and Istnofrit, he had at least half a dozen sons and daughters who might aspire to the throne. Death robbed him of several of these before an opportunity was open to them to succeed him, and among them Amonkhophshuf, Amenhiramif, and Ramses, who had distinguished themselves in the campaign against the Khatti; and some of his daughters—Bintumti, Maritmut, Nibittadu—by becoming his wives lost their right to the throne. About the XXXth year of his reign, when he was close upon sixty, he began to think of an associate, and his choice rested on the eldest surviving son of his queen, Istnofrit, who was called Khámoudi. This prince was born before the succession of his father, and had exhibited distinguished bravery under the walls of Qosimau and at Acsalon. When he was still very young he had been


1. Ferrar, Tanis, pp. 15, 16, 22-24. The fragments of the columns were employed in the Roman-Byzantine period as building material, and used in the masonry of a boundary wall.

2. The list of Ahbyrez enumerates thirteen of his sons and thirty-two of his daughters (Masreates, Doman., vol. 1., p. 1, and p. 19), that of Wady-Suweins one hundred and eleven of his sons and fifty-one of his daughters (Louvre, Deben., iii., 179 b-c); both lists are mutilated. The remaining lists for the most part record only some of the children living at the time they were drawn up at Derch (Churchill, Monuments, pl. i.); Louvre, Deben., iii., 123 a, 124 a), at the Ramesseum, and at Amin-Suif (Louvre, Deben., iii., 168, 197).

3. Wiedemann (Egypt. Géog., p. 369) has put together the little that is known of these individuals.

4. See Wiedemann, Egyptische Geschichte, pp. 466, 467. The marriage of Ramses II. with his daughters was pointed out by E. de Rouge, in his lectures at the Collège de France.

5. Wiedemann (Egyptische Gesellschaft, pp. 464-480) has gathered all that is known of Khámoudi, son of Ramses II.

6. Louvre, Deben., iii., 145 b, 184: for the siege of these towns, see pp. 318-460 of the present work.
invested with the office of high priest of the Memphite Ptah, and thus had secured to him the revenues of the possessions of the god, which were the largest in all Egypt after those of the Theban Amon. He had a great reputation for his knowledge of abstruse theological questions and of the science of magic—a later age attributing to him the composition of several books on magic giving directions for the invocation of spirits belonging to this world and the world beyond. He became the hero also of fantastic romances, in which it was related of him how, in consequence of his having stolen from the mummy of an old wizard the books of Thot, he became the victim of possession by a sort of lascivious and sanguinary ghoul. Ramses relieved himself of the cares of state by handing over to Khåmoisit the government of the country, without, however, conferring upon him the titles and insignia of royalty. The chief concern of Khåmoisit was to secure the scrupulous observance of the divine laws. He celebrated at Sisilis the festivals of the inundation; he presided at the commemoration of his father's apotheosis, and at the funeral rites of the Apis who died in the XXX\textsuperscript{th} year of the king's reign. Before his time each sacred bull had its separate tomb in a quarter of the Memphite Necropolis known to the Greeks as the Serapeion. The tomb was a small coned roofed building erected on a square base, and containing only one chamber. Khåmoisit substituted for this a rock-tomb similar to those used by ordinary individuals. He had a tunnel cut in the solid rock to a depth of about a hundred yards, and on either side of this a chamber was prepared for each Apis.

1 One of the works attributed to him is found in the Lexum Papyri 3242; it was pointed out by Déchelet, Catalogue des Manuscrits Egyptiens qui sont conservés au Musée du Louvre, p. 107; by Revillet, Le Monum. des Scènes, in the Revue Archéologique, 2nd series, vol. XXXVII, pp. 337, 338; and Tarte, Comptes supplémentaires du Louvre, pp. 67-69.


on its death, the masons closing up the wall after the installation of the mummy. His regency had lasted for nearly a quarter of a century, when, the burden of government becoming too much for him, he was succeeded in the LVth year of Ramesses by his younger brother Minephthah, who was like himself a son of Isetnofret. Minephthah acted, during the first twelve years of his rule, for his father, who, having now almost attained the age of a hundred, passed peacefully away at Thebes in the LXVth year of his reign, full of days and sated with glory. He became the subject of legend almost before he had closed his eyes upon the world. He had obtained brilliant successes during his life, and the scenes describing them were depicted in scores of places. Popular fancy believed everything which he had related of himself, and added to this all that it knew of other kings, thus making him the Pharaoh of Pharaohs—the embodiment of all preceding monarchs. Legend preferred to recall him by the name Sesostris, Sesostri—a designation which had been applied to him by his contemporaries, and he thus became better known to moderns as Sesostris than by his proper name Ramesses Mamun. According to tradition, he was at first sent to Ethiopia with a fleet of four hundred ships, by which he succeeded in conquering the coasts of the Red Sea as far as the Indus. In later times several stelae in the cinnamon country were ascribed to him. He is credited after this with having led into the east a great army, with which he conquered Syria, Media, Persia, Bactria, and India as far as the ocean; and with having on his return journey through the deserts of Scythia reached the Don (Taman).

1. MAREET, Notices sur les monum. des aps, in the Bulleten Archéologique, 1832, p. 47, 48; c. L'Égypte de M. le Mistral, ed. Macfie, pp. 123-146. Ramesses was not buried in one of the Apis chambers, as Mariette thought (op. cit., pp. 63-68, 70; cf. Borsel, Historie d'Egypte, pp. 108, 107). Wiet, in the Ebskische Geschichten (pp. 405, 460), following the hints of Vidmar, restored the remains of his tomb at Kafir-muṣran, near the great pyramid of Gizeh.

2. Minephthah was in the series of births the thirteenth son of Ramesses IV. (Lyons, France, iii. 108 n. 6.)


4. Drawn by E. E. Colby, from a statue in the British Museum.

5. The designation, which is not with, is that of Memphite (Lyons, France, iii. 208 a) and in the Assiutit Jveys, p. 82, l. 3, p. xivi, l. 1, and is given to the Ramses IV by the various readings. Sesostris, Sesostri, Sesostris (MAREET, Nouv. Fr. du musée du cendme Rois de la 4e dyn.) in the Annuaire des Anciens des Études Égyptiennes, t. ii, pp. 79-80). Whiston saw in this name the mention of a king of the XVIIIth dynasty not yet classified (Egyptische Geschichten, pp. 407, 408; cf. Horat's Rulers, pp. 436, 437).
where, on the shore of the Mastic Sea, he left a number of his soldiers, whose descendants afterwards peopled Colchis. It was even alleged that he had ventured into Europe, but that the lack of provisions and the inconstancy of the climate had prevented him from advancing further than Thrace. He returned to Egypt after an absence of nine years, and after having set up on his homeward journey statues and stelae everywhere in commemoration of his victories.1 Herodotus asserts that he himself had seen several of these monuments in his travels in Syria and Ionia. Some of these are of genuine Egyptian manufacture, and are to be attributed to our Ramses; they are to be found near Tyre, and on the banks of the Nahr el-Kelb,2 where they mark the frontier to which his empire extended in this direction. Others have but little resemblance to Egyptian monuments, and were really the work of the Asiatic peoples among whom they were found. The two figures referred to long ago by Herodotus,3 which have been discovered near Niin between Sardis and Smyrna, are instances of the latter. The shoes of the figures are turned up at the toe, and the head-dress has more resemblance to the high hats of the people of Asia Minor than to the double crown of Egypt, while the lower garment is striped horizontally in place of vertically. The inscription, moreover, is in an Asiatic form of writing, and has nothing Egyptian about it.

Rameses II. in his youth was the handsomest man of his time. He was tall and straight; his figure was well moulded—the shoulders broad, the arms full and vigorous, the legs muscular; the face was oval, with a firm and smiling mouth, a thin aquiline nose, and large open eyes.4 Old age and death did

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1 Herodotus, ii. 143. - 2 Dumont & Sacy, t. 23-67; cf. the legend of Sesostris the material collected by Wienecke, Herodot’s zuvihte Reise, p. 184, at seq.

2 Upon the front of the stela of the Nahr el-Kelb, see p. 378 of the present work; the stele of Adina, near Tyre, was pointed out by James (Memorie de Pechinius, pp. 661, 962), whose testimony is challenged by E. de Sauley (Cayrers on Tyre Salom, 1860, vol. ii. p. 222.


4 Drawn by Fuentes-Honda, from a photograph. This is the only stele of the year II.; cf. Layard, Damascus, ill. 196.
not succeed in marring the face sufficiently to disfigure it. The coffin containing his body is not the same as that in which his children placed him on the day of his obsequies; it is another substituted for it by one of the Ramessides, and the mask upon it has but a distant resemblance to the face of the victorious Pharaoh. The mummy is thin, much shrivelled, and light; the bones are brittle, and the muscles atrophied, as one would expect in the case of a man who had attained the age of a hundred; but the figure is still tall and of perfect proportions. The head, which is bald on the top, is somewhat long, and small in relation to the bulk of the body; there is but little hair on the forehead, but at the back of the head it is thick, and in smooth stiff locks, still preserving its white colour beneath the yellow balsams of his last toilet. The forehead is low, the supra-orbital ridges accentuated, the eyebrows thick, the eyes small and set close to the nose, the temples hollow, the cheek-bones prominent; the ears, finely moulded, stand out from the head, and are pierced, like those of a woman, for the usual ornaments pendant from the lobe. A strong jaw and square chin, together with a large thick-lipped mouth, which reveals through the black paste within it a few much-worn but sound teeth, make up the features of the mummied king. His moustache and beard, which were closely shaven in his lifetime, had grown somewhat in his last sickness or after his

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1 Even after the commencement of the vireolen and the shrivelling produced by mummification, the body of Ramses II, still measures over 5 feet 6 inches [Maspero, Les Monuments royaux de Deir el-Bachri, in the Mem. de la Mission française du Caire, vol. ii. pp. 306-320].
2 Drawn by Foucher-Ginou, from a photograph.
death; the coarse and thick hairs in them, white like those of the head and eyebrows, attain a length of two or three millimetres. The skin shows an ochreous yellow colour under the black bituminous plaster. The mask of the mummy, in fact, gives a fair idea of that of the living king; the somewhat unintelligent expression, slightly bristly perhaps, but haughty and firm of purpose, displays itself with an air of royal majesty beneath the sombre materials used by the embalmer. The disappearance of the old hero did not produce many changes in the position of affairs in Egypt; Minaphabit from this time forth possessed as Pharaoh the power which he had previously wielded as regent. He was now no longer young. Born somewhere about the beginning of the reign of Ramses II, he was now sixty, possibly seventy, years old; thus an old man succeeded another old man at a moment when Egypt must have needed more than ever an active and vigorous ruler. The danger to the country did not on this occasion rise from the side of Asia, for the relations of the Pharaoh with his Khâra subjects continued friendly, and, during a famine which desolated Syria, he sent wheat to his Hittite

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1 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Kuhl Brugsch-Rey, taken in 1831. There may be seen, below the cartouche the lines of the official report of inspection written during the XXIst dynasty.

2 Drawn by Beulac, from a photograph taken in 1886 from the mummy itself, by Kuhl Brugsch-Rey, coll. Ministro, Los Monjes egipcio de Tut el-Jebelat, in the Memorias de la Musée Espana, vol. i., pls. xxv.-xxxvii.

3 A document preserved in the Archivio Ripresso III (pl. iv., 3, verso) shows how regular the relations with Syria had become. It is written in a custom-house officer, or of a writer placed at one of the frontier posts, who wrote day to day the letters, messages, officers, and troops which passed from the 1st to the 25th of Persimmon, in the 11th year of the reign of Haran, Rôckersons pour l'Égyptologie, etc. 1880, pp. 95-97; Lauer, Égyptenische Texte aus der Zeit des Pharaoh Mioshat, in the Zeitschrift des Orientalischen Vereines, vol. iii., p. 222, et seq.; Brunton, Greek Egypt, pp. 379-381; Kémar, Topographische Untersuchungen, in the Zeitschrift, 1879, pp. 20-22, and J. Ripperl's and Egyptianische Texte im orientalischen, p. 797. 
The nations, however, to the north and east, in Libya and in the Mediterranean islands, had for some time past been in a restless condition, which boded little good to the empires of the old world. The Timnites, some of them tributaries from the XIIth, and others from the first years of the XVIIIth dynasty, had always been troublesome, but never really dangerous neighbours. From time to time it was necessary to send light troops against them, who, sailing along the coast or following the caravan routes, would enter their territory, force them from their retreats, destroy their palm groves, carry off their cattle, and place garrisons in the principal oases—even in Siwah itself. For more than a century, however, it would seem that more active and numerically stronger populations had entered upon the stage. A current of invasion, having its origin in the region of the Atlas, or possibly even in Europe, was setting towards the Nile, forcing before it the scattered tribes of the Sudan. Who were these invaders? Were they connected with the race which had planted its doleous over the plains of the Maghreb? Whatever the answer to this question may be, we know that a certain number of Berber tribes—the Lihb and Mashnaouas—who had occupied a middle position between Egypt and the people behind them, and who had only irregular communications with the Nile valley, were now pushed to the front and forced to descend upon it. They were men tall in stature and large of limb, with fair skins, light hair, and blue eyes; everything, in fact, indicating their northern origin. They took pleasure in tattooing the skin, just as the Tuaregs and Kabyles are now accustomed to do, and some, if not all, of them practised circumcision, like a portion of the Egyptians and Semites. In the arrangement of the hair, a curl fell upon the shoulder, while the remainder was arranged in small frizzled locks. Their chiefs and braves wore on their heads two flowering plumes. A loin-cloth, a wild-beast's skin thrown over the back, a mantle, or rather a covering of woolen or dyed cloth, fringed and ornamented with many-coloured needlework, falling from the left shoulder with no attachment in front, so as to leave the body unimpeded in walking—these constituted the ordinary

* Translated Description of Mesopotamia, 2d ed., 24; cf. Massaua, ibid., pl. 32.
* The incommensurability of these tribes is established by the names of their chiefs, which recall exactly those of the Semitic groups—Massaya, Massafiin, Massaya (Chasse, Études sur l'Anciennëtë historique, 2d ed., pp. 266-267), for Libyan names preserved on the Egyptian monuments, see HALÉVY, Études de Chérif I., Revue Archéologique, 1877, pp. 367-70.
* The Lihb, Lihd, Lihd, Lihb, are mentioned for the first time under Ramess II. (Amanis, Opuscula II., III, 1-4; cf. Chasse, Études sur l'Anciennëtë historique, 2d ed., p. 189); these are the Libyan s who adorned geography (Brunner, Geogr. d'Alg., vol. ii. pp. 79, 80). The Mashnaouas answer to the burnt groups of Eemphibolus (III, xvi., 1); they furnished mercenaries to the armies of Ramess II. (Amalyar Opuscula L., III, xvi., L-4).
costume of the people. Their arms were similar to those of the Egyptians, consisting of the lance, the mace, the iron or copper dagger, the bow and arrow, and the sling. They also employed horses and chariots. Their bravery made them a foe not to be despised, in spite of their ignorance of tactics and their want of discipline. When they were afterwards formed into regiments and conducted by experienced generals, they became the best auxiliary troops which Egypt could boast of. The Labū from this time forward were the most energetic of the tribes, and their chiefs prided themselves upon possessing the leadership over all the other clans in this region of the world.

The Labū might very well have gained the mastery over the other inhabitants of the desert at this period, who had become enfeebled by the frequent defeats which they had sustained at the hands of the Egyptians. At the moment when Minephthah ascended the throne, the king, Mārāfū, son of Didi, 6

1 For the costume of the Libyans, see the representation on the royal stele (Cassidy-Gibbons, Monuments de l'Egypte, etc., pl. i., 2; vol. ii., pl. xxxvIII. 1; Bouché-Leclercq, Monuments d'Égypte, pl. 147.), and the bas-relief reproduced on p. 148 of the present work, where Ramses II. is seen marching with his spear and shield of the Timlich.
4 This is the case in the case of Minephthah and Ramses III., in which the Labū and their kings took the command of the confederate armies assembled against Egypt (Triumphal Inscription of Minephthah, ii. 13, 17, etc., Inscription of Ramses III., in Bouché-Leclercq, Monuments d'Égypte, etc., pl. xxxvii., 13, 17, 38; cf. Dümichen, Historische Forschungen, pl. xxvii.).
5 This name was at first read Marthil, son of Didi, by E. de Rouge (Extrait d'un inédit, etc., pp. 8, 7; cf. Cassen, Études sur l'Antiquité historique, 2nd edit., p. 189); according to the copy published by Brugsch (Gezäisch, vol. ii. pl. xvii. 1, 2), Dümichen (Histoires, vol. i. pl. x. 1, 2) read it Marthil-Badili, making one name out of the two words; and Goodwin composed Badili, Bitil, with Bitil, which in the Libyan language (Huyard, LV. III., etc., mean "king") (on the Name of a King of the Libyans, in Zeitung der Gesellschaft f. ägypt. Alterthümer, 1868, p. 20); Badili-Bitil would thus be a "king," in whom one would assign the title of "First," and who would have held a long time before the Bitili of Cyrene, of whose Hellenism has preserved the semi-legendary history. The name ought to be read Mārāfū, son of Didi (Herodotus, I. 30); Anat. d'époque d'Egypte, p. 189).
ruled over the immense territory lying between the Fayûm and the two Syrtes: the Timilhu, the Kohuku, and the Mashudasha rendered him the same obedience as his own people. A revolution had thus occurred in Africa similar to that which had taken place a century previously in Naharin, when Sapatulu founded the Hittite empire. A great kingdom rose into being where no state capable of disturbing Egyptian control had existed before. The danger was serious. The Hittites, separated from the Nile by the whole breadth of Khuru, could not directly threaten any of the Egyptian cities; but the Libyans, lords of the desert, were in contact with the Delta, and could in a few days fall upon any point in the valley they chose. Minephthah, therefore, hastened to resist the assault of the westerns, as his father had formerly done that of the easterns, and strange as it may seem, he found among the troops of his new enemies some of the adversaries with whom the Egyptians had fought under the walls of Qadesh sixty years before. The Shardana, Lycians, and others, having left the coasts of the Delta and the Phoenician seaports owing to the vigilant watch kept by the Egyptians over their waters, had betaken themselves to the Libyan littoral, where they met with a favourable reception. Whether they had settled in some places, and formed there these colonies of which a Greek tradition of a recent age speaks, we cannot say. They certainly followed the occupation of mercenary soldiers, and many of them hired out their services to the native princes, while others were enrolled among the troops of the King of the Khatt or of the Pharaoh himself. Mârât brought with him Achmuns, Shardana, Tarsa, Shagulasha, and Lycians in considerable numbers when he resolved to begin the strife. This was not one of those conventional little wars which aimed at nothing further than the imposition of the payment of a tribute upon the conquered, or the conquest of one of their provinces. Mârât had nothing less in view than the transport of his whole people into the Nile valley, to settle permanently there as the Hyksos had done before him. He set out on his march towards the end of

1 For these traditions, see Thurneysen, Rec Opinions, a proprio subito Ctesibio aegiptiorum et esther. Qui de quiennis, p. 93–95.
2 Th. Scharascha, Shagulasha, identified with the Shadraks by M. de Rougé (Études éthiopiennes, etc., pp. 36, 32, cf. Labat, Hebréens et Egyptiens, pp. 13, 14, 17, and Catesi, Studies on the Antique Linguistic, 2nd vol., p. 171). Recherches sur l'histoire de la XXIe dynastie, pp. 33–34), were a people of Asie Minor whose position there is approximately indicated by the site of the town Sapulbas, named after them (Masucco, Reza U'dige, 1988, vol. I, pp. 102, 110).
3 The Inscription of Minephthah (III, 15, 14) distinguishes the Libyans of Mârât from "the people of the Sea."
4 Triumphal Inscription of Minephthah, II, 22, 23. The war was described in an inscription now lost which Minephthah had had engraved in the temple of Khnum at Memphis. A copy exists at Karnak, and the remains of it, printed out by Champollion (Memnonia, vol. II, p. 126), were announced by Lapilli (Oeuvres, III, 120 a) and by Brugsch (Ibn, Inscriptions, 186, 9, pl. xxxv), published in a complete form by Dunhuin (1886, 126, 16, pl. xvi.), and by Mârât (Karnak, pl. 32–33), and by M. de Rougé (Inscriptions pyroxyliennes en Egypte, pl. xxi., etc.). All these inscriptions had remained
the IVth year of the Pharaoh’s reign, or the beginning of his Vth, surrounded by the slie of his troops, “the first choice from among all the soldiers and all the heroes in each land.” The announcement of their approach spread terror among the Egyptians. The peace which they had enjoyed for fifty years had cooled their warlike ardour, and the machinery of their military organisation had become somewhat rusty. The standing army had almost melted away; the regiments of archers and charioteers were no longer effective, and the neglected fortresses were not strong enough to protect the frontier. As a consequence, the cases of Farafrah and of the Natron lakes fell into the hands of the enemy at the first attack, and the eastern provinces of the Delta became the possession of the invader before any steps could be taken for their defence. Memphis, which realised the imminent danger, broke out into open murmurs against the negligent rulers who had given no heed to the country’s ramparts, and had allowed the garrisons of its fortresses to dwindle away. Fortunately Syria remained quiet. The Khatti, in return for the aid afforded them by Mnepha† during the famine, observed a friendly attitude, and the Pharaoh was thus enabled to withdraw the troops from his Asiatic provinces. He could with perfect security take the necessary measures for ensuring “Heliopolis, the city of Tämt,” against surprise, “for arming Memphis, the citadel of Phthah-Tunen, and for restoring all things which were in disorder; he fortified Pihalait, in the neighbourhood of the Shakana canal, on a branch of that of Heliopolis,” and he rapidly concentrated his forces behind these quickly organised lines. 1 M-asilo, however, continued to advance; in the early months of the summer he had crossed the Canopic branch of the Nile, and was now about to encamp not far from the town of Pitha. When the king heard of this “he became furious against them as a lion that fascinates its victim; he called his officers together and addressed them: “I am about to make you hear the words of your master, and to teach you this: I am the sovereign shepherd who feeds you; I pass my days in seeking out that which is useful to you; I am your father; is there among you a father like me who makes his children live? You are trembling like geese, you do not know what is good to do: no one gives an answer to the enemy, and our desolated land is

1. (Extract from Mémoires des l’année, pp. 619-20), by Ladiet (Egyptische Texten van der Zee Humpel, in the Zeitschrift der Archäologischen Gesellschaft, 1887, vol. xiii., pp. 182-209); by Pirenne (The Remains of Egypt, by the Greeks, by Ricca, 1871, vol. x., pp. 37-55); by Calvosa (Enquête sur les Peuples de la XXIe Décennie, pp. 61-4); and lastly by Benveniste (Les Peuples de l’Antiquité, pp. 567-577). There are also extracts from it as a column at Memphis (Maron) and at different points of ancient Egypt, etc., in the Zeitschrift, 1888, p. 185, which bears the date of the year 2 of the era of Egypt, and upon a stele at Athribis (Maximus, et al., in the Zeitschrift, 1889, pp. 56-47).

With regard to those localities, see Barrack, Hist. Geography, pp. 30, 77, 377, 187, and Navarin, Grecia, and the Status of Sult al-Mahmud, pp. 35, 36, and The Monuments of the Jews and the City of Gaza, pp. 21, 22. Calvosa would identify Pihalait with Bulawa (Enquêtes sur l’Antiquité, pp. 201-209); Benveniste pour l’Antiquité de la XXIe Décennie, p. 84; and agree with Benveniste in placing it in Bulawa.
abandoned to the incursions of all nations. The barbarians harass the frontier; rebels violate it every day, every one robs it; enemies devastate our seaports, they penetrate into the fields of Egypt; if there is an arm of a river they halt there, they stay for days, for months; they come as numerous as reptiles, and no one is able to sweep them back; these wretches who love death and hate life, whose hearts meditate the consummation of our ruin. Behold, they arrive with their chief; they pass their time on the land which they attack in filling their stomachs every day; this is the reason why they come to the land of Egypt, to seek their sustenance, and their intention is to install themselves there; wine is to catch them like fish upon their bellies. Their chief is a dog, a poor devil, a madman; he shall never sit down again in his place.  

He then announced that on the 14th of Epiphi he would himself conduct the troops against the enemy.

These were brave words, but we may fancy the figure that this king of more than sixty years of age would have presented in a chariot in the middle of the fray, and his competence to lead an effective charge against the enemy. On the other hand, his absence at such a critical position of affairs would have endangered the morale of his soldiers and possibly compromised the issue of the battle. A dream settled the whole question. While Minephthah was asleep one night, he saw a gigantic figure of Ptah standing before him, and forbidding him to advance. "Stay," cried the god to him, while handing him the curved khoepesh: "put away discouragement from thee!" His Majesty said to him: "But what am I to do then?" And Ptah answered him: "Despatch thy infantry, and send before it numerous chariots to the confines of the territory of Piriä." The Pharaoh obeyed the command, and did not stir from his position. Märaňā had, in the mean time, arranged his attack for the 1st of Epiphi, at the rising of the sun; it did not take place, however, until the 3rd. "The archers of His Majesty made havoc of the barbarians for six hours; they were cut off by the edge of the sword." When Märaňā saw the carnage, "he was afraid, his heart failed him; he betook himself to flight as fast as his feet could bear him to save his life, so successfully that his bow and arrows remained behind him in his precipitation, as well as everything else he had upon him." His treasure, his arms, his wife, together with the cattle which he had brought with him for his

1 Triumphal Inscription of Minephthah, ii, 29-19, 21, 24; cf. Maspero, Narañ, pl. 52, 53.
2 Triumphal Inscription of Minephthah, ii, 28-39; cf. Maspero, Narañ, pl. 53.  
3 E. Meyer was in this nothing, but a customary rhetorical expression, and thinks that the god spoke in order to encourage the king to defend himself vigorously (Geschichte der Ägypter, p. 987, n. 2).
4 This scene was read Pta-ne by E. de Rouge (Extrait d’un manuscrit sur les stèles, pp. 7, 8), Ptal by Lalli (Boula and Egypt, p. 16), and was transmitted Pta-ne by Bingen, who identified with Ptah-ne (cf. Journal de l’Aegeen, 1847, p. 243). The orthography of the text at Arkahna (fig. L. 40) shows that we ought to read Ptä, Pta, Ptä (W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 357, No. 25), possibly the name is identical with that of Pharaoh which is mentioned in the Pyramid-texts (Morisi, I, 163, Note, l. 143).
use; became the prey of the conqueror: "he tore out the feathers from his head-dress, and took flight with such of those wretched Libyans as escaped the massacre, but the officers who had the care of His Majesty's team of horses followed in their steps" and put most of them to the sword. Marnis succeeded, however, in escaping in the darkness, and regained his own country without water or provisions, and almost without escort. The conquering troops returned to the camp laden with booty, and driving before them asses carrying, as bloody tokens of victory, quantities of hands and phalli cut from the dead bodies of the slain. The bodies of six generals and of 6,330 Libyan soldiers were found upon the field of battle, together with 222 Shagalasha, 724 Tursa, and some hundreds of Shardana and Achaicans: several thousands of prisoners passed in procession before the Pharaoh, and were distributed among such of his soldiers as had distinguished themselves. These numbers show the gravity of the danger from which Egypt had escaped: the announcement of the victory filled the country with enthusiasm, all the more sincere because of the reality of the panic which had preceded it. The fellahin, intoxicated with joy, addressed each other: "Come, and let us go a long distance on the road, for there is now no fear in the hearts of men." The fortified posts may at last be left; the citadels are now open; messengers stand at the foot of the walls and wait in the shades for the guard to awake after their siesta, to give them entrance. The military police sleep on their accustomed rounds, and the people of the marshes once more drive their herds to pasture without fear of raids, for there are no longer marauders near at hand to cross the river; the cry of the sentinel is heard no more in the night: "Halt, thou that comest, thou that comest under a name which is not thine own—sheer off! and men no longer exclaim on the following morning: "Such or such a thing has been stolen; but the towns fall once more into their usual daily routine, and he who works in the hope of the harvest, will nourish himself upon that which he shall have reaped." The return from Memphis to Thebes was a triumphal march. "He is very strong, Bnri Minephthah," sang the court poets; "very wise are his projects—his words have as beneficial effect as those of Thoth—everything which he does is completed to the end. When he is like a guide at the head of his armies—his voice penetrates the fortress walls—Very friendly to those who bow their backs—before Mammon—his valiant soldiers spare him who humbles himself—before his courage and before his strength—they fall upon the Libyans—they consume the Syrian—the Shardana whom thou hast brought back

1 The numbers here partly contradicted in the Triumphal Inscription, II. 53-54; and do not entirely coincide with those on the Asiatic Inscription (Maspero, Notes sur quelques papiers de grammateur, § 411, in the Zeitschrift, 1883, pp. 62-63).

2 Triumphal Inscription of the Amarna, in Pritch, Egypt and Israel (Contemporary Review, No. 88, p. 727): I have given a paraphrase of the Egyptian text from the English translation of Griffith.
by thy sword—make prisoners of their own tribes.—Very happy thy return to Thebes—victorious! Thy chariot is drawn by hand—the conquered chiefs march backwards before thee—whilst thou leadest them to thy venerable father—Amon, husband of his mother.” 3 And the poets amuse themselves with summoning Marnit to appear in Egypt, pursued as he was by his own people and obliged to hide himself from them. “He is nothing any longer but a beaten man, and has become a proverb among the Labû, and his chiefs repeat to themselves: ‘Nothing of the kind has occurred since the time of Ra.’ The old men say each one to his children: ‘Misfortune to the Labû! it is all over with them! No one can any longer pass peacefully across the country; but the power of going out of our land has been taken from us in a single day, and the Tihonî have been withered up in a single year; Sûtklû has ceased to be their chief, and he devastates their—‘duars;” there is nothing left but to conceal oneself, and one feels nowhere secure except in a fortress.” The news of the victory was carried throughout Asia, and served to discourage the tendencies to revolt which were beginning to make themselves manifest there. “The chiefs gave there their salutations of peace, and none among the enemies raised his head after the crushing defeat of the Libyans; Khâtî is at peace, Canaan is a prisoner as far as the disaffected are concerned, the inhabitant of Assuân is led away, Gezer is carried into captivity, Iancânûm is brought to nothing, the Israllû are destroyed and have no longer seed, Khara is like a widow of the land of Egypt.” 4 Minephthah ought to have followed up his opportunity to the end, but he had no such intention, and his inaction gave Marnit time to breathe. Perhaps the effort which he had made had exhausted his resources, perhaps

3. Asiatique Pappus III, pl. 16. 1. 4, pl. 11. 8; translated by Maspero (La Genèse Épithéliale, pp. 22-32) and by Chabas (Recherches pour l'histoire de la XIX. dynastie, pp. 33, 94). The text was referred to Minephthah by E. de Rougé (Extrait d’un manuscrit sur les antigiques, p. 33). Of a passage of a more general character in the Asiatique Pappus III, pl. 11. 11, pl. 11. 108 of Maspero, La Genèse Épithéliale, pp. 77, 78; Chabas, Études sur l'Antiquité, 2nd edit., pp. 210, 220.
4. This passage is taken from a slide discovered by Petrie in 1886, on the site of the Ammophili at Thebes; cf. F. Petrie, in the Contemporary Review, No. 328, p. 627. The mention of the Libyans immediately recalls to mind the place-names Vashkapnû, Yakylûmân, on the lists of Thutmose III, (Maspero, Karnak, pl. 17, 98-99, Nov. 76, 102) which have been compared with the names Jochi and Joseph (Gueri, Lettres à M. Renéfaut sur le nom de Jochi et de Joseph en Egypte), and Deux Questions de prénoms, in the Revue Égyptologique, vol. 14, pp. 104-105, and Diverses Études, pp. 1-3, 97, 107. V. Metser, in the Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1886, pp. 1-10.
old age prevented him from prosecuting his success; he was content, in any case, to station bodies of pickets on the frontier, and to fortify a few new positions to the east of the Delta. The Libyan kingdom was now in the same position as that in which the Hittite had been after the campaign of Seti I., its power had been checked for the moment, but it remained intact on the Egyptian frontier, awaiting its opportunity.

Minoptah lived for some time after this memorable year V., and the number of monuments which belong to this period show that he reigned in peace. We can see that he carried out works in the same places as his father before him: at Tanis as well as Thebes, in Nubia as well as in the Delta. He worked the sandstone quarries for his building materials, and continued the custom of celebrating the feasts of the inundation at Silsileh. One of the steles which he set up on the occasion of these feasts is really a chapel, with its architraves and columns, and still excites the

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1 Drawn by Famine-Grain, from a photograph by Beato.
2 The last known year of his reign is the year VIII. (Blegen Pap. No. 1994; cf. Lenz, Korne sphaloemia der Zeit des Ramsesiden, pp. 2, 39). The lists of Manetho assign to him a reign of from twenty to forty years (Muller-Boehm, Pops. Hist. Geogr. vol. ii. pp. 374, 375, 378, 381): Bingenbach makes it to have been thirty-four years, from 1290 to 1256 B.C. (Aegyp. pp. 380, 383), which is evidently too much, but we may attribute to him without risk of serious error a reign of about twenty years.
3 Monuments of Minoptah at Tanis, see Ferry, Tanis, i. pp. 9, 9, 7, 8, 11, 16, and pls. 1, 2, 19; vol. ii. pp. 11, 15-20, 26, 28, pl. xvi.; for Nubia, see Loretto, Briefe aus Egypten und Bibliothek, p. 118.
admiration of the traveller on account both of its form and of its picturesque appearance. The last years of his life were troubled by the intrigues of princes who aspired to the throne, and by the ambition of the ministers to whom he was obliged to delegate his authority. One of the latter, a man of Semite origin, named Ben-Amun, of Zur-bissna, who had assumed the appellation of his first patron, Ramessesnutiri, appears to have acted for him as regent. 4 Menephtah was succeeded, apparently, by one of his sons, called Seti, after his great-grandfather. S 5 Seti II had doubtless reached middle age at the time of his accession, but his portraits represent him, nevertheless, with the face and figure of a young man. 6 The expression in these is gentle, refined, haughty, and somewhat melancholic. It is the type of Seti I, and Ramesses II, but enfeebled and, as it were, saddened. An inscription of his second year attributes to him victories in Asia, 7 but others of the same period indicate the existence of disturbances similar to those which had troubled the last years of his father. These were occasioned by a certain Ama, who was high priest of Ptah, and who had usurped titles which belonged ordinarily to the Pharaoh or his eldest son, "heir in the house of Seti, and hereditary prince of the two lands." 8 Seti died, it would seem, without

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1 This is what Manetho concludes, with great probability, from the titles given to this individual on a stele at Abydos (Notices des principaux Monuments, 1860, p. 108; cf. Manetho, vol. ii. p. 20, and Catalogue général des Monuments d’Abydos, No. 1106, p. 122.)

2 E. de Rouge interpreted Amaianas and Siptah between Menephtah and Seti II. (Oudaeae socii in la Bibliothèque Imperiale, pp. 495-496), and I had ap. to the present followed his example (Haut-Ancienne, 305: 607, pp. 265, 299); I have come back to the position of Cadiou, making Seti II. the immediate successor of Menephtah (Journal des débats de la XXXII époque, pp. 151-150), which is also the view of Brugsch (Oudaeae socii, p. 255), Weigand (Oudaeae socii, p. 161), and E. Meyer (Geological, p. 385). The succession as it is now given does not seem to me to be free from difficulties; the material generally adopted has only the merit of being preferable to that of E. de Rouge, which I previously supported.

3 The insula of Ama’s reign is the year II. (Champollion, Monuments de l’Egypte, etc., vol. i. p. 528), which is found at Mihilla; Charles was, nevertheless, of the opinion that he reigned a considerable time (Revue d’histoire de l’XI époque, p. 122).

4 Champollion, Monuments, etc., vol. iv. p. 78; Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 284 a. The expressions employed in this document do not vary much from the usual practice of all kings of this period. The triumphal chart of Seti II., preserved in the Amandil Papyrus IV., pl. vi. 1. 8-12, is a copy of the triumphal chart of Menephtah (see p. 320, note 1, of the present work), which is in the same Papyrus (ii. pl. iv. 14, pl. vi. 1. 10, cf. Maspero, De Geere Egyptologie, p. 81).

5 Dumas by Flouther-Gaudin, from a photograph. The original is in the British Museum; cf. Agnessale-Bonord-Brunet, Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, p. 42.

6 E. de Rouge, Notice des monuments, etc. cit., pp. 37, 38, after the stele A 71 in the Museum.
having had time to finish his tomb. We do not know whether he left any legitimate children, but two sovereigns succeeded him who were not directly connected with him, but were probably the sons of the Amunmesis and the Siptah, whom we meet with among the children of Ramses. The first of these was also called Amunmesis, and he held sway for several years over the whole of Egypt, and over its foreign possessions. The second, who was named Siptah-Muniphat, ascended "the throne of his father " thanks to the devotion of his minister Bal, but in a greater degree to his marriage with a certain princess called Tausert. He maintained himself in this position for at

2 Translated by Budge, from a photograph by Emili Brüssel-Bay, taken at Bal al-Munukh in the tomb of the sovereign.
3 Mauer, Lettres à M. Gustave d'Estienne, in the Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1873, pp. 41-43; Weismann (Egyptische Geschichte, p. 484) disputes this hypothesis.

4 Gerard of this sovereign have been found at the second cataract (Sニュ株, Glances from the Land of Egypt, in the Recueil de Travail, vol. xiii., pp. 382-383). Certain expressions have induced E. de Montagné to believe (Études sur l'histoire de la Bibliothèque Impériale, pp. 185, 187) that he, as well as Siptah, were originally from Ramesses in the Aphydnesian nome (cf. Birren, On the Political Constitution of Egypt, in Times of Ramses, Arch. Soc., vol. 1, pp. 377, 378; Weismann, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 484). This was an allusion, as Weismann had seen (Recherches sur l'histoire de la XIX dynastie, pl. 125, 133; cf. E. Meyer, Gesch. des Alten Egypten, p. 268, n. 3), to the myth of Heracles, similar to that while he pointed out further back (pp. 254, n. 2) relating to Thutmose III., and which we more usually meet with in the case of those kings who were not marched out from their birth on each for this theme.
5 But here lie two inscriptions behind lui, one at Siut (Champollion, Monuments, etc., pl. sec. 47), and the second at Siut (Laurens, Denkm., II. p. 224), and the translation of the text in Budge, Géographie Égyptienne, pp. 197, 598, and the other at Siut (Laurens, Denkm., II. 202 b.; Mauers, Monuments, vol. II., pl. 71, No. 44), which he assumes on both monuments show the position of this king at the Theban court during the reign of his father Siptah-Muniphat. His office was described by E. de Montagné (Études sur l'histoire de la Bibliothèque Impériale, pp. 180, 187), cf. Guillaumet, Recherches sur l'histoire de la XIX dynastie, pp. 127-128, who thought that he had succeeded in maintaining his rights to the crown against the claim of Amunmesis.
6 The tomb of this queen, which also probably occupied its column with her husband, was described
least six years, during which he made an expedition into Ethiopia, and received in audience at Thebes messengers from all foreign nations. He kept up so zealously the appearance of universal dominion, that to judge from his inscriptions he must have been the equal of the most powerful of his predecessors at Thebes.

Egypt, nevertheless, was proceeding at a quick pace towards its downfall. No sooner had this monarch disappeared than it began to break up. There were no doubt many claimants for the crown, but none of them succeeded in disposing of the claims of his rivals, and anarchy reigned supreme from one end of the Nile valley to the other. "The land of Qumit began to drift away, and the people within it had no longer a sovereign, and this, too, for many years, until other times came; for the land of Qumit was in the hands of the princes ruling over the homes, and they put each other to death, both great and small. Other times came afterwards, during years of nothingness, in which Aris, a Syrian, was chief among them, and the whole country paid tribute before him; every one plotted with his neighbour to steal the goods of others, and it was the same with regard to the gods, as with regard to men, offerings were no longer made in the temples." This was in truth the revenge of the feudal system upon Pharaoh. The barons, kept in check by Ahmosis and Amenophes I, restricted by the successors of these sovereigns to the position of simple officers of the king, profited by the general laxity to recover as many as possible of their ancient privileges. For half a century and more, fortune had given them as masters only aged princes, not capable of maintaining continuous vigilance and firmness.

by Chambry, Marnouts, etc., *Ancient Egypt, the Political Condition of Egypt, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. 1, pp. 377-378; id., Position of Egypt, in the Zeitschrift, 1885, p. 55, and Nischniapole, ibid., 1886, pp. 30, 41, who thinks he can distinguish the cartouches of set II. in the places where Lefèvre and Champollion saw only of Nakhthor (Remarques sur diverses questions historiques, in the Zeitschrift, 1885, pp. 131-132.)


2 A personal letter, in Leprosy, Pielke, p. 110. 3 of Hassan, Richer, etc., *Ancient Egypt, the Political Condition of Egypt, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. 1, pp. 377-378; id., Position of Egypt, in the Zeitschrift, 1885, p. 55, and Nischniapole, ibid., 1886, pp. 30, 41, who thinks he can distinguish the cartouches of set II. in the places where Lefèvre and Champollion saw only of Nakhthor (Remarques sur diverses questions historiques, in the Zeitschrift, 1885, pp. 131-132.)


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The invasions of the peoples of the sea, the rivalry of the claimants to the throne, and the intrigues of ministers had, one after the other, served to break the bonds which fettered them, and in one generation they were able to regain that liberty of action of which they had been deprived for centuries. To this state of things Egypt had been drifting from the earliest times. Unity could be maintained only by a continuous effort, and once this became relaxed, the ties which bound the whole country together were soon broken. There was another danger threatening the country beside that arising from the weakening of the hands of the sovereign, and the turbulence of the barons. For some three centuries the Theban Pharaohs were accustomed to bring into the country after each victorious campaign many thousands of captives. The number of foreigners around them had, therefore, increased in a striking manner. The majority of these strangers either died without issue, or their posterity became assimilated to the indigenous inhabitants. In many places, however, they had accumulated in such proportions that they were able to retain among themselves the remembrance of their origin, their religion, and their customs, and with these the natural desire to leave the country of their exile for their former fatherland. As long as a strict watch was kept over them they remained peaceful subjects, but as soon as this vigilance was relaxed rebellion was likely to break out, especially amongst those who worked in the quarries. Traditions of the Greek period contain certain romantic episodes in the history of these captives. Some Babylonian prisoners brought back by Sesostris, these traditions tell us, unable to endure any longer the fatiguing work to which they were condemned, broke out into open revolt. They made themselves masters of a position almost opposite Memphis, and commanding the river, and held their ground there with such obstinacy that it was found necessary to give up to them the province which they occupied: they built here a town, which they afterwards called Babylon. A similar legend attributes the building of the neighbouring village of Troib to captives from Troy. The scattered barbarian tribes of the Delta,
whether Hebrews or the remnant of the Hyksos, had endured there a miserable lot ever since the accession of the Ramessides. The rebuilding of the cities which had been destroyed there during the wars with the Hyksos had restricted the extent of territory on which they could pasture their herds. Ramses II. treated them as slaves of the treasury, and the Hebrews were not long under his rule before they began to look back with regret on the time of the monarchs "who knew Joseph." "The Egyptians set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel." Further details on their condition are supplied in the following verses of the Biblical narrative: "They made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." The unfortunate slaves awaited only an opportunity to escape from the cruelty of their persecutors.

The national traditions of the Hebrews inform us that the king, in displeasure at seeing them increase so mightily notwithstanding his repression, commanded the midwives to strangle henceforth their male children at their birth. A woman of the house of Levi, after having concealed her infant for three months, put him in an ark of bulrushes and consigned him to the Nile, at a place where the daughter of Pharaoh was accustomed to bathe. The princess on perceiving the child had compassion on him, adopted him, called him Moses—saved from the waters—and had him instructed in all the knowledge of the Egyptians. Moses had already attained forty years of age, when on one day he encountered an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, and slew him in his anger, shortly afterwards fleeing into the land of Midian. Here he found an asylum, and Jethro the priest gave him one of his daughters in marriage. After forty years of exile, God, appearing to him in a burning bush, sent him to deliver His people. The old Pharaoh was dead, but Moses and his brother Aaron besought themselves to the court of the new Pharaoh,
and demanded from him permission for the Hebrews to sacrifice in the desert of Arabia. They obtained it, as we know, only after the infliction of the ten plagues, and after the firstborn of the Egyptians had been stricken. The emigrants started from Ramses; as they were pursued by a body of troops, the Sea parted its waters to give them passage over the dry ground, and closing up afterwards on the Egyptian hosts, overwhelmed them to a man. Thereupon Moses and the children of Israel sang this song unto Jahveh, saying: "Jahveh is my strength and song—and He has become my salvation. This is my God, and I will praise Him—my father's God, and I will exalt Him. The Lord is a man of war—and Jahveh is His name—Pharaoh's chariots and his hosts hath He cast into the sea—and his chosen captains are sunk in the sea of weeds. The deeps cover them—they went down into the depths like a stone. The enemy said: 'I will pursue, I will overtake—I will divide the spoil—my lust shall be satisfied upon them—I will draw my sword—my hand shall destroy them.' Thou didst blow with Thy wind—the sea covered them—they sank as lead in the mighty waters."

From this narrative we see that the Hebrews, or at least those of them who dwelt in the Delta, made their escape from their oppressors, and took refuge in the solitudes of Arabia. According to the opinion of accredited historians, this Exodus took place in the reign of Minoctubab, and the evidence of the triumphal inscription, lately discovered by Prof. Petrie, seems to confirm this view, in relating that the people of Israel were destroyed, and had no longer a seed. The context indicates pretty clearly that these ill-treated Israelites were then somewhere south of Syria, possibly in the neighbourhood of Ascalon and Gezer. If it is the Biblical

1 Exod. ii.–xiii.: I have included myself here to a summary of the Biblical narrative, without entering into a criticism of the text, which I leave to others.
2 Exod. xx. 1–10 (R.V.).
3 Chabas proposed to identify with the Hebrews the Arabian who are mentioned on several occasions in several texts of the Hamaitic period (Memoires d’Egyptologie, 1st series, pp. 42–84, and 2nd series, pp. 105–184; cf. Recherches pour servir à l’histoire de l’Egypte sous les rois de l’Exode, p. 36, et seq.). His opinion, adopted without hesitation by E. de Rouge (Moses et les Hébreux, in the Annales de Philosophie Chretienne, 1st series, vol. i., pp. 179, 172) and by Landt (Der Hebräer und der Herrscher Volker, pp. 22–27; Moses des Hébreux, p. 1, 29) was disputed by Ebeling (On the Political Conditions of Egypt, etc., in the Transactions of the Hil. Arch. Soc., vol. i., pp. 355–367), then by Maspero, and by Budge himself (Note sur les Ramzites, in the Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 71), who, however, had previously defended it (La Suite des Hébreux d’Egypte et les Monuments Egyptiens, 1874, pp. 8–10, 47). It was maintained by Goodwin (Translation of a Fragment relating to the Reign of Thothmes III., in the Transactions Hil. Arch. Soc., vol. iii., p. 341), and by Kees (Egyptien und die älteren Welt, p. 310, et seq., and Die Auserwählten von Israel, p. 194). It is rejected at present by the majority of Egyptologists—Weidemann (Angechi nach Geschenken, pp. 401, 402), Furniss (Egypt, etc., in the Archæan, pp. 691, 692, 714, 715, 721), Budge (Genealogies of Egypt, pp. 382, 383, Dict. geographique, p. 172, et seq., and with more reserve in Die Egyptologie, p. 38), El. Meyer (Gesch. der Alten Babylon., vol. i., pp. 388, 389, and Gesch. der Alten Egypt., p. 397, et seq.)
4 E. de Rouge, Examen critique de l’ouvrage de M. le chevalier de Hamma, ii., p. 74, and Moses et les Monuments Egyptiens, in the Annales de Philosophie Chretienne, 6th series, vol. i., pp. 165–178; Chabas, Recherches, etc., sous la XIX dynastie, pp. 159, et seq.; Furniss, Gesch. des Alten Egypt., pp. 581–584; Budge, Decret Hébreus nouveaux, p. 304, et seq., and in the same text on the authorities.
5 See the passage from the inscription given on p. 420 of the present work.
Israelites who are here mentioned for the first time on an Egyptian monument, one might suppose that they had just quitied the land of slavery to begin their wanderings through the desert. Although the peoples of the sea and the Libyans did not succeed in reaching their settlements in the land of Goshen, the Israelites must have profited both by the disorder into which the Egyptians were thrown by the invaders, and by the consequent withdrawal of Memphis of the troops previously stationed on the east of the Delta, to break away from their servitude and cross the frontier. If, on the other hand, the Israelites of Minephthah are regarded as a tribe still dwelling among the mountains of Canaan, while the greater part of the race had emigrated to the banks of the Nile, there is no need to seek long after Minephthah for a date suitting the circumstances of the Exodus. The years following the reign of Seti II. offer favourable conditions for such a dangerous enterprise; the break-up of the monarchy, the discords of the barons, the revolts among the captives, and the supremacy of a Senate over the other chiefs, must have minimised the risk. We can readily understand how, in the midst of national disorders, a tribe of foreigners weary of its lot might escape from its settlements and betake itself towards Asia without meeting with strenuous opposition from the Pharaoh, who naturally would too be much preoccupied with his own pressing necessities to trouble himself much over the escape of a band of serfs.

Having crossed the Red Sea, the Israelites pursued their course to the north-east on the usual road leading into Syria, and then turning towards the south, at length arrived at Sinai. It was a moment when the nations of Asia were stirring. To proceed straight to Canaan by the beaten track would have been to run the risk of encountering their moving hordes, or of justling against the Egyptian troops, who still garrisoned the strongholds of the Shephelah. The fugitives had, therefore, to shun the great military roads if they were to avoid coming into murderous conflict with the barbarians, or running into the teeth of Thaloh's pursuing army. The desert offered an appropriate asylum to people of nomadic inclinations like themselves; they betook themselves to it as by instinct, and spent there a wandering life for several generations.8

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1 This is the opinion adopted by Petrie, after mature consideration, in an article in which he has published the Triumphant Inscription of Minephthah (Egypt and Israel, in the Contemporary Books, No. 262, pp. 229-237). [Scheil, Les monumens de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, ch. 6.]

2 I have given my reasons for assigning the Exodus to this period in a Letter to M. H., "Méthodes pour déterminer les annales de l'Ancien Etat, 1901, vol. 2, p. 169, and note.

3 This explanation of the wanderings of the Israelites has been doubted by most historians. It has a vagueness, even if we admit the reality of the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus.
The Biblical narrative describes at length their marches and their halting-places, their great sufferings they endured, and the striking miracles which God performed on their behalf. Moses conducted them through all these experiences, continually troubled by their murmurs and seditions, but always ready to help them out of the difficulties into which they were led, on every occasion, by their want of faith. He taught them, under God’s direction, how to correct the bitterness of brassish waters by applying to them the wood of a certain tree. When they began to look back with regret to the “fleshpots of Egypt” and the abundance of food there, another signal miracle was performed for them. “At even the quails came up and covered the camp, and in the morning the dew lay round about the host; and when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, ‘What is it?’ for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, ‘It is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.’”

“And the house of Israel called the name thereof ‘manna,’ and it was like curdled seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.”

“And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.”

Further on, at Rephidim, the water failed; Moses struck the rocks at Horeb, and a spring gushed out. The Amalekites, in the meantime, began to oppose their passage; and one might naturally doubt, the power of a rabble of slaves, accustomed to war, to break through such an obstacle. Joshua was made their general; and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill; and it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed, and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses

1 The itinerary of the Hebrew people through the desert contains a very small number of names, which were not actually in use. They represent, possibly, either the stations at which the marches of the wanderings put up, or the localities where the Israelites and their herds were accustomed to break. The majority of them cannot be identified, but enough are still in use to give us a general idea of the march of the exiles. (Kosel, V.Bibliothèque Saba et de Zer, vol. ii. p. 278, n. 6, in conversation with Nasal, xxviii.)

2 Exod. xxvii. 38-39. The station Masada, “the bitter waters,” is identified by modern tradition with Ain Horavah. For a similar way of rendering mutiva potables—still in use among the Bedouins of those regions—see F. M. Llanea, L’Ainine de Soud, p. 10.

3 Exod. xxi. 10-12.

4 Exod. xi. 31. From early times the name of the Hebrews has been identified with the name of Aram, the “gigate of heaven,” of the Arabs, which occurs in small quantities from the leaves of the tamarisk after being picked by insects; the question, however, is still under discussion, whether another species of vegetable matter may not be meant.

5 Exod. xxxii. 35.

6 Exod. xxxvi. 17. There is a general agreement as to the identification of Rephidim with the Wady Feltah, the village of Pharaon of the Graeco-Roman geographers (Barnes, Geographical Sketches, p. 189, et seq.).
hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side, and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword."

Three months after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt they encamped at the foot of Sinai, and "the Lord called unto Moses out of the mountain, saying, 'Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me from among all peoples: for all the earth is Mine: and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.' The people answered together and said, 'All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.' And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and may also believe thee for ever.'" "On the third day, when it was morning, there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God; and they stood at the nether part of the mountain. And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses spoke, and God answered him by a voice."  Then followed the giving of the supreme law, the conditions of the covenant which the Lord Himself deigned to promulgate directly to His people. It was engraved on two tables of stone, and contained, in ten concise statements, the commandments which the Creator of the Universe imposed upon the people of His choice.

*1. I am Jahveh, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Thou shalt have none other gods before Me.*

*I.* Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, etc.

**III.* Thou shalt not take the name of Jahveh thy God in vain.

**IV.* Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.

**V.* Honour thy father and thy mother.

**VI.* Thou shalt do no murder.

**VII.* Thou shalt not commit adultery.

**VIII.* Thou shalt not steal.

*Exod. xvi. 8-10.

*Exod. xix. 3-6, 9, 10-18.*
IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X. Thou shalt not covet."

"And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they trembled, and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, 'Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.' God gave His commandments to Moses in instalments as the circumstances required them; on one occasion the rites of sacrifice, the details of the sacerdotal vestments, the mode of consecrating the priests, the composition of the oil and the incense for the altar; later on, the observance of the three annual festivals, and the orders as to absolute rest on the seventh day, as to the distinctions between clean and unclean animals, as to drink, as to the purification of women, and lawful and unlawful marriages. The people waited from week to week until Jahveh had completed the revelation of His commands, and in their impatience broke the new law more than once. On one occasion, when "Moses delayed to come out of the mount," they believed themselves abandoned by heaven, and obliged Aaron, the high priest, to make for them a golden calf, before which they offered burnt offerings. The sojourn of the people at the foot of Sinai lasted eleven months. At the end of this period they set out once more on their slow marches to the Promised Land, guided during the day by a cloud, and during the night by a pillar of fire, which moved before them. This is a general summary of what we find in the sacred writings.

The Israelites, when they set out from Egypt, were not yet a nation. They were but a confused horde, flying with their herds from their pursuers; with no resources, badly armed, and unfit to sustain the attack of regular troops. After leaving Sinai, they wandered for some time among the solitudes of Arabia Petraea in search of some uninhabited country where they could fix their tents, and at length settled on the borders of Idumea, in the mountainous region surrounding Kadesh-Barnea. Kadesh had from ancient times a reputation for

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1 We have two forms of the Decalogue—one in Exod. xx. 2-17, and the other in Deut. v. 6-19.
2 Exod. xx. 18, 19.
3 This legislation and the history of the circumstances on which it was promulgated are contained in four of the books of the Pentateuch, viz. Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Various works have appeared of late dealing with these books from a critical point of view. I confine myself here and afterwards only to such results as may likely be used in a general history.
4 A basic reconstruction of the history of the Exodus was attempted by Wellhausen, Die Geschichte Israels in den Schriften des Alten Testaments, vol. i, pp. 6-14; and in a much more conservative fashion by Rasson, Histoire du peuple d'Israel, vol. i, pp. 105-210.
5 The site of Kadesh-Barnea appears to have been final with certainty at Ain-Qavis by C. F. Hering, A Visit to Ain Qudra, the reputed Site of Kadesh-Barnea, in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881, pp. 298-312.
sanctity among the Bedawin of the neighbourhood: it rejoiced in the posses-
sion of a wonderful well—the Well of Judgment—to which visits were made
for the purpose of worship, and for obtaining the "judgment" of God. The
country is a poor one, arid and burnt up, but it contains wells which never
fail, and wadys suitable for the culture of wheat and for the rearing of cattle.
The tribe which became possessed of a region in which there was a perennial
supply of water was fortunate indeed, and a fragment of the psalmody of Israel
at the time of their sojourn here still echoes in a measure the transports of joy
which the people gave way to at the discovery of a new spring: "Spring up,
O well; sing ye unto it: the well which the princes digged, which the nobles
of the people delved with the sceptre and with their staves." The wanderers
took possession of this region after some successful brushes with the enemy,
and settled there, without being further troubled by their neighbours or by
their former masters. The Egyptians, indeed, absorbed in their civil discord,
or in wars with foreign nations, soon forgot their escaped slaves, and never
troubled themselves for centuries over what had become of the poor wretches,
until in the reign of the Ptolemies, when they had learned from the Bible
something of the people of God, they began to seek in their own annals for
traces of their sojourn in Egypt and of their departure from the country. A
new version of the Exodus was the result, in which Hebrew tradition was
eclipsed by the materials of a semi-historical romance, of which
Amenhidis III, was the hero. His minister and namesake, Amenothes, son
of Hapat, left ineffaceable impressions on the minds of the inhabitants of
Thebes: he not only erected the colossal figures in the Amennophium, but he
constructed the chapel at Deir el-Medina, which was afterwards restored in
Ptolemaic times, and where he continued to be worshipped as long as the
Egyptian religion lasted. Profound knowledge of the mysteries of magic were
attributed to him, as in later times to Prince Khnumet, son of Ramess II.
On this subject he wrote certain works which maintained their reputation for

\* Gen. xvi. 7 mentions this "Well of Judgment, En-Mishpat—which is Radmah." S. James, however, Casson, i.e., Patera Judicis, stigmatizans En-Mishpat from Radmah-Barnea, places the former in a locality which he calls Be'er-dan, in the valley of Gezer.

\* Num. xxxii. 17, 18. The context makes it certain that this song was sung at Beer, beyond the Arnon, in the land of Moab. It has long been recognised that it had a special reference, and that it refers to an incident in the wanderings of the people through the desert.

\* With regard to Amenothis, son of Hapat, see pp. 289, 310 of the present work. On the worship given to him in the temple of Deir el-Medina, cf. Ewan, Amenemopel, Sche des Parcours, in the Zeitschrift, 1877, pp. 187, 188. The site of his foundations is in the British Museum, and a translation was made of it by Forch (cf. Chaine, Monum. Egypto-arab., 2d series, pp. 244, 245).

\* See, for a notice of Khnumet—son of Ramess II and Regent of Egypt during part of his father's reign—and of his knowledge of magic, pp. 289, 525 of the present work.
more than a thousand years after his death, and all that was known about him marked him out for the important part he came to play in those romantic stories so popular among the Egyptians. The Pharaoh in whose good graces he lived had a desire, we are informed, to behold the gods, after the example of his ancestor Horus. The son of Hapi, or Pa-Apis, informed him that he could not succeed in his design until he had expelled from the country all the lepers and unclean persons who contaminated it. Acting on this information, he brought together all those who suffered from physical defects, and confined them, to the number of eighty thousand, in the quarries of Thmuth. There were priests among them, and the gods became wrathful at the treatment to which their servants were exposed; the southsayer, therefore, hearing the divine anger, predicted that certain people would shortly arise who, forming an alliance with the Unclean, would, together with them, hold sway in Egypt for thirteen years. He then committed suicide, but the king nevertheless had compassion on the outcasts, and granted to them, for their exclusive use, the town of Avaris, which had been deserted since the time of Ahmosis. The outcasts formed themselves into a nation under the rule of a Heliopolitan priest called Osersyph, or Moses, who gave them laws, mobilised them and joined his forces with the descendants of the Shepherds at Jerusalem. The Pharaoh Amenophis, taken by surprise at this revolt, and remembering the words of his minister Amenophos, took flight into Ethiopia. The shepherds, in league with the Unclean, burned the towns, sacked the temples, and broke in pieces the statues of the gods: they forced the Egyptian priests to slaughter even their sacred animals, to eat them up and cook them for their fies, who ate them derivisively in their accustomed feasts. Amenophis returned from Ethiopia, together with his son Ramses, at the end of thirteen years, defeated the enemy, driving them back into Syria, where the remainder of them became later on the Jewish nation. 8

8 One of those books, which is mentioned in several religious texts, is preserved in the Louvre Papyrus, No. 3218; cf. Maspero, Monuments aux Egyptiens des Louvre, pp. 28, 30, 39.

8 HAHRMANN, in MÜLLER-DIETZT, Fragmente Hist. Quellen, vol. ii, pp. 378-384; cf. the analogous narratives by Alexander writers collected by T. REINACH, Textes Éthiopiens d'Égypte, relatif à Judahia, pp. 1-23, 37, 119-120, 125-126, 353, 354, 393, 394. The chief features of the story are taken from the persecution of Gibeon, of which there was a lively remembrance in the time of Manasseh.

XENOPHONOFANTINOS HARPANI MASON. HARPANI MADON MASON. HARPANI MADON H. MASON. HARPANI MADON H. MASON.

Harpahd himself belonged to the XVIIIth dynasty, for he modified the form of his signet-ring on those of the Ahmehato Pharaohs: the XXth dynasty began only; in all probability, with Ramses I, but the course of the history has compelled us to separate Harpahd from his predecessors. Not knowing the length of the reign, we cannot determine the total duration of the dynasty: we shall not, however, be far wrong in assigning to it a length of 189 years or more, from 1350 to somewhere over 1200 B.C.
This is but a romance, in which a very little history is mingled with a great deal of fable: the scribes as well as the people were acquainted with the fact that Egypt had been in danger of dissolution at the time when the Hebrews left the banks of the Nile, but they were ignorant of the details, of the precise date and of the name of the reigning Pharaoh. A certain similarity in sound suggested to them the idea of assimilating the prince whom the Chroniclers called Menephtah or Amenephtes with Amenoth, i.e. Amenophis III., and they gave to the Pharaoh of the XIXth dynasty the minister who had served under a king of the XVIIIth: they metamorphosed at the same time the Hebrews into lepers allied with the Shepherds. From this strange combination there resulted a narrative which at once fell in with the taste of the lovers of the marvellous, and was a sufficient substitute for the truth which had long since been forgotten. As in the case of the Egyptians of the Greek period, we can see only through a fog what took place after the deaths of Menephtah and Seti II. We know only for certain that the chiefs of the nomes were in perpetual strife with each other, and that a foreign power was dominant in the country as in the time of Apophis. The days of the empire would have been numbered if a deliverer had not promptly made his appearance. The direct line of Ramses II. was extinct, but his innumerable sons by innumerable concubines had left a posterity out of which some at least might have the requisite ability and zeal, if not to save the empire, at least to lengthen its duration, and once more give to Thebes days of glorious prosperity. Egypt had set out some five centuries before this for the conquest of the world, and fortune had at first smiled upon her enterprise. Thothmosis I., Thothmosis III., and the several Pharaohs bearing the name of Amenothes had marched with their armies from the upper waters of the Nile to the banks of the Euphrates, and no power had been able to withstand them. Now nations, however, soon rose up to oppose her, and the Hittites in Asia and the Libyans of the Sudan together checked her ambition. Neither the triumphs of Ramses II., nor the victory of Menephtah had been able to restore her prestige, or the lands of which her rivals had robbed her beyond her ancient frontier. Now her own territory itself was threatened, and her own well-being was in question; she was compelled to consider, not how to rule other tribes, great or small, but how to keep her own possessions intact and independent: in short, her very existence was at stake.
THE CLOSE OF THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

RAMSES III.—THE THEBAN CITY UNDER THE KHAESSIDES—CUSTOMS AND CUSTOMS—
POPULATION—THE PREDOMINANCE OF AMON AND HIS HIGH PRIESTS.

Nakhtkhons and Ramses III. :—the decline of the military spirit in Egypt—The reorganisation of the army and fleet by Ramses. The usual Libyan invasion—The Apirite process, the Palaeost, the Nebkha, and the Torreti: their immunities into Syria and their defeat.
The campaign of the year 11. and the fall of the Libyan kingdom—Crushing on the Red Sea—The buildings at Mediwy-Mihtet—The temple of Ptah-Pankh—The recovery of Ramses III.

The wise and legitimate wisdom of Ramses III.—Thebes and the Egyptian population: the transformation of the people and of the state: the feudal system from being military become religious—The wealth of precious metals, jewellery, furniture, domestic—Literary education, and the influence of the Egyptian language on the Egyptians: wisdom stories, the historical event, fables, narrations and ethics, collections of maxims and moral dialogues, love-poems.

The Theban necropolis nouveau—The funeral of a rich Theban; the procession of the offerings and the funerary furniture; the crossing of the Nile, the tomb, the sarcophagi, the dress, the ornaments, the sepulchre of the king, the ruins of the Horus—The common district—The living inhabitants of the necropolis: craftsmen, architects, sculptors—The bones
reliefs of the temples and the tombs, wooden statuettes, the smelting of metals, brass—The
religions of the metropolis; the immorality and want of discipline among the people; workmen's
strikes.

Amon and the beliefs concerning him: his kingdom over the living and the dead, the soul's
destiny according to the teaching of Amon—Khnum and his temple: the temple of Amon at
Karnak, its保证, its priesthood—The growing influence of the high priests of Amon under
the name of Ramses III.: Ramsesmakhet, Amenhotep: the violations of the royal burying-places
—Rames and the age of the Ramses, Setiati and the ascension to power of the XXIst dynasty;
the division of Egypt into two States—The priest-kings of Amon abandon of Thebes under the
ascendancy of the Twenty Pharaohs—The close of the Theban empire.
CHAPTER V.

THE CLOSE OF THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

Rameses III.—The Theban city under the Ramessidas—Manners and customs—Population—The predominance of Amon and his high priests.

As in a former crisis, Egypt once more owed her salvation to a scion of the old Theban race. A descendant of Seti I. or Rameses II., named Nakhtmis, rallied round him the forces of the southern nomes, and succeeded, though not without difficulty, in dispossessing the Syrian Arist. When he arose, he was like Shutkhau, providing for all the necessities of the country which, for feeblessness, could not stand, killing the rebels which were in the Delta, purifying the great throne of Egypt; he was regent of the two lands in the place of Tmou, setting himself to reorganise that which had been overthrown, to such good purpose, that each one recognised as brethren those who had been separated from him as by a wall for so long a time, strengthening the temples by pious gifts, so that the traditional rites could be celebrated at the divine cycles. Many were the difficulties that he had to encounter before he could restore to his country


2. The Great Harrow Papryus, pl. 73, II. 8-14.; cf. Exonum, On the Political Condition of Egypt, in the Transactions of the Ebd. Arch. Soc., vol. i. pp. 363, 364; Odhner, Recherches pour servir à...
that peace and wealth which she had enjoyed under the long reign of Sesostris. It seems probable that his advancing years made him feel unequal to the task, or that he desired to guard against the possibility of disturbances in the event of his sudden death; at all events, he associated with himself on the throne his oldest son Ramses—not, however, as a Pharaoh who had full rights to the crown, like the coadjutors of the Amarna-hattis and Oaunasse, but as a prince invested with extraordinary powers after the example of the sons of the Pharaoh Tahmose and Seti I. Ramses recalls with pride, towards the close of his life, how his father "had promoted him to the dignity of heir-presumptive to the throne of Sibi," and how he had been acclaimed as "the supreme head of Qinet for the administration of the whole earth united together." This constituted the rise of a new dynasty on the ruins of the old—the last, however, which was able to retain the supremacy of Egypt over the Oriental world.

We are unable to ascertain how long this double reign lasted. Nakhtshett, fully occupied by enemies within the country, had no leisure either to build or to restore any monuments; a on his death, as no tomb had been prepared for him, his mummy was buried in that of the usurper Sithath and the Queen Trousrit. He was soon forgotten, and but few traces of his services survived him; his name was subsequently removed from the official list of the kings, while others not so deserving as he—as, for instance, Sithath-Minophat and Amenasu—were honourably inscribed in it. The memory of his son overshadowed his own, and the series of the legitimate kings who formed the XXVI dynasty did not include him. Ramses III took for his heir his namesake, Ramses the Great, and endeavoured to rival him in everything. This spirit of imitation was at times the means of leading him to commit somewhat puerile acts, as, for example, when he copied certain triumphal inscriptions word for word,

Histoire de la XIXe dynastie, pp. 28-27. Ezeraconte-Eton, The Memoirs of Berosus III, in the Records of the Pott, 1st series, vol. viii, pp. 43, 47. The exact relationship between Nakhtshett and Ramses II is not known; he was probably the grandson or great-grandson of that sovereign, though Ed. Meyer thinks he was perhaps the son of Seti II. (Greek, Ser. II. Egypt. p. 326.) The name should be read either Nakhath, with the singular of the first word composing it, or Nakhath, Nakhthett, with the plural, as in the analogous name of the king of the XXXII dynasty, Seti Mekatet.

1 The Great Present Egyptology, pl. 75, ii. 30-36; pl. 1; the only certain circumstance that we have yet possessed of this double reign is that a large stele and a rock-hewn Memnon-Baba (Lavina Flash, H. 206.4).
2 Wiedemann (Egyptische Greek, p. 453) attributes to him the construction of one of the doors of the temple of Mut at Karnak; it would appear that there is a confusion in his notes between the presence of these sovereigns and that of Seti II, who actually did decorate one of the four eyes of that temple (Champollion, Moc. de l’Egypte, etc. vol. ii. p. 261). Nakhtshett must have also worked on the temple of Ptah at Memphis (Wiedemann, Appolitaka Greek, p. 408). His sarcophagus is met with on a stele originally dedicated by a Pharaoh of the XIXe dynasty, discovered at Tell-Nakhtshett (Perron, Tous II. Tell-Nekhef, pp. 11, 19, 21, pl. 4. 672).

merely changing the dates and the cartouches, or when he assumed the
prestige of Usirmi, and distributed among his male children the names and
dignities of the sons of Sesostrius. We see, moreover, at his court another high
priest of Ptah at Memphis bearing the name of Khânumet, and Maritumê,
another supreme pontiff of Ra in Heliopolis. However, this ambition to
resemble his ancestor at once instigated him to noble deeds, and gave him the
necessary determination to accomplish them.

He began by restoring order in the administration of affairs, "he established truth,
crushed error, purified the temple from all crime," and made his authority felt not
only in the length and breadth of the Nile valley, but in what was still left of the
Asiatic provinces. The disturbances of the preceding years had weakened the prestige
of Amon-Ra, and the king's supremacy would have been seriously endangered, had
any one arisen in Syria of sufficient energy to take advantage of the existing state of affairs.

But since the death of Khânumet, the power of the Khâti had considerably
decreased, and they retained their position merely through their former prestige;
they were in as much need of peace, or even more so, than the Egyptians for
the same reasons which had harassed the reigns of Seti II. and his successors
had doubtless brought trouble to their own sovereigns: They had made no
serious efforts to extend their dominion over any of those countries which had
been the objects of the ambition of their forefathers, while the peoples of
Khâti and Phœnicia, thrown back on their own resources, had not ventured
to take up arms against the Pharaoh. The yoke lay lightly upon them, and
in no way hampered their internal liberty; they governed as they liked, they
exchanged one prince for another, they waged petty wars as of old,
without, as a rule, exposing themselves to interference from the Egyptian troops
occupying the country, or from the "royal messengers." These usual provinces

21) That the great debarre of Fride-Typhon, reared by Ramessu II. in the year XXXV, as the
reign of Amen-Fishek is shown by Ramessu III. at Medinet-Bula in the
years XIII. (Decretum, Historiae Pontificum, vol. i, pp. vii.-x.; E. and J. en Rossen, Inscriptions
hypothetiques Egyptes, pars. 38, 39.) These, the new text of the

22) Emsch, Die Plane Ramessu II. in der Bibl. Arch. Soc. 1856, pp. 62, 63, whose conclusions have been
adopted by most recent Egyptologists.

23) Historical events taken during the Roman period, the fragments of which are now built into the
quay at Elephantine (E. and J. en Rossen, Inscriptions hypothetiques Egyptes, pars. 38, 39.)
had probably ceased to pay tribute, or had done so irregularly, during the years of anarchy following the death of Siptah, but they did not take concerted action, nor attempted any revolt, so that when Rameses III ascended the throne he was spared the trouble of reconquering them. He had merely to claim allegiance to have it at once rendered him—an allegiance which included the populations in the neighbourhood of Qodshu and on the banks of the Nahr el-Kell. The empire, which had threatened to fall to pieces amid the civil wars, and which would indeed have succumbed had they continued a few years longer, again revived now that an energetic prince had been found to assume the direction of affairs, and to weld together those elements which had been on the point of disintegration.

One state alone appeared to regret the revival of the Imperial power; this was the kingdom of Libya. It had continued to increase in size since the days of Meneptah, and its population had been swelled by the annexation of several strange tribes inhabiting the vast area of the Sahara. One of these, the Mashaumna, acquired the ascendancy among these desert races owing to their numbers and valour, and together with the other tribes—the Sabti, the Kanka, the Shabi, the Hasi, the Ikasa, and the Qahaka—who threatened Egypt on the west. This federation was conducted by Diit, Mashaakan, and Marafa, all children of that Marafa who had led the first Libyian invasion, and also by Zamar and Zaattmar, two princes of less important tribes. Their combined forces had attacked Egypt for the second time during the years of anarchy, and had gained possession once after another of all the towns in the west of the Delta, from the neighbourhood of Memphis to the town of Qaribina: the Canopic branch of the Nile now formed the limit of their dominion, and they often crossed it to devastate the central provinces. Nakhtuati had been unable

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1 To W. Max Müller, ‘Egyptian and Harapp’, p. 276, it is due the merit of having pointed out, in opposition to the general opinion, the fact that Rameses III did not in fact reconquer the Asiatic provinces.
2 The general outline of the reign is furnished in the discourse of Rameses III himself in the Great Harris Papyrus, Buxton’s edit., pp. 35–79, of Egyptian, Des Grose Papyrus Harris, pp. 77–95, and particularly of Cursus, Recherches pour servir à l’histoire du XIXe siècle, pp. 4–71.
3 This has been furnished by the summary of the campaigns of Rameses III in the Great Harris Papyrus, Buxton’s edit., pp. 77, 77, 78, of Deltin, Recherches, etc., pp. 74–84, and Esmerand-Bucori, ‘The Anates of Rameses III’, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. v, p. 45. The Salatis of this text are probably identical with the people of the Beqti or Spiti (Asyut), mentioned on one of the papyri of Medinet-Bahri.
4 DERKAKEN, Historische Tatsachen, vol. ii, p. 25, 262. The relationship is nowhere stated, but it is thought to be probable from the names of Diit and Marafa, repeated in both series of inscriptions. [For the first Libyian invasion, see above, pp. 122, 131.]
5 The Great Harris Papyrus, pl. 77, 1, 1, 2. The town of Qaribina has been identified with the Canopus of the Greeks, and also with the modern Koranta, by Bunsen, Dervische Geogr., pp. 244, 245, 246–248; and the district of Qaribina, which adjoins it, with the territory of the modern town of Elba (Det. Geogr., pp. 243–245, 246–248). Spiegelberg (Das Gebirgsspiel der Egyptischen Ramses, in the Jour. de Tourner, vol. xvi, p. 166) throws doubt on the identification of Qaribin with
to drive them out, and Ramses had not ventured on the task immediately after his accession. The military institutions of the country had become totally disorganised after the death of Mneaphthah, and that part of the community responsible for furnishing the army with recruits had been so weakened by the late troubles, that they were in a worse condition than before the first Libyan invasion. The losses they had suffered since Egypt began its foreign conquests had not been repaired by the introduction of fresh elements, and the hope of spoil was now insufficient to induce members of the upper classes to enter the army. There was no difficulty in filling the ranks from the fellahin, but the middle class and the aristocracy, accustomed to ease and wealth, no longer came forward in large numbers, and disdained the military profession. It was the fashion in the schools to contrast the calling of a scribe with that of a foot-soldier or a charioteer, and to make as merry over the discomforts of a military occupation as it had formerly been the fashion to extol its glory and profitableness. These scholastic exercises represented the future officer dragged as a child to the barracks, "the side-lock over his ear.—He is beaten and his sides are covered with scars,—he is beaten and his two eyebrows are marked with wounds,—he is beaten and his head is broken by a badly aimed blow;—he is stretched on the ground" for the slightest fault, "and blows fall on him as on a papyrus,—and he is broken by the stick." His education finished, he is sent away to a distance, to Syria or Ethiopia, and fresh troubles overtake him. "His victuals and his supply of water are about his neck like the burden of an ass,—and his neck and throat suffer like those of an ass,—so that the joints of his spine are broken.—He drinks putrid water, keeping perpetual guard the while." His fatigues soon tell upon his health and vigour: "Should he reach the enemy,—he is like a bird which trembles.—Should he return to Egypt,—he is like a piece of old worm-eaten wood.—He is sick and must lie down, he is carried on an ass,—while thieves steal his linen,—and his slaves escape." The charioteer is not spared either. He, doubtless, has a moment of vain-glory and of flattered vanity when he receives, according to regulations, a new chariot and two horses, with which he drives at a gallop before his parents and his fellow-villagers; but once having joined his regiment, he is perhaps worse off than the foot-soldier. "He is thrown to the ground among thorns,—a scorpion wounds him in the foot, and his heel is pierced by its sting.—When his life is examined,
his misery is at its height." No sooner has the fact been notified that his arms are in a bad condition, or that some article has disappeared, than "he is stretched on the ground—and overpowered with blows from a stick." This decline of the warlike spirit in all classes of society had entailed serious modifications in the organisation of both army and navy. The native element no longer predominated in most battalions and on the majority of vessels, as it had done under the XVIIIth dynasty; it still furnished those formidable companies of archers—the terror of both Africans and Asiatics—and also the most important part, if not the whole, of the chariots, but the main body of the infantry was composed almost exclusively of mercenaries, particularly of the Shardana and the Qahaka. Ramses began his reforms by rebuilding the fleet, which, in a country like Egypt, was always an artificial creation, liable to fall into decay, unless a strong and persistent effort were made to keep it in an efficient condition. Shipbuilding had made considerable progress in the last few centuries, perhaps from the impulse received through Phoenicia, and the vessels turned out of the dockyards were far superior to those constructed under Hatchepsut. The general outlines of the hull remained the same, but the stem and stern were finer, and not so high out of the water; the bow ended, moreover, in a lion's head of metal, which rose above the cut-water. A wooden structure running between the forecastle and quarter-deck protected the rowers during the flight, their heads alone being exposed. The mast had only one curved yard, to which the sail was fastened; this was run up from the deck by halyards when the sailors wanted to make sail, and thus differed from the Egyptian arrangement, where the sail was fastened to a fixed upper yard. At least half of the crews consisted of Libyan prisoners, who were branded with a hot iron like cattle, to prevent desertion; the remaining half was drawn from the Syrian or Asiatic coast, or else were natives of Egypt. In order to bring the army into better condition, Ramses revived the system of classes, which empowered him to compel all Egyptians of unmixed race to take personal service, while he hired mercenaries from Libya, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and wherever he could get them, and divided them into regular regiments, according to their extraction and the

1 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 2 Hatchepsut, Oeuvre 2 Egypt. 3 Pharaonique, p. 34, 35. 4 Egypt. 5 Egypt. 6 Egypt. 7 Egypt. 8 Egypt. 9 Egypt. 10 Egypt. 11 Egypt. 12 Egypt. 13 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 14 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 15 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 16 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 17 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 18 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 19 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40. 20 Ancient Egypt, p. 40, 40.
arms that they bore. In the field, the archers always headed the column, to meet the advance of the foe with their arrows; they were followed by the Egyptian lancers—the Shardana and the Tyrreni with their short spears and heavy bronze swords—while a corps of veterans, armed with heavy maces, brought up the rear. In an engagement, these various troops formed three lines of infantry disposed one behind the other—the light brigade in front to engage the adversary, the swordsmen and lancers who were to come into close quarters with the foe, and the mace-bearers in reserve, ready to advance on any threatened point, or to await the critical moment when their intervention would decide the victory: as in the times of Thutmose and Ramses II., the chariots covered the two wings.

It was well for Ramses that on ascending the throne he had devoted himself to the task of recruiting the Egyptian army, and of personally and carefully superintending the instruction and equipment of his men; for it was thanks to these precautions that, when the confederated Libyans attacked the country about the Vth year of his reign, he was enabled to repulse them with complete success.

"Dedi, Mashakut, Maraif, together with Zamarä and Zaitmarä, had strongly urged them to attack Egypt and to carry fire before them from one end of it to the other. "—"Their warriors confided to each other in their counsels, and their hearts were full: We will be drunk! and their princes said within their breasts: We will fill our hearts with violence!" But their plans were overthrown, thwarted, broken against the heart of the god, and the prayer of their chief, which their lips repeated, was not granted by the god." They met the Egyptians at a place called "Ramsisi-Rushdi-Timih" ("Ramses
repulse the Tinhab, but their attack was broken by the latter, who were ably led and displayed considerable valor. They charged like goats surprised by a bull who stamps its foot, who pushes forward its horn and shames the mountains, charging whoever seeks to annoy it. They fled afar, howling with fear, and many of them, in endeavouring to escape their pursuers, perished in the canals. It is said they, the breaking of our spines which threatens us in the land of Egypt, and its lord destroys our souls for ever and ever. Woe be upon them! for they have seen their dances changed into carnage; Sokhnit is behind them, fear weighs upon them. We march no longer upon roads where we can walk, but we run across fields, all the fields! And their soldiers did not even need to measure arms with us in the struggle! Pharaoh alone was our destruction, a fire against us every time that he willed it, and no sooner did we approach than the flame curied round us, and no water could quench it on us. The victory was a brilliant one; the victors counted 12,535 of the enemy killed, and many more who surrendered at discretion. The latter were formed into a brigade, and were distributed throughout the valley of the Nile in military settlements. They submitted to their fate with that resignation which we know to have been a characteristic of the vanquished at that date. They regarded their defeat as a judgment from God against which there was no appeal; when their fate had been once pronounced, nothing remained to the condemned except to submit to it humbly, and to accommodate themselves to the master to whom they were now bound by a decree from on high. The prisoners of one day became on the next the devoted soldiers of the prince against whom they had formerly fought resolutely, and they were employed against their own tribes, their employers having no fear of their deserting to the other side during the engagement. They were lodged in the barracks at Thebes, or in the provinces under the feudal lords and governors of the Pharaoh, and were encouraged to retain their savage customs and warlike spirit. They intermarried either with the fellahin or with women of their own tribes, and were reinforced at intervals by fresh prisoners or volunteers. Drafted principally into the Delta and the cities of Middle Egypt, they thus ended by constituting a

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2. [Footnote] Bavants, Historische Inschriften, vol. ii. pl. 1304. a. i. 82.
4. [Footnote] The number of the dead is calculated from that of the bands and pladli brought in by the soldiers after the victory, the names of which are represented at Medinet-Habu (Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. cccxvii.; Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. cccxvii.), cf. the vignette which reproduces this scene on p. 237 of this volume.
semi-foreign population, destined by nature and training to the calling of arms, and forming a sort of warrior caste, differing widely from the militia of former times, and known for many generations by their national name of Mashānasha. As early as the XIIth dynasty, the Pharaohs had, in a similar way, imported the Mazai from Nubia and had used them as a military police; Ramses III. now resolved to naturalise the Libyans for much the same purpose. His victory did not bear the immediate fruits that we might have expected from his own account of it; the memory of the exploits of Ramses II. haunted him, and, stimulated by the example of his ancestor at Qadesh, he doubtless desired to have the sole credit of the victory over the Libyans. He certainly did overcome their kings, and arrested their invasion; we may go so far as to allow that he wrested from them the provinces which they had occupied on the left bank of the Campic branch, from Mæsæ to the Natron Lakes, but he did not conquer them, and their power still remained as formidable as ever. He had gained a respite at the point of the sword, but he had not delivered Egypt from their future attacks.

He might perhaps have been tempted to follow up his success and assume the offensive, had not affairs in Asia at this juncture demanded the whole of his attention. The movement of great masses of European tribes in a southerly and easterly direction was beginning to be felt by the inhabitants of the Balkan, who were forced to set out in a double stream of emigration—one crossing the Bosporus and the Propontis towards the centre of Asia Minor, while the other made for what was later known as Greece Proper, by way of the passes over Olympus and Pindus. The nations who had hitherto inhabited these regions, now found themselves thrust forward by the pressure of invading hordes, and were constrained to move towards the south and east by every avenue which presented itself. It was probably the irruption of the Phrygians into the high table-land which gave rise to the general exodus of these various

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1 Of what is said of the Mazai and their functions on the House of Civilization, p. 560, note 2.

2 The peculiarity is particularly striking on line 44 of the text above quoted (p. 100), where the Libyans explain that the Egyptian soldiers "did not even fight against them in the struggle; Pharaoh was their destruction." Cf. pp. 226, 228 of the present volume.

3 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Champollion, Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. 96; col. 1, XXXIIX. 2, XXXIIIX. 2; Rossellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. viii., Nos. 27; and Lasserre, Deshèm., iii, 293, 294.
nations—the Pulasati, the Zakkala, the Shagalasha, the Danauns, and the Uashaasha—some of whom had already made their way into Syria and taken part in campaigns there, while others had as yet never measured strength with the Egyptians. The main body of these migrating tribes chose the overland route, keeping within easy distance of the coast, from Pamphylia as far as the confines of Naharaim. They were accompanied by their families, who must have been mercilessly jolted in the ox-drawn square waggons with solid wheels

in which they travelled. The body of the vehicle was built either of roughly squared planks, or else of something resembling wicker-work. The round axletrees was kept in its place by means of a rude pin, and four oxen were harnessed abreast to the whole structure. The children were in cloths, and had, for the most part, their hair tied into a tuft on the top of their heads; the women affected a closely fitting cap, and were wrapped in large blue or red garments drawn close to the body. The men’s attire varied according to the tribe to which they belonged. The Pulasati undoubtedly held the chief place; they were both soldiers and sailors, and we must recognise in them the foremost of those tribes known to the Greeks of classical times as the Carians, who infested the coasts of Asia Minor as well as those of Greece and the

1 This idea appears to have been first put forth by Maupertuis in the Rome Cyclopaedia, 1857, vol. 1, p. 220. W. Max Müller (India and Europe, p. 330) believes that the invasion was caused by the famine, during which Pharaoh supplied the Khali with corn (cf. p. 48, 343, of this volume). The Shagalasha and the Danauns have been already mentioned on p. 328, note 1, and p. 329, note 2, of this volume; I may add, with regard to the latter name, that the texts of Boman III. sometimes give the simple form Dana in Genesis, Judges and Nehemiah, pl. 59, 18, in place of the more developed form Danauns.

2 Drawn by Thomas Gollin, from Champollion, Mon de 1'Egypte, etc., pl. 50, and Darleins, Monumental Scenes, pl. cxxxvi.

3 These details are taken from the battle-scenes at Malian, Hadra (Champollion, Mon de 1'Egypte, etc., pl. 50, etc.; Gollin, Opuscules, Mon. Stories, pl. cxxxvii). They were for the first time completely collected and made the subject of study by Caullery, Annales de l'Institut Historique, Feb. 1859, pp. 380, 394-398, and again discussed and fresh comparisons made by W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, etc., pp. 324-325.
Ægean islands. Cretans was at this time the seat of a maritime empire, whose chiefs were perpetually cruising the seas and harrassing the civilized states of the Eastern Mediterranean. These sea-rovers had grown wealthy through piracy, and contact with the merchants of Syria and Egypt had awakened in them a taste for a certain luxury and refinement, of which we find no traces in the remains of their civilization anterior to this period. Some of the symbols in the inscriptions found on their monuments recall certain of the Egyptian characters, while others present an original aspect and seem to be of Ægean origin. We find in them, arranged in juxtaposition, signs representing flowers, birds, fish, quadrupeds of various kinds, members of the human body, and boats and household implements. From the little which is known of this script we are inclined to derive it from a similar source to that which has furnished those we meet with in several parts of Asia Minor and Northern Syria. It would appear that in ancient times, somewhere in the centre of the Peninsula—but under what influence or during what period we know not—a syllabary was developed, of which varieties were handed on from tribe to tribe, spreading on the one side to the Hittites, Cilicians, and the peoples on the borders of Syria and Egypt, and on the other to the Trojans, to the people of the Cyclades, and into Cretan.

1 The Phycians have been connected with the Phyllbines by Chambon and, in his Dictionnaire Méthodique, and subsequently by the early English Egyptologists (Owen, Egypt, his travels, in the Times, pp. 107, 137, 141; Index, to H. Nau, Names and Places, p. 471, who thought they originated in them the inhabitants of the Shephelah; cf. Henschel, Guggen, loc. cit. vol. i. pp. 83, 84; and Hist. d'Égypte, p. 187; R. de Rojas, Notes sur quelques têtes hiéroglyphiques égyptiennes publiées par M. Guerin, p. 13. Chalha was the first to identify them with the Pelasgi (Roulet sur l'Antiquité Hell., 2nd ed., pp. 234-235; Roulet ton now écrire le Pélisique de l'Egypte, pp. 88, 101; Ungaro (Nouvelle, p. 218) and Brugsch (Gesch. d'Égypte, p. 302) prefer to attribute to them a Libyan origin, but the latter finally returns to the Pelasgi and Phylline hypothesis (Toete d'Egypte, in Schillings, Text, pp. 730-731). They were without doubt the Phyllines, but in their migratory state, before they settled on the coast of Palestine (Mataré, in the A. Roman, 1870, ii. p. 15, 16, and the Hist. universelle des peuples de l'Ordre, 170; cf. F. Lecomte, Les Antiquités de la Turquie, pp. 71, 72; E. Corin, Gesch. der Äthiopischen, vol. i. pp. 215-221, and Gesch. der Athien Ägypten, p. 216; W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 288-289). For the resemblance of their type to that of certain inhabitants still to be found in the neighborhood of Gaza, of the observations made by Brincke in his, La Legge de Scanione stt en sa noblesse, inscriptions, in the Revue Archéologique, 2nd series, vol. xi. pp. 315, 316.

2 Drawn by Encinas-Cadín, from a photograph by Boas, in Revue des Monuments Historiques, pl. xxxi. P. Martire, Égypte de la Basse-Égypte, vol. i. pl. 32, Fascicule, Social Types, No. 142.

3 A. J. Evans, who deciphered these inscriptions, was the first to study and publish them. I must refer the reader for the whole subject to his books on Carian Cypriote and Prochoras-Script, 1893, as well as to the observations of Schœner Reinaudi, in his Cypriotes d'Orient, particularly in No. xiv., pp. 61-67, of the separate printed matter, and his Cypriotes Mycéniques, in L'anthropologie, 1888, pp. 397-410.
and Greece. It is easy to distinguish the Pulasati by the felt helmet which they wore fastened under the chin by two straps and surmounted by a crest of feathers. The upper part of their bodies was covered by bands of leather or some thick material, below which hung a simple loin-cloth, while their feet were bare or shod with short sandals. They carried each a round buckler with two handles, and the stout bronze sword common to the northern races, suspended by a cross belt passing over the left shoulder, and were further armed with two daggers and two javelins. They hurled the latter from a short distance while attacking, and then drawing their sword or daggers, fell upon the enemy; we find among them a few chariots of the Hittite type, each manned by a driver and two fighting men. The Tyrseni appear to have been the most numerous after the Pulasati, next to whom came the Zakka. The latter are thought to have been a branch of the Siculo-Pelasgi whom Greek tradition represents as scattered at this period among the Cyclades and along the coast of the Hellespont; they wore a casque surmounted with plumes like that of the Pulasati. The Tyrseni may be distinguished by their feathered head-dress, but the Shagulasha affected a long amulet woolen cap falling on the neck behind, an article of apparel which is still worn by the sailors of the Archipelago; otherwise they were equipped in much the same manner as their allies. The other members of the confederation, the Shardana, the Danaana, and the Uashasha, each furnished an inconsiderable contingent, and, taken all together, formed but a small item of the united forces. Their fleet sailed along the coast

1 Of the conclusions which have led Ramsay (The Cities and Inscriptions of Ephesus, p. 57, &c., No. 7, Ippolito, Monumenti di Egitto, etc., pl. cxxx., cxxxi., cxxv., etc.) to believe that the Tyrseni, or Zakka, have been identified with the Teumelani by Landri (Rome and Egypt, p. 21), Chabla (Recherches sur l'Antiquité Historique, 2nd edit., pp. 285-288, and Studia pour l'histoire de l'Histoire ancienne, pp. 47-60), and by Fr. Lavranch (Antiquités de la Tunisie, pp. 26-29), who subsequently returned to the Teumelain hypothesis (Teulé et Egipte, in SCHLEYER, Teulé, trad. by Egger, pp. 283, 284), W. Max Müller (Asia and Europe, pp. 283, 284), and in the argument as an Asiatic union probably of the Lydian family. The identification with the Siculo-Pelasgians of the Egan Sea was proposed by Marsden (in the Revue des Lettres, 1886, vol. i. p. 110).

2 Their portraits are partially destroyed in the bas-relief of Medinet-Habu representing their native chiefs (cf. the group reproduced on p. 47), but W. Max Müller has been able to restore their head-dress with tolerable certainty (Asia and Europe, pp. 283, 284).

3 Chabla's new identification in the Usurash, the Osir, or Osiris of Roman history (Recherches sur l'Antiquité Historique, 2nd edit., pp. 285-288, and Studia pour l'histoire de l'Histoire ancienne, pp. 47-60), has been accepted by Brugel, who acknowledged them to be the Estauridae of the Romans (Geschichte der Egypten, p. 203), but afterwards came to the conclusion that they were not of Asiatic origin related to the Shardana (Teulé et Egipte, in SCHLEYER, Teulé, trad. by Egger, pp. 283, 284). The term comes from the word Shurru, which refers us to the Caria of Lycia (Maspero, in the Revue Critique, 1878, vol. i. p. 379; cf. W. Max Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 283, 284, 285).
and kept within sight of the force on land. The squadrons depicted on the monuments are without doubt those of the two peoples, the Pulatasi and Zakkala. Their ships resembled in many respects those of Egypt, except in the fact that they had no cut-water. The bow and stern rose up straight like the neck of a goose or swan; two structures for fighting purposes were erected above the deck, while a rail running round the sides of the vessel protected the bodies of the rowers. An upper yard curved in shape from the single mast, which terminated in a top for the look-out during a battle. The upper yard was not made to lower, and the top-men managed the sail in the same manner as the Egyptian sailors. The resemblance between this fleet and that of Ramsses is easily explained. The dwellers on the Ægean, owing to the knowledge they had acquired of the Phoenician galleys, which were accustomed to cruise annually in their waters, became experts in shipbuilding. They copied the lines of the Phoenician craft; imitated the rigging, and learned to manoeuvre their vessels so well, both on ordinary occasions and in a battle, that they could now oppose to the skilled eastern navigators ships as well fitted out and commanded by captains as experienced as those of Egypt or Asia.

There had been a general movement among all these peoples at the very time when Ramsses was repelling the attack of the Libyans; "the isles had quivered, and had vomited forth their people at once." They were

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1 Drawn by F. de Marsin, from a photograph by Perrin, Revues Homél. Types, No. 100; cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte, pl. cixii.; Rossellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. xcviii., No. 11; Lepsius, Denk.-, iii. 290-3; the type is taken from the series given in p. 271 of the present work. According to Champollion and W. Max Müller (Aten and Euphrates, p. 129), it represents a Saken.

2 Description de L'Egypte, Ant., ii. pl. 12; Champollion, Monuments de L'Egypte, pl. cixii.; Rossellini, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxxxvi.; cf. the picture on p. 400 of the present work representing a battle between the Egyptian fleet and the ships of the "People of the Sea."

3 Gessert, Festivals at Thebes, pl. i. 16. The inscription of Medinet-Habu in which this campaign is mentioned was published by Gessert, Festivals at Thebes, pl. ii.-iii.; it was critically examined for the first time by F. de Marsin, Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques contenus dans un manuscrit d'écriture ou N. Grenier, pp. 3-11; it was translated by Charab, Études sur L'Antiquité, 2nd ed., pp. 320-325; and by Runciman, Geschichten des Ägyptischen, pp. 598-600. We find some information about the war in the Great Harris Papyrus (ed. Budge, pl. 70; H. 6-8); cf. Charab, Études sur l'Histoire de l'Égypte sous le XIX° dynastie, pp. 21-25), also in the inscription of Medinet-Habu which describes the campaign of the year 5 (Budge, Historical Documents, vol. ii., pl. xiv., o, r. 51-59; and B. and
subjected to one of those irresistible impulses such as had driven the Shepherds into Egypt; or again, in later times, had carried away the Cimmerians and the Scythians to the pillage of Asia Minor: no country could hold out against their arms, neither Khatti, nor Qodi, nor Carchemish, nor Arsat, nor Alasia, without being brought to nothing. The ancient kingdoms of Sapidulu and Khaimuru, already tottering, crumbled to pieces under the shock, and were broken up into their primitive elements. The barbarians, unable to carry the towns by assault, and too impatient to resort to a lengthened siege, spread over the valley of the Orientes, burning and devastating the country everywhere. Having reached the frontiers of the empire, in the country of the Amorites, they came to a halt, and constructing an entrenched camp, installed within it their women and the booty they had acquired. Some of their predatory bands, having ravaged the Beeka, ended by attacking the subjects of the Pharaoh himself, and their chiefs dreamed of an invasion of Egypt. Ramses, informed of their design by the despatches of his officers and vassals, resolved to prevent its accomplishment. He summoned his troops together, both indigenous and mercenary, in his own person looked after their armament and commissariat, and in the VIIIth year of his reign crossed the frontier near Zalit. He advanced by forced marches to meet the enemy, whom he encountered somewhere in Southern Syria, on the borders of the Shephelah, and after a stubbornly contested campaign obtained the victory. He carried off from the field, in addition to the treasures of the confederate tribes, some of the chariots which had been used for the transport of their families. The survivors made their way hastily to the north-west, in the direction of the sea, in order to receive the support of

J. de Rouge, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pl. xii. fig. 3; pl. xiv. 39; ch. XXIX. Annales de l'Antiquité, 2nd edit., pp. 229-230, and in other shorter texts of the same date (Drummer, Hist. Art., vol. iv. pl. viii. et al.); ch. XXIX. Annales de l'Antiquité, 2nd edit., pp. 229-230. The sequence of such is illustrated by a series of pictures of which the value was recognized from the first by Charles, Lettres d'Egypte, 2nd edit., pp. 119-119, and afterwards more fully brought out by Rossellini, Mem. Erice, vol. iv. pp. 23-23; they were published, in whole or in part, in the Description de l'Egypte, 2nd, vol. ii. pl. 30; N. 7; 12; and afterwards by Charles, Mem. de la Egypte, etc. pl. xxviii.-xxxiv., by Rossellini, Mem. Erice, pl. xxxv.-xxxviii., and by Mariette, Voyage de la Haute-Egypte, vol. ii. pl. 26, 26.

1. Greisen, Feuilles d'Egypte, pl. ii. fig. 17. E. de Rouge (Notas de quelques notes, p. 7, et seq.) thought at first that the seal treated of a history of Ramses III. over the Khatti and other Syrian populations; Charles (Annales de l'Antiquité, 2nd edit., pp. 228-230) was the first to point out the time and nature of the events related in this inscription.

2. The same text gives the year VIII (Annales de l'Antiquité, 2nd edit., p. 240).
their navy, but the king followed them step by step. It is recorded that he occupied himself with lion-hunting en route after the example of the victors of the XVIIIth dynasty, and that he killed three of these animals in the long grass on one occasion on the banks of some river. He rejoined his ships, probably at Jaffa, and made straight for the enemy. The latter were encamped

on the level shores, at the head of a bay wide enough to offer to their ships a commodious space for naval evolutions—possibly the mouth of the Beka, in the neighbourhood of Magdil. The king drove their foot-soldiers into the water at the same moment that his admirals attacked the combined fleet of the Pulasati and Zakkals. Some of the Egean galleys were exsanguized and sank when the Egyptian vessels rammed them with their sharp stems, and the crews, in endeavouring to escape to land by swimming, were picked off by the arrows of the archers of the guard who were commanded by Ramses and his sons; they perished in the waves, or only escaped through the compassion of the victors. “I had fortified,” said the Pharaoh, “my frontier at Zahi; I had drawn up before these people my generals, my provincial governors, the

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1 Description de l’Egypte, Arch., vol. ii. pl. 9, No. 1; CHAMPOLIION, Monuments de l’Egypte, pl. cxxi.; ROSELLINI, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxcix.; MAIRETTE, Voyage de la Haute-Egypte, vol. ii. pl. 54.

2 Drawn by Pannier-Gudin, from a photograph by Rusten; cf. Description de l’Egypte, Arch., vol. ii. pl. 9, No. 1; CHAMPOLIION, Monuments, etc., pl. cxxi.; ROSELLINI, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxcix.; MAIRETTE, Voyage de la Haute-Egypte, vol. ii. pl. 54.

3 Scene from Medinet-Habu, in the Description de l’Egypte, Arch., vol. ii. pl. 52; CHAMPOLIION, Monuments, etc., pl. cxxii.; ROSELLINI, Monumenti Storici, pl. cxcxi.; MAIRETTE, Voyage de la Haute-Egypte, vol. ii. pl. 55; see the reproduction of it on p. 459 of the present work.
vassal princes, and the host of my soldiers. The mouths of the river seemed

to be a mighty rampart of galleys, barques, and vessels of all kinds,

equipped from the bow to the stern with valiant armed men. The infantry,

the flower of Egypt, were as lions roaring on the mountains; the charioteers,

selected from among the most rapid warriors, had for their captains only

officers confident in themselves; the horses quivered in all their limbs, and

were burning to trample the nations underfoot. As for me, I was like the

warlike Monté: I stood up before them and they saw the vigour of my

arms. I, King Ramases, I was as a hero who is conscious of his valour, and

who stretches his hands over the people in the day of battle. Those who have

violated my frontier will never more garner harvests from this earth: the

period of their soul has been fixed for ever. My forces were drawn up before

them, on the 'Very Green,' a devouring flame approached them at the river

mouth, annihilation embraced them on every side. Those who were on the

strand I laid low on the seashore, slaughtered like victims of the butcher.

I made their vessels to capsize, and their riches fell into the sea.' Those who

had not fallen in the fight were caught, as it were, in the cast of a net. A

rapid cruiser of the fleet carried the Egyptian standard along the coast as far

as the regions of the Orontes and Sarras. The land troops, on the other hand,

follgowing on the heels of the defeated enemy, pushed through Cade-Syria, and

in their first burst of zeal succeeded in reaching the plains of the Euphrates.

A century had elapsed since a Pharaoh had planted his standard in this region,

and the country must have seemed as novel to the soldiers of Ramesses III, as

to those of his predecessor Thoutmosis. The Khâti were still its masters; and all

enfeebled as they were by the ravages of the invading barbarians, were never-

theless not slow in preparing to resist their ancient enemies. The majority of

the citadels shut their gates in the face of Ramesses, who, wishing to lose no
time, did not attempt to besiege them: he treated their territory with the

usual severity, devastating their open towns, destroying their harvests,

breaking down their fruit trees, and cutting away their forests. He was able,

moreover, without arresting his march, to carry by assault several of their

fortified towns, Akaza among the number, the destruction of which is rep-
the isthmus when Lotani became again its own master, and Egyptian rule was once more limited to its traditional provinces of Khari and Phœnicia. The King of the Khâti appears among the prisoners whom the Pharaoh is represented as bringing to his father Amon: Carchemish, Tumipâ, Khalabe, Katna, Pabukhu, Arrad, Mitamâ, Mannus, Asî; and a score of other famous towns of this period appear in the list of the subjugated nations, recalling the triumphs of Thutmose III. and Amenôthes II. Ramses did not allow himself to be deceived into thinking that his success was final. He accepted the protestations of obedience which were spontaneously offered him, but he undertook no further expedition of importance either to restrain or to provoke his enemies: the restricted rule which satisfied his exemplar Ramses II. ought, he thought, to be sufficient for his own ambition.

Egypt breathed freely once more on the announcement of the victory; henceforward she was "as a bed without anguish." "Let each woman now go to and fro according to her will," cried the sovereign, in describing the campaign, "her ornaments upon her, and directing her steps to any place she likes!" And in order to provide still further guarantees of public security, he converted his Asiatic captives, as he previously had his African prisoners, into a bulwark against the barbarians, and a safeguard of the frontier. The war must, doubtless, have degenerated Southern Syria; and he planted along its coast what remained of the defeated tribes— the Philistines in the Shophelâh, and the Zakâlah on the borders of the great oak forest stretching from Carmel to Dor. Watch-towers were erected for the supervision of this region, and for rallying-points in case of internal revolts or attacks from without. One of these, the Migdol of Ramses III., was erected, not far from the scene of the decisive battle, on the spot where the spoils had been divided. This living barrier, so to speak, stood between the Nile valley and the dangers which threatened it from Asia, and it was not long before its value was put to the proof. The Libyans, who had been saved from destruction by the diversion created in their

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1 See the lists of the conquered people engraved on the walls of Medînat-Habû, published by Dümézil (Histoire des Archéologie, vol. i. pl. xi.-xv.); cf. Bossert, The Anales of Ramses III., in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 15-20, in which the principal list is transcribed and translated as well as the accompanying text). The Prince of the Khâti figures among the princes conducted to the Theban Amon (Champollion, Monuments de l'Egîpte, etc., pl. cvii., and vol. i. p. 720; Rosellini, Monumenti Eunedi, pl. cxxii. 7); see the reproduction of his figure in p. 374 of the present work.

2 E. and J. de Robbe, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recues en Égîpte, pl. cviift. i. 70; CHASSÉ, Études sur l'Antiquité, 2nd edit. p. 385.

3 It is in this region that we find henceforward the Hebrews in contact with the Philistines (see what has been said on this subject in the last chapter of this work): at the end of the XXIst Egyptian dynasty a spire stands near a town of the Zakâlah (Georgi, Reise in das südliche ägyptische, in the Reiseblüter, vol. xv. p. 88); cf. W. M. Müller, Asia and Europe, pp. 288, 290.

4 The name employed here is unregulated, Magni-Messûd (Champollion, Monuments de l'Egîpte, pl. cxxxv.; Rosellini, Monumenti Eunedi, pl. cxxxvii.). I think that we must see in this spot which obtained the title of battle the Sources of Roman times, which was at first called Hiyes, and afterwards, the Source (Le Migdol) of Strato.
favoured on the eastern side of the empire, having now recovered their courage, set about collecting their hordes together for a fresh invasion. They returned to the attack in the XIth year of Rameses, under the leadership of Kapur, a prince of the Mashanasha. Their soul had said to them for the second time that they

would end their lives in the nomes of Egypt, that they would till its valleys and its plains as their own land." The issue did not correspond with their intentions. "Death fell upon them within Egypt, for they had hastened with their feet to the furnace which consumes corruption, under the fire of the valour of the king who rages like Saul from the heights of heaven. All his limbs are invested with victorious strength: with his right hand he lays hold of the multitudes, his left extends to those who are against him, like a cloud

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1 The second campaign against the Libyans is known to us from the inscriptions of the year XII. at Medinet-Habu, published by Dümmler, Historische Inschriften, vol. 1, pl. xlii.-xliii., and by K. and J. de Rouge, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, pl. 131—133., translated in part by CAHUS, Études sur l'Antiquité, 2nd edn. pp. 227-246. It is in this campaign, probably, that the scenes at Medinet-Habu which were published by CHAMPOLLION, Monuments de l'Égypte, pl. xxv.—xxvi., and in Rosellini, Monumenti Scritti, pl. clxx.-clxxii.

2 Drawn by Rodier, from a photograph by Barte: cf. CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, etc., pl. xcvii., and vol. 1, pp. 292, 293; ROSELLINI, Mem. Scavi, pl. xxvii., LAVOIX, Inscriptions, iii. 290, 291; MASTACO, Voyage de l'Étud-Egypte, vol. 2, pl. 51. The first prince on the left is the Prince of the Khatti (cf. the cut on p. 573 of the present work), the second is the Prince of the Amarna (Amunites), the third the Prince of the Zabala, the fourth that of the Shashaka, the fifth that of the Shashakna (see the cut on p. 466 of this work), and the sixth that of the Turahi (Tynant).
of arrows directed upon them to destroy them, and his sword cuts like that of Montê Kapur, who had come to demand homage, blind with fear, threw down his arms, and his troops did the same. He sent up to heaven a supplicant cry, and his son [Mashashalu] arrested his foot and his hand; for, behold, there rises beside him the god who knows what he has in his heart: His Majesty falls upon their heads as a mountain of granite and crushes them, the earth drinks up their blood as if it had been water... their army was slaughtered, slaughtered their soldiers; near a fortress situated on the borders of the desert called the "Castle of Úsirmari-Miamon." They were seized, "they were stricken, their arms bound, like geese piled up in the bottom of a boat, under the feet of His Majesty." The fugitives were pursued at the sword's point from the Castle of Úsirmari-Miamon to the Castle of the Sands, a distance of over thirty miles. Two thousand and seventy-five Libyans were left upon the ground that day, two thousand and fifty-two perished in other engagements, while two thousand and thirty-two, both male and female, were made prisoners. These were almost irreparable losses for a people of necessarily small numbers, and if we add the number of those who had succumbed in the disaster of six years before, we can readily realise how discouraged the invaders must have been, and how little likely they were to try the fortune of war once more. Their power dwindled and vanished almost as quickly as it had arisen; the provisional cohesion given to their forces by a few ambitious chiefs broke up after their repeated defeats, and the rudiments of an empire which had struck terror into the Pharaohs, resolved itself into its primitive elements, a number of tribes scattered over the desert. They were driven back beyond the Libyan mountains; fortresses guarded the routes they had previously followed, and they were obliged henceforward to renounce any hope of an invasion en masse, and to content themselves with a few raiding expeditions into the fertile plain of the Delta, where they had formerly found a transitory halting-place. Counter-raids organised by the local troops or by the mercenaries who garrisoned the principal
Ramses III Sees the Chiefs of the Libyans.
From a photograph by Haiti.
towns in the neighbourhood of Memphis—Hermopolis and Thinis 1—inflicted punishment upon them when they became too undisciplined. Their tribes, henceforward, as far as Egypt was concerned, formed a kind of reserve from which the Pharaoh could raise soldiers every year, and draw sufficient materials to bring his army up to fighting strength when internal revolt or an invasion from without called for military activity.

The campaign of the XIth year brought to an end the great military expeditions of Ramses III. Henceforward he never took the lead in any more serious military enterprise than that of repressing the Bedawin of Sair for acts of brigandage, 2 or the Ethiopians 3 for some similar reason. He confined his attention to the maintenance of commercial and industrial relations with manufacturing countries, and with the markets of Asia and Africa. He strengthened the garrisons of Sinai, and encouraged the working of the ancient mines in that region. 4 He sent a colony of quarrymen and of smelters to the land of Atika, in order to work the veins of silver which were alleged to exist there. 5 He launched a fleet on the Red Sea, and sent it to the countries of fragrant spices. 6 "The captains of the sailors were there, together with the chiefs of the corex and accountants, to provide provision" for the people.

1 The Great Harris Papyrius, ed. Brown, pl. 37, 1, 19, pl. 38, 1, 6 (cf. Elephantine-Bunum. The Annals of Ramses III, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. VIII, pp. 24, 25), speaks of fortifications erected in the towns of Aaherd-Shu, possibly Thinis, and of Ton, possibly Hermopolis, in order to repel the tribes of the Tihom who were incessantly harassing the frontier.


5 The Great Harris Papyrius, ed. Brown, pl. 78, II, 2, 3; cf. CHARLES, Recherches sur la XIXe dynastie, pp. 66-68, and EISENHORN-BUNUM. The Annals of Ramses III, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. viii, p. 90. This is the Gebel-Atika of our day, as Ebers has pointed out (W. MAX MÜLLER, Asia and Europe, p. 53). All this district is imperfectly explored, but we know that it contains mines and quarries some of which were worked as late as in the time of the Roman Emperors.

of the Divine Lands from the innumerable products of Egypt; and these products were counted by myriads. Sailing through the great sea of Qodi, they arrived at Pūḥānīt without mishap, and there collected cargoes for their galleys and ships, consisting of all the unknown marvels of Tōmūṭīr, as well as considerable quantities of the perfumes of Pūḥānīt, which they stowed on board by tens of thousands without number. The sons of the princes of Tōmūṭīr came themselves into Qūnīt with their tributes. They reached the region of Coptes safe and sound, and disembarked there in peace with their riches. It was somewhere about San and Tīnan that the merchants and royal officers landed, following the example of the expeditions of the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties. Here they organised caravans of asses and slaves, which taking the shortest route across the mountain—that of the valley of Bahānāh—carried the precious commodities to Coptos, whence they were transferred to boats and distributed along the river. The erection of public buildings, which had been interrupted since the time of Mēponent, began again with renewed activity. The captives in the recent victories furnished the requisite labour, while the mines, the voyages to the Somali coast, and the tributes of vassals provided the necessary money. Syria was not lost sight of in this resumption of peaceful occupations. The overthrow of the Kāthtī secured Egyptian rule in this region, and promised a long tranquility within its borders. One temple at least was erected in the country—that at Pākānā—where the princes of Kārūn were to assemble to offer worship to the Pharaoh, and to pay each one his quota of the general tribute. The Pulēsūti were employed to protect the caravan routes, and a vast reservoir was erected near Aīna to provide a store of water for the irrigation of the neighbouring country. The Delta absorbed the greater part of the royal subsidies; it had suffered so much from the Libyan incursions, that the majority of the towns within it had fallen into a condition as miserable as that in which they were at the time of the expulsion of the Shepherds. Heliopolis, Babylon, Thmūtim, and Tīnan still preserved some remains of the buildings which


3 Assmann, Egypt, Geschichte, p. 209, 215; Assmann, Akkadian of Tell el-Fahgāq, pt. xxiii, 8

4 Weidemann, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 209, 215; Assmann, Akkadian of Tell el-Fahgāq, pt. xxiii, 8

5 Reisner, Babylonia, pt. xxvii, 12, and pp. 33, 34

6 Mariette, Monuments divers, pt. II, 17, 25, 26, and pt. X, No. 9

7 Mariette, Tacht H., p. 137, 29, 31, and pt. X, No. 9

8 Mariette, Tanis H., pt. vii, Nos. 142-144, and p. 25
had already been erected in them by Ramses; he constructed also, at the place at present called Tel el-Yahudiyyeh, a royal palace of limestone, granite, and alabaster, of which the type is unique amongst all the structures hitherto discovered. Its walls and columns were not ornamented with the usual sculptures incised in stone, but the whole of the decorations—scenes as well as inscriptions—consisted of plaques of enamelled terra-cotta set in cement. The forms of men and animals and the lines of hieroglyphs, standing out in slight relief from a glazed and warm-coloured background, constitute an immense mosaic-work of many hues. The few remains of the work show great purity of design and an extraordinary delicacy of tone. All the knowledge of the Egyptian painters, and all the technical skill of their artisans in ceramic, must have been employed to compose such harmoniously balanced decorations, with their free handling of line and colour, and their thousands of rosettes, squares, stars, and buttons of varicoloured pastes. The difficulties to overcome were so appalling, that when the marvellous work was

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1 Drawn by Fauquier-Guille, from a photograph by Bats.
2 This temple has been known since the beginning of the century, but the Louvre is in possession of some fragments from it which came from Salt's collection; it was rediscovered in 1876, and some portions of it were translated by Marie le Roi in the Bolting Museum (Barracco, As des Haremepour, in the Zeitschriften, 1871, pp. 87, 88; E. Batsman, De et Ouda, in the Memorie di Traversa, vol. viii., pp. 1-4). Marie le Roi, Guide des Charmes, pp. 109, 261. The remainder was destroyed by the fanatic, in the instigation of the enlightened annalist of Cairo, and fragments of it have passed into various private collections (Hauter-Lewis, Tel el-Yahudi, "The Mount of the Jews," in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. v., pp. 371-392). Naville, The Mount of the Jews and the City of Ouda, pp. 5-32, was the first to explore it. The decoration has been attributed to Cilician influence, but it is a work purely Egyptian, both in style and in technique (Masson, Archéologie Egyptienne, pp. 287-309).
once accomplished, no subsequent attempt was made to construct a second like it: all the remaining structures of Ramses III, whether at Memphis, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, or at Karnak, were in the conventional style of the Pharaohs. He determined, nevertheless, to give to the exterior of the Memnonium, which he built near Medinet-Habu for the worship of himself, the proportions and appearance of an Asiatic "Migdol," influenced probably by his remembrance of similar structures which he had seen during his Syrian campaign. The chapel itself is of the ordinary type, with its gigantic pylons, its courts surrounded by columns—each supporting a colossal Osirian statue—its hypostyle hall, and its mysterious cells for the deposit of spoils taken from the peoples of the sea and the cities of Asia. His tomb was concealed at a distant spot in the Biban-el-Moluk, and we see depicted on its walls the same scenes that we find in the last resting-place of Seti I. or Ramses II., and in addition to them, in a series of supplementary chambers, the arms of the sovereign, his standards, his treasures, his kitchen, and the preparation of offerings which were to be made to him. His sarcophagus, cut out of an enormous block of granite, was brought for sale to Europe at the beginning of this century, and Cambridge obtained possession of its cover, while the Louvre secured the receptacle itself.

These were years of profound tranquillity. The Pharaoh intended that absolute order should reign throughout his realm, and that justice should be dispensed impartially within it. There were to be no more excesses, no more crying iniquities; whoever was discovered oppressing the people, no matter whether he were court official or feudal lord—was instantly deprived of his functions, and replaced by an administrator of tried integrity. Ramses bequeaths, moreover, in an idyllic manner, of having planted trees everywhere, and of having built arbours wherein the people might sit in the shade in the open air; while women might go to and fro where they would in security, no one daring to insult them on the way. The Sharielites

1 Remains of buildings and statues discovered at Memphis, the inscriptions on which were published by Hdbouch, Recueil des Monumeats, vol. 1, pl. 16, 2, 4.
3 For the part taken by Ramses III, in the construction of the buildings at Karnak, see Magny et Al. Ramses, pp. 16, 19, 21, 26, 30, 31; the temple which he built before the pylons of Ramses II., is described in Charpentier, Monuments de l’Egypte, etc., vol. 1, pp. 10–16.
5 The tomb of Ramses III. is described in Charpentier, Monuments de l’Egypte, etc., vol. 1, pp. 393–394, 744–751; another tomb was commenced for him, but the work was abruptly suspended.
9 Great Events, ed. Breyer, pl. 38, 1, 11, pl. 66, 1. 1; this passage had already been noticed by Breyer, Die Sarcophiphse, pp. 228–229, who saw in it an allusion to the presence of foreigners. The reference is nearly to a royal official, a count (kab), who was oppressed the province of Almuth which had been entrusted to him. He was sternly expelled from his office by the king.
and Libyan mercenaries were restricted to the castles which they garrisoned, and were subjected to such a severe discipline that no one had any cause of complaint against these armed barbarians settled in the heart of Egypt. "I have," continues the king, " lifted up every miserable one out of his misfortune, I have granted life to him, I have saved him from the mighty who were oppressing him, and have secured rest for every one in his own town." The details of the description are exaggerated, but the general import of it is true. Egypt had recovered the peace and prosperity of which she had been deprived for at least half a century, that is, since the death of Minephrahat. The king, however, was not in such a happy condition as his people, and court intrigues embittered the later years of his life. One of his sons, whose name is unknown to us, but who is designated in the official records by the nickname of PentaEURIT, formed a conspiracy against him. His mother, Titi, who was a woman of secondary rank, took it into her head to secure the crown for him, to the detriment of the children of Queen Isht. An extensive plot was hatched in which scribes, officers of the guard, priests, and officials in high places, both natives and foreigners, were involved. A resort to the supernatural was at first attempted, and the superintendent of the Hords, a certain Panhiliabii, who was deeply versed in magic, undertook to cast a spell upon the Pharaoh, if he could only procure certain conjuring books of which he was not possessed. These were found to be in the royal library. He managed to introduce himself under cover of the night into the harem, where he manufactured certain waxen figures, of which some were to excite the hate of his wives against their husband, while others would cause him to waste away and finally perish. A traitor betrayed several of the conspirators, who, being subjected to the torture, informed upon others, and these at length brought the matter home to PentaEURIT and his immediate accomplices. All were brought before a commission of twelve members, summoned expressly to try the case, and the result was the condemnation and execution of six women and some forty men. The extreme penalty of the Egyptian code was reserved for PentaEURIT, and for the most culpable—"they died of themselves," and the meaning of this phrase is indicated, I believe, by the appearance of one

1 The Great Harris Papyrus, ed. Haen, pl. 70, 1. 2, pl. 70, l. 14, ed. Canaan. Enchiridion sur la Sumerian, pp. 68-70.
2 The documents bearing on this affair are a large papyrus, mutilated at the beginning, now at Turin, and two other fragments, the Lu Papyrus and the Robin Papyrus, the latter of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The large papyrus was published, translated, and annotated by Dewn, La Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et le Papyrus Lu et Robin, 1839, in which we are indebted for the explanation of the affair. The other two fragments, of which the first is given in Shaw, Egyptian Inscriptions, 2nd ed., pl. 133, 134, were studied by Canaan, Le Papyrus Magi- giens Harris, pp. 169-177, and Melanges Egyptologiques, 1st series, pp. 1-9; afterwards by Dewn, op. cit., pp. 128-137. Two of these documents have been retranslated, since Charles and Delmir, by Leber-Roche, Abstract of Criminal Proceedings in a Case of Treachery, in the Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. viii, pp. 458-465, and into German by Harris, Geschichte Ägypten, pp. 616-617.
of the mummies disinterred at Deir el-Bahari. The coffin in which it was placed was very plain, painted white and without inscription; the customary removal of entrails had not been effected, but the body was covered with a thick layer of natron, which was applied even to the skin itself and secured by wrappings. It makes one's flesh creep to look at it: the hands and feet are tied by strong bands, and are curled up as if under an intolerable pain; the abdomen is drawn up, the stomach projects like a ball, the chest is contracted, the head is thrown back, the face is contorted in a hideous grimace, the retracted lips expose the teeth, and the mouth is open as if to give utterance to a last despairing cry. The conviction is borne in upon us that the man was invested while still alive with the wrappings of the dead. Is this the mummy of Pentawrit, or of some other prince as culpable as he was, and condemned to this frightful punishment? In order to prevent the recurrence of such wicked plots, Pharaoh resolved to share his throne with that one of his sons who had most right to it. In the XXXII\textsuperscript{nd} year of his reign he called together his military and civil chiefs, the generals of the foreign mercenaries, the Shardin, the priests, and the nobles of the court, and presented to them, according to custom, his heir-designate, who was also called Ramses. He placed the double crown upon his brow, and seated him beside himself upon the throne of Horus. This was an occasion for the Pharaoh to bring to remembrance all the great exploits he had performed during his reign—his triumphs over the Libyans and over the peoples of the sea, and the riches he had lavished upon the gods; at the end of the enumeration he exhorted those who were present to observe the same fidelity towards the son which they had observed towards the father, and to serve the new sovereign as valiantly as they had served himself.

1 Cf. the translation by Devèze, La Papyrus Judiciaire de Turín, p. 145, and those given by Lapie-Beney, Criminal Proceedings in a Case of Conspiracy, in the Records of the First 1st series, vol. viii. p. 56, and Emsley, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Ägyptischen Gerichtsverfahrens, in the Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Landeskunde, pp. 267, 268, which agree in making it a case of judicial suicide: there was left to the condemned a chance of his mode of death, in order to avoid the scandal of a public execution. It is also possible to make it a condemnation to death in person, which did not allow of the substitution of a proxy willing, for a payment to his family, to undergo death in place of the condemned; but, unfortunately, no other text is to be found supporting the existence of such a practice in Egypt.


3 The date of the year XXXII for this event, is furnish'd by the Great Harris Papyrus, ed. Bunsen, pl. i. 1. It is confirm'd by the double date of a papyrus published by Maspero, Le Papyrus Maliet, in the Recueil de Correspondance, vol. iv. pp. 20-21.

4 Drawn by Rouxher-Séguin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. Maspero, Les Monnaies Royales, etc., in the Recueil de la Mission Française, vol. i. pl. xxvii.

5 The Great Harris Papyrus, ed. Bunsen, pl. 79, ii. 4-12; cf. Chabas, Recherches pour servir a
The joint reign lasted for only four years. Ramses III. was not much over sixty years of age when he died. He was still vigorous and muscular, but he had become stout and heavy. The fatty matter of the body having been dissolved by the natron in the process of embalming, the skin distended during life has gathered up into enormous loose folds, especially about the nape of the neck, under the chin, on the hips, and at the articulations of the limbs. The closely shaven head and cheeks present no trace of hair or beard.

The forehead, although neither broad nor high, is better proportioned than that of Ramses II.; the supra-orbital ridges are less accentuated than his; the cheek-bones not so prominent, the nose not so arched, and the chin and jaw less massive. The eyes were perhaps larger, but no opinion can be offered on this point, for the eyelids have been cut away, and the cleared-out cavities have been filled with rags. The ears do not stand out so far from the head as those of Ramses II., but they have been pierced for ear-rings. The mouth, large by nature, has been still further widened in the process of embalming, owing to the awkwardness of the operator, who has cut into the cheeks at the side. The thin lips allow the white and regular teeth to be seen; the first molar on the right has been either broken in half, or has worn away more rapidly than the rest.

Ramses III. seems, on the whole, to have been a sort of refined copy, a little more delicate in make, of Ramses II.; his face shows more plasticity of expression and intelligence, though less nobility than that of the latter, while his figure is not so upright, his shoulders not so broad, and his general muscular vigour less. What has been said of his personality may be extended to his reign; it was evidently and designedly an imitation of the reign of Ramses II., but fell short of its model owing to the insufficiency of his resources in men and money. If Ramses III. did not succeed in becoming one of the most powerful of the Theban Pharaohs, it was not for lack of energy or ability; the depressed condition of Egypt at the time limited the success of his endeavours and caused them to fall short of his intentions. The work accomplished by him was not on this account less glorious. At his accession Egypt was in a wretched state, invaded on the west, threatened by a flood of barbarians on the east, without an army or a fleet, and with no resources in the treasury. In fifteen years he had disposed of his inconvenient neighbours, organised an army, constructed a fleet, re-established his authority.


1 This may be inferred from a document edited by Marçano, Le Papyrus Machi, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. 3, pp. 93, 94; the term of four years is confirmed by the fact that a rough draft of a passage in the annals of Ramses IV. begins the date of his IVth year (Marçano, Notes sur quelques parties du Gerome, etc., in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. 3, pp. 116, 117).

2 As to the mummy of Ramses III., see Marçano, Les Moeurs royales de Délè el-Bahari, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. I. pp. 563-565.
abroad, and settled the administration at home on so firm a basis, that the country owed the peace which it enjoyed for several centuries to the institutions and prestige which he had given it. His associate in the government, Ramses IV., barely survived him. Then followed a series of *rois fantômes* bearing the name of Ramses, but in an order not yet clearly determined. It is generally assumed that Ramses V., brother of Ramses III., succeeded Ramses IV. by supplanting his nephews—who, however, appear to have soon re-established their claim to the throne, and to have followed each other in rapid succession as Ramses VI., Ramses VII., Ramses VIII., and Maritâmû. Others endeavour to make out that Ramses V. was the son of Ramses IV., and that the prince called Ramses VI. never succeeded to the throne at all. At any rate, his son, who is styled Ramses VII., but who is asserted by some to have been a son of Ramses III., is considered to have succeeded Ramses V., and to have become the ancestor from whom the later Ramsessides traced their descent. The short reigns of these Pharaohs were marked by no events which would cast lustre on their names; one might say that they had nothing else to do than to enjoy peacefully the riches accumulated by their forefather. Ramses IV. was anxious to profit by the commercial relations which had been again established between Egypt and Punt, and, in order to facilitate the transit between Coptos and Kuseir, founded a station, and a temple dedicated to Isis, in the mountain of Bakhîri; by this route, we learn, more than eight thousand men had passed under the auspices of the high priest of Amon, Nakhtâ-ramese. This is the only undertaking of public utility which we can attribute to any of these kings. As we see them in their statues and portraits, they are heavy and squat and without refinement, with protruding eyes, thick lips, flattened and commonplace noses, round and expressionless faces. Their work was confined to the engraving of their cartouches on the blank spaces of the temples at Karnak and Medinet-Habu, and the addition of a few stones to the buildings at Memphis, Abydès, and Heliopolis. Whatever energy and means they

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1. The order of the Ramsessides was first made out by Champollion the younger (cf. CHAMPOLLION, Période, L'Egypte Ancienne, pp. 228, 229) and by Rosellini (Hist. Antica, vol. ii. p. 39, and vol. vi. pp. 128, 138). Ramses (Egyptiens Stellans, vol. iii. pp. 119, 126) and Lepinus (Kähler, pls. xxxviii., xxxix.) reckon in it thirteen kings: E. de Rouge puts the number at fifteen or sixteen (Étude sur une Étoile de la Bible, Impérial, pp. 184, 185, 186); Maaspor makes the number to be twelve (La Monnaie royale, etc., in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. i. p. 622), which was reduced still further by Sehle (Untersuchungen zur Geschichts-Egypten, pp. 63–61). Kraner thinks that Ramesses IX. and Ramses X. were also possibly sons of Ramses III. (Die Stuie Ramses III. in der Zeltzeit, 1889, pp. 93–101); he consequently declares to recognize King Maritâmû as a son of that sovereign, as Brugsch would make out (Geschichte Egipte, p. 629).

2. This is the position only maintained by Sansa, Untersuchungen zur Geschichts-Egypten, pp. 59–64. The monuments of these later Ramsessides are so few and so doubtful that I cannot yet see my way to a solution of the questions which they raise.

3. For the probable duration of their reigns, which coincide with the lives of two high priests of Amon, see Maaspor, Monnaie royale, in the Mémoires, etc., vol. i. pp. 633–634.

possessed were expended on the construction of their magnificent tombs. These may still be seen in the Biban el-Moluk, and no visitor can refrain from admiring them for their magnitude and decoration. As to funerary chapels, owing to the shortness of the reign of these kings, there was not time to construct them, and they therefore made up for this want by appropriating the chapel of their father, which was at Medinet-Habu, and it was here consequently that their worship was maintained. The last of the sons of Ramses III. was succeeded by another and equally ephemeral Ramses; after whom came Ramses X. and Ramses XI., who re-established the tradition of more lasting reigns. There was now no need of expeditions against Khurr or Libya, for these enfeebled countries no longer disputed, from the force of custom, the authority of Egypt. From time to time an embassy from these countries would arrive at Thebes, bringing presents, which were pompously recorded as representing so much tribute. If it is true that a people which has no history is happy, then Egypt ought to be reckoned as more fortunate under the feeblest descendants of Ramses III. than it had ever been under the most famous Pharaohs.

Thebes continued to be the favourite royal residence. Here in its temple the kings were crowned, and in its palaces they passed the greater part of their lives, and here in its valley of sepulchres they were laid to rest when their reigns and lives were ended. The small city of the beginning of the


2 The mention of a tribute, for instance, in the time of Ramses IV. from the Lotun (Lepsius, *Desein*, ii., 225 p. 1, 2).

3 Drawn by Pachis-Deule, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. NAVILLE, *Babastis*, pl. xvi., xxxiv., i. This is the Ramses VI. of the series now generally adopted.
XVIIIth dynasty had long encroached upon the plain, and was now transformed into an immense town, with magnificent monuments, and a motley population, having absorbed in its extension the villages of Ashirā,3 and Madīt, and even the southern Aptic, which we now call Luxor. But their walls could still be seen, rising up in the middle of modern constructions, a memorial of the heroic ages, when the power of the Theban princes was trembling in the balance, and when conflicts with the neighboring barms or with the legitimate king were on the point of breaking out at every moment. The inhabitants of Aptic retained their walls, which coincided almost exactly with the boundary of Naqetau, the great sanctuary of Amon; Ashirā sheltered behind its ramparts the temple of Mūt, while Aptic-risit clustered around a building consecrated by Amenòtès III, to his divine father, the lord of Thebes. Within the boundary walls of Thebes extended whole suburbs, more or less densely populated and prosperous, through which ran avenues of sphinxes connecting together the three chief boroughs of which the sovereign city was composed. On every side there might have been seen the same collections of low grey huts, separated from each other by some muddy pool where the cattle were wont to drink and the women to draw water; long streets lined with high houses, irregularly shaped open spaces, bazars, gardens, courtyards, and shabby-looking palaces which, while presenting a plain and undecorated exterior, contained within them the refinements of luxury and the comforts of wealth. The population did not exceed a hundred thousand souls, reckoning a large proportion of foreigners attracted hither by commerce or held as slaves. The court of the Pharaoh drew to the city numerous provincials, who, coming thither to seek their fortune, took up their abode there, planting in the capital of Southern Egypt types from the north and the centre of the country, as well as from Nubia and the Oasis; such a continuous infusion of foreign material into the ancient

1. Upon this extension of Thebes, see pp. 265, 296 of the present work. The village of Ashirā was situated to the south of the temple of Karnak, close to the temple of Mūt (Chassé-Naville, Monuments chins, vol. ii. p. 302; Brugsch, Dict. dévol., pp. 73-75). Its ruins, containing the statues of Sakkhe collected by Amenòtès III. (see p. 296 of the present work), existed around the remains marked X in Mariette's plan (Karnak, p. B., 17). Consentes-Réveillout, Images géographiques et topographiques de Thèbes, in the Revue Archéologique, vol. i. p. 189.

2. These are the walls which are generally regarded as marking the second enclosure of the temples; an examination of the ruins of Thebes shows that, during the XXth and XXIst dynasties, brick-built houses lay against these walls both on the inner and outer sides, so that they must have been half hidden by buildings, as are the ancient walls of Paris at the present day.

3. For the period during which these walls were constructed, see pp. 368, 399 of the present work.

4. The only reasoners, as far as I know, which have been carried out in these ruins are those of Mau, Étude de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes, vol. i. pp. 184-189.

5. Lettraux, after having shown that we have no authentic ancient document giving us the population, from 15.8 at 280,000 souls (Chassé-Naville, id. Poussan, pt. ii, vol. i. pp. 185-186). My estimate, which is, if anything, exaggerated, is based on the computations of the area of ancient Thebes and that of such modern towns as Asmū, Girgh, and Qina, whose populations are known for the last fifty years from the census.
Theban stock gave rise to families of a highly mixed character, in which all the various races of Egypt were blended in the most capricious fashion. In every twenty officers, and in the same number of ordinary officials, about half would be either Syrians, or recently naturalised Nubians, or the descendants of both, and among the citizens such names as Pakhari the Syrian, Palamnaus the native of the Lebanon, Pianaes the negro, Palassin the Alasian, preserved the indications of foreign origin. A similar mixture of races was found in other cities, and Memphis, Bubastis, Tanis, and Siut must have presented as striking an aspect in this respect as Thebes. At Memphis...

1 See p. 138 of the present volume as to Bent-Amen, of the town of Zur-Esna, and p. 140 as to Arres, the Syrian, who was for a short time king of Egypt.

2 Among the forty-three individuals compromised in the conspiracy against Haussa III. (see pp. 470, 480 of the present work) whose names have been examined by Deyrden (De Pappus Arabicus et Verus, etc., pp. 132–133), nine are foreigners, chiefly Syriacs, and were as recognised by the Egyptians themselves—Athis (p. 120), Lamhanka (p. 141), Cariopis (p. 144), Lamhanka the Lybian (pp. 144, 157, 125), Elamhanka, possibly the Jerusalemite (pp. 144, 145, 149), Nalaka, possibly the Xerxide (pp. 146, 147), Pahuka the Lybian (pp. 122, 133), Qubades (p. 136), and Usnans or Usants (pp. 160, 201). In regard to Klaren, Pakhari, see W. Max Muller, Greece and Egypt, p. 264; and for good reason, see W. Max Muller, De la Tradition et des usages, pp. 246, 292. As to the part played by foreigners in Egypt and their number, see Reales, Geschiede Egypten, p. 197, et seq., and Kähni, Dendera and Egyptian Lamps, pp. 127, 127, 282, 283.

3 A summary of the state of Althos, published by Mariette in his Catalogue GENERAL, shows the extent of foreign influence in this city in the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty.
there were regular colonies of Phœnician, Canaanite, and Amorite merchants sufficiently prosperous to have temples there to their national gods, and influential enough to gain adherents to their religion from the indigenous inhabitants. They worshipped Baal, Aniti, Razal-Zaphuna, and Ashtoreth, side by side with Ptah, Nofritum, and Sokhit; and this condition of things at Memphis was possibly paralleled elsewhere—as at Tanis and Bubastis. This blending of races was probably not so extensive in the country districts, except in places where mercenaries were employed as garrisons; but Sudanese or Hittite slaves, brought back by the soldiers of the ranks, had introduced Ethiopian and Asiatic elements into many a family of the fellahin. We have only to examine in any of our museums the statues of the Memphite and Theban periods respectively, to see the contrast between the individuals represented in them as far as regards stature and appearance. Some members of the courts of the Ramessides stand out as genuine Semites notwithstanding the disguise of their Egyptian names; and in the times of Kheops and Ûuartasen they would have been regarded as barbarians. Many of them exhibit on their faces a blending of the distinctive features of one or other of the predominant Oriental races of the time. Additional evidence of a mixture of races is forthcoming when we examine with an unbiased mind the mummies of the period, and the complexity of the new elements introduced among the people by the political movements of the later centuries is thus strongly confirmed. The new-comers had all been absorbed and assimilated by the country, but the generations which arose from this continual cross-breeding, while representing externally the Egyptians of older epochs, in manners, language, and religion, were at bottom something different, and the difference became the more accentuated as the foreign elements increased. The people were thus gradually divested of the character which had distinguished them; before the conquest of Syria; the dispositions and defects imported from without counteracted to such an extent their own native dispositions and defects that all marks of individuality were effaced and nullified. The race tended to become more and more what it long continued to be afterwards—a lifeless and inert mass, without individual energy—endowed, it is true, with patience, endurance, cheerfulness of temperament, and good nature, but with little power of self-

1. These gods are mentioned in the preface of a letter written on the cave of the Sahib Papyrus, No. 19, pl. 1, 1. 6: they were first noticed by Goodwin (Notes, in the Zeitschrift, 1873, p. 14). From this mode in which they are introduced we may rightly infer that they had, like the Egyptian gods who are mentioned with them, their chapels at Memphis. As to the other Semitic gods and goddesses worshipped in Egypt, see pp. 174, 183 of the present work. A place in Memphis is called the district called the district of the Khabita in an inscription of the 11th year of At (Dahia, Notes, etc., c., 4, still in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. xv., p. 125), and shows that Hittites were there by the side of Canaanites.

2. One of the letters in the Great Sabaean Papyrus treats of a Syrian slave employed as a cultivator at Hermopolis, who had the away from his master (Chana, Mélanges Egyptologiques, 3rd series, vol. 1, pp. 232, 233).
government, and thus forced to submit to foreign masters who made use of
it and oppressed it without pity.

The upper classes had degenerated as much as the masses. The feudal
nobles who had expelled the Shepherds, and carried the frontiers of the empire
to the banks of the Euphrates, seemed to have expended their energies in the
effort, and to have almost ceased to exist. As long as Egypt was restricted
to the Nile valley, there was no such disproportion between the power of the
Pharaoh and that of his feudatories as to prevent the latter from maintaining
their privileges beside, and, when occasion arose, even against the monarch.
The conquest of Asia, while it compelled them either to take up arms them-

selves or to send their troops to a distance, accustomed them and their
soldiers to a passive obedience. The maintenance of a strict discipline in the
army was the first condition of successful campaigning at great distances from
the mother country and in the midst of hostile people, and the unquestioning
respect which they had to pay to the orders of their general prepared them for
absolute submission to the will of their sovereign. To their bravery, moreover,
they owed not only money and slaves, but also necklaces and bracelets of
honour, and distinctions and offices in the Pharaonic administration. The
king, in addition, neglected no opportunity for securing his devotion to him-
self. He gave to them in marriage his sisters, his daughters, his cousins, and
any of the princesses whom he was not compelled by law to make his own wives.
He selected from their harems nursing-mothers for his own sons, and this
choice established between him and them a foster relationship, which was as
binding among the Egyptians and other Oriental peoples as one of blood.
It was not even necessary for the establishment of this relation that the foster-
mother’s connexion with the Pharaoh’s son should be durable or even effective;
the woman had only to offer her breast to the child for a moment, and this
symbol was quite enough to make her his nurse—his true monast. This
fictitious fosterage was carried so far, that it was even made use of in the case
of youths and persons of mature age. When an Egyptian woman wished to
adopt an adult, the law prescribed that she should offer him the breast, and
from that moment he became her son. A similar ceremony was prescribed in
the case of men who wished to assume the quality of male nurse—monast—or
even, indeed, of female nurse—monast—like that of their wives; according to
which they were to place, it would seem, the end of one of their fingers in the
mouth of the child.1 Once this affinity was established, the fidelity of these
feudal lords was established beyond question; and their official duties to the

1 These symbolical modes of adoption were first pointed out by Hunger, Noten zu Joseph, S. 22,
Agypt, in Am Ir-Quideh, 1892, ed. lit. pp. 235-267. Legard has given examples of them; as, for instance,
where Isis fostered the child of Malakand, King of Byblos, by inserting the tip of her finger in its mouth.
sovereign were not considered as accomplished when they had fulfilled their military obligations, for they continued to serve him in the palace as they had served him on the field. Wherever the necessities of the government called them—at Memphis, at Tanis, or elsewhere—they assembled around the Pharaoh: like him they had their palaces at Thebes, and when they died they were anxious to be buried there beside him. Many of the old houses had become extinct, while others, owing to marriages, were absorbed into the royal family; the fleets conceded to the relations or favorites of the Pharaoh continued to exist, indeed, as of old, but the ancient distrustful and turbulent feudality had given place to an aristocracy of courtiers, who lived oftener in attendance on the monarch than on their own estates, and whose authority continued to diminish to the profit of the absolute rule of the king. There would be nothing astonishing in the "court" becoming nothing more than a governor, hereditary or otherwise, in Thebes itself; he could hardly be anything higher in the capital of the empire. But the same restriction of authority was evidenced in all the provinces: the recruiting of soldiers, the receipt of taxes, most of the offices associated with the civil or military administration, became more and more affairs of the State, and passed from the hands of the feudal lord into those of the functionaries of the Crown. The few barons who still lived on their estates, while they were thus dispossessed of the greater part of their prerogatives, obtained some compensation, on the other hand, on the side of religion. From early times they had been by birth the heads of the local cult, and their protocol had contained, together with those titles which justified their possession of the temporalities of the name, others which attributed to them spiritual supremacy. The sacred character with which they were invested became more and more prominent in proportion as their political influence became curtailed, and we find actions of the old warlike families or representatives of a new lineage at Thebes, at Akhmim, in the name of Bani. 

1 The tomb of a prince of Thebe, the lesser Akerchelophas, was discovered at Thebes by Mariette, Le Tombeau de Memnon, in the Memphis, loc. cit. vol. vi. p. 456. of seq. The rock-cut tombs of two Theban princes were noted in the same encyclopedia, and referred to by Champollion, Monuments, etc., vol. i. p. 323, no. 21, and one of them was published by Viret, Le Tombeau de Khénum, in the Mémoires de l'Institut, vol. vi. p. 323, at seq. These two were of the time of Thètys IV. I have remarked in another note a pyramid published in the Memorie di Egitto, vol. vii. p. 497, of seq., and there is nothing to show that there was any other person among them invested with the same functions and belonging to a different family.

2 Bakmû and his son Memnonchenane were both "scents" of Thebes under Thètys III (Viret, Le Tombeau de Khénum, in the Mémoires de l'Institut, loc. cit. p. 323, of seq.), and there is nothing to show that there was any other person among them invested with the same functions and belonging to a different family.

3 See, for example, the tomb of Achnatoni, high priest of Asetuki-Sesh and prince of Thètys, under Mentuhotep (Mariette-Mémoires, Monuments, etc., vol. i. p. 29, 39, and p. 37), where the usurped character is almost necessarily prominent. The same is the case with the tomb of the prince of Akhmim in the time of Hatshepsut and his successors; the few still existing in 1884-5 have not been published. The stele belonging to them are at Paris and Berlin.

4 Gallier, The Inscriptions of Sekh and Den-Rêfis, pp. 18, 19, where, in the tomb of Pèrèse Nêr, the religious features of the inscriptions eclipse the military ones.
at Hierakopolis, at El-Kah, and in every place where we have information from the monuments as to their position, bestowing more concern upon their sacerdotal than on their other duties. This transfiguration of the functions of the barons, which had been completed under the XIXth and XXth dynasties, corresponded with a more general movement by which the Pharaohs themselves were driven to accentuate their official position as high priests, and to assign to their sacerdotal functions in relation to the principal deities. This rekindling of religious fervour would not, doubtless, have restrained military zeal in case of war; but if it did not tend to suppress entirely individual bravery, it discouraged the taste for arms and for the bold adventures which had characterised the old feudality. The duties of sacrificing, of offering prayer, of celebrating the sacred rites according to the prescribed forms, and rendering due homage to the gods in the manner they demanded, were of such an exactingly scrupulous and complex character that the Pharaohs and the lords of earlier times had to assign them to men specially fitted for, and appointed to, the task; now that they had assumed these absorbing functions themselves, they were obliged to delegate to others an increasingly greater proportion of their civil and military duties. Thus, while the king and his great vassals were devoting occupying themselves in matters of worship and theology, generals by profession were relieving them of the care of commanding their armies; and as these individuals were frequently the chiefs of Ethiopian, Asiatic, and especially of Libyan bands, military authority, and, with it, predominant influence in the State were quickly passing into the hands of the barbarians. A sort of aristocracy of veterans, notably of Shardana or Mashatasha, entirely devoted to arms, grew up and increased gradually side by side with the ancient noble families, now by preference devoted to the priesthood.

The barons, whether of ancient or modern lineage, were possessed of immense wealth, especially those of priestly families. The tribute and spoil of Asia and Africa, when once it had reached Egypt, hardly ever left it.

1 Hierakopolis, Princes of Hierakopolis under Thutmosis III., is, above everything else, a prophet of the local Horus (BENJAMIN, Joes Tombeau d’Hierakopolis, in the Bulletin Archéologique, etc., 1873-1874, p. 23, 29).

2 The princes of El-Kah during the XIXth and XXth dynasties were, before everything, priests of Amon, as appears from an examination of their tombs, which, lying in a side valley, far away from the tomb of Bubastis, are rarely visited.

3 The sons of Harem II. Khamankh and Meketawy, were leave warriors in spite of their being high priests of Thot at Memphis, and of Isis at Heliopolis. With respect to Khamankh, see pp. 434-435 of the present work, and in regard to Meketawy, see EYRE, Joseph-Bruno Fernandez de Espinosa, Alterechn, 1854, p. 92. No. 7347. We shall see later on how the high priests of Amun, Horion, Tachbiti, Pashons, took the title of commander-in-chief.

4 For further information upon these "men of the veil," see Omer de Clicated, pp. 124-127.

5 This military aristocracy was fully developed in the XXIth and XXIIth dynasties, but it begins to take shape after Joseph II. had planted the Shardana and Qahaka in certain towns as gourmese, see on this subject, pp. 473-474, 479 of the present work.
they were distributed among the population in proportion to the position occupied by the recipients in the social scale. The commanders of the troops, the attendants on the king, the administrators of the palace and temples, absorbed the greater part, but the distribution was carried down to the private soldier and his relations in town or country, who received some of the crumbs. When we remember for a moment the four centuries and more during which Egypt had been reaping the fruits of her foreign conquest, we cannot think without amazement at the quantities of gold and other precious metals which must have been brought in divers forms into the valley of the Nile. Every fresh expedition made additions to these riches, and one is at a loss to know whence in the intervals between two defeats the conquered could procure so much wealth, and why the sources were never exhausted nor became impoverished.

This flow of metals had an influence upon commercial transactions, for although trade was still mainly carried on by barter, the mode of operation was becoming changed appreciably. In exchanging commodities, frequent use was now made of rings and ingots of a certain prescribed weight in tabenæ: and it became more and more the custom to pay for goods by a certain number of tabenæ of gold, silver, or copper, rather than by other commodities: it was the practice even to note down in invoices or in the official receipts, alongside the products or manufactured articles with which payments were made, the value of the same in weighed metal. This custom, although not yet widely extended, placed at the disposal of trade enormous masses of metal, which were preserved in the form of ingots or bricks, except the portion which went to the manufacture of rings, jewellery, or valuable vessels. The general prosperity

1 See, on pp. 86, 87, 88 of this work, the notions of the quantity of gold received by the two officers of subordinate rank, both called Amenem of El-Kah. On one occasion it is (pp. 96, 97) the distribution of booty to the whole crew of a ship who had distinguished themselves brilliantly.

2 The quantity of gold in ingots or rings, mentioned in the Annals of Thothmes III, represents altogether a weight of nearly ten and a quarter, or in value some 210,000 of our money. And this is far more than the whole of the metal obtained from the enemy, for a large portion of the inscription has disappeared, and the unrecorded amount might be taken, with much risk of error, as much as that of which we have evidence—say, some two and a half tons, which Thothmes had received or brought back between the years XXIII and XLII of his reign—an estimation rather under than over the reality. These figures, moreover, take no account of the vessels and statues, or of the furnaces and arms plated with gold. Silver was not received in such large quantities, but it was of great value, and the like may be said of copper and lead.

3 The facts justifying this position were observed and put together for the first time by Charles, Recherches sur les peaux, etc. des Anciens Egyptiens, pp. 15–46; a translation is given in this memoir of a register of the XXth or XXIst dynasty (MARIETTE, Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musée de Boulogne, vol. ii. pl. xxxvi. iv.), which gives the price of butcher's meat, both in gold and silver, at this date. Fresh examples have been since collected by Spengelberg, who has succeeded in drawing up a kind of tariff for the period between the XVIIIth and XXth dynasties (Reichswesen aus der Zeit Seti's I., Text, pp. 87–95).

4 There are depicted on the monuments large or heaps of gold dust, ingots in the shape of bricks, rings, and vessels arranged alongside each other: we also only once, see the Treasures seen at St. Nazaire (Cabrillon, Monuments de l'Egypte, vol. i. pp. 563, 567). DeMaché, Geschichte der Inschriften, vol. i. pls. xxx–xxxvi., and Rosellini, vol. i. pls. xxviii. xxi., and pp. 22, 23, which mentioned many Egyptologists of the legend of Khampsinais.
encouraged a passion for goldsmiths' work, and the use of bracelets, necklaces, and chains became common among classes of the people who were not previously accustomed to wear them.\(^1\) There was henceforward no scribe or merchant, however poor he might be, who had not his seal made of gold or silver, or at any rate of copper gilt. The stone was sometimes fixed, but frequently arranged so as to turn round on a pivot; while among people of superior rank it had some emblem or device upon it, such as a scorpion, a sparrow-hawk, a lion, or a cynocephalous monkey. Chains occupied the same position among the ornaments of Egyptian women as rings among men; they were indispensable decorations. Examples of silver chains are known of some five feet in length, while others do not exceed two to three inches. There are specimens in gold of all sizes, single, double, and triple, with large or small links, some thick and heavy, while others are as slight and flexible as the finest Venetian lace. The poorest peasant woman, alike with the lady of the court, could boast of the possession of a chain, and she must have been in dire poverty who had not some other ornament in her jewel-case. The jewellery of Queen Ahhotep\(^2\) shows to what degree of excellence the work of the Egyptian goldsmiths had attained at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos: they had not only preserved the good traditions of the best workmen of the XII\(^{\text{th}}\) dynasty, but they had perfected the technical details, and had learned to combine form and colour with a greater skill.\(^2\) The pectorals of Prince Khâmésit and the Lord Psaru, now in the Louvre, but which were originally placed in the tomb of the Apis in the time of Ramesses II,\(^3\) are splendid examples. The most common form of these represents in miniature the front of a temple with a moulded or flat border, surmounted by a curved cornice. In one of them, which was doubtless a present from the king himself, the cartouche, containing the first name of the Pharaoh-Unirmari, appears just below the frieze, and serves as a centre for the design within the frame. The wings of the ram-headed sparrow-hawk, the emblem of Amonrah, are so displayed as to support it, while a large urn and a culture beneath embracing both the sparrow-hawk and the cartouche with outspread wings give the idea of divine protection. Two dies, each of them filling one of the lower corners, symbolise duration. The framework of the design is made up of divisions

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\(^2\) Some of the jewels of Queen Ahhotep I, are represented on pp. 2, 3, 97, 108 of the present work; for the jewellery of the XII\(^{\text{th}}\) dynasty, see Harris of Civilization, p. 518.

marked out in gold, and filled either with coloured enamels or pieces of polished stone. The general effect is one of elegance, refinement, and harmony, the three principal elements of the design becoming enlarged from the top downwards in a deftly adjusted gradation. The dead-gold of the cartouche in the upper centre is set off below by the brightly variegated and slightly undulating band of colours of the sparrow-hawk, while the urns and vultures, associated together with one pair of wings, envelope the upper portions in a half-circle of enamels, of which the shades pass from red through green to a dull blue, with a freedom of handling and a skill in the manipulation of colour which do honour to the artist. It was not his fault if there is still an element of stiffness in the appearance of the pectoral as a whole, for the form which religious tradition had imposed upon the jewel was so rigid that no artifice could completely get over this defect. It is a type which arose out of the same mental conceptions as had given birth to Egyptian architecture and sculpture—monumental in character, and appearing often as if designed for colossal rather than ordinary beings. The dimensions, too, overpowering for the decoration of normal men or women, would find an appropriate place only on the breasts of gigantic statues; the enormous size of the stone figures to which alone they are adapted would relieve them, and show them in their proper proportions. The artists of the second Theban empire tried all they could, however, to get rid of the square framework, in which the sacred bird is enclosed, and we find examples among the pectorals in the Louvre of the sparrow-hawk only with curved wings, or of the ram-headed hawk with the wings extended; but in both of them there is displayed the same brilliancy, the same purity of line, as in the square-shaped jewels, while the design, freed from the trammels of the hampering enamelled frame, takes on a more graceful form, and becomes more suitable for personal decoration. The ram's head in the second case excels in the beauty of its workmanship anything to be found elsewhere in

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1 Drawn by Paul de Gaud, from the jewel in the Louvre: cf. Frereau, Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la Galerie Égyptiennes, p. 129, No. 221, and Mariette, La Sépulture de Mentho, 1862, pl. 39.

2 This pectoral is reproduced as a half-page to the table of contents of the present chapter, p. 428: cf. Frereau, Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la Galerie Égyptiennes, p. 127, No. 231, and Mariette, La Sépulture de Mentho, 1862, pl. 39.
the museums of Europe or Egypt. It is of the finest gold, but its value does not depend upon the precious material: the ancient engraver knew how to model it with a cold and free hand, and he has managed to invest it with so much dignity as if he had been carving his subject in heroic size out of a block of granite or limestone. It is not an example of pure industrial art, but of an art for which a designation is lacking. Other examples, although more carefully executed and of more costly materials, do not approach it in value: such, for instance, are the ear-rings of Ramses XII. at Gizeh, which are made up of an ostentation combination of disks, filigree-work, chains, beads, and hanging figures of the uraeus.  

To get an idea of the character of the plate on the royal sideboards, we must have recourse to the sculptures in the temples, or to the paintings on the tombs: the engraved gold or silver centrepieces, dishes, bowls, cups, and amphorae, if valued by weight only, were too precious to escape the avarice of the impoverished generations which followed the era of Theban prosperity. In the fabrication of these we can trace foreign influences, but not to the extent of a predominance over native art: even if the subject to be dealt with by the artist happened to be a Phoenician god or an Asiatic prisoner, he was not content with slavishly copying his model: he translated it and interpreted it, as so as to give it an Egyptian character.

The household furniture was in keeping with these precious objects. Beds and armchairs in valuable woods, inlaid with ivory, carved, gilt, painted in subdued and bright colours, upholstered with mattresses and cushions of many-hued Asiatic stuffs, or of home-made materials, fashioned after Chaldaean patterns, were in use among the well-to-do, while people of moderate means

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1 Drawn by Pauliller-Guillemin, from a panel in the Louvre; cf. Pierrat, Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Egyptienne, pl. 127, No. 223, and Mariette, Le Bepouf du Memphis, pl. 12.

2 Mariette, Abhdon, vol. II, pl. 10 a, b and Catalogue General, pp. 357-359, No. 1576.

3 See pp. 254, 263 of the present work for specimens of halberdiers, especially of those in the precious metals; the finest examples have been described by Pierre d'Avoine, Hist. de l'Art Egyptian, vol. II, and Text, pp. 438-451, 458.

4 Drawn by Pauliller-Guillemin, from one of these objects in the tomb of Ramses III. cf. Chantre, Monuments de l'Egypte, etc., pl. 448: Bonn, Monument Civil, pl. 55.

THE CLOSE OF THE THEBAN EMPIRE.

had to be content with old-fashioned furniture of the ancient regime. The Theban dwelling-house was indeed more sumptuously furnished than the earliest Memphis, but we find the same general arrangements in both, which provided, in addition to quarters for the masters, a similar number of rooms intended for the slaves, for granaries, storehouses, and stables. While the outward decoration of life was subject to change, the inward element remained unaltered. Costume was a more complex matter than in former times: the dresses and lower garments were more gaudy, had more embroidery and stripes; the wigs were larger and longer, and rose up in capricious arrangements of curls and plaits. The use of the chariot had now become a matter of daily custom, and the number of domestics, already formidable, was increased by fresh additions in the shape of coachmen, grooms, and slaves, who ran before their master to clear a way for the horses through the crowded streets of the city. As material existence became more complex, intellectual life partook of the same movement, and, without deviating much from the lines prescribed for it by the learned and the scribes of the Memphite age, literature had become in the mean time larger, more complicated, more exacting, and more difficult to grapple with and to master. It had its classical authors, whose writings were committed to memory and taught in the schools. These were truly masterpieces, for if some felt that they understood and enjoyed them, others found them almost beyond their comprehension, and complained bitterly of their obscurity. The later writers followed them pretty closely, in taking pains, on the one hand, to express fresh ideas in the forms consecrated by approved and ancient usage, or when they failed to find adequate vehicles to convey new thoughts.

* It is easy to convince oneself of this, by comparing a scene of the XIIth dynasty, given on p. 319, *Down of Civilization*, after Petrie's drawings, with the scene of ladies of the XVIIIth, for which also I am indebted to Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. xxviii.-xlii.

* For the customs of this period, see Wilkinson, Monuments and Customs, 2nd ed., vol. ii., pp. 327-330, and especially Exx. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10. Exxx. are given in the *Down of Civilization*, pp. 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, and in the present work, pp. 31, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331.

* The pictures at Tell el-Amarna exhibit the king, queen, and princesses driving in their chariots, with attendants of soldiers and runners, (Larner, *Deuts.,* iii. 92-98). We often find in the tomb-paintings the chariots and charioteers of some dignitary, sitting while their master inspects a field or a work; or while he is making a visit to the palace for some reward (Unsere Ausgrabungen in Aegypten, etc., pl. xxiii., No. 1, and vol. i., p. 288; Rosellini, *Monumenti Cireli*, pl. xxv., No. 9, and p. 238, et seq.; Larner, *Deuts.*, iii. 104, 160, 168).

* Drawn by Foucher-Güldin, from a photograph by M. de Morgan; cf. *Agyptische Verschiedene Alterthümer*, No. 8011, p. 80.

* See in the Antiques Populaires, No. 1, pl. x. b. 5, pl. xxiv. b. 8, the passage in which the title of the times of Ramesses II. states that few could understand the ancient writings attributed to the Prince Dinknep, son of Mycerinus, and one of whom at least, chap. 10 of the Book of the Dead, has come down to us (Chassin, Voyage d'un Aegypte, pp. 45-47).
resorting in their lack of imagination to the foreigner for the requisite expressions. Least superficially, some-imagery of Asia, compelled the literature of Phenicia and

of Chaldaea. From these sources they had borrowed certain formulae of incantation, medical recipes, and devout legends, in which the deities of Assyria and especially Astarte played the chief part. They appropriated in this manner a certain number of words and phrases with which they were accustomed to interlard their discourses and writings. They thought it polite to call a door no longer by the word va, but by the term ira, and to accompany themselves no longer with the harp benat, but with the same instrument under its new name kisnôr, and to make the zaddi in saluting the sovereign in place of vowing before him, oua. They were thorough-going Semiticisers; but one is less offened by their affectation when one considers that the number of captives in the country, and the intermarriages with Canaanite women, had familiarised a portion of the community from childhood with the sounds and ideas of the languages from which the scribes were accustomed to borrow unblushingly. This artifice, if it served to 

1 Drawn by Foucher-Galiné, from photographs of the objects in the Museum of Berlin and Gieth.
2 See what has been said on this subject on p. 167 of the present work. Several of the literary or religious pieces found at Tell el-Amarna were to help in their studies Egyptian scribes who were qualifying for the office of scribe. See pp. 273, 278 of the present work.
3 See the Hieroglyphic Papyri, ed. Colman, pl. xii. 1-3: the formula there given seems a transcription in hieroglyphs of an inscription in canaanite characters.
4 Hieroglyphic Papyri, pl. xxii. 1, 8, &c seq., where the Egyptian compiler has inserted, among other formulae, the ritual recipe furnished him by an " Asaf of Byblos."
5 Reuss, Foria, in the Zeitschrift, 1871, pp. 110, 120, according to fragments then in the Tyraeum Ambust collection.
6 The Semiticising vocalism of the Tholos scribes was pointed out by Mauche, De Corpore Epistolarum, pp. 5-10, and afterwards by Foucher, Egyptiens et Egyptologiens Egyptiens, pp. 695-694. Some of the words thus introduced have been put together and commented on by Laun, Semitische Schriften in coptische, in the Zeitschrift der D. Morgei. Gesellschaft, vol. xxv. pp. 436-448, and by Reuss. Den. Hebräisch-Phönizischen Sprachwechsel不在乎的 Libnauten in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratische

the womb of the priestess, who brought them forth into the world, and who had brought them forth for the foreigner

Ordinary Furniture of the Thothay Period.
appearance of originality into their writings, had no influence upon their method of composition. Their poetical ideal remained what it had been in the time of their ancestors, but seeing that we are now unable to determine the characteristic cadence of sentences or the mental attitude which marked each generation of literary men, it is often difficult for us to find out the qualities in their writings which gave them popularity. A complete library of one of the learned in the Ramesside period must have contained a strange mixture of works, embracing, in addition to books of devotion, which were indispensable to those who were solicitous about their souls, collections of hymns, romances, war and love songs, moral and philosophical treatises, letters, and legal documents. It would have been similar in character to the literary possessions of an Egyptian of the Memphite period, but the language in which it was written would not have been so stiff and dry, but would have flowed more easily, and been more sustained and better balanced. The great odes to the deities which we find in the Theban papyri are better fitted, perhaps, than the profane compositions of the period, to give us an idea of the advance which Egyptian genius had made in the width and richness of its modes of expression, while still maintaining almost the same dead-level of ideas which had characterized it from the outset. Among these, one dedicated to Harmakhis, the sovereign sun, is no longer restricted to a bare enumeration of the acts and virtues of the "Disc," but ventures to treat of his daily course and his final triumphs in terms which might have been used in describing the victorious campaigns or the apotheosis of a Pharaoh. It begins with his awakening, at the moment when he has turned himself away from the embraces of night. Standing upright in the calm of the divine bark, the fair boat of millions of years," with the coils of the serpent Mmiki around him, he glides in silence on the eternal current of the celestial waters, guided and protected by those battalions of secondary deities with whose

TEXTET, 1838. It appears not to have been noticed that several of these words betray an Aramaean origin from the XVIIIth dynasty onwards.

1 There are found in the rubrics of many religious books, for example, a list dealing with the names of the gods (Maximus, Studia de Mythologia, etc., vol. 1, pp. 44-47), promises of health and prosperity to the soul which, "while still on earth," had read and learned them. A similar formula appears at the end of several important prayers of the Book of the Dead (O. W. Peet, All. Texts, Egyptian, cl. 30, pp. 35, 59).

2 See O. W. Peet, All. Texts, pp. 38-401. The composition of these hymns may be gathered from the collections of papyri which have turned up from time to time, and have been sold by the Ambler Collection, the Ancient Collections, and that of Harris. They have found their way eventually into the British Museum at London, and have been published in the Select Papyri of the British Museum, and in the Museum’s Egyptian of the latter.

odd forms the monuments have made us familiar. "Heaven is in delight, the earth is in joy, gods and men are making festival, to render glory to Phri-Harmakhis, when they see him arise in his bark, having overthrown his enemies in his own time." They accompany him from hour to hour, they fight the good fight with him against Apopi, they shout aloud as he inflicts each fresh wound upon the monster; they do not even abandon him when the west has swallowed him up in its darkness. Some parts of the hymn remind us, in the definiteness of the imagery and in the abundance of detail, of a portion of the poem of Pentamhit, or one of those inscriptions of Ramses III. wherein he celebrates the defeat of hordes of Asiatics or Libyans.

The Egyptians took a delight in listening to stories. They preferred tales which dealt with the marvellous and excited their imagination, introducing speaking animals, gods in disguise, ghosts and magic. One of them tells of a king who was distressed because he had no heir, and had no sooner obtained the favour he desired from the gods, than the Seven Hathors, the mistresses of Fate, destroyed his happiness by predicting that the child would meet with his death by a serpent, a dog, or a crocodile. Efforts were made to provide against such a fatality by shutting him up in a tower; but no sooner had he grown to man's estate, than he procured himself a dog, went off to wander through the world, and married the daughter of the Prince of Naharaim. His fate meets him first under the form of a serpent, which is killed by his wife; he is next assaulted by a crocodile, and the dog kills the crocodile, but as the oracles must be fulfilled, the brute turns and dispatches his master without further consideration.

Another story describes two brothers, Anpu and Bitiu, who live happily together on their farm till the wife of the elder falls in love with the younger, and on his repulsing her advances, she accuses him to her husband of having offered her violence. The virtue of the younger brother would not have availed him much, had not his animals warned him of danger, and had not Phri-Harmakhis surrounded him at the critical moment with a stream teeming with crocodiles. He mutilates himself to prove his innocence, and announces that henceforth he will lead a mysterious existence far from mankind; he will retire to the Valley

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1 The remains of Egyptian romance literature have been collected and translated into French by Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne*, 2nd ed., 1888, and subsequently into English by Fairservis, *Egyptian Tales*, 2, 1, 1888.


of the Aesculapius, place his heart on the topmost flower of the tree, and no one will be able with impunity to steal it from him. The gods, however, who frequent this earth take pity on his loneliness, and create for him a wife of such beauty that the Nile falls in love with her, and steals a lock of her hair, which is carried by its waters down into Egypt. Pharaoh finds the lock, and, intoxicated by its scent, commands his people to go in quest of the owner. Having discovered the lady, Pharaoh marries her, and ascertaining from her who she is, he sends men to cut down the Aesculapius, but no sooner has the flower touched the earth, than Bithiū droops and dies. The elder brother is made immediately acquainted with the fact by means of various prodigies. The wine poured out to him becomes troubled, his beer leaves a deposit. He seizes his shoes and staff and sets out to find the heart. After a search of seven years he discovers it, and reviving it in a vase of water, he puts it into the mouth of the corpse, which at once returns to life. Bithiū, from this moment, seeks only to be revenged. He changes himself into the bull Apis, and, on being led to court, reproaches the queen with the crime she has committed against him. The queen causes his throat to be cut; two drops of his blood fall in front of the gate of the palace, and produce in the night two splendid "Persea" trees, which renew the accusation in a loud voice. The queen has them cut down, but a chip from one of them flies into her mouth, and ere long she gives birth to a child who is none other than a re-incarnation of Bithiū. When the child succeeds to the Pharaoh, he assembles his council, reveals himself to them, and punishes with death her who was first his wife and subsequently his mother. The hero moves throughout the tale without exhibiting any surprise at the strange incidents in which he takes part, and, as a matter of fact, they did not seriously outrage the probabilities of contemporary life. In every town sorcerers could be found who knew how to transform themselves into animals or raise the dead to life; we have seen how the accomplices of Pentaŭrit had recourse to spells in order to gain admission to the royal palace when they desired to rid themselves of Ramses III. The most extravagant romances differed from real life merely in collecting within a dozen pages more miracles than were customarily supposed to take place in the same number of years; it was merely the multiplicity of events, and not the events themselves, that gave to the narrative its romantic and improbable character. The rank of the heroes alone

1 The Orébbe Faggrea, which contains the Tale of the Two Brothers, known as Faggrea, vol. ii. pl. ix., x., was discovered and interpreted by E. de Roux. Notices sur un manuscrit égyptien en écrire hiéroglyphique, in the Abécédaire Francégat, 1823, and in the Revue Archéologique, 3rd series, voi. 11, p. 70, et seq. It has since then been translated and commented upon by some dozen Egyptologists, and the translation, with a bibliography, will be found in Maspero, Les Contes populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne, 2nd edit., pp. 1-33, and also in Farouk, Egyptian Tales, 2nd series, pp. 30-38. 2 Cf. Revue d'Égyptologie, 200, 288, 288, for the reconstructions effected by the magician Daud. 3 CE. p. 173 of the present volume. 4 For this manner of mounting on the marvels in Egyptian tales, see Maspero, Les Contes populaires, etc., 2nd edit., p. 416, et seq.; Farouk, Egyptian Tales, 2nd series, pp. v., vi.
raised the tale out of the region of ordinary life; they are always the sons of kings, Syrian princes, or Pharaohs: sometimes we come across a vague and undefined Pharaoh, who figures under the title of Pirâmè or Prâiti; but more often it is a well-known and illustrious Pharaoh who is mentioned by name. It is related how, one day, Khopsa, suffering from ennui within his palace, assembled his sons in the hope of learning from them something which he did not already know. They described to him one after another the prodigies performed by celebrated magicians under Kanibri and Saunfri; and at length Mykerinos assured him that there was a certain Dêti, living then not far from Médium, who was capable of repeating all the marvels done by former wizards. Most of the Egyptian sovereigns were, in the same way, subjects of more or less wonderful legends—Sesostris, Amenâhôès III., Thûtmoses III., Amenâmâhôès I., Khôt, Sahôr, Usîrkaf, and Kakhâ; These stories were put into literary shape by the learned, recited by public story-tellers, and received by the people as authentic history; they finally filtered into the writings of the chroniclers, who, in introducing them into the annals, filled up with their extraordinary details the hâkemâ of authentic tradition. Sometimes the narrative assumed a briefer form, and became an apologue. In one of them the members of the body were supposed to have combined against the head, and disputed its supremacy before a jury; the parties all pleaded their cause in turn, and judgment was given in due form. Animals also had their place in this universal comedy. The passions or the weaknesses of humanity were attributed to them, and the narrator makes the lion, rat, or jackal to utter sentiments from which he draws some short practical moral. La Fontaine had predecessors on the banks of the Nile of whose existence he little dreamed.

1 For the meaning of these titles, cf. Dames of Civilization, pp. 206-204.
3 This is the Tale of King Khôfû and the Magician. Discovered and published by Ewan, Notes Papyraux des Bûchers de Wurtemberg (N. Revue de l’Égypte, 1886), and subsequently in Egyptian and Eyp. Iden., 186, pp. 190-232, and again in Isis Monarch. des Pharaons, 1, lli, 1889; cf. Marsou, Les Cœurs populaires de l’Égypte Ancienne, 2nd ed., pp. 94-95, and P. Pirenne, Egyptian Tales, 1st series, pp. 9-10.
6 I shall have occasion to return to this subject again later on.
7 This column of the Table of the Monarchs and the Shemâkh was discovered upon a schoolboy’s tablet at Turin, and published by Marsou, Études Égyptologiques, vol. I., pp. 266-264.
As La Fontaine found an illustrator in Granville, so, too, in Egypt the draughtsman brought his reed to the aid of the fabulist, and by his cleverly executed sketches gave greater point to the sarcasm of story than mere words could have conveyed. Where the author had briefly mentioned that the jackal and the cat had cunningly forced their services on the animals whom they wished to devour at their leisure, the artist would depict the jackal and the cat equipped as peasants, with wallets on their backs, and sticks over their shoulders, marching behind a troop of gazelles or a flock of fat geese: it was easy to foretell the fate of their unfortunate charges. Elsewhere it is an ox who brings up before his master a cat who has cheated him, and his proverbial stupidity would incline us to think that he will end by being punished himself for the misdeeds of which he had accused the other. Fossé's sly and artful expression, the ass-headed and important-looking judge, with the wand and costume of a high and mighty dignitary, give pungency to the story, and


1. The first to study Egyptian caricatures and fables was LART, Le Thébais de l'Egypte, in the Zeitschrift der Academy of Sciences at Munich, 1885, vol. i. pp. 15-49, his views have not received the attention they deserve. The caricatures are preserved in two papyri, one in the British Museum, the other at Turin, which were published by LART, Annales des maitreppens, pl. xxiii., and on extracts, of which was only, that in the former Abbys collection, and now at New York, was published by Fossé, in the Nécessité et la Violence, in the Académie Royal, Paris, 1840, p. 17, and by MARETTO, L'Archéologie Egyptienne, pp. 164, 165. They have been studied by DOUVIN in the Artémis, Histoire de la Caricature égyptienne, 2nd ed., pp. 35-36, and by CORTÈS-BAEZSEN, L'Art égyptien, dans la caricature, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1891, in which the interpretation is more ingenious than true to the meaning of the documents.

2. Drawn by Fossé from LART, Annales des maitreppens, pl. xxiii.
recall the daily scenes at the judgment-seat of the lord of Thebes. In another place we see a donkey, a lion, a crocodile, and a monkey giving an instrumental and vocal concert. A lion and a gazelle play a game of chess. A cat of fashion, with a flower in her hair, has a disagreement with a goose:

they have come to blows, and the excitable puss, who fears she will come off worst in the struggle, falls backwards in a fright. The draughtsmen having once found vent for their satire, stopped at nothing, and even royalty itself did not escape their attacks. While the writers of the day made fun of the military calling, both in prose and verse, the caricaturists parodied the combats and triumphant scenes of the Ramesses or Thothmosis of the day depicted on the walls of the pylons. The Pharaoh of all the rats, perched upon a chariot drawn by dogs, bravely charges an army of cats; standing in the heroic attitude of a conqueror, he pierces them with his darts, while his horses tread the fallen underfoot; his legions meanwhile in advance of him attack a fort defended by tomcats, with the same ardour that the Egyptian battalions would display in assaulting a Syrian stronghold. This treatment of ethics did not prevent the Egyptian writers from giving way to their natural inclinations, and composing large volumes on this

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* Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Lartius, Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden, pl. xxiii.
* Or the fragments which I have cited in this connexion on pp. 387, 408 of this volume.
* Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Lartius, Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden, pl. xxiii.
* This is the scene which serves as the head-piece to the present chapter; see p. 153.
subject after the manner of Kaqimmi or Phutaholph. One of their books, in which the aged Ami inscribes his instructions to his son, Khunakolph, is compiled in the form of a dialogue, and contains the usual commonplaces upon virtue, temperance, piety, the respect due to parents from children, or to the great ones of this world from their inferiors. The language in which it is written is ingenious, picturesque, and at times eloquent; the work explains much that is obscure in Egyptian life, and upon which the monuments have thrown no light. "Beware of the woman who goes out surreptitiously in her town, do not follow her or any like her, do not expose thyself to the experience of what it costs a man to face an Ocean of which the bounds are unknown. The wife whose husband is far from home sends thee letters, and invites thee to come to her daily until she has no witnesses; if she succeeds in entangling thee in her net, it is a crime which is punishable by death, as soon as it is known, even if no wicked act has taken place, for men will commit every sort of crime when under this temptation alone." "Be not quarrelsome in breweries, for fear that thou mayest be denounced forthwith for words which have proceeded from thy mouth, and of having spoken that of which thou art no longer conscious. Thou art the members helpless, and no one holds out a hand to thee, but thy boon-companions around thee say: 'Away with the drunkard!' Thou art wanted for some business, and thou art found rolling on the ground like an infant." In speaking of what a man owes to his mother, Ami waxes eloquent: "When she bore thee as all have to bear, she had in then a heavy burden without being able to call on thee to share it. When thou art born, after thy months were fulfilled, she placed herself under a yoke in earnest, her breast was in thy mouth for three years; in spite of the increasing dirtiness of thy habits, her heart felt no disgust, and she never said: 'What is that I do here?' When thou didst go to school to be instructed in

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1 See Duerr of Civilization, pp. 309-401.
2 This papyrus, now in the British Museum, was discovered and published by Mariette, Les Paprers Ægyptiens du Musee de Boulog, vol. i, pp. 19-22. It was translated into English by E. de Mecquenem, Ebers et le papyrus du Musee de Boulog, in the Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Sciences, 1872, vol. vii, pp. 340-351, and by Casiras, L'Egyptologie, vol. i, 1872; in part by Hirtz, Altesgyptische Lebensgebaude in ihrem historigischen Paprers des Freih-Klebschen Museums in Boulog, in the Zeitschrift, 1871, pp. 48-64, and finally, without any new material, lengthily paraphrased by Azizewon, Les Morale Egyptiennes, Quatre Bandes doute encore d'ave, etc.; the fragments which I have quoted have been translated in the Oudde de Fliiter in the Musee de Boulog, pp. 192-194.
3 I have been obliged to paraphrase the sentences considerably to render it intelligible to the modern reader. The Egyptian text says briefly: "Do not know the man who knows the value of the Ocean when bounds are unknown." To know the man means here know the state of the man who does not suspect.
writing, she followed thee every day with bread and beer from thy house. Now thou art a full-grown man, thou hast taken a wife, thou hast provided thyself with a house; bear always in mind the pains of thy birth and the care for thy education that thy mother lavished on thee, that her anger may not rise up against thee, and that she lift not her hands to God, for he will hear her complaint!" The whole of the book does not rise to this level, but we find in it several maxims which appear to be popular proverbs, as for instance: "He who hates idleness will come without being called;" "A good walker comes to his journey's end without needing to hasten;" or, "The ox which goes at the head of the flock and leads the others to pasture is but an animal like his fellows." Towards the end, the son Khonshef, weary of such a lengthy exhortation to wisdom, interrupts his father roughly: "Do not everlastingly speak of thy merits, I have heard enough of thy deeds;" whereupon Ani resignedly restrains himself from further speech, and a final parable gives us the motive of his resignation: "This is the likeness of the man who knows the strength of his arm. The unselfing who is in the arms of his mother cares only for being suckled; but no sooner has he found his mouth than he cries: "Give me bread!"

It is, perhaps, difficult for us to imagine an Egyptian in love repeating madrigals to his mistress, for we cannot easily realise that the hard and blackened bodies we see in our museums have once been men and women loving and beloved in their own day. The feeling which they entertained for another had none of the reticence or delicacy of our love; they went straight to the point, and the language in which they expressed themselves

6 The remains of Egyptian amatory literature have been collected, translated, and commented on in MASSENET, Études Egyptiennes, vol. I, pp. 217-239. They have been transcribed in two papyri, one of which is at Turin (Pierpont-Morgan, Les Papyri hiéroglyphiques de Turin, pl. IX XIX), and cf. CHABAS, L'Épigraphie du Musée de Turin, pl. XXVI, and Records of the Past, 1st ser., vol. II, p. 254, at seq.; MASSENET, Études Egyptiennes, vol I, pp. 217-239, and in the British Museum (GARDNER, On Four Songs contained in an Egyptian Papyrus in the British Museum, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. III, pp. 350-358; MASSENET, Études Egyptiennes, vol. I, pp. 239-256; ROMAN, Egyptian and Egyptianian, pp. 518-527). The form of these appears to be a sort of dialogue in which the voice of a garden bowl and one after another of the beauty of a woman, and discourse of the love-scenes which took place under their shade.
is sometimes too coarse for our taste. The manners and customs of daily life among the Egyptians tended to blunt in them the feelings of modesty and refinement to which our civilization has accustomed us. Their children went about without clothes, or, at any rate, wore none until the age of puberty. Owing to the climate, both men and women left the upper part of the body more or less uncovered, or wore fabrics of a transparent nature. In the towns, the servants who moved about their masters or his guests had merely a narrow loin-cloth tied round their hips; while in the country, the peasants dispensed with even this covering, and the women tuck ed up their garments when at work so as to move more freely. The religious teaching and the ceremonies connected with their worship drew the attention of the faithful to the unveiled human form of their gods, and the hieroglyphs themselves contained pictures which shock our sense of propriety. Hence it came about that the young girl who was demanded in marriage had no idea, like the maiden of to-day, of the vague delights of an ideal union. The physical side was impressed upon her mind, and she was well aware of the full meaning of her consent. Her lover, separated from her by her disapproving parents, thus expresses the grief which overwhelsms him: "I desire to lie down in my chamber,—for I am sick on thy account,—and the neighbours come to visit me.—Ah! if my sister but came with them,—she would show the physicians what ailed me,—for she knows my sickness!" Even while he thus complains, he sees her in his imagination, and his spirit visits the places she frequents: "The villa of my sister,—(a pool is before the house),—the door opens suddenly,—and my sister passes out in wrath.—Ah! why am I not the porter,—that she might give me her orders!—I should at least hear her voice, even were she angry,—and I, like a little boy, full of fear before her!" Meanitime the young girl sighs in vain for "her brother, the beloved of her heart," and all that charmed her when she has now ceased to please her. "I went to prepare my snare, my cage and the covert for my trap—for all the birds of Puánit alight upon Egypt, odolent with perfume;—he who flies foremost of the flock is attracted by my warms, bringing odours from Puánit,—its claws full of incense.—But my heart is with thee, and desire that we should trap them together,—I with thee, alone, and that thou 'shouldst be able to hear the sad cry of my perfumed bird,—there near to me, close to me, I will make ready my trap, O my beautiful friend,\

2. Harris Petrie, No. 500, pl. x. H. 0. 10; cf. Matzko, Ethnics Egyptciens, vol. i, pp. 238, 239; Krael, Egypten und Egyptisches Leben im Alterthum, p. 220. For the meaning of the words "brother" and "mother," in such cases, see Town of Civilization, pp. 36, 37.
than who goest to the field of the well-beloved!" The latter, however, is slow to appear, the day passes away, the evening comes on: "The cry of the goose resounds—which is caught by the worm-bait—but thy love removes me far from the bird, and I am unable to deliver myself from it; I will carry off my net, and what shall I say to my mother, when I shall have returned to her?—Every day I come back laden with spoil—but to-day I have not been able to set my trap—for thy love makes me its prisoner!" "The goose flies away, alights—it has greeted the barn with its cry—the flock of birds increases on the river, but I leave them alone and think only of thy love—for my heart is bound to thy heart—and I cannot tear myself away from thy beauty."

Her mother probably gave her a scolding, but she hardly minds it, and in the retirement of her chamber never wearies of thinking of her brother, and of passionately crying for him: "O my beautiful friend! I yearn to be with thee as thy wife—and that thou shouldst go whither thou wisiest with thine arm upon my arm—for then I will repeat to my heart, which is in thy breast, my supplications—If my great brother does not come to-night—I am as those who lie in the tomb—for thou, art thou not health and life—he who transfers the joys of thy health to my heart which seeks thee?"

The hours pass away and he does not come; and already "the voice of the turtle-dove speaks—it says: Behold, the dawn is here, alas! what is to become of me?" Thou, thou art the bird, thou callest me—and I find my brother in his chamber—and my heart is rejoiced to see him—I will never go away again, my hand will remain in thy hand—and when I wander forth, I will go with thee into the most beautiful places—happy in that he makes me the foremost of women—and that he does not break my heart."

We should like to quote the whole of it, but the text is mutilated, and we are unable to fill in the blanks. It is, nevertheless, one of those products of the Egyptian mind which it would have been easy for us to appreciate from beginning to end, without effort and almost without explanation. The passion in it finds expression in such sincere and simple language as to render rhetorical ornament needless, and one can trace in it, therefore, nothing of the artificial colouring.
which would limit it to a particular place or time. It translates a universal sentiment into the common language of humanity, and the hieroglyphic groups need only to be put into the corresponding words of any modern tongue to bring home to the reader their full force and intensity. We might compare it with these popular songs which are now being collected in our provinces before the peasantry have forgotten them altogether: the artlessness of some of the expressions, the boldness of the imagery, the awkwardness and somewhat abrupt character of some of the passages, communicate to both that wild charm which we miss in the most perfect specimens of our modern love-poets.

Opposite the Thebes of the living, Khaftulbaks, the Thebes of the dead, had gone on increasing in a remarkably rapid manner. It continued to extend in

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1 See pp. 309-312 of the present work for what is there said of the cemeteries of Thebes during the XVIIIth dynasty. The literal meaning of Khaftulbaks, "Opposite to the master"—the master being here Amun of Karnak—was discovered by Bonomi, "Uber die Grabstätten Khsft-ul-belaks", in the Zeitschriften, 1883, pp. 33-40. It was properly applied to the original part of the necropolis, Quarsh, the Assoul, and Dra-ahab/1 Naggah, but it was also extended as far as to include the entire region of tombs.
the south-western direction from the heroic period of the XVIIIth dynasty onwards, and all the eminences and valleys were gradually appropriated one after the other for burying-places. At the time of which I am speaking, this region formed an actual town, or rather a chain of villages, each of which was grouped round some building constructed by one or other of the Pharaohs as

![Image](image_url)

a funerary chapel. Towards the north, opposite Karnak, they clustered at Drah-ahu'l-Neggah around pyramids of the first Theban monarchs, at Qurnah around the mausoleum of Ramses I. and Seti I., and at Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah they lay near the Amunophium and the Pamukkaniqishit, or Ramessium built by Ramses II. Towards the south they diminished in number, tombs and monuments becoming fewer and appearing at wider intervals; the Migdul of Ramses III. formed an isolated suburb, that of Aswan, at Medinet-Habu, the chapel of Isis, constructed by Amenhotep, son of Hapu, formed a rallying-point for the huts of the hamlet of Karka, and in the far distance, in a wild gorge at the extreme limit of human habitations, the queens of the Ramesside line slept their last sleep. Each of these

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1. Drawn by Foulis, from a photograph by Beato.
2. For information on the royal temples, see pp. 383-384, 410 of the present work for Qurnah, pp. 210-212 for the Amunophium, and pp. 419-421 for the Ramessium. The name of the Ramessium was found in the ostraca by Weisbach, Ein Paal Thutmosischer Ostrakon, in the Zeitschrift, 1866, p. 34.
3. The name was transferred in Greek with the masculine article *Ta* to Coptis, *Smis* (Reisner, Geogr. Ins., vol. I., pp. 163, 169, and Rep. Greg., pp. 288-291; cf. Goedewaagen, Topographical Notes from Coptic Temples, in the Zeitschrift, 1888, p. 79, who identifies the identification of the Coptis with the hieroglyphic name was made for the first time, as far as I am aware).
4. The village of Karka or Kaka was identified by Budge with the hamlet of Deir el-Medina (Der Tempel, pp. 207-210; cf. Zehle, p. 127); the hamlet of the temple was more close than Amenhotep, who was minister under Amenhotep III.; see pp. 290, 381, 488, 442 of his present work.
temples had around it its enclosing wall of dried brick, and the collection of buildings within this boundary formed the Khârû, or retreat of some one of the Theban Pharaohs, which, in the official language of the time, was designated the "august Khârû of millions of years." A sort of fortified structure, which was built into one of the corners, served as a place of deposit for the treasure and archives, and could be used as a prison if occasion required. The remaining buildings consisted of storehouses, stables, and houses for the priests and other officials. In some cases the storehouses were constructed on a regular plan which the architect had fitted in with that of the temple. Their rains at the back and sides of the Ramesseum form a double row of vaults, extending from the foot of the hills to the border of the cultivated lands. Stone recesses on the roof furnished shelter for the watchmen. The outermost of the village huts stood among the nearest tombs. The population which had been gathered together there was of a peculiar character, and we can gather but a feeble idea of its nature from the surroundings of the cemeteries in our own great cities. Death required, in fact, far more attendants among the ancient Egyptians than with us. The first service was that of mummiification, which necessitated numbers of workers for its accomplishment. Some of the workshops of the embalmers have been discovered from time to time at Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh and Deîr el-Bahari, but we are still in ignorance as to their arrangements, and as to the exact nature of the materials which they employed. A considerable superficial space was required, for the manipulations of the embalmers occupied usually from sixty to eighty days, and if we suppose that the average deaths at Thebes amounted to fifteen or twenty in the twenty-four hours, they would have to provide at the same time for the various degrees of saturation of some twelve to fifteen hundred bodies at the least. Each of the corpses, moreover, necessitated the employment of at least half a dozen workmen to wash


[3] This was the Néfrout, or dungoon, frequently mentioned in the documents bearing upon the necropolis (PIERRE-ROY, Les Papyrus hiéroglyphiques de Turin, pl. 398, 1, 2; pl. XXIV, 1, 2, et sqq.);


[5] The methods of containing among the Egyptians have been studied during the present century by RÖYER, Notes sur les embalmements, etc., in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. I, pp. 141-147, and especially by PERRON, History of Egyptian Mummification, etc., 1834, where these are explained in previous treatises. For Theban burials, see BRUN, Les Mummies. Châptres de l'Egypte: Le Recherché Archéologique, 1837.

[6] I have found my estimate of fifteen to twenty deaths per day from the statistics of the French occupation. This is given by R. BORSERVAT, Tableaux statistiques de la République de l'Egypte (1801, 1802, 1803, 1804), in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. IV, pp. 229-230, but only approximately, as many deaths, especially of females, must have been concealed from the authorities. These, however, made an average from the tables, and applied the rate of mortality
THE MUMMIES.

HEAD OF A THIBA" MUMMY.

it, cut it open, soak it, dry it, and apply the usual bandages before placing the amulets upon the canonically prescribed places, and using the conventional prayers. There was fastened to the breast, immediately below the neck, a stone or green porcelain scarab, containing an inscription which was to be efficacious in preventing the heart, "his heart which came to him from his mother, his heart from the time he was upon the earth," from rising up and witnessing against the dead man before the tribunal of Osiris. There were placed on his fingers: gold or enamelled rings, as talismans to secure for him the true voice. The body becomes at last little more than a skeleton, with a covering of yellow skin which accentuates the anatomical details, but the hand, on the other hand, still preserves, where the operations have been properly conducted, its natural form. The cheeks have fallen in slightly; the lips and the fleshy parts of the nose have become thinner and more drawn than during life, but the general expression of the face remains unaltered. A mask of pitch was placed over the visage to preserve it, above which was adjusted first a piece of linen and then a series of bands impregnated with resin, which increased the size of the head to twofold its ordinary bulk. The trunk and limbs were thus obtained in ancient Thebes. The same result follows from calculations based on more recent figures, obtained before the great hygienic changes introduced into Cairo by Isma'il Pasha, from August 1, 1859, to July 31, 1859. (Séreny, Considérations sur le mouvement de la population en Égypte, in the Mémoires de l'École Egyptologique, vol. 1, p. 384, and from May 24, 1865, to May 16, 1866 (C. Edmonson, L'Égypte à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867, etc., Paris, 1867), and for the two years from April 2, 1868, to March 31, 1870, and from April 2, 1870, to March 21, 1871 (Statistique de l'Égypte, vol. 4, p. 94, vol. III. p. 116).

The manipulations and prayers were prescribed in the "Book of Embalming," see Maunoir, Mémoires sur quelques momies du Louvre, pp. 14-104. For the amulets, see Bouché, Les Formules relatant la Mort, in the Zeitschrift für Egyptologie, 1866, pp. 30-32, and 1877, pp. 14-17, 34-60; of Maunoir, Tableaux d'Osiris, pp. 239-250, and Brun, The Mummy, etc., pp. 281-310.

The ceremonies and formulas connected with this ring, "the ring of the true voice," are given in Maunoir, Mémoires sur quelques momies du Louvre, pp. 72-73. The prescribed gold ring was often replaced by one of blue or green enamel.

Drawn by Bouché, from a photograph by Kspiel-Harlow, Bay of Maunoir, Les momies régulières, etc., in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. II, pl. xxvii, 8. It is the head of the mummy Nilouem.

See the notes of the following: Seti I, p. 1 of the present work; Ramses II (p. 249 of the present work); those of the three Thothmes (ibid., p. 232, 238, 239). There is it true, were royal mummies, but the mummies of ordinary snituses were so carefully treated, and amulets had already pointed out the contrast between the appearance of the head and that of the body (Description des Hypogées de la ville de Thèbes, in the Description de l'Égypte, vol. viii, pp. 75-74).

This was the case in regard to the mummies of Amonum, THOTHMES III, Ramses II, and Seti I (Maunoir, Les momies régulières du Louvre, etc., in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. I, pp. 235, 255, 265). Those of Ramses II and of Thothmes I, and II, had no marks.
bound round with a first covering of some pliable soft stuff, warm to the touch. Coarsely powdered natron was scattered here and there over the body as an additional preservative. Packets placed between the legs, the arms and the hips, and in the eviscerated abdomen, contained the heart, spleen, the dried brain, the hair, and the cuttings of the beard and nails. In those days the hair had a special magical virtue; by burning it while uttering certain incantations, one might acquire an almost limitless power over the person to whom it had belonged. The embalmers, therefore, took care to place with the mummy such portions of the hair as they had been obliged to cut off, so as to remove them out of the way of the perverse ingenuity of the sorcerers.\(^\text{3}\) Over the first covering of the mummy already alluded to, there was sometimes placed a strip of papyrus or a long piece of linen, upon which the scribe had transcribed selections—both text and pictures—from \(^\text{4}\) the Book of the going forth by Day; in such cases the roll containing the whole work was placed between the legs.\(^\text{5}\) The body was further wrapped in several bandages, then in a second piece of stuff, then in more bandages, the whole being finally covered with a shroud of coarse canvas and a red linen winding-sheet, sewn together at the back, and kept in place by transverse bands disposed at intervals from head to foot. The son of the deceased and a "man of the roll" were present at this lugubrious toilet, and recited at the application of each piece a prayer, in which its object was defined and its duration secured. Every Egyptian was supposed to be acquainted with the formulas, from having learned

\(^1\) Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after Rosellini, Monumenti Egitii, pl. cxxvi. 1. 2.

\(^2\) Mariette, Études de Mythologie, etc., vol. 1, p. 273; this whole description is based on the royal mummies of Deir al-Bahri, and some score of other Theban mummies of the XX\(^\text{th}\) or XXI\(^\text{th}\) Dynasty discovered from 1883 to 1886.

\(^3\) At Deir al-Bahri a strip of papyrus was found on the mummies of Pharaohs and Zenophanes, respectively (Mariette, Les Monuments royaux, etc., in the Mémoires de la Mission Francaise, vol. 1, pp. 370, 371, 374), and inscribed pieces of linen on those of Thutmose III. and the Prince Maniam (ibid., pp. 553, 568).

\(^4\) This is to be seen from the cuneiform inscriptions inserted in the Book of the Dead (Cassel, Totenbuch, II, 22-23, xvii. 117-19, xxxv. 22-49, etc. II, 22-49, xxxv. 1-2, etc. II, 9-18, xxxv. 1-4, etc.), xxxv. II, 11-15; xxxv. II, 31-35; etc. II, 4-7, etc. II, 12-15.
them, during his lifetime, by which he was to have restored to him the use of his limbs, and be protected from the dangers of the world beyond. These were repeated to the dead person; however, for greater security, during the process of embalming, and the son of the deceased, or the master of the ceremonies, took care to whisper to the mummy the most mysterious parts, which no living ear might hear with impunity. The wrappings, having been completed, the deceased person became aware of his equipment, and enjoyed all the privileges of the "instructed and fortified Manes." He felt himself, both mummy and double, now ready for the tomb.

Egyptian funerals were not like those to which we are accustomed—mute ceremonies, in which sorrow is barely expressed by a furtive tear: noise, sobbings, and wild gestures were their necessary concomitants. Not only was it customary to hire weeping women, who tore their hair, filled the air with their lamentations, and simulated by skilful actions the depths of despair, but the relatives and friends themselves did not shrink from making an outward show of their grief, nor from disturbing the equanimity of the passers-by by the immoderate expressions of their sorrow. One after another they raised their voices, and uttered some expression appropriate to the occasion: "To the West, the dwelling of Osiris, to the West, thou, who wast the best of men, and who always hasted guile."

And the hired weepers answered in chorus: "O chief, as thou goest to the West, the gods themselves lament." The funeral cortège started in the morning from the house of mourning, and proceeded at a slow

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1. See Remarks on the Burials of the Royal Mummies (Drovetti, Monuments Civili, p. 226).
2. See Remarks on the Burials of the Royal Mummies (Drovetti, Monuments Civili, p. 226).
3. The arrangements in regard to burials were studied for the first time after Wilkinson, Trees and Customs, vol. II, pp. 397-398; and Le Maitre, Les Morts Egyptiens, vol. I, pp. 31-101, and Historical Lectures, pp. 146-150; afterwards by Budge, The Mummies, Chapters on Egyptian Personal Archaeology, pp. 153-173.
4. Formula taken from the scene of a burial in the tomb of Re (Champollion, Monuments, pl. 88vii., 89viii., and vol. 1, pp. 344, 345; Budge, Egyptian Monuments, pl. xxxvii., xxxviii.).
5. The "chief" is one of the names of Osiris (Maximus, Monuments sur quelques monuments de l'Egypte, pp. 11, 12, and Les Morts Egyptiens, vol. 1, pp. 171, n. 2, 172, n. 2), and is applied naturally to the dead person, who has become an Osiris by virtue of the embalming (cf. Drovetti, Monuments, p. 172, n. 4 seq.
pace to the Nile, amid the clamours of the mourners. The route was cleared by a number of slaves and retainers. First came those who carried cakes and flowers in their hands, followed by others bearing jars full of water, bottles of liqueurs, and phials of perfumes; then came those who carried painted boxes intended for the provisions of the dead man, and for containing the Usabthu, or "Respondents." The succeeding group bore the usual furniture required by the deceased to set up house again, coffers for linen, folding and arm chairs, state-beds, and sometimes even a caparisoned chariot with its quivers. Then came a groom conducting two of his late master's favourite horses, who, having accompanied the funeral to the tomb, were brought back to their stable. Another detachment, more numerous than the others combined, now filed past, bearing the effects of the mummy: first the vases for the libations, then the cases for the Canopic jars, then the Canopic jars themselves, the mask of the deceased, coloured half in gold and half in blue, arms, sceptres, military lances, necklaces, scarabs, vultures with encircling wings worn on the breast at festival-times, chains, "Respondents," and the human-headed sparrow-hawk, the emblem of the soul. Many of these objects were of wood plated with gold, others of the same material simply gilt, and others of solid gold, and thus calculated to excite the cupidities of the crowd. Offerings came next, then a noisy company of female weepers; then a slave, who sprinkled at every instant some milk upon the ground as if to lay the dust; then a master of the ceremonies, who, the panther skin upon his shoulder, aspersed the crowd with perfumed water; and behind

1 Drawn by Foucher Grifis, from the coloured print in Weikher, Monuments and Customs, 2nd edn., vol. iii., pl. xxiv., et BeulâNE, Le Tombeau d'Hirmitah, in the Memoire de la Mission Francaise, vol. ii., pl. vi. The left side of this design lies on the right of the following cut.
him came the hearse. The latter, according to custom, was made in the form of a boat—representing the bark of Osiris, with his ark, and two guardians, Isis and Nephthys—and was placed upon a sledge, which was drawn by a team of oxen and a relay of fellahin. The sides of the ark were, as a rule, formed

of movable wooden panels, decorated with pictures and inscriptions; sometimes, however, but more rarely, the panels were replaced by a covering of embroidered stuff or of soft leather. In the latter case the decoration was singularly rich, the figures and hieroglyphs being cut out with a knife, and the spaces thus left filled in with pieces of coloured leather, which gave the whole an appearance of brilliant mosaic-work. In place of a boat, a shrine of painted wood, also mounted upon a sledge, was frequently used. When the ceremony was over, this was left, together with the coffin, in the tomb. The wife and children walked as close to the bier as possible, and were followed by the friends of the deceased, dressed in long linen garments, each of them bearing a wand. The ox-driver, while guiding his

1 Drawn by Yeager-Oudin, after a coloured print in Wilkinson,Mission and Travels,vol. i., p. 336, and the Répertoire des Mémoires de la Mission Française,vol. vi., p. 7. This is shown in the last of this on the preceding page.

2 One of these coverings was stored in the library of Mont-Saint-Michel; it had belonged to the Princess Jezlubell, whose mummy is now at Genoa (Mansell, Guide de la Bibelot, pp. 227, 229, No. 3221). It was reproduced, coloured, by Mangin, Les Monuments Egyptiens, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. i., pp. 294-299, and Archaeologie Egyptiense, pp. 235-284; in colours by Vallet, The Papyrus Text of an Egyptian Queen, 1884, and Egypt after the War, pl. l. 104, 2, and in E. van Buren, La Place Périérie de la Princesse Jezlubell, pl. H.-VII.

3 I found in the tomb of Sennuru (Buitenhuis, Écrits de Néthoï, etc., vol. i., pp. 337-339) two of these sledges, with the superstructure in the form of a temple. They are now in the Glèbe Museum (Tombeau des Écrits de Néthoï, Inventaire et Notice de ses Monuments Egyptiens de la XX. Dynastie, pp. 26, 27, 28; Versailles, Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Glèbe, Nos. 1354, 1355, pp. 337, 338).

4 The whole of this description is taken from the pictures representing the interment of a certain Harsubni, who died at Thebes in the time of Thutmose IV. Wilkinson reproduced the whole of

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beasts, cried out to them: "To the West, ye oxen who draw the hearse, to the West! Your master comes behind you!" "To the West," the friends repeated; "the excellent man lives no longer who loved truth so dearly and hated lying!" This lamentation is neither remarkable for its originality nor for its depth of feeling. Sorrow was expressed on such occasions in prescribed formulae of always the same import, custom soon enabling each individual to compose for himself a repertory of monotonous exclamations of condolence, of which the prayer, "To the West!" formed the basis, relieved at intervals by some fresh epithet. The nearest relatives of the deceased, however, would find some more sincere expressions of grief, and some more touching appeals with which to break in upon the commonplace of the conventional theme. They blended with their maritulate cries, and the usual protestations and formulae, an eulogy upon the deceased and his virtues, allusions to his disposition and deeds, mention of the offices and honours he had obtained, and reflections on the uncertainty of human life—the whole forming the melancholy dirge which each generation intoned over its predecessor, while waiting itself for the same office to be said over it in its turn.

On reaching the bank of the Nile the funeral cortège proceeded to embark. The bearers of offerings, friends, and slaves passed over on hired barges, whose cabins, covered externally with embroidered stuffs of several colours, or with

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1. "The boat carrying the sommy." Drawn by Fauconnet, from pictures in the tomb of Seti I. (Wickman, Memorie del l'Egypte, etc., pl. clxviii, clixxii, and vol. III, pp. 341, 342; Fauconnet, Monumenti Città, pl. cxxxii, cxxxiii.)

2. These expressions are taken from the inscriptions on the tomb of Seti I. (Champlin, Revue des Égyptologues, vol. II, p. 122.)

3. Four women, under Egyptian costume, vol. 1, pp. 21, 22, 32, 118.
applied leather, looked like the pedestals of a monument: crammed together on the boats, they stood upright with their faces turned towards the funeral bark.

The latter was supposed to represent the Neshemit, the mysterious skiff of Abydos, which had been used in the obsequies of Osiris of yore. It was elegant, light, and slender in shape, and ornamented at bow and stern with a lotus-flower of metal, which bent back its head gracefully, as if bowed down by its own weight. A temple-shaped shrine stood in the middle of the boat, adorned with

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1. Drawn by Pencher-Bruhin, from paintings on the tomb of N师t-rhmes at Thebes (cf. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xxxi.; Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte, pl. xxxiii. 2; Budge, Monuments Oriental, pl. cxxv. 3; Dümichen, Die Pforte, etc., pl. xxx.).

2. Drawn by Pencher-Bruhin, from paintings on the tomb of Nisnerht-ta at Thebes; cf. Wilkinson, op. cit., vol. iii. pl. xxxi.; Champollion, op. cit., pl. xxxiii. 2; Budge, Monuments, op. cit., pl. cxxv. 3; Dümichen, op. cit., pl. xxx.
bouquets of flowers and with green palm-branches. The female members of
the family of the deceased, crouched beside the shrine, poured forth lamenta-
tions, while two priestesses, representing respectively Isis and Nephthys,
took up positions behind to protect the body. The boat containing the female
mourners having taken the funeral barge in tow, the entire flotilla pushed out
into the stream. This was the solemn moment of the ceremony—the moment
in which the deceased, torn away from his earthly city, was about to set out
upon that voyage from which there is no return. The crowds assembled on
the banks of the river hailed the dead with their parting prayers: "Mayest
thou reach in peace the West from Thebes! In peace, in peace towards Abydos,
mayest thou descend in peace towards Abydos, towards the sea of the West!" 3

This crossing of the Nile was of special significance in regard to
the future of the soul of the deceased: it represented his pilgrimage
towards Abydos, to the

"Mouth of the Clift," which gave him access to the other world, and it was
for this reason that the name of Abydos is associated with that of Thebes in
the exclamations of the crowd. 4 The voices of the friends replied frequently
and mournfully: "To the West, to the West, the land of the justified! The
place which thou lovest! Weep not and lament!" Then the female mourners
took up the refrain, saying: "In peace, in peace, to the West! O honourable
one, go in peace! If it please God, when the day of Eternity shall shine, we
shall see thee, for behold thou goest to the land which mingles all men
together!" The widow then adds her note to the concert of lamentations:
"O my brother, O my husband, O my beloved, rest, remain in thy place, do
not depart from the terrestrial spot where thou art! Alas, thou goest away
to the ferry-boat in order to cross the stream! O sailors, do not hurry, leave
him; you, you will return to your homes, but he, he is going away to the land
of Eternity! O Osirian bark, why hast thou come to take away from me him
who has left me?" 5 The sailors were, of course, deaf to her appeals, and the

3 Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pl. 117. and Costumes, Monumente
4 Drawn by Vanden-Guin, from a slate in the Theban Museum; cf. Marzouk, Notes des
principaux monuments, 1884. p. 127. and Album photographique du Musée de Louxor, pl. 44: Marzouk,
Notas sur quelques points de Osteomane, etc., in the Journal de Travail, vol. ii. pls. 106, 107: Premeri
Courrez, Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. 1. p. 897. Another representation of a similar character
5 The significance of the crossing of the Nile, and the mystical meaning of the voyage towards
Abydos, were pointed out by Marzouk, ibid., Monumente de l'Egypte, vol. i. p. 115, at sqq.
mummy, pursued its undisturbed course towards the last stage of its mysterious voyage.

The majority of the tombs—those which were distributed over the plain or on the nearest spursof the hill—were constructed on the lines of those brick-built pyramids erected on mastabas which were very common during the early Theban dynasties. The relative proportions of the parts alone were modified: the mastaba, which had gradually been reduced to an insignificant base, had now recovered its original height, while the pyramid had correspondingly decreased, and was much reduced in size. The chapel was constructed within the building, and the mummy-pit was sunk to a varying depth below. The tombs ranged along the mountain-side, on the other hand, rock-out, and similar to those at el-Bersheh and Beni-Hasan. The heads of wealthy families or the nobility naturally did not leave to the last moment the construction of a sepulchre worthy of their rank and fortune. They prided themselves on having "finished their house which is in the funeral valley when the morning for the hiding away of their body should come." Access to these tombs was by too steep and difficult a path to allow of oxen being employed for the transport of the mummy: the friends or slaves of the deceased were, therefore, obliged to raise the sarcophagus on their shoulders and bear it as best they could to the door of the tomb. The mummy was then placed in an upright position on a heap of sand, with its back to the wall and facing the assistants, like the master of some new villa who, having been accompanied by his friends to see him take possession, turns for a moment on

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1. Cf. what is said of these brick pyramids in *The Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 486, 467.
3. Cf. for these Theban tombs, Maspero, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 141, 142. The chapel of the Aps of Amenophis III., represented on p. 419 of the present work, is a good example of this kind of tomb—half mastaba, half pyramid.
the threshold to take leave of them before entering. A sacrifice; an offering, a prayer, and a fresh outburst of grief ensued: the mourners redoubled their cries and threw themselves upon the ground, the relatives decked the mummy with flowers and pressed it to their bared bosoms, kissing it upon the breast and knees. "I am thy sister, O great one! Forsake me not! Is it indeed thy will that I should leave thee? If I go away, thou shalt be here alone, and is there any one who will be with thee to follow thee? O thou who lovedst to jest with me, thou art now silent, thou speakest not!" Wherupon the mourners again broke out in chorus: "Lamentation, lamentation! Make, make, make, make lamentation without ceasing as loud as can be made. O good traveller, who taketh thy way towards the land of Eternity, thou hast been torn from us! O thou who hast so many around thee, thou art now in the land which bringest isolation! Thou who lovest to stretch thy limbs in walking; art now fettered, bound, swathed! Thou who hast fine stuffs in abundance, art laid in the linen of yesterday!" Calm in the midst of the tumult, the priest stood and offered the incense and libation with the accustomed words: "To thy double, Osiris Netchotep, whose voice before the great god is true!" This was the signal of departure, and the mummy, carried by two men, disappeared within the tomb; the darkness of the other world had laid hold of it, never to let it go again.

The chapel was usually divided into two chambers; one, which was of greater width than length, ran parallel to the facade; the other, which was longer than it was wide, stood at right angles with the former, exactly opposite to the entrance. The decoration of these chambers took its inspiration from the scheme which prevailed in the time of the Memphite dynasties, but besides the usual scenes of agricultural labour, hunting, and sacrifice, there were introduced episodes from the public life of the deceased, and particularly the minute portrayal of the ceremonies connected with his burial. These pictorial biographies are always accompanied by detailed explanatory inscriptions; every individual endeavoured thus to show to the Osirian judges the rank he had enjoyed here upon earth, and to obtain in the fields of Ialtu the place which he claimed to be his due. The stele was to be found at the far end of the second chamber; it was often let in to a niche in the form of a round-headed doorway, or else it was replaced by a group of statues, either detached

1 The lamentation for Meridi, in the tomb of Netchotep, is recorded in Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 2nd ed., vol. iii, pp. 133-136, where the Egyptian text has been restored as far as possible from the modern at our disposal.


3 Two simultaneous articles on the arrangement and state of these tombs have been published by Jomard, Description des hypogues de la ville de Thèbes, in the Description de l'Egypte, vol. iii, p. 94, and by A. Hirsch, Sesou, sa Tombe et Des Tombs, pp. 33-34, 57-122.
or sculptured in the rock itself, representing the occupant, his wives and
children, who took the place of the supporters of the double, formerly always
bidden within the sandh. The ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth"
took place in front of the niche on the day of burial,
at the moment when the
decessed, having completed
his terrestrial course, en-
tered his new home and
took possession of it for
all eternity. The object
of this ceremony was, as
we know, to counteract
the effects of the embalm-
ing, and to restore ac-
tivity to the organs of
the body whose functions had
been suspended by death.

The "man of the roll"
and his assistants, aided
by the priests, who repre-
sented the "children of
Horus," once more raised
the mummy into an upright
position upon a heap of sand
in the middle of the chapel,
and celebrated in his behalf the divine mystery instituted by Horus for Osiris.
They purified it both by ordinary and by red water, by the incense of the south
and by the alab of the north, in the same manner as that in which the statues
of the gods were purified at the beginning of the temple sacrifices; they then set to
work to awake the deceased from his sleep; they loosened his shroud and called
back the double who had escaped from the body at the moment of the death-
agony, and restored to him the use of his arms and legs. As soon as the

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174. for the idea involved in this ceremony, "Deus of Osiris," pp. 178, 189. The texts and
pictures relating to the "Opening of the Mouth," have been published by SIR江山, II. Icones
Egypriii, by whom they have been annotated at length: cf. MASPERO, "Ludo
de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes, vol. i, pp. 202-232. The short description I have given in
the text follows exactly the one observed in the tomb of Seti I (E. LAVIE, "Les Hypogées royal-
de Thoutm. I. Le tombeau de Seti Ie, in the Mémorial de la Mission Française, vol. l, pl. 3.
pl. i-201.

175. MAUPERTUIS, "Les Hypogées royal-
de Thoutm. I. Le tombeau de Seti Ie, in the Mémorial de la Mission Française, vol. i, pl. 3.
pl. i-201.

176. Drawn by Franks-Gardner, from a photograph by Imholger, taken at Thebes in 1881.

sacrificial slaugtherers had despatched the bull of the south, and cut it in pieces, the priest seized the bleeding haunch, and raised it to the lips of the mummy, as if to invite it to eat, but the lips still remained closed, and refused to perform their office. The priest then touched them with several iron instruments hafted on wooden handles, which were supposed to possess the power of unsealing them. The "opening" once effected, the double became free, and the tombe-paintings from thenceforward ceasing to depict the mummy, represented the double only. They portrayed it "under the form which he had on this earth," wearing the civil garb, and fulfilling his ordinary functions. The corpse was regarded as merely the larva, to be maintained in its integrity in order to ensure survival; but it could be relegated without fear to the depths of the bare and naked tomb, there to remain until the end of time, if it pleased the gods to preserve it from robbers or archaeologists.

At the period of the first Theban empire the coffins were rectangular wooden chests, made on the models of the limestone and granite sarcophagi, and covered with prayers taken from the various sacred writings, especially from the "Book of the Dead." During the second Theban empire, they were modified into an actual sheath for the body, following more or less the contour of the human figure. This external model of the deceased covered his remains, and his figure, in relief carved

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1 See the cut on p. 347, where on the left side, in front of the tomb, the deceased is represented as a mummy; while on the right, through the tomb doorway, he is represented as the "double," alive and with his usual dress and appearance.

2 Drawn by Fazender-Guilla, from a photograph by M. de Marisse; it is the coffin of Tanakhit, from the tomb of Senenmut, discovered at Thebes in 1883, and sold to the Berlin Museum (Einsel, Antiquites Egyptien, p. 141, f. 10832).

3 Drawn by Fazender-Guilla, from a photograph by M. de Marisse; this coffin was discovered in 1880 at Medinat, near Gebelein (Einsel, op. cit., p. 142, f. 9216).

as a lid to the coffin. The head was covered with the full-dress wig, a tippet of white cambric half veiled the bosom, the petticoat fell in folds about the limbs, the feet were shod with sandals, the arms were outstretched or were folded over the breast, and the hands clasped various objects—either the croz anastat, the buckle of the belt, the at, or a garland of flowers. Some-

![Image: The paraphernalia of a mummy of the XX\textsuperscript{th} to the XXIII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty.]


times, on the contrary, the coffin was merely a conventional reproduction of the human form. The two feet and legs were joined together, and the modelling of the knee, calf, thigh, and stomach was only slightly indicated in the wood. Towards the close of the XVIII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty it was the fashion for wealthy persons to have two coffins, one fitting inside the other, painted black or white. From the XX\textsuperscript{th} dynasty onwards they were coated with a yellowish varnish, and so covered with inscriptions and mystic signs that each coffin was a tomb in miniature, and could well have done duty as such, and thus meet all

\(^1\) Drawn by Fouace-Gadin, from Mariette, \textit{Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq}, pl.15.
the needs of the soul. Later still, during the XXI and XXII dynasties, these two, or even three, coffins were enclosed in a rectangular sarcophagus of thick wood, which, surmounted by a semicircular lid, was decorated with pictures and hallowed by prayers: four sparrow-hawks, perched on the uprights at the corners, watched at the four cardinal points, and protected the body, enabling the soul at the same time to move freely within the four houses of which the world was composed. The workmen, after having deposited the mummy in its resting-place, piled upon the floor of the tomb the canopic jars, the caskets, the provisions, the furniture, the bed, and the stools and chairs; the Ushabtis occupied compartments in their allotted boxes, and sometimes there would be laid beside them the mummy of a favourite animal—a monkey, a dog of some rare breed, or a pet gazelle, whose coffins were shaped to their respective outlines.

1 The first to summarize the characteristics of the coffins and sarcophagi of the second Theban period was Mariette, Notices des principaux Monuments, 1859, pp. 37–50, but he places the use of the yellow-varnished coffins too late, viz. during the XXII dynasty. Examples of them have since been found which incontrovertibly belong to the XXI.

2 DREW, by Vacher de Lapouyade, from a Fragment in the British Museum (cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, p. xxviii.); Borchardt, Monuments Célest., pl. 1. The most representing the funeral process and its accompanying dances occurs frequently in the Tombs of Mery-\-

the better to place before the deceased the presentment of the living animal. A few of the principal objects were broken or damaged, in the belief that, by thus destroying them, their doubles would go forth and accompany the human double, and render him their accustomed services during the whole of his posthumous existence; a charm pronounced over them bound them indissolubly to his person, and constrained them to obey his will. This done, the priest muttered a final prayer, and the masons walled up the doorway. The funeral feast now took place with its customary songs and dances. The omules addressed the guests and exhorted them to make good use of the passing hour: "Be happy for one day! for when you enter your tombs you will rest there eternally throughout the length of every day!"

Immediately after the repast the friends departed from the tomb, and the last link which connected the dead with our world was then broken. The sacred harper was called upon to raise the farewell hymn: "O instructed mummies, instead of the gods of the coffin, who listen to the praises of this dead man, and who daily extol the virtues of this instructed mummy, who is living eternally like a god, ruling in Amenit, ye also who shall live in the memory of posterity, all ye who shall come and read these hymns inscribed, according to the rites, within the tombs, repeat: 'The greatness of the underworld, what is it? The annihilation of the tomb, why is it?' It is to conform to the image of the land of Eternity, the true country where there is no strife.

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1 Drawn by Feschot-Grimm, from a photograph by Emile Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1883; cf. Maspero, Les Mission envoyée de l'Egypt de Babu, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, pl. xxii, &c.

2 Rosellini, Mission Egypt, pl. xxvii, &c. The original, reproduced by Pencre-Cuvelier, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. 1, pl. 315, is in the Louvre.

3 The harper is often represented performing this last office, and, without mentioning Hemen’s harper, reproduced on p. 529 of this volume, as that the scene by Rosellini, Mission Egypt, xvi, Nos. 3, 4, &c.; in Dümmler, Hist. inscric., vol. ii, pls. x., xi.; in Renfer, Tombeau de Nofrit, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. v, pl. ii, and pp. 264-265, 229-231. In the tomb of Nofrit and in many others, the harpists or the relatives of the deceased accompanied or even replaced the harpist; in this case they belonged to a priestly family, and fulfilled the duties of the "Female Singer" of Amun or some other god.

4 "Instructed mummies" is an analogous expression to that of "instructed shades," which I have already explained in Osiris of Osiris, p. 183, and on pp. 310, 311 of the present work.
and where violence is held in abhorrence, where none attacks his neighbour, and where none among our generations who rest within it is rebellious, from the time when your race first existed, to the moment when it shall become a multitude of multitudes, all going the same way: for instead of remaining in this land of Egypt, there is not one but shall leave it, and there is said to all who are here below, from the moment of their waking to life: "Go, prosper, safe and sound, to reach the tomb at length, a chief among the blessed, and ever mindful in thy heart of the day when thou must lie down on the funeral bed." 1 The ancient song of Aaith, modified in the course of centuries, was still that which expressed most forcibly the melancholy thought paramount in the minds of the friends assembled to perform the last rites. "The impossibly of the chief 2 is, in truth, the best of fates! Since the times of the god bodies are created merely to pass away, and young generations take their place; Râ rises in the morning, Tâmt lies down to rest in the land of the evening, all males generate, the females conceive, every nose inhales the air from the morning of their birth to the day when they go to their place! Be happy then for one day, O man!—May there ever be perfumes and scents for thy nostrils, garlands and lotus-flowers for thy shoulders and for the neck of thy beloved sister 3 who sits beside thee! Let there be singing and music before thee, and, forgetting all thy sorrows, think only of pleasure until the day when thou must enter the country of Martaaskro, the silent goddess, though all the same the heart of the son who loves thee will not cease to beat! Be happy for one day, O man!—I have heard related what befall our ancestors; their walls are destroyed, their place is no more, they are as those who have ceased to live from the time of the god! The walls of thy tomb are strong, thou hast planted trees at the edge of thy pond, thy soul reposes beneath them and drinks the water; follow that which seemeth good to thee as long as thou art on earth, and give bread to him who is without land, that thou mayest be well-spoken of for evermore. Think upon the gods who have lived long ago, their meat offerings, fall in pieces as if they had been torn by a panther, their loaves are defiled with dust, their statues no longer stand upright within the temple of Râ, their followers beg for alms! Be happy for one day!" 4

Those gone before thus "have had their hour of joy," and they

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2 Oniris is here designated by the word "chief," as I have already pointed out on p. 311, note 3.

3 For the meaning of this word "sister," cf. its use in the horn-songs of the Harris Papyri, No. 500, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305 of the present work. Marriages between brothers and sisters in Egypt (see Lenz of Civilization, pp. 311-312) rendered it the most natural appellation.
have put off sadness— which shortens the moments until the day when hearts are destroyed!— Be mindful, therefore, of the day when thou shalt be taken to the country where all men are mingled: none has ever taken thither his goods with him, and no one can ever return from it!" The grave did not, however, mingle all men as impartially as the poet would have us believe. The poor and insignificant had merely a place in the common pit, which was situated in the centre of the Assassif, one of the richest honorary quarters of Thebes. Yawning trenches stood ever open there, ready to receive their prey; the rites were hurriedly performed, and the grave-diggers covered the mummies of the day’s burial with a little sand, out of which we receive them intact.

1 Drawn by Bomhard, from a photograph taken by Roscher, in 1891; cf., among other works in which this picture is given, La Description de l’Egypte, Vol. ii, pl. 91; Gurney, Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, pl. 211, and Roscher, Monumenti Ciliani, pl. 220.


3 There is really only one complete description of a cemetery of the poor, namely, that given by A. Brunet, Sieges de Zennar et leur Terre, pp. 124-132. Marilhat caused extensive excavations to be made by Godard and Vassalli, 1839-1843, in the Assassif, near the spot worked by Rhim, and the objects found are now in the Polish Museum, but the accounts of the work are among his unpublished papers. Vassalli assures me that he sometimes found the mummies piled one on another to the depth of sixty bodies, and even then he did not reach the lowest of the piles. The hurried excavations which I made in 1882 and 1884, appeared to confirm these statements of Rhim and Vassalli.
sometimes isolated, sometimes in groups of two or threes, showing that they had not even been placed in regular layers. Some are wrapped only in bandages of coarse linen, and have been consigned without further covering to the soil, while others have been bound round with palm-leaves laid side by side, so as to form a sort of primitive basket. The class above the poorest people were buried in rough-hewn wooden boxes, smaller at the feet than towards the head, and devoid of any inscription or painting. Many have been placed in any coffin that came to hand, with a total indifference as to suitability of size; others lie in a badly-made bier, made up of the fragments of one or more older biers. None of them possessed any funerary furniture, except the tools of his trade, a thin pair of leather shoes, sandals of cardboard or plaited reeds, rings of terra-cotta or bronze, bracelets or necklets of a single row of blue beads, statuettes of divinities, mystic eyes, scarabs, and, above all, cords tied round the neck, arms, limbs, or waist, to keep off, by their mystic knots, all malign influences.

The whole population of the necropolis made their living out of the dead. This was true of all ranks of society, headed by the sacerdotal colleges of the royal chapels, and followed by the priestly bodies, to whom was entrusted the care of the tombs in the various sections, but the most influential of whom confined their attentions to the old burying-ground, "Isiwt-maâ," the True Place. It was their duty to keep up the monuments of the kings, and also of private individuals, to clean the tombs, to visit the funerary chambers, to note the condition of their occupants, and, if necessary, repair the damage done by time, and to provide on certain days the offerings prescribed by custom, or by clauses in the contract drawn up between the family of the deceased and the religious authorities. The titles of these officials indicated how humble was their position in relation to the deified ancestors in whose service they were employed; they called themselves the "Servants of the True Place," and their chiefs the "Superiors of the Servants," but all the while they were people of considerable importance, being rich, well educated, and respected in their own quarter of the town. They professed to have a

5. We find in several monuments the names of persons belonging to these sacerdotal bodies, priests of Amenemhat II. [Marquet, Rapport sur une Mission en Haute, in the Revue de l'Egypte, vol. II, p. 1009; priests of Thutmose I. of Thutmose II., of Amenophis II., and of Seth I. (De Moul, p. 112-114).

The persons connected with the "True Place," were for a long time considered as magistrates, and the "True Place" was a tribunal; their actual office was discovered independently by Budge (Dictionnaire geographique, pp. 1176-1177) and by Maspero (Rapport sur une Mission en Haute, in the Revue de l'Egypte, vol. II, pp. 127-128). The list of those among them who were known up to 1892 will be found in the Rapport sur une Mission en Haute (Revue de l'Egypte, vol. II, pp. 106-110, and vol. III, pp. 105, 106, together with remarks on their customs (Ibid., vol. III, pp. 111, 112).
special devotion for Amenophis I. and his mother, Nefritari, who, after five or six centuries of continuous homage, had come to be considered as the patrons of Khafhirkhan,1 but this devotion was not to the depreciation of other sovereigns. It is true that the officials were not always clear as to the identity of the royal remains of which they had the care, and they were known to have changed one of their queens or princesses into a king or some royal prince.2 They were surrounded by a whole host of lesser functionaries—bricklayers, masons, labourers, exorcists, scribes (who wrote out priests formulae for poor people, or copied the “Books of the going forth by day” for the mummies), weavers, cabinet-makers, and goldsmiths. The sculptors and the painters were grouped into guilds;3 many of them spent their days in the tombs they were decorating, while others had their workshops above-ground, probably very like those of our modern monumental masons. They kept at the disposal of their needy customers an assortment of ready-made statues and stele, votive tablets to Osiris, Anubis, and other Theban gods and goddesses, singly or combined. The name of the deceased and the enumeration of the members of his family were left blank, and were inserted after purchase in the spaces reserved for the purpose.4 These artisans made the greater part of their livelihood by means of these epitaphs, and the majority thought only of selling as many of them as they could; some few, however,


2 Thus Queen Ahhotep I., whose the “sacred” Ankhirkhun knew to be a woman (Lavachez, Deux, ii. 24), is transformed into a King Ahhotep in the tomb of Khafhirkhan (Lavachez, Deux, ii. 25); cf. Masson, Les Monuments de l’Egypte et d’Abyssie, in the Memoires de la Mission Francaise, vol. ii. pp. 616-620.

3 We gather this from the inscriptions which give us the various titles of the sculptors, draughtsmen, or workmen, but I have been unable to make out the respective positions held by these different persons (Rapport sur une Mission en Haute, in the Recueil de Travaux, vol. iii. pp. 167-185).

4 Drawn by Benihou, from a photograph by Goyet, taken in 1892.

5 I succeeded in collecting at the Boulaq Museum a considerable number of these unfinished statues and stele, coming from the workshops of the necropolis (Masson, Guide du Touriste, pp. 298-299).
devoted themselves to work of a higher kind. Sculpture had reached a high degree of development under the Thothmes and the Ramses, and the art of depicting scenes in bas-relief had been brought to a perfection hitherto unknown. This will be easily seen by comparing the pictures in the old mastabas, such as those of Ti or Ptahhotep, with the finest parts of the temples of Quennah, Abydos, Karnak, Deir el-Bahari, or with the scenes in the tombs of Seti I and Ramses II., or those of private individuals such as Hui. The modelling is firm and refined, showing a skill in the use of the chisel and an elegance of outline which have never been surpassed: the Amenothes III. of Luxor and the Khâkhâhât of Sheikh Abd el-Qurzech might serve for models in our own schools of the highest types which Egyptian art could produce at its best in this particular branch. The drawing is freer than in earlier examples, the action is more natural, the composition more studied, and the perspective less wild. We feel that the artist handled his subject cor amore. He spared no trouble in sketching out his designs and in making studies from nature, and, as papyrus was expensive, he drew rough drafts, or made notes of his impressions on the flat chips of limestone with which the workshops were strown. Nothing at that date could rival these sketches for boldness of conception and freedom in execution, whether it were in the portrayal of the majestic gait of a king or the agility of an acrobat. Of the latter we have an example in the Turin Museum. The girl is nude, with the exception of a tightly fitting belt about her hips, and she is throwing herself backwards with so natural a motion, that we are almost tempted to expect her to turn a somersault and fall once more into position with her heels together. The unfinished figures on the

1 Drawn by Rouzier, from a photograph by M. de Martens, taken from a bas-relief brought to Berlin by Lequier, cf. Fawara, Archäologische Forschungen, p. 117, note 1903.
tomb of Seti I. show with what a steady hand the clever draughtsman could sketch out his subjects. The head from the nape of the neck round to the throat is described by a single line, and the contour of the shoulders is marked by another. The form of the body is traced by two undulating lines, while the arms and legs are respectively outlined by two others.\footnote{One of these is reproduced on p. 385 of the present work.}

The articles of apparel and ornaments, sketched rapidly at first, had to be gone over again by the sculptor, who worked out the smallest details. One might almost count the tresses of the hair, while the folds of the dress and the ornaments of the girdle and bracelets are minutely chiselled. When the draughtsman had finished his picture from the sketch which he had made, or when he had enlarged it from a smaller drawing, the master of the studio would go over it again, marking here and there in red the defective points, to which the sculptor gave his attention when working the subject out on the wall. If he happened to make a mistake in executing it, he corrected it as well as he was able by filling up with stucco or hard cement the portions to be remodelled, and by starting to work again upon the fresh surface. This cement has fallen out in some cases, and reveals to our eyes to-day the marks of the underlying chiselling. There are, for example, two profiles of Seti I. on one of the bas-reliefs of the hypostyle hall at Karnak, one faintly outlined, and the other standing fully out from the surface of the stone. The sense of the picturesque was making itself felt, and artists were no longer to be excused for neglecting architectural details, the configuration of the country, the drawing of rare plants, and, in fact, all those accessories which had been previously omitted altogether or merely indicated. The necessity of covering such vast surfaces as the pylons offered had accustomed them to arrange the various scenes of one and the same action in a more natural and intimate connexion than their predecessors could possibly have done. In these scenes the Pharaoh naturally played the chief part, but in place of choosing for treatment merely one or other important action of the monarch calculated

\footnote{Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Petrie from an original in the Turin Museum.}
to exhibit his courage, the artist endeavoured to portray all the successive incidents in his campaigns, in the same manner as the early Italian painters were accustomed to depict, one after the other, and on the same canvas, all the events of the same legend. The details of these gigantic compositions may sometimes appear childish to us, and we may frequently be at a loss in determining the relations of the parts, yet the whole is full of movement, and, although mutilated, gives us even yet the impression which would have been made upon us by the turmoil of a battle in those distant days.

The sculptor of statues for a long time past was not a whit less skilful than the artist who executed bas-reliefs. The sculptor was doubtless often obliged to give enormous proportions to the figure of the king, to prevent his being overshadowed by the mass of buildings among which the statue was to appear; but this necessity of exaggerating the human form did not destroy in the artist that sense of proportion and that skilful handling of the chisel which are so strikingly displayed in the sitting scribe or in the princess at Medinat Habu; it merely trained him to mark out deftly the principal lines, and to calculate the volume and dimensions of these gigantic granite figures of some fifty to sixty-five feet high, with as great confidence and skill as he would have employed upon any statue of ordinary dimensions which

1 MAUZEN, L'Archéologie Égyptienne, pp. 175-181, cf., for example, the scenes taken from the representation of the battle of Qadesh on pp. 392-395 of the present work.
2 Drawn by Foucher-Trudel, from photographs taken in 1881 by Insinger and Daniel Henri. The original bas-relief is on the west wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak; cf. Mauzzen, Voyage de la Haute-Égypte, vol. II, pl. 82.
3 See pp. 311-312 of the present work for the colossal figures of Amenophis III. in the Theban plain before the Amenophisum, and ibid., pp. 429, 431, 432, and 434 for the statues of Ramses II. at the Ramesseum, Abu-Simbel, and Tanis respectively.
might be entrusted to him. The colossal statues at Abu-Simbel and Thebes still witness to the incomparable skill of the Theban sculptors in the difficult art of imagining and executing superhuman types. The decadence of Egyptian art did not begin until the time of Ramses III, but its downward progress was rapid, and the statues of the Ramesside period are of little or no artistic value. The form of these figures is poor, the technique crude, and the expression of the faces meagre and commonplace. They betray the hand of a mechanical workman who, while still in the possession of the instruments of his trade, can infuse no new life into the traditions of the schools, nor break away from them altogether. We must look not to the royal studios, but to the workshops connected with the necropoleis, if we want to find statues of half-life size displaying intelligent workmanship, all of which we might be tempted to refer to the XVIIIth dynasty if the inscriptions upon them did not fix their date some two or three centuries later. An example of them may be seen at Turin in the kneeling scribe embracing a ram-headed altar: the face is youthful, and has an expression at once so gentle and intelligent that we are constrained to overlook the imperfections in the bust and legs of the figure. Specimens of this kind are not numerous, and their rarity is easily accounted for. The multitude of priests, soldiers, workmen, and small middle-class people who made up the bulk of the Theban population had aspirations for a luxury little commensurate with their means, and the tombs of such people are, therefore, full of objects which simulate a character they do not possess, and are deceptive to the eye; such were the statuettes made of wood, substituted
from economical motives instead of the limestone or sandstone statues usually provided as supports for the "double." The funerary sculptors had acquired a perfect mastery of the kind of art needed for people of small means, and we find among the medley of commonplace objects which encumber the tombs they decorated, examples of artistic works of undoubted excellence, such as the ladies Naï and Tāt now in the Louvre, the lady Nehai now at Berlin, and the naked child at Turin. The lady Tāt in her lifetime had been one of the singing-women of Amon. She is clad in a tight-fitting robe, which accentuates the contour of the breasts and hips without coarseness; her right arm falls gracefully alongside her body, while her left, bent across her chest, thrusts into her bosom a kind of magic whip, which was the sign of her profession. The artist was not able to avoid a certain heaviness in the treatment of her hair, and the careful execution of the whole work was not without a degree of harshness, but by dint of scraping and polishing the wood, he succeeded in softening the outline, and removing from the figure every sharp point. The lady Nehai is smarter and more graceful, in her close-fitting garment and her mantle thrown over the left elbow; and the artist has given her a more alert pose and resolute air than we find in the stiff carriage of her contemporary Tāt. The little girl in the Turin Museum is a looser work, but where could one find a better example of the little darling of the young Egyptian maiden of eight or ten years old? We may see her counterpart to-day among the young Nubian girls of the nataract, before they are obliged to wear clothes; there is the same thin chest, the same undeveloped hips, the same ungraceful thighs, and the same demureness, so once innocent and seductive. Other statuettes represent matrons, some in tight garments, and with their hair closely confined.

2. Drawn by Baudez, from a photograph by Petrie; cf. Masseno, La Dama Tāt, in La Nature, 23rd year, vol. 11, p. 384, fig. 2.
3. Drawn by Baudez, from a photograph by M. du Marceau, cf. ESSAYEN, AuglAntiques Foresk, p. 126, No. 1681. Enamelled eyes, according to a common custom, were inserted in the sockets, but have disappeared.
others without any garment whatever. The Turin example is that of a lady who seems proud of her large ear-rings, and brings one of them into prominence, either to show it off or to satisfy herself that the jewel becomes her; her head is square-shaped, the shoulders narrow, the chest puny, the pose of the arms stiff and awkward, but the eyes have such a joyful openness, and her smile such a self-satisfied expression, that one readily overlooks the other defects of the statue. In this collection of miniature figures examples of men are not wanting, and there are instances of old soldiers, officials, guardians of temples, and priests proudly executing their office in their distinctive panther skins. Three individuals in the Gizeh were contemporaries, or almost so, of the young girl of the Turin Museum. They are dressed in rich costumes, to which they have, doubtless, a just claim; for one of them, Hor, summoned Râ, rejoiced in the favour of the Pharaoh, and must therefore have exercised some court function. They seem to step forth with a measured pace and firm demeanour, the body well thrown back and the head erect, their faces displaying something of cruelty and cunning. 

An officer, whose retirement from service is now spent in the Louvre, is dressed in a semi-civil costume, with a light wig, a closely fitting smock-frock with shirt-sleeves, and a loin-cloth tied tightly round the hips and descending halfway down the thigh, to which is applied a piece of stuff knotted lengthwise, projecting in front. A colleague of his, now in the Berlin Museum, still maintains possession of his official baton, and is arrayed in his striped petticoat, his braclets and gorget of gold. A priest in the Louvre holds before him, grasped by both hands, the insignia of Amon-Râ—a ram's head, surmounted


2 DURVA, from a photograph by M. de Merians; cf. EMAN, Archéologie Égyptienne, p. 126, No. 4867. Other statuettes of the same kind in the museum of the Louvre have been reproduced by Maspero, in O. KATZ, Les Musées de l'Art antique, and in Arch. Égyptienne, pp. 261-262.

3 DURVA, from a photograph by Pozzi; cf. MASPERO, Les Musées de l'Art antique, vol. I.
by the solar disk, and inserted on the top of a thick handle; another, who has been relegated to Turin, appears to be placed between two long staves, each surmounted by an idol, and, to judge from his attitude, seems to have no small idea of his own beauty and importance. The Egyptians were an observant people and inclined to satire, and I have a shrewd suspicion that the sculptors, in giving to such statuettes this character of childlike vanity, yielded to the temptation to be merry at the expense of their model.

The smelters and engravers in metal occupied in relation to the sculptors a somewhat exalted position. Bronze had for a long time been employed in funerary furniture, and sahbités (respondents), amulets, and images of the gods, as well as of mortals, were cast in this metal. Many of these tiny figures form charming examples of enamel-work, and are distinguished not only by the gracefulness of the modelling, but also by the brilliance of the superimposed glaze; but the majority of them were purely commercial articles, manufactured by the hundred from the same models, and possibly cast for centuries, from the same moulds for the edification of the devout and of pilgrims. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised if they are lacking in originality; they are no more to be distinguished from each other than the hundreds of coloured statuettes which one may find on the stalls of modern dealers in religious statuary. Here and there among the multitude we may light upon examples showing a marked individuality: the statuette of the lady Takashit, which now forms one of the ornaments of the museum at Athens, is an instance. She stands erect, one foot in advance, her right arm hanging at her side, her left pressed against her bosom; she is arrayed in a short dress embroidered over with religious scenes, and wears upon her ankles and wrists rings of value. A wig

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1 Drawn by Foucher-Gautin, from a photograph.
2 Bronze respondents are somewhat rare, and most of them which are to be found among the dealers are counterfeit. The Ghis, Museum possesses two examples of cast of indisputable authenticity (Maspero, Guide du Visiteur, Nos. 1298 and 1299, pp. 122, 123); both of them belong to the XXth dynasty.
3 Maspero, Archéologie Égyptienne, pp. 234, 235.
The Lady Tepeshit

Found seated in the Museum at Allaca.

Figure III
with stiff-looking locks, regularly arranged in rows, covers her head. The
details of the drapery and the ornaments are incised on the surface of the
bronze, and heightened with a thread of silver. The face is evidently a
portrait, and is that apparently of a woman of mature age,
but the body, according to
the tradition of the Egyptian
schools of art, is that of a
young girl, lithic, firm, and
elastic. The alloy contains
gold, and the warm and soft-
ened lights reflected from it
blend most happily and har-
moniously with the white lines
of the designs. The joiner occu-
pied, after the workers in
bronze, an important position
in relation to the necropolis,
and the greater part of the
furniture which they executed for the mummmies of persons of high rank
was remarkable for its painting and carpentry-work. Some articles of their
manufacture were intended for religious use—such as those shrines, mounted
upon sledges, on which the image of the god was placed, to whom prayers were
made for the deceased; others served for the household needs of the mummy,
and, to distinguish these, there are to be seen upon their sides religious and
funereal pictures, offerings to the two deceased parents, sacrifices to a god or
goddess, and incidents in the Osirian life. The funeral beds consisted, like
those intended for the living, of a rectangular framework, placed upon four feet
of equal height, although there are rare examples in which the supports are
so arranged as to give a gentle slope to the structure. The fancy which actuated
the joiner in making such beds supposed that two benevolent lions had, of
their own free will, stretched out their bodies to form the two sides of the
couch, the muzzles constituting the pillow, while the tails were curled up under
the feet of the sleeper. Many of the heads given to the lions are so noble and
expressive, that they will well bear comparison with the granite statues
of these animals which Amenophis III. dedicated in his temple at Soleb. The

1 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lachaise; cf. Prasor-Chatea, Hist. de l'Art
2 Upon these funerary couches, see Maspero, Archéologie Égyptienne, pp. 277-280.
3 Cf. the two lion's heads in the Horvayt's sale, Antiquités Égyptiennes, p. 80, Nos. 296, 291,
and pls. xxv., xxx.; they belonged to a funeral couch, and to a throne in the temple of the
Pharaoh Mentuhotep.
other trades depended upon the proportion of their members to the rest of the community for the estimation in which they were held. The masons, stonecutters, and common labourers furnished the most important contingent; among these ought also to be reckoned the royal servants—of whom functions we should have been at a loss to guess the importance, if contemporary documents had not made it clear—fishermen, hunters, laundresses, woodcutters, gardeners, and water-carriers. Without reckoning the constant services needed for the gods and the deceased, the workshops required a large quantity of drinking water for the men engaged in them. In every gang of workmen, even in the present day, two or three men are set apart to provide drinking water for the rest; in some arid places, indeed, at a distance from the river, such as the Valley of the Kings, as many water-carriers are required as there are workmen. To the trades just mentioned must be added the low-caste crowd depending on the burials of the rich, the acrobats, female mourners, dancers and musicians. The majority of the female corporations were distinguished by the infamous character of their manners, and prostitution among them had come to be associated with the service of the god.

There was no education for all this mass of people, and their religion was of a meagre character. They worshipped the official deities, Amon, Mut, Isis, and Hâthor, and such deceased Pharaohs as Amenîthès I. and Nofritari, but

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1 CHARAS-LIBELIE, Deux Fagonnet Histoire du Musee de Turin, pl. 13-14, and MAXIMON, Les Enquêtes archéologiques à Thèbes au temps de la 20e dynastie, p. 90, et seq.

2 With regard to the fishermen of the metropolis, see PERRÈRE-ROBINS, Fagonnet de Turin, pl. xxxvi. H. 19-22; the Cullend entrance, which contains a receipt given to some fisherman, was found near Shukh Abd el-Qurnah, and consequently belonged to the fishermen of the metropolis (DÉRÉAUX, Sciences, vol. I. pp. 132-142). There is a question as to the water-carriers of the Khâna in the hospital registers of Turin (PERRÈRE-ROBINS, Fagonnet de Turin, pl. xxxii. 1-2, xxxvi. 1-11, xxxix. 1-12; CHARAS, Mémorial Egyptologique, 2nd series, vol. II. p. 108; also as to the washers of clothes (In., 1862, pl. xxxi. 1-16, xxxvi. 1-17, 2, 17), wood-carvers (In. 1862, pl. xxxvi. 1-18); gardeners and workers in the vineyard (In., 1862, pl. xxxii. 1-16, xxxvi. 1-17, xxxix. 1-13).

3 Drawn from a photograph by Lechevallier, from a photograph by Lecache, from the Mercure de l'Institut Égyptien, pl. xxviii.

4 The name of the female pagannet of Turin bears the title of "Singing-women of Amon" (PERRÈRE-ROBINS, Fagonnet de Turin, p. 230, et seq.), and the illustrations indicate how prominent was clarity and so expressive, that no details of her costume and things are wanting: upon the double character of the singing-women in general, see MANNETJ, Le Derni. Faut, in La Nature, 2nd year, vol. II. p. 239.
they had also their own Pantheon, in which animals predominated—such as the goat of Amun, and his ram Ps-rahaninosir, the good player on the horn; the hippopotamus, the cat, the chicken, the swallow, and especially reptiles. Death was personified by a great viper, the queen of the West, known by the name Maritsakos, the friend of silence. Three heads, or the single head of a woman, attached to the one body, were assigned to it. It was supposed to dwell in the mountain opposite Karnak, which fast gave to it, as well as to the necropolis itself, the two epithets of Khafitsibis and Ta-tahnit, that is, The Summit. Its chapel was situated at the foot of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah, but its sacred serpents crawled and wriggled through the necropolis, working miracles and effecting the cure of the most dangerous maladies. The faithful were accustomed to dedicate to them, in payment of their vows, slabs, or slabs of roughly hewn stone, with inscriptions which witnessed to a deep gratitude. "Hearken! I, from the time of my appearance on earth, I was a "Servant of the True Place" Neftrhâh, a stupid ignorant person, who knew not good from evil, and I committed sin against The Summit. She punished me, and I was in her hand day and night. I lay groaning on my couch like a woman in child-bed, and I made supplication to the air, but it did not come to me, for I was hunted down by The Summit of the West, the brave one among all the gods, and all the goddesses of the city, so I would say to all

1 The worship of the ram of Amun, the goat, the swallow, the cat, and the serpent was pointed out, particularly in the monuments in the Turin Museum, by Maxime, *Studios de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 306-311, 411-414; cf. WILHELM, *Le Culte des animaux en Égypte*, in the *Mémoires*, vol. viii. pp. 100-104; and *Zur Tierkult der Alten Ägypter*, in the *Memoiren Charles de Flers*, pp. 272-290. A stele exhibiting the cat and goose face to face was reproduced in *Journal de Cervelation*, p. 37. As to the cult of the hippopotamus in the necropolis, see the little article published by Maxime, *Revue de l'Egypte*, p. 254-260, in the *Mémoires*, vol. vii. pp. 124-125, and by Lecomte, *Dictionnaire de Mythologie Egyptien*, cit. infra.

2 As to the cult of Maritsakos, see Maxime, *Studios de Mythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 402-410.

3 As to the cult of Maritsakos, see Maxime, *Studios de Mythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 306-311; cf. Lecomte, *Dictionnaire de Mythologie Egyptien*, cit. supra.

4 Drawn by Foucher, from a photograph by Lecomte; cf. Lecomte, *Dictionnaire de Mythologie Egyptien*, cit. infra. The stele from which I have taken this figure is in the Turin Museum.
the miserable sinners among the people of the necropolis: “Give heed to The Summit, for there is a lion in The Summit, and she strikes as strikes a spitting lion, and she pursues him who sins against her!” Invoked then my mistress, and I felt that she flew to me like a pleasant breeze; she placed herself upon me, and this made me recognize her hand, and appased she returned to me, and she delivered me from suffering, for she is my life, The Summit of the West, when she is appased, and she ought to be invoked.”

There were many sinners, we may believe, among that ignorant and superstitious population, but the governors of Thebes did not put their confidence in the local deities alone to keep them within bounds, and to prevent their evil deeds: commissioners, with the help of a detachment of Mazai, were an additional means of conducting them into the right way. They had, in this respect, a hard work to accomplish, for every day brought with it its contingent of crimes, which they had to follow up, and secure the punishment of the authors.

Neithamon came to inform them that the workman Nakhtummant and his companions had stolen into his house, and robbed him of three large loaves, eight cakes, and some pastry; they had also drunk a jar of beer, and poured out from pure malice the oil which they could not carry away with them.

Panibi had met the wife of a comrade alone near an out-of-the-way tomb, and had taken advantage of her notwithstanding her cries; this, moreover, was not the first offence of the culprit, for several young girls had previously been victims of his brutality, and had not ventured up to this time to complain of him on account of the terror with which he inspired the neighbourhood.

Crimes against the dead were always common; every penniless fellow knew what quantities of gold and jewels had been entombed with the departed, and these treasures, scattered around them at only a few feet from the surface of the ground, presented to them a constant temptation to which they often succumbed.

Some were not disposed to have accomplices, while others associated together, and, having purchased at a serious cost the...
conivance of the custodians, set boldly to work on tombs both recent and ancient. Not content with stealing the funerary furniture, which they disposed of to the undertakers, they stripped the mummies also, and smashed the bodies in their efforts to secure the jewels; then, putting the remains together again, they rearranged the mummies afresh so cleverly that they can no longer be distinguished by their outward appearance from the originals, and the first wrappings must be removed before the fraud can be discovered. From time to time one of these rogues would allow himself to be taken for the purpose of denouncing his comrades, and avenging himself for the injustice of which he was the victim in the division of the spoil; he was laid hold of by the Mazatî, and brought before the tribunal of justice. The lands situated on the left bank of the Nile belonged partly to the king and partly to the god Amun, and any infractions of the law in regard to the necropolis was almost certain to come within the jurisdiction of one or other of them. The commission appointed, therefore, to determine the damage done in any case, included in many instances the high priest or his delegates, as well as the officers of the Pharaoh. The office of this commission was to examine into the state of the tombs, to interrogate the witnesses and the accused, applying the torture if necessary, when they had got at the facts, the tribunal of the notables condemned to impalement some half-a-dozen of the poor wretches, and caused some score of others to be whipped. But, when two or three months had elapsed, the remembrance of the punishment began to die away, and the depredations began afresh.

The low rate of wages, occasioned, at fixed periods, outbursts of discontent and trouble which ended in actual disturbances. The rations allowed to each workman, and given to him at the beginning of each month, would possibly have been sufficient for himself and his family, but, owing to the usual lack of foresight in the Egyptian, they were often consumed long before the time fixed, and the pinch soon began to be felt. The workmen, demoralised by

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1 As to the corruption and complicity of serpents, priests, and guardians, see Oxfords, Mémoires égyptiennes, 3rd series, vol. 1, pp. 204-205, and vol. 2, pp. 24-33. Many of these individuals figure in the list of robbers copied on to the back of the Abbot Papyri; see as to the serpents (ii. 12, 20, 27, 30, 37), as to the priests (ii. 8, 12, 18, 22, 35), and even a prophet appears among them (ii. 12, 28). Other examples are cited by Stenhouse, Archeologie and Archéologie Egyptienne, p. 24, and especially in the Transparency of the Mayor Papyri A, B, in which a fair proportion of priests, serpents, and guardians are to be found among those accused of violating the tombs.
2 Jüngst pointed out some true cases of these re-made mummies of men and animals (Description des hypogées de la ville de Thèbes, in Description de l'Egypte, vol. 111, pp. 93, 96, 94, 95). Many were discovered among those of the princes and princesses of the XVIIIth dynasty at Deir-el-Bahari (Hartung, Les Miroirs royales, in Mon. de la Mission Françoise, vol. 1, pp. 238-242, 244, 247, 248).
3 Martens, Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes sous la XX dynastie, p. 89.
4 With regard to this organisation of the police and of the tribunals of justice, I can only refer to the work of Stenhouse, already referred to, Stadten und Machtunionen in der Geschichte des Pünneumocracies, 1892.
5 This is how I translate a fairly common expression, which means literally, "to be put on the rack." Spiegelberg was in this only a method of administering torture (op. cit., pp. 78-79, 123, n. 32).
6 See pp. 242-244 of the Dienes of Civilization for what is said on this subject. Brief descriptions,
their involuntary abstinence, were not slow to turn to the overseer: "We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month." The latter was prodigal of fair speeches, but as his words were rarely accompanied by deeds, the workmen would not listen to him; they stopped work, left the workshop in turbulent crowds, ran with noisy demonstrations to some public place to hold a meeting—perhaps the nearest monument, at the gate of the temple of Tauthmosis III, behind the chapel of Minaphtah, or in the court of that of Seti I. Their overseers followed them; the police commissioners of the locality, the Mazart, and the scribes mingled with them and addressed themselves to some of the leaders with whom they might be acquainted. But these would not at first give them a hearing.

"We will not return," they would say to the peacemakers; "make it clear to your superiors down below there." It must have been manifest that from their point of view their complaints were well founded, and the official, who afterwards gave an account of the affair to the authorities, was persuaded of this. "We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us." For the most part these strikes had no other consequence than a prolonged stoppage of work, until the distribution of rations at the beginning of the next month gave the malcontents courage to return to their tasks. Attempts were made to prevent the recurrence of these troubles by changing the method and time of payments. These were reduced to an interval of fifteen days, and at length, indeed, to one of eight. The result was very much the same as before: the workman, paid more frequently, did not on that account become more prudent, and the hours of labour last did not decrease. The individual man, if he had nobody to consider but himself, might have put up with the hardships of his situation, but there were almost always wife and children or sisters concerned, who clamoured for bread in their hunger, and all the while the storehouses of the temples or those of the state close by were filled to overflowing with durra, barley, and wheat. The temptation to break open the doors and to
help themselves in this present necessity must have been keenly felt. Some bold spirits among the strikers, having set out together, scaled the two or three boundary walls by which the granaries were protected, but having reached this position their heart failed them, and they contented themselves with sending to the chief custodian an eloquent pleader, to lay before him their very humble request: "We are come, urged by famine, urged by thirst, having no more linen, no more oil, no more fish, no more vegetables. Send to Pharaoh, our master, send to the king, our lord, that he may provide us with the necessaries of life."\(^1\) If one of them, with less self-restraint, was so carried away as to let drop an oath, which was a capital offence, saying, "By Anu! by the sovereign, whose anger is death!" if he asked to be taken before a magistrate in order that he might reiterate there his complaint, the others interceded for him, and begged that he might escape the punishment fixed by the law for blasphemy; the scribe, good fellow as he was, closed his ears to the oath,\(^2\) and, if it were in his power, made a beginning of satisfying their demands by drawing upon the excess of past months to such an extent as would pacify them for some days; and by paying them a supplemental wage in the name of the Pharaoh.\(^3\) They cried out loudly: "Shall there not be served out to us corn in excess of that which has been distributed to us; if not, we will not stir from this spot?" At length the end of the month arrived, and they all appeared together before the magistrates, when they said: "Let the scribe, Khâmsit, who is accountable, be sent for!" He was thereupon brought before the notables of the town, and they said to him: "See to the corn which thou hast received, and give some of it to the people of the necropolis." Paumonbubais was then sent for, and "rations of wheat were given to us daily." Famine was not caused only by the thriftiness of the multitude: administrators of all ranks did not hesitate to appropriate, each one according to his position, a portion of the means entrusted to them for the maintenance of their subordinates, and the latter often received only instalments of what was due to them. The culprits often escaped from their difficulties by either laying hold of half a dozen of their brawling victims, or by yielding to them a proportion of their ill-gotten gains, before a rumour of the outbreak could reach head-quarters. It happened from time to time, however, when the complaints against them were either too serious or too frequent, that they were deprived of their functions, cited before the tribunals,

\(^{1}\) Pritch-essenger, Tage Poppy, p. xliii. II. i-2.


and condemned. What took place at Thebes was repeated with some variations in each of the other large cities. Corruption, theft, and extortion had prevailed among the officials from time immemorial, and the most active kings alone were able to repress these abuses, or confine them within narrow limits; as soon as discipline became relaxed, however, they began to appear again, and we have no more convincing proof of the state of decadence into which Thebes had fallen towards the middle of the XXII dynasty, than the audacity of the crimes committed in the necropolis during the reigns of the successors of Ramses III.

The priesthood of Amon alone displayed any vigour and enjoyed any prosperity in the general decline. After the victory of the god over the heretic kings no one dared to dispute his supremacy, and the Ramessides displayed a devout humility before him and his ministers. Henceforward he became united to Ra in a definite manner, and his authority not only extended over the whole of the land of Egypt, but over all the countries also which were brought within her influence; so that while Pharaoh continued to be the greatest of kings, Pharaoh's god held a position of undivided supremacy among the deities. He was the chief of the two Emnads, the Heliopolitan and the Hermopolitan, and displayed for the latter a special affection; for the vague character of its eight secondary deities only served to accentuate the position of the ninth and principal divinity with whose primacy that of Amon was identified. It was more easy to attribute to Amon the entire work of creation when Shu, Sihû, Osiris, and Set had been excluded—the deities whom the theologians of Heliopolis had been accustomed to associate with the demiurgic; and in the hymns which they sang at his solemn festivals they did not hesitate to ascribe to him all the acts which the priests of former times had assigned to the Emnads collectively. "He made earth, silver, gold,—the true lapis at his good pleasure."—He brought forth the herbs for the cattle, the plants upon which men live.—He made to live the fish of the river,—the birds which hover in the air,—giving air to those which are in the egg.—He animates the insects,—he makes to live the small birds, the reptiles, and the gnats as well.—He provides food for the rat in his hole,—supports the bird upon the

1 See pp. 340, 347 of the present work for the measures taken by Harnabt to put an end to the double-dealing of the officials and the degradations of the soldiers.
2 For the exact position obtained by Amon under the XVIII dynasty, see p. 312, et seq., of the present work, and ch. i. pp. 344–345, for the triumph of Amon and his priests.
branch.—May he be blessed for all this, he who is alone, but with many hands.

"Men spring from his two eyes," and quickly do they lose their breath while acclamming him—Egyptians and Libyans, Negroes and Asiatics: "Hail to thee!" they all say; "praise to thee because thou dwellest amongst us!—Obeisance before thee because thou art greatest us!"—"Thou art blessed by every living thing, thou hast worshippers in every place, in the highest of the heavens, in all the breadth of the earth, in the depths of the seas. The gods bow before thy Majesty, magnifying the souls which form them, rejoining at meeting those who have forgotten them, they say to thee: 'Go in peace, father of the fathers of all the gods, who suspended the heaven, levelled the earth; creator of beings, maker of things, sovereign king, chief of the gods; we adore thy souls, because thou hast made us, we lavish offerings upon thee, because thou hast given us birth, we shower benedictions upon thee, because thou dwellest among us.'"

We have here the same ideas as those which preclude in the hymns addressed to Atum, and in the prayers directed to Ptah, the Nile, Shu, and the Sun-god of Heliopolis at the same period. The idea of a single god, lord and maker of all things, continued to prevail more and more throughout Egypt—not, indeed, among the lower classes who persisted in the worship of their genius and their animals, but among the royal family, the priests, the nobles and people of culture. The latter believed that the Sun-god had at length absorbed all the various beings who had been manifested in the feudal deities: these, in fact, had surrendered their original characteristics in order to become forms of the Sun, Amon as well as the others—and the new belief displayed itself in magnifying the solar deity, but the solar deity united with the Theban Amon.

2 Marisset, ibid., vol. II. pl. 26. p. 5. I. 3; for the idea of creation, as proceeding from the hands of the god, see Marchés, Hours of Civilization, p. 126.
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4 Marisset, ibid., vol. II. pl. 26. p. 5. I. 3; for the idea of creation, as proceeding from the hands of the god, see Marchés, Hours of Civilization, p. 126.
5 Marisset, ibid., vol. II. pl. 26. p. 5. I. 3; for the idea of creation, as proceeding from the hands of the god, see Marchés, Hours of Civilization, p. 126.
6 St. the fragments of these compositions given on pp. 222-223 of the present work. Breasted (The Hymns to Osiris and Ammon [IV, costumes, p. 9) points out the distinctive influence exercised by the solar hymns of Ammon [IV]; on the development of the solar theme contained in the hymns to Amon get forth or re-edited in the XX° dynasty.

1 The hymn to Ptah is contained in the Berlin Papyrus, No. VII. (Loretz, Denkm., vi, pl. 112-121); it was explained by Pannier, Studia Egyptianica, vol. I. pp. 1-18. As to hymn to the Niles, see Maspero, Hours of Civilization, pp. 32-35; the Berlin Papyrus, No. V. (Loretz, Denkm., vii. 112-118) contains a Sun hymn addressed to Re-Hermakh, which was translated by Maspero in Studia de Mythologie, etc., 1898, vol. II. pp. 474-477 (cf. Hélion, Ancienne, 4th ed., pp. 285-288), and by Lecomte, Hymne à Re-Hermakh, in the Researches of the Past, 1st series, vol. viii. pp. 122-124.
that is, Amon-Râ. The omnipotence of this one god did not, however, exclude a belief in the existence of his compatriots; the theologians thought all the while that the beings to whom ancient generations had accorded a complete independence in respect of their rivals were nothing more than emanations from one supreme being. If local pride forced them to apply to this single deity the designation customarily used in their city—Ptah at Memphis, Anhîrî-Sîk at Thinis, Khnûmû in the neighbourhood of the first cataract—they were quite willing to allow, at the same time, that these appellations were but various masks for one face. Ptah, Hâpî, Khnûmû, Râ,—all the gods, in fact,—were blended with each other, and formed but one deity—a unique existence, multiple in his names, and mighty according to the importance of the city in which he was worshipped. Hence Amon, lord of the capital and patron of the dynasty, having more partisans, enjoyed more respect, and, in a word, felt himself possessed of more claims to be the sole god of Egypt than his brethren, who could not claim so many worshippers.

He did not at the outset arrogate to himself the same empire over the dead as he exercised over the living; he had delegated his functions in this respect to a goddess, Mutnakhûh, for whom the poorer inhabitants of the left bank entertained a persistent devotion. She was a kind of Isis or hospitable Hathor, whose subjects in the other world adapted themselves to the nebulous and dreary existence provided for their disembodied "doubles." The Osirian and solar deities were afterwards blended together in this local mythology, and from the XI dynasty onwards the Theban nobility had adopted, along with the ceremonies in use in the Memphis period, the Heliopolitan beliefs concerning the wanderings of the soul in the west, its embarkation on the solar ship, and its resting-places in the fields of Iâth. The rock-tombs of the XVIII dynasty demonstrate that the Thebans had then no different concept of their life beyond the world from that entertained by the inhabitants of the most ancient cities; they ascribed to that existence the same inconsistent medley of contradictory ideas, from which each one might select what pleased him best—either repose in a well-provisioned tomb, or a dwelling close to Osiris in the middle of a calm and agreeable paradise, or voyages with Râ around the world. The fusion of Râ and Amon, and the predominance of the solar idea, which arose from it, forced the theologians to examine more closely these inconsistent notions, and to eliminate from them anything which might be out of harmony

1 See what is said about this goddess and her cult, pp. 337, 338 of the present work.

2 The Pyramid texts are found for the most part in the tombs at Nûbû (Maâma, La Pyramide de vos Osens, in the Revue, vol. 3, pp. 291-316) and Abû-Hârîm (Marçassé, Texts Auscui de fumille, in the Mémoires de la Mission, etc., vol. 1, p. 137, at pps. 209-211, 212); the text of the Book of the Dead are met with on the Thinite wall of the same period (Chauss, Études Religieuses, et Marçassé, Texts Aucui de fumille, in the Mémoires de la Mission, etc., pp. 153-172, 177-180, 219-221).
with the new views. The devout servant of Amon, desirous of keeping in constant touch with his god; both here and in the other world, could not imagine a happier future for his soul than in its going forth in the fulness of light by day, and taking refuge by night on the very bark which carried the object of his worship through the thick darkness of Hades. To this end he endeavoured to collect the formulas which would enable him to attain to this supreme happiness, and also inform him concerning the hidden mysteries of that obscure half of the world in which the sun dwelt between daylight and daylight, teaching him also how to make friends and supporters of the benevolent genii; and how to avoid or defeat the monsters whom he would encounter. The best known of the books relating to these mysteries contained a geographical description of the future world as it was described by the Theban priests towards the end of the Ramesside period; it was, in fact, an itinerary in which was depicted each separate region of the underworld, with its gates, buildings, and inhabitants. The account of it given by the Egyptian theologians did not exhibit much inventive genius. They had started with the theory that the sun, after setting exactly west of Thebes, rose again due east of the city, and they therefore placed in the dark hemisphere all the regions of the universe which lay to the north of these two points of the compass. The first stage of the sun's journey, after disappearing below the horizon, coincided with the period of twilight; the orb travelled along the open sky, diminishing the brightness of his fires as he climbed northward, and did not actually enter the underworld till he reached Abydos, close to the spot where, at the "Month of the Left," the souls of the faithful awaited him. As soon as he had received them into his boat, he plunged into the tunnel which there pierces the mountains, and the cities through which he first passed between Abydos and the Fayum were known as the Osirian fields. He continued his journey through them for the space of two hours, receiving the homage of the inhabitants, and putting such of the shades on shore as were destined by their special devotion for the Osiris

1 The monumental text of this book is found sculptured on a certain number of the tombs of the Theban kings; it was partially copied by CASSEROLAS, Monumente de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, vol. 1, p. 738, et seq., and has been by LE BOUTIER, Les Hypogeaux regnants de Thèbes, in which the chapters are distributed throughout the work according to the places which they occupy on the walls of the tombs. Several texts from papyri have been published, notably that by LAMONE, Le Pèlerinage des Esprits, 1870; by MASSUETTE, Les Papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Rouen, vol. 1, pls. 40-44; and by HERTZ, Les Monuments de Louxor, 3rd part, T. 71. II was first translated into English by BAINES, The Papyri of Neuborn, 1863, then into French by DEVAILLÉ, Catalogue des Monuments Egyptiens du Musée de Louxor, vol. 1, pp. 13-18 (cf. PIERRET, Recueil d'Études historiques du Musée de Louxor, vol. 1, pp. 135-148), and by Masson, Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie, etc., vol. 2, pp. 60-147. An edition without illustrations, recently and with an apparatus, has been edited and translated by FURGER, Le Livre des ossements, and by HAUPT, 1903. See a study of the ideas which inspired his composition, and the compositions which have been made by Masson, Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie, etc., vol. 1, pp. 1-181. Mention is made in this article of other still rarer and more mysterious works of the same type, found on the walls of the royal tombs; the illustration on p. 547 is taken from one of the latter.
of Abydos and his associates, Horus and Anabis, to establish themselves in this territory. Beyond Hermopolis, he entered the domains of the Memphis gods, the "land of Sokaris," and this probably was the most perilous moment of his journey. The funerary rites of Ptah were gathered together in grottoes, connected by a labyrinth of narrow passages through which even the most fully initiated were scarcely able to find their way; the luminous boat, instead of venturing within these catacombs, passed above them by mysterious tracks. The crew were unable to catch a glimpse of the sovereign through whose realm they journeyed, and they in like manner were invisible to him; he could only hear the voices of the divine sailors, and he answered them from the depth of the darkness. Two hours were spent in this obscure passage, after which navigation became easier as the vessel entered the names subject to the Osiris of the Delta; four consecutive hours of sailing brought the bark from the province in which the four principal bodies of the god slept to that in which his four souls kept watch, and, as it passed, it illuminated the sight circles reserved for men and kings who worshipped the god of Mendes. From the tenth hour onwards it directed its course due south, and passed through the Algarit, the place of fire and abysmal waters to which the Heliopolitans consigned the souls of the impious; then finally quitting the tunnel, it soared up in the east with the first blush of dawn. Each of the ordinary dead was hauled at that particular hour of the twelve, which belonged to the god of his choice or of his native town. Left to dwell there they suffered no absolute torment, but languished in the darkness in a kind of painful torpor, from which condition the approach of the bark alone was able to rescue them. They hailed its daily coming with acclamations, and felt new life during the hour in which its rays fell on them, breaking out into lamentations as the bark passed away, and the light disappeared with it. The souls who were devotees of the sun escaped this melancholy existence; they escorted the god, reduced though he was to a mummied corpse, on his nightly cruise, and were piloted by him safe and sound to meet the first streaks of the new day. As the boat issued from the mountain in the morning between the two trees which flanked the gate of the east, these souls had their choice of several ways of spending the day on which they were about to enter. They might join their risen god in his course through the hours of light, and assist him in combating Apophis and his accomplices, plunging again at night into Hades without having even for a moment quit the side. They might, on the other hand, leave him and once more enter the world of the living, settling themselves where they would, but always by preference in the tombs where their bodies awaited them, and where they could enjoy the wealth which had been accumulated there; they might walk within
their garden, and sit beneath the trees they had planted; they could enjoy the open air beside the pond they had dug, and breathe the gentle north breeze on its banks after the midday heat, until the time when the returning evening obliged them to repair once more to Abydos, and re-embark with the god in order to pass the anxious vigils of the night under his protection. Thus from the earliest period of Egyptian history the life beyond the tomb was an ecstatic one, made up of a series of earthly enjoyments combined together.

The Pharaohs had enrolled themselves instinctively among the most ardent votaries of this complex doctrine. Their relationship to the sun made its adoption a duty, and its profession was originally, perhaps, one of the privileges of their position. Ra invited them on board because they were his children, subsequently extending this favour to those whom they should deem worthy to be associated with them, and thus become companions of the ancient deceased kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. The idea which the Egyptians thus formed of the other world, and of the life of the initiates within it, reacted gradually on their concept of the tomb and its befitting decoration. They began to consider the entrances to the pyramid, and its internal passages and chambers, as a conventional representation of the gates, passages, and halls of Hades itself; when the pyramid passed out of fashion, and they had replaced it by a tomb cut in the rock in one or other of

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1 Drawn by Feuchtmayer, from a photograph by Beato of the tomb of Ramses IV.

2 This is apparently what we gather from the picture inserted in chapter xiii of the "Book of the Dead" (Masson, Das Todtenbuch, p. 613), and from the variants collected by Naville, Das Todsache Todtenbuch, vol. 12, where we see the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt yielding the divine birth and the deceased with them.
the branches of the Bah el-Moluk valley, the plan of construction which they chose was an exact copy of that employed by the Memphites and earlier Thebans, and they hollowed out for themselves in the mountain-side a burying-place on the same lines as those formerly employed within the pyramidal structure. The relative positions of the tunnelled tombs along the valley were not determined by any order of rank or of succession to the throne: each Pharaoh after Ramses I. set to work on that part of the rock where the character of the stone favoured his purpose, and displayed so little respect for his predecessors, that the workmen, after having tunnelled a gallery, were often obliged to abandon it altogether, or to change the direction of their excavations so as to avoid piercing a neighbouring tomb. The architect's design was usually a mere project which could be modified at will, and which he did not feel bound to carry out with fidelity; the actual measurements of the tomb of Ramses IV, are almost everywhere at variance with the numbers and arrangement of the working drawing of it which has been preserved to us in a papyrus. The general disposition of the royal tombs, however, is far from being complicated; we have at the entrance the rectangular door, usually surmounted by the sun, represented by a yellow disk, before which the sovereign kneels with his hands raised in the posture of adoration; this gave access to a passage sloping gently downwards, and broken here and there by a level landing and steps, leading to a first chamber of varying amplitude, at the further end of which a second passage opened which descended to one or more apartments, the last of which contained the coffin. The oldest rock-tombs present some noteworthy exceptions to this plan, particularly those of Seti I. and Ramses III.1 but from the time of Ramses IV., there is no difference to be remarked in them except in the degree of finish of the wall-paintings or in the length of the passages. The shortest of the latter extends some fifty-two feet into the rock, while the longest never exceeds three hundred and ninety feet. The same artifices which had been used by the pyramid-builders to defeat the designs of robbers2—false mummy-pits, painted and sculptured walls built across passages, stairs concealed under a movable stone in the corner of a chamber—were also

1 CHAMPIGNY, Lettres ecrites d'Egypte, 2nd edit., pp. 223, 224.
3 The papyrus is now in the Turin Museum. It was published by LEWIS, Grandeur des Noms de Ramses IV, in einem Turiner Papyrus, 1857, who was the first to recognize it as being the plan of the tomb of Ramses IV., and to notice the discrepancies between it and the tomb itself.
4 For the tomb of Seti I., see supra, pp. 384, 385, and for the tomb of Ramses III., supra, p. 178.
5 For the precautions taken by the architects of the great pyramids against robbers, cf. Duane's Cauteromancy, p. 367; the account of the discovery of the tomb of Seti I. is given in Balsam, Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt, p. 237, et seq.
employed by the Theban engineers. The decoration of the walls was suggested, as in earlier times, by the needs of the royal soul; with this difference—that the Thebans set themselves to render visible to his eyes by paintings that which the Memphites had been content to present to his intelligence in writing, so that the Pharaoh could now see what his ancestors had been able merely to read on the walls of their tombs: Where the inscribed texts in the burial-chamber of Unas state that Unas, incarnate in the Sun, and thus representing Osiris, sails over the waters on high or glides into the Elysian fields, the sculptured or painted scenes in the interior of the Theban catacombs display to the eye Ramses occupying the place of the god in the solar bark and in the fields of laila. Where the walls of Unas bear only the prayers recited over the mummy for the opening of his mouth, for the restoration of the use of his limbs, for his clothing, perfuming, and nourishment, we see depicted on those of Seti I. or Ramses IV. the mummies of these kings and the statues of their doubles in the hands of the priests, who are portrayed in the performance of these various offices. The starry ceilings of the pyramids reproduce the aspect of the sky, but without giving the names of the stars; on the ceilings of some of the Ramseside rock-tombs, on the other hand, the constellations are represented, each with its proper figure, while astronomical tables give the position of the heavenly bodies at intervals of fifteen days, so that the soul could tell at a glance into what region of the firmament the course of the bark would bring him each night. In the earlier Ramseside tombs, under Seti I. and Ramses II, the execution of these subjects shows evidence of a care and skill which are quite marvellous, and both figures and hieroglyphics betray the hand of accomplished artists. But in the tomb of Ramses III. the work has already begun to show signs of inferiority, and the majority of the scenes are coloured in a very summary fashion; a raw yellow predominates, and the tones of the reds and blues remind us of a child's first efforts at painting. This decline is even more marked under the succeeding Ramsesses; the drawing has deteriorated, the tints have become more and more crude, and the latest paintings seem but a lamentable caricature of the earlier ones.¹

¹ Mauren, Archäologie Egyptiens, pp. 122-125.

² For the substitution of the title of Rā for that of Osiris, and for the monuments which have been permitted us to take cognizance of this change, cf. Mauren, Bericht über eine Reise in Ägypten, in the
or were unable to introduce into their tombs all that we find in the Bab el-Molak. They confined themselves to writing briefly on their own coffins, or confining to the mummies of their fellow-believers, in addition to the "Book of the Dead," a copy of the "Book of knowing what there is in Hades," or of some other mystic writing which was in harmony with their creed. Hastily prepared copies of these were sold by unscrupulous scribes, often badly written and almost always incomplete, in which were haphazardly set down haphazard the episodes of the course of the sun with explanatory illustrations. The representations of the gods in them are but little better than caricatures, the text is full of faults and scarcely decipherable, and it is at times difficult to recognize the correspondence of the scenes and prayers with those in the royal tombs. Although Amon had become the supreme god, at least for this class of the initiated, he was by no means the sole deity worshipped by the Egyptians:

the other deities previously associated with him still held their own beside him, or were further defined and invested with a more decided personality. The goddess regarded as his partner was at first represented as childless, in spite of the name of Mait or Môt—the mother—by which she was invoked, and Amon was supposed to have adopted Montu, the god of Hermopolis, in order to complete his triad. Montu, however, formerly the sovereign of the Theban plain, and lord over Amon himself, was of too exalted a rank to play the inferior part of a divine son. The priests were, therefore, obliged to fall back upon a personage of lesser importance, named Khonsu, who up to that period had been relegated to an obscure position in the celestial hierarchy. How they came to identify him with the moon, and subsequently with Osiris and


* Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statue in the British Museum; M. MARINIER, Album photographique du Musée du Louvre, pl. 6.

* This drawing by Thibierge: A is the pylx, B the court, C the hypostyle hall, D the passage isolating the sanctuary, E the sanctuary, F the apothecaries with its mom solar.
That, is as yet unexplained; but the assimilation had taken place before the XIX dynasty drew to its close. Khonsu, thus honoured, soon became a favourite deity with both the people and the upper classes, at first merely

supplementing Monthi, but finally supplanting him in the third place of the Triad. From the time of Sesostris onwards, Theban dogma acknowledged him alone side by side with Amon-Ra and Mut the divine mother.

It was now incumbent on the Pharaoh to erect to this newly made favourite a temple whose size and magnificence should be worthy of the rank to which his votaries had exalted him. To this end, Ramses III. chose a suitable site to the south of the hypostyle hall of Karnak, close to a corner of the enclosing wall, and there laid the foundations of a temple which his successors took nearly a century to finish. Its proportions are by no means perfect, the sculpture is wanting in refinement, the painting is coarse, and the masonry was so faulty, that it was found necessary in several places to cover it with a coat of stucco before the bas-reliefs could be carved on the walls; yet, in spite of all this,

1. It is possible that this assimilation originated in the fact that Khonsu is derived from the verbal "Khonsu," to engraft. Khonsu would thus have been he who engrafted the heavens in his back—that is, the moon-god (Barkan, Religion und Mythologie der Alten Ägypter, pp. 117, 118); cf. History of Civilization, p. 307.

2. Taken by Drovale-Goddin, from a photograph by Beato.

3. The proof that the temple was founded by Ramses III. is furnished by the inscriptions of the sanctuary and the surrounding chambers; cf. Lefebre, Genesis, iii. 307-3.
its general arrangement is so fine, that it may well be regarded, in preference to other more graceful or magnificent buildings, as the typical temple of the Theban period. It is divided into two parts, separated from each other by a solid wall. In the centre of the smaller of these is placed the Holy of Holies, which opens at both ends into a passage ten feet in width, isolating it from the surrounding buildings. To the right and left of the sanctuary are dark chambers, and behind it is a hall supported by four columns, into which open seven small apartments. This formed the dwelling-place of the god and his companions. The sanctuary communicates, by means of two doors placed in the southern wall, with a hypostyle hall of greater width than depth, divided by its pillars into a nave and two aisles. The four columns of the nave are twenty-three feet in height, and have bell-shaped capitals, while those of the aisles, two on either side, are eighteen feet high, and are crowned with lotiform capitals. The roof of the nave was thus five feet higher than those of the aisles, and in the clear storey thus formed, stone gratings, similar to those in the temple of Amon, admitted light to the building. The courtyard, surrounded by a line colonnade of two rows of columns, was square, and was entered by four side posterns in addition to the open gateway at the end placed between two quadrangular towers. This pylon measures 104 feet in length, and is 32 feet 6 inches wide, by 58 feet high. It contains no internal chambers, but merely a narrow staircase which leads to the top of the doorway, and thence to the summit of the towers. Four long angular grooves

* Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Scott.
run up the façade of the towers to a height of about twenty feet from the
ground, and are in the same line with a similar number of square holes
which pierce the thickness of the building higher up. In these grooves
were placed Venetian masts, made of poles spliced together and held in their
place by means of hooks and wooden stays which projected from the four
holes; these masts were to carry at their tops pennons of various colours. Such was the temple of
Khonsû, and the majority of the great Theban build-
ings—at Luxor, Qurneh, the Ramesseum, or Medin-
not-Habu—were constructed on similar lines. Even in
their half-ruined condition there is something oppressive and uncanny in
their appearance. The gods loved to shroud themselves in mystery, and, therefore,
the plan of the building was so arranged as to render the transition almost
imperceptible from the
blinding sunlight outside to the darkness of their retreat within. In the
courtyard, we are still surrounded by vast spaces to which air and light have
free access. The hypostyle hall, however, is pervaded by an appropriate
twilight, the sanctuary is relieved in still deeper darkness, while in the
chambers beyond reigns an almost perpetual night. The effect produced by
this gradation of obscurity was intensified by constructional artifices. The
different parts of the building are not all on the same ground-level, the
pavement rising as the sanctuary is approached, and the rise is concealed
by a few steps placed at intervals. The difference of level in the temple

1 For a description of the various parts of the temple of Khonsû, see Furst-Herms, Arch. de
Égyptienne, pp. 68-73.

2 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Lissington and Daniel Heim.
of Khonsû is not more than five feet three inches, but it is combined with a still more considerable lowering of the height of the road. From the pylon to the wall at the further end the height decreases as we go on; the peristyle is more lofty than the hypostyle hall, this again is higher than the sanctuary, and the hall of columns, and the chamber beyond it drops still further in altitude.\footnote{1}

Karnak is an exception to this rule; this temple had in the course of centuries undergone so many restorations and additions, that it formed a collection of buildings rather than a single edifice. It might have been regarded, as early as the close of the Theban empire, as a kind of museum, in which every century and every period of art, from the XII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty downwards, had left its distinctive mark.\footnote{2} All the resources of architecture had been brought into requisition during this period to vary, at the will of each sovereign, the arrangement and the general effect of the component parts. Columns with sixteen sides stand in the vicinity of square pillars,

\footnote{1}{This is "the law of progressive diminution of height" of Pasare-Ennurus, \textit{Revue de l'Arc}, vol. 1, pp. 393, 394.}
\footnote{2}{A on the plan denotes the XII\textsuperscript{th} dynasty temple (cf. \textit{Deans of Civilisation}, pp. 366, 367); B is the great hypostyle hall of Seti I. and Ramess II, (see supra, \textit{p. 418}, note 5); C the temple of Ramess III.}
and lotiform capitals alternate with those of the bell-shape; attempts were even made to introduce new types altogether. The architect who built at the back of the sanctuary what is now known as the colonnade of Thutmose III, attempted to invert the bell-shaped capital; the bell was turned downwards, and the neck attached to the plinth, while the mouth rested on the top of the shaft. This awkward arrangement did not meet with favour, for we find it nowhere repeated; other artists, however, with better taste, sought at this time to apply the flowers symbolical of Upper and Lower Egypt to the decorations of the shafts. In front of the sanctuary of Karnak two pillars are still standing which have on them in relief representations, respectively of the full-blown lotus and the papyrus. A building composed of so many incongruous elements required frequent restoration—a wall which had been undermined by water needed strengthening, a pylon displaying cracks claimed attention, some unsafe colonnade, or a colossal which had been injured by the fall of a cornice, required shortening up—so that no sooner had the corps de repairs completed their work in one part, than they had to begin again elsewhere. The revenues of Amon must, indeed, have been enormous to have borne the continual


2 Drawn by Pouchot, Gaudin, from a photograph by Beato.

* For further remarks on these pillars, usually called stone pillars, of Jollivet-Devilliers, Description du palais, des temples, etc., in the Description de l'Égypte, vol. II, pl. 92; Blacas, Sur l'origine des colonnes-pylônes en Égypte, p. 37, 28; Pruner-Curiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. I, p. 348.
dram occasioned by restoration, and the resources of the gods would soon have been exhausted had not foreign wars continued to furnish him during several centuries with all or more than he needed. The gods had suffered severely in the troubles times which had followed the reign of Seti II, and it required all the generosity of Ramses III. to compensate them for the losses they had sustained during the anarchy under Aria. The spoil taken from the Libyans, from the Peoples of the Sea, and from the Hittites had flowed into the sacred treasuries, while the able administration of the sovereign had done the rest, so that on the accession of Ramses IV. the temples were in a more prosperous state than ever. They hold as their own property 169 towns, nine of which were in Syria and Ethiopia; they possessed 113,433 slaves of both sexes, 493,386 head of cattle, 1,071,780 acres of land, 514 vineyards and orchards, 88 barks and sea-going vessels, 336 kilograms of gold both in ingots and wrought, 2,003,964 grammes of silver, besides quantities of copper and precious stones, and hundreds of storehouses in which they kept corn, oil, wine, honey, and preserved meats—the prelude of their domains. Two examples will suffice to show the extent of this latter item: the live geese reached the number of 680,714, and the salt or smoked fish of 494,800. Amon claimed the giant share of this enormous total, and three-fourths of it in more were reserved for his use, namely—36,486 slaves, 421,582 head of cattle, 896,168 acres of cornland, 433 vineyards and orchards, and 58 Egyptian towns. The nine foreign towns all belonged to him, and one of them contained the temple in which he was worshipped by the Syrians whenever they came to pay their tribute to the king’s representatives; it was but just that his patrimony should surpass that of his conquerors, since the conquering Pharaohs owed their success to him, who, without the co-operation of the other feudal deities, had lavished victories upon them. His domain was at least five times more considerable than that of Hā of Heliopolis, and ten times greater than that of the Memphite Pharaoh, and yet of old, in the earlier times of history.

1 Cf. what is said of the Syrian Aria, supra, 446, 445.
2 The donations of Ramses III., or rather the total of his donations made to the gods by the predecessors of this Pharaoh, and confirmed and augmented by him, are enumerated at length in the Great Harris Papyrus, Harris’s edit., pl. 19–46. This information was first brought to notice by Kinnick, Egyptian and Egyptian Life, etc., pp. 445, 446, and subsequently by Ramsay, Die Ägyptologie, pp. 331–374.
5 The Great Harris Papyrus, Harris’s edit., pl. 2, 5, 1–2; cf. E. New, The Book of the Dead, etc., p. 469.
Ra and Ptah were reckoned the wealthiest of the Egyptian gods. It is easy to understand the influence which a god thus endowed with the goods of this world exercised over men in an age when the national wars had the same consequences for the immortals as for their worshippers, and when the defeat of a people was regarded as a proof of the inferiority of its patron gods. The most victorious divinity became necessarily the wealthiest, before whom all other deities bowed, and whom they, as well as their subjects, were obliged to serve.

So powerful a god as Amun had but few obstacles to surmount before becoming the national deity; indeed, he was practically the foremost of the gods during the Ramesside period, and was generally acknowledged as Egypt’s representative by all foreign nations. His priests shared in the prestige he enjoyed, and their influence in state affairs increased proportionately with his power. The chief of their hierarchy, however, did not bear the high titles which in ancient times distinguished those of Memphis and Heliopolis; he was content with the humble appellation of first prophet of Amun. He had for several generations been nominated by the sovereign, but he was generally chosen from the families attached hereditarily or otherwise to the temple of Karnak, and must previously have passed through every grade of the priestly hierarchy. Those who aspired to this honour had to graduate as “divine fathers” this was the first step in the initiation, and one at which many were content to remain, but the more ambitious or favoured advanced by successive stages to the dignity of third, and then of second, prophet before attaining to the highest rank.

The Pharaohs of the XIXth dynasty jealously supervised the promotions made in the Theban temples, and saw that none was elected except him who was devoted to their interests—such as, for example, Baûkânû-khonsu and Unnofer under

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1 From the XVIIIth dynasty, at least, the first prophet of Amun had taken the precedence of the high priests of Heliopolis and Memphis as is proved by the position he occupied in the Egyptian hierarchy in the Hand-Appen.; cf. Maspero, Studia Egyptiaca, vol. ii., pp. 33-35, and Harris, Die Ägyptologen, pp. 217, 218.

2 Maspero, Studia Egyptiaca, vol. ii., pp. 33-35, where the first and the consequences entailed by it are pointed out for the first time.

3 What we know on this subject has been brought to light mainly by the inscriptions on the columns of Hâbakû-khonsu at Memphis, published and commented on by Devillers, Monuments historiques et Archéologiques de Nouvelles et Archéologie principale de Thèbes, contiguité de Naos, in the Memórias do Instituto Egyptian, vol. i., pp. 221-224, and by Kees, Des Héritiers et des Francs-maçons, etc. (Biblio., etc., in the Zeitschrift der Marburg. Gesellschaft, 1872). Burney at first thought, that the personage thus chosen was subjected to frequent re-elections (Revues de Minéral., vol. i., p. 26), his opinion has been confirmed by A. Lacau, De l’Histoire de la descendance du beau-dieu d’Amon, in the Annales de l’Institut Archéologique, 1878, vol. ii.; cf. Kees, Égyptien et Égyptiennes, 1877, vol. ii., and Burney, Die Ägyptologen, pp. 217-218. The various inscriptions of Baûkânû show us that he was first third, then second prophet of Amun, before being raised to the primacy in the reign of Hâbakû.
Rameses II. Baûkâni-khonsû distinguished himself by his administrative qualities: if he did not actually make the plans for the hypostyle hall at Karnak, he appears at least to have superintended its execution and decoration. He finished the great pylon, erected the obelisks and gateways, built the baris or vessel of the god, and found a further field for his activity on the opposite bank of the Nile, where he helped to complete both the chapel at Qurneh and also the Ramessaeum. Rameses II. had always been able to make his authority felt by the high priests who succeeded Baûkâni-khonsû, but the Pharaohs who followed him did not hold the reins with such a strong hand. As early as the reigns of Mosephah and Seti II., the first prophets, Raî and Ramâ, claimed the right of building at Karnak for their own purposes, and inscribed on the walls long inscriptions in which their own panegyrics took precedence of that of the sovereign; they even aspired to a religious hegemony, and declared themselves to be the "chief of all the prophets of the gods of the South and North."* We do not know what became of them during the usurpation of Atiâph, but Nakhû-rameses, son of Mirbisstôt, who filled the office during the reign of Rameses III., revived these ambitious projects as soon as the state of Egypt appeared to favour them. The king, however pious he might be, was not inclined to yield up any of his authority, even though it were to the earthly delegate of the divinity whom he reverenced before all others; the sons of the Pharaoh were, however, more accommodating, and Nakhû-rameses played his part so well that he succeeded in obtaining from them the reversion of the high priesthood for his son Amenôthes. The priestly office, from having been elective, was by this stroke suddenly made hereditary in the family.† The kings preserved, it is true, the privilege of confirming the new appointment, and the nominee was not considered properly qualified until he had received his investiture from the sovereign.‡ Practically the Pharaohs lost the power of choosing one among the sons of the deceased pontif; they were forced to enthrone the eldest of his survivors, and legalise his succession by their approbation, even when they would have preferred another. It was thus that a dynasty of royal High Priests came to be established at Thèbes side by side with the royal dynasty of the Pharaohs.

The new priestly dynasty was not long in making its power felt in Thèbes.

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* Cumaî, is known to us by a monument in the Naples Museum, published by V. B. di A. Monumenti del Museo Egitto di Napoli, pp. 25, 26, and pl. iv. b; cf. Bausen, Gesch. Ägyptens, p. 543.
§ This is proved by the Bausen site; now in the Louvre; it is there stated how the high priest Nakhût-khonsû received his investiture from the Theban king (Bausen, Reliques de Monnaies, vol. i. pl. xxvi. pp. 49, 50, and Rene auch der Genese, Oslo III., pl. vii. pp. 85, 86).
Nakhtū-ramses and Amenòthes lived to a great age—from the reign of Ramses III. to that of Ramses X., at the least; they witnessed the accession of nine successive Pharaohs, and the unusual length of their pontificates no doubt increased the already extraordinary prestige which they enjoyed throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. It seemed as if the god delighted to prolong the lives of his representatives beyond the ordinary limits, while shortening those of the temporal sovereigns. When the reigns of the Pharaohs began once more to reach their normal length, the authority of Amenòthes had become so firmly established that no human power could withstand it, and the later Ramessides were merely a set of puppet kings who were ruled by him and his successors. Not only was there a cessation of foreign expeditions, but the Delta, Memphis, and Ethiopia were alike neglected, and the only activity displayed by these Pharaohs, as far as we can gather from their monuments, was confined to the service of Amon and Khonsû at Thebes. The lack of energy and independence in these sovereigns may not, however, be altogether attributable to their feebleness of character; it is possible that they would gladly have entered on a career of conquest had they possessed the means. It is always a perilous matter to allow the resources of a country to fall into the hands of a priesthood, and to place its military forces at the same time in the hands of the chief religious authority. The warrior Pharaohs had always had at their disposal the spoils obtained from foreign nations to make up the deficit which their constant gifts to the temples were making in the treasury. The sons of Ramses III., on the other hand, had suspended all military efforts, without, however, lessening their lavish gifts to the gods, and they must, in the absence of the spoils of war, have drawn to a considerable extent upon the ordinary resources of the country; their successors therefore found the treasury impoverished, and they would have been entirely at a loss for money had they attempted to renew the campaigns or continue the architectural work of their forefathers. The priests of Amon had not as yet suffered materially from this diminution of revenue, for they possessed property throughout the length and breadth of Egypt, but they were obliged to restrict their expenditure, and employ the sums formerly used for the enlarging of the temples on the maintenance of their own body. Meanwhile public works had been almost everywhere suspended; administrative discipline became relaxed, and disturbances, with which the police were unable to cope, were increasing in all the important towns. Nothing is more indicative of the state to which Egypt was reduced, under the combined influence of the

1 For the complete list of the double series of kings and high priests, see Maspero, Les Monastéries de Deir el-Bahari, in the Monuments de la Mission de Caire, vol. i., p. 622, et seq.

2 En. Mecan, Gesch. des Egypt., p. 322, et seq., where the effect of the rapid increase of the holding of land by the priesthood is forcibly depicted.
priesthood and the Ramessides, than the thefts and pillaging of which the Theban necropolis was then the daily scene. The robbers no longer confined themselves to plundering the tombs of private persons; they attacked the royal burying-places, and their depredations were carried on for years before they were discovered. In the reign of Ramesses IX., an inquiry, set on foot by Amenothes, revealed the fact that the tomb of Sorkum-saui I. and his wife, Queen Nakhkh, had been rifled, that those of Amenothes L. and of Anti IV. had been entered by tunnelling, and that some dozen other royal tombs in the cemetery of Draa abu'l Naggah were threatened. The severe means taken to suppress the evil were not, however, successful; the pillagings soon began afresh, and the reigns of the last three Ramessides were marked by a struggle between the robbers and the authorities, in which the latter did not always come off triumphant. A system of repeated inspections secured the valley of Bihan el-Moluk from marauders, but elsewhere the measures of defence employed were unavailing, and the necropolis was given over to pillage, although both Amenothes and Hrihor had used every effort to protect it. Hrihor appears to have succeeded immediately after Amenothes, and his accession to the pontificate gave his family a still more exalted


2 Printed by Tannier-Guillain, from Laurens, lvi. 369, No. 744; cf. Cairenez, Musée de l'Egypte, edited. I. ii. and Recueil, Musée des Beaux-Arts, pls. xii. 87 and xvi. 11. 4 Griffith which are evidences of those inspections have been drawn on the walls of several royal tombs by the inspectors. Others have been found on several of the collars discovered at Deir el-Bahari, e.g. those of Seti I. and Ramesses III. cf. Maspero, Les Monuments de Deir el-Bahari, in the Memoria de la Mission Francaise, vol. i., pp. 335, 357: the most eminent belong to the pontificate of Hrihor, others belong to the XXIst dynasty.
position in the country. As his wife Normit was of royal blood, he assumed titles and functions to which his father and grandfather had made no claim. He became the "Royal Son" of Ethiopia and commander-in-chief of the national and foreign troops; he engraved his name upon the monuments he decorated, side by side with that of Ramses XII.; in short, he possessed all the characteristics of a Pharaoh except the crown and the royal protocol. A century scarcely had elapsed since the abdication of Ramses III., and now Thebes and the whole of Egypt owned two masters: one the embodiment of the ancient line, but a mere nominal king; the other the representative of Amon, and the actual ruler of the country.

What then happened when the last Ramses who bore the kingly title was gathered to his fathers? The royal lists record the accession after his death of a new dynasty of Taumtic origin, whose founder was Nabendar or Smendes; but, on the other hand, we gather from the Theban monuments that the crown was seized by Hrhor, who reigned over the southern provinces contemporaneously with Smendes. Hrhor boldly assumed as prenomen his title of "First Prophet of Amon," and his authority was acknowledged by Ethiopia, over which he was viceroy, as well as by the nomes forming the temporal domain of the high priests. The latter had acquired gradually, either by marriage or inheritance, fresh territory for the god, in the lands of the princes of Nubia, Koptos, Akhmim, and Abydos, besides the domains of some half-dozen

For the Queen Normit, and for the position which she occupied among the members of the royal family, cf. Marzouq, "Les Monuments coptes de Bubé-Babary," in the Monuments de la Mission Francaise, vol. 1, pp. 618-626, 677, 678; her funerary and cultus are described on pp. 369, 370 of the same work.


2. Dessay par Francis Grégoire, from CAHIERS DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'EGYPTE ET DE LA NUBIE, pl. xxxiv.; KOSCHEL, Monumenti Sakkari, pl. 2, No. 40; Lepsius, Denkm., ill. 324, No. 73.

3. Several attempts have been made to reconcile the testimony of the monuments with that of Manetho; by Lassone, "Le recueil des XXI. de la XXII. dynastie, " in the Zeitschrift, 1882, pp. 195-217, 232-233; by K. L., "Étude sur un sceau égyptien appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale," pp. 154, 195-208; by Barden, "Histoire d'Egypte," pp. 210-211, 184, 284; by WACKERNAGEL, "Les Monuments égyptiens," pp. 218-234; the subject is fully discussed in MANZOUQ, Les Monuments coptes, etc. in the Monuments de la Mission Francaise, vol. 1, p. 668, et seq. Some of the conclusions suggested in this last-mentioned work have since had to be modified.
feudal houses who, from force of circumstances, had become sacerdotal families; the extinction of the direct line of Ramessides now secured the High Priests the possession of Thebes itself, and of all the lands within the southern provinces which were the appanage of the crown. They thus, in one way or another, became the exclusive masters of the southern half of the Nile valley, from Elephantine to Sint; beyond Sint also they had managed to acquire suzerainty over the town of Khobit, and the territory belonging to it formed an isolated border province in the midst of the independent baronies. The representative of the dynasty reigning at Tanis held the remainder of Egypt from Sint to the Mediterranean—the half belonging to the Memphite Phtah and the Hallopeitan Ra, as opposed to that assigned to Amon. The origin of this Tanite sovereign is uncertain, but it would appear that he was of more exalted rank than his rival in the south. The official chronicle of events was marked by the years of his reign, and the chief acts of the government were carried out in his name even in the Theba. Repeated inundations had caused the ruin of part of the temple of Karnak, and it was by the order and under the auspices of this prince that all the resources of the country were employed to accomplish the much-needed restoration. It would have been impossible for him to have exercised any authority over so rich and powerful a personage as Hihor had he not possessed rights to the crown, before which even the high priests of Amon were obliged to bow, and hence it has been supposed that he was a descendant of Ramses II. The descendants of this sovereign were doubtless divided into at least two branches, one of which had just become extinct, leaving no nearer heir than Hihor, while another, of which there were many ramifications, had settled in the Delta. The majority of these descendants had become mingled with the general population, and had sunk to the condition of private individuals; they had, however, carefully preserved the tradition of their origin, and added proudly to their name the qualification of royal son of Ramses. They were degenerate scions of the Ramessides, and had neither the features

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9 The extent of the principality of Thebes under the high priest has been determined by means of the sacerdotal titles of the Theban princes, by Maucon, Les Muses regales de Dób el-Bahari, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. 4, pp. 712-718.

9 I have pointed out that the years of the reign mentioned in the inscriptions of the high priest and the kings of the saucer of him must be identified with their successors, the kings of Tanis (Maucon, op. cit., in the Mémoires, vol. 1, p. 723, et seq.). Hihor alone seems to have been an exception, since to him are attributed the dates inscribed in the name of the King Narem M. Darcey, however, will not admit this, and asserts that the Smusa was a Tanite sovereign who must not be identified with Hihor, and must be placed at least 2 or 3 generations later than the last of the Ramessides (Contribution à l'étude de la XXIe Époque Egyptienne, p. 8).

nor the energy of their ancestor. One of them, Zedptah-kaukhi, whose mummy was found at Deir el-Bahari, appears to have been tall and vigorous, but he lacked the haughty refinement which characterizes those of Seti I. and Ramses II., and the features are heavy and coarse, having a vulgar, commonplace expression. It seems probable that one branch of the family, endowed with greater capability than the rest, was settled at Tanis, where Sesostris had, as we have seen, resided for many years; Smenes was the first of this branch to ascend the throne. The remembrance of his remote ancestor, Ramses II., which was still treasured up in the city he had completely rebuilt, as well as in the Delta into which he had infused new life, was doubtless of no small service in securing the crown for his descendant, when, the line of the Theban kings having come to an end, the Tanites put in their claim to the succession. We are unable to discover if war broke out between the two competitors, or if they arrived at an agreement without a struggle; but, at all events, we may assume that, having divided Egypt between them, neither of them felt himself strong enough to overcome his rival, and contented himself with the possession of half the empire, since he could not possess it in its entirety. We may fairly believe that Smenes had the greater right to the throne, and, above all, the more efficient army of the two, since, had it been otherwise, Hrihor would never have consented to yield him the priority.

The unity of Egypt was, to outward appearances, preserved, through the nominal possession by Smenes of the suzerainty; but, as a matter of fact, it had ceased to exist, and the fiction of the two kingdoms had become a reality for the first time within the range of history. Henceforward there were two Egyptians, governed by different constitutions and from widely remote centres. Thebians Egypt was, before all things, a community recognizing a theocratic government, in which the kingly office was merged in that of the high priest. Separated from Asia by the length of the Delta, it turned its attention, like the Pharaohs

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1 For these passages and for the various hypotheses of which they have been the subject, see Brugsch (Geographie Egypte, p. 690); Hauck (Rameses Monumenten, Herzei Homamah, in the Zeitschrift, 1879, p. 154, et seq.); Liodth (La Cité Egyptienne, p. 489); P. Marquet, Les Monastères, etc., in the Memoirs de la Mission de France, vol. 2, pp. 718-723.

2 Drawn by Bonnier, from the photograph by Lauer; cf. Marquet, Les Monastères de Petra al-Bahari, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. 1, pp. 572-574.
of the VIth and XIIth dynasties, to Ethiopia, and owing to its distance from the Mediterranean, and from the new civilization developed on its shores, it became more and more isolated, till at length it was reduced to a purely African state. Northern Egypt, on the contrary, maintained contact with European and Asiatic nations; it took an interest in their future, it borrowed from them to a certain extent whatever struck it as being useful or beautiful, and when the occasion presented itself, it acted in concert with the Mediterranean powers. There was an almost constant struggle between these two divisions of the empire, at times breaking out into an open rupture, to end as often in a temporary re-establishment of unity. At one time Ethiopia would succeed in annexing Egypt, and again Egypt would seize some part of Ethiopia; but the settlement of affairs was never final, and the conflicting elements, brought with difficulty into harmony, relapsed into their usual condition at the end of a few years. A kingdom thus divided against itself could never succeed in maintaining its authority over those provinces which, even in the heyday of its power, had proved impatient of its yoke. Asia was associated henceforward in the minds of the Egyptians with painful memories of thwarted ambitions, rather than as offering a field for present conquest. They were pursued by the memories of their former triumphs, and the very monuments of their cities recalled what they were anxious to forget. Wherever they looked within their towns they encountered the representation of some Asiatic scene; they read the names of the cities of Syria on the walls of their temples; they saw depicted on them its princes and its armies, whose defeat was recorded by the inscriptions as well as the tribute which they had been forced to pay. The sense of their own weakness prevented the Egyptians from passing from useless regrets to action; when, however, one or other of the Pharaohs felt sufficiently safe on the throne to carry his troops afarfield, he was always attracted to Syria, and crossed her frontiers, often, alas! merely to encounter defeat.
THE RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.


The continuance of Egyptian influence over Syria, utilization after the death of Ramses III.—Egyptian myths in Phoenicia: Osiris and Isis at Byblos—Horus, That, and the origin of the Egyptian alphabet—The trade of Arad and the Kaba-Heras; Egyptian designs in Phoenician glass and golden-plate work—Commerce with Egypt; the withdrawal of Phoenician colonists in the Tyrian Sea and the Ashmune in Cyprus; maritime expeditions in the Western Mediterranean.


The dynasty of Tukulti-Ninurta IV: his disputes with Elam, his defeat by Assur-babi—The legend of the first Assyrian empire, Rimus and Semiramis—The Assyrians and their political constitution: the Herimeters, the king and his divine character, his husband and his sons—The Assyrian army, the infantry and chariots, the crossing of rivers, made of
marched in the plains and in the mountain districts—Campaigns, battles, sieges; cruelty shown to the conquered, the destruction of towns and the removal of the inhabitants, the ephemeral character of the Assyrian conquests.

Tiglath-pileser I. His campaign against the Medes; his conquest of Karkh and of the region of the Zab. The papyri Amada, Abydhane, and their utilization; art and writing in the old Hittite states. Tiglath-pileser I. in Nabi and in Syria. His triumphal victory at Selamah-Ne. His buildings, his hunt, his conquest of Babylon. Merodach-baladan and the close of the Dynastic dynasty. Assur-bani and Senaqrupamdu III.; the decline of Assyria; Syria without foreign rule; the continuity of the Khatti to give unity to the country.
CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

Phoenicia and the northern nations after the death of Ramses III.—The first Assyrian empire: Tiglath-pileser I.—The Aramaeans and the Khatti.

The cessation of Egyptian authority over countries in which it had so long prevailed did not at once do away with the deep impression which it had made upon their constitution and customs. While the nobles and citizens of Thebes were adopting the imported worship of Baal and Astarté, and were introducing into the spoken and written language words borrowed from Semitic speech, the Syrians, on the other hand, were not unresponsive to the influence of their conquerors. They had applied themselves zealously to the study of Egyptian arts, industry, and religion, and had borrowed from these as much, at least, as they had lent to the dwellers on the Nile. The ancient Babylonian foundation of their civilization was not, indeed, seriously modified, but it was covered

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2. See what is said on this subject on pp. 103, 104 of the present work.
over, so to speak, with an African veneer which varied in depth according to the locality. Phoenicia especially assumed and retained this foreign exterior. Its merchants, accustomed to establish themselves for lengthened periods in the principal trade-centres on the Nile, had become imbued therein with something of the religious ideas and customs of the land, and on returning to their own country had imported these with them and propagated them in their neighbourhood. They were not content with other household utensils, furniture, and jewels than those to which they had been accustomed on the Nile, and even the Phoenician gods seemed to be subject to this appropriating mania, for they came to be recognised in the indigenous deities of the Saïd and the Delta. There was, at the outset, no trait in the character of Baalat by which she could be assimilated to Isis or Hathor; she was fierce, warlike, and licentious, and wept for her lover, while the Egyptian goddessesses were accustomed to shed tears for their husbands only. It was this element of a common grief, however, which served to associate the Phoenician and Egyptian goddesses, and to produce at length a strange blending of their persons and the legends concerning them: the lady of Byblos ended in becoming an Isis or a Hathor, and in playing the part assigned to the latter in the Osirian drama. This may have been occasioned by her city having maintained closer relationships with the southern towns with Bâto and Mendes, or by her priests having come to recognise a fundamental agreement between their theology and that of Egypt. In any case, it was at Byblos that the most marked and numerous, as well as the most ancient, examples of borrowing from the religions of the Nile were to be found. The theologians of Byblos imagined that the coffin of Osiris, after it had been thrown into the sea by Typhon, had been thrown up on the land somewhere

1 Most of the views put forth in this part of the chapter are based on posterior and not contemporary data. As to the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian influences on the Phoenician art, see PARRO, Matière Historique d'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. III. pp. 191-223, et seq.; 241, et seq., 467, et seq., etc. The most ancient monuments which give evidence of it show it in such a complete state that we may fairly ascribe it to some antiquities earlier; that is, to the time when Egypt still ruled in Syria, the period of the XIXth and even the XVIIIth dynasty.

2 As to the sanctuaries of Ashtart and other Phoenician deities, and consequently the presumed establishment of foreign colonies in Egyptian cities, see what is said on pp. 463, 464 of the present work.

3 See on the Baalat of Byblos, p. 179, et seq., of the present work.


5 The assimilation must have been ancient, since the Egyptians of the Twelfth dynasty already accepted Baalat as the Hathor of Byblos; see supra, p. 174, n. 8.
near their city at the foot of a tamarisk, and that this tree, in its rapid growth, had gradually enfolded within its trunk the body and its case. King Mal-kander cut it down in order to use it as a support for the roof of his palace: a marvellous perfume rising from it filled the apartments, and it was not long before the prodigy was bruited abroad. Isis, who was travelling through the world in quest of her husband, heard of it, and at once realised its meaning. Clad in rags and weeping, she sat down by the well whither the women of Byblos were accustomed to come every morning and evening to draw water, and, being interrogated by them, refused to reply; but when the maids of Queen Astarté approached in their turn, they were received by the goddess in the most amiable manner—Isis deigning even to plait their hair, and to communicate to them the odour of myrrh with which she herself was impregnated. Their mistress came to see the stranger who had thus treated her servants, took her into her service, and confided to her the care of her lately born son. Isis became attached to the child, adopted it for her own, after the Egyptian manner, by inserting her finger in its mouth; and having passed it through the fire during the night in order to consume away slowly anything of a perishable nature in its body, metamorphosed herself into a swallow, and flew around the miraculous pillar uttering plaintive cries. Astarté came upon her once while she was bathing the child in the flame, and broke by her shrieks of fright the charm of immortality. Isis was only able to reassure her by revealing her name and the object of her presence there. She opened the mysterious tree-trunk, anointed it with essences, and wrapping it in precious cloths, transmitted it to the priests of Byblos, who deposited it respectfully in their temple; she put the coffin which it contained on board ship, and brought it, after many adventures, into Egypt. Another tradition asserts, however, that Osiris never found his way back to his country; he was buried at Byblos, this tradition maintained, and it was in his honour that the festivals attributed by the vulgar to the young Adonis were really celebrated. A marvellous fact seemed to support this view. Every year a head of papyrus, thrown into the sea at some unknown point of the Delta, was carried for six days along the Syrian coast, buffeted by winds and waves; and on the seventh

Astarté is the name taken by the queen in the Phœnician version; the Egyptian counterpart of the same narrative substituted for it Nebamun at Sais; that is to say, the two principal forms of Hathor—the Hermopolitan Nebamun and the Heliopolitan Isis (see J. D. W. D. C., p. 114); viz. 156 of the "Arrétrygés de l'Edèm de l'Homme, etc." of Flacourt ("Élégies Morales," pp. 213, 214, 215); ibid. It would appear from the presence of those lines that there must have been in Phœnicia two versions of the Phœnician adventures of Isis—the one of Hermopolitan and the other of Heliopolitan origin.

Upon this detail in the legend, which the author of De Jode et Carde, etc., did not understand (p. 23, edit. Paris, p. 235), see Nagy, pp. 487, 488; ibid., p. 263, for "putting her finger in the mouth, was following the ordinary rite of adoption.

This history is contained in shape, xx.—xxi. of De Jode et Carde (edit. Paris, pp. 35—38); cf., with the explanatory reserve, Muraux, De Plutonie, pp. 293—295.
was thrown up at Byblos, where the priests received it and exhibited it solemnly to the people. The details of these different stories are not in every case very ancient, but the first fact in them carries us back to the time when Byblos had accepted the sovereignty of the Theban dynasties, and was maintaining daily commercial and political relations with the inhabitants of the Nile valley. The city proclaimed Horus to be a great god. El-Kronos allied himself with Osiris as well as with Adonis: Isis and Baalat became blended together at their first encounter, and the respective peoples made an exchange of their deities with the same light-heartedness as they displayed in trafficking with the products of their soil or their industry.

After Osiris, the Ibis Thoth was the most important among the deities who had emigrated to Asia. He was too closely connected with the Osiran cycle to be forgotten by the Phoenicians after they had adopted his companions. We are ignorant of the particular divinity with whom he was identified, or would be the more readily associated from some similarity in the pronunciation of his name: we know only that he still preserved in

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1. De Div. CDXLIV. § 7. In the later Roman period it was letters announcing the resurrection of Apollo-Osiris that the Alexandrian women read into the sea, and these were carried by the current as far as Byblos. See on this subject the commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria and Procopius of Caesarea, chap. XVIII, of SSalmon.

2. It is worthy of note that Philo gives to the divinity with the Egyptian name Taumut the part in the ancient history of Phoenicia of having edited the mythological writings put in order by Sandemithmikhe at a very early epoch (Pug. 1, 13). In Miletus-Dionysius, Fragmente Historiarum Graecorurn, vol. III, pp. 292, 294.

3. This is confirmed by one of the names inscribed on the Tel el-Mutesellim tablets as being that of a governor of Byblos under Amasis IV. This name was koibou (Bullavatis, Ateanis, in the Proceedings of the British Arch. Soc., 1890-91, vol. XXXII, pp. 139, 139). At the same time (McCallum, La Correspondence d’Anthropos III, etc., in the Journal Asiatique, 1891, vol. XVIII, pp. 171, 172), and finally (M. S. H. S. in the Proceedings of the British Arch. Soc., 1890-91, vol. XXXII, pp. 139, 139), the meaning of this is, “Murus is the great god,” or “Horus is the great god.” Murus is the name which we find in the inscription of a Phoenician king. Macdonald, “Murus is king” (cf. supra, p. 255, note 1). On an Arabian cylinder in the British Museum, representing a god in Assyrian dress, fighting with two enemies, there is the inscription “Horus,” Harmakhis (M. E. V. O., Reliquiæ d’Archæologiæ Orientalis, p. 327, and p. 34, No. 34).

4. Plutarch-Guest, from an image carved on the Tel el-Mutesellim tablets as being that of a governor of Byblos under Amasis IV. This name was koibou (Bullavatis, Ateanis, in the Proceedings of the British Arch. Soc., 1890-91, vol. XXXII, pp. 139, 139). At the same time (McCallum, La Correspondence d’Anthropos III, etc., in the Journal Asiatique, 1891, vol. XVIII, pp. 171, 172), and finally (M. S. H. S. in the Proceedings of the British Arch. Soc., 1890-91, vol. XXXII, pp. 139, 139), the meaning of this is, “Murus is the great god,” or “Horus is the great god.” Murus is the name which we find in the inscription of a Phoenician king. Macdonald, “Murus is king” (cf. supra, p. 255, note 1). On an Arabian cylinder in the British Museum, representing a god in Assyrian dress, fighting with two enemies, there is the inscription “Horus,” Harmakhis (M. E. V. O., Reliquiæ d’Archæologiæ Orientalis, p. 327, and p. 34, No. 34).
his new country all the power of his voice and all the subtilty of his mind. He occupied there also the position of scribe and enchanter, as he had done at Thebes, Memphis, Thinis, and before the chief of each Heliopolitan Ennead. He became the usual adviser of El-Kronos at Byblos, as he had been of Osiris and Horus; he composed charms for him, and formulæ which increased the warlike zeal of his partisans; he prescribed the form and insignia of the god and of his attendant deities, and came finally to be considered as the inventor of letters. The speech, indeed, in which he became a naturalised Phoenician coincides approximately with a fundamental revolution in the art of writing—that in which a simple and rapid stenography was substituted for the complicated and tedious systems with which the empires of the ancient world had been content from their origin.

Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arvad, had employed up to this period the most intricate of these systems. Like most of the civilized nations of Western Asia, they had conducted their diplomatic and commercial correspondence in the cuneiform character impressed upon clay tablets. Their kings had had recourse to a Babylonian model for communicating to the Amenhotep Pharaoh the expression of their wishes or their loyalty; we now behold them, after an interval of four hundred years and more—during which we have no examples of their monuments—possessed of a short and commodious script; without the encumbrances of ideograms, determinatives, polyphony and syllabic sounds, such as had fettered the Egyptian and Chaldaean scribes, in spite of their cleverness in dealing with them. Phonetic articulations were ultimately resolved into twenty-two sounds, to each of which a special sign was attached, which collectively took the place of the hundreds or thousands of signs formerly required. This was an alphabet, the first in point of time, but so ingenious and so pliable that the majority of ancient and modern nations have found it able to supply all their

1 The part of counsellor which Thoth played in connexion with the god of Byblos was described at some length in the writings attributed to Sankhmanthes (Parker and Yule, Proc. 3, 19-27, in Miiller-Dierer, Frag. Hist. Græc., vol. iii. pp. 357-369).

2 Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after an intaglio engraved in M. de Vogüé, Mémoires de l'Archéologia Orientale, t. i. No. 4, pp. 106-109.

3 The inscription on the bronze cup dedicated to the Deity of the Lebanon, and reproduced on the next page (374), goes back probably to the time of Hiram I, i.e., the XXIst century before our era (Curtius, Lexicographum Semiticum, vol. i. p. 190; the reasons advanced by Winckler (Geschichte Israels, vol. i. p. 129) for dating it in the time of Hiram II, have not been fully accepted up to the present. By placing the introduction of the alphabet somewhere between Amenhotep IV in the XXIst and Hiram I in the XIXth century before our era, and by taking the middle date between them, say the accession of the XXIst dynasty towards the year 1100 B.C. for its invention or adoption, we cannot go far wrong one way or the other.
needs—Greeks and Europeans of the western Mediterranean on the one hand, and Semites of all kinds, Persians and Hindus on the other. It must have originated between the end of the XVIII\textsuperscript{a} and the beginning of the XXI\textsuperscript{a} dynasties, and the existence of Pharaonic rule in Phoenicia during this period has led more than one modern scholar to assume that it developed under Egyptian influence.\textsuperscript{3} Some affirm that it is traceable directly to the hieroglyphics, while others seek for some intermediary in the shape of a cursive script, and find this in the Hieratic writing, which contains, they maintain, prototypes of all the Phoenician letters. Tables have been drawn up, showing at a glance the resemblances and differences which appear respectively to justify or condemn their hypothesis. Perhaps the analogies would be more evident and more numerous if we were in possession of inscriptions going back nearer to the date of origin.\textsuperscript{4} As it is, the divergencies are sufficiently striking to

\textsuperscript{3} The hypothesis of an Egyptian origin, suggested casually by Champollion (Lettre à M. Dacier, p. 90), etc. Salvigny, Annales grammaticales de l'Inscription de Rosette, p. 86, & seq., has been fully dealt with by E. de Rouge (Monnaies et Monumens de l'Alphabet Phénicien, read at the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in 1859, published in the Comptes Rendus, 1860, vol. iii. pp. 113-124, and published in 1874 by E. de Rouge). E. de Rouge derives the alphabet from the Hieratic, and his identifications have been accepted by Lenot (Über das Ägyptische Umschreiben von Buchstaben und Ziffern, in the Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, vol. ii. pp. 44-124), by Remy (Remy, Bildung und Entwicklung der Schrift, 1891), by Lachmann (Note sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Antiquité, vol. i. pp. 62-67), and by Isaac Taylor (The Alphabet, vol. i.). History would take it from the Egyptian hieroglyphics directly without the intervention of the Hieratic (Mélanges d'Égyptologie et d'Archeologie, 1855, pp. 168-192). The Egyptian origin, strongly contested at first, has been accepted by the majority of scholars. M. F. C. Ducreux, Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité, pp. 113-132.

\textsuperscript{4} Drawn by Fussman-Guichard, from a hang-maquette in the Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, vol. i. pt. ii. This is the copy of the seal of the Lebanon, mentioned in the preceding page, note 2.

The bolts on the next page (575) contains the principal identifications proposed by E. de Rouge, but varies from it in a few minor points. I derive the Phoenician $x$ from the hieratic $\alpha$ and not from $\alpha$: the form $\alpha$ is that which is used, in fact, to express the Semitic $x$ in the names Mephisto and Gorgon, and a hieratic form in which the ring is reduced to a simple stroke like that of the Phoenician alphabet is common in all Egyptian scripts. The $x$ is also from the $\alpha$, which is easily explained, the Egyptians having but one sign and one sound for the $h$ and of Semitic speech, the hieratics must have taken two hieratic variants to make the two separate letters equivalent to their $u$ and $x$. The $\nu$ appears to me to be derived from the Archais form of the "owl," and not from that with which E. de Rouge identifies it, and which was more in use in Tholian times. I accept, as do others, the assumption that $\nu$ and $\gamma$ are but one sign, differentiated to mark the
lead some scholars to seek the prototype of the alphabet elsewhere—either in Babylon, in Asia Minor, or even in Crete, among those barbarous hieroglyphs which are attributed to the primitive inhabitants of the island. It is no easy matter to get at the truth amid these conflicting theories. Two points only

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Greek Alphabet</th>
<th>Hieroglyphs</th>
<th>Phoenician Alphabet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>𐤁</td>
<td>ל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>𐤂</td>
<td>מ</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>T</td>
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sounded of the sea and the sun; the hieroglyph 𐤁 is, indeed, the equivalent of א, at least in the Thothian period, and answers as well as the latter to the name and sound of the Semitic. The א and the א appear to me to be the same character, although I cannot say whether the former came from the latter or vice versa. I have preferred to use in my comparison the hieratic signs in the manuscripts of the XIXth dynasty, which is the period approximately of the beginning of phonetic writing. The Greek alphabet is given merely to show the values of the Egyptian and Phoenician signs.


2 The identification was proposed by Arthur Evans, Cretan Palaeography and pre-Phoenician Script, pp. 101-105, of the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xiv, pp. 501-512, and accepted by BASCHER,
are indisputable: first, the almost unanimous agreement among writers of classical times in ascribing the first alphabet to the Phoenicians; and second, the Phoenician origin of the Greek, and afterwards of the Latin alphabet which we employ to-day.1

To return to the religion of the Phoenicians: the foreign deities were not content with obtaining a high place in the estimation of priests and people; they acquired such authority over the native gods that they persuaded them to metamorphose themselves almost completely into Egyptian divinities. One finds among the majority of them the emblems commonly used in the Pharaonic temples, sceptres with heads of animals, head-dress like the Pachent, the eurys acaceta, the solar disk, and the winged scarab.2 The lady of Byblos placed the cow's horns upon her head from the moment she became identified with Hathor.3 The Baal of the neighbouring Arvad—probably a form of Rashuf—was still represented as standing upright on his lion in order to traverse the high places: but while, in the monument which has preserved the figure of the god, both lion and mountain are given according to Chaldean tradition, he himself, as the illustration shows, is dressed after the manner of Egypt, in the striped and plaited loin-cloth, wears a large necklace on his neck and bracelets on his arms, and bears upon his head the white mitre with its double plume and the Egyptian uraeus.4 He brandishes in one hand the weapon of the victor, and is on the point of despatching with it a lion, which he has seized by the tail with

Chronique d'Orient, No. 344, pp. 41, 45. He puts reliance on a Cretan tradition, which has been preserved by Diodorus Siculus, p. 1. Paul Lachaud, Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité, vol. 1, pp. 115, 120. — Some ancient as well as certain modern writers, notably Wilckes (Geschichte Israels, vol. 1, pp. 124-125), have repudiated altogether the claim of the Phoenicians to have been the inventors of the alphabet.

1 Perrot-Cuveriez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. 3, p. 120; Nos. 75, 408, 410, et seq.

2 From the testimony of some modern writers, notably Wilckes (Geschichte Israels, vol. 1, p. 1, 2), and the emblems belonging to the former Periæœ collection, reproduced in Perrot-Cuveriez, Histoire de l'Art, etc., vol. 1, p. 77, Nos. 36, and the fragment of a base-relief of the Sabaean epoch, published in Barak, Mission de Pèstah, 1893, p. 179, 180, and Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. 1, p. 2.


4 This monument, which belonged to the Pèstah collection, was found near Amathus, at the place called Nahr-Alhekh (Chevreau-Gaëtan, Mission de Palestine, etc.), in 1894, Fith Report, p. 129.)
the other, after the model of the Pharaonic hunters, 
Amenothès I. and Thutmès III. The lunar 
disk floating above his head leads to him, it is 
true, a Phoenician character, but the winged 
sun of Heliopolis hovering above the 
disk leaves no doubt as to his Egyptian 
ancestors. The worship, too, adhered 
to these metamorphosed gods was as much 
changed as the deities themselves; the 
altars assumed something of the Egyptian 
form, and the tabernacles were turned 
into shrines, which were decorated at 
the top with a concave groove, or with a frieze 
made up of repetitions of the upras. 
Egyptian fashions had influenced even 
the better classes so far as to change even their mode of dealing with the dead, 
of which we find in not a few places clear 
evidence. Travellers arriving in Egypt at 
that period must have been as much 
astonished as the tourist of to-day 
The three heads shown are to like those of the 
Baalim represented on Egyptian monuments 
(see supra, pp. 156, 158), that I have no hesitation in regarding this as a representation of that 
god. He may be compared with the individual 
represented on the small Egyptian stele published 
by Gurner, The God Bel of Damascus II. 
the head-dress of which has the familiar points— 
in this case a serpent—of the Phoenician god.

The Phoenician symbol represents the 
crested snake holding the darkened serpent in 
his arms (CAMERON-GAMMAZ, Mission du Potas- 
that, in Papyri, p. 128, note 1), like the 
symbol preserved in Egypt for the lunar god. 

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from p. 365 of 
Renan's Mission de Phénicie, p. 363.

Remarque, Mission de Phénicie, p. 69, and 
pl. III., where one of the shrines of Amrit is 
reproduced; the scene from crowning it must 
have been the origin of the modern muso, Ain el-Maytak, the "Fountain of Serpents." Of 
the similar specimen pointed out by Renan at Arvad (Izv. 1867, p. 29), at Sidon (ibid., p. 353), and at 
Tyre (ibid., p. 361).

With regard to the Egyptian aspect of the incipit of Adlun, see p. 160, note 5, of the present 
volume. Renan, op. cit., p. 121, et seq., insists upon the resemblance between the Phoenician 
Taribentae and the Egyptian tomb.

This monument was in the Louvre Museum. See p. 104, supra, for another side of the same series. 
Analogous figures of gods or kings holding a lion by the tail are found on various monuments of 

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by the monuments which the Egyptians erected for their dead. The pyramids which met their gaze, as soon as they had reached the apex of the Delta, must have far surpassed their ideas of them, no matter how frequently they may have been told about them, and they must have been at a loss to know why such a number of stones should have been brought together to cover a single corpse. At the foot of these colossal monuments, lying like a pack of hounds asleep round their master, the mastabas of the early dynasties were ranged, half buried under the sand, but still visible, and still visited on certain days by the descendants of their inhabitants, or by priests charged with the duty of keeping them up. Chapels of more recent generations extended as a sort of screen before the ancient tombs, affording examples of the two archaic types combined—the mastaba more or less curtailed in its proportions, and the pyramid with a more or less acute point. The majority of these monuments are no longer in existence, and only one of them has come down to us intact—that which Amenemhet III erected in the Serapeum at Memphis in honour of an Apis which had died in his reign. Phoenicians visiting the Nile valley must have carried back with them to their native country a remembrance of this kind of burying-place, and have suggested it to their architects as a model. One of the cemeteries at Arvad contains a splendid specimen of this imported design. It is a square tower some thirty-

A PHOENICIAN MASTABA AT ARVAD.
TOMBS OF ARVAD AND THE KABIL-HIRAM.

Six feet high; the six lower courses consist of blocks each some sixteen and a half feet long, joined to each other without mortar. The two lowest courses project so as to form a kind of pedestal for the building. The cornice at the top consists of a deep moulding, surmounted by a broad flat band, above which rises the pyramid, which attains a height of nearly thirty feet. It is impossible to deny that it is constructed on a foreign model; it is not a slavish imitation; however, but rather an adaptation upon a rational plan to the conditions of its new home. Its foundations rest on nothing but a mixture of soil and sand impregnated with water, and if vaults had been constructed beneath this, as in Egypt, the body placed there would soon have corrupted away, owing to the infiltration of moisture. The dead bodies were, therefore, placed within the structure above ground, in chambers corresponding to the Egyptian chapel, which were superimposed the one upon the other. The first storey would furnish space for three bodies, and the second would contain twelve, for which as many niches were provided. In the same cemetery we find examples of tombs which the architect has constructed, not after an Egyptian, but a Chaldaean model. A round tower is here substituted for the square structure and a cupola for the pyramid, while the cornice is represented by cruciform markings. The only Egyptian feature about it is the four lions, which seem to support the whole edifice upon their backs. Arvad was, among Phoenician cities, the nearest neighbour

1 Drawn by Foucher-Guillon, from a water-colour by Thubon, reproduced in Rassan, Mission de Thébes, pl. xx.
2 The inhabitants in the neighbourhood call these two monuments the Meqharr or 'Messian.' They have been minutely described by Rassan, op. cit., pp. 78-80, and pls. xxxvii, etc. de Perrier-Cuvelier, Hist. de l'art dans l'Antiquité, vol. iii, pp. 143-155.
to the kingdoms on the Euphrates, and was thus the first to experience either the bruit of an attack or the propagation of fashions and ideas from these countries. In the more southerly region, in the country about Tyre, there are fewer indications of Babylonian influence, and such examples of burying-places for the ruling classes as the Kabir-Hiram and other similar tombs correspond with the mixed mastaba of the Tibeian period. We have the same rectangular base, but the chapel and its crowning pyramid are represented by the sarcophagus itself with its ridged cover. The work is of an unfinished character, and carelessly wrought, but there is a charming simplicity about its lines and a harmony in its proportions which betray an Egyptian influence.

The spirit of imitation which we find in the religion and architecture of Phoenicia is no less displayed in the minor arts, such as goldsmiths' work, sculpture in ivory, engraving on gems, and glass-making. The forms, designs, and colours are all rather those of Egyptian than of Chaldea. The many-hued glass objects, turned out by the manufacturers of the Said in millions, furnished at one time valuable cargoes for the Phenicians; they learned at length to cast and colour copies of these at home, and imitated their Egyptian models.


2 Drawn by Boulard, from a sketch by Thobin, reproduced by Renan, op. cit., pl. xliii.
so successfully that classical antiquity was
often deceived by them. Their engravers,
while still continuing to employ cones
and cylinders of Babylonian form,
borrowed the scarab type also, and
made use of it on the bezils of rings,
the pendants of necklaces, and on
a kind of bracelet made partly for
ornament and partly as a protec-
tive amulet. The influence of the
Egyptian model did not extend,
however, amongst the masses, and
we find, therefore, no evidence of it
in the case of common objects, such as
those of coarse sand or glazed earthen-
ware. Egyptian scarab forms were thus
confined to the rich, and the material
upon which they are found is generally some costly gem, such as cut and
polished agate, onyx, hematite, and lapis-lazuli. The goldsmiths did not
slavishly copy the golden and silver bowls which were imported from the
Delta; they took their inspiration from the principles displayed in the or-
manentation of these objects, but they treated the subjects after their own manner,
grouping them afresh and blending them with new designs. The intrinsic
value of the metal upon which these artistic conceptions had been impressed
led to their destruction, and among the examples which have come down to us
I know of no object which can be traced to the period of the Egyptian con-
quest. It was Theban art for the most part which furnished the Phoenicians
with their designs. These included the lotus, the papyrus, the cow standing
in a thicket and suckling her calf, the sacred bark, and the king threatening with
his uplifted arm the crowd of conquered foes who lie prostrate before him.
The king's double often accompanied him on some of the original objects, impassive
and armed with the banner bearing the name of Horus. The Phoenician artist
modified this figure, which in its original form did not satisfy his ideas of

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1 Glass manufacture was carried to such a degree of perfection among the Phoenicians, that many
ancient authors attributed to them the invention of glass (Pline, Nat. Hist., v. § 17; cf. xxxvi. § 118).
As to Phoenician glasswork, see Penrose-Curtis, Hist. de l'Art, vol. iii. p. 730, et seq.; and on the
existence of numerous glass objects—some of Eastern and others of local manufacture—in the tombs
2 Drawn by Pascut-Cudin, after Graetz, Monumenti di Cesare Nunzi, pl. x. 1; this monument
ought to be described approximately to the Salle rather than the Tanite period.
3 A detailed notice of Phoenician cylinders and scarab is given in Penrose-Curtis, Hist. de l'Art,
loc. cit. vol. iii. p. 929, et seq.
4 For Phoenician goldsmiths' work, and the various influences to which it was subjected before
the Greek period, see Penrose-Curtis, op. cit., vol. iii. p. 731, et seq.
human nature, by transforming it into a protective genius, who looks with approval on the exploits of his *protege*, and gathers together the corpses of those he has slain. Once these designs had become current among the goldsmiths, they continued to be supplied for a long period, without much modification, to the markets of the Eastern and Western worlds. Indeed, it was natural that they should have taken a stereotyped form, when we consider that the Phoenicians who employed them held continuous commercial relations with the country whence they had come—a country of which, too, they recognised the supremacy. Egypt in the Ramesside period was, as we have seen, distinguished for the highest development of every branch of industry; it had also a population which imported and exported more raw material and more manufactured products than any other. The small nation which acted as a commercial intermediary between Egypt and the rest of the world had in this traffic a steady source of profit, and even in providing Egypt with a single article—for example, bronze, or the tin necessary for its preparation—could realise enormous profits. The people of Tyre and Sidon had been very careful not to alienate the good will of such rich customers, and as long as the representatives of the Pharaoh held sway in Syria, they had shown themselves, if not thoroughly trustworthy vassals, at least less turbulent than their neighbours of Arvad and Qodshu. Even when the fecklessness and impotence of the successors of Ramses III. relieved them from the obligation of further tribute, they displayed towards their old masters such deference that they obtained as great freedom of trade with the ports of the Delta as they had enjoyed in the past. They maintained with these ports the same relations as in the days of their dependence, and their ships sailed up the river as far as Memphis, and even higher, while the Egyptian galleys continued to coast the littoral of Syria. An official report addressed to Heliopolis by one of the ministers of the Theban Amun, indicates at one and the same time the manner in which these voyages were accomplished, and the dangers to which their crews were exposed. Heliopolis, who was still high priest, was in need of foreign timber to complete some work he had in hand, probably the repair of the sacred barks, and commanded the official above mentioned to proceed by sea to Byblos, to King Zakariah, in order to purchase cedars of Lebanon. The messenger started from Tami, coasted along Khure.

1 The provision of bronze and copper for Egypt is referred to at p. 237, supra, as showing the relations of Ascalon and Egypt during the XVIIIth dynasty.
2 Several Egyptian documents of the XXth dynasty refer to these Egyptian and foreign vessels voyaging on the "Very Green." (Piotre-Koros, Les Hoppe's du Tyrre, p. 153), p. 9, 10, and p. 106. H. 17, 7; see esp. 107, 108, supra, where there is an illustration representing the arrival of Phoenician ships at Onitohs.
3 W. H. M. MACK. Asia and Europe, p. 235. This is the name which classical tradition ascribed to the first husband of Dido, the founder of Carthage—Sidarius, Sidius, Ammares (Scamelion, De Palaestinae Spuria, p. 36, 196, 198).
and put into the harbour of Der, which then belonged to the Zakkala; while he was revictualing his ship, one of the sailors ran away with the cash-box. The local ruler, Badlin, expressed at first his sympathy at this misfortune, and gave his help to capture the robber; then unaccountably changing his mind, he threw the messenger into prison, who had accordingly to send to Egypt to procure fresh funds for his liberation and the accomplishment of his mission. Having arrived at Byblos, nothing occurred there worthy of record. The wood having at length been cut and put on board, the ship set sail homewards. Driven by contrary winds, the vessel was blown upon the coast of Alasia, where the crew were graciously received by the Queen Khatiba. We have evidence everywhere, it may be stated, as to the friendly disposition displayed, either with or without the promptings of interest, towards the representative of the Thuban pontiff. Had he been ill-used, the Phoenicians living on Egyptian territory would have been made to suffer for it.

Navigators had to take additional precautions, owing to the presence of Egyptian or Asiatic pirates on the routes followed by the remanent marine, which rendered their voyages dangerous and sometimes interrupted them altogether.

For the establishment of the Zakkala on the Carthaginian coast in the neighbourhood of Der and Carmel, see p. 470, supra.

The name Badlin, Badlin, Badlin, appears to be an apostrophized form of Abellam, "the servant of Lic." of which we have numerous instances in such Phoenician names as Bedeshan, Bedeshkoreh, etc., Beddirm, Beddirm, Beddirm, Beddirm, Beddirm (Maxime, Ser ou Nou Ayéquique, vol. ii. p. 199). Cf. an analogous form in the name of the King of Arim, Beulat, Beulat, Beulat, who lived in the time of Assurbanipal (Tello), Fortis, in the Zehébet-i Seifi or Krifjehan, vol. ii. pp. 292, 303, and possibly also in that of the King of Assyria, Beulat, Beulat, of whom there will be something to say on p. 306, supra.

4. Drawn by Foucher-Guepin, from a sketch by Lacornerie, Mission Napoléon III., pl. iv. The importance of this group acquired in Phoenician mythology, and its possible derivation from Greek art and tradition, were studied especially by Caron, Cht. Mythologie, Mythologie Icographique, pp. 3, 9, and Foucher-Guepin, Rev. de L'Art, etc., vol. iii. pp. 91, 97, 772-774, 787-789, 902.

4. This document containing an account of these events was discovered by Galand in 1881. The text is unpublished, but two brief summaries of it appear: Galand, Zéphir d'Assyrie, etc., in the Revue de L'Art, vol. xxv. p. 85, and W. Max Müller, Asia and Assyria, pp. 385, 386, 508, 509.
The Syrian coast-line was exposed to these marauders quite as much as the African had been during the sixty or eighty years which followed the death of Ramses II; the seamen of the north—Anchians and Tyreni, Lyceans and Sar- danians—had pillaged it on many occasions, and in the invasion which followed these attacks it experienced as little mercy as Naharaim, the Khaith, and the region of the Amorites. The fleets which carried the Philistines, the Zakkala, and their allies had devastated the whole coast before they encountered the Egyptian ships of Ramses III, near Mugadil, to the south of Carmel. Arvad as well as Zahi had succumbed to the violence of their attack, and if the cities of Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre had escaped, their suburbs had been subjected to the ravages of the foe. Peace followed the double victory of the Egyptians, and commerce on the Mediterranean resumed once more its wonted ways, but only in those regions where the authority of the Pharaoh and the fear of his vengeance were effective influences. Beyond this sphere there were continual warfare, piracy, migrations of barbaric hordes, and disturbances of all kinds, among which, if a stranger ventured, it was at the almost certain risk of losing his life or liberty. The area of undisturbed seas became more and more contracted in proportion as the memory of past defeats faded away. Cyprus was not comprised within it, and the Aegians, who were restrained by the fear of Egypt from venturing into any region under her survey, perpetually flocked thither in numerous bodies. The Achaeans, too, took up their abode on this island at an early date—about the time when some of their bands were infesting Libya, and offering their help to the enemies of the Pharaoh. They began their encroachments on the northern side of the island—the least rich, it is true, but the nearest to Cilicia, and the easiest to hold against the attacks of their rivals. The disaster of Piran had no doubt dashed their hopes of finding a settlement in Egypt; they never returned thither any more, and the current of emigration which had momentarily inclined towards the south, now set steadily towards the east, where the large island of Cyprus offered an unprotested and more profitable field of adventure. We know not how far they penetrated into its forests and its interior. The natives began, at length, under their influence, to despise the customs and mode of existence with which they had been previously contented: they acquired a taste for pottery rudely decorated after the Mycenaean manner, for jewellery, and for the bronze swords which they had seen in the hands of the invaders. The Phoenicians, in order to

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*See, for this invasion, pp. 162-168, supra.*

*I am forced here, by the exigencies of space, to leave out details. I confine myself to the facts indispensable for a knowledge of the history of the East, without criticism or a bibliography.*

*CT, for the part taken by the Achaeans in the Libyan war against Minoans, the short account on pp. 627-628, supra.*
maintenance their ground against the intruders, had to strengthen their ancient posts or found others—such as Carpasia, Cerynia, and Lapathos on the Achaean coast itself, Tamassos near the copper-mines, and a new town, Qart-hadasht, which is perhaps only the ancient Citium under a new name. They thus added to their earlier possessions on the island regions on its northern side, while the rest either fell gradually into the hands of Hellenic adventurers, or continued in the possession of the native populations. Cyprus served henceforward as an advance-post against the attacks of Western nations, and the Phoenicians must have been thankful for the good fortune which had made them see the wisdom of fortifying it. But what became of their possessions lying outside Cyprus? They retained several of them on the southern coasts of Asia Minor, and Rhodes remained faithful to them, as well as Thasos, enabling them to overlook the two extremities of the Archipelago; but, owing to the movements of the People of the Sea and the political development of the Mycenean states, they had to give up the stations and harbours of refuge which they held in the other islands or on the continent. They still continued, however, to pay visits to these localities—sometimes in the guise of merchants and at others as raiders, according to their ancient custom. They went from port to port as of old, exposing their wares in the market-places, pillaging the farms and villages, carrying into captivity the women and children whom they could entice on board, or whom they might find defencless on the strand; but they attempted all this with more risk than formerly, and with less success. The inhabitants of the coast were possessed of fully manned ships, similar in form to those of the Phylisines or the Zakkala, which, at the first sight of the Phoenicians, set out in pursuit of them, or, following the example set by their foe, lay in wait for them behind some headland, and retaliated upon them for their cruelty. Piracy in the Archipelago was practised as a matter of course, and there was no islander who did not give himself up to it when the opportunity offered, to return to his honest occupations after a successful venture. Some kings seem to have risen up here and there who found this state of affairs intolerable, and endeavoured to remedy it by every means within their power: they followed on the heels of the corsairs and adventurers, whatever might be their country; they followed them up to their harbours of refuge, and became an effective police force in

1 It is mentioned in the inscription of Ebal of Lebanon (Corpus Inschr. Orient., vol. i, pp. 25, 26), and in the Assyrian inscriptions of the VIII century B.C. (F. Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? pp. 222-224).

2 This would appear to be the case, as far as Rhodes is concerned, from the traditions which recorded the final expulsion of the Phoenicians by a Doric invasion from Argos; cf. Thucydides, viii. 27; Paus. 'Argo, 10.1. The somewhat legendary accounts of the state of affairs after the Hellenic conquest are in the fragments of Ergast and Polyzenus (Müller-Dreß, Fragm. Hist. Græc., vol. iv, pp. 463, 469, 481).
all parts of the sea where they were able to carry their flag. The memory of such exploits was preserved in the tradition of the Cretan empire which Minois had constituted, and which extended its protection over a portion of continental Greece.

If the Phoenicians had had to deal only with the piratical expeditions of the peoples of the coast or with the jealous watchfulness of the rulers of the sea, they might have endured the evil, but they had now to put up, in addition, with rivalry in the artistic and industrial products of which they had long had the monopoly. The spread of art had at length led to the establishment of local centres of production everywhere, which bade fair to vie with those of Phoenicia. On the continent and in the Cyclades there were produced statuettes, ivories, jewels, vases, weapons, and textile fabrics which rivalled those of the East, and were probably much cheaper. The merchants of Tyre and Sidon could still find a market, however, for manufactures requiring great technical skill or displaying superior taste—such as gold or silver bowls, engraved or decorated with figures in outline—but they had to face a serious falling off in their sales of ordinary goods. To extend their commerce they had to seek new and less critical markets, where the bales of their wares, of which the Ægean population was becoming weary, would lose none of their attractions. We do not know at what date they ventured to sail into the mysterious region of the Hesperides, nor by what route they first reached it. It is possible that they passed from Crete to Cythera, and from this to the Ionian Islands and to the point of Calabria, on the other side of the straits of Otranto, whence they were able to make their way gradually to Sicily. Did the fame of their discovery, we may ask, spread so rapidly in the East as to excite there the curiosity and envy of their rivals? However this may have been, the People of the Sea, after repeated checks in Africa and Syria, and feeling more than ever the pressure of the northern tribes encroaching on them, set out towards the west, following the route pursued by the Phoenicians. The traditions current among them and collected afterwards by the Greek historians give an account, mingled with many fabulous details, of the causes which led to their migrations and of the vicissitudes

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1. E. Meyer, Geschichte der Alterthümer, vol. ii. pp. 268-278, where a brief summary of all that is known on the subject is given; for details see Herod. Thespiae Romanae, translated by T. resort. pp. 26, 27, et seq.

2. E. Meyer, pp. vol. i. pp. 233, 251-254, and vol. ii. p. 36, 370-370; thinks that the extension of Phoenician commerce in the Western Mediterranean goes back to the XVIIth dynasty, or, at the latest, the XVIth century before our era. Without laying undue stress on this view, I am inclined to move with him until we get further knowledge, the colonization of the West in the period immediately following the movements of the People of the Sea and the foundation of Phoenician towns in the Greek Archipelago. Exploring voyages had been made before this, but the founding of colonies was not earlier than this epoch.
which they experienced in the course of them. Duralus having taken flight from Crete to Sicily, Minos, who had followed in his steps, took possession of the greater part of the island with his Eteoretes. Iolaos was the leader of Pelasgic bands, whom he conducted first into Libya and finally to Sardinia. It came also to pass that in the days of Atys, son of Manes, a famine broke out and raged throughout Lydia: the king, unable to provide food for his people, had them numbered, and decided by lot which of the two halves of the population should expatriate themselves under the leadership of his son Tyrrhenus. Those who were thus fated to leave their country assembled at Smyrna, constructed ships there, and having embarked on board of them what was necessary, set sail in quest of a new home. After a long and devious voyage, they at length disembarked in the country of the Umbrians, where they built cities, and became a prosperous people under the name of Tyrsenii, being thus called after their leader Tyrrhenus. The remaining portions of the nations who had taken part in the attack on Egypt—of which several tribes had been planted by Ramses III. in the Shephelah, from Gaza to Carmel—proceeded in a series of successive detachments from Asia Minor and the Ægean Sea to the coasts of Italy and of the large islands: the Tarsha into that region which was known afterwards as Etruria, the Sidanians into Sardinia, the Zakkalbs into Sicily, and along with the latter some Pulasati, whose memory is still preserved on the northern slope of Etua. Fate thus brought the Phoenician emigrants once more into close contact with their traditional enemies, and the hostility which they experienced in their new settlements from the latter was among the influences which determined their further migration from Italy proper, and from the region occupied by the Ligurians between the Arno and the Ebro.

* For the tradition of the settlement of Sicily by Creteans see Hieae, Recha, vol. i., pp. 278-291, and Herod. Geschicht. Schriften, vol. i., pp. 70, 91. (The Eteoretes are mentioned in the Odyssey, vi. 175—188.)

* For the tradition as to the original inhabitants of Sardinia, see, with much matter, Mooyaart, De Phenicnèa altitutn, vol. ii. p. 377, 378 seq.

* Ramnica, i. 14. rev., assumes all the information of other classical writers is directly or indirectly taken. Most modern historians reject this tradition. I see no reason, for my own part, why they should do so, at least in the present state of our knowledge. The Etruscans of the historical period were the result of a fusion of several different elements, and there is nothing against the view that the Tyrrhenians—some of those elements—should have come from Asia Minor, as Herodote says. Properly understood, the tradition seems well founded, and the details may have been added afterwards, either by the Lydians themselves, or by the Greek historians who collected the Lydia tradition.

* This view was put forth by Mooyaart in the Revue d’Orient, 1872, vol. ii. p. 84-95. 1878, vol. ii. p. 391. 1889, vol. i. pp. 100, 110: at the contrary view, which makes the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian monuments to have come from Italy and Sicily, see pp. 560, note 3, 561, 492, note 3, 562, 493. The Phenicians of Sicily are known only from a passage in Apianus, Mem. In rebus, the Historiaw 19, Berry (Rég. Hist. V. xxiv.), which Cluver and most modern historians have assumed to be the Alexander 9-10. Mooyaart was the first to identify these Phenicians of Sicily with the Phenicians of Syria, and new to them the remains of a Greek colony (De Phenicnæa altitutn, vol. ii. pp. 510, 518,) and was followed with some reserve by Hieae (Geschicht. Schriften, vol. i. pp. 31, 370.)
They had already probably reached Sardinia and Corsica, but the majority of their ships had sailed to the southward, and having touched at Malta, Gozo, and the small islands between Sicily and the Syrtes, had followed the coast-line of Africa, until at length they reached the straits of Gibraltar and the southern shores of Spain. No traces remain of their explorations, or of their early establishments in the western Mediterranean, as the towns which they are thought—with good reason in most instances—to have founded there belong to a much later date. Every permanent settlement, however, is preceded by a period of exploration and research, which may last for only a few years or be prolonged to as many centuries. I am within the mark, I think, in assuming that Phoenician adventurers, or possibly even the regular trading ships of Tyre and Sidon, had established relations with the semi-barbarous chiefs of Brittas as early as the XIIth century before our era, that is, at the time when the power of Thebes was fading away under the weak rule of the pontiffs of Amon and the Tanite Pharaohs.

The Phoenicians were too much absorbed in their commercial pursuits to aspire to the inheritance which Egypt was letting slip through her fingers. Their numbers were not more than sufficient to supply men for their ships, and they were often obliged to have recourse to their allies or to mercenary tribes—the Leleges or Carian—in order to provide crews for their vessels or garrisons for their trading posts; it was impossible, therefore, for them to think of raising armies fit to conquer or keep in check the rulers on the Orontes or in Naharaim. They left this to the races of the interior—the Amorites and Hittites—and to their restless ambition. The Hittite power, however, had never recovered from the terrible blow inflicted on it at the time of the Asiatic invasion. The confederacy of feudal chiefs, which had been brought momentarily together by Sapatilla and his successors, was shattered by the violence of the shock, and the elements of which it was composed were engaged henceforward in struggles with each other. At this time the entire plain between the Amansus and the Eufrates was covered with rich cities, of which the sites are represented to-day by only a few wretched villages or by heaps of ruins. Arabian and Byzantine remains sometimes crown the summit of the latter, but as soon as we reach the lower strata we find in more or less abundance the ruins of buildings of the Greek or Persian period, and beneath these those belonging to a still earlier time. The history of Syria lies buried in such sites, and is waiting

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+ I shall have to return later on to the Phoenician colonies in Spain, and especially to the founding of Cadiz.

* [72, with the necessary reserve, Messor, Das Phaenisehe Alterthum, vol. ii, pp. 17-31.

+ See what is said on this subject on pp. 463, 468-470, 475 of the present work.
only for a patient and wealthy explorer to bring it to light. The Khāṭi proper were settled to the south of the Taurus in the basin of the Sajur, but they were divided into several petty states, of which that which possessed Carchemish was the most important, and exercised a practical hegemony over the others. Its chiefs alone had the right to call themselves kings of the Khāṭi. The Pithon, who were their immediate neighbours on the west, stretched right up to the Mediterranean above the plains of Naharaím and beyond the Orontes; they had absorbed, it would seem, the provinces of the ancient Alasia. Arameans occupied the region to the south of the Pithon between the two Lebanon ranges, embracing the districts of Hamath and Qobah. The valleys of the Amman and the southern slopes of the Taurus included within them

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1. Drawn by Bendit, from a photograph by M. Bartholomé, taken in 1860.
2. The ruins of the excavations at Ziyāţeh are evidence of what historical material we may hope to find in these ruins. See the account of the earlier results in F. von Linschoten, Ausgrabungen in Syrien und Mesopotamien, 1860.
6. The Arameans are mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I. as situated between the Balikh, the Euphrates, and the Sajur (Schaal, op. cit., p. 226; note; Delitzsch, op. cit., pp. 257-259; Delattre, op. cit., p. 57).
some half-dozen badly defined principalities—Samalla on the Karasu, Gurgum around Marqensi, the Qui and Khilakhu in the classical Cilicia, and the Kašnu and Kummukh in a bend of the Euphrates to the north and northeast of the Kašnu. The ancient Mitanni to the east of Carchemish, which was so active in the time of the later Amenophis, had now ceased to exist, and there was but a vague remembrance of its former prowess. It had fanned probably in the great cataclysm which engulfed the Hittite empire, although its name appears inscribed once more among those of the vassals of Egypt on the triumphal lists of Ramses III. Its arching tribes had probably migrated to the regions which were afterwards described by the Greek geographers as the home of the Matiensi on the Haly and in the neighborhood of Lake Urmiah. Aramean kingdoms, of which the greatest was that of Bit-Adini, had succeeded them, and bordered the Euphrates on


2. The name has been read undesignedly, Gurgum (Wulff, Gurgum [Walther-Schmitz, Assyrische und Persische Geschichte, p. 755], who places it near Karte, on the Euphrates, and mentioned by Tömmlein (Notes on the Geography of Northern Syria, in the Babyloniaca et Orientali Comment. von der Tömmlein, Kerak, pl. 21, No. 313). The Aramean inscription on the statue of King Pumma mentions that it must be read Gurgum, and Sohn has identified this now name with that of Jurrim, which was the name by which the province of the Amahs, lying between Bais and the lake of Antioch, was known in the Byzantine period (On the Geography of Northern Syria, p. 247); the name Gurgum, stretches further towards the north, around the town of Marqesi, which Tömmlein (Notes on the Geography of Northern Syria, p. 247) and Sohn (op. cit., p. 6, 7) have identified with Marqesi.

3. The site of the country of Qui was determined by Schrader (Koban und Geschichte der alten Orient, pp. 228, 229), that it was part of the Cilician plain which stretches from the Amazons to the mountains of the Kös, and falls on the great town of Tarsos. P. Troubetzkoj has pointed out that this country is mentioned twice in the Scriptures (Isa. xvi. 1, 2; 31. 3). (The Revised Version does not support this, but the LXX gives "of Tarsus," and the Vulg. "de Colone."—Tay in the time of Solomon (Les Origines de l’histoire, vol. ii. p. 9, n. 2). The designation of the country, transformed into the appellation of an eponymous god (see p. 227, note 1, supra), is found in the name Gutam ("Qui de king") (P. Troubetzkoj, op. cit., vol. ii. p. 70, 71, n. 3).

4. Khilakhu, the name of which is possibly the same as the Egyptian Khilakhu (Master, Notes sur quelques points de l’histoire, etc., in the Zeitschrift, 1872, v. 29, p. 390); it is the Chillian Trabesh of classical geography (On the Geography of Northern Syria, p. 229).

5. The country of Karsali, which has been connected with Karsali, which takes the place of Karsali in an Egyptian text (see p. 227, note 3, supra), is still a dependency of the Hittite in the time of Tiglath-pileser (Arias, ii. 1, 101). It was in the neighborhood of the Kumes, whose capital seems to have been Urmi, the Duruns of Palmyrea (P. Troubetzkoj, op. cit., p. 64, note 1, supra), near the bend of the Euphrates between Samalla and Bit-Adini; it extended into the communes of classical times, at the borders of Melitene and the Tuma (Deltavk, L’Asie Occidentale, IV. les Inscriptions Asyriennes, p. 140; Deltavk, et Euse, une nouvelle contribution aux Inscriptions Asyriennes, pp. 140, 141; and Euse, une nouvelle contribution aux Inscriptions Asyriennes, pp. 140, 141).

6. Kumechti lay on both sides of the Euphrates and of the Upper Tima (Deltavk, L’Asie Centrale, etc., pp. 46, 47); it became gradually restricted, until at length it extended into the communes of classical geography (Scaliger, Kellinuscher, etc., pp. 427, 439; 191; 200).

7. Arameans, Historische Briefe, etc., vol. 1, p. 11, where Ramses III seems to have simply copied the list of Thutmose III, etc. (supra, p. 40).

8. Tömmlein Barranci, etc. People called the Arameans, in the Eine des Alten Perymen, 1844, pp. 203-216.

9. The province of Bit-Adini was specially that part of the country which lay between the Euphrates and the Balkan (Scaliger, Kellinuscher, etc., pp. 109; 256), but it extended...
each side as far as the Chalus and Balikh respectively; the ancient Haras belonged also to them, and their frontier stretched as far as Hamath, and to that of the Patina on the Orontes. It was, as we have seen, a complete breaking up of the old nationalities, and we have evidence also of a similar disintegration in the countries to the north of the Taurus, in the direction of the Black Sea. Of the mighty Khatti with whom Tithmosis III. had come into contact, there was no apparent trace: either the tribes of which they were composed had migrated towards the south, or those who had never left their native mountains had entered into new combinations and lost even the remembrance of their name. The Milidin, Tabal (Tubal), and Mushku (Meshech) stretched behind each other from east to west on the confines of the Tophna-Su, and still further away other cities of less importance contended for the possession of the Upper Sares and the middle region of the Halys. These peoples, at once poor and warlike, had been attracted, like the Hittites of some centuries previous, by the riches accumulated in the strongholds of Syria. Revolutions must have been frequent in these regions, but our knowledge of them is more a matter of conjecture than of actual evidence. Towards the year 1170 B.C., the Mushku swooped down on Kummukh, and made themselves its masters; then pursuing their good fortune, they took from the Assyrians the two provinces, Alzi and Purukuzzi, which lay not far from the sources of the Tigris and the Balikh. A little later the Kashku, together with some Arameans, broke into Shunitari, then subject to Assyria, and took possession of a part of it. The majority of these invasions had, however, no permanent result: they never issued in the establishment of an empire like that of the Khatti, capable by its homogeneity of offering a serious resistance to the march of a conqueror from the south. To sum up the condition of affairs: if a redistribution of races had brought about a change in Northern Syria, their want of cohesion was no less marked than in the time of the Egyptian wars; the first enemy to make an attack upon the frontier of one or other of these tribes was sure to other Syrian provinces between the Emphites and the Apries (D'Arcy Power, Wm. J. Boulton, and Byrnes, \textit{Les Origines de l'Histoire}, vol. ii., pp. 206, 207, 209). For a parallel see \textit{Les Documents des Inscriptions Amykkéennes}, pp. 18, 19, 20, etc.)

* With regard to these peoples, see Schader (\textit{Rechtschreiber}, etc., pp. 109, 162), F. Lenormant (\textit{Les Origines de l'Histoire}, vol. ii., pp. 181, 219), and afterwards the observations of Dalmas (op. cit., pp. 63, 65, and by the same writer, \textit{Essai sur la Geographie Assyrienne}, pp. 27-29), who has succeeded to bring their positions on the map better than any of his predecessors.


* Annals of Tushpa-pilner I., vol. i., pp. 32-34, col. Ixxxv.; \textit{Zeitschrift für Assyriol.}, vol. iii., pp. 5-8, and \textit{Zeitschrift für Assyriol.}, p. 18. The king places his invasion fifty years before the beginning of his reign. Ed. Meyer (\textit{Geschichte der Althieritis}, vol. i., pp. 318, 319, and \textit{Geschichte der Assyriens}, p. 312) are a connection between this and the invasion of the People of the Sea, which took place under Ramesses III. (cf. \textit{Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Assyriol.}, etc., pp. 171, 172). I think that the invasion of the Mushku was a purely local affair, and had nothing to do with the general catastrophe occasioned by the movement of the Asiatic armies (see supra, p. 461, et seq.). As in the case of Ama, see \textit{Sumer, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van-Dyke's and translated, in the J. B. L. A. Soc., vol. ii., pp. 368, 369), the Purukuzzi must have occupied the neighboring region to the west of Diarbirk.
of victory, and if he persevered in his efforts could make himself master of as much territory as he might choose. The Pharaohs had succeeded in welding together their African possessions, and their part in the drama of conquest had been played long ago; but the cities of the Tigris and the Lower Euphrates—Nineveh and Babylon—were ready to enter the lists as soon as they felt themselves strong enough to revive their ancient traditions of foreign conquest.

The successors of Aemunakkrime were not more fortunate than he had been in attempting to raise Babylon once more to the foremost rank; their want of power, their discord, the insubordination and sedition that existed among their Cossuan troops, and the almost periodic returns of the Thelian generals to the banks of the Euphrates, sometimes even to those of the Balikh and the Khabor, all seemed to conspire to aggravate the helpless state into which Babylon had sunk since the close of the dynasty of Urnuzaggia. Elam was pressing upon her eastern, and Assyria on her northern frontier, and their kings not only harassed her with persistent malignity, but, by virtue of their alliances by marriage with her sovereigns, took advantage of every occasion to interfere both in domestic and state affairs; they would espouse the cause of some pretender during a revolt, they would assume the guardianship of such of their relatives as were left widows or minors, and, when the occasion presented itself, they took possession of the throne of Bel, or bestowed it on one of their creatures. Assyria particularly seemed to regard Babylon with a deadly hatred. The capitals of the two countries were not more than some one hundred and eighty-five miles apart, the intervening district being a flat and monotonous alluvial plain, unbroken by any feature which could serve as a natural frontier. The line of demarcation usually followed one of the many canals in the narrow strip of land between the Euphrates and the Tigris; it then crossed the latter, and was formed by one of the rivers draining the Iranian table-land,—either the Upper Zab, the Radan, the Tarnat, or some of their ramifications in the spurs of the mountain ranges. Each of the two states strove by every means in its power to stretch its boundary to the farthest limits, and to keep it there at all hazards. This narrow area was the scene of continual war, either between the armies of the two states or those of partisans, suspended from time to time by an elaborate treaty which was supposed to settle all difficulties, but, as a matter of fact, satisfied no one, and left both parties discontented with their lot and jealous of each other. The concessions made were never of sufficient importance to enable the conqueror to crush his rival and regain for himself the ancient domain of Khammurabi; his losses, on the other hand, were often considerable enough to paralyse his forces, and prevent him from extending his border in any other direction. When the Egyptians seized on

1 Cf. pp. 115-120 of the present work.
Naharain, Assyria and Babylon each adopted at the outset a different attitude towards the conquerors. Assyria, which never laid any permanent claims to the seaboard provinces of the Mediterranean, was not disposed to resent their occupation by Egypt, and desired only to make sure of their support or their neutrality. The sovereign then ruling Assyria, but of whose name we have no record, hastened to congratulate Thothmes III, on his victory at Megiddo, and sent him presents of precious vases, slaves, lapis-lazuli, chariots and horses, all of which the Egyptian conqueror regarded as so much tribute. Babylon, on the other hand, did not take action so promptly as Assyria: it was only towards the latter years of Thothmes that its king, Karkishshu, being hard pressed by the Assyrian Assurbanipal, at length decided to make a treaty with the intruder. The remoteness of Egypt from the Babylonian frontier no doubt relieved Karkishshu from any apprehension of an actual invasion by the Pharaohs; but there was the possibility of their subduing some nearer enemy, and also of forbidding Babylonian caravans to enter Egyptian provinces, and thus crippling Chaldean commerce. Friendly relations, when once established, soon necessitated a constant interchange of embassies and letters between the Nile and the Euphrates. As a matter of fact, the Babylonian king could never reconcile himself to the idea that Syria had passed out of his hands. While pretending to warn the Pharaoh of Syrian plots against him, the Babylonians were employing at the same time secret agents to go from city to city and stir up discontent at Egyptian rule, praising the while the great Cossuean king and his armies, and inciting to revolt by promises of help never meant to be fulfilled. Assyria, whose very existence would have been endangered by the re-establishment of a Babylonian empire, never missed an opportunity of denouncing those intrigues at head-quarters: they warned the royal messengers and governors of them, and were constantly contrasting the frankness and honesty

1 Cf. p. 322 of the present work.

2 We have no direct testimony in support of this hypothesis, but several important considerations give it probability. As an instance from Babylonia is mentioned in the Annals of Thothmes III, we must place the beginning of the relations between Egypt and Chaldea at a later date. On the other hand, Assurbanipal II, in a letter written to Amasis III, after Karkishshu as the first of his fathers, who had established friendly relations with the Pharaoh (Bauer-Brocas, Tell of Amarna Tablets, etc., No. 6, p. 25, II. 8-10, and p. xxii.); a fact which obliges us to place the beginings of presents before the time of Amasis III, as the reign of Amasis II, and of Thothmes IV, were both short (cf. supra, pp. 228-229). It is probable that these relations began in the latter years of Thothmes III.

3 Cf. p. 275 of one of the present work. Assurbanipal II had taken the precaution to warn Amasis III of what the Assyrians might do of him, and dismissed him from forming an alliance with them (Bauer-Brocas, Tell of Amarna Tablets, etc., No. 5, p. 7, II. 31-32; cf. Zimmern, Briefe aus dem Fels in Tell-Assur, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. 7, pp. 154, 155; Delattre, Correspondance d'Assurbanipal III, in the Revue des Questions Historiques, vol. 19, p. 382.

of their own dealings with the duplicity of their rival. This state of affairs lasted for more than half a century, during which time both courts strove to ingratiate themselves in the favour of the Pharaoh, each intriguing for the exclusion of the other, by exchanging presents with him, by congratulations on his accession, by imploring gifts of wrought or unwrought gold, and by offering him the most beautiful women of their family for his harem. The sons of Karmadash, whose name still remains to be discovered, bestowed one of his daughters on the young Amenhotep III. Kallimasis, the sovereign who succeeded him, also sent successively two princesses to the same Pharaoh. But the underlying bitterness and hatred would break through the veneer of polite formulae and protestations when the petitioner received, as the result of his advances, objects of inconsiderable value such as a lord might distribute to his vassals, or when he was refused a princess of solar blood, or even an Egyptian bride of some feudal house; at such times, however, an ironical or haughty epistle from Thèbes would recall him to a sense of his own inferiority.

As a fact, the lot of the Cossosian sovereigns does not appear to have been a happy one, in spite of the variety and pompous of the titles which they continued to assume. They enjoyed but short lives, and we know that at least three or four of them—Kallimasis, Burnasurias I., and Kurigalas I. ascended the throne in succession during the forty years that Amenhotep III. ruled over Egypt and Syria. Perhaps the rapidity of this succession may have arisen from

1 Cf. the letter of Amunam debris, King of Assyria, to Pharaoh, Amenhotep IV., in Winckler-Abel, Der Thronstuhl und von All-Assyria, No. 3, p. 6.
2 See, for example, the correspondence between Kallimasis and Amenhotep III. (Winckler-Abel, Der Thronstuhl, etc., No. 1, pl. 1, and Roden-Binger, Teil von Amun Amun, etc., No. 1, pp. 2-3, and pp. xxxv-xxxvii), and the letters of Burnasurias to Amenhotep IV. (Winckler-Abel, op. cit., No. 2, p. 3, and Burnasurias-Binger, op. cit., No. 3, pp. 8, 9, and p. xxxvii-xxxviii).
3 Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, p. 120. The copy we possess of the Royal Canon of Babylon is mutilated at this point (Pritchard, The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period, in the Transactions, 1888-94, vol. 4, pp. 105, 196, and pl. 1, vol. 2; cf. Kniberg, Assyrische Gebete on den Sonnebogen, vol. 1, pl. 62), and the original documents are not sufficiently complete to fill the gap. About two or three names are missing after that of Assurakabu (cf. p. 105, note 1, of the present work, for the list of the first seven kings of the Cossosian dynasty), and the reigns must have been very short, if indeed, as I think, Assurakabu and Karamaski were contemporaries of the earlier Pharaohs bearing the name of Thothmose. The order of the names which have come down to us is not indisputably established: Hilprecht (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, pp. 57, 58, and 429-430) and Winckler (Altorientalische Forschungen, pp. 169-172) do not agree on the subject (cf. Thiers, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. x, pp. 105-112). The following order appears to me to be the most probable of present:—

| KARAKAMASH | KARAKAMASH | KARAKAMASH
| KALLIMASSI | KALLIMASSI | KALLIMASSI
| KURIGALAS I. | KURIGALAS I. | KURIGALAS I.
| KURIGALAS II. | KURIGALAS II. | KURIGALAS II.

This is, with a slight exception, the chronology adopted by Winckler (Altorientalische Forschungen, p. 120), and that of Hilprecht (Assyriology, vol. 1, p. 59) differs from it only in the intercalation of Kusamaras and Singsiakmash to Burnasurias II. and Karakamash.
some internal revolution or from family disturbances. The Chaldeans of the old stock reluctantly rendered obedience to these Cossenian kings, and, if we may judge from the name, one at least of these ephemeral sovereigns, Kullimazin, appears to have been a Semite, who owed his position among the Cossenian princes to some fortunate chance. A few rare inscriptions stamped on bricks, one or two letters or documents of private interest, and some minor objects from widely distant spots, have enabled us to ascertain the sites upon which these sovereigns erected buildings; Karadush restored the temple of Nana at Uruk; Burnaburias and Kurigalzu added to that of Shamash at Larsa; and Kurigalzu took in hand that of Sin at Uru. We also possess a record of some of their acts in the fragments of a document, which a Ninevite scribe of the time of Assurbanipal had compiled; or rather jumbled together, from certain Babylonian chronicles dealing with the wars against Assyria and Elam, with public treaties, marriages, and family quarrels.

We learn from this, for example, that Burnaburias I. renewed with Buzur-Assur the conventions drawn up between Karadush and Assurbanishius. These friendly relations were maintained, apparently, under Kurigalzu I. and

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1 This is the opinion of Robert W. Rootz. Outline of the History of Early Babylonia, p. 55, and I propose to adopt it for the present. I ought, however, to remark that Kullimazin may have been born of a Cossenian king and a Babylonian concubine, which would explain the form of his name without casting him from the royal line.


Assur-nadin-akhi, the son of Bururassur, if Kurigalzu built or restored the fortress, long called after him Dur-Kurigalzu, at one of the fords of the Euphrates, it was probably as a precautionary measure rather than because of any immediate danger. The relations between the two powers became somewhat strained when Burnaburiah II and Assuruballit had respectively succeeded to Kurigalzu and Assur-nadin-akhi; this did not, however, lead to hostilities, and the subsequent betrothal of Karakharshe, son of Burnaburiah II, to Muballitatisen, daughter of Assuruballit, tended to restore matters to their former condition. The good will between the two countries became still more pronounced when Kadashmansharbo succeeded his father Karakharshe. The Cossuani soldiery had taken umbrage at his successor and had revolted, assassinated Kadashmansharbo, and proclaimed king in his stead a man of obscure origin named Naizibugash. Assuruballit, without a moment's hesitation, took the side of his new relatives; he crossed the frontier, killed Naizibugash, and restored the throne to his sister's child, Kurigalzu II, the younger. The young king, who was still a minor at his accession, appears to have met with no serious difficulties; at any rate, none were raised by his Assyrian cousins, Belsharri I. and his successor Budhu. Towards the close of his reign, however, revolts broke out, and it was only by sustained efforts that he was able to restore order in Babylonia, Sippur, and the Country of the Sea. While the king was in the midst of these difficulties, the Elamites took advantage of his troubles to steal from him a portion of his territory, and their king, Khurbatilu, challenged him to meet his army near Dur-Dungi. Kurigalzu accepted the challenge, gained a decisive victory, took his adversary prisoner, and released him only on receiving as ransom a province beyond the Tigris, he even entered Susa, and, from among other trophies of past wars, resumed possession of an agate tablet belonging to Dungi, which the veteran Kuturnakhuna had stolen from the temple of Nipur nearly a thousand years previously.

1 Assur-nadin-akhi I. is mentioned in a Tel el-Amarna tablet as being the father of Assurnakkhunu (Winckler-Alt, Der Taphonomie und der El-Amarna, Vol. II, p. 8, U. 19-20).
2 This is the present Akkadur, as is proved by the discovery of bricks bearing the name of Kurigalzu (Rawlinson, Cune. Ins. W. As., vol. i, p. 1, 4, 14; vol. ii, p. 127). We refer to the excavations of the last and present excavations at Kish N. G. and Belsharri (Winckler, Akkadische Forschungen, pp. 119, 211). For the succession of the Babylonian kings of this period, cf. Lappenberg, Geschichte der Babylonier, pp. 354-358, and Winckler, Assyr. Geschichte, vol. i, pp. 203-205, and Assyr. Geschichte, vol. i, pp. 458-467.
4 Hoffmann, The Hebrew Exposition, vol. i, p. 271, and p. 37, note 3, of the present volume.
This victory was followed by the congratulations of most of his neighbours, with the exception of Rammân-nîrârî II., who had succeeded Badlu in Assyria, and probably felt some jealousy or uneasiness at the news. He attacked the Cossans, and overthrew them at Sagarj, on the banks of the Salsallat; their losses were considerable, and Kurigalzu could only obtain peace by the cession to Assyria of a strip of territory the entire length of the north-west frontier, from the confines of the Shubari country, near the sources of the Khubur, to the suburbs of Babylon itself. Nearly the whole of Mesopotamia thus changed hands at one stroke, but Babylon had still more serious losses to suffer. Nazimarattash, who attempted to wipe out the disaster sustained by his father Kurigalzu, experienced two crushing defeats, one at Karshtar and the other near Akarsallu, and the treaty which he subsequently signed was even more humiliating for his country than the preceding one. All that part of the Babylonian domain which lay nearest to Nineveh was ceded to the Assurians, from Pilastik on the right bank of the Tigris to the province of Lulum in the Zagros mountains. It would appear that the Cossan tribes who had remained in their native country, took advantage of these troublous times to sever all connection with their fellow-countrymen established in the cities of the plain; for we find them henceforth carrying on a petty warfare for their own profit, and leading an entirely independent life. The descendants of Gandish, deprived of territories in the north, repulsed in the east, and threatened in the south by the nations of the Persian Gulf, never recovered their former ascendancy; and their authority slowly declined during the century which followed these events. Their downfall brought about the decedence of the cities over which they had held sway; and the supremacy which Babylon had exercised for a thousand years over the countries of the Euphrates passed into the hands of the Assyrian kings.

Assyria itself was but a poor and insignificant country when compared with her rival. It occupied, on each side of the middle course of the Tigris, the territory lying between the 35th and 37th parallels of latitude. It was bounded


4 These are approximately the limits of the first Assyrian empire, as given by the monuments.
on the east by the hills and mountain ranges running parallel to the Zagros Chain—Gebel Guhr, Gebel Gurn, Zerguiyavan-pong, and Haravan-dagh, with their rounded monotonous limestone ridges,-scored by watercourses and destitute of any kind of trees. On the north it was hemmed in by the spurs of the Massia, and bounded on the east by an undefined line running from Mount Massia to the slopes of Singar, and from these again to the Chaldanian plain; to the south the frontier followed the configuration of the table-land and the curve of the low cliffs, which in prehistoric times had marked the limits of the Persian Gulf; from here the boundary was formed on the left side of the Tigris by one of its tributaries, either the Lower Zab or the Badana. The territory thus enclosed formed a compact and healthy district; it was free from extremes of temperature arising from height or latitude, and the relative character and fertility of its soil depended on the presence or absence of rivers. The eastern part of Assyria was well watered by the streams and torrents which drained the Iranian plateau and the lower mountain chains which ran parallel to it. The beds of these rivers are channelled so deeply in the alluvial soil, that it is necessary to stand on the very edge of their banks to catch a sight of their silent and rapid waters; and it is only in the spring or early summer, when they are swollen by the rains and melting snow, that they spread over the adjacent country. As soon as the inundation is over, a vegetation of the intensest green springs up, and in a few days the fields and meadows are covered with a luxuriant and fragrant carpet of verdure. This brilliant growth is, however, short-lived, for the heat of the sun dries it up as quickly as it appears, and even the corn itself is in danger of being burnt up before reaching maturity. To obviate such a disaster, the Assyrians had constructed a network of canals and ditches, traces of which are in many places still visible, while a host of shadufs placed along their banks facilitated irrigation in the dry seasons.\(^1\) The provinces supplied with water in this manner enjoyed a fertility, which passed into a proverb, and was well known among the

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\(^1\) For the irrigation by means of shadufs, cf. *Homo of Civilization*, p. 794; the illustration on that page is taken from an Assyrian monument. The course of an Assyrian canal and the works undertaken to keep it up are described by E. Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 37, p. 310, 311; the inscriptions mention the opening of new and the cleaning out of old canals (*Assyries and Assyrians*, vol. iii. 173, and *Reading Inscriptions*, vol. ii. 20-24).
ancient; they yielded crops of cereals which rivalled those of Babylonia, and included among their produce wheat, barley, millet, and sesame. But few olive trees were cultivated, and the dates were of inferior quality; indeed, in the Greek period, these fruits were only used for fattening pigs and domestic animals. The orchards contained the pistachio, the apple, the pomegranate, the apricot, the vine, the almond, and the fig; and, in addition to the essences common to both Syria and Egypt, the country produced cedrars of a delicious scent which were supposed to be an antidote to all kinds of poisons. Assyria was not well wooded, except in the higher valleys, where willows and poplars bordered the rivers, and sycamores, beeches, limes, and plane trees abounded, besides several varieties of pines and oaks, including a dwarf species of the latter, from whose branches manna was obtained. This is a saccharine substance.

2 Pleyt, Nat. Hist., xii. 4.
3 Pleyt, Nat. Hist., xii. 2. For the history of this species, which was known in Egypt in the time of Thuthmosis III, cf. V. Lamy, Le Cestrier dans l'Antiquité, in les Annales de la Société d'Études, vol. 1861, vol. xiv.
4 For manna and the various ways of preparing it, cf. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottomane.
which is deposited in small lumps, and is found in greater abundance during wet years and especially on foggy days. When fresh, it has an agreeable taste and is pleasant to eat; but as it will not keep in its natural state, the women prepare it for exportation by dissolving it in boiling water, and evaporating it to a sweetish paste, which has more or less purgative qualities. The aspect of the country changes after crossing the Tigris westward. The slopes of Mount Massoe are everywhere furrowed with streams, which feed the Khabur and its principal affluent, the Kharmis; 1 woods become more frequent, and the valleys green and shady. The plains extending southwards, however, contain, like those of the Euphrates, beds of gypsum in the sub-soil, which render the water running through them brackish, and prevent the growth of vegetation. The effects of volcanic action are evident on the surface of these great steppes; blocks of basalt pierce through the soil, and near the embouchure of the Kharmis, a cone, composed of a mass of lava, cinders, and scoria, known as the Tell-Kokab, rises abruptly to a height of 325 feet. The mountain chain of Singar, which here reaches its western termination, is composed of a long ridge of soft white limestone, and seems to have been suddenly thrown up in one of the last geological upheavals which affected this part of the country; in some places it resembles a perpendicular wall, while in others it recedes in natural terraces which present the appearance of a gigantic flight of steps. The summit is often wooded, and the spurs covered with vineyards and fields, which flourish vigorously in the vicinity of streams; when these fail, however, the table-land resumes its desolate aspect, and stretches in bare and sandy undulations to the horizon, broken only where it is crossed by the Thartar, the sole river in this region which is not liable to be dried up, and whose banks may be traced by the scanty line of vegetation which it nourishes. 2

In a country thus unequally favoured by nature, the towns are necessarily distributed in a seemingly arbitrary fashion. Most of them are situated on the left bank of the Tigris, where the fertile nature of the soil enables it to support a dense population. They were all flourishing centres of population, and were in close proximity to each other, at all events during the centuries of Assyrian hegemony. 3 Three of them soon eclipsed their rivals in political and religious

1 The Kharmis is the Mygdonius of Greek geographers, the Thames of the Arabs; the latter name may be derived from Kharmis (C. Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 87, note 2). Semnanes, Keilschrift und Geschichte, p. 141; note 2, 532; Hourani, Geschichte des Babylon, pp. 577, note 24, or it may be that it merely presents a fortuitous resemblance in it (Schoeler, in the Zeitschrift des Deut. Morgen. Ge., vol. xii., p. 324).

2 For the country to the west of the Tigris, cf. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 120, et seq., where the author describes his journey to the Khabur and his return to Koyunjik.

3 We find, for example, in the inscription of Assurri (C. Rawlinson, Chal. Text. W. A., vol. iii. pl. 48), a long enumeration of towns and villages situated almost within the suburbs of Niniveh, on the banks of the Khabur (Niniveh, l'Assyrienne de Ninive, pp. 8, 9, 115-116).
importance; these were Kalakh and Ninua on the Tigris, and Arbailu, lying beyond the Upper Zab, in the broken plain which is a continuation eastwards of the first spurs of the Zagros. On the right bank, however, we find merely some dozen cities and towns, scattered about in places where there was a supply of water sufficient to enable the inhabitants to cultivate the soil; as, for example, Assur on the banks of the Tigris itself, Singara near the sources of the Tigris, and Ninua near those of the Kharmis, at the foot of the Masis. These cities were not all under the rule of one sovereign when Thothmes III. appeared in Syria, for the Egyptian monuments mention besides the kingdom of Assyria, that of Singara and Arapha in the upper basin of the Zab. Assyria, however, had already asserted her supremacy over this corner of Asia, and the remaining princes, even if they were not mere vicereges depending on her king, were not strong enough to withstand the stress of territory to build their own against her, since she was undisputed mistress of Assur, Arbeles, Kalakh, and Nineveh, the most important cities of the plain. Assur covered a considerable area, and the rectangular outline formed by the remains of its walls is still discernible on the surface of the soil. Within the circuit of the city rose a mound, which the ancient builders had transformed; by the addition of masses of brickwork, into a nearly square platform, surmounted by the usual palace, temple, and ziggurat; it was enclosed within a wall of squared stone, the settlements of which remain to the present day.

The name of Arbeles is written in a form which appears to signify "the town of the four gods" (Arbeh-s), cf. the analogous orthography of Arab-sa; the town of the four gods," which the Assyrians use for the name of the country of Assur (Kutusha, Welages, Paradise, pp. 124, 125, 150).

* Drawn by Boullier, from the cut in Latzer, Nimrud and Babylona, p. 231.


As this kingdom of Singara is mentioned in the Egyptian lists of Thothmes III. (W. M. Flinders Petrie, The Rise of Egypt, p. 219), Schneider was doubtless to it existence (Kernbach, Annalen des Altertumskunst, pp. 173, 174, note), but one of its kings is mentioned in a letter from the King of Amihu to Amenemhat IV. (Bentay-Werder, Tell al Amarna Tablet, No. 5, p. 134, No. 42, and p. 135, note 2); according to Neibuhr (Studien und Forschungen, etc., p. 31, note 10), the state of which Singara was the capital must have been identical, at least, in connection with the Miqma of the Egyptian texts (cf. what is said of Minnau on p. 145, note 2, of the present volume).

The Asirakhti of the Egyptian monuments has been identified with the Asirakht comes of the Greeks by Gruben (Geom. Entomologia, vol. 1, pp. 86, 86).

As Latzer, Nimrod and its Remains, vol. 1, p. 5, and vol. 2, pp. 48, 94. Airyworth has (Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. 11, p. 2) states the circumference of the principal mound of Kalab-Shergina in 4330 yards, which would make it one of the most extensive ruins in the whole country.
The whole pile was known as the "Ekhardugkarkura," or the "House of the terrestrial mountain,"¹ the sanctuary in whose decoration all the ancient sovereigns had vied with one another, including Samsiramman I and Trishum, who were merely viceroyers, dependent upon Babylon.² It was dedicated to Anshar, that duplicate of Anu who had led the armies of heaven in the struggle with Tiamat; the name Anshar, softened into Anahar, and subsequently into Ashshur, was first applied to the town and then to the whole country.³ The god himself was a deity of light, usually represented under the form of an armed man, wearing the tiara and having the lower half of his body concealed by a feathered disk. He was supposed to hover continually over the world, hurling fiery darts at the enemies of his people, and protecting his kingy worshippers under the shadow of his wings.⁴ Their wars were his wars, and he was with them in the thick of the attack, placing himself in the front rank with the soldiers,⁵ so that when he gained the victory, the bulk of the spoil—precious metals, gleanings of the battle-field, slaves and productive lands—fell to his share. The gods of the vanquished enemy, moreover, were, like their princes, forced to render him homage. In the person of the king he took their status prisoners, and shut them up in his sanctuary; sometimes he would engrave his name upon their figures and send them back to their respective temples, where the sight of them

¹ For the "terrestrial mountain," see what is said in Diwan of Civilization, pp. 343, 344. The name of this temple is met with for the first time in the inscription of Samsiramman I, discovered by G. Smith (H. Rawlinson, Can. Jot. W. Ar., vol. iv. pt. 13 verse, l. 28).


³ Another name of the town in later times was Puzilakk, "the town of the old emperor," or Shumri (Pa. Diament, Wo lag das Paradies? pp. 234, 235). Many Assyriologists believe that the name Assur, accurately written Aššur, signified "the plain at the edge of the water," i.e. Assar, and that it must have been applied to the town before being applied to the country and the god (Pa. Diament, Wo lag das Paradies? pp. 229-234; Honnert, Gesch. Roth. und Asyriens, pp. 289, 479).

⁴ Others, on the other hand, think, with more reason, that it was the god who gave his name to the town and the country (Schumacher, Die Keilschrift und das Alte Testament, 2nd edit., pp. 36-37); they make a point of the very ancient play of words, which in Assyria itself attributed the meaning "good god" to the word Assur (Oesterley, Grande Inscription du Perse de Khorsabad, in the Journal de l'Asia, 1855, vol. vi. p. 257).

⁵ Assur was the chief god of the Assurites, known from the same name in the Keilschrift and the Altes Testament, 2nd edit., pp. 36-37. His name is known to have been adopted by Hammur (Gesch. Roth. und Asyriens, p. 522, note 2), by Sennacherib (The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, pp. 125, 130), and by Yaldin (Gesch. Roth. und Asyriens, vol. i. p. 186).

⁶ See the picture of Assur, drawn by Fuchs-Guieu at the head of the present chapter, p. 367; cf. Layard, The Monuments of Niniveh, vol. i. p. 21. I have read, in describing the god, the very words of the inscriptions, pulkin anta muli Assur, "the best inspired by the splendor of Assur" (Inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I., vol. ii. 1. 38), or malek Assur, "the fearful brightness of Assur" (Assane of Assur, Cuneiform, vol. i. 11. 148).

⁷ In one of the pictures, for instance, representing the assault of a town, we see a small figure of the god, hurling darts against the enemy (Layard, Monuments of Niniveh, vol. i. p. 19). The inscriptions also state that the peoples "are alarmed and quit their cities before the name of Assur, the powerful one" (Assane of Assur, col. iii. h. 23-30).
would remind their worshippers of its own omnipotence. The goddess associated with him as his wife had given her name, Nita, to Nin-veh, and was, as the companion of the Chaldean Bel, styled the divine lady Belit; she was, in fact, a chaste and warlike Ishtar, who led the armies into battle with a boldness characteristic of her father. These two divinities formed as abstract and solitary pair, around whom neither story nor myth appears to have gathered, and who never became the centre of any complex belief. Assur seems to have had no parentage assigned to him, no statue erected to him, and he was

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Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from squashes brought back by M. de Morgan; cf. J. de Morgan,
not associated with the crowd of other divinities; on the contrary, he was called their lord, their "peerless king," and, as a proof of his supreme sovereignty over them, his name was inscribed at the head of their lists, before those of the triads constituted by the Chaldean priests—even before those of Anu, Bel, and Ea. The city of Assur, which had been the first to tender him allegiance for many years, took precedence of all the rest, in spite of the drawbacks with which it had to contend. Placed at the very edge of the Mesopotamian desert, it was exposed to the dry and burning winds which swept over the plains, so that by the end of the spring the heat rendered it almost intolerable as a residence. The Tigris, moreover, ran behind it, thus leaving it exposed to the attacks of the Babylomian armies, unprotected as it was by any natural fosse or rampart. The nature of the frontier was such as to afford it no safeguard; indeed, it had, on the contrary, to protect its frontier. Nineveh, on the other hand, was entrenched behind the Tigris and the Zab, and was thus secure from any sudden attack. Northerly and easterly winds prevailed during the summer, and the coolness of the night rendered the heat during the day more bearable. It became the custom for the kings and viceroys to pass the most trying months of the year at Nineveh, taking up their abode close to the temple of Nisâ, the Assyrian Ishtar, but they did not venture to make it their habitual residence, and consequently Assur remained the official capital and chief sanctuary of the empire. Here its rulers concentrated their treasures, their archives, their administrative offices, and the chief staff of the army; from this town they set out on their expeditions against the Cassanâ of Babylon or the mountaineers of the districts beyond the Tigris, and it was in this temple that they dedicated to the god the tenth of the spoil on their return from a successful campaign.

The struggle with Chaldaea, indeed, occupied the greater part of their energies, though it did not absorb all their resources, and often left them times of respite, of which they availed themselves to extend their domain to the north and east. We cannot yet tell which of the Assyrian sovereigns added the nearest provinces of the Upper Tigris to his realm; but when the names of those districts appear in history, they are already in a state of submission and vassalage, and their principal towns are governed by Assyrian officers in the same manner as those of Singara and Nisibis.
ASSURBANIPAL, the conqueror of the Cossaeans, had succeeded in establishing his authority over the turbulent horde of Sinbari which occupied the neighbourhood of the Mazina, between the Khubur and the Balikh, and extended perhaps as far as the Euphrates; at any rate, he was considered by posterity as the actual founder of the Assyrian empire in these districts.\footnote{The inscription of Assur-sharrat 1, style: the prince, who crushed the army of the Cossaeans, his enemies, and who enlarged the country and its limits (I. Sam. II. 21-23). The Cossaeans are usually thought to be the Cossaei, kings of Babylonia (Homer, Greek, Bibl., and Jav. pp. 490, 500), and not the mountain tribe.}

Belsharri had directed his efforts in another direction, and had conquered the petty kingdoms established on the slopes of the Iranian table-land, around the sources of the two Zabs, and those of the Radas and the Turaik.\footnote{The inscription of Asarsu-birtir 1, the prince of the Cossaeans, who crushed the army of the Cossaeans, his army, and who enlarged the country and its limits (I. Sam. II. 22-24).} Like Susiana, this part of the country was divided up into parallel valleys, separated from each other by broken ridges of limestone, and watered by the tributaries of the Tigris or their affluents. It was thickly strown with walled towns and villages; the latter, perched upon the precipitous mountain-summits, and surrounded by deep ravines, owed their security solely to their position,

\footnote{It is called, in an inscription of his great-grandson, Rammun-sirri 1, the powerful king who reconquered the territory and limits of Assyria (H. Ruta. A., C. X., 17; vol. iv. p. 44, note 23-24; Susana, Inscriptions de Rammun-sirri 1, in the Recueil de Triest, vol. xii. p. 130, 131, 20, 21; and J. Arm. The new Copy of Rammun-sirri 1's inscription, in the Zeitschrift, vol. ii. pp. 21-48; in Passau, Inscriptions de Monier-William 1, King of Assyria, pp. 13, 20, 78, 79; Passau-Deutschnieder, Royal Proclamation of Rammun-\footnote{Here, the prince of the Cossaeans, who crushed the army of the Cossaeans, his enemies, and who enlarged the country and its limits (I. Sam. II. 21-23). The Cossaeans are usually thought to be the Cossaei, kings of Babylonia (Homer, Greek, Bibl., and Jav. pp. 490, 500), and not the mountain tribe.}
and, indeed, needed no fortification. The country abounded in woods and pastures, interspersed with cornlands; access to it was gained by one or two passes on the eastern side, which thus permitted caravans or armies to reach the districts lying between the Erythrean and Caspian Seas. The tribes who inhabited it had been brought early under Chaldean civilization, and had adopted the cuneiform script; such of their monuments as are still extant resemble the bas-reliefs and inscriptions of Assyria. It is not always easy to determine the precise locality occupied by these various peoples; the Gutti were situated near the upper courses of the Tumrit and the Radanu, in the vicinity of the Kalshu; the Lulumé had settled in the neighbourhood of the Hatir, to the north of the desiles of Zohab; the Namar separated the Lulumé from Elam, and were situated half in the plain and half in the mountain, while the Araphsha occupied both banks of the Great Zab. Budhia carried his arms against these tribes, and obtained successes over the Turuki and the Nigimkhè, the princes of the Gutti and the Shutti, as well as over the Akhami and the Iauri. The chiefs of the Lulumé had long resisted the attacks of their neighbours, and one of them, Anubanimi, had engraved on the rocks overhanging the road not far from the village of Scipul, a bas-relief celebrating his own victories. He figures on it in full armour, wearing a turban on his head, and treading underfoot a fallen foe, while Ishtar of Arbela leads

1 Foucher has published an inscription of a king of Khaod, named Badehîlim, son of Bultahîl, written to Chaldees-Assyrians, and found in the temple of Shamash at Sippar, where the personage himself had dedicated it (Chaldéens Art illustré, by M. A. Rassam's latest discoveries, in the Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., vol. viii. pp. 331-333). Winckler gives another inscription of a king of the Gutti (Ein neuer veröffentlichter Text einer unbekannten Könige, in: die Zeitschr. f. vol. xxii. p. 400), which is also in Semitic and in cuneiform character.

2 The name is written sometimes Guti, as others Guti, which induced Foucher to believe that they were two different peoples (Descriptio de Mesopotamia, i., p. 75, note 1): the territory occupied by this nation must have been originally in the east of the Lesser Zab, in the upper basins of the Aheme and the Diyabat (Guillou, We leg des Parthes., p. 238, 239). Oppert proves in concise in the Gutti (the ancestors of the Goths, who, fifteen hundred years ago, pushed forward to the thirteenth century a.d., the earliest mention of the Germanic races) (Histoire de l'Empire, p. 10).

3 The people of Lulumé-Lullafhe have been pointed out as living to the east of the Lesser Zab by Schiaparelli (Reise in die Unterschiede der Gesammelten und Geschichteverzeichnete, p. 270, 271); their exact position, together with that of Moael-Pudli-Betir in whose neighbourhood they were, has been determined by Vercueil (Les deux écoles de Zabir, in: le Revue de Terre, vol. xii. pp. 194, 195).

4 For the locality of Namar, see the observations of Boccazzuillo, The Histoire of Namar, in the Royal Society, vol. v. pp. 120, 140.

5 Inscription of Inscription de Mesopotamia, l., recta, ii. 14-22. For the Gutti, see supra, note 2 of this page; the Shutti or Shutti, who are always found in connection with the Gutti, appear to have been the inhabitants of the lower mountain slopes which separate the basins of the Tigris with the regions of Elam to the south of Turki (St. Mercure, We leg des Parthes., p. 238, 239). The Akhami were neighbours of the Shutti and the Gutti, they were settled partly in the Mesopotamian plain and partly in the neighbourhood of Turki (Homer, Greek. Rel. and Ans., p. 132). The territory of the Shutti is not known; the Turkis and the Nigimkhè, the latter of whom are called Nigimkhè by Foucher, J. d'Archeologie, vol. xii. p. 12, and Nigand by Westermann, Greek. Rel. and Ans., p. 123, were probably situated somewhere to the east of the Great Zab, in the same way that Oppert connects the Goths with the Gutti, as Hanno may be in the Turki the Turks of a very early date (Greek. Rel. and Ans., p. 303).
towards him a flag of naked captives, bound ready for sacrifice. The resistance of the Lulumú was, however, finally overcome by Ramman-nirari, the son of Biddilu; he strengthened the suzerainty gained by his predecessor over the Gutí, the Cossána, and the Shubartí, and he employed the spoil taken from them in beautifying the temple of Assur. He had occasion to spend some time in the regions of the Upper Tigris, warring against the Shubartí, and a fine bronze sabre belonging to him has been found near Diarbekir, among the ruins of the ancient Amidi, where, no doubt, he had left it as an offering in one of the temples.

He was succeeded by Shalmaneswarí, better known to us as Shalmaneser I, one of the most powerful sovereigns of this heroic age of Assyrian history. His reign seems to have been one continuous war against the various races then in a state of ferment on the frontiers of his kingdom. He appears in the main to have met with success, and in a few years had doubled the extent of his dominions. His most formidable attacks were directed against the Aramaeans of Mount Massos, whose numerous tribes had advanced on one side till they had crossed the Tigris, while on the other they had pushed beyond the river Balith, and

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4 Shalmaneswarí, or Shalmaneswarí, signifies "the god Shalman (Shałman) is prince," as Pumil was the first to point out (The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. xvi, p. 181); cf. Schrader, Der Aufstand der Elamischen Schamain, in the Zeitschriften der Kultur, vol. xiv, pp. 187-194.

5 Some of the details of these campaigns have been preserved on the northpost stele of Assurnasirpal, published in H. Racinet, Cours des Arts, vol. ii, p. 23, vol. i, p. 23, Nos. 2. This was a compilation taken from the Annals of Assyria to elaborate the important acts of the king's predecessors. The events recorded in the third column (Poussard, Cuneiform Inscriptions, p. 232) were at first attributed to the reign of Tishpak, but see Fränkel, The Annals of Assyria, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. xvi, pp. 363, 367. Fr. Delitzsch was the first to recognize that they could be referred to the reign of this Shalmaneser (Die Sprache der Assyrier, p. 10, note 1), and his opinion is now accepted by all of the Assyriologists who have studied the question (Romme, Gesch. Ass. and Assyrik, pp. 107, 335; Schrader, Gesch. Ass. and Assyrik, p. 107, 335; Wissler, Assyriologische Forschungen, p. 110, 335; 124, 335; Hoernlé, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. i, pp. 38, 388).

had probably reached the Euphrates. He captured their towns one after another, razed their fortresses, smote the agricultural districts with fire and sword, and then turned upon the various peoples who had espoused their cause—the Kirkhu, the Huri, the Kharrin, and the Muzri, who inhabited the territory between the basins of the two great rivers; once, indeed, he even crossed the Euphrates and ventured within the country of Khuwagallat, a feat which his ancestors had never even attempted. He was recalled by a revolt which had broken out in the scattered cities of the district of Dur-Kurgabua; he crushed the rising in spite of the help which Kudash-manbarsih, King of Babylon, had given to the rebels, and was soon successful in subduing the princes of Luhiana. These were not the mids of a day's duration, undertaken, without any regard to the future, merely from love of rapine or adventure. Shalmaneser desired to bring the regions which he annexed permanently under the authority of Assyria, and to this end he established military colonies in suitable places, most of which were kept up long after his death. He seems to have directed the internal affairs of his kingdom with the same


2 The people of the country of Kukka, or Kukka, the Kirkha, occupied the region between the Tigis and Marzika and the mountains overlooking the lake of Urmia (Sennacher., Kerdeschilf, etc., pp. 145-147; Hommel, Gesch. Bab. und Ass., p. 303). The position of the Huri is not known, but it is certain that on one side they formed the Aramana, and that they were in the neighbourhood of Tukh (Trucan, Annals of Assurbanapal, vol. II., 930). The Kharrin is the Huran of the Halith, mentioned on p. 25, 27 of the present work.

3 The name of Muzri frequently occurs, and in various positions, among the countries mentioned by the Assyrian conquestors (Georg., Historia des Empires de Chaldeé et d'Assyrie, pp. 33, 109; Vir, Assurban., Siehe, die genaue unmittelbare Position in Egypte durch eine festere annahme, in Zehesch, 1878, pp. 21-23, 71, 72; Sennacher., Das Bachische Zentral und das äußliche Land des Muzri, in die Zeit des Borsippa, Gen., vol. XVI, pp. 438, 439, und Kerdeschilf, den Geschichtslehrer, p. 268-269). The frequency of its occurrence is easily explained if, according to Hommel (Gesch. Bab. und Ass., p. 305, note 3), we are in regard to it as a purely Assyrian term destined to designate the military commander or marshal of the country of different epochs of its history. The Muzri here in question is the borderland situated in the vicinity of Probi (Thes., Bab., Assyria Gesch., p. 311), probably the Sophene and the Gomtrizes of classical geographers; Winckler appears to me to exaggerate their importance when he says they were spread over the whole of Northern Syria as early as the time of Shalmaneser I. (Altdamascus Forschungen, p. 178).

4 Khuwagallat is the name of the province in which Muzri was placed (Sennacher., Kerdeschilf, p. 181, etc., etc., p. 326, 326); for the annihilation which has been attempted between this name, transcribed in Assur into Khulwagilla, and inscribed "Khuw the Great," and that of the Khul (cf. what I have already stated, supra, p. 392).

5 In interpreting this passage I have followed the translation of G. Smith (On Fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronicles, etc., in the Translations of the Her. Arch. Soc., vol. II., pp. 369, 369), who appears to have read the text when in a less mutilated state than it is now in (Hommel, Gesch. Bab. und Assyr., p. 417, note 2).

6 The campaign against the people of Luhiana is known to us through the fragmentary inscription discovered by G. Smith at Halac-Shergat (Assyria Discoveries, p. 334, 334); cf. Hommel, Gesch. Bab. und Assyr., pp. 368-367).

7 More than five centuries after the time of Shalmaneser I., Assyrian kings make mention of his

8 Lith., 184, vol. II., 7, 7, 9 of one of these colonies, established in the country of Dur-Bakba, of Halakulihu (or Halakulipha) near to the town of Daudammanu, not far from the sources of the Sebenni-anti (Sennacher., Die Kerdeschilf, den Geschichtslehrer, p. 238-238).
frenzies and energy which he displayed in his military expeditions. It was no light matter for the sovereign to decide on a change in the seat of government; he ran the risk of offending not merely his subjects, but the god who presided over the destinies of the State, and neither his throne nor his life would have been safe had he failed in his attempt. Shalmaneser, however, did not hesitate to make the change, once he was fully convinced of the drawbacks presented by Assur as a capital. True, he beautified the city, restored its temples, and permitted it to retain all its privileges and titles; but having done so, he migrated with his court to the town of Kalakh, where his descendants continued to reside for several centuries. His son Tukulti-ninurta made himself master of Babylon, and was the first of his race who was able to claim the title of King of Sumir and Akkad. The Cossacks were still suffering from their defeat at the hands of Hammurapi. Four of their princes had followed Nazimaruttash on the throne in rapid succession—Kadashmanturgu, Kadashmandaourishtu, who was attacked by Shalmaneser, a certain Imummattu whose name has been mutilated, and lastly, Shagarakkiliturishu. Ribiselshu, son of this latter, was in power at the moment when Tukulti-ninurta ascended the throne. War broke out between the two monarchs, but dragged on without any marked advantage on one side or the other, till at length the conflict was temporarily suspended by a treaty similar to others which had been signed in the course of the previous two or three centuries. The peace thus concluded might have lasted longer but for an unforeseen catastrophe which placed Babylon almost at the mercy of her rival. The Elamites had never abandoned their efforts to press in every conceivable way their claim to the supremacy, which, prior to Hammurapi,
had been exercised by their ancestors over the whole of Mesopotamia, they swept down on Karduniash with an impetuosity like that of the Assyrians, and probably with the same alternations of success and defeat. Their king, Kidinakhtutush, unexpectedly attacked Belnadinashumur, son of Bibisashu, appeared suddenly under the walls of Nipur and forced the defences of Dur-lim and Etigmarkalama. Belnadinashumur disappeared in the struggle after a reign of eighteen months. Tukulti-ninip left Belnadinashumur's successor, Kadashmankharbē II, no time to recover from this disaster, he attacked him in turn, carried Babylon by main force, and put a number of the inhabitants to the sword. He looted the palace and the temples, dragged the statue of Merodach from its sanctuary and carried it off into Assyria, together with the badges of supreme power; then, after appointing governors of his own in the various towns, he returned to Kalakh, laden with booty: he led captive with him several members of the royal family—among others, Rammānšumunur, the lawful successor of Bibisashu.

This first conquest of Chaldea did not, however, produce any lasting results. The fall of Babylon did not necessarily involve the subjection of the whole country, and the cities of the south showed a bold front to the foreign intruder, and remained faithful to Kadashmankharbē; on the death of the latter, some months after his defeat, they hailed as king a certain Rammānšumunadin, who by some means or other had made his escape from captivity. Rammānšumunadin proved himself a better man than his predecessors; when Kidinakhtutush, never dreaming, apparently, that he would meet with any serious resistance, came to claim his share of the spoil, he defeated him near Ishin, drove him out of the districts recently occupied by the Elamites, and so effectually retrieved his fortunes in this direction, that he was able to concentrate his whole attention on what was going on in the north. The effects of his victory soon became apparent: the nobles of Akkad and Karduniash declined to pay homage to their Assyrian governors, and, ousting them from the offices to which they had been appointed, restored Babylon to the independence which it had lost seven years previously. Tukulti-ninip, paid dearly for his incapacity to retain his conquests: his son Assurnazirpal I, combined with the principal officers, deposed him from the throne, and confined him in the fortified palace of Kar-Tukulti-ninip, which he had built not far from Kalakh, where he soon after contrived his assassination. About this time Rammānšumunadin disappears, and we can only suppose that the disasters of these last years had practically annihilated the Cossuan dynasty, for Rammānšumunur, who was a prisoner in Assyria, was chosen as his successor. The monuments tell us nothing definite of the troubles which next belittled the two kingdoms: we seem to gather, however, that Assyria became the scene of civil wars, and that the
sons of Tukulti-ninip fought for the crown among themselves. Tukulti-ninurta, who gained the upper hand at the end of six years, set Rammanshumur at liberty, probably with the view of purchasing the support of the Chaldeans, but he did not succeed in restoring his country to the position it had held under Shalmanesser and Tukulti-ninip. The history of Assyria presents a greater number of violent contrasts and extreme vicissitudes than that of any other Eastern people in the earliest times. No sooner had the Assyrians arrived, thanks to the ceaseless efforts of five or six generations, at the very summit of their ambition, than some incompetent, or perhaps merely unfortunate, king appeared on the scene, and lost in a few years all the ground which had been gained at the cost of such tremendous exertions: then the subject races would rebel, the neighbouring peoples would pluck up courage and reconquer the provinces which they had surrendered, till the dismembered empire gradually shrunk back to its original dimensions. As the fortunes of Babylon rose, those of Nineveh suffered a corresponding depression. Babylon soon became so powerful that Rammanshumur was able to adopt a patronising tone in his relations with Assur and Elam, the descendants of Tukulti-ninurta, who at one time shared the throne together. This period of subjection and humiliation did not last long. Balkudurunur, who appears on the throne not long after Assur and his partner, resumed military operations against the Cossans, but cautiously at first; and though he fell in the decisive engagement, yet Rammanshumur perished with him, and the two states were thus simultaneously left rudderless. Millishkim succeeded Rammanshumur, and Ninipahalesharra filled the place of Balkudurunur; the disastrous invasion of Assyria by the Chaldeans, and their subsequent retreat, at length led to an armistice, which, while it afforded...
evidence of the indisputable superiority of Milshikhu, proved no less plainly the independence of his rival. 1 Merodachabaliddina I. replaced Milshikhu. Zamamashumiddin followed Merodachabaliddina: Assurnasirpal son of Ninipakhalsharra, broke the treaty, captured the towns of Zalul, Irta, and Akarsallu, and succeeded in retaining them. The advantage thus gained was but a slight one, for these provinces lying between the two Zulas had long been subject to Assyria, and had been wrested from her since the days of Takulti-ninurta; however, it broke the run of ill luck which seemed to have pursued her so relentlessly, and opened the way for more important victories. 2 This was the last Cossan war; at any rate, the last of which we find any mention in history. Behulalshumunn II. reigned three years after Zamamashumiddin, but when he died there was no man of his family whom the priests could invite to lay hold of the hand of Merodach, and his dynasty ended with him. It included thirty-six kings, and had lasted five hundred and seventy-six years and six months. 3 It had enjoyed its moments of triumph, and at one time had almost seemed destined to conquer the whole of Asia; but it appears to have invariably failed just as it was on the point of reaching the goal, and it became completely exhausted by its victories at the end of every two or three generations. It had triumphed over Elam, and yet Elam remained a constant peril on its right. It had triumphed over Assyria, yet Assyria, after driving it back to the regions of the Upper Tigris, threatened to bar the road to the Mediterranean by means of its Masian colonies; were they once to succeed in this attempt, what hope would there be left to those who ruled in Babylonia ever after re-establishing the traditional empire of the ancient Sargon and Khammurabi?

The new dynasty sprang from a town in Pash, the geographical position


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
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<tr>
<td>Babshahrashum</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadshum</td>
<td>71 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shasshabashum</td>
<td>13 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheril</td>
<td>8 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hazshumunn II</td>
<td>1 year 8 months</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karsashumunn II</td>
<td>1 year 8 months</td>
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</tbody>
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Hilprecht (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. i. pp. 27, 28) and Winsch (Altorientalische Forschungen, p. 485) agree entirely in the restorations of this list. For the earlier part of it, see the incomplete tables given on pp. 113 and 104, supra. Behulalshumunn may have died about 1120 b.c., while twenty years or so.
of which is not known. It was of Babylonian origin, and its members placed, at the beginning of their protocols, formulae which were intended to indicate, in the clearest possible manner, the source from which they sprang: they declared themselves to be sons of Babylon, its vicegerents, and supreme masters. The names of the first two we do not know; the third, Nebuchadnezzar, shows himself to have been one of the most remarkable men of all those who flourished during this troubled era. At no time, perhaps, had Chaldaea been in a more abject state, or assailed by more active foes. The Elamite had just succeeded in wresting from her Namar, the region from whence the bulk of her chariot-horses were obtained, and this success had laid the provinces on the left bank of the Tigris open to their attacks. They had even crossed the river, pillaged Babylon, and carried away the statue of Bel and that of a goddess named Eriu, the patroness of Khuzai.  

Merozachi,
sore angered, held himself aloof from the country of Akkad;” the kings could no longer “take his hands” on their coming to the throne, and were obliged to reign without proper investiture in consequence of their failure to fulfill the rite required by religious laws.1 Nebuchadrezzar arose “in Babylon,—roaring like a lion, even as Hammâm roareth,—and his chosen nobles roared like lions with him.” To Merodach, lord of Babylon, rose his prayer:—“How long, for me, shall there be sighing and groaning?—How long, for my land, weeping and mourning?—How long, for my countries, cries of grief and tears? Till what time, O lord of Babylon, wilt thou remain in hostile regions?—Let thy heart be softened, and make Babylon joyful,—and let thy face be turned toward Eshaggil which thou lovest!” 2 Merodach gave ear to the plaint of his servant: he answered him graciously and promised his aid.3 Namar, united as it had been with Chaldea for centuries, did not readily become accustomed to its new masters. The greater part of the land belonged to a Semitic and Cossan feudality, the heads of which, while admitting their suzerain’s right to exact military service from them, refused to acknowledge any further duty towards him. The kings of Susa declined to recognise their privileges; they subjected them to a poll-tax, levied the usual imposts on their estates, and forced them to maintain at their own expense the troops quartered on them for the purpose of guaranteeing their obedience.4 Several of the nobles abandoned everything rather than submit to such tyranny, and took refuge with Nebuchadrezzar: others entered into secret negotiations with him, and promised to support him if he came to their help with an armed force.5 He took them at their word, and invaded Namar without warning in the month of Tammuz, while the summer was at its height, at a season in which the Elamites never even dreamt he would take the field. The heat was intense, water was not to be got, and the army suffered terribly from thirst during its forced march of over a hundred miles across a

1 In regard to this ceremony, see what has been said above on p. 24. The Donation to Shamash and Shammur, ii. 11, 12, informs us that Nebuchadrezzar took the hands of Bel us soon as he regained possession of the statue of Warki. An ensi-eineki of C. Bandi, to the Zehabnach (for Assyriology), vol. iv. pp. 459, 460, and on p. 614, supra. 2 A. Bummur, Nebukhadrezzar, i., in the Revue d’Assyriologie, vol. ii. pp. 76-79, the tablet K 3026, which is given in his text, is a copy according to the times of Assur-rib-lîṭit. 3 Shamms and Shammur “gad in like manner towards Karkhâmû, before the King of Elam,” (Donation to Shammas and Shammm, ii. 10-12), it would seem that Kiltimdana had entered into secret negotiations with Nebuchadrezzar, though this is nowhere explicitly stated in the text. 4 Donation to Kiltimdana, ch. ii. II. 45-46, and ch. ii. ii. 1-5, where the lamentations caused to suffer by the Babylonian kings who oppressed Namar are enumerated: these must evidently have been withdrawn by the Elamite king, since Nebuchadrezzar found it necessary to secure them.
parched-up country. One of the malcontents, Rittimerodach, lord of Bitkarzil-aknu, joined Nebuchadrezzar with all the men he could assemble, and together they penetrated as far as Uluh. The King of Elam, taken by surprise, made no attempt to check their progress, but collected his vessels and awaited their attack on the banks of the river in front of Susa. Once "the fire" of the combat "had been lighted between the opposing forces, the face of the sun grew dark, the tempest broke forth, the whirlwind raged, and in this whirlwind of the struggle none of the characters could distinguish the face of his neighbour." Nebuchadrezzar, cut off from his own men, was about to surrender or be killed, when Rittimerodach flew to his rescue and brought him off safely. In the end the Chaldeans gained the upper hand. The Elamites renounced their claims to the possession of Namur, and restored the statues of the gods; Nebuchadrezzar "at once laid hold of the hands of Bel," and thus legalised his accession to the throne. Other expeditions against the peoples of Lulume and against the Cossenans restored his supremacy in the regions of the north-east, and a campaign along the banks of the Euphrates opened out the road to Syria. He rewarded generously those who had accompanied him on his raid against Elam. After issuing regulations intended to maintain the purity of the breed of horses for which Namur was celebrated, he reinstated in their possessions Shammâ and his son Shamat, the descendants of one of the priestly families of the province, granting them in addition certain domains near Upi, at the mouth of the Turabî. He confirmed Rittimerodach in possession of all his property, and reinvested him with all the privileges of which the King of Elam had deprived him. From that time forward the domain of Bitkarzil-aknu was free of the tithe on corn, oxen, and sheep; it was no longer liable to provide horses and mares for the exchequer, or to afford free passage to troops in time of peace; the royal jurisdiction ceased on the boundary of the Bel, the seigniorial jurisdiction alone extended over the inhabitants and their property. Chaldean prefects ruled in Namur, at Khalmân.

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6. *Documents of Rittimerodach*, vol. i. ii. 12-61. The description of the battle as given in this document is generally taken to be merely symbolic, and I have followed the current usage. But if we bear in mind that the text later emphasises on the drought and severity of the season, we are tempted to agree with Piankoff and Bridge (On the Rise of Nebuchadrezzar I., in the Propositions, 1888-91, vol. i. p. 116) that its statements should be taken literally. The affair may have been begun in a cloud of dust, and have ended in a downpour of rain so heavy as to partly blind the combatants. The king was probably driven away from his camp in the confusion. It was probably then that he was in danger of being made prisoner, and that Rittimerodach, suddenly coming up, delivered him from the sight of his men who surrounded him.

7. *Documents to Sennacherib and Shalman*, ii. 7-14; vol. ii. 601, note 4, supra.

8. *Documents to Rittimerodach*, vol. i. ii. 9, 10; cf. Hommel's remarks on this passage in the Chaldaee text (Gebrüder Babylonian und jerusalem, pp. 551, 632).


1. The Chaldean prefect of Namur and the prefect of Khalmân are mentioned in the Documents to Rittimerodach, vol. i. ii. 52-68, and vol. ii. 10, 22, 25, 28.
and at the foot of the Zagros, and Nebuchadrezzar no longer found any to oppose him save the King of Assyria.

The long reign of Assurban in Assyria does not seem to have been distinguished by any event of importance either good or bad: it is true he won several towns on the south-east from the Babylonians, but then he lost several others on the north-west to the Mushki, and the loss on the one side fully balanced the advantage gained on the other. His son Mutaakilamaku lived in Assur at peace, but his grandson, Assurushash, was a mighty king, conqueror of a score of countries, and the terror of all rebels; he scattered the hordes of the Aklama and broke up their forces; then Ninip, the champion of the gods, permitted him to crush the Lulumus and the Guti in their valleys and on their mountains covered with forests. He made his way up to the frontiers of Elam, and his encroachments on territories claimed by Babylon stirred up the anger of the Chaldaans against him; Nebuchadrezzar made ready to dispute their ownership with him. The earlier engagements went against the Assyrians; they were driven back in disorder, but the victor lost time before one of their strongholds, and, winter coming on before he could take it, he burst his engines of war, set fire to his camp, and returned home. Next year, a rapid march carried him right under the walls of Assur; then Assurushash came to the rescue, totally routed his opponent, captured forty of his chariots, and drove him flying across the frontier. The war died out of itself, its end being marked by no treaty: such a state kept its traditional position and supremacy over the tribes inhabiting the basins of the Tigris and Euphrates.

1 Herrner, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 318.
2 Proven, a very simple calculation, that Assurban must have been the king whose reign the MS. maves the trend into the basin of the Upper Tigris and of the Haliki, which is mentioned in the Annals of Tilghash-pilassar, vol. I. (L. 32-50) of what is said on this point on p. 231, supra. These Annals, ed. vol. II. 49-54, are our authority for stating that Assurban was on the throne for a long period, though the exact length of his reign is not known.
3 Annals of Tilghash-pilassar, vol. II. 48-59. Mutaakilamaku himself has only left an inscription, in which he declares that he had built a palace to the city of Assyria (G. Schulten, Assyrische Denkmaler, pp. 142, 231).
5 Smith discovered certain fragments of Annals (afterwards published by Kautzsch, Gesamtliche Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, vol. II. pp. 222-223), which he attributed to Assurban; (Aspician Fastorum, p. 222); his view has been adopted by Herrner, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, pp. 311-312, of Assyriologist Nomos, in the Provenza, ibid. A. Soc. 1866-67, vol. x. p. 311. The longest of these texts, so we shall use later on, a campaign against Elam. Later attributed to Tilghash-pilassar I. (Kautzsch. Tilghash-pilassar’s L. 102, 104), and is supported in this by most Assyriologists of the day (Weissman, Die Epen der Tilghash-pilassar’s L., vol. I. pp. 30-32; Manasse, Die Assyrische Kultur in der Zeit der Assyraker, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. II. pp. 101-104).
The same names reappear in line after line of these mutilated Annals, and the
same definite enumerations of rebellious tribes who have been humbled or
punished. These kings of the plain, both Ninavite and Babylonian, were
continually raising the country up and down for centuries without ever arriving
at any decisive result, and a detailed account of their various campaigns would
be as tedious reading as that of the ceaseless struggle between the Latins and
Sabines which fills the opening pages of Roman history. Posterity soon grew
weary of them, and, misled by the splendid position which Assyria attained
when at the zenith of its glory, set itself to fabricate splendid antecedents for
the majestic empire established by the later dynasties. The legend ran that,
at the dawn of time, a chief named Ninus had reduced to subjection one after
the other—Babylonia, Media, Armenia, and all the provinces between the
Indies and the Mediterranean. He built a capital for himself on the banks of
the Tigris, in the form of a parallelogram, measuring a hundred and fifty stadia
in length, ninety stadia in width; altogether, the walls were four hundred and
eighty stadia in circumference. In addition to the Assyrians who formed the
bulk of the population, he attracted many foreigners to Nineveh, so that in a
few years it became the most flourishing town in the whole world. An inroad
of the tribes of the Oxiis interrupted his labours; Ninus repulsed the invasion,
and, driving the barbarians back into Bactria, laid siege to it; here, in the
tent of one of his captains, he came upon Semiramis, a woman whose past was
shrouded in mystery. She was said to be the daughter of an ordinary mortal
by a goddess, the Asselianian Derketo. Exposed immediately after her birth,
she was found and adopted by a shepherd named Simas, and later on her beauty
aroused the passion of Oannes, governor of Syria. Ninus, amazed at the
courage displayed by her on more than one occasion, carried her off, made her
his favourite wife, and finally met his death at her hands. No sooner did she
become queen than she founded Babylon on a far more extensive scale than
that of Nineveh. Its walls were three hundred and sixty stadia in length,
with two hundred and fifty lofty towers, placed here and there on its circuit,
the roadway round the top of the ramparts being wide enough for six chariots
to drive abreast. She made a kind of harbour in the Euphrates, threw a bridge
across it, and built quays one hundred and sixty stadia in length along its
course; in the midst of the town she raised a temple to Bel. This great work
was scarcely finished when disturbances broke out in Media; these she promptly
repressed, and set out on a tour of inspection through the whole of her
provinces, with a view to preventing the recurrence of similar outbreaks by her
presence. Wherever she went she left records of her passage behind her,
cutting her way through mountains, quarrying a pathway through the solid
rock, making broad highways for herself, bringing rebellious tribes beneath her yoke, and raising tumuli to mark the tombs of such of her satraps as fell beneath the blows of the enemy. She built Ecbatana in Media, Semiramis on Lake Van in Armenia, and Taras in Cilicia; then, having reached the confines of Syria, she crossed the isthmus, and conquered Egypt and Ethiopia. The far-famed wealth of India recalled her from the banks of the Nile to those of the Euphrates, en route for the remote east, but at this point her good fortune forsook her; she was defeated by King Strato-bates, and returned to her own dominions, never again to leave them. She had set up triumphal steles on the boundaries of the habitable globe, in the very midst of Scythia, not far from the Iaxartes, where centuries afterwards, Alexander of Macedon read the panegyric of herself which she had caused to be engraved there. "Nature," she writes, "gave me the body of a woman, but my deeds have put me on a level with the greatest of men. I ruled over the dominion of Nine, which extends eastwards to the river Hinman, southwards to the countries of Incense and Myrrh, and northwards as far as the Sacae and Sagitians. Before my time no Assyrian had ever set eyes on the sea; I have seen four oceans to which no mariner has ever sailed; so far remote are they. I have made rivers to flow where I would have them, in the places where they were needed; thus did I render fertile the barren soil by watering it with my rivers. I raised up impregnable fortresses, and cut roadways through the solid rock with the pick. I opened a way for the wheels of my chariots in places to which even the feet of wild beasts had never penetrated. And, amidst all these labours, I yet found time for my pleasures and for the society of my friends." On discovering that her son Ninus was plotting her assassination, she at once abdicated in his favour, in order to save him from committing a crime, and then transformed herself into a dove; this last incident betrays the goddess to us. Ninus and Semiramis are purely mythical, and their mighty deeds, like those ascribed to Ishtar and Gilgamesh, must be placed in the same category as those other fables with which the Babylonian legends strive to fill up the blank of the prehistoric period.


2 The legend of Ninus and Semiramis is taken from Diodorus Sicius, lib. 1, 29, where reproductions are found word for word, the version of Ossian (Geste Cést de Fréjus, ed. Mitter-Douay, pp. 19-20). As to the relation of Semiramis to the Babylonian legend, of the augmented work by F. Lucchini, La Leggenda di Semiramis, 1873; this ought to be more brought up to date by the addition of what we know concerning the adventures of Ishtar and Gilgamesh and other Chaldean shamans (cf. what is said on this point by Median, Days of Creation, 2nd edn., pp. 380-382).
The real facts were, as we know, far less brilliant and less extravagant than those supplied by popular imagination. It would be a mistake, however, to neglect or despise them on account of their tedious monotony and the insignificance of the characters who appear on the stage. It was by dint of fighting her neighbours again and again, without a single day’s respite, that Rome succeeded in forging the weapons with which she was to conquer the world; and any one who, repelled by their tedious sameness, neglected to follow the history of her early struggles, would find great difficulty in understanding how it came about that a city which had taken centuries to subjugate her immediate neighbours should afterwards overcome all the states on the Mediterranean seaboard with such magnificent ease. In much the same way the ceaseless struggles of Assyria with the Chaldeans, and with the mountain tribes of the Zagros Chain, were unconsciously preparing her for those lightning-like campaigns in which she afterwards overthrew all the civilized nations of the East one after another. It was only at the cost of unparalleled exertions that she succeeded in solidly welding together the various provinces within her borders, and in kneading (so to speak) the many and diverse elements of her vast population into one compact mass, containing in itself all that was useful for its support, and able to bear the strain of war for several years at a time without giving way, and rich enough in men and horses to provide the material for an effective army without excessive impoverishment of her trade or agriculture. The race came of an old Semitic strain, somewhat crude as yet, and almost entirely free from that repeated admixture of foreign elements which had marred the purity of the Babylonian stock. The monuments show us a type similar in many respects to that which we find to-day on the slopes of Singar, or in the valleys to the east of Mosul. The figures on the monuments are tall and straight, broad-shouldered and wide in the hips, the arms well developed, the legs robust, with good substantial feet. The swell of the muscles on the naked limbs is perhaps exaggerated, but this very exaggeration of the modelling suggests the vigour of the model; it is a heavier, more rustic type than the

2. As to these modern Chaldeans and the type which they now represent, cf. what is said by one of the first travellers to come in contact with them during the present century, A. Renan, Neddar in Neddada, vol. i. p. 278.
Egyptian, promising greater strength and power of resistance, and in so far an indisputable superiority in the great game of war. The head is somewhat small, the forehead low and flat, the eyebrows heavy, the eye of a bold almond shape, with heavy lids, the nose aquiline, and full at the tip, with wide nostrils terminating in a hard well-defined curve; the lips are thick and full, the chin bony, while the face is framed by the coarse dark wavy hair and beard, which fall in curly masses over the nape of the neck and the breast. The expression of the face is rarely of an amiable and smiling type, such as we find in the statues of the Theban period or in those of the Memphite empire, nor, as a matter of fact, did the Assyrian pride himself on the gentleness of his manners: he did not overflow with love for his fellow-man, as the Egyptian made a pretence of doing; on the contrary, he was stiff-necked and proud, without pity for others or for himself, hot-tempered and quarrelsome like his cousins of Chaldea, but less turbulent and more capable of strict discipline. It mattered not whether he had come into the world in one of the wretched cabins of a fellah village, or in the palace of one of the great nobles; he was a born soldier, and his whole education tended to develop in him the first qualities of the soldier—temperance, patience, energy, and unquestioning obedience; he was enrolled in an army which was always on a war footing, commanded by the god Assur, and under Assur, by the king, the viceroy, and representative of the god. His life was shut in by the same network of legal restrictions which confined that of the Babylonians, and all its more important events had to be recorded on tablets of clay; the wording of contracts, the formalities of marriage or adoption, the status of bond and free, the rites of the dead and funeral ceremonies, had either remained identical with those in use during the earliest years of the cities of the Lower Euphrates, or differed from them only in their less important details. The royal and municipal governments levied the same taxes, used the same procedure, employed the same magistrates, and the grades of their hierarchy were the same, with one exception. After the king, the highest office was filled by a soldier, the tartan who saw to the recruiting of the troops, and led them in time of war, or took command of the staff-corps whenever the sovereign himself deigned to appear on the scene of action. The more influential of these functionaries bore, in addition to their other titles, one of a special nature, which, for the space of one year, made its holder the most conspicuous man in the country; they became himm, and throughout

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* In regard to all these points, cf. what is said in MACCABEUS, Jaws of Civiliization, p. 743, et seq. 2nd ed.

* We can determine the rank occupied by the tartan at court by the position they occupy in the lists of synonymous names: they invariably come next after the king—a fact which was noticed many years ago (O. SERTOR. The Assyrian Epigraphic Games, pp. 24-26; cf. TACITUS, Silvae, Arsuci(i)Standartiae (Geschichte, pp. 425, 426).
their term of office their names appeared on all official documents. The Chaldeans distinguished the various years of each reign by a reference to some event which had taken place in each; the Assyrians named them after the _lamma._ The king was the _ex-officio lamma_ for the year following that of

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his accession, then after him the _kurus_, then the ministers and governors of provinces and cities in an order which varied little from reign to reign. The names of the _lamma_ entered in registers and tabulated—just as, later on, were those of the Greek archons and Roman consuls—furnished the annalists with a rigid chronological system, under which the facts of history might be arranged with certainty.  

As to the system adopted by the Chaldean kings in naming the years, &c. what is said in Mataro, _Draw of Civilization_, pp. 704, 705. According to Delitzsch, the term _lamma_ or _lamma_ (Assyrian: _Landesjahr_, p. 379, &c.) meant at first any given period, then later more especially the year during which a magistrate filled his office; in the opinion of most other Assyriologists it referred to the magistrate himself as _spondymus_ or _archon_.


The list of _lamma_ was discovered by H. Rawlinson (_The Ninevite_, 1882, p. 724; cf. Opersart, _Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Xviieme et xviere Sius de Ninive_, pp. 477, 518). The earliest original are given by H. Rawlinson, _Cav. X., W._ A., vol. ii. pp. 68, 69, vol. iii. p. 1, and in Pa. Belaram, _Assyrieh Lexicon_, 2nd edit., pp. 87-98; the translation of the whole is as far as it was known twenty years ago, has been given by G. Schroter, _The Assyrian Epics and Cese_, pp. 29-77, and more recently by Schrama, _Die Assyriscte Epimnesia_, in the _Khartumffidah Bibliothek_, vol. i. pp. 203-213, and vol. iii. p. 2, pp. 142-147. The portions which have been preserved extend from the year 635 in the year 605 a.C. without a break. In the periods previous and subsequent to this we have only names scattered here and there which it has not been possible to classify: the earliest _lamma_ known at present commenced under Hammurabi 1, and was named Mahdinakkil...
The king still retained the sacerdotal attributes with which Chaldean monarchs had been invested from the earliest times, but contact with the Egyptians had modified the popular conception of his personality. His subjects were no longer satisfied to regard him merely as a man superior to his fellow-men; they had come to discover something of the divine nature in him, and sometimes identified him—not with Assur, the master of all things, who occupied a position too high above the pale of ordinary humanity—but with one of the demi-gods of the second rank, Shamash, the Sun, the deity whom the Pharaoh pretended to represent in flesh and blood here below. His courtiers, therefore, went as far as to call him “Sun” when they addressed him, and he himself adopted this title in his inscriptions. Formerly he had only attained this apotheosis after death, later on he was permitted to aspire to it during his lifetime. The Chaldeans adopted the same attitude, and in both countries the royal authority alone with the

(Forsee, Die Schipkulinenfisch Bankh. des leh Bildhauerv goldene-Mittelalter, vol. 1, pp. 9, 9). Three different versions of the scene have come down to us. In the most important one the names of the sacerdotal officials are written one after another without titles or any mention of important events; in the other two, the titles of each personage, and any important occurrences which took place during his year of office, are entered after the name.

1 Drawn by Hendin, from a bas-relief in the British Museum; cf. Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. 1, pl. 10.

2 Nearchus, in Aristobulus, Meg. 2, XXXVII, 39, 34, and Hiltrop correctly, here as Shemesh Nabi, the “Sun of all nations” (Agamemnon, ed. 1. 1. 35; cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon, ed. 1. 1. 35; cf. Agamemnon, ed. 1. 1. 35). Title is of opinion that these expressions are simply a trace of the ancient conception of the god, as was the case in Egypt, but that they are in no literal expression (Hiltrop, “Dioscoro des Charlotte, p. 627).

3 In regard to the apotheosis of the Chaldaean kings after their death, cf. Schuller, Die Cultus des Gudulo, in the Denkmale von Freunds, vol. XXIII, pp. 68-75, where evidence of the worship of Gudulo and Dungi is put forward.
borrowed lustre of divine omnipotence. With these exceptions life at court remained very much the same as it had been; at Nineveh, as at Babylon, we find harems filled with foreign princesses, who had either been carried off as hostages from the country of a defeated enemy, or amicably obtained from their parents. In time of war, the command of the troops and the dangers of the battle-field; in time of peace, a host of religious ceremonies

and judicial or administrative duties, left but little leisure to the sovereign who desired to perform conscientiously all that was required of him. His chief amusement lay in the hunting of wild beasts; the majority of the princes who reigned over Assyria had a better right than even Amen-ophis III. himself to boast of the hundreds of lions which they had slain. They set out on these hunting expeditions with quite a small army of charioteers and infantry, and were often away several days at a time, provided urgent business did not require their presence in the palace. They started their quarry with the help of large dogs, and followed it over hill and dale till they got within bow-shot; if it was but slightly wounded and turned on them, they gave it the finishing stroke with their lances without dismounting. Occasionally, however, they were obliged to follow their prey into places where

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2. As to the private and public life of Chaimian monarchs of the First Empire, cf. what is said in Ma.as'mis, Pharoah of Conquered, 2nd ed., p. 302, et seq.

3. Of what is written on p. 239, supra, in regard to the lion-hunts of Amenophis III. The story connected with the hunting expeditions of the Assyrian kings have been collected by G. Rawlinson, The First Great Monarchies, 2nd ed., vol. 1 pp. 344, 346, 349-351, 352-353.

horses could not easily penetrate; then a hand-to-hand conflict was inevitable. The lion would rise on its hind quarters and endeavour to lay its pursuer low with a stroke of its mighty paw, but only to fall pierced to the heart by his lance or sword. This kind of encounter demanded great presence of mind and steadiness of hand; the Assyrians were, therefore, trained to it from their youth up, and no hunter was permitted to engage in these terrible encounters without long preliminary practice. Seeing the lion as they did so frequently, and at such close quarters, they came to know it quite as well as the Egyptians, and their sculptors reproduce it with a realism and technical skill which have been rarely equalled in modern times. But while the Theban artist generally represents it in an attitude of repose, the Assyrians prefer to show it in violent action in all the various attitudes which it assumes during a struggle, either crouching as it prepares to spring, or fully extended in the act of leaping; sometimes it rears into an upright position, with arched back, gaping jaws, and claws protruded, ready to bite or strike its foe; at others it writhes under a spear-thrust, or rolls over and over in its dying agonies. In one instance, an arrow has pierced the skull of a male lion, crashing through the frontal bone a little above the left eyebrow, and protrudes obliquely to the right between his teeth; under the shock of the blow he has risen on his hind legs, with contorted spine, and beats the air with his fore paws, his head thrown back as

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though to free himself of the fatal shaft. Not far from him the lioness lies stretched out upon its back in the rigidity of death.\textsuperscript{5}

The “rimu,” or urus, was, perhaps, even a more formidable animal to encounter than any of the felidae, owing to the irresistible fury of his attack. No one would dare, except in a case of dire necessity, to meet him on foot. The loose flowing robes which the king and the nobles never put aside—not even in such perilous pastimes as these—were ill fitted for the quick movements required to avoid the attack of such an animal, and those who were unlucky enough to quit their chariot ran a terrible risk of being gored or trodden underfoot in the encounter. It was the custom, therefore, to attack the beast by arrows, and to keep it at a distance. If the animal were able to come up with its pursuer, the latter endeavoured to seize it by the horn at the moment when it lowered its head, and to drive his dagger into its neck. If the blow were adroitly given it severed the spinal cord, and the beast fell in a heap as if struck by lightning.\textsuperscript{6} A victory over such animals was an occasion for rejoicing, and solemn thanks were offered to Assur and Ishtar, the patrons of the chase, at the usual evening sacrifice. The slain beasts, whether lion or urus, were arranged in a row before the altar, while the king, accompanied by his flabella- and umbrella-bearers, stood alongside them, holding his bow in his left hand. While the singers intoned the hymn of thanksgiving to the accompaniment of the harp, the monarch took the bowl of sacred wine, touched his lips with it, and then poured a portion of the contents on the heads of the victims. A detailed account of each hunting exploit was preserved for posterity either in inscriptions or on bas-reliefs.\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{5} See the cut of a lion rutting in blood on p. 328 of the \textit{Dance of Civilisation}.

\textsuperscript{6} Drawn by Puncher & Chapman; see the initial letter at the beginning of chap. vi., on p. 569, supra.

\textsuperscript{7} See the “rimu,” see \textit{Dance of Civilisation}, pp. 530, 539.

\textsuperscript{8} Annals of Tiglath-pileser I., col. vi. H. 59-84, where the king counts the number of the victims: 4 urus, 10 male elephants, 829 lions slain in single combat, 420 lions killed by arrows; let by his soldiers; \textit{The Roman Bible}, col. i. v. 12-22 (LXX.: \textit{De Israk’ber, Tiglath-pileser's I.}, pp. 24-57, 195, 197). Annals of Assur-nanne-pil, \textit{Lilim}; \textit{Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Characters,} pl. 45, H. 12-28, in which the king boasts of having slain 30 elephants, 250 urus, and 470 lions.
The chase was in those days of great service to the rural population; the kings also considered it to be one of the duties attached to their office, and on a level with their obligation to make war on neighbouring nations devoted by the will of Assur to defeat and destruction.

The army charged to carry out the will of the god had not yet acquired the homogeneity and efficiency which it afterwards attained, yet it had been for some time one of the most formidable in the world, and even the Egyptians themselves, in spite of their long experience in military matters, could not put into the field such a proud array of effective troops. We do not know how this army was recruited, but the bulk of it was made up of native levies, to which foreign auxiliaries were added in numbers varying with the times. A permanent nucleus of troops was always in garrison in the capital under the "tartan," or placed in the principal towns at the disposal of the governors. The contingents which came to be enrolled at these centres on the first rumour of war were such as had been trained in the art of war in the provincial cities.

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1. Drawn by Rowland, from a photograph by Manzelli, taken in the British Museum.
2. Everything bearing on the military affairs of the country is dealt with in detail in J. Reade's, The Five Great Monarchies, 2nd edit., vol. 1, pp. 498-884; cf. Th. Babyloniach Assyriaca Geschichte, pp. 562-563; Deissmann-Höecht, Geschichte Babyloniaca und Assyrícia, 2nd edit., pp. 113-115; Winckeln, Geschichte Babyloniaca und Assyrícia, pp. 219, 220. We have no bas-relief representing the names of Tiglath-pileser I. Everything in the description which follows is taken from the monuments of Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II., revised as far as possible by the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser; the account of both infantry and chariots must have been practically the same in the two periods.

3. This is based on the account given in the Ode of Shulmanezer, where the king, for example, after having gathered his soldiers together at Kalushh (Gushl), put at their head Dilmunuz the son, "the master of his innumerable troops" (II. 148-149); cf. II. 141, 142, 413, 170).
of war may have been taken from among the feudal militia, as was the custom in the Nile valley, or the whole population may have had to render personal military service, each receiving while with the colours a certain daily pay. The nobles and feudal lords were accustomed to call their own people together, and either placed themselves at their head or commissioned an officer to act in their behalf. These recruits were subjected to the training necessary for their calling by exercises similar to those of the Egyptians, but of a rougher sort and better adapted to the cumbersome character of their equipment. The blacksmith's art had made such progress among the Assyrians since the times of Thutmose III and Ramses II, that both the character and the materials of the armour were entirely changed. While the Egyptian of old entered into the contest almost naked, and without other defence than a padded cap, a light shield, and a leather apron, the Assyrian of the new age set out for war almost cased in metal. The pikemen and archers of whom the infantry of the line was composed wore a copper or iron helmet, conical in form, and having cheek-pieces covering the ears; they were clad in a sort of leathern shirt covered with plates or imbricated scales of metal, which protected the body and the upper part of the arm; a quilted and padded loin-cloth came over the haunches, while close-fitting trousers, and buskins laced up in the front, completed their attire. The pikemen were armed with a lance six feet long, a cutlass or

1. The assembling of foot-soldiers and chariots is often described at the beginning of each campaign (Belish of Shalmaneser II., II. 22-25, 111, 156, 157). The Donnus of Bittimudda brings before us a great feudal lord, who leads his contingent to the King of Chaldea (cf. pp. 414, 415, supra), and anything which took place among the Babylonians had its counterpart among the Assyrians. Sometimes the king had need of all the march troops, and then it was said he "assembled the country" (Shalmaneser II., I. 91). Auxiliaries are mentioned, for example, in the Annals of Assurnasirpal, vol. III. 58-57, where the king, in his passage, rallies one after the other the troops of Hittites, of Arall, of Bit-Ashur, of Gerzimah, and of the Parthians.


3. For the armament of the armies of the Thutmose and Ramses, see supra, pp. 215-214, 218-220; for that of the Assyrians see the careful examination of the subject in G. Hawkins, op. cit. 2nd edit. pp. 428-482.

short sword passed through the girdle, and an enormous shield, sometimes round and convex, sometimes arched at the top and square at the bottom. The bowmen did not encumber themselves with a buckler, but carried, in addition to the bow and quiver, a poignard or mace. The light infantry consisted of pikemen and archers—each of whom wore a crested helmet and a round shield of wicker-work—of slingers and club-bearers, as well as of men armed with the two-bladed battle-axe. The chariots were heavier and larger than those of the Egyptians. They had high, strongly made wheels with eight spokes, and the body of the vehicle rested directly on the axle; the panels were of solid wood, sometimes covered with embossed or carved metal, but frequently painted; they were further decorated sometimes with gold, silver, or ivory mountings, and with precious stones. The pole, which was long and heavy, ended in a boss of carved wood or incised metal, representing a flower, a rosette, the muzzle of a lion, or a horse's head. It was attached to the axle under the floor of the vehicle, and as it had to bear a great strain, it was not only fixed to this point by leather thongs such as were employed in Egypt, but was bound to the front of the chariot by a crossbar shaped like a spindle, and covered with embroidered stuff—an arrangement which prevented its becoming detached when driving at full speed. A pair of horses were harnessed to it, and a third was attached to them on the right side for the use of a supplementary warrior, who could take the place of his comrades in case of accident, or, if he were wounded. The trappings were very simple; but sometimes there was added to these a thickly padded caparison, of which the various parts were fitted to the horse by tags so as to cover the upper part of his head, his neck, back, and breast. The usual complement of charioteers was two to each vehicle, as in Egypt, but sometimes, as among the

*Drawn by F. Raedeker-Roedeker. From Lassau's Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i, pl. 15, 16.*
Khâti, there were three—one on the left to direct the horses, a warrior, and an attendant who protected the other two with his shield; on some occasions a fourth was added as an extra assistant. The equipment of the charioteers was like that of the infantry, and consisted of a jacket with imbricated scales of metal, bow and arrows, and a lance or javelin. A standard which served as a rallying-point for the chariots in the battle was set up on the front part of each vehicle, between the driver and the warrior; it bore at the top a disk supported on the heads of two bulls, or by two complete representations of these animals, and a standing figure of Assur letting fly his arrows. The chariots formed, as in most countries of that time, the picked troops of the service, in which the princes and great lords were proud to be enrolled. Upon it depended for the most part the issue of the conflict, and the position assigned to it was in the van, the king or commander-in-chief reserving to himself the privilege of conducting the charge in person. It was already, however, in a state of decadence, both as regards the number of units composing it and its

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1. Drawn by Foucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief on the bronze gates of Babylon.
3. Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. 1, pl. 111, 27; cf. the gem engraving on the title of the present work.
4. Eighth-plague is seen, by continuing, setting out on a campaign in a mountainous country with only thirty chariots (Asss., vol. II, p. 60–69).
methods of manoeuvring; the infantry, on the other hand, had increased in numbers, and under the guidance of abler generals tended to become the most trustworthy force in Assyrian campaigns.

Notwithstanding the weight of his equipment, the Assyrian foot-soldier was as agile as the Egyptian, but he had to fight usually in a much more difficult region than that in which the Pharaoh's troops were accustomed to manoeuvre. The theatre of war was not like Syria, with its fertile and almost unbroken plains furrowed by streams which offered little obstruction to troops throughout the year, but a land of marshes, arid and rocky deserts, mighty rivers, capable, in one of their sudden floods, of arresting progress for days, and of jeopardising the success of a campaign; violent and ice-cold torrents, rugged mountains whose summits rose into "points like daggers," and whose passes could be held against a host of invaders by a handful of resolute men.

Bands of daring skirmishers, consisting of archers, slingers, and pikemen.

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* Drawn by Foucher-Tardin, from one of the lions-palaces on the boundary gates of Balawat.

* Sensassuuth was obliged to arrest his march against Elam, owing to his inability to cross the torrent swollen by the rain (Taylor, Asia, col. 146, 74-75). A similar catastrophe must have met Assyrian arms on the banks of the Euphrates (Assam. col. 1, 96-103).

* The Assyrian monarchs dwell with pleasure on the difficulties of the country which they have to overcome; see, for instance, what Tiglath-pileser 3 says in his annals, col. 1, 21-22, 65-70, col. 12, 12-17. 49-70.
cleared the way for the mass of infantry marching in columns, and for the chariots, in the midst of which the king and his household took up their station: the baggage followed, together with the prisoners and their escorts. If they came to a river where there was neither ford nor bridge, they were not long in effecting a passage. Each soldier was provided with a skin, which, having inflated it by the strength of his lungs and closed the aperture, he embraced in his arms and cast himself into the stream. Partly by floating and partly by swimming, a whole regiment could soon reach the other side. The chariots could not be carried over so easily. If the bed of the river was not very wide, and the current not too violent, a narrow bridge was constructed, or rather an improvised dyke of large stones and rude gabions filled with clay, over which was spread a layer of branches and earth, supplying a sufficiently broad passage for a single chariot, of which the horses were led across at walking pace. But when the distance between the banks was too great, and the stream too violent to allow of this mode of procedure, boats were requisitioned from the neighbourhood, on which men and chariots were embarked, while the horses, attended by grooms, or attached by their bridle to the flotilla, swam across the river. If the troops had to pass through a mountaneous district intersected by ravines and covered by forests, and thus impracticable on ordinary occasions for a large body of men, the advance-guard were employed in cutting a passage through the trees with the axe, and, if necessary, in making with the pick pathways or rough-hewn steps similar to those met with in the

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1 Assurbanipal relates, for instance, that he put under his escort a tribe which had surrendered to themselves as prisoners (Assurbanipal Cylinder, ed. vii. ii. 77-81).
2 Drawn by Führer-Cadmus, from a bas-relief on the bronze gates of Hittites.
3 Flying bridges, hiradit, were mentioned as far back as the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (Ashurban., ed. vi. ii. 63, 70; cf. Laro, Die Aschenfels, Tiglath-pileser's I., p. 141). Those represented on pp. 820, 821 belong to the time of Shalmaneser II.
4 It was in this manner that Tiglath-pileser I. crossed the Euphrates on his way to the oasis of Carduchrisk (Assuras, ed. vi. ii. 37, 38.)
Lebanus on the Phoenician coast. The troops advanced in narrow columns, sometimes even in single file, along these improvised roads, always on the alert lest they should be taken at a disadvantage by an enemy concealed in the thickets. In case of attack, the foot-soldiers had each to think of himself, and endeavour to give as many blows as he received; but the charioteers, encumbered by their vehicles and the horses, found it no easy matter to extricate themselves from the danger. Once the chariots had entered into the forest region, the driver descended from his vehicle, and led the horses by the head, while the warrior and his assistant were not slow to follow his example, in order to give some respite to the animals by tugging at the wheels. The king alone did not disdain, more out of respect for his dignity than from indifference to the strain upon the animals; for, in spite of careful leading, he had to submit to a rough shaking from the inequalities of this rugged soil; sometimes he had too much of this, and it is related of him in his annals that he had crossed the mountains on foot like an ordinary mortal. A halt was made every evening, either at some village, whose inhabitants were obliged to provide food and lodging, or, in default of this, on some site which they could fortify by a hastily thrown up rampart of earth. If they were obliged to remain in any place for a length of time, a regular encircling wall was constructed, not square or rectangular like those

*See the account of the Tyrian Ladder at p. 150, supra. Tychichi-philos I. speaks on several occasions, and not without pride, of the roads that he had made for himself with bronze hatchets through the forests and over the mountains (Annales, col. II. II. 7-9, col. Ix. II. 86, 47).

*Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Mannes, taken in the British Museum.

*Annales of Tychichi-philos I, col. II. II. 52-77, col. III. II. 42-47, col. VI. II. 57-62. The same fact is found in the accounts of every expedition, but more importance is attached to it as we approach the end of the Neo-Assyrian empire, when the kings were not so well able to endure hardship. Sometimes mentions it on several occasions, with a certain amount of self-pride for the fatigue he had undergone, but with a real pride in his own endurance (Tellus Peres, col. I. II. 96-98, col. VI. II. 71-82).
of the Egyptians, but round or oval. It was made of dried brick, and provided with towers like an ancient city; indeed, many of these entrenched camps survived the occasion of their formation, and became small fortified towns or castles, whence a permanent garrison could command the neighbouring country. The interior was divided into four equal parts by two roads, intersecting each other at right angles. The royal tents, with their walls of felt or brown linen, resembled an actual palace, which could be moved from place to place; they were surrounded with less pretentious buildings reserved for the king’s household, and the stables. The tent-poles at the angles of these habitations were plated with metal, and terminated at their upper extremities in figures of goats and other animals made of the same material. The tents of the soldiers were conical in form, and each was maintained in its position by a forked pole placed inside. They contained the ordinary requirements of the peasant—bed and head-rest, table with legs like those of a gazelle, stools and folding-chairs; the household utensils and the provisions hung from the forks of the support. The monuments, which usually give few details of humble life, are remarkable for their complete reproductions of the daily scenes in the camp. We see on them the soldier making his bed, grinding corn, dressing the carcass of a sheep which he has just killed, or pouring out wine; the pot boiling on the fire is watched by the vigilant eye of a trooper or of a woman, while those not actively employed are grouped

1 The real inclines towards a square form, with rounded corners, on the bas-reliefs of the lower gate of Sinleton. II. at Babylon.

2 Drawn by Baudot, from Latham’s Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 35; vol. ii. pl. 60; 77, and vol. ii. pp. 34, 36, 50, where the usual scene of the sacrifice before the two royal standards is depicted.
together in twos and threes, eating, drinking, and chatting. A certain number of priests and soothsayers accompanied the army, but they did not bring the statues of their gods with them, the only emblems of the divinities seen in battle being the two royal ensigns, one representing Assur as lord of the territory, borne on a single bull and bending his bow, while the other depicted him standing on two bulls as King of Assyria. An altar smoked before the chariot on which these two standards were planted, and every night and morning the prince and his nobles laid offerings upon it, and recited prayers before it for the well-being of the army.

Military tactics had not made much progress since the time of the great Egyptian invasions. The Assyrian generals set out in haste from Nineveh or Assur in the hope of surprising their enemy, and they often succeeded in penetrating into the very heart of his country before he had time to mobilise or concentrate his forces. The work of subduing him was performed piecemeal; they devastated his fields, robbed his orchards, and, marching all through the night, they would arrive with such suddenness before one or other of his towns, that he would have no time to organise a defence. Most of their campaigns were mere forced marches across plains and mountains, without regular sieges or pitched battles. Should the enemy, however, seek an engagement, and the

1 It is possible that each of these standards corresponded to some dignity of the sovereign, the first belonging to him, as much as he was ari Hoschash, “King of the regions,” and the other, by virtue of his office, of shel Ashshur, “King of Assyria” (DEKKER-SCHUR, Der Heilige von Assur, in „Beiträge zur Assyriologie”, vol. III, p. 193).
2 Drawn by Foucher-Guille, from a photograph by Munsell, taken in the British Museum. The inhabitants of the town who have been taken prisoners, are leaving it with their cattle under the command of Assyrian soldiers; cf. what is said on this subject on pp. 339, 340 of the present work.
3 For Egyptian military tactics of the time of Thutmosis III, see supra, pp. 226-228, and pp. 432, 455, for those of the time of Ramses III.
4 Assurnasirpal mentions several night marches, which enabled him to reach the heart of the enemy’s country (Assane, vol. II, ii. 44, 49, 50).
men be drawn up in line to meet him, the action would be opened by archers and light troops armed with slings, who would be followed by the chariots and heavy infantry for close attack; a reserve of veterans would await around the commanding general the crucial moment of the engagement, when they would charge in a body among the combatants, and decide the victory by sheer strength of arm. The pursuit of the enemy was never carried to any considerable distance, for the men were needed to collect the spoil, despatch the wounded, and carry off the trophies of war. Such of the prisoners as it was deemed useful or politic to spare were stationed in a safe place under a guard of sentries. The remainder were condemned to death as they were brought in, and their execution took place without delay; they were made to kneel down, with their backs to the soldiery, their heads bowed, and their hands resting on a flat stone or a billeth of wood, in which position they were despatched with clubs. The scribes, standing before their tent doors, registered the number of heads cut off; each soldier, bringing his quota and throwing it upon the heap, gave in his name and the number of his company, and then withdrew in the hope of receiving a reward proportionate to the number of his

1 Cf. supra, pp. 614, 615, for the account of the battle in which Nebuchadnezzar I. vanquished the Edomites. Tigris-plata: I. mentions a pitched battle against the Muskhu, who numbered 20,000 men (Ass. Assy., vol. i. B. 62-82); and another against Killiushkim, King of Kassuakh (col. ii. B. 18-28), in his first campaign. In one of the following campaigns he overcame the peoples of Sharruma (col. iii. B. 69-84) and those of Murrash (col. iii. B. 102-103); and also 6000 Suri (col. iv. D. 9-21); after which he defeated 33 allied kings of Nahe, and took from them 120 chariots (col. iv. D. 74-96) and 20,000 people of Kammanu (col. iv. B. 86-96). This latter war is little more than a tale, during which he encountered mostly those who were incapable of offering him any resistance.

2 Drawn by Pester-Grunin, from Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 22; cf. vol. ii. pl. 19, 20, 22, 24. On p. 227 of the present work will be found a corresponding scene after an Egyptian battle, with the collection of phalli and hands cut off from the dead bodies of the enemy; this episode is taken from one of the bas-reliefs representing the victories of Ramses III. at Medinet-Habu.
victims. When the king happened to accompany the army, he always provided at this scene, and distributed largesse to those who had shown most bravery, in his absence he required that the heads of the enemy’s chiefs should be sent to him, in order that they might be exposed to his subjects on the gates of his capital. Sieges were lengthy and arduous undertakings. In the case of towns situated on the plain, the site was usually chosen so as to be protected by canals, or an arm of a river on two or three sides, thus leaving one side only without a natural defence, which the inhabitants endeavoured to make up for by means of double or triple ramparts. These fortifications must have resembled those of the Syrian towns; the walls were broad at the base, and, to prevent scaling, rose to a height of some thirty or forty feet; there were towers at intervals of a bowshot, from which the archers could seriously disconcert parties making attacks against any intervening points in the curtain wall; the massive gates were covered with raw hides, or were plated with metal to resist assaults by fire and axe, while, as soon as hostilities commenced, the defence was further completed by wooden scaffolding. Places thus fortified, however, at times fell almost without an attempt at resistance; the inhabitants, having descended into the lowlands to rescue their crops from the Assyrians, would be disbanded, and, while endeavouring to take refuge within their ramparts, would be pursued by the enemy, who would gain admittance with them in the general disorder. If the town did not fall into

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1. The details of this bringing of heads are known to us by representations of a later period; one of them is reproduced on p. 633. The allusions contained in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III, vol. 1, II, 58, 59, vol. ii. 4-6, show that the custom was in full force under the early Assyrian conquerors.
2. The town of Tell had three remaining walls (Annals of Assur-engzi-pal, vol. 1, II. 215, 214); that of Shumash had four (ibid., vol. II, 28, 29), and that of Bitana two (ibid., vol. II, 104, 105).
3. Drawn by Fairmarch and Gubbins, from Lewis, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. 1, pl. 47; scenes of attack are also to be found in the same work in vol. 1, pl. 23, 24, 25, and vol. ii. pl. 81.
4. For the system of fortifications employed by the town as the Napto, see J. Tischendorf, Die Inschriften &c. der Assyrisch., vol. ii., pp. 132-135.
5. As, for example, the town of Marash, in the Inschriften der Assyrisch., vol. ii., pp. 132-135.
their hands by some stroke of good fortune, they would at once attempt, by an immediate assault, to terrify the garrison into laying down their arms. The archers and slingers led the attack by advancing in couples till they were within the prescribed distance from the walls; one of the two taking careful aim, while the other sheltered his comrade behind his round-topped shield. The king himself would sometimes alight from his chariot and let fly his arrows in the front rank of the archers, while a handful of resolute men would rush against the gates of the town and attempt either to break them down or set them alight with torches. Another party, armed with stout helmets and quilted jerkins, which rendered them almost invulnerable to the shower of arrows or stones poured on them by the besieged, would attempt to undermine the walls by means of levers and pick-axes, and while thus engaged would be protected by mantlets fixed to the face of the walls, resembling in shape the shields of the archers. Often bodies of men would approach the suburbs of the city and endeavour to obtain access to the ramparts from the roofs of the houses in close proximity to the walls. If, however, they could gain admittance by none of these means, and time was of no consideration, they would resign themselves to a lengthy siege, and the blockade would commence by a systematic desolation of the surrounding country, in which the villages scattered over the plain would be burnt, the vines torn up, and all trees cut down. The Assyrians waged war with a brutality which the Egyptians would never have tolerated. Unlike the Pharaohs, their kings were not content to imprison or put to death the principal instigators of a revolt, but their wrath would fall upon the entire population. As long as a town resisted the efforts of their besieging force, all its inhabitants bearing arms who fell into their hands were subjected to the most cruel tortures; they were cut to pieces

1 Ausserampfiel, in this fashion, took the town of Pithis in two days, in spite of its strong double ramparts (Annals of Ashur-ampfiel, vol. ii. 211, 204-207).

2 Drawn by Pander-Frenk, from Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 29; for other scenes representing the setting of walls, cf. Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 29, 30, 40, and vol. ii. pl. 15.
or impaled alive on stakes, which were planted in the ground just in front of the lines, so that the besieged should enjoy a full view of the sufferings of their comrades. Even during the course of a short siege this line of stakes would be prolonged till it formed a bloody pale between the two contending armies. This horrible spectacle had at least the effect of shaking the courage of the besieged, and of hastening the end of hostilities. When at length the town yielded to the enemy, it was often rased to the ground, and salt was strewn upon its ruins, while the unfortunate inhabitants were either massacred or transplanted to some other place. If the bulk of the population were spared and condemned to exile, the wealthy and noble were shown no clemency: they were thrown from the top of the city towers, their ears and noses were cut off, their hands and feet were amputated, or they and their children were roasted over a slow fire, or flayed alive, or decapitated, and their heads piled up in a heap. The victorious sovereigns appear to have taken a pride in the ingenuity with which they varied these means of torture, and dwell with complacency on the recital of their cruelties. “I constructed a pillar at the gate of the city,” is the boast of one of them; “I then flayed the chief men, and covered the post with their skins; I suspended their dead bodies

A TOWN TAKEN BY SIEGE.*

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* For these lines of men impaled, see the representations of sieges in Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 24.
* This is what we seem to gather from a passage in the Amada of Tiggath-pileser I., col. vi. H. 12. 14, in which Pileser men in the kingdom Zopa, though not without hesitation, the word for rock-salt.
* Drawn by Foucher-Gaullin, from one of the bas-reliefs of the bronze gate of Bab-Isch. The two soldiers who represent the Assyrian army carry their shields before them, flames appear above the ramparts, showing that the conquerors have burnt the town.
from this same pillar, I impaled others on the summit of the pillar, and I ranged others on stakes around the pillar.\textsuperscript{1}

Two or three executions of this kind usually sufficed to demoralize the enemy. The remaining inhabitants assembled: terrified by the majesty of Assur, and as it were blinded by the brightness of his countenance, they sunk down at the knees of the victor and embraced his feet.\textsuperscript{3} The peace secured at the price of their freedom left them merely with their lives and such of their goods as could not be removed from the soil. The scribes thereupon surrounded the spoil seized by the soldiers, and drew up a detailed inventory of the prisoners and their property: everything worth carrying away to Assyria was promptly registered, and despatched to the capital. The contents of the royal palace led the way; it comprised the silver, gold, and copper of the vanquished prince, his caldrons, dishes and cups of brass, the women of his harem, the maidens of his household, his furniture and stuffs, horses and chariots, together with his men and women servants.\textsuperscript{8} The enemy’s gods,
like his kings, were despoiled of their possessions, and poor and rich suffered alike. The choicest of their troops were incorporated into the Assyrian regiments, and helped to fill the gaps which war had made in the ranks;[1] the peasantry and townsmen were sold as slaves, or were despatched with their families to till the domains of the king in some Assyrian village. The monuments often depict the exodus of these unfortunate wretches. They are represented as proceeding on their way in the charge of a few foot-soldiers—each of the men carrying, without any sign of labour, a bag of provisions, while the women bear their young children on their shoulders or in their arms; herds of cows and flocks of goats and sheep follow, chariots drawn by mules bringing up the rear with the baggage. While the crowd of non-combatants were conducted in irregular columns without manacles or chains, the veteran troops and the young men capable of bearing arms were usually bound together, and sometimes were further secured by a wooden collar placed on their necks. Many perished on the way from want or fatigue, but such as were fortunate enough to reach the end of the journey were rewarded with a small portion of land and a dwelling, becoming hereafter identified with the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Assyrians were planted as colonists in the subdued towns, and served to maintain there the authority of the conqueror.[2] The condition of the latter resembled to a great extent that of the old Egyptian vassals in Phoenicia or Southern Syria. They were allowed to retain their national constitution, rites, and even their


[4] Cf. what is said of these Assyrian colonies on pp. 600, 601, 603-605 of the present work.
sovereign; when, for instance, after some rebellion, one of these princes had been impaled or decapitated, his successor was always chosen from among the members of his own family, usually one of his sons, who was enthroned almost before his father had ceased to breathe. He was obliged to humiliate his own gods before Assur, to pay a yearly tribute, to render succour in case of necessity to the commanders of neighbouring garrisons, to

send his troops when required to swell the royal army; to give his sons or brothers as hostages; and to deliver up his own sisters and daughters, or those of his nobles, for the harem or the domestic service of the conqueror. The unfortunate prince soon resigned himself to this state of servitude; he would collect around him and reorganise his scattered subjects, restore them to their cities, rebuild their walls, replant the wasted orchards, and sow the devastated fields. A few years of relative peace and tranquillity, during which he strove to be forgotten by his conqueror, restored prosperity to his country; the population increased with extraordinary rapidity, and new generations arose who, unconscious of the disasters suffered by their predecessors, had but one aim, that of recovering their independence.

3 Drawn by Panchen-Malin, from a bas-relief of one of the gates of Balainz.
6 Annals of Assurnasirpal, col. ii. ii. 124, 125; col. iii. i. 74.
We must, however, beware of thinking that the defeat of these tribes was as
shocking or their desolation as terrible as the testimony of the inscriptions
would lead us to suppose. The rulers of Nineveh were but too apt to
relate that this or that country had been conquered and its people destroyed,
when the Assyrian army had remained merely a week or a fortnight within its
territory, had burnt some half-dozen fortified towns, and taken two or three
thousand prisoners. If we were to accept implicitly all that is recorded
of the Assyrian exploits in Naer or the Taurus, we should be led to believe
that for at least half a century the valleys of the Upper Tigris and Middle
Euphrates were transformed into a desert; each time, however, that they are
subsequently mentioned on the occasion of some fresh expedition, they appear
once more covered with thriving cities and a vigorous population, whose
generals offer an obstinate resistance to the invaders. We are, therefore,
forced to admit that the majority of these expeditions must be regarded as
mere raids. The population, disconcerted by a sudden attack, would take
refuge in the woods or on the mountains, carrying with them their gods, whom
they thus preserved from captivity, together with a portion of their treasures
and cattle; but no sooner had the invader retired, than they descended
once more into the plain and returned to their usual occupations. The
Assyrian victories thus rarely produced the decisive results which are claimed
for them; they almost always left the conquered people with sufficient energy
and resources to enable them to resume the conflict after a brief interval,
and the supremacy which the suzerain claimed as a result of his conquests
was of the most ephemeral nature. A revolt would suffice to shake it, while
a victory would be almost certain to destroy it, and once more reduce the
empire to the limits of Assyria proper.

Tukulti-Nabopolarsa, familiar to us under the name of Tiglath-pileser, is
the first of the great warlike-kings of Assyria to stand out before us with any definite
individuality. We find him, in the interval between two skirmishes, engaged
in hunting lions or in the pursuit of other wild beasts, and we see him lavish
offerings on the gods and enriching their temples with the spoils of his
victories; these, however, were not the normal occupations of this sovereign,
for peace with him was merely an interlude in a reign of conflict. He led all

* For example, Tiglath-pileser I. conquers the Kimmah in the first year of his reign, burning,
assailing, and depopulating the towns, and massacring "the remains of the Kimmah," who had
then taken refuge in the mountains (Assur, ed. L. 1:29, ed. II, II: 19, 30-32), after which, in his second
campaign, he again pillages, burns, destroys, and depopulates the towns, only again massacring the
remnants of the inhabitants hiding in the mountains (Assur, ed. II, II: 41-44). He makes the same
endeavors with regard to most of the other countries and peoples conquered by him, but we find
them accompanied with scarcely visible on the scene, soon after the suppressed destruction.


* Tiglath-pileser is one of the transcriptions given in the LXX, for the Hebrew word of the
same. If signification, "The child of Esarhaddon is my strength." By "the child of Esarhaddon," the Assyrians
like the Chaldeans, understood the child of Sham (LXX, the Emurs, the Tiglath-pileser's L, pp 1-2).
his expeditions in person, undeterred by any consideration of fatigue or danger, and scarcely had he returned from one arduous campaign, than he proceeded to sketch the plan of that for the following year; in short, he reigned only to wage war. His father, Assur-nasir-pal, had bequeathed him not only a prosperous kingdom, but a well-organised army, which he placed in the field without delay. During the fifty years since the Mushki, descending through the gorges of the Taurus, had invaded the Alai and the Purukuzu, Assyria had not only lost possession of all the countries bordering the left bank of the Euphrates, but the whole of Kummukh had withdrawn its allegiance from her, and had ceased to pay tribute. Tiglath-pileser had ascended the throne only a few weeks ago he quitted Assur, marched rapidly across Eastern Mesopotamia by the usual route, through Singar and Nish, and climbing the chain of the Kashiars, near Marikin, bore down into the very heart of Kummukh, where twenty thousand Mushki, under the command of five kings, resolutely awaited him. He repulsed them in the very first engagement, and pursued them hotly over hill and vale, pillaging the fields, and encircling the towns with trophies of human heads taken from the prisoners who had fallen into his hands; the survivors, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms, and were despatched to Assyria. The Kummukh contingents, however, had been separated in the rout from the Mushki, and had taken refuge beyond the Euphrates, near to the fortress of Shiriasha, where they imagined themselves in safety behind a rampart of mountains and forests. Tiglath-pileser managed, by cutting a road for his foot-soldiers and chariots, to reach their retreat: he stormed the place without apparent difficulty, massacred the defenders, and then turning upon the inhabitants of Kurkhi, who were on
their way to reinforce the besieged, drove their soldiers into the Nāmi, whose waters carried the corpses down to the Tigris. One of their princes, Kilitshub, son of Kaliteshup-Surup, had been made prisoner during the action. Tiglath-pileser sent him, together with his wives, children, treasures, and gods, to share the captivity of the Mushku; then retracing his steps, he crossed over to the right bank of the Tigris, and attacked the stronghold of Urkakhunum which crowned the summit of Panāri. The people, terror-stricken by the fate of their neighbours, seized their idols and hid themselves within the thickets like a flock of birds. Their chief, Shaditeshup, son of Khānuara, ventured from out of his hiding-place to meet the Assyrian conqueror, and prostrated himself at his feet. He delivered over his sons and the males of his family as hostages, and yielded up all his possessions in gold and copper, together with a hundred and twenty slaves and cattle of all kinds; Tiglath-pileser thereupon permitted him to keep his principalities under the suzerainty of Assyria, and such of his allies as followed his example obtained a similar concession. The king consecrated the tenth of the spoil thus received to the use of his god Assur and also to Ramman;6 but before returning to his capital, he suddenly resolved to make an expedition into the almost impenetrable regions which separated him from Lake Van. This district was, even more than at the present day, a confused labyrinth of wooded mountain ranges, through which the Eastern Tigris and its affluents poured their rapid waters in tortuous curves. As hitherto no army had succeeded in making its way through this territory with sufficient speed to surprise the fortified villages and scattered clans inhabiting the valleys and mountain slopes, Tiglath-pileser selected from his forces a small troop of light infantry and thirty chariots, with which he struck into the forests; but, on reaching

6 The name of Tiglath-pileser has been read Kiltshup, Kaliteshup, and lower down Shaditeshup. Fr. Lasserre connected them with the Assuric names listed under -Manahu, Kiltshup, Kaliteshup; he identified the same name as the first element of the Lydian name (Keltshup) of Sardis, and traced back Shaditeshup (Das antiquitas der Gesch, von, a. d. Orient., 1. c., pp. 32, 66, and Les Origines des Phéniciens, vol. iii., p. 76), v. Stier, The Monuments of the Bible, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch., 1855, vol. v., p. 281). Darius has shown that we ought to recognize in the second element the same of the god Teshub, Tashpa, Tashma, Teshpa (al. Kirpa, p. 305, note 1), and read Kiltshup, Kaliteshup, Shaditeshup (Gesenius, Grundriss der Bibl. Alterth. des 1. Theben, I, p. 165).
the Aruna, he was forced to abandon his chariotry and proceed with the foot-soldiers only. The Midish, terrified by his sudden appearance, fell an easy prey to the invader; the king scattered the troops hastily collected to oppose him, set fire to a few fortresses, seized the peasantry and their flocks, and demanded hostages and the usual tribute as a condition of peace. In his first campaign he thus reduced the upper and eastern half of Kurnukh, namely, the part extending to the north of the Tigris, while in the following campaign he turned his attention to the regions bounded by the Euphrates and by the western spurs of the Kashiari. The Alsi and the Pumkushzi had been disconcerted by his victories, and had yielded him their allegiance almost without a struggle. To the southward, the Kashkini and the Urumi, who had, to the number of four thousand, migrated from among the Khiti and compelled the towns of the Shubarti to break their alliance with the Ninivite kings, now made no attempt at resistance; they laid down their arms and yielded at discretion, giving up their goods and their hundred and twenty war chariots, and resigning themselves to the task of colonising a distant corner of Assyria. Other provinces, however, were not so easily dealt with; the inhabitants entrenched themselves within their wild valleys, from whence they had to be ousted by sheer force; in the end they always had to yield, and to undertake to pay an annual tribute. The Assyrian empire thus regained on this side the countries which Shalmanesser I. had lost, owing to the absorption of his energies and interests in the events which were taking place in Chaldea.

In his third campaign Tiglath-pileser succeeded in bringing about the pacification of the border provinces which shut in the basin of the Tigris in the north and east. The Kurkhi did not consider themselves conquered by the check they had received at the Nami; several of their tribes were stirring in Kharii, on the highlands above the Arzamu, and their restlessness threatened to infect such of their neighbours as had already submitted themselves to the Assyrian yoke. My master Assur commanded me to attack their grand summits, which no king has ever visited. I assembled my chariots and my foot-soldiers, and I passed between the Him and the Ali, by a difficult country, across cloud-capped mountains whose peaks were as the point of a dagger, and unfavourable to the progress of
my chariots; I therefore left my chariots in reserve, and I climbed these steep mountains. The community of the Kurkhi assembled its numerous troops, and in order to give me battle they entrenched themselves upon the Azubtagish; on the slopes of the mountain, in an inconvenient position, I came into conflict with them, and I vanquished them." This lesson cost them twenty-five towns, situated at the feet of the Afa, the Shu'ta, the Idni, the Sigm, the Silug, and the Arzamabin—all twenty-five being burnt to the ground. The dread of a similar fate impelled the neighbouring inhabitants of Adaduq to beg for a truce, which was granted to them; but the people of Saranah and of Ammanah, who "from all time had never known what it was to obey," were cut to pieces, and their survivors incorporated into the empire—a like fate overtaking the Ima and the Daria, who inhabited the Saharas. Beyond this, again, on the banks of the Lesser Zab and the confines of Amazumm, the principalities of Suraddush and of Saranah refused to come to terms. Tigrath-pileser broke their lines within sight of Suraddush, and entered the town with the fugitives in the confusion which ensued; this took place about the fourth hour of the day. The success was so prompt and complete, that the king was inclined to attribute it to the help of Ramman, and he made an offering to the temple of this god at Assur of all the copper, whether wrought or in ore, which was found among the spoil of the vanquished. He was recalled almost immediately after this victory by a solicitation among the Kurkhi near the sources of the Tigris. One of their tribes, known as the Sugi, who had not as yet suffered from the invaders, had concentrated round their standards contingents from some half-dozen cities, and the united force was, to the number of six thousand, drawn up on Mount Khirikha. Tigrath-pileser was again victorious, and took from them twenty-five statues of their gods, which he despatched to Assyria to be distributed among the sanctuaries of Belt at Assur, of Ann, Ramman, and of Ashkar. Winter obliged him to suspend operations. When he again resumed them at the beginning


2. Annales, see col. 111. 38–39; col. 151. 1–2 of Litt. Dr. Jastrow's Tigrath-pileser's I., pp. 28–29. According to the context, the Abuane ought to be between the Khirikha and the Saranah, probably between the Balatkhil and the Balatkhilish, in the neighborhood of Massilkh.

3. Annales, see col. 151. 1–2 of Litt. Dr. Jastrow's Tigrath-pileser's I., pp. 28–29. As Tigrath-pileser was forced to cross Mount Amman (see supra, p. 364) in order to reach the Ammanah and the Balatkhilish, these two countries, together with Ima and Daria, nominal by him Mirikh; ina is, indeed, mentioned as many to Atuhara, as an inscription of Shamsenus II., which obliges us to place it somewhere near the sources of the Balatkhilish (WATZER, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria, J. B. P. Soc., vol. viii. p. 309). The position of Suraddush and Saranah is indisputably pointed out by the mention of the Lesser Zab and the Saranah, the name of Saranah is probably preserved in that of Surah, former for the valley through which runs one of the tributaries of the Lesser Zab.

of his third year, both the Kumanak and the Kurkhi were so peaceably settled that he was able to carry his expeditions without fear of danger further north, into the regions of the Upper Euphrates between the Halys and Lake Van, a district then known as Natri. He marched diagonally across the plain of Diarbekir, penetrated through dense forests, climbed sixteen mountain ridges one after the other by paths hitherto considered impracticable, and finally crossed the Euphrates by improvised bridges, this being, as far as we know, the first time that an Assyrian monarch had ventured into the very heart of those countries which had formerly constituted the Hittite empire.

He found them occupied by rude and warlike tribes, who derived considerable wealth from working the mines, and possessed each their own special sanctuary, the ruins of which still appear above ground, and invite the attention of the explorer. Their fortresses must have all more or less resembled that city of the Perrians which flourished for so many ages just at the bend of the Halys; its site is still marked by a mound rising to some thirty feet above the plain, resembling the platforms on which the Chaldean temples were always built—a few walls of burnt brick, and within

2 For the city of the Perrians, the present Erykah, cf. Perrot-Chuissont, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 628-630. The mound of the palace of Erykah is probably later than the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta, and may be attributed to the 20th or 19th century before our era; they, however, probably give a very fair idea of what the houses of the Cappadocian region were like at the time of the first Assyrian invasions.
THE RISE OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

an enclosure, among the débris of rudely built houses, the ruins of some temples and palaces consisting of large irregular blocks of stone. Two colossal sphinxes guard the gateway of the principal edifice, and their presence proves with certainty how predominant was Egyptian influence even at this considerable distance from the banks of the Nile. They are not the ordinary sphinxes, with a human head surmounting the body of a lion couchant on its stone pedestal; but, like the Assyrian bulls, they are standing, and, to judge from the Hathorian heaks which fall on each side of their countenances, they must have been intended to represent a protecting goddess rather than a male deity. A remarkable emblem is carved on the side of the upright to which their bodies are attached; it is none other than the double-headed eagle, the prototype of which is not infrequently found at Tellish in Lower Chaldaea, among remains dating from the time of the kings and vicegerents of Lagash. The court or hall to which this gate gave access was decorated with bas-reliefs, which exhibit a glaring imitation of Babylonian art; we can still see on these the king, vested in his long flowing robes, praying before an altar, while further on is a procession of dignitaries following a troop of rams led by a priest to be sacrificed; another scene represents two individuals in the attitude of worship, wearing short linen cloths, and climbing a ladder whose upper end has an uncertain termination, while a third person applies his hands to his mouth in the performance of some mysterious

1. Drawn by Flandorff-Gleditsch from a photograph. This is the sphinx seen on the right of the illustration on p. 627. The sphinx to the left is reproduced in Flandorff-Gleditsch, Histoire de Chaldée, vol. iv., p. 603.


3. For the Chaldaean emblem of the double-headed eagle, cf. the illustration on pp. 603, 604 of the Times of Involution.
ceremony; beyond these are priests and priestesses moving in solemn file as if in the measured tread of some sacred dance; while in one corner we find the figure of a woman, probably a goddess, seated, holding in one band a flower, perhaps the full-blown lotus, and in the other a cup from which she is about to drink. The costume of all these figures is that which Chaldaean fashion had imposed upon the whole of Western Asia, and consisted of the long

heavy robe, falling from the shoulders to the feet, drawn in at the waist by a girdle; but it is to be noted that both sexes are shod with the turned-up shoes of the Hittites, and that the women wear high peaked caps. The composition of the scenes is rude, the drawing incorrect, and the general technique reminds us rather of the low reliefs of the Memphite or Theban sculptors than of the high projection characteristic of the artists of the Lower Euphrates. These slabs of sculptured stone formed a facing at the base of the now crumbling brick walls, the upper surface of which was covered with rough plastering. Here and there a few inscriptions reveal the name, titles, and parentage of some once celebrated personage, and mention the god in whose honour he had achieved the work. The characters in which these inscriptions are written are not, as a rule, incised in the stone, but are cut in relief upon its surface, and if some few of them may remind us of the

1 Freycinet, Description archéologique de la Thessalie, pls. xx, xliii, and Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, vol. 1, pp. 470, 472, 479.


Egyptian hieroglyphs, the majority are totally unlike them, both in form and execution. A careful examination of them reveals a medley of human and animal outlines, geometrical figures, and objects of daily use, which all doubtless corresponded to some letter or syllable, but to which we have as yet no trustworthy key. This system of writing is one of a whole group of

Asiatic scripts, specimens of which are common in this part of the world from Cretan to the banks of the Euphrates and Orontes. It is thought that the Khati must have already adopted it before their advent to power, and that it was they who propagated it in Northern Syria. It did not take the place of the cuneiform syllabary for ordinary purposes of daily life owing to its clumsiness and complex character, but its use was reserved for monumental inscriptions of a royal or religious kind, where it could be suitably employed as a framework to scenes or single figures. It, however, never presented the same graceful appearance and arrangement as was exhibited in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the signs placed side by side being out of proportion with each other so as to destroy the general harmony of the lines, and it must be regarded as a script still in process of

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2. For the Cretan inscriptions, see above, p. 425.
formation and not yet emerged from infancy. Every square yard of soil turned up among the ruins of the houses of Huyuk yields vestiges of tools, coarse pottery, terra-cotta and bronze statuettes of men and animals, and other objects of a not very high civilization. The few articles of luxury discovered, whether in furniture or utensils, were not indigenous products, but were imported for the most part from Chaldea, Syria, Phoenicia; and perhaps from Egypt; some objects, indeed, came from the coast-towns of the Aegean, thus showing that Western influence was already in contact with the traditions of the East. All the various races settled between the Halys and the Orontes were more or less imbued with this foreign civilization, and their monuments, though not nearly

1. Sayce, who was the first to attempt to decipher it, was struck by certain resemblances in its signs with those of the Cypriote syllabary. (The Remains of the Hittites, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. viii. p. 228, et seq.) On the other hand, claimed to have discovered certain analogies with the hieroglyphs (Hieroglyphische Inschriften, in the Palastinische Exped. Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1886, pp. 228, 231, 239-242). Since those first attempts, many tentative efforts have been made to understand these hieroglyphs. Huyuk was opposed to the usual theory that they were Hittite, and proposed to call them Anatolian (Jahrbuch des deutschen archologischen Institutes an Anatolien, in the Revue archéologique, vol. i. pp. 132-137). Annan, following Huyuk's theory, proposed to regard both the writing and the language as those of the Cilician Hittites (Grundlagen für eine Reinführung der Hittischen oder Ugaritischen Inschriften, in the Z. der D. Altertums Ges., vol. xii. p. 39). The Cappadocian tablets studied by P. Thümmler, Beschreibung der Keupferden Kollaktydteichie (in the Jahresberichte der Reuss Academy of Sciences, Philology and Hist. Sc. strut, vol. xiv. No. 4, pp. 267-278), probably belong to the period before or after Tiglath-pileser I; Annan, however, believes that they should be attributed to the earliest times of Assyrian history, before the 22nd century B.C. (Die Keupferden Kollaktydteichie, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. i. pp. 73-81).

so numerous as those of the Pharaohs and Ninevite kings, bear, nevertheless, an equally striking evidence of its power. Examples of it have been pointed out in a score of different places in the valleys of the Taurus and on the plains of Cappadocia, in bas-reliefs, stelae, seals, and intaglios, several of which must be nearly contemporaneous with the first Assyrian conquest. One instance of

it appears on the rocks at Ibriz, where a king stands in a devout attitude before a jovial giant whose hands are full of grapes and wheat-ears, while in another bas-relief near Fraktin we have a double scene of sacrifices. The rock-carving at Ibriz is, perhaps, of all the relics of a forgotten world, that which impresses the spectator most favourably. The concept of the scene is peculiarly naive; indeed, the two figures are clumsily brought together, though each of them, when examined separately, is remarkable for its style and execution. The king has a dignified bearing in spite of his large head, round eyes, and the unskilful way in which his arms are set on his body. The figure of the god is not standing firmly on both feet, but the sculptor has managed to invest him with an air of grandeur, and an expression of vigour and beaumonic, which reminds us of certain types of the Greek Hercules.

Tiglath-pileser was probably attracted to Asia Minor as much by considerations of mercantile interest as by the love of conquest or desire for spoil. It would, indeed, have been an incomparable gain for him had he been able, if not to seize the mines themselves, at least to come into such close proximity to them that he would be able to monopolize their entire output, and at

1 Known by Paschal-Gudin, from a photograph by Magatery of Rosmal and Hugnitz, Préalable Monuments of Cappadocia, in the Revue de Travest, vol. xxv, pl. vi. It will be remarked that both attars are in the form of a female without a head, but draped in the Assyrian style.
the same time to lay hands on the great commercial highway to the trade centres of the west. The eastern terminus of this route lay already within his domains, namely, that which led to Assur by way of Amid, Naihe, Singar, and the valley of the Upper Tigris; he was now desirous of acquiring that portion of it which wound its way from the fords of the Euphrates at Malatiyeh to the crossing of the Halys. The changes which had just taken place in Kumukh and Nairi had fully aroused the numerous petty sovereigns of the neighbourhood. The bonds which kept them together had not been completely severed at the downfall of the Hittite empire, and a certain sense of unity still lingered among them in spite of their continual feuds; they constituted, in fact, a sort of loose confederation, whose members never failed to help one another when they were threatened by a common enemy. As soon as the news of an Assyrian invasion reached them, they at once put aside their mutual quarrels and combined to oppose the invader with their united forces. Tiglath-pileser had, therefore, scarcely crossed the Euphrates before he was attacked on his right flank by twenty-three petty kings of Nairi, while sixty other chiefs from the same neighbourhood bore down upon him in front. He overcame the first detachment of the confederates, though not without a sharp struggle; he carried carnage

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1 For this commercial highway, cf. supra, pp. 364–367.
2 Drawn by Flandr-Geddes, from a photograph by Hoppin; cf. Rassam and Heinrich, Persepolis Monuments, etc., in the Revue du Travail, vol. xiv., pl. IX., etc., No. II.
3 This is to be gathered from a careful examination of the passages relating to these people in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III. I have followed the interpretation given by Botta, Recherches sur Morée et l'Empire Assyrien, pp. 8–15.
4 The text of the Annals of the 3rd year gives thirty instead of twenty-three (Wietrina, Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's III., p. 28, 1, 10); in the course of five or six years the numbers have already become exaggerated.
into their ranks, "as it were the whirlwind of Rimmon," and seized a hundred and twenty of the enemy's chariots. The sixty chiefs, whose domains extended as far as the "Upper Sea," were disconcerted by the news of the disaster, and of their own accord laid down their arms, or offered but a feeble resistance. Tiglath-pileser presented some of them in chains to the god Shamash; he extorted an oath of vassalage from them, forced them to give up their children as hostages, and laid a tax upon them in mass of 1200 stallions and 2000 bulls, after which he permitted them to return to their respective towns. He had, however, singled out from among them to grace his own triumph, Sin of Dayana, the only chief among them who had offered him an obstinate resistance; but even he was granted his liberty after he had been carried captive to Assur, and made to kneel before the gods of Assyria. Before returning to the capital, Tiglath-pileser attacked Khirigalbar, and appeared before Milidin: as the town attempted no defense, he spared it, and contented himself with levying a small contribution upon its inhabitants. This expedition was rather of the nature of a reconnaissance than a conquest, but it helped to convince the king of the difficulty of establishing any permanent suzerainty over the country. The Asiatic peoples were quick to bow before a sudden attack; but no sooner had the conqueror departed, than those who had sworn him eternal fealty sought only how best to break their oaths. The tribes in immediate proximity to these provinces which had been long subject to the Assyrian rule, were intimidated into showing some respect for a power which existed so close to their own borders. But those further removed from the seat of government felt a certain security in their distance from it, and were tempted to revert to the state of independence they had enjoyed before the conquest; so that unless the sovereign, by a fresh campaign, promptly made them realize that their disinclination would not remain un punished, they soon forgot their fumatory condition and the duties which it entailed.

Three years of merciless conflict with obstinate and warlike mountain tribes had severely tried the Assyrian army, if it had not worn out the sovereign; the survivors of so many battles were in sore need of a well-merited repose, the gaps left by death had to be filled, and both infantry and chariots needed the re-modeling of their corps. The fourth year of the king’s reign, therefore, was employed almost entirely in this work of reorganisation; we find only the record of a raid of a few weeks against the Akhalan and other nomadic Aramans situated beyond the Mesopotamian steppes. The Assyrians spread over the district between the frontiers of Suhhi and the lands of Carchemish for a whole day, killing all who resisted, sacking the villages and laying hands on slaves and cattle. The fugitives escaped over the Euphrates, vainly hoping that they would be secure in the very heart of the Khatti. Tigrath-pileser, however, crossed the river on rafts supported on skins, and gave the provinces of Mount Bishri over to fire and sword: six walled towns opened their gates to him without having ventured to strike a blow, and he quitted the country laden with spoil before the kings of the surrounding cities had had time to recover from their alarm.

This expedition was for Tigrath-pileser merely an interlude between two more serious campaigns; and with the beginning of his fifth year he reappeared in the province of the Upper Euphrates to complete his conquest of them. He began by attacking and devastating Mursi, which lay close to the territory of Milid. While thus occupied he was harassed by bands of Kuman; he turned upon them, overcame them, and imprisoned the remainder of them in the fortress of Arini, at the foot of Mount Aisa, where he forced them to kiss his feet. His victory over them, however, did not disconcert their neighbours. The bulk of the Kuman, whose troops had scarcely suffered in the engagement, fortified themselves on Mount Tala, to the number of twenty thousand, the king carried the heights by assault, and hotly pursued the fugitives as far as the range of Kharisa, before Mursi, where the fortress of Khanass afforded them a retreat behind its triple walls of brick. The king, nothing daunted, broke his way through them one after another, demolished the ramparts, razed the houses, and strewed the ruins with salt; he then constructed a chapel of

1 The country of Bishri was situated, as the annals point out, in the immediate neighborhood of Carchemish. The name is preserved in that of Tall-Bishri still borne by the ruins, and a modern village at the banks of the Bujab (Fr. Buchtman, Si I, t. v. les Persebes, p. 287; Schumaeke, Geschichte und Geschichtschronik des Orients, p. 235, note 1; Weitzmann, Greek, Bab., and Ass., p. 272). The Guhal Bishri to which Homan al-Bashi (Greek, Bab., and Ass., p. 185, note 1) has been below the foot of the mount in correspondence to the inscription of Tigrath-pileser.

2 Journal of Tigrath-pileser L., vol. ii. pp. 44–53; ed. Loew, Die Ezechiel Tigrath-pileser’s £., pp. 84, 85. Homan (Greek, Bab., and Ass., p. 185, note 1) has brought to bear on this campaign the information furnished by the Schedemont History, vol. i., 44–53. (Ed. Freule Wieseler, Die saggemäßigen geschichtlichen Geschichten des Semites, Keltischen, Griechischen, Arabischen, vol. i, pp. 108, 109), and which takes to a certain extent advantage to these regions probably in the year preceding the taking of Balphabet (Ed. pp. 238–239 of the present work).
brick as a sort of trophy, and dedicated within it what was known as a copper thunderbolt, being an image of the missile which Ramman, the god of thunder, brandished in the face of his enemies. An inscription engraved on the object recorded the destruction of Khunuza, and threatened with every divine malediction the individual, whether an Assyrian or a stranger, who should dare to rebuild the city. This victory terrified the Kumani, and their capital, Kibshum, opened its gates to the royal troops at the first summons. Tiglath-pileser completely destroyed the town, but granted the inhabitants their lives on condition of their paying tribute; he chose from among them, however, three hundred families who had shown him the most inveterate hostility, and sent them as exiles into Assyria. With this victory the first half of his reign drew to its close; in five years Tiglath-pileser had subjugated forty-two peoples and their princes within an area extending from the banks of the Lower Zab to the plains of the Khatti, and as far as the shores of the Western Sea. He revisited more than once these western and northern regions in which he had gained his early triumphs. The reconnaissance which he had made around Carchemish had revealed to him the great wealth of the Syrian table-land, and that a second raid in that direction could be made more profitable than ten successful campaigns in Nairi or upon the banks of the Zab. He therefore marshaled his battalions thither, this time to remain for more than a few days. He made his way through the whole breadth of the country, pushed forward up the valley of the Orontes, crossed the Lebanon, and emerged above the coast of the Mediterranean in the vicinity of Arrad. This is the first time for many centuries that an Oriental sovereign had penetrated so far west; and his contemporaries must have been obliged to look back to the almost fabulous ages of Sargon of Agadé or of Khammurabi, to find in the long lists of the dynasties of the Euphrates any record of a sovereign who had planted his standards on the shores of the Sea of the Setting Sun. Tiglath-pileser

1 Annals of Tiglath-pileser I, vol. i. ii. 67-90; vol. ii. 1-65; cf. Lorr, Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser’s I. pp. 44-54. The Assyrians of the Kumani or Rammans is really the district of Carchemish in Carchemish (Oertel, ii. 31-32) and the inscriptions (see Inscriptions Asyriennes, pp. 65, 66) and Résumé an M. mon an Geographie Assyrienne, pp. 31-37), and the Kassites (see Geography Assyrienne, p. 183). Delattre thinks that Tiglath-pileser penetrated into this region by the Jilun, and consequently seeks to identify the names of towns and mountains, e.g., Mount Hamun with Jarm-dag, the Kharsua with Shams-dag, and the Tula with the Kharsua-dag (Résumé an M., etc., pp. 45, 60), but it is difficult to believe that, if the king took this route, he would not reach the town of Margash-Maran, which lies at the very foot of the Jarm-dag, and would have stopped his passage. It is more probable that the Assyrians, starting from Malatia, which they had just subdued, would have followed the route which skirts the southern slope of the Taurus by Albana, the scene of the conflict in this war would probably have been the mountainous country of Kassia.  

2 Annals of Tiglath-pileser I, vol. ii. 13-18; cf. Lorr, Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser’s I. pp. 80, 81. For the conquests of Sargon on the shores of the Mediterranean and his campaign of Cyprus, see Pelaan Chryse (p. 238); for the presence of Khammumurabi and his successor in Syria and Pedia of the Greek, pp. 47-50.  

3 This is the name given by the Assyrians to the Mediterranean, cf. Semenish, Die Namen der Meere an den Assyrischen Inschriften, p. 172, et seq.
embarked on its watery mission, made a cruise into the open, and killed a porpoise, but we have no record of any battles fought, nor do we know how he was received by the Phoenician towns. He pushed on, it is thought, as far as the Nahr al-Kebir, and the sight of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which Ramses had caused to be cut there three centuries previously aroused his emulation. Assyrian conquerors rarely quitted the scene of their exploits without leaving behind them some permanent memorial of their presence. A sculptor having hastily smoothed the surface of a rock cut out on it a figure of the king, to which was usually added a commemorative inscription. In front of this stele was erected an altar, upon which sacrifices were made, and if the monument was placed near a stream or the seashore, the soldiers were accustomed to cast portions of the victims into the water in order to propitiate the river-deities. One of the half-effaced Assyrian steles adjoining those of the Egyptian conqueror is attributed to Tiglath-pileser. It was on his return, perhaps, from this campaign that he planted colonies at Pithon on the right, and at Motkina on the left bank of the Euphrates, in order to maintain a watch over Carrhæmish, and the more important fords connecting Mesopotamia with the plains of the Apsû and the Orontes. The news of Tiglath-pileser's expedition was not long in reaching the Delta, and the Egyptian monarch then reigning at Tanis was thus made acquainted with the fact that there had arisen in Syria a new power before which his own was not unlikely to give way. In former times such news would have led to a war between the two states, but the time had gone

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2 C., pp. 389, 427, supra, for those steles of Ramses II. at Nahr el-Kebir.
3 Drawn by Pachner-Guth, from one of the bas-reliefs on the southern gate of Balawat.
4 Borsowa (The Monuments, etc., on the Rock of Nahr el-Kebir, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vi, pp. 346, 347) thinks that we may attribute to Tiglath-pileser I. all the oldest of the Assyrian steles at Nahr el-Kebir; no positive information has as yet confirmed this hypothesis, which is in other respects very probable.
5 The existence of these colonies is known only from an inscription of Shalmaneser II. (Monuments of Keil, vol. i, p. 20-21, in Rawlinson, Can. Jour. of W., decr., vol. ii, p. 7), for the steles of the Egyptians, see supra, pp. 145, 146.
by when Egypt was prompt to take up arms at the slightest encroachment on
her Asiatic provinces. Her influence at this time was owing merely to her
former renown, and her authority beyond the isthmus was purely traditional.
The Tenite Pharaoh had come to accept with resignation the change in the
fortunes of Egypt, and he therefore contented himself with forwarding to the

Assyrian conqueror, by one of the Syrian coasting vessels, a present of some
rare wild beasts and a few crocodiles. In olden times Assyria had welcomed
the arrival of Thutmose III. on the Euphrates by making him presents, which
the Theban monarch regarded in the light of tribute; the case was now
reversed, the Egyptian Pharaoh taking the position formerly occupied by the
Assyrian monarch. Tiglath-pileser graciously accepted this unexpected
homage, but the turbulent condition of the northern tribes prevented his
improving the occasion by an advance into Phoenicia and the land of Canaan.
Nabri occupied his attention on two separate occasions at least; on the second
of these he encamped in the neighbourhood of the source of the river Subnat.
This stream had for a long period issued from a deep grotto, where in ancient
times a god was supposed to dwell. The conqueror was lavish in religious
offerings here, and caused a bas-relief to be engraved on the entrance in
remembrance of his victories. He is here represented as standing upright, the
tiara on his brow, and his right arm extended as if in the act of worship, while

1 Cf. pp. 480, 484, 485, 486, 487, supra, for fuller details on this subject.
2 Drawn by Franchet-Duret, from one of the bas-reliefs on the house-gates of Balawat.
4 See pp. 482, 483, supra, for an account of the voyage undertaken by command of Hither, which
shows how these presents could reach the Assyrians without going through many hands.
his left, the elbow brought up to his side, holds a club. The inscription appended to the figure tells, with an eloquence all the more effective from its brevity, how, "with the aid of Assur, Shamash, and Ramman, the great gods, my lord, Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, son of Assur-ashiri, King of Assyria, son of Mutakhtiltaskun, King of Assyria, conqueror from the great sea, the Mediterranean, to the great sea of Nahri, I went for the third time to Nahri." 

The gods who had so signally favoured the monarch received the greater part of the spoils which he had secured in his campaigns. The majority of the temples of Assyria, which were founded at a time when its city was nothing more than a provincial capital owing allegiance to Babylon, were either, it would appear, falling to ruins from age, or presented a sorry exterior, utterly out of keeping with the magnitude of its recent wealth. The king set to work to enlarge or restore the temples of Ishtar, Martu, and the ancient Bel; he then proceeded to rebuild, from the foundations to the summit, that of Anu and Ramman, which the viceroy Semiramis, son of Ismia-gan, had conquered seven hundred and one years previously. This temple was the principal sanctuary of the city, because it was the residence of the chief of the gods, Assur, under his appellation of Ann. The soil was cleared away down to the bed-rock, upon which an enormous substructure, consisting of fifty courses of bricks, was laid, and above this were erected two lofty ziggurats, whose tile-covered surfaces show like the rising sun in their brightness; the completion of the whole

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3 The name of Lullu, or possibly "the ancient mountain," appears to have been one of the names of Anu (Howland, Gesch. Bab. und Ass., p. 518, n. 2), who is naturally in this connection the same as Assur.

4 See also for what little we know of this first Semiramis, p. 192, n. 2, supra.

5 Drawn by Fuchs-Klein, from a sketch by F. Taylor, in H. Rawlinson, The First Great Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 78. A specimen of this style, reproduced in Semnane, Die Kulturschriften aus dem Gebiete der Quellenge der Schokam-Sac, shows, above the arm, the inscription translated above.

6 Inschriften Tiglath-pileser I., vol. ii. pp. 77-83; cf. Lortz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser I., pp. 60, 61. This was the great temple of which the ruins still exist (cf. p. 491, supra).
The rise of the Assyrian empire was commemorated by a magnificent festival. The special chapel of Ramman and his treasury, dating from the time of the same Samaizanum who had raised the temple of Ann, were also rebuilt on a more important scale. These works were actively carried on notwithstanding the fact that war was raging on the frontier; however preoccupied he might be with warlike projects, Tiglath-pileser never neglected the temples, and set to work to collect from every sable materials for their completion and adornment. He brought, for example, from Natri such marble and hard stone as might be needed for sculptural purposes, together with the beams of cedar and cypress required by his carpenters. The mountains of Sinjar and of the Zab furnished the royal architects with building stone for ordinary use, and for those facing slabs of bluish gypsum on which the bas-reliefs of the king's exploits were carved; the blocks ready squared were brought down the affluent of the Tigris on rafts or in boats, and thus arrived at their destination without land transport.

The kings of Assyria, like the Pharaohs, had always had a passion for rare trees and strange animals; as soon as they entered a country, they inquired what natural curiosities it contained, and they would send back to


2. Drawn by F. Bucaille-Guillain, from a bas-relief on the bronze doors at Birs-Nili.

3. Cf. for information as to this love of rarities in the Pharaohs, pp. 269, 261, 265, of the reuse of Goldstein.
taken in the sack of a town, it also would find a place in the procession, either held in a leash or perched on the shoulders of its keeper. The campaigns of the monarch were thus almost always of a double nature, comprising not merely a conflict with men, but a continual pursuit of wild beasts. Tiglath-pileser, "in the service of Ninib, had killed four great specimens of the male ursus in the desert of Mitanni, near to the town of Arzilki, opposite to the countries of the Khatti; he killed them with his powerful bow, his dagger of iron, his pointed lance, and he brought back their skins and horns to his city of Assur. He secured ten strong male elephants, in the territory of Harran and upon the

1 A crocodile sent as a present by the King of Egypt is mentioned in the Description of the Modern Oadilah, vol. i. 192; cf. Löwe, Die Forschungen Tiglath-pileser's I., pp. 198, 199; and also p. 628 of the present work. The animal is called umbrella, which is the Egyptian word for the plural article sa, and the origin of the word has been pointed out by Fox Talbot in the J. As. Soc., vol. xliv. p. 198.

2 Drawn by Foucher-Doutin, from the east in the Louvre. The original is in the British Museum. Former part of the series reproduced in LAVIS, The Memorials of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 64. It is from the famous Black Oadilah of Sinismasr, II., of which mention will be made later on.

3 The town of Arzilki has been identified with the Eroyne (Eroyne) of Ptolomy (v. 35, 34) by Semirace, Kellikerzinen und Geschichte (Greek), p. 438, and by Fe. Delitzsch, Heberg des Paradises, p. 279; the Eroyne of Ptolomy was on the right bank of the Euphrates, while the text of Tiglath-pileser appears to place Arzilki on the left bank.
banks of the Khabur, and he took four of them alive; he brought back their skins and their tusks, together with the living elephants, to his city of Assur."

He killed moreover, doubtless also in the service of Nuib, a hundred and twenty lions, which he attacked on foot, dispatching eight hundred more with arrows from his chariot, all within the short space of five years, and we may well ask what must have been the sum total, if the complete record for his whole reign were extant. We possess, unfortunately, no annals of the later years of this monarch; we have reason to believe that he undertook several fresh expeditions into Nairi, and a mutilated tablet records some details of troubles with Elam in the Xth year of his reign. We gather that he attacked a whole series of strongholds, some of whose names have a Coscean ring about them, such as Madkin, Sudrun, Ubrukhunu, Sahama, Sharri, Khurriatu,

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2. The inscription of Shubum-Su (cf. supra, p. 620) was inserted at the time of the third expedition into Nairi, and the Annals give only one (cf. supra, p. 634); the other two expeditions must, therefore, be subsequent to the Xth year of his reign.

3. H. Rassam, Cune. Ins. W., 4to, vol. iii. pl. 8, No. 4; Winterler, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I., p. 21.


5. Drawn by Baudot, from the low-relief in Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, vol. i. pl. 40.
and Ashur. His advance in this direction must have considerably provoked the Chaldeans, and, indeed, it was not long before actual hostilities broke out between the two nations. The first engagement took place in the valley of the Lower Zab, in the province of Arzukhina, without any decisive result, but in the following year fortune favoured the Assyrians, for Dur-kurigalzu, both Sipparas, Babylon, and Upi opened their gates to them, while Akarsalli, the Akhlamé, and the whole of Sukhi as far as Rapaki tendered their submission to Tiglath-pileser. Merodach-nadin-akhi, who was at this time reigning in Chaldea, was, like his ancestor Nebuchadrezzar I, a brave and warlike sovereign: he appears at first to have given way under the blow thus dealt him, and to have acknowledged the suzerainty of his rival, who thereupon assumed the title of Lord of the four Houses of the World, and united under a single empire the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. But this state of things lasted for a few years only: Merodach-nadin-akhi once more took courage, and, supported by the Chaldean nobility, succeeded in expelling the intruders from Sumir and Akkad. The Assyrians, however, did not allow themselves to be driven out without a struggle, but fortune turned against them: they were beaten, and the conqueror inflicted on the Assyrian gods the humiliation to which they had so often subjected those of other nations. He took the statues of Rammân and Shals from Ekallati, carried them to Babylon, and triumphantly set them up within the temple of Bel. There they remained in captivity for 418 years.  


8 Drawn by Flandrin-Delatte, from the Inauguration in P. LEBEMANN, Les Langues primitives de la Chaldee, pl. 1, p. 832. The original is in the British Museum. It is one of the boundary stones which were set up in a corner of a field to mark its legal limit—the text of it has been translated by ORTIE, MURRAY, Les Documents juridiques, p. 81, et seq.  

\[\text{MERODACH-NADIN-AKHI.}\]  

We know this fact from the Inscription of Barik, in which Sennacherib boasts of having brought back these statues to Assyria after they had been 418 years in the possession of the enemy (E. KHALFÉN, Ges. Gesch. W. Ass., vol. iii., pl. xiv., II. 18-30; cf. POGGIOLU, L’Inscription de Barik, pp. 18, 30, 89, 90). I have followed the commonly received opinion (HÜNNER, Ges. Gesch. Bab. and Ass., pp. 161-165, 521), which places the defeat of Tiglath-pileser after the taking of Babylon; others think that it preceded the decisive victory of the Assyrians (Deut. Gegen-Min ??????, Gesch. Bab. and Ass., 2nd ed., pp. 225, 238; WISCHKE, Gesch. Bab. and Ass., p. 97). It is improbable that, if the last of the statues preceded the decisive victory, the Assyrian conquerors should have left their gods prisoners in a Babylonian temple, and should not have brought them back immediately to Ekallat.
Tiglath-pileser did not long survive this disaster, for he died about the year 1100 B.C., and two of his sons succeeded him on the throne. The older, Assur-belkala, had neither sufficient energy nor resources to resume the offensive, and remained a passive spectator of the revolutions which distracted Babylon. Merodach-abdin-akhi had been followed by his son Merodach-shamshī-ārim, but this prince was soon dethroned by the people, and Hammūnas-kiddin, a man of base extraction, seized the crown. Assur-belkala not only extended to this usurper the friendly relations he had kept up with the legitimate sovereign, but he asked for this hand of his daughter in marriage, and the rich dowry which she brought her husband no doubt contributed to the continuation of his pacific policy. He appears also to have kept possession of all the parts of Mesopotamia and Kummukh conquered by his father, and it is possible that he may have penetrated beyond the Euphrates. His brother, Samuel-rumman III., does not appear to have left any more definite mark upon history than Assur-belkala; he decorated the temples built by his predecessors, but beyond this we have no certain record of his achievements. We know nothing of the kings who followed him, their names even having been lost; but about a century and a half after Tiglath-pileser, a certain

1 The death of Tiglath-pileser must have followed quickly on the victory of Babylon; the contents of the inscription of Barakam-piš−ṣir to the taking of Babylon by the Chaldaean about the year 1108-1106 B.C. (HERMANN, Gesch. Bib. and Ass., p. 497, 377; DE JEROMO-MINOTRO, 2nd ed., Gesch. Bab. and Ass., p. 155). We shall not be the wrong in supposing Tiglath-pileser to have reigned six or eight years after his death.


5 This appears to be the case from a passage in the inscription published by H. RAWLINSON, Cune. Ins. W. A., vol. i., p. 10, No. vi, where he invokes the gods of Marduk; this is at least the meaning given to it by SAYYAR, Synt. Hist. of Ass. and Bab., in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. i., p. 129, note 2, and HERMANN, Gesch. Bab. and Ass., p. 258. Rawlinson supposes that one of the very mutilated inscriptions of the Nabi-n-Elba may belong to this prince, but the facts he alleges are too vague to permit of us adopting his hypothesis with any security (The Monuments and Inscriptions of the Nabi-n-Abu, in the Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. ii., p. 389).

6 The proof that he was the brother of Assur-belkala is furnished by the preamble of his inscriptions (RAWLINSON, Cune. Ins. W. A., vol. i., p. 3, Nos. 9, 11), where he calls himself son of Tiglath-pileser, grandson of Assur-nasir-pal and great-grandson of Mutakhim-mukin.


8 For this period, cf. HERMANN, Gesch. Bab. and Ass., pp. 238, 246, who collected and annotated with the utmost care all the documents that remain. The King Assurban (DE JEROMO-MINOTRO, Geschicht...
Assurirha seems to have crossed Northern Syria, and following in the footsteps of his great ancestor, to have penetrated as far as the Mediterranean: on the rocks of Mount Amanus, facing the sea, he left a triumphal inscription in which he set forth the mighty deeds he had accomplished. This is merely a gleam out of the murky night which envelops his history, and the testimony of one of his descendants informs us that his good fortune soon forsook him: the Arameans wrested from him the fortresses of Pitru and Mutinga, which commanded both banks of the Euphrates near Carchemish. Nor did the retrograde movement slacken after his time: Assyria slowly wasted away down to the end of the Xth century, and but for the simultaneous decadence of the Chaldaea, its downfall would have been complete. But neither Kammán-ahalliddin nor his successor was able to take advantage of its weakness; discard and want of energy soon brought about their own ruin. The dynasty of Pashu disappeared towards the middle of the Xth century, and a family belonging to the “Countries of the Sea” took its place: it had continued for about one hundred and thirty-two years, and had produced eleven kings.


We learn this from the fact that Shalmaneser II mentions the title of his predecessor (Anu-šašnu of Balašak, col. ii. 3, 4, and Inscription on the Mound of Kirth, col. ii. 1, 2, et seq. ; cf. Hurst, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 319).

In regard to the occupation of those two towns, see what is said on p. 637, supra.

The list of the early Assyrian dynasties, starting from Suenišmanu I (cf. for the earlier kings, what is said on p. 512, supra), may be given pretty much as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kammán-ahalliddin</td>
<td>23 years</td>
<td>17 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suenišmanu I</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>VII. Meruš-šamšišapitušu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suenišmanu II</td>
<td>19 years</td>
<td>VIII. Kammán-ahalliddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meruš-šamšišapitušu</td>
<td>1 year 6 months</td>
<td>IX. Meruš-šaš-REI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meruš-šaš-REI</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>X. Meruš-šamšišapitušu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammán-ahalliddin</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>XI. Namiš-kudur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is no easy matter to draw up an exact list of this dynasty, and Hilprecht's attempt to do so (The Babyloniisch Exp. of the Univ. of Penn, vol. i. p. 44) contains more blanks and doubtful names (see what is said on this point on p. 633, note 8, supra). The following list is very imperfect and doubtful, but the best that our present knowledge enables us to put forward:

I. Meruš-šamšišapitušu.
II. Suenišmanu I.
III. Namiš-kudur.
IV. Kammán-ahalliddin.
V. Namiš-kudur.
VI. Meruš-šamšišapitušu.

The total duration of the dynasty was, according to the Royal Canon, 72 years 8 months. Peters has shown that this is a mistake, and his researches show it to be 127 years 8 months (See Babyloniisch Chronologie, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. vi. pp. 368, 369).
What were the causes of this depression, from which Babylon suffered at almost regular intervals, as though stricken with some periodic malady? The main reason soon becomes apparent if we consider the nature of the country and the material conditions of its existence. Chaldaea was neither extensive enough nor sufficiently populous to afford a solid basis for the ambition of her princes. Since nearly every man capable of bearing arms was enrolled in the army, the Chaldaean kings had no difficulty in raising, at a moment's notice, a force which could be employed to repel an invasion, or make a sudden attack on some distant territory; it was in schemes which required prolonged and sustained effort that they felt the drawbacks of their position. In that age of hand-to-hand combats, the mortality in battle was very high, forced marches through forests and across mountains entailed a heavy loss of men, and three or four consecutive campaigns against a stubborn foe soon reduced an army to a condition of dangerous weakness. Recruits might be obtained to fill the earlier vacancies in the ranks, but they soon grew fewer and fewer if time was not given for recovery after the opening victories in the struggle, and the supply eventually ceased if operations were carried on beyond a certain period. A reign which began brilliantly often came to an impotent conclusion, owing to the king having failed to economise his reserves; and the generations which followed, compelled to adopt a strictly defensive attitude, vegetated in a sort of anaemic condition, until the birth-rate had brought the proportion of males up to a figure sufficiently high to provide the material for a fresh army. When Nebuchadrezzar made war upon Assuribissih, he was still weak from the losses he had incurred during the campaign against Elam, and could not conduct his attack with the same vigour as had gained him victory on the banks of the Ulai; in the first year he only secured a few indecisive advantages, and in the second he succumbed. Merodach-nadin-akhî was suffering from the reverses sustained by his predecessors when Tiggath-pileser provoked him to war, and though he succeeded in giving a good account of an adversary who was himself exhausted by dearly bought successes, he left to his descendants a kingdom which had been drained of its last drop of blood. The same reason which explains the decadence of Babylon shows us the cause of the periodic eclipses undergone by Assyria after each outburst of her warlike spirit. She, too, had to pay the penalty of an ambition which was out of all proportion to her resources. The mighty deeds of Shalmaneser and Tukulti-nin-apir were, as a natural consequence, followed by a state of complete prostration under Tukultiassur-ibni and Assurinirari: the country was now forced to pay for the glories of Assuribissih and of Tiggath-pileser by falling into an inglorious state of languor and depression. Its kings, conscious that their rule must be
necessarily precarious as long as they did not possess a larger stock of recruits to fall back on, set their wits to work to provide by various methods a more adequate reserve. While on one hand they installed native Assyrians in the more suitable towns of conquered countries, on the other they imported whole bodies of alien prisoners chosen for their strength and courage, and settled them down in districts by the banks of the Tigris and the Zab. We do not know what Hammuribni and Shalmaneser may have done in this way, but Tiglath-pileser undoubtedly introduced thousands of the Mushku, the Urumians, the people of Kurnakul and Nairi, and his example was followed by all those of his successors whose history has come down to us. One might have expected that such an invasion of foreigners, still smarting under the sense of defeat, might have brought with it an element of discontent or rebellion; far from it, they accepted their exile as a judgment of the gods, which the gods alone had a right to reverse, and did their best to mitigate the hardness of their lot by rendering unhesitating obedience to their masters. Their grandchildren, born in the midst of Assyrians, became Assyrians themselves, and if they did not entirely divest themselves of every trace of their origin, at any rate became so closely identified with the country of their adoption, that it was difficult to distinguish them from the native race. The Assyrians who were sent out to colonise recently acquired provinces were at times exposed to serious risks. Now and then, instead of absorbing the natives among whom they lived, they were absorbed by them, which meant a loss of so much fighting strength to the mother country; even under the most favourable conditions a considerable time must have passed before they could succeed in assimilating to themselves the races amongst whom they lived. At last, however, a day would dawn when the process of incorporation was accomplished, and Assyria, having increased her area and resources twofold, found herself ready to endure to the end the strain of conquest. In the interval, she suffered from a scarcity of fighting men, due to the losses incurred in her victories, and must have congratulated herself that her traditional foe was not in a position to take advantage of this fact.

The first wave of the Assyrian invasion had barely touched Syria; it had swept hurriedly over the regions in the north, and then flowed southwards to return no more, so that the northern races were able to resume the wonted tenor of their lives. For centuries after this their condition underwent no change; there was the same repetition of dissension and intrigue, the same endless succession of alliances and battles without any signal advantage on either side. The Hittites still held Northern Syria: Carchemish was their capital, and more than one town in its vicinity preserved the tradition of their
dress, their language, their arts, and their culture in full vigour. The Greek
legends tell us vaguely of some sort of Cilician empire which is said to have
brought the eastern and central provinces of Asia Minor into subjection about
ten centuries before our era. Is there any serious foundation for such a belief,
and must we assume that these existed at this time and in this part of the
world a kingdom similar to that of Sapatulu? Assyria was recruiting its
forces, Chaldaea was kept inactive by its helplessness, Egypt slumbered by the
banks of its river, there was no actor of the first rank to fill the stage; now
was the opportunity for a second-rate performer to come on the scene and play
such a part as his abilities permitted. The Cilician conquest, if this be indeed
the date at which it took place, had the beards to itself for a hundred years
after the defeat of Assuritla. The time was too short to admit of its striking
deep root in the country. Its leaders and men were, moreover, closely related
to the Syrian Hittites; the language they spoke was, if not precisely the Hittite;
at any rate a dialect of it; their customs were similar, if, perhaps, somewhat
less refined, as is often the case with mountain races, when compared with the
peoples of the plain. We are tempted to conclude that some of the monuments
found south of the Taurus were their handiwork, or, at any rate, date from their
time. For instance, the ruined palace at Sinjirli, the lower portions of which
are ornamented with pictures similar to those at Petra, representing pro-
cessions of animals, some real, others fantastic, men armed with lances or bend-
ing the bow, and processions of priests or officials. Then there is the great
lion at Murash, which stands erect, with menacing head, its snarling lips
exposing the teeth; its body is smeared with the long lines of an inscription
in the Asiatic character, in imitation of those with which the bulls in the
Assyrian palaces are covered. These Cilicians gave an impulse to the civiliza-
tion of the Khāti which they sorely needed, for the Semitic races, whom
they had kept in subjection for centuries, now pressed them hard on all the
territory over which they had formerly reigned, and were striving to drive
them back into the hills. The Arameans in particular gave them a great

1 Solinus, relying on the indirect evidence of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, tells us that Cilicia extended
not only to the countries afterward known as Ciliciae, Commagene, and Syria, but also included
Lydia, Media, Armenia, Pamphylia, and Cappadocia; the conquests of the Assyrian kings must have
greatly reduced its area (Peregrator, ed. Monceaux, p. 176, n. 38, 3, 1 of 248). Montfaucon had already
applied this hypothesis to the interpretation of the Egyptian monuments, and consequently regarded
them as belonging to this Cilician empire (La Scena de Tachassmenides, ed. de Tournay, in Geoffr.
Archbolden, iii. pp. 109, 111; his theory was taken up by Lickman (Wochenschrift fur Palastinische
Philologie, 1893, No. 77), and has been worked out by Jemaa in his Grundzuge fur das entstehen der Hethiter
oder Cilicienscher Funde, in ibid., pp. 17, 20. I am of opinion that the tradition preserved by Herodotus referred both to the kingdom of Sapatulu and to that of the remains of this second
epoch.

2 In regard to this palace, which is probably later than the 8th century, cf. Pannekoek, Historien de l’Art dans l’Antiquite, vol. iv. pp. 388, 834. I shall have occasion to speak of greater
length of Sinjirli later on.
deal of trouble. The states on the banks of the Euphrates had found them awkward neighbours; was this the moment chosen by the Pashé, the Ratu, the Gumbuln, and a dozen other Aramman tribes, for a stealthy march across the frontier of Islam, between Durini and the coast? The tribes from which, soon after, the Kaldi nation was formed, were marauding round Eridu, Uru, and Larsa, and may have already begun to lay the foundations of their supremacy over Babylon: it is, indeed, an open question whether those princes of the Countries of the Sea who succeeded the Pashé dynasty did not come from the stock of the Kaldi Aramaans. While they were thus consolidating on the south-east, the bulk of the nation continued to ascend northwards, and rejoined its outposts in the central region of the Euphrates, which extends from the Tigris to the Khabur, from the Khabur to the Balikh and the Apriče. They had already come into frequent conflict with most of the victorious Assyrian kings, from Hammâmirâri down to Tiglath-pileser; the weakness of Assyria and Chaldaea gave them their opportunity, and they took full advantage of it. They soon became masters of the whole of Mesopotamia; a part of the table-land extending from Carahemish to Mount Amuns fell into

2 I shall have occasion to return to the question of the origin of the Kaldi; for the present, I must refer the reader to Delattre, Les Chaldéens from le 19ème siècle, pp. 2, 4, who notes the existence of a country of Chaldaea under Assurnasirpal in the first half of the 19th century a.d. In placing the rise of this state at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 10th century, we are merely suggesting a minimum date.
3 This is the hypothesis suggested by Winckler (Führer über zwei altorientalische Geschichte, pp. 49, 50; cf. Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, pp. 177-180).
their hands, their activity was still greater in the basin of the Orontes, and their advanced guard, coming into collision with the Amorites near the sources of the Litany, began gradually to drive farther and farther southwards all that remained of the races which had shown so bold a front to the Egyptian troops. Here was an almost entirely new element, gradually eliminating from the scene of the struggle other elements which had grown old through centuries of war, and while this transformation was taking place in Northern and Central, a similar revolution was effecting a no less surprising metamorphosis in Southern Syria. There, too, newer races had gradually come to displace the nations over which the dynasties of Thothmosis and Ramses had once held sway. The Hebrews on the east, the Philistines and their allies on the south-west, were about to undertake the conquest of the Khari and its cities. As yet their strength was inadequate, their temperament undecided, their system of government imperfect; but they brought with them the quality of youth, and energies which, rightly guided, would assure the nation which first found out how to take advantage of them, supremacy over all its rivals, and the strength necessary for consolidating the whole country into a single kingdom.
THE HEBREWS AND
THE PHILISTINES—DAMASCUS.

THE ISRAELITES IN THE LAND OF CANAAN; THE JUDGES; THE PHILISTINES AND THE
XXIII EGYPTIAN DYNASTY—SHOSHONI OR SUSHIEN—DAMASCUS.

The Hebrews in the desert; their families, clans, and tribes—The Amorites and the Hebrews
on the left bank of the Jordan—The conquest of Canaan and the native reaction against the
Hebrews—The judges, Ehud, Deborah, Jerubbash, or Gideon, and the Monarchic supremacy;
Abimelech, Jephtha.

The Philistines, their political organisation, their army and fleet—Judah, Dan, and the
story of Samson—Benjamin as the Philistine frontier—Eli and the ark of the covenant—
The Philistine domination over Israel—Saul, David, the Benjamite monarchy—David, his retreat
to the desert of Judah and his repose at Ziblag—The battle of Gilboa and the death of Saul—
The struggle between Ish-bosheth and David—David sole king, and the final defeat of the
Philistines—Jerusalem becomes the capital; the removal of the ark—War with the peoples
of the East—Abraham's rebellion; the coronation of Solomon.

Solomon's government and his buildings—Phoenician colonisation in Spain—Hiram I., and
the enslavement of Tyre—The conquest of Ophir and Tarshish—The palace at Jerusalem; the
temple and its dedication; the priesthood and prophets—The death of Solomon; the scheme of
the ten tribes and the division of the Hebrew kingdom.
The XXIIth Egyptian dynasty: the Theban high priests and the Temple of Amun—the Libyans necessarily and their preponderance in the state; the origins of the XXIIth Dynasty (Bodestive) dynasty—Sheshong I as king and his son Aja as high priest of Amun; the building plans of Deir el-Bahari—Sheshong's expedition against Jerusalem.

The two Hebrew kingdoms: the fidelity of Yahhia to the descendants of Solomon, and the spiritual change of Egypt in Israel—Amos and Hosea—the kingdom of Judah and its origins—Necho, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshadad I—Darius and the foundation of Samaria: Ahaz and the Tyrian Alliance—the succession of Elyon Ela to Tobi—Bashan I—The prophetic, their struggle against Pharaoh's idolatry, the story of Elyah—the war between Israel and Assyria up to the time of the Assyrian invasion.
CHAPTER VII.

THE HEBREWS AND THE PHILISTINES—DAMASCUS.

The Israelites in the land of Canaan: the judges—The Philistines and the Hebrew kingdom—Saul, David, Solomon, the defection of the ten tribes—the XXIst Egyptian dynasty—Shechem—Damascus.

After reaching Kadesh-barnea, the Israelites in their wanderings had come into contact with various Bedawin tribes—Kenites, Jerahmeelites, Edomites, and Midianites, with whom they had in turn fought or allied themselves, according to the exigencies of their pastoral life. Continual skirmishes had taught them the art of war; their numbers had rapidly increased, and with this increase came a consciousness of their own strength, so that, after a lapse of two or three generations, they may be said to have constituted a considerable nation. Its component elements were not, however, firmly welded together; they consisted of an indefinite number of clans, which were again subdivided.
into several families. Each of these families had its chief or "ruler," to whom it rendered absolute obedience, while the united chiefs formed an assembly of elders who administered justice when required, and settled any differences which arose among their respective followers. The clans in their turn were grouped into tribes, according to certain affinities which they mutually recognized, or which may have been fostered by daily intercourse on a common soil, but the ties which bound them together at this period were of the most slender character. It needed some special event, such as a projected migration in search of fresh pasturage, or an expedition against a turbulent neighbour, or a threatened invasion by some stranger, to rouse the whole tribe to corporate action; at such times they would elect a "nasi," or ruler, the duration of whose functions ceased with the emergency which had called him into office. Both clans and tribes were designated by the name of some ancestor from whom they claimed to be descended, and who appears in some cases to have been a god for whom they had a special devotion; some writers have believed that this was also the origin of the names given to several of the tribes, such as Gad, "Good Fortune," or of the totems of the hyena and the dog, in Arabic and Hebrew, "Simeon" and "Caleb." Gad, Simeon, and Caleb were several ancestors of the families who ranged themselves under their respective names, and the eponymous heroes of all the tribes were held to have been brethren, sons of one father, and under the protection of one God. He was known as the Jehovah with whom Abraham of old had made a solemn covenant; His dwelling-place was Mount Sinai or Mount Seir, and He revealed Himself in the storm; His voice was as the thunder "which shaketh the wilderness," His breath was as "a consuming fire," and He was decked with light "as with a garment." When His anger was aroused, He

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1 The clan was called אביו (Avi), לֹא יָדֹו (Lōyōd), and בֵּיתוָא (Bēitōa) (Num. iii. 28, 30; Josh. xiii. 19). See for the constitution of סֵאָד (Sead), שָׁם (Sham), the Valley of Jordan, vol. 6, p. 306, et seq.
2 The elders were called אֶדְמוֹנֵים (Edmonim), in the plural form אֶדְמוֹנֶים (Edmonenim) (Exod. xvi. 18, xxiv. 14; Deut. xxxi. 28).
3 The tribe was designated by two words signifying "meat" or "branch." The first is אַבֵּד (Avod), לֹא יָדֹו (Lōyōd), the second, שאם (Shem), the second, שאם (Seam) (Exod. xxii. 4, xxviii. 12; Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. iv. 3; Judges xviii. 13).
4 The word was first applied to the chief of the tribe (Exod. xxxiv. 21; Lev. vi. 22; Num. ii. 3). Because, after the captivity, the titles of the chiefs of Israel, who could not be called shekels owing to the foreign servitude (Hab. iv. 19).
5 For this eponymous procedure, cf. Robinson Smith, On Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Test., in the Journal of Philology, vol. 12, p. 75, et seq. For the possibility in the clans and tribes of Israel, see Stade, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, vol. 1, p. 409-410. For גַּד, see supra, pp. 56, 139. Simeon is derived by some from a word which at times designates a hyena, at others a bear, and at others a bear, according to the Arab bibliography. (Robinson Smith, On Animal Worship, p. 67). With regard to Caleb, Simeon prefers a different interpretation: it is supposed to be a shortened form of כֶּלֶב (Kelyb), in the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. 2, pp. 70, 71, No. 49, and pp. 72, 73, No. 82), and "Deg. of E2" is a strong expression to denote the decision of a tribe to be parted in the soil.
6 For the covenant made by God with Abraham, see supra, pp. 56, 67.
7 Cf. the graphic description of the signs which accompanied the manifestations of Jehovah in the Song of Deborah (Judges vi. 4, 5), and also in 1 Kings xii. 11-12.
withheld the dew and rain from watering the earth; but when His wrath was appeased, the heavens again poured their fruitful showers upon the fields. He is described as being a "jealous God," brooking no rival, and "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." We hear of His having been adored under the figure of a " calf," and of His Spirit inspiring His prophets, as well as of the anointed stones which were dedicated in His honour. The common ancestor of the nation was acknowledged to have been Jacob, who, by his wrestling with God, had obtained the name of Israel, the people were divided theoretically into as many tribes as he had sons; but the number twelve to which they were limited does not entirely correspond with all that we know up to the present time of these "children of Israel." Some of the tribes appear never to have had any political existence, as for example that of Levi, or they were merged at an early date into some fellow-tribes, as in the case of Reuben with Gad; others, such as Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, and Judah, apparently did not attain their normal development until a much later date. The Jewish chroniclers attempted by various combinations to prove that the sacred number of tribes was the correct one: At times they included Levi in the list, in which case Joseph was reckoned as one; while on other occasions Levi or Simeon was omitted, when for Joseph would be substituted his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh. In addition to this, the tribes were very unequal in size; Ephraim, Gad, and Manasseh comprised many powerful and wealthy families; Dan, on the contrary, contained so few, that it was sometimes reckoned as a mere clan.

The tribal organisation had not reached its full development at the

1 See 1 Kings xvii. 8, 9, where the conflict between Elijah and the prophet of Baal for the obtaining of rain is described.

2 The most common of these animal forms was that of a calf or bull: Ezek. xxvii. 19; Jer. iii. 21; and in the kingly period, 1 Kings xii. 33-35; 2 Kings x. 23). We are not told the form of the image of Molech the Epiphanite (Judges xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20, 24, 31). The episodes mentioned as objects of reverence in Judges xviii. 27, and 1 Sam. xix. 9, omitted here under this category, as the Hebrew word used implies that there was no figure connected with them.—Ed.

3 But the stones which marked the sites of the appearances of Jehovah, of course, pp. 66, 68, 69, 162-184.

4 For Jacob-Israel and his twelve sons, and for the division of their descendants into twelve tribes, of course, pp. 68-70.

5 Levi appears to have suffered dispersion after the events of which there are two separate accounts combined in Gen. xxxvii. In conjunction with Simeon, he appears to have resigned the violation of his father Dinah by a messenger of the Hebrews, and the dispersion alluded to in Jacob’s blessing (Gen. xlix. 2-7) is mentioned as consequent on this act of bad faith. For remarks on this subject, see STERN, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, vol. 1, pp. 162–174.

6 In the IXth century Moshe or Moses does not mention the bounds of the territory newly occupied by them. Tradition attributed the misfortunes of the tribes to the cross of the chief in his rebellion against Elijah, his father’s successor (Gen. xlix. 2, 3; cf. xxxvii. 22).

7 As, for instance, in Jacob’s blessing (Gen. xlix. 2-7) and in the summation of the patriarch’s sons at the time of his journey to Egypt (Gen. xlii. 2-30).

8 Num. 26, 27 seq., where the descendants of Levi are not included among the twelve, and 1 Chron. ii. 23-26, where Simeon is omitted from among the tribes blessed by Moses before his death.
time of the sojourn in the desert. The tribes of Joseph and Judah, who subsequently played such important parts, were at that period not held in any particular estimation; Reuben, on the other hand, exercised a sort of right of priority over the rest. The territory which they occupied soon became insufficient to support their numbers, and they sought to exchange it for a wider area, such as was offered by the neighboring provinces of Southern Syria. Pharaoh at this time exercised no authority over this region, and they therefore, no longer in fear of opposition from his troops, the latter had been recalled to Egypt, and it is doubtful even whether he retained possession of the Shephelah by means of his Zakkala and Philistine colonies; the Hebrews, at any rate, had nothing to fear from him so long as they respected Gaza and Ascalon. They began by attempting to possess themselves of the provinces around Hebron, in the direction of the Dead Sea, and we read that, before entering them, they sent out spies to reconnoitre and report on the country. Its population had undergone considerable modifications since the Israelites had quitted Goshen. The Amorites, who had seriously suffered from the incursions of Asianic hordes, and had been constantly harassed by the attacks of the Ammonites, had abandoned the positions they had formerly occupied on the banks of the Orontes and the Litany, and had moved southwards, driving the Canaanites before them; their advance was accelerated as the resistance opposed to their hordes became lessened under the successors of Ramses III, until at length all opposition was withdrawn. They had possessed themselves of the regions about the Lake of Genesareth, the mountain district to the south of Tabor, the middle valley of the Jordan, and, pressing towards the territory east of that river, had attacked the cities scattered over the undulating table-land. This district had not been often subjected to incursions of Egyptian troops, and yet its inhabitants had been more impressed by Egyptian influence than many others. Whereas, in the north and west, cuneiform writing was almost entirely used, attempts had been made here to adapt the hieroglyphs to the native language. The only one of their monuments which has been preserved is a rudely carved bas-relief in black basalt, representing a two-horned Astarte, before whom stands a king in adoration; the sovereign is Ramses II, and the inscriptions accompanying the figures contain a religious formula, together with a name borrowed from one of the local dialects. The Amorites were everywhere

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1 This conclusion is drawn from the position of oldest son given to him in all the genealogical enumerations of the children of Jacob. Saula, on the contrary, is induced to believe that this place of honor was granted to him on account of the smallness of his family, in order to justify existing between the more powerful tribes, such as Ephraim and Judah (Gen. de Feller loc. cit., vol. i., pp. 31, 392).

2 Saula, viii.

3 This is the * Sons of Jeshurun * discovered by Schumacher (Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins, 1871, vol. iv. p. 149, & seq ; cf. Rassow, Die Religions, Heil., ed. ii., vol. xii., pp. 203-221). The inscription appears to give the name of a goddess, Aqmes-Zaphira, the second part of which recalls the name of Dust-Napier.
victorious, but our information is confined to this bare fact; soon after their victory, however, we find the territory they had invaded divided into two kingdoms: in the north that of Bashan, which comprised, besides the Hauran, the plain watered by the Yarmuk; and to the south that of Bashbon, containing the district lying around the Arnon, and the Jabok to the east of the Dead Sea. They seem to have made the same rapid progress in the country between the Jordan and the Mediterranean as elsewhere. They had subdued some of the small Canaanite states, entered into friendly relations with others, and penetrated gradually as far south as the borders of Sama, while we find them establishing petty kings among the hill-country of Shechem around Halbron, on the confines of the Negeb, and the Shephelah. When the Hebrew tribes ventured to push forward in a direct line northwards, they came into collision with the advance posts of the Amorite population, and suffered a severe defeat under the walls of Hormah. The check thus received, however, did not discourage them. As a direct course was closed to them, they turned to the right, and followed, first the southern and then the eastern shores of the Red Sea, till they reached the frontier of Gilead. There again they were confronted by the Amorites, but in lesser numbers, and not so securely entrenched within their fastnesses as their fellow-countrymen in the

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* The extension of the Amorite power in this direction is proved by the facts relating to the kingdom of Sihon and Og (Deut. 1:4, 12, 21-37; Josh. 1:17). For the whole of this Amorite migration, cf. Winer's, Ges. A. Semite, vol. 1, pp. 51-54.


* For the Amorite occupation of the Negeb and the hill country of Judah, cf. Num. xxi, 23, 24, Josh. 1:7, 18-21; Josh. 2:2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 35; 1 Sam. vii, 34-36; 1 Sam. vii, 34-36.

* See the long account in Num. xi, 6-14, which terminates with the mention of the descent of the Israelites at Hormah; and cf. Deut. vi, 4-65.

* The itinerary given in Num. xx. 22-25, xxxi, xxiii, 37-39, and repeated in Deut. ii, brings the Levantines as far as Balak-gaber, in such a manner as to avoid the Moabites and the Midianites. The friendly relations recorded in them to the regions situated to the east of the Dead Sea, has been explained for either by an alliance made with Moab and Ammon against their common enemy, the Amorites, (Wellhausen, Adolf des Gesch. Israels und Judas, in the Zeitges. and Forster-Goldin, vol. 1, p. 7, and with more certainty by Renan, Hist. du peuple d'Israel, vol. 2, p. 214, et seq.), or by the fact that Ammon and Moab did not as yet occupy these regions; the inhabitants in that case would have been Habiru and Midianites, who were in continual warfare with each other (Winckler, Gesch. Israels, vol. i, pp. 46-51, 205-206).
Negeb, so that the Ismelites were able to overthrow the kingdoms of Heshbon and Bashan.6 Gad received as its inheritance nearly the whole of the territory lying between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk, in the neighbourhood of the ancient native sanctuaries of Penuel, Mahanaim, and Shocoth, associated with the memory of Jacob.7 Reuben settled in the vicinity, and both tribes remained there isolated from the rest. From this time forward they took but a slight interest in the affairs of their brethren: when the latter demanded their succour, "Gilead abode beyond Jordan," and "by the watercourses of Reuben there were great resolves of heart," but without any consequent action.4

4 Drawn by Bourdier, from photograph No. 906 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
5 War against Sihon, King of Heshbon (Num. xxxi. 21-34; Judg. ii. 26-37), and against Og, King of Bashan (Num. xxxi. 33-35; Judg. iii. 1-23). Ed. Meyer thinks that the episode of Sihon was placed by mistake at the time of the conquest (Der Krieg gegen Sichon und die nachherigen Absichten, in the Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1885, pp. 38-39, and Gesch. der Alterthümer, vol. 1, pp. 391, 402, 462); according to him, Sihon was King of Moab, not of Bashan; from whom Oqri of Ismet took Heshbon at the beginning of the 14th century (cf. Steuer, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, vol. 1, pp. 116, 118, 301, 322). Kamienie has refuted this hypothesis (Hist. Kritik Oudemans, 2nd edit., vol. 1, p. 306; 312), and his opinion is now accepted by most historians.
6 For these ancient sanctuaries, cf. supra, pp. 96, 97, 165. For Gad and Reuben, cf. Steuer, Gesch des Volkes Israel, vol. 1, pp. 143-162, and did not possess the district between the Jabbok and the Arnon till the time of the early kings, and retained them only till about the edge of Jordan, as we gather from the inscription of Mass.
7 These are the very expressions used by the author of the Song of Deborah in Judges v. 16, 33; cf. pp. 685, 686 of this present volume.
It was not merely due to indifference on their part; their resources were fully taxed in defending themselves against the Aramaeans and Bedawins, and from the attacks of Moab and Ammon. Gilead continually threatened, struggled for centuries without being discouraged, but Reuben lost heart, and soon declined in power, till at length he became merely a name in the memory of his brethren.

Two tribes having been thus provided for, the bulk of the Israelites sought to cross the Jordan without further delay, and establish themselves as best they might in the very heart of the Canaanites. The sacred writings speak of their taking possession of the country by a methodical campaign, undertaken by command of and under the visible protection of Jehovah. Moses had led them from Egypt to Kadesh, and from Kadesh to the land of Gilead; he had seen the promised land from the summit of Mount Nebo, but he had not entered it, and after his death, Joshua, son of Nun, became their leader, brought them across Jordan dryshod, not far from its mouth, and laid siege to Jericho. The walls of the city fell of themselves at the blowing of the brazen trumpets, and its capture entailed that of three

1. Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph brought back by Lorson.
2. The nomination of these raids by Reuben against the Beduins of the Syrian desert is traceable in 1 Chron. v. 19, 18-22: its authenticity is vially contested by Fazan, Geschichte, vol. i. p. 152, n. 1.
3. The history of the conquest is to be found in the Book of Joshua. I shall not attempt, either here or in the other passages relating to the people of Israel, to enter into a detailed account of the various critical studies of the Hebrew text, but to give an exhaustive bibliography of the subject.
neighbouring towns, Ai, Bethel, and Shechem. Shechem served as a rallying-place for the conquerors; Joshua took up his residence there, and built on the summit of Mount Ebal an altar of stone, on which he engraved the principal tenets of the divine Law. The sudden intrusion of a new element naturally alarmed the worshippers of the surrounding local deities; they at once put a spoke to their petty discord and united in arms against the strangers. At the instigation of Adoni-zedek, King of Jerusalem, the Canaanites collected their forces in the south; but they were routed not far from Gibeon, and their chiefs killed or mutilated. The Amorites in the north, who had assembled round Jabin, King of Hazor, met with no better success; they were defeated at the waters of Merom, Hazor was burnt, and Galilee delivered up to fire and sword. The country having been thus to a certain extent cleared, Joshua set about dividing the spoil, and assigned to each tribe his allotted portion of territory. Such, in its main outlines,

1 Josh. viii. 34. Mount Ebal is the present Gebel Suleimyeh.
2 Drawn by Baudier, from a photograph in Lettau, La Syrie Contemporaine, p. 443.
3 Josh. ii. The same war is given rather differently in Judges 1.1-6, where the king is called Adoni-bezek; of what is said on pp. 789, 870 of the present volume.
4 Josh. xi. As another Jabin appears in the history of Debora (cf. p. 526 of this volume), it has been maintained by some critics that there is a double role assigned to one and the same person, only that some mistake that the Jabin of Josh. xi. has been transferred to the time of the Judges, while others make out that the Jabin of Debora was carried back to the time of the conquest (Breau, Hist. du peuple d'Israel, vol. i. p. 367, note 4).
5 The lot given to each tribe is described in Josh. xii. 1-34.
is the account given by the Hebrew chroniclers; but, if closely examined, it would appear that the Israelites did not act throughout with that unity of purpose and energy which we might at first sight have attributed to them. They did not gain possession of the land all at once, but established themselves in it gradually by detachments, some settling at the fords of Jericho, others more to the north, and in the central valley of the Jordan as far up as Shechem. The latter at once came into contact with a population having a higher civilization than themselves, and well equipped for a vigorous resistance; the walled towns which had defied the veterans of the Pharaohs had not much to fear from the bands of undisciplined Israelites wandering in their neighbourhood. Properly speaking, there were no pitched battles between them, but rather a succession of raids or skirmishes, in which several citadels would successively fall into the hands of the invaders. Many of these strongholds, harassed by repeated attacks, would prefer to come to terms with the enemy, and would exact or sell them some portion of their territory; others would open their gates freely to the strangers, and their inhabitants would ally themselves by intermarriage with the Hebrews. Judah and the remaining descendants of Simeon and Levi established themselves in the south; Levi comprised but a small number of families, and made no important settlements; whereas Judah took possession of nearly the whole of the mountain district separating the Shephelah from the western shores of the Dead Sea, while Simeon made its abode close by on the borders of the desert, around the walls of Beersheba. The descendants of Rachel and her handmaid received as their inheritance the regions situated more to the centre of the country, the house of Joseph taking the best domains.

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1. Rastier, Bilan du peuple d’Israël, vol. 1, pp. 237–238, thinks that the principal arrowshaft must have taken place opposite Jericho, as is apparent from the account in Josh. 10, 31.
3. Drawn by Rambier, from a photograph in Lacroix’s La蹚e du monde, p. 258.
4. Wellhausen has remarked (Art. Israel, in the Encyclopädisch-Biblische, p. 805) that the lot of Levi must not be separated from that of Simeon, and, as the remnant of Simeon allied themselves with Judah, that of Levi also must have shared the patrimony of Judah.
for its branches of Ephraim and Manasseh. Ephraim received some of the old Canaanite sanctuaries, such as Ramah, Bethel, and Shiloh, and it was at the latter spot that they deposited the ark of the covenant. Manasseh settled to the north of Ephraim, in the hills and valleys of the Carmel group, and to Benjamin were assigned the heights which overlook the plain of Jericho. Four of the less important tribes, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulun, ventured as far north as the borders of Tyre and Sidon, behind the Phoenician littoral, but were prevented by the Canaanites and Amorites from spreading over the plain, and had to confine themselves to the mountains. All the fortresses commanding the passes of Tabor and Carmel, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, Jezebel, Endor, and Bethshan remained inviolate, and formed as it were an impassable barrier-line between the Hebrews of Galilee and their brethren of Ephraim.

The Danites were long before they found a resting-place; they attempted to insert themselves to the north of Judah, between Ajalon and Joppa, but were so harassed by the Amorites, that they had to content themselves with the precarious tenure of a few towns such as Zorah, Shaalbin, and Esdol. The foreign peoples of the Shephelah and the Canaanite cities almost all preserved their autonomy; the Israelites had no chance against them wherever they had sufficient space to put into the field large bodies of infantry or to use their iron-bound chariots. Finding it therefore impossible to overcome them, the tribes were forced to remain cut off from each other in three isolated groups of unequal extent which they were powerless to connect: in the centre were Joseph, Benjamin, and Dan; in the south, Judah, Levi, and Simeon; while Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon lay to the north.

The period following the occupation of Canaan constituted the heroic age of the Hebrews. The sacred writings agree in showing that the ties which bound the twelve tribes together were speedily dissolved, while their fidelity and obedience to God were relaxed with the growth of the young generations to whom Moses or Joshua were merely names. The conquerors "dwelt among the Canaanites; the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the
Hivite, and the Jebusite: and they took their daughters to be their wives; and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods. And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord their God, and served Baalim and the Asheroth. * When they had once abandoned their ancient faith, political unity was not long preserved. War broke out between one tribe and another; the stronger allowed the weaker to be oppressed by the heathen, and were themselves often powerless to retain their independence. In spite of the thousands of men among them, all able to bear arms, they fell an easy prey to the first comer; the Amorites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Philistines, all oppressed them in turn, and repaid with asury the ills which Joshua had inflicted on the Canaanites. * Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had spoken, and as the Lord had sworn unto them: and they were sore distressed. And the Lord raised up judges, which saved them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. And yet they hearkened not unto their judges, for they went a-whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves down unto them: they turned aside quickly out of the way wherein their fathers walked obeying the commandments of the Lord; but they did not so. And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge, and saved them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for it repented the Lord because of their groaning by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them. But it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they

* Judges 10:1-2 (R.V.)
turned back, and dealt more corruptly than their fathers, in following other gods to serve them; and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from their doings, nor from their stubborn way. 1 The history of this period lacks the unity and precision with which we are at first tempted to credit it. The Israelites, when transplanted into the promised land, did not immediately lose the nomadic habits they had acquired in the desert. They retained the customs and prejudices they had inherited from their fathers, and for many years treated the peasantry, whose fields they had devastated, with the same disdain that the Bedawin of our own day, living in the saddle, horse in hand, shows towards the fellahin who till the soil and bend patiently over the plough. The clans, as of old, were impatient of all regular authority; each tribe tended towards an isolated autonomy, a state of affairs which merited reprisals from the natives and encouraged hatred of the intruders, and it was only when the Canaanite oppression became insufferable that those who suffered most from it united themselves to make a common effort, and rallied (for a moment round) the chief who was ready to lead them. Many of these liberators must have acquired an ephemeral popularity, and then have sunk into oblivion together with the two or three generations who had known them; those whose memory remained green among their kinsmen were known by posterity as the judges of Israel. 2 These judges were not magistrates invested with official powers and approved by the whole nation, or rulers of a highly organised republic, chosen directly by God or by those inspired by Him. They were merely local chiefs, heroes to their own immediate tribe, well known in their particular surroundings, but often despised by those only at a short distance from them. Some of them have left only a name behind them, such as Shamgar, Iban, Tob, Elon, and Abdon; indeed, some scholars have thrown doubts on the personality of a few of them, as, for instance, Jair, whom they affirm to have personified a Gileadite clan, and Othnel, who is said to represent one of the Kenite families associated with the children of Israel. 3 Others, again, have come down to us through an atmosphere of popular tradition, the elements of which modern criticism has tried in vain to analyse. Of such unsettled and turbulent times we cannot expect an

1 Judges ii. 12-19.
2 The word "judges," which has been adopted to designate those rulers, is somewhat misleading, as it suggests the idea of an organised civil magistracy. The word "chief," on the other hand, is a title that we meet with in an anecdotal form under the form "suffice," and instead of that name, but its primary meaning denotes a man invested with an absolute authority, regular or otherwise, and it would be better translated chief, prince, magnate.
3 For a general treatment of these lesser judges, cf. Neubauer, Geschichte der Völker des alten Testamentes, p. 154, et seq. The name Tola occurs as that of one of the clans of Issachar (Gen. xvi. 15; Num. xxiv. 22); Elon was one of the clans of Zebulun (Gen. xiv. 14; Num. xxiv. 30).
uninterrupted history: some salient episodes alone remain, spread over a period of nearly two centuries, and from these we can gather some idea of the progress made by the Israelites, and observe their stages of transition from a cluster of semi-barbarous hordes to a settled nation ripe for monarchy.

The first of these episodes deals merely with a part, and that the least important, of the tribes settled in Central Canaan. The destruction of the Amorite kingdoms of Bashbon and Basham had been as profitable to the kinmen of the Israelites, Ammon and Moab, as it had been to the Israelites themselves. The Moabites had followed in the wake of the Hebrews through all the surrounding regions of the Dead Sea; they had pushed on from the banks of the Arnon to those of the Jabbok, and at the time of the Judges were no longer content with harassing merely Bashbon and Gad. They were a fine race of warlike, well-armed Bedawins. Jericho had fallen into their hands, and their King Eglen had successfully secured the entire hill-country of Ephraim, so that those who wished to escape being pillaged had to safeguard themselves by the payment of an annual tribute. Euth the Left-handed concealed under his garments a keen dagger, and joined himself to the Benjamite deputies who were to carry their dues to the Moabite sovereign. The money having been paid, the deputies turned homewards, but when they reached the cromlech of

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"Moabite Warrior."
Gilgal, and were safe beyond the reach of the enemy, Ehud retraced his steps, and presenting himself before the palace of Eglon in the attitude of a prophet, announced that he had a secret errand to the king, who thereupon commanded silence, and ordered his servants to leave him with the divine messenger in his summer parlour. "And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the sword from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly; and the hilt also went in after the blade; and the fat closed upon the blade, for he drew not the sword out of his belly; and it came out behind." Then Ehud locked the doors and escaped. "Now when he was gone out, his servants came; and they saw, and beheld, the doors of the parlour were locked; and they said, Surely he covereth his feet in his summer chamber." But by the time they had forced an entrance, Ehud had reached Gilgal and was in safety. He at once assembled the clans of Benjamin, occupied the fords of the Jordan, massacred the bands of Moabites scattered over the plain of Jericho, and blocked the routes by which the invaders attempted to reach the hill-country of Ephraim. Almost at the same time the tribes in Galilee had a narrow escape from a still more formidable enemy. They had for some time been under the Amorite yoke, and the sacred writings represent them at this juncture as oppressed either by Sisera of Harosheth-ha-Goyim or by a second Jabin, who was able to bring nine hundred chariots of iron into the field. At length the prophetess Deborah of Issachar sent to Barak of Kadesh a command to assemble his people, together with those of Zebulun, in the name of the Lord; she herself led the contingents of Issachar, Ephraim, and Machir to meet him at the foot of Tabor, where the united host is stated to have comprised forty thousand men. Sisera,

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1. Cf. supra, p. 393. The encampment at Gilgal was composed of twelve tribes, which we are told were creased by Joshua as a remembrance of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh. vii. 24).
2. The text tells us that, after the time of Ehud, the land had rest eighty years (Judges iii. 17). This again is one of those numbers which represent an indeterminate space of time.
3. It has been maintained that two versions are here blended together in the text, one in which the principal part is played by Sisera, the other in which it is attributed to Jabin (Gezuma, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 2nd ed., p. 84, et seq.). For the identity of Jabin II. with the Jabin of Joshua, cf. supra, p. 692. The episode of Deborah and Barak (Judges iv. v.) comprises a narrative in prose (chap. v.), and the song (chap. vi.) attributed to Deborah (Rieman, Die Bücher Röther und Samuel, p. 101, et seq.). Maurice Vine is the only writer who has contested the authenticity of this song (Les Tribunaux de la Nation Juive, in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, vol. viii, pp. 222-322; the prose account probably is derived from the song. According to Wellhausen-Rieman, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 4th ed., p. 687, et seq., the differences in the two accounts arise partly from an imperfect understanding of the prose text, and partly from one having come down from some other source (Rieman, Die Bücher Röther und Samuel, pp. 66-71, 105-107; cf. Wellhausen-Rieman, Das Litteratur des Alten Testamentes und die Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung, pp. 26, 31).
4. Some critics suppose that the prose narrative (Judges iv. 5) has confused the prophetess Deborah, wife of Lephatth, with Deborah, spouse of Ramoth, who was buried near Bethel, under the Oak of Wooping (Gen. xxxv. 8), and consequently place it between Rieman and Bethel, in the hill-country of Ephraim.
5. In the prose narrative (Judges iv. 2-7) Sisera is stated to have been the general of Jabin.
who commanded the Canaanite force, attacked the Israelite army between Taanach and Megiddo in that plain of Kishon which had often served as a battle-field during the Egyptian campaigns. It would appear that heavy rains had swollen the streams, and thus prevented the chariots from rendering their expected service in the engagement; at all events, the Amorites were routed, and Sisera escaped with the survivors towards Hazor. The people of Meron facilitated his retreat, but a Kenite named Jael, the wife of Heber, treacherously killed him with a blow from a hammer while he was in the act of drinking. This exploit was commemorated in a song, the composition of which is attributed to Deborah and Barak: * For that the leaders took the lead in Israel, for that the people offered themselves willingly, bless ye the Lord. Hear, O ye kings, give ear, O ye princes; I, even I, will sing unto the Lord; I will sing praise to the Lord, the God of Israel." The poem then dwells on the

1 Drawn by Rouxie, from a photograph in Louter's La Syrie d'aujourd'hui, p. 126.
2 Cf. for the site of Megiddo and the victory gained there by Thibon's 'Les,' pp. 124-136, 236-239 of the present work.
3 More is the present Murum, between the Lake of Huleh and Safed. I have followed the account given in the song (Judges v. 24-27). According to the prose version (v. 17-22), Jael drew Sisera while he was asleep with a mallet-pin, which she drove into his temple. [The text of Judges v. 24-27 does not seem to warrant the view that he was slain "in the act of drinking," nor does it seem in conflict with Judges v. 11—12.]
4 Judges v. 3, 7 (R.V.).
sufferings of the people, but tells how Deborah and Barak were raised up, and enumerates the tribes who took part in the conflict as well as those who turned a deaf ear to the appeal. "They came down a remnant of the nobles and the people. . . . Out of Ephraim came down they whose root is in Amalek;—out of Machir came down governors,—and out of Zebulun they that handle the marshall's staff.—And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah—as was Issachar so was Barak,—into the valley they rushed forth at his feet. By the watercourses of Reuben—there were great resolves of heart.—Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,—to hear the piping for the flocks?—At the watercourses of Reuben—there were great searchings of heart.—Gilead abode beyond Jordan;—and Dan, why did he remain in ships?—Asher sat still at the haven of the sea,—and abode by his coasts.—Zebulun was a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death,—and Naphtali upon the high places of the field.—The kings came and fought;—then fought the kings of Canaan.—In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo;—they took no gain of money. They fought from heaven,—the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.—The river of Kishon swept them away,—that ancient river, the river Kishon.—Oh my soul, march on with strength,—Then did the horseman's stamp—by reason of the praisings, the praisings of their strong ones." Sisera flies, and the poet follows him in fancy, as if he feared to see him escape from vengeance. He curses the people of Merod in passing: "because they came not to the help of the Lord." He addresses Jael and blesses her, describing the manner in which the chief fell at her feet, and then proceeds to show how, at the very time of Sisera's death, his people were awaiting the messenger who should bring the news of his victory; "through the window she looked forth and cried—the mother of Sisera cried through the lattice—"Why is his chariot so long in coming?—Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?"—Her wise ladies answered her,—yes, she returned answer to herself,—"Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil? A damsel, two damsels to every man;—to Sisera a spoil of divers colours,—a spoil of divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?—So let all Thine enemies perish, O Lord;—but let them that love Him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

It was the first time, as far as we know, that several of the Israelites

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1 The text of the song (Judges 5:14) contains an allusion to Benjamin, which is considered by many critics to be an interpolation. It gives a mistaken reading, "Issachar with Barak?" Issachar having been already mentioned with Deborah, probably Zebulun should be inserted in the text.

2 Judges 5: 12-21, 29-31.
tribes combined together for common action after their sojourn in the desert of Kadesh-barnea, and the success which followed from their united efforts ought, one would think, to have encouraged them to maintain such a union, but it fell out otherwise; the desire for freedom of action and independence was too strong among them to permit of the continuance of the coalition. Manasseh, restricted in its development by the neighbouring Canaanite tribes, was forced to seek a more congenial neighbourhood to the east of the Jordan—not close to Gad, in the land of Gilead, but to the north of the Yarmuk and its northern affluents in the vast region extending to the mountains of the Haurán. The families of Machir and Jair migrated one after the other to the east of the Lake of Gennesaret, while that of Nobah proceeded as far as the brook of Kanah, and thus formed in this direction the extreme outpost of the children of Israel: these families did not form themselves into new tribes, for they were mindful of their affiliation to Manasseh, and continued beyond the river to regard themselves still as his children. The prosperity of Ephraim and

1 Drawn by Faujas-Gardin, from a photograph by M. G. Almadte of Lyons.

2 Manasseh was said to have been established beyond the Jordan at the time that Gad and Reuben were in possession of the land of Gilead (Num. xxxii. 33, 39-42, xxxiv. 14, 15; Deut. iii. 13-15; Josh. xiii. 1, 39-39, xlii.). Earlier traditions, according to Burck, Die Kister, Jethro and Samain.
Manasseh, and the daring nature of their exploits, could not fail to draw upon them the antagonism and jealousy of the people on their borders. The Midianites were accustomed almost every year to pass through the region beyond the Jordan which the house of Joseph had recently colonised. Assembling in the springtime at the junction of the Yarmuk with the Jordan, they crossed the latter river, and, spreading over the plains of Mount Tabor, destroyed the growing crops, raided the villages, and pushed, sometimes, their skirmishing parties over hill and dale as far as Gaza. A perpetual terror reigned wherever they were accustomed to pass: no one dared beat out wheat or barley in the open air, or lead his herds to pasture far from his home, except under dire necessity; and even on such occasions the inhabitants would, on the slightest alarm, abandon their possessios to take refuge in caves or in strongholds on the mountains. During one of these incursions two of their sheikhs encountered some men of noble mien in the vicinity of Tabor, and massacred them without compunction. The latter were people of Ophrah, brethren of a certain Jerubaal (Gideon) who was head of the powerful family of Abiezer. Assembling all his people at the call of the trumpet, Jerubaal chose from among them three hundred of the strongest, with whom he came down unexpectedly upon the raiders, put them to flight in the plain of Jezreel, and followed them beyond the Jordan. Having crossed the river, "faint and yet pursuing," he approached the men of Succoth, and asked them for bread for himself and his three

pp. 32-33, 37-38, placed this event in the period which followed the conquest of Canaan by Joshua. It is not certain that all the families which constituted the half-tribe of Manasseh took their origin from Manasseh; one of them, for example, that of Jair, was regarded as having originated partly from Judah (I Chron. 2:24).

1 Judges vi. 2. The inference that they slew not bread without in the open air follows from ver. 11, where it is said that "Gideon was loathing out wheat in his winnower to hide it from the Midianites."

2 The history of the Midianite oppression (Judges vi-viii) seems to be four different stories; the second (Judges vi. 4-21) is considered by some to represent the more ancient tradition. The generic name of the hero, Gideon-Jerubaal, has led some to assign the stories respectively to Gideon, judge of the western portion of Manasseh, and Jerubaal, judge of the western Manasseh (cf. Nissim, Studien und Beurtheilungen zur Geschichte der Altert. Orient., pp. 1-29), and to the consequent fusion of the two men into one.

3 This is an assumption which follows reasonably from Judges viii. 18, 19.

4 The site of the Ophrah of Abiezer is not known for certain, but it would seem from the narrative that it was in the neighbourhood of Shiloh.

5 The position of Jeraubal-Jerubbaal as head of the house of Abiezer follows clearly from the narrative, if he is represented in the first part of the account as a man of humble origin (Judges vi. 18); it was to equal the power of Jairth, who was accustomed to choose his instruments from amongst the poor. The name Jerubbaal (1 Sam. xii. 11; 2 Sam. xii. 24, where the name is transferred into Jerubbaal), as Rabbah and Meriblah (to be identified with Nob and Mount Ephraim respectively), belongs to the `Real' "sire" to some and to represent the Canaanite "god," but the "real" Lord, as applied to Jerubbaal, was supposed to mean "Deist rights against him," and was, therefore, offensive to the" inhabitants. KRELIK, De Godsdienst van Israel, vol. i. p. 408, thought it meant "Lord, Right for lien!" Roman reads it "Yarbaal, from the Vryse and Jerubbaal, and translated "He who fears God" (Hist. du peuple d'Israel, vol. i. p. 229). Gideon signifies "He who overlooks" in the battle.
hundred followers. Their fear of the marauders, however, was so great that the people refused to give him any help, and he had no better success with the people of Peniel whom he encountered a little further on. He did not stop to compel them to straiten their wishes, but swore to inflict an exemplary punishment upon them on his return. The Midianites continued their retreat, in the mean time, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah," but Jerubbaal came up with them near Karkar, and discomfited the host. He took vengeance upon the two peoples who had refused to give him bread, and having thus fulfilled his vow, he began to question his prisoners, the two chiefs: "What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor?"

"As thou art, so were they; each one resembled the children of a king."

"And he said, They were my brethren, the sons of my mother; as the Lord liveth, if ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you. And he said unto Jether, his firstborn, Up, and slay them. But the youth drew not his sword, for he feared, because he was but a youth." True Bedawins as they were, the chiefs' pride revolted at the idea of their being handed over for execution to a child, and they cried to Jerubbaal: "Rise thou, and fall upon us: for as the man is, so is his strength." From this victory rose the first monarchy among the Israelites. The Midianites, owing to their marauding habits and the amount of tribute which they were accustomed to secure for escorting caravans, were possessed of a considerable quantity of gold, which they lavished on the decoration of their persons: their chiefs were clad in purple mantles, their warriors were loaded with necklaces, bracelets, rings, and ear-rings, and their camels also were not behind their masters in the brilliance of their caparison. The booty which Gideon secured was, therefore, considerable, and, as we learn from the narrative, excited the envy of the Ephraimites, who said: "Why hast thou served us thus, that thou calledst us not, when thou wentest to fight with Midian?" The spoil from the golden ear-rings alone amounted to one thousand seven hundred shekels, as we learn from the narrative, and this treasure in the hands of Jerubbaal was not left unemployed, but was made, doubtless, to contribute something to the prestige he had already acquired: the men of Israel, whom he had just saved from their foes, expressed their gratitude by offering the crown to him and his successors. The mode of life of the Hebrews had been much changed after they had taken up their abode in the mountains of Canaan. The tent had given place to the house, and, like their Canaanite neighbours, they had given themselves up to agricultural pursuits. This change of habits, in bringing about a greater abundance of the necessaries of life than they had been accustomed to, had begotten aspirations which throw

Judge xiv. 1-3.
into relief the inadequacy of the social organisation, and of the form of government with which they had previously been content. In the case of a horde of nomads, defeat or exile would be of little moment. Should they be obliged by a turn in their affairs to leave their usual haunts, a few days or often a few hours would suffice to enable them to collect their effects together, and set out without trouble, and almost without regret, in search of a new and more favour'd home. But with a cultivator of the ground the case would be different: the farm, clearings, and homestead upon which he had spent such arduous and continuous labour; the olive trees and vines which had supplied him with oil and wine—everything in fact, upon which he depended for a livelihood, or which was dependent upon him, would bind him to the soil, and expose his property to disasters likely to be as heavily felt as wounds inflicted on his person. He would feel too used, therefore, of laws to secure to him in time of peace the quiet possession of his wealth, of an army to protect it in time of war, and of a ruler to carry on the one hand, the laws to be respected, and to become the leader, on the other, of the military forces. Jerubbash is said to have, in the first instance, refused the crown, but everything goes to prove that he afterwards virtually accepted it. He became, it is true, only a petty king, whose sovereignty was limited to Manasseh, a part of Ephraim, and a few towns, such as Samaria and Penuel, beyond the Jordan. The Canaanite city of Shechem also paid him homage. Like all great chiefs, he had also numerous wives, and he recognised as the national Deity the God to whom he owed his victory. Out of the spoil taken from the Midianites he formed and set up at Ephraim an ephod, which became, as we learn, "a snare unto him and unto his house," but he had also erected under a terebinth tree a stone altar to Jehovah (Shalom, "Jehovah is peace"). This sanctuary, with its altar and ephod, soon acquired great celebrity, and centuries after its foundation it was the object of many pilgrimages from a distance.

Jerubbash was the father by his Israelite wives of seventy children, and, by a Canaanite woman whom he had taken as a concubine at Shechem, of one son, called Abimelech. The succession to the throne would naturally have fallen to one of the seventy, but before this could be arranged, Abimelech went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and with all the

1 Judges xiii. 27, 31.
2 The Book of Judges separates the altar from the ephod, placing the portion of the former at the time of the erection of Midian (vi. 12-21) and that of the ephod after the victory (xv. 24-27). The sanctity of Ephraim was possibly in existence before the time of Jerubbash, and the sanctity of the place may have determined his selection of the spot for placing the altar and ephod there.

3 Judges xiii. 30, 31.
family of the house of his mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, that all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are threescore and ten persons, rule over you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your flesh." This advice was well received; it flattered the vanity of the people to think that the new king was to be one of themselves; "their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother. And they gave him threescore and ten pieces of silver out of the house of Beul-berith (the Lord of the Covenant)," wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him. He slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone." The massacre having been effected, "all the men of Shechem assembled themselves together, and all the house of Millo, and made Abimelech king, by the oak of the pillar which was in Shechem." He dwelt at Ophrah, in the residence, and near the sanctuary, of his father, and from thence governed the territories constituting the little kingdom of Manasseh, levying tribute upon the vassal villages, and exacting probably tolls from caravans passing through his domain. This condition of things lasted for three years, and then the Shechemites, who had shown themselves so pleased at the idea of having "one of their brethren" as sovereign, found it irksome to pay the taxes levied upon them by him, as if they were in no way related to him. The presence among them of a certain Zebul, the officer and representative of Abimelech, restrained them at first from breaking out into rebellion, but they returned soon to their ancient predatory ways, and demanded ransom for the travellers they might capture even when the latter were in possession of the king's safe conduct. This was not only an insult to their lord, but a serious blow to his treasury: the merchants who found themselves no longer protected by his guarantee employed elsewhere the sums which would have come into his hands. The king concealed his anger, however; he was not inclined to adopt premature measures, for the place was a strong one, and defeat would seriously weaken his prestige. The people of Shechem, on their part, did not risk an open rupture for fear of the consequences.

[i] See p. 693, supra, for what is there said on Beul-berith.

[i] The word "Millo" is a general term meaning strongly, "stronghold of the city; there was a Millo in every important town. Jerusalem included.

[i] The "oak of the pillar" was a sacred tree overshadowing probably a temple; it may have been the tree mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 4, under which Joseph buried the strange gods, or that referred to in Joshua xxiv. 25, under which Joshua set up a stone commemorating the establishment of the law. Jethro, the youngest son of Hobab, escaped the massacre. As soon as he heard of the election of Abimelech, he ascended Mount Gilead, and gave out from there the fate of the tree, applying it to the circumstances of the time, and then fled. Some critics think that this oak—which is undoubtedly old—was inserted in the text at a time when prophetic ideas prevailed and monarchy was not yet accepted.
Gaal, son of Elbed, a soldier of fortune and of Israelitish blood, arrived upon the scene; attended by his followers: he managed to gain the confidence of the people of Shechem, who celebrated under his protection the feast of the Vintage. On this occasion their merry-making was disturbed by the presence among them of the officer charged with collecting the tithes, and Gaal did not lose the opportunity of stimulating their ire by his ironical speeches: "Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? Is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul, his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor the father of Shechem, but why should we serve him? And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase thine army, and come out." Zebul promptly gave information of this to his master, and invited him to come by night and lie in ambush in the vicinity of the town, "that in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set upon the city; and, behold, when he and the people that is with him come out against thee, thou mayest do to them as thou shalt find occasion." It turned out as he foresaw: the inhabitants of Shechem went out in order to take part in the gathering in of the vintage, while Gaal posted his men at the entering in of the gate of the city. As he looked towards the hills he thought he saw an unusual movement among the trees, and, turning round, said to Zebul who was close by, "Behold, there come people down from the tops of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as if they were men." A moment after he looked in another direction, "and spake again and said, Soe, there come people down by the middle of the land, and one company cometh by the way of the terebinth of the augurs. Zebul, seeing the affair turn out so well, threw off the mask, and replied raillingly, "Where is now thy mouth, wherewith thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people that thou hast despised? go out, I pray, now, and fight with him." The King of Manasseh had no difficulty in defeating his adversary, but arresting the pursuit at the gates of the city, he withdraw to the neighbouring village of Aserah. He trusted that the inhabitants, who had taken no part in the affair, would believe that his wrath had been appeased by the defeat of Gaal; and so, in fact, it turned out:  

1 The name Elbed ("servant") is assumed to have been substituted by the Massoretic text for the original name Jephud (which appears in the LXX. as Ἀβιβδός), because of the element Baal in the latter word, which was regarded as that of the strange god, and would then have the sacrilegious meaning, "Jehovah is Baal." The term of contempt, Elbed, was meaning to this view, thus used he replaced it.  
2 See on the subject of this festival, p. 102, supra.  
3 This is now El-Oummi, i.e. Kahunet el-Karmel, to the south-west of Nahal (Gourze, Samaria, vol. ii. pp. 25).
they dismissed their unfortunate champion, and on the morrow returned to their labours as if nothing had occurred. Abimelech had arranged his Abiezrites in three divisions: one of which was to the gates, while the other two fell upon the scattered labourers in the vineyards. Abimelech then fought against the city and took it, but the chief citizens had taken refuge in "the hold of the house of El-berith." "Abimelech gat him up to Mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it up, and laid it on his shoulder: and he said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done. And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women." This summary vengeance did not, however, prevent other rebellions. Thebes imitated Shechem, and came nigh suffering the same penalty. The king besieged the city and took it, and was about to burn with fire the tower in which all the people of

1 Drawn by Boulton, from a photograph reproduced in the Duc de Lorraine, Voyages of Exploration à la mer Morte, vol. iii. pl. 21.
2 Thebes, now Taiba, the north-east of Nablus (Cruvelier, Découvertes, vol. i. pp. 227-229).
the city had taken refuge, when a woman threw a millstone down upon his head "and brake his skull." The narrative tells us that, feeling himself mortally wounded, he called his armour-bearer to him and said, "Draw thy sword, and kill me, that men say not of me, A woman slew him." His monarchy ceased with him, and the ancient chronicler recognises in the catastrophe a just punishment for the atrocious crime he had committed in slaying his half-brothers, the seven sons of Jeroboam. His fall may be regarded also as the natural issue of his peculiar position: the resources upon which he relied were inadequate to secure to him a supremacy in Israel. Manasseh, now deprived of a chief, and given up to internal dissensions, became still further embroiled, and an easy prey to its rivals. The divine writings record in several places the success attained by the central tribes in their conflict with their enemies. They describe how a certain Jephthah distinguished himself in freeing Gilgal from the Ammonites; but his triumph led to the loss of his daughter, whom he sacrificed in order to fulfil a vow he had made to Jahveh before the battle. These were, however, comparatively unimportant episodes in the general history of the Hebrew

1 Judges ix. 23, 24. "And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem rose up treacherously with Abimelech, that the violence done to the house of Sechem, and the sons of Shechem might come, and that their blood might be laid upon Abimelech, their brother, which slew them, and upon the man of Shechem, which strengthened his hands to slay his brethren."

2 The story of Jephthah is contained in Judges xii. 2-7, of the Book of Judges. The passage (xii. 12-20) is regarded by some, owing to its faint echo of certain portions of Book xx., xx., to be an interpolation. Jephthah is said to have had Gilead for his father and a sister for his mother. Various views have been put forward as to the account of his victories over the Midianites, some seeing in it, as well as in the origin of the four days' feast in honour of Jephthah's daughter, elements of a later date.

3 There is no voice as to the nature of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. Some think she was vowed to perpetual virginity, while others consider that she was actually sacrificed (see Renan, Hist. des Juifs, pp. 139, 209).
race. Babylonia from the East, sheikhs of the Midianites, Moabites, and Ammonites—all these marauding peoples of the frontier whose incursions are put on record—gave them continual trouble, and rendered their existence so miserable that they were unable to develop their institutions and attain the permanent freedom after which they aimed. But their real dangers—the risk of perishing altogether, or of falling back into a condition of servitude—did not arise from any of these quarters, but from the Philistines.

By a decree of Pharaoh, a new country had been assigned to the remnant of each of the maritime peoples: the towns nearest to Egypt, lying between Raphia and Joppa, were given over to the Philistines, and the forest region and the coast to the north of the Philistines, as far as the Phoenician stations of Dor and Carmel, were appropriated to the Zakkalas. The latter was a military colony, and was chiefly distributed among the five fortresses which commanded the Shephelah. Gaza and Ascalon were separated from the Mediterranean by a line of sand-dunes, and had nothing in the nature of a sheltered port—nothing, in fact, but a "mastaba," or open roadstead, with a few dwellings and storehouses arranged along the beach on which their boats were drawn up. Ascalon was built on the sea, and its harbour, although well enough suited for the small craft of the ancients, could not have been entered by the most insignificant of our modern ships. The Philistines had here their naval arsenal, where their fleets were fitted out for scouring the Egyptian waters as a marine police.

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1. Drawn by Bousin, from photograph No. 667 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
2. We are indebted to the Pappus Gekkenschop for the mention of the position of the Zakkalas at the beginning of the XXI dynasty.
3. The history of the Philistines is dealt with at great length in Ritter’s Opponente und Mythologie der Philister, 1843, and in Strauss, Iran und die Philistinische Kaiser, 1844; but they must be read with caution, especially the former of the two. They contain, moreover, most of the facts which have been revealed in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions as to the origin and history of the people.
or for military expeditions on their own account, when the occasion served, along the coasts of Phoenicia. Ekron and Gath kept watch over the eastern side of the plain, at the points where it was most exposed to the attacks of the people of the hills—the Canaanites in the first instance, and afterwards the Hebrews. These foreign warriors soon changed their mode of life in contact with the indigenous inhabitants; daily intercourse, followed up by marriages with the daughters of the land, led to the substitution of the language, manners, and religion of the surrounding race for those of their mother country.

The Zakkala, who were not numerous, it is true, lost everything, even to their name, and it was all that the Philistines could do to preserve their own. At the end of one or two generations, the "colts" of Palestine could only speak the Canaanite tongue, in which a few words of the old Hellenic patois still continued to survive. Their gods were henceforward those of the towns in which they resided, such as Mura and Dagon, Dagon at Ashdod, Baalshaph at Ekron, and Derketō in Ascalon; and their mode of worship, with its mingled bloody and obscene rites, followed

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1. See p. 700, supra, for mention of a Philistine fleet belonging to Ascalon.
2. Drawn by F. Dümmler, from a "squar;" see, on p. 471, supra, the base-relief from Medinet-Habu, to which this head belongs.
3. Stett, who accepts the Cretan origin of the Philistines, thinks that they were descended from Semitic colonists planted in Crete in pre-Hellenic times, and gradually driven out by Assyro-Babylonian invaders (Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. 3, p. 143). It seems more probable that they belonged to one of the semi-Semite tribes which had settled in that island, and that they were, as Hittite points out (Geschichte der Philister, p. 97, et seq.), allied to the similar and continental Greeks. Hittite attempted to identify the name Amasis with that of Atshash, King of Gath, and Reuss thought they were still preserved in Egypt a few Greek words which had come from their language. C.L. ed. et coll., renaissance, 2177 egypt, 2177 assyria, 2177 pelus, 2177 (Histoire du peuple d'Israel, vol. 2, p. 22). Atshash is met with from the XIXth dynasty onwards (W. M. Müller, Die Krea-Names, in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. 12, pp. 301, 305), and under Sargon of Assyria (W. M. Müller, Assyria and Europe, p. 280, note 1).
4. Mura, "the land," is mentioned alongside Baalshaph in a list of strange gods worshipped in Memphis in the XIXth dynasty (Salier, op. cit., iv. pl. 6, et seq.; supra). Stephanus of Byzantium gives the same as Ero Kopas (s. v. Kopa). The worship of Dagon at Ascalon is mentioned in the story of Samson (Judges xxi. 21-30).
5. The temple and statues of Dagon are mentioned in the account of the events following the taking of the ark by the Sam. 4, 1-7. It is, perhaps, in him that 1 Chron. x. 10 refers, in relating how the Philistines hung up Saul's arms in the house of their gods, although 1 Sam. xxxvi. 10 calls the place the "house of the Ashkesheth."
6. Baalshaph was the god of Ekron (2 Kings v. 11), and his name was doubtfully translated "Lord of Filmun." The discovery of the name of the town Zebul on the Tell el-Amarna tablets shows that it means the "House of Zebul" (Waller, Researches in Babilonia, 2470, in the Revue Études, vol. I, p. 291; Winckler, GeschichtsDenk, vol. I, pp. 222, note 1, 223). Zebul was situated in the Philistine plains, and its form Ezanah. History thinks it may have been a suburb of that town.
7. The worship of Derketō or Ascalon at Ascalon is attested to by the classical writers.
that of the country. Two things belonging to their past history they still retained—a clear remembrance of their far-off origin, and that warlike temperment which had enabled them to fight their way through many obstacles from the shores of the Aegean to the frontiers of Egypt. They could recall their island of Caphtor, and their neighbours in their new home were accustomed to bow down upon them the designation of Cretans, of which they themselves were not a little proud. Gaza enjoyed among them a kind of hegemony, alike on account of its strategic position and its favourable situation for commerce, but this supremacy was of very precarious character, and brought with it no right whatever to meddle in the internal affairs

A PROCEDURE OF PHILISTINE CAPTIVES AT Hebrey-Yam.

1. Drawn by Puchler-Guthe, from a photograph taken by Inceiger in 1881.

1. See also 1 Kings (1 Sam. xxvii, 9), where mention is made of the "south of the Cherethites," which some have used to mean Cretans—that is to say, the region to the south of the Philistines, adjoining the territory of Judah, and to the "south of Gilead." Ezek. xxvi. 10 also mentions in juxtaposition the Philistines, the Cherethites, and "the remnant of the sea-coast," as objects of God's vengeance for the many evils they had suffered on Israel. By the Cherethites, and the Cherethites in Zeph. ii. 5, the Cretans are by some thought to be meant, which would account for their association with the Philistines.
of other members of the confederacy. Each of the latter had a chief of its own, a Sheen, and the office of this chief was hereditary in one case at least—Gath, for instance, where there existed a larger Canaanite element than elsewhere, and was there identified with that of "melek" or king. The five Sammites assembled in council to deliberate upon common interests, and to offer sacrifices in the name of the Pentapedia. These chiefs were respectively free to make alliances, or to take the field on their own account, but in matters of common importance they acted together, and took their places each at the head of his own contingent. Their armies were made up of regiments of skilled archers and of pikemen, to whom were added a body of charioteers made up of the princes and the nobles of the nation. The armour for all alike was the coat of scale mail and the helmet of brass; their weapons consisted of the two-edged battle-axe, the bow, the lance, and a large and heavy sword of bronze or iron. Their war tactics were probably similar to those of the Egyptians, who were unrivalled in military operations at this period throughout the whole East. Under able leadership, and in positions favourable for the operations of their chariots, the Philistines had nothing to fear from the forces which any of their foes could bring up against them. As to their maritime history, it is certain that in the earliest period, at least, of their sojourn in Syria, as well as in that before their capture by Rameses III., they were successful in sea-fights, but the memory of only one of their expeditions has come down to us: a squadron of theirs having sailed forth from Ascalon somewhere towards the end of the XIIth dynasty, succeeded in destroying the Sidonian fleet, and pillaging Sidon itself. But however vigorously they may have pried the occupation of Corsairs at the outset of their career, there was, it would appear, a rapid falling off in their maritime prowess: it was on land, and as soldiers, that they displayed their bravery and gained their fame. Their geographical position, indeed, on the direct and almost only route for caravans passing between Asia and Africa, must have contributed to their success.

1 The same splendid figure in the narrative of the last Philistine campaign against Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 8-13). Their number, five, is expressly mentioned in 1 Sam. vii. 14-16, as well as the names of the towns over which they roamed.

2 Achish was King of Gath (1 Sam. xvi. 10, 12, xxvii. 3), and probably Maon before him.

3 Achish, for example, King of Gath, makes war alone against the pillaging tribes, owing to the intervention of David and his men, without being called in account by the other princes (2 Sam. xxiii. 8-12, xxvii. 1-7), but as soon as an affair of moment is in contemplation—such as the war against Saul—they demand the dismissal of David, and Achish is obliged to submit to his suggestions against regular (1 Sam. xxxi.).

4 The same heroes are mentioned in the battle of Cullus (2 Sam. xxii. 2) as well as chariots (2 Sam. ii. 4). The horses mentioned in the same connection are regarded by some critics as an interpolation, because they cannot bring themselves to think that the Philistines had cavalry corps in the IXth century B.C. The Philistine arms are described at length in the third between David and Gath (1 Sam. xiii. 3, 5, 29, 31). They are in some respects like those of the Hebrew hounds.

5 Justinus, xvi. 5, 8. The memory of this has been preserved, owing to the dispute about precedence which raged in the Greek period between the Phoenician towns. The destruction of Sidon must have allowed Tyre to develop and take the first place.
The number of such caravans was considerable; for although Egypt had ceased to be a conquering nation on account of her futilities at home, she was still one of the great centres of production, and the most important market of the East. A very great part of her trade with foreign countries was carried on through the mouths of the Nile, and of this commerce the Phoenicians had made themselves masters; the remainder followed the land-routes, and passed continually through the territory of the Philistines. These people were in possession of the tract of land which lay between the Mediterranean and the beginning of the southern desert, forming as it were a narrow passage, into which all the roads leading from the Nile to the Euphrates necessarily converged. The chief of these routes was that which crossed Mount Carmel, near Megiddo, and passed up the valleys of the Litany and the Orontes. This was met at intervals by other secondary roads, such as that which came from Damascus by way of Tabor and the plain of Jezreel, or those which, starting out from the highland of Gilead, led through the fords of the Lower Jordan to Ekron and Gath respectively. The Philistines charged themselves, after the example and at the instigation of the Egyptians, with the maintenance of the great trunk road which was in their hands, and also with securing safe transit along it, as far as they could post their troops, for those who confided themselves to their care. In exchange for these good offices they exacted the same tolls which had been levied by the Canaanites before them.

*Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Baude, cf. on p. 469 supra, the bas-relief of Molhiel-Hale, from which this cut is taken.*
In their efforts to put down brigandage, they had been brought into contact with some of the Hebrew clans after the latter had taken possession of Canaan. Judah, in its home among the mountains of the Dead Sea, had become acquainted with the diverse races which were found there, and consequently there had been frequent intermarriages between the Hebrews and these peoples. Some critics have argued from this that the chronicler had this fact in his mind when he assigned a Canaanite wife, Shushah, to the father of the tribe himself. He relates how Judah, having separated from his brethren, "turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah," and that here he became acquainted with Shushah, by whom he had three sons. With Tamar, the widow of the eldest of the latter, he had accidental intercourse, and two children, Perez and Zerah, the ancestors of numerous families, were born of that union. Edomites, Arabs, and Midianites were associated with this semi-Canaanite stock—for example, Kain, Caleb, Othniel, Kenuz, Shebal, Ephah, and Jerahmeel, but the Kenites took the first place among them, and played an important part in the history of the conquest of Canaan. It is related how one of their subdivisions, of which Caleb was the eponymous hero, had driven from Hebron the three sons of Anak—Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai—and had then promised his daughter Achsah in marriage to him who should capture Debir; this turned out to be his youngest brother Othniel, who captured the city, and at the same time obtained a wife. Habah, another Kenite, who is represented to have been the brother-in-law of Moses, occupied a position to the south of Arad, in Idumean territory. These heterogeneous elements existed alongside each other for a long time without intermingling; they combined, however, now and again to act against a common foe, for we know that the people of Judah aided the tribe of Simeon in the reduction of the city of Zephath; but they followed an independent course for the most part, and their isolation prevented their obtaining, for a lengthened period, any extension of territory. They failed, at first, in their attempts to subjugate the province of Arad, and in their efforts to capture the fortresses which guarded the caravan routes between Ashdod and the mouth of the Jordan. It is related, however, that they overthrew Adoni-bezek, King of the Jebusites, and that they had dealt with him as he was accustomed to deal with his prisoners. And Adoni-bezek said, Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table;
as I have done, so God hath required me." Although Adoni-bezek had been overthrown Jerusalem still remained independent, as did also Gibeah, Beeroth, Kirjath-jearim, Ajalon, Gederoth, and the cities of the plain, for the Israelites could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron, with which the Hebrew foot-soldiers found it difficult to deal. This independent and isolated group was not at first, however, a subject of anxiety to the masters of the coast, and there is but a bare reference to the exploits of a certain Shemgar, son of Anath, who "smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad." These cities had also to reckon with Ephraim, and the tribes which had thrown in their lot with her. Dan had cast his eyes upon the northern districts of the Shephelah—which were dependent upon Ekron or Gath—and also upon the semi-Phoenician port of Joppa; but these tribes did not succeed in taking possession of these districts, although they had harassed them from time to time by raids in which the children of Israel did not always come off victorious. One of their chiefs—Samson—had a great reputation among them for his bravery and bodily strength, and we have some details of his history. The episodes which have been preserved deal with some of his exploits against the Philistines, and there is a certain humour in the chronicler's account of the weapons.

1 Drawn by Duane, from photograph No. 269 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
2 Ritman, Die Reizer Lieder und Sagen, pp. 2-4, 92-95, 84, 85, endeavours to show that these events were attributed to a later date to Joshua.
3 See Judg. i. 32-37 for an enumeration of how these people were allowed afterwards to remain in a subordinate capacity among the children of Israel. For the strategical and commercial importance to Judaism and fame of Gibeah and the neighbouring places, see Stade, Ges. der Vollte Israel, vol. ii. p. 167.
4 Judges iii. 31 (cf. also Judges vi. 8, in which Shemgar is mentioned in the song of Deborah.)
which he employed: "with the javelins of an ass have I smitten a thousand men;" he burned up their harvest also by letting go three hundred foxes, with torches attached to their tails, among the standing corn of the Philistines. Various events in his career are subsequently narrated, such as his adventure in the house of the harlot at Gaza, when he carried off the gate of the city and the gate-posts "to the top of the mountain that is before Hebron." By Daliel’s treachery he was finally delivered over to his enemies, who, having put out his eyes, confined him to grime in the prison-house. On the occasion of a great festival in honour of Dagon he was brought into the temple to amuse his captors, but while they were making merry at his expense, he took hold of the two pillars against which he was resting, and bowing "himself with all his might," overturned them, "and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein." 1 The tribe of Dan at length became weary of these unprofitable struggles, and determined to seek out another and more safely defensible settlement. They sent out five emissaries, therefore, to look out for a new home. While these were passing through the mountains they called upon a certain Michah in the hill-country of Ephraim and lodged there. Here they took counsel of a Levite whom Michah had made his priest, and, in answer to the question whether their journey would be prosperous, he told them to "Go in peace; before the Lord is the way wherein ye go." Their search turned out successful, for they discovered near the sources of the Jordan the town of Laish, whose people, like the Zidonians, dwelt in security, fearing no trouble. On the report of the emissaries, Dan. decided to emigrate; the warriors set out to the number of six hundred, carried off with them the priest of Michah and his ephod, teraphim, and graven image, and succeeded in capturing Laish, to which they gave the name of their tribe. "The children of Dan set up for themselves the graven image; and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land. "2 The tribe of Dan displayed in this advanced post of peril the bravery it had shown on the frontiers of the Shephelah, and shewed itself the most boldest of the tribes of Israel. It bore out well its character—"Dan is a lion’s whelp that leaps forth from Bashan." on the Hermon: 3 a serpent

1 Some learned critics considered Samuel to have been a sort of sorcerer (H. Rie LOWER, La Legendes de Semaan et les Mythes nabonites, 1882; SCHWETZ, Zeitschrift für Altertumskunde, vol. iv, pp. 116-120, 120-170; Goldsmid, Der Mythos bei der Herowen, p. 129).
2 Some critics see in the history of this migration, which is given summarily in Josh. xvi. 42, a blending of two accounts. ROUX, Die Bücher Richter, etc., pp. 138-140, has attempted a reconstruction of the narrative. The personage of a descendant of Moses as a priest in this local migration probably symbolized the religious aspirations of a people, who substituted Mannasseh for Moses (Judges xvi. 30), but the narration was not generally accepted. [The R.V. reads "Moses" where the authorised text (and the LXX. also) has "Mannasseh."—Ts.]
3 See the Blasphemy of Moses (Deut. xxvii. 22).
in the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider falleth backward." The new position they had taken up enabled them to protect Galilee for centuries against the incursions of the Aramaeans.

Their departure, however, left the descendants of Joseph unprotected, with Benjamin as their only bulwark. Benjamin, like Dan, was one of the tribes which contained scarcely more than two or three clans, but compensated for the smallness of their numbers by their energy and tenacity of character: lying to the south of Ephraim, they had developed into a breed of hardy adventurers, skilled in handling the bow and sling, accustomed from childhood to use both hands indifferently, and always ready to set out on any expedition, not only against the Canaanites, but, if need be, against their own kinsfolk. They had consequently aroused the hatred of both friend and foe, and we read that the remaining tribes at length deemed their destruction a massacre ensued, from which six hundred Benjaminites only escaped to continue the race. Their territory adjoined on the south that of Jerusalem, the fortress of the Jebusites, and, on the west the powerful confederation of which Gibeah was the head. It comprised some half-dozen towns—Ramah, Anathoth, Michmash, and Noh, and thus commanded both sides of the passes leading from the Shephelah into the valley of the Jordan. The Benjamites

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1 These are the words used in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xxix. 17).
2 Drawn by Biddulph, from photograph No. 180 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
3 Benjamin signifies, properly speaking, "the Southern." For the history of the territorial growth of this tribe, see Strick, Geogr. des Villes Israel, vol. i., pp. 103, 161.
4 Story of the Lottites of Ephraim (Judges xix.—xx.), in which the important historical event is the massacre of the pillaging chief by his neighbours. Tradition of the Lottites is supported by some critics to be of a later date than the rest of the text (Stuart, Geogr. des Villes Israel, vol. i., p. 71).
were in the habit of descending suddenly upon merchants who were making their way to or returning from Gilead, and of robbing them of their wares; sometimes they would make a raid upon the environs of Ekron and Gath, "like a wolf that ravineth;" realising the prediction of Jacob, "in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at even he shall divide the spoil." The Philistines never failed to make reprisals after each raid, and the Benjaminites were no match for their heavily armed battalions; but the labyrinth of ravines and narrow gorges into which the Philistines had to penetrate to meet their enemy was a favourable region for guerilla warfare, in which they were no match for their opponents. Peace was never of long duration on this ill-defined borderland, and neither intercourse between one village and another, alliances, nor intermarriage between the two peoples had the effect of interrupting hostilities; even when a truce was made at one locality, the feud would be kept up at other points of contact. All details of this conflict have been lost, and we merely know that it terminated in the defeat of the house of Joseph, a number of whom were enslaved. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh still continued to be the sacred town of the Hebrews, as it had been under the Canaanites, and the people of Ephraim kept there the ark of Jehovah-Sabaoth, "the Lord of hosts." It was a chest of wood, similar in shape to the shrine which surmounted the sacred barks of the Egyptian divinities, but instead of a prophesying statue, contained the two tablets of the Mosaic law. Yearly festivals were celebrated before it, and it was consulted as an oracle by all the Israelites. Eli, the priest to whose care it was at this time consigned, had earned universal respect by the austerity of his life and by his skill in interpreting the divine omens. His two sons, on the contrary, took advantage of his extreme age to amuse those who came up to worship, and they were even accused of improper behaviour towards the women who "served at the door of" the tabernacle. They appropriated to themselves a larger portion of the victims than they were entitled to, extracting from the children the most offerings of the faithful after the sacrifice was over by means of flesh-hooks. Their misdeeds were such, that "men abhorred the offering of the Lord," and yet the reverence for the ark was

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1. Its time characterised in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 48: 27).
2. At the very opening of the First Book of Samuel (I. 3), Shiloh is mentioned as being the sanctuary of Jahveh-Sabaoth, Jahveh the Lord of hosts. The facts given in Josh. xviii. 1 I show that the date of its foundation there goes back to the earliest times of the Israelite conquest; cf. supra, p. 682.
3. The statement that the tables of the law were enclosed within the ark is frequently repeated in Exodus and in subsequent books of the Hebrews.
4. The history of Eli extends over chaps. I. 14. of the First Book of Samuel; it is incorporated with that of Samuel; and treats only of the events which accompanied the destruction of the sanctuary of Shiloh by the Philistines. For the times of certain events as in the source of the narrative, cf. Fritzsche, Einleitung in den alten Testament, i. II. cap., pp. 204-208; and lastly, Dessau, Die Fischer-Kritiker und Samuel, p. 329, et seq.)
so great in the minds of the people, that they continued to have recourse to it on every occasion of national danger. The people of Ephraim and Benjamin having been defeated once between Eben-ezer and Aphek, borne the ark in state to the battlefield, that its presence might inspire them with confidence. The Philistines were alarmed at its advent, and exclaimed, “God is come into the camp. Woe unto us! Who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty gods? . . . Be strong, and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines, that ye be not servants unto the Hebrews, as they have been to you.” In response to this appeal, their troops fought so boldly that they once more gained a victory. And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the army, and came to Shiloh the same day with his clothes rent, and with earth upon his head. And when he came, lo, Eli sat upon his seat by the wayside watching: for his heart trembled for the ark of God. And when the man came into the city, and told it, all the city cried out. And when Eli heard the noise of the crying, he said, What meaneth the noise of this tumult? And the man hasted, and came and told Eli. Now Eli was ninety and eight years old; and his eyes were set, that he could not see. And the man said unto Eli, I am he that came out of the army, and I fled today out of the army. And he said, How went the matter, my son? And he that brought the tidings answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people: and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phineas, are dead, and the ark of God is taken. And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off his seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died: for he was an old man, and heavy.

The defeat at Eben-ezer completed, at least for the time, the overthrow of the tribes of Central Canaan. The Philistines destroyed the sanctuary of Shiloh, and placed a garrison at Gibeon to keep the Benjaminites in subjection, and to command the route of the Jordan; it would even appear that they pushed their advance-posts beyond Carmel in order to keep in touch with the independent Canaanite cities such as Megiddo, Taanach, and Beth-shan, and to secure a free use of the various routes leading in the direction of Damascus, Tyre, and Cilicia-Syria. The Philistine power continued dominant for at least half a century. The Hebrew chroniclers, grieved at the successes of their heathen oppressors, have left us but a meagre account of this period, and have
confined themselves to a record of the few Israelite victories. Just at this time, however, there lived a man who was able to inspire them with fresh hope. He was a priest of Ramah, Samuel, the son of Elcanah, who had acquired the reputation of being a just and wise judge in the towns of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah: "and he judged Israel in all those places, and his return was to Ramah, for there was his house . . . and he built there an altar unto the Lord." 1 To this man the whole Israelite nation attributed with pride the deliverance of their race. The sacred writings relate how his mother, the pious Hannah, had obtained his birth from Jehovah after years of childlessness, and had forthwith devoted him to the service of God. She had sent him to Shiloh at the age of three years, and there, clothed in a linen tunic and in a little robe which his mother made for him herself, he ministered before God in the presence of Eli. One night it happened, when the latter was asleep in his place, "and the lamp of God was not yet gone out, and Samuel was laid down to sleep in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was, that the Lord called Samuel: and he said, Here am I. And he ran unto Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he said, I called thee not; lie down again." Twice again the voice was heard, and at length Eli perceived that it was God who had called the child, and he bade him reply: "Speak, Lord; for Thy servant heareth." From thenceforward Jehovah was "with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan even to Beer-sheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord." 2 Twenty years after the sad death of his master, Samuel felt that the moment had come to throw off the Philistine yoke: he exhorted the people to put away their false gods, and he assembled them at Mizpah to absolve them from their sins. The Philistines, suspicious of this concourse, which boded ill for the maintenance of their authority, arose against him. "And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a whole burnt offering unto the Lord; and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord answered him." The Philistines, demoralised by the thunderstorm which ensued, were overcome on the very spot where they had triumphed over the sons of Eli, and fled in disorder to their own country. "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpah and Shun, and called the name of it Eben-ezer (the Stone of Help), saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." He next attacked the Tyrians and the Amorites, and won back from them all the territory

1 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17. These verses represent, as a matter of fact, all that we know of Samuel anterior to his ministry with Saul. They account seems to represent him as exercising merely a restricted influence over the territory of Benjamin and the south of Ephraim; his position as judge of all Israel seems to have developed at a later period.

2 1 Sam. vi. 1-19.
they had conquered. One passage, in which Samuel is not mentioned, tells us how heavily the Philistine yoke had weighed upon the people, and explains their long patience by the fact that their enemies had taken away all their weapons. "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, Let the Hebrews make them swords or spears; and whoever needed to buy or repair the most ordinary agricultural implements was forced to address himself to the Philistine blacksmiths. The very extremity of the evil worked its own cure. The fear of the Midianites had already been the occasion of the ephemeral rule of Jerubbaal and Abimelech; the Philistine tyranny forced first the tribes of Central and then those of Southern Canaan to unite under the leadership of one man. In face of so redoubtable an enemy and so grave a peril a greater effort was required, and the result was proportionate to their increased activity.

The Manassite rule extended at most over two or three clans, but that of Saul and David embraced the whole Israelite nation. Benjamin at that time reckoned among its most powerful chiefs and noble family—Saul, the son of Kish—who possessed extensive flocks and considerable property, and was noted for his personal beauty, for "there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he; from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people." He had already reached mature manhood, and had several children, the eldest of whom, Jonathan, was well known as a skilful and brave soldier, while Saul's reputation was such that his kinsmen beyond Jordan had recourse to his aid as to a hero whose presence would secure victory. The Ammonites had laid siege to Jabesh-Gilead, and the town was on the point of surrendering; Saul came to their help, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and inflicted such a severe lesson upon them, that during the whole of his lifetime they did not again attempt hostilities. He was soon after proclaimed king by the Benjamites, as Jerubbaal had been raised to authority by the Manassites on the

1 This manner of retaliating against the Philistines for the disaster they had formerly inflicted on Israel, is supposed by some writers to be an addition of a later date, either belonging to the time of the prophet, or to the period when the Jews, without any king or settled government, rallied at Mizpeh. According to these scholars, 1 Sam. xi. 2-11 forms part of a biography, written at a time when the foundation of the Benjamite monarchy had not as yet been attributed to Saul (Hervé, Hist. des Israélites, p. 232); a résumé of some of these theories is given by Struensee, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, vol. i. pp. 197-200.

2 1 Sam. xii. 20, 21.

3 The beginning of Saul's reign up to his meeting with David, will be found in 1 Sam. xii.—xiv. We can distinguish the remains of at least two ancient narratives, which the writer of the Book of Samuel has put together in order to form a complete and continuous account. As elsewhere in this work, I have confined myself to accepting the results at which criticism has arrived, without entering into detailed discussions which do not come within the domain of history.

4 1 Sam. xii. 5. In one account he is represented as quite a young man, whose father is still in the prime of life (1 Sam. xiv.), but this cannot refer to the time of the Philistine war, where we find him accompanied, at the very outset of his reign, by his son, who is already skilled in the use of weapons.
morrow of his victory. We learn from the sacred writings that Samuel's influence had helped to bring about these events. It had been shown him by the divine voice that Saul was to be the chosen ruler; and he had anointed him and set him before the people as their appointed lord; the scene of this must have been either Mizpah or Gilgal. The accession of a sovereign who possessed the allegiance of all Israel could not fail to arouse the vigilance of their Philistine oppressors; Jonathan, however, anticipated their attack and captured Gibeah. The five kings at once despatched an army to revenge this loss; the main body occupied Michmash, almost opposite to the stronghold taken from them, while three bands of soldiers were dispersed over the country, ravaging as they went, with orders to attack Saul in the rear. The latter had only six hundred men, with whom he scarcely dared to face so large a force; besides which, he was separated from the enemy by the Wady Suweinit, here narrowed almost into a gorge between two precipitous rocks, and through which no body of troops could penetrate without running the risk of exposing themselves in single file to the enemy. Jonathan, however, resolved to attempt a surprise in broad daylight, accompanied only by his armour-bearer. "There was a rocky crag on the one side, and a rocky crag on the other side; and the name of the one was Benez (the Shining), and the name of the other Seneh (the Acacia). The one crag rose up on the north in front of Michmash, and the other on the south in front of Geba (Gibeath)." The two men descended the side of the gorge, on the top of which they were encamped, and prepared openly to climb the opposite side. The Philistine sentries imagined they were deserters, and said as they approached: "Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves. And the men of the garrison answered Jonathan and his armour-bearer, and said, Come up to us, and we will show you a thing. And Jonathan said unto his armour-bearer, Come up after me; for the Lord hath delivered them into the hand of Israel. And Jonathan climbed up upon his hands and upon his feet, and his armour-bearer after him: and they fell before Jonathan; and his armour-bearer slew them after him. And that first slaughter that Jonathan and his armour-bearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were half a furlow's length in an acre of land." From Gibeah, where Saul's troops were in ignorance of what was passing, the Benjamite sentinels could distinguish a tumult. Saul guessed

1 Chron. xxiv. According to the text of the LXX., the war against the Ammonites broke out a month after Saul had been secretly anointed by Samuel; his popular proclamation did not take place till after the return from the campaign.

2 One current appellation is rendered him as being only the priest or local prophet of Ramah, and despite him as favourable to the establishment of the monarchy (1 Sam. v. 1–37, x. 1–16); the other, however, admits that he was "judge" of all Israel, and implies that he was hostile to the choice of a king (1 Sam. viii. 1–22, x. 17, 37, xii. 1–20).
The Wady Beni Shinit.

Drawn by Shuter, from photograph No. 102 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
that a surprise had taken place, and marched upon the enemy. The Philistines were ousted from their position, and pursued hotly beyond Bethel as far as Ajalon. This constituted the actual birthday of the Israelite monarchy. Gilead, the whole house of Joseph—Ephraim and Manasseh—and Benjamin formed its nucleus, and were Saul's strongest supporters. We do not know how far his influence extended northwards; it probably stopped short at the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, and the Galileans either refused to submit to his authority, or acknowledged it merely in theory. In the south the clans of Judah and Simeon were not long in rallying round him, and their neighbours the Kenites, with Caleb and Jerahmeel; soon followed their example. These southerners, however, appear to have been somewhat half-hearted in their allegiance to the Benjamite king: it was not enough to have gained their adhesion—a stronger tie was needed to attach them to the rest of the nation. Saul endeavoured to get rid of the line of Canaanite cities which isolated them from Ephraim, but he failed in the effort, we know not from what cause, and his attempt produced no other result than to arouse against him the hatred of the Gibonite inhabitants. He did his best to watch over the security of his new subjects, and protected them against the Amalekites, who were constantly harassing them. Their king, Agag, happening to fall into his hands, he killed him, and destroyed several of their nomad bands, thus inspiring the remainder with a salutary terror. Some critics think that all the victories attributed to him—over Moab, Edom, and even the Arameans of Zobah—were not won by his own sword, and that some of the projects and conquests of David have been transferred to his name. At any rate, the constant incursions of the Philistines could not have left him much time for fighting in the north and east of his domains. Their defeat at Gibeon was by no means a decisive one, and they quickly recovered from the blow; the conflict with them lasted to the end of Saul's lifetime, and during the whole of this period he never lost an opportunity of increasing his army.\footnote{1}

\footnote{1} The account of these events, separated by the parts relating to the biography of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 7-15, thought by some to be of a later date) and of the breaking by Jonathan of the fast enjoined by Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 22-35), covers 1 Sam. xiii. 5-7, 10-23, 28, 30. The details appear to be strictly historical; the number of the Philistines, however, seems to be exaggerated: 20,000 chariots, and 600,000 horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore in multitude. (1 Sam. xiii. 39.)

\footnote{2} The last is made known to us by an accidental mention of it in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-11. The motive which induced Saul to take arms against the Gibonites is immediately apparent: when we realise the position occupied by Gibeah between Judah and the tribes of Central Canaan.

\footnote{3} The part taken by Samuel in the narrative of Saul's war against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxv.) is thought by some critics to have been interpolated with a view of adorning the prophet's office at the expense of the king and the monarchy. They regard 1 Sam. xxv. 1 as being the sole historic ground of the narrative.

\footnote{4} 1 Sam. xiv. 47. We may admit his successful skirmishes with Moab, but some writers maintain that the defeat of the Edomites and Ammonites is a mere anticipation, and consider that the passage is only a reflection of 2 Sam. viii. 8, and reproduces the list of the wars of David, with the exception of the expeditions against Damascus.
THE GROWTH OF THE BENJAMITE MONARCHY.

The monarchy was as yet in a very rudimentary state, without either the pomp or accessories usually associated with royalty in the ancient kingdoms of the East. Saul, as King of Israel, led much the same sort of life as when he was merely a Benjamite chief. He preferred to reside at Gibeah, in the house of his forefathers, with no further resources than those yielded by the domain inherited from his ancestors, together with the spoil taken in battle. All that he had, in addition to his former surroundings, were a priesthood attached to the court, and a small army entirely at his own disposal. Abijah, a descendant of Eli, sacrificed for the king when the latter did not himself officiate; he fulfilled the office of chaplain to him in time of war, and was the mouthpiece of the divine oracles when these were consulted as to the propitious moment for attacking the enemy. The army consisted of a nucleus of Benjamites, recruited from the king's clan, with the addition of any adventurers, whether Israelites or strangers, who were attracted to enlist under a popular military chief. It comprised archers, slingers, and bands of heavily armed infantry, after the fashion of the Phoenicians, bearing pikes. We can gain some idea of their appearance and equipment from the bronze statuettes of an almost contemporary period, which show us the Phoenician foot-soldiers or the barbarian mercenaries in the pay of the Phoenician cities: they wear the horizontally striped loin-cloth of the Syrians, leaving the arms and legs entirely bare, and the head is protected by a pointed or conical helmet. Saul possessed none of the iron-bound chariots which always accompanied the Canaanite infantry; these heavy vehicles would have been entirely out of place in the mountain districts, which were the usual field of operations for the Israelite forces. We are unable to ascertain whether

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1. Gibeah is nowhere expressly mentioned as being the capital of Saul, but the name Gibeah in the Bible shows that it must have been the royal residence, the name of the town mentioned in the account of Saul's pursuit of David—Naioth, Ramah, and Nob—are all near to Gibeah. It was also at Gibeah that the Gibeahites slew seven of the sons and grandsons of Saul (2 Sam. xxiv. 6-10), no doubt to bring ignominy on the family of the first king in the very place in which they had governed.

2. Abijah (1 Sam. xiv. 13), son of Ahimelch, great-grandson of Eli, appears to be the same as Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, who subsequently helped David (1 Sam. xxvii. 3-10), and was assassinated by order of Saul (1 Sam. xxvii. 8-19). The name must have been borne by the name Melchiz— that of the god Milki (Melchiz)—and must have substitued the bicycle.


4. With regard to the use of the bow among Saul's soldiers, cf. 1 Sam. xx. 18-19, where we find the curious scene of the meeting of David and Jonathan when the latter came out of Gibeah on the pretext of practising with bow and arrows. The account of the Hebrew is given in the passage where Saul lends his armour to David before meeting with Godol (1 Sam. xiv. 38, 39); it is the same as that of the Philistines described supra. p. 798.
the king's soldiers received any regular pay, but so we know that the spoil was divided between the prince and his men, each according to his rank and in proportion to the valor he had displayed. In cases of necessity the whole of the tribes were assembled, and a selection was made of all those capable of bearing arms. This militia, composed mainly of a pastoral peasantry in the prime of life, capable of heroic efforts, was nevertheless ill-disciplined, liable to sudden panics, and prone to become disarmed on the slightest reverse. Saul had the supreme command of the whole; the members of his own family served as lieutenants under him, including his son Jonathan, to whom he owed some of his most brilliant victories, together with his cousin Abner, the son-in-law, who led the royal guard. Among the men of distinguished valor who had taken service under Saul, he soon singled out David, son of Jesse, a native of Bethlehem of Judah. David was the first Judæan hero, the typical king who served as a model in all subsequent monarchs. His elevation, like that of Saul, is traced to Samuel. The old prophet had repaired to Bethlehem ostensibly to offer a sacrifice, and after examining all the children of Jesse, he chose the youngest, and "anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David." His introduction at the court of Saul is variously accounted for. According to one narrative, Saul, being possessed by an evil spirit, fell at times into a profound melancholy, from which he could be aroused only by the playing of a harp. On learning that David was skilled in this instrument, he begged Jesse to send him his son, and the lad soon won the king's affections. As often as the illness came upon him, David took his harp, and "Saul was refreshed, and the evil spirit departed from him." Another account relates that he entered on his soldierly career by killing with his sling Goliath of Gath, who had challenged the bravest Israelites.

1. Cf. the passage which took place between the soldiers of David about the spoil taken from the Amalekites, and the manner in which the spile was divided by David (1 Sam. xxvi. 21-25).

2. Saul, for instance, assembles the people and makes a selection to attack the Philistines (1 Sam. xii. 4, 7) against the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 7, 8) and against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

3. 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 51. There is no record of the part played by Abner during Saul's lifetime; he begins to figure in the narrative after the battle of Gilboa under the double reign of Ish-bosheth and David; cf. supra, p. 722.

4. The name of David is a shortened form of David's father, "the assistant of God," i.e. God.

5. The intervention of the prophet occupies 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13. Some critics have imagined that this passage was interpolated at a later date, and reduces the events which are narrated in chapter 16. They say it was to show that Saul was not alone in enjoying communications from the prophet, and hence all doubt would be set at rest as to whether David was actually that "hearer of things, that is better than they," mentioned in 1 Sam. xx. 19 (Heb. the Reuven Reuven and Samuel, pp. 216, 247).

6. 1 Sam. xxx. 14-24. This narrative is directly connected with 1 Sam. xiv. 50, where we are told that when "Saul saw any spirit, when any diviner did his divination, he took him and put him down." (Stamm, Gesch. der Volker Israel, vol. 2, pp. 224-229).

7. 1 Sam. xiii. xviii. 1-6. According to some critics, this second version, the last known of the two, is a development of a later period of the tradition preserved in 2 Sam. xi. 1-19, where the victory of Elhanan over Goliath is recorded (Stamm, Gesch. der Volker Israel, vol. 1, pp. 225-239).
to combat, though elsewhere the death of Goliath is attributed to Elhanan of Bethlehem, one of the "mighty men of valour," who specially distinguished himself in the wars against the Philistines. David had, however, no need to take to himself the brave deeds of others; at Ephes-dammin, in company with Eleazar, the son of Dodai, and Shammah, the son of Age, he had posted himself in a field of lentils, and the three warriors had kept the Philistines at bay till their discomfited Israelite comrades had had time to rally. Saul entrusted him with several difficult undertakings, in all of which he acquitted himself with honour. On his return from one of them, the women of the villages came out to meet him, singing and dancing to the sound of timbrels, the refrain of their song being: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." The king concealed the jealousy which this simple expression of joy excited within him, but it found vent at the next outbreak of his illness, and he attempted to kill David with a spear, though soon after he endeavoured to make amends for his action by giving him his second daughter Michal in marriage. This did not prevent the king from again attempting David's life, either in a real or simulated fit of madness; but not being successful, he despatched a body of men to waylay him. According to one account it was Michal who helped her husband to escape, while another attributes the saving of his life to Jonathan. This prince had already brought about one reconciliation between his father and David, and had spared no pains to reinstall him in the royal favour, but his efforts merely aroused the king's suspicion against himself. Saul imagined that a conspiracy existed for the purpose of dethroning him, and of replacing him by his son; Jonathan, knowing that his life also was threatened, at length renounced the attempt, and David and his followers withdrew from court. He was hospitably received by a descendent of Eli, Ahimelech the priest, at Nob, and wandered about in the neighbourhood of Adullam, hiding himself in the wooded valleys of Khereth, in the heart of Judah. He retained the sympathies of many of the

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* 2 Sam. xxiv. 19, where the death of Goliath and Elhanan is placed in the pages of David during the conflict at Gath. Some critics think that the writer of Chronicles, recognizing the difficulty presented by this passage, changed the option Bethhaimm, which qualified the name of Elhanan, into Lahmi, the name of Goliath's brother (1 Chron. xx. 5). Sayce thought to get over the difficulty by supposing that Elhanan was David's first name; but Elhanan is the son of Jaar, and not the son of Jesse.

* The number of Par-Dammin or Ephes-Dammin is mentioned in 1 Sam. xviii. 17; the exploits of David, and his two comrades, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-12; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 12-15, which slightly varies from 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-12).

* The amount of the first disagreement between Saul and David, and with regard to the marriage of David with Michal, is given in 1 Sam. xviii. 5-16, 20-26, and presents every appearance of authenticity. Verses 17-19, containing a project of union between David and Saul's eldest daughter, Merib, has at some time been interpolated; it is not given in the LXX., either because it was not in the Hebrew version they had before them, or because they suppressed it owing to the matter appearing to them insufficient.

* 1 Sam. xxii. 11-17. Many critics regard this passage as an interpolation.

* 1 Sam. xxi. 8, 9 adds that he took as a weapon the sword of Goliath which was laid up in the sanctuary at Nob.
Benjamites, more than one of whom doubted whether it would not be to their advantage to transfer their allegiance from their aged king to this more youthful hero. Saul got news of their defection, and one day when he was sitting, spear in hand, under the tamarisk at Gibeah, he indignantly upbraided his servants, and pointed out to them the folly of their plans. "Hear, now, ye Benjamites; will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards? will he make you all captains of thousands and captains of hundreds?"

Ahimelech was selected as the victim of the king's anger: denounced by Doeg, Saul's steward, he was put to death, and all his family, with the exception of Abiathar, one of his sons, perished with him. As soon as it became known that David held the hill-country, a crowd of adventurous spirits flocked to place themselves under his leadership, anticipating, no doubt, that spoil would not be lacking with so brave a chief, and he soon found himself at the head of a small army, with Abiathar as priest, and the ephod, rescued from Nob, in his possession. The country was favourable for their operations; it was a perfect labyrinth of deep ravines, communicating with each other by narrow passes or by paths winding along the edges of precipices. Isolated rocks, access-

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1. Drawn by Beadler, from photograph No. 438 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
2. 1 Sam. xix.-xxii., where, according to some critics, two contradictory versions have been blended together at a late period. The most probable version is given in 1 Sam. xix. 5-18 (11-18 a); xxii. 1-7 (8-19); xxii., and is that which I have followed, preferring the other version, according to those critics, to give too important a role to Jonathan, and to make at length the efforts he made to reconcile his father and his friend (1 Sam. xvi. 20, xiv. 1-7, xx.). It is thought, from the confusion apparent in this part of the narrative, that a record of the real motives which provoked a rupture between the king and his son-in-law has not been preserved (Scann, Geschichte, vol. 1, pp. 296, 297).
3. 1 Sam. xxii. 20-25, xxiii. 8. For the use of the ephod by Abiathar for occult purposes, cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 9-12, xxx. 7, 8; the inquiry in 1 Sam. xxiii. 2-4 probably belongs to the same series, although neither Abiathar nor the ephod is mentioned.
sible only by rugged ascents, defied assault, while extensive caves offered a safe hiding-place to those who were familiar with their windings. One day the little band descended to the rescue of Keilah, which they succeeded in wresting from the Philistines, but no sooner did they learn that Saul was on his way to meet them than they took refuge in the south of Judah, in the neighbourhood of Ziph and Maon, between the mountains and the Dead Sea. Saul, already irritated by his rival's successes, was still more galled by being always on the point of capturing him, and yet always seeing him slip from his grasp. On one afternoon, when the king had retired into a cave for his siesta, he found himself at the mercy of his adversary; the latter, however, respected the sleep of his royal master, and contented himself with cutting a piece off his mantle. On another occasion David, in company with Abishai and Ahimelech the Hittite, took a lance and a pitcher of water from the king's bedside. The inhabitants of the country were not all equally loyal to David's cause; those of Ziph, whose meagre resources were taxed to support his followers, plotted to deliver him up to the king, while Nabal of Maon roughly refused him food. Abigail averted for her husband's churlishness by a speedy submission; she collected a supply of

1. Drawn by Besicles, from photograph No. 197 of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The heights visible in the distance are the mountains of Moab, beyond the Dead Sea.
2. 1 Sam. xxiii. 1-12, an episode acknowledged to be historical by nearly all modern critics. The scenes of David's wanderings have been sympathetically described in an article entitled "Survey of David's Outlaw Life," in Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers, p. 296, et seq.
3. 1 Sam. xxiv. Thought by some writers to be of much later date.
4. 1 Sam, xxiii. 4-25.
5. 1 Sam. xxvi. 11-26, xxvii. 1-2.
provisions, and brought it herself to the wanderers. David was as much
disarmed by her tact as by her beauty, and when she was left a widow he
married her. This union insured the support of the Calebite clan, the most
powerful in that part of the country, and policy as well as gratitude no doubt
suggested the alliance.

Skirmishes were not as frequent between the king’s troops and the outlaws
as we might at first be inclined to believe, but if at times there was a truce
to hostilities, they never actually ceased, and the position became intolerable.
Encamped between his kinsman and the Philistines, David found himself
unable to resist either party except by making friends with the other.
An incursion of the Philistines near Maon 2 saved David from the king, but when
Saul had repulsed it, David had no choice but to throw himself into the arms
of Achish, King of Gath, of whom he craved permission to settle as his vassal
at Ziklag, on condition of David’s defending the frontier against the Bedawins.
Saul did not deem it advisable to try and dislodge him from this retreat.
Peace having been re-established in Judah, the king turned northward and occupied
the heights which bound the plain of Jezered to the east; it is possible that he
contemplated pushing further afield, and rallying round him those northern
tribes who had hitherto never acknowledged his authority. He may, on the
other hand, have desired merely to lay hands on the Syrian highways, and
divert to his own profit the resources brought by the caravans which plied
along them. 3 The Philistines, who had been nearly ruined by the loss of the
right to demand toll of these merchants, assembled the contingents of their
five principalities, among them being the Hebrews of David, who formed the
personal guard of Achish. The four other princes objected to the presence
of these strangers in their midst, and forced Achish to dismiss them. David
returned to Ziklag, to find ruin and desolation everywhere. The Amalekites
had taken advantage of the departure of the Hebrews to revenge themselves
once for all for David’s former raids on them, and they had burnt the town,
carrying off the women and flocks. David at once set out on their track, over-
took them just beyond the torrent of Besor, and rescued from them, not only his
own belongings, but all the booty they had collected by the way in the southern
provinces of Caleb, in Judah, and in the Cherethite plain. He distributed part
of this spoil among those cities of Judah which had shown hospitality to himself

1 Sam. xxv. 27, 28.
2 This is the very reasonable hypothesis put forward by Berna, Hist. des Israélites, p. 328, note 3, and worked up by Maurice Vasnetz, France et l’Hébreu, pp. 312-315. Saul must have taken this
determination almost immediately after the flight of David to the Philistines; indeed, Achish says to his fellow-villagers, on the eve of the battle of Gathros, that David had “been with me. Three
Years” (1 Sam. xxx. 3).
and his men; for instance, to Jattir, Aroer, Eshtemoa, Hormah, and Hebron. While he thus kept up friendly relations with those who might otherwise have been tempted to forget him, Saul was making his last supreme effort against the Philistines, but only to meet with failure. He had been successful in repulsing them as long as he kept to the mountain districts, where the courage of his troops made up for their lack of numbers and the inferiority of their arms; but he was imprudent enough to take up a position on the hillsides of Gilboa, whose gentle slopes offered no hindrances to the operations of the heavy Philistine battalions. They attacked the Israelites from the Shunem side, and swept all before them. Jonathan perished in the conflict, together with his two brothers, Malchishua and Ahiad; Saul, who was wounded by an arrow, begged his armour-bearer to take his life, but, on his persistently refusing, the king killed himself with his own sword. The victorious Philistines cut off his head and those of his sons, and placed their armour in the temple of Ashtaroth, while their bodies, thus despoiled, were hung up outside the walls of Bethshan, whose Canaanite inhabitants had made common cause with the Philistines against Israel. The people of Jabesh-Gilead, who had never forgotten how Saul had saved them from the Ammonites, hearing the news, marched all night, rescued the mutilated remains, and brought them back.

1 Drawn by Rapkin, from photograph No. 70 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
2 1 Sam. xxviii. 1, 2, xxix., xxx. The correct of Hezer is the present Wady Rab-Sheriah, which runs to the south of Gaza.
3 The text of 1 Sam. xxvi. 10 says, 'in the house of the Ashhtaroth' (in the plural), which is corrected, somewhat arbitrarily, in 1 Chron. x. 19 into 'in the house of Dagon' (R.V.); cf. supra, p. 608, note 4. It is possible that it was the temple at Gaba, Gaba being the chief of the Philistine towns.
to their own town, where they burned them, and buried the charred bones under a tamarisk, fasting meanwhile seven days as a sign of mourning. David afterwards disinterred these relics, and laid them in the burying-place of the family of Kish at Zela, in Benjamin. The tragic end of their kingdom made a profound impression on the people. We read that, before entering on his last battle, Saul was given over to gloomy forebodings; he had sought counsel of Jehovah, but God “answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.” The aged Samuel had passed away at Ramah, and had apparently never seen the king after the flight of David; Saul now betought himself of the prophet in his despair, and sought to recall him from the tomb to obtain his counsel. The king had banished from the land all wizards and fortune-tellers, but his servants brought him word that at Endore there still remained a woman who could call up the dead. Saul disguised himself, and, accompanied by two of his retainers, went to find her; he succeeded in overcoming her fear of punishment, and persuaded her to make the evocation. “Whom shall I bring up unto thee?” — “Bring up Samuel.” And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice, saying, “Why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul?” And the king said unto her, “Be not afraid, for what saevers thou?” — “I saw gods ascending out of the earth.” — “What form is he of?” — “An old man cometh up, and he is covered with a mantle.” Saul immediately recognised Samuel, and prostrated himself with his face to the ground before him. The prophet, as inflexible after death as in his lifetime, had no words of comfort for the God-forsaken man who had troubled his repose. “The Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbour, even to David, because thou hast not obeyed the voice of the Lord, and hast not fulfilled his word. “The Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbour, even to David, because thou hast not obeyed the voice of the Lord, and hast not fulfilled his word.  

1 Sam. xxv. It would seem that there were two narratives describing this war; in one, the Philistines assaulted Samson, and Saul compassed Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxvii. 4); in the other, the Philistines assaulted Aphek, and the Israelites by the fountain which is at Jerom (1 Sam. xxvii. 1). The first of these accounts is connected with the episode of the witch of Endore, the second with the running away of David by Achish. The Saul narrative is in both narratives placed at Mount Gilboa, and Saints, with the Philistines, the Valley of Aijalon, and the fortress, and the position of the slopes of Gilboa. There are two versions of the battle, one in 1 Sam. xxvii, and the other in 2 Sam. xi. 16-19, where Saul does not kill himself, but kept an Atumite to slay him; many critics reject the second version.

5 2 Sam. xxi. 1-19. 

6 1 Sam. xxvii. 1, repeated 1 Sam. xxi. 2, with a mention of the measures taken by Saul against the wizards and fortune-tellers.

7 1 Sam. xxvii. 2-3. There is no reason why this event should not be historical; it was natural that Saul, like many an ambitious general in similar circumstances, should seek to know the future by means of this occult science then in vogue. Some critics think that certain details of the operation, as, for instance, the woman attributed to Samuel — see a later date.
of the fall, which the people of Judah committed to memory in their childhood. "Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places! How are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph! Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew nor rain upon you, neither field of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, not anointed with oil! From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back, the sword of Saul returned not empty. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they were not divided."

The Philistines occupied in force the plain of Jezreel and the pass which leads from it into the lowlands of Bethshan; the Israelites abandoned the villages which they had occupied in these districts, and the gap between the Hebrews of the north and those of the centre grew wider. The remnants of Saul's army sought shelter on the eastern bank of the Jordan, but found no leader to reorganise them. The reverse sustained by the Ismaelites seemed, moreover, to prove the futility of trying to make a stand against the invader, and even the uselessness of the monarchy itself: why, they might have asked, burden ourselves with a master, and patiently bear with his exactions, if, when put to the test, he fails to discharge the duties for the performance of which he was chosen? And yet the advantages of a stable form of government had been so manifest during the reign of Saul, that it never for a moment occurred to his former subjects to revert to patriarchal institutions: the question which troubled them was not whether they were to have a king, but rather who was to fill the post. Saul had left a considerable number of descendants behind him: from these, Abner, the eldest of his captives, chose Ishbaal, and set him on the throne to reign under his guidance. Gibeah was too close to the frontier to be a safe residence for a sovereign whose

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1 2 Sam. 1:17-27 (R.V.). This allegy is described as a quotation from Isaiah, the "Book of the Upright." Many modern writers attribute its authorship to David himself (Henderson, Hist. dei Libri Sacri, p. 332; Steins, Gesch. des Alten Israels, vol. 1, p. 228; Curtius, Vorlesungen in der Alt. Text., 2nd edit., p. 129); others refer this to a "Dichtertext." Gesch. des Alten Israels, vol. 1, p. 115; En. Maxen, Gesch. des Alten Israels, vol. 1, p. 161; Hess, Gesch. des Volks Israels, vol. 3, p. 448); all agree in regarding it as extremely ancient. The title, "Song of the Bow," is based on the possibly corrupt text of ver. 18.

2 1 Sam. xxiv. 7.

3 We know that he had three sons by his wife Ahinoam—Jonathan, Ishbaal, and Mephibosheth, and two daughters, Merib and Mical (1 Sam. xiv. 48, 50, where "Mebul") should be read "Ishbaal"): Jonathan left at least two sons: Meribbaal (1 Chron. xii. 34, 41, 46, called Mephibosheth in 2 Sam. xiv. 7), and Merib had five sons by Adriel (2 Sam. xxv. 8). One of Saul's descendants, Rishai, daughter of Abin, had borne him two sons, Armoni and Meribbaal (2 Sam. xxv. 8), whose name Mephibosheth is changed into Meribbaal; Addison, who falls with him in the lists at Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxx. 23), whose name is not mentioned, was another son.

4 Ishbaal was still a child when his father died; had he been old enough to bear arms, he would have taken a part in the battle of Gilboa with his brothers. The expression used in the account of his elevation as the throne prove that he was a minor (2 Sam. ii. 8, 9); the statement that he was forty years old when he began to reign would seem, therefore, to be an error (ii. 10).
position was still insecure; Abner therefore installed Ishbaal at Mahanaim, in the heart of the country of Gilgal. The house of Jacob, including the tribe of Benjamin, acknowledged him as king, but Judah held aloof. It had adopted the same policy at the beginning of the previous reign; yet its earlier isolation had not prevented it from afterwards throwing in its lot with the rest of the nation. But at that time no leader had come forward from its own ranks who was worthy to be reckoned among the mighty men of Israel; now, on the contrary, it had on its frontier a bold and resolute leader of its own race. David lost no time in stepping into the place of those whose loss he had bewailed. Their sudden removal, while it left him without a peer among his own people, exposed him to the suspicion and underground machinations of his foreign protectors; he therefore quitted them and withdrew to Hebron, where his fellow-countrymen hastened to proclaim him king. From that time onwards the tendency of the Hebrew race was to drift apart into two distinct bodies; one of them, the house of Joseph, which called itself by the name of Israel, took up its position in the north, on the banks of the Jordan; the other, which is described as the house of Judah, in the south, between the Dead Sea and the Shephelah. Abner endeavoured to suppress the rival kingdom in its infancy; he brought Ishbaal to Gilead and proposed to Joab, who was in command of David's army, that the conflict should be decided by the somewhat novel expedient of pitting twelve of the house of Judah against an equal number of the house of Benjamin. The champions of Judah are said to have won the day, but the opposing forces did not abide by the result, and the struggle still continued. An intrigue in the harem furnished a solution of the difficulty. Saul had raised one of his wives of the second rank, named Rizpah, to the post of favourite. Abner became enamoured of her and took her. This was an insult to the royal house, and amounted to an act of open usurpation; the wives of a sovereign could not legally belong to any but his successor, and for any one to treat them as Abner had treated Rizpah, was equivalent to his declaring himself the equal, and in a sense the rival, of his master. Ishbaal keenly resented his minister's conduct, and openly insulted him. Abner made terms with David, won the northern tribes, including that of Benjamin, over to his side, and when what seemed a propitious moment had arrived made his way to Hebron with an escort of twenty men. He was favourably received, and all kinds of promises were made him; but when he was about to depart again in order to complete the negotiations with the disaffected elders, Joab, returning from an expedition, led him aside into a gateway and slew him. David gave him solemn burial, and composed a lament

1 2 Sam. II. 1-11. Very probably Abner recognised the Philistines as more as David had done, for the sake of peace; at any rate, we find no mention in Holy Writ of a war between Ishbaal and the Philistines.

2 2 Sam. II. 19-22. II. 1.
on the occasion, of which four verses have come down to us: having thus paid tribute to the virtues of the deceased general, he lost no time in taking further precautions to secure his power. The unfortunate King Ishbaal, desolated by every one, was assassinated by two of his officers as he slept in the heat of the day, and his head was carried to Hebron: David again poured forth denunciations, and ordered the traitors to be killed. There was now no obstacle between him and the throne: the elders of the people met him at Hebron, poured oil upon his head, and anointed him king over all the provinces which had obeyed the rule of Saul in Gilead—Ephraim and Benjamin as well as Judah.\

As long as Ishbaal lived, and his dissensions with Judah assured their supremacy, the Philistines were content to suspend hostilities: the news of his death, and of the union effected between Israel and Judah, soon raised them from this state of quiescence. As princes of the house of Caleb and vassal of the lord of Gath, David had not been an object of any serious apprehension to them; but in his new character, as master of the dominions of Saul, David became at once a dangerous rival, whom they must overthrow without delay, unless they were willing to risk being ere long overthrown by him. They therefore made an attack on Bethlehem with the choicest of their forces, and entrenched themselves there, with the Canaanite city of Jebus as their base, so as to separate Judah entirely from Benjamin, and cut off the little army quartered round Hebron from the reinforcements which the central tribes would otherwise have sent to its aid. This move was carried out so quickly that David found himself practically isolated from the rest of his kingdom, and had no course left open but to shut himself up in Adullam, with his ordinary guard and the Judasian levies. The whole district round about is intersected by a network of winding streams, and abounds in rocky gorges, where a few determined men could successfully hold their ground against the onset of a much more numerous body of troops. The caves afforded, as we know, almost impregnable refuges: David had often hidden

1 2 Sam. xxv, 3, 6-22, 16.
2 2 Sam. v, 1-10. In I Chron. xxv, 1-9, xvi, 23-38, we find further details beyond those given in the Book of Samuel; it seems probable, however, that the northern tribes may not have perceived David's sovereignty at this time.
3 The history of this war is given in 2 Sam. v, 17-25, where the text shows signs of having been much condensed. It is preceded by the account of the capture of Jerusalem, which some critics would like to transfer to David, following vv. 1-3 which looks up to it. The events which followed are a consequence to us as we have them in the text, that the Philistines wished to detach Judah from Israel; as that is clear from v. 17, 21). David endeavours to release himself and effect a junction with Israel, as is proved by the relative position assigned to the two opposing armies, the Philistines at Bethlehem, David in the cave of Adullam; afterwards (2 Sam. v, 22-25) David has shaken himself free, has rejoined Israel, and is carrying on the struggle between Gilead and Gath. The incidents recounted in 1 Sam. xxi, 18-22, xxii, 19-40, seem to refer almost exclusively to the earlier part of the war, at the time when the Hebræes were hampered in the neighbourhood of Adullam.
4 The passage in 2 Sam. v, 17 simply states that David "went down to the hold," and gives us further details. This expression, following as it does the news of the taking of Jerusalem, would seem to refer to this form itself, and REINER, Histoire du peuple d'Israel, vol. ii, pp. 17-22, 28-28, has there interpreted it. It really refers to Adullam, as is shown by the passage in 2 Sam. xxxiii, 12-17.
5 STAUD, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i, p. 290, note 60.
himself in them: in the days when he fled before Saul, and now his soldiers profited by the knowledge he possessed of them to elude the attacks of the Philistines. He began a sort of guerrilla warfare, in the conduct of which he seems to have been without a rival, and harassed in endless skirmishes his more heavily equipped adversaries. He did not spare himself, and freely risked his own life; but he was of small stature and not very powerful, so that his spirit often outran his strength. On one occasion, when he had advanced too far into the fray and was weary with striking, he ran great peril of being killed by a gigantic Philistine: with difficulty Abishai succeeded in rescuing him unhurt from the dangerous position into which he had ventured, and for the future he was not allowed to run such risks on the field of battle. On another occasion, when lying in the cave of Adullam, he began to feel a longing for the cool waters of Bethlehem, and asked who would go down and fetch him a draught from the well by the gates of the town. Three of his mighty men, Jeshubiasbosheth, Eleazar, and Shammah, broke through the host of the Philistines and succeeded in bringing it; but he refused to drink the few drops they had brought, and poured them out as a libation to Jehovah, saying, "Shall I drink the blood of men that went in jeopardy of their lives?" Duels between the bravest and stoutest champions of the two hosts were of frequent occurrence. It was in an encounter of this kind that Elhanan the Bethlehemite [or David] slew the giant Goliath at Gath. At length David succeeded in breaking his way through the enemies' lines in the valley of Rephaim, thus forcing open the road to the north. Here he probably fell in with the Israelitish contingent, and, thus reinforced, was at last in a position to give battle in the open; he was again successful, and routing his foes pursued them from Gibeon to Gazer. None of his victories, however, was of a sufficiently decisive character to bring the struggle to an end; it dragged on year after year, and when at last it did terminate, there was no question on either side of submission or of tribute: the Hebrews completely regained their independence, but the Philistines do not seem to have lost any portion of their domain, and apparently retained possession of all that they had previously held. But, though they suffered no loss of territory, their position was in reality much inferior to

1 2 Sam. xxi. 16-18.
2 2 Sam. xxiv. 12-17; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 15-19. Popular tradition furnishes many incidents of a similar type; cf. Alexander in the heart of Geæanea, Geoffrey de Monmouth in Asa Magna, etc.
3 For the conflicting accounts of the slaying of Goliath, and the efforts to2 reconcile them, see 3716, supra, and note I. - Ta.
4 The Hebrew text gives "from Gaba [or Gibbeth] to Gazer." (2 Sam. v. 23); the Septuagint, "from Giba to Gazer." This latter reading [which is that of 1 Chron. xiv. 16-18] is more in accordance with the geographical facts, and I have therefore adopted it. Jabez had been chosen by a unanimous consulting the board of the scribes to be the name of David's son. As in Elhanan, see p. 716, supra.
5 In 2 Sam. viii. I we are told that David transferred the Philistines, and took "the host of the southern city" out of their hands, or, in other words, destroyed the supremacy which they had exercised over Israel: he probably did no more than this, and failed to secure any part of their territory. The passage in 1 Chron. xiv. I, which attributes to him the conquest of Gath and its dependencies, is probably an amplification of the somewhat obscure wording employed in 2 Sam. viii.
what it was before. Their control of the plain of Jezreel was lost to them for ever, and with it the revenue which they had loved from passing caravans: the Hebrews transferred to themselves this right of their former masters, and were so much the richer at their expense. To the five cities this was a more damaging blow than twenty verses would have been to Benjamin or Judah. The military spirit had not died out among the Philistines, and they were still capable of any action which did not require sustained effort: but lack of resources prevented them from entering on a campaign of any length, and any chance they may at one time have had of exercising a dominant influence in the affairs of Southern Syria had passed away. Under the restraining hand of Egypt they returned to the rank of a second-rate power, just strong enough to inspire its neighbours with respect, but too weak to extend its territory by annexing that of others. Though they might still at times give David trouble by contesting at intervals the possession of some outlying citadel, or by making an occasional raid on one of the districts which lay close to the frontier, they were no longer a permanent menace to the continued existence of his kingdom.

But was Judah strong enough to take their place, and set up in Southern Syria a sovereign state, around which the whole lighting material of the country might range itself with confidence? The incidents of the last war had clearly shown the disadvantages of its isolated position in regard to the bulk of the nation. The gap between Ekron and the Jordan, which separated it from Ephraim and Manasseh, had, at all costs, to be filled up, if a repetition of the manœuvre which so nearly cost David his throne at Adullam was to be avoided. It is true that the Gibeonites and their allies acknowledged the sovereignty of Ephraim, and formed a sort of connecting link between the tribes, but it was impossible to rely on their fidelity so long as they were exposed to the attacks of the Jebusites in their rear: as soon therefore as David found he had nothing more to fear from the Philistines, he turned his attention to Jerusalem. This city stood on a dry and sterile limestone spur, separated on three sides from the surrounding hills by two valleys of unequal length. That of the Kidron, on the east, begins as a simple depression, but gradually becomes deeper and narrower as it extends towards the south. About a mile and a half from its commencement it is nothing more than a deep gorge, shut in by precipitous rocks, which for some days after the winter rains is turned into the bed of a torrent. During the remainder of the year a number of

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1 The name Jerusalem occurs under the form Yrussalaim, or Yrussalim, in the Tit el-Assurn. (See, e.g., 1 Sam. xvi. 23; 1 Kings i. 48, etc.) It was the name of the citadel preserved by the Israelites after the capture of the place, and employed by them as the part of the city which contained the royal palace, and subsequently by the town itself.

2 The Kidron is called a wady (2 Sam. xx. 28; 1 Kings v. 46). It is a torrent which runs dry during the summer, in winter it was formed a breach, or ephemeral, during the Greek epoch (1 Macc. xx. 67). Excavations show that the full limit of the valley has risen nearly twelve yards.
springs, which well up at the bottom of the valley, furnish an unfailling supply of water to the inhabitants of Gilion, Siloam, and Bogel. The valley widens out again near En-Roeq, and affords a channel to the Wady of the Children of Hinnom, which bounds the plateau on the west. The intermediate space has for a long time been nothing more than an undulating plain, at present covered by the houses of modern Jerusalem. In ancient times it was traversed by a depression in the ground, since filled up, which ran almost parallel with the Kedron, and joined it near the Pool of Siloam. The ancient city of the Jebusites stood on the summit of the headland which rises between these two valleys, the town of Jebus itself being at the extremity, while the Millo lay farther to the north on the hill of Zion, behind a ravine which ran down at right angles into the valley of the Kedron. An unfortified suburb had gradually grown up on the lower ground to the west, and was connected by a stairway cut in the rock with the upper city. This latter was surrounded by ramparts with turrets, like those of the Canaanitish citadels which we constantly find depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Its natural advantages and efficient garrison had so far enabled it to repel all the attacks of its enemies. When David appeared with his troops, the inhabitants ridiculed his presumption, and were good enough to warn him of the hopelessness of his enterprise: a garrison composed of the halt and the blind, without an able-bodied man amongst them, would, they declared, be able successfully to resist him. The king, stung by their mockery, made a promise to his "mighty men" that the first of them to scale the walls should be made chief and captain of his host. We often find that impregnable cities owe their downfall to negligence on the part of their defenders: these concentrate their whole attention on the few vulnerable points, and give but scanty care to those which are regarded as inaccessible. Jerusalem proved to be no exception to this rule; Jebus carried it by a sudden assault, and received as his reward the best part of the territory which he had won by his valour. In attacking

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1 Now, possibly, the "Fountain of the Virgin," but its identity is not certain.
2 These are the springs which feed the group of reservoirs now known as the Pool of Siloam. The name "Siloam," occurs only in Nah. iii. 13, but is undoubtedly more ancient.
3 En-Roeq, the "Traveller's Well," is now called the "Well of Jehu."
4 This valley, which is not mentioned by name in the Old Testament, was called, in the time of Josephus, the "Spasm., or "Forerunners' Quarters" (Ant. Jud. V. 16). Its true position, which has been only ascertained up to the middle of the present century, was determined with certainty by means of the excavations carried out by the English and Germans. The bottom of the valley was found at a depth of from forty to sixty feet below the present surface.
5 As to the application of the name Millo to fortresses in general, see p. 833, note 2, supra. The name Menahem, borne by the hill on which the temple stands, belongs to a different category: it is a symbolical term employed in Gen. xxi. 2, and is applied by the writer of 2 Chron. iii. 1 to the site of Solomon's temple.
6 This is the Ophel of the Hebrew text.
7 Cf. the names of Sardis and Tyrus (Ezekiel, i. 26-31), and by Antiquities III (Pleasant, vi. 17), as also the taking of the Capitol by the Greeks.
8 The account of the capture of Jerusalem is given in 2 Kings, v. 6-9, where the text is possibly
Jerusalem, David's first idea was probably to rid himself of one of the more troublesome obstacles which served to separate one-half of his people from the other; but once he had set foot in the place, he was not slow to perceive its advantages, and determined to make it his residence. Hebron had sufficed so long as his power extended over Caleb and Judah only. Situated as it was in the heart of the mountains, and in the wealthiest part of the province in which it stood, it seemed the natural centre to which the Kenites and men of Judah must gravitate, and the point at which they might most readily be moulded into a nation; it was, however, too far to the south to offer a convenient rallying-point for a ruler who wished to bring the Hebrew communities scattered about on both banks of the Jordan under the sway of a common sceptre. Jerusalem, on the other hand, was close to the crossing point of the roads which lead from the Semitic desert into Syria, and from the Shephelah to the land of Gilad; it commanded nearly the whole domain of Israel and the ring of hostile races by which it was encircled. From this lofty eminence, David, with Judah behind him, could either sweep down upon Moab, whose mountains shut him out from a view of the Dead Sea, or make a sudden descent on the seaboard, by way of Bethhoron, at the least sign of disturbance among the Philistines, or could push straight on across Mount Ephraim into Galilee. Issachar, Naphtali, Asher, Dan, and Zebulun were, perhaps, a little too far from the seat of government; but they were secondary tribes, incapable of any independent action, who obeyed without repugnance, but also without enthusiasm, the soldier-king able to protect them from external foes. The future master of Israel would be he who maintained his hold on the posterity of Judah and of Joseph, and David could not hope to find a more suitable place than Jerusalem from which to watch over the two ruling houses at once and the same time.

The lower part of the town he gave up to the original inhabitants, 1 the upper he filled with Benjaminites and men of Judah; 2 he built or restored a royal palace on Mount Sion, in which he lived surrounded by his warriors and his family. 3 One thing only was lacking—a temple for his God. Jerubbaal had had a sanctuary at Ophrah, and Saul had secured the services of Ahijah the prophet of Shiloh; 4 David was no longer satisfied with the ephod which had

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1 Chronicles 11:8
2 Samuel 5:7
3 Judges 9:21; cf. Judges 8:33; sometimes to Judah (Judg. xv. 62), Judah alone is right.
4 2 Samuel 6:5, and the parallel passage to 1 Chronicles 16:7, 8.
been the channel of many wise counsels during his years of adversity and his struggles against the Philistines. He longed for some still more sacred object with which to identify the fortunes of his people, and by which he might raise the newly gained prestige of his capital. It so happened that the ark of the Lord, the ancient safeguard of Ephraim, had been lying since the battle of Ebenezer not far away, without a fixed abode or regular worshippers. The reason why it had not brought victory on that occasion, was that God's anger had been stirred at the misdeeds committed in His name by the sons of Eli, and desired to punish His people; true, it had been preserved from prophesy, and the miracles which took place in its neighbourhood proved that it was still the seat of a supernatural power. At first the Philistines had, according to their custom, shut it up in the temple of Dagon at Ashdod. On the morrow, when the priests entered the sanctuary, they found the statue of their god prostrate in front of it, his fish-like body overthrown, and his head and hands scattered on the floor; at the same time a plague of malignant tumours broke out among the people, and thousands of mice overran their houses. The inhabitants of Ashdod made haste to transfer the ark to Gath; from Gath it was passed on to Ekron: it thus went the round of the five cities, its arrival being in each case accomplished by the same disasters. The soothsayers, being consulted at the end of seven months, ordered that solemn sacrifices should be offered up, and the ark restored to its rightful worshippers, accompanied by expiatory offerings of five golden mice and five golden tumours, one for each of the five repentant cities. The ark was placed on a new cart, and two milch cows with their calves drew it, losing all the way, without guidance from any man, to the field of a certain Joshan at Bethashemesh. The inhabitants welcomed it with great joy, but their curiosity overcame their reverence, and they looked within the shrine. Jehovah, being angered thereat, smote seventy men of them, and the warriors made haste to bring the ark to Kirjath-jearim, where it remained for a long time, in the house of Abinadab on the hill, under charge of his son Eleazar. Kirjath-jearim is only about two leagues from Jerusalem.

The account of the events which followed the battle of Ebenezer up to its arrival in the house of Abinadab, is taken from the history of the ark, referred to as pp. 785, 787, supra. It is given in 1 Sam. vi., vi. 7, where it forms an exceedingly characteristic whole, composed, it may be, of two separate versions thrown into one: the passage in 1 Sam. vi. 15, where the Levites take the ark, is supplied by some to be interpolated.

The statue has referred to is evidently similar to those of the Chaldean gods and goddess (cf. Mariusmu, Races of Civilization, pp. 357, 347), in which Dagon is represented as a man with his head enveloped in a fish skin a cloak.

In the Oumoff collection at Jaffa, there is a roughly-shaped image of a man, cut out of a piece of white metal, and perhaps obtained from the ruins of Gaza; it would seem to be an example of the same kind as that referred to in the Hebrew text, but it is of doubtful authenticity. See the reproduction on p. 729 of the present work.

The text of 1 Sam. vi. 21, vi. 1, gives the reading Kirjath-jearim, whereas the text of 2 Sam.
David himself went thither, and setting "the ark of God upon a new cart," brought it away. Two attendants, called Uzzah and Ahio, drove the new cart. "And David and all Israel played before God with all their might: even with songs, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets." An accident leading to serious consequences brought the procession to a standstill; the oxen stumbled, and their sacred burden threatened to fall: Uzzah, putting forth his hand to hold the ark, was smitten by the Lord, "and there he died before the Lord." David was disturbed at this, feeling some insecurity in dealing with a Deity who had thus seemed to punish one of His worshippers for a well-meant and respectful act. He "was afraid of the Lord that day," and "would not remove the ark" to Jerusalem, but left it for three months in the house of a Philistine, Obed-Edom of Gath; but finding that its host, instead of experiencing any evil, was blessed by the Lord, he carried out his original intention, and brought the ark to Jerusalem. "David, girded with a linen ephod, danced with all his might before the Lord," and "all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." When the ark had been placed in the tent that David had prepared for it, he offered up burnt offerings and peace offerings, and at the end of the festival there were dealt out to the people gifts of bread, cakes, and wine (or flesh). There is inserted in the narrative an account of the conduct of Michal his wife, who, looking out of the window and seeing the king dancing and playing, despised him in her heart, and when David returned to his house congratulated him ironically—"How glorious was the King of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants!" David said in reply that he would rather be held in honour by the handmaids of whom she had spoken than avoid the acts which covered him with ridicule in her eyes; and the chronicler adds that "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death."
The tent and the ark were assigned at this time to the care of two priests—Zadok, son of Abihur, and Ahiah, son of Abimelech, who was a descendant of Eli, and had never quitted David throughout his adventurous career. It is probable, too, that the ephod had not disappeared, and that it had its place in the sanctuary; but it may have gradually fallen into neglect, and may have ceased to be the vehicle of oracular responses as in earlier years. The king was accustomed on important occasions to take part in the sacred ceremonies, after the example of contemporary monarchs, and he had beside him at this time a priest of standing to guide him in the religious rites, and to fulfil for him duties similar to those which the chief reader rendered to Pharaoh. The only one of these priests of David whose name has come down to us was Ira the Jethrite, who accompanied his master in his campaigns, and would seem to have been a soldier also, and one of the thirty. These priestly officials seem, however, to have played but a subordinate part, as history is almost silent about their acts. While David owed everything to the sword and trusted in it, he recognized at the same time that he had obtained his crown from Jahweh; just as the sovereigns of Thebes and Nineveh saw in Amon and Assur the source of their own royal authority. He consulted the Lord directly when he wished for counsel, and accepted the issue as a test whether his interpretation of the Divine will was correct or erroneous. When—to he had realized, at the time of the capture of Jerusalem, that God had chosen him to be the champion of Israel, he spared no labour to accomplish the task which the Divine favour had assigned to him. He attacked one after the other the peoples who had encroached upon his domain, Moab being the first to feel the force of his arm. He extended his possessions at the expense of Gilead, and the fertile provinces opposite Jericho fell to his sword. These territories were in dangerous proximity to Jerusalem, and David doubtless realized the peril of their independence. The struggle for their possession must have continued for some time, but the details are not given, and we have only the record of a few incidental exploits; we know, for instance, that the captain of David's guard, Benaiah, slew two Moabite notables in a battle. Moabite captives were treated with all the severity sanctioned by the laws of war. They were laid on the ground in a line, and two-thirds of the length of the row being measured off, all within it were pitilessly massacred, the rest having their lives spared. Moab acknowledged

1 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; cf. 1 Sam. xxiv., 1, xxxii. 20; 1 Chron. xvi. 11.
2 2 Sam. xx. 25, where he is called the Jethrite, and not the Ishrite, owing to an easily understood confusion of the Hebrew letters. He figures in the list of the Gedera, "mighty men." 2 Sam. xxiii. 89.
3 2 Sam. xxiv. 20-23; cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 23-25. "Ariek," who is made the father of the two clan by Benaiah, may possibly be the same as B, 16, 17, 18 of the Description of Moab (Moabite Stone) but in meaning is obscure, and has hitherto baffled all attempts to explain it.
its defeat, and agreed to pay tribute, it had suffered so much that it required several generations to recover. Gilgal had become detached from David's domain on the south, while the Ammonites were pressing it on the east, and the Arameans making encroachments upon its pastoral lands on the north. Nahash, King of the Ammonites, being dead, David, who had received help from him in his struggle with Saul, sent messengers to offer congratulations to his son Hanun on his accession. Hanun, supposing the messengers to be spies sent to examine the defences of the city, "shaved off one-half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away." This was the signal for war. The Ammonites, foreseeing that David would endeavour to take a terrible vengeance for this insult to his people, came to an understanding with their neighbours. The overthrow of the Amorite chiefs had favoured the expansion of the Arameans towards the south. They had invaded all that region hitherto unconquered by Israel in the valley of the Litany to the east of Jordan, and some half-dozen of their petty states had appropriated among them the greater part of the territories which were described in the sacred record as having belonged previously to Jabim of Hazor and the kings of Bashan. The strongest of these principalities—that which occupied the position of Qadesh in the Bekaa, and had Zoba as its capital—was at this time under the rule of Hadadezer, son of Rehob. This warrior had conquered Damascus, Maacah, and Geshur, was threatening the Canaanite town of Hamath, and was preparing to set out to the Euphrates when the Ammonites sought his help and protection. He came immediately to their succour. Joash, who was in command of David's army, left a portion of his troops at Rabbath under his brother Abishai, and with the rest set out against the Syrians. He overthrew them, and returned immediately afterwards. The Ammonites, hearing of his victory, disbanded their army; but Joash had suffered such serious losses, that he judged it wise to defer his attack upon them until Zoba should be captured. David then took the field himself, crossed the Jordan with all his reserves, attacked the Syrians at Helam, put them to flight, killing Shebosh, their general, and captured Damascus. Hadadezer [Hadarezer] "made peace with Israel," and Tou or Toi, the King of Hamath, whom this victory had delivered, sent presents to David. This was the work of a single campaign. The next year Joash invested Rabbath, and when it was about to surrender he

1 p. 2.4
2 Or the progress of the Arameans in this region, see Wuschel, Geschichte Israels, vol. 4, pp. 157-164, where the author tries to show that Zoba and Amom-Zoba were not in the north of Israel and to the west of Damascus, but somewhere in the Haarim, near the Ammonites. The kingdom of Zoba, under Hadadezer, must, in fact, have extended southward to the borders of Ammon, but I think that the small state which formed its nucleus was in the valley of the Upper Orontes and that of the Litany. Zoba must have taken the place of Quilha, whose name is only incidentally mentioned in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, where the Hebrew gives Tubhum-yopiba, and the LXX. (Lusita's rendering) Lybaia.
called the king to his camp, and conceded to him the honour of receiving the submission of the city in person. The Ammonites were treated with as much severity as their kinsmen of Moab. David "put them under saws and harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln." This success brought others in its train. The Edomites had taken advantage of the employment of the Israelite army against the Ammonites to make raids into Judah. Joab and Abishai despatched in haste to check them, met them in the Valley of Salt to the south of the Dead Sea, and gave them battle; their king perished in the fight, and his son Hadad with some of his followers took flight into Egypt. Joab put to the sword all the able-bodied combatants, and established garrisons at Petra, Elath, and Ezion-geber on the Red Sea. David dedicated the spoils to the Lord, "who gave victory to David wherever he went."

Southern Syria had found its master; were the Hebrews going to pursue their success, and undertake in the central and northern regions a work of

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* The war with the Arameans, described in 2 Sam. xith. 3-12, is similar to the account of the conflict with the Ammonites in 2 Sam. x-xii, but with more detail. Both documents are reproduced in I Chron. xxviii. 8-11, and xlix. x. 1-8.
* 2 Sam. xiii. 12, 14; cf. I Chron. xxviii. 9, 13. Neither Elath nor Edom was mentioned before mentioned, but 1 Kings xxvii. 25-28 and 2 Chron. vii. 17, 18 prove that these places had been occupied by David. For all that concerns Hadad, see 1 Kings xx. 15-20.
conquest which had baffled the efforts of all their predecessors—Canaanites, Amorites, and Hittites? The Assyrians, thrown back on the Tigris, were at this time leading a sort of vegetative existence in obscurity; and as for Egypt, it would seem to have forgotten that it ever had possessions in Asia. There was, therefore, nothing to be feared from foreign intervention should the Hebrews be inclined to weld into a single state the nations lying between the Euphrates and the Red Sea. Unfortunately, the Israelites had not the necessary characteristics of a conquering people. Their history from the time of their entry into Canaan showed, it is true, that they were by no means incapable of enthusiasm and solidarity; a leader with the useful energy and good fortune to inspire them with confidence could move them from their self-satisfied indolence, and bind them together for a great effort. But such concentration of purpose was ephemeral in its nature, and disappeared with the chief who had brought it about. In his absence, or when the danger he had pointed out was no longer imminent, they fell back instinctively into their usual state of apathy and disorganization. Their nomadic temperament, which two centuries of a sedentary existence had not seriously modified, disposed them to give way to tribal quarrels, to keep up hereditary vendettas, to break out into sudden tumults, or to make pillaging expeditions into their neighbours' territories. Long wars, requiring the maintenance of a permanent army, the continual levying of troops and taxes, and a prolonged effort to keep what they had

* Drawn by Boudier, from photograph No. 377 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*
acquired, were repugnant to them. The kingdom which David had founded owed its permanence to the strong will of its originator, and its increase or even its maintenance depended upon the absence of any internal disturbance or court intrigue, to counternet which might make too serious a drain upon his energy. David had survived his last victory sufficiently long to witness around him the evolution of plots, and the multiplication of the usual miseries which sudden, in the East, the last years of a long reign. It was a matter of custom as well as policy that an exaltation in the position of a ruler should be accompanied by a proportional increase in the number of his retainers and his wives. David was no exception to this custom; to the two wives, Abigail and Ahinoam, which he had while he was in exile at Ziklag, he now added Maacah the Aramean, daughter of the King of Damascus, Haggith, Abital, Eglah, and several others. During the siege of Rabbah-Ammon he also committed adultery with Batsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, and, placing her husband in the forefront of the battle, brought about his death. Rebufked by the prophet Nathan for this crime, he expressed his penitence, but he continued at the same time to keep Batsheba, by whom he had several children. There was considerable rivalry among the progeny of these different unions, as the right of succession would appear not to have been definitely settled. Of the family of Saul, moreover, there were still several members in existence—the son which he had by Rizpah, the children of his daughter Merab, Merib-baal, the lame offspring of Jonathan, and Shimaa, all of whom had partitions among the tribes, and whose pretensions might be pressed unexpectedly at a critical moment. The oldest son of Ahinoam, Amnon, whose priority in age seemed likely to secure for him the crown, had fallen in love with one of his half-sisters named Tamar, the daughter of Maacah, and, instead of demanding her in marriage, procured her attendance on him by a feigned illness, and forced her to accede to his desires. His love was thereupon converted immediately into hate, and, instead of marrying her, he had her expelled from his house by his servants. With rent garments and ashes on her head, she fled to her full-brother Absalom. David was very wroth, but he loved his firstborn, and could not permit himself to punish him. Absalom kept his anger to himself, but when two years had elapsed,
he invited Amnon to a banquet, killed him, and fled to his grandfather Talmui, King of Geshur. His anger was now turned against the king for not having taken up the cause of his sister, and he began to meditate his dethronement. Having been recalled to Jerusalem at the instigation of Joab, "Absalom prepared him chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him," thus affecting the outward forms of royalty. Judah, dissatisfied at the favour shown by David to the other tribes, soon came to recognise Absalom as their Cf., and some of the most intimate counsellors of the aged king began secretly to take his part. When Absalom deemed things safe for action, he betook himself to Hebron, under the pretence of a vow which he had made during his sojourn at Geshur. All Judah rallied around him, and the exultation at Jerusalem was so great that David judged it prudent to retire, with his Philistine and Cherethite guards, to the other side of the Jordan. Absalom, in the mean while, took up his abode in Jerusalem, where, having received the tacit adherence of the family of Saul and of a number of the notables, he made himself king. To show that the rupture between him and David was complete, he had tents erected on the top of the house, and there, in view of the people, took possession of his father's harem. Success would have been assured to him if he had promptly sent troops after the fugitives; but while he was spending his time in inactivity and feasting, David collected together those who were faithful to him, and put them under the command of Joab and Abishai. The king's veterans were more than a match for the undisciplined rabble which opposed them, and in the action which followed at Mahanaim Absalom was defeated: in his flight through the forest of Ephraim he was caught in a tree, and before he could disentangle himself was pierced through the heart by Joab.  

David, we read, wished his people to have mercy on his son, and he wept bitterly. He spared on this occasion the family of Saul, pardoned the tribe of Judah, and went back triumphantly into Jerusalem, which a few days before had taken part in his humiliation. The tribes of the house of Joseph had taken no side in the quarrel. They were ignorant alike of the motives which set the tribe of Judah against their own kinsmen, and of the reasons for the zeal with which they again established him on the throne. They sent delegates to inquire about this, who reproached Judah for acting without their cognizance.  "We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did

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1 It is to be noted that Tamar asked Amnon to marry her, and that the sole reason directed against the king's oldest son was that, after forcing her, he was unwilling to make her his wife. Traces of brother and sister were probably legitimized among the Hebrews at this time as among the Egyptians (C. D. Bishop of Oxford, pp. 38-42, 476, and supra, pp. 77, 78).

2 Sam. xiii-xviii.
ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our
king?" Judah answered with yet fiercer words; then Sheba, a chief of the
Benjamites, losing patience, blew a trumpet, and went off crying: "We have
no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every
man to his tents, O Israel." If these words had produced an echo among
the central and northern tribes, a schism would have been inevitable: some
approved of them, while others took no action, and since Judah showed no
disposition to put its military forces into movement, the king had once again
to trust to Joab and the Philistine guards to repress the sedition. Their
appearance on the scene disconcerted the rebels, and Sheba retreated to the
northern frontier without offering battle. Perhaps he reckoned on the support
of the Arameans. He took shelter in the small stronghold of Abel of Beth-
hamnan, where he defended himself for some time; but just when the place
was on the point of yielding, the inhabitants cut off Sheba's head, and threw
it to Joab from the wall. His death brought the crisis to an end, and peace
reigned in Israel. Intrigues, however, began again more persistently than
ever over the inheritance which the two slain princes had failed to obtain.
The eldest son of the king was now Adonijah, son of Haggrith, but Bathsheba
exercised an undisputed sway over her husband, and had prepared him to
recognise in Solomon her son the heir to the throne. She had secured, too,
as his adherents several persons of influence, including Zadok, the prophet
Nathan, and Benaiah, the captain of the foreign guard. Adonijah had on his
side Abiathar the priest, Joab, and the people of Jerusalem, who had been
captivated by his beauty and his regal display. In the midst of these rivalries
the king was daily becoming weaker; he was now very old, and although
he was covered with wrappings he could not maintain his animal heat.
A young girl was sought out for him to give him the useful warmth.
Abishag, a Shunammitite, was secured for the purpose, but her beauty inspired
Adonijah with such a violent passion that he decided to bring matters to a
crisis. He invited his brethren; with the exception of Solomon, to a banquet
in the gardens which belonged to him in the south of Jerusalem, near the wall
of Rögel. All his partisans were present, and, inspired by the good cheer, began
to cry: "God save King Adonijah!" When Nathan informed Bathsheba of what
was going on, she went in unto the king, who was being attended on by Abishag,
complained to him of the weakness he was showing in regard to his eldest
son, and besought him to designate his heir officially. He collected together
the soldiers, and charged them to take the young man Solomon with royal
pomp from the hill of Sion to the source of the Gihon; Nathan anointed his
before all the people brought him to the palace, mounted on his father's mule. The blare of the coronation trumpets resounded in the ears of the conspirators, quickly followed by the tidings that Solomon had been hailed king over the whole of Israel; they fled on all sides, Adonijah taking refuge at the horns of the altar. David did not long survive this event; shortly before his death he advised Solomon to rid himself of all those who had opposed his accession to the throne. Solomon did not hesitate to follow this counsel, and the beginning of his reign was marked by a series of bloodthirsty executions. Adonijah was the first to suffer. He had been unwise enough to ask the hand of Abishag in marriage; this request was regarded as indicative of a hidden intention to rebel, and furnished an excuse for his assassination. Abiathar, at whose instigation Adonijah had acted, owed his escape from a similar fate to his priestly character and past services; he was banished to his estate at Anathoth, and Zadok became high priest in his stead. Joab, on learning the fate of his accomplice, felt that he was a lost man, and vainly sought sanctuary near the ark of the Lord; but Benaiab slew him there, and soon after, Shimei, the last survivor of the men of Saul, was put to death on some transparent pretext. This was the last act of the tragedy; henceforth Solomon, freed from all those who bore him malice, was able to devote his whole attention to the cares of government.

The change of rulers had led, as usual, to insurrections among the tributary races. Damascus had revolted before the death of David, and had not been recovered. Hadad returned from Egypt, and having gained adherents in certain parts of Edom, resisted all attempts made to dislodge him. As a soldier, Solomon was neither skilful nor fortunate; he even failed to retain what his father had won for him. Though he continued to increase his army, it was more with a view to consolidating his power over the Boeot-Israel than for any aggressive action outside his borders. On the other hand, he showed himself an excellent administrator, and did his best, by various measures of general utility, to draw closer the ties which bound the tribes to him and to each other. He repaired the citadels with such means as he had at his disposal. He rebuilt the fortifications of Megiddo,

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1 Kings 1, II. This is the close of the history of David, and follows on from 2 Sam i. 44. It would mean that Adonijah was heir-apparent (1 Kings 1, 5, 6), and that Solomon's accession was brought about by an intrigue, which owed its success to the old king's weakness (1 Kings i. 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21).

2 It seems clear from the context that the events of Damascus took place during David's lifetime. It cannot be any one, have occurred as a later date than the beginning of the reign of Solomon, for we are told that Hadad, after returning to Egypt, "was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon." (1 Kings 11, 23, 25). Hadad returned from Egypt, whom "he had heard that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead." (1 Kings xi. 21, 22, 23).
thus securing the control of the network of roads which traversed Southern Syria. He remodelled the fortifications of Tamar, the two Bethhorons, Bahalah, Hazor, and of many other towns which defended his frontiers. Some of them he garrisoned with foot-soldiers; others with horsemen and chariots. By thus distributing his military forces over the whole country, he achieved a twofold object: he provided, on the one hand, additional security from foreign invasion, and on the other diminished the risk of internal revolt. The remnants of the old aboriginal clans, which had hitherto managed to preserve their independence, mainly owing to the dissensions among the Israelites, were at last absorbed into the tribes in whose territory they had settled. A few still held out, and only gave way after long and stubborn resistance; before he could triumph over Gezer, Solomon was forced to humble himself before the Egyptian Pharaoh. He paid homage to him, asked the hand of his daughter in marriage, and having obtained it, persuaded him to come to his assistance; the Egyptian engineers placed their skill at the service of the besiegers and soon brought the recalcitrant city to reason, handing it over to Solomon in payment for his submission. The Canaanites were obliged to submit to the poll-tax and the corvee: the men of the league of Gibeon were made haulers of wood and drawers of water for the house of the Lord. The Hebrews themselves bore their share in the expenses of the State, and though less heavily taxed than the Canaanites, were, nevertheless, compelled to contribute considerable sums; Judah alone was exempt, probably because, being the private domain of the sovereign, its revenues were already included in the royal exchequer. In order to facilitate the collection of the taxes, Solomon divided the kingdom into twelve districts, each of which was placed in charge of a collector; these regions did not coincide with the existing tribal boundaries, but the extent of each was determined by the wealth of the lands contained within it. While one district included the whole of Mount Ephraim, another was limited to the stronghold of Mahanaim and its suburbs. Mahanaim was at one time the capital of Israel, and had played an important part in the life of David; it held the key to the regions

1 Kings ix. 15, 17-19; cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 4-6. The parallel passage in 2 Chron. xiii. 4, and the marginal variant in the Book of Kings, give the reading Tadmor Palaephra for Tamar, thus giving rise to the legend which states that Solomon’s frontier extended to the Euphrates. The Tamar here referred to is that mentioned in Ezek. xiv. 19, xvi. 29, as the southern boundary of Judah: it is perhaps identical with the modern Kharbet-Kurnat.

2 1 Kings xi. 16. The Pharaoh in question was, as we shall see further on, probably one of the Ptolemies. The Papænæus H. of Manilio; cf. p. 772, infra.

3 1 Kings xii. 20, 21. The annexation of the Vilubahites and their allies is placed at the time of the conquest in Josh. xiv. 5-7, it should be rather fixed at the date of the loss of independence of the kingdom, probably in the time of Solomon.

4 1 Kings xi. 16, 24. The Qadesh mentioned in 2 Kings viii. 14 is perhaps to be identified with the Qadesh mentioned in 1 Kings xii. 20. It cannot be the same as 1 Kings xi. 24, where it is connected with the Medes.

5 Gerhard, Geschichtliches des Volkes Israel, vol. 1, p. 385, thinks that Judah was not exempt, and that the original document must have given thirteen districts.

6 Cf. what is said in regard to the part played by Mahanaim under David on pp. 702-703, supra.
beyond Jordan, and its ruler was a person of such influence that it was not considered prudent to leave him too well provided with funds. By thus obliterating the old tribal boundaries, Solomon doubtless hoped to destroy, or at any rate greatly weaken, that Canaanite spirit which showed itself with such alarming violence at the time of the revolt of Sheba, and to weld into a single homogeneous mass the various Hebrew and Canaanite elements of which the people of Israel were composed. Each of these provinces was obliged, during one month in each year, to provide for the wants of “the king and his household,” or, in other words, the requirements of the central government. A large part of these contributions went to supply the king’s table; the daily consumption at the court was—thirty measures of fine flour, sixty measures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, a hundred sheep, besides all kinds of game and fatted fowl: nor need we be surprised at these figures, for in a country where, and at a time when money was unknown, the king was obliged to supply food to all his dependents, the greater part of their emoluments consisting of these payments in kind. The tax-collectors had also to provide fodder for the horses reserved for military purposes: there were forty thousand of these, and twelve thousand charioteers, and barley and straw had to be forthcoming either in Jerusalem itself or in one or other of the garrison towns amongst which they were distributed. The levying of tolls on caravans passing through the country completed the king’s fiscal operations which were based on the systems prevailing in neighbouring States, especially that of Egypt. Solomon, like other Oriental sovereigns, reserved to himself the monopoly of certain imported articles; such as yarn, chariots, and horses. Egyptian yarn, perhaps the finest produced in ancient times, was in great request among the dyers and embroiderers of Asia. Chariots, at once strong and light, were important articles of commerce at a time when their use in warfare was universal. As for horses, the cities of the Delta and Middle Egypt possessed a celebrated strain of stallions, from which the Syrian princes were accustomed to obtain their war-steeds. Solomon decreed

1 1 Kings iv. 7–19, where a list of the districts is given; the fact that two of Solomon’s sons-in-law appear in it, show that the document from which it is taken gave the staff of collectors in office at the close of his reign.
2 1 Kings iv. 22, 23, 27.
3 1 Kings iv. 26–30; the complementary passages in 1 Kings x. 26 and 2 Chron. i. 14 give the number of chariots as 1400 and of charioteers as 12,000. The numbers do not seem excessive for a kingdom which embraced the whole south of Palestine, when we reflect that, at the battle of Qadash, Northern Syria was able to put between 2000 and 3000 chariots into the field against Ramses II. (cf. what has been said on this point on p. 302, supra). The Hebrew chariots probably carried at least three men, like those of the Hittites and Assyrians (cf. pp. 217, 237, supra).
4 1 Kings x. 13, where mention is made of the amount which the chariots bought, and the traffic of the merchants contains an allusion to these tolls (Krause, Historien der Juden, p. 159, n. 2).
5 As to the chariots and stallions from Egypt, cf. what is said on p. 216, note 1, supra. The terms in which the text, 1 Kings x. 27–29 (cf. 2 Chron. i. 16, 17), speaks of the trade in horses, show that the traffic was already in existence when Solomon decided to embark in it.
that for the future he was to be the sole intermediary between the Asiatics and the foreign countries supplying their requirements. His agents went down at regular intervals to the banks of the Nile to lay in stock; the horses and chariots, by the time they reached Jerusalem, cost him at the rate of six hundred silver shekels for each chariot, and one hundred and fifty shekels for each horse, but he sold them again at a profit to the Aramean and Hittite princes. In return he purchased from them Cilician stallions, probably to sell again to the Egyptians, whose relaxing climate necessitated a frequent introduction of new blood into their stables. By these and other methods of which we know nothing the yearly revenue of the kingdom was largely increased; and though it only reached a total which may seem insignificant in comparison with the enormous quantities of the precious metals which passed through the hands of the Pharaohs of that time, yet it must have seemed boundless wealth in the eyes of the shepherds and husbandmen who formed the bulk of the Hebrew nation.

In thus developing his resources and turning them to good account, Solomon derived great assistance from the Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, a race whose services were always at the disposal of the masters of Southern Syria. The continued success of the Hellenic colonists on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had compelled the Phoenicians to seek with redoubled boldness and activity in the Western Mediterranean some sort of compensation for the injury which their trade had thus suffered. They increased and consolidated their dealings with Sicily, Africa, and Spain, and established themselves throughout the whole of that misty region which extended beyond the straits of Gibraltar on the European side, from the mouth of the Guadalfe to that of the Guadiana. This was the famous Tarshish—the Oriental El Deyla. Here they had founded a number of new towns, the most flourishing of which, Gades, rose not far from the mouths of the Betis, on a small inlet separated from the mainland by a narrow arm of the sea. In this city they constructed a temple to Melkarth, arsenals, warehouses, and shipbuilding yards; it was the Tyre of the west, and its merchant-vessels sailed to the south and to the north to trade with the savage races of the African

1 1 Kings x. 27-32: 2 Chron. i. 16, 17. 2 Qod, the name of Lower Cilicia, was discovered in the Hebrew text by P. Lortz, Origenes d’Histore, vol. ii. p. 21, note 2. Winer, with mistaken reliance on the authority of Eranus, has denied that Egypt produced std-horses at this time, and wishes to identify the Hiphath of the Hebrew text with Meeni, a place near Mount Taurus, mentioned in the Assyrian texts (Histoire d’Asie, pp. 172, 174).

3 As to these various points, cf. pp. 586-588, supra.

4 For details of the country of Tarshish and Tharsis, see in the Bible (1 Kings x. 22); in regard to the colonization of Spain by the Phoenicians, cf. in addition to the best comments by Gessner (Koebonen, vol. ii. pp. 34-37) and of Rawlinson (History of Phcenicia, pp. 129-139), the works of Moret (Geography der Khothen, vol. i. pp. 34, 60) and of Vinnichott (Geographie der Phcenicien, p. 288, et seq.), and, with necessary caution, Morier (Des Phceniciens d’Atberam, vol. ii. p. 684, et seq.)
and European seacoast. On the coast of Morocco they built Lixos, a town almost as large as Gadir, and beyond Lixos, thirty days' sail southwards, a whole host of depôts, reckoned later on at three hundred. By exploiting the materials to be obtained from these lands, such as gold, silver, tin, lead, and copper, Tyre and Sidon were soon able to make good the losses they had suffered from Greek privateersmen and marauding Philistines. Towards the close of the reign of Saul over Israel, a certain king Ahishal had arisen in Tyre, and was succeeded by his son Hiram, at the very moment when David was engaged in bringing the whole of Israel into subjection. Hiram, guided by instinct or by tradition, at once adopted a policy towards the rising dynasty which his ancestors had always found successful in similar cases. He made friendly overtures to the Hebrews, and constituted himself their broker and general provider: when David was in want of wood for the house he was building at Jerusalem, Hiram let him have the necessary quantity, and hired out to him workmen and artists at a reasonable wage, to help him in turning his materials to good account. The accession of Solomon was a piece of good luck for him. The new king, born in the purple, did not share the simple and somewhat rustic tastes of his father. He wanted palaces and gardens and a temple, which might rival, even if only in a small way, the palaces and temples of Egypt and Chaldea, of which he had heard such glowing accounts. Hiram undertook to procure these things for him at a moderate cost, and it was doubtless his influence which led to those voyages to the countries which produced precious metals, perfumes, rare animals, costly woods, and all those foreign knickknacks with which Eastern monarchs of all ages loved to surround themselves. The Phœnician sailors were well acquainted with the harbours of Puteoli, most of them having heard of this country when in Egypt, a few perhaps having gone thither under the direction and by the orders of Pharaoh: and Hiram took advantage of the access which the Hebrews had gained to the shores of the Red Sea by the annexation of Edom, to establish relations with these outlying districts without having to pass the Egyptian customs. He lent to Solomon shipwrights and sailors, who helped him to fit out a fleet at Ezion-geber, and undertook a voyage of discovery in company with a number of Hebrews, who were no doubt despatched in the same capacity as the royal messengers sent with the gallows of Heth-sophatah. It was a venture similar to those so frequently undertaken by the Egyptian admirals in the palmy days of the Theban navy, and of which we find so many curious pictures among the bas-reliefs.

1 Cf. what is said concerning the policy adopted by the Tybrian nation on pp. 199, 191, supra.
2 2 Sam. vi. 11; cf. the reference to the same incident in 1 Kings vi. 1-5.
3 As to this predilection of the Phœnicians and Assyrians, cf. pp. 299, 291, 265, 409, 601, supra.
at Deir el-Bahari. 1 On their return, after a three years' absence, they reported that they had sailed to a country named Ophir, and produced in support of their statement a freight well calculated to convince the most sceptical, consisting as it did of four hundred and twenty talents of gold. The success of this first venture encouraged Solomon to persevere in such expeditions: he sent his fleet on several voyages to Ophir, and procured from thence a rich harvest of gold and silver, wood and ivory, apes and peacocks. 2 Was the profit from these distant cruises so very considerable after all? After they had ceased, memory may have thrown a fanciful glamour over them, and magnified the treasures they had yielded to fabulous proportions: we are told that Solomon would have no drinking vessels or other utensils save those of pure gold, and that in his days "silver was as stone," so common had it become. 3 Doubtless Hiram took good care to obtain his full share of the gains. The Phoenician king began to find Tyre too restricted for him, the various islands over which it was scattered affording too small a space to support the multitudes which flocked thither. He therefore filled up the channels which separated them; by means of embankments and fortified quays he managed to reclaim from the sea a certain amount of land on the south; after which he constructed two harbours—one on the north, called the Sidonian; the other on the south, named the Egyptian. He was perhaps also the originator of the long causeway, the lower courses of which still serve as a breakwater, by which he transformed the projecting headland between the island and the mainland into a well-sheltered harbour. Finally, he set to work on a task like that which he had already helped Solomon to accomplish: 4 he

1 Cf. the account of the voyage undertaken under Pithoepis on pp. 245-252, supra.
2 1 Kings i. 26-28; x. 11, 12; cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 17, 18, 12-16, 11, 21. A whole library might be stocked with the various treatises which have approached the situation of the country of Ophir: Arabia Felix, India, Java, and Ceylon have all been suggested. The mention of silver, wool and of peacocks, which may be of Meroitic origin, for a long time inclined the scale in favour of India, but the discoveries of Mauch and Bunt on the Zambesi have thrown additional light on the lands of the Zambesi and the rails found there. Dr. Peters, one of the best known German explorers, is inclined to agree with Mauch and Bunt in their theory as to the position of the Ophir of the Bible (Der Goldene Ophir Salomo's, pp. 79-82). I am rather inclined to identify it with the Egyptian Pharamon, or the Semall at Toumou endowed.
3 1 Kings x. 11, 27. In Chronicles the statement in the Book of Kings is repeated in a still more emphatic manner, since it is there stated that gold itself was "in Jerusalem as stones" (2 Chron. i. 19).
4 Barr, Fragm. 2, and Menzies, Fragm. 7, in Miletus-Digest, Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum, vol. 16, pp. 288, 292, 445, 446. In so far as the interpretation of the facts connected with the enlargement of the harbour and building of the temples is concerned, I follow Revues, Micaud & Pictet, pp. 360-375.
built for himself a palace of cedar-wood, and restored and beautified the temples of the gods, including the ancient sanctuary of Melkarth and that of Astarté. In his reign the greatness of Phoenicia reached its zenith, just as that of the Hebrews culminated under David.

The most celebrated of Solomon's works were to be seen at Jerusalem. As David left it, the city was somewhat insignificant. The water from its fountains

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

had been amply sufficient for the wants of the little Jebusite town; it was wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of the growing population of the capital of Judah. Solomon made better provision for its distribution than there had been in the past, and then tapped a new source of supply some distance away, in the direction of Bethlehem; it is even said that he made the reservoirs for its storage which still bear his name. Meanwhile, Hiram had drawn up for him plans for a fortified residence, on a scale commensurate with the thriving fortunes of his dynasty. The main body was constructed of stone from the Judean quarries, cut by masons from Byblos, but it was inlaid with cedar to such an extent that one wing was called "the house of the forest of Lebanon." It contained everything that was required for the comfort of an Eastern potentate—a harem, with separate apartments for the favourites (one of which was probably decorated in the Egyptian manner for the benefit of Pharaoh's daughter); then there were


2. A somewhat ancient tradition attributes these works to Solomon; no single fact confirms it, but the balance of probability seems to indicate that he must have taken steps to provide a water-supply for the new city. The channels and reservoirs, of which traces are found at the present day, probably occupy the same positions as those which preceded them.

3. *Ezek.* viii. 8, ix. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 11.
reception-halls, to which the great men of the kingdom were admitted, storehouses, and an arsenal. The king's body-guard possessed five hundred shields "of beaten gold," which were handed over by each detachment, when the guard was relieved, to the one which took its place. But this gorgeous edifice would not have been complete if the temple of Jahveh had not arisen side by side with the abode of the temporal ruler of the nation. No monarch in those days could regard his position as unassailable until he had a sanctuary and a priesthood attached to his religion, either in his own palace or not far away from it. David had scarcely entered Jerusalem before he fixed upon the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite as a site for the temple, and built an altar there to the Lord during a plague which threatened to decimate his people; but as he did not carry the project any further, Solomon set himself to complete the task which his father had merely sketched out. The site was irregular in shape, and the surface did not naturally lend itself to the purpose for which it was destined. His engineers, however, put this right by constructing enormous piers for the foundations, which they built up from the slopes of the mountain or from the bottom of the valley as circumstances required; the space between this artificial casing and the solid rock was filled

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1 1 Kings vi. 1-12, 2. 16. Of the numerous attempts which have been made to reconstruct Solomon's palace, I shall content myself by mentioning those of Strick, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i, pp. 251-255, and Panero, Murina, Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité, vol. iv, pp. 308-410.
2 Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. C. Altmann of Limoges.
3 Cf. pp. 719, 727, supra.
4 1 Sam. xxiv. 18-25. The threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite is mentioned elsewhere on the site on which Solomon built his temple (2 Chron. iii. 1).
up, and the whole mass formed a nearly square platform, from which the temple buildings were to rise. Hiram undertook to supply materials for the work. Solomon had written to him that he should command "that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants; and I will give thee hire for thy servants according to all that thou shalt say: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Zidonians." Hiram was delighted to carry out the wishes of his royal friend with regard to the cedar and cypress woods. "My servants," he answered, "shall bring them down from Lebanon unto the sea: and I will make them into rafts to go by sea unto the place that thou shalt appoint me, and will cause them to be broken up there, and thou shalt receive them; and thus shalt accomplish my desire, in giving food for my household." The payment agreed on, which was in kind, consisted of twenty thousand kor of wheat, and twenty kor of pure oil per annum, for which Hiram was to send to Jerusalem not only the timber, but architects, masons, and Gebalite carpenters (i.e. from Byblos), smiths, sculptors, and overseers. Solomon undertook to supply the necessary labour, and for this purpose made a levy of men from all the tribes. The number of these labourers was reckoned at thirty thousand, and they were relieved regularly every three months; seventy thousand were occupied in the transport of the materials, while eighty thousand cut the stones from the quarry. It is possible that the numbers may have been somewhat

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1 For this part of the subject I must refer the reader to the exhaustive account given in PE. Curzon, Hist. of Art in the Antiquities, vol. i., pp. 171-229, of the work undertaken for the Palestine Exploration Fund, especially by Wilson and Weston.

2 Drawn by Boullé, from a photograph.

3 1 Kings vii. 7-11; cf. 2 Chron. i. 3-14, where the writer adds 20,000 kor of barley, 30,000 karats of wine, and the same quantity of oil. For the transport of wood, cf. a similar case in Egypt under Necho, supra, pp. 398, 399.

4 1 Kings v. 15-17; cf. 2 Chron. ii. 3, 17, 18.
exaggerated in popular estimation, since the greatest Egyptian monuments never required such formidable levy of workmen for their construction; we must remember, however, that such an undertaking demanded a considerable effort, as the Hebrews were quite unaccustomed to that kind of labour. The front of the temple faced eastward; it was twenty cubits wide, sixty long, and thirty high. The walls were of enormous squared stones, and the ceilings and frames of the doors of carved cedar, plated with gold; it was entered by a porch, between two columns of wrought bronze, which were called Jackin and Boax. The interior contained only two chambers; the hekal, or holy place, where were kept the altar of incense, the seven-branched candlestick, and the table of shewbread; and the Holy of Holies—hâbr—where the ark of God rested beneath the wings of two cherubim of gilded wood. Against the outer wall of the temple, and rising to half its height, were rows of small apartments, three stories high, in which were kept the treasures and vessels of the sanctuary. While the high priest was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies only once a year, the holy place was accessible at all times to the priests engaged in the services, and it was there that the daily ceremonies of the temple-worship took place; there stood also the altar of incense and the table of shewbread. The altar of sacrifice stood on the platform in front of the entrance; it was a cube of masonry with a parapet, and was approached by stone steps; it resembled, probably, in general outline the monumental altars which stood in the forecourts of the Egyptian temples and palaces. There stood by it, as was also customary in Chaldea, a "molten sea," and some ten smaller lavers, in which the Levites washed the portions of the victims to be offered, together with the basins, knives, flesh-hooks, spoons, shovels, and other utensils required for the bloody sacrifice. A low wall surmounted by a balustrade of cedar-wood separated this sacred enclosure from a court to which the people were permitted to have free access. Both palace and temple were probably designed in that pseudo-Egyptian style which the Phoenicians were known to affect. The few Hebrew edifices of which remains have come down to us, reveal a method of construction and decoration common in Egypt; we have an example of this in

1 Kings vi. 13-22; cf. 2 Chron. iv. 11-13. The names were probably engraved each upon its respective column, and taken together formed an inscription which would be interpreted in various ways. The most simple interpretation is to recognize in them a kind of talismanic formula to ensure the strength of the building, affirming "that it exists by the strength" of God (cf. Rassam, Hist. des peuples d'Israel, vol. ii. pp. 143, 144). For a tentative restoration of these columns, cf. Passow-Chamisso, Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquitè, vol. iv. pp. 214-227; see also, on the other hand, one in them merely an equivalent of the Egyptian Sede-Pillars—e. g., for instance, those of the temple of Harnak, reproduced supra, p. 307.


3 Of supra, p. 377.
the spires of the domes at Lachish, which terminate in an Egyptian garge like that employed in the naos of the Phocian temples. The completion of the whole plan occupied thirteen years; at length both palace and temple were finished in the XVIIth year of the king's reign. Solomon, however, did not wait for the completion of the work to dedicate the sanctuary to God. As soon as the inner court was ready, which was in his XIth year, he proceeded to transfer the ark to its new resting-place; it was raised upon a cubical base, and the long staves by which it had been carried were left in their rings, as was usual in the case of the sacred barks of the Egyptian deities. The God of Israel thus took up His abode in the place in which He was henceforth to be honoured. The sacrifices on the occasion of the dedication were innumerable, and continued for fourteen days, in the presence of the representatives of all Israel. The orate ceremonial and worship which had long been lavished on the deities of rival nations were now, for the first time, offered to the God of Israel. The devout Hebrews who had come together from far and near returned to their respective tribes filled with admiration, and their limited knowledge of art doubtless led them to consider their temple as unique in the world; as a fact, it presented nothing remarkable either in proportion, arrangement, or in the variety and richness of its ornamentation and furniture. Compared with the magnificent monuments of Egypt and Chaldea, the work of Solomon was what the Hebrew kingdom appears to us among the empires of the ancient world—a little temple suited to a little people.

1 Kings viii. 6-8, and 2 Chron. v. 7-9. For the representation of the bark of the Egyptian god Amon, with its staves, placed on its altar, see, cf. Layard, Dushka, iii. 231.
6 Drawn by Foucher-Guilbeau, from the drawing by Tschudi, Tell el-Hesi, p. 30.  
A 1 Kings vi. 37, 38 states that the foundations were laid in the IVth year of Solomon's reign, in the month of Ziv, and that the temple was completed in the month of Bul in the XIth year; the work occupied seven years. 1 Kings vii. 1 states that the construction of the palace lasted thirteen years; it went on for six years after the completion of the temple. The account of the dedication (1 Kings viii.) contains a long prayer by Solomon, part of which (vers. 11-20) is thought by certain critics to be of later date. They contend that the original words of Solomon are contained in vers. 17 and 18.
The priests to whose care it was entrusted did not differ much from those whom David had gathered about him at the onset of the monarchy. They in no way formed an hereditary caste confined to the limits of a rigid hierarchy; they admitted into their number—at least up to a certain point—men of varied extraction, who were either drawn by their own inclinations to the service of the altar, or had been dedicated to it by their parents from childhood. He indeed was truly a priest "who said of his father and mother, 'I have not seen him;" neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew he his own children." He was content, after renouncing these, to observe the law of God and keep His covenant, and to teach Jacob His judgments and Israel His law; he put himself before the Lord, and whole burnt offerings upon His altar. As in Egypt, the correct offering of the Jewish sacrifices was beset with considerable difficulties, and the risk of marrying their efficacy by the slightest inadvertence necessitated the employment of men who were thoroughly instructed in the divinely appointed practices and formulae. The victims had to be certified as perfect, while the offerers themselves had to be ceremonially pure; and, indeed, those only who had been specially trained were able to master the difficulties connected with the minutiae of legal purity. The means by which the future was made known necessitated the intervention of skilful interpreters of the Divine will. We know that in Egypt the statues of the gods were supposed to answer the questions put to them by movements of the head or arms, sometimes even by the living voice; but the Hebrews do not appear to have been influenced by any such recollections in the use of their sacred oracles. We are ignorant, however, of the manner in which the ephod was consulted, and we know merely that the art of interrogating the Divine will by it demanded a long noviciate. The benefits derived by those initiated into these mysteries were such as to cause them to desire the privileges to be perpetuated to their children. Gathered round the ancient sanctuaries were certain families who, from father to son, were devoted to the performance of the sacred rites, as, for instance, that of Eli at Shiloh, and that of Jonathan-ben-Gershom at Dan, near the sources of the Jordan; but, in addition to these, the text mentions functionaries analogous to those found among the Canaanites, diviners, seers—revelation—who had means of discovering that which was hidden from the vulgar.

1 1 Ch. xxvii. 30, 31. 731, 732.
2 These are the expressions used in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 4-11); though this text is by some writers placed as late as the VIIIth century B.C., yet the state of things these representatives would apply also to an earlier date. The Hebrew priest, in short, had the same duties as a large proportion of the priesthood in Chaldea and Egypt.
3 An example of the consultings of the ephod will be found in 1 Sam. xii. 7, 8, where David desires to know if he shall pursue the Amalekites.
4 1 Ch., for those two families, supra, 706, 709, 707, 713, 715, 730.
even to the finding of lost objects, but whose powers sometimes rose to a higher level when they were suddenly possessed by the prophetic spirit and enabled to reveal coming events. Besides these, again, were the prophets—nabi—who lived either alone or in communities, and attained, by means of a strict training, to a vision of the future. Their prophetic utterances were accompanied by music and singing, and the exaltation of spirit which followed their exercises would at times spread to the bystanders, as is the case in the "zikr" of the Mahomedans of to-day. The early kings, Saul and David, used to have recourse to individuals belonging to all these three classes, but the prophets, owing to the intermittent character of their inspiration and their ministry, could not fill a regular office attached to the court. One of this class was raised up by God from time to time to warn or guide His servants, and then sank again into obscurity; the priests, on the contrary, were always at hand, and their duties brought them into contact with the sovereign all the year round. The god who was worshipped in the capital of the country and his priesthood promptly acquired a predominant position in all Oriental monarchies, and most of the other temples, together with the sacred bodies attached to them, usually fell into disrepute, leaving them supreme. If Amun of Thebes became almost the sole god, and his priests the possessors of all Egypt, it was because the accession of the XVIIIth dynasty had made his pontiffs the almoners of the Pharaoh. Something of the same sort took place in Israel; the priesthood at Jerusalem attached to the temple built by the sovereign, being constantly about his person, soon surpassed their brethren in other parts of the country both in influence and possessions. Under David's reign their head had been Ahithath, son of Ahimelech, a descendant of El, but on Solomon's accession the primacy had been transferred to the line of Zadok. In this alliance of the throne and the altar, it was natural at first that the throne should reap the advantage. The king appears to have continued to be a sort of high priest, and to have officiated at certain times and occasions. The priests kept the temple in order, and watched over the cleanliness of its chambers and its vessels; they interrogated the Divine will for the king according to the prescribed ceremonies, and offered sacrifices on behalf of

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1 Sam. 14:9 is a gloss which identifies the son of former times with the prophet of the times of the monarchy.
2 1 Sam. 2:11-12, where we see Saul seized with the prophetic spirit on meeting with a band of prophets descending from the high place; cf. 2 Sam. xl. 18-19, 20-23, and supra, p. 729, for David dancing before the ark.
3 For the history of the priests of Amun, cf. p. 559 of the present work.
5 Schrader, Deuterkönig und Priester der Konsekration der Tempel (1 König viii.). The actual words appear to be of a later date; but even if that be the case, it proves that, at the time they were written, the king still possessed his full sacrificial powers.
the monarch and his subjects; in short, they were at first little more than chaplains to the king and his family.

Solomon's allegiance to the God of Israel did not lead him to proscribe the worship of other gods; he allowed his foreign wives the exercise of their various religions, and he raised an altar to Chemosh on the Mount of Olives for one of them who was a Moabite. The political supremacy and material advantages which all these establishments acquired for Judah could not fail to raise the jealousy of the other tribes. Ephraim particularly looked on with ill-concealed anger at the prospect of the hegemony becoming established in the hands of a tribe which could be barely said to have existed before the time of David, and was to a considerable extent of barbarous origin. Taxes, homage, the keeping up and recruiting of garrisons, were all equally odious to this, as well as to the other clans descended from Joseph; meanwhile their burdens did not decrease. A new fortress had to be built at Jerusalem by order of the aged king. One of the overseers appointed for this work—Jeroboam, the son of Nebat—appears to have stirred up the popular discontent, and to have hatched a revolutionary plot. Solomon, hearing of the conspiracy, attempted to suppress it; Jeroboam was forewarned, and fled to Egypt, where Pharaoh Sheshonq received him with honour, and gave him his wife's sister in marriage. The peace of the nation had not been ostensibly troubled, but the very fact that apretender should have risen up in opposition to the legitimate king anguured ill for the future of the dynasty. In reality, the edifice which David had raised with such difficulty tottered on its foundations before the death of his successor; the foreign vassals were either in a restless state or ready to throw off their allegiance; money was scarce, and twenty Galilean towns had been perforce ceded to Hiram to pay the debts due to him for the building of the temple; murmurings were heard among the people, who desired an easier life. In a future age, when priestly and prophetic influences had gained the ascendant, amid the perils which assailed Jerusalem, and the miseries of the exile, the Israelites, contrasting their humiliation with the glory of the past, forgot the reproaches which their forefathers had addressed to the house of David, and surrounded its memory with a halo of romance. David again became the hero, and Solomon the saint and sage of his race; the latter "spake three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; he spake also of beasts, and of fowl,
and of creeping things, and of fishes."  

We are told that God favoured him with a special predilection, and appeared to him on three separate occasions: once immediately after the death of David, to encourage him by the promise of a prosperous reign, and the gift of wisdom in governing; again after the dedication of the temple, to confirm him in his pious intentions; and lastly to uphold him for his idolatry, and to predict the downfall of his house. Solomon is supposed to have had continuous dealings with all the sovereigns of the Oriental world, and a Queen of Sheba is recorded as having come to bring him gifts from the furthest corner of Arabia. His contemporaries, however, seem to have regarded him as a tyrant who oppressed them with taxes, and whose death was unregretted. His son Rehoboam experienced no opposition in Jerusalem and Judah on succeeding to the throne of his father; when, however, he repaired to Shechem to receive the oath of allegiance from the northern and central tribes, he found them unwilling to tender it except under certain conditions; they would consent to obey him only on the promise of his delivering them from the forced labour which had been imposed upon them by his predecessors. Jeroboam, who had returned from his Egyptian exile on the news of Solomon’s death, undertook to represent their grievances to the new king: "Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee." Rehoboam demanded three days for the consideration of his reply; he took counsel with the old advisers of the late king, who exhorted him to comply with the petition, but the young men who were his habitual companions urged him, on the contrary, to meet the remonstrances of his subjects with threats of still harsher exactions. Their advice was taken, and when Jeroboam again presented himself, Rehoboam greeted him with taillery and threats. "My little finger is thicker than my father’s loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." This unwise answer did not produce the intimidating effect which was desired; the cry of revolt, which had already been raised in the earlier days of the monarchy, was once more heard. "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David." Rehoboam attempted to carry
his threats into execution, and sent the collectors of taxes among the rebels to enforce payment: but one of them was stoned almost before his eyes, and the king himself had barely time to regain his chariot and flee to Jerusalem to escape an outburst of popular fury. The northern and central tribes immediately offered the crown to Jeroboam, and the partisans of the son of Solomon were reduced to those of his own tribe: Judah, Caleb, the few remaining Simeonites, and some of the towns of Dan and Benjamin, which were too near to Jerusalem to escape the influence of a great city, were all who threw in their lot with him.3

Thus was accomplished the downfall of the House of David, and with it the Hebrew kingdom which it had been at such pains to build up. When we consider the character of the two kings who formed its sole dynasty, we cannot refrain from thinking that it deserved a better fate. David and Solomon exhibited that curious mixture of virtues and vices which distinguished most of the great Semite princes. The former, a soldier of fortune and an adventurous hero, represents the regular type of the founder of a dynasty: crafty, cruel, ungrateful, and dissolute, but at the same time brave, prudent, cautious, generous, and capable of enthusiasm, clemency, and repentance; at once so loyal and so gentle that he was able to inspire those about him with the finest friendship and the most absolute devotion. The latter was a religious though sensual monarch, fond of display—the type of sovereign who usually succeeds to the head of the family and enjoys the wealth which his predecessor had acquired, displaying before all men the results of his accomplished work, and often thereby endangering its stability. The real reason of their failure to establish a durable monarchy was the fact that neither of them understood the temperament of the people they were called upon to govern. The few representations we possess of the Hebrews of this period depict them as closely resembling the nations which inhabited Southern Syria at the time of the Egyptian occupation. They belong to the type with which the monuments have made us familiar; they are distinguished by an aquiline nose, projecting cheek-bones, and curly hair and beard. They were vigorous, hardy, and inured to fatigue, but though they lacked those qualities of discipline and obedience which are the characteristics of true warrior races, David had not hesitated to employ them in war; they were neither sailors, builders, nor given to commerce and industries, and yet Solomon built fleets, raised palaces and a temple, and undertook maritime expeditions, and

3 1 Kings xiii. 1-34; 2 Chron. xvi. 1-4. The text of 1 Kings xii. 30 expressly says, "there was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only;" whereas the following verse, which some think to have been added by another hand, adds that Rehoboam assembled 400,000 men, "which were warriors." The "house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin."
financial circumstances seemed for the moment to be favourable. The onward progress of Assyria towards the Mediterranean had been arrested by the Hittites, Egypt was in a condition of lethargy, the Aramaean populations were fretting away their energies in internal dissensions; David, having encountered no serious opposition after his victory over the Philistines, had extended his conquests and increased the area of his kingdom, and the interested assistance which Tyre afterwards gave to Solomon enabled the latter to realize his dreams of luxury and royal magnificence. But the kingdom which had been created by David and Solomon rested solely on their individual efforts, and its continuance could be assured only by bequeathing it to descendants who had sufficient energy and prudence to consolidate its weaker elements, and build up the tottering materials which were constantly threatening to fall asunder. As soon as the government had passed into the hands of the weakling Rehoboam, who had at the outset departed from his predecessors' policy, the component parts of the kingdom, which had for a few years been held together, now became disintegrated without a shock, and as if by mutual consent. The old order of things which existed in the time of the Judges had passed away with the death of Saul. The advantages which, eneined from a monarchical régime were too apparent to permit of its being set aside, and the tribes who had been bound together by nearly half a century of obedience to a common master now resolved themselves, according to their geographical positions, into two masses of unequal numbers and extent—Judah in the south, together with the few clans who remained loyal to the kingly house, and Israel in the north and the regions beyond Jordan, occupying three-fourths of the territory which had belonged to David and Solomon.

Israel, in spite of its extent and population, did not enjoy the predominant position which we might have expected at the beginning of its independent existence. It had no political unity, no capital in which to concentrate its resources, no temple, and no army; it represented the material out of which a state could be formed rather than one already constituted. It was subdivided into three groups, formerly independent of, and almost strangers to,
each other, and between whom neither David nor Solomon had been able to establish any bond which would enable them to forget their former isolation. The centre group was composed of the House of Joseph—Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh—and comprised the old fortresses of Pera, Mahanaim, Pammel, Succoth, and Ramoth, ranged in a line running parallel with the Jordan. In the eastern group were the semi-nomad tribes of Benben and Gad, who still persisted in the pastoral habits of their ancestors, and remained indifferent to the various revolutions which had agitated their race for several generations. Finally, in the northern group lay the smaller tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Issachar, Zebulon, and Dan, hemmed in between the Phoenicians and the Arabianans of Zoba and Damascus. Each group had its own traditions, its own interests often opposed to those of its neighbours, and its own peculiar mode of life, which it had no intention of renouncing for anyone else's benefit. The difficulty of keeping these groups together became at once apparent. Shechem had been the first to revolt against Rehoboam; it was a large and populous town, situated almost in the centre of the newly-formed state, and the seat of an ancient oracle; both of which advantages seemed to single it out as the future capital. But its very importance, and the memories of its former greatness under Jerubbaal and Abimelech, were against it. Built in the western territory belonging to Manasseh, the eastern and northern clans would at once object to its being chosen, on the ground that it would humiliate them before the House of Joseph, in the same manner as the selection of Jerusalem had tended to make them subservient to Judah. Jeroboam would have endangered his cause by fixing on it as his capital, and he therefore soon quitted it to establish himself at Tirzah. It is true that the latter town was also situated in the mountains of Ephraim, but it was so obscure and insignificant a place that it disarmed all jealousy; the new king therefore took up his residence in it, since he was forced to fix on some royal abode, but it never became for him what Jerusalem was to his rival, a capital at once religious and military. He had his own sanctuary and priests at Tirzah, as was but natural, but had he attempted to found a temple which would have attracted the whole population to a common worship, he would have excited jealousies which would have been fatal to his authority. On the other hand, Solomon's temple bad In its short period of existence not yet acquired such a prestige as to prevent Jeroboam's drawing his people away from it: which he determined to do from a fear that contact with Jerusalem would endanger the allegiance of his subjects to his person and family. Such concourses of worshippers, assembling at periodic intervals from all parts of the country, soon degenerated into a kind of fair, in which commercial as well as religious motives had their part. These gatherings formed a source of revenue to the prince in whose capital they
was held, and financial as well as political considerations required that periodical assemblies should be established in Israel similar to those which attracted Judah to Jerusalem. Jeroboam adopted a plan which while safeguarding the interests of his treasury, prevented his becoming unpopular with his own subjects; as he was unable to have a temple for himself alone, he chose two out of the most venerated ancient sanctuaries, that of Dan for the northern tribes, and that of Bethel, on the Judæan frontier, for the tribes of the east and centre. He made two calves of gold, one for each place, and said to the people, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." He granted the sanctuaries certain appanages, and established a priesthood answering to that which officiated in the rival kingdom: "whosoever would he consecrate him, that there might be priests of the high places." While Jeroboam thus endeavoured to strengthen himself on the throne by adapting the monarchy to the temperament of the tribes over which he ruled, Rehoboam took measures to regain his lost ground and restore the unity which he himself had destroyed. He recruited the army which had been somewhat neglected in the latter years of his father, restored the walls of the cities which had remained faithful to him, and fortified the places which constituted his frontier defences against the Israelites. His ambition was not as foolish as we might be tempted to

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1 Drawn by Boulée, from the photograph published by the Découvertes, Voyage d'Extravagance.
2 1 Kings xi. 26-28; chaps. xii. 23, xiii., xiv. 1-18 contain, side by side with the narrative of facts, such as the death of Jeroboam's son, statements on the religious conduct of the sovereign, which are regarded as being of later date.
3 1 Kings xi. 22-24; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 1-17, where the list of strongholds, wanting in the Book of
imagine. He had soldiers, charioteers, generals, skilled in the art of war, well-filled storehouses, the remnant of the wealth of Solomon, and, as a last resource, the gold of the temple at Jerusalem. He ruled over the same extent of territory as that possessed by David after the death of Saul, but the means at his disposal were incontestably greater than those of his grandfather, and it is possible that he might in the end have overcome Jeroboam, as David overcame Ishbosheth, had not the intervention of Egypt disconcerted his plans, and, by exhausting his material forces, struck a death-blow to all his hopes.

The century and a half which had elapsed since the death of the last of the Ramessides had, as far as we can ascertain, been troubled by civil wars and revolutions. The imperious Egypt of the Theban dynasties had passed away, but a new Egypt had arisen, not without storm and struggle, in its place. As long as the campaigns of the Pharaohs had been confined to the Nile valley and the Oasis, Thebes had been the natural centre of the kingdom; placed almost exactly between the Mediterranean and the southern frontier, it had been both the national arsenal and the treasure-house to which all foreign wealth had found its way from the Persian Gulf to the Sahara, and from the coasts of Asia Minor to the equatorial swamps. The cities of the Delta, lying on the frontier of those peoples with whom Egypt now held but little intercourse, possessed neither the authority nor the resources of Thebes; even Memphis, to which the prestige of her ancient dynasties still clung, occupied but a secondary place beside her rival. The invasion of the shepherds, by

Kings, is given from an ancient source. The writer affirms, in harmony with the idea of the time, that the Levites left their solitudes and their passiveness, and were to touch and Jerusalem. In the sequel and his sons and their offshoots, that they should not exceed the Priest's office into the Lord." I hope, as the reader will see, on p. 482, the uncertainty which still surrounds the XXth dynasty. The following is the order in which I proposed, eight years ago, that its kings should be placed (Les Muses rapides de Babel et Babylone, in the Mémoires de la Mission Franceaise, vol. 1, p. 282-283).

VII RAMSES VIII. SINENKHORHED. RAMSES.
II. RAMSES III. MAKHTAMON. UNKHAFERAMI.
XI. RAMSES XII. ARRAMKOPY. KHAHERAMI.
V. RAMSES V. ANKHAMI-UKHAFERAMI. RAMSES.
VI. RAMSES VII. ATARHAKHERAMI. UNKHAFERAMI.
making Thebes the refuge and last bulwark of the Egyptian nation, increased its importance: in the critical times of the struggle, Thebes was not merely the foremost city in the country, it represented the country itself, and the heart of Egypt may be said to have throbbed within its walls. The victories of Ahmosis, the expeditions of Thutmose I, and Thutmose III, enlarged her horizon; her Pharaohs crossed the isthmus of Suez, they conquered Syria, subdued the valleys of the Euphrates and the Balkan, and by so doing increased her wealth and her splendour. Her streets witnessed during two centuries processions of barbarian prisoners laden with the spoils of conquest. But with the advent of the XIXth and XXth dynasties came anxious times; the peoples of Syria and Libya, long kept in servitude, at length rebelled, and the long distance between Karmak and Gaza soon began to be irksome to princes who had to be constantly on the alert on the Canaanite frontier, and who found it impossible to have their head-quarters six hundred miles from the scene of hostilities. Hence it came about that Ramesses II, Menaehphah, and Ramesses III, all took up their abode in the Delta during the greater part of their active life; they restored its ancient towns and founded new ones, which were acquired considerable wealth by foreign commerce. The centre of government of the empire, which, after the dissolution of the Memphite state, had been removed southwards to Thebes on account of the conquest of Ethiopia and the annihilation of Theban civilization upon Nubia and the Sudan, now gradually returned northwards, and passing over Heliopolis, which had exercised a transitory supremacy, at length established itself in the Delta. Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Mendes, and Gebennysios all disputed the honour of forming the royal residence, and all in turn during the course of ages enjoyed the privilege without ever rising to the rank of Thebes, or producing any sovereigns to be compared with those of her triumphant dynasties. Tanis was, as we have seen, the first of these to rule the whole of the Nile valley. Its prosperity had continued to increase from the time that Ramesses II. began to rebuild it; the remaining inhabitants of Avaris, mingled with the natives of pure race and the prisoners of war settled there, had furnished it with an active and industrious population, which had considerably increased during the peaceful reigns of the XXth dynasty. The surrounding country, drained and cultivated by unremitting efforts, became one of the most fruitful parts of the Delta; there was a large exportation of fish and corn, to which were soon added the various products of its manufactories, such as linen and woollen stuffs.

1 For the impanel given to the towns of the Delta under the XIXth and XXth dynasties see supra pp. 422, 423, 470, 472.

2 The little that is known of the circumstances connected with the rise of the Tanite dynasty will be found supra, pp. 462-465.
ornaments, and objects in glass and in precious metals. These were embarked on Egyptian or Phoenician galleys, and were exchanged in the ports of the Mediterranean for Syrian, Asiatic, or Aegean commodities, which were then transmitted by the Egyptian merchants to the countries of the East and to Northern Africa. The port of Tanis was one of the most secure and convenient which existed at that period. It was at sufficient distance from the coast to be safe from the sudden attacks of pirates, and yet near enough to permit of its being reached from the open by merchandise in a few hours of easy navigation; the arms of the Nile, and the canals which here flowed into the sea, were broad and deep, and, so long as they were kept well dredged, would allow the heaviest-laden vessel of large draught, to make its way up them with ease. The site of the town was not less advantageous for overland traffic. Tanis was the first important station encountered by caravans after crossing the frontier at Zalu, and it offered them a safe and convenient emporium for the disposal of their goods in exchange for the riches of Egypt and the Delta. The combination of so many advantageous features on one site tended to the rapid development of both civic and individual wealth; in less than three centuries after its rebuilding by Rameses II, Tanis had risen to a position which enabled its sovereigns to claim even the obedience of Thebes itself.

We know very little of the history of this Tanite dynasty; the monuments have not revealed the names of all its kings, and much difficulty is experienced in establishing the sequence of those already brought to light. Their actual domain barely extended as far as Sinti, but their suzerainty was acknowledged

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4 The immense number of designs taken from aquatic plants, as, for instance, the papyrus and the lotus, single or in groups, as well as from fish and aquatic birds, which we observe on objects of Phoenician goldsmiths' work, leads me to believe that the Tyrian and Sidonian artists borrowed most of their models from the Delta, and doubtless from Tanis, the most flourishing town of the Delta during the centuries following the downfall of Thebes.

5 It was from Tanis that the Egyptian used to set out carrying the messengers of Abaris to Syria; cf. supra, pp. 382, 383.

6 We may judge of the security afforded by such a position by the account in Homer (Odyssey, xiv. 182-285), which Ulysses gives to Eumaeus of his pretended voyage to Egypt: the Greeks having disembarked, and being scattered over the country, were attacked by the Egyptians before they could regain a town or carry their booty to the ships. Cf. for these legends, Mauzart, Les Premiers débouchements des Grèces en Egypte, p. 12, et seq.

7 For the eastern frontier of the Delta and the station at Zalu, cf. supra, pp. 122, 123.

8 The classification of the Tanite line has been complicated by the tendency to ignore the existence of the mercurial dynasty of high priests, to confuse with the Tanite Pharaohs those of the high priests who held the crown, and to identify in the lists of MASTMES (now or less correctly) the names they are in search of. I have discussed the various systems proposed, even those of Lepsius and Windhausen, in the Monnute royales de Thot et Bahari (Memoires de la Société Française, vol. I., p. 192, et seq.), and I have also endeavoured to show the contemporaneousness of the two families in a shorter way than has been hitherto done.Darby has added new facts to those I had already related; but he has made the mistake of supposing WADYAT to have been of the Tanite line (Contribution à l'Étude de la XXIe dynastie, vol. II., p. 41, et seq.).
by the Saba, as well as by all or part of Ethiopia, and the Tanite Pharaoque maintained their authority with such rigour, that they had it in their power on several occasions to expel the high priests of Amun, and to restore, at least for a time, the unity of the empire. To accomplish this, it would have been sufficient for them to have assumed the priestly dignity at Thebes, and this was what no doubt took place at times when a vacancy in the high priesthood occurred; but it was merely in an interim, and the Tanite sovereigns always relinquished the office, after a brief lapse of time, in favour of some member of the family of Haremose whose right of primogeniture entitled him to succeed to it. It indeed seemed as if custom and religious etiquette had made the two offices of the pontificate and the royal dignity incompatible for one individual to hold simultaneously. The priestly duties had become marvellously complicated during the Theban hegemony, and the minute observances which they entailed absorbed the whole life of those who dedicated themselves to their performance. They had daily to fulfil a multitude of rites, distributed over the various hours, in such a manner that it seemed impossible to find leisure for any fresh occupation without sacomaching on the time allotted to absolute bodily needs. The high priest rose each morning at an appointed hour; he had certain times for taking food; for recreation; for giving audience; for dispensing justice; for attending to worldly affairs; and for relaxation with his wives and children.

1896, vol. xxxvii. pp. 72-80. - A fresh examination of the subject has led me to adopt provisionally the following order for the series of Tanite kings.

FROM THE BEGINNINGS.

1. NEEH-NEH-AMON, NETHER-MA'AT-AMON,
2. PEPKA-HAYE, MA'AT, NETHER-AMON,
3. AMEN-MA'AT-MON, BERU-HAYE-AMON,
4. MA'AT-AMON, NETHER-MA'AT-AMON,
5. HAA-MA'AT-AMON, MA'AT, NETHER-MON.

FROM MANIER.

1. SHEMMES, ..... 20 years
2. POPEPITI, ..... 16
3. NETCHEMISH, ..... 12
4. ROSEWEFT, ..... 8
5. CHAM, ..... 4
6. PAPANES, ..... 1
7. POPEPITI II., ..... 1

The dynasty must have reigned about a hundred and forty years, from c. 1000 to 940 B.C.; but, of course, are merely approximate dates.

1. Of course, p. 385.

1 This is only true if the personage who entitles himself son within a cartouch, "the Master of the two lands, First Prophet of Amun, Patekhmeat," (Weber, Ass. XXXI, "Dynastie Manetho's") in the Ziffer (1, 1889, p. 8); Manier, Les Monumentsroyaux de Taat et Robart, in the Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. I, pp. 679, 728, is really the Tanite king and not the high priest Patekhmeat (cf. pp. 701, 728 of the present volume), as Darmest, is inclined to think (Contributions à l'Histoire du roi de l'orient, p. 17). The first book of Diodorus contains a picture of the life of the kings of Egypt (1, 79, 77), which is crammed with much information contained in this work, is taken from a lost book of Herodotus. The historical romance within the latter appears to have been composed from information taken from Theban sources. The comparison of it with the inscribed monuments and the ritual of the cult of Amun proves that the ideal description given in this work of the life of the kings, purely reproduces the chief characteristics of the lives of the Tanite and Ethiopian high priest, hence the greater part of the minute observances which we remark therein apply to the latter only, and not to the Pharaoque properly so called.
at night he kept watch, or rose at intervals to prepare for the various ceremonies which could only be celebrated at sunrise. He was responsible for the superintendence of the priests of Amon in the numberless festivals held in honour of the gods, from which he could not absent himself except for some legitimate reason. From all this it will be seen how impossible it was for a lay king, like the sovereign ruling at Tanis, to submit to such restraints beyond a certain point; his patience would soon have become exhausted, want of practice would have led him to make slips or omissions, rendering the rites null and void; and the temporal affairs of his kingdom—internal administration, justice, finance, commerce, and war—made such demands upon his time, that he was obliged as soon as possible to find a substitute to fulfill his religious duties. The force of circumstances therefore maintained the line of Theban high priests side by side with their sovereigns, the Tanite kings. They were, it is true, dangerous rivals, both on account of the wealth of their dais and of the immense prestige which they enjoyed in Egypt, Ethiopia, and in all the names devoted to the worship of Amon. They were allied to the elder branch of the Bamessides, and had thus inherited such near rights to the crown that Smendes had not hesitated to concede to Hrihor the cartouches, the preamble, and insignia of the Pharaoh, including the pectoral and the iron helmet inlaid with gold. This concession, however, had been made as a personal favour, and extended only to the lifetime of Hrihor, without holding good, as a matter of course, for his successors; his son Pishkhi had to confine himself to the priestly titles; and his grandson Paimotma enjoyed the kingly privileges only during part of his life, doubtless in consequence of his marriage with a certain Mekeri, probably daughter of Paishkhaiit I, the Tanite king. Mekeri apparently died soon after, and the discovery of her coffin in the hiding-place at Deir el-Bahari reveals the fact of her death in giving birth to a little daughter who did not survive her, and who rests in the same coffin beside...
the mummy of her mother. None of the successors of Ptolomæus—Masahirt, Manakhpirri, Ptolemy II, Psikkhānès, Nehbāthī—enjoyed a similar distinction, and if one of them happened to surround his name with a cartouche, it was done surreptitiously, without the authority of the sovereign. Ptolemy II contended himself with drawing attention to his connection with the reigning

The mummy of Queen Mâkari and her child.
Manakhpirri was called on to replace his brother Masahirt. A section of the Theban population had revolted, but the rising had been put down by the Tanite Siamon, and its leaders banished to the Oasis; Manakhpirri had thereupon been summoned to court and officially invested with the pontificate in the XXVth year of the king's reign. But on his return to Karnak, the new high priest desired to heal old feuds, and at once recalled the exiles. Troubles and disorders appeared to beset the Thebans; and, like the last of the Ramessides, they were engaged in a perpetual struggle against robbers. The town, deprived of its former influx of foreign spoil, became more and more impoverished, and its population gradually dwindled. The necropolis suffered increasingly from pillagers, and the burying-places of the kings were felt to be in such danger, that the authorities, despairing of being able to protect them, withdrew the mummys from their resting-places. The bodies of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III, were once more carried down the valley, and, after various removals, were at length huddled together for safety in the tomb of Amenhotep I, at Draa-Abul-Nejmag.

The Tanite Pharaohs seemed to have lacked neither courage nor good will. The few monuments which they have left show that to some extent they carried on the works begun by their predecessors. An unusually high inundation had injured the temple at Karnak, the foundations had been dammed by the water, and serious damage would have been done, had not the work of reparation been immediately undertaken. Nabiindii reopened the sandstone quarries between Erment and Gebeleln, from which Seti I had obtained the building materials for the temple, and drew from thence what was required for the repair of the edifices. Two of the descendants of Nabiindii, Paskharnit I, and

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This appears in the Mussier Sale preserved for some time in the "Maison Française" at Luxor, and now removed to the Louvre. It was published and translated by Breccier, Remains of Monuments, vol. 1, pl. xii. pp. 32, 33; Reiss nach den Grossen Toren von Karnach, pl. xxviii. pp. 38-39; and Greek. Egyptians, pp. 945-949.

The series of high priests side by side with the sovereigns of the XXVth dynasty may be provisionally arranged as follows:---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TANITE</th>
<th>Siamon</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Paskharot I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Paskharot II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Paskharot III.</td>
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<td>IV.</td>
<td>Paskharot IV.</td>
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<td>V.</td>
<td>Paskharot V.</td>
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<td>VI.</td>
<td>Paskharot VI.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Paskharot VII.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This is the table drawn up by Mussier, Les Monuments de la Deir el-Bahari, p. 730, partly corrected by fresh information given by Darmesteter, Contributions à l'Histoire de la XXVe Dynastie, p. 18.

This follows from the legal documents found on several royal mummys (Mussier, Les Monuments de la Deir el-Bahari, p. 751).

Amenemipht, remodelled the little temple built by Cheops in honour of his daughter Housmout, at the south-east angle of his pyramid. Both Siamon-mamun and Psikhenait I. have left traces of their work at Memphis, and the latter inserted his cartouches on two of the obelisks raised by Ramesses at Heliopolis. But these were only minor undertakings, and it is at Tanis that we must seek the most characteristic examples of their activity. Here it was that Psikhenait rebuilt the brick ramparts which defended the city, and decorated several of the halls of the great temple. The pylons of this sanctuary had been merely begun, by Sennefris: Siamon completed them, and added the sphinxes; and the metal plaques and small objects which he concealed under the base of one of the latter have been brought to light in the course of excavations. The appropriation of the monuments of other kings, which we have remarked under former dynasties, was also practised by the Tanites. Siamon placed his inscriptions over those of the Ramesides, and Psikhenait engraved his name on the sphinxes and statues of Amenemib at II. as unscrupulously as Apophis and the Hyksos had done before him. The Tanite sovereigns, however, were not at a loss for artists, and they had revived, after the lapse of centuries, the traditions of the local school which had flourished during the XIIth dynasty. One of the groups, executed by order of Psikhenait, has escaped destruction, and is now in the Giza Museum. It represents two figures of the Nile, marching gravely shoulder to shoulder, and

1 From this temple came the fragments reproduced by MARITET, Monumenta aegyptiaca, pl. 101 b, c, d. MARCEL, Guide de Vistvre ou Musée du Boulaq, p. 125, and the part of an inscription now at Berlin (Leuba, Uber die Kinoenthe Kolodynumos, in the Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 106). MARZEL enunciates the name Amenemipt as Anunemipt. It is a name which appears on some private seals; the usual inscription of the Egyptian name Amunemipt is Anunemipt (WINTERHART, Les XI. Dynastie Muscadre, in the Zeitschrift, 1882, pp. 89-98). But this form is most often erroneously used to inscribe Anunemipt instead of Amenemipt. (Cf. above, p. 34, note 2).

2 Block from Memphis bearing the name of Siamon, in Brugs's Revue du Musée, vol. x, pp. 25 d; F. E. PETRI, Tanis, p. 49, and p. 51; several plaques at Giza have his cartouches (MARITET, Notices des principes principales du Musée de Boulaq, 1876, fol. 204, 205, Nos. 438-439).

3 These names are mentioned by NAVAL, Jour. Hist. de l'Egypte, III, p. 261; cf. PETRI, Tanis, pp. 56, 48, and p. 52. These plaques are preserved at the Cairo Museum. (MARITET, Notices des princes, 1876, p. 206, No. 551, 552; MARCEL, Guide du Boulaq, etc., p. 130, No. 878). MARCEL tells us several more have been discovered at the angle of one of the pylons.

4 F. E. PETRI, Tanis, p. 28.

5 Sphynx in the Giza Museum, in MARITET, Notices des princes, 1876, p. 253, Nos. 11, 12; MARCEL, Guile du Boulaq, etc., pp. 64, 65; cf. What is said of these sphynxes in the Monographs des desennes, p. 601, 602, and supra, p. 48.
carrying in front of them tables of offerings, ornamented with fish and garnished with flowers. The stone in which they are executed is of an extraordinary hardness, but the sculptor has, notwithstanding, succeeded in carving and polishing it with a skill which does credit to his proficiency in his craft. The general effect of the figures is a little heavy, but the detail is excellent, and the correctness of pose, precision in modelling, and harmony of proportion are beyond criticism. The heads present a certain element of strangeness.

The artist evidently took as his model, as far as type and style of head-dress are concerned, the monuments of Amun-em-Ati III, which he saw around him; indeed, he probably copied one of them for the feature. He has reproduced the severity of expression, the firm mouth, the projecting cheek-bones, the long hair and fan-shaped beard of his model, but he has not been able to imitate the broad and powerful treatment of the older artist; his method of execution has a certain hardness and conventionalism which we never see to the same extent in the statues of the XIIth dynasty. The work is, however, an extremely interesting one.

and we are tempted to wish that many more such monuments had been saved from the ruins of the city. The Pharaoh who dedicated it was a great builder, and, like most of his predecessors with similar tastes, somewhat of a conqueror. The sovereigns of the XXIst dynasty, though they never undertook any distant campaigns, did not neglect to keep up a kind of sovereignty over the Phillistine Shephelah to which they still laid claim. The expedition which one of them, probably Tahkhamani II., led against Gezer, the alliance with the Hebrews and the marriage of a royal princess with Solomon, must all have been regarded at the court of Tanis as a partial revival of the former Egyptian rule in Syria. The kings were, however, obliged

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1 Drawn by E. E. Godeau, from a photograph by E. E. Godeau.
2 Mariette attributes this group to the Hyksos (Découvertes étranges a M. le comte de Bonci par les archéologues de Tanis, pp. 575; and pl. v., v.), and Notice des principaux monuments, 1888, No. 11, pp. 264, 292; I have already expressed (Archéologie égyptienne, p. 217) the opinion that it dates from the XXIst dynasty.
3 For the taking of Gezer, the marriage of a daughter of Pharaoh to Solomon, and the Inhabitants which can be drawn from them to the relative positions of Egypt and the Hebrew Kingdom towards the end of the XXIst dynasty, cf. supra, p. 786, and infra, p. 722.
to rest content with small results, for though their battalions were sufficiently numerous and well disciplined to overcome the Canaanite chiefs, or even the Israelite kingdom, it is to be doubted whether they were strong enough to attack the troops of the Aramean or Hittite princes, who had a highly organised military system, modelled on that of Assyria. Egyptian arms and tactics had not made much progress since the great campaigns of the Thothian conquerors; the military authorities still complacently trusted to their chariots and their light troops of archers at a period when the whole success of a campaign was decided by heavily armed infantry, and when cavalry had already begun to change the issue of battles. The decadence of the military spirit in Egypt had been particularly marked in all classes under the later Ramessides, and the native militia, without exception, were reduced to a mere mob—courageous, it is true, and able to sell their lives dearly when occasion demanded, rather than give way before the enemy, but entirely lacking that enthusiasm and resolution which sweep all obstacles before them. The chariots had not degenerated in the same way, thanks to the care with which the Pharaoh and his vessels kept up the breeding of suitable horses in the training stables of the principal towns. Egypt provided Solomon with draught-horses, and with strong yet light chariots, which he sold with advantage to the sovereigns of the Orontes and the Euphrates. But it was the mercenaries who constituted the most active and effective section of the Pharaonic armies. These troops formed the backbone on which all the other elements—chariots, spearmen, and native archers—were dependent. Their spirited attack carried the other troops with them, and by a tremendous onslaught on the enemy at a decisive moment gave the commanding general some chance of success against the better-equipped and better-organised battalions that he would be sure to meet with on the plains of Asia. The Tanite kings enrolled these mercenaries in large numbers; they entrusted them with the garrisoning of the principal towns, and confirmed the privileges which their chiefs had received from the Ramessides, but the results of such a policy were not long in manifesting themselves, and this state of affairs had been barely a century in existence before Egypt became a prey to the barbarians.

It would perhaps be more correct to say that it had fallen a prey to the Libyans only. The Asiatics and Europeans whom the Thothian Pharaohs had called in to fight for them had become merged in the bulk of the nation, or had died out for lack of renewal. Semites abounded, it is true, in the eastern nomes of the Delta, but their presence had no effect on the military strength of the country. Some had settled in the towns and villages, and were engaged

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4 For the breaching engines of the Egyptians, and the chariots which they sent in the habit of supplying to the Libyans, see Layard, p. 218, note 4, and pp. 760, 749.
in commerce or industry; these included Phoenician, Canaanite, Edomite, and even Hebrew merchants and artisans, who had been forced to flee from their own countries owing to political disturbances. A certain proportion were descendants of the Hyksos, who had been reinforced from time to time by settlements of prisoners captured in battle; they had taken refuge in the marches as in the times of Ahmose, and there lived in a kind of semi-civilized independence, refusing to pay taxes, boasting of having kept themselves from any alliances with the inhabitants of the Nile valley, while their kinmen of the older stock betrayed the knowledge of their origin by such disparaging nicknames as Pashtur, "the stranger," or Pi-amu, "the Asiatic." The Shardsana, who had constituted the body-guard of Ramses II., and whose commanders had, under Ramses III., ranked with the great officers of the crown, had all but disappeared. It had been found difficult to recruit them since the dissolution of the People of the Sea from the Delta and the Syrian littoral, and their settlement in Italy and the fabulous islands of the Mediterranean; the adventurers from Cret and the Aegean coasts now preferred to serve under the Philistines, where they found those who were akin to their own race, and from thence they passed on to the Hebrews, where, under David and Solomon, they were gladly hired as mercenaries. The Libyans had replaced the Shardsana in all the offices they had filled and in all the garrison towns they had occupied. The kingdom of Merit and Kapur had not survived the defeat which it had suffered from Mne,pah and Ramses III., but the Masaahash who had founded it still kept an active hegemony over their former subjects; hence it was that the Egyptians became accustomed to look on all the Libyan tribes as branches of the dominant race, and confounded all the immigrants from Libya under the common name of Masaahash. Egypt was thus slowly flooded by Libyans:

1 Jozéphos (1 Kings xi. 40, xii. 2-3) and Josiah (1 Kings xii. 17-22) took refuge in this way at the court of Tanis; cf. supra, pp. 337, 339.
3 Of what is said about the Shardsana auxiliaries of Egypt, supra, pp. 373, 375, 380, 381, 475, 489, 533; they are not mentioned after the reign of Ramses III.
4 For their migrations, cf. supra, p. 387.
5 Carians or Crotons (Circlets) formed part of David's body-guard (2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 18, xx. 25); one again meets with these Carians or Cretan troops in Judah in the reign of Athaliah (1 Kings xi. 4, 20).
7 Ramses III. still distinguished between the Qaha, the Tihom, and the Masaahash (cf. supra, p. 436); the monuments of the XXIII dynasty only recognize the Masaahash, whose name they spell it Ma. The meaning of this abbreviation had been discovered by E. de Rouge, from the variants on the stones of the European (Oud et quelques monuments des royaumes des Oubiques, in the Mémoires d'Archéologie Egyptienne, vol. 1, p. 87); Lentz (Die Piramitische Sprache, 1870, pp. 63, 70), Brugsch (Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache, p. 611, 612), and Krahl (Die Composition und Schriftkunde des Mespithischen Geschichtswesens, p. 70) believe them to be Amejia, more particularly Ameria. One section of the troops, which Hemadhe (11, de Magn., et seq.) called pahx, was composed of Libyan bands, as I shall have occasion to show later on.
it was a gradual invasion, which succeeded by pacific means where brute force had failed. A Berber population gradually took possession of the country, occupying the eastern provinces of the Delta, filling its towns—Suis, Damanhour, and Marsa—making its way into the Faiyum, the suburbs of Hermopolis, and penetrating as far south as Abydos; at the latter place they were not found in such great numbers, but still considerable enough to leave distinct traces. The high priests of Amon seem to have been the only personages who neglected to employ this ubiquitous race; but they preferred to use the Nubian tribe of the Mazaith, who probably from the XIIth dynasty onwards had constituted

The police force of Thebes. These Libyan immigrants had adopted the arts of Egypt and the externals of her civilization; they sculptured rude figures on the rocks and engraved scenes on their stone vessels, in which they are represented fully armed, and taking part in some skirmish or attack, or even a chase in the desert. The hunters are divided into two groups, each of which is preceded by a different ensign—that of the West for the right wing of the troop, and that of the East for the left wing. They carry the spear, the

1 The settlement of Libyan colonists by Thamus III at Hermopolis and at the entrance to the Fayum has been indicated, supra, p. 474; the presence in those regions of persons bearing Asiatic names has been also remarked (Petrie, Nebhepet, Pach, and Haruna, p. 102), without drawing therefrom any proof for the existence of Asiatic colonies in those regions. The presence of Libyans at Abydos seems to be proved by the discovery in that town of the little monument here reproduced, and of many objects in the same style, many of which are in the Louvre or the British Museum.

4 For the part played by the Mazaith, cf. Ebers of Civilization, p. 309, note 3, and supra, pp. 107, 228. There is not discovered among the personal attendants of the descendants of Heron any functionary bearing the title of Chief of the Mazaiths; even those who bore it later on, under the XXIIth dynasty, were always officers from the north of Egypt. It seems almost certain that Thamos always avoided having Libyan troops, and never received a Mazaith settlement.

5 Drawn by Boudier, from the original in the Louvre; cf. HEYER, les Tribus antiques de l'Egypt, the Revue Archéologique, 1890, vol. 1, p. 49, etc.

4 I attribute to the Libyans, whether mercenaries or tribes hovering on the Egyptian frontier, the figures cut everywhere on the rocks, which so one up till now has reproduced or sketched. To these I attribute also the temples which Mr. Flinders has so successfully explored, and in which he finds the remains of a New Race which seems thus to have conquered Egypt after the VIth dynasty; they appear to be of different periods, but all belonging to the Berber horsemen of the desert and the catacombs of the Nile valley.
boomerang, the club, the double-curved bow, and the dart; a fox's skin depends from their belts over their thighs, and an ostrich's feather wavers above their curly hair. They never abandoned this special head-dress and manner of arming themselves, and they can always be recognised on the monuments by the plumes surmounting their forehead. Their settlement on the banks of the Nile and intermarriage with the Egyptians had no deteriorating effect on them; as had been the case with the Shardsam, and they preserved nearly all their national characteristics. If here and there some of these became assimilated with the natives, there was always a constant influx of new elements, full of energy and vigour, who kept the race from becoming enfeebled. The attractions of high pay and the prospect of a free-and-easy life drew them to the service of the feudal lords. The Pharaoh entrusted their chiefs with confidential offices about his person, and placed the royal princes at their head. The position at length attained by these Mushushu was analogous to that of the Cossacks at Babylon, and, indeed, was merely the usual sequel of permitting a foreign militia to surround an Oriental monarch; they became the masters of their sovereigns. Some of their generals went so far as to attempt to use the soldiery to overturn the native dynasty, and place themselves upon the throne; others sought to make and unmakc kings to suit their own taste. The earlier Tanite sovereigns had hoped to strengthen their authority by trusting entirely to the fidelity and gratitude of their guards, the later kings became mere puppets in the hands of mercenaries. At length a Libyan family arose who, while leaving the externals of power in the hands of the native sovereigns, reserved to themselves the actual administration, and reduced the kings to the condition of luxurious dependents enjoyed by the elder branch of the Ramessides under the rule of the high priests of Ammon.

There was at Bubastis, towards the middle or end of the XX\textsuperscript{th} dynasty, a Thoth named Buto.tu.bu.tu. He was undoubtedly a soldier of fortune, without either office or rank, but his descendants prospered and rose to

This drawing is explained above, p. 367. M. Humeny thought it represented an expedition of an Asiatic tribe, but the arms and costume prove that the tribe in question was Bubastis; so I have briefly shown (Tribe analogy an explication, p. 11). Other fragments in the same style are preserved in the Louvre and the British Museum; they all come from Abydos, according to the verbal information given me in 1881 by M. Afferman, the first owner of most of them.

* This design is generally thought to represent a piece of cloth folded in two, and laid flat on the head (H. de Rossel, Inscription historique du cimet. Philom-Philémon, p. 31). Examination of the manuscript proves that it is the ostrich-plume fixed at the back of the head, and laid flat on the hair or wig.

Yet these Cossacks were not to Babylon: refer to what I have said above, p. 117. Without speaking of the Turks who succeeded the Caliphs of Bagdad, I shall mention myself eking, in Damascus, the guards, who formed an important part of the Fatshad Caliphs' body-guard, and whose rebellions filled the long reign of Mustahel-bi'llah I. Qutubshudd, Mémoires historiques of pharaonique and l'Égypte, vol. 1, p. 234; see also 2.
important positions among the Mashausha chiefs: the fourth among these, Sheedhun, by name, married Mitiunékhiit, a princess of the royal line. His son, Namariti, managed to combine with his function of chief of the Mashausha several religious offices, and his grandson, also called Sheedhun, had a still more brilliant career. We learn from the monuments of the latter that, even before he had ascended the throne, he was recognised as king and prince of princes, and had conferred on him the command of all the Libyan troops. Officially he was the chief person in the state after the sovereign, and had the privilege of holding personal intercourse with the gods, Amonus included—a right which belonged exclusively to the Pharaoh and the Theban high priest. The honours which he bestowed upon his dead ancestors were of a remarkable character, and included the institution of a liturgical office in connection with his father Namariti, a work which resembles in its sentiments the devotions of Ramesses II. to the memory of Seti. He succeeded in arranging a marriage between his son Oserkau and a princess of the royal line, the daughter

of Psammihem II., by which alliance he secured the Tanite succession, he obtained as a wife for his second son Apsper, the priestess of Ammon, and thus obtained an indirec influence over the Saul and Nubia. This priestess was probably a daughter or niece of Psamatih II., but we are unacquainted with her name. The princesses continued to play a preponderating part in the transmission of power, and we may assume that the lady in question was one of those whose names have come down to us—Neithmene, Neithharsah, or Ismihenet, II., who brought with her as a dowry the Babastite Set. We are at a loss whether to place Apsper immediately after Psamatih, or between the ephemeral pontificates of a certain Psakkhamant and a certain Nsathihedub. His succession imposed a very onerous duty upon him. There was going through the agonies of famine and misery, and no police supervision in the world could sequestrate the treasures stored up in the tombs of a more prosperous age from the attacks of a famished people. Arrests, trials, and punishments were ineffectual against the violation of the sepulchres, and even the royal mummies—including those placed in the chapel of Amenophis I., by previous high priests—were not exempt from outrage. The remains of the most glorious of the Pharaohs were reclining in this chapel, forming a sort of solemn parliament: here was Saqwunet Tinequi, the last member of the XVIIth dynasty; here also were the first of the XVIIIth—Ahmosis, Amenophis I., and the three of the same Thothmosis, together with the favourites of their respective houses—Nofre, Ahhotpu II., Anhappu, Hunittimun, and Sipta; and, in addition, Ramses I., Seti I., Pismis II., of the XIXth dynasty, Ramses III., and Ramses X. of the XXth dynasty. The "Servants of the True Place," were accustomed to celebrate at the appointed periods the necessary rites established in their honour. Inspectors, appointed for the purpose by the government, determined from time to time the identity of the royal mummies, and examined into the condition of their wrappings and coffins: after each inspection a report, giving the date and the name of the functionary responsible for the examination, was inscribed on the linen or the lid covering the bodies. The most of the mummies had suffered considerably, before they reached the refuge in which they were found. The bodies of

Name of the Nile in British Museum, reproduced in Antibataa-Herakleopolis, Egypt. Antiquities in the British Museum, pl. 104.; Dues of Civilisation, p. 28.; See the inscription in Luxor, Michael, die wichtigen Urbau, pl. s. 87.

The date of the death of Psamatih II. is fixed at the XVth year of his reign, according to the inscription in the pit at Deir el-Bahri (Nouvelles publies de Gourmont, etc., in the Zehlteh, 1876-78, of the Mission francaise de Bey al-Bahri, in the Mission de la Mission franqoise, etc., vol. 1, p. 331). This would be the date of the accession of Apsper, if Apsper succeeded him directly, as I am unable to believe that Psakkhamant was his immediate successor, as Duremey thinks Contribution à la Dake de l'XXe dynastie, and if Nsathihedub succeeded Menahypsir, we must place the accession of Apsper some years later.

As to the "Servants of the True Place," and their functions in the necropolis, see supra, pp. 283, 287.
Sitamen and of the Princess Honttimba had been completely destroyed, and bundles of rags had been substituted for them, so arranged with pieces of wood as to resemble human figures. Ramses I., Ramses II., and Thoutmosis had been deprived of their original shells, and were found in extemporized cases. Hihius's successors, who regarded these sovereigns as their legitimate ancestors, had guarded them with watchful care, but Auput, who did not feel himself so closely related to these old-world Pharaohs, considered, doubtless, this vigilance useless, and determined to locate the mummies in a spot where they would henceforward be secure from all attack. A princess of the family of Manakhperit—Lemkhobit, it would appear—had prepared a tomb for herself in the rocky cliff which bounds the amphitheatre of Deir el-Bahari on the south. The position lent itself readily to concealment. It consisted of a well some 100 feet deep, with a passage running out of it at right angles for a distance of some 200 feet and ending in a low, oblong, roughly cut chamber, lacking both ornament and paintings. Psamatmë II. had been placed within this chamber in the XVIth year of the reign of Pisukhannit II., and several members of his family had been placed beside him not long afterwards. Auput then transferred thither the batch of mummies which, in the chapel of Amenhotep I., had been awaiting a more definite sepulture; the coffins, with what remained of their funerary furniture, were huddled together in disorder. The chamber having been filled up to the roof, the remaining materials, consisting of coffers, boxes of Falsa, Canopic jars, garlands, together with the belongings of priestly mummies, were arranged along the passage: when the place was full, the entrance was walled up, the well filled, and its opening so dexterously concealed that it remained concealed until our own time. The accidental "sounding" of some pillaging Arabs revealed the place as far back as 1872, but it was not until ten years later (1881) that the Pharaohs once more saw the light. They are now enthroned—who can say for how many years longer?—in the chambers of the Ghizeh Museum. Egypt is truly a land of marvels! It has not only, like Assyria and Chaldés, Greece and Italy, preserved for us monuments by which its historic past may be reconstructed, but it has handed on to us the men themselves who set up the monuments and made the history. Her great monarchs are not any longer mere names deprived of appropriate form, and floating colourless and shapeless in the imagination of posterity; they may be weighed, touched, and measured; the capacity of their brains may be gauged; the curve of their noses and the cut of their mouths may be determined; we know if they were bald, or if they suffered from some

1 Maspero, Les Motsak egypkt de Deir el-Bahari, pp. 326, 420, 544.
2 See supra, pp. 312, note 7, and 428.
secret infirmity; and, as we are able to do in the case of our contemporaries, we may publish their portraits taken first hand in the photographic camera.

Sheshonq, by assuming the control of the Tanis priesthood, did not on this account extend his sovereignty over Egypt beyond its southern portion, and that part of Nubia which still depended on it. Ethiopia remained probably outside his jurisdiction, and constituted from this time forward an independent kingdom, under the rule of dynasties which were, or claimed to be, descendants of Helchor. The oasis, on the other hand, and the Libyan provinces in the neighbourhood of the Delta and the sea, rendered obedience to his officers, and furnished him with troops which were recognized as among his best. Sheshonq found himself at the death of Piankhashi II, which took place about 940 B.C., sole master of Egypt, with an effective army and well-replenished treasury at his disposal. What better use could he make of his resources than devote them to reasserting the traditional authority of his country over Syria? The intestine quarrels of the only state of any importance in that region furnished him with an opportunity of which he found it easy to take advantage. Solomon in his eyes was merely a crowned vassal of Egypt, and his appeal to Zedekiah, his marriage with a daughter of the Egyptian royal house, the position he had assigned her over all his other wives, and all that we know of the relations between Jerusalem and Tanis at the time, seem to indicate that the Hebrews themselves acknowledged some sort of dependency upon Egypt. They were not, however, on this account free from suspicion in their zuzam's eyes, who seized upon every pretext that offered itself to cause them embarrassment. Hahal, and Jeroboam afterwards, had been well received at the court of the Pharaoh, and it was with Egyptian subsidies that these two rebels returned to their country, the former in the lifetime of Solomon, and the latter after his death. When Jeroboam saw that he was threatened by Rehoboam, he naturally turned to his old protectors. Sheshonq had two problems before him. Should he confirm by his intervention the division of the kingdom, which had flourished in Khart for now half a century, into two rival states, or should he himself give way to the vulgar appetite for booty, and step in for his own exclusive interest? He invaded Judah four years after the accession, and Jerusalem offered no resistance to him; Rehoboam ransomed his capital by emptying the royal treasuries and temple, rendering up even the golden shields which Solomon was accustomed to assign to his guards when on duty about his person.

The history of the discovery and the details are given in Marcoux, Les Monnies royaux, etc., in the Recueil du Les Monnies de Colon, vol. 2, p. 311, et seq.

3 See what is said about these events on pp. 728, 743, 764, 776, et seq. The annihilation of Egypt, which is not accepted by most historians, is acknowledged by Winer, Gesch. Judent., vol. 1, p. 173.

4 See on this subject pp. 737, 750, 798, et seq.

5 1 Kings viii. 25-32; cp. 2 Chron. xii. 1-10, where an episode, and in the Book of Kings, is introduced. The prophet Shemaiah played an important part in the transaction.
This expedition of the Pharaoh was neither dangerous nor protracted, but it was more than two hundred years since so much riches from countries beyond the isthmus had been brought into Egypt, and the king was consequently regarded by the whole people of the Nile valley as a great hero. Amon took upon himself the task of recording the exploit on the south wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak, not far from the spot where Ramses II had had engraved the incidents of his Syrian campaigns. His architect was sent to Sibillis to procure the necessary sandstone to repair the monument. He depicted upon it his father receiving at the hands of Amon possessions of Jewish prisoners, each one representing a captured city. The list makes a brave show, and is remarkable for the number of the names composing it; in comparison with those of Thutmose III, it is disappointing, and one sees at a glance how inferior, even in its triumph, the Egypt of the XXII\textsuperscript{nd} dynasty was to that of the XVIII\textsuperscript{th}. It is no longer a question of Carchemish, or Qadisha, or Mitanni, or Naharin: Megiddo is the most northern point mentioned, and the localities enumerated bring us more and more to the south—Rabbat, Taanach, Hipparim, Mahanaim.\footnote{See the Sibilla stone published in Chantre's Monuments de l'Egypte, pl. 93; and E. and J. de Neuville, Description hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Egypte, pl. xi, translated into German by Brucke, 3d ed. The tablet, p. 294, and in French by Maj de Mornas, Les Monusques égyptiens, in the Missions de la Mission de Carie, vol. ii, pp. 391-392. It is dated in the XXI\textsuperscript{nd} year of the king. (Champlain assumes erroneously gives the XXII\textsuperscript{nd} year, which permits our assigning the expedition to about two or three years earlier.)} Gibbon,\footnote{Drawn by Boisdr, from a photograph by Botta, in Mancini, Voyage de la Basse-Egypte, vol. ii, pl. 42.}
Belf-heron, Ajalon, Judah, Maon, Migdol, Jernö, Shoqo, and the villages of the Negev. Each locality, in consequence of the cataloguing of various towns, furnished enough material to cover two or even three of the consolidated cartouches in which the names of the conquered peoples are enclosed, and Sheshonq had thus the generous satisfaction of parading before the eyes of his subjects a longer serlege of defeated chiefs than that of his predecessor. His victorious career did not last long: he died shortly after, and his son Osorkon was content to assume at a distance authority over the Kharn. It does not appear, however, that either the Philistines, or Judah, or Israel, or any of the petty tribes which had momentarily gravitated around David and Solomon, were disposed to dispute Osorkon's claim, theoretical rather than real as it was. The sword of the stranger had finished the work which the intestine quarrel of the tribes had begun. If Rehoboam had ever formed the project of welding together the disintegrated elements of Israel, the taking of Jerusalem must have been a death-blow to his hopes. His armaments were empty, his treasury at low ebb, and the prestige purchased by David's victories was effaced by the humiliation of his own defeat. The case with which the edifice so laboriously constructed by the heroes of Benjamin and Judah had been overturned at the first shock, was a proof that the new possessors were in reality admitted to a seat in the King of Egypt. (Dict. de gens d'Israel, vol. II. p. 288, note 2, the same view had been already expressed by Strod (Geschichte der Vorderen Brust, vol. I., p. 254), while, as, for instance, Nicolai, Die Chronik des Gesch, Ernías, p. 78, and Weisbach (Geschichte Ernias, vol. I. p. 109), have thought that Sheshonq had conquered the country for his ally, Shoqo. Shoqo in fact, was following the Egyptian strongholds, by which all countries and towns which paid tribute to the Pharaoh, or who acknowledged his suzerainty, were made to, or might, figure on his triumphal lists whether they had been conquered or not; the possession of Migdol or Maon in the lists does not prove that they were conquered by Shoqo, but that the princes to whom they sent allegiance was a tributary of the King of Egypt. The name of Judah-shamash, which occupies the twenty-ninth place on the list, was for a long time translated as king of Judah, and passed for being a portrait of Rehoboam (Champollion, Lettres de l'Egypte, 2nd ed., pp. 93, 100; Rossellini, Mon. Storici, vol. II. pp. 79, 80; vol. IV. pp. 158, 159; E. de Roux, Mosis scrip- tum opusculum de Fide Israelita, p. 103), which is impossible. The Hebrew name was read by W. Max Muller (The supposed Name of Judah in the List of Shoqo, in the Proceedings of the Bib. Arch. Soc., vol. V, p. 81-86; cf. Lepsius-Boeckh, Monarchia, 2nd ed., pp. 82-86, and Judea and Egypt such Epigraphic, Fasciculus, p. 167) Judah-shamash, the god, the list of the king. It appears to have to be more easy to see in Judh-shamash (Maximi, Traite de Shoqo. 1909, p. 9, 9, and to associate it with Solomon; a town of the tribe of Dan; also with the name Shoqo, a town of the tribe of Dan. The name of Shoqo, 183, 67, 32). The text of the list was published by Champollion, Monographie des cartouches égyptiens, 5th ed., vol. II. p. 176, et seq.; by Rossellini, Mon. Storici, 2nd ed., p. 251; by Lepsius, Gesch. Ernías, vol. II. p. 271, and Gesch. Ägypten, p. 970-982; by Maximi, Mon. scrip. de Fide Israelita, in the Zeitschrift der D. Mys- schen Gesellschaft, vol. VII. p. 229-230; by de Roux, B. Arch. Soc., vol. II. p. 111, and Gesch. Ägypten, p. 970-982; by Maximi, Noms et de Fide Israelita, in the Zeitschrift, 1838, p. 61-70, and Maximi vol. 14, de Shoqo, in the Zeitschrift, vol. XXXI. p. 181-172; and finally by W. Max Muller, Judah and Egypt, pp. 100-175. Champollion identified Shoqo with the Soi, according to a Chronicle, xv, 12, 13, 13, A.; the name of Shoqo, and was defeated by A. (v. Franzes de l'Egypte égyptographique, 2nd ed., 32, 31, 31, p. 277, 924; cf. Ewald, Gesch. des Volker-stand, 2nd ed., 26, 201, p. 470) but this has no historic value, for it is clear that Shoqo never pressed the Egyptians.
of Canaan were as little capable of barring the way to Egypt in her old age, as their predecessors had been when she was in her youth and vigour. The Philistines had had their day; it seemed by no means improbable at one time that they were about to sweep everything before them, from the Negeb to the Orontes, but their peculiar position in the furthest angle of the country, and their numerical weakness, prevented them from continuing their efforts for a prolonged period, and they were at length obliged to renounce in favour of the Hebrews their ambitious pretensions. The latter, who had been making steady progress for some half a century, had been successful where the Philistines had signally failed, and Southern Syria recognised their supremacy for the space of two generations. We can only conjecture what they might have done if a second David had led them into the valleys of the Orontes and Euphrates. They were stronger in numbers than their possible opponents, and their troops, strengthened by mercenary guards, would have perhaps triumphed over the more skilful but fewer warriors which the Amorite and Aramean cities could throw into the field against them. The pacific reign of Solomon, the schem among the tribes, and the Egyptian invasion furnished evidence enough that they also were not destined to realise that solidarity which alone could secure them against the great Oriental empires when the day of attack came.

The two kingdoms were then enjoying an independent existence. Judah, in spite of its smaller numbers and its recent disaster, was not far behind the more extensive Israel in its resources. David, and afterwards Solomon, had so knitted together the various elements of which it was composed—Caleb, Cain, Jerahmeel and the Judaean clans—that they had become a homogeneous mass, grouped around the capital and its splendid sanctuary, and actuated with feelings of profound admiration and strong fidelity for the family which had made them what they were. Misfortune had not chilled their zeal; they rallied round Rehoboam and his race with such a persistency that they were enabled to maintain their ground when their richer rivals had squandered their energies and fallen away before their eyes. Jeroboam, indeed, and his successors had never obtained from their people more than a precarious support and a lukewarm devotion; their authority was continually coming into conflict with a tenacity to disintegration among the tribes, and they could only maintain their rule by the constant employment of force. Jeroboam had collected together from the garrisons scattered throughout the country the nucleus of an army, and had stationed the strongest of these troops in his residence at Tirzah when he did not require them for some expedition against Judah or the Philistines. His successors followed his example in this respect, but this military resource was only an ineffectual
protection against the dangers which beset them. The kings were literally at the mercy of their guards, and their reign was entirely dependent on its loyalty or caprice; any unsuspicious upset might succeed in suborning his commanders, and the stroke of a dagger might at any moment send the sovereign to join his ancestors, while the successful rebel reigned in his stead.\(^3\) The Egyptian troops had no sooner set out on their homeward march, than the two kingdoms began to display their respective characteristics. An implacable and unrelenting war broke out between them. The frontier garrisons of the two nations fought with each other from one year's end to another—carrving off each other's cattle, massacring one another, burning each other's villages and leading their inhabitants into slavery.\(^5\) From time to time, when the situation became intolerable, one of the kings took the field in person, and began operations by attacking such of his enemy's strongholds as gave him the most trouble at the time. Ramah acquired an enviable reputation in the course of these early conflicts: its position gave it command of the roads terminating in Jerusalem, and when it fell into the hands of Israel, the Judæan capital was blockaded on this side. The strife for its possession was always of a terrible character, and the party which succeeded in establishing itself firmly within it was deemed to have obtained a great success.\(^6\) The encounter of the armies did not, however, seem to produce much more serious results than those which followed the continual guerrilla warfare along the frontier: the conqueror had no sooner defeated his enemy than he set to work to pillage the country in the vicinity, and, having accomplished this, returned promptly to his head-quarters with the booty. Rehoboam, who had seen something of the magnificence of Solomon, tried to perpetuate the tradition of it in his court, as far as his slender revenues would permit him. He had eighteen women in his harem, among whom figured some of his aunts and cousins. The titular queen was Mesheal, who was represented as a daughter of Abishah. She was devoted to the oracle, and the king was not behind his father in his tolerance of strange gods; the high places continued to be tolerated by him, as sites of worship, and even Jerusalem was not free from manifestations of such idolatry as was associated with the old Canaanite religion. He reigned seventeen years, and was interred in the

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\(^3\) Among assentive kings of Israel, eight were succeeded, and now replaced by the captains of their guards—Nadab, Elia, Zimri, Jehu, Zachariah, Shallum, Pekahiah, and Pekah.\(^4\)

\(^4\) This is what is meant by the Hebrew historians when they say: "These are the wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life." (1 Kings xxv. 8) (2 Chronicles xxviii. 18), and "between Abijam and Jeroboam." (1 Kings xviii. 7; 2 Chronicles xxiii. 17), and "between Asa and Rehoboam." (1 Kings xvii. 10, 12) all thirty years.\(^5\)

\(^5\) The campaigns of Abish at Mount Zoanam (2 Chronicles, xiii. 3-10), in which the sanitation of the narrative and the geographical details are fully historical (Climatological Survey, La Campagne d'Asphalt under Aschheim, Journal de Polytechnique, in the Annual, 1873, vol. iii., p. 490; in 1878). See also the campaign of Heshbon against Ebalah (1 Kings xvi. 17-22) at 2 Chronicles, xxvi. 1-14, 23.
city of David: Abijam, the eldest son of Manasseh, succeeded him, and followed in his evil ways. Three years later, Asa came to the throne, no opposition being raised to his accession. In Israel matters did not go so smoothly. When Jeroboam, after a reign of twenty-two years, was succeeded by his son Nadab, about the year 905 B.C., it was seen evident that the instinct of loyalty to a particular dynasty had not yet laid any firm hold on the ten tribes. The peace between the Philistines and Israel was quite as unstable as that between Israel and Judah: an endless guerrilla warfare was waged on the frontier, Gilead being made to play much the same part in this region as Ramah had done in regard to Jerusalem. For the moment it was in the hands of the Philistines, and in the second year of his reign Nadab had gone to lay siege to it in force, when he was assassinated in his tent by one of his captains, a certain Baasha, son of Ahijah, of the tribe of Issachar: the soldiers proclaimed the assassin king, and the people found themselves powerless to reject the nominee of the army.

Baasha pressed forward resolutely his campaign against Judah. He seized Ramah and fortified it; and Asa, feeling his incapacity to defend him unaided, sought to secure an ally. Egypt was too much occupied with its own internal dissensions to be able to render any effective help, but a new power, which would profit quite as much as Judah by the overthrow of Israel, was beginning to assert itself in the north. Damascus had, so far, led an obscure and peaceful existence; it had given way before Egypt and Chaldea whenever the Egyptians or Chaldeans had appeared within striking distance, but had refrained from taking any part in the disturbances by which Syria was torn asunder. Having been occupied by the Amorites, it threw its lot in with theirs, keeping, however, sedulously in the background: while the princess of Qedesh waged war against the Pharaohs, undismissed by frequent reverses. Damascus did not scruple to pay tribute to Thutmosis III., and his descendants, or to enter into friendly relations with them. Meanwhile the Amorites had been overthrown, and Qedesh, ruined by the Asiatic invasion, soon became little more than an obscure third-rate town; the Arameans made themselves masters

1 Kings xi. 22-26. 2 Chron. xi. 16-23, where the dates given in addition to those in the Book of Kings seem to be of unproved authenticity.
2 1 Kings xi. 1-3. 3 2 Chron. xii. The Book of Kings describes his mother as Manasseh, the daughter of Abijah; (By the) which would seem to indicate that he was the brother and not the son of Abijah. The necessity of this point is of long standing; for the author of Chronicles makes Abijah's mother the last one place to be Manasseh, daughter of Aatham, though in 2 Kings 18., 2, and in another (25) Manasseh, daughter of Aatham.
3 1 Kings xii. 17-20.
4 1 Kings xii. 17; 46. 2 Chron. xiv. 1.
5 As to the early history of Damascus, cf. p. 146, note 2, supra.
6 47, p. 387, 474, 475, 386-395, supra, for information as to the effects of the Asiatic invasion on Syria. Qedesh is only once mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings xxiv. 6), in which passage its name, corrupted by the Masoretes, is wrongly replaced by the Septuagint text. (Hastings, on the 'Geographia Biblica' (published in 1893) gives the reading as "Sebua." The Vulgate gives "Hodche."—V.)
of Damascus about the XIIth century, and in their hands it continued to be, just as in the preceding epochs, a town without ambition and of no great renown. We have seen how the Aramaeans, alarmed at the sudden rise of the Hebrew dynasty, entered into a coalition against David with the Ammonite leaders: Zoba aspired to the chief place among the nations of Central Syria, but met with reverses, and its defeat delivered over to the Israelites its revolted dependencies in the Hamran and its vicinity, such as Maaseah, Gesher, and even Damascus itself. Their supremacy was, however, short-lived; immediately after the death of David, a chief named Rezin undertook to free them from the yoke of the stranger. He had begun his military career under Hadadezer, King of Zoba: when disaster overtook this leader and released him from his allegiance, he collected an armed force and fought for his own hand. A lucky stroke made him master of Damascus: he proclaimed himself king there, harassed the Israelites with impunity during the reign of Solomon, and took over the possessions of the kings of Zoba in the valleys of the Littany and the Oreon. The rupture between the houses of Israel and Judah removed the only dangerous rival from his path, and Damascus became the paramount power in Southern and Central Palestine. While Judah and Israel wasted their strength in fratricidal struggles, Tabrimmon, and after him Ben-hadad I., gradually extended their territory in Coele-Syria; they conquered Hamath, and the desert valleys which extend north-eastward in the direction of the Euphrates, and forced a number of the Hittite kings to render them homage. They had concluded an alliance with Jeroboam as soon as he established his separate kingdom, and maintained the treaty with his successors, Nadab and Baasha. Asa collected all the gold and silver which was left in the temple of Jerusalem and in his own palaces; and sent it to Ben-hadad, saying, "There is a league between me and thee, between thy father and my father; behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha, King of Israel, that he may depart from me." It would seem that Baasha, in his eagerness to complete the fortifications of Hamath, had left his northern frontier undefended. Ben-hadad accepted the proposal and presents of the King of Judah, invaded Galilee, seized the cities of Ijla, Dan, and Abel-beth-Maachah, which defended the upper reaches of the Jordan and the Littany.

1 Cf. what is said in regard to these events on pp. 701, 702, supra.
2 1 Kings xi. 22-23, for the early history of Damascus, cf. Weisse, Alles-Israelische Geschichte, p. 63, et seq., and Grabmann und Felder, Israel, vol. i, pp. 149, 141, The reading - "Kores" in the Septuagint (1 Kings xi. 25) indicates a form "Keresin," by which it was sought to replace the traditional reading "Baasha." 3 Baasha, whose name the Septuagint writer intercalates before Tabrimmon (1 Kings xi. 18), is probably a corruption of Banias (Wenham, relying on the Septuagint renders Achiv or Arsal (1 Kings xi. 18)), proposed to alter Banias into Hamath, and inserted a versicle "Harash in the place Tabrimmon," only mentioned in 1 Kings xi. 18, where he is said to have been the father of Ben-hadad. As his three predecessors, cf. Weisse, Alles-Israelische Geschichte, pp. 85-87, who, to my mind, judiciously attributes a little too far.
the lowlands of Gerosamoth, and all the land of Naphtali. Baasha hastily withdrew from Judah, made terms with Benhadad, and settled down in Tirzah for the remainder of his reign. 1 Ass demolished Ramah, and built the strongholds of Gebah and Mizpah from its ruins. 2 Benhadad retained the territory he had acquired, and exercised a nominal sovereignty over the two Hebrew kingdoms. Baasha, like Jeroboam, failed to found a lasting dynasty; his son Elah met with the same fate at the hands of Zimri which he himself had meted out to Nadab. As on the former occasion, the army was encamped before Gibbethon, in the country of the Philistines, when the tragedy took place. Elah was at Tirzah, “drinking himself drunk in the house of Araah, which was over the household.” Ziurli, who was “captain of half his chariots,” left his post at the front, and assassinated him as he lay intoxicated. The whole family of Baasha perished in the subsequent confusion, but the assassin only survived by seven days the date of his crime. When the troops whom he had left behind him in camp heard of what had occurred, they refused to accept him as king, and, choosing Omri in his place, marched against Tirzah. Zimri, finding it was impossible either to win them over to his side or defeat them, set fire to the palace, and perished in the flames. His death did not, however, restore peace to Israel; while one-half of the tribes approved the choice of the army, the other flocked to the standard of Tibni, son of Ginath. War raged between the two factions for four years, and was only ended by the death—whether natural or violent we do not know—of Tibni and his brother Joram. 3 Two dynasties had thus arisen in Israel, and had been swept away by revolutionary outbursts, while at Jerusalem the descendants of David followed one another in unbroken succession. Ass outlived Nadab by eleven years, and we hear nothing of his relations with the neighbouring states during the latter part of his reign. We are merely told that his zeal in the service of the Lord was greater than had been shown by any of his predecessors. He threw down the idols, expelled their priests, and persecuted all those who practised the ancient religions. His grandmother Manasah “had made an abominable image for an Asherah;” he cut it down, and burnt it in the valley of the Kidron, and deposed her from the supremacy in the royal household which she had held for three generations. He is, therefore, the first of the kings to receive favourable mention from the orthodox chroniclers of later times, and it is stated that he “did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father.” 1

1 1 Kings xv. 22, xvi. 4.
2 1 Kings xvi. 10-19; ch. xvi. 23-25.
3 1 Kings xvi. 8-22. Joram is not mentioned in the Massoretic text, but his name appears in the Septuagint.
4 1 Kings xx. 31; ch. xiv. 2. It is admitted, however, though without any blame being attached to him, that “the high places were not taken away.” (1 Kings xx. 31; ch. xiv. 2.)
Omri proved a warlike monarch, and his reign, though not a long one, was signalized by a decisive crisis in the fortunes of Israel. The northern tribes had, so far, possessed no settled capital, Shechem, Peniel, and Tirzah having served in turn as residences for the successors of Jeroboam and Baasha. Latterly Tirzah had been accorded a preference over its rivals; but Zimri had burnt the castle there, and the ease with which it had been taken and retaken was not calculated to reassure the head of the new dynasty. Omri turned his attention to a site lying a little to the north-west of Shechem and Mount Ebal, and at that time partly covered by the hamlet of Shomeron or Shimron—our modern Samaria. His choice was a wise and judicious one, as the rapid development of the city soon proved. It lay on the brow of a rounded hill, which rote in the centre of a wide and deep depression, and was connected by a narrow ridge with the surrounding mountains. The valley round it is fertile and well watered, and the mountains are cultivated up to their summits; throughout the whole of Ephraim it would have been difficult to find a site which could compare with it in strength or attractiveness. Omri surrounded his city with substantial ramparts; he built a palace for himself, and a temple in which was enthroned a golden calf similar to those at Dan and Bethel. A population drawn from other nations besides the Israelites flocked into this well-defended stronghold, and Samaria soon came to be for Israel what Jerusalem already was for Judah, an almost impregnable fortress, in which the sovereign entrenched himself, and round which the nation could rally in times of danger. His contemporaries fully realized the importance of this move on Omri’s part; his name became inseparably connected in their minds with that of Israel. Samaria and the house of Joseph were for them, henceforth, the house of Omri, Bit-Omri, and the name still clung to them long after Omri had died and his family had become extinct. He gained the supremacy over Judah, and forced several of the south-western provinces, which had been in a

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1 The Hebrew writer gives the length of his reign as twelve years (1 Kings xvi. 22). Several historians consider this period too brief, and wish to extend it to twenty-four years (Max Bruckner, Geschichte des Alten Orients, 3rd edn., vol. ii. p. 442, et seq.; Harkavy, Geschichte der Völker des Alten Orients, vol. iii. p. 221). I cannot, however, see that there is any very good reason for doubting the approximate accuracy of the Bible figures.

2 According to the tradition preserved in 1 Kings xxii. 41, the name of the city comes from Shemer, the son from whom Ahaziah bought the site. One method of explaining this tradition will be found in Wimler, Der Name des Stadts Samaria und seine Herkunft, in the Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1888, pp. 162-175.


4 John xvi. 14, where the site of Samaria is mentioned as it is in the life of the god of Dan and the city of Boozeha; see, as Wellhausen points out, only, to the image of the calf worshipped at Samaria.

5 Orelli, Histoire des Empires d’Assyrie et de Chaldée, pp. 105, 106; Sourkrion, Die Schriften des Propheten und des Altertestaments, 2nd edn., pp. 120, 121. Shahmuater IV. even goes so far as to demolish Je vehemently to exterminate the family of Omri, as James told Alexander, “John, son of Omri.”
state of independence since the days of Solomon, to acknowledge his rule; he conquered the country of Medeba, vanquished Ramoshgal, King of Moab, and imposed on him a heavy tribute in sheep and wool. Against Benhadad in the north-west he was less fortunate. He was forced to surrender to him several of the cities of Gilead—among others Ramoth-gilead, which commanded the fords over the Jabbok and Jordan. He even set apart a special quarter in Samaria for the natives of Damascus, where they could ply their trades and worship their gods without interference. It was a kind of semi-vassalage, from

which he was powerless to free himself unaided; he realised this, and looked for help from without; he asked and obtained the hand of Jezabel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of the Sidomans, for Ahab, his heir. Hiram I., the friend of David, had carried the greatness of Tyre to its highest point; after his death, the same spirit of discord which divided the Hebrews made its appearance in Phoenicia. The royal power was not easily maintained over this race of artisans and sailors: Baalbazar, son of Hiram, reigned for six years, and his successor, Abdastart, was killed in a riot after a still briefer enjoyment of power. We know how strong was the influence exercised by foster-mothers in the great families of the East; the four sons of Abdastart’s nurse assassinated their foster-brother, and the eldest of them usurped his crown. Supported by the motley crowd of slaves and adventurers which filled the harbours of Phoenicia, they managed to cling to power for twelve years. Their stupid and brutal methods of government produced most disastrous results. A section of the aristocracy emigrated to the colonies across the sea and incited them to rebellion; had this

1 Inscription of Melek, II. 3-7; cf. 2 Kings iii. 4.
2 1 Kings xx. 34. No names are given in the text, but external evidence proves that they were those of Pera, and that Ramots-gilead was one of them.
3 Drawn by Baudier, from photograph No. 26 of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
4 Cf. what is said about Hiram I. and his career on pp. 791-790, 790, supra.
state of things lasted for any time, the Tyrian empire would have been doomed. A revolution led to the removal of the usurper and the restoration of the former dynasty, but did not bring back to the unfortunate city the tranquillity which it sorely needed. The three surviving sons of Baalzeb, Mochtmaart, Astrymn, and Phelles followed one another on the throne in rapid succession, the last named perishing by the hand of his cousin Ethbaal, after a reign of eight months. So far, the Israelites had not attempted to take advantage of these dissensions, but there was always the danger lest one of their kings, less absorbed than his predecessors in the struggle with Judah, might be tempted by the wealth of Phoenicia to lay hands on it. Ethbaal, therefore, eagerly accepted the means of avert ing this danger by an alliance with the new dynasty offered to him by Omri. The presence of a Phoenician princess at Samaria seems to have had a favourable effect on the city and its inhabitants. The tribes of Northern and Central Palestine had, so far, resisted the march of material civilization which, since the days of Solomon, had encroached Judah along with it; they adhered, as a matter of principle, to the rude and simple customs of their ancestors. Jezebel, who from her cradle had been accustomed to all the luxuries and refinements of the Phoenician court, was by no means prepared to dispense with them in her adopted country. By her contact with her, the Israelites—at any rate, the upper and middle classes of them—acquired a certain degree of polish: the royal office assumed a more dignified exterior, and approached more nearly the splendours of the other Syrian monarchies, such as those of Damascus, Hamath, Sidon, Tyre, and even Judah.

Unfortunately, the effect of this material progress was marred by a religious difficulty. Jezebel had been brought up by her father, the high priest of the Sidonian Astario, as a rigid believer in his faith, and she begged Ahab to permit her to celebrate openly the worship of her national deities. Ere long the Tyrian Baal was installed at Samaria with his sacrificial, and his votaries had their temples and sacred groves to worship in: their priests and prophets sat at the king's table. Ahab did not reject the God of his ancestors in order to...
embraces the religion of his wife—a reproach which was afterwards laid to his door; he remained faithful to Him, and gave the children whom he had by Jezebel names compounded with that of Jahveh, such as Ahaziah, Joram, and Athaliah. This was not the first instance of such tolerance in the history of the Israelites: Solomon had granted a similar liberty of conscience to all his foreign wives; and neither Rehoboam nor Abijam had opposed Maacah in her devotion to the Canaanitish idols. But the times were changing, and the altar of Baal could no longer be placed side by side with that of Jahveh without arousing fierce anger and inextirpable hatred. Scores a hundred years had elapsed since the rupture between the tribes, and already one-half of the people were unable to understand how place could be found in the breast of a true Israelite for any other god but Jahveh: Jahveh alone was Lord, for none of the deities worshipped by foreign races under human or animal shapes could compare with Him in might and holiness. From this to the repudiation of all those practices associated with exotic deities, such as the use of idols of wood or metal, the amassing of isolated bouilers or circles of rocks, the offering up of prisoners or of the firstborn, was but a step: Asa had already furnished an example of rigid devotion in Judah, and there were many in Israel who shared his views and desired to imitate him. The opposition to what was regarded as apostasy on the part of the king did not come from the official priesthood, the sanctuaries at Dan, at Bethel, at Shiloh, and at Gilgal were prosperous in spite of Jezebel, and this was enough for them. But the influence of the prophets had increased marvellously since the rupture between the kingdoms, and at the very beginning of his reign Ahab was wise enough to outrage their sense of justice by one of his violent acts: in a transport of rage he had slain a certain Naboth, who had refused to let him have his vineyard in order that he might enlarge the grounds of the palace he was building for himself at Jezreel? The prophets, as in former times, were divided into schools, the head of each being called its father, the members bearing the title of “the sons of the prophets;” they dwelt in a sort of monastery, each having his own cell, where they ate together, performed their devotional exercises or assembled to listen to the exhortations of their chief prophets, nor did their

* 1 Kings vii. 31-32. Jezebel and Jezabel mean respectively “whom Jahveh sustains,” and “Jahveh is exalted.” Ahaziah may possibly be derived from a Canaanitish term, dibbath or dibbett, like which the name of Jahveh does not enter (Basset, Histoire du peuple d’Israel, vol. ii. p. 261, note 25).
* Cf. what is said in regard to the Canaanitish customs of Maacah in 1 Kings vi. 25, 26, supra.
* 1 Kings xi. 15, where the latter tradition throws slight on the claim of Jezebel, whereas in the former account, in 2 Kings ii. 25, 26, it is laid exclusively on Ahab.
* Cf. what is said in regard to the prophets on pp. 303, 304, supra.
* In 1 Sam. xiv. 26 a passage which seems to come by a later interpolation mentions a “complicity of the prophets, prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them.” Cf. 2 Kings iv. 1-7, where the narrative indicates a congregation of prophets grouped round Elias.
sacred office prevent them from marrying. As a rule, they settled near one of the temples, and lived there on excellent terms with the members of the regular priesthood. Accompanied by musical instruments, they chanted the songs in which the poets of other days extolled the mighty deeds of Jahveh, and obtained from this source the incidents of the semi-religious accounts which they narrated concerning the early history of the people; or, when the spirit moved them, they went about through the land prophesying, either singly, or accompanied by a disciple, or in bands. The people thronged round them to listen to their hymns or their stories of the heroic age: the great ones of the land, even kings themselves, received visits from them, and endured their reproaches or exhortations with mingled feelings of awe and terror. A few of the prophets took the part of Ahab and Jezebel; but the majority declared against them, and of these, the most conspicuous, by his forebodings of speech and action, was Elijah. We do not know of what race or family he came, nor even what he was; the incidents of his life which have come down to us seem to be wrapped in a vague legendary grandeur. He appears before Ahab and tells him that for years to come no rain or dew shall fall on the earth save by his command, and then takes flight into the desert in order to escape the king's anger. He is there ministered unto by ravens, which bring him bread and meat every night and morning. When the spring from which he drinks dries up, he goes to the house of a widow at Zarephath, in the country of Sidon, and there he lives with his hostess for twelve months on a barrel of meal and a cruse of oil which never fail. The widow's son dies suddenly; he prays to Jahveh and restores him to life; then, still guided by an inspiration from above, he again presents himself before the king. Ahab receives him without resentment, assembles the prophets of Baal, brings them face to face with Elijah on the top of Mount Carmel, and orders them to put an end to the drought by which his kingdom is wasted. The Phoenicians erect an altar and call upon their Baalim with loud cries, and gash their arms and bodies with knives, yet cannot bring about the miracle expected of them. Elijah, after mocking at their cries and contortions, at last addresses a prayer to Jahveh, and fire comes

1 2 Kings ix. 1-7, where an account is given of the miracle worked by Elijah on behalf of "a woman of the city of Zarephath an altar and a call upon their Baalim with loud cries, and gash their arms and bodies with knives, yet cannot bring about the miracle expected of them. Elijah, after mocking at their cries and contortions, at last addresses a prayer to Jahveh, and fire comes

2 1 Sam. 2, 3, where a band of prophets is mentioned "beneath the high place with a sistrum, and a shield, and a pipe, and a harp," prophesying: "c. ver. 10. In 2 Kings i. 3-5, bands of the "ministers of the prophets" come out from Bethel and Jericho to seek Elijah if he knows the fate which awaits Ahab on that very day.

3 Of the mysterious prophet who encourages Ahab, in the name of Jahveh, to surprise the camp of Benhadad before Samaria (1 Kings xx. 13-15, 22-25, 38), and the prophet Zebekiah, who gives notice contrary to that of Ahab to his fellow-prophet Micaiah in the counsel of war held by Ahab with Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, before the attack on Ramoth-gilead (1 Kings xxii. 14, 15, 24).

4 The original inscription, "Tobit," which are, that after his name (1 Kings xvii. 3, xxii. 17), is due to an error on the part of the copyist.
down from heaven and consumes the sacrifice in a moment; the people, convinced by the miracle, fall upon the idolaters and massacre them, and the rain shortly afterwards falls in torrents. After this triumph he is said to have fled once more for safety to the desert, and there on Horeb to have had a divine vision. * And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle; and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What dost thou here, Elijah? * God then commanded him to anoint Hazael as King of Syria, and Jehu, son of Nimshi, as King over Israel, and Eliada, son of Shaphat, as prophet in his stead, * and him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay. * The sacred writings go on to tell us that the prophet who had held such close converse with the Deity was exempt from the ordinary laws of humanity, and was carried to heaven in a chariot of fire. The account that has come down to us shows the impression of awe left by Elijah on the spirit of his age. 

Ahab was one of the most warlike among the warrior-kings of Israel. He ruled Moab with a strong hand, kept Judah in subjection, and in his conflict with Damascus experienced alternately victory and honourable defeat. Hadad'diri (Hadadezer), of whom the Hebrew historians make a second Benhadad, had succeeded the conqueror of Baasha. * The account of his campaigns in the Hebrew records has only reached us in a seemingly condensed and distorted condition. Israel, strengthened by the exploits of Omri, must have offered him a strenuous resistance, but we know nothing of the causes, nor of the opening scenes of the drama. When the curtain is lifted, the preliminary conflict is
over, and the Israelites, closely besieged in Samaria, have no alternative before them but unconditional surrender. This was the first serious attack the city had sustained, and its resistance spoke well for the military foresight of its founder. In Benhadad's train were thirty-two kings, and horses and chariots innumerable, while his adversary could only oppose to them seven thousand men. Ahab was willing to treat, but the conditions proposed were so outrageous that he broke off the negotiations. We do not know how long the blockade had lasted, when one day the garrison made a sortie in full daylight, and fell upon the Syrian camp; the enemy were panic-stricken, and Benhadad with difficulty escaped on horseback with a handful of men. He resumed hostilities in the following year, but instead of engaging the enemy in the hill-country of Ephraim, where his superior numbers brought him an advantage, he deployed his lines on the plain of Jezreel, near the town of Aphek. His servants had counselled him to change his tactics: "The God of the Hebrews is a God of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they." The advice, however, proved futile, for he sustained on the open plain a still more severe defeat than he had met with in the mountains, and the Hebrew historians affirm that he was taken prisoner during the pursuit. The power of Damascus was still formidable, and the captivity of its king had done little to bring the war to an end; Ahab, therefore, did not press his advantage, but received the Syrian monarch "as a brother," and set him at liberty after concluding with him an offensive and defensive alliance. Israel at this time recovered possession of some of the cities which had been lost under Baasha and Omri, and the Israelites once more enjoyed the right to occupy a particular quarter of Damascus. According to the Hebrew account, this was the retaliation they took for their previous humiliations. 

It is further stated, in relation to this event, that a certain man of the sons of the prophets, speaking by the word of the Lord, bore one of his companions smite him. Having received a wound, he disguised himself with a bandage over his eyes, and placed himself in the king's path, "and as the king passed by, he cried onto the king; and he said, Thy servant went out into the midst of the battle; and, behold, a man turned aside, and brought a man unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life, or else thou shalt pay a talent of silver. And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone. And the King of Israel said unto him, So shall thy judgment be; thyself hast decided it. Then he hasted, and took the headband away from his eyes, and the King of Israel discerned him that he was one of the prophets. And he said unto

1 Kings 22. 1-23.
him; Thus said the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand the man whom I had devoted to destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people. And the King of Israel went to his home heavy and displeased, and came to Samaria."

This story was in accordance with the popular feeling, and Ahab certainly ought not to have paused till he had exterminated his enemy, could he have done so; but was this actually in his power?

We have no reason to contest the leading facts in this account, or to doubt that Benhadad suffered some reverses before Samaria; but we may perhaps ask whether the check was as serious as we are led to believe, and whether imagination and national vanity did not exaggerate its extent and results. The fortresses of Pera which, according to the treaty, ought to have been restored to Israel remained in the hands of the people of Damascus, and the loss of Ramoth-gilead continued to be a source of vexation to such of the tribes of Gad and Benjamin as followed the fortunes of the house of Omri: yet these places formed the most important part of Benhadad’s dominion. The sole effect of Ahab’s success was to procure for him more lenient treatment; he lost no territory, and perhaps regained a few towns, but he had to sign conditions of peace which made him an acknowledged vassal to the King of Syria. Damascus still remained the foremost state of Syria, and, if we rightly interpret the scanty information we possess, seemed in a fair way to bring about that unification of the country which neither Hittites, Philistines, nor Hebrews had been able to effect. Situated nearly equidistant from Baphia and Carthumish, on the outskirts of the cultivated region, the city was protected in the rear by the desert, which secured it from invasion on the east and north-east; the dusty plains of the Hauran protected it on the south, and the wooded cliffs of Anti-Lebanon on the west and north-west. It was entrenched within these natural barriers as in a fortress, whence the garrison was able to rally forth at will to attack in force one or other of the surrounding nations: if the city were victorious, its central position made it easy for its rulers to keep watch over and preserve what they had won; if it suffered defeat, the surrounding mountains and deserts formed natural lines of fortification easy to defend against the pursuing foe, but very difficult for the latter to force, and the

1 Kings xx. 20-22.  
2 Kings xxii. 4: "And the King of Israel said unto his servants, Know ye that Ramoth-gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the King of Syria?"  
3 No document as yet proves directly that Ahab was slain by Benhadad II. The fact seems to follow nearly enough from the account of the battle of Karkar against Shalmaneser II, where the embalming of Ahab of Israel figures among those of the kings who fought for Benhadad II, against the Assyrians (1 Samuel or the Monuments of Karkar, vol. ii. P. 91, 92). I shall have occasion later on to refer to this subject.
delay presented by this obstacle gave the inhabitants time to organise their reserves and bring fresh troops into the field. The kings of Damascus at the outset brought under their sovereignty the Aramean principalities—Argob, Maacah, and Gezer, by which they controlled the Haurán, and Zobah, which secured to them Coele-Syria from Lake Huleh to the Bahr el-Kades. They had taken Upper Galilee from the Hebrews, and subsequently Poma, as far as the Jabbok, and held in check Israel and the smaller states, Aramon and Moab, which followed in its wake. They exacted tribute from Hamath, the Phoenician Arvad, the lower valley of the Orontes, and from a portion of the Hittites, and demanded contingents from their princes in time of war. Their power was still in its infancy, and its elements were not firmly welded together, but the surrounding peoples were in such a state of weakness and disunion that they might be left out of account as formidable enemies. The only danger that menaced the rising kingdom was the possibility that the two ancient warlike nations, Egypt and Assyria, might shake off their torpor, and reappearing on the scene of their former prowess might attack her before she had consolidated her power by the annexation of Naharaim.
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