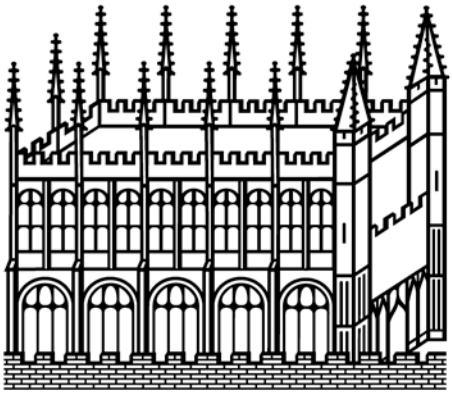


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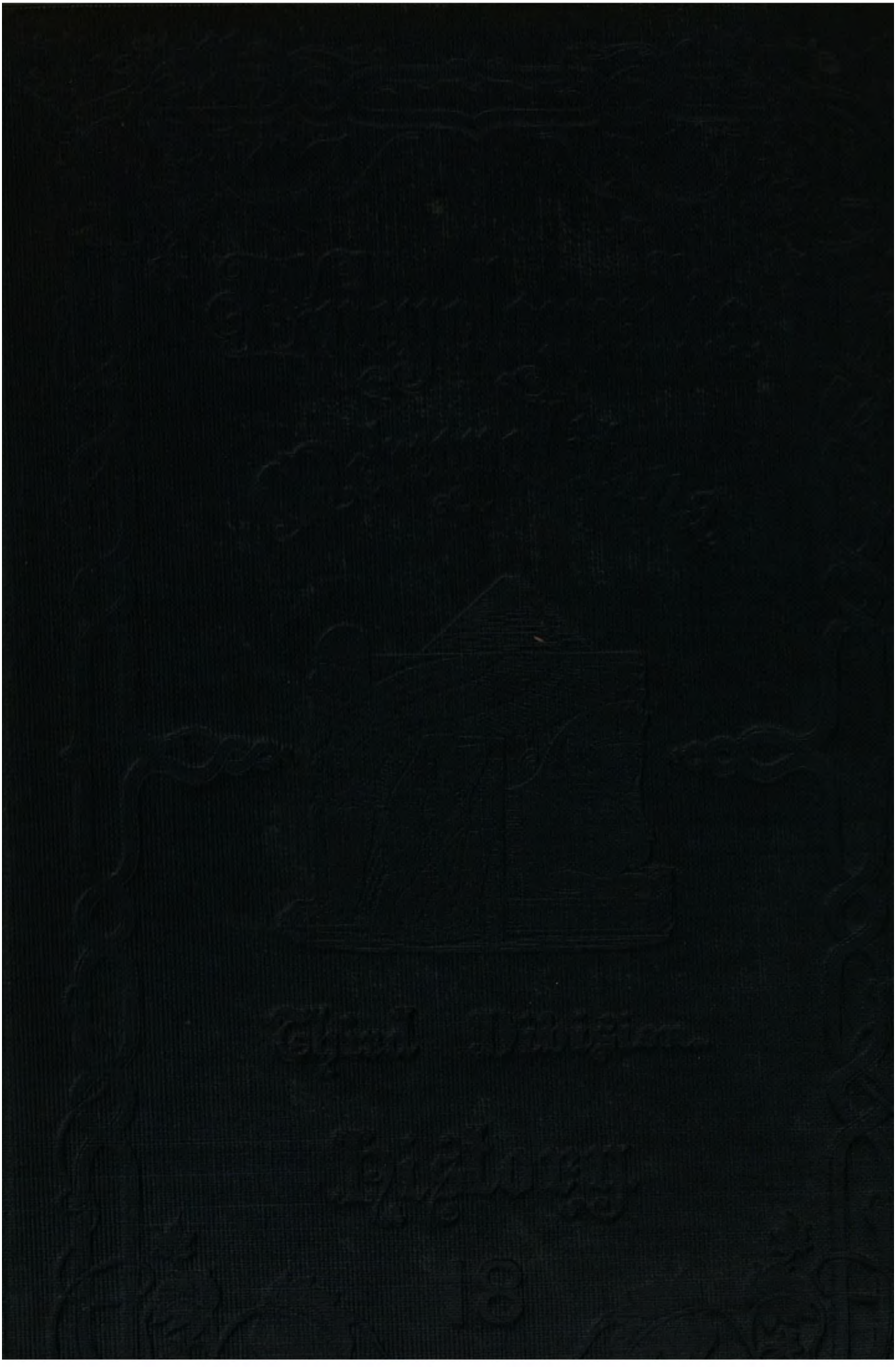
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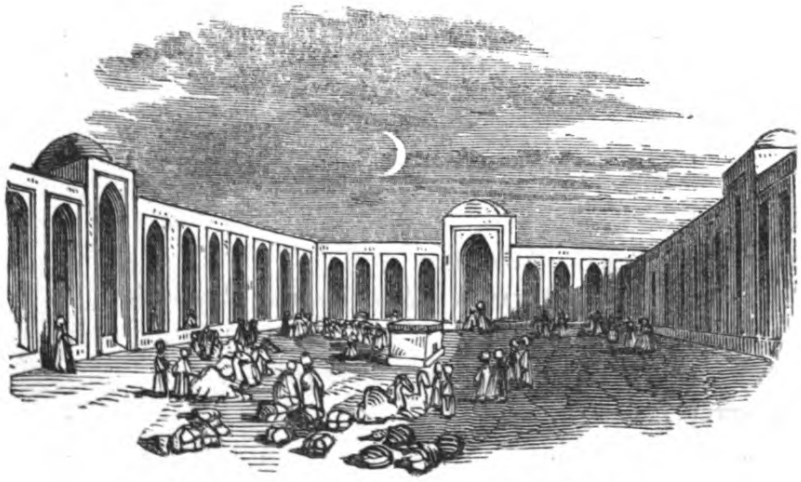
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[Eastern Inn or Caravansary —*Sir R. K. Porter.*]

EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY.

Origin of Nations.

THE ethnographical chart contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis, presents a broad and interesting field of investigation. It carries us back to a dim and remote era—when colonization was rapid and extensive, and the princes of successive bands of emigrants gave their names to the countries which they seized, occupied, and divided among their followers. This ancient record has not the aspect of a legend which has risen no one can tell how, and received amplification and adornment in the course of ages. It is neither a confused nor an unintelligible statement. Its sobriety vouches for its accuracy. As its genealogy is free from extravagance, and as it presents facts without the music and fiction of poetry, it must not be confounded with Grecian and oriental myth, which is so shadowy, contradictory, and baseless—a region of grotesque and cloudy phantoms, where Phylarchs are exalted into demigods, born of Nymph or Nereid, and claiming some Stream or River for their sire. The founders of nations appear in such fables as giants of superhuman form—or wandering and reckless outcasts and adventurers, exhibiting in their nature a confused mixture of divine and human attributes, and the very names of Ouranos, Okeanos, Kronos, and Gaea, the occupants of this illusory Cloud-land, prove their legendary character. In this chapter there is, on the other hand, nothing that lifts itself above vulgar humanity, nothing that might not, nothing that did not happen in those distant and primitive epochs. The world must have been peopled by tribes that gave themselves and their respective regions those several names which they have borne for so many ages; and what certainly did thus occur, may have taken place in the method sketched in these Mosaic annals. No other account is more likely, or presents fewer difficulties; and if we credit the inspiration of the writer of it, we shall not only receive it as authentic, but be grateful for the information which it contains. Modern ethnology does not contradict it. Many of the

proper names occurring on this roll, remain unchanged as the appellation of races and kingdoms. Others are found in the plural or dual number, proving that they bear a personal and national reference,[1] and a third class have that peculiar termination, which in Hebrew usage signifies a sept or tribe.[2]

Early Tradition.

The general truths contained in this biblical statement have woven themselves into the traditions of all the eastern nations. Arabia, India, Persia, and China are replete with them. Their people believe in an early tripartite occupation of the world,—the sons of Ham passing southward from the region of the Caucasus to the distant extremities of western Asia and into burning Africa—those of Shem lingering about the Euphrates and the central portions of the Asiatic continent—while the race of Japhet colonized the northern plains of Asia, marched over to the Grecian Isles, and thence to the European territory. Much exists in features, colour, history, and language corroborative of this first and brief fragment of geography and statistics. "By these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood"—"after their families, after their tongues, in their lands."[3] We cannot identify every portion of the chart, but we are at no loss in recognizing all its leading divisions. The following table is based on the researches of Bochart, Rosenmüller, Michaelis, Tuch, Gesenius, Pott, von Bohlen, Winer, and other scholars, and its conclusions are strengthened by the recent deductions of comparative philology, and the advanced results of physiological investigation and discovery.

JAPHETHITES.

Ethnographical Chart.

I. GOMER: Cimmerians north of the Black Sea. Κιμμέριοι, Diodorus Siculus, v. 32. Homer Odyss. xi. 14. Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος, Herodot. iv. 100. By a common transposition of letters, the name may be realized in the term Crimea. Tuch's Kommentar über die Genesis 205. To the same source may be traced the Cimbri of ancient Jutland, and the Celtic nations, who called themselves by the cognate term Kymr. Related to them are,

1. *Ashkenaz:* perhaps between Armenia and the Black Sea. The Hebrew term scarcely disguised may be found in the former name of the Black Sea, ἄξεινος, or, as Pliny says, Pontus Euxinus, quondam Axenus, iv. 24.
2. *Riphath:* the inhabitants of the Riphæan Mountains. Ῥιπαῖα ὀρη, Strabo vii. 341. "Amnem ex Riphæis montibus defluentem," Pliny iv. 24. The name is somewhat laxly used to signify a chain of northern mountains,—

> Mundus ut ad Scythiam, Rhipaeasque arduus arces
> Consurgit.—*Virgil Georg.* i. 240.

[1] Gen. x. 13. [2] Gen. x. 17. [3] Gen. x. 31, 32.

3. *Togarmah:* Armenia. Ezekiel xxxviii. 6. The Armenians call themselves the "House of Thorgom."

II. MAGOG: Caucasus and vicinity—Scythians or the Mongolian tribes, Ezek. xxxviii. 2. "Gog the prince of Magog." In the word Gog, pronounced gutturally, we have the first syllable of *Cau*casus.

III. MADAI: the Medes. Μῆδοι.

IV. JAVAN or IŌN: Ionians or Greeks. Ἰάονες, Hom. Il. xiii. 685. In Sanscrit, Javana is the name of the far west, or Greece. Allied to them are,

1. *Elishah:* Ἑλλὰς—Elis or Hellas—the Greeks, dwelling on the west coast of the Peloponnesus.
2. *Tarshish:* Tartessus, in the south and east of Spain. Ταρτησσός the region where the Phœnicians first planted colonies—Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἡ Ταρτὴσσος, Arrian ii. 16.
3. *Kittim:* the inhabitants of Cyprus, and other Greek islands. Citiaci, Cicero de finibus, κίτιον πόλις in Cyprus, Ptolem. v. 14. אִישׁ כִּתִּי is explained by Κιτιεύς—Böckh. Corp. Inscrip. i. 523.
4. *Dodanim:* Dodonæi, in Epirus.

V. TUBAL: the Tibareni, in Pontus. Τιβαρηνοί, Strabo ii. 129.

VI. MESHECH: the Moschi, in the Moschian Mountains, between Iberia, Armenia, and Colchis. Herod vii. 78.—Μόσχους μέν καὶ Τιβαρηνούς.

VII. TIRAS: Θρᾴξ, the Thracians, or perhaps the dwellers on the river Tiras, the Dniester. The names are identical, the Oriental Samech being replaced by χ in the Greek alphabet. Bocharti Phaleg, 151.

HAMITES.

I. CUSH: the Æthiopians and Southern Arabians. Luther renders this term by the expressive German word Mohrenland—land of Moors—Negroland. It is plain that in Jeremiah xiii. 23, a Cushite means a man of colour. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"—Can the Negro change his colour? Ethiopians, says Josephus, are by all the Asiatics named Χουσαῖοι. That the Cushites were partly in Arabia as well as Africa, and that the Ethiopia of Scripture is used with this wide significance, appears from the following table of the descendants of Cush, and is verified also by Herodotus, who speaks of Ethiopians from Asia and from Libya—vii. 70. Their descendants were, Race of Ham.

1. *Nimrod*, the first king of Shinar, *i.e.* Babylon and Mesopotamia. In Genesis x. 8, Nimrod is mentioned as a son of Cush; but the mode of allusion is not in the usual form. It seems to imply that Nimrod was audacious and adventurous—that he refused to follow the rest of his race in their southward progress, but went eastward to found a kingdom for himself; and at Babel to establish a central monarchy, in order to frustrate the divine command to disperse and populate the world. The design of the builders of Babel is expressed in these words—"lest we be scattered abroad on the face of the whole earth." Nimrod resisted the purpose of heaven, but his efforts were defeated by the special intervention of the Almighty Legislator.
2. *Seba:* Meröe. It is joined with Cush and Egypt in Isaiah xliii. 3.
3. *Havilah:* Chaulotæi, in Southern Arabia, or Αὐαλείτης on the Persian Gulf, referred to by Ptol. iv. 7.
4. *Sabta:* Sabota, in Southern Arabia. Pliny, vi. 32.
5. *Raamah:* Rhegma, in the south-east of Arabia—Ῥεγμα, Ptol. vi. 7.
   a. *Sheba*, probably a tribe in South Arabia.
   b. *Dedan:* Daden, an island in the Persian Gulf.
6. *Sabtecha*, on the east coast of Æthiopia.

II. MIZRAIM: the Egyptians. The name is yet preserved in the word Misr, the city of Cairo. Allied by blood and descent to them were,

1. *Ludim*, } African tribes on the frontiers of Egypt and Barbary.
2. *Anamim.* } LUDIM is associated with CUSH and PHUT in Jeremiah xlvi. 9, but the word is in our English version improperly rendered "Lydians." Pliny speaks of "flumen Laud" in Tingitania, v. 2.
3. *Lehabim* or *Lubim:* the Libyans.
4. *Naphtuhim:* the inhabitants of the province of Nephtys.
5. *Pathrusim:* the inhabitants of the Egyptian nome of Pathures, Παθούρης—Pathros.
6. *Casluhim:* the term cannot refer, as is ordinarily supposed, to the Colchians of Asia Minor, as, according to tradition, they were a military colony planted by the Pharaoh whom the Greek authors term Sesostris—Herodotus ii. 104. According to some Egyptologers, the Hebrew word KSLHim, would, in the phonetic Hieroglyphics, read as Shillou-kah, the land of the Shilloughs—dwellers among the Oases and in portion of Barbary. The Berbers, says an eastern author, descend from Kesloudim, son of Mizraim. Gliddon's Otia Ægyptiaca, p. 127. Herodotus ii. 104. Their offspring are noted as,
   a. *Philistim*, the Philistines.
   b. *Caphtorim*, the Cretans.

III. PHUT: Mauritania. The name is now softened, as in so many of these southern tongues, into Fez. CUSH and PHUT stand in Jeremiah xlvi. 9 as a general term for Africa, or at least such portions of it as are not comprehended in Egypt. Pliny v. 1, where he says one of the rivers was named "Phaut."

IV. CANAAN, gave his name to the country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan. His colonies were,

1. The *Sidonians*, on the northern borders of Canaan.
2. The *Hittites* in the country of Hebron, south of Jerusalem.
3. The *Jebusites*, in and around Jerusalem.
4. The *Amorites* on the east and west side of the Dead Sea.
5. The *Girgasites* in the middle of the country.
6. The *Hivites* on the river Hermon and in the valleys of Lebanon.
7. The *Arkites*, at the foot of Lebanon.
8. The *Sinites*, in the district of Lebanon.
9. The *Arvadites*, on the Phœnician island of Aradus and the opposite coast—Ἀράδιοι.
10. The *Zemarites*, the inhabitants of the Phœnician town of Simyra. Strabo xvi.
11. The *Hamathites*, the inhabitants of the Syrian town of Epiphania on the Orontes, the eastern limit of Northern Palestine.

SHEMITES.

I. ELAM: the inhabitants of the province of Elymais—Persia.

II. ASSHUR: the Assyrians.

III. ARPHAXAD: the inhabitants of the northern part of Assyria, Ἀρραπαχῖτις, Ptolem. vi. 1. One of his descendants was

Salah, from whom sprung

Eber, Progenitor of the Hebrews, and from him

a. Peleg, and

b. Joktan, called by the Arabians *Katchtan*, ancestor of the following Arab tribes:

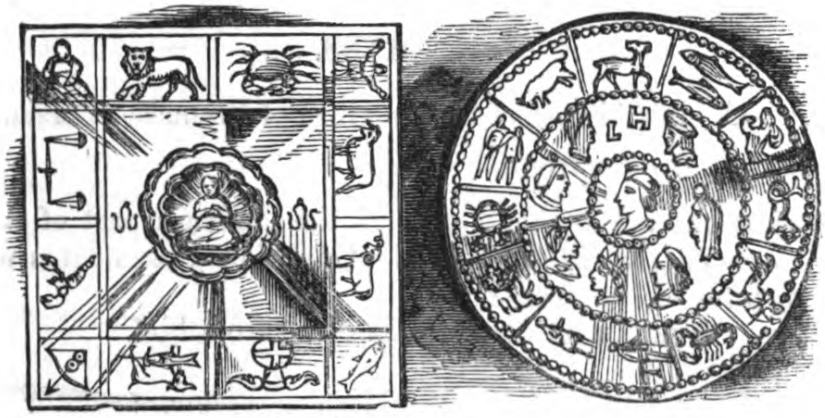
1. *Almodad*—middle of the province of Yemen. Ptolem. vi. 7.
2. *Sheleph*, the Selapenes in Nedj or Tehama in Southern Arabia,—Σαλαπηνοί.
3. *Hazarmaveth*, the inhabitants of the Arabian province of Hhadramaut, Atramitae. Pliny vi. 32.
4. *Jerah*, the inhabitants of the mountains of the Moon.
5. *Hadoram;* unknown.
6. *Usal;* the country of Sanaa in Southern Arabia.
7. *Diklah.* } not fully recognized.
8. *Obal.* }
9. *Abimael.*

10. *Sheba*, Sabians in Southern Arabia.
11. *Ophir*, El-Ophir, in the Arabian Province of Oman.
12. *Havilah*, the province of Chaulan, in Southern Arabia.
13. *Jobab*, the Jobabites, on the Gulf of Salachitis, between Hhadramaut and Oman.

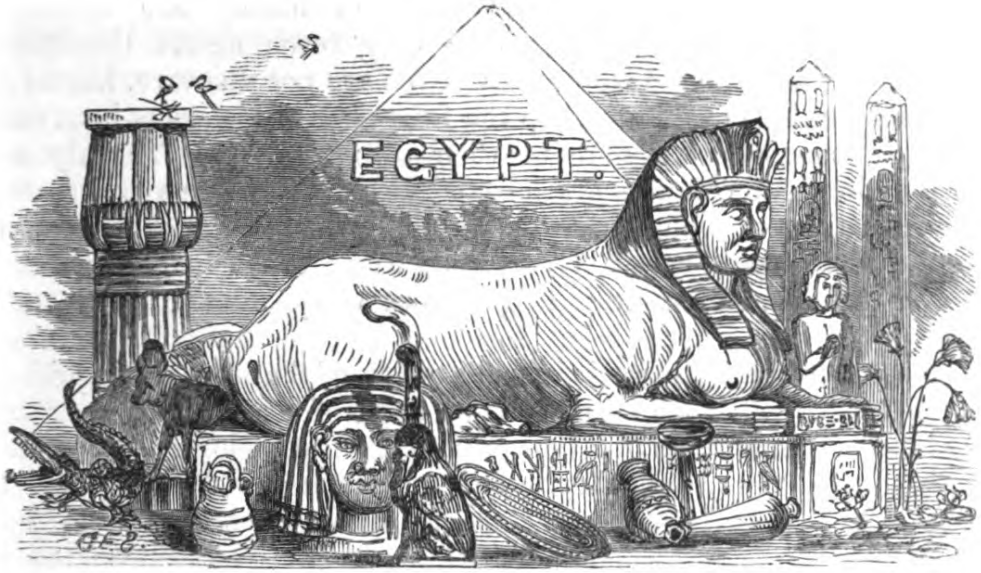
IV. LUD: Lydia, anciently called Maeonia. Λουδαίοι, Λυδοι—Josephus i. 6.

V. ARAM: of Syria and Mesopotamia. Claiming affinity of blood and descent were,

1. *Uz*, the inhabitants of a district in the north of Arabia Deserta.
2. *Hul*, perhaps the inhabitants of Cœlo-Syria.
3. *Gether;* unknown.
4. *Mash*, the inhabitants of a part of the Gordiæan Mountains, —probably Mons Masius. Strabo xi.



[Ancient Indian Zodiacs.—*Bailly.*]



PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Study of History.

Our relation to the past not only gives us a peculiar interest in its facts and occurrences, but naturally invites to inquire into their origin, character, development, and effects. As the memory ranges over bygone periods of time, the imagination not only pictures out the scenes and actors—but analysis and investigation are called into exercise, in order to ascertain what were the leading principles of belief and action—what class of motive predominated—how events originated, and in what they resulted. For though our views of the history of the world must be governed by the actual state of its annals, yet unless we have most widely mistaken some of the greatest uses of history, they are not to be confined to those precincts. With the actual state of historical records it is the first duty of the annalist to be acquainted; but the motive that leads him to this duty will urge him beyond the collection of mere dates and details. The philosopher must be a student of history, and the real historian must be a philosopher. History, as a mere collection of facts, may supply a correct outline of what man has been; but philosophy must add the light and shade, the colouring and the keeping of the picture, to show him what man ought to be, and what he might have been, had he understood his nature and his destiny, and been able to profit by the circumstances in which Providence had placed him. Rational investigation must also afford us many views of one event, show us every element and phasis of prominent characters and circumstances, and invest the whole pursuit with

varied and living interest, or the facts themselves will fall from our remembrance, and the record at last become as neglected as it has been unprofitable. Biographical views of history are therefore warmly and generally preferred, as they reach nearer the heart, and belong more to the whole man. We are not unaware, however, of the necessity of gathering up the fragments of history at intervals; and our materials must here be their own apology. We only aim to give in these chapters a connected view of kingdoms and states; their relations to each other; topographical details; national manners and customs, opinions and creeds, along with such facts in the general history of man, as are interesting themes of speculation and memorial.

Rival claims of early countries to extreme antiquity.

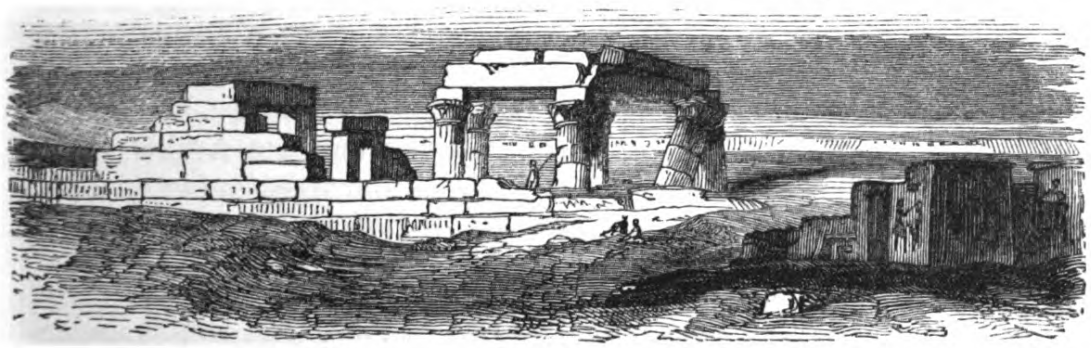
When an inquiry is made into the origin of the most distinguished states, those which are acknowledged to be of very early date spring up into a competition for antiquity, with pretensions equally bold and equally uncertain. It becomes, therefore, a difficult task to decide upon their respective claims, to make an election among so many rivals. Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, are alike prepared to assert their primal superiority. All the nations of the old world may be traced, as we have seen, upward and backward to the sons of Noah as their progenitors, and to the plains of Shinar as the place whence they were dispersed into different regions. But while Phœnicia, identified with the Canaanites, claims to have descended from the younger son of Ham; Assyria, to be derived from Asshur; Babylon, to be founded by Nimrod; and Egypt to originate with Ham himself, it is obvious that the history of these several states is necessarily intermingled; that their destinies are interwoven; that many of the most dazzling events which have been respectively claimed by them in later times, are, in fact, common property; and that the incidents which have been assigned to the parts with so little precision belonged only in truth to the whole. The annalist must often transfer the same action from hero to hero, and from nation to nation, if he listen to the ancient writers of different countries; but if he seek after truth only, he must be sometimes satisfied to record the mere fact, with fidelity and simplicity, without undertaking absolutely to fix its period, or certainly to decide its application. In the earliest histories of all nations, we can easily trace fragments of the Mosaic records, and obtain satisfaction as to the important point that all nations have had a common origin. To determine the priority of their several after-claims is not so easy a task; and it is rendered still more difficult by the alternate influence which each exercised over the other, as their respective physical and political powers increased or diminished, as well as by the common interests which linked them together in the earlier stages of their existence. Where it is impossible to settle the precedence, it may be more prudent not to enter at all into the controversy, but as it is allowed by all writers, ancient and modern, that Egypt has as high and just

pretensions to antiquity as any other nation which has laid claim to it, it is judged proper to follow the usual order of history, and begin with this illustrious state. Other reasons, too, might dictate our preference. Egypt was long the crown and glory of the nations, and no territory in the ancient world possesses so many attractions to the antiquarian and philologist. Her temples, with their sphinxes and colonnades, their painted chambers and mystic scrolls—her palaces and tombs, with their symbolic paintings and mythological delineations; her long lists of early dynasties and sovereigns, reaching back to mythical heroes and demi-gods; the strange descent of her beneficent river, with its annual flood; her sombre pyramids—her early advancement in art and science, in statuary, architecture, and manufactures; her annals, pictured in artificial and perplexing hieroglyphics; the connection of her Pharaohs with Moses and his people, and of her Ptolemys with Greece and its literature,—all these invest Egypt with a peculiar mystery, and give her a renown and an interest which past and present ages have alike felt and acknowledged. "Not only," says Herodotus, "does the climate differ from all other climates, and the river from all other streams, but the customs and laws are contrary on almost all points to those of the rest of mankind."[1]

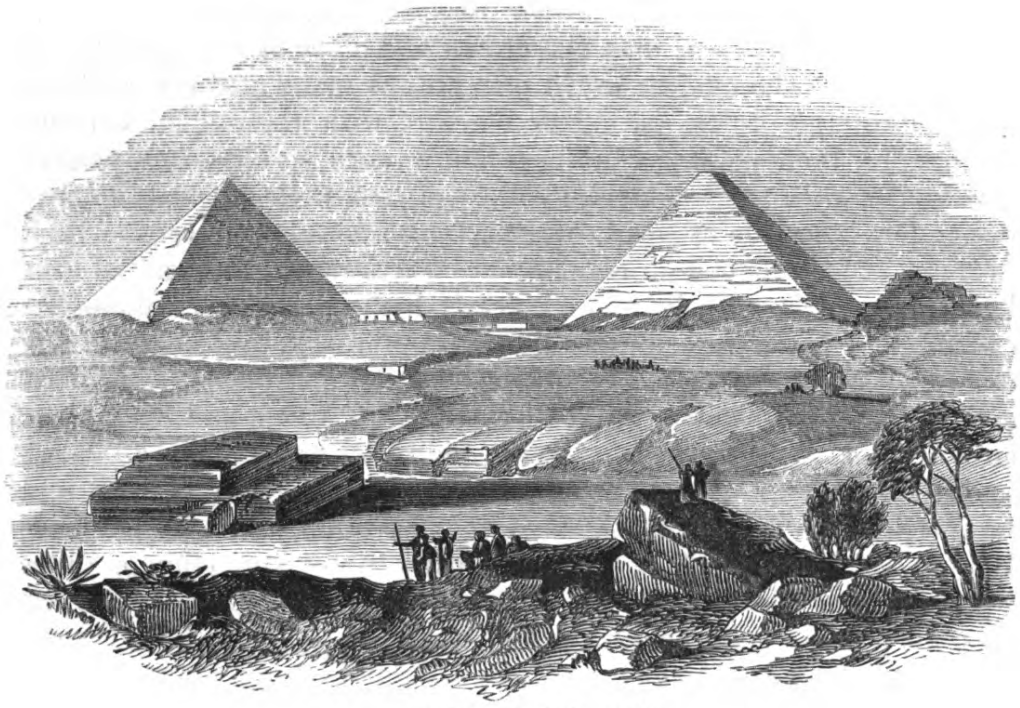
Antiquity and fame of Egypt.

We propose in the following pages to give our readers, first, a general view of the geography and physical history of Egypt, along with a brief sketch of its topography; a history of its kings and dynasties will follow, based on the most recent critical researches; and lastly, we shall endeavour to depict the social life, the arts, religion, and monuments of its ancient people.

[1] Herodot. II. 35.



[Pathros—Ruins of Chnubis—Nubia. —*Denon.*]



General View of the Pyramids.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT.

A brief sketch of the geography of ancient Egypt will form an appropriate and necessary introduction. The origin of the name itself has been keenly disputed. The most ancient appellation is that perhaps which is still preserved in the Coptic language, Chemi, (Khamê, or Khêmi, in the northern, and Kamê, or Kâmi, in the southern dialect,) and is found in various portions of the sacred Scriptures.[1] Mistram, the Coptic name of Fostát, or Old Caïro, has a close resemblance to the Hebrew word *Mizraim;* and the Arabic *Misr*, is only the singular form of the same dual proper name, the name of one of the sons of Noah.[2] This, as well as Mestræa, the most ancient Egyptian name, according to Eusebius, seems to indicate a tradition, which ascribed the first occupation of Egypt to that patriarch.[3] The first name in use among the Greeks was Aëria, or Eëria, an appellation also given to Thessaly; it signified " darkness, or blackness;" is said to have been taken from the colour of the soil, and may be considered

Ancient names of Egypt.

[1] Psal. lxxviii. 51, cv. 23, &c. [2] Champollion, l'Egypte, i. 110.
[3] Chron. Temp. Mosis.

as a translation of the Egyptian word *Chemia*, which, as Plutarch[1] observes, signified the black part of the eye, and was given to Egypt on account of the dark colour of its land. Mazòr, or Matzòr,[2] another Hebrew name of Egypt, may either be considered as the singular form of *Mizraim*, and as having special reference to Lower Egypt, or it may be regarded as an epithet signifying "the well guarded," and descriptive of the peculiar security of the valley of the Nile, which is so well protected by mountains and deserts. Egypt, the name which among Europeans has supplanted every other, is a word of very uncertain origin. Eusebius, probably from Manetho, says, that Ramses, also called Ægyptus, one of the ancient kings of Egypt, gave his own name to his territories; and Diodorus Siculus states that the Nile was called Ægyptus, after one of the old sovereigns—a name it had even in Homeric times.[3] From Ægyptus, the Arabs seem to have formed the term Cobtí; and since the time of the Crusaders, the aboriginal inhabitants of that country have been named Copts by European writers. Αἴγυπτος.

The exact position of Egypt seems to have perplexed some of the older geographers, and they were not decided whether it should be assigned to Asia or Africa. The language of Herodotus[4] varies on the subject—as if he had thought that Egypt properly belonged to neither quarter of the world, but was common to both—a species of extra-continental region, or intermediate territory. Though its erudition and physical peculiarities invited many inquisitive pilgrims to visit it, yet from the account which Strabo gives, it does not appear to have been known to the ancients higher up than the city of Elephantine. This was the frontier town between Egypt and Ethiopia; and, according to Tacitus, in his Annals, was the boundary of the Roman empire in this direction: "*claustra olim Romani imperii;*" "forming the limits of the Roman power." The cataracts, which are situated above Elephantine, must have formed an invincible barrier against Grecian or Roman enterprise; and we are not surprised to find, from these difficulties being exaggerated by Cicero, Seneca, and Lucan, that the ancients considered it useless to attempt to penetrate further into the country.

Boundaries.

The natural boundaries of the country are well defined. Egypt lies in the valley of the Nile, extending from the parallel of 24° N., where the river appears to force its way through the mountains of Nubia, to the neighbourhood of Damietta, in 31° 35′ N., where its principal stream is poured into the Mediterranean Sea. The natural limits of Egypt are so distinctly marked, that its nominal or territorial limits have rarely included a larger area. Just above the Cataracts of Syene, or *Aswán*, there is a little island, called Philæ by the Greeks, and Bilác by the Arabs, both which names are corruptions of

[1] De Iside et Osiride.
[2] 2 Kings xix. 24, Isa. xix. 6, Micah vii. 12.
[3] Odyss. i. 300.
[4] Rennell's Geography of Herodot., II. 5.

the Coptic word *Pi-lakh*, *i.e.* the extremity, because that island had from the earliest times been the southern limit of Egypt.[1] The eastern and western boundaries are well described by the author of the *Merásid-el-atláâ*.[2] "The Sâíd or Upper Egypt," he says, "is enclosed by two mountains, one on the east, and the other on the west; and those mountains form the wings of the Nile from the commencement of its course till the eastern chain reaches Mocattam, where it is cut off, and there is nothing beyond it but the Arabian Desert and the Sea of Colzum, or the Red Sea. The western chain extends to the sea." The whole length of Egypt, from the isle of Philæ in 24° 3′ 45″ N. to the northernmost point of the Delta in 31° 32′ N., amounts to about 450 geographical miles; but its mean width between Syene and Caïro is not more than nine miles.[3] From the southern extremity of the Delta, where the mountains recede eastward and westward, and the river divides into two large branches, the breadth of Egypt gradually increases. The opposite chains of mountains form at this point an angle of about 140°, and the western hills extending to the sea, near Alexandria, create a natural boundary on that side; but the cliffs on the east sink gradually to the north of the "Valley of the Wanderings," into the level of sand and shingle which unites Egypt with Arabia, and constitutes the Isthmus of Suez.

Extent. The superficial extent of Egypt has been variously estimated, according as more or less of the adjoining Desert was comprehended within its limits. Though some habitable spots in the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea on the east, and the Oases on the west, including that of Ammon, have, at various periods, been annexed to Egypt, they do not, physically considered, form a part of of it; for, as was before observed, it consists properly of the valley formed by the Nile, between the last cataract and the Mediterranean Sea. The whole length of the river in a straight line is only seven degrees and a half of latitude;[4] but as it makes a considerable bend, the absolute length of its course below the cataracts is probably little short of 600 miles, and the whole area fit for cultivation may be estimated at about 11,000 square miles.

Internal Divisions. The internal divisions of the country are as clearly and singularly defined as its outer limits, and they have always regulated its artificial or political sections. The Upper and Lower Egypt, *i.e.* all above or below the fork of the Nile, were the two leading divisions under its ancient rulers. Upper Egypt was again subdivided into the Thebaïs, extending from the Cataracts to the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, and the Heptanomis, reaching from that place to the vertex of the Delta. The former of these subdivisions corresponds to the Sâíd,

[1] Quatremère, Memoires Geog. sur l'Egypte, i. 388.
[2] Schultens, Index Geog. in Bohadinni Vitam Saladdin, *v.* Thebais.
[3] Girard, in Mem. in sur l'Egypte, iii. 14.
[4] Ritter Erdk. i. 835.

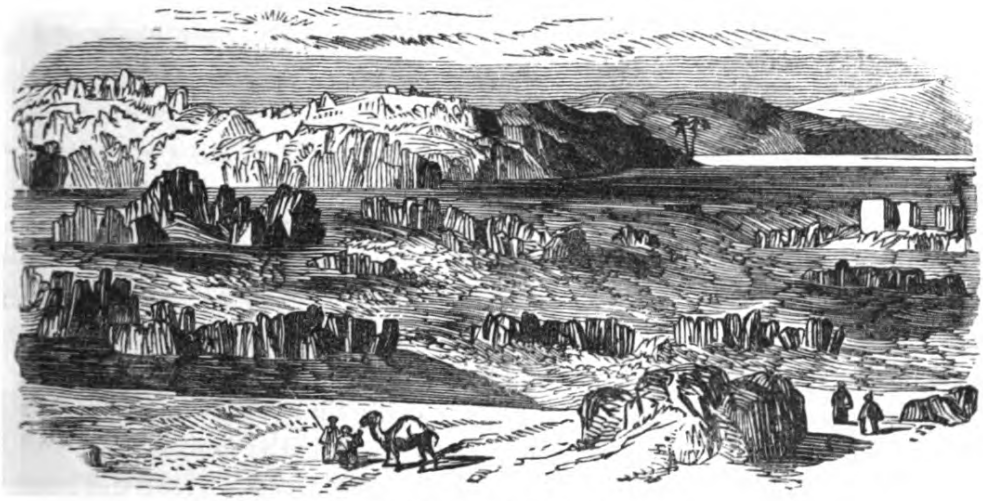
or highlands, of the Arabs; the latter to their Wustání, or midlands; but the Sâíd, according to the more ancient Arabian geographers,[1] comprehended all the country above Fostát, as the Ríf did all below it. The Delta of the Greeks and Egyptians did not, strictly speaking, extend beyond the outer branches of the Nile; but the Ríf of the Arabs comprehends all the lowlands of Egypt between Alexandria and Colzum.

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES.

Mountains.

The mountains which form so picturesque a boundary to the great valley of the Nile are remarkable not only in their general aspects but in their productions. From them, under the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Antonines, were drawn the materials not only for the stupendous monuments which still make Egypt a land of wonders, but also for many of the public buildings in Italy, the remains of which attest the genius of the artists, and the munificence of the Emperors. About the 24th degree of north latitude, a granite chain closes in on each side of the river, so as to wear the appearance of having been rent by the stream which forces its way through fragments of rock. Hence the almost innumerable islands to the north of Philæ as far as Aswán. The Cataracts, a little to the south of that town, are nothing more than rapids, which might be produced by a mere contraction of the bed of the stream. The bold, but wild and gloomy precipices which here overhang the stream, as well as the roar of its waters rushing through a multitude of channels, (for even when the inundation is at its height there are twenty large islands in the midst of the river,)[2] were well calculated to work upon the

Cataracts.



[Cataracts of the Nile.]

[1] Abd-al-latif par De Sacy, 397.

[2] Jomard, Descript. de l'Eg. Ant. i. 5.

imagination of the early inhabitants. Their belief that Osiris remained buried in those abysses,[1] as long as the stream was confined within its banks, but rose from the grave to scatter his blessings over the land, as soon as the accumulated waters were poured forth on all sides, was fostered, if not created, by the physical peculiarities of this overawing and desolate region. The granite or southern district extends from Philæ to Aswán, and is formed, for the most part, by rocks of syenite or Oriental granite, in which the quarries may yet be seen, from which the ancients drew the stupendous masses required for their colossal statues and obelisks. Between Aswán and Esnà, is the sandstone, or middle district, which supplied slabs for most of the temples; and beyond it, the northern or calcareous district stretches to the southern angle of the Delta. This last chain of hills furnished not only the solid part of the Pyramids, but materials also for many public buildings long since destroyed, because they proved excellent stores of lime and stone for the Arabs and other barbarians by whom Egypt has been desolated for so many centuries.

In 24° 8′ 6″ N., 33° 4′ E.

In 25° 19′ 39″ N.

Quarries.

The quarries of Philæ, Elephantiné, and Syené, produced the beautiful oriental, or rose-coloured granite, called *Syenites* by Pliny, from the city near which it abounded, but differing from the Syenite of modern geologists. Two-thirds of its mass is a species of felspar, varying in colour from a pale pink to a brick-red, the remainder consists of mica with a metallic lustre, and translucent quartz. Sometimes it also contains a small quantity of hornblende, and it then becomes the Syenite of geology. It is called Thebaic-stone by Pliny,[2] from the frequency of its occurrence in the monuments at Thebes, not from any quarries of it in that neighbourhood.

Valley of the Nile.

On each side of the river below Aswán, (*Syene*,) steep, abrupt, sandstone cliffs, presenting a continued line of ancient quarries, hem in the stream; and the valley, which opens gradually, closes again at the distance of 12 leagues, (about 36 geographical miles,) where it is reduced to one-fourth of its former width, and lofty walls of rock on each side barely leave a passage for the water. Below these narrows, the valley gradually widens, but the eastern bank continues to present one uninterrupted, perpendicular wall, while on the west there is a gradual, and generally an easy ascent to the Desert. Another contraction of the valley occurs about 56 geographical miles lower down, ten miles to the north of Esnà, where the rock does not leave even a footpath near the river, and the traveller by land must make a considerable circuit in order to reach the third place where the hills again recede.

At Denderah, (*Téntyris*,) 12 leagues north of Thebes, the Nile, again hemmed in by the hills, turns nearly at right angles, and runs directly from east to west, as far as the site of Abydus. Near the latter place, the Libyan chain begins to bend toward the west; and the

[1] Creuzer Symbolik, i. 266.

[2] Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 8.

descent from the Desert becomes so gradual, that the country is on that side much exposed to clouds of sand, by which it would have been overwhelmed long since, but for the canal called Bahr Yúsuf, (Joseph's River,) which secures the irrigation of the land between itself and the Nile, and thus prevents the further encroachment of the Desert.[1] Here the Sâíd, or upper division of Egypt, terminates, and the Wustáni or middle region, extending as far as the fork of the Delta, commences. The more the valley of the Nile gains in width, and its western mountains lose in height, the greater is the danger from its proximity to the Libyan Desert, (*El Sahrà.*) That remarkable portion of Africa is, for the most part, covered with sand, or very fine gravel, the minuter particles of which are, at certain seasons, carried by tempestuous gales over a great extent of country.

Beyond Bení Suweïf, the Libyan chain of hills again closes in towards the north-east, and forms the northern boundary of the large basin between Derút-el-sherîf and Atfîh; but at El Iláhún, to the north-west of the first of those places, it is broken by one of the many transverse valleys, and thus opens a passage into the province of Fayyúm. Beyond that vale, which is merely a large bay or sinuosity in the border of these mountains, they approach the river with a steeper declivity, and have a nearly level summit, overlooking the country below. This table-land, between the Nile and Fayyúm, was chosen for the site of the Pyramids. On its north-western side, the hills shelve off in that direction, and terminate in the cliffs and promontories which mark the coast of ancient Cyrenaïca. The eastern or Arabian chain has generally more transverse breaks and ravines, is more lofty and rugged, and comes closer to the river than the hills on the opposite side. The northern part of it is called El Mocattam, (the hewn,) probably from the quarries formed in its sides; and is connected by several inferior ranges with the mountains of Arabia Petræa.

In 29° 9′ 12″ N.

ὄρη τὰ Ἀραβικά.

Each of these chains, as has been already observed, is intersected by valleys running from east to west; those on the right side of the river leading to the Red Sea, and those on the left to the Oases. Of the former, those best known are the valley of Coséïr, and that of the Wanderings of the children of Israel, the first being the most frequented road between the Upper Egypt and the sea; and the other the route probably followed by the Israelites on their return to the promised land. But besides these, there are five or six others at present known, and several, probably, unexplored.

The name Nile seems connected with the Indian term Nilas,— black. The native appellation was Yeor,[2] which signifies a channel or stream, and was specially given to the one river of the kingdom. The Hebrew name, Sihor,[3] sometimes employed in Scripture to denote the Nile, is expressive of its dark and turbid waters. This river,

Nile.

[1] Girard, loc. cit. p. 189. [2] Exod. i. 22. [3] Isa. xxiii. 3.

revered as a god,[1] possesses many interesting features, which formed a subject of universal wonder in ancient times. Its origin, its periodical overflow, its fructifying influence, and its many mouths, were not only subjects of philosophical discussion, but were fond and frequent themes of poetical allusions and exaggeration.

Virgil thus mentions the Nile in Æneid, l. vi. 800:—

Et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.

The same poet describes the river in Æn. l. ix. 31:—

——————————— Aut pingui flumine Nilus,
Cum refluit campis, et jam se condidit alveo.

The Nile, when it has flowed back from the fields with its fertilizing stream, and now has buried itself in its own channel.

Dionysius Periegetes, speaking of the Nile, says—

Ὕδατί πιαίνων λιπαρὸν πίδον Αἰγυπτοιο.

Fructifying the delightful land of Egypt with its stream.

Æschylus says too—

Ὅσην πλατύρρυς Νεῖλος ἀρδεύει χθόνα. *Eschy. Prom.* 853.

As much land as the broad-flowing Nile waters.

Again, in the Persæ,

Ἀλλοις δ' ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων
Νεῖλος ἔπεμψεν. v. 33.

And others whom the mighty and much-nourishing Nile had sent.

The river Nile was an object of worship amongst the ancient Egyptians; hence Æschylus says again, in his Supplices,

Μηδ' ἔτι Νείλου προχοὰς σέβωμεν ὕμνοις. 1032.

We shall no more worship the mouths of the Nile with hymns.

Upon the banks of this fertile river grew the papyrus, a kind of reed, from the flags of which paper was afterwards made, and which was called byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat.

Memphis did not yet know how to fashion the watery byblus.—*Lucan.*

Sources of Nile.

The ancients never discovered the source of the Nile, and the expression "*quærere caput Nili*," became a common proverb at Rome, to signify a difficult or impossible undertaking. Princes and states fitted out large armaments to discover its source, but in vain. Alexander and Ptolemy Philadelphus were equally baffled in this enterprise. The ancient geographer Pomponius Mela placed the source of the Nile in the antipodes, and Pliny dreamed of it as being in farther Mauritania. It was an exciting theme for the license of poetr and romance. Virgil's imagination brought it from the East.

[1] Herod. II. 90.

"Quaque pharetratæ vicinia Persidis urget,
Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fœcundat arena,
Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis."—*Georg.* iv. 290.

"And where the stream from India's swarthy sons
Close on the verge of quiver'd Persia runs,
Broods o'er green Egypt with dark wave of mud,
And pours through many a mouth its branching flood."

Lucretius is more lucky in his safe conjecture,

"Ille ex æstiferâ parti venit amnis, ab Austro,
Inter nigra virûm, percoctaque secla calore,
Exoriens penitus mediâ ab regione diei."—Lib. vi. 721.

"While rolls the Nile adverse,
Full from the South, from realms of torrid heat,—
Haunts of the Ethiop tribes; yet far beyond,
First bubbling distant o'er the burning line."

Modern travellers have been more successful. The labours and researches of Bruce, Russegger, Rüppell, Werne, and others, have not been without their reward. Two distinct streams have been discovered, which flow into the Upper Nile, the one of which, usually termed the Blue Nile, has been traced to a considerable distance, but the sources of the other, named the White Nile, remains unexplored.

Rise of the Nile.

Herodotus vainly attempts to explain the cause of the inundations of this river. According to him the periodical deluge commences about the end of June, and continues until the end of September; it then gradually decreases. The height of the inundation is estimated by Pliny at sixteen cubits; but it sometimes rose only twelve cubits, at other times more than sixteen. The day on which this event took place was always considered by the Egyptians as auspicious; and the overflowing of the river diffused joy and gladness throughout the whole community. The Emperor Julian, in common with the Egyptians, considered the god Serapis as the cause of this phenomenon.

Annual overflow.

Modern research speaks more minutely and truly on the periodical increase of the Nile. At Caïro, the river begins to rise early in July, in consequence of the periodical rains in Central Africa; at first, almost imperceptibly, but soon with a continually increasing rapidity. By the middle of August it has reached half of its greatest height, which it attains usually in the last days of September. It then appears stationary for about a fortnight, but by the 10th of November has sunk to half its altitude. From that period it subsides very slowly till the middle of the following May; and its water becomes extremely pure, clear, and agreeable to the taste. The depth, at the period of its greatest altitude, may be estimated at 7·419 metres, (24⅓ feet nearly,) or 13 cubits 17 inches, according to the Nile metre at Caïro; but 14 cubits according to that at Elephantiné, which is graduated by an ancient Greek scale. It was suspected by Niebuhr, but ascertained by the French,

that the number of cubits stated in the daily proclamation of the height of the river, as observed at the Mikyàs, is not to be relied upon. The real state of the inundation is concealed for political purposes; and, in 1801, when the public crier had announced that the water had attained 23 cubits 2 inches, it stood in reality at only 18 cubits, hence it appears how erroneous the calculations founded on such data must have been; and yet they were the only ones which, before that time, could be obtained. We learn from Herodotus,[1] that unless the river rose 15 or 16 cubits, it did not overflow its banks; in such cases, therefore, a dearth ensued, and no contributions were levied, because there was nothing produced to afford the means of paying them. The same rule was observed by the Arabs, whence 16 cubits, the lowest elevation which would allow of an assessment, was called Má-el-Sultán, "the Sultán's water."[2] The accumulation of the soil, however, has changed the standard; and unless the water rises much higher, there is no chance now of an abundant harvest. In 1799, which was a very bad year, the water rose at the Mikyàs to 16 cubits 2 inches; but in 1800 it reached 18 cubits 3 inches. Supposing this height to be now equivalent to the standard of 16 cubits, fixed at the time when the Mikyàs was erected, (A.D. 847,) the difference between the two numbers (*i.e.* 2 cubits 3 inches,) will give the increase in the elevation of the bed of the river since that period; so that we have 3·77 feet, for the accumulation of soil near Caïro, in nine centuries and a-half, or nearly 4 inches in a century. At Elephantiné, near the southern extremity of Egypt, the ancient Nilometer, mentioned by Strabo,[3] is still remaining, and the highest measure marked upon its scale is 24 cubits; but the water now rises, when at its greatest elevation, nearly 8 feet above that mark, while, as appears from an inscription on the wall, at the beginning of the third century of our era, it rose only 1.01 foot above that level. The difference between these numbers being 6·9 feet, gives the accumulation of the soil in the bed of the Nile, at that place, during 1600 years, and it amounts to 0·434 of a foot, or rather more than five inches in every hundred years.

Mouths of the Nile. Canals.

The termination of this wonderful river—this minister of good to the country, and "so constantly at work,"[4] is no less remarkable than its source. At Bahr-el-bacareh (anciently *Cercasorum*,)[5] the Nile divides into two nearly equal branches, one running to the north-west, and falling into the sea below Rosetta, (*Raschíd*,) the other having a course almost due north, and passing by Damietta, (*Dimyát.*) The latter divides the Delta, properly so named, into two nearly equal parts. The first of these branches was anciently named the Bolbitinic; the latter, the Phatnitic, or Bucolic. It is remarkable that these are the two mouths expressly said by Herodotus

[1] II. 13. [2] Abd-al-latif par De Sacy, 330. [3] xvii. i.
[4] Καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικόν. Herod. II. [5] Herod. ii. 15—17.

to be artificial.[1] The five natural channels mentioned by him are now obstructed or absorbed in the lakes of Etkú and Menzáleh. The westernmost was the *Canopic*, flowing into the sea near Canopus, a town situated 120 stadii (15 miles) to the east of Alexandria, not far from the site of Abúkir. The second was the *Bolbitic*, or *Bolbitine*, from Bolbitiné, a town near its banks. It was formed by the Taly, a canal drawn in a straight line from the Canopic branch to the sea. The third, called *Saïtic*, was the western branch of the Sebennytic canal, and derived its name from Saïs, confounded with Tanis, by Strabo. The fourth, or *Sebennytic*, was named from Sebennytus; an appellation still, perhaps, to be traced in Shíbín-el-kúm, a town by which the canal, bearing that name, flows. That canal, therefore, is supposed to mark the course of the Sebennytic branch. The fifth branch, called the *Phatnitic*, *Pathmetic*, or *Bucolic*, passes by Damietta, and now forms the eastern arm of the Nile. The *Mendesian*, or sixth mouth, named from Mendes, a town sacred to the Egyptian Pan, was the outlet by which the eastern branch of the Sebennytic canal discharged its waters into the sea. This is now called the canal of Ashmún, and is lost in the Lake Menzáleh, after a course of about 30 miles. The seventh, and easternmost, anciently named the *Pelusiac* arm, flowed into the sea near Pelusium, and is now called the canal of Abú Munejjí. In the time of Herodotus, it appears that the river divided near the point of the Delta into three principal arms: the Canopic, on the west, the Pelusiac, on the east, and the Sebennytic, nearly in the middle; from the latter issued two smaller arms, the Saïtic, on the west, and the Mendesian, on the east. These were considered as natural channels, the two remaining arms were artificial, the Bolbitinic, between the Canopic and Saïtic, and the Bucolic, to the west of the Mendesian.[2]

Alluvial soil.

The river supplies the soil fit for cultivation as well as irrigates it. It was well named "Nilus Benevolus."[3] There were no data for determining the depth of the alluvial bed, or the process by which it was apparently formed, till the French, during their occupation of that country, ascertained, by means of wells sunk at intervals, the order and depth of the different strata. From these observations, four vertical sections of the valley of the Nile were deduced:[4] 1st, at Monfalut, (in 27° 26′ N.;) 2dly, at Siyút, (27° 13′ N.;) 3dly, at Keneh, (in 26° 11′ N.;) and 4thly, at Esnà, (in 25° 19′ N.;) and from them the following results were obtained:—1st, That the surface of the soil descends more or less rapidly towards the foot of the hills, which is exactly the reverse of that which occurs in most other valleys; 2dly, that the depth of the bed of mud is unequal; it is generally one metre and a half (about five feet) near the river, but increases gradually at greater distances from it; 3dly, beneath the mud there is a bed of sand similar to that always brought down by

[1] II. 17.
[2] Herod. par Larcher, ii. 5, 17, n. 55.
[3] Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 15.
[4] Girard, loc. cit. p. 207, Tab. fig. 2, 3.

Depth of deposit.

the river. The peculiarity first mentioned is satisfactorily explained by the absence of rain, which in other countries washes down the soil from the hills, and carrying it to the stream in the bottom of the valley, forms a basin, the sides of which have a concave surface; but in Egypt the soil is conveyed by the inundation from the river into the valley; the deposits, therefore, will always be greatest near its banks, and least in places more remote, which the water, in defective seasons, cannot reach. The greater, also, the rapidity of the current, the smaller will be the quantity of mud deposited; for, as that is the lightest of all the substances brought down by the river, it is mingled with the fluid, and is, in that state, carried onwards, except where any obstacles check the course of the stream.[1] When condensed into a solid body, the mud of the Nile is black; but when diluted with water, it has a reddish tint. It rests upon a bed of quartzose sand, 36 feet in depth, and placed upon the calcareous rock which forms the basis of this part of Egypt. At the Catacombs, near Siyút, this last rock is found at the depth of only 21·33 feet, so that it slopes down to the bed of the stream. Similar results were obtained at Keneh and Esnà; but at the latter place the surface of the valley rises more abruptly towards the hills. The river above that point is so hemmed in by cliffs on each side, that little or no level is left to form a basis for its deposits; there are, therefore, beyond that place few cultivable spots on its banks, and only some small alluvial islands within its channel. In every part of its course, its waters filter through the bed of sand, and springs are found as soon as the borer has reached any considerable depth.[2]

Chemical composition of the water.

The water which the Nile so bounteously, and with such periodical regularity spreads over the country, is charged with the richest manure, and saves the husbandman no little trouble and expense. Herodotus said truly, that Egypt was the "gift of the Nile." Its river compensated its lack of rain—gave it a soil deep, dark, and prolific; filled its granaries with the means of ample subsistence; opened up a cheap and speedy navigation; and supplied argillaceous material to its potters, masons, and artists. Its chemical composition is not, and cannot be precisely the same at every spot. The Blue Nile or eastern branch sends down the principal supply of the fertilising mud, while the White Nile, though it has its annual inundations, contributes almost nothing of this alluvial deposit. According to Regnault the analysis of the water is as follows:—

11 Water.	4 Carbonate of Magnesia.
9 Carbon.	18 Carbonate of Lime.
6 Oxide of Iron.	48 Alumen.[3]
4 Silica.	

[1] Girard, Mem. sur l'Egypte, iii. 17.

[2] The reader may consult Ritter, Erdkunde, vol. I.; Ukert, Geographie, *v.* Africa, I.; Hartmann, do.; Mannert, Geog. X.

[3] Memoires sur l'Egypte, vol. I. 351.

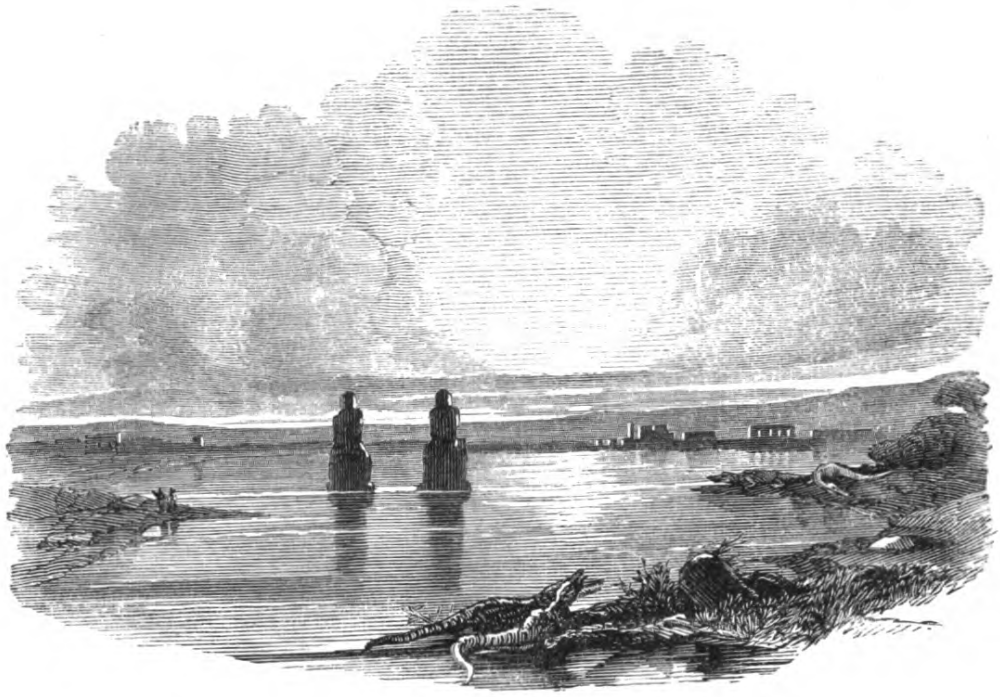
The Delta, so named from its resemblance to the Δ of the Greek alphabet, is formed by the division of the Nile into two branches, the Canopic, or that of Rosetta, and the Phatnitic, or that of Damietta. Its length from the point where the river bifurcates on to the sea is about ninety miles, and it varies in breadth from seventy to eighty miles. Many rivers have created a similar formation at their mouth, by the accumulation of sand and debris, which they have for ages rolled down their course; but none of them can be compared in importance and fame with this mud island of Egypt. The fertility of the Delta depended of old, as it yet does, upon the overflow of the river which formed it, and numerous canals were excavated for the purpose of irrigation. At one season of the year it exhibited a landscape of varied beauty and luxuriant verdure, but during the annual inundation it resembled a prodigious marsh, gemmed with numberless islets, villages, and planted eminences barely raised above the water. The appearance of the flooded country must indeed have been striking, and the ancients compared it to the Ægean Sea in miniature, which is studded with the Cyclades and Sporades, and the crests of numerous other islands. Virgil thus describes the Deltaic farmer visiting his fields in a papyrus skiff— Delta.

> "Nam qua Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
> Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
> Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura faselis."—*Georg.* iv. 287.

We can easily imagine with what anxious anticipations the cultivators of the land waited for the yearly flood; how the first discoloration of the water and its incipient swellings gave them unalloyed satisfaction; how they willingly saw their fields gradually overspread with the dark-brown current; and submitted without a murmur to the annual imprisonment of the beneficent deluge. Need we wonder that superstition led them to offer oblations to the god of the Nile, accompanied with music, dancing, and sacerdotal mysteries; and that the period of the first rise of the waters should be a sacred season of national festival and rejoicings?[1] The people who derived their sustenance from the river must have looked with peculiar veneration upon it, when it indicated the approach of its periodical increase of volume, and their hearts were full of joy when the wide waste of waters lay around them—the whole territory submerged—for— Annual flood.

> The glorious stream
> That late between the banks was seen to glide,
> With shrines and market cities on each side,
> Glittering like jewels strung along a chain—
> Has now sent forth its waters, and o'er plain
> And valley, like a giant from his bed,
> Rising with outstretched limbs, superbly spread.

[1] Heliodor. Ethiop. IX.



Bustle.

It is plain, too, that no little damage must have been sometimes caused by any sudden or extraordinary overflow. Villages were buried under water, and the houses, formed of dried clay, crumbled down to ruins. When a dike or embankment burst, the scene became one of animated hurry and bustle—the population in earnest and anxious struggle—each man securing his own property, swimming his cattle to land, carrying to a dry eminence the produce of his fields, or loading his boat with the wreck of his household. The safety of the country depended on the strength of the embankments, and therefore those national works were under charge of a military patrol; neither trouble nor expense was spared in their formation and repairs.

Salt Lakes in the Delta.

The salt lakes in the Delta were numerous, and their existence gives probability to the hypothesis, that the Delta was originally an immense estuary, which has been gradually filled up with sedimentary deposit.

Mareotis.

1. The first of these towards the west is now called Sabakah or Birket Mariyút; it was the *Mareotis* of the ancients, and is separated from the second only by a narrow isthmus through which the canal of Alexandria passes. This lake was formed by the superabundant waters from the canals higher up in the Delta, and the greater part of its bed had for ages been dry, when the dikes between it and the Lake of Abú-kír were cut through by the English army in 1801. By that oppressive, but perhaps unavoidable act, more than forty villages, with all the lands surrounding them, were overwhelmed by a flood of salt water rushing in from the sea. 2. The Lake of

Mâdiyeh, or Abú-kír, was also separated from the sea only by a very narrow strip of calcareous rock, the last point of which is a small island near the fort of Abú-kír, twelve miles to the east of the *Pharos*. Beyond that point the shore is formed by downs of sand thrown up by the sea, and further inland the waters collecting between the Canopic arm and the Taly not drained off after the inundation, have formed the lake or rather present morass, of Etkú, one extremity of which comes within a few miles of Rosetta; it is a part of the Canopic arm of the Nile. 3. Between the Rosetta and Damietta arms of the Nile, but nearer to the former, is the Lake of Burullos or Burlos, which stretches nearly across the present basis of the Delta. The name of this lake is derived from that of a town on the narrow neck of land which separates it from the sea. *Paralos*, (*Maritime*,) the Greek name of that town, has been changed into Burullos by the Arabs, and Parallu by the Copts. It is named *Paralion* in the catalogue of the Episcopal Sees under the patriarch of Alexandria, printed by Bishop Pococke.[1] It was on the western side of the Phermuthiac or Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, and was probably a place of some magnitude, as under the christian emperors it became an episcopal see. The Arabian name Burullos-er-rimál, "Burullos of the sands," shows the nature of the soil on which it stands; and to that perhaps the peculiar excellence of its water-melons,[2] said to be the best in the world, may be in part ascribed. It is the *Buto* of the ancients, and also occupies the coast of the *Elearchia* or *Bucolia*, a wide extent of morass, contained between the Bolbitinic and Phathmetic mouths of the Nile, to the east of that lake. The city near it, which bore the same name, had several splendid temples, particularly one dedicated to that goddess, the nurse of *Horus*, called *Leto* by the Greeks, and *Latona* by the Romans. An island near the edge of the lake also contained another celebrated temple dedicated to *Hermes*, whence it was called *Chemmis* or *Hermopolis*. The only communication between the lake and the sea is the channel which was anciently the Sebennytic or Phermuthiac mouth of the Nile. Its greatest length from south-west to north-east measures thirty-six miles, and its greatest breadth eighteen miles. It contains a great number of islands, the refuge of fishermen, not of herdsmen as of old.[3] 4. Between the Phathmetic (or middle) and the Pelusiac or eastern arm of the Nile, another large lake has now been formed in the lowlands near the sea. To the east of which, there was then another lake called Boheïret-el-zár by Idrísí. Both are now united in the lake of Menzaleh, and the canal of Ashmún appears, from its uniform depth, to be the Mendesian arm of the Nile.[4] The outlet of the first, which is close to Díbeh, is the Mendesian mouth; that of the second, at Omm-me-fer-

Mâdiyeh or Abukir.

Burlos.

Buto or Butos.

Lake of El Menzaleh.

[1] Descr. of the East, iv. 17.
[2] Cucurbita Citrullus.
[3] Heliodorus, Æthiop. i. c. ii. p. 9, 10, ed. Coray.
[4] Mém. sur l'Egypte, i. 212.

rej or Om-Fárej, the Tanitic.[1] "This lake begins," says the accurate Sicard,[2] "half a league to the east of Damietta, the ancient *Thamiatis*, and ends at the castle of Tíneh, anciently *Pelusium*. It is twenty-two leagues in length from east to west, and five or six broad from north to south. Its bottom is muddy and full of weeds. It communicates with the sea by three mouths; that of Tíneh, the easternmost, anciently called the Pelusiac; Omm-me-ferrej, the Tanitic; and Díbeh, or Peschiera, the Mendesian. In summer, during the inundation, its waters are sweet; during the rest of the year they are salt. There are also two smaller inlets from the sea, the ψευδοστόματα of Strabo, closed by dams.

Lake Mœris.

In connection with the Nile may be mentioned Lake Mœris, in the province of Fayyúm, a term which seems in Coptic to denote "well-watered," and probably got its name from its possession of this great artificial inland sea. Fayyúm in hieroglyphical language is distinguished as the "land of the crocodile," a name retained in Grecian usage. The lake, however, takes its common appellation from an ancient sovereign. According to Pomponius Mela it was from seven to eight leagues in circumference, and communicated with the Nile by means of a canal four leagues long and fifty feet broad. Herodotus says it was about seventy-five leagues in circuit. Sluices opened and shut the canal and lake at pleasure. This lake was excavated for good reasons: for, if the Nile rose too high, the sluices were thrown open, and received the waters of that river. By this plan the lands were relieved of the superflux of water, which became a reservoir against a time of deficiency; when it was supplied to the grounds from the lake by means of drains, and irrigated 370,000 acres between Fayyúm and Alexandria. Strabo says that in this manner Egypt was preserved in a state of plenty even when the Nile did not rise more than twelve cubits. It is not easy, however, to identify the precise situation of the lake. Birket-el Quoorn

Its locality.

has been sometimes fixed upon, but it is said to be more than one hundred feet below the level of the Nile, and of course could not give back to the river the waters which had once flowed into it. M. Linant de Bellefonds[3] is supposed to have discovered its true position, and to have traced for many miles the ruins of the massive masonry by which it was surrounded. Lepsius, who recently examined the spot, appears to agree in the statements of M. Linant. The excavation of this immense lake, which was aided, and perhaps first prompted, by many physical facilities, was a national enterprise of immense utility and beneficence, far surpassing in worth and grandeur the huge piles of the pyramids or cunning intricacies of the labyrinth. The fisheries in the lake were very extensive, and a source of considerable revenue; according to Herodotus, the daily sum received when the flood was retiring being nigh £200, and

[1] Sicard, Lettres Edifiantes, vi. 233. [2] l. c. vi. 233.
[3] Memoires sur le Lac Mœr.

when the reservoir was filling upwards of £60.[1] This princely sum, as Diodorus relates, was given to the Queen of Egypt as a species of pin-money.

Nor can we omit to notice briefly another physical peculiarity in connection with Egyptian territory. We refer to the Oases.[2] Oases.

Oasis or Auasis,[3] is, as Strabo observes,[4] an Egyptian word, signifying a small inhabited tract entirely surrounded by vast deserts, like an island in the ocean. There are many of them, he adds, in Libya, but three are adjacent to Egypt, and subject to it. In the language of the Kopts, *wahe* signifies "an habitation,"[5] and the Arabs, whose written character was better calculated for the expression of Egyptian sounds than the Greek, have preserved the word unaltered; for these tracts are still called by them *Wáh*, or with the article, *El-Wáh*, and in the plural, *El-Wáhát*, *i.e.* the Oases. They were usually divided into three groups:[6] the first, or greater, nearly in the parallel of Abydus,[7] but separated from it by a distance of three days' journey across the deserts; the second, or smaller, in the parallel of the Lake Mœris; and the third at the oracle of Ammon. The latter also, says Strabo, "are very excellent places of abode, and the former had abundance of water, wine, and other necessaries of life."

The Greater Oasis, the only one to which Herodotus gives that name,[8] was, according to him, seven days' journey west of Thebes. Strabo says[9] it is at the same distance across the deserts, from Abydus. It is therefore the Wáh-el-khárijah or outer Wáhh of the Arabs. Its fertility and luxuriance, enhanced probably by the dreariness of the surrounding deserts, are distinctly implied by its Greek denomination of the "Isle of the Blessed."[10] Its excellent fruits, harvests twice in the year, and delightful climate are extolled by Olympiodorus, who lived in the fifth century.[11]

On the Greater Oasis stood the famed Temple of Jupiter Ammon with its renowned oracle, and many gigantic ruins strike the eye of the traveller in the same region. The Oases are not to be regarded as islets which the ocean of desert sands has accidentally spared. Geology has rejected the long current fables as to their formation, and has decided that they are merely depressions in an elevated plain. The limestone cliffs and barren rocks which surround them plainly show that they have been formed by the denudation of the superincumbent calcareous strata, so that water rises easily to the surface and fertilizes them. Geological formation.

[1] II. 149. [2] Herodotus, iii. 26.
[3] Strabo, ii. p. 130. xvii. p. 813. [4] xvii. p. 791.
[5] M. Champollion, the younger, (*L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 283.) has ably illustrated this subject, and shown the true meaning and etymology of the word.
[6] Strabo, xvii. [7] Id. ib. p. 813. [8] iii. 26.
[9] xvii. [10] Μακάρων νῆσος. [11] Photii Biblioth. Cod. lxxx. p. 191.

CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS.

Dry atmosphere.

The climate of Egypt is remarkable for its dryness. At some seasons the hot wind was oppressive, especially in April and May. Moist exhalations during the period of the Nilotic overflow, and especially after it has subsided, gave rise to certain forms of diseases. Immense quantities of dust were created by the dryness of the atmosphere, and occasionally swept along in dense clouds by the whirlwinds. But it is in consequence of this extreme dryness of the climate that the monuments have been so well preserved, with unfaded colour and uninjured sharpness of outline. Perfumes taken by modern travellers from an ancient tomb are found not to have lost their odour; and fruits and bread that have been deposited for centuries in the realms of the dead, are yet fresh and undecayed. Inscriptions upon columns and obelisks are as bright as on the day that witnessed the carver at his task. And when you enter a tomb, the decorations of which had not been completed, you are apt to fancy that the workmen are only absent at their meals, and are soon to return to their daily toil. Gliddon mentions that he has seen animal food "harden without putrefying from solar action alone."[1]

Vegetable productions.

The deep soil, abundant moisture, and genial warmth, gave Egypt unexampled fertility. Every month had its own productions. Two crops of grain and pulse were often reaped, and vast quantities of these were exported in later periods to Rome and Constantinople. The beneficence of the Creator had also bestowed on the country the olive, orange, pomegranate, vine, sugar-cane, sycamore, palm, citron, tamarind, fig, and carob, which yielded their increase in great profusion. The herbage was also luxuriant; flax, rice, cotton, cloves, cabbages, cucumbers, melons, onions, lupins, radishes, leeks, and garlic, grew in ample harvest, while the air was laden with the perfume of the rose, the lily, and the acacia. Flags and reeds sprang up by the river; the castor berry yielded oil; from the cypress, fir, and cedar, was obtained a hard and durable timber; several fungi afforded materials for dyeing; and the pods of the acacia Nilotica, and various barks were employed in the process of tanning.[2] This abundance of food supplied an important element of national greatness, the great works of the country were the more easily built, for the toiling myriads were fed at small expense to the state. Vegetables were the chief popular diet, and so quick was the growth of all kinds of pulse, that Pliny affirms they appeared above ground on the third day;[3] and according to the same authority, Egypt surpassed every other country in the quick and spontaneous growth of herbs. Four thousand persons are said to have been engaged in the

[1] Otia Egyptiaca, p. 60.

[2] A long and minute description of the Botany of Egypt will be found in an Appendix to "Pickering's Races of Man," London, 1850.

[3] XVIII. 7.

sale of vegetables in the markets of Alexandria, when it was besieged and taken by the Arabian host of Omar.

Egypt was also famed of old for the variety of its drugs and medicinal preparations. One of the Hebrew bards sings, "O virgin, the daughter of Egypt, in vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured."[1] Homer too describes the great variety of medicines which the queen of Egypt had in her possession, and gave to Helen. Drugs.

"Τοῖα Διὸς Θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
Ἐσθλὰ, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις,
Αἰγυπτίη· τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά."—*Odyss.* iv. 227.

Such sovereign and precious medicines were possessed by the daughter of Jove,
Which Polydamna, the wife of Thonis, had given her—
The queen of Egypt—a land whose kind soil produces
An immense variety of drugs—some a healthful mixture, and others indeed pernicious.

The country likewise abounded with sheep, goats, gazelles, oxen, geese, widgeons, ducks, and quails. Sheep, according to Diodorus, bore lambs twice in Egypt, and were twice shorn.[2] On a painting in a tomb below the pyramids, nine hundred and seventy-four rams are represented as being brought to be registered as part of the wealth of the deceased.[3] The zoology of Egypt also gives us the horse, camel, giraffe, cat, ichneumon, jerboa, hyaena, hippopotamus, dog, and ape; the cerastis was prominent among its reptiles, and the beetle among its insects; the ostrich, ibis, vulture, pelican, and quail were noted principally among its feathered races. Its rivers and waters abounded in fish of more than twenty different species. Animals.

Nor was the mineral kingdom unproductive. The topaz, emerald, and amethyst were found in abundance, with rock crystal, alabaster, and lapis lazuli. Natron, or native carbonate of soda, was got in profusion at the Natron Lakes. Mines of various metals were anciently wrought in Egypt. The gold mines mentioned by Agatharchides seem to have been identified by Linant and Bonomi, and lie in the Bisharee desert, a tract of the upper country. The gold was found in veins of quartz. Diodorus gives a full and minute account of the mining operations. He speaks of the dark schists, traversed by veins of quartz, which he terms "bright marble." This ore was burnt in furnaces, then broken to pieces by hammers, and ground in mills to a fine powder. The pulverised matter was then spread upon a board, and repeatedly washed with water, under careful and delicate manipulation, till all the earthy matter was gradually abstracted, and, lastly, Minerals. Gold.

[1] Jeremiah xlvi. 11.

[2] I. 36. 87.

[3] Wilkinson, II. 368.

the gold which remained behind was patiently melted and purified in earthen crucibles.[1]

Mining operations.

The miners were slaves, criminals, and prisoners, fettered and closely guarded, while the lash was held over them by a hard-hearted taskmaster. The silver mines, according to the same author, produced annually 3200 myriads of minae.[2] Mines of copper, iron, and lead were also wrought in the deserts which lay in the vicinity of the Red Sea, and there were also procured chalk and sulphur. Egypt was thus richly furnished with the elements of greatness, in its abundance of food and of the precious metals. Supported by its agriculture, and enriched by its commerce and conquests, it was prepared to advance in arts and science, to erect those works of wonder which its climate has so marvellously preserved, and which bear upon them a record of the history of the kings and people who dwelt in this wondrous river-land—in the valley of the Nile.

Drought and Famine.

But, on the other hand, it is plain that any great inequality in the periodical floods of the Nile must have always produced disastrous consequences to Egypt. Strabo, indeed, says, that through various contrivances of canals, reservoirs, and embankments, any irregularities in the inundation were rectified.[3] Yet occasionally all art failed, and the wisdom of Egypt could not save it from dearth. The famine in the days of Joseph is plainly attributable to Nilotic variation or failure; and in later times similar seasons of scarcity have afflicted the country. In the reign of Trajan a horrible calamity of this nature occurred. Pliny, in his panegyric on that emperor,

Trajan's Liberality.

has depicted it with peculiar terseness and power, and has not neglected to glorify the idol of his own imagination, while his Roman pride proves its characteristic insolence, over the crouching vassals of a distant and degraded province. "The Egyptians," says he, "who gloried that they needed neither sun nor rain to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought and a fatal sterility, from the greatest part of their territories being deserted, and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince, which they had been accustomed to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined that this misfortune had befallen them only to display with greater lustre the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not subsist

[1] 3. 11—18. Agatharchides, an author of the time of the Ptolemies, wrote a treatise on "the Erythraean Sea," in the reign of Ptolemy Soter II. In this book he furnishes an account of the gold mines of Egypt, which Diodorus seems to have copied.

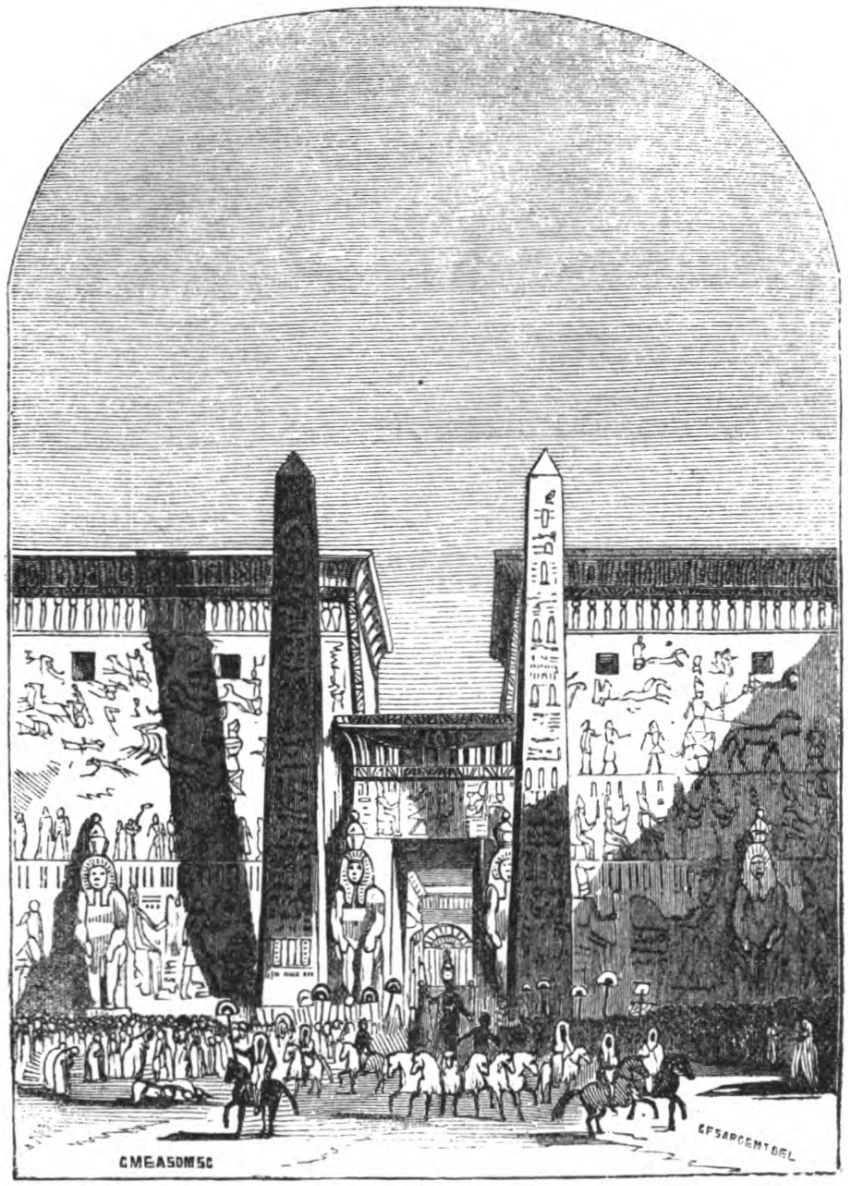
[2] A mina was 1 lb. 5 oz. 6 dwt. English.

[3] xvii.

without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that, though conquered, they nevertheless fed their conquerors; that, by means of their river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely at their own disposal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains! The Egyptians in their sovereign found a deliverer and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may in other times have diffused more plenty in Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility."[1]

Roman pride.

[1] We have taken this free version from the "Ancient History" of Rollin, Vol. I., page 51; but we subjoin the pithy and eloquent original.—"Ægyptus alendis augendisque seminibus ita gloriata est, ut nihil imbribus cœloque deberet: siquidem proprio semper amne perfusa, nec alio genere aquarum solita pingvescere quàm quas ipse devexerat, tantis segetibus induebatur, ut cum feracissimis terris quasi nunquam cessura certaret: hæc inopia siccitate usque ad injuriam sterilitatis exaruit, quia piger Nilus cunctanter alveo sese ac languidè extulerat: ingentibus quoque tunc quidem ille fluminibus conferendus. Hinc pars magna terrarum mergi palanti amne consueta alto pulvere incanduit. Frustrà tunc Ægyptus nubila optavit, cœlumque respexit, quum ipse fœcunditatis parens contractior et exilior iisdem ubertatem ejus anni angustiis quibus abundantiam suam cohibuisset. Neque enim solùm vagus ille expanditor amnis intra usurpata semper collium substiterat atque hæserat, sed supino etiam ac detinenti solo, placido se mollique lapsu refugum abstulerat: nec dum satis humentes terras addiderat arendibus. Igitur inundatione, id est ubertate, regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solet amnem suum: nec longius illi adversorum fuit spatium quàm dum nuntiat. Tam velox, Cæsar, potentia tua est, támque in omnia pariter intenta bonitas et accincta, ut tristius aliquod seculo tuo passis ad remedium salutemque sufficiat ut scias. Omnibus equidem gentibus fertiles annos gratasque terras precor: crediderim tamen per hunc Ægypti statum tuas fortunam vires experiri, tuamque vigilantiam expectare voluisse. Nam quum omnia ubique secunda merearis, nónne manifestum est, siquid adversi cadat, tuis laudibus, tuisque virtutibus materiem campumque prosterni, quum secunda felices, adversa magnos probent? Percrebuerat antiquitus, urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse: superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quòd victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias: recepit frumenta quæ miserat, deportatasque messes revexit. Discat igitur Ægyptus credatque; experimento, non alimenta se nobis sed tributa præstare: sciat se non esse P. R. necessariam, et tamen serviat. Post hæc, si volet Nilus, amet alveum suum, et fluminis modum servet: nihil hoc ad urbem, ac ne ad Ægyptum quidem, nisi ut inde navigia inania et vacua et similia redeuntibus, hinc plena et onusta et qualia solent venire, mittantur, conversoque munere maris hinc potius venti ferentes, et brevis cursus optentur," &c.



[Obelisks in front of the Gate at Luxor.—*Description de l'Egypt.*]

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY OF EGYPT.

Our object here is only to admit a very brief sketch of the most famous localities and towns of ancient Egypt—places of note either from their situation, history, or monuments. Our imaginary pilgrimage will carry us to—

—— "the eternal pyramids;
Memphis and Thebes, and whatsoe'er of strange,
Sculptured on alabaster obelisk,
Or jasper tomb, or mutilated sphinx:
Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills
Conceals, among the ruined temples there,
Stupendous columns, and wild images
Of more than man, where marble demons watch
The zodiac's brazen mystery, and dead men
Hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around,
We linger."[1]

Population.

Egypt was of old very populous, and swarmed with towns and villages. According to Diodorus it had 18,000 cities in more ancient times, but numbered 30,000 in the days of the Ptolemies. The priests assured Herodotus that prior to the Persian conquest 20,000 inhabited towns filled their prosperous country. Josephus affirms that in Vespasian's time Egypt contained seven millions and a-half of population over and above that of Alexandria. The Greek poet Theocritus has displayed his ingenuity in crowding into three hexameter verses the numeration of 33,333 cities that owned the sway of Ptolemy Philadelphus—

Τρεῖς μέν οἱ πολίων ἑκατοντάδες ἐνδέδμηνται,
Τρεῖς δ' ἄρα χιλιάδες τρισσαῖς ἐπὶ μυριάδεσσιν,
Δοιαὶ δὲ τριάδες, μετὰ δὲ σφίσιν ἐννεάδες τρεῖς·
Τῶν πάντων Πτολεμαῖος ἀγάνωρ ἐμβασιλεύει.—*Idyll.* xvii. 83.

The climate, fertility, and opulence of the kingdom are proofs that it was populated by myriads, though there be without doubt some exaggeration in the preceding statements. Egypt was truly a busy world; the great artery of the nation's life was the Nile; and all along its banks, city, town, village, and hamlet were crowded with an active, ingenious, and industrious people. It was a teeming hive of soldiers, farmers, artizans, and labourers. Alas! what a contrast now; its larger cities are squalid in aspect, and its poor and scanty rural population often finds an awkward and comfortless home among the hoary ruins of—

"The oldest fabrics reared by hand of man,
Built ere Art's dawn on Europe's shores began."

Provinces.

Under the Ptolemies, and probably at a very early period, the whole country was divided into thirty-six Nomes or Provinces,[2] and that division was maintained till the invasion of the Saracens. The number and extent of the Nomes, however, fluctuated a little at various periods. The following table gives the Greek, Egyptian, and Arabian names of these Provinces, in the order in which they occur along the course of the Nile; and the same order is observed in the subjoined account of the most remarkable places which they contain.

[1] Shelly's Alastor.

[2] Diod. Sic., i. § 54; Strabo, xvii. 1.

I. UPPER EGYPT.

I. Thebaïs, Marès, El Sâíd.

Provinces.	Greek.	Egyptian.	Arabic.	Present Name.
	1. Ombos,		Kúm-ombò,	Cús.
	2. Apollonopolis Magna,	Atbō,	Odfù,	
	3. Letopolis,	Snē,	Isnà or Esnè,	
	4. Hermonthis,	Ermont,	Erment,	
	5. Diospolis or Thebæ,		Medinet Abú,	
	6. Pathures or Pathros,		El-ocsoreïn,	
	7. Coptos,	Keft,	Kift,	
	8. Tentyris,	Tentore or Kentore,	Denderà,	
	9. Diospolis parva,	Hù or Hò,	Huw.	
	10. Abydus.			
	11. Oasis Major,	Wahe,	El-wáh.	
	12. Ptolemáis,	Psói,	Ibsai.	
	13. Panopolis or Chemmis,	Khmim or Shmin,	Ikhmim,	Ikhmím.
	14. Aphroditopolis,		Idfeh.	
	15. Antæopolis,	Tkōù,	Cáú.	
	16. Hypselis,	Shōtp,	Shotb,	Osyút.
	17. Lycopolis,	Siōút,	Osyút,	
	18. Hermopolis,	Shmùn,	Oshmúneïn,	Oshmuneïn.
	19. Theodosiopolis,	Tūhō,	Tahà,	
	20. Cynopolis,	Kaïs,	El-kaïs,	
	21. Oxyrrhynchus,	Pemjé,	Behensà or Behnesà,	Behnesà.
	22. Oasis Minor,	Wahé,	El-wah,	
	23. Heracleopolis,	Hnēs,	Ehnàs,	
	24. Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis,	Phiom,	Fayyùm,	Fayyûm.
	25. Aphrodriopolis,	Tpēh,	Atfíh,	Atfíh.
	26. Memphis,	Memfi,	Menf,	Jízeh.

II. LOWER EGYPT.

1. Pharbœthus,	Pharbaït,	Horbaït,	Sharkiyyeh.
2. Tanis,	Jani,	Sán,	Dacahliyyeh.
3. Mendes,	Shmún anerman,	Oshmúm.	
4. Prosopis,	Pshati,	Ibshádeh,	Gharbiyyeh.
5. Saïs,	Saï,	Sà-el-hajar.	
6. Busiris,	Pusiri,	Búsír.	
7. Sebennytus,	Shemnuti,	Semennùd.	
8. Onuphis.			
9. Buto or Butus,	Pteneto.		
10. Cabasa,	Khbehs,	Kabas.	

These ten Nomes were all comprehended within the limits of the Delta; but there was also a considerable territory on each side beyond the Canopic and Pelusiac arms of the Nile. This was, in the same manner, divided into several Nomes, formed probably after

the kingdom of Egypt had been extended beyond its original boundaries, and, therefore, not comprehended in the six-and-thirty mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo.

These additional territories were— Additional Territories.

I. The Eastern.—Præfectura Arabica, Ti-arabia.

1. Heliopolis,	On,	Matariyyeh or Ain-shems,		Calyúbiyyéh.
2. Athribis,	Athrébi,	Athrib,		Sharkiyyeh.
3. Bubastis,	Pubasti,	Tell-Basteh,		
4. Arabia,	Ti-arabia,	Tarabiyah,		Calyúbiyyeh.
5. Sethrum,	Psarïom,			Dacahliyyeh.

II. The Western.—Præfectura Libyca, Niphaïah.

1. Alexandria,	Racoti,	Al Iskanderíyyeh,	Iskanderíyyeh. Boheirch. Ba'hírch.
2. Menelaus.			
3. Andropolis.			

UPPER EGYPT.

The description of Nubia lies not within our province, yet in it there is much that yet speaks of ancient splendour. Many magnificent ruins abound in it. The following illustration gives a view of the interior of a temple at Abousimbel, of vast proportions, cut out of the solid rock. Nubia.



Philæ, Bilac, or Jeziret-el-birba. 24° 1′ 34″ N. 32° 54′ 31″ E.

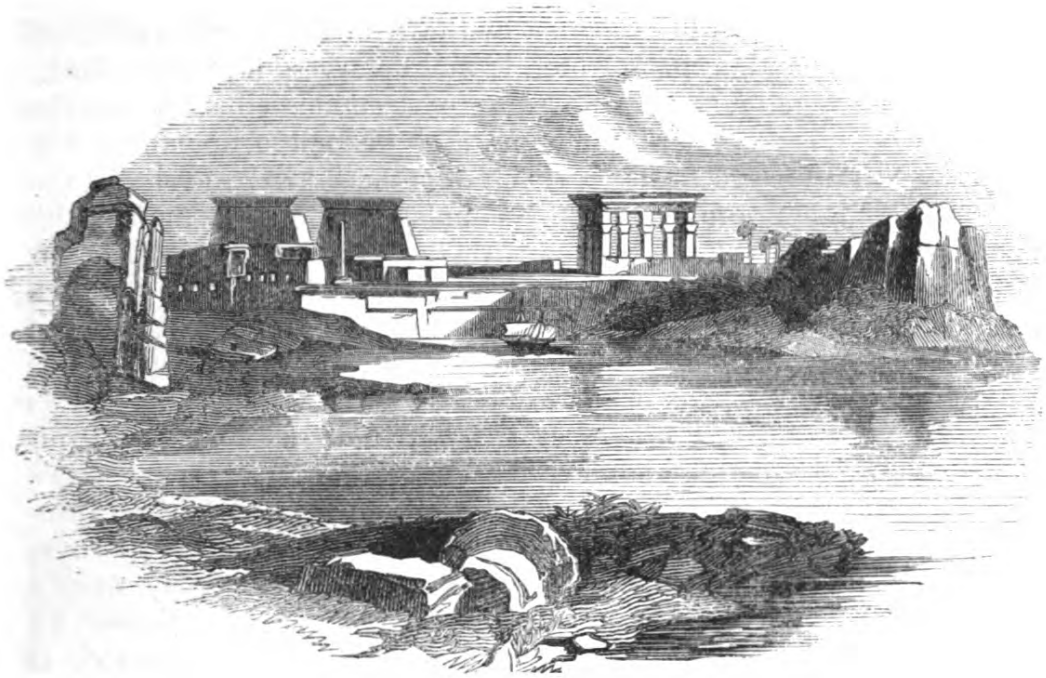
On leaving this scene of splendour, entering Egypt from the south, and following the course of the Nile, the first place which occurs is the Island of Philæ, about six miles to the south of Syene, and nearly thirty-four to the north of the Tropic of Cancer. With an area of barely 900 yards in circumference, and 100 in breadth, this diminutive islet still offers a variety of objects deserving admiration, and calculated to revive a multitude of historical and classical recollections. Considered as the burial-place of Osiris, and adorned with magnificent temples, one of which was believed to have been built by Isis, in honour of her husband, every thing which antiquity and sanctity could give to warm the imagination, and inflame the devotion of the worshippers, seemed concentrated on this holy soil. Jezíret-el-birbà, i.e. the Temple-Island, one of the names by which it is at present known, sufficiently indicates the magnitude and character of the ruins by which it is covered. Though the surrounding cliffs are of a dark granite, the temples are built of a bright sandstone, which contrasts singularly with the neighbouring cliffs; and nearly the whole island is cased with walls of hewn stone, which give it the appearance of a modern escarpment. These walls form quays, concave toward the stream, but convex landwards, a mode of building peculiar to ancient Egypt.[1] The whole island is covered with temples in the largest groups and highest state of preservation of any now remaining in Egypt. On its south-west side there are two large ones, adorned and connected by long colonnades, but manifestly of different ages. On the right is the small Temple of Isis, and an isolated, unfinished building, supposed to have been destined for the same object; on the left, are an Obelisk, and long porticoes leading to a large Temple of Isis, near a smaller one dedicated to Venus. The great Temple of Isis is the southernmost of all; in front of it are two colonnades, with as many obelisks and pylons, or portals, of vast dimensions. The capitals of the columns are in the pure Egyptian taste, having the foliage borrowed alternately from the flower of the lotus,[2] or the leaves of the palm.[3] One of these majestic pylons, flanked by two square tower-like masses of masonry, rising pyramidically to the height of fifty-four feet, leads to the second court of the temple, and beyond the third court is the *adytum*, or sanctuary. These pylons are richly ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics, relating to the service of the gods to whom the temple was dedicated. As one side alone of the great pylon measures 5400 square feet, and all of them are entirely covered with hieroglyphics, the number of those symbolic inscriptions is exceedingly large. Fragments of obelisks and lions of red granite are strewed upon the ground in front of the great temple, which was itself, in part, from similar materials.

Temple of Isis.

[1] Descript. de l'Egypte, Ant. i. 12.

[2] Nelumbium speciosum.

[3] Lancret, in Descript. de l'Egypte, Ant. i. i. p. 25, 8, 10.



At some distance from these temples, near the water's edge, there is a large hall, the walls of which are covered with sculptures relating to the death of Osiris, over which inscriptions of various ages and in various characters are scattered, recording the names of pilgrims who had come to perform their devotion to the deities of the place.

On the left of the great temple which was dedicated to Isis, there is an uncovered enclosure, formed by a colonnade, of which the intercolumniations are filled up to more than one-third of their height. This was considered as an unfinished temple by the French architects, and called "the eastern," or "the Temple of Isis." Before it lay a small obelisk of granite, which, though displaced, was little injured. The hieroglyphics on the obelisk itself, and the Greek inscription on its base, have been faithfully copied, and the inscription, which has been ably illustrated and explained by M. Letronne, is one of the most curious monuments of antiquity found in Egypt. It is a petition from the priests of Isis at Philæ, to Ptolemy Euergetes II., in 125 or 126 B.C., praying him to release them from the exactions of the magistrates and military officers stationed in the Thebaïs, and to allow them to erect a stelé or cippus, on which they might commemorate the equity and beneficence of their sovereign. The existence of this commemorative obelisk is, therefore, in itself a proof that the prayer was granted; and the hieroglyphics on the shaft, when interpreted, will doubtless be found to refer to this beneficent act of Ptolemy Euergetes.

Obelisk and inscription.

Elephantiné. Just below the cataracts there is another small island in the Nile, little inferior in celebrity to Philæ. It was called by the ancients Elephantiné, and has been named by the Arabs Jezíret-el-zahir, i.e. the Flowery Island, a name which it well deserves, from the luxuriance of its vegetation. In the time of Psammetichus,[1] it was the last fortified place in his dominions, and under the Romans it was garrisoned by three cohorts.[2] Heaps of rubbish mark the site of the town, and there are remains of two temples, covered, like most of the public buildings in Egypt, with hieroglyphics, but approaching in their form and plan to the earliest temples of Greece. The quarries of Elephantiné were worked in a very early age, and furnished the materials for many celebrated buildings, among which the famous monolithe temple at Saïs peculiarly deserves to be noticed. It was formed from a single block of granite, and its removal from Elephantiné to the Delta employed 2000 men for the space of three years.[3] This monolithe measured twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen in breadth, and eight in height. It was placed at the entrance of the Temple of Minerva. On the wall of an ancient quay, over a flight of steps down to the river, the Nilometer, mentioned by Strabo, may still be seen. Elephantiné, physically considered, is more properly the extremity of Egypt than Philæ, for it is the last projection of the granitic rock which forms the natural division between Egypt and Nubia, and beyond it the limestone tract of country begins.

Syene, Aswân. 24° 8′ 6″ N. 32° 55′ E. On the eastern side of the Nile, nearly opposite to Elephantiné, stands the town of Aswàn or Oswân, the Syene of the Greeks, and Suan of the Copts, in whose language it signifies "the Opening." Being so near the tropic, it was chosen by Eratosthenes as the point of departure for his admeasurement of a degree, which was to form the basis of his calculations, in order to determine the circumference of the earth.

Ombos Twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles below Aswàn, on the western bank of the Nile, lies Kúm-Ombò, on the site of Ombos. All the lower part of the ancient town, except what has been washed away by the river, is covered with a mount of sand, as its modern name implies; but two temples surrounded by a brick wall of great thickness still remain. This temple was devoted to two principal deities, Apollo, typified by a hawk, and Saturn, by a crocodile. Hence that symbol of the latter god was supposed by the Romans to be the favourite idol of the Ombites, whose fanaticism is so strongly painted by Juvenal.[4]

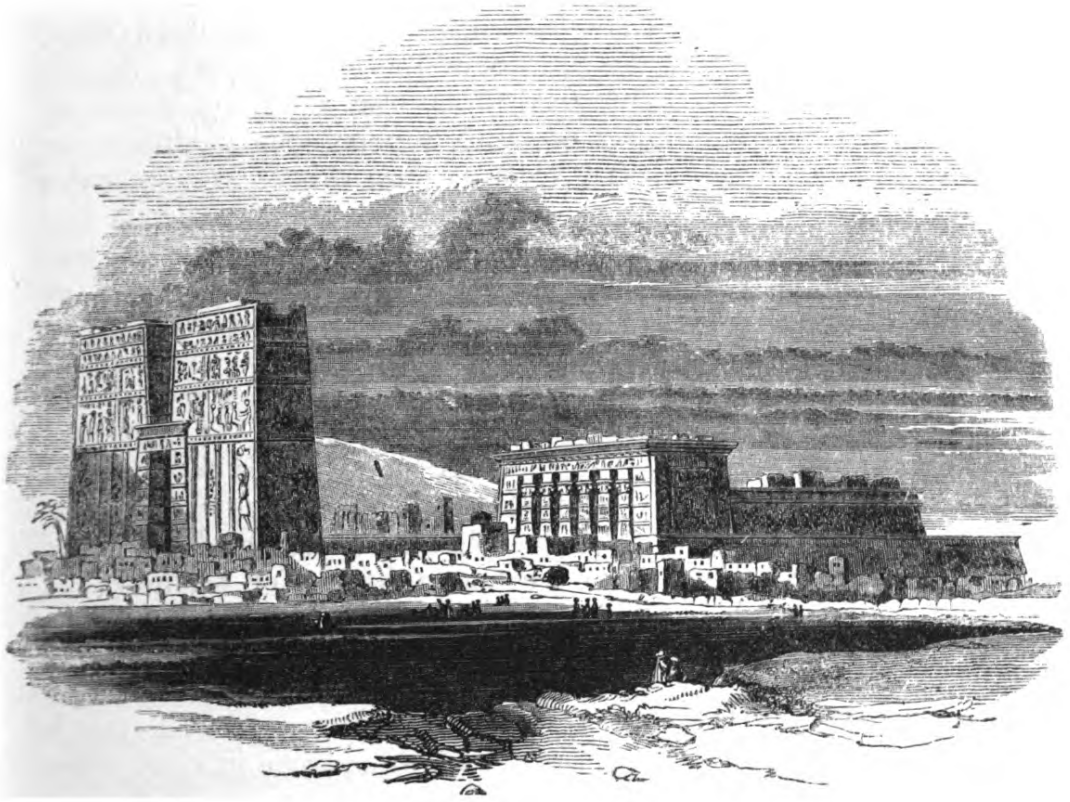
> "Labitur hinc quidam, nimiâ formidine cursum
> Præcipitans, capiturque: ast illum in plurima sectum
> Frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
> Subficeret, totum conrosis ossibus edit
> Victrix turba.

[1] Herod. ii. 30.
[2] Strabo, xvii. i. 469.
[3] Herod. ii. 175.
[4] Sat. xv.

"An *Ombite* wretch (by headlong haste betray'd,
And falling down i' th' rout) is prisoner made;
Whose flesh torn off by lumps the rav'nous foe
In morsels cut, to make it further go;
His bones clean pick'd, his very bones they gnaw;
No stomach's baulk'd, because the corpse is raw."—*Dryden's Juv.*

Edfú, the Apollonopolis Magna of the Greeks, is thirty-two or thirty-three miles lower down the Nile, on its western side, and about two miles from the water's edge. The ancient quay, with a flight of steps down to the river, and two temples at right angles to each other, are still remaining; the latter, though half buried in sand, are among the finest and most perfect remains in Egypt. The roof of the largest, as at Philæ, Denderah, and other places, is covered by peasants' huts, and the openings intended to give light to the temple serve as sinks for the reception of filth. The temple is twice as long as it is broad, and measures about 440 feet by 220; its largest columns are six feet four inches in diameter, twenty-one feet in girth, and forty-two in height. The two lofty pylons, which are

Apollonopolis Magna, Edfú.
24° 58′ 43″ N.
32° 54′ E.



very conspicuous from the river, and the thirty-two columns of the peristyle to which they lead, form a magnificent perspective. The sculptures are executed in the most perfect style of Egyptian art;

and none of the remains in Egypt give a juster notion of the distribution of their temples than this, where the sanctuary, temple and ante-temple, pylons and propylons,[1] are all remaining, and the wall of the sacred enclosure can be traced.

Letopolis, or Esneh. 24° 58⅔′ S. 32° 35′ E.

Esnà, Snà, or *Letopolis*, the present capital of Lower Egypt, about thirteen miles below El-kâb, is placed in a large plain where the valley is nearly four miles and a-half wide. Esnè is remarkable on account of a very large Coptic convent, probably founded by the scholars of St. Pachomius, and supposed to possess the bones of the martyrs who were victims of the persecution under Diocletian, A.D. 383.

Thebes.

In the broadest part of this section of the valley, where the Nile has a width of 1300 feet, and runs from south-west to north-east, between Cúrnah or Gúrnah on the north, and El Nahariyyah on the south, the splendid remains of Thebes are spread over a very large area occupied by nine distinct townships.[2] The most remarkable of these places are Medínet Abú, Gúrnah, and Karnák.

Medeenet-aboo. 25° 43½′ N. 32° 37′ E.

On the edge of the desert, to the north and west of Medínet Abú, there are almost innumerable fragments of statues, pillars, &c., and a quadrangular enclosure of brick walls filled with broken remains of colossal figures and hieroglyphical tablets finely executed. A grove of mimosás, wherein similar relics of ancient sculpture occur at almost every step, occupies the site of the *Memnonium*.[3] At the eastern boundary of this wood stood two colossal statues of Memnon, one of which was the object of much superstitious credulity, on account of the sounds issuing from it once every day. Strabo thus describes them,[4] "On the opposite side of the Nile is the Memnonium, where there are two monolithe colossi near one another. One of the statues is entire, but the upper part of the other has fallen from its chair, owing, as they report, to an earthquake. It is believed that once a day a sound, like that produced by a moderate blow, proceeds from that part of the statue which remains on the seat and the pedestal. I happened to be on the spot with Ælius Gallus, and many of his friends and soldiers, about the first hour, when I heard the sound; but whether it came from the base, or from the colossus, or was made by some one of those around the base, I cannot affirm. For as the cause was not visible, one is inclined to adopt any conjecture rather than believe that the sound came out of the mass of stone. Above the Memnonium are the tombs of the kings cut in the rock, forty in number, very wonderful in their construction and well worth examining." Pausanias seems to have the same scene in view, when he says,[5] "I was most surprised with the colossus at Thebes in

Memnon's Statues.

Description of Vocal Memnon by Strabo.

Pausanias,

[1] The Sēcos or Cella, Naos, Pronaos, and Propylæa of the Greeks. (Letronne, Recherches, 22.)

[2] Plan des Ruines de Thèbes; Descript. de l'Egypte Ant. ii. pl. 1.

[3] Strabo, xvii. i. 462. [4] Ibid. [5] i. 42, 3.

Egypt, which you come to after crossing the Nile in your way to the tombs. I saw still throned on his chair a statue which is generally called Memnon. Tradition reports that he came out of Ethiopia into Egypt, and carried his expedition as far as Susa. But the Thebans say, this is not a statue of Memnon but of Phamenoph, a native of the country. I have also heard some say that this is a statue of Sesostris, which Cambyses mutilated; at present all from the head as far as the middle of the body is thrown down, but the remainder is still seated, and daily at sun-rise produces a sound, which you may best compare with the snapping of a harp or lute string." Another ancient author,[1] going deeper into the old mythology, speaks as follows:—"About Memnon, Damis writes as follows: He was the son of Aurora, and did not die in Troy, for he never even went there, but he ended his days in Ethiopia, having been king of the Ethiopians for five generations. And the people of this country, who are very long-lived, lament the death of Memnon, considering him to have died very young, and to have been taken off by an untimely fate. The place where his statue stands is, as they say, like an ancient forum, such as we see in deserted cities, where there are fragments of columns, traces of walls, seats, and door-jambs, and statues of Hermes, partly broken by violence, and partly impaired by time. The statue of Memnon is turned towards the sun: it has no beard, and is of black stone. Both the feet are close together, according to the style of sculpture in the age of Dædalus, and the hands are pressing on the seat, for the figure is in readiness to rise. This attitude, and the intelligence of the eyes, and all the wonders they tell about his speaking, produce, as they say, only a partial effect, while the statue is inactive. But when the rays strike the stone, which is at sunrise, then the spectators cannot restrain their admiration; for the statue utters a sound as soon as the beams have touched his lips; and his eyes seem to gaze on the light, as men do who are fond of looking at the sun. They say, moreover, that the attitude of the statue produces the impression of his appearing to rise up to do honour to the sun, as men do who rise to pay their respects to a superior." This last sentiment is truly the dictate of a senile and credulous superstition.

and Philostratus.

Antiquity seems to have been well acquainted with the existence and powers of the vocal Memnon. Juvenal refers to it in his fifteenth Satire, and Tacitus also alludes to the "Memnonis saxea effigies,"—Ann. II. 61. Nay, the beauty of Memnon is celebrated in the Odyssey; nor is he forgotten by Pindar in his third Nemean Ode, 111. Inscriptions also are found on the statue itself, testifying to its vocal powers. The following is one of them copied by Mr. Salt:—

Allusions to Memnon.

[1] Philostratus, Apollonii vita, vi. 4.

"IMP. DOMITIANO
CAESARE AVGVSTO GERMANICO
TPETRONIVS SECVNDVS. PR
AVDITMEMNONEM HORAI PR. IDVS MART."

This inscription records the fact that Petronius heard the mysterious sounds in the reign of Domitian. Mr. Long in his Egyptian Antiquities,[1] has given a corrected copy of a Greek inscription from Hamilton's Egyptiaca, which reads thus,—

Εκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ Πόπλιος Βαλβῖνος
φωνὰς τὰς θειὰς Μεμνονος ἢ Φαμένωθ
ἦλθον ὁμοῦ δ' ἐρατᾷ βασιληΐδι τῇδε Σαβίνᾳ,
ὥρας δὲ πρώτας ἅλιος ἔσχε δρόμον,
κοιράνῳ Ἀδριανῷ πέμπτῳ δεκάτῳ ὁ' ἐνιαυτῷ
ἅματα δ' ἔσχεν Ἀθυρ εἴκοσι καὶ πίσυρα.

This inscription avers that the Lady Balbina, in the company of the Empress Sabina, spouse of Adrian, heard the divine sound of the Memnon on the twenty-fourth day of the month Athur, and in the fifteenth year of the emperor's reign.

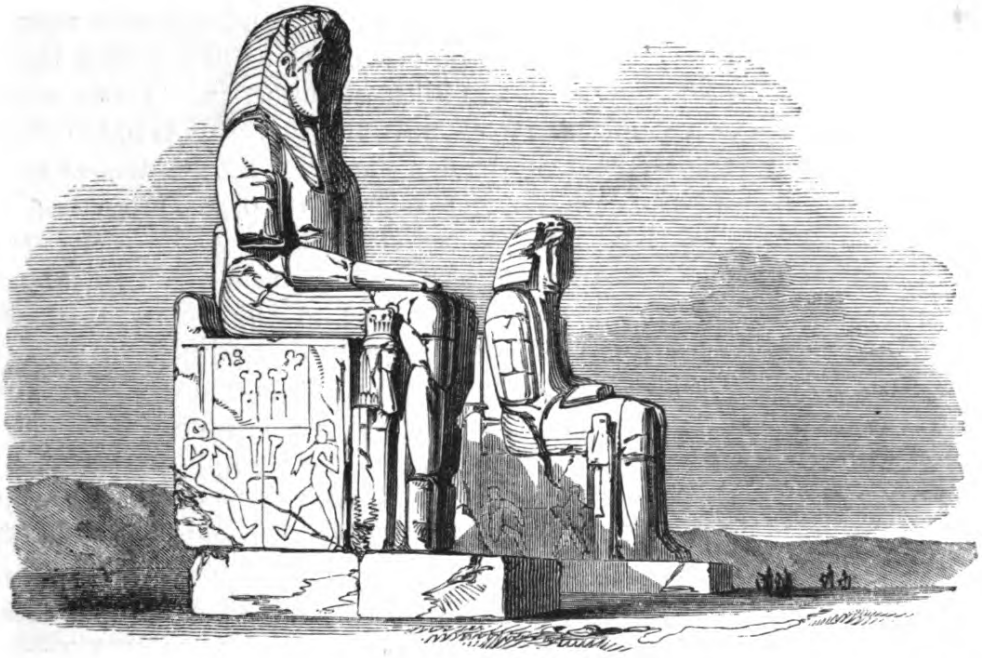
Nature of the sounds.

The accounts vary too much to inspire any confidence in the vocal power ascribed to the statue, and yet are too numerous, and were too generally received, not to demand some attention. The sounds have been described as cheerful and harmonious upon the appearance, and as plaintive upon the setting of the sun. Others, again, have spoken of the sound as sharp and sudden, like the breaking of the string of a harp from too great tension. Many ingenious philosophical solutions of this phenomena, on the supposition of its reality, have been attempted. Those who reason upon the description of it, as a sharp and sudden sound emitted from the statue, suppose it to have been constructed of some kind of sonorous stone, capable of being expanded or contracted by the rarefaction of the air, or the general temperature of the morning and evening. Others, who receive the more enlarged account of its varied tones, have conjectured that some strings, easily affected by heat or cold, might be concealed within the statue, which the warmth of the morning might brace, and that the breeze which usually accompanies the rising and setting of the sun might have access through some small and artfully-contrived apertures, acting upon these strings as upon an Æolian harp. Humboldt speaks of peculiar sounds rising from the rocks at sunrise on the banks of the Orinoko, and modern geologists have occasionally heard similar music. But if the fact be conceded, there seems to be no good reason why we may not suppose that the sound was conveyed to the statue, or its pedestal, through concealed pipes, from some vault or cavern, which may long since have been filled up, so that the notes would appear to come from the statue itself; since we know that such contrivances were

Various solutions.

[1] Vol. i. p. 264.

subsequently common to the several oracles of Greece. Wilkinson describes it as proceeding from a stone in the lap of the statue, which might be easily struck with an unseen hammer, for behind the stone a person might be concealed, there being a recess evidently formed for the purpose.



These statues, called by the Arabs Támah and Shámah, might be seen twelve miles off, rising like solitary rocks in the midst of the plain. The surprising length of their shadows at sunrise long rendered them an object of curiosity at that hour, though, like their kindred oracles, they had become mute. The hieroglyphical inscription on the throne of the vocal colossus shows that it represents Amenophis or Phamenoph II., who reigned nearly 1700 years before the birth of Christ.[1]

Tomb of Osymandyas.

To the north of the grove of Acacias, there is another mass of ruins, as stupendous in their dimensions as they are admirable in their execution. They are supposed to mark the site of the Tomb of Osymandyas, the mighty conqueror, whose sepulchre was to surpass in splendour every thing upon earth.[2] The Temple of Isis, and the Syrinx or Labyrinth, to the north-west, though diminutive when compared with the gigantic structures just described, are not less remarkable for ingenuity of contrivance and for rich and finished decorations; and the porticoes, courts, and statues at Luxor and Kárnak present a rich spectacle to the artist and the antiquary; green and cultivated islands in the foreground, with obelisks, propylæa, and palaces, diversifying by their broad lights and shades the

[1] Champollion, Précis, 233.

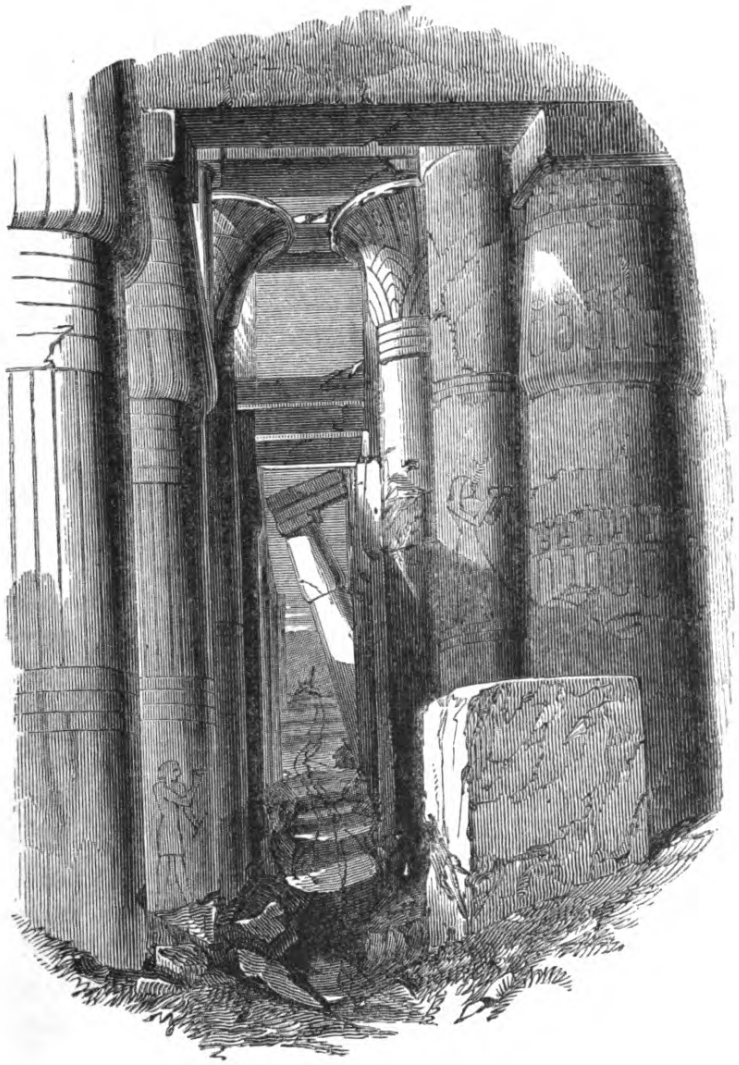
[2] Diod. Sic. i. 47.

palm groves, of which the waving boughs give continual glimpses of the neighbouring mountains, bounding the scene on the east. Two obelisks, each hewn out of one block of granite upwards of seventy feet high, two colossal figures, measuring forty-four feet from the ground, and the same number of pylons, fifty feet in height, succeeded by long peristyles, lead to the main body of this palace of the Pharaohs. Some of the columns of the peristyle are nearly eleven feet in diameter. The sculptures on the pylons, like those at Medínet Abú, represent the victories of Sesostris. These wondrous ruins show us the glory of ancient Egypt. What collection of palaces, temples, and tombs can vie with those—whose ruin tells what Thebes has been. What records of past heroic deeds! gods, conquerors, captives, battles, and offerings.

A second Hippodrome appears to have been formed about a mile and a-half to the south-east; and to the north a broad, raised causeway, adorned with columns and sphinxes, leads to the Kafr Karnák, another splendid quarter of the ancient Diospolis. For the space of nearly 6200 feet, a road, bordered by more than 600 colossal sphinxes, leads from one temple to another. Another similar road, branching off from this, passed between figures of rams on lofty pedestals to a triumphal gateway leading to a temple, apparently the most ancient in Thebes,—an inference fully justified by a hieroglyphic inscription over its entrance, ascribing it to Osymandyas. From the ruins within its area, many fine specimens of Egyptian art were recovered by the exertions of M. Belzoni, several of which are now in the British Museum, and among them, according to M. Champollion, is a statue of that conqueror, whose magnificence was almost proverbial. The great palace, at which the right branch of the avenue of sphinxes terminates, is the most surprising of all among these venerable monuments. From most points of view it appears a boundless, confused wreck of splendid buildings, scattered in every direction, without any order or perceptible design; but from the north-west end of the principal group the eye can survey the whole at once; and the great entrance from the west then displays all its extraordinary dimensions and magnificence. An unfinished pylon, succeeded by an avenue of columns more than seventy-five feet high, all of one block, but only one of them standing; a second pylon, leading to a hall, nearly 338 feet in length, and 167.23 feet in breadth; a third pylon, opening into a court, in which there are two obelisks more than seventy-two feet high; and in the midst of another hall, to which a fourth pylon leads, the largest obelisk probably ever formed from one stone,—are all seen following exactly in the same line, and forming a perspective, the effect of which cannot be conveyed by any draught, much less by any description. The great obelisk is very nearly one hundred feet high, and the walls are everywhere covered with hieroglyphics, or sculptures representing the battles,

Karnák. 25° 44′ N. 32° 40′ E.

Architectural splendour.



triumphs, sacrifices, processions, and festivals of the ancient Egyptians; and the colours with which they were decorated are still in many places extremely vivid. On the northern side of these buildings there were also triumphal arches, colonnades, sphinxes, and other monuments of architectural splendour in vast numbers; but they have all suffered, more or less, from the barbarism under which Egypt has so long groaned. The hieroglyphical inscriptions hitherto noticed at Thebes, strongly corroborate the observations of artists, as to the various ages of the buildings on which they are found, and show, in perfect consistency with ancient history, that these buildings were erected principally by kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Variety of Ornaments.

Eastward toward the Arabian chain is the so-called temple of Typhon, and close upon it are the remains of an artificial lake, enclosing on three sides what was once a palace of the Pharaohs. The beauty of the locality, as it once appeared, may be easily Artificial lake.

recalled. One can readily imagine a scene of old—of dance and song, and gay festivity—a happy promenade of the daughters of Egypt, when—

> "In drapery, like woven snow,
> These nymphs were clad; and each below
> Her rounded bosom loosely wore
> A dark blue zone, or bandelet,
> With little silver stars all o'er,
> As are the stars of midnight set;
> While in their tresses, braided through,
> Sparkled that flower of Egypt's lakes—
> The silvery lotus! in whose hue
> As much delight the young moon takes,
> As doth the day-god to behold
> The lofty bean flower's buds of gold:
> And as they gracefully went around
> The worshipped bird—some to the beat
> Of Castanets, some to the sound
> Of the shrill Sistrum—timed their feet;
> While others, at each step they took,
> A tinkling chain of silver shook."

Catacombs.

The catacombs in the western mountains are not less abundant in treasures illustrative of the ancient history of Egypt. Not only are the walls of these subterraneous abodes of the dead covered with paintings, which the unparalleled dryness of the atmosphere in Egypt has preserved uninjured, but besides mummies, these sepulchres often contain vessels of various kinds, utensils, and other works of art; the most extraordinary articles, however, and sometimes the most valuable of all, are the deeds and other documents written on papyrus in the Egyptian and Greek languages, and buried with their possessors. Belzoni discovered here the burial-place of Psammis, son of Necos, the Pharaoh-Necho of scripture, who reigned more than six centuries before the beginning of our era. Triumphal processions, in which Jewish captives are distinctly recognized, have a distinguished place in the decorations of this royal sepulchre, and thus there has been preserved, through the long interval of more than twenty-four centuries, a contemporary verification of some of the great events recorded in sacred and profane history.

Ruins of Thebes.

That the magnificent ruins in Karnák, El-ocsor, or Luxor, and Medínet Abú, are the remains of the hundred-gated Thebes, the earliest capital of the world, cannot be doubted. According to the admeasurement made by the French, the distance of these ruins from the sea, one way, amounts to 850 miles, and from Elephantiné, the other, 225 miles, corresponding exactly with the 6800 and 1800 stadii mentioned by Herodotus.[1] Without including the Hippodrome and Medámúd, the circumference of the ruins is from 14,000 to 15,000 metres, equally agreeing with the 140 stadii (17 miles and a-half) mentioned by Diodorus Siculus,[2] as the circumference of Thebes. The origin

[1] ii. 9. [2] i. 45.

of the name of this celebrated city, as well as the date of its foundation, are unknown. *Thebæ* is perhaps derived from the Egyptian word *Thbaki*, "the City;" and the No-Ammon[1] of the Hebrews,[2] and Diospolis of the Greeks, are mere translations of Thbaki-antepi-Amoun of the Egyptians, i.e. City of the Most High.[3] Its stupendous ruins spread over many an acre, in hoary majesty and sublime confusion, remind us vividly of its ancient grandeur—such as it was when the prince of Grecian bards thus sang of it:— Origin of Names. Description of Thebes by Homer,

ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
αἳ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισι καὶ ὄχεσφιν.—*Iliad*, ix. 381.

—— All proud Thebes' unrivalled walls contain
The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes through an hundred gates!
Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
From each wide portal issuing to the wars.

The Hebrew prophet, in the verse referred to already, describes graphically and truly the position and advantages of ancient Thebes. Challenging Nineveh, he says,— By Nahum.

Art thou better than No-Ammon,
Situated on the Nile-branches—
The waters flowing round her,
Whose bulwarks were the sea,
And from the sea her wall?
Cush and Egypt were her strength,
And it had no limit;
Phut and Lubim were thy allies;
Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity:
Her children were dashed in pieces at the top of every street;
And over her nobles they cast lots,
And all her magnates were bound in fetters.

On the sandy bank of the river, between Thebes and its greatest bend to the west, lie Cús, Keft, and Keneh on the eastern side, and nearly opposite to the latter, Denderah on the west. Cús, called Kôs-birbir by the Egyptians, is the *Apollonopolis Parva* of the Greeks. Apollonopolis Parva.

The ruins of *Tentyris* occupy an area of more than a mile in length, about half a-mile in breadth, and nearly two miles and a-half in circumference. There are two temples, a larger and a smaller one, supposed to be the *Typhonium*, both nearly buried in rubbish; and both are not only the first remains of antiquity of any magnitude occurring above Caïro, but finished in the best style, and worthy of admiration even after the finest works at Thebes have been examined. The largest of them is in plan similar to the eastern temple at *Philæ*. Tentyris, or Denderah, 26° 9′ N. 32° 41′ E.

[1] Nahum iii. 8. [2] Rosenmülleri Scholia in loc.
[3] Champollion, l'Egypte sous les Pharaons, i. 218.

Its portico and pronaos or ante-temple, are peculiarly striking. Planisphere. Upon the roof of the latter was the celebrated planisphere now at Paris, and so long the subject of wild speculations. Several chambers attached to the interior of this temple, are covered with astronomical, or rather astrological decorations; and the calculations deduced from them had occasioned so powerful a prepossession in favour of their extreme antiquity, that very obvious proofs of the contrary were entirely overlooked. The basis of the largest of these temples for example is upon a terrace still nearly fifteen feet above the level of the neighbouring country, while similar terraces at Thebes are only on a level with the surface of the Nile, above which they were beyond a doubt once greatly elevated. Visconti, therefore, and after him Belzoni, justly inferred that the temple at Denderah was not older than the time of the Ptolemies, or perhaps that of the Romans. The hieroglyphics on the walls of the temple completely confirm the evidence afforded by the Greek inscription over the entrance of the pronaos; for they contain the names of Tiberius and Augustus, for the preservation of the former of whom, this latter building was erected by the inhabitants of the Nome, when Publius Avillius Flaccus was Præfect of Egypt, about A.D. 34.[1] Mr. Salt, whose inquiries were coeval with, but independent of, those of M. Champollion, has observed the names of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines on different parts of these temples.[2] The capitals of the pillars in the Pronaos are formed by the face of Venus, (Nephthys,) to whom the temple was dedicated, and who was the principal object of the devotion of the Tentyrites.[3] Behind it stood the temple of Isis, one of the propylons of which was erected, as appears from another Greek inscription, by the inhabitants of the Nome in the thirty-first year of the reign of Augustus.

Power over the crocodile. The power possessed by the Tentyrites over the crocodile was amazing. Pliny tells us how they displayed their surprising feats in presence of the Roman people,[4] and Strabo confirms the report. The former author affirms that they entered the water, sprang upon the animal's back, and forced it ashore; while they sometimes, by mere power of voice, compelled it to disgorge the dead bodies it had swallowed. Sir Gardner Wilkinson suggests that the crocodile in such a case only abandoned the dead body at the sound of its pursuers, and ere it had time to tear and swallow it.

[1] Letronne, Rech. 180; Champollion, Précis, 387.
[2] See Salt's Tract on Hieroglyphics, London, 1825.
[3] Strabo, xvii. i.
[4] The following is a portion of Pliny's statement, Nat. Hist. lib. viii.:—"Quin et gens hominum est huic belluæ adversa in ipso Nilo Tentyritæ, ab insula, in qua habitat, appellata. Mensura eorum parva, sed præsentia animi in hoc tantum usu mira. Terribilis hæc contra fugaces bellua est, fugax contra insequentes: sed adversum ire soli hi audent. Quin etiam flumini innatant: dorsoque equitantium modo impositi, hiantibus resupino capite ad morsum, addita in os clava, dextra ac læva tenentes extrema ejus utrimque, ut frænis in terram agunt captivos: ac voce etiam sola territos, cogunt evomere recentia corpora ad sepulturam."

The inhabitants of Tentyris also hated and warred against such as worshipped the crocodile. Juvenal has not overlooked this in his fifteenth satire:— Hatred of the crocodile.

> Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
> Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus
> Ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrimque
> Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
> Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
> Esse Deos, quos ipse collit.
>
> Ombos and Tentyr, neighbouring towns, of late
> Broke into outrage of deep-festered hate—
> A grudge in both—time out of mind begun,
> And mutually bequeathed from sire to son,
> Religious spite and pious spleen bred fast
> This quarrel, which so long the bigot nursed;
> Each called the other's god a senseless stock—
> His own divine—though from the self-same block
> One carver framed them.—*Tate's Juvenal.*

Below Denderah, the Nile changes its course, and for nine miles runs due west, after which it returns to its original direction. Near to the latter elbow lay the town of Abydos.[1] According to Strabo, it was the residence of Memnon, an ancient king, called by the Egyptians Ismandis, though reduced to a miserable village even in his time. The remains of a fine building, perhaps the *Memnonium*, are still existing; whence the place is now called El-birbà, i.e. the Temple. In one of its inmost chambers, Mr. W. J. Bankes discovered, in 1818, a large hieroglyphical tablet containing a long series of royal names, as is evident from the well-known ring, or border, which encloses them. On further examination, it proves to be a genealogical table of the immediate predecessors of Ramses the Great, the Sethos or Sethosis of Manetho, Sesoosis of Diodorus, and Sesostris of Herodotus; it has been called the "Doomsday Book of Egyptian Chronology." A careful comparison of it with other documents, enabled the Champollions to ascertain, with a considerable degree of probability, the period in which the sixteenth and following dynasties, mentioned by Manetho, reigned; and if their calculations are correct, Sesostris, under whom the sculptures were made, ascended the throne B.C. 1473.[2] The ruins at El-kherbeh, a neighbouring village, are supposed by M. Jomard to be those of the *Memnonium*. Abydos. Memnonium.

On a rising ground, scarce twelve miles south of Ptolemaïs, about a mile from the river, lies the ancient *Panopolis*. It is on the eastern side of the river. Few towns can boast of a greater antiquity; and in none was Pan, the donor of generative, fructifying, and productive powers—for Pan in Egypt corresponded to Priapus in Greece—more ardently worshipped. The splendid temples of Ikhmím, which in the days of Idrísí and Abú 'l-fedà excited the Panopolis.

[1] Strabo, xvii. i.

[2] Champollion, Précis, 244, 245.

admiration even of Mussulmans,[1] have long since been reduced to a few fragments. Chemmo or Chemmis, whence the Khmim or Shmim of the Copts, was, as Diodorus informs us,[2] the Egyptian name of *Panopolis*, where, according to Strabo,[3] the principal linen weavers and masons had their abode.

Antæopolis.

The Nile, like the Ganges and all overflowing streams, often changes its bed, and the Great Cáú, which in the time of Ptolemy was at some distance from the river, is now close to it. Its Coptic name Tkôû, shows that the Arabians have preserved the old Egyptian denomination; for which the Greeks substituted *Antæopolis*, because the Egyptian deity Antæus was peculiarly worshipped there. The Nile in this part of its course is constantly advancing to the eastern side of the valley; and the Pronaos or vestibule of a fine temple, once at some distance from the stream, is now upon an island severed by it from the eastern shore. "Near this place," says Diodorus,[4] "the battle was fought in which Typhon and his abettors were defeated." The Pronaos, as appears from an inscription skilfully restored by M. Letronne,[5] was dedicated to Antæus, and the gods worshipped in the same temple, by Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra, his sister and queen, about 150 B.C.; while its cornice was repaired by the emperors Aurelius, Antoninus, and Verus, A.D. 164.

Lycopolis. Osyoot. 27° 10′ N. 31° 13′ E.

Osyút, Asyút, or Suyút, which may now be considered as the capital of Middle Egypt, is the Siout of the Copts, and the *Lycopolis* or *Lycopolis* of the Greeks. The latter name was derived from the worship of the jackal, to which its inhabitants were peculiarly devoted. Some mounds of rubbish outside the town, and an abundance of sepulchres in the neighbouring mountains, are the only monuments of antiquity that remain; but the surrounding country is rich and well watered, and the modern town is one of the principal emporiums in Egypt, being the rendezvous of all the caravans from the south and west.

Hermopolis Magna.

The next city noticed by the ancients is *Hermopolis Magna.* Its remains, which cover an area of nearly four miles in circumference; and a portico with a double colonnade, in a massive and uncommon style of architecture, give some idea of the former splendour of this seat of the Egyptian Muses; for as Thoth, or Hermes, was the inventor of arts and sciences—the Egyptian god of wisdom—so was Isis considered as the first of the muses, and the source of wit and genius,[6] and both were peculiarly adored by the Hermopolites. The stately Ibis[7] which, year after year, measured off on the fresh mud a cubit at each step, first gave the Egyptians an idea of number and mensuration,[8] and was for that reason consecrated to Thoth, the

[1] Geograph. Nub. 42; Arab. 48; Abulf. Egypt, 14. [2] i. 18.
[3] xvii. i. [4] i. 21.
[5] Rech. 42—51. [6] Plutarch, de Is. et Osirid.
[7] Tantalus Ibis. [8] Ælian, Hist. Animal., ii. 38.

reputed inventor of both.[1] The *Ibéum*, or city of the Ibis, wherein those sacred birds were generally buried, a little to the north of Minyeh and Oshmúneïn, is now called Tahà-el-âmúdeïn—Tahà of the Two Columns. The decline of *Hermopolis* may be dated from the building of *Antinoë*, on the opposite side of the Nile. The remains of that city, founded by Hadrian in honour of his favourite Antinöus, its colonnades, triumphal arches, baths, and amphitheatres, form a singular contrast to all the surrounding objects, and are as foreign to the soil on which they stand, as was the new Capitol raised by the Romans at Trèves on the banks of the Moselle.

Ibeum.

Antinoë.



[Head of Memnon.—*British Museum.*]

MIDDLE EGYPT.

The northern part of Middle Egypt, which, from its seven Nomes, was called *Heptanomis* by the ancients, contained the Nomes of *Hermopolis*, *Cynopolis*, *Oxyrrynchus*, *Heracleopolis*, *Crocodilopolis*, *Aphroditopolis*, and *Memphis*. Though little of the cities which once flourished in this part of Egypt can now be traced, yet quarries and catacombs continually mark the neighbourhood of the spot whereon they stood. Of these, the most remarkable are the caverns of Benî Hasan, a

Heptanomis.

[1] Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. i. 361.

Benee Hasan.

deserted village on the eastern side of the Nile, nearly eight miles north-west of *Antinoë*. Many of these excavations are richly adorned with paintings, as fresh as when newly executed, except where they have been intentionally defaced by the Arabs. There grottoes too are very ancient, even adopting the lowest calculations. The name of Osirtasen I. is read upon them, and according to Lepsius he belonged to the twelfth dynasty, while Bunsen gives him a vast antiquity. The fluted columns of these excavations have a resemblance to the Doric order. Many Egyptian trades are depicted on the walls and pillars, such as the manufacture of linen and glass, and the fabrication of metallic ornaments, along with gymnastic games and other characteristic amusements. Egypt life is beautifully pictured—the scene is the vivid resuscitation of long past centuries.

Heracleopolis Magna.

Heracleopolis Magna lay further north, at the entrance of Fayyúm; but no traces of it can now be found. The diminution of its waters by the obstruction of the smaller canals, while most of those from the Nile are carried by branches of the Bahr Yúsuf into the Lake *Mœris*, doubtless contributed largely to its ruin.

Crocodilopolis, Arsinoë, Fayyoom.

The Nome of *Arsinoë*, one of the most celebrated in Egypt, is now called Fayyúm; the Arabs having in this, as in other instances, preserved the Egyptian name, (*Phïom* or *Pïom*, the sea,) for which the Greeks substituted one derived from their own language. Before the age of the Ptolemies, its principal city was called *Crocodilopolis;* but that name was exchanged for *Arsinoë*, in honour of one of their queens. To the north of the village of Hawárah-el-Sogheïr, there is a pyramid, near extensive ruins, which probably marks the labyrinth. This pyramid, built of sun-burnt bricks, made of clay and chopt straw, measures 122 yards square at its basis, and is 197 feet in height. In the interior of the pyramid, to which a subterraneous passage was discovered by the French, there is a salt spring and a sarcophagus. To the north-west of this pyramid there is a large mass of ruins buried in earth and rubbish, and forming an oblong parallelogram of about 984 feet in length, and half as much in breadth. This seems, almost beyond a doubt, the site of the labyrinth so much celebrated by the ancients.

Labyrinth.

The labyrinth, according to Strabo,[1] was a structure equal to the pyramids. Adjoining to it was the tomb of the kings by whom it was erected. They were near a village on a level table-land, through which the canal passed, at the distance of thirty or forty stadii (two and a-half or three miles) from its entrance into the valley. This palace was the work of several kings, at that early period when there seem to have been as many as there were Nomes. That is, as we learn from Herodotus,[2] when the Egyptians, having regained their liberty after the death of Sethos, king, and also priest of Vulcan, chose

[1] xvii. 1. [2] ii. 147.

twelve kings, to whom they delivered up the twelve portions into which the whole country was then divided. These princes resolving to leave behind them a common monument, erected the labyrinth. "I have seen that building," says the historian, "and it exceeds all description. The same, indeed, may be said of the pyramids, and each of them taken separately is equal in value to many of the greatest works of the Greeks taken together; but the labyrinth, in truth, excels even the pyramids. It consists of twelve courts surrounded by covered porticoes, and having their gates opposite to each other. These courts are all contiguous, and six of them are turned to the north, and six to the south; they are all likewise enclosed by the same outer wall. There are two suites of chambers, one under, and the other above ground, over the former; they are three thousand in number, fifteen hundred above, and as many below." The upper chambers he went through and examined, but the lower ones he knew only by description; for the Egyptians who had the care of them refused to show them, alleging that they were used as sepulchres for the sacred crocodiles, and the kings who erected the whole of the labyrinth. The chambers above ground, which he himself had seen, "are," he adds, "greater than any other human works. For the communication through the corridors, and the winding passages from one court into another, are so varied as to occasion infinite surprise. These passages lead from the chambers into porches, from the porches into other apartments, and from them into other halls. The roof of all of them is made of stone, as are the walls, which are full of sculptures. Each court is surrounded by a colonnade of white stone, the blocks of which are as closely joined as possible. At the angle which terminates the labyrinth, there is a pyramid of 40 orgyae, or 261 feet, on which large figures of beasts are sculptured. The way to it is under ground." Such is the account of this extraordinary building given by Herodotus, from whom Strabo does not materially differ: but other ancient writers seem to be at variance with them on this subject. Some attempt to reconcile them by supposing that the work was executed at intervals by different princes; having been commenced by Mendes, continued by Tithoës or Petesuccus, and finished by the twelve kings and Lacharis, son of Sesostris. This great labyrinth was identified by Dr. Lepsius in June, 1843, and on reading a cartouche found in it, he discovered it to have been built by the same monarch who reared the labouring pyramid—the former his palace, the latter his tomb. The name itself has been variously interpreted. Diodorus calls it the tomb of Marros; and Manetho speaks of it as the work of a king Lamaris. By a slight and common interchange of letters, M is altered into B, and the same king is named Labaris—Labar-inthe will signify the tomb of Labar—*inthe* being a term cognate with the Greek θάνατος—death.

Description by Herodotus.

Origin of name.

To the north of *Heracleopolis* (Ahnás) was *Aphroditopolis* on the

Aphroditopolis.

eastern side of the Nile, the capital of a Nome bearing the same name, and lying between those of *Heracleopolis* and *Memphis*.[1] A white cow kept there as the living symbol of Hathor or Athyr, the Egyptian Venus, was an object of fervent devotion. Tpêh, or Petpïehh, is the Coptic name of *Aphroditopolis*, whence the Arabs have formed Atfîhh. Opposite to it there is an island, called Eutfeeg (i.e. Utfîhh) by Norden, which has a village and a mosque surrounded by palms,[2] but as the channel between this island and the shore of the river is little frequented,[3] few travellers have visited the town near it, which, as a capital of a province, is still a place of some consideration. Between *Aphroditopolis* and *Memphis*, but nearer to the latter, and at some distance from the western shore of the river, was the town of *Acanthus*, and a celebrated temple of Osiris in a grove "of the Thebaïc thorn,"[4] "by which the gum (Arabic) is produced."[5] To the north-west of *Acanthus*, near the edge of

Pyramids.

the flat summit of the Libyan hills, stand the pyramids so justly numbered among the wonders of human art. Several others are still extant higher up the Nile; and there are some, as has lately been discovered, as far south as the ancient Meroë; but as those monuments have a claim to a larger space than can be allotted to them here, nothing more than their position is now mentioned.

Memphis, Menf.

On the western bank of the Nile, at the distance of one schœnus or cord, = 5 Roman miles from the pyramids, and 15 Roman miles from the fork of the Nile, stood *Memphis*, the second capital of Egypt. The name is supposed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson[6] to be derived from Me-n-nofri, meaning the "abode of good men." Sometimes it appears in the hieroglyphics as the "land of the pyramid." Its foundation was ascribed to Menes, their first king,[7] who succeeded in diverting the course of the river from the Libyan mountains, at the foot of which it ran, by an embankment, and thus gained the soil on which his city was built. To the same prince also, the formation of the Lake *Mœris* was ascribed, and the erection of a magnificent temple of Vulcan (Phtha) in his new capital. As three

Era of its foundation.

hundred and thirty-one of his successors were recorded in the Egyptian annals, if those documents could be trusted, the period elapsed between the beginning of his reign and the time of Herodotus would amount to 3320 years, allowing only ten years as the average of each reign; and the foundation of *Memphis* would then be carried back to the thirty-eighth century before the beginning of our era, and the fifth before the commonly received era of the deluge. Synesius also[8] ascribes the foundation of *Memphis* to Menes. His successor, Athotis I., made it the royal residence,

[1] Strabo. xvii. 1.
[2] Norden, ii. 22.
[3] Sonnini, 508.
[4] Acacia vera or Nilotica.
[5] Strabo, xvii.
[6] III. 278.
[7] Herod. ii. 99.
[8] Epist. p. 198, 258, &c.

according to Manetho,[1] and its principal decorations are ascribed by the same writer to the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth dynasties; especially the two Suphises and Mancheres, who caused the pyramids to be built. Diodorus, however,[2] ascribes the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus, eighth successor to Busiris II. Adjoining to the temple of Vulcan, was a splendid one in honour of Osiris, in which the sacred bull Apis was kept. The temple of Apis was close to the spacious and magnificent *Hephæstéum*, or temple of Vulcan. In the course, or area, before which there was a colossus made of one block, bull-fights were exhibited, in which bulls, kept for that purpose, were the only combatants, and a prize was given to the victor. Venus, who was considered as a Grecian deity, had a temple in Memphis, and, according to some, the Moon also. The *Serapéum*, or temple of Serapis, stood in a place wherein the sand was so loose and deep, that the sphinxes forming an avenue in front of it were buried, some of them one-half, and others up to the neck, and a person going to the temple ran a great risk, if overtaken by a tempest. In the time of Strabo, (about A.D. 20,) this city was in size and populousness next to Alexandria, having, like it, a population drawn from various nations. There were ports for shipping before both the city and the palace, the latter being then unoccupied and in ruins. It was built on a rising ground, near the lower part of the city, and had its own grove and port adjoining. The site and name of this ancient city were well known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But the mud of the Nile, the sand of the desert, and the barbarity of invaders have done their work, and at length the doom of an inspired prophet has been fulfilled,—"Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant."[3]

LOWER EGYPT.

The most remarkable places occurring along or near the two branches of the Nile are these:—

Saïs. Below the mouth of the canal of Damanhúr, on the eastern side of the Rosetta arm, is Sá-el-hajar, on the site of the ancient *Saïs*. A spacious area surrounded by mounds of rubbish, and having a conical heap in its centre, marks the site of that city, about a mile from the river's edge.[4]

Alexandria. Situation. Alexandria, by the Turks now called Scanderia, a celebrated city of Lower Egypt, and once its capital, was situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, at the western extremity of Egypt, in N. lat. 31° 12′, E. lon. 30° 18′, between the Lake Mareotis and the harbour formed by the isle of Pharos, about twelve miles west of the Canoptic branch of the Nile, with which it communicates by a canal.

[1] In Georg. Syncell. Chronograph.
[2] i. 50.
[3] Jer. xlvi. 19.
[4] Clarke's Travels, V. 286, 8vo ed.

Founder. Alexander the Great founded this city in the year B.C. 332, and had he realised his projects for becoming the undisturbed master of the world, it was hardly possible for him to have selected a more convenient situation for commanding and concentrating its resources. Passing over to Egypt, from the severe check to his ambition which he had received in the siege of Tyre, he evidently designed to divert into a more propitious channel that commercial greatness which he found so difficult to subdue. He is stated to have sketched the plan of the new city with his own hand. The walls were traced out in small quantities of meal, strewed along the ground, a circumstance which his soothsayer, Aristander, interpreted as an omen of the future abundance of the city. Dinocrates, the celebrated restorer of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was engaged as the architect, and in twelve months from its foundation, while Alexander proceeded into Upper Egypt, amazing progress was made in the buildings.

The old city. The ancient city, according to Pliny, was about fifteen miles in circuit, peopled by 300,000 free citizens, and at least equal that number of slaves. Diodorus Siculus and Quintius Curtius make its circuit somewhat smaller; but all historians agree in the nobleness of its appearance, and the beauty of its general plan. From the gate of the sea ran one magnificent street, 2,000 feet broad, through the whole length of the city, to the gate of Canopus, and commanding at each end views of the shipping in the port, whether sailing north in the Mediterranean, or south in the noble basin of the Lake Mareotis.

Harbour. But its harbour was its chief boast. The island of Pharos, stretching from east to west across a bay of three leagues wide, was joined to the main land by a mole of about a mile in length, and thus divided the inner harbour into two deep and commodious basins, nothward and southward; the former being called Eunertus, or Eunostus, now the Old Port, the latter the Great Port, now the New Port. Upon this island Ptolemy Soter, one of Alexander's generals, and first of the celebrated line of the Ptolemaic kings, erected the

Pharos. famous lighthouse, called the *Pharos*—from a word signifying "the strait." This beacon, from its importance to this harbour, and to the general interests of commerce in the early ages of Greece and Rome, gave the name to many other similar lights. The Pharos was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Formed of white marble, and four hundred feet in height, the fires for ever burning on its summit cast their bright gleam far over the sea. Mirrors placed in its upper galleries reflected the ships that floated around it. According to Pliny's account, Ptolemy allowed the architect to place his own name, rather than his sovereign's, on

Its Architect the portico of the edifice. Lucian, however, says, that the architect carved his own name deep in the stone, covered it with stucco, and inscribed Ptolemy's name on this perishable and showy material. But the chalky layer soon peeled off, and the vanity of the builder

in so slyly perpetuating his own fame was unexpectedly discovered. The brief inscription ran thus:—*Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphanis Filius Diis Servatoribus, pro navigantibus*—Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the guardian gods, for seafaring men.

Library.

To Ptolemy Soter also is attributed the foundation of the celebrated museum and library of Alexandria, and of the Ptolemaic palaces, which occupied, according to Strabo, a third or fourth of the city; and the enlargement of its commercial relations with Syria and Greece. His successors well supported his designs: the library grew into one of the most extensive depositories of ancient learning, containing from 700 to 800,000 volumes, and the port of Alexandria became the commercial centre and capital of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The various productions of Arabia and the east, and of all the known parts of the neighbouring continent, were first conveyed to the western nations through this channel; its manufactures of glass, linen, and papyrus, were everywhere celebrated; and a long dynasty of feeble monarchs sustained their personal authority and magnificence, to the time of Cleopatra, chiefly on the lucrative commerce and extensive connections of its enterprising inhabitants. To facilitate the conveyance of merchandise to Alexandria, the canal of Necos, from the Red Sea to the Nile, was completed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whom also the temple of Serapis was added to the attractions of the city; and it was not until their own voluptuousness and treachery had prepared them for any chains, that the arms of Julius Cæsar, after some severe repulses, finally subjugated it to the Romans. During this siege the principal branch of the public library, situated in that quarter of the city called the *Bruchion*, and containing at that time 400,000 volumes, was accidentally consumed.

Extensive commerce.

Obelisks.

The palace of the Cæsars is marked by two obelisks of granite from Syene, sixty-five feet in height; one still standing, and known as Cleopatra's needle, with another lying by its side. The names of Thothmes III. and Ramses are engraven on them. Another obelisk which once adorned the city was removed to Rome and set up in the Forum. The magnificent shaft named Pompey's Pillar stands between Alexandria and the lake. It is one hundred feet high, and was erected by the Roman prefect in honour of Diocletian.

Luxury and learning.

Alexandria, as may be expected, was a voluptuous city. Quintilian alludes to the *Alexandrinae deliciae.* Such luxury was the result of its excessive wealth. In splendour it was second only to Rome, and it enjoyed many favours from the Roman emperors. It was the birthplace of the Eclectic philosophy, and it contained in the second and third centuries a famous christian school, planted by Pantaenus, and successively governed by Clement and Origen. The general of the Caliph Omar describes this city as having 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetables, and 40,000 tributary Jews. Of its various fortunes in later times,

Overthrow.

it is not our province to write, nor yet to describe Caïro and other towns more modern in age. Suffice it to say, that Alexandria was finally overthrown by the Arabs in the year 640, and that its libraries afforded fuel for six months to the four thousand baths which the city contained. Its commercial prosperity was finally prostrated by the discovery of the passage to India and the East by the Cape of Good Hope.

Heliopolis, On, Bethshemesh.

Another of the most distinguished cities of ancient Egypt was *Heliopolis*, about six miles to the north-east of *Memphis*. Its Greek name, "the city of the sun," shows to what deity it was peculiarly dedicated; and the antiquity of its Egyptian appellation *On*, which had the same signification,[1] is manifest from its occurrence in the Old Testament.[2] It was at a very early period adorned with some of the most splendid temples in Egypt, and its priests were so celebrated for their learning, especially in astronomy, that *Heliopolis* was visited by strangers for the purpose of profiting by their instructions, which they gave only to such as paid assiduous court to them. Plato and Eudoxus spent several years among them; and the observatories in which the latter made his astronomical observations, were either at or near this place. As Apis was adored with peculiar devotion at *Memphis*, so was the Bull Mnevis, at *Heliopolis*. Its temples suffered greatly from the brutality and madness of Cambyses, but were still entire and frequented when the city was visited by Strabo,[3] who has given a description of one of them. The largest was adorned with an avenue of sphinxes, and with several obelisks, two of which had been removed to Rome before he wrote.

Obelisks and their inscriptions.

The obelisk near the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, was brought from Heliopolis by Constantine and his son. It is one hundred and five feet high, and covered with beautiful sculptures. To show what species of theology was cultivated in the "City of the Sun," we subjoin a translation of some of the inscriptions on the sides of this, the largest obelisk in existence:—

The first part of the inscription, which is on the south side, is this:—

"This says the Sun to King Rhamestes; we have given to thee all the world to reign over with joy—thee whom the Sun loves and Apollo: the strong truth-loving son of Heron, born of the gods, the founder of the world whom the Sun has chosen, strong in war, King Rhamestes, to whom the whole earth is subdued with strength and courage: King Rhamestes of eternal life."

Second inscription:—

"Apollo the strong, he who stands upon truth, the lord of the diadem, who possesses Egypt in glory, who has adorned the city of the sun, and founded the rest of the world, and has greatly honoured the gods established in the city of Helios, whom the Sun loves."

Third inscription:—

"Apollo the mighty, the blazing son of the Sun, whom the Sun has chosen, and Ares the valiant has favoured; whose good things last for ever, whom Am-

[1] Cyrill. Comm. in Oseam. 145. [2] Gen. xli. 45, xlvi. 20; Ezek. xxx. [3] xvii. 1.

mon loves; who fills the temple of the Phœnix with good things, to whom the gods have given length of life; Apollo the mighty, the son of Heron, to Rhamestes the king of the world, who has protected Egypt by conquering foreigners; whom the Sun loves, to whom the gods have given long life, the lord of the world, Rhamestes of eternal life."

Fourth inscription:—

"The Sun, the great god, lord of the heaven, I have given to thee life free from sorrow, Apollo the mighty, the lord of the diadem, the incomparable, to whom the lord of Egypt has erected statues in this royal town, and has adorned the city of the Sun, and the Sun himself, the lord of the heavens. He has completed his noble work, the son of the Sun, the everliving king."

Heliopolis, the seat of such idolatry, has long ago felt the doom pronounced against it by the prophet Jeremiah, (xliii. 13,)— "Nebuchadnezzar shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire." Ruin.

Among the principal remains of the ancient city are some fragments of colossal sphinxes and an obelisk, covered with hieroglyphics, of which Norden and Shaw have given plates. It appears, from the hieroglyphic inscription upon it, to have been erected by Osorthon or Osorthos, son of Petubas, the second king of Manetho's twenty-third dynasty, who reigned three centuries and a-half before Cambyses, one before the foundation of Rome, and rather more than one after the death of Solomon. Sesoosis, (Sesostris,) as Diodorus informs us, carried a wall across the uninhabited country, from *Pelusium* to *Heliopolis*, a space measuring 1500 stadii, (187½ miles,) exactly the same distance as that mentioned by Herodotus.

In fine, Heliopolis has a famed connection with the traditionary story, or rather myth, of the phœnix. Pliny and Tacitus, as well as Herodotus, refer to it. It furnished Juvenal with his bitter metaphor of a perfect woman,—*rara avis in terris*,[1] and Seneca, under a similar feeling, speaks of a good man—*tanquam phœnix*.[2] The old christian father, Clement of Rome, thus turns attention to the prodigy:—"Let us consider that wonderful symbol of the resurrection, which is seen in the eastern countries; to wit, in Arabia. There is a certain bird, named a phœnix, of this there is never but one at a time, and that one lives five hundred years; and when the time of its death approaches, it builds for itself a nest of frankincense, myrrh, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But its flesh putrifying, breeds a certain worm, which being nourished with the juice of the dead bird, sprouts feathers; and when it is come to maturity, it takes up the nest in which the bones of its parent repose, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt, to a city called Heliopolis, and flying in open day, in the sight of all men, lays it upon the altar of the sun, and so returns to the region whence it came. The priests then search into the Phœnix.

[1] Sat. vi. [2] Ep. 40.

records of the time, and find that it returned precisely at the end of five hundred years."[1]

The phœnix is represented on the monument as a bird with its wings partly raised, seated upon its open claws, a tuft of feathers on the back of its head, and two human arms in front, lifted as in prayer. Job is supposed to refer to it, when, in xxix. 18, he says, "I shall die in my nest, and shall multiply my days as the phœnix."[2] The precise period of the return of the bird is variously stated, and without entering into any detailed account of the symbolic fable, it may be briefly stated, that it is now generally supposed to represent the well-known Sothic period—the great year of the Egyptians—the last of the 1461 years that elapsed ere the solar year of 365 days coincided with the fixed year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

Meaning of the myth.

Sebennytus, Semennood.

Semennúd, on the west side of the Damietta arm, to the north-east of Mehalleh, is the ancient *Sebennytus*, whence the arm of the Nile on which it stands was called the Sebennytic. It also gave its name to the Nome, of the southern part of which it was the metropolis; that of the northern was *Pachnamunis*.[3]

Busiris, Booseer-Benna.

At Búsír-Benà, there are some traces of the ancient *Busiris*, (in Coptic, Busiri or Pusiri, i.e. the Osiris;) and Bohbeït-el-hhijárah, near the Isle of Xoïs, just below Semennúd, has a large enclosure full of sculptured fragments, and is the site of the *Iséum*, or Town of Isis, the Naïsi of the Copts.

Buto, Pteneto.

The place of *Buto*, the oracle of Latona, may still be traced in the marshes on the south side of the Lake of Burullos. It is the Pteneto of the Copts, and was the capital of a Nome called *Ptenethu* by Pliny,[4] and *Phthenothes* by Ptolemy.[5] Its ancient splendour, and wonderful monolithe temple, are well portrayed by Herodotus; but little now remains even of the wreck of all this magnificence.

Tanis, Zoan.

Tanis, called Sán by the Arabs, and Jani by the Copts, was placed near one of the arms of the Nile, called from it the Tanitic branch. It is the Zoan of the Scriptures,[6] and was on the eastern side of the river, not far from its mouth. Its ruins cover a vast extent of ground; and fragments of no less than seven obelisks were observed by the commission sent from Caïro to examine it in 1800. The remains of a colossus, of monolithe temples, and other Egyptian buildings of vast dimensions, were also found there.

Pelusium, Sin.

Pelusium, the last town in Egypt on the confines of Palestine, lay a little to the east of that mouth of the Nile which bore its name, and twenty stadii (two miles and a-half) from the sea. Its circumference measured the same distance,[7] and it was guarded, not only by solid walls, but also by extensive morasses (*barathra*) on every side; so

[1] Ep. ad Corinth, 25.

[2] The word rendered "sand" in our version is translated by the Seventy, De Wette, Heligstedt, and other critics, the phœnix.

[3] Ptolemy, Geogr. iv. 5. [4] v. 9. [5] Geogr. iv. 5.

[6] Num. xiii. 22; Isa. xix. 11. [7] Strabo, xvii. 1.

that it was justly called by Suidas, "the Key," and by Ezekiel,[1] "the strength of Egypt." It was situated in the midst of a naked level, between the sand-downs, the sea, and the morasses, which now form a part of the Lake of Menzaleh. Its walls are still remaining, but they are now ten miles, and consequently four times as far, from the sea, as they were in the time of Strabo. Peremûn, the Egyptian name of *Pelusium*, whence the Arabs formed Furamà, Faramà, or Fermà, signifies "muddy," as *Pelusium* does in Greek, Sin in Hebrew,[2] and Tíneh in Arabic; so that all the denominations of this celebrated fortress on the eastern frontier of Egypt, referred to the peculiar character of the soil on which it stood.

Bubastis. Pibeseth.

The road from the sea to *Memphis*, along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, passed by *Bubastis*, a town, the foundation of which was ascribed to Bochos, the first king of the second dynasty.[3] It possesses a temple, distinguished by the beauty and richness of its sculptures, surrounded by a lofty grove, and occupying an island in the Nile.[4] It was the capital of a Nome, and its annual festivals brought together more than 700,000 persons;[5] and, according to Diodorus,[6] the hieroglyphical inscription on the monumental columns of Isis, alleged that *Bubastis* was built in honour of her. In Tell-bastah—the hill of Bastah—the Arabs have preserved a part of the ancient name *Pu-basti*, *Pi-basti*, or *Phi-basti;* whence the Greeks formed *Bubasti*, and the Hebrews[7] *Pi-beseth;* some remains of it may still be seen half a league distant, on the south-eastern side of the canal of Môezz, where it throws off what was anciently the Tanitic arm of the Nile.

Goshen.

And now, it may be asked, where among all those places of famous note and reputation, was the Goshen assigned to the ancient Israelites? We read, Gen. xlvii. 11, "And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded." The probability is that Goshen lay toward the north-eastern extremity of Egypt, and upon the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, between Canaan and the capital of the Pharaohs. Neither was it far from the royal metropolis. Joseph's message to his father was, "Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be *near me*." Gen. xlv. 10. Major Rennell places it in the Nome of Heliopolis, and certainly its other name, Rameses, which signifies "son of the Sun," has some resemblance to this Greek name of a district, which denotes "city of the Sun." This supposition is also credible on the hypothesis, that the dwelling of the Egyptian king was at Memphis; for it is plain, that on the night of the slaughter of the first-born, Moses and Aaron travelled from the court of Pharaoh to their brethren in a space of not more than thirty hours. That Goshen was

[1] xxx. 15.
[2] Ezek. xxx. 15, 16.
[3] Jul. Afric. in Syncelli Chron.
[4] Herod. ii. 137.
[5] Id. ii. 59.
[6] Id. i. 27.
[7] Ezek. xxx. 17.

not at the same time very far from the Red Sea is apparent from the fact, that the Israelites—a confused and undisciplined mass of men, women, and children, with a mixed multitude, and cattle—performed the journey from their dwellings to the Arabian Gulf in about three days. The Septuagint renders Goshen by Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας, and also by Heroopolis, a place which Strabo says was near the extremity of the Arabian Gulf. This district is perhaps too remote from the Pharaonic capital, if it was Memphis; and to solve the difficulty, Dr. Wilson[1] proposes to regard Zoan as the Egyptian metropolis at the period of the Exodus. No decisive support to this theory can be derived from Ps. lxxviii. 12, where the Psalmist speaks of marvellous things done "in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan," for the latter clause may be only a poetical variation of phrase, as is the appellation "tabernacles of Ham," in the same sacred hymn; or the name may be used with a considerable latitude of meaning. Goshen may have comprehended a portion of Zoan, or at least it lay in its vicinity. It was thus a rich tract of border-land, stretching between the eastern branch of the Nile and the countries of Palestine and Arabia. Dr. Robinson[2] fixes upon the province now called esh-Shŭrkîyeh—a province reaching from the desert to the Tanaitic arm of the Nile—or that which watered the field of Zoan. The language of Scripture concerning the Israelites in Egypt, that they practised irrigation; that they lived in a land of abundant fruit; that they eat fish freely, and had plenty of onions, leeks, and garlic, alludes plainly to such a locality on the fertile Delta. They mixed freely with the native inhabitants, as the distinguishing symbol of the pascal blood implied, and they took jewels of gold and silver from their *neighbours* when they emigrated from the house of bondage. Goshen was indeed the "best of the land." Ritter speaks in language equally emphatic of the luxuriant verdure of this part of Egypt, "it resembles a European garden."[3]

Its position.

Pithom.

We are told again, (Exod. i. 11,) that the Hebrews, during the period of their Egyptian servitude, "built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses." The Septuagint renders "treasure cities" by walled cities—πόλεις ὀχυρὰς. If the edifices were intended to hold treasure, there is little doubt that they would be secured with strong walls and fortifications. Pithom has been identified with the Patumos of Herodotus, which is styled by him an Arabian city.[4] It lay at the beginning of the canal, which joined the Nile with the Red Sea, and was therefore close upon the Pelusiac arm of the Egyptian river.

Raamses, Rameses.

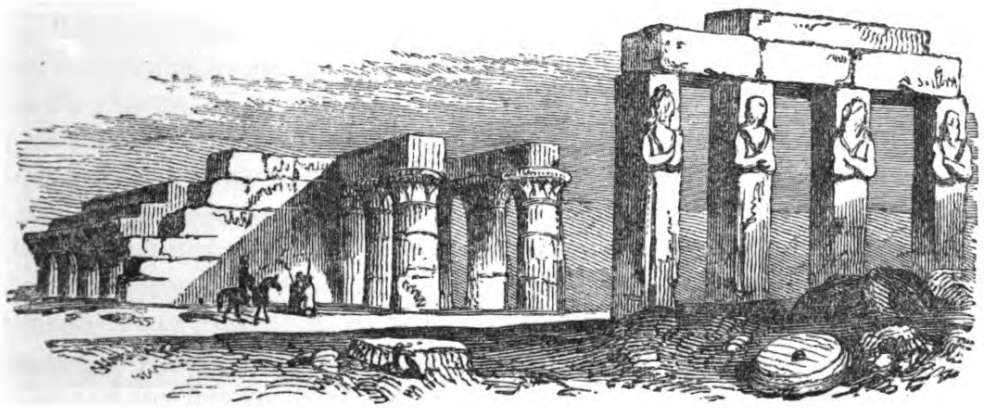
Raamses is plainly the same with Rameses—the name of Goshen in Gen. xlvii. 11, Exod. xii. 37. The city and the entire district had the same appellation, the difference of spelling in our English version being only a slight variance in the Masoretic punc-

[1] Lands of the Bible, I. 122.
[2] Robinson's Researches, vol. I. p. 66.
[3] Ritter, Africa, p. 827.
[4] ii. 358.

tuation. This usage may be explained by supposing that the district was called the "land of Rameses," because Raamses was its principal city. It was a central point in the country—the scene of rendezvous from which the Hebrews took their departure. The Seventy identify it in their version with Heroopolis—a name given to it during the Grecian domination. It lay in the same valley with Pithom. Rameses, the name of some of the most famed Egyptian monarchs, is well translated by "city of Heroes." These fortifications were built in this locality to obstruct the entrance of an enemy from Asia, and perhaps to awe the Israelites into subjection. The soldiers of the Pharaohs were principally quartered in Lower Egypt, close upon Goshen and in it, and this explains why an army could be collected so speedily to chase the Hebrew fugitives. Lying on the route of the caravans, the two cities, Pithom and Raamses, being perhaps a species of entrepôts, might be called "treasure cities."

Thus have we briefly sketched the most famous localities of this ancient country. Many, if not all, of the places famed in more recent times have been omitted in our account. All the art and wisdom of Egypt could not save it from desolation—it is now studded with majestic ruins—

Weeds and wall-flower grow
Matted and massed together; hillocks heaped
On what were chambers, arch-crushed columns strewn
In fragments, closed-up vaults and frescoes steeped
In subterraneous damps; where the owl peeped,
Deeming it midnight,—temples, baths, and halls,
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
'Tis thus the mighty falls.



[Thebes.]



[Tirhakah.—*Rosellini.*]

CHAPTER III.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF EGYPT.

Obscurity of early history.

THE early history of Egypt is wrapt in deep obscurity. The dark shadows of fable and legend lie upon it. The annals which the priests showed and recited to Herodotus are sufficiently startling and contradictory, full of wonder and national vanity. The first and most remote period of Gods and demigods was supposed to have long preceded that of common humanity. Whether the priesthood, who were the conservators of the national literature, possessed any authentic traditions of the first settlement of the country, we cannot tell, or perhaps if they did retain, among their cherished κειμήλια, any vestiges of their earlier annals, they threw the veil of Isis over them, and concealed them from vulgar gaze.

Source of civilization.

That civilization descended the Nile, from the regions of Nubia and the southward, has been an opinion often entertained and warmly advocated. Though Rosellini, Heeren, Champollion, and others,

hold such a theory, yet we deem it utterly devoid of foundation. Egypt was originally peopled from Asia; and, indeed, according to old geographers, a large portion of it was supposed to belong to the Asiatic continent. It is true that the ancient Meroe was highly cultivated at a very remote period, but it cannot be proved that its pyramids are older than those of Memphis. Nay, it is affirmed by those who have thoroughly examined the subject, that the oldest monuments are to be found on the north of Egypt, and that those in Ethiopia are inferior in conception and execution. It is also natural to suppose that the most fertile portions of the country would be first occupied, and those are found in the alluvial soil of the Delta.[1] The Delta, though it owes its formation principally to the river, is not of yesterday. Geological investigation will give it an era prior to man's creation. It was quite habitable immediately after the flood, for it was the product of ante-Adamic centuries. So we find that Tanis or Zoan was built very early, seven years after Hebron in Canaan. Hebron was a favourite resort of the patriarch Abraham, and was a Canaanitish town of note prior to his day; and Tanis was in existence in the age of Ramses the Great. Now during a lapse of more than 3000 years from that period, the deposit of the Nile has made almost no change in the vicinity of Zoan. Nor could it; but the globe was long in preparation for its human inhabitants. It is therefore vain to suppose that Ethiopia must have been peopled at an earlier period than Lower Egypt, because the Delta was then only in the process of formation, and therefore marshy and uninhabitable. And if the sons of Ham left in a body the region of Shinar, which all the children of Noah filled for a season after the flood, it would seem that Canaan, the eldest, took possession of a country lying on the confines of Asia, and the deserts of Sinai were seized by Cush; while Mizraim, the third son, marched yet farther, and planted his followers in the valley of the Nile, and Phut, the youngest, was driven still to a greater distance, and settled among the Libyan wastes. Neither is there any African configuration in the faces of the men painted or sculptured on the Meroitic tablets; they belong to the same race that built the wonders of Middle and Lower Egypt, and not to the Negro or Berber. The Negro face, as painted on the monuments, is always distinctly characteristic, and has no resemblance to the Egyptian countenance.

Superior antiquity of Memphis.

Age of Delta.

Delta first inhabited

This question cannot be settled by any appeal to the nature of the Egyptian complexion, as described by ancient authors. Egypt and Ethiopia were sometimes confounded, as the inhabitants of both must have had a duskier colour of face than belongs to the nations of Europe. Virgil alludes to

Egyptian complexion.

——— nigri Memnonis arma.—*Æn.* i. 489.
The arms of the black Memnon.

[1] Osburn, 28.

Speaking of Ethiopia,[1] he refers its situation to the torrid zone, when he sings,

> Æthiopum versemus oves sub sidere *Cancri.*
>
> ——————— We keep
> On Meröe's burning plains the Lybian sheep.—*Dryden.*

It is obvious that the Greek word Αἰθίοψ meant "a person with a sun-burnt face;" and that the skin of the Ethiopians, or, perhaps, Egyptians, was dark even to a proverb.

So well-known was the complexion of the Ethiopians, or Egyptians, to be of a dark colour, that all nations possessing this tincture of skin were called by the ancients Ethiopians. Thus Juvenal:—

> Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.—*Sat.* ii. v. 23.
>
> The straight-limbed man laughs at the crooked one, the fair-complexioned person at the Ethiopian.

Duskycolour of natives.

Herodotus expressly calls them Μελάγχροες καὶ ὀλότριχες, "having black skins and curly hair." In another passage he informs us, that he infers the Egyptian origin of the priestess who founded the oracle at Dodona, from the circumstance of her being represented as a *black* dove—Μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνὴ ἦν[2]—"saying that the dove was black, they signify by this that the woman was an Egyptian." Æschylus, also, in his "Supplices,"[3] recording the expedition of Danaus from Egypt into Greece, describes the Egyptian mariners, and applies to them the expression μελαγχίμοις γυίοισιν, "having black limbs in contrast with white robes." But all that can be gathered from such allusions is, that the Egyptian sun had bronzed the countenances of the dwellers on the Nile. The colour red is employed upon the monuments when native Egyptians are pourtrayed.

Asiatic origin of early Egyptians.

The Asiatic origin of the first dwellers in the Nilotic valley, is clearly demonstrated by concurrent and independent testimony. Cuvier and Blumenbach affirm that all the skulls of mummies which they had an opportunity of examining presented the Caucasian type. A recent American physiologist (Dr. Morton) has also argued for the same conclusions. The following is the result of his examination of one hundred ancient Egyptian crania:[4]—

Proved by physiology.

The Table speaks for itself. "It shows that more than eight-tenths of the crania pertain to the unmixed Caucasian race; that the Pelasgic form is as one to one and two-thirds, and the Semitic form one to eight, compared to the Egyptian: that one-twentieth of the whole is composed of heads in which there is a trace of Negro and other exotic lineage; that the Negroid conformation exists in

[1] Ecl. x. 68.
[2] ii. 57.
[3] 719.
[4] Crania Ægyptiaca, Philadelphia, 1844.

eight instances, thus constituting about one-twentieth part of the whole; and finally, that the series contains only a single unmixed Negro."

"*Ethnographic Table of One Hundred ancient Egyptian Crania.* Egyptian Crania.

Sepulchral Localities.	No.	Egyptian.	Pelasgic.	Semitic.	Mixed.	Negroid.	Negro.	Idiot.
Memphis, ...	26	7	16	1	1	1	...	...
Maabdeh, ...	4	1	1	...	...	2	...	...
Abydos, ...	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
Thebes, ...	55	30	10	4	4	5	...	2
Ombos, ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Philæ, ...	4	2	1	...	...	...	1	...
Debôd, ...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100	49	29	6	5	8	1	2

From these and a variety of other details Dr. Morton has drawn the following among other conclusions:— Results of examination.

"The valley of the Nile, both in Egypt and Nubia, was originally peopled by a branch of the Caucasian race.

"These primeval people, since called the Egyptians, were the Mizraimites of Scripture, the posterity of Ham, and directly affiliated with the Libyan family of nations.

"The Austral-Egyptian or Meroite communities were an Indo-Arabian stock engrafted on the primitive Libyan inhabitants.

"Besides these exotic sources of population, the Egyptian race was at different periods modified by the influx of the Caucasian nations of Asia and Europe,—Pelasgi, or Hellenes, Scythians and Phœnicians.

"The Copts, in part at least, are a mixture of the Caucasian and the Negro, in extremely variable proportions.

"Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same as it now is, that of servants and slaves.

"The present Fellahs are the lineal and least mixed descendants of the ancient Egyptians; and the latter are collaterally represented by the Tuariks, Kabyles, Siwahs, and other remains of the Libyan family of nations.

"The modern Nubians, with a few exceptions, are not the descendants of the monumental Ethiopians, but a variously mixed race of Arabs and Negroes."

Again, Lepsius, Benfey, Meyer, Bunsen, Birch, and other philologists, have proved that the ancient Egyptian tongue is full of affinities with the Shemitic or Syro-Arabic languages, and that it Ancient Tongue of Egypt.

occupies a kind of middle place between them and the Indo-Germanic dialects. Quaatrêmere showed the relation of the present Coptic to the early tongue, and we find it in sisterly contact with these classes of languages which have spread so widely over the world. The first book of Bunsen exhibits this relationship in a variety of illustrations, and he had been preceded by Lepsius, in his famous "Essay on the Egyptian Numerals." It is only of late years that any relationship was allowed between Hebrew and Sanscrit; but Fürst and Delitzsch have abundantly proved it, and it is now universally acknowledged. The old language of Egypt is found to be a connecting link between all these great varieties of human speech; and even the Celtic, in points where it differs from the Sanscrit, nearly corresponds with the ancient Coptic—the language of the pyramids and monuments. If the old Egyptian tongue have so many analogies with other and remote tongues; if they often resemble it in forms and flexions where they do not bear much likeness to one another, the plain inference is, that it is older than any of them, and has retained much of its original shape and character, while they were constantly subject to a process of development. "The Egyptian language," Bunsen affirms, "is as certainly the primitive formation of the Euphrates and Tigris territory, fixed in Africa, and preserved by the Egyptians, as the Icelandic is the old Norse fixed in that island."[1] There are also many points of analogy between the temple ceremonies and mythology of Egypt and those of Asia. Juba, as quoted by Pliny,[2] was of opinion "that the dwellers in Egypt, from Syene to Meroe, were not Ethiopians but Arabs."

Not isolated.

It seems to us, therefore, the only rational opinion, to suppose that Mizraim, the son of Ham, and the first colonists, passed out of Asia into Lower Egypt, and settling at Heliopolis or Memphis, laid the foundation of that marvellous kingdom, whose wisdom, arts, and labours have given to it a singular and imperishable fame. The pyramids in the vicinity of Memphis are the most ancient of the monuments, while those of its rival Thebes scarcely go beyond the eighteenth dynasty. Besides, the Isthmus of Suez offers the most natural and probable passage from Asia into Africa, (it has been the pathway between the continents for every important expedition,) and it plainly would conduct the emigrants into Lower Egypt.[3] The most distinguished Egyptologers now adopt this or a similar view, such as Bunsen in his recent and popular production.[4] Hieroglyphical records show that Egypt was named the "land of Ham" from the earliest period, and Egypt and Caïro are universally named Misr or Musr, at the present day. Phœnician story speaks also of Miser, who is evidently Mizraim, being the ancestor of Tautus, Thoth or

Lower Egypt first colonized.

[1] Report on Ethnology, British Association, 1847. [2] Lib. vi. 34.
[3] See Wilkinson, i. p. 2.
[4] Egyptens Stellung in der Welt-geschichte.

Hermes-Trismegistus. Nay more, one of the gods of the first-class was named Kham, whose name and mystic attributes seem to identify him with Ham, the father of the Egyptians.[1]

Chronology.

The long periods of chronology to which the ancient history of Egypt lays positive claim are sufficiently startling. Manetho demands many thousands of years as the prior period of his country's duration, while Herodotus, in referring to the alluvial deposit which the Nile had spread over the country, speaks of its accumulation as capable of being effected during twenty thousand years—a period which he plainly reckons as nearly equal to the ages which had preceded his own birth. Definite epochs cannot be ascertained with satisfactory precision. That Egypt arrived at comparative civilization at a very early period, cannot be questioned, and that it was far advanced in social order as early as Abraham's days, is now universally admitted. That patriarch found in it a king—a Pharaoh, with a court, nobility, harem, and great wealth, joined to other indications of a fixed state of society. But this fact is scarcely consistent with the chronology commonly received. The years supposed, in ordinary computation, to elapse between the flood and the Abrahamic era are certainly too few for such national progress and improvement. Even the Septuagint chronology, which is the longest, seems to have scarcely sufficient space. We are, therefore, inclined to elongate the so-called chronology of Scripture, and cannot bind ourselves to the calculations and epochs of Archbishop Usher. The inspired record does not settle early dates, and it withholds full data, prior to the age of Saul and the building of the temple. At least three thousand years elapsed between Menes and Alexander. But Usher's chronology places the flood B.C. 2348, while Josephus says that Solomon ascended the throne B.C. 1015, and Menes, king of Egypt, reigned 1300 years before him—a calculation which leaves only a very few years for the colonization and progress of the race of Ham.

Conflicting views.

Early chronology is thus wrapt in deep and perplexing uncertainty, and as it is not of itself a matter of divine revelation, we are at liberty to form our own opinion after careful and deliberate scrutiny and comparison. If the Bible had positively settled these primitive dates, our reception of them would have been a matter of faith. But we are plainly left to our own earnest and candid inquiries on all such points of remote chronology. Now to show that we are not without authority in speaking of its obscure and unsettled state, we may refer to the conflicting opinions held by eminent men, as to the period of the creation and the deluge. More than two hundred different opinions have been published. The world was created before Christ, according to—

[1] May not Ham, Cham, Chem, Chemmis, have some connection with the term CHEMistry, whose hidden wisdom was possessed by ancient Egypt?

The Hebrew modern Text,	4004 years.
The Samaritan,	4305 "
The Septuagint,	5586 "
Rabbi Lepmann,	3616 "
Indian Chronology,	6158 "
Clement of Alexandria,	5624 "
Hales,	5411 "

Various systems.

Several discrepancies might also be noted as to the year of the flood, and the period elapsing between the creation and the deluge. Usher, coinciding with the Masoret Jews, places the flood 1656 years after the creation, but Hales makes it 2256—an immense disparity. The four great scriptural authorities stand thus:—

From the creation to the deluge—

Hebrew Text,	1656 years.
Samaritan Penta.,	1307 "
Septuagint,	2262 "
Josephus,	2256 "

Formed on erroneous principles.

Now we cannot receive any of these systems as possessing divine authority, though they claim to be founded on the inspired records of the Hebrew scriptures. Numbers were expressed in Hebrew by alphabetic letters, and these, from their frequent similarity to one another, might be, and were often, carelessly interchanged. But besides, these four different modes of computation proceed upon different and opposing systems. Their methods of calculation are peculiar to themselves, and this seem to have led to the various results. The 2262 years between the creation and the flood, according to the Septuagint, is the result in lunar years of 2200 solar years. The three texts, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek, when we take in also the epoch of Abraham's call, are plainly formed upon a chronological system, to which the minor dates of birth, posterity, and death, recorded in the fifth chapter of Genesis, have been conformed.[1] As regards the Samaritan Pentateuch, the

[1] "The assumptions of the Hebrew text, that the first two periods exactly comprise 2000 solar years, (2056 lunar years,) 1600 of which go to the first period, and 400 to the second; the assumption of the LXX., that the first period should be fixed at 2200 solar years, (2262 lunar years,) 1600 of which elapse before the birth of Noah, and 600 from then to the flood, and that the second period is made up of 1200 years; the assumptions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that the first period to the birth of Noah's sons embraces 1200 years, and the second period 1200 years likewise—these assumptions, what are we to call them? Are they not actually the results of chronological systems, which supply the deficiencies of historical tradition by general computations and assumptions? And these assumptions did not soon settle down to fixed and inviolable dates in the tradition of the Israelitic nation. Later generations must have known on what an unstable foundation they rested; for, had they not possessed that knowledge, the discrepant statements in the three recensions would have been utterly inexplicable."—*Bertheau, translated in Kitto's Journal*, II. 127.

genealogies are so constructed that no one living before the flood begets his first son after he is 150 years of age. In the Hebrew text a first son is born to Jared when he is 162 years old, but the Samaritan deducts 100 years from his age, and gives him his eldest born when he is sixty-two. Again, after the flood, no one is said to beget a son till he is beyond fifty years of age, so that if in the Hebrew text one is affirmed to have had a child born to him ere he was half-a-century old, a hundred gratuitous years are usually added to his chronology. Such manifest corrections are not in accordance with that honest and simple narration of dates which must have distinguished the original Hebrew chronicles. The Septuagint or Alexandrian version is corrupted by a similar system, and bears upon it the marks of its Egyptian origin; for to the period elapsing between Adam and Abraham, the translators have added 1460 years, or the famous Egyptian Sothic period. Perhaps this was an early attempt to synchronise the Hebrew epochs with the long and traditionary periods of Egyptian antiquity. On the whole, then, it is plain, that where Jewish Masorets, Samaritan Separatists, and Greek versionists, have so plainly modelled their chronology according to a foregone conclusion, and where accounts of time have been so plainly "cooked," their dates, epochs, and intervals cannot be implicitly trusted. The truth seems to be somewhere among them—between the longest and shortest chronology—though we incline to the longer, and that which might be expressed simply in general round numbers. We are thus furnished with "scope and verge enough" for calculating the Egyptian chronology, and are not bound and hampered by any deference to the systems which have falsely professed to base themselves on the divine oracles, which they have "handled deceitfully." We are in this way induced to listen with candour to the testimony of the Egyptian monuments, for they tell their own story without prevarication or suspicion. Egypt contains the best history of its kings and institutions, and the foreigners who have written about it are not to be implicitly trusted.

Not to be trusted.

Truth on the Monuments.

Herodotus was in Egypt about 431 years before Christ, when the country was under Persian rule. His curiosity led him to avail himself of all the sources of information within his reach. But the glory of Egypt was waning before he saw it, and its sacerdotal caste had lost its pristine celebrity. He must have gathered his knowledge by means of interpreters,[1] and so may have been occasionally imposed on. The priests read to him from their sacred books portions of their ancient annals. The section of his history which refers to Egypt, gives us the following statement, as virtually extracted from the sacerdotal records, in reference to the kings and epochs of ancient Egypt. There was, according to Herodotus,

Herodotus.

[1] That he was not acquainted with the language of the country, is evident from the mistake he falls into about the word Piromis, II. 143.

His List of Kings.

Menes, the first king, to whom is ascribed the building of Memphis, the embankment of the Nile, and the erection of the temple of Vulcan.

330 kings, successors of Menes. Of these,

18 were Ethiopians;

One was a queen, a foreigner—all the rest were Egyptians. The last (the 331st king therefore) was

Mœris, who built the northern propylæa of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, excavated the lake that bears his name, and built pyramids. There are no great works recorded of the others. "Mœris," says he, "had not been dead 900 years at the epoch of my visit to Egypt."

After these kings came

Sesostris, the great conqueror and lawgiver, who by his troops dug many canals. He was succeeded by

Pheron, his son, whom the god Nile struck with blindness during ten years, but he recovered and built two obelisks.

Proteus, a Memphite, succeeded him—the Proteus of the Greeks, and the severe judge of Paris: he erected a splendid building on the south side of the temple of Vulcan.

We have next Rhampsinitus, the miser, who built the western gate of the temple of Vulcan: and played at dice with Ceres in the lower world.

"With him ended the GOOD OLD TIME."

Builders of pyramids are then introduced by Herodotus, such as

Cheops, who reigned fifty years, built the largest pyramid, and was a godless and merciless tyrant.

Chephren, who reigned fifty-six years, and built the second pyramid.

Mykerinus, the son of Cheops, an upright judge and merciful ruler, to whom is ascribed the third pyramid.

Asychis succeeded, a wise lawgiver, who built the noble propylæa of the temple of Vulcan, and a brick pyramid.

Statements then follow respecting the Dodecarchy and Psammetichus. Then comes

Anysis, the blind man, from the city of Anysis. He was dethroned by

Sabakon, and fled into the marshes, where he lay concealed during the fifty years' rule of the Ethiopians. After him reigned

Sethos, priest of Vulcan: and then happened the expedition against Sennacherib.

Herodotus also relates that from the first king to the priest of Vulcan were 341 generations, or about 11,140 years, and during that period "no god had assumed the form of a man." But Hercules, according to the account he received from the priests, reigned 17,000 years before the reign of Amasis. The historian says,[1] "Among the Greeks the most recent of the gods are thought to be Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan; but by the Egyptians Pan is esteemed the most ancient, and one of the eight gods called original; Hercules is among the second, among those called the twelve; and Bacchus is of the third, who were sprung from the twelve gods. I have already declared how many years the Egyptians say there were from Hercules to the reign of Amasis; but from Pan a still greater number of years are said to have intervened, and from Bacchus fewest of all; and from him there are computed to have been fifteen thousand years to the reign of Amasis. The Egyptians say they know these things with accuracy, because they always compute and register the years. Now from Bacchus, who is said to have been born of Semele the daughter of Cadmus, to my time is about sixteen hundred years, and from Hercules the son of Alcmena, about nine hundred years; but from Pan, born of Penelope, (for Pan is said by the Greeks to have sprung from her and Mercury,) is a less number of years than from the siege of Troy, about eight hundred, to my time. Of these two accounts, each person may adopt that which he thinks most credible." Now Herodotus naturally associated the Egyptian divinities with his own Grecian gods, though there was little resemblance in the form of the idol, or in its supposed attributes. The deities of Hellas were in later times the embodiment of personal character—beauty, stateliness, wisdom or majesty—while those of Egypt were grotesque and inhuman, often a combination of various animal forms, each monstrosity perhaps intended to shadow out some obscure and ancient truth. Besides, Bunsen seems to establish clearly that Herodotus has not only blundered among the gods, but that he was puzzled with two different forms of computation, and that he has joined them together with awkward and tasteless confusion.

His Egyptian Mythology.

His errors.

Diodorus Siculus travelled in Egypt immediately before the fall of the dynasty of Lagus, about 58 years B.C., but his account of its history, taken from various and contradictory sources, are greatly more confused than those of Herodotus.[2] Hecataeus of Miletus and Hecataeus of Abdera, made also pilgrimages to Egypt, the one in the reign of Darius and the other after the inroads of Alexander. Syncellus of Byzantium has preserved some fragments of Eratosthenes in reference to the kings of Egypt. Eratosthenes himself was conservator of the famed Alexandrian library, 200 years B.C., and was

Diodorus.

[1] II. 145.

[2] Compare the treatises of Heyne, "De fontibus et auctoribus Diodori," &c., appended to the last volume of Dindorf's edition of the Greek historian.



Osiris. Horus. Isis. Osiris with Hawk's Head. Anubis. Cow Isis with Infant Horus.

a devoted and accomplished scholar and critic, the guide in geography to Strabo and Ptolemy, and to Apollodorus in chronology. Eratosthenes has given us a list of thirty-eight kings of the Theban dynasty, comprising a period of 1076 years. But our most important ancient authority is Manetho, the priest of Sebennytus, who lived at the court of Ptolemy Soter. According to Eusebius he reduced all Egyptian history to a Greek form. Several of the Greeks, as Plutarch, Aelian, and Porphyry, refer to him. Josephus has also given us several excerpts from his tomes. Manetho's system resembles that of Herodotus, for he computed the entire period as 24,900 years. That period comprises, however, the reign of gods, heroes, and manes, or such worthies as were held in peculiar esteem as the ancestors of various houses.

Manetho.

His Chronology.

Bunsen gives Manetho's chronology as follows:—

1. Dominion of Gods in two divisions, the first of which ended with Horus, the second with Bitys, ... 13,900 years.
2. Dominion of Heroes in two divisions, ... 1,255
3. Heroes and Kings of the primeval Race—transition from divine to human history, 5,813
4. Purely human history—provincial Prince:
   - *a.* Kings without particular notices (of Thebes?) 1817
   - *b.* Thirty Memphites (Lower Egypt,) 1790
   - *c.* Ten Thinites, ... 350

   3,957

Sum total, ... 24,925 years.

Manetho makes especial mention of thirty-one dynasties, the most of them having several kings, as may be seen in the following table,

compiled out of his writings, sanctioned by Rosellini, Champollion Figeac, and revised by Gliddon:—

His Egyptian Dynasties.

Order of Dynasties.	Their Origin.	Number of Kings.	Length of their Reign	Monumental Parallels.
			Years.	
1st,	Thinite,	8	252	
2d,	Thinite,	9	297	
3d,	Memphite,	9	197	
4th,	Memphite,	8	448	Pyra'ids, {Memphite / Meroe?
5th,	Elephantinite,	9	248	Tombs,
6th,	Memphite,	6	203	Copper Mines,
7th,	Memphite,	5	75	Quarries,
8th,	Memphite,	5	100	Relics and Papyri.
9th,	Heracleopolite,	4	100	
10th,	Heracleopolite,	19	185	
11th,	Theban,	17	59	
12th,	Theban,	7	245	Great Number of unplaced Kings.
13th,	Theban,	60	453	
14th,	Xoite,	76	484	
15th,	Theban,	...	250	
16th,	Theban,	5	190	Obelisk of Heliopolis.
17th,	Theban, / Hykshos,	6 / 6	260	Karnak.
18th,	Theban,	17	348	
19th,	Theban,	6	194	
20th,	Theban,	12	178	Temples, Tombs, Palaces, Tablets,
21st,	Tanite,	7	130	Papyri, Relics, &c.
22d,	Bubastite,	9	120	&c. &c. all over
23d,	Tanite,	4	89	Egypt and Nubia.
24th,	Saitic,	1	44	
25th,	Ethiopian,	3	44	
26th,	Saitic,	9	150	
27th,	Persian,	8	120	
28th,	Saitic,	1	6	
29th,	Mendesian,	5	21	
30th,	Sebennitic,	3	38	
31st,	Persian,	3	8	
31		347		

Egyptian Mythology.

The long and fabulous period of the reign of God and demi-gods must be first of all discarded, as an idle and vain-glorious legend. According to the "old Chronicle," Phtah reigned for a period to which no limit can be assigned; Helios his son occupied the throne for three myriads of years; Kronos, and other twelve divinities, for about four thousand years; while demi-gods and heroes succeeded for many centuries. There may have been some important truths conveyed in such symbols, but their epoch belongs not to history. At best they are the dream of an artificial and secular theology, for

even the forms of the Egyptian divinities were moulded and adorned with hieroglyphic symbols, which may have been intended to embody some truths—the wreck and remnant of an earlier and purer faith.



[Egyptian Gods.]

Sources of information.

Lepsius is now labouring on the intricate theme of Egyptian chronology, and has already indicated the leaning of his thoughts,[1] which in many points are directly opposed to Bunsen. Our sources of information are, however, numerous, and deeper investigation may lead, in course of time, to securer and more definite results. The royal papyrus of Turin, with its copious catalogues, from Menes down to the nineteenth dynasty, B.C. 1400, when itself was inscribed; the Tablet of Abydos, containing the ancestry of Ramses the Great, and now deposited in the British Museum; that of Karnak, taken from its temple-palace, with its long list of kings of the eighteenth dynasty and backwards; with the "Book of the Dead," and other scrolls of minor importance, will, when thoroughly collated and correctly interpreted, lead to larger and more accurate views of Egypt's olden time, and its royal lords.

Papyrus of Turin.

The papyrus in the royal museum at Turin, consisting of twenty-two fragments, was first examined by Champollion in 1824, and discovered to contain a list of Egyptian dynasties, with the names of more than two hundred kings. Lepsius has lately gone over it anew, and with peculiar care and success, having availed himself of the results of previous examinators, such as Salvolini and Seyffarth. The kings are divided into dynasties, and the reign of the gods and heroes is first described and calculated. The rings in which are found the names of the human sovereigns represent, according to Lepsius, fifty-four kings for the old empire, reaching to the thirteenth dynasty, and sixty-five kings for the middle empire, or down to the eighteenth dynasty.

Tablet of Abydos.

The Tablet of Abydos was found by Mr. Bankes in 1818, and though it is now greatly disfigured, yet we have correct drawings of

[1] Die Chronologie der Ægypter. Einleitung. Kritik der Quellen. Berlin, 1849.

it by Burton and Wilkinson, with a fac-simile by Lepsius. The tablet is a sculpture in fine limestone, and the royal rings are fifty-two in number, comprising many sovereigns of a period as remote as the twelfth dynasty.

Tablet of Karnak.

The Tablet of Karnák, now in one of the halls of the royal library at Paris, was discovered by Burton, in a chamber situated in the south-east angle of the temple-palace of Thebes, and was published by its discoverer in his "Excerpta Hieroglyphica."[1] The chamber itself was fully described by Rosellini, in his "Monumenti Storici." The kings are in two rows, overlooked each of them by a large figure of Tuthmosis or Thothmes III., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. In the row to the left of the entrance are thirty-one names, and in that to the right are thirty, all of them predecessors of Tuthmosis. The Theban kings who ruled in Upper Egypt during the usurpation of the Hyksos invaders are also exhibited among the lists. Over the head of each king is his ring, containing his royal titles. Such are some of the monumental auxiliaries we have, in our endeavours to unfold the mysteries of Egyptian chronology. By the investigations already made, we are led to adopt the division of Egyptian history which divides Egyptian history into the old, middle, and new empires; the last, according to some, embracing a period of 1300 years, and the two former, according to Bunsen, after Manetho, comprising a series of 2250 years.

Discoveries of Lepsius.

Lepsius, too, has discovered an interesting fact, that the length of a king's reign may be measured by the height of his pyramid, the structure having been usually commenced in the first year of his reign. Nor are these monuments few or far between, for on a range of fifty-six miles sixty-nine pyramids have been discovered; the remains or substructures of thirty-nine of which have been brought to light by Lepsius and the recent Prussian expedition. The great pyramid, according to this theory, must represent a king of extraordinary longevity—a fact fully attested by the Turin papyrus, which records his age as ninety-five years, and vouched for by Manetho, who states that his reign lasted through an unwonted period of sixty-three years. Even a minute and discriminating analysis of the progress of mummification may be a help in the settlement of the early chronology. The form of the coffin and shape of its symbolic drawings, the bandages employed, and the materials used for embalming, present different stages in the social progress and refinement of the people. Woollen envelopes are found to have preceded those of flax; and the employment of funereal spices and perfumes marks a period of commercial intercourse with foreign nations. Nay more, the names of reigning sovereigns are borne by vast hosts of their subjects, and we never, says Mr. Birch, find "an Apries in the epoch of the twelfth, or an Osortesen in the twenty-

[1] It may be seen also in Wilkinson's "Materia Hieroglyphica."

sixth dynasty."[1] The Egyptian whose coffin bears a royal name, must have been born in the time of the king whose cognomen he had adopted.

Uncertainty of early dates.

We feel, then, that we are not warranted in pronouncing a decided opinion on many of those difficult points in ancient Egyptian chronology. The process of discovery is so rapid, however, that many years cannot elapse without bringing us the materials of a full and determinate judgment. Our safest path lies, in the mean time, between extravagance on the one hand, and bigoted adherence to Usher's calculations on the other. The restricted period contended for by such as Nolan[2] cannot, we think, be justified by the facts of the case, for we must allow time for the Mizraimites to grow and gather in strength before the Jewish patriarch visited a country which seems never to have had an infancy. Yet we are not obliged to adopt the notion, that all the dynasties of Manetho were consecutive. There are no grounds for maintaining such a view. Indeed, from the twelfth dynasty downward, there may have been regular succession; but in the old empire, analogy might lead us to believe that some of the dynasties were contemporary. Large empires often appear in their commencement under the form of several small and divided monarchies, which are gradually absorbed into one general government. England had its Heptarchy for many years before one throne governed it; and both Scotland and Ireland were long independent kingdoms, ere they owned the dominion of sovereigns crowned in Westminster. In like manner, the dynasty of Elephantiné probably ruled in Upper Egypt at the same time with that of Memphis in the lower provinces. May not the common title, "lord of Upper and Lower Egypt," imply that all the previous sovereigns did not possess united sway over both portions of the kingdom.[3] Dates which do appear extraordinary may be, and in all likelihood must be, on this principle, considerably shortened.

Dynasties not all consecutive.

Epoch of Menes.

One main difficulty is to settle upon a starting point for the commencement of our calculations, as the real epoch of Menes, the first king, is a matter of no little uncertainty. Various points in past time have been fixed on. If the numbers of Manetho, some of which are doubtful, be corrected by Syncellus, Menes, the first sovereign, might be placed 439 from the deluge, supposing the deluge had happened, according to the Septuagint, 3154 B.C. Bunsen places him B.C. 3643; Prichard, B.C. 2214; and Wilkinson, B.C. 2320. With such conflicting views, his epoch is yet enveloped in comparative darkness.

[1] Birch in Gliddon's Otia Egyptiaca, p. 78.

[2] The Egyptian Chronology Analysed, &c. London, 1848.

[3] Some good papers on this and kindred Egyptian topics, written by R. S. Poole, nephew of Mr. Lane, and printed in various numbers of the "Literary Gazette" in 1849.

The reader may be pleased to see the results which Gliddon gives in the following table:— Various Dates.

"1st, By the astronomical reduction of Herodotus, according to Professor Renwick, we obtain the accession of Menes, about.....	B.C. 2890
2d, By Syncellus—Manetho agrees with general (or Septuagint) chronology, if we cut off 656 years before the flood, and 534 afterwards—the true period of Egyptian history, according to him, would place the accession of Menes—Renwick's calculation,....	2712
3d, By Rosellini's reduction of Syncellus, page 15, vol. 1, Menes would fall about.....	2776
4th, By Champollion Figeac, page 267, the epoch of Menes would be—Freret's calculation,.....	2782
5th, By Dr. Hales' calculation,.....	2412
6th, By my reduction of the 'Old Chronicle,'.....	2683
7th, By my reduction of 'Manetho,'.....	2715

I have before stated, that we could not define with precision the epoch of Menes within 500 years—but all differences considered, between the extreme of 2890 B.C. for remoteness, and 2412 B.C. for proximity, which added to Rosellini's and Champollion's estimates of the accession of the sixteenth dynasty,.....B.C. 2272

Addition,..... 478

Would place Menes about the year..... 2750 B.C.

Which I am inclined to adopt, as within a hundred years' approximation of the truth: thus affording abundance of interval, between the flood and Menes on the one hand; and possibly sufficient for the erection of the works now existing at Memphis—the pyramids—between Menes and the accession of the sixteenth dynasty, on the other."[1]

On all such abstruse points, approximation to the truth is all that can be obtained.

We shall now recount in rapid and succinct narrative the various dynasties of ancient Egypt, contenting ourselves with a brief sketch of the more illustrious of its Pharaohs.

Of the FIRST or THINITE DYNASTY of eight kings, Menes was the great representative. Menes, a name signifying one who "walks with Amon," and therefore an appellation symbolic of piety, was the first king of Egypt. He belonged to the city of This near Abydos. His name stands sculptured on the walls of the Theban palace, and the same priority is assigned him by all the early annalists, and by the First Dynasty. Menes.

[1] Ancient Egypt, p. 51.

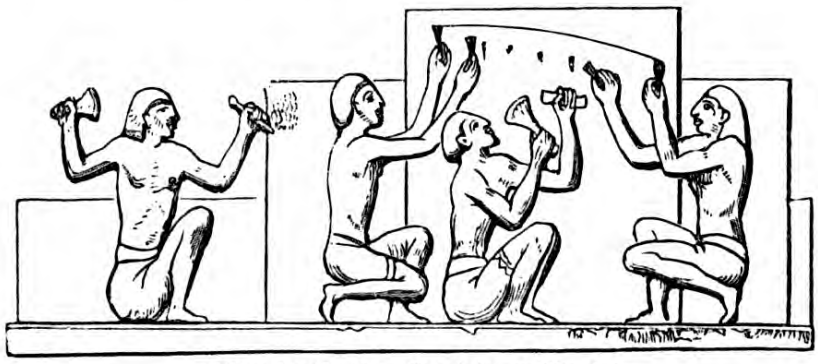
famed papyrus in the Museum of Turin. He laid the foundations of Egyptian greatness. His reign is signalised by his erection of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis—the Egyptian Vulcan or Pthah being the peculiar symbol of creative power and goodness. His philanthropical labours also raised a mound against the influx of the Nile, the results of which are yet attested by the locality; and he ordered the excavation of those canals on which the safety and fertility of the country so much depend. The theocratic form of government, which seems to have previously existed, was overthrown by him, and he was the first to assume the name of Pharaoh. A large portion of his life was spent in warlike expeditions—defending the frontiers of his kingdom from the assaults of surrounding tribes. He appears at the same time to have founded those civil, sacred, and military institutions by which his people were afterwards so singularly distinguished. His successor, Athothis, is historically connected with the palace of Memphis, while some of the pyramids are ascribed to the fourth king of the same dynasty.

Second Dynasty.

SECOND DYNASTY—THINITE, consisting of nine kings.—Only of the second and third kings, Kaichus and Binothris, a little is known, such as the connexion of the former with the introduction of that brute-worship which prevailed so extensively in Egypt.

Third Dynasty.

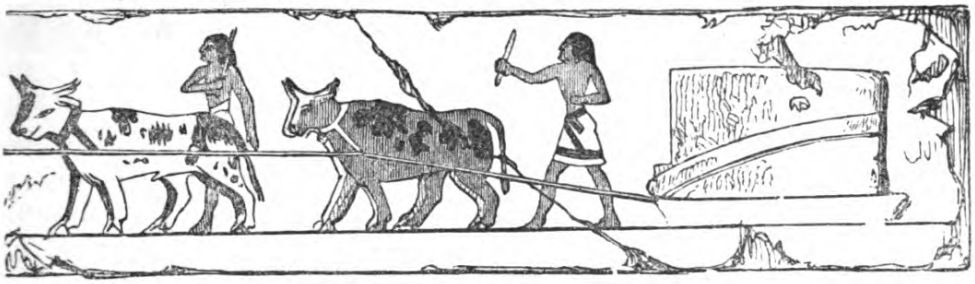
THIRD DYNASTY—of nine MEMPHITE kings.—The second of its kings, Sesosthris, is found in connexion with improved masonry, the art of writing, and the science of medicine.



[Egyptian Masons.—*Description de l'Egypte.*]

Fourth Dynasty.

FOURTH DYNASTY—MEMPHITE.—Of its eight kings the most celebrated is its second, Suphis or Cheops, the builder of the large pyramid. His name has been found in the huge structure, while it also occurs in the Thebaid, and even in the peninsula of Sinai, where copper mines were wrought under his control. He is said, however, to have been a merciless tyrant. What myriads of toiling slaves laboured to erect the pyramid; 100,000 men drudging for twenty years, in order to erect a monument twenty miles from the quarry that furnished the materials, and six hundred and forty miles from the red granite that lines the interior of the structure—a monument



[Egyptians conveying Stones.—*Champollion.*]

containing, as has been computed, 89,028,000 cubic feet of masonry, and 6,848,000 tons of stone. The third king, Chephren, is also famed as the founder of a pyramid; and the fourth, Menkeres or Mycerinus, has a similar honour. Of these early sovereigns, "the bones of the two oppressors, (Cheops and Chephren, builders of the first and second,) who for two generations tormented hundreds of thousands day after day, have been torn from their sepulchral chambers, which were destined to defy the curiosity and destructiveness of men, and preserve their bodies for ever from the annihilation which they dreaded. But the good and philanthropic king, (Mycerinus, builder of the third,) who put an end to the inhuman oppression of the people, and in consequence of this, lived in poetry and song, even to the latest times, as the people's darling, has, even to our days, although his coffin has been broken open, remained in his own pyramid, and has now, rescued from the mass of ruins, found a resting-place worthy of him, in the British Museum. A notable destiny! The old monarchy of the Pharaohs, of which he was the eighteenth ruler, has passed away; two other monarchies have followed it, and the destroyers of the most ancient have also made their exit from the stage of history. The gods of Egypt have crumbled into dust; 'son of the Pharaohs' is a name of reproach in the Pharaohs' land; even the language has grown dumb among the people. The body of Mencheres, (Mycerinus,) however, now rests more securely than it did 5000 years ago—in the world-ruling island which is protected by the might of freedom and civilization, still more than by the waves which encircle it—amid the treasures of every realm of nature, and the most sublime remains of human art."[1] Mycerinus.

FIFTH DYNASTY—ELEPHANTINE.—Only three names of its nine kings have been preserved, and it is supposed that they reigned for above two hundred years. Fifth Dynasty.

SIXTH DYNASTY—MEMPHITE.—One of its six sovereigns, Nitocris, built the sixth pyramid, and was besides the handsomest woman of her time. The fact of a woman's occupying the throne, shows the Sixth Dynasty. Nitocris.

[1] Bunsen.

high degree of civilization and refinement to which the nation had attained. Of some succeeding dynasties little is known, for the pages of Manetho have been sadly mutilated. The seventh and eighth dynasties were Memphite, and these were followed by two which were Heracleopolite, while the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth were Diospolite. The third sovereign of the twelfth dynasty is supposed by some to be the Grecian Sesostris, the famous conqueror, a man of gigantic bulk, six feet ten inches in stature. Asia and Europe, as far as Thrace, were subdued by him in nine years.[1] Another king of this dynasty, the fourth in order, built the famous labyrinth, as a royal sepulchre. The fourteenth dynasty is said to have consisted of seventy-six Xoite kings, of whom nothing has been preserved. According to Manetho, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties were the Hyksos or shepherd kings—a race of foreign invaders. They did not occupy the whole of Egypt, but were contemporary with some Diospolite dynasty, who ruled the upper provinces. Though they did not reign for so long a time as Manetho ascribes to them, yet it is probable that the shepherd invasion took place previous to the time of Osirtasen I., the fourth among five Theban monarchs. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, this was the king who elevated and rewarded the Hebrew youth so unexpectedly brought into his notice.

Dynasties Seventh to Sixteenth.

Hyksos.

At all events, about the period of the seventeenth dynasty are usually and rightly placed the Hyksos, or shepherd kings. This clan of warriors appears on the page of history like a dark and mystic cloud, that thunders and soon disappears. Some have doubted their existence altogether, and others, like Josephus, have supposed that they represent only the captive Jews in Egypt. Sir Gardner Wilkinson once held this opinion, but ampler evidence has compelled him to abandon it as untenable.[2] The Jewish historian strives hard to identify the "pastors" with his own national ancestry. There are some features of resemblance, it is true, but there are also many points of strong dissimilarity. As we learn from Josephus, in his book against Apion, Manetho says, that the eruption of the Hyksos into Egypt took place under a king named Timaeus, that they came from the east, that they burnt the cities, demolished the temples, and committed terrible ravages in the country. Their warlike chief, he adds, lived at Memphis, and laid the whole territory under heavy tribute. Long and fierce wars were carried on between the dauntless intruders and the native Egyptians, till at length the kings of the Thebais mustered a brave and numerous force and expelled them. In their ignoble flight they entered Judaea on leaving Egypt, and built the city of Jerusalem. It may be that this last statement was held by Josephus as fully corroborative of his

Manetho's account.

[1] Herodotus, Wilkinson.

[2] I. 55, *note*.

views. Yet it affords no argument in favour of his theory—that the expulsion of the Hyksos and exodus of the Jews are the same event—for the Jews did not, as is affirmed of the Hyksos, build Jerusalem, nor even did they capture its citadel, till long after their flight from Egypt, whereas the Pali or Hyksos on taking possession of the country may have erected its earlier fortifications, and afterwards retired more to the sea board, where they were known in subsequent periods as the Philistines. Manetho's account of the expulsion of the Jews is indeed mixed with fable. It was an humbling epoch to a Pharaoh's vanity, and the actual circumstances may have been disguised in the national records. The Egyptian priest speaks of the exiles as impure and leprous, a statement not to be altogether impugned. From the minute and repeated statutes of Moses concerning leprosy, its colour, treatment, and contagious virulence, it would seem that this frightful malady was endemic—was in truth the scourge of the Hebrew tribes. It is plain, on the other hand, that the Jews when they were in Egypt never held any rule—were unable to conquer for themselves any portion of the country, or take up arms against their oppressors, but were for a long period in the most revolting and helpless vassalage. Theory of Josephus.

This foreign race reigned at least two centuries in Egypt, and it must have been at some period during their domination that Joseph's kindred settled in the land of Goshen. Joseph enjoined his brethren to tell frankly to the reigning sovereign that they were shepherds in occupation; yet we are informed that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." The Hebrew vizier of Egypt advised his brethren to report their profession as shepherds, in order to secure a portion of the land. "Ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers; that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen: for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Gen. xlvi. 34. Now if these Egyptian rulers abominated shepherds, the counsel of Joseph was the most preposterous that could have been given; it would have led to their immediate expulsion. But their trade gained them Pharaoh's favour, and he requested Joseph to place the most active of them over his own flocks. Surely, then, shepherds were no abomination to this reigning prince and his court. It follows as an undoubted inference, that he belonged not to any native Egyptian dynasty, but was one of the foreign Hyksos. The incidental note, "that every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians," refers to the keen dislike of the Egyptian natives, who had been subjugated by these Asiatic marauders. What was distasteful in the highest degree to the princes of the sixteenth dynasty, was relished by the usurpers, who occupied their throne in Memphis. Our hypothesis gives also a peculiar point to Joseph's feigned accusation of his brethren—"ye are spies"—the pioneers of another shepherd band who might come and divide the spoil. Shepherds.

Another Theory.

Some, indeed, suppose that the shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians in the time of Joseph, because the shepherd despots had already been expelled, and the natives entertained a lively reminiscence of their cruelties. On this ground, Hengstenberg and others allege, that Joseph advised his brethren to tell their occupation to Pharaoh, that the king in disgust might order them away from his presence to the distant province of Goshen. But, on the other hand, we find that Pharaoh was highly satisfied with the account of Joseph's kindred, for they were of his own race. Besides, the narrative implies that Goshen was a fertile province, and it is not likely that the hated clan should receive so favourable a location. It lay on the road from Palestine to Egypt, and if the Hyksos had been already expelled, the settlement of the Hebrews in Goshen was providing them with allies of their own occupation and of their own blood. For if the Hyksos were descendants of Eber, they might be named Hebrews as well as the offspring of Jacob. The Egyptians felt it to be an abomination to eat with the Hebrews,[1] not specially with Joseph's brethren, with whom they had never come into contact, but with Hebrews generally, as if the term described a whole race, greatly larger than the small family of Israel. Joseph too speaks of his being stolen out of the "land of the Hebrews." Would he have given Palestine such a name because his father's family—a family of foreigners—wandered in it? Is it not natural to suppose that by the term "Hebrew" he meant to designate the majority of the inhabitants, and that he called the land after them?[2] May we not then conjecture with high probability that the Hyksos and the Israelites received from the Egyptians the common appellation of Hebrew; and is it not probable that the "mixed multitude" which left Egypt along with the Jews, was a remnant of the kindred shepherd-race, which had remained in the country after their warlike lords had been expelled?

Identification of Hebrews and Hyksos.

The new king.

At length "there arose a new king that knew not Joseph." He was probably either the last sovereign of the seventeenth or the first of the eighteenth dynasty. Knowing that the Hebrews had enjoyed special favours from his Hyksos rivals, he was naturally jealous of their growing numbers, and as they were located toward the north-eastern frontier, he was afraid of their forming an alliance with the shepherd tribes which had been so recently expelled. The motives of his policy are clearly stated, Exod. i. 9, 10, "He said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land." The opinion of Pharaoh was, that

[1] Gen. xliii. 32, xl. 15.

[2] Jost, Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes. Berlin. Henry, L'Egypte Pharaonique. Paris.

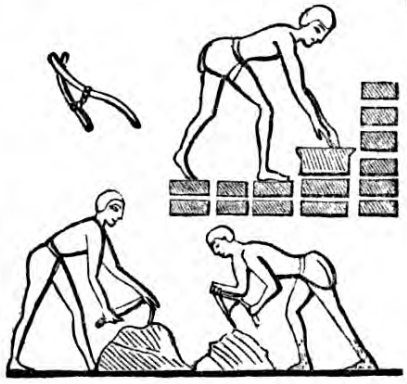
if the Hyksos should return and threaten Egypt with an invasion, the Hebrews, who had been so much indebted to them, would make common cause with them against the native population. Therefore the restored Pharaoh and his government oppressed them,—"They made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour." Exod. i. 14. The biblical history is thus satisfactorily explained by a reference to the usurpation and final overthrow of these mysterious Hyksos.

The duration of the Hyksos reign in Egypt is known too by the erection of the Theban pyramids, inferior in size and splendour to those of Memphis. There are also found in one of the chambers of Karnak the royal rings of thirty sovereigns who reigned in Upper Egypt, while the "strangers and wanderers"[1] were swaying their sceptre over the lower country. But none of the names of the royal Hyksos given by Manetho is found upon the monuments, nor does any of them occur on the Tablet of Abydos. The shepherd race had no invention or love of art, and no monuments were erected during their reign. Their occupation of the country was entirely military. They were merely encamped in Egypt. They felt that it was not their home, and so they wantonly despoiled the masonry of the earlier Pharaohs. This neglect of architectural embellishment on the part of the Hyksos may account for the absence of reference to the Hebrew colonists on the Egyptian monuments.

Contemporary Dynasty.

It has been asserted, indeed, that some monuments of Israelitish slavery still remain in Egypt. At Thebes there exists a mural painting, which Rosellini describes as a picture representing the Hebrews engaged in brick-making. The whole process is carefully depicted,—carrying clay—kneading it with straw—moulding, drying the bricks, and finally conveying away such as were finished and fit for use. Two Egyptians stand over the workers, each with the rod of a "taskmaster." The tomb of Roschêre contains this pictorial scene, and he seems to have been a crown officer of high rank placed over the national works. The position of the painting does not hinder us from identifying it with the Hebrew bondage, for the Hebrew slaves were scattered over the country—"throughout all the land of Egypt." Exod. v. 12. Though their first home was in Goshen, under the Hyksos, they were soon dispersed over the kingdom by their oppressors of the native dynasty. That the slaves in these pictures are Asiatics or Syrians, there is no manner of doubt, though to decide their nationality with

Monument of Hebrew slavery.



[1] "Hyksos" is said by Rosellini to have this meaning.

dogmatic certainty, would indeed be presumptuous. All we can affirm is, that the scene on the tomb of Roschêre represents men with a Syrian countenance engaged in hard bondage, and we know that the Hebrews laboured in similar drudgery. The probability is, that the children of Israel, as national bondsmen, may be there depicted, for we see somewhat of the Hebrew physiognomy in the painted labourers—a yellow skin and an aquiline nose. It is a trite objection to this view, that the slaves do not all wear beards, for they might either voluntarily, or from compulsion, have adopted the custom of the country, and shaved themselves.[1] The representation is true to the life, and forms a vivid illustration of the statements of the Book of Exodus.

But though these narrations appear on the whole to be fully authenticated, we feel that much still remains to be done in the work of Egyptian discovery, especially in the "field of Zoan," where the sons of Jacob sojourned. Who can tell what buried treasures may yet be exhumed, what obelisks and tombs may yet be uncovered? The entire dynasty of shepherd kings reigned, according to Eusebius, 259 years, but others, with less probability, extend the term of their domination to above 500 years, nay, Bunsen claims for their occupancy a period of 929 years. The whole subject is confessedly surrounded with difficulties, and we can but dimly discern the mere outline of a dark shadow that lay for many years on the glory of Lower Egypt, and obscured the succession of its legitimate sovereigns at Memphis.

Departure of the Hebrews.

The oppression of the Hebrews became at length intolerable, and Moses received a divine commission to effect their liberation. The Pharaoh who occupied the throne scowled upon the request which the son of Amram made for his people, and multiplied the burdens of the foreign slaves who were groaning for freedom. But divine judgments fell in thick succession upon the Egyptian despot. His spirit sometimes quailed before them, but immediately on the removal of the plague he suddenly relapsed into his former obstinacy. The Nile was changed into blood; the land was covered with frogs; insects swarmed in the air; a deadly and infectious murrain seized the cattle; burning ulcers covered the population; the crops were laid waste by a tornado; the whole herbage was devoured by locusts; a dense gloom of three days' duration covered the country; and at last, in one night, the first-born were destroyed, and the pride and hope of Egypt perished. Pharaoh relented, and in that awful morning the posterity of Abraham left the house of bondage. But the hosts of the enraged tyrant hastened after the fugitives, and would soon have overtaken them, while by a propitious miracle the Arabian Gulf was parted before them, and they crossed it in safety. Their Egyptian pursuers, in their vehement rage, entered the channel of the sea, and were drowned in its returning waters.

[1] Gen. xli. 14.

Again the prophet stretched his awful wand—
With one wild crash, the thundering waters sweep,
And all is waves, or dark and lonely deep;
And strange and sad the whispering surges bore
The groans of Egypt to Arabia's shore.

To identify the king under whom the exodus took place is perhaps impossible in our present state of information. At the same time, we see no insuperable objection to the opinion, that he was the third Thothmes.

Some again, such as Gosse,[1] suppose that the exodus took place under a king of the name of Osirei-men-phtah, and he says, on the authority of Champollion Figeac, that the tomb of the prince was never finished, that the first bas-reliefs are well executed, but that the rest are merely sketched in red chalk and so remain. His inference is, that this Pharaoh never occupied his sepulchre, for he was drowned in the Red Sea. There is, however, no distinct intimation in the sacred narrative that Pharaoh himself was drowned, while his host, his chosen captains, and his chariots are specified. Though he had been drowned—an event which is perhaps implied—still his corpse might have been conveyed to its last resting-place. There are other objections too against the theory. The period of the monarch Osirei-men-phtah is too late by many years for the epoch of the Jewish liberation. Theory of Gosse.

The most illustrious of all the dynasties was the eighteenth, which was Theban or Diospolite. According to Rosellini its sovereigns were as follows:— Eighteenth Dynasty.

Order.	Name on Monuments.	Name in Ancient Writers.	Length of Reign	
I.	Amunoph I.	Amosis, Thetmosis,	26	M 4
II.	Thothmes I.	Chebros,	13	
III.	Thothmes II.	Amenophis,	20	
IV.	Amense, queen, Thothmes III. Amenemhe IV.	Amenses, Successive husbands of queen Amense,	21	9
V.	Thothmes IV.	Mephres, Mœris,	12	9
VI.	Amunoph II.	Mephrathutmosis,	25	10
VII.	Thothmes V.	Tmosis,	9	8
VIII.	Amunoph III.	Amenophis, Memnon,	30	10
IX.	Hôr,	Horus,	36	5
X.	Tmauhmot, queen,	Akencheres,	12	1
XI.	Ramses I.	Rathotis, Athoris,	9	
XII.	Menephtha I.	Two Akencheres,	24	8
XIII.	Ramses II.	Armais, Armesses,	14	
XIV.	Ramses III.	Ramses, Sesostris, Sesoosis, Osymandias,	68	2
XV.	Menephtha II.	Armessis, Miammun,	3	
XVI.	Menephtha III.	Amenophis,	19	6
XVII.	Remerri, Uerri,		2	5

[1] Monuments of Ancient Egypt, 147.

The kings of this list occupy a prominent place among the monuments, such as at Medinet-Abou, the Tomb of Gournah, the Tablet of Abydos, and the Ramsessium. The first of these is supposed by Wilkinson to be the new king that knew not Joseph, and under Thothmes III. he places the exodus of the Israelites. At least somewhere under this dynasty must be placed the epoch of their departure.

Splendour of the eighteenth dynasty.

Under this eighteenth dynasty Egypt reached the zenith of its splendour. The great works of Thebes present us with the wreck of its glory. Its sovereigns were all distinguished in arts and arms, and their names or shields occupy prominent and frequent places on the national monuments. The Tablet of Abydos offers a useful comparison with the lists of Manetho and Eusebius. Some place a name before Amunoph, and according to such a theory the first king of the dynasty was Amosis, a warrior both by land and sea, who has left records of his prowess in Nubia, and of his patriotic industry in the quarries of Masarah. According to our view the first king of

Amunoph.

the dynasty was Amunoph, who excelled in martial glory. He is found in Aboosimbel, sitting in luxuriant state,[1] and in other places he is depicted in the centre of numerous groups of captives, gathered from various distant nations, and clothed in the opposite costumes of Ethiopia and Asia. Religious honours of an inferior grade appear to have been sometimes paid to the conqueror[2] as a great national

Thothmes I.

benefactor. He was followed by Thothmes I., a prince of distinguished valour and munificence, who founded the great temple at Karnak, to which vast additions were made by successive monarchs. His conquests seem to have extended to Assyria—to the land of Naharaina—a name which may be identified with the scriptural

Thothmes II.

designation of that country.[3] The second Thothmes was equal in fame to his predecessor, and about this period a queen seems to have occupied the throne for a season. Her usual name, Amense, as given by Rosellini and Champollion, should be read, according to Lepsius, Set-Amen. By him also she is said to be a sister of Thothmes I., while Amenemhe read by the same author as Nemt Amen, is affirmed by him to have been sister of Thothmes II. Her monumental portraits are robed in a man's dress, while the prefixes are of

ThothmesIII.

the feminine gender. The third Thothmes surpassed his royal predecessors in splendour. Memorials of his reign are very frequent in mural pictures and obelisks. Remote nations of various colours are pictured as bringing him tribute, gold, ivory, ebony, precious stones, vases, apes, leopards, and a giraffe. Some of these products are from Northern Asia, whither the arms of Thothmes seem to have penetrated. The statistical table of Karnak is a register of his

ThothmesIV

glories. Thothmes IV. continued and sustained the fame of his family, and triumphed in battle over Cushites and Libyans. On a

[1] Rosellini M. R. tav. xxviii. [2] Rosellini, Mon. Stor. iii. 682.
[3] Aram Naharaim, Aram of the two rivers—Tigris and Euphrates.

monument at Gournah nine foreign captives, seemingly of Asiatic origin, surround the king.[1] Amunoph the second has left little to illustrate his name, though he appears to have walked in the steps of his predecessors, while Amunoph the third has bequeathed many Amunoph II. and III.



[Hieroglyphic Representation of the Names and Titles of Thothmes III.]

monuments of his warlike grandeur. In the Temple of Soleb in Nubia, occurs a picture which represents forty-five nations conquered by this prince. The couching lion at the entrance of the Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum bears on it his royal name. The noble pile of buildings at Luxor seems to have been commenced by him. In its chambers are deposited in striking and appropriate hieroglyphics, the birth, nursing, and inauguration of the royal youth, who is also mythically connected with the famous Memnon and the vocal statue. His tomb has been also well preserved, and is a good specimen of the size and elaboration of the royal sepulchres. In his reign Egyptian sculpture seems to have reached its perfection. Hôr, his son and successor, has left characteristic records of himself in the quarries of Silsilis, attesting his warlike achievements, and the city of Thebes owed him many architectural embellishments. His daughter Tmauhmot is sometimes associated with him on his statues, as if she had shared with him the honours and functions of royalty. Hôr.

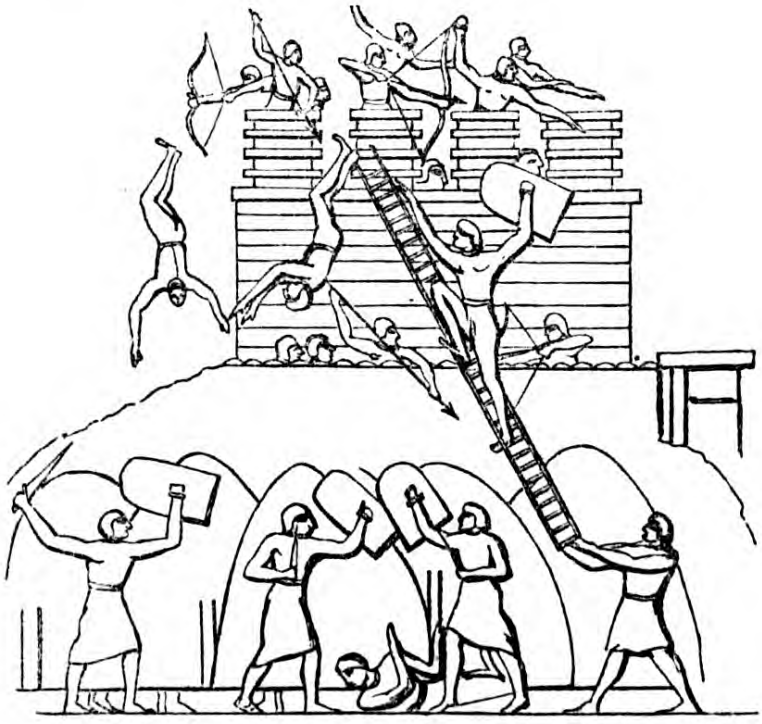
The succession after Hôr is surrounded with some difficulties, but according to the best authorities Ramses I. follows.[2] His reign appears to have been brief, and not specially distinguished by any great events. Whether from piety or from policy, he was generous in his donations to the priesthood, and the "Country of the Nine Ramses I.

[1] Lepsius Auswahl, pl. xiii.

[2] Rosellini Mon. Stor. i. 204.

Menephtha I. Bows" was vanquished by his arms. Menephtha who succeeded, and in whose name the demon-god Typhon is ominously incorporated, added to the architectural splendour of Thebes. Foreign and distant nations are pictured as vanquished by him, and among them Ramses II. may be recognised some of the tribes of Asia Minor. Ramses II. next ascended the throne. Pictures of splendid invasions attest his martial prowess, while groups of African and Asiatic captives tremble before his frowning majesty.

Ramses III. But the most famous sovereign of this dynasty is the king Ramses III.; Egypt reached under him the zenith of its glory. The country rejoiced in its architectural adornment, and foreign nations, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Libya, bowed to its valour, and paid tribute into its exchequer. Ramses is supposed, on good grounds, by many to be the Sesostris of Grecian story. This Egyptian hero carried his triumphant arms far into Asia, and near Beyroot is a rock bearing upon it the record of his powers. The walls of the Memnonium are covered with the exploits of a reign which lasted sixty-eight years. The tribes of Canaan are there pictured as opposing him, and as being utterly routed by his chariots and infantry. The scaling-ladder, battering-ram, and process of mining under a besieged city, are faithfully depicted. The graphic language of Virgil describes with peculiar accuracy such a scene, as is presented in the following illustration from Rosellini:—



"Hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cætera nusquam
Bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe;

Sic Martem indomitum, Danaosque ad tecta ruentes
Cernimus, obsessumque acta testudine limen.
Hærent parietibus scalæ, postesque sub ipsos
Nituntur gradibus; clipeosque ad tela sinistris
Protecti objiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.
Dardanidæ contra turres ac tecta domorum
Culmina convellunt: his se, quando ultima cernunt,
Extrema jam in morte parant defendere telis;
Auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
Devolvunt."—*Virgil. Æneid.* II. 438.

Their targets in a tortoise cast, the foes
Secure, advancing to the turrets rose;
Some mount the scaling-ladders, some more bold,
Swerve upwards, and by posts and pillars hold.
Their left hand gripes their buckler in the ascent,
While with the right they seize the battlement:
From the demolished towers the Trojans throw
Huge heaps of stones, that falling crushed the foe,
And heavy beams and rafters from their sides—
Such arms their last necessity provides.

This king's fleet also traversed the Indian Ocean, and many of his vessels seem to have been ships of war. To facilitate navigation he cut a canal from the Nile to Suez, and he also built numerous embankments to prevent the irruption of the sea. That this Nilotic sovereign gloried in his victories, and was careful not to conceal his martial successes, may be gathered from the poem which is inscribed in hieroglyphics over one of the mural pictures of the Memnonium, and which has been thus translated:— His fleet.

"The discourse of these conquered who worship the good god [Ramses]. His vaunted powers.

"Behold us! give us our breath, O merciful king!

"We are fast bound beneath thy sandals through thy smiting.

"The land trembles in her petition," i.e. presents her petition with trembling.

"[The spirit of] her king is cast down before thy spirit,

"Like hares before horses—

"Or before the spring of a raging lion."

The next verse is over Ramses in his chariot, and contains the subject:—

"The good god, the victorious king,

"Subduing in foreign lands them that are before the fenced double walls;

"Crushing the hearts of them that are within them [i.e. the defenders of the fort] with anxiety.

"He guides his young horses.

"His eye is intent upon his chariot.

"He hath taken his bow and arrows.

"He brought together in procession the smitten of the ——

"Whom he had smitten, scattering them like straw before the wind.

"He stamped to powder [their fortresses beneath his feet.]

"He gave forth his spirits with himself every day [i.e. he infused his own courage into his troops].

"He bears victory in his limbs.

"He is like a fire.

"He fights as a bull upon his borders.

"He fills them that speak to him *with awe.*

"He rejoiceth in the *desolations* of his hand.

"He hath not left unstamped to powder two shelters from the rain in their lands.

"He hath trodden upon many chiefs.

"His hand conquereth Bel.

"He desolateth the lands of the princes,

"Making all their dwellings into tombs of terror.

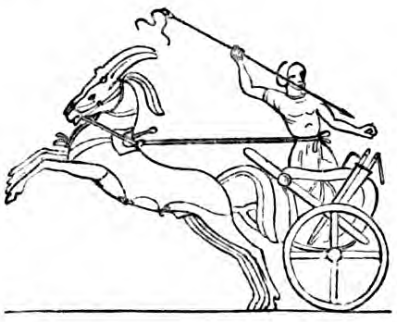
"His arrows were in their quivers like the fire of god [i.e. he consumed their arrows in their quivers, he made them powerless to resist].

"He saves the breath of their mouth."[1]

Identified with Sesostris.

Memorials of this prosperous sovereign are not only found in the Memnonium, but in the large additions which were made to the temples of Luxor and Karnak, where two magnificent obelisks of red granite perpetuate his memory. Similar monumental records occur in various portions of Egypt.

It is supposed, as we have already intimated, by many, that this Egyptian king was the famed Sesostris of the Greeks. Wilkinson says, however, with some plausibility, "I suppose that Sesostris was an ancient king famed for his exploits, and the hero of early Egyptian history; but that after Remeses had surpassed them, and had become the favourite of his country, the renown and name of the former monarch were transferred to the more conspicuous hero of a later age; and it is remarkable that when Germanicus went to Egypt, the Thebans did not mention Sesostris, but Rhamses, as the king who had performed the glorious actions ascribed in olden times to their great conqueror."[2] This hypothesis appears correct, though Josephus, Marsham, Sir Isaac Newton, and Sir John Stoddart



False hypotheses.

[1] Osburn's Ancient Egypt, p. 84.

[2] Ancient Egyptians, i. 64.

wrongly, and in defiance of all proof, suppose him to have been the Shishak who invaded Judea and plundered Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam. Some are also disposed to identify Sesostris with one of the sovereigns named Osirtasen. Ramses is said to have divided the land on peculiar principles among the peasantry, who paid a fixed tax to the government. Now we are told that the Pharaoh under whom Joseph ruled made a similar arrangement, bought, by the advice of his Hebrew counsellor, all the lands save that of the hierarchy, and required a rent of a fifth part of the annual produce.[1] Because of this resemblance in royal measures, some suppose that Sesostris was the king under whom Joseph was promoted and patronised. The basis of such a conjecture is, however, too slight and uncertain. The likelihood is that Sesostris is a mythical hero, who has gathered around him the renown of many actual Egyptian conquerors and kings. His history, gleaned out of Greek writers, may be summed up in a few paragraphs.

Names of Sesostris.

The various names by which he has been designated, furnish evidence of the difficulty which has been felt in fixing his identity, and of the intermixture of fable with his story. By Pliny, he is called Sesosis; by Diodorus, Sesoosis; by Tacitus, Rhampses; and by Scaliger, both Rhamesses and Ægyptus. According to Herodotus, he succeeded to the throne upon the death of Mœris; though Diodorus, whom we regard as inferior authority, represents him as posterior to Mœris by seven generations.

His Education.

Whether by the direction of a dream or an oracle, his father devoted him to military glory from his earliest years. Having collected together all the male children in his dominions, who were born on the same day with his son, he had them brought to court, to be placed under proper nurses and tutors, like his own offspring. His idea was, that they who were the companions of his son's childhood, would be most likely hereafter to prove his faithful and devoted soldiers; and surely it must be admitted, that this novel plan was no inconsiderate evidence of the monarch's sagacity. This system of education was of course adapted, not only to the character of the times, but to the particular destination of these nurslings of military genius. The first care of their superintendents was to habituate them to toil and manly exercise; they were never permitted to partake of any food till they had gone over a course of upwards of twenty-two miles on horseback, or had undergone a proportionate exercise on foot. Often they were engaged in hunting; and thus, while the body was inured to labour, and the mind to discipline, they were gradually training to the enterprises of the warrior. Ælian represents Sesostris as taught the arts of government by Mercury, which may probably refer to the Egyptian custom, mentioned by Jamblicus, of publishing all new books or inventions

[1] Gen. xlvii. 20—25.

under the name of Hermes or Mercury. Whatever works or writings were put into the hands of these youths by their preceptors having this signature, they might be said to receive their instructions from Mercury.

Sent into Arabia.

No sooner was this course of education in some degree completed, than the king determined upon giving Sesostris and his juvenile companions an opportunity of displaying their abilities, by sending them upon a warlike expedition into Arabia. The mode of warfare to which they were thus introduced, was, of all others, the best calculated to call forth their mental and corporeal energies. The enemy were vigilant, active, daring, and hitherto unconquered. It was in this war that Sesostris learned to endure every privation, and to brave every danger; and notwithstanding the difficulties of all kinds which beset his career, he returned triumphant to his country. After this he was sent westward, subdued Libya and the greatest part of the African continent, and was arrested only by the waters of the ocean. It was during this period of military splendour that his father died, and he was invested with the supreme authority.

Ascends the throne.

When Sesostris was elevated to the throne, he showed himself alike capable of wielding the sceptre and the sword. His first care was directed towards those internal regulations in which consist the security, no less than the glory and happiness of empires. His policy was, perhaps, dictated by prudence as much as by zeal for the public welfare. He seems to have cherished the most ambitious ideas, and to have meditated, as some assert, at the instigation of his spirited daughter Athyrte, the subjugation of the whole world; but he had sagacity enough to perceive that so mighty a project could never be carried into execution, unless he could adopt measures to promote the prosperity of his own people during his absence, and to confirm the stability of his throne. He felt it necessary to guard against the subversion of his authority by civil commotions or foreign foes—precautionary considerations which have not always influenced the minds of conquerors in the zeal of their insane ambition.

Popular conduct.

Sesostris determined to begin by such acts of generosity, and justice, as should tend to rivet the affections of his subjects; he therefore distributed lands and money amongst them, remitted fines and punishments, and manifested in public the most obliging attention to all who applied to him for bounty, or surrounded him as friends. Thus he aspired to be the idol of the people, and seems actually to have acquired that proud pre-eminence. His next arrangement consisted in dividing the kingdom into thirty-six provinces or *Nomes*, over each of which he constituted a governor of approved fidelity and well-tried merit; these, by serving as a check upon each other, prevented any individual attempt at usurpation, and by satisfying a reasonable ambition,

bound them more effectually to his interests. Still further to answer the same purpose, he confided to his brother Armais the supreme authority during his absence; but with the express stipulations that he should offer no injury to the queen and her children; form no connection with the royal concubines; and abstain from the use of the diadem. His last and chief object of solicitude, was the selection of an army that should correspond in numbers and in bravery with the extent of his projects. Such a host he succeeded in raising, to the amount of six hundred thousand foot; twenty-four thousand horse; and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war: placing his early companions, who were no fewer than seventeen hundred, as officers in the different brigades. These were all devoted to his service, trained to the utmost hardihood, and inflamed with military passion. To confirm his supremacy in the hearts of his troops, he settled portions of land upon them by lot, in the most fertile part of Egypt. This military occupation of territory was designed to preclude the necessity of either the soldiers themselves or their descendants having recourse, for subsistence, to mechanical or mercantile occupations, so that by this means a race of soldiers might be raised in perpetual succession. Thus prepared, in the full maturity of his ambition, and the plenitude of his hopes, Sesostris stood like an eagle perched upon a rocky eminence to look round for a prey. With or without a plausible pretence, he was resolved to proceed; his ambition must be gratified, and his swarming legions employed.

Attacks Æthiopia.

Æthiopia was the first object of his attack, nor did it prove capable of having any formidable resistance. Immediately upon the reduction of the country he made it tributary, compelling its inhabitants to furnish, annually, a specified quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold. Having reached the promontory of Dira, he erected a pillar with an inscription in hieroglyphics. Other monuments of his progress, of a similar description, testified his advance to still farther conquests; monuments which, according to Pliny[1] and Strabo,[2] were visible after the lapse of several centuries.

With the view of extending his conquests yet farther, he prepared a naval armament, which, from his successes, soon dispelled the ancient prejudices of the Egyptians upon this subject. Two fleets being equipped; the one, consisting of four hundred sail, was stationed in the Arabian Gulf, the other in the Mediterranean: the former subdued all the islands and cities upon the coast, advancing till the navigation was intercepted by shoals. The Mediterranean fleet conquered Cyprus, the sea-coast of Phœnicia, and several of the Cyclades. With his army, Sesostris overran Asia with a rapidity that must excite the utmost astonishment, were it not considered that his force was so immense, and the nations whom he vanquished

Overruns Asia.

[1] Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 29.

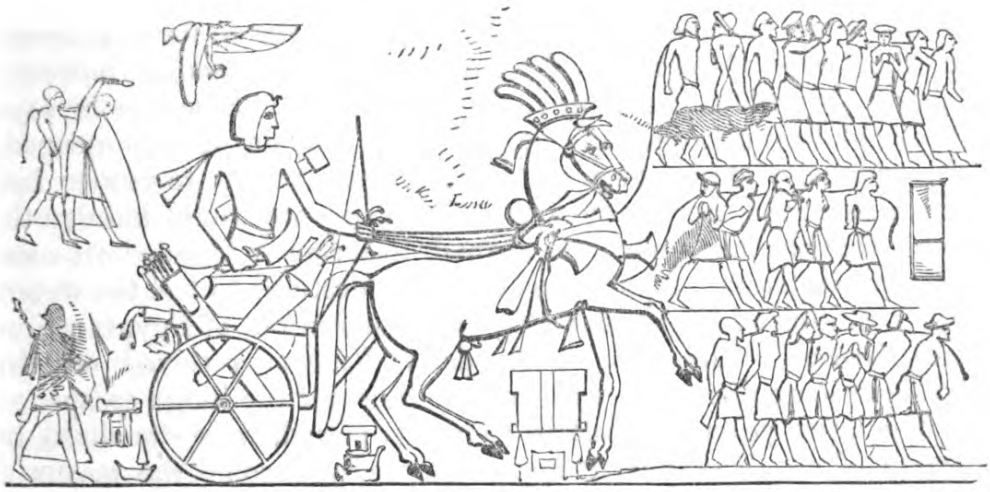
[2] Lib. xvi. xvii.

so unprepared for an attack. The later historians assign to him the conquest of India, affirming that he left memorials of his success on the banks of the Ganges, and pursued his desolating march to the ocean, eastward; but Herodotus, whose information was derived from the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, and who has related his life with a considerable degree of circumstantiality, does not give the least intimation of such a progress. The probability is, that this achievement was attached to his name, by writers who lived between the age of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, for the sake of superadding a grandeur to his career, already marked with sufficient memorials of vastness and aggression. He passed over, however, from Asia to Europe, and invaded Scythia and Thrace, where it seems that he was but partially victorious. He even fled before the Scythians, after sending ambassadors with a summons to surrender. His message was contemptuously rejected. Pliny even represents him as being totally defeated by the Colchians; and a tradition preserved in Valerius Flaccus, describes him as vanquished by the Getæ, who were the most warlike people among the Thracians. It is generally admitted, however, that he left a colony in Colchis; though whether it arose out of the soldiery who loitered behind through fatigue, or disgust at the war, or in consequence of being dispersed in different engagements, or whether it was merely a detachment of troops quartered in Colchis to secure a retreat, are questions which have not been satisfactorily answered. During the expedition into Thrace, Sesostris was in great danger of losing his army; and, either in consequence of the difficulties in which he was involved, from the failure of provision and the intricacies of the country, or on account of information he received from the priests of Egypt of an insurrection at home, here his progress ceased westward. No monuments of his victories were ever traced beyond this region, and in every other part of his career they were erected usually with this inscription, "Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his armies." It is remarkable that he added an intimation of the spirit with which the inhabitants had nobly defended, or shamefully yielded their liberties. He also erected statues of himself, the greatest number of which, as well as the pillars he raised in commemoration of his victories, had perished even at so early a period as the time of Herodotus. That historian, however, mentions two such figures cut out of a rock in Ionia; one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Smyrna and Sardis. Both of them represented a man five palms in height, the right hand holding a javelin, the left a bow; the remaining part of the armour was partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across the breast, from shoulder to shoulder, an inscription was written in the sacred characters of Egypt, to this effect, "I conquered this country by the force of my

Monuments of his victories.

arms." As these statues have neither the name of any person or country inscribed upon them, some mistook them for images of Memnon.

It has been remarked as a peculiarity of this conqueror, that he never adopted measures to secure his acquisitions, but contented himself with the glory of subduing and ravaging distant nations. This work of havoc occupied him for nine years, without extending the ancient limits of Egypt beyond a few circumjacent provinces. Such, at least, is the statement of Justin; but others have not coincided in this opinion. What then, it may be reasonably inquired, was the result of those mighty operations to which his military genius impelled him, during so many years of activity? He returned, indeed, laden with spoils from the different nations he subdued, and followed by a multitude of captives; and in con-



[King returning with Captives.]

sequence of his successes, he was enabled to gratify his officers and soldiers with magnificent donations, which placed them in circumstances of ease and comfort after their toils. The hero himself obtained nothing but glory, a glory, however, polluted with blood, and disturbed both by the recollection of some past reverses, and by the eternal detestation of entire kingdoms, the peace and liberties of which had been immolated at the shrine of his fierce ambition. That he possessed some great and good qualities, we shall have occasion to remark; but these must not render us indifferent to the miseries which he inflicted upon the unoffending, or reconcile us to the folly and the guilt of trampling the fertile earth into barrenness, in the toilsome pursuit of a phantom. Nothing, indeed, but the indication of some balancing virtues could redeem such a character from utter infamy, or render him worthy of any distinguished place upon the historic page, except as a necessary link in the chain of events, or as an instructive record deduced from the worst aspect of

human nature: for where in creation shall we find a more hideous sight than the *mere conqueror?*

Conduct of Armais.

Disregarding the solemn injunctions of Sesostris, his brother had assumed the diadem during his absence, violated the queen, and taken the royal concubines. On his arrival at Pelusium, Armais, or as he is sometimes called, Danaus, received him with every external evidence of gladness and congratulation; but, at the same time, contrived a plan to deprive him, at one stroke, of his crown and life. Having invited the king and the royal household to an entertainment, in which they drank freely, he surrounded their apartments where they retired to rest with a quantity of combustibles, to which he caused fire to be applied in the night. This villany, however, did not succeed to his expectation. Sesostris was soon roused by the conflagration to a sense of his danger, and, according to Herodotus, adopted, at the suggestion of his queen, a most cruel expedient to save himself. Two of their six children were placed across some passage that was in flames, in order to form a bridge for the escape of the rest of the family. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a miraculous character to this deliverance. Sesostris, he says, implored the assistance of the gods, and thus fortunately escaped; the guards, who had been intoxicated, being unable to render him any assistance. For the honour of humanity we would indulge the hope, that the account of the former historian is founded in some misrepresentation. Armais was of course destined to feel the weight of his brother's indignation; and, being driven out of Egypt, retired into Greece. The gods, particularly Vulcan, received on this occasion large donations, as thank-offerings for the king's escape.

Disbands the army.

The latter years of Sesostris, from this period, were signalized by works of art, which have more deservedly become the means of transmitting his fame to posterity than his military achievements. It is not a little singular, that having apportioned out to his soldiers rewards suited to the different degrees of individual merit, he disbanded the army, and relinquished all intentions of future conquest and spoliation. To what principle this is to be attributed it may not be easy to determine with precision; but some portions of his subsequent conduct renders it probable, that the love of glory was by no means extinguished in his breast, and that it only operated in a different manner; or we may suppose that pride rather than ambition, with which it is so intimately connected, became henceforth the ascendant passion. Of this we have a striking exmplification in his mode of treating the tributary kings. When they came at stated times to do homage, and to pay the arrears of tribute, he displayed the most ridiculous insolence; and when he entered his capital, or went into the temple, he unharnessed his horses, yoking these princes four abreast to his car, and highly valued himself on being thus drawn along by the sovereigns of kingdoms. It is said that he was restored to some sense of

justice and humanity in the following manner. On one of these occasions a king, who was degraded to the office we have mentioned, was observed to look with peculiar earnestness at one of the wheels of the chariot, and being asked what it was that so rivetted his attention, he replied significantly, "O king, the turning round of the chariot wheel reminds me of the vicissitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermost and lowermost alternately, so is it with men, who sit on a throne to-day, and the next, perhaps, are reduced to the vilest degree of slavery."

One of the first labours of the retired conqueror was to build temples, to the number of at least a hundred, which exhibited in those cities where they were erected, his gratitude to the tutelary god of every place for the renown he had acquired; but he showed an unusual solicitude to enrich the temple of Vulcan, to express his acknowledgments for the protection which he believed that divinity had afforded him at the period of his brother's treachery at Pelusium, as well as to perpetuate the glory of his successes. Six gigantic statues of stone appeared in front of the edifice; two of them thirty cubits in height, representing himself and his queen, and four others of twenty cubits each, representing his four sons. Some ages posterior to this, Darius, king of Persia, and father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing his own statue at Memphis, before that of Sesostris, which was strenuously opposed by the priest of Vulcan, who, in an assembly of his order, asserted as a reason for his resistance, that the actions of Darius were not yet equal in splendour to those of the Egyptian prince; for that the latter had subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of the Persians. He pleaded that it would be highly unjust to supersede the statue of his illustrious predecessor, or to claim a pre-eminence without having even equal claims to distinction. Darius acquired greater honour by nobly pardoning this remonstrance, than he could have done by causing the erection of the most magnificent monument. Sesostris also raised two obelisks of marble, a hundred and twenty cubits in height, upon which inscriptions were written, expressing the extent of his power and revenues, and the number of nations he had vanquished. He also took care to state in all his inscriptions, as their distinguishing feature, that his own subjects were exempted from the toil of working in these mighty undertakings, which his captives alone were employed to complete. Diodorus Siculus mentions the following sentence as most usual on these splendid erections—"*No native laboured hereon.*"

Temples and other works of Sesostris.

Herodotus assures us that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt, apportioning to each person a square piece of ground, deducing his revenue from a small rental paid for these divisions. If any one suffered by the inundation of the Nile, he was allowed to send information of this calamity to the king, who commissioned proper officers to inquire into the extent of the damage

Distribution of the land.

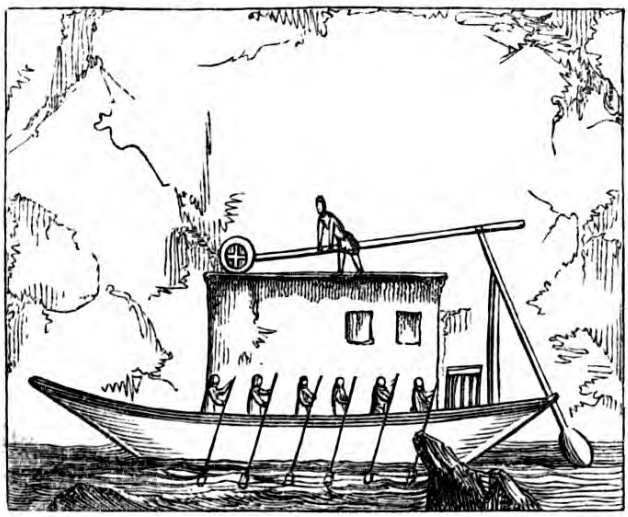
which had been sustained, and remit a proportionate part of the rent as a compensation, so that no one might be taxed beyond his ability.

Wall of defence.

To secure Egypt from foreign invasion, particularly from its warlike neighbours the Syrians and Arabians, all the eastern coast, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, was fortified by the erection of a wall. Some of the captives, however, grew refractory, and the Babylonians, resolving to disengage themselves from the galling servitude to which they had been compelled, seized upon a stronghold, and desolated the country. They were, however, pacified by the offer of forgiveness, and of a settlement. Thus originated their city of Babylon.

Canals.

The numerous canals with which the country was intersected may be justly considered as the greatest work of Sesostris. The entire distance from the city of Memphis to the sea was dug for a canal, so that artificial connections were formed with the Nile. By this means the communication between the cities was facilitated, the interests of commerce advanced, and the canals were filled with barges. Those injurious inundations also, of which the inhabitants



[Egyptian Ship of the age of Solomon.—*Description de l'Egypte.*]

frequently complained, were prevented, and water was conveyed to the villages and towns in every direction. Still farther to promote the comfort of the people, their sovereign caused an immense number of embankments of earth to be raised, upon which towns were erected, and made inaccessible to the overflowings of the river, while others were removed which had previously sustained injury in consequence of their low situations. These canals really changed the aspect and the very character of the country, and though they rendered travelling inconvenient on horseback, and impossible in carriages, Egypt was, by this contrivance, defended from the cavalry of its enemies by which it had been before

repeatedly annoyed. Sesostris, as in other instances, made use of the involuntary labours of his captives from different nations to perform this work.[1]

Death of Sesostris.

The entire life of Sesostris was one of continuous and splendid successes, and his subjects rejoiced in his glories. At length disease deprived him of sight, the dimness and languor of a blind old age were insupportable to him, the great conqueror quailed before a physical malady, and committed suicide. The priests are said to have applauded the unworthy and cowardly deed.

Menephtha II.

Ramses III. was succeeded by the thirteenth of his twenty-three sons, Menephtha II. The successor of Sesostris is called Sesoosis II. by Diodorus, and Nuncoreus by Pliny. Herodotus calls him Pheron —a name seemingly founded on a mistaken pronunciation of the common royal cognomen Pharaoh. His sight had been enfeebled like his father's, but having recovered perfect vision he dedicated two obelisks to the god of medicine.[2] Menephtha's name is not associated with any gigantic enterprise, save the masonry and painting of his tomb at Bab-el-Melook. During his reign occurred the commencement of one of the famous Sothic periods, which seems to have terminated in the age of Diocletian, a calculation which places Menephtha's accession to the throne about 1322 B.C.[3] Menephtha III. is spoken of by some as commencing the nineteenth dynasty. Pheron, according to Greek authority, was succeeded by Osymandias, who built a magnificent monument at Thebes, which Hecataeus affirms was employed as his tomb. Diodorus describes it at great length, and with surprising minuteness.[4] Wilkinson supposes on good grounds that the building described by the historian is the well-known Memnonium. Remerri, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, reigned but a brief period, if he reigned at all, and was the father of Ramses IV., with whom properly begins the nineteenth dynasty.

Menephtha III.

Remerri.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

Proteus.

The nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, according to Manetho, consisted, the one of six and the other of twelve Theban kings. The last king of the former dynasty, all of whom were named Ramses, was known to foreigners by the Greek appellation of Proteus—a name that occupies a place too in the Grecian mythology.[5] According to Herodotus, Proteus was concerned in the events which led to the Trojan war. After Paris had abducted Helen, contrary winds drove him into Egypt, and his servants revealed the nefarious enterprise in which he had been engaged. King Proteus summoned him to Memphis, heard his story, and pronounced against him a severe but equitable sentence.[6] The historian adds, that Menelaus came to Egypt in search of his wife after the siege of Troy was concluded, that he received her, and that on the eve of his departure

[1] Herod. lib. ii. c. 108.
[2] Herod. ii. 111.
[3] Bunsen B. iii.
[4] i. 47.
[5] Odyss iv. 460.
[6] Herod. ii. 115.

he cruelly and ungratefully sacrificed two Egyptian children to secure himself a favourable voyage to Greece. Another of the kings of this period, whom Herodotus names Rhampsinitus, introduced religious mysteries.

Twenty-first and twenty-second Dynasties.

The twenty-first dynasty was composed of seven Tanite kings, one of the latest of whom must have been the Pharaoh who gave Solomon his daughter in marriage. The twenty-second dynasty consisted of nine Bubastite sovereigns, whose shields have all been discovered on the monuments. The first king of this dynasty

Shishak.

is Shesonk I., and was the Shishak, who in the fifth year of Rehoboam invaded Palestine, and took and plundered Jerusalem. "It came to pass, that, in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians." (2 Chron. xii. 2—12.) The representation of this warfare is found at Karnak, the king presenting his captives to the god of the temple. To each figure is joined an oval, telling what city or country he represents, and on one is found in hieroglyphical character the words—"Beloved of Amon—Sheshonk"—and then—"King or Kingdom of Judah"—a province he had overrun and spoiled. The names of several Jewish towns are also found on the same cartouch, such as Taanah, Shunem, Lehi, Elon, Megiddo, Hinnom, and Hebron. The twenty-third dynasty includes four Tanite kings, and the twenty-fourth has one sovereign, Saitic Bocchoris—the Wise. The next dynasty was an Ethiopian family, the first of whom, named Shabak, Sua or So is referred to in Scripture, 2 Kings xvii. 4. Hoshea formed an alliance with So, and refused tribute to Assyria, so that the northern potentate invaded Israel and carried captive the ten tribes. The shield of Sabak is depicted over one of the gates of the temple-palace of Karnak. Herodotus and Diodorus load him with eulogies for his piety and generosity. Another monarch of the same race is supposed to be the Sethon of Herodotus, who defeated Sennacherib when he invaded Egypt, an army of rats having eaten the bow-strings and shield-straps of the Assyrian invaders. Tahraka,

Twenty-third and twenty-fourth Dynasties.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

So.

Tirhaka.

or Tirhaka, another member of the same royal house, is also found in the sacred writings, (2 Kings xix. 9,) where he is termed king of Ethiopia. His prowess is noticed on one of the walls of a Theban temple. The following paragraph on the chronology of those events is full of interest:—

"The invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib took place 713 B.C., and this fixes a date for the reigns of Sethos at Memphis and Tirhakah in the Thebaid and Ethiopia. The chronology of the two centuries and a half between the invasion of Sheshonk and that of Sennacherib, cannot be settled in detail, from the variations in the lists and the chasms in the series of the monuments. Supposing Sheshonk to

have invaded Judæa in the beginning of his reign, the 21st dynasty to have lasted 116 years, according to Manetho, the 22d, 89 years, the 24th, 6 years, and the 25th, 40, these numbers (116 + 89 + 6 + 40) amount to 251, a coincidence sufficiently close to show that Manetho is substantially correct."[1]

Dodecarchy.

According to Herodotus, great confusion took place after the death of Tirhaka, and the nation chose no less than twelve sovereigns, each nome having its own monarch. The most powerful of these royal chiefs was Psammitichus, who soon, by policy and prowess, usurped the functions and territories of his royal colleagues. According to the authority we have mainly followed, ten Saitic kings formed the twenty-sixth dynasty. Among these Psammitichus is included as the fourth. This prince imitated his predecessors in making additions to the great temples. He had been indebted, however, for his power to foreign auxiliaries, jealousies between them and the native troops were of constant occurrence, so that on one occasion a large body of his soldiers deserted. It was under the reign of this sovereign, that a ridiculous attempt was made to discover which was the original language. It is thus told with peculiar *naïveté* by Herodotus, "Psammitichus gave two new-born children of poor parents to a shepherd, to be brought up among his flocks in the following manner: he gave strict orders that no one should utter a word in their presence, that they should lie in a solitary room by themselves, and that he should bring goats to them at certain times, and that when he had satisfied them with milk he should attend to his other employments. Psammitichus contrived and ordered this, for the purpose of hearing what word the children would first articulate, after they had given over their insignificant mewlings; and such accordingly was the result. For when the shepherd had pursued this plan for the space of two years, one day as he opened the door and went in, both the children falling upon him, and holding out their hands, cried 'Becos.' The shepherd, when he first heard it, said nothing; but when this same word was constantly repeated to him whenever he went and tended the children, he at length acquainted his master, and by his command brought the children into his presence. When Psammitichus heard the same, he inquired what people call any thing by the name of 'Becos;' and on inquiry he discovered that the Phrygians call bread by that name. Thus the Egyptians, convinced by the above experiment, allowed that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves."[2] It is plain that, as language is learned from imitation, the cry of the children tortured into a dis-syllable, bêcos, was only an imitation of the bleating of the goats by which they were nursed.

Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Psammitichus.

Under the same reign intercourse with Greece and Phenicia was

Necho.

[1] Kenrick's Ancient Egypt, ii. 377.

[2] Herod. ii. 2.

carried on to a considerable extent. Neko, Nechus, or Necho was the next sovereign—the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture.[1] Collecting an immense army the Egyptian sovereign resolved to check the growing power of Babylonia, and to attack the enemy in his own territory lying on the Euphrates. With this view he entered Palestine by the usual route, while Josiah, offended at such unceremonious intrusion, opposed his march. Necho hearing of the intended assault despatched an embassy to Josiah, disavowing any hostile intentions against him or his kingdom. The Hebrew sovereign was not persuaded to disband his army, but met the Egyptian warrior at Megiddo. Josiah's troops were routed with great slaughter, and himself mortally wounded.[2] This expedition of Necho is thus told by Herodotus,—"Neco, having put a stop to his excavation, turned his attention to military affairs; and triremes were constructed, some on the northern sea, and others in the Arabian Gulf, or the Red Sea, of which the docks are still to be seen. These he used as he had occasion; and Neco, having come to an engagement with the Syrians on land at Magdolus, conquered them, and after the battle took Cadytis, which is a large city in Syria. The garments he wore during these actions he consecrated to Apollo, having sent them to Branchidæ of the Milesians. Afterwards, having reigned sixteen years in all, he died and left the kingdom to his son, Psammis."[3]

Josiah.

The Egyptian sovereign pushed on after the battle of Megiddo towards Carchemish and invested it. After this victorious expedition, which occupied him only three months, he returned to his own kingdom. As he was passing through Palestine he was made aware that Jehoahaz had ascended the vacant throne, without soliciting his sanction, so he summoned him to Riblah, and there ordered him to be fettered and sent as a prisoner to Egypt, where he died. Necho marched from Riblah to Jerusalem, raised to the throne another son of Josiah, Eliakim; changed his name into Jehoiakim, and exacted a large tribute from the oppressed and unfortunate country. Three years after this campaign, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been associated with his father, Nabopolassar, in the government of Babylonia, resolved to wipe away the disgrace at Carchemish, assembled for that purpose an immense army, invaded Egypt and overran it, so that, in the simple and striking phraseology of the sacred annalist, (2 Kings xxiv. 7,) "And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt." This signal discomfiture had been foretold by Jeremiah.[4]

Jehoahaz.

Necho was succeeded by his son Psammitichus II. of whom few

Psammitichus II.

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. [2] 2 Chron. xxxv. 22, 23, 24.

[3] ii. 159. Magdolus evidently points to Megiddo, and Cadytis is intended for Jerusalem the Holy City, being a Greek term formed from KADESH, קדש—Holy.

[4] Jer. xlvi. 1.

memorials remain. After an expedition to Ethiopia he died, and was succeeded by his son Hophra or Apries, about B.C. 588. Pharaoh-Hophra is also connected with biblical history. Jerusalem had now been sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, and Zedekiah was its vassal-king, but in hopes of retaliating upon his Chaldean master, he concluded an alliance with Hophra. The Egyptian monarch gladly acquiesced, longing for an opportunity to curb the ambition of Babylon. An Egyptian army was accordingly sent into Judea, the siege of Jerusalem was raised, and the Israelitish sovereign exulted in his liberation. But his joy was short—a stronger Assyrian host invested the city, the Egyptian troops retired, and the Hebrew capital was left to its fate. Herodotus describes the proud and imperious temper of Hophra, in language which so far illustrates the oracle of Ezekiel:[1]— Hophra.

Oracle of Ezekiel.

"Thus saith the Lord Jehovah—
Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt;
Thou, great dragon, that liest in its stream;
Who has said, My river is my own, and for myself have I made it.
But I will fix a hook in thy jaws,
And I will stick the fish of thy river to thy scales,
And I will drag thee out of thy rivers,
And all the fish of thy rivers shall cling to thy scales,
And I will hurl thee into the wilderness,
Thee, and all the fish of thy streams.
And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am Jehovah,
Because thou hast been the staff of a reed to the house of Israel.
When they took hold of thee by the hand,
Thou didst break and tear all their shoulder;
And when they leaned on thee, thou brakest
And causedst all their loins to reel.
And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste.
Behold, then I am against thee and thy rivers,
And I will make the land utterly waste and desolate,
From Migdol to Syene, and to the border of Ethiopia."

Ezek. xxix. 3—10.

The Cyrenians, a Greek colony in Africa, had appropriated a large portion of the Libyan territory, the inhabitants of which placed themselves under the protection of Hophra. He despatched an army to succour them, but it was defeated and shattered. On hearing the melancholy news, the Egyptians, imagining that the army had been sent away on purpose by the king to ensure its destruction, revolted. Hophra sent Amasis, an officer of high rank, to appease the rebels, but during his harangue, a soldier from behind placed a helmet-crown upon the orator's head. The symbolic nature of the sudden act was at once and universally recognised; and the mob saluted the royal deputy as their sovereign. The messenger of Hophra was easily seduced from his allegiance, and consented Revolt.

[1] ii. 16.

to lead against his lord the army he had been sent to recover. On learning this startling report, Hophra despatched a new courier to Amasis, but on his return from his bootless errand, his maddened master commanded his nose and ears to be cut off. This senseless and cruel outrage upon a man so popular as Patarbemis completed the insurrection, for the nation rose at once to arms and joined the insurgents. Hophra was after some time defeated, carried to his capital a prisoner, and at length strangled in his palace by the infuriated populace. Jehovah had said, "Behold, I will give Pharaoh-hophra the king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life."[1]

During this period, that is, after the siege of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Tyre, and invaded and overran Egypt. The siege of Tyre was long indeed, and the Assyrian soldiers found no compensation in its spoils. The inhabitants had fled away with their wealth.[2] But Providence ordered it, that Egypt should be the reward of the luckless besiegers.

Oracle of Ezekiel.

"Son of Man, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon carried his army,
To serve a great service against Tyre.
Every head was made bald,[3] and every shoulder was peeled,[4]
Yet nor he nor his army had wages from Tyre,
For the service that he had served against it.
Therefore, saith the Lord Jehovah,
Behold I will give the land of Egypt
Unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon,
And he shall take her multitude,
And share her spoil, and plunder her booty,
And she shall be wages for his army.
For his wages, wherewith he served against it,
I have given him the land of Egypt."—*Ezek.* xxix. 18, 19.

Amasis.

Aahmes or Amasis, ascended the throne about 569 B.C. Of common birth, he yet commanded esteem. As a symbol of his own elevation, he melted a golden footbath into the statue of a god, showing, that by a slight change, what was once used for ignoble purposes, may soon gain universal homage. His reign was crowned with prosperity; but though he did the duties of sovereignty, he fell into some of its vices. His hours of pleasure were as gay as his hours of business had been toilsome.[5] Solon seems to have visited Egypt during his reign, and to have introduced into Greece some elements of that legislation which Amasis had established. He courted and cultivated friendly alliance with the Greeks, and decorated his capital with many noble piles of architecture. The beauty of a monolithe shrine, 30 feet in height, of

[1] Jer. xliv. 30.
[2] Jerome on Ezek. xxix. 18.
[3] In consequence of the continued use of the heavy helmet.
[4] From carrying the constant loads of stone, earth, and faggots during the siege.
[5] Herodotus ii. 171.

granite from Elephantiné, has been often admired. Other works of a similar nature, such as obelisks and sphinxes, were erected by him at Memphis.[1] The ancient glory of Egypt was revived for a brief period under this plebeian prince, who died after a reign of 44 years.[2] He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, and had scarcely been entombed, when the country was invaded by a Medo-Persian host, under the command of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. It was at the deceased Amasis that Cambyses was enraged, and historians vary as to the causes of this hostility.

Psammenitus.

According to one account, on which Herodotus relies, Cambyses had sought in marriage the daughter of Amasis, king of Egypt, who both dreaded and detested the power of Persia. He was thus unwilling to accept, yet fearful of declining the proffered alliance. Under these impressions he sent, instead of his own daughter, Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, the former king of Egypt, whom he had dethroned and imprisoned. Cambyses married this princess, who was elegant and beautiful, supposing her to have been the daughter of Amasis. She, however, soon undeceived him; when he prepared to revenge the insult by immediate hostilities against Egypt. Such is the Persian account.

Cambyses.

On the contrary, Herodotus says, "the Egyptians claim Cambyses for their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him but to Cyrus."[3] He disputes this statement; but Polynæus, in his "Stratagemata," relates that Nitetis lived a long time with Cyrus as daughter of Amasis: till, after bringing him many children, besides Cambyses, she acknowledged herself the daughter of the deposed king Apries, whose wrongs she persuaded her husband to avenge; but he dying before he could accomplish that design, she urged her son to retaliate the injuries his grandfather had suffered from Amasis and the Egyptians. There is still another story. Nitetis is said to have been the wife of Cyrus, but not the mother of Cambyses. His mother, Cassandane, complaining in her son's presence, of Cyrus's neglect, Cambyses, at ten year's of age, vowed hostility to the country of Nitetis, and, on ascending the throne, made war against Egypt. Yet, after all, the most probable account is, that the Egyptians had become, in some measure, tributary to the Persians, in consequence of their alliance with the king of Lydia, and, on the death of Cyrus, had refused to acknowledge his successor. Whatever might have been the occasion of the war, the reign of Cambyses commenced with numerous preparations for the invasion of Egypt.

Quarrels with the king of Egypt.

He engaged ships from Phœnicia and Cyprus, and attached to his native troops a numerous body of Ionians, Æolians, and Greeks. Of these Greek auxiliaries, the principal part had revolted from Amasis, under the conduct of their commander, Phanes of Halicar-

Preparations for war.

[1] Champollion, Egypte, &c. ii. 114. [2] Rosellini Mon. Stor. ii. 152.

[3] iii. 2.

nassus, whom Herodotus describes as "distinguished by mental as well as military accomplishments."[1] That general, on some affront which he had received from Amasis, determined to revolt, and escaped in a vessel from Egypt, with a design of offering his services to Cambyses. Amasis ordered him to be vigorously pursued, by the most faithful of his eunuchs in a three-banked galley. He was overtaken in Lydia, but he contrived to intoxicate his guards, and so escaped into Persia. There he found Cambyses projecting his expedition. He was, however, deterred by the difficulty of supplying his army with water on its march through the desert, which Herodotus describes as a three days' journey.

Phanes.

Phanes first explained to Cambyses the resources and situation of the enemy, and the nature of the country he was about to invade. To secure the most accessible entrance into Egypt and a supply of water for his army, he recommended an alliance with the Arabian Prince who ruled over the intervening country. The ceremonies observed in forming such an alliance Herodotus has described. They are sufficiently curious to warrant their insertion.

Peculiar ceremony.

"On these occasions, some one connected with both parties stands between them, holding a sharp stone. With this he opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger of each of the contracting parties. He then takes a piece of the vest of each, which he dips in their blood. With this he stains several stones, purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking, during the ceremony, Bacchus and Urania. When this is concluded, he who solicits the compact pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements." The alliance being thus ratified, the Arabian Prince "ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the Deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army.[2]

The Persian Prince had entered the fourth year of his reign, when, his formidable preparations being at length completed, he set forward at the head of his army. On reaching the borders of Egypt,

Death of Amasis.

Cambyses was apprized of the death of Amasis, but he learned that Psammenitus, his son, who had succeeded to the precarious throne, was now advancing against him with a powerful army.

Pelusium taken by stratagem.

Psammenitus had garrisoned Pelusium, the key of Egypt towards the Mediterranean. The possession of that place became essential to the projects of Cambyses, as the only means of securing a communication with his fleet. Understanding that the garrison consisted entirely of Egyptians, he availed himself of their peculiar superstitions, according to the advice of Phanes, for the Greeks probably held in contempt all superstitions except their own. Cambyses, therefore, as Polyænus relates in his "Stratagemata," ordered a number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals esteemed sacred by

[1] iii. 4.

[2] Herodotus iii. 8.

the Egyptians, to be ranged in the front of his army as he advanced to the assault. The besieged, not daring to employ a hostile weapon against their gods, could offer no opposition to the besiegers, and thus the city of Pelusium was taken without any resistance.

Psammenitus advanced towards the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, and encamped opposite to the Persians. The Greeks and Carians, who had remained faithful to their alliance with Egypt, now punished the defection of Phanes, by indulging a barbarous retaliation upon his unoffending family. On his flight from Amasis, he had left his sons in Egypt. These were now brought out before the camps, and singly put to death, in sight of their father. A vessel had been prepared for the purpose of receiving their blood. This was afterwards filled with wine and water. The auxiliaries, having drank the horrid potion,[1] and probably sworn to avenge the treason of Phanes, immediately engaged the Persians. The army of Psammenitus was, however, soon discomfited, and the greater part destroyed, only an inconsiderable number of the fugitives escaping to Memphis, whither Cambyses prepared to follow them.

The sons of Phanes put to death.

Egyptians defeated.

Herodotus relates, from his own observation, a curious circumstance connected with this battle. The people of the place where it was fought pointed out to him two distinct heaps of bones, into which those belonging to each army had been separated. The skulls of the Persians were soft, and would yield to the slight impression even of a pebble, while those of the Egyptians were so hard that the blow of a large stone would scarcely break them. To account for this diversity, it was remarked that the Egyptians, from an early age, shaved their heads, and rendered them hard by a constant exposure, uncovered, to the action of a fervid sun, while the skulls of the Persians became soft by being always sheltered under caps and turbans.[2]

After thus routing the army of Psammenitus, the Persian Prince appears to have sought the completion of the conquest of Egypt, without the further effusion of blood. With this design, as Memphis, to which the fugitives had retired, was seated on the Nile, he sent a Persian herald up the river, in a vessel of Mitylene, to demand their submission. The infatuated people, soon as they saw the vessel enter the harbour, disregarding the sacred character of a herald, rushed from the citadel, destroyed the vessel, tore in pieces the crew, consisting of two hundred, and carried the mangled limbs into the citadel, probably to deprive them of the rites of sepulture. The Persians immediately besieged the place. After an unavailing resistance, the Egyptians surrendered, when Cambyses proceeded to execute a most rigorous vengeance, of which Herodotus has given a very interesting description.

Memphis taken.

On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel, Psammenitus

[1] Herodotus iii. 11. [2] iii. 12.

Disgrace of Psammenitus.

was conducted without the walls, that, while himself a public spectacle, he might feel the distress and mortification of the following scene. His daughter, robed as a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water accompanied by young women in the same servile attire, who were the daughters of the first families in the place. The children and parents loudly expressed their grief, while Psammenitus merely fixed his eyes upon the ground. Next, he beheld his son, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, passing in procession, with ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths. These were selected for execution by the counsellors of Cambyses, to avenge the destruction of the Mitylenian crew. They had determined that, for each man massacred, ten Egyptians should be put to death. Psammenitus witnessed the whole scene; yet, while the Egyptians around him wept and uttered loud lamentations, he remained unmoved as before. Then appeared a venerable old man, who had formerly been a guest at the royal table, but was now in the garb of a mendicant. After being made to pass through the ranks of the army to ask charity, he was conducted to Psammenitus, to beg alms of him, and the Egyptians around him. The King could not suppress his emotions, but, calling on his friend by name, beat his head and wept aloud. To an inquiry, by Cambyses, why such scenes as he had before witnessed had failed to excite any lamentations, the captive Prince thus replied: "Son of Cyrus, the misfortunes of my family were too great to be thus lamented; but it became me to shed tears for the sad condition of a friend, who, in his old age, has fallen into indigence, from the possession of rank and fortune." It is added that even Cambyses was affected by this reply, and that Crœsus, who attended the Persian King in this expedition, and all the Persians who were present, wept at the affecting incident.

Death of his son.

Cambyses, thus softened, would have saved the life of the son of Psammenitus, and issued his orders to prevent the execution, but his mercy came too late. The young Prince had suffered among the first of the two thousand victims. He spared, however, the life of the wretched father, till he was shortly after convicted, or at least accused, of encouraging attempts for the recovery of his crown.

Psammenitus put to death.

Psammenitus, who was put to death by being forced to drink bull's blood, thus closed a disastrous reign of only six months' continuance.

Cambyses' revenge on Amasis.

From Memphis Cambyses proceeded to Sais, and entered the palace of Amasis, on whose corpse he projected a mean revenge. He ordered it to be taken out of the tomb, and treated in his presence with every possible indignity. The corpse was then burned, as if in direct opposition to the Egyptian custom of preserving the bodies of the deceased; though also, as Herodotus remarks, in defiance of the veneration paid to fire in the religion of the Persians. He adds, however, that Amasis, warned by an oracle, or rather naturally apprehending this violation of his tomb, had directed

his interment in the interior recess of the sepulchre, while another corpse, on which Cambyses now gratified his revenge, had been placed at the entrance. Thus, in the language of the prophet, did "the sceptre of Egypt pass away," while the whole country submitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring people, also, the Barceans, Libyans, and Cyreneans, sent presents, and imposed on themselves an annual tribute.

Expedition to Ethiopia.

In the mean time the Persian conqueror planned an expedition into Ethiopia, and detached 50,000 men for this purpose. After they had reached the city of Oasis, they were never more heard of. A mountain of sand is said to have suddenly covered them; at all events, they perished in the desert. Cambyses prepared to follow, but after a few days' march was compelled from famine to desist; his army, in their extremity, being reduced to the expedient of cannibalism, selecting every tenth man, and slaying him for sustenance. The king's table was supplied all the while with the richest delicacies.[1] Afraid to carry farther his insane project, Cambyses returned with his shattered and decimated troops to Thebes.

Plunder of Thebes.

Thebes was famous for the wealth and magnificence of the temples there dedicated to the gods of Egypt. These temples Cambyses now pillaged of their moveable riches, which amounted to three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred of silver, and then commanded them to be burned to the ground,—probably instigated by the Persian abhorrence of temple-worship. He also, according to Diodorus, took away from the tomb of king Osymandias, the celebrated circle of gold, which was in circumference three hundred and sixty-five cubits, and represented on its surface all the motions of the heavenly bodies. The Persian prince also visited the famous statue of Memnon; the mutilated remains of which modern travellers have discovered among the ruins of Thebes. This wonderful production he began to break in pieces, under pretence of discovering some magical secret which might have occasioned the extraordinary musical sounds.

Cambyses at Memphis.

Leaving Thebes, Cambyses returned to Memphis, where he dismissed the Greek auxiliaries. The Egyptians were now celebrating a most solemn and joyful festival on the discovery of their god Apis. Whatever emblematical designs may have been ascribed to "the wisdom of the Egyptians" in worshipping the sacred ox, the following were his natural qualites:—

Apis.

Herodotus describes this supreme deity of Egypt as a calf, whose "skin is black, on its forehead is a white star of a triangular form, the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail divided, and under the tongue an insect like a beetle." According to Pliny, this sacred bull must have "a white spot resembling a crescent on the right side, and a lump under the tongue." When a calf was found,

[1] Among these Seneca enumerates game—generosae aves.

really, or according to the pretences of the priests, answering the proper description, they announced to the people the birth of Apis and fecundity.



Bronzes of the God Apis.—*British Museum.*]

It was in the ceremonies of this festival that Cambyses found the Egyptians so unseasonably employed when he returned to Memphis, disappointed and dispirited, from his Ethiopic expedition.

Killed by Cambyses.

The Persian prince apprehended that these festivals were excited by the joy of the Egyptians on the knowledge of his disasters. He interrogated the magistrates, and disbelieving their story, commanded them to be put to death. He then sent for the priests, who also assured him that they were rejoicing because they had found their god Apis. This deity he commanded them to bring into his presence, when, seeing a calf, he burst into laughter, or rather into a rage, and drawing his sword, gave the animal a mortal wound. He ordered the priests to be severely scourged, and forbad the people of Memphis, on pain of death, to persist in the worship of Apis. The god, according to Herodotus, "died in the temple, and was buried by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyses." Plutarch says, that, by the king's order, Apis was exposed and devoured by dogs. "Of the ox Apis," he well remarks, that, "though revelling in every delight that he can desire, yet he longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him."[1]

[1] Cleomenes ad fin.

To this outrage on their religion, the Egyptians, as we learn from Herodotus,[1] were ready enough to attribute as a judgment, the insanity of Cambyses. That historian, however, says,[2] that "from the first hour of his birth he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred disease." This disease (the epilepsy, according to Hippocrates), the historian further supposes to have produced his mental derangement, of which, indeed, he had given some proofs before his adventure with Apis. "The madness of the heart," at least, he had amply discovered; and his story will soon afford us some additional examples.

Insanity of Cambyses.

The brother of Cambyses, whom we have already mentioned, attended him on his expedition into Egypt, and was the only officer in the army who could bend, within two fingers breadth, the bow which the king of Ethiopia had tauntingly presented to the Persian prince. This superiority naturally excited jealousy in such a disposition as Cambyses indulged. He could no longer bear the company of his brother, but on some pretence sent him back to Persia. Dreaming, however, that a messenger arrived to inform him that Smerdis had ascended the throne, and touched the heavens with his head, his jealousy was awakened. He sent into Persia his favourite courtier, Prexaspes, who executed his bloody commission, and quieted the apprehensions of Cambyses, by putting his brother to death. The manner of his death is differently related. Some report that Prexaspes drowned the prince in the sea; others that he watched an opportunity, and assassinated him during the diversion of the chase.

Death of Smerdis.

This murder soon gave occasion to a second. Cambyses had a sister called Meroe, who accompanied him on his expeditions, and whose name he gave to an island in the Nile. He indulged a passion for this princess, and was desirous of marrying her. He therefore consulted the royal judges whether the Egyptian laws would allow such a marriage. The interpreters of the law shrewdly replied, that there was no law to authorize a marriage between a brother and sister, but they had a law which declared that a king of Persia might do what he pleased. Herodotus attributes to "the royal judges the most approved integrity," yet he admits that "in this answer the awe of Cambyses prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws," and that "to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him who wished to marry his sister." Thus Cambyses gratified his inclination, and afforded the first example of those incestuous marriages which became common in Persia.

Marriage and murder of Meroe.

Meroe still affected by the cruelty of Cambyses in putting their brother to death, could not suppress her grief and resentment, which forced from her a dangerous application of the following occurrence,

[1] iii. 30. [2] iii. 33.

related by Herodotus on the authority of the Greeks. Cambyses diverted himself, in the presence of Meroe, with a combat between the cub of a lioness and a young whelp, which another whelp of the same litter presently flew to assist, and they thus overcame the young lion. Cambyses enjoyed the sight, but the princess wept; because, on seeing one whelp assist another, she remembered Smerdis, who was unsupported, and whose death she feared no one would avenge. Herodotus adds another account from the Egyptians; that Meroe divided a lettuce, and then accused Cambyses of thus dividing the house of Cyrus. In whatever way the provocation was offered, the enraged husband aimed a blow at the princess with his foot, which produced a miscarriage and her speedy death.

Excesses of Cambyses.

Cambyses, indeed, appears, at this period of his reign, to have indulged his cruel disposition to an excess of frenzy. He caused several of his principal nobles to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of the courtiers to his fury. Prexaspes, his obsequious agent in the murder of his brother, was now rewarded as his guilty compliance with the tyrant's pleasure had so justly merited. He was one day asked by the king what opinion the Persians entertained of him. The courtier replied, that they admired his wisdom, but regretted that he indulged to excess in wine. "They think," replied the king, "that wine disturbs my understanding, but you shall judge." Then, after drinking more freely, he ordered the son of Prexaspes, who was his cupbearer, to stand upright at the further end of the room in which the king was feasting. "Now," turning to Prexaspes, he said, "if I shoot this arrow through the heart of your son, the Persians have slandered me; but if I miss, I will allow that they have spoken truth." He drew his bow, the youth fell, and, on his body being opened, it was found that the arrow had pierced his heart. Cambyses asked the wretched father if he had ever seen any one shoot with a steadier hand. Prexaspes, either from the base servility of a courtier, or from apprehensions for his own life, but who, as Rollin remarks, "ought not to have had voice or life remaining," replied that Apollo himself could not have aimed more correctly. Seneca, who attributes the answer to flattery rather than to fear, thus condemns the monstrous adulation, *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quàm missum.*

Prexaspes.



It was at Memphis, according to Herodotus, that Cambyses was abandoned to these cruel extravagancies; there, also, he employed himself in forcibly entering the sacred recesses of the temples, violating the tombs, and, as if to indulge an inhuman curiosity, examining the bodies of the dead. After other wild freaks of cruelty, he returned to Persia,

but died on his journey, from a wound inflicted by his sword, which had slipped from its scabbard, and pierced him in the thigh as he was mounting his horse. Death of Cambyses.

The twenty-seventh dynasty began with Cambyses. Smerdis, the Magian, who succeeded him, had usurped the sovereignty only a few months, when Darius Hystaspes ascended the throne. A short space after his coronation, Darius visited Egypt as one of his satrapies, and put to death Aryandes, who had been left by Cambyses as lieutenant-governor. In the pride of Oriental egotism, the Persian king and conqueror wished to erect a statue of himself at Memphis, in front of the temple of Vulcan, but the influence of the priesthood restrained him. He acquired, however, great popularity among the Egyptians by his just and humane legislation, and his name is found with the same hieroglyphical accompaniments as those of the legitimate and native Pharoahs. Darius did not tarry long in Egypt. Schemes of ambition led him at length to invade Greece, and his troops were beaten at Marathon, that celebrated spot of Athenian valour. Egypt seized the opportunity to rebel against its foreign master. Persian pride was roused by the affront, and preparations were all but completed against the revolted nation when Darius died, after a reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by Xerxes. One of his first operations was to reduce Egypt to obedience, and he immediately placed it under a stricter yoke, by appointing Achæmenes to be its governor. This captain ruled for twenty-four years—a period during which the quiet of Egypt was but the forced repose of servitude. Xerxes being assassinated, Artaxerxes Longimanus succeeded him. The terror of the Persian arms had, in the meantime, been greatly lessened, by the complete failure of Xerxes' expedition into Greece; and in the early part of the reign of his successor, the Egyptians, headed by Inarus, revolted a second time against the Asiatic despot. Achæmenes was slain, and the Persian garrison routed with great slaughter. The Egyptians now concluded an alliance with the Athenians, and forty tiremes were sent to them, a detachment from the Grecian fleet which was investing Cyprus. But the Persian hosts mustered with greater vigour, defeated the Egyptian troops, and dispersed their Greek auxiliaries. Inarus was crucified, and Egypt sunk again into prolonged and bitter bondage. Xerxes II., successor of Artaxerxes, was murdered immediately on his accession, and the Persian sceptre was grasped by Ochus, or, as he is often named, Darius Nothus.[1] Egypt again rose to arms and with better success, and the Persian dynasty was for a while superseded.

Twenty-seventh dynasty. Darius. Xerxes. Artaxerxes Longimanus. Xerxes II.

The twenty-eighth dynasty was included in the person of Amyrtæus, the Saite, who reigned six years, and laboured in many ways to remedy the evils which Persia had inflicted on his country, espe-

Twenty-eighth dynasty.

[1] Nothus—illegitimate.

cially in restoring the sacred edifices which they had so wantonly mutilated and defaced. His sarcophagus, formed of green breccia, was one of the trophies of the British expedition to Egypt, and was long supposed by many to belong to Alexander the Great.

Twenty-ninth dynasty.

The twenty-ninth dynasty consisted of four Mendesian sovereigns. During all this period of perhaps twenty years, Persia made no effort to regain the ascendancy, being fully occupied with matters nearer home—an insurrection of the Medes and the expedition of the famed ten thousand Greeks. Nofreoph or Nepherites, the first king of this new race, sent supplies to the Spartans, who with other Grecian states, were preparing to invade Asia; but the ships were seized by a Persian fleet, which covered the port of Rhodes. Achoris sat on the Egyptian throne, when Pharnabazus raised a new levy to invade the country, and memorials of this monarch are found at Medinet-Abu, and in the quarries of Mokattam.

The expedition of Pharnabazus, the satrap of Artaxerxes Mnemon, at length mustered at Acre. Its force was very great in allies and in galleys—each of thirty oars. The thirtieth dynasty of Sebennytic sovereigns had begun to reign when the Persian armament entered Egypt. Nectanebes the first of these, lost no time in concerting measures to repel this formidable invasion, by the erection of fortified works along the mouths of the Nile. Memphis was also garrisoned, and other towns placed in a state of defence. The Nile aided the valour of the Egyptians, and the Persian troops were obliged to retire before its rising waters. Nectanebes employed the repose which followed in social benefits and reforms. His name given as Nacht-ef-neb,[1] is found at Philæ and at Medinet-Abu. Mention is made of a beautiful obelisk, which this sovereign caused to be cut, but which lay in the quarry till Ptolemy Philadelphus brought it down the Nile, and set it up in honour of his sister. Teos or Tachos had scarcely been crowned, when the report of another Persian invasion filled the country with terror. The Egyptian king took immediate advantage of the commotions prevailing in the Persian empire,[2] for a general league had been formed of many of the states of Asia Minor, and Tachos prepared a levy for the invasion of Persia. This armament consisted of 200 ships, 80,000 Egyptian troops, and 10,000 Greek auxiliaries. The Grecian portion of the host were under the command of Agesilaus, an old and restless adventurer, who soon quarreled with Chabrias, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet. The plan resorted to for the purpose of augmenting the warlike finances, gave general dissatisfaction to the people. The leaders of the army in their jealous rivalry could not agree upon any bold and decisive measure; the excited nation was ripe for revolt, and accordingly in the absence of the king and his troops, they rallied round Nectanebus his nephew, and invested him with the sovereignty. The gen-

Thirtieth dynasty. Nectanebes.

361 B.C. Tachus.

Nectanebus.

[1] Rosellini Mon. Stor. ii. 200.

[2] Didor. 15—90.

erals, who could not agree in other matters, were at one in patronising this new revolution. The aggrieved, disgusted, and indignant Tachos, the dismissed and abandoned monarch, left his country and travelled to the metropolis of Persia, where he presented himself to Artaxerxes Mnemon, as a fit instrument for conducting a vengeful invasion against the people who had betrayed and deserted him.

But the expedition prepared for this purpose was retarded by the death of the Persian monarch. He was succeeded by his son Darius Ochus, at whose luxurious court the royal refugee from Egypt soon died, the victim of indolence and debauchery.[1] Egypt in the mean time was distracted with a civil war. A Mendesian had unfurled the standard of revolt, and gathered around him large masses of the people. But his career was brief; his bands were soon routed and dispersed. Persia, in the course of the next few years, made more than one attempt to regain possession of Egypt, but was thwarted by the skill and bravery of the Spartan and Athenian generals, who led the Egyptian forces. Ochus at length made a last and resolute effort. His name had become proverbial in Egypt for tardiness and stupidity, Ochus they had changed into Onos—the ass. He determined to redeem his character. The islands and countries around were first subdued or gained over, while Athens and Sparta pledged themselves to neutrality. Nectanebus immediately prepared against this mighty host of invaders. The Persians blockaded Pelusium which was vigorously defended; but a portion of the foreign troops, by means of information derived from the Egyptian hostages, managed to occupy a position in the rear of Nectanebus. Alarmed at this manœuvre, he hastily fought a battle and lost it, and was obliged to retreat in disorder upon Memphis. Pelusium surrendered, Bubastis was reduced, the infection of cowardice spread rapidly, the whole country placed itself at the feet of the merciless conqueror, and Nectanebus, the last of the long line of Pharoahs, fled in disgrace to Ethiopia. The ravages of Ochus in Egypt were as cruel and despotic as those of Cambyses. Apis was butchered and cooked, the temples were plundered of their wealth, and the country groaned beneath the load of a rapacious tyranny. Having appointed Pherendates his satrap, Ochus returned in triumph to his own dominions.

Darius Ochus.

Invades and conquers Egypt.

Thirty-first dynasty. Ochus.

Little is known of Egypt under the administration of Arses and Darius Codomannus, the successors of Ochus. The liberties of Greece were now swallowed up by the growing power of Macedonia, and the victorious Philip prepared to invade Persia. Alexander carried his father's intentions into effect, crossed the Hellespont, won the battles of Granicus, Issus, reduced Tyre and Gaza, and was at once master of all Western Asia. After a week's march from Gaza, his troops stood before Pelusium, which opened its gates to him. Heliopolis was visited and garrisoned, and he next arrived at

334 B.C. Alexander.

[1] Ælian. Hist. v. 1.

Memphis, where his fleet had been appointed to join him. He conciliated the Egyptians by honouring their divinities and doing homage to Apis. The nation was so thoroughly wearied with Persian supremacy, that they felt relief in a mere change of masters.

Government of Alexander.

During his stay in the country, Alexander founded that new city which bears his name, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Ammon, arranged the administration of the national affairs, appointed two viceroys, with Cleomenes at their head, and commanded that the people should be governed by their ancient and time-honoured institutions. The tax-gatherers were native Egyptians, but the troops were entrusted only to Macedonian officers, and the garrisons were given to special friends. Alexander left a fleet of thirty tiremes and four thousand soldiers to guard his conquest. Cleomenes had the principal charge of the provinces, but gradually enlarged his authority, till he seems to have been recognized as chief governor. The priesthood hated him for the exactions he made upon them, and therefore were the more ready to welcome to the throne the son of Lagus after Alexander's death. The great conqueror left Egypt early in 331 B.C. In two years afterwards he died, and his mighty empire, raised and enlarged in such speed, fell at once to ruin. Its crude materials prevented its consolidation, and amidst the general confusion and scramble, Ptolemy obtained possession of Egypt. Again the country changed masters. How sudden and how terrible had been its reverses. Its Pharoahs were now but a name—its glory had waned—and what had once been the wonder of the world, was now a poor victim to any royal robber that chose to appropriate the booty. Egypt had lost the power of self-defence, and, at length,

> **She whom mighty kingdoms curtsied to,**
> **Like a forlorn and desperate castaway**
> **Did shameful execution on herself.**

Accession of Ptolemy Soter.

PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY.—As we have already stated, Cleomenes, an officer who had enjoyed the confidence of the Macedonian Prince, was already in Egypt, charged with the superintendence of its finances, and it would appear that the council of generals who sanctioned the division of their late master's territories, had resolved that this faithful envoy should continue to exercise his wonted authority, and divide the cares of administration with the new governor. But Ptolemy, whose ambition very soon aspired to the sovereignty of Egypt, determined to have no rival. He speedily procured the murder of Cleomenes; seized upon the treasury at Alexandria, which contained eight thousand talents; added to his army, and increased the number of his ships; and in a word left no means unemployed whereby he might strengthen his own interests, and defeat the designs of his enemies. He laboured, at the same time, to gain the affections of the natives, and to secure their co-operation

in his great designs: and anticipating the dissensions that were about to burst out among his military colleagues in the other provinces, he fortified his dominions so strongly against every species of assault from abroad, that, when the eventful struggle did take place among the successors of Alexander, Egypt alone remained almost entirely unmoved by those tremendous convulsions which shook every other part of the Macedonian empire to its very centre.[1]

His early wars.

War was fiercely carried on first between Perdiccas and Ptolemy, and afterwards between the latter and Antigonus. Twenty years had passed away amidst the labours of the camp, or in the uncertain tranquillity of an occasional truce, until at length the victory obtained at Ipsus confirmed so completely the power of the Egyptian ruler, that he was enabled thenceforward to devote a large share of his attention to the internal improvement of his country, and to the furtherance of learning and of the arts.

It has been said of Ptolemy, that, like the founder of the Roman empire, he exhibited at different periods of his life a remarkable diversity of character. As long as his fortunes were suspended on the casualties of war, or were menaced by the intrigues of his enemies, he showed himself very little scrupulous as to the means which he employed to ensure success: but no sooner was his kingdom placed on a firm basis, by the defeat of Antigonus, and by the acquisition of such frontier provinces as he deemed necessary to its defence, than he laid aside the stern policy which had theretofore distinguished his measures, and turned all his thoughts to the happiness of the people, and to the decoration of his capital.[2]

His character.

It may seem somewhat paradoxical to observe, that these benevolent and liberal views on the part of Ptolemy were greatly promoted by the unsettled state of the neighbouring nations. But this is not the only occasion on which a wise and moderate government has profited by the anarchy of surrounding states. Thousands of ingenious persons who were driven from home by the violence of war, or by the dread of domestic insurrection, found an asylum in Egypt, and they carried with them the arts which promote the general wealth of every community, as well as the love of literature and science, which are the most lasting basis of national glory.

Among the more illustrious of the exiles who sought the protection of Ptolemy, we have to place the name of Demetrius Phalereus. This distinguished scholar, after having governed Athens ten years, with singular ability and zeal, found himself compelled to seek for refuge in the new capital of Egypt; and being kindly received by Ptolemy, he soon rendered his literary knowledge of the greatest avail in forwarding the schemes which that wise monarch had already devised, for extending among the higher classes of his subjects a desire for elegant amusement and philosophical research. At the

[1] Pausanias, Attic. c. 6. Arrian apud Photium. Diodorus, lib. xx.
[2] Justin, lib. xv. c. 4. Diodorus, lib. xx. Plutarch, in Demetrium.

Alexandrian Library

suggestion of the Phalerean he resolved to establish a library on such a liberal and magnificent scale as that he might deposit in it not only the various literary works with which the genius of Greece had begun to enrich the shores of the Mediterranean, but also such ancient and curious books as his growing intercourse with more eastern nations might enable him to collect. The fame of this institution has reached even to our own times; and it has contributed in no ordinary degree to exalt the reputation of the first Ptolemy, and to confer upon his reign the character of a more generous and lofty spirit than has been bestowed upon the government of any of his contemporaries.[1] In connection with the library, the king of Egypt

Museum.

was in like manner pleased to found a museum; of which the main object appears to have been to supply to studious men at once the means and the encouragement to follow out their several pursuits. The members lived together and partook in common of the bounty of the sovereign; who, in addition to the munificence of a liberal establishment, stimulated their researches by his example; animated their discussions by listening to their arguments, or by taking a side in their philosophical hypotheses; creating respect for their association by condescending to share in its labours, and to accept of its honours.[2]

We must rest satisfied with referring the reader to Eusebius, Strabo, and Quintilian, for a list of the poets and dramatists who adorned the court of Ptolemy. It is of more consequence to mention that this renowned prince established at Alexandria four separate schools for the advancement of science. The first of these was the

School of Criticism.

school of critics and commentators; which numbered among its members the celebrated names of Eratosthenes, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus, and Aristodemus; and which continued to shed a light more or less constant on the annals of literature, from the period now under consideration down to the full ascendancy of Roman power in the reign of Augustus.

Of Mathematics

Mathematics occupied the attention of the second school founded by Ptolemy. This important science had made considerable progress at Athens, in the academy of Plato, whose pupils carried the love and reputation of their favourite study into all the principal cities of Greece. The Alexandrian school has transmitted to posterity, in the works of Euclid, Apollonius, and Archimedes, the most satisfactory evidence of the singular success with which the abstract truths of geometry had been pursued by the older philosophers of Attica: accompanied, at the same time, with a pleasing and most convincing proof, that the patronage of the Egyptian king had not failed to accomplish its object. The ingenuity of modern times has added nothing to the elementary principles of Euclid; and

[1] Diodorus, lib. xx. c. 45. Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. iii. c. 17. Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. iii. c. 2.

[2] Strabo, lib. xvii.

the most successful experimenters in the most improved of the physical sciences have despaired of equalling the splendid results which were effected by the apparatus of Archimedes.[1]

The third School was devoted to the study of practical Astronomy. Of the labours of this distinguished association we have given a full account in another place, and narrated how the sages of Alexandria undertook to calculate the distances and magnitudes of the planets, the rate of their movements, and to trace the causes, and estimate the quantity of that apparent irregularity, which shows itself in the revolution of all the heavenly bodies. Timocharis and Aristillus first began to collect those valuable observations which were afterwards so much increased, and so ably employed by Aristarchus of Samos, and Hipparchus of Nicæa, and on which was ultimately founded the reformation of the Roman Calender under the auspices of Julius Cæsar.[2]

Of Astronomy.

The School of Medicine, which was the last of the four institutions established by the king of Egypt, proved of great advantage to his people. By an indulgence extremely rare in that age, the teachers of anatomy were allowed to illustrate their lectures by the dissection of human bodies. Tertullian, in his work *De Animâ*, assures us that Herophilus, one of the first professors in the Alexandrian school, dissected six hundred men, in order to make himself fully acquainted with the structure and offices of the various parts of the human frame. He showed his contempt for mankind, says the venerable father, by the means which he used to obtain a complete knowledge of their physical nature. "*Herophilus ille medicus—qui hominem odiit ut nôsset.*"[3]

Of Medicine.

Though Alexandria was afterwards celebrated for the zeal with which her philosophers recommended the doctrines of Plato, the royal patronage was not confined to the tenets of that eloquent writer. On the contrary, he himself appears to have inclined to the opinions of Aristotle; whilst there is no doubt that Demetrius Phalereus, his favourite minister and literary confidant, had openly avowed his preference for the dogmas of the latter school. But whether Platonists, or Pythagoreans, or Peripatetics, all men of ingenuity and research found a safe retreat and a liberal protection at the Court of Ptolemy. He was too much a lover of learning to yield a bigoted attachment to any one sect; and he was much more desirous to extend among his subjects the general principles of science, than to indulge his own partiality in favour of any particular system of opinions.[4]

Philosophical liberality of Ptolemy.

[1] Pappus, Collec. Math. lib. vii. Diogenes Laertius. Proclus. Euclid, lib. ii. c. 4. Philopon. Commentar. in Analyt. Poster. Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. c. 12.

[2] Ptolemy, Syntag. Mag. lib. vi. c. 3. Celsus, in Præf. Fulgen. Mytholog. Galen, tom. iv.

[3] Galen, ut supra.

[4] Diogenes Laertius, in Pythag. Athenæus, lib. iv.

The example of Ptolemy himself would stimulate the industry of the historian. His work is unfortunately lost to literature; but we learn from the narrative of Arrian, that the favourite general of Alexander was not less distinguished by his abilities as an author, than by his skill as a commander. The ravages of time and of barbarian conquerors have, indeed, allowed but few memorials to remain of the historic muse; and it is only from references which are found in scattered volumes, that we are enabled to form some judgment, in regard to the treasures of learning which were buried in the ruins of Alexandria.

In fine, the arts as well as the sciences had sought a refuge in the enlightened society of Alexandria; and they never fail to repay the protection under which they are permitted to flourish. The advanced state of Egypt in regard to the fine arts in particular, received a remarkable illustration in the coronation festival of the young Ptolemy, which was celebrated by the king two years before his death.

Coronation of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

This solemnity is said to have drawn to Alexandria crowds of strangers from the greater part of Asia. The native of India joined the mountaineer of Caucasus and the swarthy inhabitant of Ethiopia, to witness the magnificence of the Egyptian princes. The pavilion in which the Ptolemies received the more illustrious of the visitors, was elevated on pillars seventy-five feet high; imitating in their form the elegance of the palm tree and the fantastic thyrsys of Bacchus. Its centre was overshadowed by a rich canopy of scarlet; the floor was adorned with the carpets of Babylon or of Persia. The hall exhibited a hundred marble figures of different kinds of animals, and a great variety of the most choice paintings of the Sicyonian masters. Two golden eagles, each above twenty feet in height, towered on the summit of this splendid edifice. It would be tedious to describe the tripods, the vases, the couches, and the tables, formed of gold, and adorned with precious stones; the materials alone are said to have exceeded in value the amount of two millions sterling.

In the following details, which are translated from Callixenus of Rhodes, we use the version of Dr. Gillies. In the procession which ensued, says the Rhodian, and which lasted from morning to sun-set, the superstition of Greece was recommended to the Egyptians and Asiatics by whatever could please the fancy or soothe the senses. The image of each divinity, always of a colossal magnitude, was accompanied by his emblems, his altar, and his car of triumph: while the dramatic representation of his attendants, or paintings nearly as impressive, exhibited the labours which he had encountered, and the benefits which he had conferred. The pomp of Bacchus is described circumstantially, and this part may help the imagination to grasp the magnificence of the whole. His car, crowned with vines and ivy, was preceded and followed by troops of satyrs, mimics, and priests, with all the inferior votaries of that jolly god.

Procession.

Golden censers diffused around the most precious perfumes. Behind the image of the god followed that of his nurse Nysa; at first reclined in her chariot, but afterwards rising spontaneously and pouring forth libations of milk. Wine distilled from innumerable fountains, and particularly from a moveable wine-press drawn by three hundred men, and trodden by sixty satyrs, who enlivened their work by chanting the vintage hymn.

Pomp.

This procession, however, was only a prelude to one still more extraordinary, in which Bacchus appeared in his character of an eastern conqueror; represented by an idol eighteen feet high mounted on an elephant, attended by five hundred nymphs in purple tissues, and a proportional number of satyrs completely armed. Twenty elephants adorned the most splendid of the Roman triumphs, that of the emperor Aurelian; but twenty-four chariots, each drawn by four of these huge quadrupeds, appeared in one scene of this gorgeous procession, in which the Ptolemies had united the rarest objects in nature with the most exquisite productions of art. It is sufficient to mention eight hundred waggons laden with spices and perfumes; negroes bearing ebony, ivory, and gold; the natives of Hindústán displaying in captivity the elegant clothes and rich jewels of their native country; birds of various plumage hovering round artificial grottoes; innumerable yokes of fierce panthers and beautiful zebras; white oxen from India; the camelopard and rhinoceros from Ethiopia; Numidian lions and savage tigers, with Hyrcanian and Molossian dogs, rivalling in ferocity and strength those tyrants of the desert. The pageant of Bacchus was followed by that of the other divinities. Alexander the Great, alone more godlike than the whole hierarchy, came the last of all. His statue was of pure gold, and his car was drawn by elephants of unrivalled magnitude, while Pallas and Victory attended their favourite hero.[1]

Prosperity.

We have introduced this abridgment of a description, the full details of which would have fatigued the patience of the reader, in order to give some idea of the costly magnificence which illustrated the court of the first Ptolemies, and thereby to afford the means of judging as to the condition of the arts which ministered to that royal display. The paintings and sculptures, which mingled with the other ornaments of this gorgeous solemnity, certainly justify the inference that the coarser and more useful productions of the arts were likewise at that period sufficiently abundant in Egypt. The perfumes, too, and the multitude of other foreign commodities which were lavished during the procession and entertainments, prove the extensive commerce which had already rewarded the wise policy of Alexander and his first successor. In short, the coronation festival of Ptolemy affords the most satisfactory proof that Egypt was, at the accession of Philadelphus, in a state of prosperity equal at least to

[1] Callixen. Rhod. in Athenæa.

any epoch under the Pharaohs; powerful in its natural resources, enriched by trade, adorned by the arts, and secured in all its possessions by able councillors and by numerous fleets and armies.

Removal of the image of Serapis from Pontus to Alexandria.

There is one proceeding in the reign of this sagacious prince, for which we find it somewhat difficult to account, particularly when invested with the importance which he chose to attach to it. We allude to the removal of the image of Serapis from Pontus to Alexandria; a measure which was preceded by more negotiation, and accomplished with greater solemnity, than the transference of all the states which arms or treaties had added to the Egyptian dominions. Tacitus in his "History" deigns to take notice of this event, and to ascribe the conduct of Ptolemy to a supernatural cause. The god appeared to him in a dream, and exhorted him to obtain from the king of Sinope the sacred emblem under which he was worshipped in Pontus, persuading the Egyptian monarch that he would thereby ensure for his country a high degree of felicity and honour. Ptolemy forthwith obeyed the celestial admonition, and sent ambassadors to Sinope. But so greatly were the people of that district attached to the divine effigy of Serapis, that they refused for more than two years to listen to the proposal of their powerful neighbour. Famine at length accomplished that which the entreaties and bribes of the king of Egypt had failed to effect. The inhabitants of Sinope consented to barter the image of their god for a certain quantity of corn. A temple was built for it at Alexandria, called the Serapeion, a structure on which so much cost and skill was lavished, that, as Ammianus Marcellinus maintains, it surpassed in beauty and magnificence all the temples in the world, except the capitol at Rome. To the Serapeion, moreover, was attached that library, which we have already noticed, and which has been celebrated in all succeeding ages for the value and number of the books which it contained.[1]

Death and character of Ptolemy Soter.

Ptolemy the First died in the eighty-fourth year of his age, about two years, as we have already observed, after he had admitted his son to a share in the government. He was unquestionably the best and ablest prince of all his race; and left for the direction of his successors such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of them had firmness to imitate. He presided over the affairs of Egypt for about forty years subsequently to the death of Alexander; in which time he raised it to a height of grandeur and power far above that of any other contemporary kingdom. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners by which he had been distinguished when he was yet a Macedonian soldier; and so little was his mind accessible to the temptations of avarice, that he shunned the accumulation of any personal property. His maxim on this subject is said to have been, "that it is more honourable in a king to enrich others, than to be rich himself."

[1] Tacitus, Hist. lib. iv. c. 83, 84. Plutarch, de Isid. et Osir. Clemens Alexandrinus, in Protrept. p. 31. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxii. c. 16.

The dominions to which Philadelphus succeeded were extensive and powerful, and so well connected, in the event of an attack from abroad, as to afford mutual and immediate assistance. Besides Egypt, he found subjected to his authority the important provinces of Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Arabia, Lybia, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades.[1]

Death of Demetrius Phalerius.

It is said that he disgraced the beginning of his reign by the murder of Demetrius Phalereus, who had given the young prince offence by the counsel which he offered to his father, the late Ptolemy, in regard to a successor. He ordered the philosopher to be seized and confined in a remote fortress, until he should determine in what manner to treat him. The bite of a poisonous reptile put an end to the life of that great man, to whom Egypt owed so much, and who had certainly merited even at the hands of Philadelphus, a very different fate.[2]

State of Egypt on the accession of Philadelphus.

The wars which Ptolemy the Second carried on, both against his brother Magus and the king of Syria, need not be here narrated. The reader will find greater pleasure in surveying the outlines of a picture in which the prosperity and happiness of Egypt have been delineated by several authors of good information and veracity. We have already referred to Theocritus, who in his "Idylls" assures us, with the fervour of patriotism, that Egypt, under the sway of Ptolemy, all was governed by mild and equal laws; was defended by invincible armies; and was at once the best cultivated and the most commercial country on the face of the earth. He subjoins, in a tone of innocent exaggeration, that the regal authority of his patron was acknowledged in more than thirty thousand cities or towns, all flourishing and wealthy; that the fleets on the Red Sea and Mediterranean were employed in conducting a most extensive traffic; and that a nation which had long languished under the yoke of the Persians, and had sunk into the degraded condition of a province, once more raised its head in its original splendour, and exercised a secure dominion over the islands of Greece, the seaports of Asia, and the remote regions of Lybia and Ethiopia.

Description of Theocritus.

Appian's account of its military resources.

The narrative of Appian, an historian of great fidelity, and who possessed the most ample means of information in regard to Egypt, is less inflated than that of Theocritus, but is nevertheless fitted to excite in the mind of the reader the most elevated notions respecting the power of Ptolemy. He tells us that his army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, forty thousand horse, three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots. His magazines were filled with all sorts of military stores and engines, and contained armour for three hundred thousand soldiers, in addition to those which he maintained in a state of equipment. Nor was his navy less numerous or efficient; for, it consisted of a hundred and twelve

[1] Theocritus, Idyll. xvii.
[2] Diogenes Laertius, in Demet. Cicero, in Orat. pro Rabir.

ships of an extraordinary size, some of them having thirty-five tiers of oars; fifteen hundred tireme and quadrireme galleys; besides two thousand armed vessels of smaller dimensions. Four thousand Egyptian merchantmen are said to have navigated the Mediterranean; and eight hundred barges, decorated with gold and silver, are described as plying on the Nile, and ministering to the pleasure of the wealthy inhabitants who occupied its banks. The public arsenals, too, were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marine equipments, being equal, at least, to all the wants of a navy double the amount of that which was at any time actually ready for sea.[1]

Treasure.

The treasures of Ptolemy were in full proportion to his mighty fleets and armies. At his death the number of talents which he had accumulated from the national revenue, amounted to seven hundred and forty thousand, a mass of wealth, of which the extent will be more easily comprehended by the reader, when we mention that it is equivalent to about two hundred millions sterling. Such indeed were the revenues and magnificence of the second Ptolemy, that even in the very height of Roman greatness, they were still spoken of as proverbially singular; and the epithet *Philadelphian* was employed in the capital of Italy to characterise those extraordinary and splendid undertakings, in which the expensiveness of the materials could only be rivalled by the nobleness of the design, and the exquisite beauty of the workmanship.

Sources of wealth.

Various causes have been assigned with the view of accounting for that uncommon tide of wealth which flowed into Egypt during the reign of Philadelphus. The possession of a long line of sea-coast, furnished with excellent harbours, and communicating with countries naturally very rich, secured to his subjects a lucrative traffic. Above all, the occupation of Arabia, and the maritime parts of eastern Africa opened to him a valuable trade as well in spices and perfumes, as in the precious metals. Timosthenes the Rhodian, who commanded the Egyptian fleets in the Red Sea, is known to have examined the seaports of Adel, beyond the Straits of Babelmandel, and to have explored the African coast as far as Ophir, or Sofala, the land of gold, situated, as is now ascertained, nearly opposite to the island of Madagascar. Even the wild regions of Ethiopia were found accessible to the adventurous spirit of Ptolemy's lieutenants; and the city which they built nearly four hundred miles farther south than Syene, attests at once the splendid objects which their master had in view, and the great progress which he had made towards the final execution of his design.[2]

Commercial policy.

Strabo informs us, that Ptolemy traded directly to India, with the view, it would seem, of rendering himself independent of those Arabian tribes who in his time, as well as at a more early period, employed themselves in carrying spices down into Egypt. It does

[1] Appian, Hist. Roman. in Procem. Athenæus, lib. v.
[2] Strabo, lib. xvi.

not appear, however, that his intercourse with the people of India was carried to any considerable extent. He had to encounter many ancient habits and usages, which opposed a serious obstacle to his innovations. He could overcome the physical difficulties which presented themselves, both on the northern and eastern shores of his kingdom; and he joined by a canal the waters of the Red Sea to those of the Mediterranean; a work which first engaged the enterprise of Sesostris, and afterwards exhausted the resources or defeated the skill of Darius the Persian. But the inveterate habits of man are less pliant than the rocks of the mountain or the sands of the desert. Ptolemy effected a navigation across the isthmus of Suez, but he failed in his attempt to induce the Ethiopians to relinquish their caravans between Abyssinia and Egypt, and to trust their treasures to his numerous ships.

It appears to have been the policy of the first Grecian kings of Egypt to divert the wandering tribes which were used to traverse the deserts between that country and the Red Sea, from the traffic in which they so much delighted, and to direct their attention to agriculture, for which both their land and their habits were extremely ill adapted. The priests at that period were the chief patrons of trade; and their temples, both in Egypt and Ethiopia, were frequently used as the magazines or the entrepots of the valuable commerce in which the caravans were engaged. But whilst Ptolemy was pursuing his favourite object, and labouring to place in the hands of his sailors the migratory trade of the Ethiopian wilderness, the priests of that country were all inhumanly massacred; an event which could not fail to excite some suspicion that the assassin co-operated in this horrid deed with the avowed policy of the Egyptian monarch. The barbarous act now mentioned, is, no doubt, ascribed to the king of Meroe, who is said to have obtained, through the medium of the Greek philosophy, certain new views on the subject of religion; and who, to signalize his conversion to more rational tenets, is reported to have immolated the unfortunate priests, as being the main supporters of the abandoned superstition.[1] It is nowhere said that Philadelphus had any share in this wicked transaction; yet the ruin of the priests who, as we have already mentioned, were the main adventurers in the Ethiopian trade, at the very time that an attempt was making to reduce the people of the desert to fixed settlements, would appear to indicate that all these measures were parts of one great design for bringing the traffic into a new channel.

Connection of the priesthood with the land traffic.

The reign of this Ptolemy was greatly illustrated by the numerous and distinguished authors who had repaired to Alexandria. Among the poets, the names of Aratus, Callimachus, Theocritus, and Lycophron, are known to every reader. Philosophy also continued to

State of Literature.

[1] Diodorus, lib. iii. s. 6.

receive the most marked encouragement; and the king, after the example of his father, promoted the love of knowledge by extending his countenance to all, without attaching himself exclusively to any particular sect. The objects of moral science were not indeed wisely selected; and the doctrines maintained in regard to both body and mind were extremely absurd. Fable, too, mixed with their history; which at best was calculated rather to gratify the silly pride of barbarians, than to instruct the curious or to inform the ignorant. Their discussions more frequently respected the mysterious powers which were supposed to reside in plants and minerals, than the qualities of matter which reveal themselves to the senses. Their knowledge of astronomy was greatly debased by its intermixture with those absurd opinions, which traced the history of nations and the fortunes of individuals to the influence of the stars. Their books were full of wonders and prodigies; nature was studied by them in her exceptions rather than in her general rules; and they noted her apparent aberrations, and gave them a place in their philosophy, whilst they neglected that smooth and even tenor of her operations, which is regarded as the basis of all true science.[1]

Astronomy.

It is but justice to mention, at the same time, that the astronomical school of Alexandria arrived at very considerable attainments both in regard to fact and to principle. Aristarchus is the author of a work on the distance and magnitude of the sun and moon, in which he greatly enlarged the boundaries which had been formerly assigned to the solar system; and though his conclusions did not approach to the magnificence of the Copernican theory, they yet satisfied him that the sun was the centre of revolution to the earth and its accompanying satellite.[2] He encountered a variety of objections, some of which arose from entire ignorance, others from the imperfect state of the science. Of the latter class we may mention the difficulty suggested by one of his antagonists, who observed that, on the supposition of the earth's annual motion, the fixed stars as viewed from it would be found to be continually changing their position with regard to each other. His answer deserves our particular attention, on account of the sublime views which it implies, relative to the system of which our globe makes a part. The whole orbit of the earth, said he, is little more than a point in comparison of the heavens; and by this remark, which appears at once in the light of a principle and of an inference, he both weakened the force of his opponent's argument, and also showed that, in forming his theory, he had fully anticipated the whole weight of the objection. Such doctrines, however, were found much too bold for that ignorant and superstitious age. Aristarchus was forthwith accused of impiety: he was charged with shaking the throne of Vesta, an ancient and venerable goddess; but as he shook more rudely the settled opinions

[1] Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. xi. Strabo, lib. vi. Fabricius, Bibl. Græc.
[2] Aristarchus, de Magni. et Dist. Solis et Lunæ.

of the schools, in regard to the heavenly bodies, his tenets were proscribed as at once dangerous and unphilosophical. His conclusions, accordingly suppressed for the time, remained unpatronized during several centuries; till at length in an age hardly more propitious to science, they were once more revived, to become once more the object of persecution, and of an ignorant and groundless calumny.[1]

Septuagint.

We cannot finish our sketch, however brief, of the reign of the second Ptolemy, without adverting to the controversy regarding the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which is said to have been effected under his auspices. It is certainly extremely probable that the version in question was made at Alexandria whilst Philadelphus was on the throne; both because a great multitnde of Jews were resident in that city during his government, and also from the obvious circumstance, that such families of them as had removed thither, in the former reign, must have so far forgotten their native speech, as to require a translation of their sacred books into the language which they were now accustomed to use. The well-known story of Aristeas with regard to this version is an evident forgery. The translation was made at different times, and by men far from equally qualified for their responsible task. That the translation was made in the time of the Ptolemies is not to be doubted, for we still have the book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour's time. But the fiction of Aristeas, which is the groundwork and foundation of all that is said of the manner of making this translation, by seventy-two elders sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is altogether crude and incredible, though it has given its distinctive and common name to this ancient Greek version.[2]

But the era of Philadelphus, clouded as it may have been by ignorance, and obscured by fable, was notwithstanding the brightest period of Egyptian literature. The same reign was likewise distinguished by the first act of political intercourse between Egypt and Rome. When the Romans, on the defeat and death of Pyrrhus, had clearly established their reputation as a military people, it seemed expedient to Ptolemy to send a chosen embassy to the senate, in order to congratulate them upon their success, and the return of this civility which was performed on the part of the commonwealth with suitable pomp, afforded to the Romans a desirable opportunity for making themselves known to the government of Alexandria. Nor was it long before an occasion occurred to secure to them all the advantages of it. The terms of amity which such a mission seemed to imply, were made by Ptolemy a pretext for refusing to the Carthaginians all assistance, either of men or of

Intercourse with Rome.

[1] Plutarch, de facie in orb. Lunæ. Hesiod, Theogon. Ovid, Fasti, lib. vi.

[2] Davidson's Biblical Criticism, p. 31. Walton's Polegomena, ix. Hody, De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, Frankel, Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta. Leipzig, 1841.

treasure, in the bloody and protracted war which soon afterwards ensued between the two republics.[1]

At the age of sixty-three Philadelphus yielded to the natural weakness of his constitution, and the effects of an increasing intemperance; leaving to his son a throne which he had filled with no small ability and reputation during the period of twenty-eight years.

Ptolemy Euergetes.

The third Ptolemy was scarcely invested with the regal authority when he found himself involved in hostilities with Seleucus Callinicus, the king of Syria. He invaded Syria, and advanced into the province of Upper Asia. He headed an expedition also into Ethiopia, in the course of which he betrayed glaringly the weakness and rapacity of his character. A marble slab, discovered among the ruins of Axum, attests the historical truth of this enterprise, and proves that the Egyptian army had succeeded in reaching the ancient capital of Abyssinia.



Ptolemy Philopator.

Euergetes was followed in the government of his native dominions by his son Philopator, who ascended the throne in the two hundred and twenty-first year before Christ. He disgraced the commencement of his reign by inflicting severe cruelities on the family of Cleomenes, the Spartan king, who had taken refuge at Alexandria, where he perished in an attempt to rouse the subjects of Ptolemy to a sense of their degradation and servitude. The death of his mother, his wife, and his sister, threw a cloud over his domestic history; and it is even asserted that he was sarcastically denominated Philopator, from a nefarious conspiracy in which he was engaged to take away the life of his father by poison. The infamy of his private character was in some measure redeemed by the success of his arms against the king of Syria. In the field of Raphia he gained a splendid victory, which secured to his dominions the provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. But his debaucheries brought him to his grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his ignoble reign.

[1] Valerius Maximus, lib. iv. c. 7. Appian. Excerp. de rebus Sirulis.

On the occurrence of this premature demise, the eldest son of Philopator was only four years of age; but his title to the crown was immediately recognised, and the affairs of the kingdom were placed under the administration of wise and faithful guardians. This important charge was committed to the hands of Sosibius and Aristomenes, who acquitted themselves of their trust ably and conscientiously, both to their prince and their country. They secured to the nation the valuable provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and renewed an alliance with the Romans, immediately after their successes over Hannibal, at the conclusion of the second Punic War. But Ptolemy, who was surnamed Epiphanes, having reached his fourteenth year, which, according to the laws and customs of Egypt, was the age of maturity, took the reins of government into his own hands, and gave speedy proof of his incompetence to discharge aright its difficult and important duties. He rejected the wise counsels of the men who had managed and improved the kingdom; he gave himself up to the vices, and practised the cruelties which had rendered infamous the memory of his father; and after a tyranny of fifteen years, he fell a victim to his own extravagance, being poisoned by his ministers in the twenty-ninth year of his age.[1]

Ptolemy Epiphanes.

In justice to his memory, it may be esteemed worthy of remark, that the Grecian annals are much more favourable to his reputation than the Jewish. We know not whether it will be regarded as corroborating this view of his character, if we mention that Epiphanes was raised by the adulation of the Egyptian priesthood to the rank of the gods. It appears from a monument lately recovered in that country, that the decree for the deification of Ptolemy was passed in the ninth year of his reign, or when he was about to assume the personal direction of his government. The idol of the king was to be duly worshipped; his shrine of gold adorned with crowns and protected by amulets, was to be carried in sacred procession with the shrines of other gods; his name was to be celebrated by games and festivals; and the decree establishing these ceremonies was to be inscribed on solid stone, in the sacred language of religion, in Egyptian, and also in Greek characters.

His son Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, succeeded him on the throne. At the death of his father he was only six years of age, from which period until he reached the term of maturity, the kingdom was governed by his mother Cleopatra, and, after her decease, by a favourite eunuch. Engaging in a war with Antiochus Epiphanes, he was defeated and made prisoner; and the Egyptians in his absence raised his brother Physcon to the throne. The Syrian monarch, however, wishing to retain the influence which he had acquired over his captive, degraded the usurper, and restored Philometor to the

Ptolemy Philometor

[1] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xii. c. 4. Polybius, lib. xxiii. c. 1. Maccab. ii. c. 3.

exercise of the regal functions. But this measure did not effect the object which Antiochus had in view. Aware of the policy of that prince, the king of Egypt recalled his brother to a share of the sovereign power and honours; in order that through their united counsels and exertions, they and their country might be delivered from foreign domination. Notwithstanding, the power of Syria still seemed to threaten the royal house of Egypt; and accordingly, to avert the impending destruction, Ptolemy repaired to Rome, and implored the Senate to assist him against his insidious and determined enemy. Through the intervention of the Romans, Egypt was guarded against the hostile designs of Antigonus, and both the royal brothers were provided with distinct and independent kingdoms; the younger reigning over the Lybian Cyrene till the death of the elder, when Egypt with its appendages came also under his dominion.[1] This arrangement was not, however, acceded to, until after a long war between Philometor and Physcon. The latter was in general worsted in the field; but, whether owing to the clemency of his brother, or to the weighty interposition of the Romans, he was not stripped of the territories with which his ambition had been temporarily allayed. Ptolemy having employed his arms to drive an usurper from the throne of Syria, was offered the magnificent remuneration of the vacant crown. He wisely and generously declined so great a reward; recommending to their affections their lawful prince, whom he undertook to assist in his efforts to recover his rights and power. The fate of Syria was determined in a great battle, in which the king of Egypt and his allies found themselves conquerors. But Ptolemy received a mortal wound, which in the course of eight days put an end to his life and to his reign, in the hundred and forty-sixth year before the Christian era.[2]

Jewish Colony.

It was in the nineteenth year of his government, that Philometor established a colony of Jews in the district of Heliopolis, and granted them permission to build a temple after the model of that at Jerusalem, and to appoint Onias to be their high priest. The gratitude of the colonists was proved by a sincere attachment to his interests, and by undergoing much labour and suffering in promoting his cause, during the civil war with his brother Physcon. Amidst repeated persecutions they continued to maintain their ground in Egypt, venerating the institutions of Moses, and exercising their peculiar worship in their colonial temple, till at length, in the reign of the emperor Vespasian, orders were issued to level it with the dust, about five years after the destruction of their capital and government in Judea.[3]

[1] Valerius Maximus, Livius, lib. xlvi. Polybius, lib. xxxi. c. 5.
[2] Strabo, lib. xvi. Livius, lib. li.
[3] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. Diodorus, Excerp. Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 30.

At the death of Philometor, his only son being yet an infant, the reins of government were seized by Physcon, the brother of the late king, who had so long disputed with him the right to fill the throne of Egypt. The army continuing in Syria some time after the loss of their royal commander, the opportunity of usurping the crown, which was thereby afforded him, was eagerly embraced by this unprincipled usurper; who, advancing towards Alexandria at the head of a mercenary force whose services he had purchased, soon possessed himself of that capital, married the widow of his deceased brother, and, on the very day of these disgraceful nuptials, murdered his nephew, the lawful heir of the kingdom.[1] Ptolemy Physcon.

A reign begun under such auspices, was not likely to be either happy or glorious. The cruel tyranny with which their king pursued his mad career, drove his subjects at length into actual rebellion; and he found it necessary to take refuge from their indignation in the island of Cyprus. Previously to this, however, he had repudiated Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, and married her daughter, born to a former husband. On the abdication of Physcon, the Princess now named was called to the throne by the people of Alexandria; upon which the barbarous exile, in order to wound her feelings in the tenderest point, murdered two sons whom she had born to him, and sent the head of the youngest to her, in a casket, on the anniversary of her birth-day. This act of studied cruelty, confirmed against him the hatred of his Egyptian subjects, who, upon hearing that he intended to attempt a descent upon their shores, with the view of reinstating himself on the throne, made immediate preparations for opposing his invasion. The inhabitants of Alexandria took arms under the direction of Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed commander; and at length meeting the troops of Physcon, which had succeeded in making good their landing, they trusted the fortune of their country to the issue of a general battle. Hegelochus, who led the invaders, proved superior to the patriotic general to whom he was opposed; he defeated the Alexandrians, took Marsyas a prisoner, and shut up the queen within the walls of her capital. His cruelty. His invasion of Egypt.

In this extremity, Cleopatra applied to her son-in-law the king of Syria; using the strongest arguments to induce him to defend Egypt against the brutal vengeance of Physcon. Demetrius listened to her entreaties, and forthwith made preparations for besieging Pelusium; but the unsettled state of his own country soon requiring his presence, he was obliged to desist from his undertaking, and to lead back his troops, in order to suppress a formidable insurrection, which had been abetted by the king of Egypt, and organized by an impostor, Alexander Zebina. Alarmed by the progress of Hegelochus, the queen-regent of Egypt embarked with all her treasures,

[1] Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. c. 1. Justin, lib. xxxviii. c. 8.

and sailing for Ptolemais, where her daughter, the wife of Demetrius, had fixed her abode, she resolved there to await the issue of events. Physcon meanwhile recovered his abdicated dominions, where he soon afterwards enjoyed the fullest gratification to his vindictive feelings, in finding that Demetrius had fallen a victim to the scheme which he had formed for his destruction.[1]

His restoration.

This profligate and sottish prince seems still to have retained a portion of that hereditary love of letters, which has illustrated the family of the Ptolemies. He is said to have studied so assiduously under the grammarian Aristarchus, that, as Epiphanius informs us, he merited some of the highest honours of philology. He wrote twenty-four books of historical commentaries; and farther signalised his zeal for learning, by composing a laboured criticism on the text of Homer. To enrich the Alexandrian library, he spared no pains, and left no means unemployed, whether just or unjust; and in prosecution of this favourite object he is represented as having disgraced the cause of literature, by the tyrannical measures which he adopted for its accomplishment. He caused all ships touching at any of his ports to be searched for books and manuscripts; and either to encourage the manufacture of the proper material at home, or to prevent other countries from rivalling Egypt in the extent of their libraries, he issued a command that no papyrus should be exported from his kingdom.

Ptolemy Lathyrus.

After a reign of twenty-nine years, in the course of which he had repeatedly exhausted the patience of his subjects, Physcon died, in the midst of peace and a comparative popularity. He left Cleopatra as regent of the kingdom, and intrusted her with the choice of either of their two sons, Lathyrus or Alexander, to succeed him on the throne.[2] Actuated by the love of power, the queen selected the younger, Lathyrus having been sent into Cyprus in quality of viceroy, but obviously with the intention of excluding him from the succession. The voice of the people, however, prevailed, and the eldest son of the late sovereign was called by them to assume the sceptre.

The enmity of his mother disturbed the reign of Lathyrus. Having taken part with the king of Syria against the Jews, who, under their able leader Hyrcanus, had recently become formidable to their ancient oppressors, he exposed himself to the resentment of his unnatural parent, who chose to grant her countenance to the arms of the Israelites. She resolve to replace on the throne her favourite son, Alexander, who had been sent to succeed his brother as governor of Cyprus. To accomplish her purpose she had recourse to a stratagem, by which she hoped to stain the character of the king with the guilt of intended parricide. She instructed her eunuchs to rush out of the palace streaming with blood, and to

[1] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 9. Diodorus, Excerp.
[2] Pausanias, Attic. Justin, lib. xxxix. c. 5. Ibid. lib. xxxix. c. 3.

implore the aid of the citizens of Alexandria against Lathyrus, whom they with difficulty had prevented from imbruing his hands in the blood of his mother. A tumult ensued, the injured monarch fled on ship-board to seek refuge beyond sea, and Alexander arriving from Cyprus, was once more invested with the supreme authority.[1]

Alexander Ptolemy the First.

But the furious passions of Cleopatra, and her inordinate love of dominion, permitted only a subordinate power to rest in the hands of the new king. Finding himself condemned to be her instrument in the most tyrannical measures, he soon relinquished altogether the external possession of a power which was in fact exercised by another. She, however, perceiving that she would not be allowed to reign, except through the medium of one of her sons, induced him again to accept the regal honours. Their interests soon proved incompatible, and a miserable catastrophe put an end to their jealousies and mutual dislike. Alexander employed a dagger against his mother, and thereby opened a way for the restoration of Lathyrus, who still continued at the head of a powerful army. A battle decided the cause of the brothers; Alexander was taken prisoner and put to death, and the reins of government passed once more into legitimate hands.

The remaining years of Lathyrus are distinguished by only one event, which has claimed the attention of history. A rebellion broke out at Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, to suppress which an army was despatched into the south, with orders to inflict a severe punishment upon the insurgents. A siege of three years completed the demolition of that celebrated city, which was immediately stripped of every monument of its former grandeur.[2] Ptolemy VIII. survived this memorable expedition but a very short time. He died, bequeathing to a natural son the isle of Cyprus, and leaving Berenice, his only legitimate daughter, to inherit the crown of Egypt.

Alexander Ptolemy the Second.

Alexander, the brother of the late king, left a son of the same name, who had been educated in the island of Cos, and had afterwards fallen into the hands of Mithridates, the ruler of Pontus. Having escaped from captivity, he placed himself under the protection of Sylla, the Roman dictator, through whose mediation, as well as on the ground of some personal claims to the throne of Egypt, he obtained the hand of his cousin Cleopatra, and was associated with her in the government of the kingdom. But this union, apparently so auspicious, was soon dissolved by the death of the queen, who, it is said, was murdered by the order of her barbarous husband, nineteen days after their marriage.[3] His possession of the throne, however, was not of long duration; for he soon disgusted his subjects by the atrocity of his conduct, and, like many of his predecessors, was removed by a violent death. This event paved the way for the suc-

[1] Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.
[2] Pausanias, Attic. c. 9. Strabo, lib. xvii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 67.
[3] Appian, de Bell. Civil. lib. i. c. 102.

cession of his brother, who, on his elevation to the throne, assumed the distinctive appellation of Alexander Ptolemy III. and reigned, it is said, during a short period, in considerable tranquillity. Dissensions, however, at length arose, which compelled him to seek refuge in the city of Tyre, where he died about sixty-five years before the Christian era, having previously named the Romans as heirs of his kingdom as well as of all his personal property.[1] In consequence of this testament, the triumvirs, in the consulate of Cæsar, received six thousand talents from the next Egyptian king, to secure him in the possession of his dominions.

Alexander Ptolemy the Third.

Ptolemy Auletes.

On the abdication of Alexander Ptolemy III. the prevailing faction in the capital placed on the throne his cousin Ptolemy Auletes, so named for his excellence as a player on the flute. This prince was a mere tributary under the Roman senate, and was compelled not only to pay large sums of money to purchase the protection of the consuls and commanders, who directed their affairs in the East, but even to relinquish all claims upon Cyprus, one of the most valuable dependencies of Egypt, and to see it wrested from the possession of his family. Clodius, the tribune, whose resentment had been accidentally inflamed against the viceroy of that island, stimulated the avarice of the people in power, and prevailed with them to send Cato as their accredited agent in this disgraceful robbery. The austere envoy, arriving at Cyprus, seized the spoils of the unresisting governors, and afterwards carried home with him to Rome a sum of coin not less in amount than fifteen hundred thousand pounds of our coin, besides various other booty.[2] To ensure the countenance of Pompey and Cæsar, the king of Egypt was necessitated to make large demands upon his subjects, who, at length tired of his exactions, rose against him and drove him from his capital. Meeting Cato in the island of Rhodes, the fugitive monarch informed the ambassador that he had resolved to repair to Rome, with the view of soliciting aid from the senate; and, notwithstanding the arguments of the latter, who endeavoured to divert him from his intention, he actually took up his residence in that city, and paid his court in person to the haughty, avaricious senators.[3]

Is expelled and repairs to Rome.

Auletes had no sooner fled from Alexandria, than the Egyptians placed on the vacant throne his daughter Berenice. To confirm her government, she was induced to marry first one of the princes of the Syrian family, who is known by the name of Seleucus Cybiosactes, afterwards Archelaus, the Cappadocian, whom Pompey had invested with the hereditary priesthood of Comana, in Pontus. But these arrangements, it should seem, did not answer the purpose of the

[1] Cicero, cont. Rull.

[2] Florus, lib. iv. c. 3. Plutarch, in Catone. Dion Cassius, lib. xxxix. Strabo, lib. xix.

[3] Plutarch, in Catone.

leading men at Rome. It was resolved to reinstate Auletes; and with this view he was sent into Syria, with a recommendation from the two consuls, Cæsar and Pompey, addressed to Gabinius; instructing him to despatch a part of his army towards the Egyptian frontier, to act in concert with the friends of the exiled king. The proconsul sent Antonius, his master of the horse, with orders to surprise the principal fortress at the mouth of the Nile. The Romans succeeded in their attempt. Archelaus, the husband of Berenice, was killed fighting at the head of his guards; and the queen herself, expelled by the invaders, was shortly afterwards put to death. Gabinius left with Auletes a large body of horse and foot to overawe his reluctant subjects, and to enable him to extort from them the enormous sum of ten thousand talents, for which he had become bound to his Roman creditors and patrons. He reigned four years after his restoration; and previously to his death, which took place in the fifty-first year before the Christian era, he settled the succession to his kingdom in a manner corresponding to the dependent condition in which it had long subsisted. By his will, he left Egypt under the guardianship of Rome; and while the original of this document was retained in Alexandria, a copy of it, duly authenticated, was transmitted to Pompey, who placed it in the Roman treasury, as a warrant for future demands on the sovereignty or wealth of that devoted kingdom. He named his son and daughter, who, according to the Egyptian usage, were to marry together, as his successors on the throne; and as both these princes were still under age, Pompey was appointed by the senate to act the part of guardian, and to see all the provisions of the late king's testament duly fulfilled.

Is restored by the Romans.

The daughter, mentioned in this royal will, was the celebrated Cleopatra, who was at that time in her seventeenth year. Her brother, who shared with her the nominal sovereignty of their kingdom, was named Dionysus, and is known to historians as Ptolemy XII. the last of that family and patronymic.

Accession of Dionysus and Cleopatra.

The affairs of Egypt were now so closely connected with the policy of Rome, that the principal events which characterised the government of the expiring power of the Grecian kings, may be traced either to the intrigues or the ambition, the avarice or the licentiousness of the Italian commanders. The youth of Dionysus was altogether unequal to the cares of State, which at that period would have oppressed the maturest age; and the talents of his sister, it would appear, were not steadily or wisely directed to consolidate their tottering power, as vassals of the Roman Senate. An insurrection at Alexandria, which occasioned the murder of two sons of the Proconsul Bibulus, at that time commanding in Syria, disturbed the very commencement of their reign; and we find that Cleopatra could not oppose the tide of popular fury connected with that occurrence, but was compelled to resign the splendour of

Expulsion of Cleopatra.

royalty, and seek protection in a temporary exile.[1] The abdication of this princess, though probably arising from the tumult just mentioned, was unquestionably accelerated by the designs already entertained by the young king and his ambitious ministers. Their object became manifest when Cleopatra, after a few months' residence in Syria, returned towards her native country to resume her seat on the throne. Dionysus prepared to oppose her by force of arms, and a civil war would inevitably have ensued, had not the rival pretensions of the children of Auletes been speedily determined, by an authority which neither was at liberty to dispute.

Cæsar sails to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey and restores Cleopatra.

It was while their respective armaments were stationed near Pelusium, that Cæsar sailed to the coast of Egypt in pursuit of Pompey. Upon his arrival on the shores of the Nile, he was presented with the head of his vanquished rival; and he almost immediately afterwards landed with his troops at Alexandria, in quality of consul, attended by Lictors bearing the fasces. This display of authority, as belonging to the representative of the Roman senate and people, could not fail to create suspicion and alarm; and Cæsar, accordingly, found that the safety of his person could not be secured, except by taking possession of the strongest part of the palace, of which he made haste to increase the fortifications.[2]

Empowered by the official rank which he held in a kingdom which could not now be viewed in any other light than that of a Roman province, Cæsar issued an order to the two royal persons who were disputing for the throne, commanding them to suspend their hostilities, and to submit the several points which had armed them against each other, to his arbitration. In compliance with this injunction, both parties sent suitable representatives to wait upon the consul, and to state their respective claims and grievances.

Meanwhile, the army of the young Ptolemy remained before Pelusium, and Cleopatra had not yet returned from Syria. The latter, however, trusting more to her personal influence, than to the eloquence of her ministers, resolved to plead her own cause in the presence of Cæsar. She therefore put herself on a board a small skiff, under the protection of Apollodorus, a Sicilian Greek, and having reached the harbour of Alexandria in safety, gave instructions that she should be conveyed into the chamber of the Roman general in the form of a large package of goods. The stratagem gave infinite pleasure to the hero of Pharsalia, who is said to have been as much delighted with the wiles of love, as with those of war; and if the beauty and wit of Cleopatra be viewed in connection with the amorous character of Cæsar, the result of her visit may be easily anticipated. This princess was now in her twentieth year, distinguished by extraordinary personal charms, and surrounded with all the graces which give to those charms their greatest power. Her

Character of the queen, and her device to obtain an audience of Cæsar.

[1] Valerius Maximus, lib. iv. c. 1.
[2] Plutarch, in Cæsar. Hirtius, de Bell. Alexan.

voice sounded like the sweetest music; and she spoke a variety of languages with propriety and ease. She could, it is said, assume all characters at will, which all alike became her; and the impression which was made at first by her beauty, was confirmed by the fascinating brilliancy of her conversation. It is known that she bore to the consul a son, who, from the name of his father, was called Cæsarion.[1]

Propositions of the Roman Consul.

The day after this singular meeting, Cæsar summoned the king, as well as the citizens of Alexandria, to listen to certain propositions which he had to make for restoring peace to their country. The will of Ptolemy Auletes was read; after which the Roman commander assured them he had no other object in view than to ensure a full compliance with its injunctions. For this purpose, he suggested, not only that Dionysus and Cleopatra should resume their joint sovereignty in Egypt, but also that the younger brother and sister should likewise be married, and reign together over the island of Cyprus, in the possession of which he undertook to guarantee them. No measure could have been either more popular or more just than that which Cæsar proposed as the basis of the new arrangement. The adherents of the king, however, had proceeded too far against Cleopatra not to have reason to dread her resentment; and Pothinus, in particular, in whose intriguing spirit all the dissensions of the court had originated, saw no safety for himself but in the continuance of the civil war, and the ultimate defeat of the Roman faction. The army of Pelusium was accordingly placed under the command of Achillas the murderer of Pompey, with instructions to advance suddenly upon Alexandria, and crush the handful of soldiers whom Cæsar had stationed round his person.

Opposed by Pothinus and Achillas.

But the movement of the Egyptian army did not deceive the vigilance of the Roman consul. He detained the young king in his custody, and thereby threw upon the troops opposed to him, the guilt, or at least the appearance of rebellion; and when Achillas did at length arrive in the streets of the capital, the palace was so well defended, that twenty thousand soldiers could make no impression upon its walls. An obstinate battle was at the same time fought between the fleets, which, owing to the gallantry and skill of the Rhodians, terminated in a decided victory for Cæsar; but as the contest took place almost in the very harbour, the conflagration of the vanquished ships communicated to several magazines, and finally reached the royal library, in which were consumed about four hundred thousand volumes.[2] But the advantage obtained on this occasion did not break the spirit, nor impede the exertions of the Alexandrians. The war raged with unabated fury, and the situation of Cæsar became every day more perilous.

Besides Cleopatra, and the king her brother, the Romans had

[1] Dion Cassius, and Plutarch, in Cæsar.
[2] Seneca, de Tranquillitate.

detained in the palace Arsinoe the youngest sister of these princes; who, availing herself of an opportunity presented by the incessant tumult, escaped from the restraint of Cæsar's quarters, and offered the advantage of her authority and countenance to the army under Achillas. She was accompanied in her flight by Ganymede, an ambitious eunuch, who eagerly seconded the aspiring designs of his mistress. Nor did the enterprise altogether fail of success. The Alexandrians received with rapture the spirited daughter of their late king; and to make way for her favourite Ganymede, they found no difficulty in sacrificing their commander Achillas. Cæsar, at the same time, suspecting the faith of Pothinus, condemned him to death; an event which placed the conduct of the Alexandrian war under auspices completely different from those under which it had commenced.[1]

Arsinoe escapes from the palace, and Ganymede assumes the command.

He cuts off the water.

Ganymede, now at the head of the army, resolved to attack the Romans with a new weapon. Alexandria was supplied with water from the Nile; to cut off the usual resource, therefore, it was only necessary to stop up the conduits by which it was conveyed, and to let in the sea-water by means of the drains which communicated with the shore. The consternation at first was excessive; many of the inhabitants threatened to quit the city; and it was with the greatest difficulty that Cæsar could prevail upon them to dig wells, which he assured them would yield an abundant supply, as they were almost on the level of the sea. At length his counsel was listened to, and all their expectations were gratified.

The scene of warfare was now transferred almost entirely from the land to the water. To protect a convoy which brought to him from Asia his thirty-seventh legion, with ample supplies of provisions and military stores, Cæsar put to sea and engaged the Egyptian fleet. The brave and skilful Rhodians were never deserted by victory; and the Roman soldiers accordingly entered the harbour in triumph, and gave a decided superiority to the cause of their general. Repeated defeats, however, did not depress the courage of Ganymede. He equipped a larger fleet than before, and again defied the strength of the Romans and the naval science of their allies. Fortune once more declared for Cæsar; the Egyptians were worsted, and compelled to take refuge under the fortifications of the isle of Pharos.[2]

Cæsar's danger.

The island now named was protected by two castles of considerable strength, which, as they afforded a retreat to his enemies, Cæsar had determined to reduce. In this attempt he nearly lost his life; for after he had taken one of the forts, and was preparing to attack the other, the citizens of Alexandria assailed him so furiously, that he was compelled to throw himself into a boat, in order to reach the opposite side of the harbour. A crowd of fugitives instantly sank

[1] Hirtius, de Bell. Alexan. c. 5—9. Plutarch, in Cæsar.
[2] Hirtius, de Bell. Alexan. Dion Cassius, and Plutarch, in Cæsar.

the boat; upon which Cæsar plunged into the waves, and swam across the strait which divided him from his ships, whence he immediately sent a reinforcement to assist such of his men as were left behind. It was on this occasion that he is said to have carried in his teeth, while he swam towards his fleet, some valuable papers which he held in his hand at the moment of the attack; and also to have dragged after him, in a similar way, the purple garment worn by the Roman generals in battle, and thereby to have saved from the disgrace of capture, the proud ornament which distinguished his rank. Dion Cassius, however, mentions a different rumour which had reached his ears, in regard to the purple; that it had fallen into the hands of the enemy, who displayed it on a trophy, which they hastily erected to commemorate their success.

During these events Ptolemy Dionysus, impatient of the restraint under which he had been so long detained, contrived a plan for obtaining the consent of Cæsar to his liberation. He made the Roman believe that the Alexandrians, no longer able to bear the government of Arsinoe and the eunuch, were desirous to have their king at their head, under whose auspices they would willingly enter into such terms of accommodation as Cæsar might be pleased to dictate. The artifice succeeded, and Ptolemy soon found himself in the camp of his army, acknowledged as a sovereign, and obeyed as a commander.

Defeat and death of Ptolemy Dionysus.

But the issue of the war was no longer to remain doubtful. A strong reinforcement was already on the march from the Syrian province, under Mithridates and Antipater. These commanders having reduced Pelusium, advanced into the country by the way of Memphis; whilst Cæsar and Ptolemy hearing of their approach, sailed at the same time, the one to co-operate with the invaders, the other to check their progress. The king of Egypt could by no means compete with the conqueror of Pharsalia in the art of war. Cæsar surprised his camp in the night, put his troops to the route, and forced him to attempt his escape in such terror and confusion, that the boat into which he threw himself went to the bottom, and he was drowned. In this manner died Ptolemy XII., in the eighteenth year of his age, and after an unhappy reign of three years and eight months; a youth whose talents were superior to his fortune, and whose ambition was not unworthy of the rank which he was born to possess.[1]

Cæsar was now master of Egypt, and nothing remained to employ his time and his genius, but to distribute the political power of the kingdom into those hands by which he wished it to be exercised. Every thing was settled agreeably to the inclinations of Cleopatra; for having associated with her in the government her youngest brother, a child of eleven years of age, he constituted her sovereign

[1] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 2. De Bell. Jud. lib. i.

of Egypt and of Cyprus, and gave her three Roman legions to support her authority. Her sister, Arsinoe, was banished from the country which she had presumed to govern; and after being carried captive to Rome, was allowed to find an asylum in one of the Greek temples of Asia. The blandishments of the accomplished queen had nearly subdued even the ambition of Cæsar, and made him forget that the world was at his feet. At length he tore himself from her, and resumed his victorious career in Asia; whence he afterwards repaired to Rome, to endure temptations and to encounter enemies still more formidable than those from whom he had escaped.[1]

During the six years which immediately followed the events now described, the reign of Cleopatra seems not to have been disturbed by insurrection, nor to have been assailed by foreign war. The dissension among the rival leaders, who divided the power of Cæsar, had, no doubt, nearly involved her in a contest with both parties; but the decisive issue of the battle of Philippi relieved her from the hesitation under which some of her measures appear to have been adopted, and determined her inclinations, as well as her interest, in favour of the conquerors.

Cleopatra's splendour.

To afford her an opportunity of explaining her conduct, Antonius summoned her to attend him in Cilicia; and the meeting which she gave him on the river Cydnus has been well described by our great poet—

> **The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,**
> **Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;**
> **Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that**
> **The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,**
> **Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made**
> **The water which they beat, to follow faster,**
> **As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,**
> **It beggared all description: she did lie**
> **In her pavilion, (cloth of gold, of tissue)**
> **O'er-picturing that Venus, where we see**
> **The fancy out-work nature.**

Her fascinations.

The artifices of this fascinating princess so far gained upon Antonius, as not only to divert his thoughts from his original purpose of subjecting her kingdom to the payment of tribute, but entirely to lull his ambition asleep, and make him sacrifice his great stake as a candidate for the empire of the world. After a fruitless attack upon the territory of Palmyra, he hastened, in order to forget his disgrace, into the arms of the Egyptian queen, passing several months at Alexandria in the most foolish and puerile dissipation. The death of his wife, and his subsequent marriage with Octavia, the sister of his colleague in the triumvirate, delayed, for a time, the crisis which his ungoverned passions were preparing for him. But

[1] Plutarch, in Cæsar. Dion Cassius.

though he had thus extricated himself from the snares of Alexandria, his inclinations too soon returned to that unhappy city; for we find that when he left Rome to proceed on an expedition against the Parthians, he despatched, in advance, his friend Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria. His military enterprise ended in a disastrous retreat; several thousands of his men perished from fatigue in an unseasonable and hasty march; after which, the infatuated commander returned to meet Cleopatra, and to submit himself once more to that willing bondage which had already rendered him contemptible in the eyes of most of his followers.

Cleopatra soon after prevailed upon him to invest herself and the boy, whom she bore to Cæsar, in the free and unrestricted possession of the kingdom of Egypt. He decked one of her sons, born to himself, in the insignia of the Syrian kings, having resolved to raise him to the throne of the Seleucidæ, now at the disposal of the Romans; and arrayed another in the splendid robe and tiara which distinguished the great monarchs of the East, not doubting but that he would, in due time, have the pleasure of conferring upon him the sovereignty of Media or of Parthia.[1]

War declared against Cleopatra.

War was immediately declared against Cleopatra, and in this declaration Augustus deemed it neither prudent nor, indeed, necessary to include his rival by name, being satisfied that the first movement of the Roman arms to attack Cleopatra would bring the troops of her paramour into the field. Antonius made earnest and immediate preparations for the approaching contest, was met by Cleopatra and a large reinforcement in Asia Minor, and sent his fleet to winter in the Ambracian gulf, while his paramour and himself, repairing to Athens, relapsed into their usual luxury and extravagance. This silly procrastination allowed his rival to meet him on more than equal terms.

Dispositions of Augustus.

In the meantime, the latter commander put into action all the resources with which experience and the military character of the Romans supplied him, in order to bring to a successful issue the momentous struggle in which he was about to engage. He assembled his land forces at Brundusium and Tarentum, to which places he summoned such of the citizens as he thought too powerful to be left at home unemployed, or too little attached to his interests to be trusted in his absence. Availing himself too of the procrastination which ruined the councils of the opposite party, he resolved to fix the theatre of the war in Greece; for which purpose, having embarked his troops, he directed his course for the shores of Acarnania, and, finally, landed at no great distance from the Gulf of Ambracia, where the enemy's fleet had passed the winter. He next took possession of Toryne, a town of Epirus, situated on the northern shore of the gulf already named; whilst Antonius, having placed

[1] Plutarch, in Antonio. Dion Cassius.

his head-quarters at Actium, commanded the southern shore of the same entrance, and watched the movements which he no longer had it in his power to prevent.[4]

Both armies were unwilling to risk an action, and only engaged in a few preliminary operations, and the greater part of the summer was thus spent, when at length Antonius, finding himself distressed for want of provisions, avowed the necessity either of making a retreat, or of risking a general action. He resolved to fight, but the timid Cleopatra strongly dissuaded him. Her influence prevailed, and he consented to retreat into Egypt with Cleopatra, and to avoid a rencontre with the enemy, unless he were actually compelled to sustain an attack. The combined fleet was accordingly prepared for sea, and equipped both for fighting and for sailing, while not to impede the movements of the squadron, one hundred and forty of the least serviceable ships were burnt.

Antonius resolves on a retreat.

These preparations did not elude the vigilance of Augustus. He perceived that his opponent meant to quit his station, and whether the object might be to fight or to retreat, he resolved to be in readiness to meet him.

In regard to the plan of the action, Augustus was disposed to let the enemy get under sail, and even to allow them to pass unmolested the promontory of Actium; upon which he intended to attack their rear with such vigour, as would instantly convert their retreat into a flight, and thereby secure to him all the credit and advantages of a victory, without incurring the hazard of a more regular engagement. Agrippa, his chief officer, recommended a different method of attack, which promised to be at once more certain in its aim, and more decisive in its effects. He proposed to meet the hostile fleet in front at the mouth of the bay, to direct the onset against the strongest part of their line, and in this way to throw them into confusion before the larger ships could be brought into action, in which case, if a victory should be obtained, the enemy would find it impossible to renew the war either in Asia or in Europe. Augustus yielded to the reasoning of his admiral, and proceeded to strengthen still farther the crews of his ships, by drafting from the land forces an additional body of men expert in the use of all kinds of missile weapons.[1]

Preparations for battle.

In the distribution of authority on board his fleet, Antonius placed the centre under the direction of Marcus Justeius and Marcus Octavius, the left under that of Cœlius, reserving for himself and Publicola the command of the right. Both fleets being now in readiness, each waited with anxiety the first motions of the other. A storm which continued four days, and which was succeeded by a heavy swell running directly into the gulf, compelled them to seek shelter in their respective harbours, but on the fifth day, the

[1] Strabo, lib. vii. Dion Cassius, lib. i. [2] Dion Cassius, lib. i. c. 23.

wind having abated, and the sea becoming smooth, Antonius advanced with his division towards the mouth of the strait. He appears to have been desirous to bring on the action in the entrance of the bay, rather than trust his unwieldy galleys in more open water, being aware that where there is sufficient room for manœuvring, the smaller ships compensate by the rapidity of their motion for their deficiency of weight. But Antonius was not allowed to deliberate any longer. His antagonist immediately got under sail, and passing the promontory of Toryne, formed his line opposite the entry of the straits, at the distance of about a thousand yards from the combined fleet. Both armies were at the same time drawn out on the shore to witness the impending conflict, upon which hung at that moment the future destiny of the Roman commonwealth, and perhaps the mastery of the world. Still it remained somewhat doubtful whether Antonius would advance, or retire once more into the recess of the gulf, whither he knew the enemy would not deem it safe to follow him, nor was it till noon that his ships began to clear the straits, and thereby afforded a certain indication that he at length meant to force his way through the opposing line.[1]

Scene of battle.

Upon observing the movement now mentioned, Agrippa extended his front with the intention of surrounding the galleys which had already advanced, before they could be supported by the main body. Publicola, who commanded under Antonius, performed a similar manœuvre, and spread out his division so as to equal the line of the enemy. Immediately upon this the battle began between these detached portions of either fleet, extending its course to the whole armament, in proportion as the several ships came in contact with one another at the outside of the bay. On the part of Augustus, the vessels being small and manned with able rowers, had a considerable advantage over the lofty and more unmanageable *quinqueremes* of Antonius, sweeping round them with inconceivable rapidity, and brushing away their oars and outward defences by the mere velocity of their movement. It was in vain that the Egyptian sailors endeavoured to run down their diminutive opponents, or to ward off their assault by means of poles and grappling-irons, for the activity of the Romans eluded every impression attempted to be made by weight of hull and strength of timbers. Agrippa, it was obvious, placed his chief confidence in the dexterity of his rowers, and on the steadiness and certainty with which the soldiers on board discharged clouds of javelins, darts, and spears.

The battle.

In this manner the battle continued about two hours without any decisive advantage on either side, when at length the terror of Cleopatra threw the victory into the hands of Augustus. In the beginning of the action the queen's galley had been stationed near

Cleopatra flies, and is followed by Antonius.

[1] Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 84. Plutarch, in Antonio.

the front line where she witnessed the progress of the contest with some degree of firmness, but finding that the issue was becoming more and more doubtful, and overcome by anxiety and fear, she gave orders to be removed to a greater distance from the scene of conflict. This partial retreat soon became a general flight. Her vessel, distinguished by its gilded poop and purple sails, was seen by the whole fleet making all haste to escape from the hazard of discomfiture, and displaying, it is said, signals to the other ships to follow her example. Sixty Egyptian galleys, either in obedience to the queen or under pretext of defending her person, immediately quitted the line and joined the fugitives, whilst Antonius, now in despair of his fortunes, or with the intention of checking this unforeseen defection, threw himself into a swift-sailing vessel and pursued the path of Cleopatra. Being observed from the queen's galley, he was invited to go on board, where, without attempting to rally her fleet, which was still comparatively entire, he at once became the companion of her flight. It is added, indeed, that though for her sake he consented to relinquish the chance of victory, and to resign the hope of governing the greatest people in the world, he could not at that moment endure her presence, but turning his eyes from her, and throwing himself with violence on the deck, he exhibited the deepest symptoms of shame, anguish, and despondency.[1] But the flight of Antonius did not immediately put an end to the combat. His officers continued to exert themselves with a degree of courage worthy of better auspices, till four in the afternoon; when, after having been exposed sometime to the discharge of ignited weapons, and finding their vessels severely damaged in their oars and rigging, the greater part surrendered to the enemy. Three hundred gallies were either taken or destroyed.

Disorder and defeat.

Loss.

The loss in men has been variously reported; Plutarch stating the amount at five thousand, while Orosius maintains that twelve thousand were killed and six thousand wounded. The neighbouring shores were covered with dead bodies, and the fragments of broken ships; and, in a word, every thing announced to Augustus that his victory was complete and apparently decisive. To secure, however, all the advantages of conquest, he remained the succeeding night on board his ship; having first detached a squadron in pursuit of such of the enemy's vessels as had escaped, and used all other means for prosecuting his ulterior views against Antonius and his Egyptian ally.[2] The hasty retreat of the vanquished triumvir prevented him from issuing orders to direct the future motions of his army. Having witnessed his defeat from the adjoining heights, the soldiers retired to their camp, expecting either to see their commander reappear amongst them, or to receive such

Submission of the army to Augustus.

[1] Florus, lib. vi. c. 11. Velleius Paterculus.

[2] Orosius, lib. vi. c. 19. Dion Cassius, and Plutarch, in Antonio. Suetonius, in Octavio.

instructions from him as might seem most likely to retrieve their common fortunes. Canidius retained them in their duty seven days, during which they would not listen to any terms on the part of the enemy; but at the end of this period, their hopes and allegiance gradually gave way, and the greater number both of Romans and provincials prepared to make their peace with Augustus. It was the policy of Augustus to secure the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of all the princes who had ranged themselves under the banner of his rival. For this purpose he willingly recognised the titles of the three kings who had been created by Antonius; Herod of Judea, Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Amyntas of Galatia. He likewise interposed in behalf of such of the Grecian states as had suffered from the pressure of the war, and the extortion of the Egyptian officers; confining all his resentment to the ambitious projects of Cleopatra, and the foolish co-operation of his late colleague and brother-in-law.[1]

Pinarius.

The news of his disasters reached the coast of Africa before Antonius could arrive there with the remains of his fleet. Pinarius, to whom he had committed the government of Cyrene, refused to let him land, or to supply him with the most needful succours. Embracing the interests of the successful party, he surrendered to Cornelius, an officer in the service of Augustus, not only the important province of the Pentapolis, but also four legions, which had been left to defend it. Antonius, thus repelled by the treachery of his Lieutenant, joined Cleopatra in Alexandria, whither he immediately proceeded to concert measures for the approaching campaign, which was to decide finally all his pretensions to a share in the government and territory of Rome.

Measures of Cleopatra.

When Cleopatra, on her return from Actium, approached the harbour of Alexandria, she gave orders to display all the ensigns of victory, and proceeded into the harbour with shouts of triumph and congratulation. But she could not long conceal her reverses; and, resolving to obviate their worst effects, she instantly began to repair her navy, though she was compelled to derive her means from the plunder of private citizens, and the riches of the temples. Under the impression of fear, she projected a powerful naval establishment on the shores of the Arabian Gulf; and with this view she caused a number of gallies to be conveyed over land, and others to be built in the several ports of the Red Sea; trusting that a long time would elapse before the fleets of Rome could threaten her safety in that remote part of her dominions. But after this project was partly carried into execution, the jealousy of the Arabs defeated her views of success. They demolished the docks, plundered the stores, and burnt the ships upon which her treasures had been expended, and

[1] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. 10. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 2. Dion Cassius, lib. li. p. 443.

reduced her to the necessity of making her defence on the banks of the Nile.[1]

Augustus appears to have passed part of the following winter at Rome, in arrangements connected with the civil government of the republic, as well as in soothing the minds of his veteran soldiers; who having now endured the fatigues and privations of war, were eager in their demands for the usual recompense.

Offers of submission.

The queen of Egypt, meanwhile, in conjunction with her lover, adopted various means for diverting or mitigating the calamity with which they were threatened. They made offers of a conditional submission to the conqueror; they addressed him with flattering messages and splendid gifts, professed to receive him as a friend, and were eager to apologize for whatever appearances in their past conduct he might regard as not quite in unison with their present declarations. But the penetration of Augustus was too acute, and his resolutions too firmly taken, to be deceived by such diplomatists. Nor was he impeded in his designs by a measure of a more important nature, which suggested itself to Antonius in the midst of his difficulties. Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, was now of sufficient age to take a part in public affairs; and him accordingly, Antonius presented to the Romans, as the rightful heir of his father's inheritance, and the proper representative of his family and claims. This stratagem, however, only involved in an untimely fate the youth who was made the object of it, as well as the eldest son of the triumvir himself by his first wife.

Results.

There is reason to believe that the agents of the queen at the camp of Cæsar, did not fail to put in practice all their arts, both to ascertain his intention relative to the person of their mistress, should she fall into his power, and also the extent of his inclination to treat with her as the sovereign of Egypt, without any reference to the views and conduct of Antonius. The prudence of the Roman commander kept him from committing his faith on these delicate points. He indeed encouraged Cleopatra to hope for a separate treaty, but he advised her in the meantime to break off her connection with his rival, and to surrender herself and kingdom to the generosity of the conqueror; insinuating that her charms would have more influence upon his mind than the justice of her cause, and that neither she nor her subjects would have cause to repent the unbounded confidence which he expected her to repose in him.[2]

Advance and successes of Augustus.

The season for active operations having arrived, Augustus began the compaign by attacking Egypt as he had arranged, both on the side of Pelusium and on that of Peritonium. A glimpse of good fortune attended the arms of Antonius when he sallied forth from Alexandria at the head of his cavalry to check the enemy's horsemen on their approach to the eastern frontier. His spirit revived, and he

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. li. p. 447. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 35.
[2] Dion Cassius, lib. li. c. 9.

seemed once more about to retrieve the character for valour and military skill which had made him the friend of Julius Cæsar. But his exertions were not seconded. The arts of Augustus had, it is presumed, so far prevailed with Cleopatra, that she was led to conceive her interests to be more closely connected with the failure of Antonius than with his success. Pelusium fell into the enemy's hands without even a show of resistance. It was impossible not to suspect treachery, and the deluded triumvir complained to the queen that her arms were turned against him; but she, delivering to his resentment the officer who had surrendered the stronghold, assured him of the constancy of her attachment to his person, and of her firm resolution to oppose the invader even to the last extremity.[1] Encouraged by these representations, he collected all his forces by sea and land, and resolved to make one great effort to recover at once the power and the reputation which he had lost since the battle of Actium. He met his opponent in the field, under the walls of Alexandria, whilst he gave orders to his fleets to attack the gallies and transports which were at anchor near the harbour; but hardly was the action begun when the Egyptian sailors struck their flags, the cavalry deserted to the enemy's ranks, and the infantry fled into the city in the utmost trepidation. The fate of Egypt was now decided; resistance was become equally impracticable and useless; and Antonius had only to pour into the ear of the queen unavailing complaints that he had been deceived, insulted, and betrayed.[2]

Antonius defeated.

Whilst these scenes were passing, Cleopatra had shut herself up, with a few attendants and the most valuable part of her treasure, in a strong building, which appears to have been intended for a royal sepulchre. To prevent intrusion by friend or enemy, she caused a report to be circulated, that she had retired into the monument to put herself to death; and a rumour soon followed that she had executed her threat, and was already dead. Antonius, not less unhappy in his love than in his ambition, resolved to follow the example of the queen; and, giving his sword to the freed slave, whom he had retained for the express purpose of ending his life when he should no longer wish to retain it, desired him to strike the fatal blow. The affectionate freedman turned the point of the weapon against himself, and inflicted a mortal wound; upon which, the Roman commander, snatching the sword from the body of the slave plunged it into his own. He did not, however, immediately expire; and while he lay bleeding on the ground, some one told him that Cleopatra was still alive and safe in the upper part of the tower. He desired that he should be carried into her presence, and his wish was gratified. He was drawn up by means of machinery to the top of the wall; and when he was laid at the feet of the queen, streaming with blood and about to draw his last breath,

Devices of Cleopatra, and death of Antonius.

[1] Plutarch, in Antonio. Orosius, lib. vii. p. 268.
[2] Dion Cassius. Plutarch, in Antonio.

she tore her hair, and beat her breast in the deepest distress; agitated by a variety of passions, which, though perhaps real on so painful an occasion, she had long learned to affect and employ for the accomplishment of very questionable purposes.[1]

Interview of Augustus with Cleopatra.

Cleopatra sent to Augustus a formal notice of Antonius's death; hoping, it may be, that the main obstacle to a compromise with the victor was now removed. But the views of Cæsar, in regard to her person and wealth, were not to be affected by the little arts which she thought it expedient to employ; the former he meant should grace his triumph, and the latter recruit his exhausted coffers. That such were his motives, the queen herself appears from the outset to have suspected; and it was for this reason that she had provided her retirement with several kinds of poison, by which she might, in case of necessity, put a gentle termination to her life. To divert her from this fatal resolution, which had by some means become known to the conqueror, he from time to time renewed the hope that she might yet obtain from the senate such terms of agreement as would leave her sovereignty unimpaired, and at length he even condescended to pay her a visit in her own apartments. When this intention was made known to her, she prepared for the reception of the master of Rome with all the pomp of which her circumstances would admit. Her chamber was decorated in the most elegant manner; she gave a prominent place to the picture and bust of Julius Cæsar; and placed before her on a table a bundle of letters which she had received from the amorous dictator. Her person was arrayed in mourning; a dress which suited at once her complexion, and the solemn occasion of the interview which she was about to hold. When Augustus presented himself, she rose to meet him with an air of melancholy. She called him her master, and reminded him that to his father she owed all her fortunes, and now willingly resigned them into the hands of the son. The memory of the great Julius, she declared, would be a sufficient comfort to her in all her afflictions; she would even take pleasure in considering him as revived in the distinguished hero who now inherited his fortunes and his name. But "would to God," she exclaimed, bursting into tears, "that I had died before him, so should I have escaped the evils which his death has been the means of bringing upon me."[2]

Conduct of Augustus.

The conduct of Augustus, during this conference, confirmed her worst fears. She saw that he meant to carry her to Rome, and expose her to the gaze of the populace at his triumph; upon which she finally determined to disappoint his unmanly and vindictive pride. But she found it necessary, meantime, to disguise her purpose; being closely watched by the agents of Augustus, who had received the strictest orders to preserve her life. She therefore

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. li. c. 10. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 30. Plutarch, in Antonio.
[2] Plutarch, in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. li. c. 12.

affected more than usual lightness of heart; pretended to pack up her jewels as if on the eve of a long journey; and even to select such of them as might be esteemed suitable gifts for the wife and sister of Augustus, which, she said, she meant to deliver with her own hand. Having completed her arrangements, she wrote a letter to the conqueror, which she sent under the charge of a faithful servant, acquainting him with her knowledge of his designs, and also of the means which she had taken to render them for ever abortive. She added several expressions of triumph and delight, that she had been able so to thwart his cruel purpose concerning her, and thereby to escape from the hands of enemies whom she could not in any other way disarm.[1]

Death of Cleopatra.

Augustus was at no loss to perceive the import of her remarks and the subject of her congratulation. He gave instant orders to prevent the accomplishment of her intentions; but they were too late. Before his injunctions could reach the sepulchral tower, the queen was already dead. One of the two women who attended her lay lifeless at her feet; the other was just expiring. The latter, however, upon seeing the messenger of Augustus enter the chamber, cast her eyes on her mistress, and observing that the crown had fallen from her head, exerted the last feeble remains of her strength to replace it. A small puncture in the arm was the only mark of violence which could be detected on the body of Cleopatra; and it was therefore believed that she had procured death either by the bite of a venomous reptile or by the scratch of a poisoned bodkin. She was in her thirty-ninth year, having reigned twenty-two years from the death of her father. Augustus, it is said, though deprived by this act of suicide of the greatest ornament of his approaching triumph, gave orders that she should have a magnificent funeral, and that her body, as she had desired, should be laid by that of Antonius.

Character of Cleopatra.

In the grave of Cleopatra was deposited the last of the royal race of the Ptolemies, a family which had swayed the sceptre of Egypt two hundred and ninety-four years. Of the real character of this celebrated queen herself, it is not possible to speak at this distance of time with any degree of confidence. That she had beauty and talents of the highest order, is admitted by every historian who has undertaken to give the annals of her reign, and that she was accomplished in no ordinary degree, is established by the fact that she was a great proficient in music, and mistress of nearly all the languages which were cultivated in her age. She was well-skilled, for example, in Greek and Latin, and she could converse with Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Persians, without an interpreter, always giving an answer to such individuals of these nations as had occasion to address her in the tongue or dialect which

[1] Plutarch, in Octavio. Dion Cassius, lib. li. c. 19. Orosius, lib. vi. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 87.

they happened to employ. Her conduct was far from being pure, but we may find some apology in the religion and manners of her country, and must ascribe the most glaring of her frailties to the absurd institutions which regulated the matrimonial connections of Egyptian princes, and paid no respect to the age, affections, or temper of the parties. Her lot too was cast in a time when the civil commotions and military power of Rome shook the foundations of society over the greater part of the civilised world, and when no policy pursued on her part could have saved the independence of her kingdom, or even have long delayed the subjection into which she had the misfortune to see it fall.



[Egyptian Portico, with Pillars of the form of the Palm Tree.—*Denon.*]



[The Sphynx.]

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THE original form of government seems to have been a kind of theocracy. At least prior to the age of Menes, the supreme power was lodged in a hierarchy, which claimed to be intimately connected with the elder divinities. After Menes, the government became a pure hereditary monarchy,[1] though in cases of emergency a new sovereign was elected out of the priests or soldiers, and inaugurated amidst the acclamations of the people. The king was surrounded with a stately ceremonial, hallowed by primeval tradition. The most minute regulation as to dress, diet, hours of business, repose, and religious worship, were solemnly prescribed to him—orations from the books of Hermes on the duties of royalty, and the functions of legislator and judge were daily chanted to him. His power, however, was unbounded. A priest by formal initiation,[2] and a military commander in virtue of his elevation to the throne, this combination of the mitre, crown, and sword, in one who was regarded as a "mortal god," enabled him to compel submission

Government.

[1] Diodorus i. 43.

[2] Plutarch de Isid. ix.

to regal edicts, where it might have been justly withheld. The populace seem to have had no franchise, though their lives and property were well guarded. The immense armies which were levied, and the stupendous national works which were executed, prove that the masses were drilled, and laboured without much regard to personal comfort or social relations.

> **Great princes have great playthings. Some have played**
> **At hewing mountains unto men, and some**
> **At building human wonders mountains high.**
> **Some have amused the dull sad years of life**
> **With schemes of monumental fame, and sought**
> **By pyramids and mausoleum pomp,**
> **Short-lived themselves, to immortalize their bones.**
> **Some seek diversion in the tented field,**
> **And make the sorrows of mankind their sport.**

Though the people could not control the living sovereign, their forced passivity was compensated at his death. They sat in review upon the actions of his career, and decided whether the rites of royal sepulture should be awarded to his corpse. It is plain, that under such an administration, the happiness of the nation depended not a little on the sovereign's personal character. His power of oppression, within verge of law, must have been great, unless restrained by generosity and patriotism. The kings of Egypt, however, do not appear to have used their influence in wanton tyranny. A sovereignty so long lived as that of Memphis and Thebes is unparalleled: internal revolutions were rare indeed, and many of the kings were adored in after ages as divine benefactors.

Pharaoh. The royal cognomen was Pharaoh for many ages. The Egyptian word is Phra,[1]—denoting the sun. As the sun in the sky, so was the monarch among his subjects. Usually each king represented on the monument has two oval rings or cartouches, one of which con-



[Anointing.—*Wilkinson.*]

[1] Phra is the same as Ra with the article prefixed.

tains his distinguishing title and the other his proper name—such as Pharaoh, son of the sun—sun offered to the world; Pharaoh, avenging lord of Upper and Lower Egypt; Pharaoh, vigilant in justice, son of Sethos. After the union of Memphis and Thebes, the king wore a double crown, and was installed with vast magnificence, anointed with great solemnity, and put in possession of the emblems of majesty from the gods. Two vases, symbols of life and purity, were placed in his hands. Sometimes the gods themselves are represented as setting the double crown on the sovereign's head; then they blessed him, and as he assumed the government, they handed him the insignia of life. Princes of the blood formed his train, and fanned the flies from his sacred person.

Division of the soil.

The country was divided into thirty-six nomes,[1] and each had its governor. His will was extensive—the lands were under his charge, and the taxes were levied by his direction. The soil was possessed by the king, the priesthood, and the soldiery. The husbandmen who cultivated the farms paid a portion of the produce as rent. Prior to Joseph's time, the people appear to have been independent yeomen, but the crisis of famine prompted them to renounce their rights, and yield their lands to the crown, paying as rent a fifth part of the produce.[2] The proportion thus paid as rent was not exorbitant. The priesthood, however, retained their lands, being too strong to be compelled or tampered with, as they could easily secure the dismissal of a hostile adviser, or even the deposition of his royal master.

Orders of society.

The people were divided into various classes, or, as they have sometimes been termed, castes. Perhaps this name is inapplicable to the various orders of Egyptian society, for those classes were not irrevocably separated by a hereditary and perpetual wall of partition. The different ranks might intermarry. The children of the soldiers might enter the priesthood, and sons of the same family might either be initiated into a civil or military occupation. Birch, Ampere, Gliddon, and others, stoutly contend that caste, in the Indian sense and application of the term, was not found in Pharaonic Egypt.[3]

Priesthood.

The first and highest order was the priesthood, which possessed a mighty and ramified organization. The key of authority was with them. They were the bards who, from trained and retentive memory, recited ancient lore[4]—the historians who composed the annals of the kingdom—the oracles of law, and at the same time the repository of medical and philosophical science. Their power was

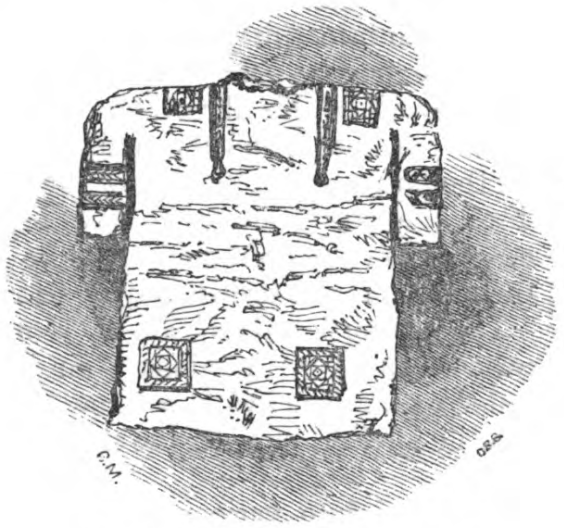
[1] Strabo, xvii.

[2] Gen. xlvii. 26. Kenrick (Ancient Egypt) remarks, that rent with us is about a fourth part of the produce. ii. 29.

[3] Gliddon's Otia Ægyptiaca, p. 90. Ampere, in Reveux des deux Mondes, Sept. 1848. The Sanscrit word for caste, *varna*, has a primary reference to colour or complexion.

[4] Herodotus ii. 77.

unbounded, and their possessions were immense. They claimed and occupied the largest portion of the country,[1] and they paid no taxes. Every temple had its numerous sacerdotal bands, who presided over its ritual, and dispensed medicine, equity, and knowledge.[2] No class in the state could cope with them, and they often held royalty itself in pupillage. Their own ceremonial was simple—frequent ablution, careful shaving, and the use of flax and papyrus for garments. The chief pontificate seems to have been hereditary, for the priests affirmed to Herodotus that they had a list of their sacred chiefs—son succeeding father—for 340 generations.



[Egyptian Ephod.—*Description de l'Egypte.*]

Soldiers.

The military order ranked next in importance. It was divided into two grand classes, the Calasirians and the Hermotybians; the former perhaps the youth disciplined to active service, and the latter the veterans, to whom the garrisons of the country were intrusted. Their principal location was in Lower Egypt, the part of the country most open to invasion. Each soldier possessed six acres, exempted from taxation. The army was prohibited from following any trade, but allowed of course to cultivate their lands. While some brigades were in garrison, others formed the royal life-guards, and wore for the time richer dress and accoutrements.[3] The king was often chosen from the army. Troops of men so segregated from the rest of society, and enjoying peculiar immunities, must have formed a powerful phalanx, bound together by peculiar habits and associations.

Other classes of the population.

The rest of the population was unenfranchised, and constituted the general industrial class. A numerous peasantry tilled and reaped the soil, and as many more were employed in the extensive meadows

[1] Diodorus i. 173.

[2] The Levites had a similar extent of service.

[3] Rosellini Mon. Real. 90, 100.

and hills as herdsmen. The swine herds were a race of outcasts, universally despised, denied admission into the temples, and only allowed to marry among themselves. The pilots and boatmen of the Nile were leagued together by similarity of habits and occupation. Finally, after the ascendancy of the Greeks, there sprang up a class of interpreters, a species of bilinguists, in whose families, as a natural consequence, the gift of tongues would descend.

Towns' people.

But besides these classes, there must have been a large town population in Egypt, composed of artizans and tradesmen, such as architects, masons, weavers, painters, sculptors, embalmers, with workers in metal, leather, and wood. Such occupations are often depicted on the monuments. The Egyptians seem to have had a slavish reverence for antiquity and established order—every day and every craft had its wonted routine—submission to the higher powers, at least in early times, was a pervading and unreasoning instinct—and life was a species of mechanism whose acts and enjoyments revolved with as punctual and periodical exactness as did the inundations of the Nile.

Constitution and laws.

Laws were administered by the judges of the various provinces, the king being supreme dispenser of equity. In particular, thirty judges were chosen from Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes,—ten from each of these cities formed a high bench of judicature. It is probable that many of these officers belonged to the sacerdotal order. Justice was administered free of charge to the suitors. Oratory was forbidden in their courts, and the whole procedure was in the silent form of writing. The presiding judge wore a chain of gold and precious jewels, having attached to it an image of the goddess Thmei, to which the Hebrew Urim and Thummim has sometimes been compared. The laws of Egypt were an object of veneration to many ancient legislators. It is probable that they were simple and well defined, direct in language, not cumbrous in quantity, and meant to be administered without learned technicality. In cases of debt, the statute did not allow of the incarceration of the debtor, it only gave the creditor a claim upon his property. The justice and humanity of such an enactment are apparent, for how can a prison discharge the pecuniary obligations of its victim? Herodotus[1] relates that a man might pledge the embalmed bodies of his ancestors; and that in critical periods of distress, mummies became a circulating medium. It was provided, however, that if the unfilial pledger did not redeem them prior to his death, he himself was deprived of sepulchral rites. Murder, perjury, and refusal to assist a man when his life was in danger, were punished with death; the infanticide was sentenced to sit three days and nights with the child in his arms which he had murdered; while the parricide, first lacerated by thorns, was then thrown among them and burnt to death. False witness

Laws affecting person and property.

[1] ii. 236.

brought upon the liar the same punishment as would have fallen on the wrongously accused, had the crime been proved against him. Usury was condemned, and the interest of a debt was never allowed to grow to more than double the original sum. The adulterer was doomed to a thousand stripes, and the nose of the adulteress was mutilated, so that her charms might not tempt to a similar crime. The informer had his tongue cut off—the forger lost his hand. Thieves were placed under a chief, who gave back stolen property, receiving in return a fourth of its value. He who was convicted of rape was for ever precluded from a repetition of the offence.[1] It was death by law to kill any of the sacred animals. The bastinado was the most frequent of their minor or secondary punishments. Egypt was governed by the rod. Every citizen was bound at stated times to present himself before a magistrate and tell his name, abode, occupation, and means of livelihood.[2] Polygamy was allowed to all classes, with the exception of the priesthood; even brother and sister were permitted to marry, and female slaves were admitted to the harem. But the children, no matter of what mother, inherited equally, as they were all equally related to the father. They were bound to treat their parents with peculiar respect, and to support them in case of their destitution in old age. The education of the young was well-guarded, though we know nothing of its minutiæ. We have the authority of Plato, however, for saying, that they were accustomed from their earliest years to beautiful forms and fine music. The mere children were either very simply dressed, or were both barefooted and naked, and usually wore round their neck an amulet, to ward off evil. Infants were carried in a shawl, suspended either in front of the mother or at her back. Circumcision was generally practised as among other oriental nations, and was indispensable to initiation into the sacred mysteries. The want of it is called in Joshua[3] "the reproach of Egypt," a phrase implying two things—that circumcision was regarded in Egypt with peculiar honour, and that the Hebrew slaves, for their neglect of it during their servitude, were spurned as a race of impure and degraded foreigners.

Children.

Dwellings and furniture.

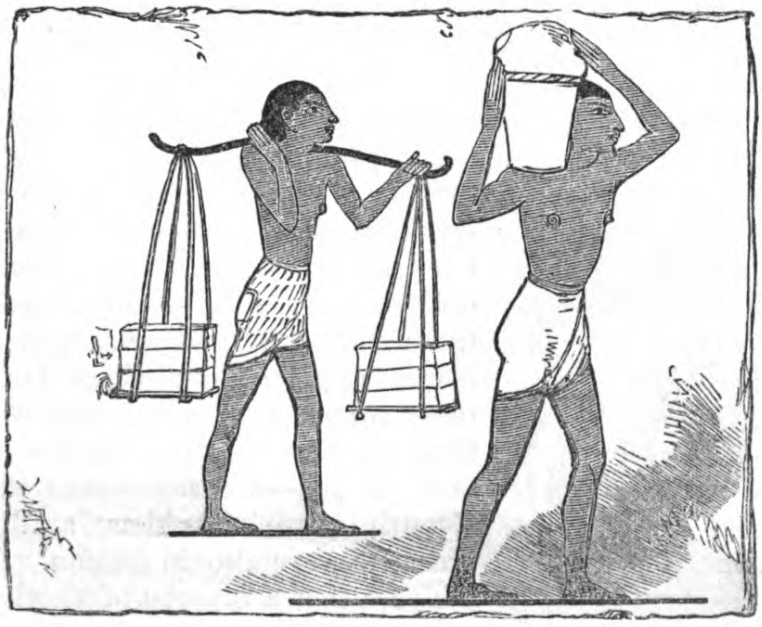
The houses of the people were usually built of crude bricks, a species of material suited to the soil and climate. Brick making was consequently an employment for thousands, and the manufacture seems at length to have become a royal monopoly, for the royal signature is usually found upon the cubes. The houses in towns seldom exceeded two stories, and were often in oriental style surrounded by an area or court. The ground floor was the scene of all culinary preparations; the work of the butcher, baker, and

[1] Diodorus i. 77.
[2] The mode of enrolment was very precise and formal. Wilkinson, ii. 34.
[3] v. 9.

miller was done in it. Female slaves were usually employed in the drudgery of these apartments, and she of the lowest occupation is referred to in Scripture as the "maid servant that is behind the mill."[1] The roof of the house was flat, and formed an agreeable promenade in the dusk. The owner's name, often accompanied with some brief and propitious motto, was inscribed on the door, which was either of a single piece, or had two halves secured by a bar. The doors were often painted in imitation of the colour of the finer woods, and over them was the decoration of a cornice. The floors were formed of stone, or a composition of earth and lime, and the ceiling and walls were covered with stucco, often elaborately painted. Some roofs were made of wooden rafters, others were simply arched with the brick of which the walls were constructed. The apertures that served for a window were generally small, and the shutters were carved or painted with many curious devices and patterns. The furniture, such as tables, chairs, and couches, bore no little resemblance to the style which prevails at the present day. The tables were either round or square, supported on a single pedestal, which was ornamented with a carved imitation of the lion's head or paw. A distinguishing article of their bed-room was the wooden pillow, a semicircle of polished wood, supported by a short stalk.



The dress of the common people was scanty, for the climate did not require heavy clothing. The labouring men wore a sort of apron or philabeg round their loins, and some had a species of short Dress.



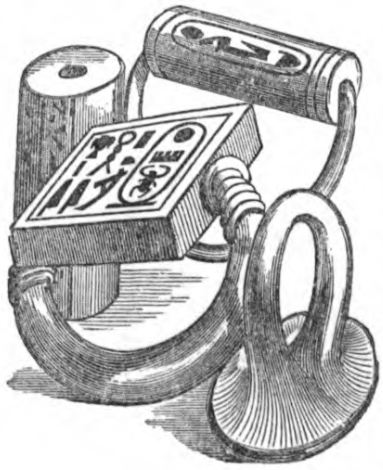
[Egyptian Burden-bearers.—*Chambeaud.*]

[1] Exodus xi. 5.

drawers, which did not extend more than half way down to the knees. The garment of the women of the lower class consisted of a long loose dress, that reached to the ankles, and was fastened at the neck; over it they wore a petticoat, clasped to their waist with a girdle. The men of better rank wore above the apron a wide dress of linen with ample sleeves. Cotton was sometimes worn, but linen was preferred. Herodotus[1] describes some dresses as having fringes,[2] and as being named Calasiris, over which was thrown a white woollen cloak, which was laid aside when they entered a temple. Priests and persons of high condition wore a similar dress, to wit, the apron, and the spacious robe which covered it, sometimes so made that the right arm was exposed and ready for action. The sacred scribe, the princes, and the sovereign, were arrayed in characteristic official costume. The king's crown was seldom put off—the Pschent, or double diadem, was highly prized. Ladies of the upper circles of society wore a petticoat richly dyed and ornamented, bound to the waist by a sash of different colours, or secured to the person by straps over the shoulders. Above this was flung a roomy linen robe, tied in front beneath the bosom. The men shaved their heads and wore wigs—a custom which gave coolness to the head, and excluded the injurious effects of the sun. These wigs were made with great taste and care, usually of curled hair, with plaited locks down the sides. They were used on all occasions, and only in seasons of mourning did the Egyptian men allow the natural growth of the beard and head. All this indicated extreme regard to personal cleanliness and health. Caps were worn by many classes, and artificial beards were attached to the chin; the form and length of this appendage indicating its owner's rank in society. Women wore their own hair, and ladies took peculiar pride in having it long and braided.

Personal ornaments.

Their earrings—large and massive hoops of gold—were sometimes wrought into elegant and fantastic forms. Both sexes wore numerous finger rings, especially on the left hand, and the third finger possessed peculiar honour and pre-eminence.[3] Sometimes the thumb, too, was girt with its heavy ring. These rings bore upon them numerous devices, borrowed from their mythology, such as the sphynx, lion, or asp—the scarabaeus being the favourite form. Anklets, armlets, and bracelets were also in fashion. Wilkinson says that a bracelet of Thothmes III. is in the museum at Leyden, and he adds, "we may suppose it to have been



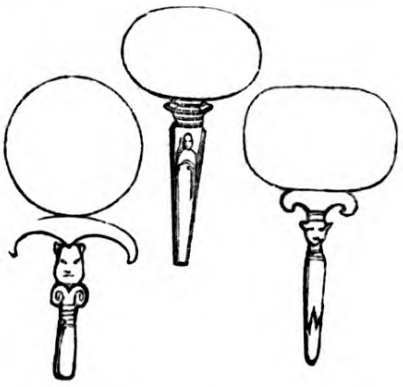
[1] ii. 81. Numbers xv 38. [3] Pliny xxxiii. 1.

seen by Moses himself, if Thothmes was the Pharoah who oppressed the Israelites, and into whose presence the Jewish legislator was so often summoned."[1] Men and women dressed with collars or necklaces,[2] richly ornamented with jewels, and formed of beads or of tiny gold figures strung together in great variety. Both sexes bestowed great attention upon their sandals, which were often shaped with a sharp and up-turned point. Leather was employed for this purpose, as well as the papyrus and the palm leaf. But persons of all ranks often appear barefooted. The use of gloves was unknown, though foreign captives drawn upon the monuments be sometimes seen to wear them.



The Egyptian toilet was distinguished by its metallic mirrors. These were generally formed of bronze, were round in form, fixed into a handle of wood or stone fancifully carved, and their smooth surfaces were beautifully polished. Some of the Israelitish women, who seem to have formed themselves into a sisterhood of divine service, gave their mirrors to Moses, and out of them he formed the "laver"[3] and its pedestal. The armoury of the toilet consisted of combs, vases, and phials, for holding ointments and cosmetics. Boxes are also found, made of ebony or other precious wood, and of various fantastic forms, such as birds and fishes. The combs were four inches long and six deep, and were usually made of wood, with teeth on each side, the one row of larger and the other of smaller dimensions. The Egyptians were very fond of ointments, as are all inhabitants of warm countries, for the lubricated body resists the oppressive heat, and the skin is preserved in smoothness and freshness. The use of such perfumes is refreshing to the exhausted traveller, and oils, extracted from various plants, and different preparations of animal fat, were employed for this purpose. Egyptian ladies also stained their eyelids and brows with a preparation named stibium or kohl.[4] Many bottles for holding this dark powder have been found in Egypt, some having four or five compartments,

Egyptian toilet.



[1] Ancient Egyptians, iii. 375. [2] Genesis xli. 42. [3] Exod. xxviii. 8.
[4] The practice was not confined to them, 2 Kings ix. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40. It is spelled on the monuments *stim*. It is derived chiefly from plumbago or manganese.

evidently meant to contain varying shades of the colouring material, which was applied to the eyebrows with a bodkin. Those essential implements, needles and pins, were of considerable length, and made of bronze. Specimens of all these articles are found in the museums of Europe. The British Museum in particular contains cups, vases, jars, goblets, pots, spoons, ladles, trinkets, with bijouterie made of alabaster, basalt, porphyry, ivory, bone, earthenware, gold, silver, bronze, and iron.

Social life. Banquets.

The Egyptians were fond of social entertainments, which were often of great variety and sumptuousness. They sat at their meals —not reclining like many eastern nations—and their round tables were raised but a small distance above the ground. The guests were of both sexes—female seclusion was unknown in these ancient times —and at their repasts they used spoons and ladles, but were strangers to the luxury of knives and forks. On entering the house of the entertainer, they were presented with water, anointed with copious perfumes, and crowned with chaplets of flowers. The hour of dinner was noon;[1] and the guests, according to their means or their choice, came in palanquins, or chariots, or on foot. The pedestrian gentlemen had each his cane or walking-stick, from three to six feet in height, with his name engraven upon it.[2] This he left at the threshold, there being generally a band of poor attendants lounging in the porch, and ready to take charge of the staves for a very trifling remuneration. The viands were not costly or rare, but consisted principally of fish, beef, geese, veal, pastry, and a great variety of vegetables. Wine was cooled in jars, and handed round in cups of porcelain, silver, or bronze; nay, as appears from the monuments, the ladies sometimes drank too heartily. A liquor fermented from barley was also in use. The preparation for the banquet had all been completed previously to the arrival of the guests. The animals were killed, their throats cut, and their blood often preserved for the purposes of cookery. The various portions of the animals were then prepared for use; the head being usually given to the poor. Geese and fish were cooked and served entire. No cloth was placed upon the table, but it was wiped with a sponge. To each guest as he drank a napkin was presented, for the purpose of wiping his mouth. Loaves and bread were placed before him, and sometimes rolls and cakes sprinkled with seeds. When the meal was over the eaters washed again, for their greasy hands must have needed such an ablution. As the feast proceeded, the figure of a mummy was handed round among the guests, and the bearer of it

Viands.



Strange custom.

[1] Gen. xliii. 16.

[2] Num. xvii. 2.

said to each at the festive board—"Looking on this, drink and enjoy thyself, for thou shalt be such when thou art dead." This practice would awe some minds, and place them under restraint, but others it might provoke to great recklessness. It must have often been an unwelcome memento to the gay revellers.

> O, were it not for this sad voice!
> Stealing amid our mirth, to say
> That all in which we most rejoice,
> Ere night may be the earth-worm's prey;
> *But* for this bitter—only this—
> Full as the world is brimmed with bliss,
> And capable as feels my soul
> Of draining to its depth the whole,
> I should turn earth to heaven, and be—
> If bliss made gods—a deity.[1]

Amusements.

Ladies are seen at these parties chatting about their dress and jewels. A mythical dirge, called the hymn of Maneros, was also chanted at their festivals. Bands of music played during the entertainment—the players using the harp, lyre, and tambourine. Gymnastic exercises and games were also introduced, with balls, dice, and *mora*. Nor was the dance forgotten; and the *pirouette*, says Wilkinson, delighted an Egyptian party 3500 years ago.



[Ancient Musical Instruments.]

As an illustration of the sumptuousness of an Egyptian feast during the Ptolemaic period, we may refer to Lucan's description of the banquet given by Cleopatra to Cæsar:—

Sumptuous banquet.

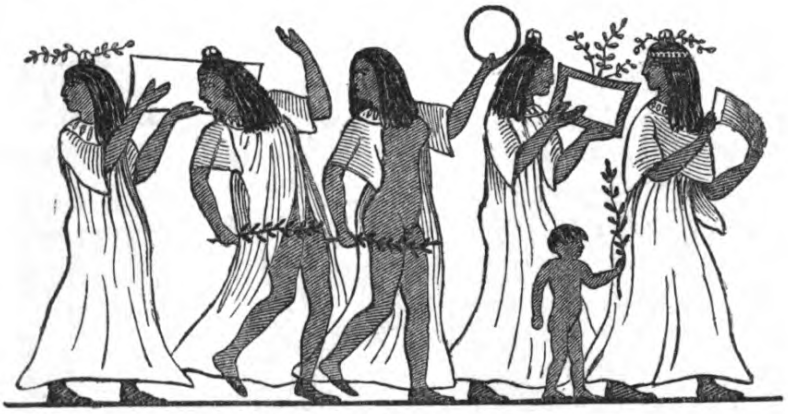
> "Infudere epulas auro, quod terra, quod aër,
> Quod pelagus, Nilusque dedit, quod luxus inani
> Ambitione furens toto quaesivit in orbe,
> Non mandante fame: multas volucresque ferasque
> Aegypti posuere deos: manibusque ministrat
> Niliacas crystallus aquas: gemmaeque capaces

[1] Moore's Epicurean, p. 9.

[2] Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. 333.

Excepere merum, sed non Mareotidos uvae,
Nobile sed paucis senium cui contulit annis
Indomitum Meroe cogens spumare Falernum.
Accipiunt sertas nardo florente coronas,
Et numquam fugiente rosa: multumque madenti
Infudere comae, quod nondum evanuit aura
Cinnamon, externa nec perdidit aëra terra."—*Lucani*, x. 152.

Now, by a train of slaves, the various feast
In massy gold magnificence was plac'd;
Whatever earth, or air, or seas afford,
In vast profusion crowns the labouring board.
For dainties, Egypt every land explores,
Nor spares those very gods her zeal adores.
The Nile's sweet wave capacious crystals pour,
And gems of price the grape delicious store;
No growth of Mareotis' marshy fields,
But such as Meroë maturer yields;
Where the warm sun the racy juice refines,
And mellows into age the infant wines.
With wreaths of nard the guests their temples bind,
And blooming roses of immortal kind;
Their dropping locks with oily odours flow,
Recent from near Arabia, where they grow;
The vigorous spices breathe their strong perfume,
And the rich vapour fills the spacious room.



[Egyptian Sacred Dance.]

Common diet.

The principal food of the lower classes was vegetables, which Egypt produced so freely. This diet was highly relished by the inhabitants. The Hebrew tribes during the privations of their march through the desert, remembered "the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks,[1] and the onions, and the garlic."[2] The lotus, papyrus,

[1] "In the passage cited, it is supposed that by the word leek, lettuce, salads, or savoury herbs generally, may be intended; and perhaps with more probability, and in accordance with its common meaning, the word may denote a species of grass peculiar to Egypt, and used as human food. Schubert speaks of clover whose young shoots and leaves he saw eaten in many ways by the Egyptians. Mayer also speaks of piles of grass being greedily devoured by the Egyptians, both master and servants; and he adds, "I was afterwards, when hungry, in a situation to lay

[2] Num. xi. 5.

and palm, also afforded a varying sustenance to the population. So abundant and cheap was this vegetable diet, that the expenditure of a family, even with numerous children, was a mere trifle.



Occupations.

The occupations of the people were manifold both in town and country. The prime business of the rustic population was agriculture. The soil was rich, the work was light, and the harvest exuberant.[1] The implements of husbandry were few—the hoe and the ox-drawn plough were of the simplest construction. The sower followed the plough, and the hoofs of cattle did the work of the modern harrow. As the operation of thrashing by means of oxen was going on, the peasant relieved his labours and cheered on the animals with a species of song, the hieroglyphical record of which was discovered by Champollion in 1828. It has been thus translated,—

Agriculture.





Tread ye out for yourselves,
Tread ye out for yourselves,
O oxen!
Tread ye out for yourselves,
Tread ye out for yourselves,
The straw;
For men, who are your masters,
The grain.



The processes of sowing and reaping, of winnowing and storing, as depicted on the monuments, are seen in the accompanying illustrations. The soil and climate rendered gardening also a

myself on the field where it grows and *graze* with pleasure." Sonnini says, "But that which appears very extraordinary is, that in this singularly fertile country, the Egyptians themselves eat the fenu-grec so much that it can properly be called the food of *men*. In the month of November, they cry, 'Green helbeh for sale' in the streets of the town. It is tied up in large bunches, which the inhabitants eagerly purchase at a low price, and which they eat with an incredible greediness, without any species of seasoning. They pretend that this singular diet is an excellent stomachic, a specific against worms and dysentery; in fine, a preservative against a great number of maladies. Finally, the Egyptians regard this plant as endowed with so many good qualities, that it is, in their estimation, true panacea."—*Eadie's Bib. Cyclop.* "*Leek.*"

[1] See page 26.

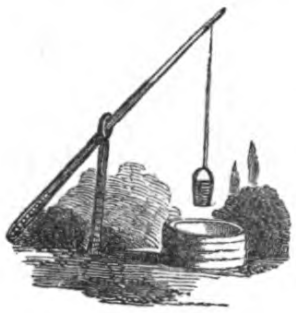
Gardening, &c. Vines.

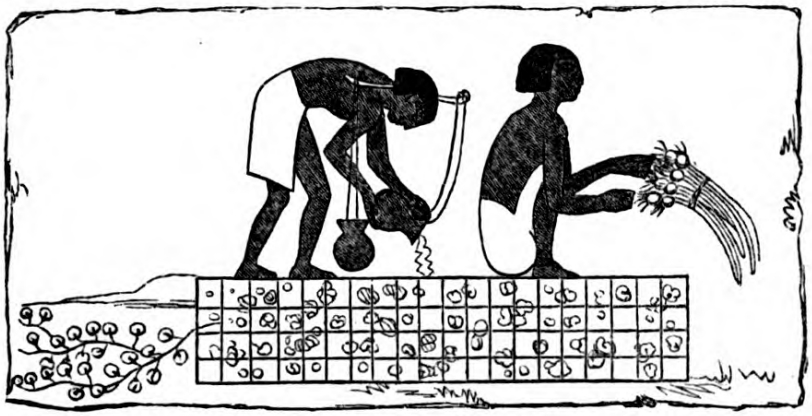
favourite pursuit. The gardens had fine flower-beds, raised terraces, and arbours of trellis work. The vine was cultivated from an early period, and the entire process of wine-making is depicted on the



[Wine-Press.]

monuments. Egypt produced different kinds of wine, of which the light pale wines of Mareotis and Tenia were among the most famous.[1] Figs, sycamores, and pomegranates were extensively cultivated, and monkeys were sometimes trained to climb the branches, pluck the fruit, and throw it down into a basket beneath the tree. The principal delight of the horticulturist was to secure a plentiful supply of water to his trees, herbs, and flowers. Moses says to his people, Deut. xi. 10, "The land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs." The god Khem presided over the gardens, and he was the symbolic representation of the life and freshness of nature in spring.



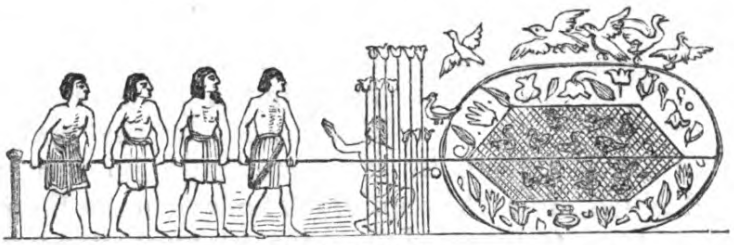


[Gardeners Planting and Sowing.]

[1] Pliny, xiv. 3. Horace, i. Od. xxxi. Strabo, xvii. Virgil Georg. ii. 91. The statement of Grote, (History of Greece, vol. iii. 42.) that Egypt had not vines is not correct. It was not, indeed, a wine country, and therefore imported large quantities of wine from neighbouring countries.

Richer proprietors had also well-stocked preserves, to secure themselves the pleasures of the chase. They hunted the wild goat, the gazelle, the onyx, the hare, and the porcupine, for their flesh; the leopard, fox, and wolf, for their skin; and the ostrich for its eggs and feathers. They had dogs of various kinds, and even lions trained for the chase; and the huntsmen were armed with bow and spear. Wild animals were sometimes noozed with a lasso, and the capture of the crocodile and hippopotamus was also an exciting amusement. Immense flocks of fowls were sheltered among

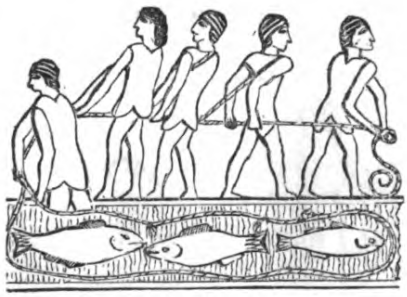
The chase.



[Netting Birds.]

the reeds and aquatic plants ot the Nile, and large nets were employed to snare them. In such efforts decoy birds were employed. Poultry was hatched in profusion by artificial heat. The fisheries of Egypt were also very productive.[1] In some parts of the Delta, the inhabitants subsisted almost wholly upon a fish diet. We remember, said the Israelites, "the fish that we did eat in Egypt freely." Num. xi. 5. Not only were they found in the Nile and lake Moeris, but they were also fed in artificial ponds, and were caught with line, net,[2] and spear. The angler used bait only; fly-fishing was unknown, and the fishes were cured and salted, after being divided from head to tail with a short wide knife. On the ninth day of the first month of the year, every person, with the exception of the priests, was obliged, as a religious ceremony, to eat a fried fish in front of his dwelling.

Fishing.



[Fishing.]

The finer kinds of mechanical art early arrived at high perfection, such as weaving, dyeing, painting, engraving, metallurgy, and pottery. The Israelites learned these operations in Egypt, and employed them in the erection of the tabernacle. The culture and manufacture of flax are often depicted on the tombs. Flax and cotton were spun and woven by rude and simple processes, principally by female servants or domestic slaves, but bleached and dried, pressed and folded by men. The warp usually contained double the threads of the weft. Some pieces of fine linen, still pre-

Trades.

Flax and Cotton.

[1] See page 24.

[2] Isa. xix. 8.

Spinning and Weaving.

served, have in the inch 270 double twisted threads of warp, and 110 of woof. The fineness of such threads is an amazing specimen of the elegance and dexterity of manual labour without the appliances of modern machinery. In Glasgow cotton is spun so fine and woven so closely, that in a common class of cambrics, manufactured for ordinary sale, there are 350 threads in the square inch. In the north of Ireland linen is produced, varying from 200 to 300 threads per inch; but a piece of cambric has been made for the great London exhibition of 1851, having in the same space no less than 500 threads; and which, after all, is not much finer than the Egyptian web already referred to. Golden and silver threads were often interwoven; and indigo was freely used in dyeing, the modes of which display considerable knowledge of chemistry. Patterns were also wrought in the loom. Many references to these arts occur in the book of Exodus. Flax was also used in rope-spinning, and so were the fibres of the date-tree. The entire business of leather manufacture, from the raw skin to the finished shield or sandal, is depicted on some of the tombs. The processes of metallurgy are also found similarly illustrated — the bellows being worked with the feet, and plating, gilding, moulding, beating, were well understood and executed. These arts, so prominently displayed in the furniture of the tabernacle, the Israelites must have learned also in Egypt. Specimens of excellent cabinet work are preserved in the British Museum. The carpenters' tools did not differ much from the modern implements of the craft, the adze, however, supplying the place both of a plane and a turning-lathe. Veneering and inlaying with ivory or precious wood, were common among the Egyptian joiners and cabinet makers. The manufacture of glass, porcelain, and pottery, was upon an extensive scale in Egypt 3000 years ago; and the numerous tints and colours employed, prove the workers to have been acquainted with the properties of metallic oxides. A purse has been found knitted with small glass bugles; and ladies of high rank are seen in the act of stringing beads. The Egyptian artist could successfully counterfeit precious stones, such as the emerald and amethyst. The cutting or engraving of precious stones was



[Spinning.]

Metals.



[Working in Metal.]

Woods.

Glass.

Jewels.



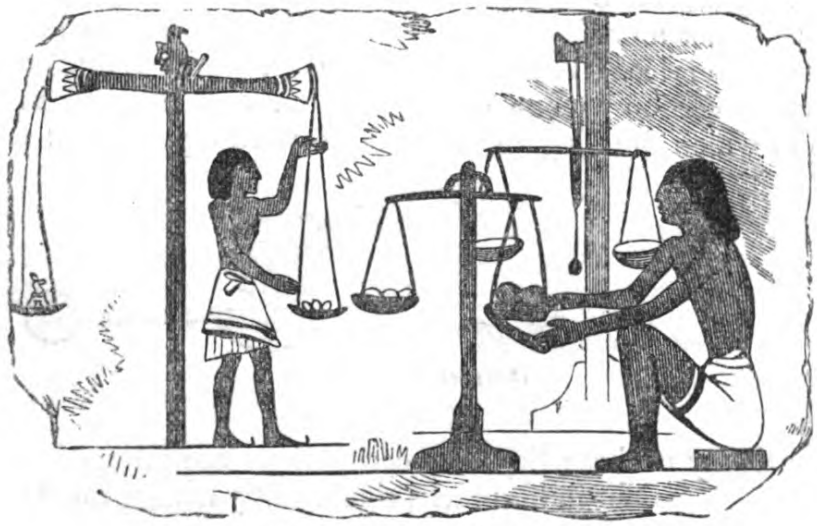
[Potter at Work.—*Description de l'Egypte.*]

executed with delicate beauty and precision; and the tasteful vases and urns used for a variety of purposes, have commanded intense admiration, equally with those of the best epochs of Greece.

In their merchandise the Egyptians used rings of gold and silver, and the value of the money was ascertained by weight. They had no extensive commerce by sea. In earlier times they had no ships for foreign traffic, but the busy inland navigation was characteristic of the country. Barges and boats were seen everywhere on the Nile, and their solemn processions were generally made on water. The richer citizens seem all to have kept their pleasure wherries, the sails of which were sometimes painted and embroidered.[1]

Merchandise.

Boats.



[Egyptian Balances.—*Rosellini.*

Ezek. xxvii. 7.

They had also boats of lighter materials, which men could carry on their shoulders past the rapids. The papyrus was employed in the manufacture of such skiffs,[1] while punts and canoes were also made of osiers and reeds.

The army.

The army is said to have amounted to 410,000 men. The enrolment, recruiting, and drilling, are seen on the walls of several sepulchres. The national troops were infantry armed with shields, bows, and lances. Some companies had slings; and the battle axe, club, falchion, javelin, and dagger, were among their weapons of assault. The shield, formed of wood, was covered with tough bull hide; was half the height of the body, and occasionally of a larger size. The head was defended with a helmet, and the soldier also wore a cuirass or coat of mail. The army was divided into regiments, according to the arms borne by the respective corps —such as archers, swordsmen, slingers. One chief division of the army was its force of war-chariots, each of which had two wheels with a pair of horses, and contained two persons, a soldier and a charioteer. Pharaoh pursued Israel "with 600 chosen chariots." The Egyptian besiegers do not seem to have had engines to serve the purpose of heavy artillery, though the battering ram and testudo were constantly employed, as well as the scaling ladder, and the process of sapping and mining. The military ensigns were usually emblems of the Gods—the hawk, ibis, crocodile, and other figures—and the signal both for march and battle was the sound of trumpet. The archers began the combat, followed by the heavy infantry, which was flanked by the chariots. Captives were treated with great severity, being often bound together in the most painful positions, and if not mortally mutilated, were finally employed as slaves in the royal service. The triumphant army, on its return, made a pompous procession to one of the temples, and engaged in ceremonies in which the king and the priests acted a prominent part.



[Egyptian Censers]

Burden of Egypt.

The majority of these Egyptian occupations are grouped together by the prophet Isaiah[2] in his oracle, significantly named the "Burden of Egypt:"—

[1] Exod. ii. 3.

[2] xix. 13.

The spirit, too, of Egypt shall fail in her;
And I will destroy her tact;
And they will seek to idols and mutterers,
To the diviners, and to the wizards.

The meadows of the river, by the river's mouth,
And all the sown ground by the river
Shall wither, driven away, and shall be no more.

The fishermen shall lament,
All that throw hook into the river shall mourn,
And those who cast nets upon the waters shall languish.

The flax-dressers shall be confounded,
And so shall the weavers of fine linen.

Her pillars are shattered,
And all her hired labourers are grieved in soul.

Sickness. Physicians.

When an Egyptian was seized with sickness, a host of physicians were at his service. "Every place swarms with doctors," says the Greek historian;[1] and we know that Hermes wrote six books on medicine. Whatever the nature of his malady, some medical man had made it his special study. The physician was allowed to practise only in one branch of his profession; the business of the aurist, oculist, dentist, surgeon, and druggist, as well as the curing of diseases in the heart, stomach, or any other organ, was carried on by distinct and separate practitioners. Accoucheurs were almost always women.[2] Such a division of labour could not but lead to skilful medical treatment. The physicians had a public salary from the state, but might also receive private fees. According to Herodotus the Egyptians paid peculiar and punctual attention to their health,[3] and frequently applied to themselves the simple remedy of an emetic or a purge. A *post mortem* examination was occasionally resorted to, in order to ascertain the nature of the disease of which a patient had died. Nor was there a rarity of prescriptions; the country abounded with drugs, the fame of which went through many lands.[4] When every remedy had failed, the superstitious sufferer was wont to offer a votive oblation to the gods, pledging himself perhaps, in case of recovery, to defray wholly or partially the maintenance of one of the sacred animals. If health should be restored, a model of the organ which had been recovered from its ailment was often laid up as a sacred gift in the nearest temple.

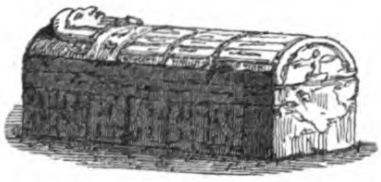
Death.

But if the patient happened to die, not only might an inquest be held as to the nature of the medical management to which he had been exposed, but his dwelling became a scene of frantic sorrow and desolation. His female relatives, with mud-covered heads, streaming hair, and exposed bosoms, ran shrieking through the streets, and were imitated in their wailing frenzy by the men, while the noise of the clamorous dirge was augmented in many cases by the artificial

[1] Herod. ii. 84. [2] Exodus i. 15. [3] ii. 77. [4] See page 27.

piping of hired minstrels. The funeral often took place on the day of death; the procession, in the case of a person of rank, being not only long and magnificent, but characteristic at the same time both of the religion of the country, and the life and occupation of the deceased.

Embalming. But previous to its sepulture the body was embalmed. The Taricheutae, or men employed in the work, formed a peculiar class of society, and seem to have laboured in buildings allotted to themselves, and severed from other dwellings. In this process the body was opened and the intestines were removed, though sometimes they were replaced. The brain was usually extracted through the nostrils, and the cavities were filled with drugs and spices. The body appears to have had great heat applied to it, as if it was baked in an oven. By this means the humours were imbibed and absorbed, and the form preserved from decay. The corpse, after being steeped for seventy days in a solution of saltpetre, was swathed in linen bandages, which had also been soaked in some resinous substance, and then covered with a profusion of aromatics. A thousand yards of cloth were sometimes employed to form this bandage, and the linen was often of the finest texture. A case was next fitted to it with peculiar accuracy, and painted with symbolical delineations of the name, occupation, and creed of the dead Egyptian. The mummy was last of all deposited in a coffin of stone or sycamore wood, on which was sometimes drawn a likeness of him whose corpse had been so carefully preserved. Among the poorer classes a cheaper and simpler process of mummification was used; cedar oil and natron were injected, and



Burial. the body steeped for the usual period. Sometimes the mummy was kept in the house, but usually it was placed in subterranean vaults, which in many parts of the country were of great extent. The necropolis at Memphis is twenty-two miles in length, and about half-a-mile in breadth. The cost of embalming must have been great. The preparation sometimes cost £100, and frequently from £40 to £60, so that above half-a-million sterling must have been annually expended on this posthumous decoration. The quantity of linen cloth required must have amounted to some hundreds of thousands of pounds; the requisite shrouds must have consumed yearly nigh a million of square yards. No inconsiderable portion of this expenditure went to the priesthood, under whom all funereal

Origin of embalming. preparations and arrangements were conducted—the burial-places were leased by them to the population. The origin of this strange process of embalment has been variously accounted for, some tracing it to the religious creed of the country, and others viewing it as a wise expedient, suggested by the annual inundation, during the continuance of which in so many parts of the land sepulture was

impossible.[1] Both causes perhaps co-operated. Bodies were often transported for interment to a great distance, and in a warm country a mummy admitted of easy and lengthened carriage. That the process was not unconnected with notions of a future state of being might be inferred from some of the inscriptions on the coffins. On that of Mycerinus, who built one of the great pyramids—a king of an early dynasty—is found the hieroglyphical legend,—"Hail Osirified king Menke-ra, ever-living—born of heaven, sprung of Nu-t-pe—flesh of Seb—thy mother Nu-t-pe is over thee, she has raised thee to the rank of a god . . . king Menke-ra living for ever." An undecayed body might serve as a symbol of the everlasting spirit that once dwelt in it, and might return and claim its former habitation. A species of formal judgment preceded the burial; forty-two judges assembled on the bank of the lake of the nome where the deceased had lived, the baris or skiff for carrying the coffin was brought close to them, and accusations against the dead man were then allowed.[2] If he was arraigned, and the indictment proved, sepulture was denied; if freed from all charges, he was loaded with eulogies and carried to his long home. Within the tombs, tables of a small size were placed, and on them offerings to the dead were deposited by the affectionate care of survivors.



Tombs.

The tombs of Egypt were strange edifices, for they are the best representations of Egyptian life. On the walls of the family vault are registered the names, rank, and occupations of the household. Trades, feasts, funerals, and religious rites are painted in these realms of rest. Fruit, grain, eggs, pens, and books, with the utensils and perfumes of the toilet, are still got in these "houses of life." Wars are there pourtrayed, and the distant nations conquered are depicted in their national costume. In short, the grand book in which to study Egyptian social life is the Egyptian sepulchre. From it has come the greater part of our knowledge of their ancient manners, pursuits, enjoyments, and religion—yes, from this vast library and museum of death.

Sculpture.

The general characteristics of Egyptian sculpture are extreme simplicity or uniformity in the composition of the lines, want of variety of action, and the absence of sentiment or expression in the heads. Their statues are standing quite upright, or sitting with all the limbs at right angles to the body, or kneeling on both knees; the arms are generally attached to the body, the hands close to the thighs, though in female figures one hand is frequently placed

[1] Pariset, Henry, Champollion Figeac, and Cherubini suppose that embalming was resorted to in order to keep away the plague. The plague, however, is a recent malady, later by many hundred years than the art of embalming.

[2] Diodorus, ii. 100.

across the breast; in the kneeling figures, the hands are brought a little forward on the front of the thighs, and support a box containing idols; the backs are uniformly supported by a sort of block or pilaster, which is generally covered with hieroglyphics; the feet are for the most part parallel and joined together, though this is not always the case, for in standing figures one foot is sometimes slightly advanced before the other. The statues of men are entirely naked, excepting that a sort of apron is folded across the loins; those of females were dressed in one long and simple garment, fitted close to the body; there are no folds in it, and it is only to be distinguished from the figure by a slightly raised border at the neck and feet; the form of the breasts is sometimes indicated by their natural projection being circumscribed by an indented line. It has been remarked, and with great justice, that the Egyptians appear to have paid great regard to decency, and have preserved more modesty in their figures than any other people who have practised the arts; occasionally, works of a different character are met with, but they may always be fairly attributed to a late period. The heads, when they are human, are sometimes uncovered, but more frequently they are surmounted either by an emblematical head-dress, in which are distinguished the lotus, a globe, a serpent, or some sacred symbol, or that more generally found in representations of the human figure in Egypt, consisting, as is well known, of a sort of close cap or head-piece, entirely concealing the hair, and falling in broad flaps upon the shoulders. The foregoing observations are principally applicable to their statues; but the Egyptians also worked a great deal in *basso-relievo*, as almost all the tombs and temples which have been discovered are richly decorated with sculpture of this sort. They do not of course differ very materially from the statues as far as regards general character, but they are somewhat varied in treatment. It will be found that there is frequently greater attention paid to the nice and varied details of costume, and a bolder attempt at action is observable in them, as if the artists were not so strictly confined in their works in this style as in statues. This is particularly striking in some *bassi-relievi* on one of the great temples at Thebes. The principal of them represents a battle, or the exploits of a hero who is destroying his enemies; he is made of colossal proportions compared with the other figures in the scene, and there is an attempt at composition, and even beauty of form, in the heads of some of the combatants, which offers ground for curious speculation as to the period at which the work was executed, and the subject to which it relates. One peculiarity in the execution of some of the Egyptian *bassi-relievi* still preserved to us is worth notice. A ground was sunk below the face of the stone to be employed, preserving, however, a margin of the original face all round; the figure or subject to be represented was then worked within this, so that there was no relief or salient part beyond the

Basso-relievo.

original plane, which formed as it were a protecting frame round it. It may be observed, too, that it was by no means uncommon amongst this people to paint their *bassi-relievi*, and indeed their sculpture in general; as has been ascertained by the discovery of works either accidentally buried or enclosed in tombs; on which, from the atmosphere having had no influence in decomposing them, the colours have been found as vivid as when first applied. Although the additional splendour of effect obtained by it for decorative works, was probably the principal cause for introducing painting upon their sculpture, other and considerable advantages were also gained by its adoption: first, the sculpture was longer preserved, from its surface being so defended: and next, their works, by the union of the two arts, became much more complete, as by painting them the artists were enabled to add many details, which were altogether omitted in the sculpture.

Materials.

The Egyptians used a variety of materials for the purposes of sculpture; we find works in wood, baked clay, some few in ivory, in metal, in a variety of marbles, in basalt, granite, alabaster, sandstone, and serpentine. For their colossal works they employed sandstone, basalt, porphyry, and granite; and Herodotus says, that at Sais and Thebes there were also colossal statues in wood.[1] There are none of large dimensions in bronze; the works in the other materials are for the most part very small, having the appearance of lares or household gods, either under the human form, or that of animals.

The clean execution and exceedingly fine surface so remarkable in Egyptian sculpture has excited general attention; and it leads



Wooden Gods of Egypt.]

to the belief that their knowledge in hardening metals must have been very far beyond ours, to have enabled them to produce such carefully finished works in materials which almost defy our best tempered instruments. It is a remarkable fact, that when the colossal head, called that of the young Memnon, was placed in the British Museum, and it was found necessary to make some holes in it for the insertion of irons to join two of the pieces together, the hardness of the granite was so great that six or eight blows rendered the tools employed perfectly useless.

Painting. Egyptian painting did not boast a great variety of colours, but was content with red, black, green, blue, and yellow. These were principally composed of metallic oxides, and seem to be of imperishable lustre. Little of the variations of light and shade, however, was practised, and the art was greatly hampered by the traditional usage of appropriating certain colours to peculiar classes of objects. The wall to be painted, if it was rough or unequal, had first a coating of lime given it, and over this smoothed surface the outline of the proposed figures were sketched in red chalk. The Egyptian artists had no idea of perspective. "Objects on the same plane, instead of being shown one behind another, were placed in succession, one above the other, on the perpendicular wall."[1] Formality reigned in Egyptian art; it never emerged from the swaddling-bands of infancy, and every artist was bound by the models of his predecessors. Their representations of the human figure are therefore stiff and constrained, the expression of the countenance never varies, and proportion and harmony, either in grouping or drapery, are wholly neglected. The style was altogether conventional, and it permitted no deviation save in the size and position of the central figure. It never attained, therefore, to the beauty, freshness, and nature of Grecian art, but always presents the same cramped and monotonous aspect.

Architecture. In the Egyptian architecture almost every consideration yielded to that of strength, though beauty was not neglected, and the edifices of that country possess a species of magnificence from their bulk, independently of the delicacies of art with which many of them were adorned. The quarries of Egypt afforded blocks of the greatest size; and the labour of a multitude of slaves, aided perhaps by the simplest of the mechanical powers, accomplished the removal of the heaviest masses to their place of destination. According to Herodotus, the stone which served for the roof of the temple of Latona, at Butos, was forty cubits long in each direction; and if we suppose the cubit to be equal to $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, that block must have contained above 300,000 cubic feet of stone. This enormous mass was transported on rafts, from the island of Philæ to Butos; a space of 150 leagues.

Forms. Calcareous stone was generally employed in the walls of build-

[1] Wilkinson, vol. iii. 314.

ings, and granite in the obelisks and statues. The skill of the workmen was exhibited in squaring the blocks with precision, and fitting them accurately with each other. Plugs of wood seem to have been occasionally employed to connect them together, but there is no appearance that metallic cramps were used for that purpose; nor does the art of constructing vaults seem to be at all known. The hieroglyphics and figures were sometimes executed in relief, but generally they were sunken and embellished with colours. The walls of the temples invariably have their exterior faces considerably inclined at top towards the centre, so that the figure of the whole edifice resembles a frustum of a pyramid.

Manner of constructing the temples.

At all the angles formed by the faces of the walls, instead of leaving a sharp edge, the artists executed a reed moulding, equal to about three-quarters of a cylinder, with lines cut obliquely upon it, very much resembling a pole having a string wound about it; and the same kind of moulding was continued, horizontally, along the tops of the walls. This seems to have been an imitation of the system of poles which might have been originally constructed to form an outline of the edifice, and guide the workmen in building the walls; though possibly it might have originated in the desire to ornament the angles, as the Greeks, for the same purpose, employed pilasters, and the Italian artists rustic quoins. The tops of all the walls were crowned by a sort of cornice, of a concave form on the exterior, and having its summit projecting forward; the front of this member was covered with sculpture, generally resembling a series of reeds parallel to each other, and directed from top to bottom; while both the exterior and interior faces of the walls were crowded with hieroglyphics.

Windows.

Where windows occur, they are generally in the shape of a long square, without any ornament, but splayed on the interior side. The windows of Egyptian temples are, almost in every case, extremely small; and the only example, perhaps, in which they approach the magnitude and proportions of those found in Grecian or Roman buildings, is the temple at Dendour in Nubia; and, probably, this is the work of a late period of Egyptian architecture. Its outline is pyramidal, as usual, and in the façade is a doorway crowned by a cavetto; but, above this, are three rectangular windows occupying nearly the whole breadth of the façade. Over the middle one is the winged globe, and the whole pier between the two windows has the form of a pilaster with a capital resembling those of the Corinthian order. The capitals do not reach to the level of the tops of the windows, and appear as if placed there, in bad taste, for no purpose but that of ornament.

Ceilings.

The ceilings of the Egyptian buildings are generally smooth; but, in some cases, they seem formed in hollow panels by the architraves of stone, which cross each other at right angles over the tops of the columns. Frequently there are traced upon the ceilings what are

called zodiacs; that is, representations *in plano*, of the zodiacal constellations, disposed in a circular order about the centre of the compartment.

Columns.

That the Egyptian columns were copied from the form of certain trees is probable, not only from their appearance, but from the testimony of Herodotus, who says,[1] that King Amasis actually caused columns to be made resembling palm-trees. They are without bases, or have only a plinth, and that is frequently circular. The capital is generally of the bell-shape, and is either quite plain, or is ornamented in several varying modes; frequently it is surrounded by rows of lotus leaves, either simply marked by lines, or sculptured in relief; in the latter case, the capitals resemble some of those of the Corinthian order. On the columns of the temple at Philæ, the capital is sculptured to represent three rows of plants, the tops of which are like palm-leaves; and in some examples, as in the temple at Tentyris, it has the form of a female head. But, what is very different from the practice of the Greeks, is that in the same building, and even in the same row, the capitals of the columns do not resemble each other. In the Egyptian temples the intercolumniations are generally small, not exceeding 1·5 diameters.

The height of the column, from the bottom of the plinth to the top of the capital, is equal to from three to eight diameters, and the tallest column is above fifty feet high; in some cases the shaft diminishes gradually from bottom to top, and is sculptured as if it were a bundle of reeds bound together, at intervals, by three or more turns of cordage; these intervals are either plain, channelled, or reeded, and sometimes all the three kinds exist upon one column. Two circumstances are peculiar to the Egyptian columns; the first is, that there are often cubical blocks of stone between the capitals and the entablature; and the second, that the lower part of the shaft is sometimes cut away, so that the part which rests upon the plinth is smaller than the part above; such is the case with the columns of the temple at Latopolis. It is difficult to assign any reason for the latter practice, since it can only tend to weaken a column in a part where it ought to be the strongest; the lower parts of these columns are rounded and ornamented with sculptured foliage, which makes them appear as if they stood upon the roots of plants.

The entablature.

In general, the entablature of the Egyptian buildings consists of an architrave, either plain or ornamented, with a cornice over it; but in some examples, as in the tombs of Silsilis, the entablature consists of an architrave, frieze, and cornice, each projecting over the one below it, like an inverted step; the upper part of the cornice projects still further, and the projection is supported by a sort of modillon. The height of the entablature is about one-third of that of the columns. Over the architrave of the interior range of

[1] ii. 171.

columns in the great temple at Karnac, is a wall with rectangular perforations, like windows, immediately over the intervals of the columns below. Above the capitals of the Egyptian columns is an abacus, sometimes resembling that of the Greek orders; but, at other times, it consists of a cubical block, either plain or sculptured. Over these blocks is placed the horizontal beam parallel to the line of columns, and corresponding to the architrave of the Greeks: and above all, is what may be called the cornice, the section of which is concave outward, and which has its top projecting beyond the face of the architrave. The concave front of this member is adorned with sculpture, in some cases consisting of a series of reeds parallel to each other from top to bottom of the cornice, in other cases the reeds are in groups of three or six in each group; the intervals, or metopes, if they may be so called, are sculptured with winged globes, as on the portico of the temple at Tentyris. These reeds are disposed with regularity, but not over the middle of the front of the columns as in the Greek temples; for, in the portico of the temple at Latopolis, each group is equally distant from the next, and one is placed over the middle of the intercolumniation, but the middles of the other groups fall over the sides of the columns. The interval between every two groups is occupied by a channel cut in a vertical plane down the face of the cornice. The Egyptian reeds differ also from the Greek triglyphs in an essential circumstance, *viz.*, that the latter are so situated as evidently to indicate the supports of the roof; whereas the others are ornaments in the front of the roof itself, above which there is generally nothing to be supported. The entablatures are frequently sculptured with figures of animals, and it is possible that the zophorus or frieze, in the Greek architecture, received its name from this circumstance; winged globes and the scarabeus are, almost invariably, the ornaments of the Egyptian architraves. Cornice.

The obelisk is a frequent characteristic of Egyptian architecture. These "needles[1]" were made of exquisite proportions and of stupendous dimensions, and the red granite of Syene furnished a hard and durable material. They were generally placed in pairs at the entrance of the public edifices. The shaft was commonly ten diameters in height, and a fourth narrower at the top than at the base. Few of them are quite square, two sides being broader than the other two.[2] Some of these beautiful monoliths have been transported to Europe, as we have already stated in our topographical account of Egypt. Obelisk.

The word πυραμὶς, *pyramis*, has often been derived from πυρὸς, (of fire,) but the quantity of its first syllable is unfavourable to that supposition, and as a heap of wheat has not a spiral form terminating in a point, the term cannot with any probability be derived from πυρὸς, (*triticum.*) It is therefore more reasonable to suppose that the Greeks Pyramids.

[1] ὀβελίσκος—diminutive of ὀβελὸς—a needle.
[2] Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica. Zoëga, de usu et origine obeliscorum.

in this, as in many other cases, adopted the native name of an object not invented by themselves, accommodating it, by a Greek termination, to the grammar of their own language; so that the Egyptian *pehram*,[1] *i.e.* the "sacred place," was converted into the Greek PYRAMIS. Of the most ancient and remarkable pyramids several are still remaining in Egypt, and others, apparently unknown to the Greeks and Romans, have been lately discovered in the ruins of Napata and Meroë, the capitals of Ethiopia.

Pyramids of Geeza or Cheops.

1. The pyramids of Jízeh, called by the ancients "the pyramids of Memphis,"[2] from their position on a rocky height projecting from the western mountains near the outskirts of that city, are the most remarkable, and as far as can be proved by historical testimony, the most ancient of any which ever were in existence. They are distinctly noticed by the oldest Greek historian, who was informed that they were erected in a very early age, as sepulchres of the sovereigns of Egypt. Three, lying in a diagonal line from north-east to south-west, are of a stupendous magnitude, especially the two most northern. The position of the second and pointed pyramid, as determined by M. Nouet,[3] is in 29° 59′ 49″ N., and 31° 11′ 41″ E., on a terrace projecting from the rock, partly levelled by art, and having an elevation of 137¾ feet. It extends from east to west about 1¼ mile, and from north to south more than ¾ of a mile. The base of the great pyramid was found to measure 763 feet 7 inches, and its height 450 feet 9 inches. Its diameter from north to south deviates 20′ from the true meridian. Its basis, as well as the two lowest steps, is hewn out of the rock on which it stands. Its base does not form an exact square. The whole mass amounts to nearly 9,000,000 cubic feet. It covered an area of more than 13 acres, and its masonry amounts to 6,848,000 tons. The vast magnitude of this truly stupendous work will be more distinctly perceived, when it is recollected that the area of its base nearly coincides with that of Lincoln's Inn-fields. It is 43 feet higher than St. Peter's at Rome, and 126 feet higher than St. Paul's in London.

Pyramid of Ghiza or Cephren.

The *second* pyramid, of somewhat smaller dimensions, is about 2½ furlongs south-west of the first. Its base, according to M. Grobert,[4] measures 700 feet, and its height 425 feet. Its summit is uninjured, and still retains its ancient casing, a plaster formed of gypsum, sand, and a few small pebbles.

Pyramid of Mycenus.

The *third*, somewhat nearer to the second, has an apparent base of 300 feet, and a height of 173 feet. This pyramid was cased with sienite from Elephantiné, fragments of which are still found near its base. The form and approaches to

[1] This etymology, which was discovered by the learning and acuteness of the Baron de Sacy, (Observations sur le Nom des Pyramides. Mag. Encyclop. VI. anné, vi. 452. seq.) was suggested by the Arabic name of the pyramids, *ahrám*, compared with the Hebrew *haram*, "forbidden, prohibited, sacred, consecrated," &c.

[2] Herod. ii. 8.

[3] Mém. sur. l' Egypte, iii. 297.

[4] Descript. des Pyram, p. 94.

their internal chambers are nearly the same in all the pyramids hitherto opened: and consist of one or more galleries, at first inclined to the horizon at an angle of 26° or 27°, and afterwards in either an ascending or perpendicular direction leading to a chamber nearly in the centre of the building. These chambers are quadrangular, and roofed with large blocks of stone laid either flat or obliquely so as to meet and form an angle. Two have long been accessible in the great pyramid, called after its reputed founder, Cheops, the lower immediately below the upper; and in the next, or pyramid of Cephren, two likewise have been lately discovered, equally in the centre; but one of them at the base of the pyramid, and the other in the rock below the base, at the distance of about one-third of the perpendicular drawn from the side of the pyramid to its centre. At the extremity of the descending gallery all further ingress is barred by a portcullis of solid granite $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet 3 inches thick, sliding in grooves of similar stone. In the great pyramid, originally explored by men of no skill or science, a way was forced round the portcullis, but in the second it was, by dint of excessive labour for nearly a day and a half, raised by levers so as to open a passage onwards. At a small distance beyond the portcullis there is a perpendicular shaft 15 feet deep in the second, but much deeper in the first. This shaft, hitherto known as "the well in the great pyramid," was explored for the first time by an English gentleman, Mr. Davison, who visited Egypt with the celebrated Wortley Montague in 1763. His labours, and those of Caviglia, Vyse, Belzoni, Richardson, Perring, and others, have made us well acquainted with the internal formation of the pyramids.

Internal chambers.

It appears that each pyramid had a double entrance, by means of which a constant circulation of air could be maintained; and that the principle on which the chambers and passages were formed was precisely the same as that which regulated the excavation of the catacombs hewn out of rocks, as at Bíbán-el-mulúk,[1] where the "long passages which lead to nothing" were doubtless, before the ravages of the Persians, filled with mummies of the younger branches of the Pharaonic families, while those of the sovereigns themselves, and perhaps of their children, were deposited in the central chambers. Around the principal pyramids are the remains of many smaller ones in various stages of decay. The sepulchral chambers, apparently more modern, which are close to these pyramids, were perhaps built at the expense of the rich casing with which the pyramids themselves once were covered; but all, when examined, are found to cover an approach by a shaft to a subterranean apartment similar to those in the centre of most of the pyramids:[2] every thing, in short, conspires to prove that these extraordinary edifices were, as the ancients affirm,[3] erected as sepulchres for the

Pyramids sepulchral.

[1] Passalacqua Cat. p. 199. [2] Quart. Rev. xix. 404.
[3] Herod. xi. 124. Diod. Sic. i. 64.

sovereigns of Egypt, whose capital was the adjoining city of Memphis. That the angles between the successive courses of stone were anciently filled up, so as to present a plane surface, and that the summit of each pyramid was pointed, may be inferred from the second, which is still terminated by a point, and retains its smooth coating for about forty feet downwards:[1] and it is evident from the account of Abdu-l-latif,[2] that, in the thirteenth century, the outer covering of the pyramids, crowded with hieroglyphic inscriptions, was still extant. There is likewise a fourth pyramid near the third, but it is so much smaller than the others as to attract little notice. Many others have been discovered by the late Prussian expedition. Sixty more, at least, are now known. The walls of many of the tombs near the pyramids are adorned with very interesting paintings and bas-reliefs, several of which are represented in the plates in the great French work, and in Professor Rosellini's "Monumenti dell' Egitta." We have here delineations of various manufactures and implements of art, the most ancient, perhaps, now in existence; some of these tombs, however, were constructed from the ruins of more ancient buildings, themselves posterior to the invention of hieroglyphics; their antiquity, therefore, is not perhaps so great as has been supposed, and probably far inferior to that of the pyramids in which no hieroglyphics have been found. The regular order in which these tombs were placed (another remarkable feature) is clearly perceived, as before observed, from the summit of the great pyramid, the sides of which form a sort of rude staircase of 203 steps, varying in height and breadth, and occasionally interrupted by breaches. The truncated summit presents an area of about 30 feet square, irregular in its outline, from the removal of a few of the stones belonging to that course.[3]

Exterior coating.

Fourth Pyramid.

Summit of the Great Pyramid.

That the great pyramid was cased, and had a level surface, is evident from the express testimony of Herodotus;[4] who says, "The sums expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen, were marked in Egyptian characters on this pyramid, and amounted, as I well remember what the interpreter who explained these characters said, to 1600 talents of silver,"—£345,600.

History and use of the Pyramids.

The age of these stupendous monuments, and the purpose for which they were erected, are involved in great obscurity; various, consequently, and conflicting have been the opinions to which those questions have given rise. The remote antiquity of the pyramids near Memphis, celebrated from a very early period as some of the wonders of the world, is indisputable. They are distinctly mentioned by the oldest Greek historian, Herodotus;[5] and the three largest are ascribed by him to Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, three Pharaohs who succeeded each other. These structures had

[1] Grobert, p. 24.
[2] Pages 175, 177, 221.
[3] Lepsius über den Bau der Pyramiden.
[4] ii. 125.
[5] ii. 8. 124—134.

also an astronomical reference. Sir John Herschel remarks, that "at the date of the erection of the great pyramid of Gizeh, which precedes by 3970 years (say 4000) the present epoch, the longitude of all the stars were less by 55° 45′ than at present. Calculating from this datum[1] the place of the pole of the heavens among the stars, it will be found to fall near A Draconis; its distance from that star being 3° 44′ 25″. This being the most conspicuous star in the immediate neighbourhood, was therefore the pole star of that epoch. And the latitude of Gizeh being just 30° north, and consequently the altitude of the north pole there also 30°, it follows that the star in question must have had at its lower culmination, at Gizeh, an altitude of 26° 15′ 35″. Now it is a remarkable fact, ascertained by the late researches of Colonel Vyse, that of the nine pyramids still existing at Gizeh, six (including all the largest) have the narrow passages by which alone they can be entered, (all which open out on the northern faces of their respective pyramids,) inclined to the horizon downwards at angles varying from 26° to 28°. At the bottom of every one of these passages, therefore, the *then* pole star must have been visible at its lower culmination—a circumstance which can hardly be supposed to have been unintentional, and was doubtless connected (perhaps superstitiously) with the astronomical observation of that star, of whose proximity to the pole at the epoch of the erection of these wonderful structures, we are thus furnished with a monumental record of the most imperishable nature." Observations of Herschel.

No one now doubts that the pyramids were royal sepulchres, nay, as we have already remarked, the height of those royal monuments corresponds with the length of the monarch's reign under whom it was erected.[2] Structures so vast are indeed right royal ideas—the massive means of a posthumous immortality. However, as Sir Thomas Brown remarks,—"Only to subsist in bones, and to be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration."[3] The edifices themselves may last as long as the framework of the globe, and travellers on entering Egypt for many centuries to come, will hasten to admire and explore these characteristic wonders,—

> **Time's gnomons rising on the banks of Nile,**
> **Unchanging while he flies, serene and grand,**
> **Amidst surrounding ruins—'mid the works**
> **Of man unparalleled—'mid God's how small,**
> **Besides His ALPS, the pigmy works of ants,—**
> **The mole-hills of a mole.**

Science in the modern acceptation of the term can scarcely be said to have existed in Egypt. Much was learned from long practice, but little was based on first principles. The priesthood knew some- Science.

[1] Outlines of Astronomy, page 191. London, 1850.
[2] See page 75.
[3] Urn Burial, p. 26.

thing of the motions and changes of the heavenly bodies, and of the length of a solar year, but their astronomical knowledge was limited and confused; and though eclipses were noted by them, they did not form the basis of calculations. The astronomical paintings on the monuments, such as at Thebes and Dendera, were evidently connected with the dreamy purposes of astrology. The elements of chemistry were well known, and Moses displayed his skill in dissolving the golden calf, and causing the people to drink the nauseous potion.[1] The exact partition of the soil necessitated some acquaintance with geometry and mensuration. The great buildings owe their vastness and height, not to mechanical power, but to the united effects of human strength. The months were regulated by the phases of the moon, and the year was reckoned to consist of twelve months of thirty days. But they intercalated five additional days at a period prior to the Hyksos invasion. These five Epagomenae were given to the gods, as special seasons of natal consecration. The twelve months were as follows:—

Months.

1. Thoth, ...29 August.
1. Phaophi, ...28 September.
1. Athyr, ...28 October.
1. Choiak, ...27 November.
1. Tybi, ...27 December.
1. Mechir, ...26 January.
1. Phamenoth, ...25 February.
1. Pharmuthi, ...27 March.
1. Pachon, ...26 April.
1. Payni, ...26 May.
1. Epiphi, ...25 June.
1. Mesori, ...25 July.

Epagomenæ, ...24–29 August.

Sothic period. To the famous Sothic period we have more than once referred. A similar canicular period was known at Rome, and which consisted of 1461 years—the same as that of Egypt, which consisted of 1460 years.[2] But the Egyptian years were vague terms of 365 days, while the Roman year included $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. The Sothic circle was always reckoned from the time when the first day of the first month, Thoth, corresponded with the heliacal rising of Sirius in Egypt. Every Egyptian year was six hours shorter than the actual time, consequently the first day of Thoth fell back a day every four years, so that in 1460 years it fell successively on every day of the calendar, and at the expiry of this epoch had just returned to the point whence it had started.

Literature. Learning seems to have been confined chiefly to the priesthood. Books of science and literature were under their peculiar custody.

[1] Eadie's Bibl. Cyclop., "CALF."
[2] Ideler, Handb. 27. Boeckh, Manetho und die Hundsternperiode. Berlin, 1845.

The library in the Memnonium bore upon its portal the appropriate inscription—"Pharmacy for the Soul." The art of writing was an acquirement of Egypt in periods so early as to be beyond computation, and as fragments of papyrus abundantly testify. The papyrus afforded an invaluable material for the record of literary labour. The inner bark was used, being cut into thin stripes, from 10 to 15 inches broad, the edges of which were cemented together, dried in the sun, and then pressed with a glass cylinder.

Egyptian modes of writing: 1. Hieroglyphic. 2. Hieratic. 3. Demotic.

The characters used by the ancient Egyptians, before their conversion to Christianity, (after which they adopted the Greek alphabet with a few supplementary letters,) were threefold; 1. Hieroglyphic; 2. Hieratic; and 3. Demotic. The *first*, was formed by images of visible objects; the *second*, by very coarse and indistinct outlines of the whole or of parts of such images; and the *third*, by a further reduction of such outlines in a similarly crude and negligent style. The first, from which the others were derived, was originally, beyond a doubt, a simple system of picture-writing, representing ideas by their visible images, when possible, or by obvious symbols, when any direct representation was impossible. It is manifest that such a method was calculated only for a nation in the first stages of civilization, and that men would soon discover some more complicated, but more perfect, mode of representing what is usually expressed by words, of speaking, in short, by means of visible signs. But words are a combination of sounds, the next step, therefore, would be to devise some method of expressing sounds; and as soon as such a device had been adopted, any combination of sounds, *i.e.* any word, whether significant or not, whether the name of a visible object or of a mere abstraction, could be immediately represented to the eye. Thus far the Egyptians had advanced at a very early period. They selected several common and well-known hieroglyphics, such as immediately suggested some word of frequent occurrence, and used them to express the initial sound of that word, or, as we should say, its first letter. The more simple outlines or fragments of these hieroglyphics, used in the hieratic character, would therefore have the appearance, as well as perform the functions, of *letters;* and when rounded off in the Demotic, or running hand, would lose all resemblance to the figures from which they were originally derived. It is plain that these last characters might entirely supersede the use of hieroglyphics, or other symbols; from the facility with which they were formed, it is probable that, for ordinary purposes, they would, and it will appear on further inquiry, that they actually did so; and that the demotic, or enchorial character of the Egyptians, was nearly, if not strictly, alphabetical.

Hieroglyphic characters.

I. The hieroglyphic character, therefore, was thus rendered capable of expressing sounds, and, consequently, *words*, independently of the *ideas* pictured to the eye; and as soon as this method prevailed, these symbols were divisible into three distinct classes.

1. Such as were the images of the things expressed; 2. Such as were merely symbolical; and 3. Such as were simply Phonetic, or expressive of sound, and might, therefore, be considered as the letters of a hieroglyphical alphabet. At a later period, probably, a *fourth* class was brought into use; that of enigmatical symbols, derived either from some very remote affinity between the object represented and the idea implied, or formed by a combination of different figures, apparently incapable of being thus united. The examination of hieroglyphical tablets of very different ages, shows that these four classes of symbols were used promiscuously, according to the pleasure or convenience of the artist, for hieroglyphics, being pictures, were always either sculptured or drawn. All hieroglyphics, therefore, may be classed either as (1.) images, or (2.) symbols; as (3.) phonetic, or (4.) enigmatical. Bunsen has given us an Egyptian vocabulary, and a complete list of hieroglyphical signs, according to their classes, and arranged in natural order.

Number of characters.

As every visible object, with any of its parts, and in almost any position, besides an endless variety of arbitrary combinations, comes within the scope of the hieroglyphic draughtsman, it might at first be supposed that the number of those symbols would be almost unlimited, but the necessity of limitation must soon have been felt; for unless the sense assigned to each symbol were fixed, the reader would be lost in vague conjectures, and unless the number of symbols were confined within certain bounds, no memory could retain them all. The whole number, therefore, observed by M. Champollion, after more than twenty years' constant study, was only 864, and of those many are probably duplicates. He arranges them in the eighteen following classes:—

Champollion's arrangement.

1.	Heavenly Bodies,	10
2.	Man in different postures,	120
3.	Limbs of the Human Body,	60
4.	Wild Quadrupeds,	24
5.	Domestic Quadrupeds,	10
6.	Limbs of Beasts,	22
7.	Birds and Limbs of Beasts,	50
8.	Fish,	10
9.	The whole or parts of Reptiles,	30
10.	Insects,	14
11.	Plants, Flowers, and Fruit,	60
12.	Buildings,	24
13.	Works of Art, Furniture, &c.	100
14.	Weapons, Dress, Ornaments, &c.	80
15.	Tools and Utensils,	150
16.	Cups Vessels, &c.	30
17.	Geometrical Figures,	20
18.	Fantastic Figures,	50
		864

The figures were arranged in columns, vertical or horizontal, and grouped together as circumstances required, so as to leave no spaces unnecessarily vacant. The order in which the characters are to be read, is shown by the direction in which the figures are placed, as their heads are invariably turned towards the reader, or which is the same thing, to that side of the tablet at which the inscription begins, whether it be right or left, for either was admissible in the pure hieroglyphic, though not in the Demotic character. To this general rule M. Champollion has met with only one exception in a hieroglyphical MS. in the Royal Collection;[1] the figures, therefore, as he observes, form a sort of procession, and seem from their relative position to be connected with each other. Order.

1. The characters, which were images of the things signified, as being most obvious, were of frequent occurrence, either in an entire or an abridged but intelligible form, and some of that class were often used merely to determine the sense of the preceding figures, just as capital letters are employed by us to distinguish proper names or words of peculiar import. Of such determinatives Bunsen has given a list of 163. This expedient was the more necessary among the Egyptians, as their names were all significant, and liable to be taken as such, unless accompanied by some indication of their peculiar use; the hieroglyphic of "man" or "woman," "god" or "goddess," was consequently subjoined according to the sex of the person or deity named. Thus the characters expressing *Amon-mai*, when alone, signify "Beloved by Amon," but when followed by that which stands for *man*, represents a proper name nearly resembling Ammonophilus, or Philammon in Greek. "Temple, image, statue, child, asp, and monumental pillar," were in like manner expressed by figures evidently representing the things meant. In the bas-reliefs at Medínet-ábu, the scribe, recording a victory, has a hand with ciphers expressing 3000 placed in the hieroglyphic column over his head, plainly indicating 3000 hands of men slain or conquered in battle. Above this is the figure of a man, followed by 1000, evidently signifying 1000 prisoners taken.[2] The figure or outline of a boat, followed by a line, signifying *n*, (*i.e.* of) and the name of a god, signifies the vessel of that god, in which his image or shrine was carried on solemn occasions.[3] "Sun, moon, star, vessel, scales, bed, bull, loaf, sistrum, fish, goose, tortoise, ox, cow, calf, haunch, antelope, bow, arrow, dish, altar, censer, flower-pot, enclosure, chapel, shrine," &c. are among the words expressed hieroglyphically by images of the objects themselves. Other terms, such as sky or firmament, and the names of the different gods, are rendered by very obvious symbols, still in some degree representing the object expressed; the former by the section of a flat roof, with or without Pure Hieroglyphics, or Images.

[1] Précis, 319.
[2] Précis, pl. xix. fig. 1, 2. Hieroglyphics, pl. xv. A, h, i.
[3] Ib. fig. 3. 45.

stars subjoined, the latter by an outline of the idols by which those gods were represented in the temples. Sometimes nothing more than a part or section of the thing meant was given, and these characters, which form a third division of the first class, may be termed *conventional* hieroglyphics. After great research, and with corroborative proof, Bunsen, with the assistance of Birch, has made out a list of 620 ideographic signs.

Symbols.

2. Abstract ideas, however, could not well be expressed by images of visible objects, recourse was therefore had to symbolical figures; and metaphors, common in spoken language when clothed in a visible form, gave birth to a second class of hieroglyphics, that of images used in a symbolical or figurative sense. These, as being more abstruse and difficult of interpretation, are the characters generally alluded to by the ancients when they speak of hieroglyphics, and that circumstance was the occasion of the prevalent but mistaken notion, that all the figures on the Egyptian monuments are strictly symbolical—an error to which the extravagant and contradictory interpretations of those sculptures given by learned men may easily be traced. Almost all the figures of speech are, if we may so express it, placed before the eye by this class of hieroglyphics. "Two arms stretched up towards heaven" express the word "offering;" "a stream of water flowing from a jug" signifies "libation;" "a censer with some grains of incense," "adoration;" and a man throwing arrows," "tumult;" these instances, therefore, furnish examples of *synecdoches*. *Metonymies* are exhibited in "a crescent with its horns bent downwards" for "month,"[1] in a "pencil and a palette, or a reed and an inkstand" for "writer," "writing," "letter," &c. The "bee" is to signify "an obedient people;" "fore-quarters of a lion" for "strength;" "a hawk on the wing" for "the wind;" "an asp" for "the power of life and death;" and a "crocodile" for "rapacity," are so many *metaphors* symbolically expressed. As many of these symbols were derived from fanciful and remote analogies, among them will those characters probably be found which defy the skill of the most diligent and ingenious inquirers. If not informed of it by an ancient Egyptian writer,[2] who could have divined that "paternity" and "the world" were expressed by the figure of a "a beetle," "maternity" by "a vulture," "the course of the stars" by "a serpent,"[3] and "a physician" by "a duck?"[4] Yet these, as will be seen hereafter, are not the least intelligible of all the hieroglyphics. As almost all the proper names used by the Egyptians expressed their devotion to some particular god, no symbols are of more frequent occurrence, nor are any more useful to the hieroglyphical student than those which express the titles and appellations of their

Examples.

[1] Horapollo, ii. 12. [2] Horapollo, i. 20. [3] Clem. Alexandr. v. 4.

[4] What relation is there between the Egyptian symbol for a physician—a duck—and the English term used to denote a medical pretender, derived from the cry of the same animal—a quack?

deities. Thus, a man with a ram's head signifies "Ammon-Cnuphis;" a man with a hawk's head bearing a disk represents "Phré;" a man with a jackal's head, "Anubis;" an ibis-headed man, "Thoth;" one with the head of a crocodile, "Suchus or Sevekh." But these being merely sketches of the idols by which those gods were represented in the temples, are perhaps rather to be called images than emblems, and ought for that reason to be ranked in the *first* class of hieroglyphics. The animals sacred to each deity, adorned with his distinctive ornaments, formed another set of images more truly symbolical; such, for example, was a hawk crowned by a disk for Phré; a ram with a pair of lofty plumes, or a disk between his horns for Cnuphis; a mitred hawk for Harsiesi, (*i.e.* Horus, son of Isis;) a jackal with a scourge for Anubis; an ibis, or a cynocephalus, (*i.e.* a dog-headed monkey,) for Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks: "not," says Plutarch,[1] "that this (*i.e.* dog) is his proper appellation, but that by this metaphor the Egyptians ascribe to this most wise deity, care, watchfulness, and discernment, as Plato says." An eye was the emblem of Osiris and the Sun; a Nilometer that of Phtha; and an obelisk that of Ammon; but these symbols were not often used, nor are the hieroglyphics of this class by any means of such frequent occurrence, as those which are employed in a more obvious sense.

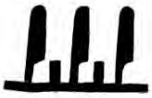
Phonetic characters.

3. It is manifest, as was before observed, that these two classes of hieroglyphics are inadequate to express every part of speech. Except at its very commencement, every language must have some words, which, taken alone, are void of meaning, and unless those who speak it are entirely separated from other nations, they must have occasion to express foreign names and foreign terms in their own tongue, as well as write them in their own character, if sufficiently advanced in civilization to possess the art of writing. Now the Egyptians were the most civilized nation on earth at the earliest period from which any of their monuments now existing can be dated, and though they were prohibited from commerce with foreigners,[2] before the time of Psammetichus,[3] they were often at war with their southern and eastern neighbours, to say nothing of the conquests of Sesostris, which carried them at least as far as Asia Minor. Their language, therefore, must have then possessed such terms and inflections as could only be expressed by characters expressive of sounds; and as necessity is the mother of invention, this want of figures merely representing sounds, may be reasonably supposed to have led to the invention of the third class of hieroglyphics, *viz.* those called by M. Champollion, phonetic, *i.e.* expressive of sound. That a certain number was so employed, has now been placed beyond a doubt, and the principle on which these figures were selected for that purpose, has been ascertained. It was simply this, that the names of things, (*i.e.* the words) sug-

[1] De Iside et Osir, sec. 11. [2] Strabo, xvii. 1. 6. [3] Herod ii. 154.

Specimen of Phonetic Alphabet.

gested by these hieroglyphics, began by the sound or letter which they were taken to represent. This will be more distinctly seen by a reference to the following table, the first column of which gives the letter expressed by a hieroglyphic; the second, the English name of the object represented; and the third, the corresponding word in the Coptic or Egyptian language.

	A Tuft,	called	Ake,	stood for	A.
	An Eagle,	—	Akhom,	—	A.
	A Field,	—	Koi,	—	K.
	A Cup,	—	Klapht,	—	K.
	A Hand,	—	Tot,	—	T.
	A Lion,	—	Labo,	—	L.
	A Beetle,	—	Thore,	—	Th.
	An Egg,	—	Souhe,	—	S.
	An Owl,	—	Mouladj,	—	M.
	A Mouth,	—	Ro,	—	R
	A Water-tank,	—	Sheii,	—	Sh.

Illustrations.

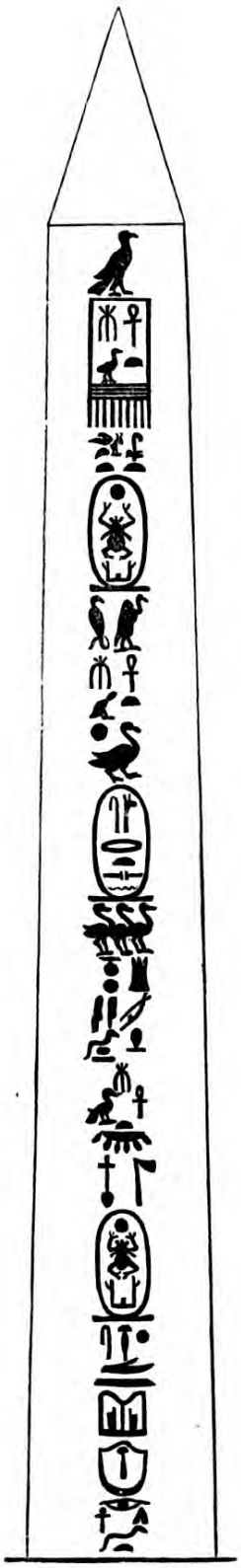
Thus, if I wish to spell the last name of Sir Walter Scott, in three hieroglyphics, I take the Egg, the phonetic power of which is S, and may express the generative might of his intellect; then the Field, the phonetic power of which is.....K, and which would refer to his domain of Abbotsford, of which he was so proud; and, lastly, (the vowel not being expressed) the Hand, the phonetic power of which is.....T, and which would at the same time show the fame and number of his publications. Or, if I wish to depict London in English hieroglyphics, I take a figure of

The Lion, ...L,	{which would symbolize at the same time,	} Bravery.
The Oak, ...O,	—	Ship building.
The North Star, N,	—	Wide dominion.
The Deck, ...D,	—	Maritime power.
The Owl,.....O,	—	Science, Wisdom.
The Nave of a Temple, } N,	—	Religion.

Or, in fine, if I wish to represent the city of Glasgow on the same phonetic principles, I would take and depict

A Guinea,	{the initial or phonetic sound of which is	} G,	and its symbol,	Exchange.
A Loom,	—	L,	—	Manufacture.
An Axle,	—	A,	—	Machinery.
A Steam Engine,	—	S,	—	Motive power.
A piece of Gauze,	—	G,	—	{Textile Fabrics.
An Oar,	—	O,	—	Shipping.
A Warehouse,	—	W,	—	Business.

It is plain that this method of writing is at once expressive and vague, for it is only a species of half-formed alphabet. It perhaps presents a specimen of the very earliest form of writing, when only the rudiments of an alphabet were understood. Other eastern nations made progress towards a complete alphabet, but the proud conservative spirit of Egypt confined it to this primitive and awkward mode of literary delineation. It served also to throw an air of mystery around its boasted wisdom, and it formed an effectual barrier to the inquisitive eye of the foreign traveller. The veil that had been impenetrable for ages was only removed by a patient and sagacious Englishman of the nineteenth century, aided and followed up by illustrious scholars of France



The Horus.

Living of Men.

Pharaoh.

Sun Presented to the World.

Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The Living of Men.

Son of the Sun.

Osirtasen.

Lord of Spirits in Pone.

Ever-living.

Life of Men.
Resplendent Horus.
Good God.

Sun Presented to the World.

Who has begun the
Celebration of his two Assemblies
to his Creator.
Life-Giver for ever.

The preceding illustration represents the obelisk at Heliopolis,

connected with the Osirtasens of the 16th dynasty. Being in the city of the sun, it is dedicated to Phré, the sun-god.[1]

Necessary limitations of the phonetic system.

This phonetic principle being admitted, it follows that the number of figures used to represent one sound, might be increased almost without limit, as any hieroglyphic might stand for the first letter of its name; so copious an alphabet, however, even to a native, would have been a continual source of error. The characters, therefore, thus applied, were soon fixed; and, as far as has been hitherto ascertained, eighteen or nineteen simple and syllabic is the largest number assigned to any one letter; while few have more than five or six representatives, and several only one or two. The pronunciation of the Egyptian language was, probably, rapid and indistinct; consonants belonging to the same class, and uttered by the aid of the same organs, were easily interchanged; the initial, final, and when medial the long vowels only, were clearly uttered, and the consonants were separated almost at the speaker's pleasure by an imperfect articulation, like our *u*, in "but, rut, &c.," or the French *e*, in "*le, me, te,* &c.," but even the long vowels appear to have been liable to frequent permutations: the Egyptian, in this respect, and in its whole system of orthography, bearing a great resemblance to the Semitic dialects. This paucity of vowels, it should be observed, is not peculiar to the texts expressed in the sacred or enchorial characters; it is also found in the Coptic, (*i.e.* Egyptian written in Greek letters,) especially in the Sa'ídic or Theban dialect, where *mn*, "and," *mnt*, "belonging to," *rm*, "inhabiting," *snt*, "to create," *tm*, "to shut," *ntk*, "thee," &c., continually occur. By the variety of these phonetic characters, the Egyptians were also enabled to exercise a faculty held in high esteem by their Eastern neighbours, and probably by themselves—that of conveying a double meaning by the same signs, and of expressing secret and recondite allusions, scarcely discoverable except by the adept. The goose, or chenalopex, we find usually representing the S of *Si*, the word for "son," because, as Horapollo tells us,[2] "that animal is remarkable for the love of its offspring." The ram always stands for *B* in the name of Chnubis, because it was sacred to that god, and his usual symbol. He was represented with a vessel of earth at his feet, and for that reason, it may be supposed, a vessel is used, by preference, to represent the *N* in his name. The lion is put for *L* in Ptolemy and Alexander, because they were powerful kings; and the frequent use of the eagle for *A*, in the name of Roman emperors, seems to convey a covert allusion to the eagles on their ensigns. Something analogous to this takes place in the Chinese, where particular Hîng-shîng, or phonetic characters, are chosen, because calculated, from their own meaning, to convey a favourable or unfavourable impression as to the thing or person named. In short, the

Illustrations.

[1] Gliddon's Ancient Egypt, p. 29.

[2] i. 53.

habit of representing certain words by certain phonetic characters would soon prevail; and that alone would prevent the perplexing variety to which the system might have given birth. But this habit would also render it possible to use abbreviations for very well known terms; and, accordingly, we find that such abbreviations are by no means uncommon, *e.g. st* for *souten*, "king;" *s* for *si*, "son;" *Amenô* for *Amenôthph*, &c. The extent to which these contractions were used in Egypt, is plainly shown by the registries of deeds, drawn under the Ptolemies, and published by Dr. Young.[1] All these three classes of hieroglyphics were used simultaneously.

Enigmatical Hieroglyphics.

4. The fourth class, or enigmatical hieroglyphics, might be considered as a second division of those which were strictly symbolical. A complicated and obscure kind was formed, probably, by the "Anaglyphs," or allegorical sculptures, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria.[2] They appear to have been bas-reliefs, or tablets, containing mythological or historical subjects, expressed in allegorical delineations, or implied by the monstrous figures of human beings, with heads of birds and beasts, such as those with which the Egyptian temples were filled, and among which we must rank the sphinxes forming avenues at their entrance. Symbols such as these, grouped and combined according to certain rules, might be so disposed as to form an allegorical representation of the religious and philosophical doctrines of the Egyptians. None but the initiated were suffered to dive into these mysteries; and the key to them was kept exclusively in the hands of the priesthood.

Hieratic.

II. The origin and characteristics of the *hieratic* or *sacred* character, so denominated to distinguish it from the demotic or popular, have already been briefly stated. It consists of nothing more than imperfect and dashing sketches of the hieroglyphics, which thus assume the form of a flowing and rapid hand. For *figures* and *symbols*, it often substitutes *phonetic* groups, or arbitrary characters, which bear no resemblance to the hieroglyphics for which they stand. Religion and science seem to be the only subjects for which this character was used; nor did it undergo any material change in its form or structure, during the many ages through which it was used. Though the agreement between corresponding hieratic and hieroglyphic texts is scarcely perceptible at first sight, it becomes manifest on a careful inspection. But it must always be remembered that the linear hieroglyphics, considered as the hieratic character by Dr. Young, bear a much closer resemblance to the perfect forms of the figures, than the real hieratic—a hand resembling the Chinese, and written with as much rapidity.[3] One peculiarity in this character deserves to be noticed here, as being likely, at first sight, to mislead and give much trouble. In hieratic texts the oval

[1] Discoveries, &c. p. 149. [2] v. 657.

[3] See Dr. Young's Comparison of Manuscripts; Encyclopæd. Britann. Supplement, pl. lxxviii. fig. N; and Champollion's Précis. pl. xii. xviii.

frame (probably an extension of the ring, which seems to have been a symbol of royalty) enclosing the names of kings, is expressed by a semicircle at the beginning of the word, as might be expected; but, at the end, instead of a corresponding curve followed by a straight line, expressive of the remainder of the frame, as is usually the case in the demotic character, three, four, or five dashes, either straight or slightly curved, are substituted for it. How it came to pass that, in a mode of writing in which rapidity was the great object, the number of characters should have been thus needlessly multiplied, it seems at present impossible to explain.

Demotic.

III. The common Egyptian character, called *demotic* from its popular use, *epistolographic* from its fitness for letter-writing, and *enchorial* from its being peculiar to that country, and distinct from the Greek, so familiarly known there under the Ptolemies, seems to have been derived from the hieratic by nearly the same process as that was from the hieroglyphic. It is, however, more simple; not strictly alphabetic, because a small number of images or figures are still found in it; some symbols also, connected with religious subjects, occur; but these figures and symbols are almost invariably so curtailed and simplified, as to lose all resemblance to the objects expressed. The whole, therefore, has the appearance of a written alphabetic character, and the greater part of its elements may be considered as belonging to such a system, being phonetic hieroglyphics reduced to a few lines and dots, a few dashes, curves, and angles, and forming a series of words with little or no relation to the objects which they each, individually, represent. In the direction of the lines from right to left, and in the suppression of many vowels, this system of writing resembles that of the Phœnicians and Hebrews. In having a variety of signs to represent the same sound, it is like the hieratic and hieroglyphic characters, which are its immediate sources.

Description by Clement.

We subjoin a brief account of what was known on this subject in early times. We refer especially to Clemens Alexandrinus, who, as a native of Egypt, has a peculiar claim on our attention, and is the only writer by whom any distinct account of the various modes of writing prevalent in Egypt is given. "That which the Egyptians who are educated," he says,[1] "learn first, is that kind of writing called

[1] Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτερὰν δὲ τὴν ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ᾗ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ἡ δὲ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΗ. Τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν στοιχείων ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, ἡ δ' ὥσπερ ΤΡΟΠΙΚΩΣ γράφεται, ἡ δ' ἀντικρὺς ἀλληγορεῖται ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΑΙΝΙΓΜΟΥΣ "Ηλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΔΟΣ· ΤΡΟΠΙΚΩΣ δὲ κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες χαράττουσιν. Τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδοντες, ἀναγρά-

Epistolographic; next, they learn the Hieratic, which is used by the sacred scribes (*hierogrammateis;*) lastly and finally, the Hieroglyphic (character;) of which one (kind) is cyriologic, or proper, expressing the first elements of speech, and the other symbolic, or figurative. Of the symbolic (characters) one (sort) represents objects in their proper form, (*i. e.* cyriologic,) by *imitation;* the other, as it were, paints them *tropically* or *metaphorically;* and the third, on the contrary, represents them *allegorically*, by means of certain enigmas. Thus when they wish to express the sun they make a circle, for the moon they put the figure of a crescent, according to the cyriologic or proper method, (*i. e.* by imitation,) but when the (text) engraved is in the tropical or metaphorical style, the characters are taken in a metaphorical and altered sense according to their respective analogies, being sometimes diverted from their original meaning, at other times transformed in various ways. Thus when they deliver down to posterity the praises of their kings in theological fictions, they express them by Anaglyphs, (*i. e.* tablets sculptured in bas-relief.) Of the third (or enigmatic) sort (of hieroglyphics) this may serve as an example: the other stars (*i. e.* planets) they represent by the figures of serpents on account of the obliquity of their course; but the sun by that of a beetle, because it forms a round ball of ox-dung, and then rolls it forward before itself. They say, likewise, that this animal lives for six months under ground, and for the remainder of the year above ground; that it impregnates the ball which it has made, and engenders by means of it; and that it has no female."

This is not the place to give any account of the discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet, the blunders of Kircher and Warburton, the Rosetta stone, the ingenuity of Young and Champollion, or the additional discoveries of successive scholars, down to the famed Egyptologers of the present day. Our object has only been to give a succinct view of the science, nor can we refer to the numerous publications connected with the deciphering of those mystic records which bore upon them the wisdom, religion, and history of ancient Egypt. Nor can we enter into any detailed philological account of the primeval tongue of this wonderful race, that have left behind them so many monuments on the banks of the Nile. The Coptic of more modern times is its legitimate descendant, and bears many marked resemblances to its linguistic ancestry. It has, however, been corrupted principally by its large incorporation of such foreign terms as the necessities of conquests and commerce, from time to time, imposed upon it. Such indeed is our present English when

Language of Egypt.

φουσι διὰ τῶν 'ΑΝΑΓΛΥΦΩΝ. Τοῦ δὲ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΝΙΓΜΟΥΣ τρίτου εἴδους δεῖγμα ἐστὶ τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν ὄφεων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον, τὸν δὲ "Ηλιον τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείας ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει· φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξάμηνον μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς, θάτερον δὲ τοῦ ἔτους τμῆμα, τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ γῆς διαιτᾶσθαι· σπερμαίνειν τε εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν καὶ γεννᾶν· καὶ θῆλυν κάνθαρον μὴ γίνεσθαι.—Stromat. v. 657. Ed. Potter.

compared with the pure undiluted Saxon of Wycliffe and Chaucer. Still more than 500 radical etymons of the ancient tongue have now been disinterred.[1] It has affinity with both the Syro-Arabic and Indo-European languages, but of such a kind as to show, that at a period of early and unfixed antiquity, it had been isolated from its sister dialects, and fixed among a singular people, with whom its flexional development was retarded, since every generation, for several centuries, nay millenniums, thought, felt, spoke, walked, and acted in the hallowed and unvaried routine of its revered predecessors.

Theology.

The theology of Egypt was, like every thing else in the country, quite peculiar. The Pantheon had a numerous population, and was not very nice in its selection. The mythology was vast and indefinite, full of symbol and hidden meaning, yet gradually debased into the most ignoble animal worship. It is beyond a doubt that the priests had among themselves esoteric doctrines as to the nature of the divine Being, and a future state; and Plato and Pythagoras may have gathered from them some of their theosophic notions. The tenets of the ancient patriarchal faith were not wholly obscured for ages, but were gradually buried beneath the uncouth and grotesque symbolism of Egyptian ritual. The expositions of their religion given by Egyptians themselves, after it came in contact with Grecian philosophy, are not to be trusted, for they are plainly accommodations to the fashionable belief.[2] Plutarch tells us of an inscription on a temple at Sais which ran thus—"I am all that was, is, and shall be, and my veil no mortal yet uncovered:" and in his famous treatise on Isis and Osiris, he says that philosophers honour the image of God wherever they find it—the animals venerated in Egypt being regarded as mirrors of divinity. Whatever poetry or symbolism may be detected in the earlier native worship of Egypt, though we may discover in its various forms—

Glimpses of earlier truths.

> **The fair humanities of old religion;**
> **The power, the beauty, and the majesty,**
> **That had their haunt in dale or piny mountain,**
> **Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly fountain,—**

though such a view may be entertained, yet when we look at the common conceptions and daily adorations of the masses of the people, we are at once convinced that the whole system, in its practical operation and result, was a low and disgusting Fetichism. Still, amidst this wretched polytheism there appear glimpses of faith in one supreme and sovereign power, while his various attributes were deified in the rank and person of minor divinities. In such

Corruptions.

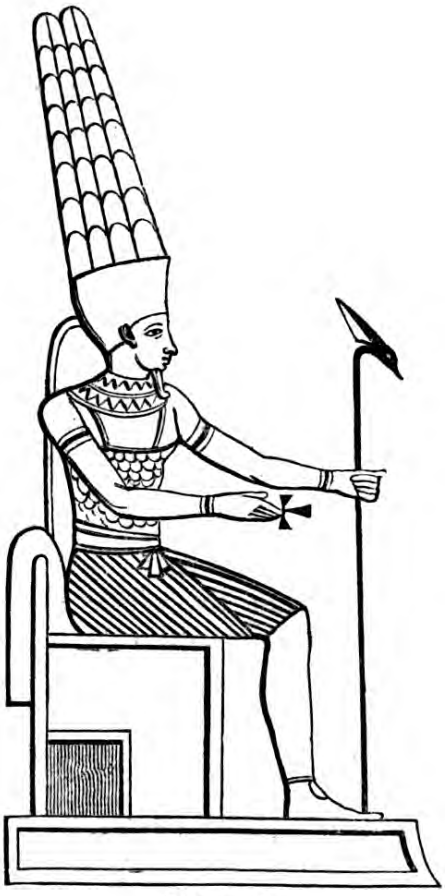
[1] Hinck's Ancient Hieroglyphic Alphabet. Lanci, Paralipomeni all' illustrazione della sagra Scritura, Paris, 1845. Peyron, Lex. Copt. Schwartze, Do., &c. See also page 65, supra.

[2] Corrie's Ancient Fragments, p. 283. Jablonski, Proleg. p. lxxi.

a country, where so much depended on the climate and annual overflow of the river, the excited fancy was soon led to deify these operations of nature. The earliest legends of the country, also, moulded and modified by the priesthood, were soon represented in some embodied shape—the division of the body of Osiris being plainly an allusion to the original number of provinces. Symbols borrowed from their astronomy have also originated a number of deities. The generative power of nature, personified in Athor as a woman and a mother, pervaded the entire mythology. It would seem too that one of the earliest forms of their Godhead was a Triad, consisting of Osiris, Isis, and Horus—the remnant of an earlier and purer creed, in which was contained the primeval truth, that plurality in unity constituted the divine essence. The great gods were eight in number, four male and four female.

Great gods.

Male.	Female.
Amun or Amunra, the sun God,	Maut.
Khem,	Athor.
Kneph,	Neith.
Phthah,	Pasht.



[Amun-ra.]

Each nome had indeed its own god, but these were the principal divinities, and they seem to have been embodied symbols of nature, in its grandeur, power, variety, and life, conceived of under the idea of male and female appetencies and adaptations. The earlier Jove, Pan, Venus, and Vulcan of the European mythology have some resemblance to them. The sphinx, at once so common, and yet so characteristic of Egypt, was a symbol illustrative of these and similar truths; and is of the same class of emblematic creatures, as the Hebrew cherubim, the griffen of the middle ages, and the multiform sculptures of Assyria. Compound animals are common to all ancient and eastern religions, and seem to shadow out the great lesson, that God is to be revered with the united powers of creation, with the combined energies of the highest class of intellectual and physical endowments. There were also twelve gods of the second order.

Sphinx.

Gods of second order.

The child of Ammon:
I. Khunsu (Chōns,) Hercules.

The child of Knēph:
II. Tet (Thoth,) Hermes.

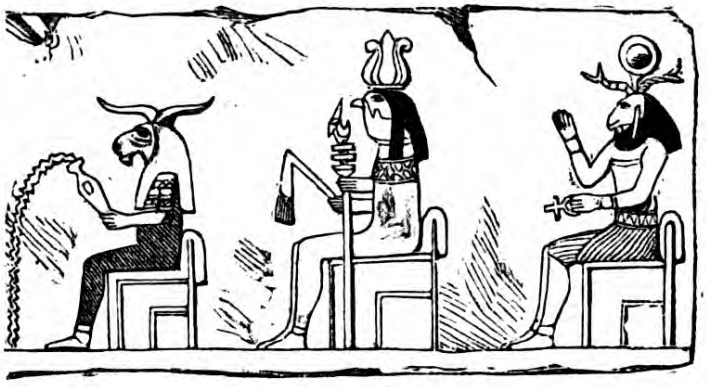
The children of Phtah:
III. Atumu, Atum, Atmu.
IV. Pecht (Bubastis,) the Cat-headed Goddess of Bubastis, Artemis.

The children of Helios:
V. Hat-her (Athyr,) Aphrodite.
VI. Mau.
VII. Ma (Truth.)
VIII. Tefnu, the Lioness-headed Goddess.
IX. Muntu, Munt (Mandulis.)
X. Sebak, Sevek, the Crocodile-headed God.
XI. Seb (Chronos.)
XII. Nutpe, Netpe (Rhea.)

There were also seven gods of the third order.
I. Set, Nubi, Typhon.
II. Hesiri, Osiris.
III. Hes, Isis.
IV. Nebt-hi, Nephthys, the sister of Isis, "the Mistress of the House."
V. Her-hēr, Arōēris, "Hor the elder."
VI. Her, Horus, child of Isis and Osiris.
VII. Anupu, Anubis.[1]

[1] Bunsen, 367.

Osiris and Isis, Horus, Nephthys, and Anubis, were popular divinities; the last was connected with the under-world, while the dark and malignant Typhon was a prince among their demon-gods, to propitiate whom human sacrifices were presented. These multi-



[Egyptian Gods.]

farious divinities held sway over various parts of Egypt, each province paying respect to its own tutelar genius. While in their shape and character one may detect the remnant of ancient truths symbolically pictured, yet it admits not of a doubt that the populace bowed before the idol, and did it homage as a real divinity.

Animal worship.

The animal worship which prevailed was of the most debasing nature. Many of the hypotheses as to the origin of this species of religious service are as silly as itself. All we can affirm is, that some quality for which the animal was distinguished, made it an object of homage. How powerless does the boasted wisdom of Egypt appear, when the veil is lifted from off its national brute adoration! The glory of its sculptures, paintings, conquests, pyramids, and tombs, is sadly dimmed by the thought, that the ox, cat, dog, hawk, and ibis, were prime divinities all over the country; that in several provinces the lion, sheep, goat, ape, and mouse, had each its shrine, its guardians, its ritual, and its votaries—was fed by sacred hands with the choicest dainties, embalmed when dead, and its mummy laid in a consecrated cemetery. Clement of Alexandria truly says,[1]—"Among the Egyptians the temples are surrounded with groves and consecrated pastures; they are furnished with propylæa, and their courts are encircled with an infinite number of columns; their walls glitter with foreign marbles and paintings of the highest art; the *naos* is resplendent with gold and silver and electrum, and variegated stones from India and Ethiopia; the adytum is veiled by a curtain wrought with gold. But if you pass beyond into the remotest part of the enclosure, hastening to behold something yet more excellent, and seek for the image which dwells in the temple, a *pastophorus* or

Clement's account.

[1] Paedag. iii. 2.

some one else of those who minister in sacred things, with a pompous air singing a Pæan in the Egyptian tongue, draws aside a small portion of the curtain, as if about to show us the god; and makes us burst into a loud laugh. For no god is found within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent sprung from the soil, or some such brute animal; the Egyptian deity appears a beast rolling himself on a purple coverlet." Such a puerile insanity as sought gods, even in the herbage of their gardens, could not escape the satire of Juvenal. Satire of Juvenal.

"Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic cœruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!"—*Juven. Satir.* xv.

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd?
Here Ibis gorged with well-grown serpents, there
The crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's statue magic strings inspire
With vocal sounds that emulate the lyre;
And Thebes, such, fate, are thy disastrous turns,
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnished gold:
To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,
The river progeny is there preferr'd:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:
And should you leeks or onions eat, no time
Would expiate the sacrilegious crime,
Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods!

The religion of Egypt partook of the character of its creed, for the character of the divinity adored, regulates alike the faith and practice of his votaries. But here again we meet with obscure forms of older truths, derived from a purer and higher source. Oblations were offered to all the gods; and processions in their honour formed the great national festivals. Oracles also, of no mean repute, were to be found in Egypt—dark and dubious in their responses like those of Greece. There were mysteries, too, open only to the initiated—mysteries shadowing out the sufferings and adventures of Osiris. The mysteries were divided into the less and the greater. The higher mysteries were intrusted only to a few favourites. Novitiates passed through a severe regimen; the Religion. Mysteries.

ordeal of initiation was one of terror, and demanded no ordinary courage.—

> "Ay, even the wisest and the hardiest quail
> To any goblin throned behind a veil."

The Greek mysteries seem to have been brought from Egypt. What was the inner truth of the Egyptian theology we know not—what was the great and coveted secret we cannot now divine. The Greek mysteries soon degenerated into licentious free-masonry, and perhaps those of Egypt ran a similar course of degradation,—yet one can almost realise such a scene of splendour and mystery as Alciphron has depicted from the "Harper's Tomb" of Bruce.

> And O, be blessed! ye men of yore, whose toil
> Hath for her use scooped out of Egypt's soil—
> This hidden paradise—this mine of fanes,
> Gardens and palaces, where pleasure reigns
> In a rich sunless empire of her own,
> With all earth's luxuries lighting up her throne—
> A realm for mystery made, which undermines
> The Nile itself, and 'neath the twelve great shrines
> That keep initiation's holy rite,
> Spreads its long labyrinths of unearthly light—
> A light that knows no change—its brooks that run
> Too deep for day—its gardens without sun,
> Where soul and sense by turns are charmed, surprised,
> And all that bard or prophet e'er devised
> For man's Elysium, priests have realised.[1]

Sacred books.

Of what are called the sacred books of the Egyptians, we have some account in Clement of Alexandria. Their canon, according to his report, consisted of forty-two sections. In six of these the art of medicine was discussed and illustrated. The other thirty-six books seem to have been arranged into five grand classes. In the front of the first division stood ὁ ᾠδός—the minstrel—a collection of sacred hymns, and it was followed by a treatise on the functions and prerogatives of royalty. In the second grand section were comprised the four books, named the "Astronomer," treating of the fixed stars, and of the motions, phases, and conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, and perhaps not altogether free from the vague speculations of astrology. The third division of the sacred code formed the ten books of the "Hierogrammatist," one of which contained a notice of the art of writing and of hieroglyphics, another was a tract on geography—remnants of which have been preserved—and others again related to the planetary system. These were followed by geographical sketches of Egypt and its boundaries, its rivers and its temples, and weights and measures were also included. The

[1] Alciphron, page 67.

fourth division of the sacred collection was also composed of ten books, which had special reference to ceremonies and observances—sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, and religious processions. The last class were named generally the Hieratic writings, and were confided to the charge of the prophets, a chief rank in the sacerdotal order. They contained instruction in reference to laws, gods, and the complete education of the hierarchy. The contents of these ancient books are lost to us, and the references to them by Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Stobaeus, Apollonius Rhodius, are not always so accurate as to be confidently trusted. There can be no doubt, however, that sections of these old writings found their way into general circulation, and that their sacred guardians, in a moment of liberality, occasionally gave an oral description of portions of their contents. Herodotus and Diodorus refer to the "learning" of the Egyptians, to their long lists of kings so scrupulously preserved. The learned men of the old world looked upon Egypt as a country of portents and marvels, and while they gleaned a little information as to its legends, annals, and customs, their credulity was sometimes imposed upon by the startling stories of their guides and instructors. The Egyptian priesthood dazzled the eyes of an inquiring foreigner by the fictitious glare they threw around their books and institutions. They amazed him with the rehearsal of glowing wonders, appalled him with the idea of a vast antiquity, and silenced his scepticism by an appeal to mystic rolls he could not decipher, and hoary books, the sight of whose strange pictorial pages only heightened his admiration, but increased his perplexity.

Reports by ancient authors.

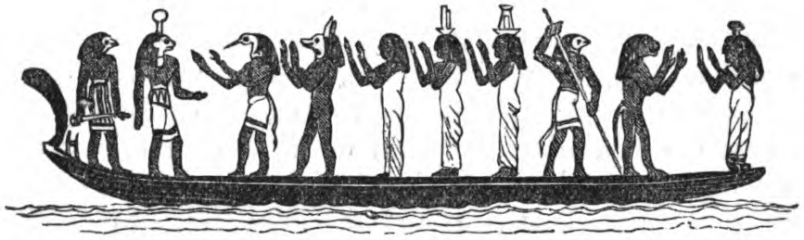
A portion of these sacred books has been preserved down to our own time. It was found in the royal tombs at Thebes, and one similar to it was discovered by Champollion in the Museum at Turin. Champollion thought it a species of liturgy—*Rituel funéraire.* Lepsius, after abler and more thorough examination, has named it *das Todten-buch*—the Book of the Dead. Lepsius supposes the papyrus to belong to the fifteenth or sixteenth century before the Christian era, and Bunsen imagines that it formed one of the ten of the fourth class to which we already adverted. Lepsius says in his preface,[1] "This book furnishes the only example of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic time—a compilation, indeed, made at various times and probably in various parts of Egypt, but one, the original plan of which unquestionably belongs to the remotest age, and which doubtless, like the other sacred books, was ascribed to Hermes or Thoth. This figurative authorship is no invention of later times, for in the text of the work itself mention repeatedly occurs of '*the Book*,' as well as of the 'Books of Thoth,' (chaps. 68, 6. 94, 1, 2.) and in the vignette to chapter 94, the deceased himself is offering to Thoth the Hermetic Book to which

The Book of the Dead.

1 p. 16.

Its contents.

these allusions apply." The document presents a full series of the funeral observances of the ancient Egyptians, and exhibits their brutish Pantheon from Osiris, the final judge, to the ever-recurring beetle, with its inextricable functions and relations. There too, in different and succeeding sections, we have the funeral solemnities, the procession with its windings, the mummy under a canopy, mourning attendants, the vessel which is to waft the



[Mystic Ferry-boat.—*Rosellini.*]

corpse over the sacred lake, and the tomb with its usual emblems. But as the last libation is emptied, Anubis is pictured laying his hand on the dead body, and beyond the grave the departed re-appears, unshrouded and in lowly adoration before the Sun-god. In the other world the *Shade*, in his second life, appears now as a suppliant, and now he is pictured as combating with monstrous shapes of scorpions and crocodiles, but he gains the victory. Elysian fields are then rudely sketched, and in them the "Immortal" appears in all the various processes of successful husbandry.

Scene of the last judgment.

But nigh him is the last Hall of Judgment, where sits the stern arbiter, Osiris, with the small tablet on his breast, and before and around him are his balance, his secretary, and his forty-two assessors. It is remarkable that this balance has in one of its scales a statue of divine justice, and in the other the heart of the deceased.



[Final Judgment—Weighing a Soul.—*Wilkinson.*]

This scale the dead man watches himself, but Anubis guards the other. Each of the forty-two judges records his own decision—a separate verdict. Horus examines the plummet, and Thoth records the sentence. The person at the bar of these solemn judges is allowed to plead in his own behalf. "I have defrauded no man; I have not slaughtered the cattle of the gods, I have not prevaricated at the seat of justice, I have not made slaves of the Egyptians, I have not defiled my conscience for the sake of my superior, I have not used violence, I have not famished my household, I have not made to weep, I have not smitten privily, I have not changed the measures of Egypt, I have not grieved the spirits of the gods, I have not committed adultery, I have not forged signet rings, I have not falsified the weights of the balance, I have not withheld milk from the mouths of my children." "I have not pierced the banks of the Nile in its annual increase, I have not separated to myself an arm of the Nile in its advance." These passages render it probable that in ancient as in modern times, an important part of the revenue of Egypt was raised by imposing a tribute upon the lands overflowed by the annual inundation; so that to obtain any portion of these fertilizing waters secretly was to defraud the state. This singular disavowal concludes thus: "I have not disturbed the gazelles of the gods in their pasturage, I have not netted the water-fowl of the gods, I have not caught the sacred fishes." It may be inferred from this and other sections, that there were parks or pre-

Pleading before the last tribunal.



Judgment and Future Destiny, *from the Sarcophagus of Alexander.*]

serves around the Egyptian temples where the sacred animals were kept, and that it was sacrilege to take them. "I have not despised the gods in their offerings;" in other words, "I have not offered to the gods that which is imperfect, I have not bound the cattle of the gods, I have not pierced the god in his manifestation." It is plain that there are shadowed out in many of these hieroglyphs, the hopes and fears of a guilty bosom; for should the spirit when judged be discovered unworthy of admission to paradise, it is ignominiously driven off to a darker world, and made to assume a bestial form, typical of its sensual character and grovelling pursuits. Thus, as in the preceding illustration, a glutton is condemned to assume the form of a hog, and is sent off under the guidance of a foul spirit to wallow in a stye, and feed upon "husks." But if the spirit has been acquitted, it rises higher in glory and in susceptibility of enjoyment. It joins the happy throng who bathe in the pure river of water of life that encircles their dwelling. Above them stands the memorable inscription—"They have found favour in the eyes of the great God, they dwell in mansions of glory, and enjoy the celestial life—the bodies which they have forsaken shall sleep for ever in their sepulchres, while they shall rejoice in the presence of God most High." Many momentous truths belonging to the faith of an early world, to which, with all its aberration, the human spirit clings so tenaciously, are in those symbols rudely and impressively sketched. The ideas of immortality and retribution are singularly masqued under such quaint memorials.

Various sentences.

Connection of Egypt with Judæa.

Thus the Egyptian theology embraced much that remained of patriarchal faith—the first religion of the world. In fact the name of the great god, Amon, Hamon, or Khem, is but a disguised form of the name of their prime father—Ham. The Mosaic economy had many similar elements—in its ark, cherubim, and priesthood. Not that there was a direct imitation on the part of Moses, but in Egypt the worship of very ancient times had been perpetuated to some extent, though it was disfigured with many corruptions, so that those rites which had been polluted by idolatrous abuse had to be repurified and set apart to their original purpose. This reconsecration of portions of the Egyptian ritual was the more necessary among a people who had been so long trained to the national superstitions of the land of the Pharaohs, and needed to be gradually weaned from their seductive idolatries. The manners and peculiarities of Egypt shed a new light over many portions of the sacred volume. The Egypt of Scripture is a real country, and every allusion to it has been amply verified. Pharaoh serves Jehovah; and in hundreds of instances the wonders and monuments of the great valley of the Nile confirm and illustrate the Hebrew oracles.

Ancient and modern Egypt.

In conclusion, what a startling contrast modern Egypt presents to ancient Egypt! What a melancholy change has passed over the country from the period of the visits of Plato and Pythagoras to those

of Wilkinson and Lepsius! From Sesostris to Mehemet Ali, how terrible its reverses—from Cambyses to Bonaparte, how proud and unsparing its invaders! Its meagre population have sunk into degradation and slavery, while a series of foreign despots have robbed the trembling peasantry of the fruit of their toil. The works of ancient and patriotic art, so essential to agricultural prosperity, have been long neglected; and the national, monuments fast crumbling to ruin, are desecrated and plundered by the inquisitive stranger. The abodes of the dead have been eagerly ransacked, and the coveted relics occupy a cherished and prominent place in the great museums of Europe. Nay, mummies and coffins, not excepting those of the Pharaohs, and their royal kindred, form a frequent and favourite fuel to the Arab squatter, who prepares his meals on these strange and sacrilegious fires. The world's greatness is transient—man's glory speedily fades— The contrast.

> "Nor man alone, his breathing bust expires—
> His tomb is mortal—empires die."

And yet what country attracts such notice as this scene of wide and varied ruins. Even at the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations in London, one of the objects of foreign artistic curiosity is a book on "Ancient Egypt," by Dr. Schwartze, and published by Barth at Leipzig. It is described in the catalogue as "printed in twenty-seven languages—being the first instance of hieroglyphics executed in print—the work having been accomplished by means of more than three thousand stamps cut for the purpose."



[Serpent Charmers, *from an original sketch.*]



[Egyptian Dresser and Pots.—*British Museum.*]



CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF ASSYRIA.

Antiquity.

The mighty empires of the East equal, if they do not surpass, the splendours of the Egyptian monarchy; and they lay claim to an equal antiquity. Satisfied with those tracts of country which formed the original haunts of mankind, and lay so close upon the mountain whence Noah descended from the stranded ark, their founders needed not to perform a long or tedious pilgrimage in search of new settlements. The Gordiaean mountains are probably the Ararat of Scripture,[1] and they lie in the vicinity of Nineveh. The fertile plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates naturally attracted the post-diluvian tribes, and Babylon and Nineveh soon came into existence.

Boundaries.

Assyria, properly so called, in 36° N. lat. was bounded on the north by Armenia, on the west by the river Tigris, on the south by Babylonia, and on the east was separated from Media by a chain of mountains, called Mount Zagrus, now Tag-aighi. The dominions of the Assyrian monarchy consisted of many small provinces, the most noted of which were the following:—1. Arapachitis, bordering on Armenia. 2. Corduem, a mountainous territory, the ancient residence of the Carduchi, mentioned by Xenophon in his "Anabasis." 3. Adiabene, in Strabo's time the most considerable province in

[1] Bochart, Geographia Sacra, cap. iii.

Assyria. 4. Calachene, lying between the mountains of Armenia and Zabus Major. 5. Apollianatis, watered by the river Ganges. 6. Settacene, by some reckoned a portion of Babylonia. 7. Chalonitis, separated from Media by a branch of Mount Taurus.

Chaldæa. On the other hand, Chaldæa is frequently used in the sacred writers for the whole of the Babylonian empire, but is taken in a more limited sense by the Greeks; and Ptolemy restricts it to the western bank of the Euphrates, between Babylon (near Hillah) and the mouth of that river; Babylonia being, according to him, that part of the peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates, (now Irák, Arabí, or the Arabian Irák,) which reaches from the isthmus, near Seleucia, to the Persian Gulf. The latter stream also gave rise to the two primary divisions of the Babylonian empire; the regions on either side being called Aram and Aram Naharaïm (Aram between the two streams) by the Hebrews; Syria and Assyria by the Greeks. The latter, which seems to be the country usually meant as that inhabited by the Casdím or Chaldæans of the Scriptures, was the space comprehended between the Mount Niphates,[1] near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris on the north, and the Persian Gulf on the south, while Mount Taurus, with the Syrian deserts, were its western, and the Carduchian mountains (Kurdistán) and river Tigris its eastern boundaries.

Divisions. It was divided into four natural subdivisions:—1. Mesopotamia, the northern part of the peninsula comprehended between the two rivers, and bounded on the south by the isthmus, near Ctesiphon, (Madáyin.) 2. Adiabene, anciently called the plains of Aturia,[2] a name which had probably the same origin as Assyria. 3. Babylonia, the southern part of that peninsula, from the isthmus to the confluence of the two streams. And 4. Chaldæa Proper, the limits of which have been already mentioned.

Appearance of the country. From the 38th parallel of northern latitude, where the Euphrates forces its way through Mount Taurus, not far to the south and west of the sources of the Tigris, those lofty mountains which separate Armenia from Syria and Mesopotamia sink rapidly into vast plains, rich and fertile where watered by those mighty streams, but forming one boundless desert wherever the distance from the river is considerable. The most productive part of these plains is the peninsula,

The Rivers. enclosed between the Tigris and Euphrates, and deriving its names of similar import, Mesopotamia and Al-Jezírah, from its position between them. The latter river not only has a much longer course, and consequently a larger body of water, but flows through a more level tract of country than the former, which runs between steep and rugged banks, till it approaches its point of junction with the Euphrates. This stream, therefore, being always nearly on a level with its banks, overflows as soon as the snows melt in the northern

[1] Ptol. vii. c. i. [2] Strabo, xvi.

mountains, and to devise some method for the dispersion of its superabundant waters was so indispensable to the existence of the Chaldæans, that no country in the world, probably, was so soon intersected by canals and reservoirs as theirs. To divert the overflowing waters into new channels; to raise embankments for the protection of their fields; to form tanks, lakes, and marshes, or rather to confine the latter within due limits, were labours of which this people soon felt the utility; and as was the case with the Egyptians, their powers of mind were called forth at an early period of the world by the peculiar condition of their country. The canals, several of which reached from one stream to the other, served not only to prevent the lands from being flooded, but enabled the cultivator to distribute the water equally, and were employed in time of war as a protection against the enemy. The largest of the canals was the Royal River, which joined the Tigris and Euphrates above Babylon, and was wide and deep enough to be navigated by trading vessels. The embankments were among the most ancient of these public works, and several of them were ascribed to Semiramis; others were formed by order of Nitocris on both sides of the stream, and had an extraordinary height and breadth.[1] The quays and wharfs, also within the city of Babylon, excited the admiration of strangers. One of the reservoirs dug by Nitocris, was not less than five miles in circumference, and entirely lined with stone.[2] The Pallacopas, a large navigable canal on the west side of the river, beginning about eighty miles below Babylon, and one hundred and sixty from the sea, drained the wide morasses through which it passed. This great work was executed by one of the Babylonian Satraps, and occupied 10,000 men for three months. It was, however, soon choked up in consequence of the soft loamy nature of the soil; a circumstance which, together with numerous draughts into the Tigris, has caused the original bed of the Euphrates to be gradually filled up, so that the latter has for many ages changed its course, and uniting with the Tigris, about sixty miles above the Persian Gulf, flowed in one stream to the immediate neighbourhood of the sea. Besides these numerous canals and outlets, there were machines to raise the water and convey it to higher levels, so that the soil, which was generally a rich loam, was everywhere abundantly supplied with moisture.

Canals.

Reservoirs.

Babylonia, thus irrigated, could not fail to be, as Herodotus[3] assures us it was, "the best and most fertile in grain of any country known." It produced, indeed, neither figs, vines, nor olive-trees, but to make up for this deficiency, it yielded all sorts of grain in such abundance as always to give a return of two hundred for one, and in favourable years, as much as three hundred for one on the seed sown. "The leaf of the wheat and barley," (probably different kinds of *sorghum*, the *dhurrah* of the Arabs,) says the same

Fertility.

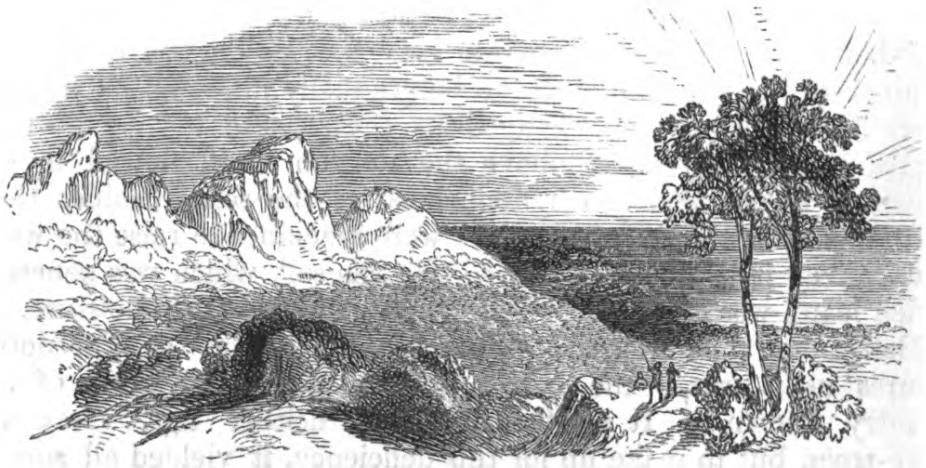
Vegetables.

[1] Herodotus, i. 184, 185. [2] Herod. ibid. [3] i. 193.

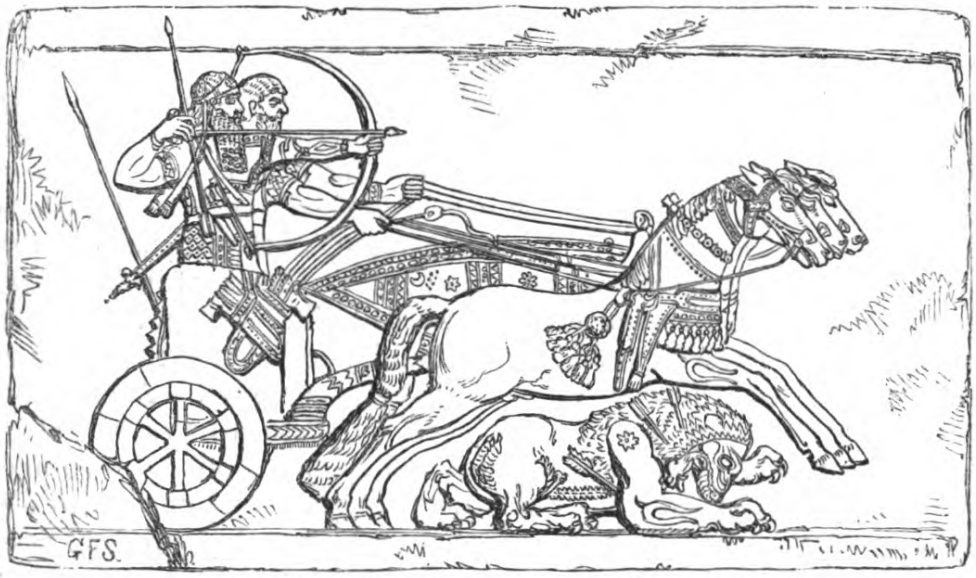
historian,[1] "is as much as four fingers in width, and the stalks of the millet (*Panicum Miliacum*,) and sesamum so tall, that no one who has never been in that country would believe me were I to mention their height." But trees were as rare as smaller vegetables were abundant; scarcely any but cypresses and palms were to be seen; with the latter the plains round Babylon were covered, and part of their fruit was eaten, part made into wine and honey, like the tári (*toddy*) and jagarí of the Indians. Sesamum was another valuable plant, much cultivated in Babylonia on account of its oil. Though ill-provided with stone, Babylonia afforded abundance of clay for building, and in more than one place was found asphaltus or mineral pitch, an admirable substitute for lime and mortar. Some springs near the Euphrates yielded the dry sort which could be easily congealed. The liquid species, called naphtha, was also got in Babylonia; and Posidonius says that some of the Babylonian springs of naphtha are white and others black, the former yielding liquid sulphur and attracting flames, the latter liquid asphaltus, which is used for lamps instead of oil. Is, now called Híf, about one hundred and thirty miles to the north of Babylon, was the place whence the asphaltus used in building the walls of that city was brought, and the springs near it still produce abundance of that mineral.

Minerals.

[1] i. 193.



The Caspian Sea.]



Assyrian Warriors Hunting the Lion—North-West Palace, Nimroud.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.

Early Origin and History.

One of the first projects of men after the flood was the attempt to erect a colossal tower. The purpose of this huge structure was not to afford a sure refuge to its builders in case of a second deluge, for had such been the object, it would have been placed on the summit of a mountain rather than founded on a low alluvial plain. Nor can we regard the tower as a gigantic observatory for the purpose of exploring the heavens, or look upon it simply as a temple for the worship of the celestial luminaries. It seems to have been constructed as a central rallying point—a fort of common defence—the symbol and cradle of a universal monarchy—a protest against the dispersion and colonization of the early world. The architects thus express their audacious purpose—"Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." They wished to construct a monument of enduring fame, and chose the best materials their country could afford: "And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." That this tower was the commencement of Babylon we are inclined to believe. The similarity of the names and uninterrupted tradition alike confirm the hypothesis. That Shinâr, or Sennaar, was the plain on which Babylon afterwards stood, appears from various passages in the

Tower of Babel.

Scriptures, as well as from Josephus. That historian ascribes the building of the tower to Nimrod;[1] and the traditions still current in Asia have, as we shall see presently, affixed the name of that prince to some of the remains of Babylon. Abydenus (as quoted by Eusebius[2]) tells us that the first men, contemning the power and authority of the gods, and relying on their own extraordinary strength, built a lofty tower, which nearly reached the sky, in the place where Babel then stood. But the winds coming to the assistance of the gods, they overturned the whole mass upon the heads of its builders, and from its ruins Babylon was afterwards built. The gods, also, at the same time, caused mankind, who had before all spoken the same language, to speak henceforward in different tongues. A tradition of a similar tendency is also mentioned by Plato, who says, that in the golden age one common language was spoken both by men and beasts, but that Jupiter confounded their tongues as a punishment for their insolence in claiming immortality and eternal youth.[3] These traditions show that traces of the Mosaic account were scattered far and wide among the nations of Asia. The immediate consequence of this confusion of tongues was the separation and dispersion of the different branches of the great patriarchal family; and the buildings which they had begun were discontinued: "they left off to build the city," says Moses;[4] but it must have been continued subsequently, for he adds,[5] that the name of it was called Babel, (for *Balbèl*, confusion,) in consequence of this confusion of the tongues of its builders. It is also mentioned as the chief city in the kingdom of Nimrod the son of Cush; but it is never again spoken of till the time of the captivity of the Israelites under Hoshea, 730 years before the birth of Christ. So that for an interval of at least 1515 years we have no account of this city in the Scriptures.

Nineveh.

The second and rival city was Nineveh,[6] which, according to Diodorus Siculus, was the most magnificent and the largest city in the world. We are inclined to doubt the historian's entire accuracy the more, because he fixes the site of Nineveh upon the Euphrates, whereas it stood upon the eastern bank of the Tigris. It appears, however, that the walls of this city were an hundred feet high, and so thick that three chariots could easily drive abreast upon them; and that they were fortified with 1500 towers, two hundred feet high; these are, perhaps, the only particulars upon which any reliance can be placed. To Nimrod is also attributed, by the sacred historian, the foundation of this early branch of the Assyrian empire. He was the son of Cush, and is called in the Scriptures "a mighty hunter before the Lord;" by which is generally understood an impious and enterprising conqueror. It is further said, according to the better reading of the margin of our Bibles, that he went into Assyria and

Nimrod.

[1] See Bochart's Phaleg. i. 10. [2] Præpar. Evangel. ix. 14.
[3] Plato, Polit. p. 272. ed. Steph. [4] Genesis xi. 8. [5] ver. 9.
[6] The name Nen-i-u, was found by Champollion on the tablet of Karnak.

took possession of that country; from which it is universally concluded that he was the founder of the Assyrian empire. The original Hebrew will admit of another rendering, but the one given appears preferable.[1] Upon the same authority he is distinctly stated to be the builder of Nineveh, which city his son Ninus probably finished; and the class of his achievements may be easily inferred, when, with these specified works, so brief but accurate a record says of him, "he began to be a mighty one in the earth." Ninus[2] succeeded his father Nimrod, and, according to Diodorus, marched with a numerous army against the Bactrians. In this war he would have been unsuccessful, but for the advice of the famous Semiramis, whom he afterwards married. Ninyas was the fruit of this marriage. Semiramis ascended the throne after the death of Ninus, and is said to have adorned and enlarged Babylon beyond all former precedent, and to have caused the erection of those edifices which rendered it the most magnificent city in the world. Ninyas succeeded her; after whose death the names even of those who followed in the empire have not reached us. During thirty generations we have no history until we come to Sardanapalus, who flourished, according to the Greek historians, B.C. 767. He reigned twenty years, was noted for his luxury, and was dethroned by two of his officers—Arbaces, governor of Media, and Belesis, governor of Babylon. With this monarch ended the first Assyrian empire.

Ninus.

Succinct history.

Out of the ruins of this unwieldy monarchy were formed three kingdoms—the kingdom of Media, the kingdom of Babylon, and the kingdom of Nineveh. About this period reigned Pul, to whom Menahem, king of Israel, gave tribute, that Assyrian influence might "confirm" him in that kingdom which he had won by conspiracy and assassination. Belesis was king of Babylon, B.C. 747, and is the same with Nabonassar. He was succeeded by his son Merodach-baladan. Tiglath-pileser (Lord of the Tigris) may have reigned in Nineveh, B.C. 747, and he was succeeded by Shalmaneser, B.C. 728, who reigned fourteen years. Sennacherib his son came to the throne B.C. 717. This prince made war upon Hezekiah, but was foiled by divine interposition; and returning to Nineveh discomfited, he was there slain by his sons whilst worshipping in the temple of his god Nisroch. Esar-haddon, the assassins having fled, ascended the vacant throne, B.C. 710, and added Babylon to his father's conquests. Thus the two kingdoms of the second Assyrian empire were united. Esar-haddon reigned thirty-nine years, and left his sceptre to his son Saosduchinus, B.C. 669. Prideaux supposes him to have been the Nebu-

Second Assyrian Empire.

Esar-haddon.

[1] Onkelos, Bochart, Clericus, Rosenmüller, and Tuch, defend the marginal reading, but the other has in its favour, von Bohlen, Michaelis, Perizonius, and others.

[2] Ninus is at least an eponymous cognomen. Nineveh signifies the abode of Ninus.



[Esar-haddon—Assyrian Sculpture.—*Brit. Mus.*]

chadonosor of the book of Judith; but Chyniladan, who succeeded him, and was an active and warlike prince, was this Nebuchadonosor of the Scripture. Saracus succeeded Chyniladan, B.C. 648. Under this prince Nineveh was taken and utterly destroyed by Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and Nabopolassar usurped the sovereignty of Babylon, B.C. 626, from which period Babylon became the only capital of the second Assyrian kingdom. Such is the brief and scanty history of the Ninevitic empire. Some ancient writers have attempted to supply the chasm prior to the era of Sardanapalus. A list of sovereigns is given by Ctesias, though little reliance can be placed upon it. The authority of Ctesias is bluntly set at nought by ancient authors, such as Aristotle, Plutarch, and Aulus Gellius. But Ctesias, from his long abode in the East, must have had ample opportunities of gathering varied information, and he is scarcely to be judged of by the brief extracts which other writers have preserved of his histories. The subjoined list is from Eusebius and Syncellus:—

According to EUSEBIUS:				According to SYNCELLUS:			
Ninus,	reigned	52	years.	Belus,	reigned	55	years.
Semiramis,	"	42	"	Ninus,	"	52	"
Zameis or Ninyas,	"	38	"	Semiramis,	"	42	"
Arius,	"	30	"	Ninyas,	"	38	"
Aralius,	"	40	"	Arius,	"	30	"
Xerxes or Baleus,	"	30	"	Aralius,	"	40	"
Armamitres,	"	38	"	Xerxes,	"	30	"
Belochus,	"	35	"	Armamithres,	"	38	"
Balæus,	"	52	"	Belochus,	"	35	"
Altadas,	"	32	"	Balæus,	"	52	"
Mamitus,	"	30	"	Sethos,	"	32	"
Manchaleus,	"	32	"	Mamythus,	"	30	"
Spherus,	"	20	"	Aschalius,	"	28	"
Mamitus,	"	30	"	Sphærus,	"	22	"
Sparetus,	"	40	"	Mamylus,	"	30	"
Astacadis,	"	40	"	Sparthæus,	"	42	"
Amyntes,	"	45	"	Ascatades,	"	48	"
Belochus,	"	25	"	Amyntes,	"	45	"
Bellepares,	"	30	"	Belochus,	"	25	"
Lamprides,	"	32	"	Belatores,	"	30	"
Sosares,	"	20	"	Lamprides,	"	30	"
Lampares,	"	30	"	Sosares,	"	20	"
Panyas,	"	45	"	Lampraes,	"	30	"
Sosarmus,	"	19	"	Panyas,	"	45	"
Mitreus,	"	27	"	Sosarmus,	"	22	"
Tautanes,	"	32	"	Mithraus,	"	27	"
Teuteus,	"	40	"	Teutamus or Tautanes,	"	32	"
* * *				Teutæus,	"	44	"
* * *				Arabelus,	"	42	"
* * *				Chalaus,	"	45	"
Thinæus,	"	30	"	Anebus,	"	38	"
Dercilus,	"	40	"	Babios,	"	37	"
Eupales,	"	38	"	* * *			
Laosthenes,	"	45	"	Dercylus,	"	40	"
Pyriatides,	"	30	"	Enpacmes,	"	48	"
Ophrateus,	"	20	"	Laosthenes,	"	45	"
Ophratenes,	"	50	"	Pertiades,	"	30	"
Ocrazapes,	"	42	"	Ophratæus,	"	21	"
Tonos Concoleros, by the Greeks called Sardanapalus,	"	20	"	Epheceres,	"	52	"
				Acraganes,	"	42	"
				Thonos Concoleros,	"	15	"
Total,		1240	years.	Total,		1460	years.

List of kings.

Still during this period the monuments seem to prove that a race of mighty kings and conquerors had their seat in Nineveh. These monuments, when fully examined, may enable us to catch a glimpse

Proof from the monuments.

of the early continuous history of ancient Assyria; and on the oldest group yet discovered some names have been deciphered:[1]—

Names from the monuments.

Beltechus, perhaps the same as Belus.
Temenbar I.
Hevenk I.
Katibar.
Assar-adon-pal, builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud.
Temenbar II., his son.
Shemin-Her.
Hevenk II., his son.

We wait for the results of ampler investigation, for the discoveries which have been so unexpectedly and successfully made warrant us to hope that they are but the first-fruits of an ample and magnificent harvest. What was once treated as fable now appears to be fact; the haze has been cleared away, and the eye rests with delight on the spectacle of the recovered history of a people whose antiquity was a proverb to the classic nations of Europe.

Assyria and Scripture.

The connection of early Assyria with Scripture may be described in a few sentences. The country derives its name from Asshur, the



[The King—North-West Palace, Nimroud.]

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xii.

second son of Shem. The rivers Tigris or Hiddekel[1] and Euphrates are referred to in Genesis, as having been connected with the garden of Eden. The prince of Shinar was but a petty chieftain in the days of Abraham, and had not been overshadowed by the rising power in his vicinity; or perhaps Amraphel may have been an Assyrian viceroy. The monarchy of Nimrod was an intrusion among the Semitic tribes, and probably did not last many years. In the days of Balaam, Assyria had risen into importance, and in one of his oracles he warned the Kenite tribe, that they should be surprised among their rocky fastnesses, and "Asshur should lead them captive[2] —an oracle fulfilled in the reign of Pul and Tiglath-pileser. Cushan-rishathaim is referred to in the period of the Judges, as having held Israel eight years in servitude.[3] Mention is not made of Assyria again till the invasion by Pul, under the reign of Menahem. Perhaps under this sovereign may be placed the mission of Jonah to Nineveh, which by this time had become a flourishing and dissolute metropolis. The repeated and solemn warning of the unknown foreigner had a startling effect on the great city, and its merited doom was in Divine clemency postponed. The other allusions in the Bible to the Assyrian power have been given in a preceding paragraph.

References in Scripture.

Mission of Jonah.

Ancient Assyria was also connected with Egypt. The tablet of Karnak seems to prove it. During the bright period of the eighteenth dynasty, the Egyptian arms had penetrated to the Euphrates. Birch has even attempted to identify several names of the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties, with familiar Assyrian appellations—the Egyptian Osorchon, Nimrot, and Takiluthâ, being the Hamite form of the eastern Sargon, Nimrod, and Tiglath.

We shall now present in fuller details some portions of the early annals of Nineveh. Ancient writers dwell at length on the history and character of queen Semiramis.[4] Their descriptions show that her history is to a large extent a tissue of legendary traditions. The outline of her history may be mythical, and yet the story itself seems to contain some unquestionable facts. She was descended, according to mythical report, from the celebrated goddess Derceto, to whom a temple was erected in the vicinity of Ascalon in Syria. Derceto having incurred the displeasure of Venus, was punished by the offended goddess, in causing her to indulge a violent passion for a youth who was presenting sacrifice to her. The consequence of the amour was, that she had a daughter by him; but feeling the deepest shame on account of the crime she had committed,

Semiramis.

Her fabled descent.

[1] The river is still named as in Scripture by many tribes on its banks, and both it and the modern name Tigris seem to have originated in allusion to the *swiftness* of the current. The Euphrates is named Perath in Hebrew—a name referring to the *sweetness* of its waters. The Tigris has a course of about 1042 miles, and the Euphrates one of about 1700, while the basin of both streams comprises an area of 230,000 square miles.

[2] Numbers xxiii. 22.

[3] Judges iii. 8.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii.

she had recourse to the still more criminal expedient of attempting concealment, by murdering her paramour, and exposing the infant in a desert. Driven to distraction by the consciousness of what she had done, she endeavoured to get rid for ever of the remorseful feeling by throwing herself into the lake, when she was instantly transformed into a fish. Her child is said to have been miraculously preserved alive by a flock of pigeons, which fed it with milk, and whose downy wings afforded it shelter from inclement skies. The birds were observed to procure cheese, as a more substantial food, when their little *protegé* seemed to require it, till the neighbouring shepherds took the infant under their protection. The king's principal shepherd, Simma, having no family, at length adopted her under the name of Semiramis, a Syriac term, signifying *doves* or *pigeons*, in allusion to the circumstances of her preservation. Bryant has remarked, that the name is compounded of Sama and Ramas or Ramis, implying a divine token, the type of Providence; and that, as a military ensign, it consisted of the figure of a dove, probably encircled with the iris—these emblems being frequently represented together. Those who marched under that standard, or paid deference to the emblem, were styled Semarim and Semorim. One of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis, from having, as he believes, the sacred emblem of Sama-rama, or the dove, engraven over it by way of distinction; and most likely the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, derived its name from the same hieroglyphic. We may, at least, ascertain thus much, in point of fact, that Semiramis was born at or near Ascalon.

Origin of her name.

According to the same antiquarian, the diversity of opinion that prevails among authors with regard to the time when Semiramis lived, is such as must necessarily discredit her entire history; but without admitting so large a conclusion, the following list will exhibit a very extraordinary variation. At the same time we have already intimated, that the widest chronological deviations do not by any means disprove the existence or the alleged actions of celebrated ancient heroes. The course of our history assigns her to the age of Ninus, and the record of her achievements brings her into contact with certain remarkable events of indubitable occurrence.

Time when Semiramis lived.

According to	Syncellus,	Semiramis lived	before Christ,	2177 years.
—	Petavius,	—	—	2060 "
—	Helvicus,	—	—	2248 "
—	Eusebius,	—	—	1984 "
—	Jackson,	—	—	1964 "
—	Archbishop Usher,		—	1215 "
—	Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon,			1200 "

Tradition has given to Semiramis surpassing beauty and captivating talents, which we must of course expect to find after reading the

account of her romantic infancy. It would be a sad defect in the story to describe the heroine of such adventures as any thing less than a demi-goddess. It will be sufficient to admit that she did possess certain interesting and great qualities of mind. Be this as it may, Menon, a principal person in the king's council, and governor of Assyria, having been commissioned to inspect the cattle, saw Semiramis at the house of Simma, and falling deeply in love persuaded her to accompany him to Nineveh, where his attachment was rewarded in marriage, and from this propitious union proceeded two sons. She possessed an uncontrolled influence over her admiring husband, whose own celebrity was enhanced by the suggestions of her wisdom, and who, consequently, on every occasion, paid an implicit deference to her judgment.

Her marriage.

In the progress of the conquests of Ninus in Bactria, and when he was besieging the capital of the empire, Semiramis resorted to the camp, at the call, as it is said, of her impatient husband, who was a close attendant upon the king. Having acquired that ascendancy which superior understandings soon obtain over those of less penetration and sagacity, she ventured to express herself freely upon the methods which were adopted in conducting the siege, pointing out what she deemed to be errors, and suggesting especially the advantage likely to ensue from attacking the citadel, one of the chief places of strength, instead of confining their efforts to more vulnerable, indeed, but less important parts of the defence. She prevailed so far as to be appointed to lead a division of picked men, who were particularly skilled in climbing, and with these she at once succeeded in seizing on the fortress, and opening a passage for the Assyrians.

Visit to the camp before Bactria.

The extraordinary chivalry displayed in this action, and the success of her spirited efforts, aided by her beauty, excited in Ninus so ardent and irresistible a passion for her, that he used every means to induce her husband to relinquish her to him. In vain, however, did he solicit; in vain did he even promise Menon his own daughter, Sosana, in marriage; till at last, proceeding from entreaties to threats, and particularly the cruel one of putting out his eyes, her husband committed suicide in despair, and the infamous conqueror possessed himself of Semiramis, and exalted her to an ill-acquired sovereignty.

Ninus marries her.

After the return of Ninus from this war, in which he had accumulated immense treasures, Semiramis brought him a son, who was called Ninyas. Soon after Ninus died, leaving the government in the hands of his queen. Some have attributed his death to assassination, and that by her who was indebted for her honours solely to his partiality. They represent Semiramis as requesting the king to intrust her for five days with the sovereign power. His ardent affection soon induced him to comply. No sooner was she in this situation, than having already secured the interests of the principal persons of the state by her unbounded liberalities, she put Ninus to

Ninyas born.

Death of Ninus.

death, or at least immured him in prison for the remainder of his days. This act of perfidy can scarcely, however, with any probability be imputed to her, especially as she paid her husband extraordinary sepulchral honours, rearing over his tomb a mound of earth, nine stadia in height and ten in breadth—a monument which was visible from every quarter to a considerable distance in the surrounding country, and which continued for many ages.

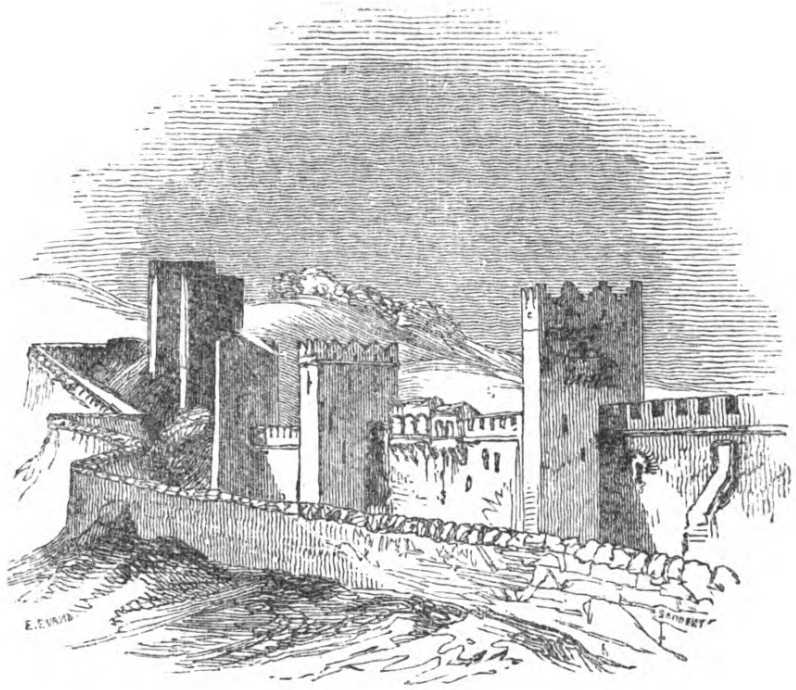
Babylon built.

The ambitious and aspiring Semiramis now determined to commence some mighty undertaking that should transmit her name to succeeding generations, and effectually conceal the meanness of her birth. Collecting, therefore, out of all the numerous provinces of her empire, no fewer than two millions of men, she set about the building, or rather enlarging and adorning, of Babylon—a city whose magnitude and magnificence have excited the astonishment of all subsequent times. The natural propensity of mankind, however, to exaggeration, ought, perhaps, to induce us to receive with some abatements the wonderful descriptions of the ancient writers. By some this work is ascribed to Belus, and Nebuchadnezzar is admitted to have completed the labour. A minute description of the city would by no means be proper in this place; nevertheless it is due to Semiramis as the alleged original projector,[1] to give the reader some general idea of its most striking peculiarities and the magnificence of its design.

Description of Babylon.

Babylon was erected on both sides of the river Euphrates, in the midst of an extensive plain, and surrounded with walls, which, according to the dimensions given by Herodotus, who had visited this famous city, were eighty-seven feet in thickness, three hundred and fifty feet in height, and four hundred and eighty furlongs, or sixty miles, in circuit. These walls encompassed the city in the form of a square, each side of which was fifteen miles in length, and were built of bricks cemented with bitumen. On the outside was a vast ditch, filled with water and lined with bricks. Twenty-five gates were in every side of this square, amounting in the whole to one hundred, all of solid brass. Between every two were four towers, and there were four additional ones at the four corners. From all the gates proceeded streets in straight lines, fifty in number, and crossing each other at right angles, each street being fifteen miles in length. Other minor divisions also occurred, and the whole city contained six hundred and seventy-six squares, each two miles and a quarter in circumference. The river ran through the city from north to south, and on each side was a quay of the same thickness with the walls of the city, and

[1] Grotius (de Ver. Rel. Christ § xvi. in not. 63.) opposes this representation. He says, "It is a false tradition of the Greeks that Babylon was built by Semiramis; and this error is refuted by Berosus in his Chaldaics; Josephus in his first book against Appion and others." Falso autem a Græcis proditum conditam a Semiramide Babylonem, etiam Berosus in Chaldaîcis prodidit, ut nos Josephus docet contra Appionem primo; eundemque errorem tum ex Philone Biblio, tum ex Dorotheo Sidonio refellit Julius Firmicus.



[Supposed Wallsoi Babylon, from an *Ancient Coin.*]

a hundred stadia in length. In these walls were gates of brass, and from each of them steps descending to the river. A bridge was thrown across the stream of great beauty and admirable contrivance, a furlong in length and thirty feet in breadth. The arches were constructed with large stones fastened together with chains of iron and lead. As the Euphrates overflows during the summer months through the melting of the snow on the mountains of Armenia, two canals were cut to turn the course of the waters into the Tigris, and vast artificial embankments were raised on each side of the river. On the western side of the city an immense lake, forty miles square, was excavated to the depth, according to Herodotus, of thirty-five feet, and into this lake the water was turned till the work was completed. Bridge.

The ancient palace, on the eastern side of the river, was thirty furlongs, or three miles and three quarters, in the circuit of its walls; and the one at the opposite, or western side, was sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half. It was encompassed by three walls, one within the other, all of which were adorned with curious sculpture, representing, in the most accurate and striking manner, different species of animals. Among these was a hunting-piece, exhibiting wild beasts, each four cubits in height, and in the centre a portrait of Semiramis on horseback, in the act of throwing her javelin at a leopard; while her husband, Ninus, appeared in close contest with a lion which he had pierced. This place contained, among other specimens of magnificence, three rooms of brass, one The ancient palace

under each gate, where certain festivals were celebrated, and which were opened by a mechanical contrivance. To this palace, the hanging gardens, so often mentioned by the Greeks, and with such admiration, were afterwards attached.

Temple of Belus.

In honour of Belus, Semiramis chose the middle of the city for the erection of a temple, which stood in the immediate vicinity of the ancient palace. It was remarkable for the height of one of its towers, of which there were eight in the whole, built one above the other. According to Herodotus, it was a square at the foundation, of a furlong on each side, or half a mile in the whole circuit, and a furlong in height. The writers of the Universal History have observed, that "the words of Herodotus are Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱρῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις ὀκτὼ πύργων. *In the midst of the temple a solid tower is built, of a furlong in length, and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and so on to the number of eight towers.* It is true, the word μῆκος which we here translate *length*, may also signify *height;* but some authors have supposed, as the construction seems to require, that the first tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other seven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high. To avoid this extravagant consequence, it seems more reasonable to understand Herodotus as we have rendered the passage, unless the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers."[1] It appears to us, that the construction of the passage will not allow this last conclusion; for whether the word μῆκος be rendered *height* or *length*, it evidently refers to the *first* tower; and it is expressly said, that "another was built upon this," and so on. We conclude, therefore, that these words of Herodotus refer to its length and its breadth, without adverting at all to its height, which Strabo says was also a furlong, or 660 feet. According to this last-mentioned author, it was exactly a furlong every way. As this erection must have exceeded the elevation of the largest of the Egyptian pyramids, Bochart considers it as the identical tower which was built there at the confusion of tongues.

Ascent.

The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it. In the different stories were rooms of great extent, having arched roofs supported by pillars; and over the whole was an observatory, which suited the astronomical turn of the Babylonians. The chief purpose, however, to which this temple was devoted, was that of the worship of the god Belus, or Baal, as well as several other gods, to whom chapels were appropriated in different parts of the tower, which contained immense riches in statues, censers, cups, and sacred vessels of massy gold. On the top Semiramis placed three golden statues, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea.

[1] Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. i. b. i. c. 2.

That of Jupiter was forty feet high, and weighed a thousand Babylonish talents, each talent being equal to seven thousand Attic drachmas. The statue of Rhea was of the same weight, placed on a golden throne, with lions at each knee, and two serpents of silver, weighing thirty talents each. The statue of Juno was erect, like that of Jupiter, and weighed eight hundred talents, grasping a serpent by the head with her right hand, and in her left holding a sceptre enriched with gems. A table of beaten gold was common to these three divinities, forty feet in length and fifteen in breadth, of the weight of five hundred talents. On the table were two goblets, of thirty talents, and two censers of five hundred talents each, and three vases, or bowls, of prodigious magnitude and value: the one appropriated to Jupiter is said to have been twelve hundred Babylonish talents in weight. The calculation of Diodorus makes the riches contained in this temple to amount to six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold. Rollin observes, the sixth part of six thousand three hundred is one thousand and fifty; consequently, six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold. Now seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of two millions and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and silver, among the ancients, we reckon as ten to one; therefore, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one-and-twenty millions sterling—an incredible expenditure. Statues.

Semiramis further adorned her capital with a remarkable obelisk, which was hewn out of the mountains of Armenia, and which, having been conveyed to the river by an immense number of oxen and asses employed for the purpose, was transported to the city, and made to occupy a conspicuous place in the vicinity. Its dimensions were a hundred and twenty-five feet in height, five in breadth and five in thickness. Although the construction of so stupendous a place as Babylon might seem, to all ordinary calculators, amply sufficient to occupy the time and attention of one reign, however distinguished, and however prolonged, yet this extraordinary woman built several other cities along the banks of the Tigris, for the purposes both of magnificence and utility, as they afforded facilities of intercourse with the different parts of her empire. Obelisk.

Peaceful and laborious occupations did not long furnish scope enough for the enterprising ambition of that mind which now ruled the Babylonish empire. Assembling a numerous army, Semiramis marched at the head of it into Media, and at her first considerable encampment, near a mountain called Bagistan, she arranged a beautiful garden twelve stadia in circumference. At the base of the mountain she had a statue erected representing herself attended with a hundred of her guards. It is reported of her, that she ascended from the plain to the summit on the packs and loads carried by the Passage through Media.

Intrepidity. beasts of burden in her train; a circumstance by no means unlikely, being quite in unison with her adventurous and heroic character, and eminently calculated to advance her reputation in such an age and country. Always intent upon whatever might conduce to throw a magnificence around her name and dominion, at the next encampment, which was at Chaon, a Median city, she formed another garden, on the summit of a lofty hill or rock, and added several splendid edifices, from which she might command a view of her army and of the widely-extended prospect that stretched before the eye in every direction. She is accused of having devoted much time at this place to voluptuousness; a voluptuousness, too, which was associated with wanton brutality; for whoever acquiesced in her criminal solicitations was immediately afterwards put to death, no doubt with the political design of preventing all possible chance of accession to influence and empire. Ecbatan, or Ecbatana, was the next halting place, in the way to which the queen cut a passage through a precipitous mountain, called Zarcæum, or, as some represent it, levelled it to the earth, and upon her arrival at the city, she proceeded upon her usual magnificent plan of erecting something to perpetuate her name and glory. In the present instance, it was a palace of great extent and splendour; to which work she added others of more importance, as the formation of aqueducts to supply the city with water, of which it had hitherto been in extreme need.

Persia. Semiramis proceeded next into Persia, and traversed the rest of her Asiatic provinces, everywhere erecting palaces, towns, and cities, levelling hills that obstructed her course, or were calculated to impede the progress of the future traveller, and, in the more level countries, raising up hills to diversify the scene, and to serve as memorials of her principal commanders. These were generally called the "Works of Semiramis," and long survived her.

Egypt. From Asia she passed into Egypt and the sandy tracts of Libya. Her curiosity induced her, while in these parts, to pay a visit to the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon, for the particular purpose of making inquiry of the oracle how long she had to live. The answer was little calculated to afford her satisfaction, unless her personal comforts were reckoned by her of inferior moment to her posthumous reputation. She was told, as Diodorus Siculus reports, that she should die when her son Ninyas conspired against her life; and that, after her decease, some of the nations of Asia should render her divine honours.

At length she marched back again to Bactria, after settling the affairs of Æthiopia; but her restless spirit was unable to remain inactive and tranquil. New projects presented themselves to her

India. imagination, which she hastened to carry into execution. India, of whose immense riches and boundless fertility she had been informed, attracted her first, and as it proved her last attention. She appointed Bactria as the place of rendezvous for an army of prodigious magni-

tude, which she assiduously collected out of every province of her empire. The choicest men were everywhere chosen, and shipwrights from Phœnicia, Syria, Cyprus, and other places, were employed to frame vessels, which she proposed to transport overland in detached pieces, in order to cross the Indus. The reason of this measure seems to have been the information that the banks of that river, and the vicinity in general, were destitute of timber, a circumstance which might have occasioned a formidable hinderance, if not a final frustration of her enterprise.

Imitation of the elephants.

Having found that the Indians relied upon their elephants as a chief source of warlike strength, Semiramis devised a very singular expedient. To meet her adversary on equal terms, she determined to attempt an imitation of these elephants, since she had no means of procuring them, and accordingly caused three hundred thousand oxen to be slaughtered, distributing their flesh among her necessitous subjects. This being done, she ordered their hides to be stuffed, and so placed upon camels that these animals might resemble elephants in their size; and to complete the delusion each one was to be led by a man, according to the Indian method of advancing to battle. Perseus, long after, is said to have employed a similar stratagem against the Romans.

The preparations of Stabrobates.

Such preparations for war could not long remain concealed from the party against whom they were destined; and accordingly, the Indian king, by name Stabrobates, as soon as he obtained information of the projected invasion of his territory, diligently applied himself to every precautionary measure. He assembled an army which he thought might be competent to meet the sharp encounter of Semiramis, and, in fact, which greatly exceeded it in point of numbers; and having despatched his hunters in every direction, procured a fresh and large supply of elephants. That nothing might be defective, he constructed four thousand boats of the bamboos which the rivers of India furnish in abundance. Thus prepared for the attack, Stabrobates, however, did not neglect any proceeding which might tend to avert the threatened calamity and spare the fatal consequences that must necessarily attend upon the commencement of hostilities. He accordingly despatched ambassadors to the invading army to demand the reason of the meditated attack, to inquire who she was that led the armed hosts, and to upbraid her for this unprovoked act of aggression. A private letter was communicated at the same time to the queen, in which her character was by no means spared, and in which, in case of victory, she was threatened with the most cruel death. This only excited a smile, and she desired the king's ambassadors to return for answer, that she would, in a little time, let him know who she was, that her actions would soon make him better acquainted with her. Advancing to the river Indus, she immediately attempted the passage by means of boats prepared for the purpose, notwithstanding

the show of resistance which the enemy made on the opposite shore. The two fleets encountered each other, and animated with an equal courage, the contest was long and sanguinary; the one party was fighting for glory, and stimulated by the recollection of a splendid succession of past achievements, the other, for hereditary empire, which an insatiable ambition was endeavouring to wrest from a just possession. Victory for a considerable time seemed to hover between each hostile armament, but at length the invaders triumphed, sunk a thousand of the Indian boats, and captured an immense multitude of prisoners. Before quitting the vicinity of the river, the conqueror had taken from the various villages and towns no less, it is said, than a hundred thousand captives. Success stimulating her activity, Semiramis pressed forward into the country in pursuit of her fugitive enemies,—fugitive, as some report, by stratagem, and for the purpose of decoying the queen into circumstances from which she would not be able to extricate herself. It seems probable, however, had this been the real plan of the Indians, the passage of the river and the possession of the opposite banks would not have been so fiercely contested, and consequently, that necessity, rather than cunning, dictated a hasty withdrawment of the Indian forces. Be this as it may, the queen, having left a division of sixty thousand men to guard the bridge of boats which she had constructed to cross the river, marched into the heart of the country. Her array of counterfeit elephants at first struck terror into the Indian army; but their fears were soon dissipated by the treacherous information of certain deserters, who gave them an account of this stratagem, and re-inspired them with courage. Facing about, therefore, to meet their pursuers, they risked a second battle. Some advantage was at first obtained on the side of Semiramis; the horses of the enemy being thrown into confusion by the unusual scent of the hides which disguised the camels. The queen perceiving this disorder, commenced a furious attack, and drove back the cavalry upon the main body. The Indian infantry, however, under the immediate command of Stabrobates, and supported by their elephants, advanced to battle with great regularity and firmness. The conterfeit elephants of Semiramis soon proved not only useless, but obstructive, and contributed materially to a speedy and most disastrous defeat. The two chiefs of the respective armies now met in single combat, the Indian prince having advanced at the head of his right wing, on a stately elephant, while Semiramis charged in front of her left. The king wounded her in two places, first in the arm with an arrow, then in the shoulder, as she was turning to retreat, finding the day irretrievably lost. The swiftness of her horse, however, enabled the wounded heroine to escape, and she hurried back with her whole army to the river which she had so lately passed amidst shouts of triumph. She was indebted to two circumstances for her successful retreat; the one was the superstition of her pursuers, (Stabrobates having been warned, as he

Victory over Stabrobates.

Combat of Semiramis with the Indian king.

She is wounded and escapes.

gave out, against crossing the river, by an oracular interdiction;) the other, by a judicious manœuvre of her own; for so soon as the main body of the army had effected the passage, and many of the Indians were rushing over in pursuit, the queen ordered the bridge to be destroyed, which instantly placed her in circumstances of security, while great numbers of the enemy perished. She suffered a prodigious loss, not only in the battle, but on the brink of the Indus, in consequence of the excessive crowd of her fugitive army, who trampled each other to death, or forced multitudes of their companions into the river. An exchange of prisoners now took place, and the disappointed invader retreated with a miserable remnant of only one-third of her original army.

Her death.

Thus ended the *glory* of Semiramis, and soon after her life. One of the eunuchs of her palace had inspired her own son with the design of poisoning his mother. When she discovered the conspiracy, she did not proceed to punish the offenders, for she recollected the oracular prediction of Jupiter Ammon, and deemed it the express appointment of heaven that at this time she should die. She accordingly relinquished the government in favour of her son, and issued proclamations to her subjects intimating her desire that he should be received as king. Her retirement seems to have been partly compulsory and partly ambitious, for she wished to have divine honours paid to her, in consequence, as the oracle had expressed it, of "vanishing from the sight of men." It was given out that she left this world in the form of a dove, attended by a flock of those birds which settled on her palace at the very crisis of her departure. She died at the age of sixty-two, after having reigned forty-two years over the greatest portion of Asia.

Justin's account of her death.

Justin gives a different account. He represents Semiramis, after the decease of her husband, as being fearful of intrusting the government to her son because of his youth, and equally apprehensive of incurring danger should she venture openly to assume the empire for herself. Accordingly she ruled in the name of Ninyas, but at length falling violently in love with him, she was slain by him in consequence of her attempts to engage him in a compliance with her criminal intentions. There is something, however, both unnatural and improbable in this statement, although she must be allowed, by the corresponding testimony of all historians, to have been sufficiently addicted to all the guiltiest forms of pleasure.

The life of Semiramis is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty, from the extraordinary actions attributed to her, for they appear to be incompatible with the general state of military science at the time; indeed, they rather assume the air of romance than harmonise with the sober realities of genuine history. It is not unlikely that the Greek writers may have ascribed to one heroine the actions of many warriors, and, partly from ignorance and misconception, and partly from the inveterate love of the marvellous, invested a

single reign with the splendour and glory which, in point of fact, ought to have been distributed over a much more extensive surface. It is well known that they did this in reference to most of their distinguished characters; the achievements of many eminent men, even of different ages and centuries, being concentrated in one favourite personage.

Her character. Whether the actions recorded of this remarkable woman be truly attributable to an individual, or form rather a concentrated view of the achievements of several distinct sovereigns, enough may be gathered to prove the general spirit and character of Semiramis. Whatever be her precise chronology and history, it is evident she possessed a masculine mind, and that native force of character which gives to certain persons an unquestionable superiority over others by whom they are surrounded, and enables them, when elevated to commanding situations, in some degree, to direct the destinies of empires. It is said of Semiramis, by Valerius Maximus, that her very presence was sufficiently overawing at once to quell sedition among her people. One day, in particular, when she was engaged in dressing, she received information of a tumult in the city. Upon this she sallied forth with her head half-dressed, and in that condition addressed the populace, and completely tranquillized the crowd, and dispersed them. A statue was erected in commemoration of this singular achievement, representing her in the attitude and habit in which she is stated to have gone to the scene of riot and confusion.

Anecdote of Semiramis.

Her character. Ambition was obviously the predominant feature of her character, and to the imaginary glory with which it adorns the career of conquest, she devoted the principal years of her life. Regardless of the welfare of others, her chief delight seemed to consist in conquering nations, and in sending her name to the remotest corners of the globe. Every thing was subordinated to the gratification of her passions, but especially her love of fame. No risk was thought too considerable, no expense too extravagant, no trouble too prodigious, to secure empty distinctions, to impress her contemporaries with a sense of her greatness, and to leave the traces of her magnificence for the study and the wonder of an admiring posterity.

Ninyas. Ninyas was the successor of his mother Semiramis in the government of the Assyrian empire, and according to the concurrent testimonies of Diodorus Siculus, Atheneus, Justin, and other historians, abandoned himself to the most slothful inactivity, and most vicious self-indulgence. Averse to martial exploits, and intent only upon the pursuit of every means that might be supposed capable of conducing to his own gratification; he withdrew from his subjects, with whom he only held occasional intercourse by messages, shut himself up in his palace with his eunuchs and concubines, and cherished a perfect indifference with regard to the happiness of his people or the prosperity of his empire. As a necessary measure of policy, however, he is represented as raising, out of the different

His peculiar policy.

provinces of his empire, by conscription, an army which he placed under the direction of proper officers. This force was kept at Nineveh, and the vicinity, and was annually dissolved and renewed by the substitution of new troops, who were engaged only for a year's service. The design of this arrangement is sufficiently obvious; an army was requisite to his security in case of foreign invasion or civil commotion, and the periodical change provided for in its constitution was calculated to prevent the mischiefs that might otherwise have arisen from a regularly organized conspiracy against his person or power. To an inglorious life succeeded an unlamented death. His successors, however, during the long period of twelve hundred years, and thirty reigns, so closely imitated his example, that their history is buried in total obscurity, not even traceable by a single instance of honourable character or great achievement. All is a total blank and waste, till we reach the not less contemptible, though more known conduct of the last, perhaps the basest of them all.

Sardanapalus succeeded to the empire only to present a more perfect specimen of effeminacy, sloth, luxury, cowardice, crime, and elaborate folly, than was perhaps ever before exhibited to the detestation of mankind. Like his inglorious predecessor, the first of this effeminate dynasty, he secluded himself in his palace, assumed the dress of a woman, and imitated her voice, painted his face, spun, and in short utterly disgraced his nature by the most unbounded licentiousness and the most outrageous depravity. Sardanapalus.

Arbaces, the governor of Media, having gained access to the palace, personally witnessed some of his excesses, and was immediately inflamed with the resolution to put an end to his dominion. He instantly entered into a confederacy for the purpose with Belesis, viceroy of Babylon, who strengthened him by the assurance, which, as a priest and an astrologer he considered himself entitled to give, that he should be the instrument of dethroning the infamous Sardanapalus, and ascending his throne. Thus supported, as they both believed, by heaven itself, they began the revolt; the one by stirring up the Medes and Persians, the other by exciting dissatisfaction among the Babylonians. Having also gained over the king of Arabia, and secured his active co-operation, the conspirators secured the army, which was now newly raised at the expiration of the year, and which amounted to about four hundred thousand men. The king being apprised of these proceedings, was somewhat roused from his voluptuous dreams by a sense of personal and immediate danger, and concentrating all the forces he could combine in this emergency, led them out to encounter his rebellious subjects. He was victorious in three successive battles, in the last of which, after using every effort in vain to prevent defeat, with all its consequent calamities, Arbaces was severely wounded. After the first victory, a reward was offered of two hundred talents of gold to any man who should kill him or Belesis, and twice that amount to any one who Rebellion of Arbaces. Its partial suppression.

should bring either of them alive to the emperor. But from all the impending dangers with which the two rebels were threatened, they effected their escape.

The discouragement which oppressed the mind of Arbaces would now have totally prevented any further attempt, and had, in fact, occasioned great hesitation, during the intervals of these successive victories on the part of Sardanapalus, had not the astrological predictions of his coadjutor saved him from despair. Belesis persisted every night in consulting the stars, and after the last engagement, most solemnly assured the confederated troops, the next morning, that in five days they would be aided by a support which at present they were unable to imagine or anticipate, the gods having given to him a decided intimation of so desirable an interference. Whatever were the sources of his information, the truth was, that in a short time the Bactrians, breaking the fetters of servitude, sprang into the field, and joined Arbaces and Belesis. It is stated that this assistance was procured, as indeed it is most likely, by the urgent and reiterated applications of the confederated princes. Of this transaction Sardanapalus remained ignorant, and occupied himself in the meantime in arranging a sacrifice, and a festival for the army with whom he had conquered his enemies. This account of his proceedings revived the hopes of Arbaces, who having taken his measures with a characteristic sagacity and prudence, surprised the camp of the emperor, and rushed forward almost to the very gates of the city.

Arbaces joined by the Bactrians.

Sardanapalus now escaping from immediate danger, intrusted the conduct of the army to his brother-in-law, shutting himself up within the fortifications. After being twice defeated, the army was nearly annihilated, and the emperor was, in consequence, closely besieged, while the conpiraters received large accessions of strength from the revolt of other provinces; but he buoyed up his spirits by confiding in a prediction that "Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy."

The city being abundantly supplied with provisions, the confederate forces remained two whole years before it without producing any visible impression, till the Tigris, at length, being swollen by unusual quantities of rain, overflowed twenty stadia, or two miles and a-half of the wall, and thus made a practicable breach, which the whole art of the besiegers before had been unable to accomplish. Sardanapalus at once comprehended his danger, and, his last hope being thus unexpectedly extinguished, he fled into his palace, and ordered a vast pile to be reared in the court, on which he accumulated all his treasures, amounting to a prodigious value,[1] and close to these he placed his eunuchs, his concubines, and, lastly, himself, then set fire to it, and perished amidst the splendid ruins. The conquerors

Death of Sardanapalus.

[1] Athenæus represents these treasures as worth a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten times as many talents of silver; that is, fourteen hundred millions sterling. This is, however, utterly incredible.

destroyed the city, but treated the inhabitants with great moderation. Such was the termination of the Assyrian empire.

Sardanapalus is said to have ordered two lines to be put upon his tomb, which imply his having taken with him all he had eaten and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, leaving the rest behind; an epitaph, as Aristotle very justly observes, fit for a hog. These lines were as follow:— His epitaph.

> Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libido
> Hausit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.

Plutarch, in his comparison of Semiramis and Sardanapalus, in his second treatise, written in praise of Alexander the Great, mentions a statue erected to the latter after his death, representing him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in the following sentence:—Εσθίε, πίνε, ἀφροδισιάζε· τἆλλα δὲ οὐδέν. *i.e.* "Eat, drink, and be merry: every thing else is nothing."

Thus perished the first great Assyrian empire. In a former paragraph we have said that out of the ruins of this kingdom were formed two independent sovereignties—that of Babylon, and that of Nineveh. We have also given a succinct history of the sovereigns of the latter dominion, till, under Saracus, it was finally overthrown by Cyaxares the Mede, and Nabopolassar king of Babylon. Any further detailed account of the later sovereigns of Nineveh would be superfluous, and the Scriptures give us some information as to the most famous of them. It is not easy to tell the order of succession, or identify all the royal names. Some, for example, take the Sargon of Isaiah for Sennacherib, and others for Shalmanezer. The apocryphal book of Judith alludes to the reign of Nebuchadonosor, and tells how he reduced Arphaxad, and resolved to overrun and conquer the west of Asia; how he despatched Holofernes on this enterprise, and gained possession of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Idumea; how the Assyrian captain encamped at length in the great plain of Esdraelon, while the Jews kept a fast and invoked the aid of heaven; how Holofernes laid siege to Bethulia; and how Judith, the widow of Manasseh, introduced herself in her pride of beauty into the general's tent, won his heart, tempted him into inebriety, and then cut off his head. Great and insuperable difficulties oppose the credibility of this narrative, and some critics regard the whole legend as an allegory. The chronology and geography are equally at fault. A previous captivity of the Jewish nation is spoken of, but it could not have been the great captivity of Babylon. It might be some brief period of servitude, such as may have happened under Manasses. But the whole story has the aspect of a romance, in which ideas of time and locality are carelessly disregarded. End of the Assyrian empire. Holofernes.

The various sculptures and mythological symbols which have been

Two distinct Dynasties.

excavated from the ruins of Nineveh are so different, as to warrant the conclusion, that two distinct dynasties existed in Assyria, and that the earlier palaces were in ruins before the latter were founded. Intercourse with Egypt seems also to have had considerable influence on the manners and customs of Assyria. Various opinions have been hazarded as to the duration of the monarchy. That it arose more than two thousand years before Christ, seems proved from the united evidence of Scripture and the monumental records both of Nineveh and Egypt. The accession of Cyrus occurred B.C. 560.

Dates.

The Median epoch preceded this—commencing with Arbaces, B.C. 821. We thus approach the lower Assyrian epoch, dating from Ninus, (?) B.C. 1341, and at length reach the old Assyrian period, originating with Nimrod, B.C. 2000, or B.C. 2300. The Syncellus[1] places this event B.C. 2284, the Armenian Eusebius B.C. 2116, the astronomical observations brought by Callisthenes from Babylon set it down at B.C. 2237, and the biblical chronology at B.C. 2218. On

Clinton's Chronology.

the other hand, our great English authority, Clinton, in his "Fasti Hellenici," thus arranges these various dates:—

Assyrian monarchy lasted 1306 years:

	Years.	B.C.
Before the empire,	675	1912
During the empire, 24 kings,	526	1237
After the empire, 6 kings,	105	711
	1306	
Capture of Nineveh,		606

But early dates, like these, are wrapt in great uncertainty, and the reader may turn to the remarks we have made on Egyptian chronology.[2]

Predictions of Scripture.

The predictions of the Bible against Nineveh were at length fulfilled, with minute and terrible accuracy. The ruin and degradation of that metropolis are graphically sketched by Zephaniah in the following oracle,[3] published at least four-and-twenty years before the catastrophe occurred:—

"He will stretch his hand against the north,
And shall destroy Assyria;
He will indeed make Nineveh a desolation—
An arid region, like a wilderness.
And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her;
All the wild beasts of the nations—

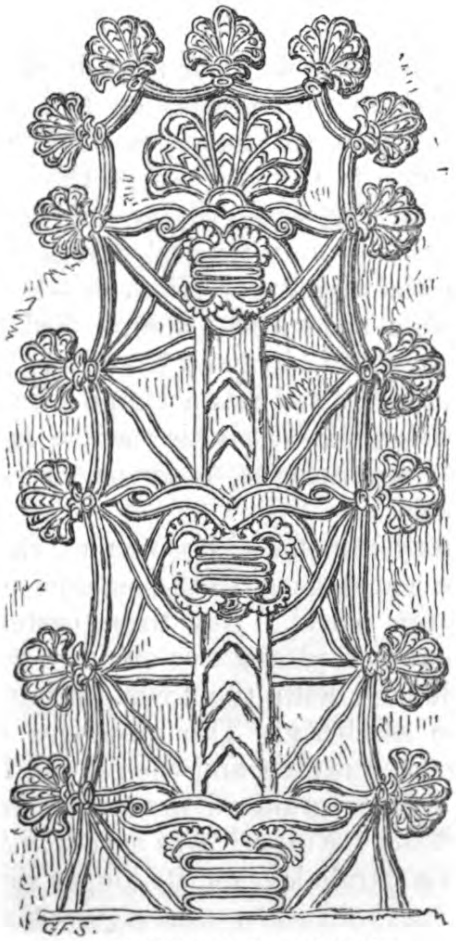
[1] Syncellus was an ecclesiastical title, denoting the companion and successor of the Byzantine patriarch. The term, from being so often referred to in the case of the chronologist quoted, has become, in ordinary usage, his simple name.

[2] Page 67. [3] ii. 13.

Both the pelican and the porcupine—
Shall lodge in her upper lintels.
A voice shall sing in the windows—
Desolation shall be in the thresholds—
For the cedar work is uncovered.[1]
This is the rejoicing city which dwelt securely,
Which said in her heart,
I am, and there is none besides me.
How she is become a desolation—
A lair for wild beasts.
Every one that passes by her shall hiss,
He shall shake his head."

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that the heathen authorities for the annals of Assyria, Herodotus, Diodorus, and Ctesias are at variance with one another, and are not easily reconciled with the facts of Scripture; perhaps fuller investigation may yet find among the sculptured ruins a more satisfactory native history of this ancient empire.

[1] The following illustration is a specimen of what the prophet refers to:—



[From North-West Palace, Nimroud.]



[From North-West Palace, Nimroud.]

CHAPTER III.

NINEVEH.

Name.

To the origin of the name we have already alluded. Fletcher, in a recent work, labours to prove, that as Nin, the first syllable of Nineveh, signifies a floating substance, or a fish, therefore the city so named was erected nigh to the spot where the ark of Noah rested, and as a memorial of the preservation afforded by the wondrous vessel.[1] The derivation is very fanciful, but at the same time baseless. The cities in the vicinity of Nineveh—Rehoboth, Caleh, and Resen—it is impossible to identify, though Kaleh Shergat has been looked upon as the ancient Caleh, and Resen has been found by some in Nimroud. Though Nimrod was a Hamite warrior, and seems to have made the tribes on the Tigris his vassals, still the people were Shemites, and their architecture, manners, worship, and language proclaim their descent.

The city.

Nineveh, like many oriental cities, was of vast dimensions. Its compass amazes one accustomed to the narrow streets and crowded edifices of the western world. But these eastern cities never lost their rural aspect—were as pleasant as our own suburban residences. The country was blended with the town, municipal privilege harmonised with rustic salubrity. The passenger on the street might behold the sheep on the meadow and the plough in the furrow, while the breeze loaded with fragrant odours might also bear upon it the yell of the distant chase. Nineveh was a very "great city." It was built in the form of a parallelogram, its longer sides being thirty-six

[1] Notes from Nineveh, &c., by the Rev. J. P. Fletcher, vol. ii. 90.

miles in length, and its shorter about twenty-four. Its circumference was therefore about sixty miles, affording ample space for the "three days' journey" of the prophet Jonah—a day's journey being estimated at about twenty miles. London does not, indeed, occupy more than the fourth part of such an area; but Nineveh had within its boundaries gardens, parks, vineyards, orchards, corn fields, and royal demesnes. Jehovah in addressing Jonah speaks of the spared city as having "much cattle." The whole surface of the country is now covered with fragments of bricks and pottery—the wreck and remnant of past and fallen magnificence. If young children be estimated as a fifth part of the population—then the Assyrian metropolis had over its wide civic territory not much more than half a million of inhabitants.[1] The walls of this royal capital were a hundred feet high, and so broad as to form a pathway for three chariots driven abreast. These city walls had upon them 1500 towers, all of them two hundred feet in height.

But the destruction of this mighty city had been foretold by several of the Hebrew prophets. Nahum's oracle is a peal of wo against Nineveh, bold, thrilling, and terrible:— Oracle of Nahum.

"The shield of the warriors is red,
The men of valour are in scarlet;
The war-chariot gleams with flashing scythes
In the day of his preparation;
And cypress spears are brandished.
The chariots rage in the streets,
They dash up and down on the broad paths;
Their appearance is like that of torches,
They flash like lightnings.
(The king of Nineveh)—he remembers his nobles:
They stumble on their march;
They haste to her wall,
And the breast-work is prepared.
The flood-gates are opened,
And the palace is dissolved,
Though it was securely founded.
She is stript bare—she is led off,
And her maidens moan like doves,
And strike upon their breasts.
Nineveh was like a pool of water of old.
Yet they are fleeing!
Stop! stop! but none looks behind:
Plunder the silver, plunder the gold;
There is no end to the treasure,

[1] In the census taken for the city of Glasgow this year (1851) the children under five years of age, bear a proportion to the general population of 9·19 per cent. Such a calculation would give Nineveh a million of inhabitants. But it is impossible to fix on the precise age specified by the idiom employed in Jonah—"persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand."

Abundance there is of all costly vessels.
Desolation, devastation, and ruin;
Melting of heart, and shaking of knees,
With pangs in all loins, all faces flushed with panic."[1]

Ruin.

The overthrow of Nineveh, as early as B.C. 606, is attested by ancient writers. A thousand years ago it was reckoned an old city of ruins. It was to the ancient world—a city—as if it had never been. It had sunk below the earth's surface—"I will," says Jehovah, "make thy grave, for thou art vile"—and so it has long appeared a huge unshapen mound. Rank vegetation fed upon its ruins. It was a scene of desolation—"a place for beasts to lie down in." Travellers passed near it, but failed to recognise it. Xenophon was on it, but knew it not,—

"Her walls are gone, her palaces are dust,
The desert is around her, and within
Like shadows have the mighty passed away"

Modern research.

Modern research, however, has been able to identify it and exhume many of its wonders. The earth has been removed from its palaces; their chambers and their sculptures have been brought to light; the strange-shaped inscriptions have been deciphered; gods, conquerors, kings, scenes of war, hunting processions, and national customs have been found on slabs and walls; vases, cylinders, ivories, and bronze are among the spoils. Nineveh has risen from her tomb, pale and ghastly it is true, and with the sad traces of a violent death upon her features, but still so marked as to be easily identified with her former living self. M. Botta began his labours in 1842, Layard's noble enthusiasm removed the first spadeful of earth in 1845, and during the three following years his labours were prosecuted with inimitable sagacity, untiring industry, and unparalleled success. The results of his excavations have astonished the western world, and given us a new insight into the character and manners of the renowned mistress of the east.

Site and buildings.

The site selected for the city was favourable—the eastern bank of the Tigris, near its junction with the Zab.[2] Nimroud, according to old and good tradition, acquiesced in by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Abulfeda, was the first edifice, with a royal park and a cluster of hamlets around it. Other structures, the work of various sovereigns, or the monuments of several dynasties, arose in course of years by its side. According to Layard, the son of the founder of the first palace added a second, the ruins of which are in the centre of the mound. Another monarch added to the same pile of palaces, and recorded the fact on the slabs which formed its pavement. And at

[1] ii. 3.
[2] Zab, signifying a wolf, is naturally rendered *Lycus* by the classical geographers.

length, when these older palaces were laid in ruins, other royal structures were reared on the spots now named Khorsabad and Karamles. The son of their founder erected the great edifice at Kouyunjik. Now if these four mounds—Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles—be taken as the corners of a great square, the space thus marked will be found in measurement to correspond with the descriptions of the book of Jonah, and that of the historian Diodorus.

Temple-palaces.

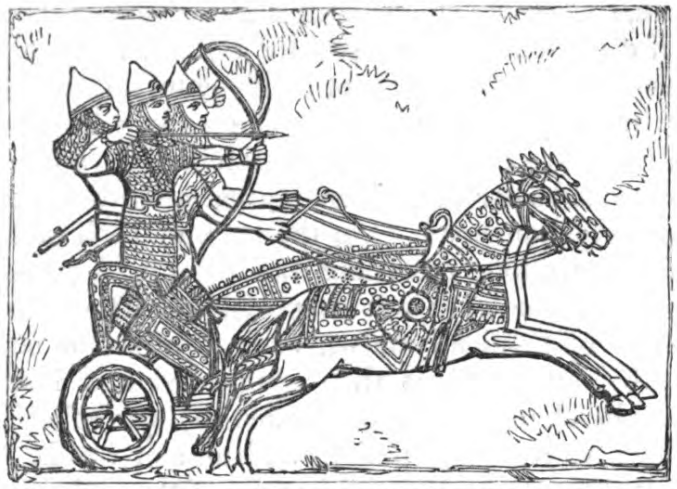
These temple-palaces were built on mounds, carefully formed of bricks, such as are found at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik. At three different sites, such royal substructures have been discovered. Consequently, if destruction came upon the edifice, rain, sand, dust, and vegetation soon render it a mass of lonely ruin, not unlike the ballast hills along the banks of the Tyne. The walls, which were built of bricks, and from five to fifteen feet in thickness, were panelled with slabs of coarse alabaster or gypsum; great abundance of which was found in the neighbourhood. On the back of each of the slabs was engraved an inscription, recording the titles and genealogy of the king under whom the work was constructed. The slabs being fixed upon the walls by artificial means, such as iron and copper cramps and plugs, their surface was then sculptured and inscribed. The entrances to the chambers were guarded by symbolical monsters—bulls and lions, with eagles' pinions and human heads, from ten to sixteen feet in height, while small images of the gods were deposited under the threshold. The roof was composed of beams supported by the walls, twigs and branches being laid across them, and then plastered with clay. Timber is scarce in Assyria, and as there were no great trees fit for extended roofing, the rooms are all very narrow—the most famous hall at Nimroud being nearly one hundred and sixty feet long, and only thirty-five in breadth. The ceilings were beautifully painted, and often inlaid with ivory. The mode of lighting these palaces has baffled the ingenuity of inquirers. No traces of windows are to be found. The conjecture is that light came in through the roof[1]—a conjecture, as Layard remarks, confirmed by the fact, that a small drain leads from every chamber, as if water needed to be carried off. What discomfort in the midst of such splendour—no contrivance to admit light and exclude the shower! The same practice prevailed in Egypt. The founder of Khorsabad says, in the inscriptions found on its slabs, "I have built this . . after the manner of Egypt." The plates of M. Flandin and of Layard, in his larger work, give us a pretty correct idea of the general appearance and splendour of these Assyrian edifices. They were remarkable for their ample size, their emblematic ornaments,

[1] A different idea of roofing and lighting is plausibly advocated in a volume of great ingenuity and beauty of illustration. The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored, by James Fergusson, Esq. London, 1851.

their vivid historical sculptures, their lofty roofs, and their gilded columns and ceilings.

Chambers of imagery.

The chambers of these palaces were covered with historical sculptures, and formed the records of the empire, each chamber being the pictorial history of a different scene. In short, these mural representations furnish an accurate and graphic comment on the language of the prophet Ezekiel,[1]—"She doted upon the Assyrians her neighbours, captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable



Assyrian Warriors in a Chariot, North-West Palace, Nimroud.]

young men. Then I saw that she was defiled, that they took both one way; and that she increased her whoredoms: for when she saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity: and as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea." That the seer saw the imagery described by him, can scarce admit of a doubt, for he was a captive on the banks of the Chebar at no great distance from the capital. The "vermilion," or red colour prevails in all their decorations—it is the favourite hue. "Captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously"—they are all dressed in the richest and grandest style of oriental magnificence. "Horsemen riding upon horses"—these equestrian figures are often exhibited—the horses are of high spirit, noble form, and bold attitudes, and are decked with showy trappings while the men that ride them are in aspect, courage, and demeanour "as princes to look to." "Girded with girdles upon their loins"—every figure has its belt or sash so necessary for one wearing such loose and roomy vestments. "Exceeding in dyed

Verification.

[1] xxiii. 12—16.



[Heads and Trappings of Royal Horses, from the Assyrian Marbles.]

attire upon their heads"—the figures have hair arranged in immense curls, and the beard and hair seem to have been dyed of brilliant colours. Many of the scenes are those of war, in which are shown "captains and rulers." The various modes and stratagem in a siege, crossing a river, manœuvring with chariots, chasing the enemy, and leading home chained captives, are frequently represented. Castles are depicted with shields hung round about them, as referred to in Ezekiel, xxvii. 11,—"The men of Arvad, with thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims[1] were in thy towers; they hanged theirs shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect." The miserable prisoners were sometimes impaled by their "bitter and hasty" conquerors, and occasionally are seen to be dragged along by a rope fastened to rings inserted in the nose and lip. Thus God threatened Samaria, that her Assyrian conqueror would "take her away with hooks, and her posterity with fish-hooks." The pride of the Assyrian warriors equals that of the Egyptian conquerors. On a small obelisk Rawlinson reads the following inscription, commemorative of the triumphs of Temen-bar II.:—

Martial customs.

"At the commencement of my reign, after that I was established on the throne, I assembled the chiefs of my people and came down

Triumphs of Temen-bar II.

[1] Gammadims has been wrongly rendered in our version as a proper name. It denotes troops selected for their fearless courage, and placed in such towers as a kind of "forlorn hope."

into the plains of Esmes, where I took the city of Haridu, the chief city belonging to Nakharni.

Victories in first year.

"In the first year of my reign, I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and ascended to the tribes who worshipped the god Husi. My servants erected altars (or tablets) in that land to my gods. Then I went on to the land of Khamána, where I founded palaces, cities, and temples. I went on to the land of Málar, and there I established the worship (or laws) of my kingdom.

Second year.

"In the second year, I went up to the city of Tel Barasba, and occupied the cities of Ahuni, son of Hateni. I shut him up in his city. I then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the cities of Dabagu and Abarta, belonging to the Sheta,[1] together with the cities which were dependent on them.

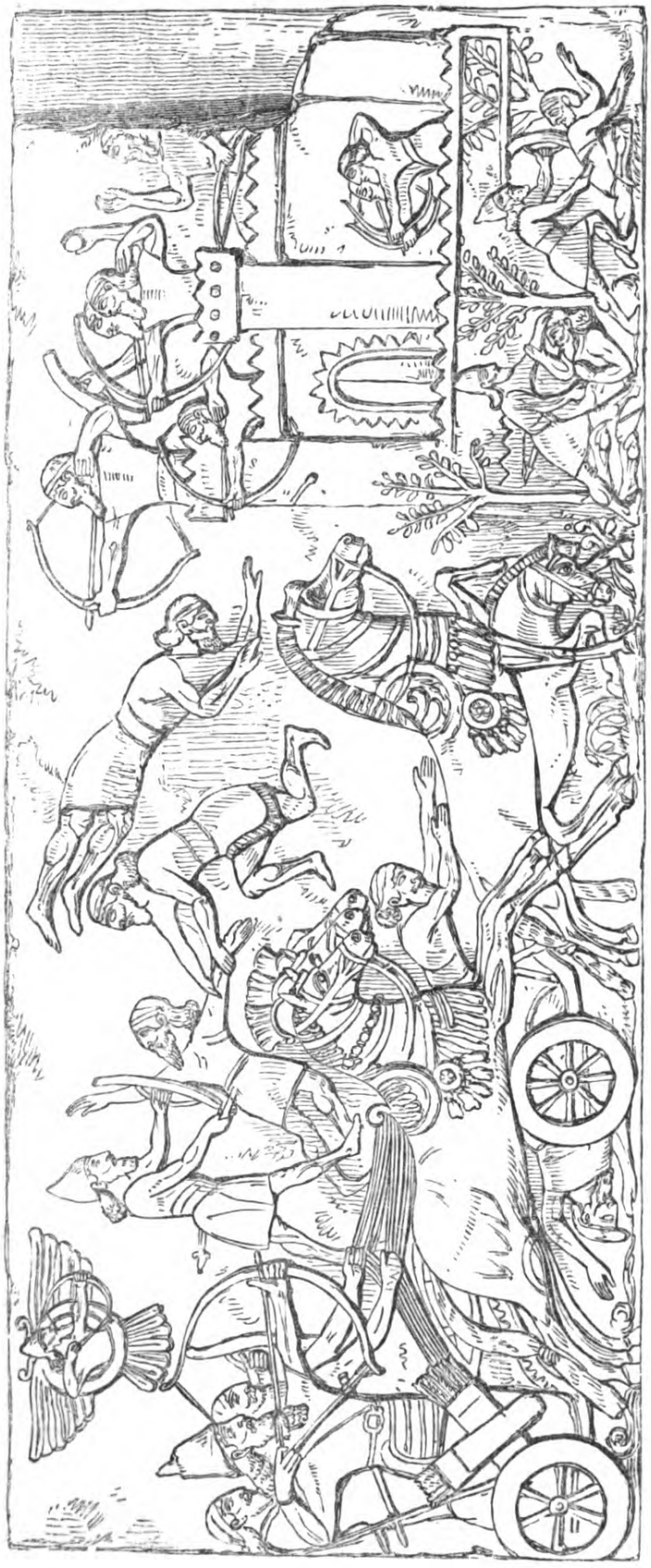
Third year.

"In the third year, Ahuni, son of Hateni, rebelled against me, and having become independent, established his seat of government in the city of Tel Barasba. The country beyond the Euphrates he placed under the protection of the god Assarac, the Excellent, while he committed to the god Rimmon the country between the Euphrates and the Arteri, with its city of Bither, which was held by the Sheta. Then I descended into the plains of Elets. The countries of Elets, Shakni, Dayini, Enem, (?) Arzaskán, the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat, Lazan, and Hubiska, I committed to the charge of Detarasar. Then I went out from the city of Nineveh, and crossing the Euphrates, I attacked and defeated Ahuni, the son of Hateni, in the city of Sitrat, which was situated upon the Euphrates, and which Ahuni had made one of his capitals. The rest of the country I brought under subjection; and Ahuni, the son of Hateni, with his gods and his chief priests, his horses, his sons and his daughters, and all his men of war, I brought away to my country of Assyria. Afterwards I passed through the country of Shelár (or Kelár,) and came to the district of Zoba. I reached the cities belonging to Nikti, and took the city of Yedi, where Nikti dwelt.

Seventh year.

"In the seventh year, I proceeded to the country belonging to Khabni of Tel-ati. The city of Tel-ati, which was his chief place, and the towns which were dependent on it, I captured, and gave up to pillage. I went out from the city of Tel-ati, and came to the land watered by the head-streams which form the Tigris. The priests of Assarac in that land raised altars to the immortal gods. I appointed priests to reside in the land to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship. The cities of this region which did not acknowledge the god Assarac I brought under subjection, and I here received the tribute of the country of Nahiri," &c.

[1] The Sheta are often mentioned on the Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. They seem plainly to represent the Khita or Hittites of Scripture. They were the principal tribe of Canaan, and the country is named after them—"the land of the Hittites." Josh. i. 4.



[Assyrians Besieging a City.—*Assyrian Marbles.*]

As an illustration of some portions of this long and monotonous royal record, we refer our readers to the plate on the preceding page, taken from one of the bas-reliefs in the British Museum.

Description of the illustration.

On this slab, the king, in his chariot, leads the van of the battle, accompanied by his charioteer and shield-bearer, both of them with uncovered heads. Two quivers full of arrows are affixed to the sides of the chariot, and in front is fixed a bow-case, extending over the horses' backs. The king's shield hangs behind the chariot along with his spear. The horses have beads on their necks. The shield-bearer extends his bossed shield to protect the king, who is clothed in a richly-embroidered tunic, with the truncated cap, and rosette-clasped bracelets, and his bow-arm is protected from the recoil of the string by a close-fitting shield, fastened above the elbow and wrist. The left arms of his officers are similarly guarded. Above the chariot is a human-bodied divinity, with wings, but without legs; he wears a cap with two bull's horns laid close round the head. A broad flat ring encircles this figure, passing immediately above the feathery termination of his person, and behind and above his shoulders. This divinity sends his winged arrows against the enemies of the king. Directly in front of the king, a leader of the enemy is falling from his chariot, one of the horses of which is down, whilst the others are still plunging and endeavouring to extricate themselves; the charioteer, having lost control, is precipitated in front. Beyond, one of the king's soldiers is about to kill a flying foe, in spite of the efforts of a comrade to drag him off to the security of the city, the outworks of which extend to the banks of a shallow stream running through a wooded country. One of the enemy lies dead, and others are flying before the conquering king, who pursues them to the very confines of the city. The city has embattled towers, and an arched gateway likewise embattled, and is protected by a ditch and double wall, from behind the second and inner of which the defenders are discharging their arrows. From the towers they are also shooting arrows and throwing stones, under cover of wicker shields. The last figure, as far as the fracture allows us to see, shows one endeavouring to obtain a parley: for his slackened bow is in his left hand, and his right is upraised, as if in the act of bespeaking attention.

The arts.

The arts had arrived at high perfection in ancient Nineveh. The sculptures are full and life-like, freer and more natural than those of Egypt, and many of the articles of furniture afford models worthy of imitation at the present day. The vases, formed of clay, are moulded with exquisite taste, and the metallic ornaments are of similar skill and beauty. Elaborate embroidery distinguishes the robes of the king, and the ear-rings, bracelets, and clasps, worn by the court and the upper classes, are all of elegant form. The arms of the warrior, such as the hilt of his dagger and sword, were beautifully ornamented. Chairs and couches were formed of wood, the feet being constructed of metal, and were often inlaid with

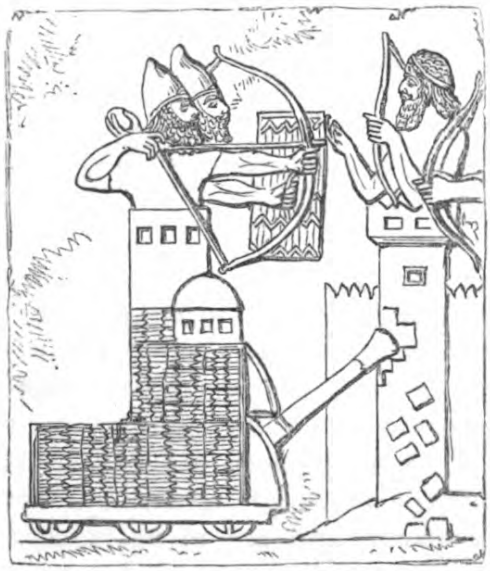
ivory.[1] The lion seems to have been the most frequent ornament on the furniture, personal jewels, public edifices, and the throne of the king.[2] Smaller forms of the same animal are found in great abundance, and may have been used as weights. This characteristic national usage seems to have suggested the bold interrogation of the prophet Nahum,[3]—"Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid? The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin." This striking accumulation as well as repetition of the names of the lion pictures Nineveh with peculiar appropriateness; and the prophet also meant to insinuate, that the boasted heroism and prowess which had made the royal quadruped the prime figure in the national heraldry, would shrink at length into degrading and ruinous cowardice, and that this cherished device would be found to be but a caricature in the day of defeat and overthrow. The drinking-cups were not unlike those of ancient Etruria,[4] and some of them closely resemble the same articles of Egyptian manufacture. The garments of both king and people were loose flowing drapery, that gave a graceful and often a majestic appearance to the wearer. Linen, wool, and silk were employed in the production of these fabrics, and designs were wrought upon them with peculiar ingenuity and splendour. The Assyrian stole was woven with oriental magnificence, and worn with a stately carriage.

Lions.

Dress.

The spear, sword, dagger, and bow were the early Assyrian weapons. The soldiers, especially such as fought in chariots, were clad in close tunics of scaly armour. The archers wore an embroidered tunic, and the common soldiers, armed with spear and shield, had their head defended by a helmet. Referring to such military equipment, Jeremiah cries,[5] "Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses; and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, and put on the brigandines." In besieging a city, the army was first occupied in raising "a bank against it,"—forming an inclined plane, which reached up to the foot of the wall. Move-

Armour.



[Moveable Tower—*Assyrian Marbles.*]

[1] Song of Solomon iii. 9, 10. [2] See also 1 Kings x. 19, 20.
[3] ii. 11, 12. [4] Müller's Handbuch, s. 287. [5] xlvi. 3, 4.

able towers were sometimes employed, the tops of which were on a level with the walls of the besieged fortress. Thus, Ezekiel says,[1] "lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering-rams against it round about." Various modes of assault are in this verse described, and they are all illustrated by the Ninevitic sculptures. The battering-ram, scaling-ladder, and catapult, were the common engines; mines were often dug, and staves shod with iron were frequently used for forcing stones out of the walls and turrets.

Siege.

Cavalry.

But the chief brigade of the Assyrian army was its squadrons of cavalry and chariots. The same species of military force was highly prized by other eastern nations. Horsemen are often sculptured on the monuments, and archers often appear mounted on steeds. The horsemen were also armed with swords and long spears. Originally they wore a jacket, and sat on the bare back of the animal, with their legs and feet exposed. Saddles were introduced at a later period, so were quivers; but stirrups never seem to have come into use. When the mounted archer was in actual combat, his horse was held by another soldier. The horses were adorned with martial trappings, and great care was



[From the Assyrian Marbles.]

exercised in their training and equipment. The Assyrian horses were celebrated at an early period. They were of a noble breed, and realise the description of Job—"strong in limb, their neck clothed with thunder; pawing the valley, and smelling the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting."[2] The prophet Habakkuk characterises with terrible energy the dashing power of a charge of Assyrian cavalry,[3]—"Their horses are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their

[1] iv. 2.

[2] Job xxxix. 19. Horses, especially brood-mares, appear on the tablet at Karnak, as part of the spoil brought from Naharaina, Mesopotamia.

[3] i. 8.

horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat."

The war-chariot is often represented on the Assyrian sculptures. On its sides were borne two quivers, a bow, javelin, and battle-axe; three horses were often attached to it; the wheels had six spokes, and the warriors stood in it as they engaged in combat. The chariots were sometimes profusely decorated with ornaments, and the harnessing of the horses was a matter of peculiar pride with the charioteers. Plumes and streamers waved over their heads, tassels were hung round their

War-chariot.



From the Assyrian Marbles.]

necks, and embroidered cloths often covered their backs. These various modes of warfare in actual and successful operation are powerfully grouped and described by the prophet Ezekiel,[1]—"Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axe he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee: thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets: he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they

Description by Ezekiel.

[1] xxvi. 7—12.

shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water." The Assyrian monuments show that this description is not a fictitious representation, but a vivid account of the usual employment of the various battalions of a besieging host.

Ships. On the bas-reliefs at Nimroud, ships are found of a rude construction, and on those of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik are pictured naval engagements. Representations are also discovered of the Assyrian army attacking and taking maritime fortresses, and the form of the galleys belonging to the conquered enemy proves them to have belonged to some Syrian people.

Slabs in British Museum. It would far exceed our limits to offer even a brief sketch of the slabs or relievi which are now safely lodged in the British Museum. They are conceived with admirable spirit and boldness, and tell their story with graphic and amusing fidelity. The figure of the king and his beardless eunuchs may be easily distinguished. Eunuchs often rose to high stations in oriental courts,[1] and the chief offices both in military and civil affairs devolved upon them. They are readily recognised on the sculptures by their rounded form and "double beardless chin." An umbrella or parasol was usually carried over the king. The following illustration, verifying our statement, from a relievo in the British



[King of Nineveh, from the *Assyrian Marbles.*]

Treaty of peace. Museum, represents a "treaty of peace." The king is on foot, about to meet a brother sovereign. Both kings are, indeed, on foot, but the conqueror still retains the implements of war, and holds in his right

[1] Eunuchs are often referred to in Scripture. Rabsaris, an officer under Sennacherib, was, as his name implies, chief of the eunuchs. The term at length came to denote in general high officers of state. Rabshakeh signifies prince of the cupbearers, and the Assyrian feasts were often conducted in great style.

hand two arrows perpendicularly—perhaps a mystical sign of friendship—whilst his adversary raises his right hand in the act of supplication. That the conditions of the treaty are favourable to the conqueror, may be inferred by the surrender of the prisoners, intimated by the captive in the conical cap kissing the feet of his king and deliverer. Immediately behind the great king are two eunuchs, each holding bows with quivers full of arrows and the whip-shaped instrument; one of them also holds an umbrella over the king's head. Behind the eunuchs is the king's groom, armed with a sword, and having also a quiver filled with arrows.

On the following illustration the king again appears—the eunuch, armed with a fly-flapper, behind him. King and eunuch.



[From the Assyrian Marbles.

The religion of Assyria had fallen very soon into a corrupted species of Sabaism. The host of heaven occupied the worship which was due to their Creator. Nature was deified—its various powers and parts assumed the form of subordinate divinities to the oriental fancy. The lustrous orbs of the sky—so regular, so distant, so auspicious to the globe they smiled upon, attracted wonder and homage. Wordsworth has beautifully depicted the process of degeneracy:— Religion.

> "Chaldæan shepherds, ranging trackless fields,
> Beneath the concave of unclouded skies
> Spread like a sea, in boundless solitude,
> Looked on the polar star, as on a guide
> And guardian of their course, that never closed
> His stedfast eye. The planetary Five
> With a submissive reverence they beheld;
> Watched, from the centre of their sleeping flocks
> Those radiant Mercuries, that seemed to move,
> Carrying through ether, in perpetual round,
> Decrees and resolutions of the Gods;
> And, by their aspects, signifying works
> Of dim futurity, to Man revealed.

> The imaginative faculty was lord
> Of observations natural: and, thus
> Led on, those shepherds made report of stars
> In set rotation passing to and fro,
> Between the orbs of our apparent sphere
> And its invisible counterpart, adorned
> With answering constellations, under earth,
> Removed from all approach of living sight
> But present to the dead; who, so they deemed,
> Like those celestial messengers, beheld
> All accidents, and judges were of all."—*Excursion*, book iv.

Sacred fire and tree.

Thus we find the sun, moon, stars, and zodiacal signs frequently engraven on the Assyrian cylinders. The patriarchal association of fire with Jehovah's presence, led in course of ages to the selection of the sacred flame as a symbol of the divine essence—a mode of worship very prevalent on the banks of the Tigris. One peculiar symbol—a winged deity enclosed in a circle—is usually associated with the figure of the king, and is also connected with the sacred tree—originating in the Edenic "tree of life," found also in the thyrsus of Bacchus; and perhaps allied to the "groves" of Israelitish idolatry.[1] This symbol, which may be seen hovering over the king in the illustration which fills page 241, has a close resemblance to a similar mythological form among the Egyptians—the sun with the wings of a scarabaeus.[2] It may represent Baal, the great god of the Shemitic nations. The other divinities were embodied in various shapes, more grotesque than tasteful in appearance. The spirituality as well as the unity of the Divine Being was soon forgotten. The reasoning of the great Apostle was not felt in its cogent and striking power—"Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." These

Idols.

idols, made of wood and plated with gold, are often seen carried in procession, as Isaiah describes one of them,—"They bear him upon the shoulders, they carry him."[3] When a city was taken, the conquerors broke the idols, weighed them in scales, and divided them as favourite booty. "Declare ye among the nations, and publish, and set up a standard; publish, and conceal not: say, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces."[4] Astarte, Hera, Beltas, or Mylitta, was the Assyrian Venus, often represented as standing on a lion, and her head surmounted with a mural coronet. The goddess Rhea appears surrounded with lions, while a bright star sparkles on her head.[5]

[1] Recherches sur la culte du Cyprès, &c. Annales de l'Institut Archeologique, vol. xix.

[2] M. Lajard derives the Ægyptian from the Assyrian form.—Mem. de l'Acad. vol. xvii.

[3] xlvi. 6, 7. [4] Jeremiah l. 2. [5] Amos v. 26.

But the composite animal forms are the most striking among the sacred sculptures. Sometimes the deity is a hawk-headed figure, and sometimes an eagle and lion are united—symbols of wisdom, courage, and serene elevation. The god Nisroch was a hawk-headed figure—Nisr meaning a hawk, and och being an intensive augment. An oracle of Zoroaster has been preserved in Eusebius, which says, "God is he that has the head of a hawk." Nisroch may be the same as Assarak, found on the monuments. A fish-god similar to Dagon is also seen on a slab from Khorsabad. The worship of this form of divinity could be specially cultivated only in maritime countries, such as Syria and Philistia. The mythic account of the birth of Semiramis at Ascalon, and her connection with the fish-god, Derceto, may be connected with this introduction of Ichthyolatry.[1] Winged human-headed lions and bulls are also of very frequent recurrence. They seem to have been the guardians of the Assyrian palaces and temples, and correspond in position and character to the Egyptian sphynx. Perhaps they were the traditional representation of the cherubim which were stationed at the eastern gate of Eden. Writing in the land in which such patriarchal symbols were so common, Ezekiel the prophet often refers to them, and so far describes the mysterious and complicated emblems—the wheel within the wheel having a reference to the "sacred circle."—"As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man and the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle. Thus were their faces: and their wings were stretched upward; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies." The cherubim appear to us to indicate the highest forms of animated nature

Hawk-headed god.



[Assyrian God.—*Assyrian Marbles.*]



Origin of the Greek Pegasus

[North-West Palace, Nimroud.]

[1] Selden de Dîs Syris, c. 3.

Cherubim.

with which we are acquainted, in perfect and harmonious combination, employed in the loftiest service to which living creation can aspire, entire consecration to God. They appear as guardians of the divine throne; keeping it from profane intrusion; a lesson to man of that profound adoration which he should cultivate when he comes into the presence of the Lord. They contain in them a concentration of all that distinguishes animated being, as God is worthy of all their homage and service, for he is the source of all created excellence. Now, as the angels often appear surrounding the divine throne, this combination of various forms may be a symbol of that strength, courage, intelligence, and fervour, which belong to them, as it embodies in itself the noblest characteristics of the inferior creation; and this emblematic union of all the powers of life, connected, at the same time, so intimately with man's fall and expulsion by the station of the cherubim at Eden, and associated so closely again with his recovery and salvation by their position on the mercy-seat, may foreshadow that ultimate perfection which redeemed humanity shall reach, when it shall be "equal to the angels," and live in immediate oneness and communion with God, the spring of existence and glory.

Magic.

The prophet Nahum styles Nineveh the "mistress of witchcrafts," and there is no doubt that many superstitious forms of ascertaining the will of heaven were in common practice. Layard mentions that on all the slabs which form the entrance to the royal chambers in the oldest palaces of Nimroud, there were found dark spots, resembling blood—a ceremony that forcibly reminds us of the paschal feast which the Hebrew nation observed by divine appointment in Egypt. Magic was a favourite study;[1] and

Remarks of Layard.

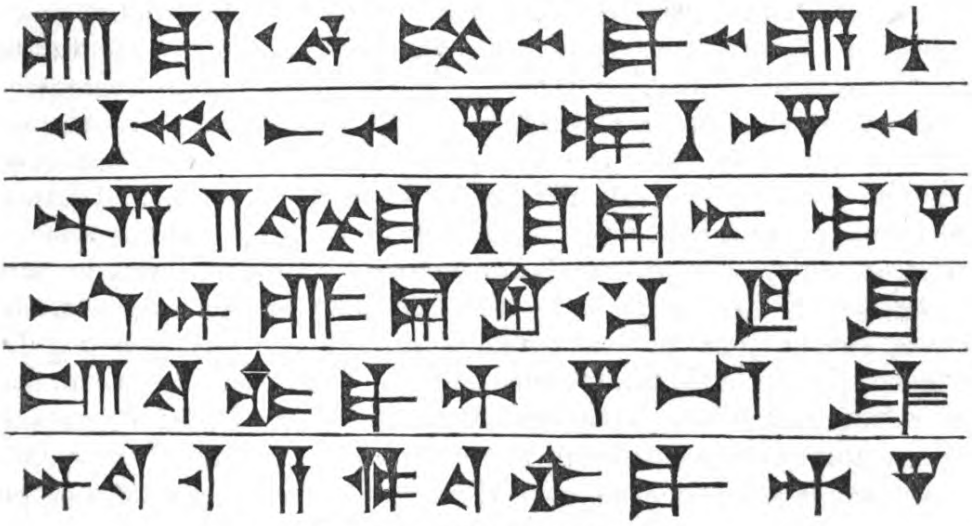
all religion was connected with royalty. Layard observes, "The residence of the king, as I have observed, was probably at the same time the temple, and that he himself was either supposed to be invested with divine attributes, or was looked upon as a type of the Supreme Deity, is shown by the sculptures. The winged figures, even that with the head of the eagle, minister to him. All his acts, whether in war or peace, appear to have been connected with the national religion, and were believed to be under the special protection and superintendence of the deity. When he is represented in battle, the winged figure in the circle hovers above his head, bends the bow against his enemies, or assumes his attitude of triumph. His contests with the lion and other formidable animals, not only show his prowess and skill, but typify, at the same time, his superior strength and wisdom. Whether he has overcome his enemies or the wild beasts, he pours out a libation from the sacred cup, attended by his courtiers, and by the winged figures. The embroideries upon his robes, and upon those of his attendants, have all mythic meanings. Even his weapons, bracelets, and armlets, are adorned with the forms of sacred animals,

[1] Ezekiel xxi. 21.

the lion, bull, or duck. In architectural decorations, the same religious influence is evident. The fir, or pine cone, and the honeysuckle, are constantly repeated. They form friezes, the capitals of columns, and the fringes of hangings. Chairs, tables, and couches, are adorned with the heads and feet of the bull, the lion, and the ram, all sacred animals. Even on chariots and on the trappings of horses, the Assyrians introduced their religious emblems."[1]

Letters.

The wedge-shaped characters common to this region of the east have also been successfully studied. Grotefend of Bonn set the example, and discovered nearly a third of the entire cuneiform alphabet. His spirit has animated his son at Hanover. Burnouf followed in 1836; Lassen's genius soon eclipsed his predecessors; the merits of Westergaard claim our eulogy and thanks, but the crown of learned and successful ingenuity now graces the brow of Major Rawlinson. The form of writing is divided by him into Primitive Babylonian, Achaemenian Babylonian, Medo-Assyrian, Assyrian, and Elymaean.



[From the Slab in the British Museum.]

Alphabet.

Cuneiform letters are peculiar to these eastern nations. Wedge-shaped or arrow-headed characters were employed for monumental inscriptions, and were written from left to right, while the cursive or popular mode of writing ran from right to left, and was one of the many modifications of that oriental alphabet which was used in Phœnicia, Palestine, and Babylonia. There are three great classes of cuneiform characters, representing the literary usages of the Semitic, Persian, and Median nations. The old Assyrian alphabet, and its more modern and complex descendant, with its 300 different characters, are nearly as different from one another as they both are from imitations of them among the neighbouring

[1] vol. ii. 473.

races. The straight line seems to have been the primitive shape; the barb, or arrow-head, being subsequently added both for distinction and ornament. Thus, as in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, a phonetic alphabet was arranged in course of time, and this mode of public inscription is found amidst the ruins of all the ancient cities on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Bricks, cylinders, and slabs of gypsum and alabaster, are seen everywhere marked with these rude and primitive scrawls. And may we not infer that the tongue represented by this alphabet, found among the debris of these ruined cities and palaces, will, in all probability, represent that universal speech which prevailed "when the earth was of one language?" Farther researches will show the structure of that primeval speech, whether it be allied more to the Semitic or to the Indo-Germanic dialects, or whether it contain peculiarities common to both these great classes of languages.[1] So far as has been ascertained, the old Assyrian tongue is allied to the Hebrew, and also to the Egyptian or old Coptic, the affinities of which we have already described. Major Rawlinson, by a few examples of pronouns, nouns, and verbs, has shown that the Assyrian tongue touches at many points the Syro-Arabic and Indo-Germanic languages, including also the dialect of ancient Egypt. The definite article occupies a medial position between Hebrew and Arabic; its first personal pronoun is identical with the same word in Coptic and Hebrew; the third personal pronoun is allied to Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin; its words of negation are all Semitic; one of its conjunctions is but another spelling of the Latin *et;* its substantive verb is both Coptic and Celtic, as is to be seen in some of the tenses of the corresponding part of speech in Latin, and is also the regular formative in the Latin passive conjugation. The personal pronoun first person singular in Babylonian and Assyrian is *anak*, Hebrew אָנֹכִי; suffixed to nouns, it is *uá* and *i*, to verbs *ani.* The pronoun of the second person seems to be *nanta* or *anta*, Hebrew אַתָּה; suffixed, it is a simple *k;* third person singular masculine *su*, Hebrew הוּא; among the demonstrative pronouns is *haga* הַוֶּה. We may recognise in the Babylonian, the Niphal, Hiphil, Hophal, and Hithpael conjugations of the Hebrew, and the Ithpaal, Aphel, Ittaphal, Shaphel, and Ishtaphel of the Chaldee. The Babylonian verb in preterite marks the distinction of persons by prefixes, like the Hebrew Future. Among the Babylonian particles are *lipenai*, before, *itta* with, *ad* to, *anog* in front of. The Babylonian roots are almost wholly biliteral, e.g. *ten* to give, נָתַן; *duk* to smite, דָּקַק; *mit* to die, מוּת; *rad* to go down, יָרַד; *kun* to establish, כּוּן; *sib* to dwell, יָשַׁב; *am*, mother; *bar*, a son; *beth*, a house; *erts*, land; *sem*, a name, &c. Bopp, in his "Vergleichende Grammatik," has laid down certain laws for the change of

Primeval Tongue.

Linguistic affinities.

[1] A comparison of the various eastern alphabets proves their affinity. The same letters' or forms may be traced in the alphabets of the Phœnicians, Palmyrenes, Babylonians, Hebrews, &c.

letters among the different dialects of the Indo-Germanic class of languages, and when such investigations shall have been also applied to these early eastern tongues, greater affinities shall be discovered and proved. Dr. Hincks, at the British Association, in 1850, read a paper in which he sought to prove that the cuneiform character had a distinct syllabic value, and was Indo-European in its nature, though it represented a Semitic tongue. Rawlinson denied not a few of these assertions, and thought that many of the characters had once a syllabic value, but that, in subsequent use, they had only a phonetic power, expressed only the initial sound or articulation of the name of the object depicted, and that, in short, they were simply letters or mere portions of a syllable.

Process of discovery.

The process of discovery resembles the course of successful experiments which had been made upon the monumental inscriptions of Egypt. In many parts of Persia are found inscriptions in three different languages and alphabets[1]—alphabets differing in their whole phonetic structure and organization. One of these languages was at length discovered, and by its help the other two were gradually developed. This old Iranian or Persic language, which was first understood, has now been so well studied by the aid of the Zend and the Sanscrit, that "there are not more than twenty Persian words in the whole Persian cuneiform records, upon the meaning, grammatical condition, or etymology of which, any doubt or difference of opinion can be said at present to exist."[2] The groups which represent proper names, such as those of Xerxes and Darius, were the earliest found out and identified, and by a tentative process their phonetic value was ascertained. A certain number of characters being thus fixed, a complete alphabet was by and by eliminated. The other two languages, the one of them Semitic, and the other Median or Scythian, were also speedily interpreted. The first of these two classes being Babylonian, is found on bricks[3] excavated from the foundations of buildings in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Chaldæa, and may be divided into two varieties, the one of them older than the other. The Median characters, of which there are more than one hundred, represent a language spoken at the period by a large portion of the Persian empire. The meaning of two hundred Babylonian words has now been distinctly ascertained, and philological investigation is unwearied in its successful researches. The number of terms occurring in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions is about four

Results.

[1] The reason of three different languages being employed in these inscriptions, is similar to the necessity which exists in those countries at the present day, viz., that as different languages are spoken, so public edicts to be understood must still be Triglott,—Persian, Turkish, and Arabic.

[2] Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, by Major H. C. Rawlinson.

[3] The frequent use of bricks or tiles for such purposes explains the reason of the command given to Ezekiel, iv. 1, "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem."

thousand. Still we are not to suppose that the task has been nearly accomplished. Much remains to be done, after all the toil and ingenuity which have been expended. Rawlinson himself, with that candour which belongs to genuine erudition, makes the following modest admission:—

Rawlinson.

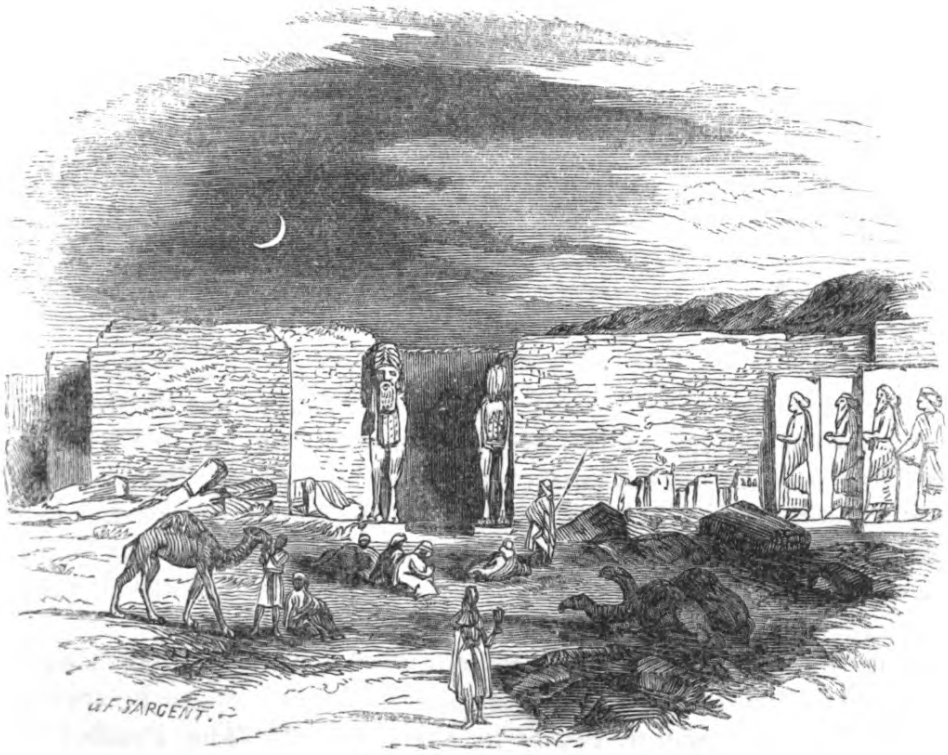
"I will frankly confess, indeed, that after having mastered every Babylonian letter, and every Babylonian word, to which any clue existed in the trilingual tablets, either by direct evidence or by induction, I have been tempted, on more occasions than one, in striving to apply the key thus obtained to the interpretation of the Assyrian Inscriptions, to abandon the study altogether in utter despair of arriving at any satisfactory result. It would be affectation to pretend that, because I can ascertain the general purport of an inscription, or, because I can read and approximately render a plain historical record like that upon the Nineveh Obelisk, I am really a complete master of the ancient Assyrian language. It would be disingenuous to slur over the broad fact, that the science of Assyrian decipherment is yet in its infancy. Let it be remembered, that although fifty years have elapsed since the Rosetta Stone was first discovered, and its value was recognised as a partial key to the hieroglyphs, during which period many of the most powerful intellects of modern Europe have devoted themselves to the study of Egyptian; nevertheless, that study, as a distinct branch of philology, has hardly yet passed through its first preliminary stage of cultivation. How, then, can it be expected, that in studying Assyrian, with an alphabet scarcely less difficult, and with a language far more difficult than the Egyptian,—with no Plutarch to dissect the Pantheon and supply the names of the gods,—no Manetho or Eratosthenes to classify the dynasties and furnish the means of identifying the kings,—how can it be supposed, that with all the difficulties that beset, and none of the facilities that assist Egyptologers, two or three individuals are to accomplish in a couple of years, more than all Europe has been able to effect in half a century?"

Resuscitation of Nineveh.

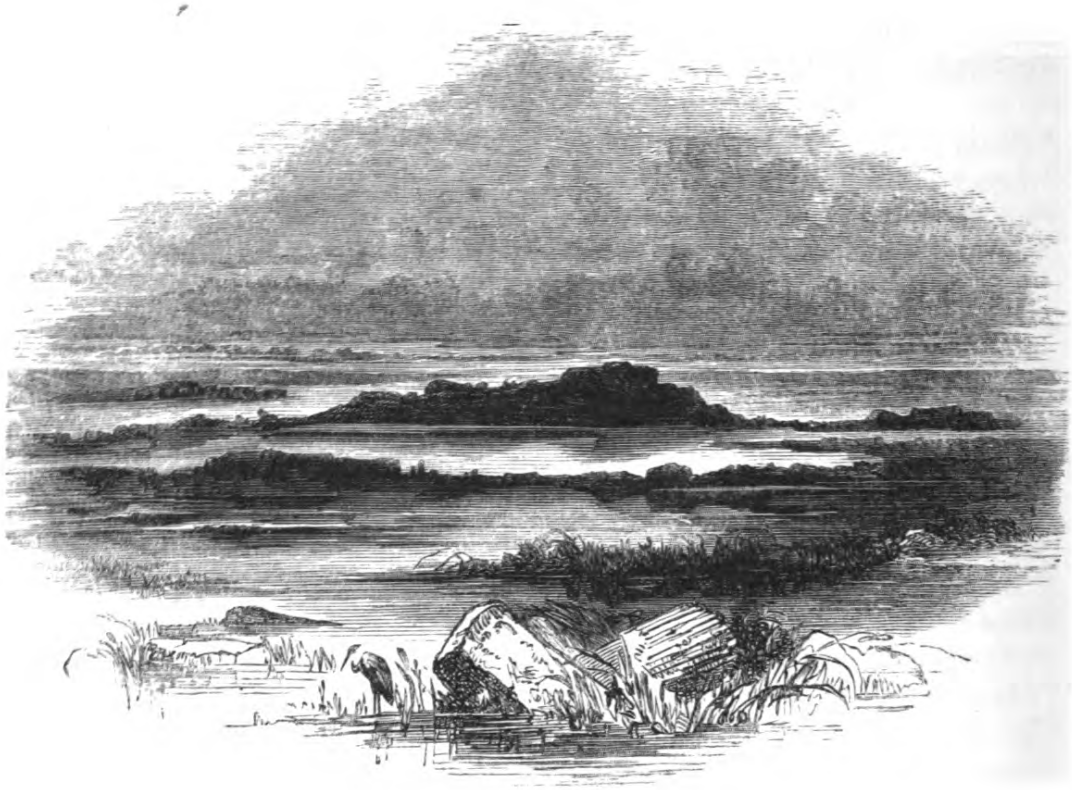
The partial resuscitation of Nineveh is indeed one of the wonders of modern enterprise and enthusiasm. The success of Botta and Layard—the investigations of Rawlinson and other philologers—the immense variety of all sorts of relics dug up from the mounds—the tomb and statue of Sardanapalus—the magnificent throne on which sat the Assyrian monarch three thousand years ago—with shields, swords, crowns, bowls, and ornaments in ivory and mother of pearl—these and other extraordinary discoveries almost enable us to realise the picture of Nineveh in its proud days of ancient fame and grandeur:—

"The days of old return;—I breathe the air
Of the young world;—I see her giant sons
Like to a gorgeous pageant in the sky

Of summer's evening, cloud on fiery cloud
Thronging upheaped,—before me rise the walls
Of the Titanic city—brazen gates—
Towers—temples—palaces enormous piled—
Imperial NINEVEH, the earthly queen!
In all her golden pomp I see her now—
Her swarming streets—her splendid festivals—
Her sprightly damsels, to the timbrel's sound
Airily bounding, and their anklets' chime—
Her lusty sons, like summer morning gay—
Her warriors stern—her rich-robed rulers grave;—
I see her halls sun-bright at midnight shine—
I hear the music of her banquetings—
I hear the laugh, the whisper, and the sigh.
A sound of stately treading towards me comes—
A silken wafting on the cedar floor:
As from Arabia's flowering groves, an air
Delicious breathes around,—tall, lofty-browed,
Pale, and majestically beautiful—
In vesture gorgeous as the clouds of morn—
With slow, proud step, her glorious dames sweep by."



[Palace of Nimrod—*Botta.*]



[Babylon.]

CHAPTER IV.

BABYLON.

In our account of Semiramis some general idea has been given of Babylon—the capital of the province named after it—as well as of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire. "Babel the proud," was renowned for its wealth, splendour, and luxury through all the east. It was "the glory of kingdoms—the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency."[1] It was situated in a fertile territory, as we have already remarked, and it was also noted for its commercial enterprise.

Commerce.

That the maritime commerce of Babylon was very considerable, might be inferred from the expression of Isaiah,[2] where he speaks of the Chaldæans, "whose cry is in their ships." The Persian Gulf and the vast rivers which formed the natural boundaries of Babylonia, were, indeed, before the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, almost the only channels by which the treasures of India could pass into Western Asia and Europe; and such con-

[1] Isa. xiii. 19.

[2] xliii. 14.

tinued to be the case till the policy of the Persian Court discouraged its subjects from navigating the Indian Ocean.[1] The Babylonian princes, on the contrary, evidently promoted the maritime enterprises of their subjects; nor could the splendour and luxury of their court have been maintained without a constant supply from the eastern regions beyond them. The spices from the continent and islands; cinnamon, ivory, and ebony of Ceylon; pearls from Bahraïn and Man-ár, together with the myrrh and frankincense of Arabia, were among the valuable articles imported for the use of the Babylonian nobles, and conveyed by the Chaldæan merchants to the coasts of the Mediterranean. From a port near Maceta, the north-eastern promontory of Arabia, the Island of Tylos, (called by the Arabians Bahraïn,) and from Gerra, a colony of Chaldæans,[2] on the south-western side of the Persian Gulf, supplies of Indian goods were conveyed to Thapsacus, the principal emporium on the Euphrates. Cotton, according to Theophrastus,[3] was produced in abundance at Tylos, near which were the great beds of pearl-oysters; that island also probably furnished the ornamental staves or sceptres which were much in request among the Babylonians, and certainly supplied them with an invaluable kind of timber peculiarly adapted for ship-building, inasmuch as it never rotted though drenched with water. It was also the more desirable to the Babylonians, as their country did not produce a single forest tree.

Imports.

The great emporium for the internal commerce from the north and east was Opis,[4] on the Tigris, and that river was then navigable to a considerable height above its mouth; the artificial rapids formed by order of the Persian kings not being yet in existence. By this channel, as well as by the Euphrates, came the wines of Armenia, and many other productions of colder and more elevated regions. Excellent roads had been made at a very early period through the whole of Central and Western Asia, and caravans of camels then, as now, conveyed its merchandise from one extremity to the other. The carpets, hangings, and embroidery of Babylon were exchanged for gold and precious stones brought from the heart of Asia. The countries near the heads of the Indus furnished kermes for the purple dye,[5] which was the pride of Babylon, and gold for its courts and temples, in one of which alone there was as much as amounted to the sum of 800 talents, *i. e.* upwards of two millions sterling. Another favourite object also came from the same quarter; that remarkable race of Indian dogs, which were so fierce and powerful as to be reputed the mixed offspring of a bitch and a tiger.[6] No less than four large villages were appointed to take charge of the royal pack of this extraordinary breed, and were exempted, on that account, from every other tribute.[7]

Internal Merchandise.

[1] Heeren, Ideen über die Politik, &c. ii. 739.
[2] Strabo, xvi. p 381.
[3] iv. 9.
[4] Strabo, l. xvi.
[5] Ctesias, Indica, c. 21.
[6] Aristot. Hist. Animal, viii. c. 23. Ctesias, Ind. c. 25.
[7] Herod. i. 192.

Manufactures.

Its manufactures also were famous through the old world, and and were proverbial for their extreme beauty, rich colour, and fine texture. Among the spoils of Jericho there was found and prized, in the days of Joshua, "a goodly Babylonish garment."[1] Babylonia was in truth no less celebrated for its manufactures than for its commerce. Its cloths were famous for their brilliant colours and delicate formation; and the mantle, which Cato sold, because he thought it too splendid for a conscientious Roman to wear, as well as the hangings for a single apartment, which cost 800,000 sesterces, or more than = £6400, are almost proverbial evidences of the enormous prices paid for the productions of the Babylonian looms. Such indeed was their real or supposed excellence, that one of Nero's dining-rooms, as Pliny[2] tells us, was hung with Babylonian cloths at an expense of nearly £32,300, (4,000,000 of sesterces.) The value of these manufactures was derived not only from their materials, but from their varied colours and elegant patterns, for they resembled the Turkey carpets of the present day. These are the genuine descendants it should seem of their Babylonian predecessors, for the *peristromata Babylonica consutaque tapetia*, "Babylonian carpets and tapestry," mentioned by Plautus,[3] and the *Alexandrina belluata con-*

Their value.



[Ancient Eastern Seats.—*Brit. Mus.* and *Rosellini.*]

[1] Joshua vii. 21. [2] vii. 48. [3] Stich. act. ii. sc. 2, v. 54.

chyliata tapetia, "Alexandrian hangings adorned with representations of shells and monsters," named by him in another play,[1] were manifestly just such articles as are now exported from Constantinople and Smyrna.

Dress. The dress of the Babylonians, according to Herodotus,[2] consisted of a linen shirt hanging down to the feet, and over it a woollen tunic; while a small white mantle was wrapped round the body. Their sandals were like those of the Bœotians, a sort of low buskin with a wooden sole. They allowed their hair to grow, covered their heads with caps, and rubbed perfumes over every part of their bodies. Every individual also had his characteristic seal and staff or sceptre, the latter in compliance with an express law, and probably serving as a distinction of rank and office.

Government. The government was in the highest degree despotic, the will of the monarch being almost the only law acknowledged.[3] How far it might be checked by the prevailing customs and superstitions of the people it is difficult to conjecture, from the scanty accounts which have been handed down to us. The degree of civilisation which the Babylonians had attained, might be inferred from some remarkable institutions mentioned by Herodotus[4] and Strabo,[5] the first of which was the sale of all marriageable women, and the employment of the sums paid for the handsome, as a fund to provide portions for the ugly. The second was the open prostitution of their wives and daughters, ascribed by Herodotus to the poverty and degradation arising from the subjugation of their country; and the last, the necessity to which every Babylonian woman was subjected, of remaining in the sacred enclosure round the temple of Mylitta, (Venus,) till some stranger had favoured her with his embraces.[6] There were no physicians, but all the sick were exposed in the forum, so that every one who happened to pass by might inquire into their maladies, and give them the best advice he could offer. The corpses of the deceased were deposited in a vessel filled with honey, a custom somewhat resembling that of the Veddas, or wild Sing'halese, who preserve their dried venison in the same fluid.

Debauchery.

Decease.

Religion. The religion of the Chaldæans was a system of polytheism, probably somewhat similar to that of the Assyrians; but as little more than the names of the principal Babylonian deities has been mentioned by the ancient writers, it is difficult to form any satisfactory conjectures on the subject. The sepulchral rites of the Babylonians bore a strong resemblance to those of the Egyptians,[7] and according to some ancient traditions, Belus, the son of Ninus, and founder of the empire, came from Egypt into Chaldæa. It is possible, therefore, that the religion and sciences of the former might be early transplanted into the latter. In both countries, a clear atmosphere,

[1] Pseudol. i. 2, v. 168. [2] i. 195. [3] Dan. i. 10, ii. 5, iii. 19.
[4] i. 196. [5] xvi. [6] ib. 199.
[7] Herod. i. 198.

Sabaism.

level surface and warm climate, seemed to invite men to the contemplation of the heavens; the apparent motions of the sphere and planets, must have soon attracted their notice, and have led to the discovery of the first elements of astronomy; but superstitious and interested motives soon turned their attention into a different channel, and instead of simply recording the motions of the celestial bodies, they began to draw auguries from their relative positions and supposed influences, and framed that system of astrological predictions, which was far more astonishing and profitable than the sober truths of unpretending science. It was quickly interwoven with their



[Babylonish Idol.]

fabulous theology, and naturally formed a part of the studies of their priests, who would be predisposed to become the dupes or the promoters of such delusions. Those attached to the service of Belus,

Chaldæans.

were, according to Herodotus,[1] peculiarly called Chaldæans, and Clement of Alexandria,[2] gives them the title of philosophers. From them, as Herodotus informs us,[3] the Greeks derived their knowledge of the pole, the sun-dial, and the division of the day into twelve parts. Their philosophy, which seems to have been the original doctrine taught in the schools of Pythagoras and Plato, though modified by the Greeks, maintained the eternity of the world; and they pretended to possess a series of astronomical observations regularly handed down from father to son, during a succession of four hundred and thirty centuries. They had different places assigned for their residence, and were, for the most part, says Strabo,[4] engaged in the study of astronomy; the few who gave themselves up to the trade of casting nativities, not being acknowledged or tolerated by the rest as legitimate members of the sacred order. The astronomers

[1] i. 181.
[2] Stromat. i. p. 359.
[3] ii. 109.
[4] xvi. c. 1.

among them were split into a variety of sects, such as the Orcheni, the Borsippeni, &c. who held different doctrines respecting the same subjects. The latter probably derived their name from Borsippa, a town sacred to Diana and Apollo,[1] and remarkable for the number and size of its bats, which were caught to be salted as an article of food, as well as for its manufactory of linen-cloths. A section of the magi are also styled Chaldæans in the book of Daniel. "Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldæans, and the soothsayers."[2] Isaiah describes, with withering scorn, the various processes and results of Babylonian divination.

Oracle of Isaiah.

"There shall come upon thee both of these—
Suddenly in one day—
Loss of children and widowhood;
They shall come upon thee in their perfection,
In spite of thy multiplied sorceries,
In spite of the vast abundance of thy spells. . . .
Thy wisdom and thy science have perverted thee. . . .
Persevere now with thy incantations,
And with the multitude of thy sorceries,
In which thou hast toiled from thy youth;
Perchance thou mayest profit by them,
Peradventure thou mayest prevail.
Thou art wearied with the multitude of thy counsels.
Let the heaven-dividers, the astrologers,
The soothsayers at new moon,
Stand up now and save thee
From the things which are coming upon thee.
Behold they shall be as stubble,
The fire shall burn them up;
They shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame."[3]

Description of Ezekiel.

The prophet Ezekiel also represents the king of Babylon as consulting his court magicians prior to his invasion of Palestine,—"The king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering-rams against the gates, to cast a mount, and to build a fort."[4]

Origin of the Chaldæans.

The Chaldæans, to whom reference is so often made, appear to have been originally a hardy race of Armenian mountaineers, who descended into the province of Babylonia and took possession of it. Their early habits were those of the wandering and predatory Arabs. It is said of them in the book of Job, by one of his servants,—"The Chaldæans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels and have carried them away, yea, and slain the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped to tell thee."[5] They seem in course

[1] Strabo, xvi. c. 1. [2] Dan. iv. 7. [3] xlvii. 9—14.
[4] Ezek. xxi. 21, 22. [5] i. 17.

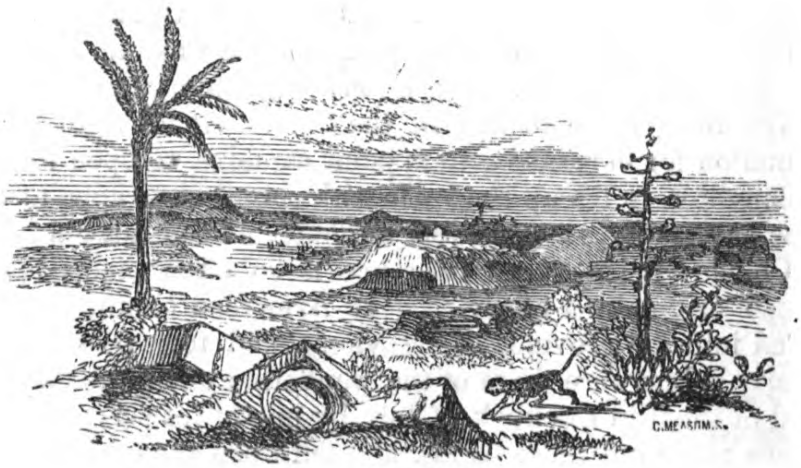
of time to have mingled with the aboriginal inhabitants, while as yet the country was under Assyrian rule, and this union laid the foundation of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire.

Nebuchadnezzar.

We have already said that after the overthrow of Nineveh, Nabopolassar assumed the sovereignty of Babylon.[1] His son, Nebuchadnezzar,[2] eclipsed the fame of his predecessor, adorned his capital with many magnificent edifices and gardens, carried his victorious arms to the western boundary of Asia, and has won himself an immortal renown for the splendours and conquests of his reign. His invasion of Judah has also given him a place in the sacred history. The kings of Jerusalem became puppets in his hands, and at length the holy city was sacked and laid in ruins by the Chaldæan armies. The ancient commercial capital of Tyre was also blockaded and seized by him, and the hosts of Babylon marched after this conquest into Egypt, and subdued the kingdom of the Pharaohs.[3] The history of Nebuchadnezzar, as contained in Scripture, need not be here repeated. His vain-glorious spirit is fully pictured in that unconscious soliloquy which burst from his lips as he walked on the terraces of his palace, and surveyed the city which he had adorned and enlarged—"Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"[4] The dreams which were vouchsafed to him, and their interpretation by the Hebrew captive; his erection of a colossal image or obelisk on the plains of Dura; and his tyrannous conduct towards the three Jewish youths who refused to compromise their religious principles, are also rehearsed in the book of Daniel. The disease into which he fell, and which was a terrible rebuke of his arrogance, was one which physicians have often recognised—that perverted condition

His conquests.

His disease.



[Dura.]

[1] p. 214.

[2] This name in which that of the God Nebo is incorporated, signifies "Nebo—prince of the gods."

[3] See above, pp. 102—104.

[4] Daniel iv. 30.

of the nervous system under which a man fancies himself to be one of the inferior creation, and thinks and acts in perfect unison with the grotesque and imaginary metamorphosis. The proud king of Babylon, with unpruned nails and unkempt locks, grovelling like a beast, and assuming as far as possible all its habits;—what a lesson on the vanity of royal pomp and parade! And yet Nebuchadnezzar speaks intelligently and gratefully of Divine Providence after his recovery. In fact, his language and apparent monotheism are quite surprising:—"And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time my reason returned unto me; and, for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me: and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom; and excellent majesty was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise, and extol, and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."[1] His recovery.

Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father in the government for about two years prior to his father's decease. This computation is adopted by the Jews in their sacred books, and the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim is the first of Nebuchadnezzar; while on the other hand, the Babylonians calculate his reign from the period of his sole administration—the method naturally adopted by the prophet Daniel, from his long residence in Chaldæa. Nebuchadnezzar died about B.C. 562, and was succeeded by his son, Evil-Merodach. This prince seems to have had but a short and inglorious reign, and is noted in Scripture for his kindness to Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah.[2] The tradition is that Evil-Merodach reigned during the period of his father's hypochondriacal solitude, but on his recovery was imprisoned by paternal edict, for alleged faults in his goverment; and that during his incarceration he was thrown into the company of the Hebrew sovereign, with whom he seems to have contracted a warm and genuine friendship. A conspiracy was formed against him among his own kindred, and he fell a victim to it, and was succeeded by Neriglassar, one of the chief conspirators. Computations of his reign. Evil-Merodach.

Neriglassar determined to invade Media, of whose rising power he was jealous. The monarch of Babylon, aware that he fought for no light stake, and with no informidable enemy, addressed himself to the conflict with all his force, and called in the energies of surround- Neriglassar.

[1] Dan. iv. 34.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 27.

ing nations, whose alliance he courted. Ambassadors had been dispatched into Phrygia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Caria, Lydia, Cilicia, and to the Indies themselves, to ferment hostility against the Medes, as aspiring to universal monarchy. Ah! how well this pretext became the king of Babylon, whose ancestor had affected this beyond all other men, and achieved it more than most; and against the Medes, who had been the first to resist his exorbitant demands, and to break his yoke of slavery from their necks!

Invasion of Media.

After a preparation of not less than three years, both parties took the field; the king of Babylon and his allies, the aggressors—the combined forces of the Medes and Persians, acting on the defensive. After some days, the Babylonians and Lydians quitted their entrenchments, and the engagement became general. Neriglassar was defeated

His death.

and slain in the battle. Crœsus, who assumed the command, as the next in dignity among the allies, was so hotly pursued in his retreat, that many prisoners were made and a large booty was taken. The prisoners, with his usual magnanimity, Cyrus set at liberty, after exacting a promise that they should no more serve against him and his allies in the war; and the spoils he appropriated to his uncle Cyaxares. The life and career of Cyrus will be described with more appropriateness in the succeeding book. In the meantime we must include so much of his career as is connected with the fall of Babylon.

Laborosoarchod.

Laborosoarchod, who succeeded Neriglassar, was as savage and effeminate as his predecessor had been warlike and politic. By acts of the most wanton cruelty he drove two of his most distinguished officers, Gobrias and Gadates, to revolt; and they placed in the hands of Cyrus their respective provinces. Learning that the tyranny of the Babylonian monarch had alienated the hearts of his subjects, while he was engaged in every species of debauchery, the Persian hero established himself in Assyria, defeated Laborosoarchod, ravaged the country, twice showed himself before the walls of Babylon itself, and reduced some fortresses upon the frontiers on his return into Media. At length the tyranny of Laborosoarchod became insufferable, and he died by assassination, in the ninth month of his sanguinary reign.

Nabonadius.

Nabonadius, who was the principal conspirator, was elevated to the throne. This is the Labynitus of Herodotus, and the Belshazzar of the Scriptures. His character was not at all better than that ascribed to his predecessor, whose reign, because it did not complete the year, is not entered upon Ptolemy's canon. But Nitocris, his mother, was as distinguished for talent, as her son was infamous for debauchery. She had the honour of completing, so far as they were ever finished, the works carried on by Nebuchadnezzar, on so magnificent a scale, in fortifying and adorning Babylon. To her that city was indebted for the stupendous work of walls on each side of the river, and brazen gates of the same strength and magnitude with

those which surrounded the city, and a vault of communication beneath the bed of the stream, leading from the old to the new palace. To her counsels it must be imputed that the shaking fortunes of the empire were held together, for her son had abandoned himself wholly to sensuality, as unmindful of the safety of his people, as careless of his own renown. Cyaxares and Cyrus resolved upon an effectual mode of warfare—to direct their force to the reduction of the principal towns of the Babylonians, until it might be practicable to blockade the metropolis. For some time they advanced towards the completion of their design, and had reduced considerable provinces to subjection, until even Nabonadius felt it necessary to adopt some measures to divert or crush the increasing influence of his opponent, who now even menaced his capital. He applied in person to Crœsus, who, by flatteries and presents, was induced to make common cause with him. The assistance and interest of the king of Lydia brought over to his arms the Greeks, Thracians, Egyptians, and the nations of the Lesser Asia. Immediately upon receiving intelligence of this armament, Cyrus advanced to give the allied powers battle, with an army of 196,000 horse and foot, 300 chariots of war armed with scythes, and with armaments still more formidable, such as carriages of towers about twenty feet high, each capable of containing as many archers. The battle of Thymbra followed. After a desperate resistance on the part of the Egyptians, Cyrus obtained a complete victory. Crœsus retreated into Sardis, which city Cyrus invested, took its citadel, and with it Crœsus, whose life he spared.

Roused to action.

Victory of Cyrus.



[War Chariot of Iron armed with Scythes.]

He prosecuted his victories in Lesser Asia, until he subdued the several nations from the Ægean Sea to the Euphrates; after these Syria and Arabia fell beneath his arms; and having reduced almost all Asia, he repassed the great river, invaded the Assyrians, and marched directly against Babylon. It was here that one of his boldest projects was executed, for in undertaking the siege of the last city in the east that held out against him, he was in danger of wrecking all his military glory upon this final enterprise, from the impregnability of this unrivalled capital. An immense lake having been excavated to receive the waters of the neighbouring mountains, in the event of any inundation, by Nebuchadnezzar, or as others think, by Nitocris, Cyrus formed the idea of turning the river into the lake, as Nebuchadnezzar is said to have done when he constructed its banks, and of entering the city through its channel. He effected his purpose, and drained the river during a night of profanity and dissipation in Babylon, the interior scenes of which are described by a greater historian than either Herodotus or Xenophon—the prophet Daniel—from whose story we shall derive the certain record of this great and terrible event.

Siege of Babylon.

Belshazzar, presuming upon the strength of his city, and upon the magazine of provisions, which, without any fresh supplies, less than a twenty years' siege could not exhaust, derided the efforts of his powerful adversary. In the meantime the invaders encompassed the city with a deep trench, keeping their purposes a profound secret; and Cyrus was informed of the feast which was about to be held in Babylon. Upon this night he determined to suspend the fates of his army, and of the empire for which he fought. On this occasion of festivity, Belshazzar, with a bold impiety, at which his predecessors, proud and daring as they were, would have shuddered, profaned the vessels of the temple of Jehovah. The apparition of a hand, writing on the wall of the palace, in unknown characters, first excited the apprehensions of the king. In vain he called the astrologers and the magicians; in vain he alternately threatened and implored them; they could neither read the writing, nor make known the interpretation. The sentence was written in the old Samaritan characters, which the Chaldæans did not understand; and could they have deciphered them, they could not have explained them. The words literally rendered are, "Numbered, numbered, weighed, and they divide."[1] Daniel was sent for, and announced from them the immediate fall of the empire. While such was the awful excitement at the palace, Cyrus had drained the river into his moat, till the stream was fordable. Informed of the confusion which reigned in the city, he issued orders to his troops to enter it that very night, at north and south, by marching up the channel. They were commanded by two eminent officers, who advanced towards each other, without any impediment,

Belshazzar.

The omen.

The assault.

[1] Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin. Upharsin is the plural of Peres, preceded by the conjunction U signifying *and*.

till they met in the centre of the river. God, who had promised to open before him the gates of brass, preceded them, otherwise this singular and adventurous expedition must have failed. Had the gates which closed the avenues leading to the river been shut, which was always the custom at night, the whole scheme had been defeated. But so it was ordered by Providence, that on this night of general riot and confusion, with unparalleled negligence, *they were left open!* so that these troops penetrated into the very heart of the city without opposition, and reached the palace before any alarm was given. The guards were immediately put to the sword, Belshazzar slain, and the city taken almost without resistance! B.C. 536. Hence was fulfilled the remarkable oracle of Isaiah, in reference to the conqueror of Babylon:— Babylon taken.

> "He that saith to the abyss, be dry;
> And I will dry up thy floods:
> He that saith to Cyrus, My shepherd,
> And all my pleasure shall he fulfil,—
> Saying indeed to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built;
> And to the Temple, Thou shalt be founded.
> Thus saith Jehovah to his Anointed, to Cyrus,
> Whose right hand I have held fast,
> To subdue the nations before him,
> And to loose the loins of kings,
> To open before him the folding doors;
> And the gates shall not be shut;
> I will go before thee,
> And the rough places will I level;
> Doors of brass will I break in pieces,
> And cut asunder the bars of iron:
> I will give thee treasures of darkness,
> And the hidden stores of secret places,
> So that thou mayest know that I am Jehovah,
> The God of Israel, who has announced thy name.
> For the sake of my servant Jacob,
> And Israel my chosen,
> I will call thee distinctly by name,
> I will give thee a title,
> Though thou knowest me not."[1]

So fell the great city. It made several attempts at resistance some years afterwards, but was always worsted in its efforts.

An insurrection under Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 500) provoked that prince to throw down the walls and gates which had been left by Cyrus. The temple of Belus was plundered and ruined by Xerxes; and Alexander was prevented by his early death from fulfilling his intention of restoring it. Strabo says[2] that 10,000 men were employed for two months in removing its materials. The foundation of Seleucia in its immediate neighbourhood, by Seleucus, one Ruin of Babylon.

[1] xliv. 27, 28, xlv. 1—5.

[2] xvi. 1.

of the successors of Alexander, drew away all the remaining inhabitants of Babylon; and in the time of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, the greater part of the space within the walls was completely desolate. St. Jerome, in the fourth century, was informed by a Persian monk, that the site of Babylon had been converted into a chase, or park, for the use of the Persian kings; and that the walls were from time to time repaired, in order to prevent the game from escaping. Thus was the prophecy of Isaiah[1] literally verified!

> And Babylon the glory of kingdoms—
> The ornament—the pride of the Chaldees,
> Shall be as Sodom and Gomorrah, overthrown by God;
> She shall never again be inhabited
> Nor dwelt in, through all generations;
> Not even the Arab shall pitch his tent there,
> Neither shall the shepherd fold his flocks there;
> But the wild beasts of the desert shall be there,
> And the owls shall fill their houses,
> And there shall dwell the daughters of the ostrich,
> And wild goats shall gambol there,
> And wolves shall howl in his palaces,[2]
> And jackals in his temples of pleasure;
> Her time is near to come,
> Her days shall not be prolonged.

Remains of Babylon.

Various travellers, from Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth, to Niebuhr in the eighteenth century, have given a description of the mounds of earth and fragments of massive walls which just serve to show the site on which this mighty capital once stood: but the most

Mr. Rich.

complete and satisfactory account is that of the late Mr. Rich, resident, on the part of the East India Company, at the court of the Páshà of Baghdàd. His peculiar advantages, in consequence of the post which he occupied, and his extraordinary knowledge of the language and literature of the east, rendered him more fit for such an inquiry than any of his predecessors; and little addition to his communications can be made, till some fortunate concurrence of circumstances enables some antiquary to make excavations among the ruins. "He expected," he says, "to have found more and less on the site of Babylon than he actually did:" more, because he supposed he should have been able to have identified some of the ancient buildings, which was quite impossible; "less, because he could form no conception of the prodigious extent of the whole mass of ruins, their size, solidity, and the perfect state of some of their parts."[3] The traces of the city begin to be perceptible near Mohàeril,

[1] xiii. 21.

[2] And in their palaces,
Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped
And stabled.—*Milton.*

[3] Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon; Mines d'Orient, tom. iii. p. 129.

a khán, or inn, nine English miles from Hillah, and thirty-eight to the south of Baghdàd. The whole of the space between the two former, exhibits here and there masses of bricks and bitumen, and three mounds particularly attract attention by their magnitude. Hillah itself is placed by Niebuhr in lat. 32° 28′ N. on the east side of the Euphrates. On that side also are all the remains of any antiquity, except two small elevations, and one very considerable ruin. A kind of circular mound, or enclosure, which commences about two miles above Hillah, has the appearance of having been the boundary-wall. It includes an area of about two miles and a half one way, and one mile and one third the other. On the east side, two straight dikes, or walls of earth, run from north to south, parallel with the course of the Euphrates, forming, together with it and the ends of the enclosure mentioned above, an oblong area, containing three principal mounds of rubbish, which rise above 100 feet above the ordinary level of the river. The most northern of these is the largest mass of ruins, which is called by the Arabs Makallebah, (*i.e.* subverted,) pronounced *Mujellibeh* by the natives of this place; and is the tower of Belus according to Rennell and Pietro della Valle.[1] Its form is oblong; the sides face the cardinal points; the northern side is 200 yards, the southern 219, the eastern 192, and the western 136. The elevation of the highest angle is 141 feet. It is believed by the Arabs to be haunted by demons and satyrs; and it is the abode of owls, porcupines, and wild beasts. The western face is that which presents the greatest appearance of masonry. Near the top of it there is a low wall, consisting of alternate layers of unburnt bricks and reeds, cemented with clay-mortar of great thickness. On the south-east angle there is something like a turret. On digging into the earth accumulated upon the summit, there were found layers of burnt brick cemented with mortar, and occasionally whole bricks, with inscriptions on them. The next ruin, in point of size, called by the Arabs El Kair, (the Castle,) is one mile to the south of Mujellibéh. It consists of several walls and piers, also facing the cardinal points, eight feet thick, ornamented with buttresses, pilasters, and niches, of fine burnt brick, laid in lime-mortar of extraordinary tenacity. There are subterranean pits and passages beneath this building which are still unexplored. Near this ruin is an atheleh, (*tamarix articulata*,) which the natives believe to have been coeval with the city. Of the walls of Babylon, Mr. Rich could find no traces; but perhaps the curved dike, which takes in so large a circuit, may be a part of them. The most curious ruin, however, which Mr. Rich coincides with Niebuhr[2] in considering as the celebrated tower of Belus, is on the west side of the river, about six miles S.W. of Hillah: it is called by the Arabs Birs Nimroud, the tower of Nimrod, (for *birs*, which embarrassed

Hillah.

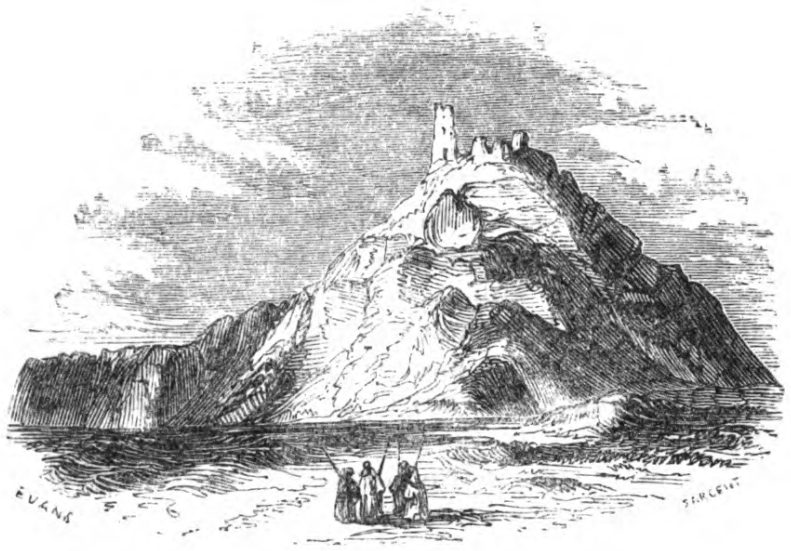
Mujellibéh.

El Kair.

Birs Nimroud.

[1] Geogr. of Herod. i. 355; Viaggi, i. 399.

[2] Reise. ii. 289.



[Birs Nimroud.]

Mr. Rich, is plainly the Persian word *borz*, as Gesenius has justly expressed it,) and the prison of Nebuchadnezzar by the Jews. It
Its structure. forms a mound consisting entirely of fine burnt bricks, with inscriptions on them; and is of an oblong form, 762 yards in circumference. The height of the east side is 50 or 60 feet; but on the west it rises to 198 feet, in a conical form, being 28 feet in breadth at the base. Its position, on the western side of the river, seems not to agree with the place assigned by Herodotus to the tower of Belus; but it is not clear from his account in what part of the town that building was placed. Sir Robert Ker Porter supposes that the fabric was destroyed by lightning—an idea quite in harmony with
Its overthrow. the old tradition, that the tower of Babel was rent and demolished by fire from heaven. It would seem that the strange words of the prophet Jeremiah have reference to this huge structure:—

> "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain!
> Saith Jehovah,
> Which destroyeth the whole earth;
> And I will stretch my hand over thee,
> And roll thee down from the rocks,
> And make thee a burnt mountain.
> And they shall not take of thee a corner-stone,
> Nor a stone for foundations;
> But thou shalt be desolate for ever,
> Saith Jehovah."[1]

Bricks and gems. No works of art which deserve to be called beautiful have been found in these ruins; but bricks and gems, with inscriptions, and sculptures, similar to those brought from Persepolis, show

[1] li. 25, 26.

the early connection between the Babylonian and Persian empires. The inscriptions are generally placed on the lower side of the bricks; and were therefore buried in a substratum of mortar, and not designed to be observed or read. It has been therefore inferred that they are magical formulas, or charms, to protect the building from the attack of evil spirits.[1] [2]

Divine Predictions.

The divine oracles always connect sin and punishment. When iniquity reaches its maturity, it is speedily checked and chastened. No city seems to have exceeded Babylon in profligacy, and none has met with a more awful retribution. Guided by these ideas, Jeremiah, in the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters of his prophecy, pictures the siege and its final success—the gathering of the Median armies and their combined triumphs. The wickedness of the capital is assigned as the cause of its punishment. The hasty cry of the seer is—"Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence."[3] The special transgression which offended heaven is pointed to, as the invasion of Judæa and the plunder of the sacred fane in Jerusalem,—"The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness: come, and let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God. Make bright the arrows; gather the shields: the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it; because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple."[4] The mustering of the hosts is pourtrayed with breathless anxiety,—"Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz."[5] The haughty and desolate metropolis is at length overpowered, and her panic-stricken heroes are caught in their revels. "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end; and that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire, and the men of war are affrighted. In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make

[1] See Rich's Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, 1818; Maurice's Observations on ditto, 1816; Gesenius, in Ersch's Encycl.

[2] The tongue of Chaldæa, called in Scripture Aramæan,* is closely allied to the Hebrew, and is found in several chapters of Ezra and Daniel. It was spoken on the banks of the Euphrates during the period of Hebrew captivity and servitude. Its western or Syriac dialect prevailed in Palestine, before and during the time of Christ. It is rougher and less flexible than the Hebrew, avoids the use of sibilants, has a smaller number of vowel-sounds, and its verbs are monosyllabic. The terminal ā sound prevails, for the article is affixed, and the masculine plural ends in *in*. There is no doubt of the close relationship of the Chaldee language to the elder tongue of Nineveh, nor could it differ greatly from the dialect which was peculiar to Babylon.†

[3] li. 6. [4] li. 10, 11. [5] li. 27, 28.

* Dan. ii. 4.

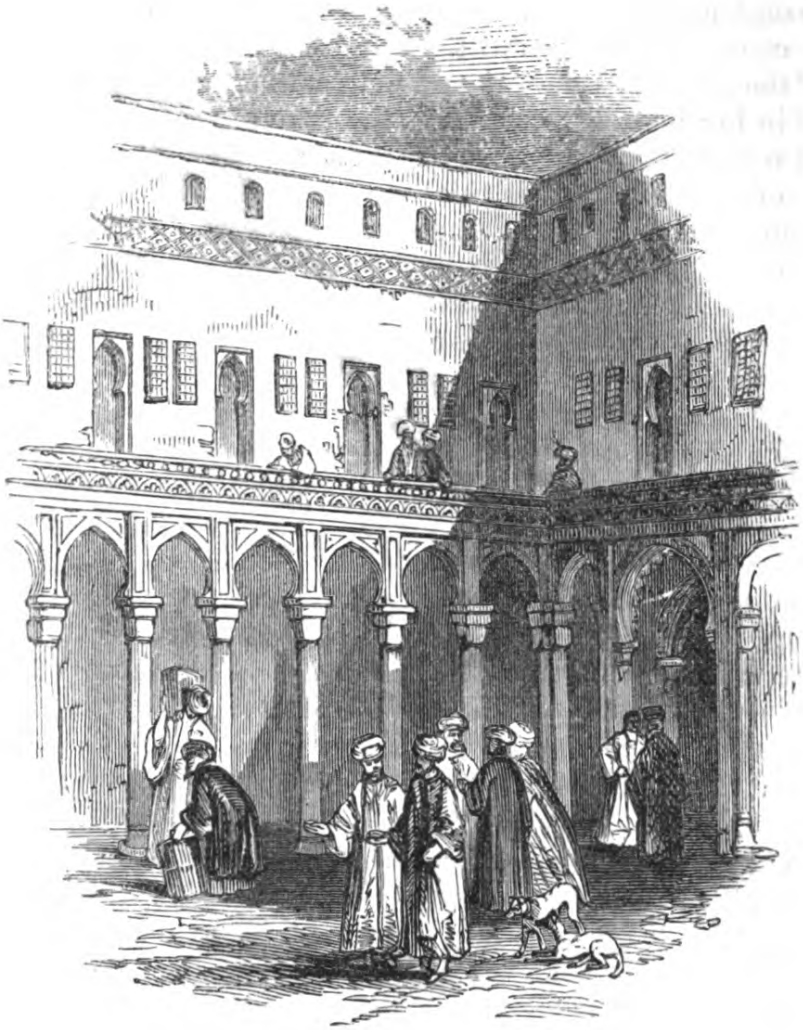
† See page 252.

them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord."[1]

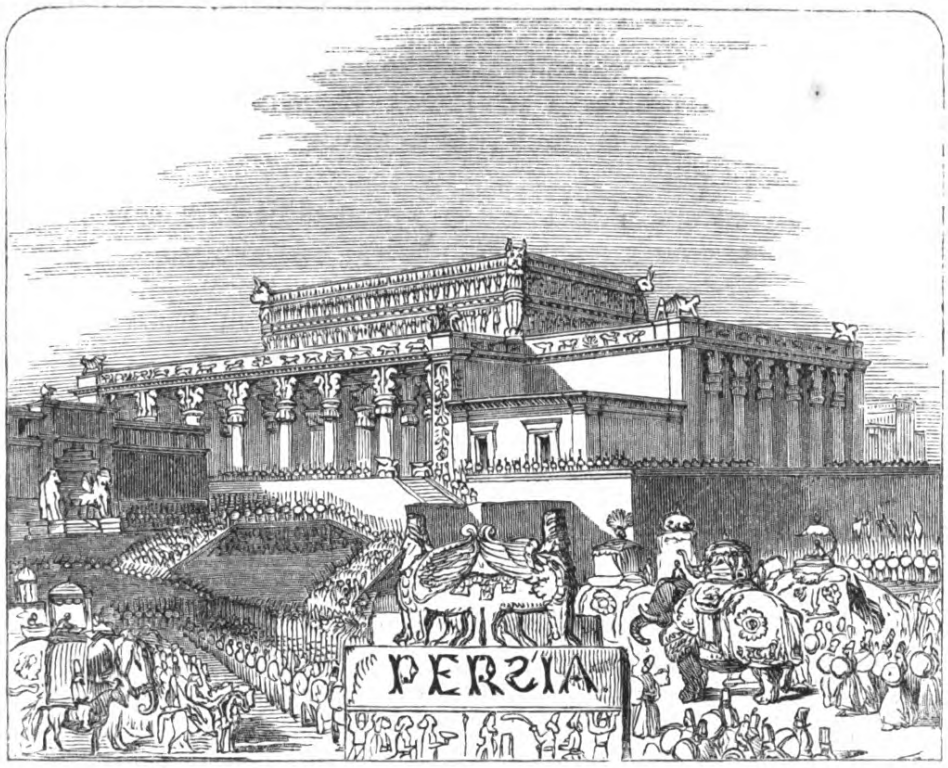
Such is the end of this great and luxurious city, so full of pride, cruelty, and wanton immorality,—

> "And nothing is left, save a tale of her fame—
> The fame of her glory, and wreck of her name."

[1] Jeremiah li. 31, 32, 39.



[Entrance to an Eastern House]



[Persepolis.—Hall of Xerxes Restored.—*Botta.*]

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA AND MEDIA.

Boundaries.

Persia, in its most general acceptation, is the name of the whole tract comprehended between the river Araxes, the Gordiæan Mountains, Mount Zagros, and the Tigris on the north and west; the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean on the south; the Indus on the east; and the river Jaxartes and the Caspian Sea on the north. In its proper and more restricted sense, Persia signifies the native country of the Persæ, which is probably the province called Persis by the ancients, and Fárs by the moderns; but Persis (פָּרַס,) considered as the kingdom of the Persians subjugated by the Medes, seems to have comprehended all the country to the south of the Median mountains and deserts, and to have included Susiana, Carmania, and Gedrosia, as well as Persis proper. Media and Persis, in this enlarged acceptation, formed at first two distinct, and subsequently, one united state, known by the name of the Persian Empire, after the subjugation of the Medes by Cyrus in the latter half of the 6th century B.C.; and from that period to the present time, those territories have never been permanently disunited. But the mountainous provinces to the east of the Caspian Sea, Aria, Hyrcania, Bactriana, and Sogdiana, have often been independent of the Persian kings; and the more remote ones, for a considerable period, formed a separate monarchy.

Persis.

Persian Empire.

Persia Proper.

Persia proper, or the southern part of the empire bearing that name, comprehended the provinces of Persis, Carmania, Gedrosia, and Arachosia, extending from the Tigris to the Indus along the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Physical condition.

The central portion of this area is a vast table-land consisting of several elevated plains. Its boundaries may be thus defined: Niphates, a snow-capped mountain, as its name implies, and consequently of great height, is a continuation of Taurus which separated Armenia from Assyria, and the Carduchian, or Gordyæan chain, one of its branches, which passes to the south of the Arsissa Palus,—Lake of Ván, and forms the western boundary of the plains occupied by the Carduchi,—the Kurds. Further to the south-east, the same range is continued under the name of Zagrus; and beyond the Choaspes, under that of Parachoatras.[1] Lower hills, in lines nearly parallel with the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, connect these mountains with the lofty ridges which follow the direction of the Indus, and may be considered as branches of Paropamisus,—the Hindú Kush. The Sariphian mountains and lower ranges enclosing the ancient Margiana,—Merv, or Merú, form a junction between the same mountains and the northern Choatras which separated Media and Parthia, and was itself connected with the northern range of Taurus. These almost unbroken chains of mountains are the natural barriers enclosing the elevated area between the Tigris and the Indus, the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, an area which forms the principal part of Persia properly so named; but it must not be supposed

Table-land.

that this table-land is one unvaried level: it is, like that between the eastern and western G'háts in the Peninsula of India, intersected by various transverse lines of hills issuing from the surrounding chains. These secondary ridges, though appearing to have no great height above the plains from which they rise, have in reality a very considerable elevation, as is manifest from the snow which covers their summits almost throughout the year: but, in many instances, they sink gradually into extensive levels totally destitute of water, and covered either with an incrustation of soda or with hillocks of loose sand.

Persis.

I. Persis comprehended the whole tract between the Tigris, the Median mountains, Carmania, and the Persian Gulf, and had nearly an oblong form, running from north-west to south-east, in the direction of that river, the gulf, and the highest of the neighbouring ranges. Its ancient names, Paras and 'Ēilam, occur in the Hebrew Scriptures,[2] and the latter term, derived from one of the sons of Shem,[3]

Archæmeniæ.

shows that its first inhabitants were a Semitic people. Archæmeniæ, another ancient name, seems to have belonged peculiarly to the royal tribe, whose proper habitation was around Pasargadæ, near the eastern extremity of this province. Persis, taken in this comprehensive sense, included Susiana, Elymaïs, and Persis proper. 1.

[1] Ptol. vi. 2, 4, p. 147, 150. [2] Ezek. xxvii. 10; Gen. xiv. 1. [3] Gen. x. 22.

Susiana appears to have been separated from the Assyrian district of Chalonites by the Mosæus, a river which fell, according to Ptolemy,[1] into the Persian Gulf, in 30° 40′ N. and 82° E. (= 64° E. Greenwich,) and is probably the Mendelí sû which falls into the Tigris in about 31° 30′ N., several miles above the junction of that river with the Euphrates, and is supposed to be the Gyndes of Herodotus. Susiana. Boundaries.

Mount Parachoatras was the northern, and the Pasitigris the eastern boundary of Susiana. Its principal city, Susa, (τὰ Σοῦσα,) in the district called Cissia,[2] was nearly enclosed by the Eulæus,[3] 450 miles distant from the Babylonian Seleucia, and as much from Ecbatana in Media, by the road across Mount Charbanus. Susa.

Ardericca, at which the captive Eretrians were settled by Darius, was a royal post, (στάθμος,)[4] 210 stadia (26 miles) north by west of Susa and Charax, whence the surrounding district was called Characene, and was built on an artificial mound at the confluence of the Eulæus and Tigris. It was founded by Alexander, and restored, when undermined by the river, by several of his successors; nor can any doubt be entertained as to the continual augmentation and change of this coast, when we learn from Pliny[5] that Charax, at first a maritime town only 10 stadia (1¼ mile) from the sea, was distant 50 miles from it according to Juba, and as much as 120 miles in his own time,—the first century of our era, as he had heard from persons well acquainted with the place. Ardericca. Charax.

2. Elymaïs, the Greek derivative of Elam, anciently comprehended the whole of Persis, as several passages in the Bible show;[6] in later times, however, that part of the coast only which lies between the Eulæus or Kerah, and the Oroatis or Arosis of Arrian,[7] was called Elymaïs, and inhabited by Elymæans, while the remainder of that tribe still occupied the high lands above Mount Zagrus, on the borders of Media.[8] The country of the Upper Elymæans was watered by the tributaries to the Eulæus and the Coprates; while the lower and more fertile terrace immediately above the maritime plain, inhabited by the southern portion of that people, was traversed by the Hedypnus, or Hedyphon,[9] which joined the Pasitigris,—Kárún, the Brixia, and the Ortacea,—Daúrak. The provinces or subdivisions of Elymaïs were, 1. Gabiana, through which the Eulæus passed; 2. Massabatica, or Mesabatene; and 3. Corbiana, with the two petty principalities of the Sagapēni and Silaceni. There were three defiles which afforded an easy passage from the high lands to the coast:[10] 1. from Media and Mount Zagrus through Massabatica; 2. from Susis through Gabiana; and 3. from Persis by the Pylæ Persicæ, *i.e.* the Persian Gates. The cities in Elymaïs. Rivers. Passes.

[1] vi. 3, p. 149. [2] Herod. v. 49.
[3] Plin. vi. 31. [4] Herod. vi. 119. [5] v. 31.
[6] Gen. xiv. 1; Isa. xi. 11; xxii. 6; Ezek. xxxii. 24; Dan. viii. 2.
[7] Ind. 39. [8] Strabon. Epitome, xi.
[9] Strabo, xvi. [10] Strabo, xvi.

Seleucia. Elymaïs were Seleucia on the Hedyphon, near which was the Zara,
Badacca. the wealthy temple of Diana; and Badacca on the Eulæus. The different nations, or tribes of the same people, who inhabited these
Cossæi. tracts, were, 1. the Cossæi, who inhabited the mountains between Media and Susiana. They appear to have been the first occupants, and to them probably belonged the Cuthæan colonists established in Samaria by Shalmaneser,[1] and the Cissians on the southern side of the mountains. Their name, if not their posterity, is still preserved,
Chusistan. as Khúzistán or the abode of the Khúzís, is the modern name of this country; and "its inhabitants," says Hájí Khalífeh,[2] "use the Chusian as well as the Arabic and Persian languages." 2. To
Uxii. the east of the Pasitigris were the Uxii, who were separated from Persis by the upper ridge of the mountains whence that river springs,
Mardi. and which contain several defiles leading into that province.[3] 3. The Mardi occupied the valleys and declivities on the confines of Susis and Persis. This tribe appears to have been dispersed over all the mountainous tracts of ancient Persia; for we read[4] of Mardi in the neighbourhood of the Euxine and Caspian as far as Bactria: but as *mard* signifies "a man," and thence, "a man of valour, a hero," in the ancient[5] as well as the modern languages of Persia, it was probably assumed as a name throughout the country, just as *makúa* (*i.e.* man) is the name of many tribes of the Amakosa or Bechuána race in
Elymæi. south-eastern Africa at the present day. 4. The Elymæi, or Elamites, already mentioned, one portion of whom occupied the upper
Parætaceni. tract between the Medians and the Cossæi. 5. The table-land above the highest ridges, including the Parthian and Median deserts, was occupied, at least to the north and west, by the Parætaceni. The whole of these mountaineers, most of whom inhabited barren and narrow tracts, were excellent archers, continually engaged in war, and famed for their valour and inroads upon their neighbours. The Parætaceni and Elymæi were the most agricultural, but even they were not wholly reclaimed from predatory habits. Their successors, if not their descendants, still continue in nearly the same condition: "as they have ever been a lawless and disorderly banditti," says Sir J. M. Kinneir,[6] "they prefer the fastnesses of the mountains, where they can carry on their depredations with a greater degree of impunity;" and the governor of Shúster "fairly confessed his inability to punish one of their leaders," taken in an assault on that traveller's party.

Persis proper. 3. Persis, properly so called, lay between Elymaïs and Carmania, Media and the Persian Gulf, nearly within the same limits as the modern province of Párs, or Fárs. Surrounded, except on the coast, by almost impervious mountains, it was very difficult of access.

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 24.
[2] Jihán numá, p. 272.
[3] Strabo, xv. 729.
[4] Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. 6, 16.
[5] Zend and Pehlvi vocab. in Zend-avestá, tom. iii. p. 95.
[6]

The Persian or Susian Gates—Pylæ Persicæ, or Susidæ,[1] probably near the source of the Pasitigris, and the Climax Megalé, (*i.e.* Great Ladder,) between Media and Persis, are described as defiles so narrow and winding, steep and rugged, as to arrest the progress of the strongest force, unless the neighbouring tribes were willing to grant a passage: but this tract of country is too little known to allow of our ascertaining the position of these passes. Sir William Ouseley thinks,[2] apparently on good grounds, that the extremity of the Pylæ Persicæ is about half-way between the Takhti Jemshíd and Máyín, in the district of Rám-gird; and the Kutel Urchíní, or Staircase-Pass, about fifteen miles south-east of Isfahán, has at least a name of exactly the same import as the Megalé Climax; it is also on the high-road to Persepolis,[3] though an easier passage may be obtained by making a little circuit.[4] In form, the province of Persis was nearly rhomboidal, as it had a much smaller breadth along the gulf than in the interior, where it almost enclosed Carmania.[5] It was separated from Media by mountains nearly parallel with the sea, and from Carmania by an extensive desert. The three terraces or gradations of level occurring in Persis, as well as in Susiana, are distinctly marked by Strabo.[6] "In its nature and the temperature of the air, this territory," he says, "is threefold; for the maritime tract is scorching and windy, and extremely unproductive of fruit, except dates. The country above it is level and fruitful, affords excellent pasture for cattle, and abounds in rivers and lakes. The third tract is that to the north, wintry and mountainous: at its extremities are the camel-breeders. Its greatest length, from the Caspian gates to some projecting points in the opposite ranges, is about 8000 stadia, (1000 miles,) but in the narrowest part it is not more than 2000 stadia (250 miles) in length. Its breadth, midway between the seas, from Susa to Persepolis, is 4200 stadia, (525 miles,) and thence to the boundaries of Carmania 1600 stadia (200 miles.)" Of the few cities in Persis mentioned by the ancients, Persepolis, the royal city of the greatest Persian monarchs, is the most celebrated. There can be little doubt that the remarkable ruins in 29° 55′ N. and 53° 16′ E. called Istakhr by the modern Persians, are the remains of that place; and Pasargadæ, or rather Passagardæ, another of the royal cities, the burial-place of the kings, where their treasures also were kept,[7] was to the north-east, at no great distance from Persepolis. The remarkable pile of ruins at Máderi Suleïmán, a name signifying Solomon's mother, has led some antiquaries to fix upon that place as its site.

Pylæ Persicæ.

Three terraces.

Persepolis.

Pasargadæ.

Bagæ, another royal residence, is said by Strabo[8] to have been somewhere in the upper part of Persis, and is placed by Ptolemy[9] in the confines of Carmania. Arrian[10] mentions a palace on the bank

Bagæ.

[1] Curt. v. 3. [2] ii. 336. [3] Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. 29. [4] Ouseley, ii. 456.
[5] Strabo, xv. p. 727. [6] xv. p. 727. [7] Strabo, xv. p. 728.
[8] xv. p. 730. [9] vi. 8. p. 158. [10] Indic. 39.

of the Granis, 200 stadia (25 miles) above its mouth. This appears to be that placed by Strabo near the coast towards the promontory called Oca, which is probably the Taoca of Arrian,[1] at the mouth of that river, just beyond Mesambria, a name of the same import as Garmsír—the hot region, the denomination now given to the whole of the maritime tract; the other places named by the ancients are of doubtful position, and unconnected with any remarkable events.

Rivers. The only rivers of any note, except those which descend into the Persian Gulf, are the Medus, Cyrus, and Araxes, which pass near Persepolis, and terminate in the large lake of Bakhtegán, unnoticed by any Greek or Roman writers. The Cyrus and Araxes, which came from the country of the Parætacæ, seem to have been the same river as the modern Bend-Emír, or Kur, and the Medus is the Perváb, or Pulvár, which coming from Media to the north-east passed by Pasargadæ; but the topography of these rivers is much perplexed by the apparent contradictions of ancient writers and the ignorance of moderns with respect to the length and direction of their course.

Carmania. II. Carmania, or Kirmán, the adjoining province, began at the coast opposite to the Island of Catæa—Keïsh, or Kaïs,[2] and extended along the Indian Ocean as far as Badis,[3] or Sabis,[4] near the promontory now called Cape Jáshk, or Jásk, where Gedrosia, the modern Makrán, begins. On the east, Carmania was bounded by that province, and on the north by Parthia.[5] It formed two natural divisions: 1. the desert; 2. the fertile Carmania. The former, which lies to the north and west of the latter, has no rivers and anciently no towns; its scanty population consisted of migratory tribes; the latter had many rivers from the Bagradas, or Nábend, the boundary of Persis, or Fárs, to the Andanis, or Anamis, near the promontory of Armozon, at the eastern extremity of the gulf; and further eastward the Samydaches, Hydriaces, and Zorambus, which fell into the Indian Ocean.

Gedrosia. III. Gedrosia, Gedrusia, Gadrosia, or Cedrosia, corresponding very nearly with the modern Mekrán, extended from Badis, near Jáshk, to the high ridge of mountains parallel with the Indus. It was bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the north by Drangiana and Arachosia. The coast is almost exclusively a sandy desert, crossed by many torrents, which form short-lived and temporary inundations, whenever storms burst over the hills whence they spring, but are completely dried up during the remainder of the year. It is extremely unproductive, and has, in all ages, been thinly peopled and little known. It seems scarcely to have been considered as a part of Gedrosia; and, but for the voyage of Nearchus, would not have been mentioned by the ancients. Its inhabitants were divided into three tribes: 1. the Ichthyophagi or

Ichthyophagi.

[1] Indic. 39. [2] Arrian, Ind. 37—8. [3] Arrian, Ind. 32.
[4] Plin. vi. 27. [5] Agathem. ii. 6.

Fish-eaters, who made their dwellings of whalebones,[1] and occupied the coast as far as Cape Malana. 2. The Oritæ, or people of Ora, between that point and the river Arabis. And, 3. the Arbies or Arabies from that river to the nearest mouth of the Indus.

IV. To the north of Gedrosia was Arachosia, the natives of which were called Arachōti, Arachotæ, or Arachosii. It lay between the Paropamisadæ, Gedrosia, Drangiana, and the mountains parallel with the Indus. Its capital of the same name, anciently called Cophen, and said to have been built by Semiramis, was not far from the Massagetæ.[2] Alexandria was on the river Arachotus, and Parabeste[3] was on the Etymander. The river Arachotus, which passed through this country, formed a lake or marsh,[4] called the source of the Arachotus, and was a branch of the Indus. Arachosia.

V. Paropamisus (Parapamisus or Parapanisus) was a continuation of Emodus and Imaus, (*i.e.* Himálaya,[5]) on the southern side of which lived the Paropamisadæ, between the Indus and Aria,[6] occupying a territory nearly answering to the modern kingdom of Kábul, and the central portion of Afghánistán. Paropamisus.

VI. Drangiana, separated from Paropamisus by Aria, was bounded by that country on the west and north, by Arachosia on the east, and by Gedrosia on the south. It was the valley of the Etymander, —Hélmend or Hérmend, enclosed by Mount Becius on the south, and on the north by Bagöus, whence its rivers flow. It was inhabited by the Drangæ, and its principal places were Prophthasia, at the foot of Bagöus, on the northern side, 199 miles from Aria,[7] and the city of the Ariaspæ, Agriaspæ, or Arimaspi, called Euergetæ by Cyrus,[8] nearer to Mount Becius. Drangiana.

VII. Aria, the adjoining province on the north, seems to have been only a part of the tract called by the ancients Ariana, which, according to Eratosthenes,[9] was bounded on the east by the Indus; on the north by Paropamisus and the adjoining mountains as far as the Caspian Gates; on the west by Media, Parætacene, and Persis; and on the south by the ocean. This large area was more or less occupied by the Arii, a migratory and unsettled people, whose abode was Aria proper,[10] which was separated from Drangiana on the south, by Mount Bagöus, forming a curve to the north, and joining the western skirts of Paropamisus. On the north it was bounded by a part of Bactriana and Margiana, and on the west by Parthia and the Carmanian desert. The principal city Aria, on a river of the same name,[11] is supposed to be the Herát or Heráh, of the Arabian and Persian geographers. Ariana. Aria proper.

VIII. Parthia, (Parthyæa, or Parthyēné,) considered as a province Parthia.

[1] Arrian, Ind. 29. [2] Steph. de Urb. [3] Plin. vi. 25.
[4] Ammian. xxiii. 29; Ptol. vi. 20. p. 166. [5] Arrian, Ind. 2.
[6] Strabo, xv. p. 724. [7] Plin. vi. 21.
[8] Strabo, xv. 724; Arrian, iii. 27. [9] Strabo, xv. p. 723.
[10] Ptolemy, vi. 17, p. 164. [11] Arrian, iv. 6.

of the Persian empire, was a small, poor, mountainous, and woody tract,[1] which had the Arii on the east, the Ariani and Carmania on the south, the Median Pratitæ on the west, and the Hyrcanians on the north:—*undique desertis cincta*, says Pliny.[2] Its boundaries are by no means certain, and without doubt they varied at different periods.

The original Parthians were believed to be exiles, as their name (Parthi) implied, driven from Scythia by domestic feuds, and first established in the deserts near Hyrcania.[3] As they subsequently increased in numbers, they possessed themselves of Parthia proper, but were principally maintained by plundering their neighbours.[4] The north-western districts, on the confines of Parthia proper, were Choarene and Comisene, the names of which are still preserved in Khuwár and Cúmish.

Hyrcania.

IX. Hyrcania was bounded on the west by Media, on the north by the Caspian Sea and the Oxus, on the east by Margiana, and on the south by Parthia, from which it was separated by Mount Coronus. Of the tribes inhabiting this country, the westernmost were the Tapyri. The Anariacæ and Stauri[5] were between them and the Hyrcani, whose western boundary seems to have been the river Sideris, Ister, beyond which were the Maxēras and Straton. Between the Maxēras and the Oxus was the river Socanda, or A'bi-sagun, which passed by a town of the same name, and Samariana,[6] or Sarammanna was beyond the Maxēras, near the confines of Media. The royal city of the Hyrcanian kings either had various names or was frequently changed. According to Strabo it was Tape, said to be near the sea, and 1400 stadia (180 miles) from the Caspian Gates; Polybius[7] gives that honour to Tambraca and Syrinx, placed in a very fertile and inaccessible defile. Arrian[8] mentions Zeudracasta as the metropolis; Isidore of Charax, Asaac; and Ptolemy,[9] Hyrcania on the river Maxēras, in 40° N. The latter appears to be the Jurján of the Arabs, and Gurkán (*i. e.* Wolves) of the Persians; a name which seems to allude to the thick woods, said by ancient and modern writers to cover the neighbouring hills. The whole territory is described by Strabo[10] as "extensive, extremely fertile, for the most part level, and distributed among several considerable cities: but not," he adds, "cultivated as it deserved."

Royal City.

Hyrcania. Gurkán.

Margiana.

X. To the east of Hyrcania was Margiana, bounded on the south by Ariana, on the east by Bactria, and on the north by Sogdiana beyond the Oxus. It was a level tract of about 1500 stadia (200 miles) in circumference, remarkable for its fertility,[11] enclosed by mountains on all sides, and difficult of access towards Parthia, on

[1] Strabo, xi. p. 514.
[2] vi. 29.
[3] Isidor. Orig. ix. 2.
[4] Strabo, loc. cit.
[5] Plin. vi. 18.
[6] Strabo, xi. p. 508.
[7] x. 31, 5, 6.
[8] iii. 25.
[9] vi. 9. p. 158.
[10] xi. p. 508.
[11] Plin. vi. 18.

account of deserts 120 miles in breadth. "It is reported," says Strabo,[1] "that vines are often found there, the girth of which, near the root, is as much as two men with arms extended can embrace, and the clusters of grapes measure two cubits." Antiochus Soter was so struck with the productiveness of this tract, that he enclosed it with a wall, and built the city of Antiochēa. This city, as we learn from Pliny, was only rebuilt by Antiochus, having been founded by Alexander. It was on the banks of the Margus, or Morghāb, which traversed the whole tract, to which it gave a name, and was dispersed in various channels for the purposes of irrigation in the district called Zotale.

Bactria.

XI. Bactria was bounded on the north by the river Oxus, Jaïhún or Amú, which separated it from Sogdiana, on the west[2] by Margiana, on the south by Mount Paropamisus, and on the east by the Massagetæ and other wandering tribes of Scythians. This was a rich and well-watered country on the northern declivity of Paropamisus, called by the followers of Alexander the Indian Caucasus.[3] Ptolemy[4] enumerates five streams which issue from that mountain, and pour their waters into the Oxus.

Climate.

The climate of Persia varies with the position and elevation of different localities; the numerous mountains give a cooling shade to the valleys, and the interior table-land possesses the extremes of heat and cold in summer and winter; snow falls in many parts of the country, and is highly prized as a source of fertility; and some provinces have their dry and rainy seasons with periodical regularity. Tracts of barren land occur beyond the reach of irrigation, for there are few streams.[5]

Productions.

The fields produce no forest trees worthy of the name, save a dwarfish and stunted oak, though there are plantains and willows in abundance. Trees yielding fragrant gums are common, such as those producing incense and mastic, and so are tamarisks and the manna tree. Great varieties of fruit grow to perfection in Persia, such as grapes, dates, plums, peaches, figs, apples, nectarines, almonds, cherries, and walnuts. The harvest produces rice, wheat, barley, maize, and sesamum; the melon and cucumber are favourite plants, and culinary vegetables grow with great luxuriance. Aromatics are also found in great plenty, such as saffron and cassia, and the Persian poppy is unequalled. Among its rich and blooming flowers, its tulips and jonquils, none vies with the rose in colour, size, and perfume. Sir Rober Ker Porter thus expresses his grateful amazement: "On first entering this bower of fairy-land, I was struck with the appearance of two rose trees, full

Vegetables.

[1] xi. p. 516.

[2] The western boundary of Bactriana was supposed by Cellarius (iii. 21, 2, 10,) to be the Ochus; but had that able geographer possessed the materials now accessible, he would not have been misled by a passage in Pliny, (vi. 18.) where Oxo should probably be read for Ocho. The Bactrian Ochus is evidently different from that which ran into the Caspian Sea.

[3] Arrian, v. 3; Ind. 2.

[4] vi. 11. p. 159.

[5] Mannert, Geog. v. ii. 497. Forbiger, ii. 572.

fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume: indeed, I believe, that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia—in no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants—their rooms ornamented with vases, filled with its gathered branches, and every bath strewed with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever replenished stems. Even the humblest individual who pays a piece of copper money for a few whiffs of a *kalioun*, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with a bud from his dear native tree. But in this delicious garden of Negauvistan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose; the ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of the multitude of nightingales, whose warblings seemed to increase in melody and softness with the unfolding of their favourite flowers."

Minerals. Iron is abundant in the province of Hyrcania, and copper, rock-salt, and naphtha, occur in various regions. Slate, marble, and torquoise are often met with, and veins of silver were anciently wrought. Nature has not been niggard in its gifts to Persia, and in its palmy days of empire, its great and scattered population must have found an easy subsistence. But its government had no stability—its aggressive wars led to the neglect of agriculture—the support of great armies drained the country of its resources—change of dynasty often covered many portions of the land with immediate sterility, and its national glory was like the meteor that flits with a momentary brilliance, and sinks into deeper gloom.

Media. Media[1] is a country, the name of which the sacred history appears to derive from *Madai*, one of the descendants of Japhet; while, according to Strabo, it was denominated from Medus, the son of Medea and Jason, or from a city called Media, whence the whole country borrowed the name. This country was bounded on the north by the Caspian sea; on the south by Assyria, Susiana, and Persia Proper; on the west by Armenia Major; and on the east by Parthia and Hyrcania. It now forms the province of Al Jebal, or Irac Asami.

Provinces. Media was, in early times, divided into six provinces, which were afterwards reduced to two—Media Magna and Media Atropatia. In the former the principal cities were Laodicea, Apamea, Arsacia, and especially Ecbatana, the seat of the Median, and afterwards of the Medo-Persian monarchs. Here, according to Josephus, "Darius found among the records of Cyrus" his decree, commanding "that
Ecbatana. the temple should be built in Jerusalem."[2] Ezra[3] names the place "Achmetha, the palace in the province of the Medes."

[1] In Zend, Maidhja. [2] Antiq. b. xi. c. 4. [3] vi. 2.

This city is also mentioned by name in the books of Tobit and Judith. In the latter[1] it is described as having "walls round about, of hewn stones, three cubits broad and six cubits long, the height of the wall seventy, and the breadth fifty cubits, gates raised to the height of seventy, and the breadth forty cubits, and towers upon the gates a hundred cubits high, and the breadth in the foundation threescore cubits." The following account of Herodotus represents this city as possessing great importance and extent, and being of a very singular construction. Description of Ecbatana.

"There were seven walls of a circular form, gradually rising above each other to the extent of the height of each wall. The palace and treasury were within the innermost enclosure. The outer wall was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, (which Thucydides has described as one hundred and seventy-eight furlongs.) The battlements of this outer wall were painted white, the next black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange; so that the walls might be known by their different colours. The two innermost were distinguished from the rest, the one being covered with silver, and the other with gold." In this province was also situated Regeia, described by Isidorus as the greatest city in Media. It is supposed to have been the same as Rages, mentioned in the book of Tobit as near to Ecbatana.

Media Atropatia contained Gaza, the metropolis of the province; also the cities of Sanina, Fazina, and Cyropolis. This tract, according to Strabo, was possessed by the Cadusï and the Caspii, a barbarous people of Scythian origin. It is probable that in Media there were two cities named Ecbatana, and Major Rawlinson, with his usual felicity and power of learned illustration, has made it apparent, that the most famous city of that name was in Media Atropatia, and not, as usually supposed, in Media Major. He identifies the place with the ruins of Takht-i-Soleimán. "The first view," says he, "of the ruins of Takht-i-Soleimán is certainly striking. . . . . From a distance they present to view a grey hoary mass of crumbling walls and building, encircling a small piece of water of the deepest azure, and bounded by a stony line of wall supported by numerous bastions. . . . . The hill of Takht-i-Soleimán appears at first as if it were isolated, but this is not strictly the case. On the southern, western, and northern faces, it presents a steep acclivity to the valley; but, at the north-east and south-east corners, the ground rises gradually; and, on its eastern face, it is thus very slightly elevated above the country beyond the walls. At the south-west corner I found the height of the hill, by trigonometrical observations, to be 150 feet above the plain, and that of the wall at its summit, where perfect, to be 30 feet, giving a total of 180 feet; and this may be taken as a general average of Media Atropatia. Rawlinson's identification of Ecbatana.

[1] i. 2—4.

View of the ruins.

height along the three steep faces. The brow of the hill is crowned by a wall, the most perfect part of which is along the southern face, and the most ruinous upon the western. . . . There are the remains of thirty-seven bastions, and the circuit of the wall, measured from point to point of these bastions, is 1330 paces, or a little more than three quarters of a mile. At a few points only, near the gateway on the south-eastern face, is the line of wall perfect; but where it is perfect, the masonry is shown to be most excellent. The breadth of the wall is 12 feet, the outer facing being composed of hewn blocks of stone, about 14 inches deep, and 2 feet in length, alternating with thin stones laid edgeways and perpendicularly between them; and the whole being fitted with extreme care and nicety. The interior is filled up with huge unhewn blocks imbedded in a lime cement, which is now fully as hard as the stones themselves. The bastions that are now perfect, near the gateway at the south-east corner of the fort, are solid, and taper upwards from the base; but I cannot think these can be of the same age as the bastion, for they are formed of smaller stones, less accurately fitted; and, in other parts of the fort, fragments of the old bastions remain, faced with the same huge blocks of hewn stone, which mark the general character of the real ancient building. It appears to me as if the bastions near the gate had been repaired in times comparatively modern. The gateway which faces S. 30° E., is quite perfect. It consists of a single arch 12 feet high and 10 feet wide, and is formed entirely of massive hewn blocks; a bastion protects it on either side. Above the gateway, and extending from one bastion to the other, is a line of blocks, each carved with a rude representation of an arch, which thus form a sort of ornamental frieze to the portal, and offer the only specimen of ancient sculpture to be found upon the walls."[1] The enterprising traveller discovered in the ruined city the remains of a Fire Temple.[2]

Fire Temple.

"Amid the mass of crumbling rubbish, it was not very easy at first to ascertain the original design of the building; but after some trouble I succeeded. The temple has been a square edifice of 55 feet. It was built of bricks, admirably baked, and laid in plaster, which seems very much to resemble the Roman cement of the present day. So strong, indeed, is this cement, that in some places where the arch is destroyed, the superincumbent building still remains uninjured, supported merely by the adhesion of the bricks to each other. The outer wall is shown to be 15 feet thick. A high, narrow, vaulted passage within this surrounds the central chamber, and communicates with it by a large, broad arch, upon each of the four faces. This chamber, where the sacred fire was, I conclude, deposited, is supported by massive walls, also 15 feet thick. It is roofed by a circular dome, and measures inside 10 paces square. The central chamber is now filled up

[1] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. x. [2] Ibid.

with ruin and rubbish to the spring of the arch. . . . The interior of the dome in the central chamber is coated with a thick covering of black, which seems to have been caused by the smoke of the sacred fire, burning for centuries upon the altar underneath." Major Rawlinson sums up his arguments of identification in the following succinct and pithy paragraphs:—

Rawlinson's arguments.

"I have shown that Herodotus describes the capital of Media Atropatene, under the name Ecbatana, with certain traits of descriptive character, only applicable to the ruins of Takht-i-Suleimán; that the same place is called in the book of Tobit Charran, which title I have succeeded in tracing down through various fields of evidence to the time of the Arabs, by whom the city occupying the site of Takht-i-Suleimán was still named Arran, identical with Charran in its latest stages of existence; that the ancient Persian name of Vár, also attached to the castle of this city of Deioces, was preserved in the Greek Vera, the distinctive epithet of the fortress besieged by Mark Antony at Takht-i-Suleimán; that Gaza, the more familiar appellation of the Atropatenian capital, is but the translation of its ancient name, Ecbatana; that Alexander and his officers, failing to penetrate to this city, failed also to discover its distinction from the Ecbatana of Greater Media; that the confusion of all subsequent geography is to be referred to this source; that later authors preserve notices of Ecbatana, which can only be explained by their application to the Atropatenian capital of that name,—the authors themselves, at the same time, appearing in their ignorance to refer them to the other city; that this connected series of ambiguous allusions to the Ecbatana of Northern Media continues from the point, where we lose sight of the city, under a distinct and positive form of evidence, up to the period when the capital having changed its name, becomes familiar to the Romans under the title of Gaza; and here I close the most ancient, and, consequently, the most difficult part of the inquiry.

Gaza.

"The next stage of the inquiry takes up the argument at the period of Antony's Median War; it connects all the notices which occur in classic authors, of the Atropatenian capital, between this era and the extinction of the Parthian monarchy; it assumes, as a natural inference, strengthened by an accumulation of inductive evidence, all tending to the same point, that this capital must necessarily occupy the same position as the one which has been hitherto traced under the name of Ecbatana; and, in showing the application to the site of Takht-i-Suleimán of all the recorded measurements, and all the illustrative evidence of the period, it at the same time verifies the preceding argument, and passes on from the great question of the identification of the Ecbatana of Deioces, to the more tangible epoch of the Sassanian dynasty.

Takht-i-Suleimán.

"In the third stage of the inquiry, the great object is to establish a connection between the Byzantine account of the Atropatenian

capital and the Oriental notices of the same city; and this is effected by showing the events assigned by one party to Canzaca, to be described in the annals of the other, as occurring in the great city of Shíz; and by detailing the evidence, common to both parties, of the famous temple that contained the most sacred fire of the Persians being situated in this city of Canzaca or Shíz, which was the capital of the province of Azerbíján. There are, besides, several measurements, and other traits of evidence in this period of history, which uniformly accord in their applicability to the site of Takht-i-Suleimán, and thus tend most forcibly to strengthen and to consolidate all the preceding parts of the argument.

Canzaca.

Conclusion.

"The inquiry is then brought to a close by the verification of the position of the Arabian Shíz in modern geography. The detached account of this place, which I have extracted from the work of Zakairya Kazvini, compared with my own personal observations of the ruins of Takht-i-Suleimán, cannot leave the shadow of a doubt as to the identity of the two places; and I believe that, in the connection and in the result of these four points of analysis, a difficulty is thus solved, which, for want of a little attention and correct topographical knowledge, has continued to the present day the great problem of Asiatic comparative geography; and which, in the obscurity which it has hitherto cast over the map of ancient Persia, has presented one of the chief impediments to the spread of this interesting and instructive sicence."

Mountains.

The principal mountains of Media, according to Ptolemy and Strabo, were Choatra, parting Media from Assyria; Zagrus, according to Polybius, one hundred cubits high, dividing it from Assyria on the east: also Parachoatra, placed by Ptolemy on the borders towards Persia, and by Strabo on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia. To these boundaries, between Media and the adjacent regions, must be added the Orontes, the Jaronius, and Coronus, mountains of Media, arising in the middle of the country. The rivers of note, according to Ptolemy, were the Straton, the Amardus, the Cyrus, and the Cambyses. It has, however, been remarked, that "these rivers, as they are represented to disembogue themselves into the most southern part of the Caspian sea, could not belong to Media Proper as it has been described by the ancients."

Climate and production.

The climate of Media is still more varied than that of Persia. Its northern parts, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren, the earth swampy, and full of marshes. Insects abound there, and anciently those parts were greatly infested with scorpions. The provinces more remote from the sea enjoy a wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn. The southern parts produce all sorts of grain and necessaries for life. A great many varieties of the grape are cultivated, the country is watered by many pure rivulets, and the poplar and willow afford a frequent

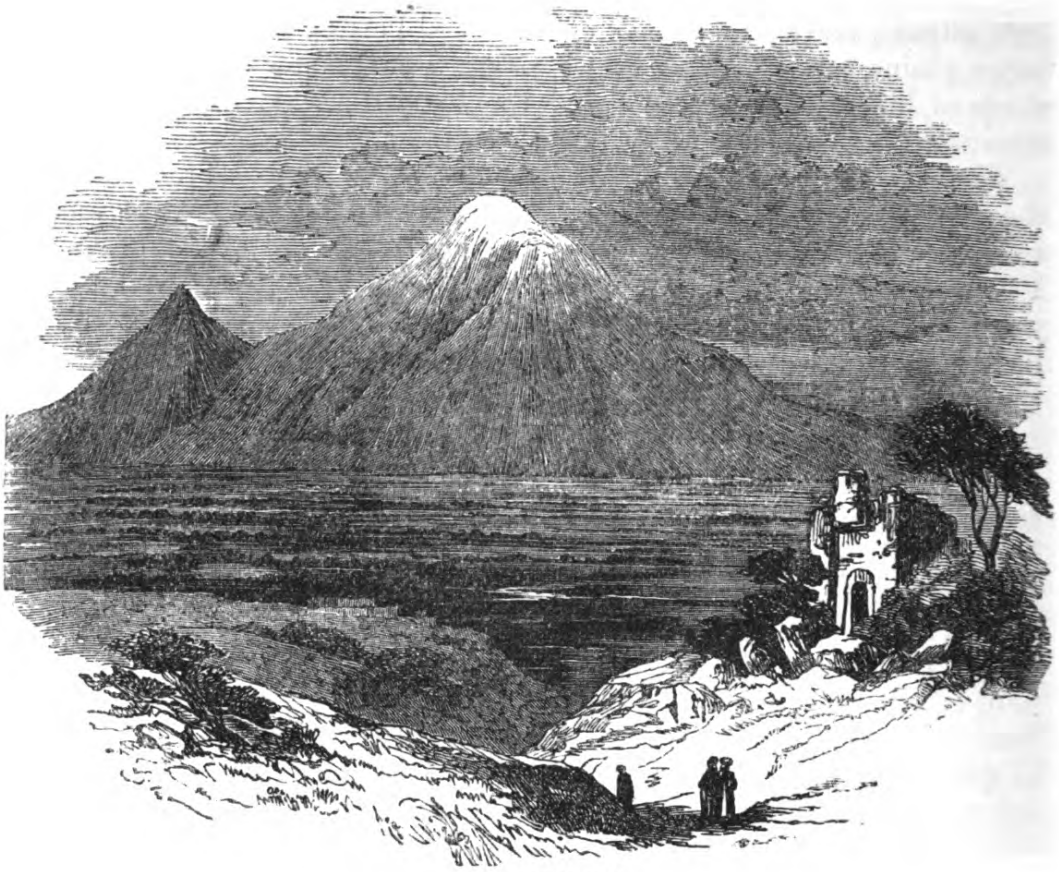
and pleasing shade. Of old Media yielded in abundance honey, figs, citrons, and certain kinds of medicinal herbs. There were also large plains, among which that of Nysa is famous for the numerous studs of horses kept for the use of the Persian monarchs, and often mentioned and celebrated by ancient writers.[1]

The country of Media is first known in history as a province of the Assyrian empire, to which, according to Diodorus Siculus, it was subjected by Ninus, in the 12th century before the Christian era. For several ages the Medes appear to have patiently endured the yoke, until they revolted under Arbaces, governor of Media, as we have already related in our account of Sardanapalus.

[1] Compare Ritter, Erdkunde, West Asien, p. 712—739.



[Eastern Bazaar.]



[Mount Ararat.]

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY AND MONUMENTS OF PERSIA.

Topography. A fuller account of a very few of the more noted places may now be given. The glories of the Persian empire may be learned from its ruins. They are not so extensive and commanding as the hoary monuments of Egypt, but they indicate the combined wealth, skill, and taste of the country. Neither does the climate preserve them so effectually as the dry atmosphere of Memphis and Thebes, but rank and luxuriant vegetation covers and corrodes them. We need not allude to Hecatompylos, which some identify with Ispahan; nor to Nisaea, Zabang, or Aria.

Shushan. Shush, Sus, or Shushan, by "Choaspes' amber stream," was a famed royal city. Its walls, constructed, says Strabo,[1] of brick and bitumen, like those of Babylon, enclosed an oblong space of 120 stadia—15

[1] xv. p. 723.

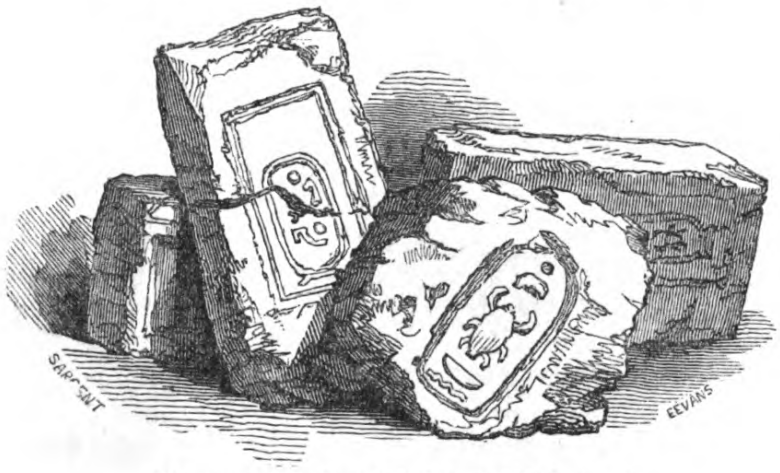
miles in circuit. After the subjugation of Media by Cyrus, it was in winter, as Ecbatana was in summer, the residence of the Persian kings; and its great antiquity is proved, not only by the traditions of the Greeks, who believed it to have been built by Tithonus, father of Memnon, after whom its Acropolis was called the Memoneum, but by its being evidently the Shúshan of the Jews.[1] That word signifies in the Arabic and Pársí, or modern Persian, to this day, as it did of old in the Hebrew and Pehlví, or ancient Persian, a lily,—a species of flower with which the surrounding fields abound. In Daniel also[2] we find that Shushan, the royal residence of Belshazzar, was near the river Ulaí (אולי,) in the province of Elam, (עילם,) but according to the Greeks, the Eulæus was the principal stream in this territory, which comprehended Cissia and its subdivision Susiana. The Acropolis of Susa was the fortress in which the treasures of the Persian monarchs were preserved, as appears from Herodotus[3] and Arrian.[4] The position of this city has been much disputed; some antiquaries having supposed, with Dr. Vincent,[5] that it was on the same site as Shúster, (in 32° N. and 49° E.,) while others follow Major Rennell, who, with his usual sagacity, has fixed on Sús or Shúsh, (in 32° 10′ N. and 48° 12′ E.,) about 32 miles west north-west of Shúster, as agreeing better with the data furnished by the ancients.

Ulai.

Eulæus.

The ruins of Shúsh extend not, perhaps, less than 12 miles from one extremity to the other,[6] and occupy "an immense space" between the Kerak or Eulæus and the Abzá, or Coprates, consisting of hillocks of earth and rubbish,[7] covered with fragments of brick and coloured tiles. These mounds consist of masses of clay and tile,

Ruins Susa.



[Engraved Bricks from Babylon.—*British Museum.*]

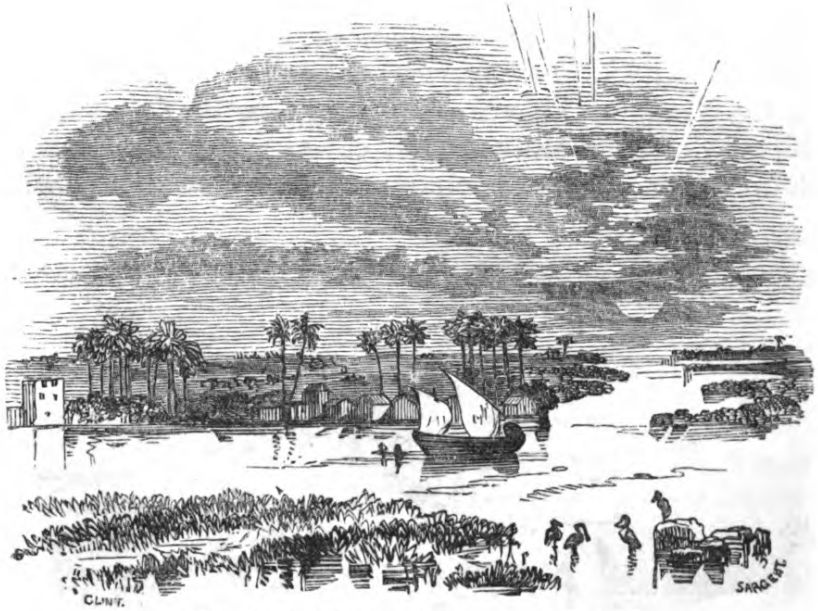
[1] Dan. viii. 2; Nehem. i. 1; Esth. i. 2, &c.
[2] viii. 2.
[3] v. 49.
[4] iii. 16.
[5] Nearchus, p. 415.
[6] Kinneir, Mem. p. 99.
[7] Fragments of earthenware scattered in the greatest profusion are said to be found for the distance of 7 farsakhs (26 miles.)—*Walpole*, Turkey, i. 420.

[E. O. H.]

with irregular layers of brick and mortar, five or six feet in thickness, as a kind of prop to the mass. They bear some resemblance to the ruins of Babylon; and it is deserving of observation, that Strabo says expressly[1] that "according to some, the walls, temples, and palaces of Susa were built, like those of Babylon, of bricks and asphaltus." At the foot of the most elevated of these mounds (Sir J. M. Kinneir[2] calls them, as well as the Babylonian ruins, "pyramids") stands the tomb of Daniel, a small, and, apparently, modern building, within which the relics of the prophet are supposed to rest. The antiquity of the tradition which marks this place as the burial-place of Daniel, is considerable, as it is not only mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Sús in the latter half of the 12th century, but by one of the earliest Mussulman writers, Ahmed of Kúfah, who died A.H. 117, (A.D. 735,) and who records the removal of the prophet's coffin.[3] Independently of the vast extent of these ruins, their similarity to those on the site of Babylon, and the correspondence of their position with that of Susa, another evidence of a very remarkable kind is furnished by inscriptions in the arrow-headed character found only here and at Babylon, Behistun, Nineveh,[4] Yan, the city of Semiramis,[5] Persepolis, and in

Daniel's Tomb.

Cuneatic Inscriptions.



[Junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at Chebar.]

Egypt combined with hieroglyphics.[6] In the capitals, therefore, of the Assyrian and Persian monarchs, and in Egypt, after it became a Persian province, and there alone, are monuments inscribed with these singular characters found; they may, conse-

[1] xv. 728. [2] p. 100. [3] Walpole, Turkey, i. 430.
[4] Rich, Babylon, ii. 55. [5] v. Nouv. Journ. Asiat. ii. 175.
[6] Champollion, Précis, pl. vii. fig. 125, p. 232.

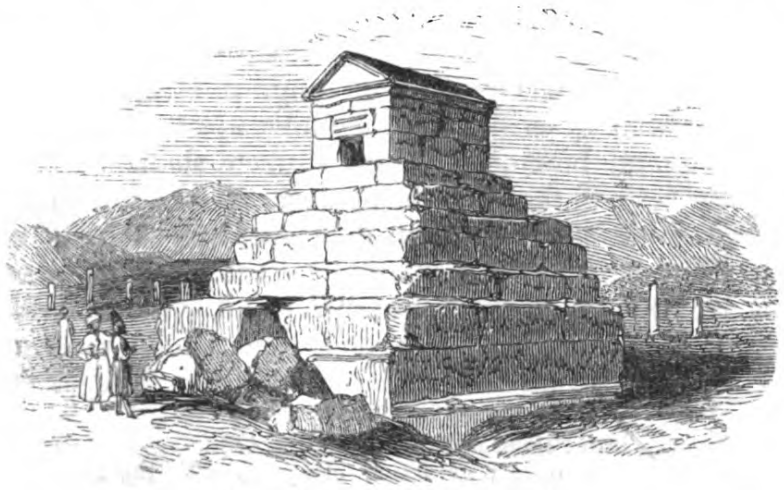
quently, be considered as authentic memorials of the first two of the four great monarchies of the ancient world. One of these monuments at Shúsh,[1] which is now venerated as an amulet by the surrounding population, bears in its general style, and in some of its figures, a strong resemblance to the stone found at the Táki Kesra, or Palace of Chosroes, now preserved in the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities at Paris,[2] which, like the one just mentioned, has copious arrow-headed inscriptions. Another stone found at Shúsh has no sculptures, except a long and beautiful legend, in characters an inch in length, and of admirable workmanship.[3] Of three remarkable stones preserved in the enclosure round the Kabri Dániyál—Daniel's Tomb—one only is described by the traveller from whose journal the preceding extract is taken; but Sir J. M. Kinneir[4] was informed that "large blocks of marble covered with hieroglyphics are not unfrequently here discovered by the Arabs, when digging in search of hidden treasure." How changed this spot from earlier times! The halls of Ahasuerus, so ample as to feast the rulers of a hundred and twenty-seven satrapies for a hundred and fourscore days, are now void and desolate, save when the wolf and the hyena gorge themselves with prey, and the owl flaps his heavy wing over the scene of ruin.

Daniel's Tomb.

> In many a heap, the ground
> Heaves, as though ruin, in a frantic mood,
> Had done its utmost. Here and there appear,
> As left to show his handiwork . . .
> An idle column, a half-burned arch—
> A wall of some great temple.—*Rogers.*

Pasargadæ, written by Ptolemaeus and Solinus, Pasargada, was an ancient royal city, built by Cyrus on the spot where he had

Pasargadæ.



[Tomb of Cyrus.—*Sir R. K. Porter.*]

[1] Walpole, Turkey, ii. 426, pl. ix. Sir William Ouseley, Travels, i. pl. xxi. fig. 7.
[2] Millin, Monum. Inédits, i. pl. viii. ix. [3] Walpole, Id. p. 422.
[4] p. 100.

defeated Astyages the Mede. At this place, according to Plutarch, the kings of Persia were consecrated by the Magi. It is now identified with the plain of Mourghâb,[1] and is famed for the supposed tomb of Cyrus. This tomb, constructed in the genuine Persian fashion, was a tower of moderate size, solid below, with a sepulchral shrine, (σηκὸς,) roofed[2] above, and a very small entrance.[3] It was almost hid in a thick grove of trees, and contained, when first examined by Alexander's command, a couch, sarcophagus, table, and cups of gold, and many garments adorned with precious stones; but it had been plundered before his second visit, on his return from Bactria, notwithstanding the presence of a body of magi appointed to guard it. The inscription upon it, in the Persian language and character, was this: "I, O man! am Cyrus, who gained the empire for the Persians, and ruled over Asia. Do not, therefore, envy me this monument!" [4]

Tomb of Cyrus.

Evidence of identification.

Arrian's account.

The evidence that this was the tomb of Cyrus is almost conclusive. The description given of the building by ancient writers corresponds with its appearance. Arrian, who wrote from the testimony of Aristobulus, an eyewitness, thus speaks of it: "The tomb of Cyrus was in the Royal Paradise at Pasargadæ, round which a grove of various trees was planted. It was supplied with water, and its fields covered with high grass. The tomb below was of a quadrangular shape, built of freestone: above was a house of stone with a roof. The door that leads into it is so very narrow, that a man not very tall with difficulty can get in. Within is the golden coffin of Cyrus, near which is a seat with feet of gold; the whole is hung round with coverings of purple and carpets of Babylon. . . . In the vicinity was built a small house for the magi, to whose care the tomb had originally been intrusted, and so continued, since the time of Cambyses, from fathers to sons." The cuneiform inscription found upon it was deciphered by Grotefend and Lassen, the latter of whom read it—Adam Qurus Kshâjathiva Hakhâmanisija—I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian.[5] Sir Robert Ker Porter describes the monument as standing in an open area, marked and bounded by the broken shafts of twenty-four columns, the base of the tomb being formed of immense blocks of white marble, while a succession of colossal steps leads up to the pedestal. The traveller was allowed to enter the royal sepulchre, and thus records his impressions: "When I entered, I found that the thickness of the walls was one solid single mass of stone, measuring five feet from the outside to within. The extent of the

The inscription.

Porter's description.

[1] Morier, Journey into Persia, p. 144. Porter, I. 498.

[2] This covering is the only part which disagrees with the sepulchral towers erected by the Guebres to this day.

[3] Strabo, xv. p. 730.

[4] Pasargadæ is supposed to signify in Zend—Persian encampment.

[5] A facsimile of the inscription on the Tomb of Cyrus will be found in Vaux's excellent volume—"Nineveh and Persepolis." London, 1850.

chambers was seven feet wide, ten feet long, and eight in height. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, which joined nearly in the middle of the chamber, crossing it from right to left. But I lament to say, that, immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured by the several invaders of this ancient tomb. The marble surfaces are cruelly broken; and in the floor, particularly, deep holes are left, which plainly show where large iron fastenings have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building, similar depredation being marked on the marble of the wall. Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammers of the barbarians, interrupted the even polish of the three remaining sides. The roof is flat, and nearly black; so are all the sides of the chambers, excepting that which faces the door, and that, with the floor, is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of this monument, which, from the simplicity of its form and the solidity of its fragment, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature till the last shock, when her existence would be no more."

The statue of Cyrus.

Sir Robert Ker Porter also discovered a figure with the same inscription on it as that we have already described. This figure is very probably a sculpture of Cyrus himself. We shall allow its discoverer to describe it in his own language. He speaks of a building in the form of a parallelogram, and then says—"About six feet distant from the N.E. side of the building, and standing out in a parallel point to its centre, rises the square pillar which had drawn me hither. It appears perfectly distinct from all others, no trace of a second being found. One single block of marble forms it; and, as far I could judge, it is full fifteen feet high. On examining it, I was delightfully surprised at discovering a sculpture in bas-relief, occupying nearly the whole length of the N.W. side of the pillar, surmounted by a compartment containing a repetition of the same inscription. I lost no time in measuring and drawing this invaluable piece of antiquity. It consists of a profile figure of a man, clothed in a garment something like a woman's shift, fitting rather closely to the body, and reaching from the neck to the ancles. His right arm is put forward, half raised, from the elbow; and, as far as I could judge from the mutilated state of its extremity, the hand is open and elevated. His head is covered by a cap, close to the skull, sitting low behind, almost to the neck, and showing a small portion of hair beneath it. A circle, of what I could not make out, is just over the ear, and three lines marked down the back of the head seemed to indicate braidings. The beard is short, bushy, and curled with the neatest regularity; the face is so much broken, only the contour can be traced. From the bend of the arm to the bottom of the garment runs a border of roses, carved in the most beautiful style, from which flows a wavy fringe, extending round the skirt of

Porter's description.

the dress; the whole being executed with the most delicate precision. From his shoulders issue four large wings; two spreading on each side, reach high over his head; the others open downwards, and nearly touch his feet. The chiselling of the features is exquisite; but the most singular part of the sculpture is the projection of two large horns from the crown of his head; they support a row of three balls or circles, within which we see smaller ones described. Three vessels, not unlike our European decanters, and regularly fluted, rest upon these balls, being crested again by three smaller circles. On each side of the whole, like supporters to a coat of arms, stand two small creatures, resembling mummies of the Ibis, but having a bent termination to their swathed form. Over all is the inscription. The figure from head to foot, measures seven feet; the width of the stone where he stands is five feet; two feet from that line reach the present level of the ground." It may be added, however, that farther proof and investigation are still requisite on this point. Lassen places Pasargadæ in the vicinity of Darabgherd or Fasa.

Persepolis.

Persepolis was situated in the vast plain of Merdusht, near the junction of the Bendemir and the Kur, and about thirty-five miles north-east of Shiraz. Its modern name is Takht-i-Jemshid, or Chehel Minar—the Forty Pillars. The old Persic name seems to have been Parçakarta—city of the Persian; and the Greek name does not occur in Greek writers, till after the era of Alexander. The Persian appellation is Istakhr—the name of a hill in the vicinity—though the word itself signifies a pond or artificial reservoir. The magnificent structures of Persepolis fell a prey to the inveterate fury of Alexander and a favourite courtezan. The "Macedonian madman" and his fellow-revellers, in a fit of drunken recklessness, set torches to the noble piles. Later ages saw other devastators in the hosts of Arabian conquerors, who in successive centuries overspread the country. Travellers vie with one another in their gorgeous descriptions of the ruins of Persepolis—the vastness and splendour of its buildings—the terraced platform on which its palaces stood, its noble portals and sweeping staircases, its elegant fretted work, its rows of massive pillars, its mythical sculptures, and its sumptuous halls. The platform on which the palace stands is marked by three terraces, and faces the cardinal points, while on its circuit are the remains of fallen walls and towers. The first ascent from the plain was by a vast flight of steps, the slope of which is so gradual that horsemen can ride to the summit. The doorways are beautifully ornamented with bas-reliefs, not unlike those of Nineveh—symbolic guardians of the royal edifice. All around is grand and imposing. Toward the east lies the ample terrace which supports the famous forty pillars. "On drawing near the Chehel Minar, or Palace of Forty Pillars, the eye," says Sir R. K. Porter, "is rivetted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flights of steps which lead up to them. This superb approach con-

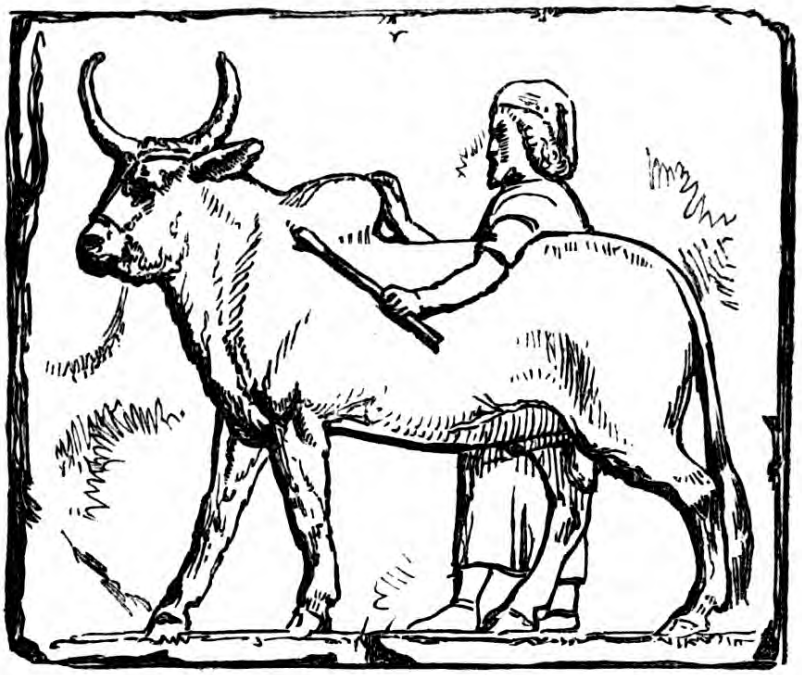
Its massive ruins.

Chehel Minar. Ker Porter's account.

sists of a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length of which is two hundred and twelve feet; and, at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps; again, about the middle and projecting from it eighteen feet, appear two smaller flights rising from the same points, where the extent of the range, including a landing place of twenty feet, amounts to eighty-six feet. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is extremely gradual; each flight containing only thirty-two low steps, none exceeding four inches in height, in breadth fourteen inches, and in length sixteen feet. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture. The eye at first roves over it, lost in the multitude of figures, and bewildered by the thronging ideas instantly associated with the crowd of various interesting objects before it. . . . . The space immediately under the landing place is divided into three compartments. The centre one has a plain surface, as if intended for an inscription; probably writing may have been there which is now obliterated. To the left of it are four standing figures, about five feet six inches high, habited in long robes with brogues like buskins on their feet. They each hold a short spear in an upright position in both hands. The fluted flat-topped cap, before described on other bas-reliefs, is on their heads; and, from the left shoulder, hangs their bow and quiver. . . . . On the right of the vacant tablet are three figures only. They look towards the opposite four, and differ in no way with respect to their robes and fluted helmet; but they have neither bows nor quiver, carrying their spear only, with the addition of a large shield on the left arm, something in the shape of a violin-cello; or rather, I should say, exactly in the form of a Bœotian buckler. . . . . Two angular spaces, on each side of the corresponding groups of spearmen described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull, a most spirited and admirable performance. . . . . From the circumstance of a collar round the neck of the bull, it proves him to be no wild one, and that we are not to understand the combat as accidental: but whether it may be received as a proof that such combats were brought forward before the Persian people, is another question. That wild animals, of the untameable sort, were not merely hunted by the bold spirits of these eastern princes, but preserved near their palaces, is evident from the lions' den which we find at Babylon after its conquest by Cyrus; but, by no accounts that I can recollect, does it appear, that beasts so immured were ever used for sport of any kind after their first capture. . . . . On the inclined planes, corresponding with the slope of the stairs, runs a kind of frieze, on which is cut a line of figures, one foot nine inches high, answering in number to the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. The figures themselves appear to be a lengthened rank of those already described on

Sculpture.

Bull.



[Persian Bull.—*Sculptures at Persepolis—Sir R. K. Porter.*]

each side of the blank tablet: and a similar range runs up the opposite slope.

Pillars. "The immense space of the upper platform stretches to the north and south three hundred and fifty feet, and from east to west three hundred and eighty; the greater part of which is covered with broken capitals, shafts, and pillars, and countless fragments of building: some of which are richly ornamented with the most exquisite sculpture. The pillars were arranged in four divisions, consisting of a centre group six deep every way, and an advanced body of twelve, in two ranks, and the same number flanking the centre. The first is to the north: it is composed of two parallel lines of six columns in each, falling twenty feet back from the landing-place of the stairs, and meeting the eye immediately on ascending them. The columns are at equal distances from one another. One only still stands; the shattered bases of nine other still remain, but the places only are left of the other two, which completed the colonnade. Of the remaining columns, which once decorated these colonnades, nine only now stand, the rest have been totally destroyed or lie buried under masses of ruins, now forming hillocks. The form of the columns is very beautiful; their total height is sixty feet, the circumference of the shaft sixteen, and its length, from the capital to the torus, forty-four feet. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions; at its lower extremity begin a cincture and a torus, the first two inches in depth, and the latter one foot, from whence devolves the pedestal, in the form of the cup and leaves of a pendent lotus. The capitals which



[Ancient Kings.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.*]

remain, though much injured, are sufficient to show that they were once surmounted by the double demi-bull."

Superb architecture

It is difficult to convey in words a correct idea of these superb and complicated ruins, the scene is so vast; and the delapidation is still majestic, in its fallen magnificence. The palaces of the Persian despots resembled their empire—a brief gleam of splendour, sinking at once into disastrous gloom. The childish love of ornament and display is everywhere conspicuous. There were no less than five terraces, three of them already referred to, as leading the first to the platform, the second to the Chehel Minar, and the third to a building yet beyond it. But there were still other two, connected with other structures, and in one of these occurs a sculpture of the royal presence, which is copied in the preceding illustration. Vaux has given the following accurate and abridged description of the scene from Porter:[1] "In the highest compartment of the whole, the royal personage appears on his chair of state, with both feet resting on a footstool. Over his head are the bas-relief remains of a canopy supported by slender pillars, the whole profusely adorned with fret work fringes and borders of bulls and lions. The chair on which he sits resembles that on the Parthian coins, and is not unlike the old high-backed chair once so common in England. In its ornaments are found the two favourite symbolical animals of the Persians, lions' feet on the legs of the chair, and bulls' feet on those of the footstool. The dress of the king is very simple; he wears neither collar nor bracelets, but in his right hand is a long staff or sceptre, and in his left the lotos. Behind him stands the usual attendant with the fan, and another figure follows bearing the royal bow and battle-axe, perhaps the sagaris of the classical writers. Behind the warrior is another standing figure in the long Median robe and fluted tiara, probably representing one of the chief civil officers of state attendant on the king. Beneath the king, and separated from him by a long border of roses, are five ranges of atten-

Description by Vaux.

[1] p. 300.

dants or guards, each row being separated from the next by a similar border. Sir R. K. Porter imagines that these five ranges of guards, evidently placed in regular rotation over each other, to represent their relative stations near the person of the king, indicate the platform, on which the royal chair stood on an elevation of five steps, with the same number of ranks in the guards who stood before it, and who might occasionally leave a space, between the files of leaders, for an approach to the throne." Among these heaps of dilapidation are to be found the ruins of the palace which Alexander burned. How melancholy the interest which now attaches to such a scene—reading a terrible lesson of man's pride and man's ferocity—his desire to perpetuate his memory, and his design thwarted by the barbarous hatred or caprice of some subsequent antagonist! The scenes of gaiety when Persepolis was in its glory, when royalty dwelt in its courts, and princes and warriors glided among its columns, are but a stirring dream of the past. The stern reality is now before us,—

Ruins.

"——— The piles of fallen Persepolis
In deep arrangement hide the darksome plain.
Unbounded waste! the mouldering obelisk,
Here, like a blasted oak, ascends the clouds.
Here Parian domes their vaulted halls disclose,
Horrid with thorn, where lurks th' unpitying thief,
Whence flits the twilight-loving bat at eve,
And the deaf adder wreathes her spotted train,
The dwellings once of elegance and art!
Here temples rise, amid whose hallowed bounds,
Spires the black pine; while through the naked street,
Once haunt of tradeful merchants, springs the grass.
Here columns, heap'd on prostrate columns, torn
From their firm base, increase the mouldering mass.
Far as the sight can pierce, appear the spoils
Of sunk magnificence! A blended scene
Of moles, fanes, arches, domes, and palaces,
Where, with his brother Horror, Ruin sits."—*Warton.*

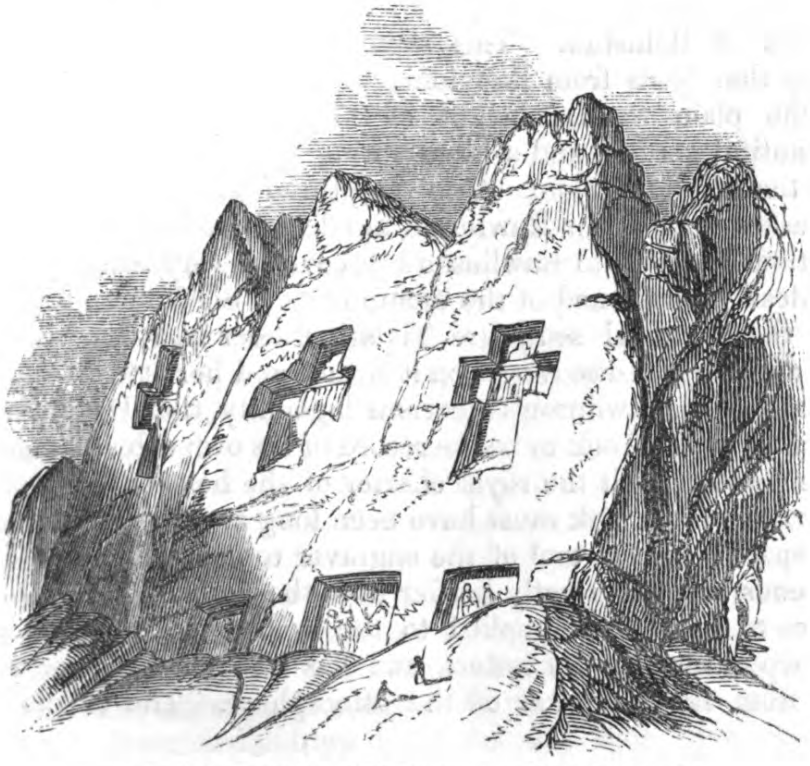
The work of various kings.

That this immense structure was the work of various monarchs admits not of a doubt. It may be questioned whether Cyrus be connected to any extent with the gigantic buildings; but the recent readings of the cuneiform legends have found the name of Darius in peculiar prominence. During his life the platform and the pillared colonnade may have been constructed, while other portions are to be ascribed to Xerxes and Artaxerxes Ochus. The palace that bears upon it the name of Darius is therefore the most ancient portion of the pile, for the legend is—"Darius, the great King, King of kings, the King of nations, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian, he has executed this sculpture."[1] On another slab, twenty-six feet long,

[1] Lassen, Zeitschr, v. vi. p. 9.

occurs the following inscription:—"The great Ormazd who is the chief of the gods, he established Darius (as) King. He bestowed on him the empire. By the grace of Ormazd (has) Darius become king." There is also a third,—"Says Darius the King; may Ormazd bring help to me with the deities who guard my house, and may Ormazd protect this province from slavery, from decrepitude, from lying. Let not war, nor slavery, nor decrepitude, nor lies obtain power over this province. That I hereby commit to Ormazd with the deities who guard my house. That may Ormazd accomplish for me, with the deities who guard my house." It is plain that Darius wished to establish his kingdom, and felt that he wanted what in modern times is termed legitimacy. Therefore he is anxious to repeat his claim, and guard it by divine right and genuine succession. Similar inscriptions of Xerxes are also found on various parts of the building, and we find the great-grandson of the first Darius thus asserting his royal prerogative in true Persian style:—"I am Artaxerxes, the King of kings, the son of King Artaxerxes, the son of King Darius, the son of King Artaxerxes, the son of King Xerxes, the son of King Darius, who was the son *of one named Hystaspes*, the son of one named Arsames, an Achæmenian." Various inscriptions.

In the vicinity of Persepolis are also many remarkable ruins —scattered fragments of early architecture. The sepulchres at Naksh-i-Rustam have been well described by Sir Robert Ker Porter. The scene is a perpendicular cliff, nearly three hundred feet high, Naksh-i-Rustam.



[Sepulchres in Rocks at Naksh-i-Rustam.—*Sir R. K. Porter.*]

and composed of white marble. Tombs or sepulchral chambers, designed for the Persian kings, are hewn out of the rock, and the four highest of them are co-eval with the glory of Persepolis. The lower excavations, with their peculiar sculptures, belong however to the Sassanian dynasty, and have upon them legends in the Pehlvi tongue. Had space permitted we might also have described the national and characteristic sculptures of Takht-i-Bostán—the Throne of the Garden.

Takht-i-Bostán.



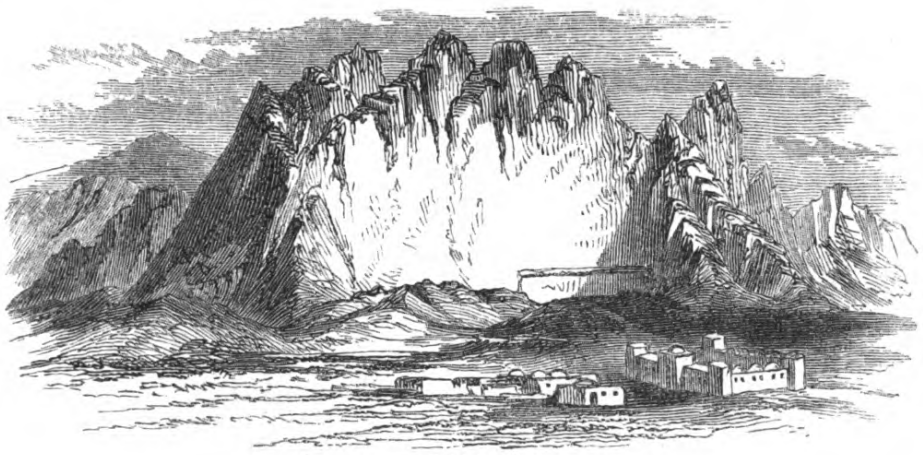
[Takht-i-Bostan.]

Behistun.

But we cannot conclude without reference to the remarkable rock of Behistun. This sacred rock stands on the great highway that leads from Babylonia to the East, and rises abruptly from the plain to the height of 1700 feet. It faces a wide and beautiful garden, and a large spring gushing out from its base waters the adjoining plain. The sculptured part of the rock is still very perfect, and Major Rawlinson has deciphered the wedge-shaped inscriptions.[1] Prior to Rawlinson's discoveries very strange and fantastic ideas were formed of the monuments. Sir Robert Ker Porter saw on the principal sculpture Tiglath-Pileser and the ten captive tribes, and Keppel discovered on it Esther and her attendants. It is now plain, from Rawlinson's laborious ingenuity, that Darius selected the surface of this rock to be the record of his own achievements, and that he constituted it the royal charter of the house of Achæmenes. The surface of the rock must have been long and carefully smoothed and prepared ere the tool of the engraver touched it, and a coating of siliceous varnish, greatly harder than the limestone rock beneath it, seems to have been applied to the writing, which gives a clear and sharp outline to the letters, and has wonderfully preserved the whole from the corrosion of the atmosphere. The effects of this

Sculpture.

[1] Tenth and Eleventh volumes of the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society. See also pages 251—254 of this volume.



[Behistun.]

artificial preservative are still apparent to the observer. Wherever the rock was originally imperfect, other fragments of the requisite size were carefully cemented. And that it might be beyond the reach of ordinary injury, the engraving was executed on a portion of the surface 300 feet above the level of the plain.

Its history.

The history of the sculpture may be understood from the following brief statement. Darius established a new dynasty in Persia, and met, as may be expected, with many rivals and antagonists. Pretenders were rife in all the provinces. An insurrection broke out in Susiana; a representative of the royal house of Nabonasser raised the standard of revolt in Babylon; one of the race of Cyaxares rebelled in Media; a second false Smerdis appeared in Persia, while Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, and other provinces, were also involved in tumult and insubordination. Battles were therefore fought by the generals of Darius, and himself had often to march in person against the insurgents. These various enemies being subdued by successive victories, Darius seems to have began the great monument of his triumphs at Behistun. He was a purifier and restorer of the national faith, and so his thanks are again and again recorded to Ormazd. The sculpture presents nine chiefs, whom he had by turns overthrown; and the struggles of Darius seem to have made him the more anxious to repeat, even to satiety, his royal rights and genealogy.

Readings of the inscriptions.

"'I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the (dependent) provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.' Says Darius the King, 'My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes.' Says Darius the King, 'On that account we have been called Achæmenians, from antiquity we have been unsubdued (or we have descended), from antiquity our race have been Kings.' Says Darius the King, 'There are eight of my race who have been

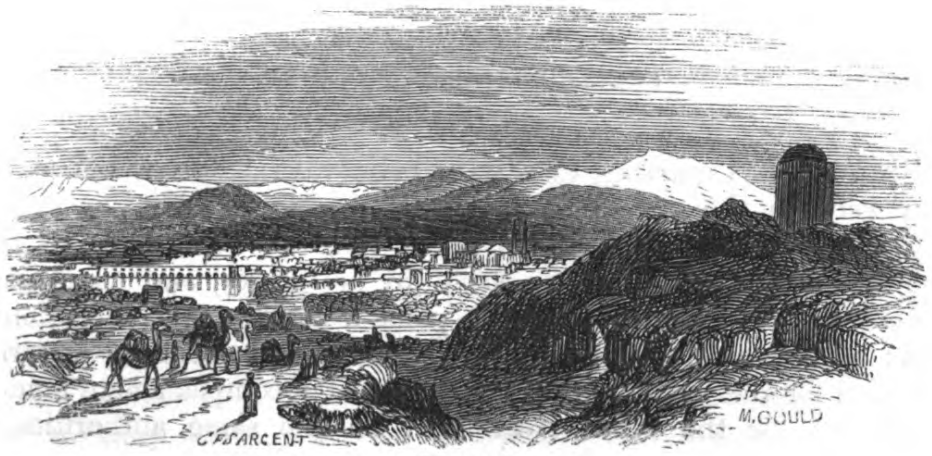
Kings before me; I am the ninth. For a very long time we have been Kings.' Says Darius the King, 'By the grace of Ormazd I am King; Ormazd has granted to me the empire.' Says Darius the King, 'These are the countries which have fallen into my hands, by the grace of Ormazd I have become King of them, Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; those which are of the sea, Sparta and Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Asia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachosia, and the Mecians, the total amount being twenty-three countries.'"

Explanation. All the figures have a legend attached to them, declaring their treasonable pretensions, and how they were conquered. The first of the nine figures lying prostrate beneath the king was a magian, and we give his inscription as a specimen. "This Gomátes, the Magian, was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus; I am the King.'" A fuller account of this celebrated rebel is given on the slab underneath him, and is so curious that it shall be extracted *in extenso*. "Says Darius, the king, there was not a man, neither Persian, nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would dispossess of the empire that Gomátes, the Magian. The state feared to resist him. He would frequently address the state, which knew the old Bartius; for that reason he would address the state, saying, 'Beware, lest it regard me as if I were not Bartius, the son of Cyrus.' There was not any one bold enough to oppose him; every one was standing obediently around Gomátes, the Magian, until I arrived. Then I abode in the worship of Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me. On the tenth day of the month, Bágayádish, then it was, with the men who were my well-wishers, I slew that Gomátes, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. The fort named Siktakhotes, in the district of Media, named Nisæa, there I slew him; I dispossessed him of the empire. By the grace of Ormazd I became king; Ormazd granted me the sceptre. Says Darius, the king: 'The crown that had been wrested from our race, that I recovered; I established it firmly; as in the days of old, thus I did. The rites which Gomátes, the Magian, had introduced, I prohibited. I reinstituted for the state the sacred chants and sacrificial worship, and confided them to the families which Gomátes, the Magian, had deprived of those offices. I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces, as in the days of old; thus I restored that which had been taken away. By the grace of Ormazd I did this. I laboured until I had firmly established our family, as in the days of old. I laboured, by the grace of Ormazd, in order that Gomátes, the Magian, might not supersede our family.'" "Our family"—the reigning house thus vanquished all competitors, and it fondly hoped for unchanging power, as if it alone had divine right to rule. Inscriptions of a similar nature, having reference to other sovereigns, are found in various parts of Persia.

It is a wonderful triumph of modern industry and skill to decipher these memorials. The happy process of discovery has been already described; and we are now enabled to say, that the records of royal pomp have at length, though sullenly, given out their meaning. The annals of ancient historians may be now either confirmed or rectified. But alas! modern Persia, barbarous and degenerate, has no intelligent admiration of these ancient national wonders. It is sunk, effeminate, and hostile to progress. The sudden and terrible changes of a lawless despotism have again and again swept across it—its masses are steeped in penury and degradation, and the pages of knowledge, "rich with the spoils of time," are shut to them. "Their eyes are holden," even as they gaze on ruined cities and palaces. The enterprise of interpreting these monuments of oriental conquest and glory has been left to scholars from a distant part of the western world—whose very name and existence were unknown when Persepolis was multiplying its columns, and the face of Behistun was furrowed with sculptures. Yes! Prophecy and history are alike illustrated with unexpected and powerful evidence!

Modern Persia.

The ancient worlds their mysteries yield;
The Chaldæan sages' secrets are unsealed;
The history of old time, that seemed undone,—
Proves in the last of days but yet begun;
And prophecy awaits the child of time,
To give fresh beauties to its truths sublime.



[Ispahan.]



[Persian King on his Throne.—*From a Persian Painting.*]

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.

Religion.

Sir W. Jones remarks, that "the primeval religion of Iràn, if we may rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsan Fáni, was that which Newton calls the oldest of all religions—a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." On the same authorities, it appears that Hushang, whose system of religion was long anterior to that of Zoroaster, introduced a worship which became popular, and which was purely Sabian, a word derived from *saba*, a host, particularly the host of heaven, in the adoration of which the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted.

"In the learned work," the Dabistan, which gave occasion to Sir W. Jones's Dissertation, "there is a description of the several

Persian temples dedicated to the sun and planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on prescribed festivals, one of which is represented by some of the sculptures in the ruined city of Persepolis. But the planetary worship in Persia," he adds, "seems only a part of the complicated religion which we now find in the Indian provinces."

Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of the period prior to Hystaspes and Zoroaster, says, that "the various religions of the several nations of Persia consisted in the worship of their ancient kings."[1] He afterwards, on the authority of Suidas, says, that "Zoroastres gave a beginning to the name of the *magi* among the Persians, changing their ancient sacred rites," and, "according to the sacred commentary of the Persian rites, ascribed to Zoroastres" by Eusebius,[2] teaching a pure theism. "But," he adds, "in a short time they declined from the worship of this eternal invisible God, to worship the sun, and the fire, and dead men, and images, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Chaldeans had done before."[3] It appears, however, from the following description by Xenophon, of the objects, rites, and ministers of worship, that the name and authority of the magi were not first introduced by Zoroaster, or, at least, not in the age of Hystaspes; and, that the worship of the Persians, in the time of Cyrus, was by no means confined to the deification of their kings.

Worshippers of the sun and fire.

Cambyses, at the close of a long admonition to his son on his departure into Media, warns him that, "the gods, who are eternal, know all things that have been, are, or shall be."[4] "When they had passed the borders, they supplicated the gods, guardians of Media, to receive them propitiously."[5] On leaving his uncle Cyaxares, to march against "the Assyrians and Crœsus," Cyrus sacrificed "first to regal Jove, then to the other deities. He also invoked the heroes, inhabitants, and guardians of Media. As soon as he had passed the borders, he propitiated the earth by libations, and the gods by sacrifice, and supplicated the heroes, inhabitants of Assyria. He then again sacrificed to paternal Jove."[6]

But the fullest information on these subjects, given by Xenophon, is in the description of a royal procession, and the offering of a solemn sacrifice. "When the gates of the palace were thrown open, first were led bulls of great beauty, four abreast, devoted to Jove and other gods, as the magi directed. Next to the bulls were horses, for a sacrifice to the sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, with a perch of gold, adorned with a wreath, and sacred to Jove. After this, a white chariot, sacred to the sun, and adorned as the preceding. This was followed by a third chariot, whose horses were adorned with scarlet coverings. Behind this followed men bearing fire upon a large altar. After these Cyrus himself appeared. All the

Royal procession.

[1] Chronol. 41.
[2] Præp. Evan. b. i. c. ult.
[3] Chronol. 351, 352.
[4] i. ad fin.
[5] b. ii. ad. init.
[6] b. iii.

people, at the sight of him, paid their adoration; but no Persian ever paid Cyrus adoration before. When they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Jove, and burnt the bulls to ashes, as they did on sacrificing the horses to the sun. Then killing certain victims to the earth, they did as the magi directed. Then they sacrificed to the heroes, guardians of Syria."[1]

Describing the circumstances immediately preceding the death of Cyrus, the historian adds, that "he made the usual sacrifices, and danced the Persian dance, according to the custom of his country." Then, in consequence of a dream, by which he was "assured that his end drew near, he sacrificed on the summit of a mountain to Jove paternal, the sun, and the rest of the gods."[2]

Divination and augury commonly practised.

Xenophon also represents the Medes and Persians as having greatly reverenced diviners, and addicted themselves to the practice of augury. The ministers of their religion, whom he calls Magi, appear to have been held in very high esteem. They were allowed to separate for the gods from the spoils taken in war whatever they chose, and to set apart any portion of land, as sacred to their worship. Of this worship they had the sole direction, and particularly appointed what deity should be invoked on any special occasion. If the work of Xenophon be "authentic in all its prominent details," such is probably the most satisfactory account now remaining of the objects, rites, and ministers of worship entertained by the Persians in the reign of Cyrus, the period to which we limit our inquiry. As to Herodotus, though he wrote prior to Xenophon, yet he does not profess to describe Persia as it had been, but rather as he himself observed it. His short account, however, upon this subject, which is here quoted, does not materially differ from the description by Xenophon, except as to the hero worship, which he seems to consider as rejected by the Persians. "They erect neither statues, temples, nor altars; but rather charge with great folly those who erect them; for they do not, like the Greeks, believe that the gods are born of men. They sacrifice on the summits of the mountains to Jupiter, and give that name to the whole circumference of heaven. They also sacrifice to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. To these alone they have sacrificed from the earliest times. But they have learned from the Assyrians and Arabians to worship Urania; the Assyrians naming Venus, Mylitta; the Arabians, Alitta; and the Persians Mitra."

Idolatry.

It thus appears, from the foregoing details, that the Medo-Persians were still as really idolaters at the death of Cyrus as at the period to which the "Dabistan" referred; though, if the historians we have quoted had received, or have recorded correct information, the temples and images had disappeared. As to Ahriman and Hormuzd, or Ormazd, the principles of light and darkness described by

[1] viii. [2] viii.

Plutarch[1] as the principal deities of the Magi, there is no evidence for their worship in this period. But the system of Zoroaster was in course of time extensively adopted. It was a species of dualism, and dualism was but a hypothesis to explain the origin and continuance of evil. This assertion of two co-eternal principles pictured the struggle of light and darkness—the good god was an object of homage, and the evil deity one of execration. Love led to the worship of the former, and terror urged to the propitiation of the latter. The Zendavesta, ascribed to Zoroaster, is not of an earlier date than the Sassanian dynasty. Dualism.

The Zendavesta (*i.e.* Living Word) consisted of twenty-one books, of which the twentieth alone is preserved entire. This portion of the canon, named the Vendidad, consists of a dialogue between Ormazd and Zoroaster, and the other books have the appearance of a species of liturgy. Four books are yet extant in a Pehlvi translation. The doctrine of the Zendavesta acknowledges a primeval principle — Zervan — infinitude and eternity. It develops the theory of dualism, already referred to, and speaks of the "Word," a species of mystic agent by which the acts of divinity were performed. The speculation of M. Du Perron on this notion clearly prove its origin in the Hebrew Scriptures. The world is, according to the Zendavesta, to last 12,000 years, each cycle characterized by its own predestined events. The Good Principle has also created spiritual, unembodied prototypes of all mankind—these are named Fervers or Ferohers—our double and pre-existent selves. Six angels were likewise formed to be the guardians of the world against the evil genius; but no sooner were they brought into being, than there sprang into existence six dark and ferocious rivals—the work of Ahriman. There is also a being in this old mythology, named Mithra—a species of mediator between God and his creatures—whose function was to promote the happiness and harmony of the world. There were, of course, periods of felicity and peace, when these benignant genii obtained supremacy; but the foul fiend and his agents were ever counteracting their intentions, and throwing poison and gloom over the earth; so that there were continued alternations of warfare and repose, of light and shadow, in the history of the universe. At death, according to the Zendavesta, the spirit returns to him who gave it; there will also be a resurrection, though the various portionsof the body have mingled in the hour of mortality with their kindred elements. The central truths of this system may be traced perhaps to the great Persian reformer, though much of its complicated fable may be later than his era. The Zendavesta.

Jehovah, on the other hand, says, "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things."[2] Zoroaster seems to have studied the Hebrew

[1] Isis and Osiris.

[2] Isa. xlv. 7.

oracles, and some parts of his system betray an imitation of the Indian mythology. Richardson, too, attributes to the religion of the ancient Persians more remains of the original theism, though corrupted, than we have discovered. He says, that "exclusive of the universal belief in the fanciful Peri system, they appear, in general, to have acknowledged one Supreme Being, and to have paid a high degree of veneration to angels as subordinate deities. This, with a respect to the stars, was the great doctrine of the Sabian religion, which prevailed of old in Persia, Arabia, and other Eastern countries.[1]

Language. Richardson remarks, that "the language spoken anciently in Persia opens a wide field of unsatisfactory inquiry;" that "the union of those people, named by Europeans the Medes and Persians, is of such high antiquity, that it is lost in darkness; and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech. Whatever their language was, therefore, it must have evidently been very nearly the same, with the simple and common variation of provincial idioms." He adds, that "in this tongue we have no genuine remains;" for the works attributed to Zoroaster are spurious,[2] being "the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi Destour, who lived about three centuries ago." He adds, that "the old dialect of Persia is entirely lost" amidst "barbarous corruptions or inventions of the Guebre priests, without the least similitude to the inscriptions still discernible on the ancient ruins of Persepolis." But still the inscriptions show us something of the nature of this ancient tongue. The language is of the Arian type, resembling both Sanscrit and Zend. An alphabet was in early use under the Achæmenian kings—one alphabet of commoner characters, and another suited to monumental inscriptions.

Forms of government. The forms of government in Media and Persia appear to have differed considerably. The first is generally supposed to have been despotic, after the accession of Deioces, except that the kings, even though they claimed to equal the gods themselves, had not the power of reversing their own decrees. Feudal customs are described as prevailing in Persia; where, says a great authority on the subject of government, Algernon Sidney, "the kings were limited till they conquered Babylon." Thus, according to Xenophon,[3] Cyaxares, when he sought for aid against the king of Assyria, sent to "the public council" as well as to Cambyses, and requested Cyrus to endeavour to obtain the command of the forces, "if the council should send any." Xenophon adds, "that the elders in council chose Cyrus commander of the expedition into Media." It appears

[1] Dissert. 37.

[2] Such was also the opinion of Sir W. Jones, thus expressed in a letter which he published in the French language, in 1771. *Tous les étudians de la littérature Orientale savaient deja que les misérables poëmes appellés Saddar et Ardiviraf Nama étoient écrits en langue Persanne moderne, et seulement en caractères anciens.*

[3] b. i.



[Persian Counsellors before the King.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.*]

also from this passage that Persia must have recovered her independence, which she lost under the ascendency of the first Cyaxares.

The sovereigns of Persia were, however, virtually despots, and were saluted with almost divine honours. The Spartan ambassadors refused to adore the tyrant Xerxes, for they reckoned the required homage to be a species of religious worship. The crown was hereditary, and the ceremony of coronation was one of unusual splendour. Out of the multitudes of the royal harem one held the rank of first wife, and queen. The monarch, as we learn from the book of Esther, was approached with tedious and stately formality; and his seven counsellors are specially named as those who "see the king's face." The sovereign often administered judgment promptly and personally; and among the inferior judges, none ascended the tribunal till he was above fifty years of age. Princes or satraps were placed over the various provinces of the empire, and these provinces were connected with the metropolis with numerous relays of posts and couriers. The following passage in the book of Esther will illustrate the usage, —"Then were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month, (that is, the month Sivan,) on the three and twentieth day thereof; and it was written (according to all that Mordecai commanded) unto the Jews, and to the lieutenants, and the deputies and rulers of the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, an hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language. And he wrote in the king Ahasuerus' name, and sealed it with the king's ring; and sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries."[1] The royal revenues were

Kings.

Counsellors.

Revenues.

[1] viii. 9, 10.

partly pecuniary taxation, and partly exaction of the fruits of husbandry, for the king's household or the maintenance of the army. The queen's toilet and wardrobe were provided for by the revenue of certain cities or districts, and according to that portion of dress to which their funds were devoted, they received such names as the queen's vail, and the queen's girdle. The court consisted of an immense retinue—royal servants and guards. According to Ctesias, fifteen thousand persons were fed at the king's table. The king drank only of the water of the Choaspes, which was carried about in silver vessels for his use. The salt of his table came from the African desert, and the wine he drank was imported from Syria.

Extravagance.

The following paragraph from Athenæus shows the sumptuous extravagance of the Persian court,—"Those who wait on the king at table, being always freshly washed and handsomely dressed, pass nearly half the day in preparing his repast. As for the king's guests, some of them dine without, in a place where all may see them, others in the interior of the palace in his presence. Even these, however, do not properly dine with him, for there are two apartments over against one another, in one of which dines the king, and in the other his guests. The king sees them through the curtain at the door, but they cannot see the king. On solemn occasions, they sometimes dine all together in the great hall. When the king gives a banquet, (which happens frequently,) only twelve guests are invited. When the king and his guests provide severally their own dinners, the latter are called in by a eunuch, and when they are all assembled they drink wine with him, but not the same wine; they are seated on the floor, the king on a chair with golden feet, but it is usual for them to quit his presence intoxicated. Generally, 'however, the king dines alone, his consort,' (as in the history of Esther,) or one of his sons is occasionally admitted to his table, and damsels from the harem are accustomed to sing before him. The banquet of the king has the appearance of being very splendid, though in fact there reigns a great economy, as in the meals of the grandees also of Persia. A thousand victims are slaughtered every day for the service of the palace, consisting of horses, camels, oxen, asses, but especially sheep; together with a great abundance of fowls. A separate mess is set before every one of the king's guests, and he takes away what he does not eat. By far the greater portion, however, of these victuals, as well as the bread, is destined to support the household of the court, the guards,



[Wine Bearers.—*Persian Sculpture—British Museum.*]

&c., and is carried out to them in the courts, both bread and meat, where they receive it in rations. For as the mercenary troops among the Greeks are paid in money, so are the king's soldiers in food. The same is the case in the households of the grandees of Persia, and those of the governors of cities and provinces."[1]

Harem. The surveillance of the royal harem was committed to eunuchs, and so great was the number of concubines, that a new victim was presented to the king every day, and no one who had been once with the sovereign was admitted a second time without special summons. The kings of Persia kept regular journals of their procedure, written by the royal scribes. These chronicles of the kingdoms were deposited in the principal cities, such as at Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. Thus Ahasuerus "commanded to bring the book of records of the Chronicles;"[2] and in Ezra we read of "the house of the rolls."[3] Allusion is made, Dan. vi. 8, to "the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." The enemies of Daniel, afraid lest the king should relent toward his favourite minister, declared in the royal presence, "Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed." We are not to infer from such language that a statute once enacted was uttely irrevocable, and could neither be modified nor repealed. But the phraseology implies, that edicts could not be altered at the capricious will of a despot, and that even he was bound and regulated by past decrees and precedents. The book of Esther shows how a law, though not formally abrogated, could be easily countervailed; for the Jews, the intended victims of a general assassination, were left at liberty to defend themselves, and take vengeance on their opponents. How miserable a safe-guard Persian law was to life and property, may be seen in this transaction, when the fiercest passions of two parties were let loose, and played off the one against the other. "The Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together on the fourteenth day also of the month Adar, and slew three hundred men at Shushan: but on the prey they laid not their hand. But the other Jews that were in the king's provinces gathered themselves together, and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of their foes seventy and five thousand (but they laid not their hands on the prey.")[4]

Chronicles.

Laws.

Book of Esther.

Warlike character of the Medes. The Medes are said to have been warlike, though in the time of Cyrus they had become effeminate and luxurious, and were charged with corrupting the Persian plainness and simplicity. The Persian army was numerous and well organized. Its very size, however, made it often unwieldy; and the families of the soldiers followed the camp. Their military parade and splendour may be learned from these sentences of Herodotus:—"Behind these ten horses was placed

Persian army.

[1] Athen. iv. [2] Esther, vi. [3] vi. 1. [4] Esther ix. 15, 16.

the sacred chariot of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins; because no mortal ever ascends this seat. Behind this *came* Xerxes himself on a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; and a charioteer walked at his side, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes, a Persian. In this manner, then, Xerxes marched out of Sardis, and whenever he thought right, he used to pass from the chariot to a covered carriage. Behind him *marched* a thousand spearmen, the bravest and most noble of the Persians, carrying their spears in the usual manner; and after them another body of a thousand horse, chosen from among the Persians: after the cavalry *came* ten thousand men chosen from the rest of the Persians; these were infantry; and of these, one thousand had golden pomegranates on their spears instead of ferules, and they enclosed the others all round; but the nine thousand, being within them, had silver pomegranates. Those also that carried their spears turned to the earth, had golden pomegranates, and those that followed nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand foot were placed ten thousand Persian cavalry; and after the cavalry was left an interval of two stades; and then the rest of the throng followed promiscuously."[1]

Arms. The Medes were celebrated for the use of the bow, with which they fought on horseback. Their arrows, according to an ancient writer, quoted by Eusebius, were "poisoned with a bituminous liquor called naphtha. Thus prepared, they were shot from a slack bow, and burned the flesh with such violence, that water only increased the flame, dust alone could abate it." The same writer reports, that they encouraged a breed of large dogs, "to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or to be laid in the ground." The practice of polygamy, so inconsistent with domestic happiness, was carried by the Medes to great excess. According to Strabo, it was even enforced by law, and appears to have been allowed to the wives, as well as enjoined upon the husbands. In confirming alliances, the Medes, according to Herodotus, like the Lydians, (besides the ceremonies they used in common with the Greeks,) were accustomed to make an incision in the arm, and to pledge one another in the mingled blood.[2]

Polygamy.

Civilization of the Medes. The Medes were evidently advanced in civilization prior to their union with the Persians. The rich colour and elegant texture of their dresses, prove their early commerce and manufactures.[3] Their own country was opulent, for it was also the great mercantile highway of Asia, and their victorious arms brought them immense

[1] vii. 40.

[2] Tacitus (Annal. xii.) describes this custom as prevalent in later times among all the Eastern nations.

[3] Heeren, Ideen, i. 205.

tribute. The rigid and formal etiquette of their royal court is reflected in the similar Persian ceremonial. The priestly caste among them was the magi, originally one of the six tribes of which the nation was composed. Their worship was astrolatry—their gods sparkled in the clear sky above them. The magi were not only the Magi.



[Coat, Hosen, and Hats.—*From Sculptures at Persepolis.*]

national priesthood, but a ruling caste, to whom belonged all mental culture, and all knowledge of art, science, and legislation;[1] possessed of the only intellectual wealth which the country afforded, they naturally held an undisputed supremacy, and kept their intellectual inferiors in awe. They could check the sovereign, and even supplant the dynasty. The functions of law were committed to them. Ahasuerus consulted them on the repudiation of Vashti, and they are described as "wise men that knew the times, for so was the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgment."[2] Under the Medo-Persian empire the magi still ruled and fascinated; and Nebuchadnezzar, under the idea that the Hebrew recaller and interpreter of his forgotten dream eclipsed the wise men of his own court, and was of a higher order of the sacred caste, "fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odour unto him." What knowledge the Median magi had, was, however, allied to weakness and folly. They Their power.

[1] Mag, indeed, signifies priest in the Pehlvi language.
[2] Esther i. 13.—Hyde, Religio Veterum Persarum.

professed divination and magic, and they unfolded secrets by raising the dead, and by means of cups and water.

Miscellaneous customs.

As to the manners and customs of the Persians, Herodotus[1] describes the profusion in which they indulged, as the celebration of birthdays, their minute distinction of ranks, their forms of salutation, and their eagerness to adopt the fashions of foreign nations. He justly commends the law which forbade any person, even the king, to punish a criminal capitally for his first offence; and another which restrained the severity of masters towards their slaves. On

Education.

the subject of the Persian education Xenophon has enlarged, as the design of his "Cyropædia" naturally led him. The Persian youth were taught three things—to ride, to use the bow, and to speak truth.[2] According to him, to prevent crimes by a wise early institution rather than to punish them with severity, was the great object of the Persian government, which Herodotus had before praised for rendering falsehood opprobrious, and not permitting that to be spoken of, which it was improper to practise. Under such a salutary discipline, according to this historian, was Cyrus formed, and to such a national education was he indebted for that courage, perseverance, and subordination among his soldiers, which enabled him to become the founder of the Medo-Persian empire.

Science.

The sciences have no place in an account of this empire, in the time of Cyrus; and, of the arts which then adorned it, very little can be discovered. Cyaxares, called Darius the Mede, according to Sir Isaac Newton, "was the first king of the Medes and Persians who coined gold money. They were called Darics, or Stateres Darici, and stamped on one side with an effigy of an archer, who was crowned with a spike crown, had a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right, and was clothed with a long robe." He adds, "I have seen one of them in gold and another in silver. They were of the same weight and value with the Attic stater, weighing two Attic drachms."[3]

Architecture.

As to the degree of perfection architecture and the arts of design had arrived in Medo-Persia, at the close of the period we are describing, very little indeed can be ascertained, but much may be learned from the discovery and description of the palace of Persepolis, a city, the building of which is attributed by Ælian to the elder Cyrus. Those vast ruins indicate the blended taste, skill, and wealth of their founders. The literature of Persia has perished, but its monuments remain—its truest history. Ruskin truly and beautifully remarks, in his "Seven Lamps of Architecture,"—"How cold is all history, how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears! How

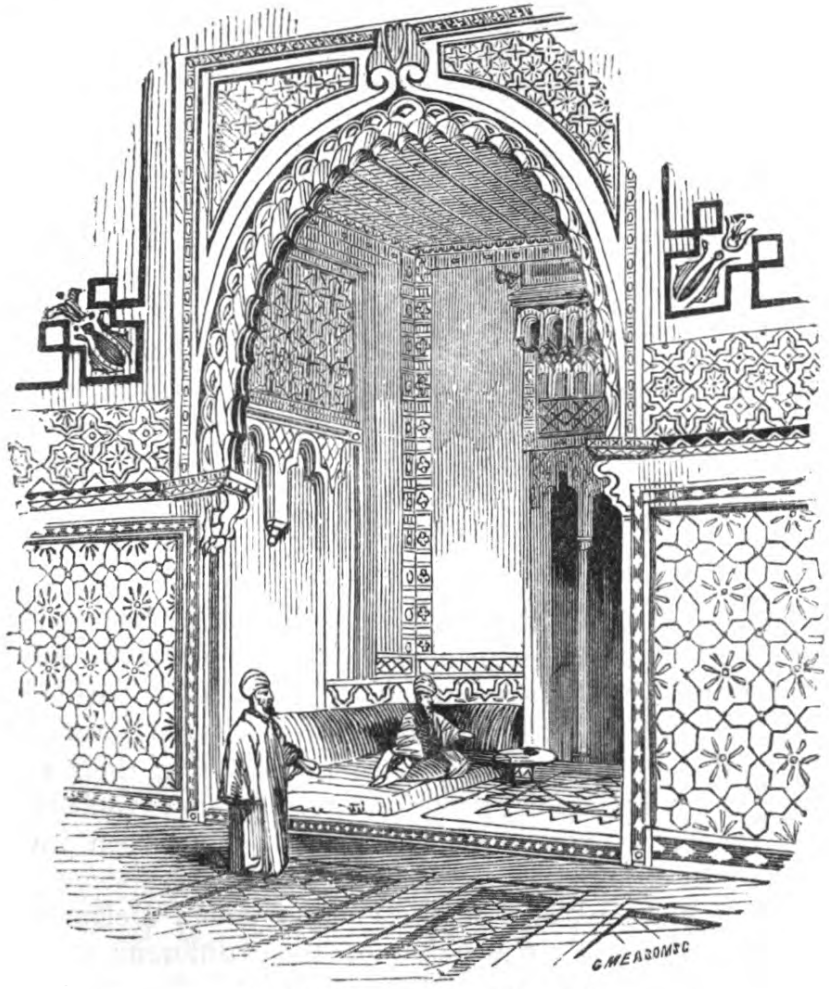
[1] b. i.

[2] ἱππεύειν, καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθιζεσθαι.—*Herodotus*, i. 136.

[3] Chronol. 319.

many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare for a few stones left one upon another!" The spirit of oriental architecture is in contrast to that of the western world. It rejoices in colour and ornament, and leaves form as a subordinate matter. Our structures, with all their elegance and symmetry, would appear cold and lifeless to the oriental eye. Durability was also a mere secondary consideration. The production of a gorgeous spectacle—of a fabric which should delight and entrance the present generation of admirers, seems to have been the ruling passion of Persian sovereigns and their architects. Gaudy decoration, as may be seen also in the Alhambra, was therefore preferred to massive substantial masonry. The reader will find an interesting account of the Persepolitan ruins, as well as an ingenious attempt to restore them, by beautiful engravings, in Fergusson's work already referred to.[1]

[1] The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored, by James Fergusson, Esq. London, 1851.



[Painted Arabesque Hall.—*Alhambra.*]



[Princes of Persia.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.—Sir R. K. Porter.*]

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF MEDIA AND PERSIA.

Early History of the Medes.

Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias, has recited the names and actions of seven princes, respecting whom Herodotus is entirely silent; but as Ctesias has been regarded as entitled to the epithet fabulous, many prefer the authority of "the Father of History." According to Herodotus, the Medes, on recovering their independence, first adopted a popular government, or rather organized several distinct governments, which appear soon to have been jealous of each other, and disposed to mutual hostility. After some years of confusion and anarchy, one of their countrymen, Deioces, by the reputation he attained as a judge of their differences, procured himself to be elected king, in the year 710 before the christian era.

Deioces.

This first king of the Medes soon degenerated from the exercise

of mildness and equity, which had secured his advancement, and became a tyrant. He exacted from the people the labour of building, for his magnificence, the famous city of Ecbatana, where, to preserve his dignity, he kept himself concealed in the interior of his palace, "believing," says the historian, "that while invisible to his subjects, he should be regarded as one of a superior race." Yet, as Montesquieu has remarked, this seclusion affected by the princes of Asia, was attended with no inconsiderable hazard.—"Cette puissance invisible qui gouverne est toujours la même pour le peuple. Quoique dix rois, qu'il ne connoît que de nom, se soient égorgés l'un après l'autre, il ne sent aucune différence, c'est comme s'il avoit été gouverné successivement par des esprits."[1] Herodotus, however, has described this prince as making himself known by a vigorous exercise of justice, which, from the recess of his palace, he distributed to all his subjects by means of his officers.

Deioces, according to the most probable account of these ages of uncertain history, appears to have passed fifty-three years in the exercise of royalty, when ambition drew him from his retirement, and he was slain in battle with the Assyrians. His son Phraortes succeeded to his crown, and also inherited his martial propensities. He fell before the walls of Nineveh, after a reign of twenty-two years. Phraortes.

Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, now ascended the throne. He rigorously disciplined his army, soon recovered what his father and grandfather had lost to the Assyrians, and then carried the war into the enemy's country. There he besieged Nineveh, to revenge the injuries which Nuchadnezzar had inflicted on the capital of Media. But he was called away by a formidable irruption of the Scythians, who now overran a great part of Asia. Engaging them in battle, his army was routed, and his country for some years subjected to the conquerors. At length he is said to have prevailed over his enemies by the following stratagem. He invited them to a general entertainment among the Medes. The master of each family intoxicated his guest. Then the Scythians were massacred, and the kingdom was restored to independence, though not to the enjoyment of peace; for Cyaxares was speedily engaged in a war with Alyattes, the king of Lydia, the occasion of which is thus related by Herodotus.[2] Certain Scythians had fled from a popular tumult, and taken refuge in Media, where they were protected by the king.[3] He intrusted some youths to their care to be taught the Scythian language and the use of the bow. These strangers were skilful hunters; but one day, returning from the chace without bringing any game for the king, he reproved them in very provoking terms. They consulted on a method of revenge, and determined on a Cyaxares.

[1] Let. Pers. No. 100. [2] i. 73, 74.

[3] The passage of such hordes from one government to another has been, in all ages, a fruitful source of war in Asia.—Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, ii. 2.

retaliation the most horrible. Killing one of the youths committed to their care, they dressed the flesh in the manner of game, and it was thus served up and eaten by Cyaxares and his guests. The Scythians fled and sought the protection of Alyattes, who refused to deliver them up to the justly exasperated king of Media.

War with Lydia.

On this refusal, a war commenced between the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years, and was attended with various success. A remarkable event happened during one of their engagements. In the sixth year, and in the midst of a battle, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, the day was suddenly involved in darkness; this phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales the Milesian.[1] Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement; and it further influenced them to listen to propositions of peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connection; they advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis, his daughter, to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction, that no political engagements are durable unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.

With Nineveh.

Released from the Lydian war, he resumed the siege of Nineveh, which he took, in conjunction with Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The confederate princes now led their army against the king of Egypt, whom they forced to abandon his acquisitions in Assyria, and to retire into his own country. Their joint efforts against the Holy Land are detailed in the sacred history.

Herodotus attributes to Phraortes the conquest of Persia, but that country was rather subdued by his son Cyaxares—a supposition which best agrees with the language of the Scriptures. Thus the kingdom of Media was enlarged to a powerful empire, for Cyaxares shared his conquests with the king of Babylon. The Median prince died in the fortieth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Astyages, the Ahasuerus mentioned in the Book of Daniel.[2]

Astyages.

We have already alluded to the marriage of this prince with Aryenis, the daughter of the king of Lydia. By her he had Cyaxares II., called in Scripture Darius the Mede. He had also a daughter named Mandane, who became the mother of Cyrus, and to his name we refer for the later history of the Medes.

Cyrus.

The history of Cyrus,[3] in addition to that obscurity which belongs

[1] Eight different dates have been assigned for this eclipse. Ideler places it 610 B.C., and Clinton, 603 B.C.

[2] ix. 1.

[3] The name is in Hebrew כֹּרֶשׁ Khoresh, and signifies the sun—in Zend, HWARE —allied also to the Hebrew חֹרֶם, and perhaps the Coptic Horus—the Egyptian Apollo.

to remote records, and which especially overshadows the lives of heroes, to whom fabulous events were imputed in order to increase the splendour of their real transactions, is peculiarly complicated and perplexed, because of the very opposite accounts furnished by those historians who have professedly undertaken to write the life of this illustrious prince. The lessons furnished by ambition seem always to come too late for any practical and beneficial result. It is seldom that the individual derives any advantage from his own experience. Chagrin and disappointment may cause a momentary suspension of his purposes, but renewed success re-assures him. He presses forward along his dangerous path, until he finds himself engaged in that warfare "from which there is no discharge," and is compelled to yield, in the midst of his dazzling victories, his extending fame, and his promising dreams of future aggrandisement, to the arm of a more resistless conqueror than himself, who dismisses him from his warlike toils for ever. And so he is placed out of the reach of the salutary instruction which his successor, either by force, fraud, or descent, regards with indifference. If such men as Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus could be called from their graves, it would be some mortification, supposing the same ambitious temper to remain with them, for the one to learn that his conquest of Egypt made so little lasting impression, as to leave it doubtful to posterity at what period of his life and reign it took place; and for the other to be informed, that the historians who contended for the honour of transmitting his renown to future ages, have so widely differed in the most simple, as well as the most momentous facts, that neither his birth, his principal achievements, nor his death, are known with certainty. Both of these warriors have owed the renown they possess, first, to a people whom neither of them knew, except as conquerors, and whom both of them despised; whom the one enslaved, and the other, after long captivity, but partially restored: and, secondly, to actions, in which they were unconscious instruments of the will of an unknown God.

Xenophon and Herodotus compared.

Herodotus and Xenophon often vary in their account of Cyrus, and perhaps our safest way is to extract facts from both these writers, sometimes also inferring truth from their collision. Xenophon is represented by Plato as having given in his work his own conceptions of what should constitute a just prince, rather than a true account of Cyrus: and Diogenes Laertius has inferred from his expressions, that he regarded the Cyropædia altogether as a fable. But it ought not to be forgotten, that Plato and Xenophon, disciples of the same master, were rivals; and, in more instances than one, discovered towards each other all the petulance and jealousy of competition; nor is it impossible, that a feeling of this order may, in some measure, have influenced the opinion of Plato in the present case. Cicero, probably upon this authority, asserts, that the Cyrus of Xenophon was drawn up expressly as a model of govern-

Opinion of Plato.

Of Cicero.

ment, and was not even intended as a true history. This conclusion is expressly contradictory, however, of the pretensions of Xenophon himself, who distinctly avers, that he had diligently set himself to obtain the most accurate information relative to the education, achievements, and character of his hero. He had opportunities of effecting this better than any other historian who undertook the task subsequently, because of his station in the court of the younger Cyrus; because of his acknowledged penetration and judgment, to which the ancients bore a concurrent testimony; and because of the undivided attention which he paid to his subject, as unmixed with any other countries or events, except in so far as they were brought into contact with the exploits of his principal personage. Scaliger admits no other events in the Cyropædia as authentic than those which are also recorded by Herodotus. Erasmus denies him even the merit of having produced a moral fiction, and impugns the character of the prince, while he agrees with others in regarding it as imaginary. Thus Xenophon has been stripped, by the merciless hands of ancient and modern critics, of all his laurels as a philosopher, as well as a historian. But, in these respects, palpable injustice has been done him. Herodotus relates more surprising, and therefore more improbable, events of Cyrus than Xenophon, so far presumption is on the side of the latter; and it is not unlikely that those extraordinary transactions, narrated by the former, and which were peculiarly adapted to the taste of the age in which he wrote, so captivated his readers, as to induce the preference shown to his narrative over that of Xenophon. It is not intended to deny that the structure of the Cyropædia is such as most writers have represented—a picture of government as it existed in the idea of Xenophon, both regarding war and policy, and blended with the character of his hero. But an historical novel is not, therefore, necessarily destitute of all truth: it is, on the contrary—and this is its charm—built upon acknowledged facts, over which the writer throws the rich colouring of his own imagination. It is not necessary, probably it is not just, to consider the production of Xenophon as a mere fable, constructed out of a few general facts attached to a real character; we are disposed to go further, and to consider his work as authentic in all its prominent details, although mixed with his own sentiments, and the speeches, especially, of the respective parties in it, supplied by his own hand—a method adopted by Josephus, and by all the ancient historians. The inferences appear to us rather in favour of Xenophon than Herodotus, as well from the superior advantages of the former over the latter in the information regarding this particular subject, as from the greater simplicity of his narrative of the events connected with his hero. But we have evidence beyond conjecture when we turn again to revelation, as to the polar star of this night of history, and find the record of Xenophon, in some leading particulars, agreeing more distinctly

Of Scaliger and Erasmus.

Advantages of Xenophon.

with the facts related in the Scriptures, than the history of Herodotus, which has been so generally followed.

Mistakes of Herodotus.

Herodotus founds the Persian empire upon the destruction of the Medes; Xenophon unites the Medes and Persians in the conquest of Babylon: the last accords precisely with the prophecies and the records of the Bible on these facts; the former is entirely incompatible with them. At the same time it may not be impossible that some of the discrepancies between these historians, and which are wholly irreconcileable, relate to different persons of the same name, who may have been originally confounded by different writers, the perplexity naturally increasing as time caused them to recede from the era of their history; and thus not only the different actions, but the different modes of death imputed to the great Cyrus, may all have been true, partially at least, of some heroes of a similar name, all whose individual distinctions may have been absorbed in the first illustrious personage. Such things have happened in relation to other distinguished persons, and are at least possible in this case. We shall, therefore, present a brief sketch of the narratives of Xenophon and Herodotus respectively, making the Scripture narrative our umpire in all cases of disagreement, and drawing our conclusions from it in such as are doubtful.

Herodotus's account.

According to Herodotus, Cyrus was the son of Mandane, daughter of Astyages, the last king of the Medes, and of Cambyses, a Persian of ancient family, but of inferior rank and circumstances. The inducement of the king to marry his daughter so far below her royal dignity, and to a foreigner, is stated to have been the apprehension of the loss of his kingdom by the issue of her marriage. Two dreams which he had related to the magi—the one, that a vine springing from his daughter's womb overshadowed his empire; the other, that water issuing from her overflowed all Asia—were interpreted by them to portend the subversion of his own throne, and the subjugation of all Asia by his grandchild. Alarmed by these prognostications, he first selected Cambyses, as a man whose inferior condition was not likely to inspire ambition, and as possessed also of a mild temperament, little suited to war and enterprise. But as the latter dream did not take place until twelve months after her marriage, and seemed to signify a similar result with the former, he became still more terrified; and sending for his daughter, then pregnant, he shut her up until after her confinement, resolving to destroy her offspring, should it prove a son. Under these circumstances Cyrus was born, and delivered to Harpagus, one of the courtiers, to be put to death. Unwilling himself to be the executioner of infant innocence, he transferred the cruel order to Mitradates, one of the king's herdsmen, enjoining him, upon pain of death, to expose the child to perish by hunger, or wild beasts, among the most perilous recesses of the mountains. The wife of the herdsman having been delivered of a still-born son, prevailed upon her hus-

Alarm of Astyages.

Birth of Cyrus.

band to put the dead child in the place of Cyrus, and to rear the royal infant as their own. This expedient being adopted, the herdsman's still-born babe was dressed in the robes of the grandson of Astyages, placed in the same coffer, and exposed three days on the mountains. At the end of this period, Mitradates summoned Harpagus to bear witness that the king's mandate was executed. Harpagus sent some friends to ascertain the fact, and they supposing the dead child to have been the royal infant, reported accordingly, and the babe was interred, while Cyrus was educated as the herdsman's son.[1]

His boyhood.

In this obscurity the prince remained until he reached the age of ten years, when some sparks of his native greatness discovered themselves. One day playing with companions of his own age, of whom, it would appear, one at least was the son of a man of superior rank, Cyrus had been elected king for the superiority of his genius and for his agility. In conformity with his imaginary dignity, he distributed his little subjects into several ranks and degrees, and enforced his orders by punishments and rewards. The nobleman's son refusing to obey the command of his juvenile lord, he caused him to be so severely chastised, that the boy complained to his father, who, incensed beyond measure at the presumption of the supposed son of a herdsman, brought the matter before the king. Astyages commanded him to be sent for, and, upon reproving him for his insolence in striking the son of a man of rank, was astonished at the spirit and eloquence with which Cyrus defended himself, in asserting the right inseparable from the dignity conferred upon him to punish the disobedient. These were circumstances which he deemed so much above the rank and education of the young offender, that he began to examine his features, in which he traced a resemblance to his own, and to inquire into his age, which agreed with the date of the exposure of his daughter's infant, and, therefore, he finally concluded that the daring boy was his own grandson. The herdsman being summoned to the court, at first denied the facts, but afterwards, intimidated at the threats of the king, he confessed without reserve. Astyages sent instantly for Harpagus, whom he confronted with the herdsman; but Harpagus affirmed truly that he had himself been deceived. The king, concealing his resentment, directed Harpagus to sup with him that night, in honour of the discovery of Cyrus, and in the meanwhile to send his own son to the palace as his companion. The young man had no sooner arrived than the tyrant caused him to be murdered, and the body prepared as food under different disguises. A splendid banquet

He is brought before Astyages.

Cruelty of Astyages.

[1] This story has no little resemblance to a similar mythical story about Romulus and the she-wolf. The wife who suckled the child was named κυνώ=κυων—(a dog, masculine or feminine,)—a name invented to supplant or explain the original legend, that the exposed child was suckled by a bitch.—Herodotus i. 122. On the other hand, Ctesias denies that Cyrus was related to Astyages at all.

was served to the king and the nobility, but the table of Harpagus was furnished only with this horrible flesh, dressed in the most attractive and delicate manner. The miserable father had no suspicion that he had fed upon his only child, until the royal monster presented him the head, hands, and feet, in a basket. He dissembled his rage and horror, that he might have opportunity to execute a deeper revenge, which from that moment he meditated, though he returned home, feigning resignation to the absolute will of the reckless despot. Astyages, meanwhile, again consulted the magi, informing them that his grandson was alive, and of the circumstances under which he had discovered him. They persuaded him that the destiny predicted by the dreams had been accomplished already, in his sportive election by the boys as their sovereign; and that he might thenceforth dismiss all apprehension. Accordingly, he resolved to send Cyrus to his real parents, Cambyses and Mandane, in Persia, and by them he was received with transports of tenderness, while he related the occurrences of his infancy and childhood up to that hour.

Revenge of Harpagus.

In this country, and with his parents, Cyrus grew up to manhood: but years could not efface from the bosom of Harpagus the barbarous and irreparable injury inflicted upon him by Astyages. He secretly planned, with the principal nobility of the Medes, a conspiracy against the tyrant, and judged Cyrus the fittest person to whom to commit the execution of it. Accordingly, he paid assiduous court to the young prince, excited a warm ambition within him, and urged him to dethrone his grandfather, whose cruelty had been so great to both. At length he conveyed a letter to Cyrus in the belly of a hare, sent by a trusty domestic in the habit of a hunter, which unfolded the plot, and earnestly pressed him without delay to hasten it to its execution.

Conspires against Astyages.

The Persians were then subject to the Medes, and subjection opens an easy door to revolt. By a forged letter from his grandfather, Cyrus first enjoined the severest labours upon the Persian forces one day; and the next, at his own instance, banquetted them with the choicest dainties. He then asked them, whether they would prefer living the laborious life of the day preceding, or in the plenty and ease of that moment in which he was addressing them. It was not difficult to anticipate their decision; and he explained to them, that to live under the government of the Medes was to wear the yoke, but that to follow him would be to secure liberty and peace. After this, finding them impatient to emancipate themselves from their oppressors, he detailed to them the particulars of the conspiracy, and was placed at their head with acclamations.

Cyrus revolts against him.

So serious a revolt as that of Persia could not be long concealed from the king of the Medes: accordingly, Astyages receiving information of the transactions with which Cyrus had connected himself, commanded the young hero to repair to his court without delay.

Cyrus answered, that he would be there sooner than his grandfather wished. The king accordingly called out his forces to resist the invasion with which he was threatened, and committed the command of them to Harpagus, who, with the principal officers of the army, in the first general onset, went over to the Persians, and the Medes were consequently defeated with great slaughter. The tyrant, enraged to find that the treason had made its way into his army, first caused the magi to be impaled, who had interpreted his dreams in a way that lulled him into security, and then assembling all the Medes capable of bearing arms, put himself at their head. Another general engagement ensued, in which the Persians were again victorious, and Astyages taken prisoner. It was now the turn of Harpagus to insult his tyrant, which he did not fail to do; but his reverses did not so dispirit Astyages as to withhold him, notwithstanding the danger he incurred, from reproaching this officer with his treachery. Cyrus kept his grandfather a prisoner until he died; but without seeking any further revenge than securing his person, and rendering the Medes subservient to the Persians. From this period commenced the victories of Cyrus over the Assyrians, the Lydians, and finally the Babylonians, with other distinguished empires. These events are recorded in their proper places, and the ultimate fate of Babylon has already been described.

Defeats and imprisons him.

B.C. 559.

On the other hand, the history furnished by Xenophon is much more probable, simple, and dignified. He says that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, by Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. He was educated after the Persian manner, which mode of instruction was calculated to form a character of heroism, as it comprised the endurance of all sorts of privation, exposure to hardships, constant and laborious exercise, with the most simple habits and diet. Twelve years of his life were passed in this salutary discipline; at the close of which he accompanied his mother to the court of his grandfather, Astyages, where every thing was the reverse of the plain and natural scenes in which he had been educated; every thing was luxurious, splendid, deceitful, and enervating. He remained, if we are to credit his historian, unseduced by these temptations, a model of temperance, generosity, and affability, in the midst of a proud, selfish, and voluptuous circle. He won the admiration of his grandfather, and of the principal nobles of Media, by his unassuming and dignified deportment; and their confidence in his talents and virtues was soon increased by an unexpected irruption of the Babylonians upon the empire. It was a wanton and unprovoked invasion by Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and, as it should seem, during the interval of the suspension of his father's reason, and while the regency of Babylon devolved upon him. Cyrus was at this time about sixteen years of age, and accompanied his grandfather to the war, where he reaped his first military laurels,

Xenophon's account.

His education.

Early exploits.

and discovered a wisdom and valour that rendered, it is said, the decisive victory gained by the Medes over the Babylonians, on that occasion, principally his own. After this exploit he returned to Persia, and remained with his father until he was forty years of age, when he was recalled into Media to the assistance of his maternal uncle Cyaxares, who was one year older than himself. Neriglassar had resolved to invade Media, and had formed for this purpose an alliance with the neighbouring states. Of those, Lydia was the most important and powerful; but as this campaign brought Cyrus into remarkable conflict with Crœsus, whom he so signally vanquished, we shall embody those events in a separate chapter.



[Gate of the Sun—*Palmyra.—Cassas.*]



[View of Amasia in Pontus.]

CHAPTER V.

CYRUS AND CRŒSUS.

Name.

The kingdom of Lydia comprehended a territory in Asia Minor, of various extent, in different periods of ancient history. It was sometimes called Meonia, from King Meon, and often distinguished into Lydia Superior, whose inhabitants were called Meones, and the Lower Lydia, afterwards called Ionia, possessed by the Lydi.

Josephus derives the Lydians from Lud, one of the sons of Shem; and the learned Shuckford[1] adopts that opinion. But while Bochart agrees in this derivation of Lydia, he says the word signifies *to wind;* and this country being watered by the river Mæander, celebrated for its windings,[2] he concludes that it refers to the inhabitants of the banks of this circuitous river, and he supposes Mæonia to be a translation of the Phœnician word *Lud.* Others deduce it from a Hebrew word signifying *metal.* Herodotus, however, supposes the appellation to arise from Lydus, one of their kings.

In this country an absolute monarchical government appears to

[1] b. iii.

[2] Hence our English word *meander*, to wind.

have been very early established, and, so far as can be ascertained, the crown was hereditary. There have been reckoned three distinct dynasties: the Atyadæ, named from Atys, the son of Manes, the first of the kings of Lydia of whom there is any record; the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules; and the Mermnadæ. This Manes has been conjectured, not improbably, to have been the king mentioned by the philosopher Heraclides, who, from being a slave to a cartwright, was raised to the throne of Lydia. In the reign of his son Atys, Herodotus places the event of a severe scarcity, which he describes as enduring for eighteen years. The Lydians, he says, invented games to amuse their distress, and in these occupied every other day, strictly abstaining from food; by these measures, however, the calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased: at length the king divided the whole nation by lot into two bodies, one of which should continue at home, and the other should emigrate. These placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. They passed to Smyrna, where building a number of vessels, they sailed in search of another country, till they settled in Umbria, or Etruria; and thus, according to Herodotus, was peopled the country which forms the modern Tuscany. Dynasties.

After Atys there is a catalogue of kings, of whom nothing has been told except their names, and a few disgusting and improbable stories. Without admitting the whole which these narratives affirm, it is nevertheless certain that the Lydians became proverbial for profligacy and effeminacy. This dynasty appears to have ended with the transfer of the crown to Argon, who made Sardis the seat of government, and whom Herodotus describes as the first of the Heraclidæ. A few names of Argon's descendants bring down the history of the Lydian monarchy to Candaules, whose tragical end concluded a dynasty which, according to Herodotus, had continued five hundred years. Heraclidæ.

Candaules, whose reign is placed about the year 735 before the christian era, was contemporary with Romulus; but has not, like the founder of Rome, provided any valuable materials for history; and unless Pliny[1] had applauded his munificence, as having purchased a picture for its weight in gold, the king of Lydia would now be known only by the folly to which he sacrificed his life, if, indeed, we may rely on the testimony of Herodotus relative to that event. Candaules. B.C. 735.

Under the influence of an extravagant passion, Candaules engaged his favourite courtier, Gyges, in a conversation on the consummate beauty of the queen, and to convince him of her superior charms, would expose her to his observation. The courtier in vain expostulated against the indecorous proposal. The infatuated prince insisted that he should be concealed in the bed-chamber, and Gyges Gyges.

[1] lxxxv.

was obliged to acquiesce. On his retiring from the chamber he was observed by the queen, who concealed her resentment from the king until the morning, but determined to revenge the indignity which he had offered her. No sooner, therefore, was she risen than she sent for Gyges, and proposed to him the alternative of death, or the destruction of Candaules, with accession to his throne, and the hand of his queen. Ambition conspired with the love of life to determine the courtier's choice, although he seems to have shown considerable reluctance to destroy his prince. He assassinated Candaules in his sleep, and attained the promised rewards. "Gyges," says Raleigh, "being brought again into the same chamber by the queen, slew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of Lydia."

Other accounts.

Such is the account of the accession of Gyges, on the authority of Herodotus;[1] but, like most relations, especially in ancient history, it has been disputed. Plato describes Gyges as a shepherd, and by the assistance of a marvellous tale of a magical ring, the philosopher brings him to the court, where he seduces the queen, and then murders the injured monarch:[2] while Plutarch represents the succession of Gyges to the throne of Lydia, as the result of a battle which he waged against Candaules. Herodotus has, however, been generally followed, as he was born in a city near to Lydia, and at a period when he was likely to be able to ascertain the particulars of its early history.

The Lydians were attached to the memory of their late monarch, and appeared in arms against his murderer, when Gyges availed himself of the reverence generally paid to the oracle of Delphi. He agreed with the malcontents, that his possession of the royalty should depend on the determination of the Pythia, whom he doubtless knew how to propitiate. The decision was favourable to the usurper. The throne was secured to him, though the vengeance of the Heraclidæ was denounced on his descendant in the fifth generation.

Wealth of Gyges.

Lydia abounded in mines of the precious metals: hence, as we have seen, some have deduced its name; and Gyges became renowned for his riches. He employed them in rewarding munificently the obsequious oracle, and thus gave the example, afterwards so amply followed, of presenting costly votive offerings at Delphi.

His successes.

This prince soon extended the bounds of his kingdom by successful military adventures, and reigned thirty-eight years, leaving his son Ardyes to complete his conquests, till he was himself invaded by the Cimmerians. Sadyattes succeeded his father Ardyes, and carried on that war against the people of Miletus, which was further pro-

Alyattes.

secuted by his son Alyattes. Of this prince several events are recorded. We have already recorded his war with Cyaxares the

[1] i. 13. [2] Republ. ii.

Mede, and how, at its conclusion, his daughter was betrothed to Astyages, the son of the Median sovereign. Alyattes also, according to the same historian, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, possessed himself of Smyrna, and invaded Clazomenæ.

War against Miletus.

But the longest of his martial exploits was the war against the people of Miletus, which his father had begun, and which he prosecuted during six years. Of his policy in the conduct of this war we have, from Herodotus, the following account: "When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes. He neither pulled down, nor burned, nor in any respect injured their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees, and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that, on every repetition of his incursions, he might be secure of plunder."[1]

Stratagem.

In the twelfth year his soldiers burnt, by accident, a temple of Minerva. The king, soon after, being severely indisposed, inquired of the oracle respecting his recovery; but the Pythia refused to answer till he had restored the temple. To effect this it became necessary to procure a truce with the king of Miletus, who, being apprised of the circumstance, practised the following stratagem: "All the corn which was found, or could be procured, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place. He then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence their convivialities; and the herald of the king of Lydia witnessed the scene. Alyattes had imagined that the Milesians suffered extremely from the scarcity of corn. The report of his messenger produced a different impression. A strict alliance was formed between the two nations; and, instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva."[2] Herodotus adds, that the prince was restored to health, and presented at Delphi "a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron, curiously inlaid," which was the second offering made by his family.

Death of Alyattes.

Alyattes dying after a reign of fifty-seven years, was buried at Sardis, where his sepulchre remained in the time of Herodotus. He was succeeded by his son Crœsus, whose reign gave celebrity to Lydia, while his name has become proverbial for riches, and his story has assisted the moralists of every age to describe the uncertain tenure of worldly prosperity.

Crœsus. B.C. 562.

It was about 562 years before the christian era when Crœsus became king of Lydia, at the age of only thirty-five, according to the common computation. He commenced his reign with a war against the Ephesians; a family quarrel, if, as Ælian relates, he was

[1] i. 17. [2] i. 21.

uncle to the prince of Ephesus. However that may be, he laid close siege to the city, which the inhabitants, according to a common heathen superstition, vainly endeavoured to defend, by connecting their walls with a rope to the temple of Minerva. Crœsus proceeded to attack the Ionian and Æolian states, and having reduced the Greeks on the Asiatic continent, he projected the formation and equipment of a fleet to invade the islands. But Bias, one of the wise men of Greece, dissuaded him from a contention with islanders in a maritime war, and he wisely preferred to secure their friendly alliance. He now pushed his conquests till, excepting the Lycians and Cilicians, he had subdued all the nations to the river Halys. By these conquests of Crœsus the kingdom of Lydia became of great extent, far beyond what it had comprehended in any former reign. Sardis, the capital, advantageously situated at the foot of Mount Tmolus, and watered by the Pactolus, famous for its golden sands, was now distinguished among the cities of the ancient world. In the estimation of Xenophon, it was "the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon." According to Herodotus, it "became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of those who were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom."

His conquests.

His interview with Solon.

About this period took place the interview of Crœsus with the Athenian sage and lawgiver in the palace of Sardis. Plutarch, indeed, proposes some chronological difficulties, started in his time, respecting the reality of this interview, by some who considered the story as fabricated for the uses of its excellent moral. The biographer, however, considers a story not to be rejected, which is "so famous, so well attested, so agreeable to Solon's character, and so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity." According to the combined narratives of Herodotus and Plutarch, the account of this interview is as follows: Crœsus invited Solon to Sardis, and hospitably entertained him in the palace, where the sage beheld the magnificence of the king and his courtiers with a calm and mortifying indifference. He was conducted to the royal treasury to view and admire the vast riches it contained. At length the king flattered himself that Solon was now prepared to decide in his favour, upon being asked who was the happiest man; but he was disappointed. The preference was bestowed on Tellus the Athenian, of whom, in answer to the inquiry of the astonished and mortified prince, Solon gave this account: "Under the protection of a most excellent form of government, he had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him; at the honourable close of a prosperous life, for he died in the field of victory, and we gave him a public funeral."[1] Crœsus, not yet discouraged, inquired to whom Solon would assign the next degree of felicity, when he named Cleobis and Bito, young Argives, who, as an act of filial

[1] Herodotus, i. 30.

piety, had yoked themselves to their mother's chariot, and drawn her to the temple of Juno, where they died in the night, without sorrow or pain, in answer to the mother's prayer for their happiness.

Dissatisfaction of Crœsus.

Dissatisfied, and now indisposed to further inquiry, Crœsus exclaimed, "Man of Athens, think you so meanly of my prosperity as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" Solon, unwilling either to flatter or to exasperate him, replied, "King of Lydia, the Greeks have no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man in its bosom many various and uncertain events. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last is, in our estimation, the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain." With these words Solon departed, leaving Crœsus chagrined, but not instructed. Æsop was now at the court of Sardis, and said to Solon, "you see that we must either not come nigh kings, or else entertain them with things agreeable." To which the sage replied, "we should either say nothing, or what is useful."

Vicissitudes.

Those vicissitudes of fortune which Solon would have led the king to contemplate, were presently exemplified in the royal family. Crœsus had two sons; one of them was dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by superior accomplishments. Crœsus is said to have had a vision, which warned him that this son would die by the point of an iron spear. The terrified father determined to settle his son in marriage, and to devote him to a pacific life; taking away his command in the army, and removing from about his person every military weapon. In the mean time an unfortunate homicide, named Adrastus, arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian, and of the royal family. He had killed his brother, was banished by his father, and, according to the custom of pagan antiquity, sought expiation of a neighbouring prince. This Crœsus bestowed, and gave the fugitive an asylum in his court. Herodotus, who is almost the only authority for the domestic history of Crœsus, next relates, that a wild boar of an extraordinary size appeared near Olympus, in Mysia. The terrified inhabitants requested Crœsus to send his son with hunters and dogs to destroy the formidable animal. The king, remembering the vision, withheld his son, but promised them a chosen band of dogs and hunters. The young man, mortified by his father's determination, expostulated, and at length was allowed by his father to pursue the chace of this unarmed enemy, being placed under the special guardianship of the young Phrygian. They attacked the boar; when the Phrygian's spear, by a fatal mischance, killed the son of Crœsus. "Thus," says Herodotus, "he was destroyed by the point of a spear,

Adrastus.

Death of Atys.

Agony of Crœsus.

and the vision proved to be prophetic. Crœsus was in an agony, and his anger was excited against the destroyer of his son, the fugitive to whose distressful tale he had listened, and whose former crime he had so generously expiated. While his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son; the homicide followed. He advanced towards Crœsus, and with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. Crœsus listened to him with attention; and although the father was oppressed by his own grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus, to whom he spake as follows: 'My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself. You are not guilty of this deed, for you did it without design. The offended deity who warned me of the evil has accomplished it!' Crœsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies; but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and confessing himself the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb."[1]

Crœsus passed two years in extreme affliction for the tragical death of a son, who was the only hope of the royal house. At length his jealousy was awakened, and his military ardour roused, by the progress of a neighbouring power, which was rapidly advancing to a formidable greatness.

It is remarkable that Cyrus, whose name will be connected with all the remaining history of Crœsus, appears to have assumed the military government of Media on the death of his grandfather, Astyages, (who is said to have been the brother-in-law of Crœsus,) the same year in which the king of Lydia commenced his reign, on the death of his father, Alyattes.

Chronological inconsistency.

But before we proceed in the history of Crœsus, we must notice an apparent inconsistency respecting the alleged years of that prince's age, and of his reign, which we know not how to explain; for if Crœsus were only thirty-five years of age at his accession, it is difficult to understand how he could have a son advanced to manhood and disposed of in marriage, apparently some time before his tragical end, which we have related. If, again, the king of Lydia reigned only fourteen years, according to Herodotus,[2] and two years of inaction be allowed to pass after the death of his son, the wars he waged against his neighbours, the extension of his dominions, the accumulation of treasure, and the embellishment of the metropolis of his kingdom—all these important transactions will be crowded into three years. Such conclusions are extremely improbable; and it can scarcely be doubted that both the age and the reign of Crœsus far exceeded the extent assigned them by the common computation.

[1] i. 45. [2] i 86.

Kings of Babylon.

The kings of Babylon had been for some time advancing their conquests, and were permitted, as a just judgment on the Jews, to bring the land of Israel under their despotic sway. According to Xenophon, they had not only overthrown the Syrians, but also the Arabs and the Hyrcanians; they were attacking the Bactrians, and sought to break the power of the Medes, and thus to obtain the command of Asia. These conquests, and further projects of dominion naturally excited the jealousy of neighbouring states. The kingdom of Media, especially, was aroused to military activity; and Neriglassar, the king of Babylon, son-in-law of the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture, was soon alarmed by the advance of Cyrus, with an army of Persians, in support of his uncle Cyaxares, the king of Media.

Neriglassar's alliances.

The advance of Cyrus may be easily supposed to have alarmed the king of Babylon, especially when he understood that the Persian prince had defeated and reduced to new terms of subjection the chief of Armenia, a tributary prince, who had revolted from the Medes. Neriglassar, on this emergency, in the first place summoned to his aid, according to Xenophon, his own tributary states. He also sent to Crœsus, king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia, to both Phrygias, to the Carians, Paphlagonians, Indians, and Cilicians; loading the Medes and Persians with calumny and reproach; describing their power, their union of interest by family alliances, and their design, by attacking each nation separately, to subdue them all.

Army of the Lydians.

According to the same historian, the Lydians who joined the confederated forces on this occasion under Crœsus were 10,000 horse, and targeteers and archers upwards of 40,000. The whole of the allied army he computes as 60,000 horse, and more than 200,000 targeteers and archers. The army of Media is described by Xenophon[1] as "in horse less than a third part of the enemy's force, and scarce half the number of their foot." But the historian was also the panegyrist of Cyrus, and this is not the only occasion on which we may raise some historic doubts of his strict veracity.

The confederate army, under the king of Babylon, Crœsus, and the other leaders, appeared at first disposed to remain in their strong camp, while Cyrus and Cyaxares waited to give them battle. The next day, however, according to Xenophon, the Assyrians, meaning the allied army, when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themselves with great resolution. The king, Neriglassar, himself ranged them in order of battle, driving round in his chariot, and exhorting the soldiers in a spirited oration. On this occasion Cyaxares blamed the deliberate policy of Cyrus, sending messengers to entreat that he would march immediately against the enemy. He at length gave out the word, "Jove, our assistant and leader,"

[1] Lib. vii. 1.

and began the usual hymn to the youths of Jove, Castor and Pollux, in which the army accompanied him. The spot on which this battle was fought has not been recorded. It was probably in the territory of Babylon, and on the confines of Media. If Xenophon may be credited, the Assyrians, or Babylonians, who fought from their chariots, were soon discomfited, and fled when closely pressed by the Persians, though it is admitted that Neriglassar sustained his military renown, falling in the field, surrounded by his bravest soldiers.

Death of Neriglassar.

On the death of the king of Babylon, Crœsus, as the most considerable person among the confederates, assumed the command of the allied army, and made the best disposition for a retreat which their desperate circumstances would allow. He sent off the women and the principal part of the baggage in the night after the battle. Cyrus, reinforced by the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him, pursued and routed the retreating army; Crœsus, abandoning the country to the conqueror, and accompanied by his cavalry, retiring with all possible expedition into his own kingdom. Such are the representations of Xenophon in his Cyropædia;[1] for Herodotus gives no account of the preceding military transactions.

Herodotus.

That historian first connects the names of Cyrus and the king of Lydia in relating the solicitude of the latter to ask counsel at the different oracles of Greece. Some modern writers have introduced those consultations at an earlier period; but they, most probably, occupied part of the five years which are supposed to have elapsed between the retreat of Crœsus from Babylonia, which has been just described, and his fatal resolution again to pass the river Halys. This conjecture is confirmed by the pretence of the oracle to have deferred, for three years, the destruction of Sardis, related by Herodotus.[2]

Nabonadius.

During the five years that succeeded the battle in which the king of Babylon was slain, Nabonadius, who, according to Josephus, was the Belshazzar of the Scripture, had attained to the empire on the death of Laborosoarchod, the unworthy son of Neriglassar, who had reigned only a few months. In the mean time Cyrus was pursuing his advantages, and continually increasing the preponderance of the Medo-Persian power.

Second campaign against Lydia

Deserters from Babylon, says Xenophon, and prisoners which were now taken, reported that the Assyrian, as he always calls the king of Babylon, was gone into Lydia, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, with treasure, and rich ornaments of every description. Some suspected that he was already flying with his treasures to a place of security, but Cyrus wisely concluded that the king designed to purchase alliances, and to collect a military force, which he immediately prepared himself to oppose. The sequel shows the nature of this visit to the king of Lydia, while the import-

[1] vii. 2. [2] i. 91.

ance of the projects he was now led to entertain, would naturally incline him to ask the counsel, and to hope for the sanction of oracular wisdom. As the king of Lydia stands prominent on the pages of heathen antiquity, among the venerators and the dupes of oracular pretensions, we shall here abridge the narrative of Herodotus.[1]

He sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, Dodonæ, Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ in Greece, and to the Libyan Ammon. He directed his messengers that each should consult the oracle to which he was sent on the hundredth day of his departure from Sardis; asking about what Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, was then engaged; and communicating to the king whatever answer he received. The answers in general have not been preserved, and they were unsatisfactory to the king; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their question, than the Pythia answered thus in heroic verse:— Crœsus consults various oracles.

"Οιδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω
Ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἑψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσι,
ᾧ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται."[2]

I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
The silent and the dumb are heard by me:
E'en now the odours to my sense that rise,
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
Where brass below and brass above it lies.

When Crœsus was informed of the reply of the Pythia, he exclaimed that there was no true oracle but at Delphi; for on the day appointed for consulting the several oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass. He now determined to propitiate that divinity by a magnificent sacrifice, previous to his more important inquries. Three thousand chosen victims, a great number of couches, decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold, and vests of purple,—all these he consumed together upon an immense pile, to which he persuaded his subjects to make costly additions. As thus a great quantity of gold was melted into a mass, he formed of it a number of large tiles, and a lion, weighing ten talents, which was placed on the tiles, and presented to the Delphian temple. He also sent to Delphi cisterns and basins of gold and silver. Presents to the oracle at Delphi.

The Lydians who were intrusted with these presents were directed to inquire, whether Crœsus might auspiciously undertake an Second consultation.

[1] i. 46—56. [2] Ibid. i. 47.

expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any alliances? The answer assured the king, that "if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a great empire," and recommended to him an alliance with the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Third consultation.

Crœsus was now elated with the expectation of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus. He, however, consulted the oracle a third time, anxious to learn whether his power would be perpetual; the Pythia answered—

"Αλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μήδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι." [1]

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus then, soft Lydian, fly—
Fly with all haste; for safety scorn thy fame,
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

Ambiguity of the oracles.

Crœsus was now more delighted than ever, confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. Such, according to Herodotus, were the transactions of Crœsus with the far-famed oracle of Delphi, and the delusive confidence which the crafty Pythia inspired. Tertullian, in his Apology,[2] has referred to this vain curiosity of Crœsus, and remarked the dexterity of the oracles in tempering their responses with an ambiguity which would justify the most opposite conclusions. It may be added, that Oenomaus, a cynic philosopher, has also ridiculed this ambiguity of the Pythia,[3] and the orator Demosthenes did not hesitate to accuse her of bribery by Philip, boldly asserting, that "the Pythoness Philippized."

Crœsus now directed his attention to the situation and comparative importance of the Grecian states, that he might determine with whom to propose an alliance. This he at length concluded with the Lacedæmonians, to whom he had formerly rendered some kindness, and who, having heard of the oracular declaration to Crœsus, which they also misinterpreted, were rejoiced to avail themselves of his distinction in their favour.

Lacedæmonian alliance.

Xenophon, in describing this second and fatal contention of the king of Lydia with Cyrus, has enumerated among his allies, the Lacedæmonians, the kingdoms in his immediate neighbourhood, the Ionians, Æolians, the Greek colonies, and especially the prince of Babylon. But that historian has entirely omitted all notice of the military transactions of Crœsus beyond the river Halys, till his return into Lydia, which brought on the battle of Thymbra. These we learn from Herodotus.

[1] Herodotus, i. 55. [2] ch. xxii. [3] Van Dale, Dissertat. ch. vii.

Deluded by the promise of the oracle, that if he passed the river Halys he should overturn a mighty empire, Crœsus prepared to march an army into Cappadocia, anticipating the conquest of Cyrus and the Medo-Persian power. While the king was thus employed, Sardanis, a Lydian, renowned among his countrymen for his sagacity, thus addressed him:—"You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, subsist on what they can procure, not on what they desire; strangers to the taste of wine, they drink only water; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? But should you be defeated, it becomes you to consider of what you will be deprived. When they have tasted our delicacies, we shall never be able to dispossess them. I, indeed, thank the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the desire of invading Lydia."[1] Crœsus enters Cappadocia.

Crœsus, despising this salutary counsel, advanced towards Cappadocia, instigated, according to Herodotus, not only by the delusive encouragement of the oracle, but by the desire of revenging on Cyrus the wrongs which his brother-in-law, Astyages, who, as already mentioned, had married his sister Argenis, was suffering from the Persian prince, by whom he had now been conquered, and was detained in captivity. This account, however, is utterly inconsistent with the previous narrative; and it is difficult to believe that Crœsus could have been at once the contemporary of Cyrus and the brother-in-law of his grandfather, Astyages. When the king of Lydia arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, according to one account; though others have related that Thales the Milesian contrived to divide the river into two branches, which thus became shallow and was easily forded. Having passed the Halys, Crœsus came into that part of Cappadocia then called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all the district. Herodotus adds, that it was near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. That city, however, now the Sinob of the Turks, is on the hither side of the Halys. Crœsus, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the principal city of the Pterians, which was afterwards so completely razed by Cyrus, that every vestige of its ruins has been long obliterated. Crœsus destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, a barbarous policy, as from them he had received no injury. Passes the river Halys.

It appears to have been narrated by one of the ancient Jews, and believed by some of the early christian fathers, that Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, would have now retired to India. But his wife, Bardane, inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had pre- Cyrus and Daniel.

[1] Herodotus, i. 71.

dicted future events both to her and Darius the Mede. Cyrus, having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of



[Ephesus]

victory. Such is the story, on which Josephus is entirely silent, and which M. Larcher, the learned French translator of Herodotus, has justly ranked among fabulous history. It is more worthy of credit, that Cyrus now collected his forces; and to this period we should probably assign the measure which Xenophon ascribes to him, of sending spies into Lydia. In one instance he employed some Indians, and in another Araspes, the young courtier, whose self-confidence had betrayed him to violate his trust when Cyrus had committed Panthea, the interesting wife of Abradates, to his protection. These spies returned with formidable accounts of the preparations of Crœsus.

Battle.

Cyrus, accompanied by those nations which lay betwixt himself and the king of Lydia, advanced to meet his antagonist. After a vain attempt to detach the Ionians from the Lydian alliance, he moved forward, and attacked Crœsus in his camp. The battle was fought on the plains of Pteria, with equal violence and loss, till night parted the combatants, leaving the victory undecided. Cyrus showing no disposition to renew the battle, the king of Lydia, whose army was inferior in numbers, determined on returning to Sardis, that he might collect the aids for which he had engaged with the kings of Egypt and Babylon, and



[Sardis.]

the Lacedæmonians. These he appointed to assemble at Sardis within five months, having dismissed the mercenary forces which he had led across the Halys. Crœsus little suspected that Cyrus would bring the war home to him; yet he speedily found, to his astonishment, that these allies would arrive too late; for Cyrus conducted his army instantly into Lydia, so that, says Herodotus, he was himself the messenger of his own arrival. Crœsus, though distressed by an event so unexpected, immediately prepared the Lydians for battle. At that time, adds the historian, no nation of Asia was more hardy or valiant. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and formed a very expert body of cavalry.

Returns to Sardis.

Of the battle of Thymbra, which we are now to describe, it is not very easy to give any correct account, especially as to the forces which composed the army of Crœsus. It has been computed, from the various particulars mentioned by Xenophon, that the army of Cyrus amounted to 196,000 men, and that of Crœsus to 420,000. But this account cannot be reconciled with the unprepared condition of the king of Lydia, as described by Herodotus, who may, indeed, be most worthy of credit on this occasion, as having no apparent purpose to serve, while Xenophon had evidently proposed to describe the elder Cyrus as the model of a consummate hero. Yet, as the battle of Thymbra was the first pitched battle of which any particulars are preserved in the annals of the ancient world, and as its result opened to Cyrus the undisputed dominion of Asia, the interesting, but probably exaggerated, description of Xenophon has been generally preferred. We shall here, however, copy the succinct account of Herodotus, as most likely to be authentic, and as most intelligible, especially to an unmilitary reader. Those who would see the diffuse description of Xenophon connected in the most advantageous form, may consult M. Freret, in the Memoirs of the Academy, vol. vi., which Rollin, in his History of Cyrus, professes to have largely followed. According to the account given by Herodotus of the decisive conflict at Thymbra[1]—

Battle of Thymbra.

The field of battle was a spacious and open plain, in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and, as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, took, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, the following method to obviate the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, and taking off their burdens, placed on their backs horsemen in military accoutrements. These he ordered to advance against the Lydian horse, his infantry were appointed to follow the camels, and his own cavalry to close the order of attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Crœsus himself excepted, who,

Description of the conflict by Herodotus.

[1] i. 80.

whatever opposition he might make, should, at all events, be taken alive. Herodotus describes this employment of camels as a stratagem of Cyrus to disorder and render useless the cavalry of Crœsus, from the supposed antipathy between the horse and the camel. This the moderns dispute; while it has also been remarked, that the horses of Crœsus might be alarmed, as they had never seen a camel. Herodotus, however, thus proceeds:—

The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses, seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Crœsus. Yet the Lydians did not immediately yield the battle; they discovered the stratagem, and, quitting their now unmanageable horses, engaged the Persians on foot. A great number of men fell on both sides, but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and Crœsus, with the remains of his army, retreated within the walls of Sardis. He now sent messengers to his allies, importuning their immediate assistance; but before any could arrive, the king was become a captive, and Lydia a province of the Persian empire. The manner in which Cyrus acquired the possession of this famous city, Sardis, has been variously related.

Sardis taken.

According to Polyænus, a Greek writer in the second century, on the Stratagems of War,[1] Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had concluded with Crœsus, to advance his forces, and, making his approach by night, took the city by surprise. Crœsus still remained in possession of the citadel, expecting the arrival of his Grecian succours; when Cyrus putting in irons the relations and friends of those who defended it, presented them in that condition before the besieged, to whom he offered the alternative of the immediate execution of their friends, or their own unconditional surrender. The besieged preferred the latter, and Cyrus became master of Crœsus and the citadel.

Mode of capture.

If Herodotus may be credited, Sardis was thus taken: on the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to him who should first scale the wall. The attempts were unsuccessful, till a Mardian soldier observed an unguarded part opposite to Mount Tmolus, where he had seen a Lydian descend to recover his helmet. He revolved the incident in his mind, attempted to scale the wall in that undefended part, was seconded by other Persians, and the army followed. Thus, according to Herodotus, with whom, substantially, Xenophon agrees, was the citadel of Sardis taken; and it is remarkable that, according to Polybius, the army of Antiochus, some ages later, reduced the same castle by a similar stratagem.

The conduct and condition of Crœsus upon this occasion, and the manner in which the city was treated by the conqueror, have been also variously related. According to Herodotus, Sardis was stormed,

[1] vii. 6—10.

and given up to plunder. And here that historian relates a very improbable story, which must always find a place in any account of Crœsus.

He had a son, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Crœsus, in his former days of prosperity, had made every attempt possible for the cure of his defect. Amongst others, he sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythia answered,— The dumb son of Crœsus.

"Λυδὲ γένος πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώϊον ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ."[1]

Wide-ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
Far better were his silence for thy peace,
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

During the storming of the city, a Persian, meeting Crœsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow, or escape death; but his dumb son, overcome with terror, exclaimed, "Oh, man, do not kill Crœsus!" This, adds Herodotus, was the first time he had articulated, and he retained the faculty of speech ever after.

The same historian proceeds to relate the interesting circumstances connected with a barbarous revenge of Cyrus on a vanquished foe, who was also his relation. It was a cruel insult, which the manners of those times render highly probable, but which Xenophon, who has omitted every thing disparaging to his hero, was not likely to record. Crœsus being taken prisoner, was conducted to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of an immense pile of wood, with fourteen Lydian youths around him. The unhappy monarch stood erect upon the pile: but he remembered the saying of the *man of Athens*, and, rousing himself from the silence of that profound affliction in which he had been wholly absorbed, thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon. Cyrus desired to know whom or probably what deity he invoked. The interpreters approached him, but he continued silent. At length, being urged to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse than be master of the greatest riches." Pressed still further on the subject, he related, that Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him; a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them Crœsus exposed to death.

[1] Herodot. i. 85.

with disdain, but whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate.[1]

The pyre.

While Crœsus was thus speaking, the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus now felt compunction for his unworthy treatment of a man formerly not inferior to himself; he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and the unfortunate prince, as well as his companions, to be saved. Herodotus, who could not be expected to conclude such a story without an addition of the marvellous, asserts, that the Persians could not, by all their efforts, extinguish the flames till Apollo, on the supplication of Crœsus, interposed by a seasonable deluge of rain; conscious, no doubt, that he owed some regard, in this extremity, to a deluded votary whom he had so often plundered under false pretences. Such were the lying vanities of the pagan adoration! Ctesias does not mention the fire at all, because, as Grote suggests, he may have received his account from the Persians, with whom fire was too sacred to be employed for such a purpose.

Released by Cyrus.

Cyrus, causing his prisoner to be taken down from the pile, thus addressed him—"What could induce you, Crœsus, to invade my territories?" "O king," replied Crœsus, "it was the prevalence of your good, and my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks; for none can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace," continued Crœsus, "children inter their parents; while war violates the order of nature, and imposes on parents the painful duty of burying their children." Thus reasoned, as taught by the salutary discipline of adversity, this once haughty monarch.

Admitted into his confidence.

From this moment Crœsus was received by Cyrus into his familiarity and confidence. The advice of the captive king immediately to stop the further plunder of Sardis, was well received, and that city remained for ages a splendid prize to successive conquerors. He next easily obtained leave from Cyrus to send the fetters by which he had been confined to the god of Delphi, as the first fruits of his splendid promises. The god explained the story of the mule as designing Cyrus born of a Persian and a Mede, the kingdom to be overturned was that of Lydia, and the whole disappointment of the king's expectations was charged upon the fates, to whom Apollo himself was equally subject. Such was the value of oracular counsel! "which kept the word of promise to the ear, but broke it to the heart."

[1] This saying of Solon was a favourite moral with the Grecian poets. Thus, Sophocles, Œdipus Tyrannus, in the last song of the chorus—

"ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν
ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδὲν ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
τέρμα τοῦ βίου περᾶσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών."

"Thou, mortal as thou art, looking out for a view of that day—the Last—call no man happy, ere he shall have passed the boundary of life—having suffered nothing painful."

The kingdom which Crœsus had been thus constrained to abandon to the ascendancy of Cyrus, was a conquest of no inconsiderable importance. Sardis, the capital; Thyatira, Philadelphia, and Magneria were cities of considerable note. Its rivers were the Meander with its six hundred windings— Lydia.

> **Now floating to the sea with downward course,**
> **Now pointing upwards to its native source,—**

the Caystrus,[1] famed for the tuneful song of the dying swan—the Hermus, with its celebrated tributary, the Pactolus, rolling down its golden sands[2]—and the Halys, noted for the fated passage of Crœsus. Xenophon[3] makes a Persian describe Lydia as a country "where wine, and figs, and oil abound; a land whose shores the sea washes, and by means of which valuable commodities are conveyed, such as before no one ever saw." It is, indeed, probable that maritime commerce was the chief source of the prosperity of that kingdom; for Herodotus remarks,[4] that "if we except the gold dust which descends from Mount Tmolus, Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other countries." He goes on to describe them "as the first people on record who coined gold and silver into money, and traded by retail;" also as the inventors "of certain games (of chance), since practised among the Grecians." They also were distinguished by an infamous custom, too familiar to the ancients, but carried by this people to an unparalleled extent—all the young women of Lydia prostituted themselves for hire in some temple, and thus procured their marriage portion.



[Philadelphia.]

Cyrus appears to have left to his captive all the accommodations of life which can be enjoyed in a private condition. He lived in the society of his wife and daughters, and had his friends, servants, and table at his command. Indeed, if Xenophon does not indulge his invention,[5] Crœsus enjoyed, rather than merely tolerated this exchange of public cares and the pomp of royalty for the agreeable society of his wife and children. He had ceased to be a king, only to become a philosopher; yet he was permitted to retain the title of majesty. Xenophon adds, that Cyrus carried Crœsus with him wherever he went, either to employ or to secure him—a hint which Kind treatment of Crœsus.

[1] Ovid. Metamor. i. [2] Ibid. xi.
[3] Ovid. lib. vi. [4] i. 93. [5] lib. vii.

sufficiently estimates the professed friendship between a conqueror and his captive. It appears also, from a passage in the same historian, that the king of Lydia was in the train of Cyrus at the capture of Babylon, and he probably survived his conqueror. His country was governed by Persian satraps, of whom Chrysanthes was the first. The further history of Lydia will appear in the successive fortunes of the Persian empire.



[Tomb among the Rocks.]



[Head Dresses and Neck Chains.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.*]

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.—CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

Siege of Babylon.

The warlike designs of Cyrus were next turned towards Babylon. In his march to it, one of his sacred horses was drowned in the Gyndes; upon which he caused the river to be divided into three hundred and sixty channels, a work which employed his whole army the entire summer, and compelled him to defer the siege of Babylon until the following spring. The siege and its terrible consequences have been recorded in a preceding chapter. The arms of Cyrus triumphed, and the proud metropolis bowed to the Persian yoke.[1] Thus fell, at length, the Babylonish empire, which had risen to such a pitch of glory, and enslaved so many nations. Up to this eventful period, such is the general history of Cyrus, when stripped of its ornamental circumstances as given by Xenophon; and it accords with Herodotus in respect to the names of his father, mother, and grandfather; the union of the Medes and Persians in a common cause; and the conquests of this prince, with the particulars of his subjection of Babylon. These are important points of agreement. It is still more important, that they are substantially ratified by the Scriptures, which also supply us with many interesting additional circumstances.

Agreement between Xenophon and Herodotus.

Mixed descent of Cyrus.

The descent of Cyrus from a Mede and a Persian occasioned his being designated a "mule" in several oracular descriptions, and, among others, that said to have been delivered by Nebuchadnezzar before his death, and preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes. The name of Cyrus had been foretold one hundred and twenty years before his birth, and in connection with his greatest achievement—

[1] See page 266.

the conquest of Babylon; and that victory was associated with the deliverance of the Jews from their captivity. It is also stated, that the hero was prepared for this grand exploit, by previous successes, and that he came to destroy the Babylonian power from the subjugation of other mighty empires. It was further intimated in what way he should enter the city, and promised that the gates of brass leading to the river should be left open. The prediction has been quoted at length on a previous page. The spoils found in Babylon were immense; those accumulated alone in the temple of Belus, "the treasures of darkness," were almost incredible; besides what was laid up in "the secret places" of the old and new palaces. The profane historians have informed us of the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of Cyaxares, his uncle, which took place after the reduction of Babylon. Thus the union between the Persians and Medes became again cemented by the ties of blood. That they should jointly besiege Babylon is hinted in a very obscure prophecy, which was justified by the event. In Isaiah, chapter xxi., which describes so accurately the events connected with that memorable night of the capture of Babylon—the debauchery of Belshazzar, the terror succeeding the vision of the hand-writing on the wall, with other, even the most minute circumstances—a watchman is represented as looking from the walls of Babylon, "and he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels;" or, as Bishop Lowth more accurately translates the passage, "a rider upon an ass, and a rider upon a camel;" a prophetic symbol of the alliance of two nations in the invasion; and we know that the Persians used camels in warfare, since we have seen their effect upon the army of Crœsus. But, at the opening of the chapter, it is distinctly said, "Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media."

Marries the daughter of Cyaxares.

Babylon being taken, Cyrus, who shared the empire with his uncle, yielded him the first rank in it; and Cyaxares—called, in Daniel, Darius the Mede—ascended the throne of Babylon, while Cyrus retired into Persia to his father and mother. Having returned thence, in conjunction with his uncle, now also his father-in-law, he divided the empire into one hundred and twenty provinces; reviewed its forces, which he found amounted to 120,000 horse, 2,000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot; set three presidents over the princes of the provinces; invested Daniel with the supreme authority over these, and, leaving Cyaxares on the throne alone, again departed to widen his conquests. While he was absent on this expedition, Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered. Cyrus reduced all the nations to submission, from Syria to the Red Sea and the confines of Ethiopia. The death of Cyaxares recalled him to Babylon, and upon him devolved the crowns of Media, Persia, and Babylon. The first he held in virtue of his marriage with the daughter of Cyaxares, who being his only child, his kingdom was her dowry; the second descended

Shares the empire with Cyaxares.

Reigns alone over Media, Persia, and Babylon.

to him from his father; the last was his own by conquest. He lived in tranquillity seven years after acquiring this united empire, bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Ægean, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. This extensive dominion is hinted at in the opening of his decree in favour of the Jews, which he passed, doubtless by the persuasion of Daniel, the first year after he had seated himself upon the throne of Babylon, after the death of Cyaxares. "Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled,) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, *the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth;* and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah: who is there among you of all his people? The Lord his God be with him, and let him go up."[1] "Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods; even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah."[2] He further enjoined, that in whatever provinces the Jews were scattered, they should be assisted in furtherance of this great design of restoring their temple and city. This decree was not so effective as had been expected, through the stratagems of the Samaritans, who obstructed, by bribes and misrepresentations, what they could not annul. The work proceeded so slowly, that it remained unfinished at the death of Cyrus; and it is supposed that the fasting and mourning of Daniel, mentioned as occurring in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, arose from this cause.[3] Cyrus latterly divided his time between the three capitals of his newly erected empire; the warmth of the climate induced him to spend the seven cold months at Babylon, the three months of spring he resided at Susa, and two months, during the summer's heat, he lived at Ecbatana. If we calculate from the time of his first assuming the command of the Persian and Median armies, he reigned thirty years, and died, beloved and lamented, in the seventieth year of his age.

His Proclamation in favour of the Jews.

But the manner of his death has been differently stated by different writers, nor can we arrive at any certainty respecting it. The account of Herodotus is, that Cyrus, in his restless ambition, invaded the Massagetæ. Ctesias says it was the Derbices, who employed Indians and elephants in battle. The Massagetæ and they lived on opposite banks of the same stream. By a feigned flight, in the first conflict, he abandoned the field covered with booty,

Various accounts of his death. Invades the Massagetæ.

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. [2] Ezra i. 7, 8. [3] Dan. x. 1—3.

and a considerable quantity of wine, which his enemies seized, indulging to an excess that rendered them an easy prey to his soldiers. Returning to the combat, he surprised them in a state of intoxication, defeated them, and took many prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, the son of Queen Tomyris. The royal mother sent heralds, desiring the ransom of her child; and when the conqueror refused, the high-spirited young prince, preferring death to slavery, committed suicide. Tomyris, incensed at this fatal catastrophe, and animated with the desire of revenge, assembled her forces, and headed them against the Persians; over whom, after a sanguinary and obstinate conflict, in which Cyrus fell, the Massagetæ obtained a complete victory. The body of Cyrus was found in the field after the engagement, and upon the royal corpse Tomyris took a cruel but impotent revenge. The queen caused his head to be cut off, and cast into a vessel filled with blood, with this bitter taunt,—"Satisfy thyself with that after which thou hast always thirsted, and with which thou hast never been satiated!" Ctesias says that Cyrus died the third day after his wound.

Falls in battle. B.C. 529.

Revenge of Tomyris.

Herodotus was aware that there were various and conflicting accounts of the death of Cyrus, and gives his own as the most plausible,—πιθανότατον λογον. The death of Cyrus is a point that cannot be absolutely determined; nor does Herodotus seem to have any sufficient authority for his account of it. It certainly does not comport with the wise and prudent character of the hero to undertake so rash an expedition as that against Scythia is represented to be, at his advanced time of life. Diodorus Siculus, agreeing with Herodotus as to the expedition against the Massagetæ, and its result, differs as to the circumstances of the death of Cyrus, and says, that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris, and hanged, or crucified, by her directions. John Melela, of Antioch, cites a forged writing, ascribed to Pythagoras, which declares him to have been slain in a sea-fight by the Samians. Xenophon's account is by far the most probable close of such a life, and represents the aged hero as dying in his own country, covered with glory, surrounded by his friends, and leaving his vast empire to his son Cambyses. In evidence of this fact, he asserts that he was buried in Pasargada, in which place Xenophon says he died, and that his monument was to be seen there in the time of Alexander the Great—a circumstance totally irreconcilable with the account of Herodotus and others, who ascribe to him a violent and ignominious death in a foreign country.[1] In a previous chapter we have given both a

[1] We present in this note a succinct view of some difficulties in the narrative of Cyrus. It is taken from an able article in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology:—

"It has been supposed that the statement of Xenophon about Cyaxares II. is confirmed by Scripture; for that Dareius the Mede, who, according to Daniel, reigns after the taking of Babylon, (for two years, according to the chronologers,) and before the first year of Cyrus, *can be no other* (this is the utmost that can be asserted)

description and a pictorial illustration of that remarkable monument which is generally believed to be the tomb of Cyrus.

than Cyaxares II. This matter seems susceptible of a better explanation than it has yet received. 1. Xenophon's Cyaxares is the son of Astyages; Dareius the Mede is the son of Ahasuerus. Now, it is almost beyond a doubt that Ahasuerus is the Hebrew form of the Persian name or title which the Greeks called Xerxes, and Cyaxares seems to be simply the form of the same word used in the Median dialect. Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, is called Ahasuerus in Tobit xiv. 15. It is granted that this argument is not decisive, but, so far as it goes, it is against the identification. 2. After the taking of Babylon, Dareius the Mede receives the kingdom, and exercises all the functions of royalty, with great power and splendour, evidently at Babylon. But in Xenophon it is Cyrus who does this, and Cyaxares never comes near Babylon at all after its capture, but remains in Media, totally eclipsed and almost superseded by Cyrus. There are other arguments, which seem to show clearly that, whoever Dareius the Mede may have been, (a point difficult enough to decide,) he was not the Cyaxares of Xenophon. The matter cannot be further discussed here; but the result of a most careful examination of it is, that in some important points the statements of Xenophon cannot be reconciled with those of Daniel; and that a much more probable explanation is, that Dareius was a noble Median, who held the sovereignty as the viceroy of Cyrus, until the latter found it convenient to fix his court at Babylon; and there are some indications on which a conjecture might be founded that this viceroy was Astyages. It is quite natural that the year in which Cyrus began to reign in person at Babylon should be reckoned (as it is by the Hebrew writers) the first year of his reign over the whole empire. This view is confirmed by the fact, that in the prophecies of the destruction of Babylon it is Cyrus, and not any Median king, that is spoken of. Regarding this difficulty, then, as capable of being explained, it remains that Xenophon's statement about Cyaxares II. is entirely unsupported. Xenophon seems to have introduced Cyaxares simply as a *foil* to set off the virtues of Cyrus.



[Castle of Tyridates.]



[Treading on the Neck.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.—Sir R. K. Porter.*]

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.—CAMBYSES.

Death of Cyrus.

We have shown in the biography of Cyrus the different accounts of the manner of his death, as described by Herodotus and Xenophon. They agree, however, in the opinion, that he left to Cambyses the undisturbed possession of that vast empire to which he had attached the name of Persia. According to the former historian, before Cyrus set out on the expedition, in which he represents him as miserably perishing, he appointed his successor after the manner of the Persian kings, and named his son Cambyses to that dignity; committing Crœsus to his charge, with an injunction to treat the captive prince with kindness and respect.

According to Xenophon's more probable account, Cyrus appears to have closed his life in peace and honour, dying in his palace, surrounded by his family. In his last hours he conferred the empire on his eldest son Cambyses, with the reserve of the rich and powerful satrapy of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusians, with which he invested his younger son, Tanyoaxarces, the Smerdis of Herodotus, and the Mergis of Justin.

Accession of Cambyses. B.C. 530.

According to the opinion adopted by Herodotus, Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspe, of the race of the Achæmenides, though we shall presently relate another conjecture

upon this uncertain subject. Of the age which the Persian prince had attained on his accession, or how his reign was occupied before his expedition to Egypt, we have no account, except what occurs in Josephus and the sacred history. From the former we learn[1] that "the governors in Syria and Phœnicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses," in which they persuaded him that if the Jews were permitted to rebuild the city and temple, they would refuse to pay tribute or do homage, but "resist kings, and choose rather to rule over others than to be ruled over themselves." On reading this epistle Cambyses "forbad the Jews to build the city and temple; accordingly, these works were suspended till the second year of Darius."

His military spirit.

Cambyses, indisposed to cultivate the spirit or the arts of peace, was early desirous, as a favourite object of his attention, to employ the Persian forces, which his father had rendered invincible, in some important military service. It is justly remarked by Whiston, in his Josephus, that were Herodotus's account of the death of Cyrus correct, it is inexplicable that, instead of marching into Egypt, Cambyses should not have prepared "to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and the Massagetæ, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces." He, however, turned his attention wholly to Egypt, under what circumstances of provocation it is not easy exactly to ascertain amidst the very different representations upon this subject.

The assigned causes of quarrel with Egypt have been already discussed in our account of the twenty-seventh dynasty of Manetho. The expedition and its various battles, the cruel frenzies of Cambyses, and his violent insult to the religious prejudices of the Egyptians have also been detailed at length.[2] His mad attempt to penetrate into Ethiopia, occurred during his residence in the land of the Pharaohs.

His martial projects.

Entering now upon the fifth year of his reign, and having prostrated Egypt, Cambyses, instead of returning to Persia, pursued other objects of ambition, dictated by a restless disposition, utterly incapable of pacific occupations. He determined to make war upon three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian or long-lived Ethiopians. From the first of these projects he was diverted by the refusal of the Phœnicians to employ their ships against the Carthaginians, with whom they had a friendly alliance, and who had descended from their ancestors, for Carthage had been a colony of Tyre. The other naval forces at the command of Cambyses were insufficient for his design, and he could not venture to compel the service of the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily joined his arms, and who constituted the principal and most skilful part of his naval force. Thus Carthage escaped the yoke of subjection to

[1] Antiq. xi. 2.

[2] See pages 105—112.

the Persians, and was left to occupy and reward the Roman valour, while Cambyses determined to pursue his other projects.

Designs on Ethiopia.

He sent spies into Ethiopia, to learn the condition and resources of that country. They assumed the character of ambassadors, bearing presents from the king, and were charged to inform themselves respecting the marvellous *table of the sun*. According to Herodotus,[1] there was a plain near the chief city of the Ethiopians, filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals. From these whoever pleased might satisfy their hunger. Solinus and Pomponius Mela describe this supply as supernatural; Pausanias rejects that account as fabulous. Herodotus says, the natives of the place affirm that the earth immediately produces these viands; but he more justly concludes that they were carried to this *table* in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates.

Presents interchanged

The ambassadors employed by Cambyses were some of the Ichthyophagi, so named from their subsisting entirely on fish. He sent for these people from Elephantine, because they were skilled in the language of Ethiopia, on which their country bordered. To them he committed the following presents for the king: "a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes, and a cask of palm wine." The Ethiopian prince soon detected the design of these pretended ambassadors, and treated both them and their royal master with contempt. He undervalued the presents, especially the gold chain, for among the Ethiopians brass was the rarest metal, and prisoners were secured by chains of gold. The



[Bedouin Battle.—*Carpenter.*]

king, however, relished the wine, and advised Cambyses to be content with his own dominion, and not covet the possessions of another. He sent him also, in return for the presents, his own bow, adding this counsel, "When his subjects can bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a superiority of numbers, he may venture

[1] Herodotus, iii. 17, &c.

to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians; in the meantime let him be thankful to the gods that the Ethiopians have not acquired the same ambitious views of extending their territory."

Cambyses marches into Ethiopia.

Cambyses, highly incensed by this message, immediately commanded the march of his army, though quite unprovided for such an expedition, "never reflecting," says Herodotus, "that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth." He left no part of his forces behind, except the Grecian auxiliaries, on whom he depended to keep the country in awe. Arriving at Thebes in Upper Egypt, he detached from this army 50,000 men, to march against the Ammonians, with orders to ravage their country, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. By the help of guides they reached the city of Oasis, at the distance of seven days march from Thebes. What became of them afterwards was never known. Herodotus relates from the Ammonians, that "after they had left Oasis, they halted to take some repast, when a strong south wind arose and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand." This account appears to have been credited by Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, where, speaking of that prince's design "to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon," he adds, "it was a long and laborious journey, and they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full 50,000 men." Savary conjectures, with great probability, that "the Egyptians intending the destruction of their enemies, having brought them into the vast solitudes of Lybia, abandoned them in the night and delivered them over to death."

Distress of his army.

Cambyses, in the mean time, advanced with his main army against the Ethiopians. He had not proceeded through a fifth part of his projected route before he began to find the fatal effects of his improvident haste. The scanty stores of provisions were consumed, and his host, after feeding on their beasts of burden, snatched a poor subsistence from the roots and herbs which an uncultivated soil could supply. Cambyses had yet the indiscretion to advance, till his troops were reduced, amidst sands and deserts, to the dreadful expedient of devouring one another. The whole army was now decimated, every tenth man, selected by lot, being slain, and prepared as food for his companions; thus providing a nourishment, says Seneca, more horrible than famine. "Alimentum habuerint fame sævius." This scene he well contrasts with the unfeeling luxury of the king. "Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis malè periret, quis pejùs viveret." "His attendants provided delicate birds for his table, and conveyed on camels his culinary utensils, while his soldiers were determining by lot who should miserably perish, or preserve their existence in greater misery." At length this voluptuous prince, who cared only for himself, began

Retreat. to be apprehensive for his personal safety. He now desisted from his purpose, and marched back with the remains of his army, of which such numbers had "perished, without feeling the stroke of an enemy." Halting at Thebes, "he found," says Rollin, "the gods more easy to be conquered than men."

We have noticed that Cyrus had commended Crœsus to the care and protection of his son; but his excesses provoked the captive king of Lydia to venture on a remonstrance, preceded, indeed, by a flattering compliment. When the courtiers were once depreciating Cyrus, in comparison with Cambyses, who, "to all which Cyrus possessed, had added the empire of Egypt and the ocean," Crœsus claimed the superiority for his conqueror, because he had left behind him such a son as Cambyses. His fidelity, however, was resented, though his flattery had been well received. Cambyses suddenly drew his bow; Crœsus escaped, however, but the Persian despot commanded his immediate execution. The courtiers delayed, expecting that the king would presently relent, and revoke the cruel order. Their expectations were realised; Cambyses rejoiced to find Crœsus alive, but put his attendants to death, for having disobeyed his orders.

As to the talents of Cambyses for government, they appear to have been exclusively military; and such, indeed, are almost all the recorded transactions of his reign. To his spirit of military adventure we have seen how he was indebted for the vast extension of his empire. One accession, however, he acquired by the base and successful policy of one of his satraps.

Polycrates of Samos. Polycrates the tyrant, or prince of Samos, for the term had not originally a bad sense, was the friend of Amasis, king of Egypt. Herodotus describes his uninterrupted prosperity, which caused Amasis to disclaim his alliance, concluding that a person uniformly prosperous was reserved for some uncommon calamity, in which a friend and ally could not fail to bear a part. On this rupture, Polycrates had assisted Cambyses in his invasion of Egypt, with a naval force, consisting of some discontented Samians, whom he wished to expatriate. This prince was at length deserted by his good fortune, and his destruction was effected in the following manner:[1]—

Orœtes. Orœtes, irritated by a reproach cast upon him of having neglected to conquer Samos, which lay so contiguous to his government of Sardis, resolved, at all hazards, to circumvent Polycrates and become master of the island. For this purpose he adopted the following stratagem. Pretending to revolt from Cambyses upon some discontent, he expressed a wish to secure his treasure. This he proposed to intrust to the care of Polycrates, and to present to him one half of it, by which he might be enabled to conquer Ionia and the

[1] Herodot. iii. 120.

adjacent islands. Polycrates, who ardently desired to increase his treasure and also extend his dominions, sent a messenger to Sardis. There a large number of bags were shown to him, full of gold, as he supposed, but really filled with stones, covered at the top with the precious metal. On the return of his messenger with a highly flattering report, Polycrates, eager to possess the treasure, set out for Sardis, contrary to the counsel of his friends, only taking with him Democedas, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Orœtes arrested him as an enemy to the State; and, by that treacherous Satrap's orders, he lost his life on a gibbet. Thus ended the uninterrupted prosperity of Polycrates, who had probably intellectual accomplishments superior to his contemporaries, for Athenæus celebrates his extensive library. Thus was Samos added to the Persian Empire.

Revolt of the Magian Smerdis.

Cambyses had entered the eighth year of his reign, when he left the scene of his follies and cruelty with the design of returning to Persia, where he appears never to have resided, except during his preparations for the invasion of Egypt. On his arrival in Syria, he met a herald sent from Susa to apprise the Persian army that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command their obedience. This revolution had the following origin. When Cambyses left Persia on his expedition into Egypt, he committed the government of the country to Patizithes, one of the principal Magi, who had a brother resembling Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. Patizithes was apprised of the death of Smerdis, which had been concealed from the public; and aware that the tyranny and extravagances of Cambyses had now become insupportable, he therefore ventured to place his brother on the throne, as the true Smerdis, and caused him to be proclaimed by heralds, despatched for that purpose through the empire. Cambyses, though enraged at the appearance of a herald on such a commission, yet had the consideration to respect his sacred character; he, however, strictly examined him. He also interrogated Prexaspes as to the certainty of his brother's death, which he now affected to deplore with apparent sincerity. From these inquiries, it fully appeared that the true Smerdis was really dead, and that the usurper of the Persian throne was Smerdis the Magian. With the hope of speedily dispossessing him, Cambyses ordered the immediate march of his army into Persia. That country, however, he was never more to see; for, when mounting his horse, his sword slipped from the scabbard, and inflicted a mortal wound on his thigh.

Cambyses mortally wounded.

The Egyptians recollected that Cambyses had inflicted such a wound on Apis, and they naturally indulged the belief that the horrid impiety, as they esteemed it, was now retaliated, while Cambyses suffered the just judgment of their deity. Yet, that it was "an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact,"

which seems to have been supposed by the pious and learned Prideaux, we are not able to perceive; nor does the opinion that "God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry," appear worthy of that author's judgment and religious information.[1]

Oracle of Buto.

Cambyses, amidst the cruel and extravagant occupations of his short reign, had found leisure to comply with some of the religious observances of his time. While he remained in Egypt he had sought to learn his future fortunes, by consulting the Oracle of Buto, which was famous in that country. It was there revealed to him that he should die at Ecbatana; and he seems to have known only of the city in Media which bore that name. There all his treasures were deposited, and there he expected, from this answer of the Oracle, to die in his old age. There was also another Ecbatana in Persia, described by Pliny as a town of the Magi. But when Cambyses found that the town in which he lay in his wounded condition was also called Ecbatana, "he exclaimed," says Herodotus, "This is certainly the place in which it is appointed for the son of Cyrus to die." This Ecbatana in Syria, according to Pliny, was situated on Carmel, a mountain of Galilee, in the immediate vicinity of the Mediterranean, and about fifteen miles south of Ptolemais.

Wretched condition of Cambyses.

Twenty days had elapsed since Cambyses had received the fatal wound. He now summoned around him the principal Persians in his train. To these he explained how he had been induced to kill his brother, whose death he bitterly lamented. Cambyses next endeavoured to excite his courtiers against Smerdis the Magian, and conjured them not to suffer the empire to revert to the Medes, for the Magian was of that nation. But the dying advice of this prince was received with the inattention which his life had deserved. The Persian nobles attributed it to nothing but resentment against his brother, and submitted to the usurper, whom they regarded as the true Smerdis; especially as Prexaspes, probably bribed to the interest of the Magian, now varied his story, and declared that he had not killed Smerdis with his own hand.

His death.

"Cambyses," says Herodotus, "bewailed his misfortunes; and, when the Persians saw the king thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments, and expressed their grief aloud. After a short interval, the bone became infected, the thigh mortified, and death ensued." "Thus," adds the historian, whose third book we have here generally followed as almost our sole authority, "died Cam-
B.C. 522. byses, son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months, leaving no posterity." According to Ctesias, the name of the murdered brother of Cambyses was Tanyoxarces, who was poisoned on a false charge of sedition. His accuser, Sphandadates, a Magian,

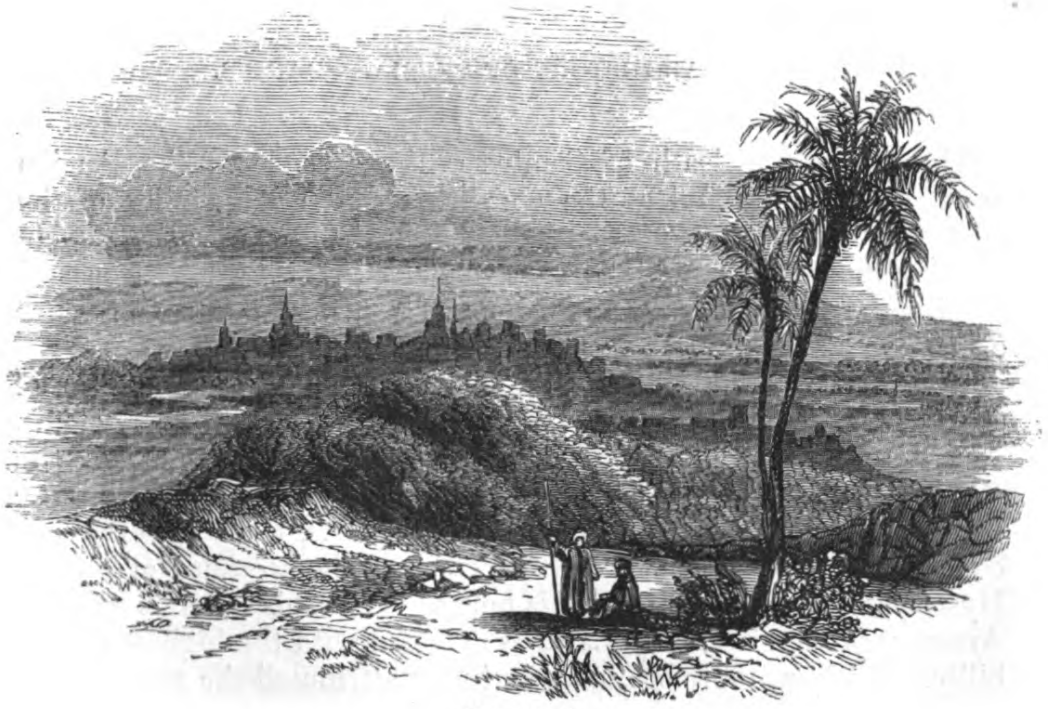
[1] See Connect. pt. i. b. iii. an. 522.

was so like him, that he was ordered by Cambyses to personate the deceased prince—a stratagem employed to conceal his death from his mother Amytis. She at length discovered the tragical end of her son, and in her grief committed suicide. According to the same authority, Cambyses died at Babylon, and Sphandadates continued the imposture which he had originally undertaken by royal command. His brief usurpation, under the title of Smerdis, will be detailed in the next chapter.

His reign.

The reign of Cambyses, whom Josephus[1] inaccurately describes as dying at Damascus, has been sufficiently characterised by its uniform cruelty and violence. He seems to have possessed, as before observed, some military talents, but, if he had any other accomplishments, their memory has perished. The son of Cyrus must always be regarded as unworthy of his father, and be ranked, in all faithful history, among that too large assemblage of despotic princes who have lived only for themselves. His reign, though short, was indeed long enough to exhibit, in a striking manner, the mischievous and cruel caprices of unlimited power, especially when administered by unbridled passion. Herodotus says, that the Persians, from memory of his tyranny were wont to name him always as "the tyrant."

[1] Antiq. xi. 2.



Damascus.]



[Ancient Persian Noble on Horseback.—*Sir R. K. Porter.*]

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.—DARIUS.

Smerdis the magian.

The premature death of Cambyses, the absence of the Persian army from the capital of the empire, and the incredulity of the nobles as to the death of Smerdis, all seemed to promise the magian
B.C. 522. that his usurpation would be successful, and that he might be suffered peaceably to occupy the throne of Cyrus, under the pretence of being really his son.

Various names.

This usurper, the Smerdis of Herodotus and the Orapastes of Justin, is named Mardys by Æschylus, and by Ctesias, Sphandadates. According to Richardson's Dissertation, there is no name in the Persian histories of the empire by which Smerdis Magus can be designated. But, as the learned writer remarks, these histories are equally silent respecting Cyrus, Crœsus, and the accession of Darius Hystaspes by the neighing of his horse. That this Smerdis was the Artaxerxes mentioned by Ezra,[1] is affirmed with the highest probability. To him, therefore, may be justly attributed the same rigour towards the Jews which we remarked in the conduct of his pre-

[1] c. iv.

decessor, Cambyses. Both of them might, indeed, regard it as no unpopular measure, at the commencement of their reigns, to discountenance those obnoxious tributaries; for such the sacred laws and customs of the people of God must have rendered them to all idolatrous nations. Hence Pliny the elder describes them as a nation distinguished by their contempt of the gods, *gens contumeliâ numinum insignis.*

His severity to the Jews.

For the royal order, which prohibited the Jews to proceed in rebuilding the city and temple, we have the authority of Ezra;[1] Josephus being entirely silent as to any intercourse between the court of Persia and the Jewish people from the death of Cambyses till after the first year of Darius. The circumstances mentioned by Ezra cannot be more accurately described than in the following narrative which Prideaux has collected from the sacred historian: "As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the kingdom, after the death of Cambyses, the Samaritans wrote a letter to him, setting forth that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple at Jerusalem; that, they having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that as soon as they should have finished that work they would withdraw their obedience from the king, and pay no more toll, nor tribute, which might give an occasion for all Syria and Palestine to revolt also, and the king be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river Euphrates; and for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made, according to the purport of it, into the records of former times concerning the behaviour of the Jews under the Assyrian and Babylonish empires, and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any further, and sent to the Samaritans to see it put in execution, who immediately, on the receipt thereof, went up to Jerusalem, and having exhibited their order to the Jews, made them desist, by force and power, from going on any further with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of Darius, king of Persia, for about the space of two years."[2] Prideaux justly concludes, that this rigorous decree was not a little promoted by the circumstance, that Artaxerxes was of the sect of the magi, which held the Jews in the utmost abhorrence. This magian, though thus ungracious to the Jews, had the policy to conciliate the other nations which composed the Persian empire. "He commenced his reign," says Herodotus, "by publishing everywhere an edict which exempted his subjects, for the space of three years, both

His general lenity.

[1] iv. 7—24.

[2] Connect. pt. i. b. iii.

from tribute and military service; and also distinguished the various dependents on his power by great munificence."[1] He appears to have so well succeeded in these attempts at conciliation, that, according to the same historian, "he was seriously regretted, after his death, by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians." These would be likely enough to indulge a national antipathy because the magian was a Mede. The usurper also married the wives of Cambyses for the obvious purpose of giving plausibility to his pretensions; but this circumstance proved the speedy occasion of his ruin.

Conspiracy of the nobles.

The nobles who attended the last hours of Cambyses were convinced, notwithstanding the assertions of the dying prince, that his brother had really ascended the throne. With this conviction they appear to have returned to the capital. Among these nobles was

Otanes.

Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, a Persian, distinguished by his rank and fortune; he was the first who suspected that the reputed Smerdis was not the son of Cyrus, from the extreme caution which he displayed by never venturing to remove from the citadel, or to invite any of the nobles into his presence. Otanes had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyses, and had now become the wife of his successor. The father inquired of his daughter if the person with whom she cohabited were the son of Cyrus? She replied, that she had never seen that prince; nor had she any previous acquaintance with her present husband. Otanes then referred his daughter to Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who had also been married to Cambyses, to learn whether the person with whom they now cohabited was her brother. But this satisfaction could not be procured, as the usurper, among other precautions, kept the members of his harem strictly apart. Otanes now prevailed on his daughter to attempt a hazardous experiment. The Magian, for some great crime, had, during the life of Cyrus, been deprived of his ears. As this circumstance would serve to settle the question of the usurpation, Phædyma was urged to make the discovery, whether he were the true or the pretended Smerdis,

The Magian detected.

when next called to her husband's bed. "When she saw him in a profound sleep she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day she gave intelligence to her father."

Otanes immediately communicated the discovery to two nobles on whom he could rely, and who had indeed suspected the imposture. They now agreed that each should choose a friend, to whom they might safely intrust the important secret. To these six confederates was presently joined Darius, who was named Ochus before

Resolution of Darius.

his accession to the throne. He had opportunely arrived from Persis, where his father, Hystaspes, was governor; and indeed he came to Susa with a full conviction of the usurpation of the Magian,

[1] The numerous quotations from Herodotus are from his third book.

and a design to accomplish his immediate destruction. To this he warmly urged his associates; opposing the caution of Otanes, who would have first strengthened their party. But Darius was inflexible, and threatened, that if the day were suffered to pass without executing their purpose, he would not wait tc be betrayed to-morrow, but would immediately disclose to the Magian the whole conspiracy. Gobryas, another of the confederates, whose daughter Darius had married, now seconded his ardour, and his sentiments gave universal satisfaction.

Prexaspes.

In the mean time, according to Herodotus, the two Magi, Patizithes and the pretended Smerdis, sought to engage the good offices of Prexaspes, whom that historian unaccountably describes as "a man who, through every period of his life, merited esteem." Of what description must have been his admirers, some passages in the biography of Cambyses sufficiently discover. Yet the peculiar outrage which he had suffered from that frantic prince, by the murder of his son, might well be supposed to have inspired Prexaspes with hostility to the whole house of Cyrus. The two Magi commanded the attendance of this flexible courtier in the citadel, where they had secured themselves, and first exacted from him an oath not to reveal the deceit they had practised. Then having, as they fondly imagined, bribed him to their purpose, by the promise of munificent rewards, they proposed to assemble the people around the tower of the royal residence, whence he should declare aloud that it was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who now occupied the throne.

His declaration and death.

"Prexaspes having consented to their proposal, the Magi assembled the people, and sent him to harangue them from the top of the tower. Utterly regardless of their instructions, he first recounted the genealogy of Cyrus from Achæmenes; and when he arrived at Cyrus himself, he enumerated the favours which he had bestowed on the Persians. Prexaspes then proceeded to discover the truth which he had long concealed, from the danger of revealing the transaction, but necessity was now laid upon him. He, at length, assured the people that he had actually slain Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and that the persons now governing were the Magi. Then, after lavishing imprecations on the Persians, unless they determined to recover the empire, and take vengeance on the usurpers, he threw himself headlong from the tower." Thus died Prexaspes, greater than he had lived; though, as Larcher has remarked in the following passage, where he contrasts and accounts for the various conduct of this courtier, he might have closed his life more nobly than by a horrible suicide.

Remarks of Larcher.

On this self-destruction of Prexaspes the learned writer just mentioned, whom every inquirer into ancient history would wish to accompany, thus ably philosophises. "Comment concilier cette action mâle et vigoureuse avec la réponse pusillanime et avilissante du même homme au despote des Perses? Ici, quelle énergie! Là,

quelle bassesse! Un homme assez fort pour se tuer dans une pareille circonstance, et par un motif aussi noble, a-t-il pu voir de sangfroid égorger injustement son fils, et louer lâchement l'adresse du meurtrier! La mauvais éducation, l'habitude du joug, le despotisme peuvent comprimer le report; mais, loin de se détruire, souvent ce report réagit avec une force irrésistible. Delà ces contrariétés dans le même homme, ce mélange de bassesse et de grandeur, dont, sans cela, on a peine à rendre compte. Avec des principes, Prexaspes se seroit rendu redoutable au tyran sous lequel il plioit sans murmurer: avec des principes, le même, au lieu de se tuer, auroit prévenu les sept conjurés."[1] "How can we reconcile this bold and daring action with the abject and dastardly answer of the same man to the Persian despot? In the one case what intrepidity! In the other what baseness! A man of sufficient fortitude to kill himself in such a manner, and for such a noble purpose, could yet behold, without emotion, the murder of his innocent child, and even basely praise the skill of the murderer! An ill education, habits of servility, despotism,—these may, indeed, repress the spring of honourable action, but, so far from its being destroyed, that spring will often recover its elasticity, and act again with irresistible force. The influence of just principles would have made Prexaspes the dread of the tyrant to whom he tamely submitted without a murmur. With these principles, instead of killing himself, he would have anticipated the deed of the seven conspirators."

The conspirators attack the Magian.

The dying declaration of Prexaspes, joined to the discovery made by the daughter of Otanes, could not fail to convince the people of the usurpation of the Magian, and his reign must have soon terminated, even if the daring enterprise of the seven conspirators had been unsuccessful. Herodotus asserts, and seems to have been followed implicitly by those who have written after him, that these conspirators were ignorant of what had passed at the tower of Susa, till they learned the fate of Prexaspes on their passage to the citadel. The historian adds, that "they withdrew for a while to deliberate." Otanes proposed to defer the enterprise; but Darius urged its immediate execution. "They were still divided in opinion, when they observed seven pair of hawks, who pursued two pair of vultures, and tore them in pieces with their beaks and claws." The conspirators accepted the omen, and advanced to the palace; but their previous ignorance of the fate of Prexaspes is as improbable as the marvellous tale, so consonant with ancient superstition, which it served to introduce. Must not the order for assembling the populace have been a matter of public notoriety? And would the conspirators fail to place some one in the crowd, where they might themselves decline to appear, to bring the earliest notice of the result? It was probably on such information, that, "after implor-

[1] Hérodote iii. 318.

ing the aid of the gods, they proceeded instantly to attack the magi," during the first moments of their consternation.

His palace forced.

The devoted tyrants were deliberating on the conduct they should pursue in this extremity of their affairs, when the conspirators, having awed the outer guards by their rank, and slain the eunuchs who opposed their further progress, were rushing towards the inner apartments. The brothers, hearing the cries of the eunuchs, and presently ascertaining the occasion of the tumult, determined on a resolute, though hopeless defence. One of them armed himself with a bow, which, as the conspirators pressed on him, became useless, and he fled to an adjoining apartment. The other seized a lance, with which he wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, but presently fell in the unequal combat. The Magian, who had fled unarmed, was pursued by Darius and Gobryas into a dark apartment. The latter seized him round the waist, when Darius feared to aim a thrust at him, lest he should destroy his friend. "Strike," said Gobryas, "though you kill both!" Darius obeyed, and ran his sword through the magian. The two wounded conspirators remained to guard the citadel. Their five companions sallied forth into the city, making violent outcries, and exposing in their hands the bloody heads of the magi.

He is killed by Darius.

The sect of the magi massacred.

The people, informed of what had been achieved, and of the magian imposture, of which, however, the last words of Prexaspes had sufficiently apprised them, became irritated against the whole sect, and determined to follow the bloody example of the conspirators. They put to the sword every one of the magi who came in their way, and night alone prevented their utter extirpation. Herodotus adds, that "the Persians solemnly observe that day as one of their grandest festivals. They call it Magophonia, or the 'slaughter of the magi.' On that day, day none of the sect is permitted to appear in public."

Deliberations of the conspirators.

No revolution was ever more complete and undisputed than that which ended the reign of eight months which have been assigned to Smerdis the magian; a royalty which was, indeed, little more than a splendid imprisonment. After five days, the conspirators, who had no further use for weapons, met together to deliberate on the future government of the empire. Herodotus, on this occasion, attributes to these rough soldiers, remarks worthy of philosophical politicians, on three different forms of government—democracy, aristocracy or oligarchy, and monarchy. He describes Otanes contending most tenaciously for the first and popular form of government; and he seems to have pursued his convictions upon the point with much personal disinterestedness. Megabysus contended for the second, and Darius for the third. This latter opinion being approved by four of the seven conspirators, a monarchy was the government adopted, or rather continued, for the Persian empire. Otanes, without further opposition, protested, for himself and his

posterity, against being subjected to the will of a sovereign; and Herodotus adds, that when he wrote his history, the family of Otanes was the only one which retained its liberty, on condition of not transgressing the laws of the country. This liberty, probably, was only an exemption from personal service at the will of the sovereign; for it is difficult to suppose any other independence which would consist with the described submission.

Otanes thus declining to have any concern in the election of a king, his six companions consulted how best to accomplish their design. "It was agreed upon, as a preliminary, that whoever of them became king, there should, every year, in honour of Otanes, be presented to him and to his descendants for ever, a Median habit, and that he should also receive such presents as the Persians deemed most honourable. These distinctions were awarded to him because he projected the deposition of the magian, and took the first steps towards the execution of the design. For themselves, they mutually agreed that each should have access to the royal palace without the ceremony of being announced, except when the king was in the company of his wife; and that the king should not take a wife but from the family of one of the conspirators." These preliminaries being adjusted for their mutual advantage and security, "they agreed to meet the next morning at sun-rise, and that he whose horse neighed the first should be made king." The Persians adored the rising sun, and probably some homage to that deity was designed by the conspirators when they agreed to assemble at his rising. Whether their determination, by the neighing of the horse, had any religious reference, is not so clear. Such, however, is the opinion of M. l'Abbe Brotier, in his remarks on Tacitus,[1] where that historian had attributed to the ancient Germans a disposition to draw presages and warnings from the actions of the horse. *Proprium gentis, equorum quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri.*

Their mutual agreement.

Herodotus here introduces a story respecting the contrivance of Darius's groom to procure the empire for his master, on which, as already remarked, the Persian historians are silent. He says, "the next morning, at break of day, according to their agreement, they assembled on horseback. As they traversed the suburbs, when they came to the place whither the night before a mare had been brought to the horse of Darius, he immediately began to neigh. At the same time there was thunder and lightening, although the sky was quite clear. These signs appearing to signify the favour of heaven to Darius, served that prince for an inauguration. The other noblemen immediately dismounted, fell prostrate at his feet, and hailed him king." Herodotus relates, that Darius was no sooner seated on the throne, than he commanded "the erection of an equestrian statue with this inscription: 'Darius, son of Hystaspes, obtained the

The Groom of Darius.

[1] De moribus Germ. Sec. x.

sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse (whose name was inserted), and the ingenuity of Œbares, his groom.'"

Accession of Darius. B.C. 521.

Darius, whose original name, as we before remarked, was Ochus, had reached the twenty-eighth year of his age when he had the good fortune to be raised to the throne of Persia; a name which then comprehended by far the greatest part of that portion of Asia known to the Greeks in the age of Herodotus. He was the son of Hystaspes, the friend and patron of Zoroaster. This noble Persian was of the race of Achæmenes, and consequently a relation of Cyrus, whom he had attended in all his wars, and by whom he had been appointed satrap of Persis.[1]

His wives.

Prior to his elevation, Darius had married the daughter of Gobryas, his daring associate in the destruction of one of the Magians. To this wife he added, on his accession to the throne, the two daughters of Cyrus—Atossa, who had been the wife of her brother Cambyses, and afterwards of the Magian, and Artystona, who had never been married, and who became the most favoured of his wives. He also married Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and Phædyma, the daughter of Otanes, her who detected the Magian.

Division of the empire.

Having strengthened himself by these marriages, he proceeded to divide the empire into twenty governments, each having a satrap, by whom he collected an annual tribute. Among these satrapies, the Holy Land was comprehended in a large district, which formed the fifth. It is merely named by Herodotus as the Syrian Palestine. "Had he," says Major Rennell, "been endued with a prophetic spirit, to have foreseen that from Palestine there was to arise a light to guide the footsteps of men to the highest state of happiness that this world affords, by humanizing them, and making them fitter for the purposes of society; and, moreover, by giving them hopes of a better state hereafter; he would have thought it a spot of much more importance than he attaches to it."[2]

Annual revenues.

The annual revenue drawn from these satrapies, Rollin computes at forty-four millions of livres, or not quite two millions sterling. Gibbon, from a comparison of two passages in Herodotus,[3] conjectures that "the monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people." From these imposts were exempted the province of Persia, the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued, and the inhabitants of Nyssa, sacred to Bacchus, who, instead of paying any specific taxes, each made an annual present.

Collection of tribute.

As to all the other provinces, Darius ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many neighbouring

[1] Darius, in Hebrew Daryavesh, on the monuments Daryeusch, signifies conservator, and is rendered by Herodotus ἐξείης.

[2] Geog. p. 247.

[3] b. i. c. 192, and b. iii. c. 89, 96.

nations into one district; and sometimes passing over many which were adjacent, and forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. During the reign of Cyrus and his son, there were no specified tributes, but presents were made to the sovereign. Such is the account given by Herodotus, though it ill agrees with the unusual forbearance, as to the exaction of the regular tribute, which we have ascribed, on his authority, to the Magian usurper. The historian adds, that, in these innovations, Darius seemed to design only the acquisition of wealth, and that, as Cambyses had been negligent and severe, while Cyrus had discovered a gentle disposition, studying the good of his subjects, so the Persians called Darius a merchant, Cambyses a despot, and Cyrus a parent. Yet the moderation of Darius, in the exaction of these imposts, is thus applauded by Plutarch: "When he laid a tax upon his subjects, he summoned his lieutenants, and asked them whether the tax were burdensome? When they told him it was moderate, he ordered them to collect half as much as was at first demanded."[1]

Revolt of Intaphernes.

Soon after Darius had been raised to the throne, he was alarmed by apprehensions of a revolt against his authority. Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators, attempted to enter the royal palace, in consequence of their mutual stipulation for free intercourse with the king. He was stopped by the keeper of the gates and an officer of the court, because the king was in the company of one of his wives. Intaphernes, regarding this interruption as a mere excuse, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then, with his horse's bridle, tying them together, he left them in that mangled condition. Thus they presented themselves before the king, and related the conduct of Intaphernes.

His fate.

The monarch, suspecting some concert among the conspirators, and that this attempt to enter the palace so unseasonably was part of an extended project of rebellion, sent for the rest of his former companions separately, but found no ground of accusation against any of them. "When he was thus convinced," says Herodotus, "that there was no concert between the conspirators, still apprehending that Intaphernes would revolt, and also suspecting his connections, he ordered him to be seized, with his sons and all his family. They were put in irons, and condemned to die."

His wife.

The wife of Intaphernes, whose freedom from arrest on this occasion is certainly a very improbable circumstance, now appears to have appealed incessantly to the compassion of the king, presenting herself for that purpose before the royal palace. Darius, at length, moved by her importunity, granted her the life and liberty of any one of her family whom she would choose. This wife and mother now neglected to save her own immediate family, and requested the preservation of her brother; alleging to the astonished

[1] Apoth. ad init.

king, that she might have another husband and other children, but, as her parents were dead, she could not have another brother. With this strange preference, of which an instance may also be found in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Darius is said to have been so much gratified, that he pardoned her brother, and also her eldest son. Intaphernes and the rest of his family were immediately executed. Thus speedily perished one of the brave conspirators, by the power which he had contributed to raise. The cruelty of Intaphernes was, indeed, not ill requited, and it sufficiently discovers the rude and worse than brutal manners of the age: but whether this royal counsellor, with his unhappy, and, so far as appears, unoffending family, became the victim of the just apprehensions or the unfounded jealousy of his former companion, it is impossible to ascertain.

Her preference.

Orœtes, governor of Sardis, had basely put to death Polycrates, and seized upon his island of Samos. This, as his conduct soon discovered, was not designed to extend the Persian empire, but to aggrandize himself. Taking advantage of the relaxed royal authority during the short period of the Magian usurpation, he put to death Mitrobates, the governor of Dascylium, and his son; the father having formerly offended him. Both were highly esteemed in Persia. Orœtes also ordered the assassination of a messenger sent to him from Darius. The king determined to punish the governor of Sardis for these and other enormities. Yet, as he was a satrap of very extensive power, (for he ruled over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and had regularly a guard of a thousand men,) Darius resolved to proceed by stratagem, rather than by open force. He assembled his nobles, and asked which of them would undertake to bring the body of Orœtes, dead or alive. Thirty Persians offered themselves to this hazardous service; but as only one could be employed, the decision was made by lot, and it fell on Bagæus, the son of Artontes. He proceeded to Sardis, furnished with letters of different descriptions, which he might employ as they best suited his purpose. They were addressed to the secretary of the province. Those he first delivered contained some general instructions, which had no reference to the real purpose of his mission. When he found that these letters from the king were treated with respect, "he delivered one to this effect:—'Persians, king Darius forbids you to serve any longer as guards to Orœtes.' In a moment they threw down their arms." Bagæus now ventured to go the whole length of his commission, and "put into the hands of the secretary a letter couched in these terms:—'King Darius commands the Persians who are at Sardis to put Orœtes to death.' The guards immediately drew their swords and killed him. Thus was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orœtes the Persian."[1]

Revolt of Orœtes.

Bagæus.

[1] lib. iii. c. 132.



[Hunting.—*From Sculptures at Persepolis.—Sir R. K. Porter.*]

Soon after this transaction, a circumstance occurred chiefly worthy of notice on account of the important events with which it was connected. Darius had injured his foot, on leaping from his horse, while engaged in the diversion of the chase. The Egyptian physicians at his court tried their utmost art, but only aggravated the malady. It was now recollected that there was a physician among the slaves of Orœtes, who had been brought to Susa with the rest of that governor's effects; for men degraded to the condition of slavery have been usually regarded as things rather than as persons. This slave was Democedes of Crotona. "He was brought before the king," says Herodotus, "in chains, and covered with rags." Darius inquired if he was skilled in medicine. This he refused to confess, lest he should be detained in the king's service, and never suffered to revisit his home. Darius, suspecting that he dissembled, determined to put him *to the question*, and bade his attendants produce the instruments of torture. Democedes now re-assumed his true character, and, by his applications, speedily recovered the king. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius granted him the pardon of the Egyptian physicians, who, according to Herodotus,[1] were barbarously condemned to crucifixion, because they had failed in their attempts to heal the king's malady. He also presented him with two pair of fetters of gold. Upon which Democedes ventured to ask the king, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished

[1] Herodot. iii. 128.

to double his calamity. The king was delighted with the reply, and ordered that Democedes should be introduced to his wives as "the man who had restored the king to life." By every one of these he was munificently rewarded.

His pardon.

This celebrated physician had a sumptuous house provided for him at Susa, a place at the royal tables, and every thing he could desire, but the liberty of returning into Greece. That liberty he gained by means of Darius's queen, Atossa, whom he cured of a very desperate disorder, and from whom he had previously exacted a promise that she would promote his favourite object. Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, was also desirous that the king should extend his dominions, by making a conquest of Greece. "I wish," said she, to have in my service women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, of whom I have heard so much." Darius, as the result of this conversation with Atossa, appointed fifteen Persians, in whom he could confide, to accompany Democedes, whom he loaded with presents and entreated to return. The Persians, by the assistance of their guide, were especially to examine every part of the Grecian coast. From Sidon they sailed to Greece in two triremes, and a larger vessel containing valuable stores. Having visited the principal Grecian cities, they passed over to Tarentum, in Italy. There, to encourage the escape of Democedes, the helms of the vessels were taken away, and the Persians detained as spies. In the mean time, the physician proceeded to Crotona, where he married a daughter of Milo the wrestler. Of this marriage he desired the Persians to inform their master. The physician appears to have passed the remainder of his life in wealth and reputation.

Spies sent to Greece.

Their detention.

Their liberation.

The Persians were now liberated, and the helms of their vessels restored. They sailed to Crotona, where they endeavoured to seize Democedes, and in vain demanded that he should be given up, as a subject of their king. Thus deprived of their conductor, they abandoned the further survey of Greece. On their return, being forced by contrary winds on Japygia, now cape di Leuca, they were made slaves, but ransomed and sent home to Darius by Gillus, an exile from Tarentum. Such, according to Herodotus, were the adventures of "the first Persians who, with the view of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia."

Favour of Darius to the Jews.

About this period, in the third year of Darius, the transactions of his reign have a very important connection with the sacred history. The Jews had resumed the erection of the temple and the restoration of their city,—works which we have seen suspended by the rigorous prohibitions of Cambyses and the Magian. On the accession of Darius, they were at first inattentive to improve the favourable opportunity, and suffered for their neglect by the failure of their vintage and harvest. At length, being divinely warned by the prophet Haggai, they zealously applied themselves to the work which their inveterate foes the Samaritans again endeavoured to obstruct.

Tatnai. But Tatnai, the satrap who governed Syria and Palestine, appears, on this occasion, to have acted the part of a just and prudent magistrate. He proceeded to Jerusalem, and demanded of the Jews by what authority they acted. On their producing the decree of Cyrus, Tatnai wrote to Darius, who ordered that search should be made for the original decree, which was found among the archives in the palace of Ecbatana, or, as Ezra names it, "Achmætha, the palace that is in the province of the Medes." This original decree agreeing with the copy which the Jews had produced as the justification of their conduct, Darius ordered that it should be again

The edict. published. He also decreed the restoration of the sacred vessels of which Nebuchadnezzar had spoiled the former temple; and that resources for carrying on the work should be dispensed to the Jews out of the revenues of the province, "that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons." And the edict thus concludes in Oriental style,—"Also I have made a decree, that whosoever shall alter this word, let timber be pulled down from his house, and, being set up, let him be hanged thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this."[1] Prideaux[2] remarks, on the authority of the learned Lightfoot,[3] that "the decree having been granted by Darius, at his palace in Shushan, (or Susa, as the Greeks call the place,) in remembrance hereof, the eastern gate in the outer wall of the temple was, from this time, called the gate of Shushan, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the Romans."

Josephus's account. The account given by Josephus of the circumstances by which the Jews obtained these royal favours materially differs from the sacred history. According to the Jewish historian, in his Antiquities,[4] "Darius, the son of Hystaspes, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God which were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem." He adds, that "Zorobabel came to Darius from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the king," and the monarch had made him one of his body-guards.

Zorobabel. The historian proceeds to relate that, "in the first year of his reign, Darius feasted those which were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces." The king, on retiring to rest, being unable to sleep, called upon his three body-guards, of whom Zorobabel was one, to divert him by their solution of problems which he proposed to them "concerning the strength of wine, of a king, of women, and of truth," promising munificent rewards to him who excelled. Zorobabel, who discoursed last, upon

[1] Ezra vi. 11. [2] pt. i. b. iii. [3] Of the Temple, c. 3. [4] b. xi. c. 3.

truth, is described as having "spoken the most wisely;" when "the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat more than he had promised, which he would give him, because of his wisdom, in which he exceeded the rest. Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow which he had made to build Jerusalem and the temple of God. 'This,' said he, 'is that request which thou permittest me to make.' So the king was pleased with what he said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those who were going with him to build the temple. He also ordered the rulers of Syria and Phœnicia to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city; and that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any taxes upon the Jews. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. And he sent the vessels, and fulfilled all that Cyrus had intended for the restoration of Jerusalem." His request.

Such are the circumstances which, according to Josephus, led Darius to become the worthy successor of Cyrus, in the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple. Some parts of this narrative, however, seem to show that the erudite Jew had studied, till he had learned to imitate the marvellous digressions of the Greeks. Yet Whiston, the able translator of Josephus, whose credulity on some points was as remarkable as his fearless integrity on all occasions, considered "the whole a contrivance of King Darius, in order to be decently and inoffensively put in mind, by Zorobabel, of fulfilling his own vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem." He also attributes to Cyrus and Darius a disposition to worship "the one true God, the God of Israel, though the entire idolatry of their kingdoms made them generally conceal it." That these princes had great reverence for the God of the Jews, whom they could scarcely have failed to regard as superior to all other local deities, cannot be questioned; but the evidence is yet to be produced for the extraordinary fact that they had received the doctrine of the divine unity, in opposition to the polytheism of their age and country.

Hitherto the transactions of the reign of Darius had been entirely pacific. His first armament was intrusted to Otanes, and designed against Samos, which seems not to have remained under the Persian power when Polycrates was basely allured to Sardis, and there murdered by the governor Oroetes. When Otanes summoned the island, Mæandrius, who commanded it, consented to retire; and Otanes prepared to invest with the government Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, who was now in favour with Darius, on account of a service he had rendered to the king while an officer in the army of Cambyses. The Samians, however, under Charideus, the brother Reduction of Samos.

of Mæandrius, surprised and killed some of the principal Persians, who, depending on the truce, were "sitting at their ease. The rest of the troops soon came to their assistance, and repulsed the Samians." As the horrid result of this treachery, Otanes, irritated by the destruction of his soldiers, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, and at length delivered the island to Syloson, probably as a tributary to Darius. Samos was thus depopulated, from the exasperation of the Persians, as we have learned from Herodotus; or by the cruelty of Syloson, as Strabo relates. It was, according to the former historian, repeopled by Otanes, whose military appointment on this occasion was not a little extraordinary. It will be recollected, that among the seven conspirators, he alone had contended for a democracy, and had stipulated for himself and his family that they should not be regarded as subjects of the regal government.

Revolt of Babylon.

While this expedition to Samos was in preparation, the subdued, but still disaffected and powerful province of Babylon broke out into a rebellion, for which it had been preparing during several years. In this design it was, no doubt, greatly assisted by the B.C. 518. absence of Cambyses from the seat of government, the Magian usurpation, and the weighty cares of Darius on his accession to the empire. Expecting the speedy vengeance of the king, who, on the first news of this revolt, had assembled his forces, the Babylonians prepared to sustain a protracted siege, and resorted to a horrible expedient. "Of all the women in Babylon," says Herodotus, "each man, besides his mother, reserved one female of all his household, to whom he was most attached; the rest were collected together and strangled." The historian coolly adds, that "one woman was preserved to prepare the bread, and the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine. Thus was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, that "two things should come to them in one day, the loss of children and widowhood." [1]

The siege.

The king advanced with a powerful army, and laid close siege to the revolted city. The Babylonians confiding in their preparations and the strength of their walls, which Cyrus had left entire, treated the besiegers with contempt. They even amused themselves by dancing on the ramparts. Referring, probably, to a proverbial phrase for an impossibility, they assured the Persians that Babylon would be taken when mules should produce young. Thus, after a year and seven months passed before the walls, Darius and his army despaired of reducing the city. They had vainly employed all the known stratagems of war, not forgetting those by which Cyrus had formerly succeeded. But the Babylonians were ever on their guard, and could neither be surprised nor overpowered.

It was in this extremity, and in the twentieth month of the siege,

[1] xlvii. 9.

that an officer in the army of Darius distinguished himself by a deed so extraordinary, that the historian might well have introduced his account without a prodigy. This person was Zopyrus, the son of Megabysus, one of the seven who had put an end to the magian usurpation. According to Herodotus, this officer being informed that one of his baggage-mules had produced a foal, was at first incredulous, and when convinced of the fact, enjoined secrecy on his attendants. He, however, reflected on the circumstance, and calling to mind the taunting language of the Babylonians, assured himself that the city might be taken. Zopyrus.

Zopyrus next presented himself before Darius, and asked if he greatly desired to conquer the place. The king eagerly replied in the affirmative. He then deliberated how he might effect his object so that the capture of the city should be attributed solely to himself; and found no scheme so plausible as that of mutilating his own person, and, in that condition, seeking refuge in Babylon as a fugitive escaping from the cruelty of Darius. Zopyrus did not allow a moment's reflection on the irremediable injuries he was about to inflict on himself, but immediately cut off his nose and ears. He also clipped his hair, so as to assume the degrading appearance of a slave; and having scourged himself till his body discovered the bloody strokes of the whip, in this miserable plight he presented himself before the king. His self-mutilation.

"Darius, indignant at the sight of a person of his rank so cruelly treated, leaped instantly from his throne, and earnestly inquired of him who had thus mutilated him, and on what pretence? 'No man, sir, except yourself,' answered Zopyrus, 'could have the power to use me in this manner. I have thus disfigured myself, being vexed to behold the Assyrians deride the Persians.'—'Most wretched man,' exclaimed Darius, 'would you thus disguise the infamy of the deed you have perpetrated? Inconsiderate mortal! will the enemy yield the sooner because you have mutilated yourself? Were you not deprived of reason on this occasion?' 'Sir,' replied Zopyrus, 'if I had apprised you of my intention, you would not have suffered me to execute it, I therefore acted for myself. Unless you deny me your support, Babylon is certainly ours. I propose, in my present condition, to go thither as a deserter. I shall ascribe my sufferings to your orders, and hope they will be thus encouraged to intrust a part of their forces to my command. On the tenth day after I am admitted into Babylon, do you, sir, detach 1,000 men, whose loss will be unimportant, to the gate of Semiramis. Seven days after, post 2,000 more near the gate of Nineveh. After an interval of twenty days, send 4,000 men towards the gate of the Chaldeans; but let none of these detachments have any weapons except their swords. At length, after that twentieth day, advance the whole army direct to the city for a general assault. But, above all, let the Persians be stationed before the Belidian and Cissian gates. I fully His appearance before Darius. His project.

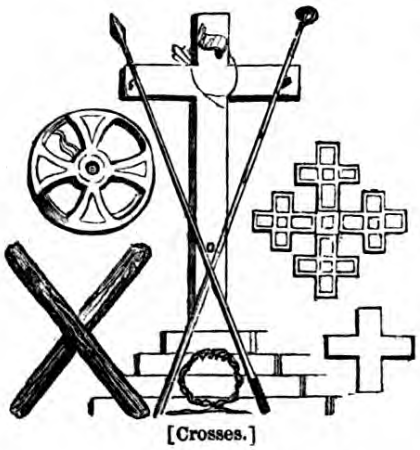
expect that the Babylonians, having witnessed my exploits in the field, will intrust to me the keys of those gates. The Persians, under my guidance, will then accomplish the rest.'

"Having thus spoken, he hastened towards the gates of the city, looking back frequently, as if with the apprehensions of a deserter. The sentinels on the watch-towers perceiving him, quickly descended, and, opening the wicket of their gate, demanded who he was, and for what purpose he sought admittance? He answered that he was Zopyrus, and that he had come over to the Babylonians. On this the keepers of the gate brought him before an assembly of the people, (ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνιῶν,) to whom he deplored his miserable condition, which he attributed to the cruelty of Darius, because he advised him to raise the siege, no hope remaining of his reducing the city. 'Now,' says he, 'I come to you, Babylonians! a promoter of your cause, and an inveterate foe to Darius, his army, and the Persians. With all his plans I am well acquainted, and can well revenge the treatment I have received.' The Babylonians, seeing a Persian of the first quality deprived of his nose and ears, his body lacerated and covered with blood, readily believed his story, and that he came to assist them. They were quickly disposed to gratify his wishes, and without hesitation gave him the command of a detachment of their forces. With these he proceeded to accomplish the plan which he had concerted with Darius."[1]

His entrance to Babylon.

Working of his plans.

Zopyrus soon slew, in the three projected rencounters, and probably without any remorse, the 7,000 of his countrymen whose lives were devoted to the success of his stratagem. The Babylonians regarded him with unbounded confidence. He was intrusted with the command of all the forces, and the guard of the ramparts. On the day appointed, Darius advanced with his army to a general assault. Zopyrus now dropped the mask. While the Babylonians were repulsing the soldiers from the ramparts, he opened to the Persians the Cissian and Belidian gates. Those of the Babylonians who saw what passed fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; the rest continued firm at their posts till they also knew that they were betrayed to the enemy. Thus fell Babylon a second time into the power of the Persians.



[Crosses.]

Darius signalized his victory by crucifying 3,000 of the most distinguished among the Babylonians; ordering the walls of the city to be levelled, and its hundred gates demolished. To supply the loss of the

[1] Herodot. iii. 153—157.

women who had been cruelly cut off at the commencement of the siege, Darius ordered that fifty thousand should be sent to Babylon from the neighbouring nations.

Reward of Zopyrus.

As to Zopyrus, Herodotus makes the king extol him beyond any Persian, except Cyrus. Plutarch relates,[1] that as Darius was once "opening a pomegranate, being asked of what he would wish for a number equal to the seeds of that fruit, he answered, of Zopyrusses," and, "that he would not have Zopyrus maimed to gain a hundred Babylons." Herodotus records the same anecdote, except that he gives the former the name of Megabysus. On Zopyrus the king now accumulated wealth and distinction. Every year he made him such presents as were most valuable in the estimation of the Persians. He also appointed him governor of Babylon during life, with an exemption from tribute. His son Megabysus succeeded to his honours, which his grandson tarnished, by betraying his country, and deserting to the Athenians.

Invasion of Scythia.

After this complete subjugation of Babylon, Darius did not manifest any inclination for repose, but immediately marched in person against the Scythians, under the pretence of revenging their former invasion of Media. That event had occurred one hundred and twenty-eight years before; but ambition is never destitute of an occasion for war. The king made formidable preparations, deaf to the prudent counsel of his brother Artabanes, who urged that Scythia, from the poverty of the country, would prove, if subdued, a worthless acquisition: while the distance from Persia, with the hardy and roving manners of the inhabitants, would make the conquest very uncertain. Darius excused but disregarded this advice, and proceeded from Susa with his army, having first committed a deed of cruelty not unworthy of a conqueror. A Persian named Œbasus, had three sons enrolled for this expedition; and he requested that one might be left with him to solace his old age. Darius affected graciously to exceed his request, by discharging all of them from military service. The deluded father was overjoyed, but presently found that the king had ordered their immediate execution.

The march.

Darius marched from Susa to Chalcedon upon the Bosphorus, where a bridge had been constructed by the ingenuity of Mandrocles the Samian, whom the king munificently rewarded. Near the spot he ordered the erection of two columns, on one of which were inscribed in Assyrian, and on the other in Greek characters, the names of the nations which attended him. He is also said to have erected pillars in other places, with pompous inscriptions, in one of which he allowed himself to be described as the best and handsomest of all men living.[2] The king had collected troops for this expedition from all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting,

B.C. 517.

[1] Apopthegm.

[2] See in a previous chapter an account of the inscription which Darius engraved on the rock of Behistun.

The army.

cavalry included, to 700,000 men. There was also a fleet of six hundred ships, to provide the necessary supplies for such an army, and to waft the troops and their baggage across the wide rivers of Thrace and Scythia. "The circuit taken in this expedition," says Major Rennell, "cannot well be estimated at less than a march of one hundred and fifty days, or five months." The same able geographer, in his "Remarks on Herodotus," thus traces from that historian the route of Darius:—

Rennell's description of the route.

"He crossed the Danube over a bridge of boats, not far above the site of Ismail; the Ionian fleet being despatched from the Bosporus to perform the service of laying the bridge. Having left the Ionians in charge of it, he marched through Scythia, eastward to the Tanais, the Scythian army, which was divided into two bodies, retiring regularly before him, at the distance of a day's march, filling up the wells, and destroying the produce of the fields; their families and cattle being previously sent to the northern frontier. Darius, crossing the Tanais, came into the territories of the Sauromatæ, and from thence into those of the Budini, which, having crossed, he came to the desert, of seven or eight days' journey in breadth. Here he halted, on the banks of the Oasus, (supposed to be the Volga,) where he constructed eight fortresses, at about six miles from each other, the remains of them being visible in the time of Herodotus. And this was the most distant limit of the expedition of Darius eastward.[1]



Tokat-Berissa, the "Comana Pontica" of Strabo.]

Fruitless efforts of Darius.

"It had been the intent of the Scythians to entangle the Persians in the desert lying between the Budini and the Thyssagetæ, but, finding this scheme impracticable, they made the circuit to the north and west, leaving the Persians at fault."[2] Arriving in Scythia, Darius found two other bodies of the Scythians, who retired before him, and treated with contempt his demand of submission to the great king, by the customary presents of earth and water. On the contrary, the Scythians despatched a messenger to Darius, bearing to the king these enigmatical gifts, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows; the language of which Gobryas thus interpreted: "Persians! unless you can fly into the air like birds, hide yourselves under the earth like mice, or leap into the marshes like frogs,

[1] Geog. Syst. of Herod., p. 102. [2] Ibid. p. 104.

you will never return to your country, but will perish by these arrows."

At length, perplexed by the cautious policy of the enemy, his provisions nearly exhausted, and his army weary and dispirited, the king found it necessary, according to the advice of Gobryas, to abandon the further prosecution of his rash enterprise. Determining on a retreat, he lighted fires in the night to disguise his proceedings, and decamped with all possible expedition, leaving the sick and aged in the power of the Scythians. These now advanced to the Danube, where, as they were chiefly cavalry, and well acquainted with the country, they arrived before Darius, and would have persuaded the Ionians to retire with their vessels, and thus destroy the bridge. Miltiades the Athenian, the prince of the Chersonesus, advised a compliance with their proposal, according to Cornelius Nepos, "Ne à fortunâ datam occasionem liberandæ Græciæ dimitterent:"—lest an opportunity should be lost of securing the liberties of Greece. This was strongly opposed, from a selfish motive, by Histiæus the Milesian, who at length gained over the rest of the Ionian leaders to the interest of Darius. They removed only a part of the bridge, and thus deceived the Scythians, who now returned in the hope of intercepting the Persians. Darius, by marching in another direction, had avoided the enemy, and at length reached the Danube. In the Persian army was an Egyptian of a very powerful voice, who was commanded to call out for Histiæus the Milesian. He was heard, and the bridge immediately formed for the passage of the troops. The king now proved the wisdom of Coes the Mytelenian, who had recommended the preservation of this bridge, when, in the confidence of victory, Darius, after he had first passed over, had given orders for its destruction. Thus the remains of the Persian army escaped from this disastrous expedition, while the Scythians were engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. They hence regarded the Ionians as the basest of mankind, attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom. Darius passed the winter, and most of the following year at Sardis.

His retreat.



[Miltiades.]

Megabysus had been left by Darius in Thrace; and he sent messengers to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to demand earth and water. This was readily offered, though the gross indiscretion of the young Persian noblemen who formed this embassy cost them their lives at a Macedonian banquet. In the mean time, Darius became ambitious

Demand on Macedonia.

of extending his territory towards the east. Nor is the conjecture of Major Rennell improbable, that while in the army of Cambyses, he had made observations which inspired his attempt to penetrate India by the Persian Gulf. Herodotus, in his account of the divisions of the empire, describes the Indians as forming the twentieth satrapy, and paying six hundred talents of gold.[1] Of the acquisitions of Darius in India, and the circumstances which opened that country to his ambition, the only account remaining is the following short passage of the same historian: "A very considerable part of Asia was discovered by Darius. That prince, wishing to ascertain where the Indus flowed into the ocean, sent out ships with persons in whom he had confidence, especially Scylax of Caryandria. They embarked at Caspatyras, in the Parthian territories, following the eastern course of the river towards the ocean. Hence, sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the same port from whence the Phœnicians formerly sailed to circumnavigate Lybia. In consequence of this voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean."[2] Prideaux conjectures, that when Scylax "returned by the straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, he landed where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of that sea." He dates the commencement of the voyaye at B.C. 509, in the thirteenth year of Darius. Two years are allotted for the discoveries and return of Scylax. The three succeeding years appear to have been occupied in the invasion and conquest of India, or, at least, those years are not accounted for by any other transactions of Darius's reign. Thus, in the nineteenth year of that reign, and B.C. 503, may be dated the commencement of those events which brought the armies of Persia into Greece, and gave rise, in the first instance, to one of the most splendid passages in her brilliant history.

His designs upon India.

B.C. 508.

B.C. 503.

Darius, under a sense of his singular obligations to Hystiæus, had made him sovereign of an extensive territory in Thrace. Megabysus, who governed that country for the king, represented to his royal master the impolicy of this grant; on which Darius summoned Hystiæus to his court, and detained him there, under the pretence of requiring his council, while Aristagoras, his nephew and son-in-law, governed Miletus as his lieutenant. This governor concerted with Artaphernes, brother of Darius, and governor of Sardis, the conquest of Naxus. Failing in his attempt upon that island, he apprehended the resentment of Artaphernes, and, to secure himself, encouraged the Ionians to join him in a confederacy against the Persians. They made a fruitless application to Sparta for succours, which, on the contrary, were readily contributed by the Athenians, now irritated against Artaphernes. Ten years before, he had received Hippias the tyrant, expelled from Athens, and, by a haughty

His quarrel with the Athenians.

[1] iii. 94.

[2] Lib. iv. 44.

message, attempted his restoration. Twenty ships, under the command of Melanthus, joined Aristagoras and the Ionians, who were now in the third year of their revolt against the Persian power.

Sardis attacked.

The confederates, landing near Ephesus, and taking some Ephesians for their guides, passed over Mount Tmolus, and arrived at Sardis, where Artaphernes and his troops retired to the citadel, which they maintained. The enemies burned the city, but missed the plunder of it. In their attempt to reach their ships they were interrupted by the Persian forces, and defeated with a great slaughter. The Athenians now retired from the confederacy, which they could never be persuaded again to join. When Darius was informed of these events, "he desired to know who the Athenians were? On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, exclaimed, 'Suffer me, O Jupiter! to be revenged on these Athenians!' He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, 'Sir, remember the Athenians.'"[1]

Miletus destroyed.

The Ionians, however, though thus deserted by their allies, for some time maintained themselves against the Persians. At length they were defeated by sea and land. Aristagoras was slain, and Miletus taken and destroyed. Histiæus had been allowed to quit Susa, under pretence of quieting the disorders of his country, but he joined the confederates. He was now taken in an engagement, and immediately crucified by order of Artaphernes, lest Darius should have prevented it, as he is said to have deeply regretted his death. The Persians proceeded to reduce the Hellespont, and the Thracian Chersonesus; Miltiades, who commanded there, put his effects on board five vessels, and sailed to Athens. The Phœnicians intercepted him, and took one of the vessels, commanded by his son, Metiochus, on whom Darius refused to avenge his quarrel with the father. According to Herodotus, the king "showed him the greatest kindness, gave him possessions in Persia, and married him to a Persian lady."

Mardonius marches into Greece.

Darius was now in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, when he appears to have engaged with peculiar ardour in his project for the conquest of Greece. Recalling the former commanders, he committed the conduct of the Persian forces solely to Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a very young man, who had recently married one of the king's daughters. His special commission was to invade Greece, and revenge upon the Athenians the burning of Sardis. On his arrival in Macedonia, that country presently submitted. But the Thracians, availing themselves of his insecure encampment, surprised his army in the night, destroyed a great number of his soldiers, and wounded Mardonius himself. His fleet, in the mean time, while doubling the Cape of Mount Athos, now Capo Santo,

His defeat.

[1] Herodot. v. 5.

encountered a storm, in which there perished three hundred of his ships and 20,000 men. Thus disabled, Mardonius returned into Asia with the wreck of this mighty armament, when Darius, too late, regretted the confidence he had rashly placed in his youth and inexperience.

The king, who still had the resources of immense treasure, and a vast population at the command of his sovereign will, could not be diverted from his ambitious project. He, however, first sent heralds into Greece to demand submission, in the customary form. The dread of the Persian power prevailed over the people of Ægina and many of the Grecian cities; at Athens and Sparta they were otherwise received. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "threw the heralds of Darius into their pit of punishment, and the Lacedæmonians pitched them into wells, telling them to procure the *earth and water* there, and carry it to their king."[1] Darius now hastened the departure of Datis the Mede, and Artaphernes, his own nephew, son of the governor of Sardis, whom he had appointed generals in the place of Mardonius. They receive special orders from the king to plunder and burn Eretria and Athens. On reaching the coasts of Ionia, they collected an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of six hundred ships. In the ensuing spring they assembled their whole fleet at Samos. Having taken Naxos, and all the neighbouring islands, they besieged Eretria. By the disunion of its citizens, the retirement of the Athenian succours, and the treachery of some of its principal inhabitants, the city was at length subdued. To execute the royal vengeance, Eretria was pillaged, the temples were destroyed, in revenge for those burned at Sardis, and the inhabitants were sent captives to Susa. There, according to the caprice so often discovered in the exercise of despotic power, Darius treated them kindly, and allowed them a settlement, in which their descendants were found in after ages.

Succeeded by Datis and Artaphernes.

Passing over to Attica, the Persians were led by Hippias to the plain of Marathon, ten miles from Athens. Their army, according to Cornelius Nepos,[2] consisted of 200,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. The forces which the Athenians could oppose to such a formidable hostility were only 10,000 foot, (including 1000 Platæans,) for they had no cavalry. The particulars of this almost incredible battle; the choice of Miltiades for general, by the disinterested patriotism of Aristides and the rest of his companions; the delay of the Lacedæmonian succour, from a superstition which robbed them of a glorious distinction;—all these subjects belong more properly to a history of Greece.

Battle of Marathon. B.C. 491.

The Persian soldiers had now lost much of that hardihood which distinguished the armies of Cyrus. According to Plutarch,[3] "those who fought in the battle of Marathon had garments embroidered

Degeneracy of the Persian soldiers.

[1] b. vii. c. 33. [2] Militiad. [3] Aristid.

with gold upon their delicate bodies, well suited to their effeminate minds." They are, however, admitted by Herodotus to have maintained a long and obstinate contest, the centre, composed of Persians and the Sacæ, obliging the Greeks to give way, and pursuing them. But the Athenians and Platæans, who formed the wings of the Grecian army, closed upon the Persians, and obtained a complete victory, killing a great number, and pursuing the rest, who were escaping to their ships. The loss of the Persians in this battle is stated by Herodotus to have been no more than 6,400 men slain on the field, but Trogus computed that, by sword, shipwreck, and disease, there were lost 200,000. Hippias, who had thus basely designed the subjugation of Attica, fell in the battle of Marathon, according to the general opinion, though, according to Suidas, he fled to Lemnos, where he sickened and died. This memorable battle is placed at the year B.C. 491, and in the thirty-first year of the reign of Darius. Pausanias relates, that in the Portico at Athens, called Pœcile, there was a picture, in which the most celebrated Athenians and Platæans were drawn from the life. There were represented in one part the barbarians flying into the marsh, which so largely contributed to the victory of the Greeks, who, in another part, were seen slaughtering their enemies, as they attempted to enter the Phœnician vessels.[1]

Death of Hippias.

Herodotus, in the commencement of his seventh book,[2] says, that "when the news of the battle of Marathon reached Darius, he who was before incensed against the Athenians for their destruction of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and resolved more eagerly on the invasion of Greece. He therefore instantly sent orders to the cities under his allegiance to provide a far greater number of transports, horses, and provisions." "Thus," adds the historian, "Asia experienced three years of confusion; her ablest men being called out to the Greek expedition. In the fourth year the Egyptians revolted."

Rage of Darius.

He prepares to renew the war.

Darius was now preparing two armies, that he might at once display his power in Attica and Egypt. But his attention was diverted to a contest in his own family for the succession to his crown. This, according to the custom of the Persians, their kings determined before they proceeded on a military expedition. One competitor was Artobazanes, his eldest son by the daughter of Gobryas, whom he had married, as already mentioned, while in a private condition. The other was Xerxes, the eldest son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. On him, according to the advice of Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, the succession was bestowed, because the father of Artobazanes was only a private individual at the time of his birth, while the father of Xerxes was a king.

Contest for the succession.

[1] For good accounts of the field and battle of Marathon, see Leake and Finlay, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vols. ii. iii.

[2] Polymnia.

Death of Darius. B.C. 486.

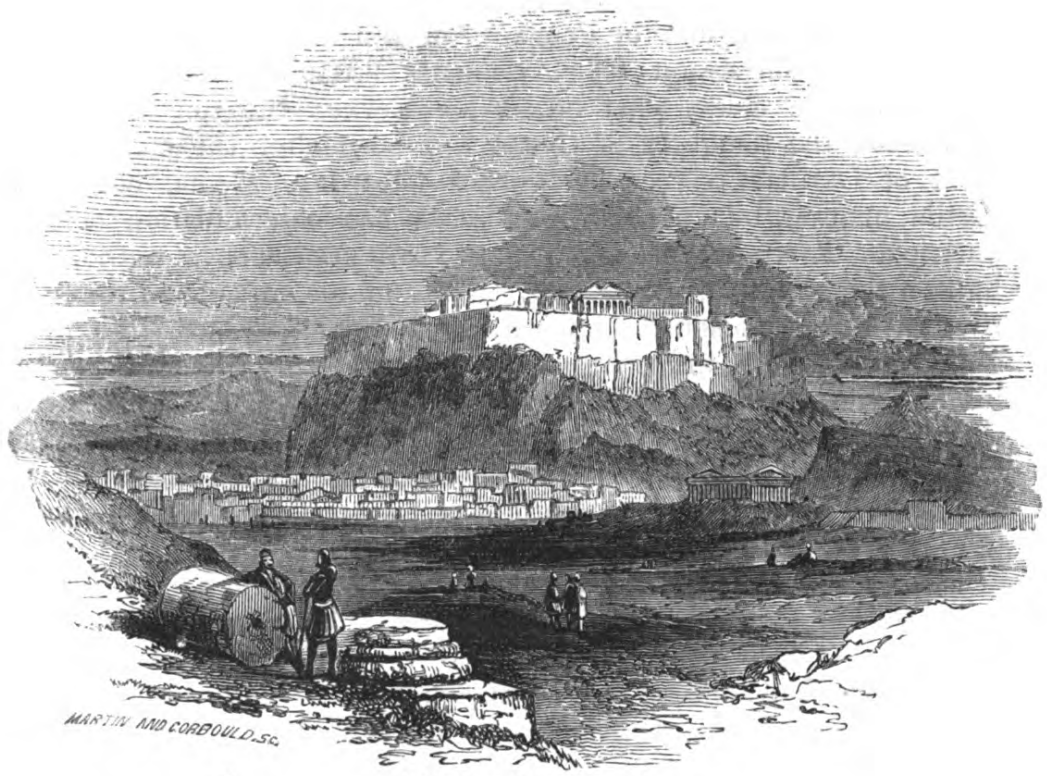
Herodotus, to whom we are almost entirely indebted for our knowledge of Darius, describes this appointment of a successor as the last transaction of his reign. His preparations, indeed, to accomplish vast projects were unceasing; but he was arrested by a power mightier than his own. He died after a reign of thirty-six years, B.C. 486, and, according to this historian, "in the year which followed the revolt of the Babylonians, leaving ungratified the resentment he had cherished against the Egyptians and Athenians, who had ventured to oppose his power."

It is a just reflection of Dr. Prideaux, that "as God was pleased to make Darius his instrument to restore his temple at Jerusalem, and to promote his worship there," so "he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity." But when that learned and pious author describes him as "a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice," we confess our inability to discover those invaluable qualities predominating in the transactions of his reign. He has had the undisputed, and probably justly-merited reputation of being a judicious, military commander; and, according to Plutarch,[1] "he praised himself for his presence of mind in battles and dangers." Yet there was little wisdom discovered in the attempts to extend, rather than to consolidate and improve, an overgrown and unwieldy empire. And as to the clemency and justice of Darius, though some traces of these virtues may appear as "a spot of azure in a clouded sky," yet we cannot describe them as characteristic of his government, till we have forgotten the family of Intaphernes, and the manner in which the sons of the venerable Oebasus were yielded to the request of the wretched father.

[1] Apothegm.



[Persian Crowns.]



[The Acropolis of Athens.]

CHAPTER IX.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.—XERXES.

Contest for the succession.

At the close of the life of Darius, we related, after Herodotus, the dispute between Xerxes and Artobazanes for the succession to the throne, and the ground of their father's decision in favour of Xerxes.[1] Of this transaction there is a different, and not uninteresting account which rests on the authority of Plutarch and Justin, and properly belongs to the commencement of this reign. It is at the close of Plutarch's Treatise on Brotherly Love, and to the following purport:[2]—The story is worthy of our attention, respecting a dispute between two brothers, not concerning a small portion of land,

[1] The name Xerxes appears to be another form of Ahasuerus, in Hebrew Ahashverosh. In the monumental inscriptions it reads kh-sh-y-â-r-sh-a, and according to Gesenius, signifies Lion-king. Perhaps the word is the same as the Zend ksathra, or Sanscrit kshatra, denoting king. Herodotus vi. 98, says, that Xerxes means in Greek ἀρήιος, "a warrior;" some philologists accordingly derive it from the Pehlvi huzvaresh—a hero. The first half of the word as spelt on the monuments, kshya, is the same as the modern shah, the appellation of the Persian sovereign.

[2] De fraterno Amore, p. 488.

or the possession of a few servants or cattle, but for a prize no less than the kingdom of Persia. On the death of Darius, some claimed the succession for Ariamenes (Artobazanes, in Herodotus,) as the eldest son; others for Xerxes, the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and born after the commencement of Darius's reign. Ariamenes went into Media, not in a hostile manner, but peaceably to await the determination of the question. There Xerxes had begun to exercise the royal authority; but, on the arrival of his brother, he put off his crown and robes of royalty, and approached him with a friendly greeting. He now sent him presents, and charged his servants with this message:—"Thus your brother Xerxes honours you; and if the Persians should declare me king, I will place you next to myself." Ariamenes replied, "I accept your gifts, but presume that I am entitled to the throne of Persia. Yet, for my brothers, I shall have posts of distinction, and for Xerxes the first."

Plutarch's story.

On the day fixed for the determination of the right to the crown, the Persians appointed Artabanes, Darius's brother, to make the decision. Xerxes excepted against this appointment, and would rather have depended on the popular voice. His mother, however, reproved him, and encouraged his reliance on the justice of the umpire. She is said, very improbably, considering her ambitious character, to have reminded Xerxes, that, at the worst, he would still be next the throne, and called the king of Persia's brother. Xerxes yielded to her reproof, and Artabanes, after some discussion of the opposite claims, adjudged the kingdom to Xerxes; upon which, Ariamenes rose up immediately, did homage to his rival, and placed him on the throne. This account was received as authentic by the emperor Julian, who remarks[1] that "after the death of Darius, there were disputes for the succession to the crown, but those who aspired to it chose rather to decide their differences by the comparative justice of their claims, than by an appeal to arms."

Mode of selection.

Xerxes king. B.C. 485.

In whatever way Xerxes attained to the sovereign dominion over the mighty empire of Persia, he is reputed, according to the most probable chronology, to have ascended the throne in the year B.C. 485. Of the transactions which occupied his reign of twenty-one years, very little is known, except what has been recorded in the three last books of Herodotus, who was born at Halicarnassus, in the second year of his sovereignty. From those books, as containing nearly contemporary information, we have collected our materials for this chapter, unless where we refer to other authorities.

Prepares for an Expedition against Egypt.

The first object of the young monarch was to punish the revolt of the Egyptians. For this purpose he completed his father's preparations for an expedition into Egypt. He also now confirmed to the

[1] Opera, Orat. i. p. 33.

Jews the decrees and grants which Darius had made in their favour. On this occasion, Josephus[1] has quoted (if he did not invent) an epistle from Xerxes to Ezra, in which he permits the return to Jerusalem of all Jews of whatever description. They are also allowed, out of the treasury of the empire, the cost of all the vessels of silver or gold which they desire to consecrate to the divine worship. "That God," adds the king, "may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as an hundred *cori* of wheat." In consequence of this indulgence, the historian relates, that not only the Jews in Babylon, but those "that were in Media—came many of them with their effects to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but the body of the people of Israel," he adds, "remained in that country." These, consisting of "the ten tribes, are beyond Euphrates, and are an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers."

Favours the Jews.

The ten tribes.

The preparations for the reduction of Egypt being now finished, Xerxes led thither an army, of whose operations we have no account, except that the revolt of that country was soon overcome, and the subjugation of Egypt rendered more complete than by the conquest of Cambyses, or the political regulations of Darius. The government was now committed to the king's brother Achæmenes, who was afterwards slain (under what provocation does not appear) by Inarus, a Lybian, the son of Psammeticus.[2]

Subjugation of Egypt. B.C. 484.

The following three years of this reign were employed in preparations for the invasion of Greece, which Xerxes regarded as an easy acquisition. "He refused," says Plutarch,[3] "to eat Attic figs that were brought for sale, waiting till they became his own, by the conquest of the country that produced them." Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, desirous of recovering the military reputation which he had lost by his early misadventures, had urged Xerxes, immediately on his accession to the throne, to retaliate the wrongs which Persia had received from the Athenians. He also represented the beauty and fertility of Europe, which rendered it worthy to become the sole possession of the great king, especially as it abounded in all kinds of trees, of which some parts of Persia are remarkably destitute. Messengers also arrived from the Aleuadæ, princes of Thessaly, who entreated the king to march against Greece, and employed every argument in their power to persuade him. The survivors of the fallen family of the Pisistratidæ, who had found a refuge at Susa, joined their solicitations. To aid the same design, Onomacritus, a famous mystic priest, who had been formerly banished from Athens, of which he was a citizen, recited some oracular verses. Omitting every thing unfavourable to the Persians, he selected whatever was encouraging. He particularly assured the king, speaking of his

Xerxes prepares to invade Greece.

Aleuadæ.

Pisistratidæ.

[1] Antiq. b. xi c. 5. [2] See page 113. [3] Apopthegm.

marching an army into Greece, how the destinies had determined that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont. This Onomacritus had been detected in the act of interpolating the prophetic verses of Musaeus, and had been for this offence summarily banished by Hipparchus.

Xerxes consults his lords.

Thus was the resolution of Xerxes excited by the entreaties of the Aleuadæ and the Pisistratidæ, and the flattering predictions of the expatriated Athenian priest. He now resolved to pursue those designs against Greece, which he had already commenced, by recovering the dominion of some neighbouring tributary states which had revolted from the Persians. Being at length prepared to lead an army against Athens, the king summoned an assembly of the principal persons in his court to hear their opinions and communicate his own pleasure. He professed that he designed by this war to imitate his illustrious predecessors,[1] to punish the insolence of the Athenians in their attack upon Sardis, to revenge the disgrace incurred by the battle of Marathon, and to gain possession of a rich and beautiful country, not inferior to Persia;—these objects he was also pursuing in compliance with the well-known purpose of his father Darius. Then, after expressing his hope of overruning all Europe, and acquiring unlimited dominion, he proposed to reward him munificently who should bring to this expedition the greatest number of well appointed troops; concluding his address to his nobles, according to the Greek historian, with the following condescending declaration:—"Consider now what is proper to be done, nor think that I would consult only my own judgment. I charge you to deliberate, and let each freely declare his opinion." The close of this royal harangue, in Valerius Maximus,[2] is far more in character:—"Ne viderer meo tantummodo usus consilio, vos contraxi. Cæterum mementote parendum magis vobis esse, quam suadendum"—That I might not seem to follow only my own judgment, I have called you together; but remember that you are rather to obey than to persuade.

Conclusion of the Council.

Policy of Mardonius.

Mardonius, as might have been expected, was eager to second the opinions of the king, and, thus to promote his own cherished wishes, to war with the Greeks; these he affected to disparage, while he described the Persians as the first of men in military accomplishments. With Xerxes at their head he would not believe that the Greeks could be so audacious as to oppose them. Thus Mardonius paid his master the fulsome homage of echoing back his sentiments. A profound silence now ensued, no other appearing prepared to express approbation, and no one daring to oppose the sentiments and evident inclinations of the king.

Peculiar law.

According to Ælian,[3] there was a law in Persia, that if any one ventured to give advice in opposition to the opinion of the king, he

[1] Æschylus, Persae, 761. [2] lib. ix. c. 5. [3] Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 62.

gave it standing on a golden tile. If his advice were approved, he received the tile for his reward. Yet he was beaten for presuming to contradict the despot. On the present occasion, however, Xerxes had commanded the opinion of his counsellors, and at length Artabanes, son of Hystaspes, and uncle of the king, deriving confidence from his relationship, ventured to interrupt the silence, by a harangue of some length, of which the following is the substance:—"O king! it was my advice to Darius, your father and my brother, by no means to war against the Scythians, a people who had no fixed habitations. He disregarded my admonitions, and returned, after having lost a large part of his army in the vain attempt. Those whom you would now invade are far superior to the Scythians, and equally prepared to combat by sea or land. You prepare to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and lead your army through Europe into Greece. But our enemies are reported to be valiant, and if the Athenians, when unsupported, could rout the numerous armies of Datis and Artaphernes, we cannot be considered, by sea or land, as perfectly invincible. Should they now be victorious in a naval engagement, and then sailing to the Hellespont, destroy your bridge, the worst consequences may be apprehended, such as were narrowly escaped in your father's Scythian expedition. Listen then to my advice; do not court unnecessary hazards. And as to you, O son of Gobryas, (addressing Mardonius,) ill does it become you to calumniate the Greeks, and excite your sovereign to a war, which is your favourite project. Yet, if it must be undertaken, let the king remain in Persia, and our children be answerable for the wisdom of our counsels. If the Persians conquer, as you promise, let me perish with my children. But should those disasters happen which I forebode, let your children be thus treated, with yourself, should you survive the expedition."[1]

Advice of Artabanes.

Xerxes soon discovered how little he had designed to encourage freedom of speech among his courtiers, and how incapable he was of improving the rare advantage of possessing a friend disposed to inform, rather than to flatter him. The king accosted Artabanes in an angry tone, bade him impute his escape from punishment only to his relationship to the throne, and threatened to leave him at home in the company of the women, while, at the head of the Persians, he pursued his victories. Yet, at night, the representations thus freely given by Artabanes awakened in his mind some serious reflections, and he at length determined to abandon, as rash and impolitic, the projected expedition. Falling asleep, he dreamed, as the Persians reported, that a man of uncommon size and beauty stood before him, and urged him to pursue his first resolution. The king, however, disregarded this vision, and, in the morning, again convened his council, before whom he apologised for his anger

Anger of Xerxes

[1] Herodotus, vii. 10.

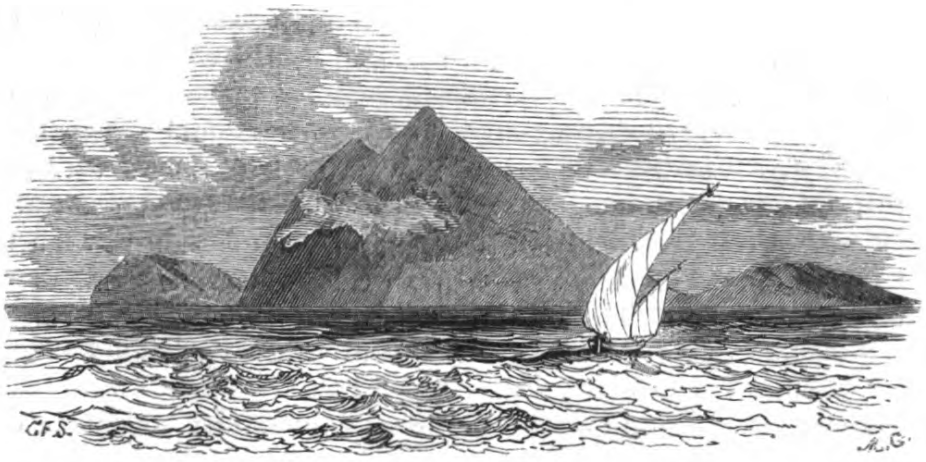
His dream. towards Artabanes, and declared himself for his opinion. The second night the vision reappeared, reproaching Xerxes for his disobedience to the former injunction. In the morning, the terrified king sent for Artabanes, and proposed that, on the next night, he should assume the throne and royal robes. To Artabanes the same vision now appeared, severely threatening him, unless he ceased to dissuade the king from his intended expedition. Artabanes, as might be expected, now advised the war, and presently the king saw a third vision, which, according to the interpretation of the magi, portended for Xerxes universal empire. He appeared to be crowned with a wreath from an olive tree, whose branches covered the whole earth, though presently the wreath disappeared. This interpretation of the magi being declared, the governors hastened to their several provinces to execute, with all possible despatch, the orders they had received, each hoping to gain the promised reward.

Remarks. On these pretended visionary scenes, we cannot offer any remark more suitable than the following, by the learned French translator of Herodotus: "Si j'allois révoquer en doute cette vision, ou du moins, si j'allois dire que c'étoit un tour de Mardonius ou des Pisistratides, je ne dirois sans doute rien que de juste. Mais je crois devoir laisser ces sortes de réflexions à la sagacité des lecteurs."[1] "Should I call in question these visions, or, at least, describe them as contrivances of Mardonius or the Pisistratidæ, I should doubtless speak nothing but truth. Yet such reflections should rather be left to every reader's sagacity." The whole scene is a species of Epic—a sort of religious drama—the spirit of which pervades the history of Herodotus. The interposition of the gods is specially developed, for the Persian empire needed to be abased, and pride was very provoking to the Olympic divinities. The Hellenic ideas of destiny, so prominent in the Greek tragedy, are skilfully interwoven by Herodotus into his history.

Extent of the King's preparations. While Xerxes was preparing for the conquest of the Greeks, he engaged the Carthaginians to attack their colonies in Italy and Sicily. He likewise drew his levies, like his father Darius, from all the nations of that vast continent which owned the Persian sway. Thus, according to the prophet Daniel,[2] "By his strength and his great riches, he stirred up all against the realm of Grecia." Herodotus says, "What nation of Asia did not Xerxes lead against Greece? What waters, except great rivers, were not exhausted by his armies? Some of the people furnished ships, (and the whole have been computed at more than three thousand,) others raised infantry, and others cavalry. Some provided transports for the horses and the troops, or long vessels to form bridges, while others even brought stores of provisions and vessels to transport them."[3] The place of rendezvous for this naval armament was Elœus, in the

[1] Larcher, v. 283. [2] xi. 2. [3] Ibid. 21.

Chersonesus of Thrace. Thence detachments were sent to execute the prodigious labour of cutting a canal through Mount Athos, now Monte Santo, or rather through the isthmus behind it. These detachments relieved each other at regular intervals, and were urged to labour by the strokes of the whip, according to the military discipline of the Persians; on which Larcher well remarks, that "un soldat ainsi traité ne peut-être sensible à l'honneur:"—a soldier thus treated must become insensible to honour. Herodotus has minutely described the expedients employed to dig this canal, a work which he attributes to the king's vain desire of displaying his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity; as with far less trouble he might have transported the vessels across the isthmus. This vanity imputed to Xerxes appears, indeed, to have been a favourite theme of antiquity. Thus Plutarch[1] imputes to the haughty Persian king the following frantic epistle to the mountain: "Athos, whose top now reaches to the skies, I charge thee not to interrupt my workmen with stones which cannot be cut asunder, lest I cut thee into pieces, and whelm thee in the sea." Mount Athos. B.C. 480.



[Mount Athos.]

Yet Xerxes has been vindicated from the imputation of this folly by a very unreasonable disbelief of the story. Juvenal, the contemporary of Plutarch,[2] ridicules the credulity which Remarks.

> "Velificatus Athos, et quicquid Græcia mendax
> Audet in Historiâ,"

the voyage through Athos, and other daring fictions of the fabling Greeks could not stagger. Many travellers have sought in vain for any evidences of this stupendous work, which is said to have

[1] De irâ cohib. [2] x. 174.

occupied, for three years, a vast multitude of labourers. M. Belon, a French traveller in the sixteenth century, who has a place in Ray's curious collection of "Travels into the Eastern Countries," could not discover, according to Rollin, on passing near Mount Athos, any traces of this canal. Such was also the report of a later observer, our learned countryman Pocock. Richardson also concludes, from the following considerations, that the tale of Athos is incredible. "This promontory was no more than 200 miles from Athens; and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who, from the time of the battle of Marathon, had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation."[1] We find, too, that Niebuhr held similar opinions.[2]

Story disbelieved.

Such is one side of the question. But, on the other hand, the ridiculous puerility of the project must not tempt us to deny its existence. The expedition itself was an insane exhibition of that vanity and pageantry in which Oriental monarchy delights. The description by Herodotus has all the appearance of the account of an eye-witness, and is not be discredited. Nay more, Lieutenant Wolfe has discovered distinct traces of the canal,[3] and the authority of Herodotus and Thucydides is now fully and finally confirmed against all mere argument and hypothesis. The canal can yet be traced across the isthmus from the Gulf of Monte Santo to the Bay of Esso, in the Gulf of Contessa, with the exception of about 200 yards in the middle. The distance excavated is about 2500 yards—the 12 stadia of Herodotus—the width of the canal was 18 or 20 feet. Colonel Leake also justifies Xerxes for cutting the canal—the navigation round Mount Athos being so dangerous.[4] About a mile and a-half to the westward of the north end of the canal, there is a remarkable mound, which is probably the monument of Artachaies, the Persian engineer and superintendent who died during the progress of the works, and, according to Herodotus, "the whole army raised a mound for him."[5]

Confirmed by recent travellers.

Xerxes having completed his preparations, began his march from Susa, with the troops which accompanied him from Persia. Critalla, in Cappadocia, which is supposed to have been the Archelais of the Romans, and the modern Erekli, was the appointed rendezvous, and Xerxes set out for Sardis. At Celænæ, the metropolis of Phrygia, the king and his whole army are said to have been entertained by Pythius, who is represented to have been only second to Xerxes

The march from Susa.

[1] Dissert. p. 312.
[2] Vorträge über alte Geschichte, i. 403.
[3] Penny Cyclopæd.—Athos.
[4] Travels in Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 125.
[5] vii. 117.

in wealth, and to have vied with him in munificence; though at length his generous offers were recompensed by an extravagant cruelty. Pythius, during the march, having requested that the eldest of his five sons, who were all in the army, might be left as the support of his old age, Xerxes, as if he would imitate Darius, in the case of Oebasus, after venting his indignation at the father, ordered this eldest son to be cut asunder, and the several parts of his body to be placed on each side of the road through which the army was about to pass. It is remarkable that Beloe, in a note to his translation of Herodotus,[1] should have taken this occasion to declare, that "no two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other than those of Darius and Xerxes," to the former of whom he attributes, we know not on what authority, "various instances of the tenderest humanity." We must, however, add, that the story of Pythius, though Plutarch (de virtute mulierum) has adopted and enlarged it, appears, on reflection, very improbable. What could the greatest man in Phrygia be, but the satrap of a province? And could such a man be suffered to amass wealth, only inferior to the royal treasures, while his name and his magnificence, as Herodotus pretends, were utterly unknown to Xerxes?

Pythius.

The king now proceeded through Phrygia to Colossæ, and entered Lydia, at a place where Crœsus had erected a pillar, to fix the boundaries of the two countries. On his arrival at Sardis, he immediately sent heralds into Greece, with the exception of Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water. Thus Xerxes occupied the winter of the fifth year of his reign. He had previously ordered, according to our historian, vast preparations for

The army enters Lydia.

Heralds sent into Greece.



[Suppliant before a Persian Monarch.—*Sculptures at Persepolis.*]

[1] iii. 466.

passing the Hellespont; and upon a temporary disappointment of his scheme, discovered a childish petulance, which has made this king a theme of satire through all ages.

Bridge on the Hellespont.

He had commanded a bridge to be constructed across the Hellespont, for the passage of his army into Europe. The workmen commenced at the side next Abydos, the Phœnicians using, to connect the vessels, a cordage made of linen, and the Egyptians one made of the bark of the byblus. This bridge was no sooner completed at the narrowest part of the strait, which was nearly a mile across, than a violent tempest dispersed the whole. Enraged by the knowledge of this disaster, Xerxes sentenced the Hellespont to be whipped to the extent of three hundred lashes, and ordered that a pair of fetters should be thrown into the sea, a circumstance which made Juvenal[1] extol the king's lenity—

> "——— quod non et stigmate dignum
> Credidit,"—

The childish fury of Xerxes.

"that he had not branded the sea with a hot iron." Xerxes, however, who had already written to Mount Athos, now sent the following vituperatory epistle to the Hellespont, to be delivered by the flagellators: "Thou salt and bitter water, thy master thus punishes thee, because thou hast offended him without provocation; Xerxes the king will insist on passing over thee; no one should offer thee a sacrifice, since thou art deceitful and of an unsavoury flavour."[2] After thus punishing the sea, under a feeling of childish fetichism, this tragi-comedy concluded by beheading those who had constructed the bridge. Another was presently undertaken, or rather two bridges were contrived, one for the soldiers, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. These works were at length executed in a manner which Herodotus has minutely, yet not very clearly described.

March from Sardis.

The army, which had wintered at Sardis, left that city early in the spring, being terrified at the moment of their departure by a sudden darkness, probably an eclipse. Immediately after the baggage-train marched troops of all nations, an undistinguished multitude, comprising more than half the army; at some distance followed a thousand cavalry, selected from the whole Persian army; then a thousand chosen foot, armed with pikes trailing on the ground: after these came ten Nisæan horses superbly caparisoned; following these appeared the sacred car of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind these, on foot, was the charioteer holding the reins, for no mortal was permitted to mount the car; then appeared Xerxes, in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sat the charioteer, a Persian named Patiramphes, the son of Otanes.

[1] x. 183. [2] vii. 35.

Having proceeded along the banks of the Caicus, the troops at length reached the Scamander, the first river, says our historian, which failed to supply a sufficiency of water for the troops and beasts of burden. Here Xerxes is said to have ascended the citadel of Priam to survey the plain of Ilium, and to have sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva, whose temple was in the citadel, while the magi offered libations to the hero-gods of the country. How this citadel should have survived the glory of Ilium for so many centuries, or how Xerxes, under the guidance of the Persian magi, should have honoured a temple by a costly sacrifice, is to us incomprehensible. Priam's citadel.



[Scamander.]

The army, however, arrived at Abydos, on the Asian shore of the Hellespont. Here Xerxes gratified his desire to survey his land and naval armament, in its prodigious extent. There was placed on an eminence a throne of white marble, from which he is said to have beheld these myriads of troops, and this multitude of vessels, at one view, and to have been further gratified by the exhibition of a naval combat, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were the victors. The first feeling of the great king was that of self-gratulation, on viewing the vast assemblage of which he was the sovereign lord. But soon, to borrow the language of "Leonidas"[1]— Review.

> "——————————as down
> Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
> A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind,
> While this reflection filled his eyes with tears:
> That, soon as time an hundred years had told,
> Not one of all those thousands should survive."

Yet, as Seneca well remarks,[2] "the very man who shed these tears was about to destroy quickly that multitude whose death, within a hundred years, he now professed to deplore." Artabanes, the uncle

[1] b. iii. [2] De Brev. Vit. c. xvii.

of Xerxes, appears, on this occasion, to have entertained his former apprehensions as to the event of the expedition, and to have repeated them to the king. His remonstrance was now received with extraordinary forbearance, and he was courteously dismissed to Susa, under the pretence of superintending the internal government of the empire.

Passage of the Hellespont.

After calling an assembly of the principal Persians to receive the king's last commands on passing over into Europe, the next morning, before sun-rise, they burned on the bridge a profusion of perfumes, and strewed the road with branches of myrtle. At the rising of the sun, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden cup, and prayed the sun to avert every calamity which might interfere with



[Ancient Persian Cup-Bearer.—*Sir R. K. Porter.*]

his subjugation of Europe to its farthest limits. He then threw the cup into the Hellespont, as also a golden goblet and a Persian scymitar. "I cannot decide," says Herodotus, "whether in throwing these things into the sea, Xerxes designed an oblation to the sun, or if, repenting of the chastisement he had inflicted on the Hellespont, he intended to appease that sea by his offerings."

Xerxes and his army appear to have passed the bridge, nearly in such an order as that in which they had marched out of Sardis; except that the king, as soon as he had foot in Europe, had a view of his troops for seven days and nights, driven over by the lashes of the whip. The army having all passed over, and, according

odigies.

to Herodotus, been alarmed by prodigies not worthy to be here

related, Xerxes directed his fleet, on sailing from the Hellespont, to coast along the shore, and to rendezvous at the promontory of Sarpedon, while the army advanced to Doriscus, a spacious plain of Thrace, where was a fortress in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This being a place suited to his purpose, Xerxes here determined to arrange and number his forces. This he effected by first collecting 10,000 men, and enclosing with walls the exact space they were found to occupy. Successive bodies of 10,000 men each were then admitted into the enclosure, till the whole army was measured.

Number of the Army.

The amount of the land forces Herodotus reports to have been 1,700,000. Besides these, there were 80,000 horse and war-chariots, and camels equipped with 20,000 soldiers. The land forces consisted of forty-six different nations. Eight other nations furnished the fleet, which was composed of 1,207 triremes, and 3,000 smaller craft,—every trireme being manned by 200 rowers and 30 fighting men, while each of the lighter vessels carried 80 men. The naval force amounted to 517,610 men. The whole armament seems to have consisted of 2,317,610 warriors. The attendants, such as crews and slaves, as Herodotus remarks, equalled the amount of fighting men, and thus the aggregate reaches more than half a million. Eunuchs and concubines, cooks, sutlers, and camp followers, also swelled the host. These numbers are so great, that some, like Niebuhr, are disposed to reject the account as fabulous. M. Larcher, on the other hand, justly alleges the enslaved condition of the immense population of the Persian empire, all, without distinction of rank or occupation, being forced to become soldiers at the command of the sovereign.

Various computations.

To the computations of later writers, Ctesias, Diodorus, Ælian, Pliny, and Justin, who, though varying, have all greatly diminished the numbers of this army, Larcher opposes the statement of Herodotus as almost a contemporary, who, at Olympia, must have found to listen to his recital, many Greeks who had fought against Xerxes. Yet it is obvious, that the sanction of Persians to his veracity would have been far more satisfactory. For what exaggeration would not the Greeks have excused, to gratify their hatred of the Persian power? Major Rennel offers what is probably the best solution of this difficulty, when he says, that "the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India;" where, as at the siege of Seringapatam, 20,000 regular troops were attended by a mixed multitude of more than 100,000. These large round numbers no one will be disposed to receive; there must have been exaggeration to gratify the Persian monarch on the part of his own surveyors; and the Greeks were pleased to extol their own valour—that of a mere handful in comparison with this alarming host. Reflecting that this expedition was a "maximum of effort" on the part of Persia, that the will of its despot was irresistible, and that the

refusal to follow him was the most flagrant of insults, we may well believe, that the army of Xerxes outnumbered every similar invading host. We need not suppose, with Heeren, that Herodotus saw and inspected the Persian muster-roll, but he may have conversed with many persons who accompanied the expedition. Of the military dress and weapons of this army, Herodotus has given a minute description, of which we shall here subjoin a short account.

Dresses and weapons of the troops.

The Persians and Medes, for the historian uses these terms indifferently, wore on their heads woollen tiaras. Their dress was a parti-coloured tunic, adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes. They bore a shield called gerra. Their spears were short, and their bows large, with arrows made of reeds. On the right side they wore a dagger. The Assyrians had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and their arms resembled those of the Egyptians. They had also clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses, or jackets, which could resist the stroke of a sabre. To omit numerous descriptions, which cannot now give any interest, we add the following:—The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call ziræ; their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Ethiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions; their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds; and instead of iron, they were pointed with a stone. They had also spears armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and likewise knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one-half of their bodies with gypsum, and the other with vermillion.[1] Of the cavalry, "who formed a body of 80,000, exclusive of camels and chariots," the most remarkable appear to have been "the Sagartii, a troop of 8,000. These people led a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and used the Persian language. They had no offensive weapons, except their daggers. Their principal dependence in battle was upon cords, made of twisted leather, the same as the Mexican lasso. These cords, having a noose at the end, they threw out, and entangling their enemy, easily put him to death."

Jews in the army of Xerxes.

Whether the Jews were comprehended in one of the numerous divisions of this army, has been a question difficult to decide. They could scarcely have escaped a general call upon the provinces of the empire, and Josephus[2] declares for the affirmative. He concludes that they are described by the poet Cherilus, a contemporary of Xerxes, who says, that "at the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld, who spake the Phœnician tongue. They dwelt in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake." Prideaux says, "Jerusalem having also had the name of Solyma, (by abbreviation for Hierosolyma,) and all the country thereabouts being moun-

[1] vii. 49.

[2] Contra Apion. l. i. s. 22.

tainous, and lying near the great lake Asphaltites, commonly called the Lake of Sodom, this description seems plainly to suit the Jews, especially since it is also mentioned that they spake the Phœnician language, the Syriac being then the vulgar language of the Jews. But Scaliger, Cunæus, and Bochart, understand the reference of the Solymi, in Pisidia. Salmasius, however, maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies Josephus in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely that, when Xerxes called all the other nations of the Persian empire to follow him to this war, the Jews alone should be excused from it. And therefore, whether these whom Cherilus speaks of were Jews or not, it must be taken for certain they also did bear a part in this expedition."[1]

Military Commanders.

To the command of this armament twelve generals were appointed for the land forces; the first of whom was Mardonius, who now hoped to retrieve his lost military reputation; another of these leaders was Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus; while Hydarnes commanded the 10,000 Persians who were called *the immortal band.* The cavalry had separate commanders, and four generals were appointed for the fleet, which at first consisted of 1200 vessels of war, but the number was increased by those states in Europe which the power of Xerxes had inclined to solicit his alliance. These commanders of the navy are named by Herodotus, but none of them distinguished themselves except his countrywoman Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who attended Xerxes with five ships, the best appointed of all the fleet. She is celebrated as well for her courage in battle as for her prudent counsel.



[Persian Officer.—*Sculpture at Persepolis.*]

Xerxes reviews his forces.

Xerxes, having numbered his forces of every description, proceeded, according to the narration of Herodotus, to review the immense multitude which the historian assigns to this expedition. Mounted on a car, the king passed through every rank of the different nations, proposing suitable questions to each, and he was attended by his secretaries, who wrote down the answers. He then seated himself on the deck of a Sidonian vessel, under a cloth of gold, and so gratified his curiosity in passing through the fleet. The king then sent for Demaratus, the exiled Spartan prince, who attended him in this expedition, and had probably witnessed the review. Demanding of the Spartan whether he thought the Greeks would venture to resist such a force, Demaratus prudently inquired whether his royal patron were disposed to hear the truth, or to be flattered. Xerxes requiring his opinion without apprehension or disguise, Demaratus

Opinion of Demaratus.

[1] Pt. i. b. iv.

assured the king that the Greeks, or at least the Lacedæmonians, would resist, even though they could muster only a thousand men. He then closed a conversation of some length, by a flattering wish that the expedition might succeed according to the king's desires. This success, however, he had endeavoured to prevent, by the intelligence which he had communicated to the Greeks, for he was, according to Justin, "amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi, post beneficia,"—more friendly to the country which had banished, than to the king who had entertained him.

Advance of the Persian army. Abdera.

Xerxes now traversed the territory of Thrace, which his fleet coasted, to supply the necessary provisions for the army, except when they were furnished by the cities on his march, as at Abdera;[1] where a citizen, the jocose Megacreon, according to Herodotus, proposed to thank the gods for their escape from total ruin, as Xerxes had exacted only one meal in a day. On the banks of the Strymon, as the same historian relates, the magi, for the purpose of divination, sacrificed white horses, the appearance of whose entrails contained the happiest prognostications of a successful expedition. Of the manner of such a sacrifice, Strabo[2] gives the following description:—

Persian sacrifices.

"When the Persians arrive at a lake, river, or fountain, they dig a trench, over which they slay the victim, carefully preserving the adjacent water from being defiled by the blood. They then dispose of the flesh on branches of myrtle or laurel, to which they set fire with slender wands, frequently chanting hymns, and making libations of oil, mixed with milk and honey; but these they pour out neither on the fire nor on the water, but on the earth. To this sacrifice the magi soon added a horrible cruelty. Having crossed the Strymon, they came into the country of the Edonians; and understanding that the district, through which they were passing, was called the Nine Roads, they seized nine boys, and as many girls, natives of the country. These they buried alive according to the manner of the Persians;" and, as Herodotus conjectures, for a sacrifice to the subterranean deity.

Order of march.

Xerxes proceeded on his march, receiving the submission of the countries through which he passed, and from these he continually augmented his forces. His march was in the following order:—One of the three bodies, into which the army was divided, proceeded along the shore, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; another, led by Tritantæchmes and Gergis, marched through the interior of the country; while the third took the midway between the other divisions. In this central division Xerxes himself commanded,

Arrival at Therma.

and had Smerdomenes and Megabyzus under his immediate directions. In this order the army arrived at Therma, afterwards called Thessalonica, situated on the gulf which bears that name. Xerxes

[1] The expense which the city of Thasus was put to, amounted to 400 talents, or £92,800.

[2] l. xv.

appears to have remained on this spot a considerable time, and the historian attributes to him the project of diverting the course of the river Peneus. Here, however, he waited the return of the heralds whom he had sent to all the states of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water. The principal of those who submitted were the people of Thessaly and the Locrians, both justly dreading the approach of the Persian forces.

Athens and Lacedæmon.

Of the various preparations to accomplish these mighty projects of the great king, the Greeks, and especially the threatened states, Athens and Lacedæmon, had not been inattentive observers. Extraordinary talents were called forth by this crisis in their affairs, and they were great men indeed who adorned this splendid period of Grecian history. But a very succinct relation must here suffice to carry on the history of Xerxes.

Convention of Grecian States.

A convention of deputies from the several states of Greece was held at the isthmus of Corinth, to provide for the common safety. The Spartans took the further precaution of inquiring of the oracle of Delphi, where a priestess declared the cruel alternative, that either a king, the descendant of Hercules, must sacrifice his life, or Lacedæmon be destroyed. On this sacrifice Leonidas immediately resolved, and determined to defend the pass of Thermopylæ with only 300 Spartans. These, however, with the troops of some allied cities in Peloponnesus, and of the Thebans, Thespians, and states near Thermopylæ, composed an army of 8,000 men. There they awaited the advance of the army of Xerxes, "that world in arms," at the pass, which has been described as "a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the mountains which divide Thessaly from Greece, where, some time, the Phocians had raised a wall, with gates, which was then for the most part ruined."



[Delphi.]

Persians at Thermopylæ.

The Persians now approached the defile. There can be no doubt, that Xerxes disdained to expect a moment's opposition when his army should appear, though he had heard while in Thessaly, that a small body of troops, commanded by Leonidas, determined to dispute the passage. He first sent a horseman to reconnoitre, who returned after having observed only the Lacedæmonians. These he found engaged, some in gymnastic sports, while others were combing their hair. The king appeared surprised that they were so much at their ease; but Demaratus assured him that when they were about to expose their lives in battle, they carefully adjusted their hair. He

also ventured to repeat the uncourtly opinion, that the Lacedæmonians would resist to the last man. But the despot, as might have been foreseen, was incapable of profiting by good counsel.

Battles. B.C. 480. After a delay of four days, during which he expected that the Greeks would fly and abandon the defence of the pass, Xerxes sent a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with orders to bring them prisoners. They, however, repulsed the invaders, who were continually reinforced, till, at length, the confession was extorted from Xerxes, that he had many men, but few soldiers. The Medes were now superseded by the "immortal band" of Persians, commanded by Hydarnes, who vainly advanced as to an easy victory. After a desperate struggle, in which the Lacedæmonians evinced their superior skill and bravery, the immortals were forced to retire. So arduous had been the conflict, that Xerxes, who is described as a spectator of the combat, is said to have thrice leaped from his throne in agony for his army.

Treachery of a Greek. Treachery, however, succeeded where force had been unavailing. For after a second engagement had proved equally unsuccessful to Xerxes, "a renegade Greek," named Ephialtes,[1] "taught him a secret way, by which part of his army might ascend the ledge of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the straits. Then did Leonidas, with his 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, with admirable courage, not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides, but issuing out of their stronghold, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might be well called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place." Such, indeed, was the glorious end of the 300 Spartans, for Leonidas had sent away his allies. According to Diodorus Siculus, who is followed by Plutarch, the Spartans demanded to be led against the Persians before those who were about to fall upon their rear could make the circuit of the mountain. Leonidas and his chosen band now attacked the Persian camp, where they made a great slaughter, penetrating even to the royal pavilion, from which Xerxes had narrowly escaped. Of that prince, Pausanias has left the remark, that "he had never beheld Greece, or laid Athens in ashes, had not his forces under Hydarnes been conducted through a path over Oeta, and by that means encompassing the Greeks, overcame and slain Leonidas." According to Herodotus, he had lost in these combats two of his brothers and 20,000 men, whose numbers he vainly attempted to conceal, by giving the customary burial to only 1,000, and heaping the remainder in pits, which were immediately covered with grass and leaves. The bravery of three Spartans is mentioned specially by Herodotus. It was said to one of them,—"The Persian host is so prodigious, that their arrows darken the sun." "So much the better," replied he, "we shall fight them in the shade." Herodotus

Leonidas attacks the Persian camp.

[1] A reward for the head of Ephialtes was proclaimed by the Amphictyonic council, and he was afterwards assassinated.

had learned the names of the renowned three hundred, and six hundred years after the event, Pausanias read their names engraven on a column at Sparta. On one monument was an epitaph, composed by Simonides, of admirable terseness and simplicity,—

"Ὦ ξεῖν', ἄγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις."

"Go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws."

Xerxes had no sooner passed Thermopylæ, than he laid waste Phocis and the adjoining states, the inhabitants flying at his approach. A detachment of his army also marched to Delphi, with a design to pillage the temple of its immense riches, of which, says Herodotus, the king had a more minute description than of the furniture of his own palaces. The storied prevention of this pillage by a dreadful tempest, while rocks severed from the mountain, crushed the Persian troops, must be regarded as one of the ornaments of Grecian history. Another detachment of the Persian army entered Attica, and marched to Athens, which they found nearly without inhabitants; for the Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, who had probably procured the oracle which he persuaded them to obey, had embarked on board their galleys, to meet the enemy at sea. A few indeed remained, too indigent to sustain the expenses of the embarkation, or who had literally interpreted the exhortation to trust in their *wooden walls*. These walls they bravely defended till all of them were slain; for Xerxes stormed the citadel and reduced it to ashes. Of his success against Athens, he immediately informed his uncle and uncourtly counsellor, Artabanes, by a courier despatched to Susa, charged also with invaluable spoils,—the statues and pictures of Greece.

Xerxes enters Attica.



[Themistocles.]

Athens deserted.

While Xerxes had been delayed at the pass of Thermopylæ, his fleet had rendezvoused at Aphetæ, a port of Thessaly. This harbour was at no great distance from Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa, off which the Grecian navy waited their approach. The fleet of the Persians had suffered in a storm, yet they were able to detach two hundred ships, with orders to sail round the island of Eubœa, and encompass the Grecian squadron. But the Greek mariners having intelligence of the design, set sail in the night, for the purpose of

Battle of Artemisium.

attacking the Persian detachment at day-break. Missing them, they bore away to meet the main body, and brought on the obstinately disputed battle of Artemisium, on the very day of the last desperate conflict which had opened to Xerxes the pass of Thermopylæ

The battle of Artemisium was by no means decisive, though the Greeks had generally the advantage; yet their ships were shattered, and to refit them they retired to the Straits of Salamis, where they were reinforced till their vessels amounted to more than three hundred. Thither the Persians followed them, contrary to the opinion of the royal Artemisia, who recommended the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the land army—a counsel as obviously prudent, as that queen's behaviour in the naval engagement, which she would have prevented, was singularly heroic. But Xerxes was devoted to councils more flattering to his own opinion, and encamped his army on the shore, while he pitched his tent on Mount Ægaleus, opposite to the isle of Salamis, whence he might witness the conduct of his commanders, and employ the secretaries who attended him to record their deeds.

Counsel of Artemisia.

Battle of Salamis. B.C. 480.

The Greeks, taking advantage of that narrow sea, which prevented the Persians, whose ships were more numerous, from extending their front, determined to engage them. Or, according to another account, by the policy of Themistocles, they were placed in a situation where an engagement was indispensable. The assault is well described by Æschylus[1] himself, one of the combatants,—

Description by Æschylus.

"καὶ νὺξ ἐχώρει, κοὐ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο·
ἐπεί γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα
πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγὴς ἰδεῖν,
πρῶτον μὲν ἠχοῖ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμεσεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἅμα
ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας
ἠχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γνώμης ἀποσφαλείσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει
σάλπιγξ δ' ἀϋτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν·
εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύσματος,
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν·
τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας
ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν
πολλὴν βοὴν, ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἕδη,
θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών·"

[1] Persae, 384.

"And night withdrew, and the force of the Greeks by no means made a stealthy escape in any direction. But when Day, drawn by white steeds, had occupied the whole earth, of radiance beautiful to behold, first of all a shout from the Greeks greeted Echo like a song, and Echo from the island-rock at the same instant shouted forth an inspiring cry: and terror fell on all the barbarians, baulked of their purpose; for not as in flight were the Greeks then chanting the solemn pæan, but speeding on to the battle with gallant daring of soul. And the trumpet, with its clang, inflamed their whole line; and forthwith, with the collision of the dashing oar, at the word of command they smote the roaring brine. And quickly were they conspicuous to view. The right wing, well marshalled, led on foremost in good order, and secondly, their whole force was coming forth against us, and we could at the same time hear a mighty shout: SONS OF THE GREEKS! ON! FREE YOUR COUNTRY, AND FREE YOUR CHILDREN, YOUR WIVES, THE ABODES TOO OF THE GODS OF YOUR FATHERS, AND THE TOMBS OF YOUR ANCESTORS; NOW IS THE CONFLICT FOR THEM ALL!" Translation.

In this battle of Salamis the Persians suffered a terrible overthrow, two hundred of their ships being destroyed, and the rest driven to the coast of Asia, whence they never ventured to return into Greece. Defeat.

A king sat on a rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis,
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations—all were his;—
He counted them at break of day,
But when the sun set, where were they?

It is well remarked by Raleigh, that "the scribes of Xerxes had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters which befell the Persian fleet; which ill acquitted itself that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their king, or the registering of his notaries." Xerxes no sooner witnessed this disaster, than fearing lest the victors should reach the Hellespont before him, he hastened the march of his army out of Europe, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 men to carry on the war. On this march, for which there had been no preparation, great hardships were endured during the forty-five days which it occupied. At length the king, impatient to escape, left his army, and hastened with a small retinue to the bridge, which he found almost destroyed by a tempest. The Persian autocrat was reduced to cross the Hellespont in a skiff. "Erat res spectaculo digna," says Justin,[1] "et æstimatione sortis humanæ, rerum varietate mirandâ, in exiguo latentem videre navigio, quem pauló anté vix æquor omne cupiebat; carentem etiam omni servorum ministerio, cujus exercitus, propter Flight of Xerxes.

[1] L. ii. c. 13.

multitudinem, terris graves erunt:" "It was a spectacle fitted to afford a just estimate of human greatness, and to discover the instability of every thing earthly, when he was stealing away in a small boat, almost destitute of attendants, whose fleets had lately covered the sea, and whose armies, by their vast multitude, had exhausted the land." Xerxes waited for his army at Sardis, and thus ingloriously concluded the sixth year of his reign. To add to the king's disappointment, his allies, the Carthaginians, were, about the same time, defeated by Gelo, the king of Sicily. He slew 150,000, and sold the same number, till all Sicily was filled with Carthaginian captives. Of their large fleet, only a cock-boat remained, in which a few escaped to carry the dismal news to Carthage.

Carthaginians defeated in Sicily.

Mardonius passed the winter in Thessaly and Macedonia, and early in the spring marched into Bœotia. Thence he sent Alexander, king of Macedon, with flattering proposals of accommodation to the Athenians. He offered to reinstate whatever the Persians had destroyed on their invasion; to restore, and even to extend their possessions; to guarantee their own laws; and, in short, to render them the most favoured tributaries of the Persian empire; but the Athenians were deaf to these proposals. The enraged general marched into Attica, desolating the country through which he passed, and destroying, at Athens, now a second time deserted, every thing which had escaped the former devastation. In the mean time, the Greeks assembled their forces at the isthmus of Corinth, and drew Mardonius back into Bœotia, where he encamped on the river Æsopus.

Mardonius destroys Athens.

March of the Greeks.

Upon this the Greeks marched to attack the Persians. Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, and Aristides the Athenian, commanded the allied forces, which amounted to 120,000; the Persians are computed, by Herodotus, at 350,000, and by Diodorus Siculus at 500,000. The armies joined battle near the city of Platæa, when Mardonius was slain, and the Persian army almost entirely destroyed. Artabazus, indeed, who had early apprehended the ill fortune of the day, escaped with 40,000 men under his command. By hasty marches he reached Byzantium before the news of the battle, and thence passed into Asia. Besides these, it was computed that not 4,000 of the Persian army survived the battle of Platæa, and it was the last army of Persians ever seen on the European side of the Hellespont. On the very day of that battle happened the engagement at Mycale, a promontory on the continent of Asia; this, according to the remaining accounts, was rather a land than a naval engagement. The Persians, on the approach of the Grecian fleet, had drawn up their ships on the shore, where they had 100,000 land forces; they also formed a strong rampart to defend their navy; but the irresistible prowess of the Greeks defeated the army, forced the rampart, and utterly destroyed the ships.

Battle of Platæa.

Battle of Mycale.

Xerxes, when apprized of these accumulated disasters, left Sardis

as precipitately as he had fled after the battle of Salamis. He, however, gave orders for the destruction of all the temples in Asia Minor, either from zeal for the magian religion, or to wreak his vengeance on the Asiatic Greeks. The same conduct he observed when passing through Babylon, on his return to Susa, perhaps, as Prideaux conjectures, to recruit his finances by the immense treasures which the temple of Belus contained. Thus, adds that pious and learned author,[1] "was fully completed what the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied many years before—'All the graven images of her gods hath he broken to the ground. I will punish Bel in Babylon, I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed. And I will do judgment on all the graven images of Babylon. Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.'" Xerxes returns into Persia.

While the Greeks were pursuing their advantages, by delivering many of the cities of Asia from the Persian yoke, Xerxes was solacing himself by the indulgence of his criminal passions, and preparing, in his own family, a horrible tragedy. He had sought to seduce the wife of his brother Masistes. That lady utterly rejecting his unworthy suit, he hoped to conciliate her by marrying her daughter Artaynta to his eldest son Darius. This marriage had no influence to corrupt the wife of Masistes; and at length Xerxes attempted, and prevailed over the virtue of her daughter Artaynta, whom he had just married to his son. In the process of this scandalous intrigue, Artaynta became possessed of a rich mantle which Hamestris, the queen of Xerxes, had wrought for him. This she displayed in public, when the queen, confirmed in her suspicions of what had happened, resolved on revenge; but considering the mother of Artaynta as the instigator of the whole affair, on her she determined to wreak a cruel retribution. On the birth-day of the king it was customary for him to grant the most extravagant requests of those about him, and the vindictive queen had not long to wait for this favourable opportunity of requesting the wife of Masistes to be given up to her disposal. His criminal passions.

Xerxes long hesitated to comply with her demand; aware at once of his own share in the dishonour already brought upon his brother's family, and of some barbarous outrage being meditated by the queen. He is said, at last, to have sent for his brother to persuade him to sacrifice his innocent consort, and accept of a daughter of the king in her place; an offer which Masistes rejected with great firmness, reminding Xerxes, not only that he was well contented with his present alliance, but that his wife had been the mother of three noble sons, as well as daughters, one of whom had married the son of the king; and "would you after this," said he, "have me marry your daughter? I esteem your proposal, O king, Their melancholy result.

[1] Con. pt. i. b. iv.

as the highest honour, but I cannot accept it." Xerxes broke off this conference in great anger; but Hamestris, in the interim, by means of the guards, had seized her unhappy victim. Having first mutilated her person in the most horrible manner, she sent her home to her husband in that mangled condition. Masistes, highly exasperated, determined to revenge himself, by revolting from the king, and hastened for this purpose to his satrapy of Bactria. Here the Sacæ, a most warlike and powerful tribe, who had distinguished themselves both at Platæa and Marathon, and were afterwards concerned in several considerable revolutions in their neighhood, had undoubtedly been ready to avenge his injuries, for he was much beloved throughout the whole province which he governed.

Death of Masistes.

Xerxes, however, sent after him a party of horse, by whom Masistes and all his family were destroyed. And thus, unless Herodotus has egregiously fabled, in order to gratify the resentment of the Greeks, Xerxes appears a slave to the worst passions, vainly seeking an unlimited rule over other men, while he had no command over himself.

We have now passed through nine of the twenty-one years attributed to the reign of Xerxes, according to the accounts generally received; though some, on the authority of Thucydides, have given nine of the latter years to the reign of Artaxerxes. The Greeks, during those years, continued to employ their naval ascendancy in freeing the maritime countries of Asia Minor from the dominion of Persia. In the interior of that empire nothing appears to have occurred worthy of history, except those extraordinary events which are elsewhere detailed—the resort of Themistocles to the court of Persia, and his favour with the great king.

Assassination of Xerxes.

The end of Xerxes was worthy of the public and private life which history, at least that of the Greeks, has assigned to him. He was slain by one of his guards, who afterwards killed his eldest son Darius through a false accusation, and thus raised Artaxerxes to the throne. Some, however, suppose, that he had shared the government with his father from the twelfth year of his reign.

His character.

Of Xerxes, scarcely any thing would now be known, but for the chapters of Herodotus, which we have so often quoted. Whether the father of history justly described, or occasionally misrepresented the character of this inveterate foe of the people for whom he wrote, he has certainly held him up to all ages as an object of contempt and scorn, for in his artless and inimitable story he has pictured the Persian invader as a cruel, imperious, vindictive, jealous, voluptuous, and impious tyrant. Nor has any name been more frequently employed

To point a moral, or adorn a tale.



[Greek Warriors.—*Bronzes in the British Museum.*]

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.—CONCLUSION.

The long reign of Artaxerxes,[1] surnamed Longimanus,[2] a reign of forty years, was not distinguished by any great event. Scarcely was he elevated to the throne when he put to death Artabanus, who had been the means of his elevation. His brother and rival, Hystaspes, satrap of Bactria, had rebelled at the same time, but was speedily vanquished. Other insurrections, which so often characterise the commencement of a despotic reign, were likewise suppressed with energy. The Persian monarch on feeling his throne at length secure, devoted his attention to the financial business of his empire. But the disturbed state of Egypt soon summoned his troops to that country. A formidable insurrection, headed by Inarus, had gained some victories; the Persian governor was slain and the garrison routed. The Egyptians also, to strengthen themselves, had concluded an alliance with Athens, and received succours from Greece. But the

Artaxerxes. B.C. 465.

[1] Artaxerxes seems to signify "renowned king or warrior."

[2] The surname was derived from the physical peculiarity—that his right hand was longer than his left. Plutarch, Artax. I.

revolt was at length quelled, Inarus was crucified, and the Persian arms maintained their ascendancy. The Greeks, however, lent assistance afterwards to the Egyptians, who still maintained a species of independence, especially in the swampy portions of the country, into which foreign troops could not penetrate.[1] This assistance was a fleet of two hundred sail, under Cimon, son of Miltiades, who met and vanquished the Persian admiral Artabazus. According to some authors, Artaxerxes alarmed at this dispersion of his fleet, hastily concluded a peace with the Athenians. The terms of truce were full of humiliation to the Persian king, for it was stipulated—1. That all the Greek cities in Asia Minor should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no Persian satrap should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. 3. That no Persian ship of war should sail between the Cyanean rocks, at the northern extremity of the Thracian Bosporus, and the Chelidonian Isles, near the southern promontory of Lycia; thus excluding the Persians from the entire Ægean Sea, and that part of the Mediterranean bordering upon Asia Minor. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia.[2] The story of this peace seems, however, to be fabulous. Thucydides knows nothing of it; and it seems to have been the fabrication of a succeeding age. The latter years of the reign of Artaxerxes seem to have been spent in tranquillity, and he died B.C. 425, leaving his son Xerxes II.

Peace with Greece. B.C. 449.

His death. B.C. 425.

Many have identified Artaxerxes with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther. Several objections, however, may be made to this hypothesis. Artaxerxes appears to have been both a wiser and better prince, than the degraded and capricious voluptuary of the Book of Esther.[3] The tyrant who invaded Greece, who scourged the Hellespont, laid his royal mandate on Mount Athos, and ruthlessly murdered the son of Pythius, has a closer resemblance to the frantic and debased monarch, who repudiated his wife because she would not expose herself to the gaze of drunken revellers, and who was so far under the influence of an intriguing and ambitious favourite, as at his suggestion to devote a large body of his industrious subjects to wanton massacre and pillage. Artaxerxes was surnamed *Bahman*, that is, kind or beneficent, and some Persian writers say that his mother was a Jewess,[4] thus making him the son of Esther and Xerxes. Xerxes II. was, after a brief reign of two months, murdered by his half-brother, Sogdianus,[5] who then ascended the throne. After a reign of seven months, the assassin was himself murdered by his brother Ochus, who assumed the sovereignty under the title of Darius II.[6]

Xerxes II. Sogdianus.

This prince being one of the seven bastard sons of Artaxerxes, was surnamed Nothus or illegitimate. He had been created satrap

Darius II.

[1] Thucyd. i. 104. Diodor. xi. 71, &c.
[2] Thirlwall's History of Greece, iii. 37.
[3] Diodor. xi. 71.
[4] Nordberg, Opuscula Academ. iii.
[5] Diodor. xii. 71. Ctesias, Pers. c. 44.
[6] Ibid.

of Hyrcania by his father; and Sogdianus, on his accession, invited him to court. But he postponed compliance with the royal invitation till he had assembled a large army, with which he marched against his brother. During his progress several of the king's generals deserted to him; and Arxames, satrap of Egypt, with Artoxares, governor of Armenia, placed the crown on his head. The helpless and despairing Sogdianus surrendered himself, and was in accordance with the usual practice put to death. No sooner was Darius installed than his brother Arsites revolted; his prime adviser being Artyphius, B.C. 432. son of Megabyzus. Arsites placed his chief confidence in his Greek Arsites. mercenaries, whom the gold of Artasyias, the royal general, easily bribed to betray their seditious employers. The deserted Arsites and his counsellor were apprehended, and at the instigation of the queen, Parysatis, they were smothered in burning ashes. But in spite of these partial successes, the government of Darius proved its inherent weakness by the frequent and alarming insurrections which disturbed and devastated the empire. The king was wholly in the power of his queen and three favourite eunuchs—Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous. The inferior governors were disgusted with such an administration. Pisuthnes, satrap of Lydia, raised the standard of revolt in his province, and enlisted in his service a large body of Grecian troops. Tissaphernes was sent against him, and by bribery and cunning seduced his auxiliaries, and procured the surrender of the rebel, who, though promised a pardon, was no sooner brought into the presence of the king than he was doomed to the terrible fate of Sogdianus and Arsites. A plot of Artoxares the chief favourite was also crushed in its commencement. But Darius was speedily embroiled in an Egyptian rebellion under Amyrtaeus, who expelled the Persians from his country, and reigned as sovereign for six years.[1] Darius, after a reign of about nineteen years, died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Artaxerxes II., who was surnamed Artaxerxes Mnêmon. Mnêmon, on account of his good memory.

His younger brother Cyrus, had been appointed by his father, B.C. 405. Darius, governor of Asia Minor, and though Cyrus aspired to the Cyrus the younger. throne, his ambition was pardoned through his mother's influence, and he was confirmed in his extensive command.[2] During his residence at court at the period of his brother's accession, he had plotted his death on the very day of his coronation; but the wicked scheme was frustrated, and the condemned conspirator forgiven and dismissed to his satrapy. His restless love of power, however, prompted him to vaster schemes; he had set his aspiring heart on the crown of Persia, and he perilled all in the struggle. Supported by a large brigade of Greek mercenaries, he fearlessly marched into Upper Asia, met the army of his royal brother, which far exceeded his own in numbers, gained a signal victory over it in the field of Cunaxa, and fell

[1] See page 113.

[2] Xenophon, Anabasis, i. 1. § 3.

B.C. 401. himself in the conflict.[1] This expedition of Cyrus, and the events which followed his death—the retreat of the 10,000—form the theme of Xenophon's immortal "Anabasis." The reign of Artaxerxes was one continued struggle with revolted satraps and discontented provinces. Slaves and eunuchs under the queen-mother, Parysatis, were the virtual governors.[2] The court was polluted by brutal murders, foul intrigues, and loathsome and unnatural impurities. The bribes of Persia, however, disunited and weakened the Grecian states, and by the peace which the diplomacy of Antalcidas brought about, the influence of Persia was considerably augmented.[3] The attempts of Artaxerxes upon Egypt are recorded on a previous page.[4]

Retreat of the ten thousand.

Disgraceful reign of Artaxerxes.

His latter years and death.

The latter years of this sovereign were embittered by domestic discord. His family numbered three legitimate and one hundred and fifteen spurious sons.[5] The monarch had declared Darius, the eldest of his children, his successor, and allowed him the privilege of wearing the royal tiara. The ungrateful heir quarrelled with his father about one of his concubines, and his revengeful nature shrunk not from the crime of parricide; for, along with the irritated Tiribazus, he formed a plan for assassination of the king. The plot was betrayed by a eunuch, and the conspirators were put to death. The question now was, which of the two surviving sons, Ariaspes or Ochus, should succeed to the crown. The people preferred the gentle Ariaspes, but the king looked favourably on Arsames, the son of one of his concubines. Ochus, however, contrived to kill the latter, while he drove the former to desperation and suicide. These terrible tragedies broke the heart of the aged sovereign, and

B.C. 362. he died of grief, B.C. 362.

Ochus.

Ochus had waded through slaughter to a throne which he ascended at his father's decease. His previous murders did not satisfy him, but to secure his power he ruthlessly extirpated every member of the royal family. The crowned assassin buried Ocha his sister alive, and his archers slew one of his uncles, with his numerous household of one hundred sons and grandsons. The suspected nobles shared the same fate, and no probable aspirant to the throne remained to trouble the bloody and cowardly tyrant. The Persian arms gained some advantages during his reign, in defeating Artabazus, a disaffected satrap, and in reducing Phœnicia and a portion of Cyprus. His ravages in Egypt, against which he was obliged to march, equalled those of his predecessor Cambyses.[6] The king after this period withdrew to his seraglio and spent his days in dissipation,

Reign of Terror.

[1] The army of Artaxerxes is said to have amounted to at least half-a-million, while Cyrus had only 100,000 Asiatics and 1300 Greeks.

[2] Such as Evagoras in Cyprus, and the Cardusians on the borders of the Caspian Sea.

[3] Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. iv. 445.

[4] p. 114.

[5] Justin, x. 1.

[6] See page 115.

varied only by scenes of blood. His life of lust and murder was at length cut short by poison, administered by the ruling eunuch, Bagoas, an Egyptian favourite.[1]

Arses, the youngest son of Ochus, was placed by the conspirators on the throne, his elder brothers having been previously put to death. The young king was a mere puppet in the hands of Bagoas; and no sooner did he manifest symptoms of decision and independence—no sooner did he become restive in the hands of his ambitious and unscrupulous master, than himself and family shared his father's fate. His reign was only of three years' duration, and Bagoas selected for his successor Darius Codomannus,—sprung from a collateral branch of the reigning dynasty. This prince had killed a gigantic champion in the war with the Cardusians, and in honour of his heroism, Ochus had conferred upon him the satrapy of Armenia. Darius Codomannus no sooner exhibited a spirit of self-dependence and energy, than Bagoas became alarmed for the loss of his usurped power, and resolved to maintain it by recourse to his usual expedient—the secret potion. But his malignant attempt was fortunately discovered, and the trembling wretch was compelled to drain the poisoned bowl which he had prepared for his sovereign. Possessed of the vast treasures accumulated by his predecessors, Codomannus was, in the language of the inspired prophet, "far richer" than the last three kings of Persia. The mildness of his character, his handsome form and personal valour, commanded universal respect and esteem. But his lot was cast in evil days, and the Persian empire, sunk in effeminacy and cowardice, ended with his death. In the terrible struggle which prostrated Persia, Darius seems to have been, to some extent, the aggressor. His vast wealth was employed freely in stirring up Greece to make war upon Alexander, king of Macedonia. "By his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all nations against the realm of Greece."[2] Such is the language and prediction of Daniel, verified by the reality. Alexander was provoked at length to invade the territory of his great and menacing antagonist. His army, consisting of 5,000 horse and 30,000 infantry, easily, and without opposition, crossed the Hellespont in a fleet of 160 galleys and transports. His brave and disciplined troops felt that all depended on their courage and hardihood. The Asiatic armies first encountered the Greeks on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Lesser Phrygia. The Macedonian army crossed the stream in the very face of the Persian squadrons, and routed them with enormous slaughter. Sardis, after this battle, fell into the hands of Alexander; the conqueror then pushed forward to Ephesus, which at once received him—marched to Miletus, which was soon obliged to capitulate—entered the province of Caria, and laid siege

B.C. 339. Arses. His death. Death of Bagoas. Invasion of Persia by Alexander. B.C. 334.

[1] Diodor. xvii. 5. Strabo, xv.

[2] Dan. xi. 12.

to Halicarnassus, its capital, which, after prodigious labour and fatigue, he stormed, and vengefully razed to the ground.

Successes of Alexander.

The Greek colonies settled in Asia submitted in turn to the proud victor, and the fortresses which opposed him were blockaded and speedily overthrown. His army remained in quarters during the winter of 333 B.C., but early in the spring of the next year martial operations were commenced with his usual intrepidity and confidence. The maritime provinces were reduced, Perga and Aspendus fell, the defile of Telmessus was passed, Gordium was seized, and Alexander found himself at Tarsus with an army which had vanquished every opposition, and won its way so far into the Asiatic continent by a series of unparallelled successes. Darius had meanwhile gathered an immense levy of more than half a million of Asiatic troops, and 30,000 Greek mercenaries. Instead of cautiously waiting for Alexander's approach, the Persian monarch in his proud impatience left the wide plains of Sochi, and advanced into the narrow gorge of

B.C. 333. Battle of Issus.

Issus. On hearing this intelligence, Alexander, perceiving the fatal error of his opponent, retraced his steps, and routed the Persian forces with dreadful massacre. Darius fled, but his wife, mother, and children fell into the hands of the conqueror, who treated his royal prisoners with the respect due to their exalted station. Alexander, from motives of policy, did not pursue the vanquished Persians, but turned to Phœnicia, and overthrew Tyre, captured Gaza, entered Jerusalem, and then visiting Egypt, founded the famous city which bears his name. In B.C. 331 he marched again to meet Darius. The Persian king had sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Memnon, the ablest of his officers, but an immense army of more than a million of men was convened to meet the audacious Macedonian, who had gained the eastern bank of the Euphrates at the ford of Thapsacus, passed through Mesopotamia, and, crossing the Tigris, had pitched on the field of Gaugamela.

B.C. 331. Battles of Gaugamela and Arbela.

Here, in the beginning of October, a battle was fought, which sealed the fate of the Persian empire. The Macedonians triumphed after an obstinate and bloody combat, and the Persians, fleeing from the field in precipitation, took refuge in Arbela, a city fifty miles distant from the scene of battle. Thither Alexander pursued the fugitives; but Darius escaped, by a hasty flight, to Ecbatana. Arbela fell, and its vast treasure was greedily appropriated as compensation by its ravenous conqueror. Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis made no resistance, but opened their gates; and Persepolis, which had been made his winter quarters, was burnt by the frantic victor in a fit of drunken revelry, and at the instigation of Thais, an Athenian courtezan. The unhappy Darius had, with renewed vigour, collected, in the interval, a new force among his Midian subjects, and Alexander rapidly advanced to meet him. In fifteen

Pursuit of Darius.

days he reached Ecbatana, but Darius had left that city five days before. The royal fugitive was hotly pursued as he passed through

Ragæ into the province of Bactria, but there was no pause; Alexander still followed, till the terrible chase brought both parties into Parthia, and they had nearly met for a final blow, when Darius fell a victim to a conspiracy formed by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria. The wounded and bleeding monarch was found, deserting and dying, by a Macedonian soldier, from whom he feebly requested a draught of water; and by the time Alexander came up, he had expired. The sight of the corpse deeply affected the warrior, and he shed tears over Darius "great and good." The body, after being embalmed, was sent, with all honour, to Persepolis, to be entombed in the royal sepulchres. Darius died in the fiftieth year of his age, and the sixth of his brief and unfortunate reign. The old Persian empire expired with him, and he and his people suffered for the sins of their predecessors. The nation, since the period of Cyrus, had undergone a rapid and continuous progress of deterioration; for luxury, wealth, and misgovernment debased and corrupted it. While intriguing favourites, in the seraglio, were too often its unworthy, fickle, and ferocious lords; the lust of foreign conquests had, at the same time, weakened its strength, and taught the kingdoms of Greece the effeminacy and feebleness of its crowded and disorderly hosts. It had proudly thought to make an easy prey of Hellas, but had been frequently repulsed; and the enervating remembrance of Marathon and Salamis must have made it less courageous to meet, and less able to resist, the Macedonian phalanx when at length it penetrated into Persia. How vividly do such scenes and changes remind us of that providence which orders and disposes all events to work out its own high and mysterious designs!

Death of Darius.

End of the old Persian empire.

"From God all human actions take their springs,
The rise of empires, and the fall of kings!
See the vast theatre of time displayed,
While o'er the scene succeeding heroes tread!
With pomp, the shining images succeed,
What leaders triumph! and what monarchs bleed!
Perform the parts his providence assigned,
Their pride, their passions, to his ends inclined:
Awhile they glitter in the face of day,
Then at his nod the phantoms pass away;
No traces left of all the busy scene,
But that remembrance says, 'The things have been.'"—*Boyse.*

The Macedo-Grecian power lay heavily upon Persia for the next one hundred and two years. The Parthians then held them in ignominious vassalage for four hundred and fifty-four years. At length, when Parthia was weakened and distracted by Rome, Persia summoned courage to revolt; and a daring soldier, named Artaxerxes, having defeated the troops of the enemy, founded the famous Sassanian dynasty, which continued four hundred and eleven years.

Subsequent history.

A.D. 225.

Kings of the Sassanian dynasty.

The principal names of this dynasty, which was at last overwhelmed by the Saracen conquests, A.D. 636, are as follows:—

		Y.	M.	A.D.
1.	Artaxerxes,	14	10	225
2.	Sapor,	31	0	240
3.	Hormisdas,	1	0	271
4.	Vararanes,	3	0	272
5.	Vararanes II.[1]	17	0	275
6.	Narses,	(7) 8	0	292
7.	Hormisdas II.	7	5	300
8.	Sapor II.	70	0	307
9.	Artaxerxes II.	4	0	377
10.	Sapor III.	5	0	381
11.	Vararanes IV.	11	0	386
12.	Isdegertes,	21	0	397
13.	Vararanes V.	23	0	418
14.	Vararanes VI.	18	0	441
15.	Peroz,	20	0	459
16.	Valens,	4	0	479
17.	Cobad,	11	0	483
	Zames,	8	0	494
	Cobad,	30	0	502
18.	Chosroes,	48	0	532
19.	Hormisdas IV.[2]	8	0	580
20.	Chosroes II.	39	0	588
21.	Siroes,	1	0	627
22.	Ardesir, (last male Sassanid,)	2	6	628
23.	Several usurpers,	2	0	630
	Yesdijird,	4	0	632
		411	0	636

[1] Vararanes III., predecessor of Narses, reigned only eight months. Difficulty arises in identifying some of the names in consequence of the various spelling employed by the Persian and the classical writers.

[2] Hormisdas III. claimed the throne along with Peroz, but was slain in battle.



[Greek Warrior setting out for the Wars.—*Panof. Bild. Antik. Leb.*]



HISTORY OF PHRYGIA.

Phrygia formed a part of that portion of Asia Minor called Asia Proper, which, besides, comprehended Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. The origin of the name is altogether uncertain: the same may be said of its precise boundaries. According to Ptolemy, it was included within the 37th and 41st degrees of N. latitude, and extended in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The people of Phrygia, which comprehended several distinct tribes, dwelt on the great border line between Europe and Asia. Thrace and Asia Minor were ethnologically connected. The Halys was the great boundary of Asia Minor to the east, and separated the Semitic from the Japhetic races. The country has been celebrated, in common with the whole of Asia Minor, for its fertility and the general salubrity of the climate.[1] Phrygia

The origin of the Phrygians is unknown, but they always considered themselves as having the highest claims to antiquity of any people in the world. They are said to have been extremely superstitious in their sentiments, and voluptuous in their character. The creation of the Greek musical scale belongs to them, and it occupied an intermediate place between the Lydian and Doric scales.[2] In Origin, &c.

[1] Forbiger, Handbuch der alt. Geog. p. II. 61. Strabo, xii. Herod. iv. 76.
[2] Plutarch, De Musica, 5—7.

their government they were monarchical, and, till a period approaching the Trojan war, the whole country was under the dominion of a single prince, as Ninnacus, Midas, Manis, Gordius, and his descendants; but afterwards they became divided into petty sovereignties or provinces. In fact, the whole of the early Phrygian history is legendary, and cannot be safely used for any historical purpose. We give it merely as it is found in ancient authors. Its mythical character will be sufficiently shown as we proceed with its rehearsal.

Ninnacus.

Ninnacus, or Nannacus, who is also called Annacus, or Cannacus, was the first king of Phrygia of whom we possess any account, and indeed the first whose name is transmitted to us in the records of history. He is said to have lived before Deucalion's Deluge, and his times were proverbially referred to as descriptive of any thing of remote or uncertain antiquity. He lived to a great age. The report is, that he attained to upwards of three hundred years; and when he inquired of the oracles how long he should live, the answer was, that at his death all things were to perish. Instantly he repaired to the temples of the gods, accompanied by the chief of his subjects, and uttered the most lamentable cries and groans to procure a change of this awful decree. From these circumstances originated the expression—"to weep like Nannacus," as indicative of excessive grief.

Manis.

From another king named Manis was derived the phrase, "manic achievements," which, among the Phrygians, denoted such as were very extraordinary and heroic; for this prince is represented as eminent for military valour and for virtue.

Gordius.

Gordius was remarkable for having ascended from the plough to the throne. The story, as given by the historians, is, in its chief outlines, as follows. Perhaps the reader may be amused with it as a fable, founded, however, probably, on some basis of fact. While engaged, on one occasion, in his rural employment, an eagle settled upon the yoke, and continued perched there the whole of the day. This, of course, produced alarm in a superstitious mind, and, considering it as something portentous, he went to a city in Lydia to consult the soothsayers. On entering Telmissus, the celebrated resort of diviners, he met a beautiful girl, who answered to his inquiries after the sages he sought, that she was herself well skilled in the art, and that the prodigy he related was designed to intimate his elevation to a kingdom; and with more of ambition, it must be admitted, than of modesty, she proposed to him to share the royalty to which he was born, by becoming his wife. Gordius, however, was by no means so scrupulous as to deny her request. Soon after this, a sedition having broken out, the oracles unanimously advised the choice of a king, and, upon a second application to them to point out the favoured individual, they assured the embassy that the first man who visited the temple of Jupiter in a cart, after their return,

was appointed by the gods to that office. In this manner, the lot fell upon Gordius, who was the person so circumstanced, and in gratitude for his elevation, he consecrated the cart to regal majesty in the temple, which was afterwards, both by them and other nations, adored as a goddess. He fastened a knot to the beam of the cart so curiously perplexed, that the oracles promised the dominion of the world to him who should untie it. Alexander, having attempted, like others, in vain, at last cut it through with his sword—a circumstance which has given birth to a well-known proverbial saying.[1]

The Gordian knot.

Midas was the son and successor of Gordius. Plutarch[2] says, that he was born of the goddess worshipped under the name of Bona Dea, by the Romans. Several circumstances are related of him, some of which savour of the fabulous antiquity when they were invented, or of the overweening credulity of the historians by whom they are told. When he was asleep one day, in his childhood, a swarm of ants is reported to have been busily engaged in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth. This, of course, required a consultation with the all-divining oracles, who were pleased to intimate that it imported immense riches. This prediction, if such it really was, proved in the end to be correct; for his great opulence is the theme of all the ancient writers. He is said to have obtained large treasures from the mines of metal on Mount Bermius, and which, in all probability, were discovered during his reign.

Midas.

Conon[3] mentions his having found a treasure, and becoming in consequence very rich, and his having, by various artifices, obtained the royal dignity among the Brygians. It is also affirmed, that in his reign Silenus appeared on Mount Brime. Whatever he touched is declared to have turned immediately into gold; and availing himself of this superiority, he induced his subjects to remove from Europe into the country on the Hellespont, and settling in Mysia, he exchanged the original name of his subjects from Brygians to Phrygians.

His Treasure.

Orpheus is represented as the instructor of Midas in the mysteries of religion, or, as we should rather say, in the absurdities of the existing superstitions; and so devoted was his mind to the subject, that he was not contented with the dulness of mere learning, but aspired to the glory of invention, introducing into Phrygia new deities, new temples, new rites and ceremonies, and orders of priesthood. The custom of mourning over the dead in solemn dirges and lamentations, is attributed to him as its inventor. He also set a pre-eminent example of this mode of rendering funereal honours, by annually mourning over his departed mother. This, according to Suidas, led the people eventually to pay her divine reverence as a goddess. As to his works of public utility, we have an account of

Orpheus his Instructor.

[1] Arrian, II. 3; Justin, xi. 7. [2] In Vit. Cæsaris. [3] Ap. Phot. Bibl.

his building the city of Ancyra; and Pausanias relates, that in the temple of Jupiter in that place, was to be seen an anchor which he had contrived.

His person. In person Midias is represented as very comely and attractive: and a similar eminence is attributed to his wife, who is moreover celebrated for her wisdom. She is stated to have instructed the inhabitants of Cyme in the art of coining money. The Greek proverb, Μίδας ὄνος ὦτα; that is, "Midas has ass's ears," has rendered his name peculiarly notorious. In a trial of skill, as the poets have it, between Pan and Apollo, who rivalled each other in music, Midas pronounced in favour of Pan,—a decision which so incensed Apollo, that he fixed a pair of ass's ears on his head, as a badge of
His ass's ears. ignorance. This disgraceful appendage, however, he contrived to conceal under his diadem, till it was at length detected by his barber, who treacherously disclosed the vexatious secret. Others, with equal probability, affirm, that Bacchus, upon some affront, metamorphosed him into an ass.

Midas is said to have reigned over Dardania as well as Phrygia; but this is uncertain. Cleobulus Lyndius composed an epitaph for his monument, which has been erroneously ascribed to Homer.

Gordius II. Gordius II. succeeded Midas, but has left behind him no record,
Ancharus. excepting the surrounding of Gordium with a wall. Ancharus, his brother, followed, who is remarkable for having performed a similar self-sacrifice with that which afterwards gave such celebrity in Roman story to the name of Curtius. During the reign of his father, Midas, a considerable part of the city of Celœna is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake, which left a permanent chasm. The oracles, upon being consulted, gave intimation that the earth would not close up again till the most valuable thing in life were thrown into it. Immediately upon the report of this answer, the inhabitants volunteered their gold, silver, and jewels, but without effect; till Ancharus, taking the resolution to sacrifice life itself, as the most valuable of all considerations, and that life his own, bade an affectionate farewell to his father and his wife Timothea, and rode at full speed into the chasm, which instantly closed over him.

Otreus. Otreus, the next in succession, is scarcely known to fame; and
Lityerses. after him Lityerses is known only to be despised for his gluttony and drunkenness, except by the Phrygian labourers in the harvest field, in which he himself is reported to have worked. It is added, that he compelled reapers to join him, and then cut off their heads, to bind in the sheaves,—a species of cruelty which is scarcely credible, since it would have exposed himself to extreme danger. Accordingly, Hercules is stated to have despatched him on account of these enormities.

Midas II. Midas II. reigned over all Phrygia; but his parentage is unknown. He had no better title to the throne than usurpation. Having

given out that he should offer a sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of Gordium, at the head of a large party, with great pomp and concealed daggers: the citizens following in vast multitudes, were suddenly attacked, and the city seized by the conspirators.

Gordius III. appears to have succeeded the former monarch; and after him came his son, Midas III., of whom it is recorded, that he presented the Delphian oracle with a royal seat, or tribunal, of exquisite workmanship. Gordius III. Midas III.

Midas IV. reigned about B.C. 635, when the Cimmerians, invading Asia Minor, after their expulsion from Europe by the Scythians, took possession of Sardis, and pressed hard upon the Phrygians, as well as the Lydians and Paphlagonians. Midas, in despair of being extricated from his difficulties, poisoned himself with bull's blood. He had two sons, of whom Adrastus was sent into exile by his father, for having accidentally killed his brother. He was, however, received into the court of Crœsus, the Lydian king; where, strange to relate, after having been intrusted with the education of his patron's favourite son, Atys, he killed him also accidentally at the chase; and in consequence, though Crœsus forgave him, he put an end to his own life. Phrygia henceforth became a province of Lydia, till Cyrus reduced the whole under his dominion. Midas IV.

Phrygia Minor was a small territory, comprehended between the 40th and 42d degrees of N. latitude, with a trifling extent of longitude. It included the maritime tract called Hellespontiaca, and the Mediterranean, termed Epictetus. Part of the former was called Troas or Troia. In general, Phrygia Minor may be said to have had for its boundaries the Propontis on the north, the Ægean sea on the south, Mysia on the east, and the Hellespont on the west. The inhabitants acquired the appellation of Trojans, from the chief city, called Troy or Ilium, a place which the poems of Homer and Virgil have immortalized. Phrygia Minor.

The inhabitants of Phrygia Minor were undoubtedly a very ancient people, but of uncertain origin. It is supposed by Bochart, that the lesser Phrygia was colonised by the eldest son of Gomer, because of the resemblance perceptible between his name, Ashkenaz, and several of the lakes, rivers, islands, cities, and inhabitants. Monarchy seems to have been their earliest and settled form of government. At first the country consisted of petty principalities, but these gradually subsided into the general dominions of the Trojan kings. Very little information can be communicated respecting these people, but the ancients describe them as eminent amongst the polite and civilized nations of that remote period of time. That they addicted themselves early to trade and navigation is apparent from their settlements in Thrace, Peloponnesus, Sicily, Italy, Egypt, and Africa. Their religion, generally speaking, if religion it may be called, resembled that of the inhabitants of the greater Phrygia. Origin, and other particulars.

Apollo Sminthius.

Among their deities, however, one was remarkable. His appellation was Apollo Sminthius, from a Phrygian word signifying field-mouse; and the tradition is, that mice having committed such ravages in their fields, the inhabitants deemed it necessary to have recourse to the oracle at Delphos, and received for answer, that they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to Sminthian Apollo. They obeyed accordingly, and erected and dedicated a temple to their deliverer in Amaxito, a city of Troas. Others, however, state, that their worship of mice originated in their having obtained a complete victory, on one occasion, over their enemies, in consequence of these vermin coadjutors having gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thus disabled them for battle. The worship of the Sminthian Apollo was introduced into other countries; Strabo refers to a temple dedicated to this mouse-god in the isle of Tenedos.

Teucer.

Teucer is usually considered as the first Trojan king. He was the son of Scamander and Ida, but some historians represent him as the last of a series of sovereigns, among whom Cynthius is named. It is difficult and unimportant to ascertain the precise fact; and even with regard to Teucer little more can be discovered than that he was fortunate in all his enterprises, of which none are recorded, and imparted his own name to that of the country over which he reigned.

Dardanus.

Dardanus is said to have succeeded Teucer, though some authors represent him as his predecessor. He was the son of Corytus, king of Samothrace, which kingdom he inherited; and after his ascent to the throne of his ancestors he erected a temple and instituted religious ceremonies in honour of Pallas and other divinities. This proceeding enhanced his reputation for wisdom and piety so much, that Teucer, inviting him into Phrygia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and appointed him to be his successor. During his reign he extended the bounds of his dominions by conquest, being engaged in war with the Paphlagonians. He built two cities, of which one was named after himself, Dardania; and he paid great attention to the adjustment of civil and religious regulations. The Palladium, or statue of Pallas, was brought by his orders into Phrygia. Some affirm there were two such statues, and that the oracle declared that neither of the cities in which they were kept, should ever be exposed to any calamities.

Erichthonius.

Erichthonius, the son and successor of the former, imitated the illustrious example of his father, and acquired, in consequence, a similar respect from his subjects. The great object of his life was to maintain an uninterrupted peace with the other states, and this tranquillity furnished him with the means of enriching his own kingdom. His reign was prolonged to the period of at least forty-six years; or, according to some, to seventy-five.

Tros.

Erichthonius had only one son, named Tros, who took possession of the throne upon his father's decease. At the commencement of

his reign, he laid the foundations of the city of Troy, which has since become so illustrious in the annals of history. All the neighbouring princes, excepting Tantalus, were invited to attend the dedication of the city. The neglected prince soon resented the offensive treatment he had received, by detaining and ill-using Ganymedes, the son of Tros, who was passing through the territories of Tantalus with presents to Jupiter Europæus. The young man died of grief, and soon afterwards his father followed him to the grave in consequence of the double affliction he suffered for the loss of his favourite child, and the failure of the war into which his resentment had instigated him. He is said to have reigned forty-nine, or, according to some authors, nearly sixty years. He left three sons, Ilus, Ganymedes, and Assaracus; and one daughter, Cleomestra. She had one son, named Lyersus, the father of that Antenor who was so much celebrated for his sagacity. He was sent by Priam as ambassador into Greece, to demand his sister Hesione, who had been carried captive by Hercules, and bestowed on Talamon. He was, however, improperly treated, which provoked him on his return to excite Priam and his sons against them; but when the ambassadors of Greece were sent to demand Helena, he generously entertained them, and laid the plan of their safe conveyance out of Troy, from the designs of Priam's sons. Upon being despatched upon a second embassy into Greece, he is believed to have acted a traitorous part, as Priam would not listen to any conditions of peace for which Antenor was solicitous. When the city was captured, it is certain the Greeks spared and protected Antenor; but Livy and others consider this kindness as resulting solely from their recollection of his former hospitality. The prejudices of the Trojans, who remained, compelled him to withdraw from Troas; and the Heneti, who were forming a new settlement, chose him for their king. Having gone up the Adriatic gulf, they landed among the Euganei, whom they expelled, and settled under the name of Veniti, in their territory. The town which the refugees built was called Troy. Antenor had several sons, some of whom are said to have reigned in Phrygia, till driven out by Hector's sons.



[Coin of Ilium, in the Troad.]

Antenor.

Ilus was successor to his father Tros, and reigned forty years. He pursued the war against Tantalus with such rigour, that he eventually dispossessed him of his kingdom, and annexed it to Phrygia. Ilus has the character of a good prince, having applied himself to the framing of useful laws, and the construction of stately edifices. On one occasion he rescued the Palladium from the temple of Pallas, which had been set on fire by lightning; but he lost his sight by his zeal, which was afterwards happily restored.

Ilus.

Tithonus. Laomedon.

Ilus left two sons, Tithonus, who, at his father's death, was employed in foreign wars, and Laomedon, who assumed the government. He built the citadel of Troy by means of the treasures lodged in the temples of Neptune and Apollo. Hence he was said to have been aided by those deities. Several inundations and a plague occurred in his time, which were considered as the effects of Neptune's and Apollo's anger on account of the profanation of their temples. As he had treated Jason and the Argonauts in an inhospitable manner, Hercules afterwards returned and plundered his city. In this war Hercules slew Laomedon; and at last put to death all his five sons, excepting Priam.

Priam.

Podarces, the only survivor, has acquired the surname of Priam, from a Greek term, signifying *to ransom*, as he had been ransomed, together with his sister Hesione, from the captivity of Hercules, and restored to his ancestral throne. He began his reign by building a wall round the city of Troy, and afterwards he constructed towers, castles, acqueducts, and other works of public utility. Most of the neighbouring states were subjected to his authority, which was acquired and maintained by a large standing army. It was in the reign of this prince that the ever-memorable war between the Greeks and Trojans occurred, the exploits of which history and poetry have celebrated. It originated in the rape of Helen, by Paris, the son of Priam by his second wife, Hecuba. Helen is represented as the most beautiful woman of Greece, and Priam supported his son in an action too general at that period, but justly reprobated by all civilized nations. She had before been seized by Theseus, and her father, as Thucydides relates, in order to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, induced her suitors, who consisted of the most eminent princes of Greece, to take an oath to rescue her in case of her being taken from Menelaus, the husband of her choice. This occasioned the combination which existed in her favour, in which Agamemnon, the brother of the injured husband, united; and in a general assembly, war was resolved upon against Troy, and Agamemnon appointed commander-in-chief. According to the best historians, the Greeks employed at least a thousand ships in this contest,[1] and the average amount of men may be reckoned at from eighty to eighty-five to each ship; a number which does not seem very great, considering the extent of the confederacy; but Thucydides remarks, that they were apprehensive of being distressed for provisions. Troy, however, proved no easy conquest, but resisted the assailants during no less a period than ten years; for the greatest part of Asia Minor had espoused their quarrel. Aware of the opposition they were likely to encounter, the Greeks began their operations by attempting to negotiate for the restoration of Helen, and the treasures which Paris had carried

Rape of Helen.

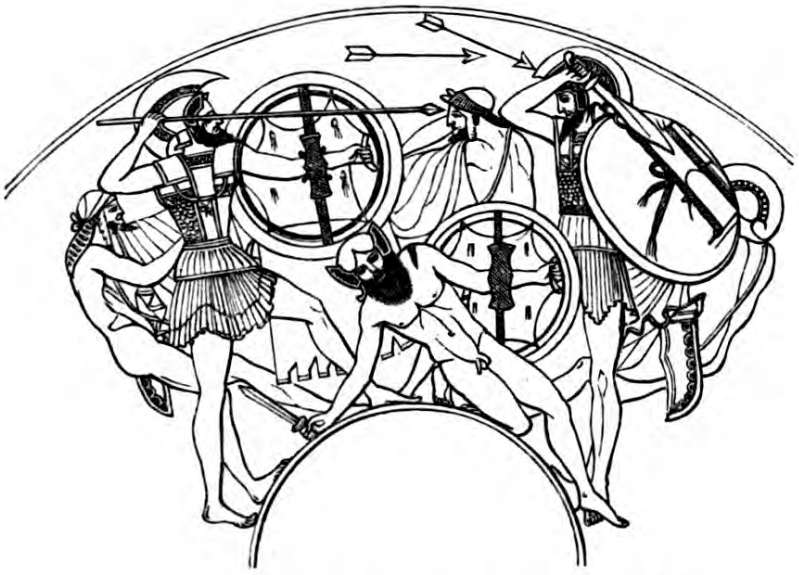
The Greek forces.

[1] Homer enumerates 1186; Thucydides calculates them at 1200.

off with her; but Menelaus and Ulysses, the ambassadors, returned without accomplishing their mission.

It is related by Herodotus, from an Egyptian tradition, that Paris, when returning with Helen, was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Egypt, and landed on the Canopian side of the Nile. Some of the slaves fled for refuge to a temple of Hercules, and reported their master's conduct to Thonis, the governor of the province, who reported the tale to Proteus, the reigning monarch. He immediately resolved on detaining Helen and the treasures, with the view of restoring them, and ordered Paris to quit the country in three days. Hence, when the Greeks sent to demand Helen and the treasures in question, the Trojans are said to have replied, that neither were in their possession, but in the power of Proteus. This reply was looked upon as an evasion; but when the city was reduced, the Trojans persisted in their former assertion, so that Menelaus went into Egypt, where he was kindly received, and regained his wife. Paris.

The first eight or nine years of the Trojan war were employed by the Greeks in pillaging the coasts, and reducing the islands or cities that were in the opposite interest; but at length they united in one compact body, and approached the city. Soon after this investment, a plague broke out in the camp, occasioned by their being in the midst of fens and marshes, and beneath a burning sun. This was followed by a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, the latter of whom withdrew with his forces to the ships. In the interval several severe battles were fought. Patroclus was slain by Hector; but Hector himself fell by the hands of Achilles, who had returned to the war with augmented ferocity. Achilles was, in his turn, fatally wounded with an arrow, shot by Paris. The city was at length The Trojan war.



[Ajax, Hector, and Patroclus.—*Panof. Bild. Antik. Leb.*]

taken in the night; but it is uncertain whether by assault or treachery. The poets say it was accomplished by the stratagem of the wooden horse, crowded with soldiers,—a myth which has been thought to signify that the Greeks entered by the Scæan gate, over which the statue of a horse was placed. Others are more disposed to interpret it literally, and to give the Greeks credit for the bold and ingenious contrivance. Their success was dishonourably employed in the practice of innumerable cruelties upon the vanquished, and in the total destruction of the city. The date generally assigned to this transaction is B.C. 1184. Such of the Trojans as escaped settled in different countries. Æneas fixed his residence in Italy, and founded the kingdom of Alba. The Roman emperors boasted of their descent from this illustrious personage. A degree of doubt, however, exists upon this point; and by some authors Æneas is represented as having collected his dispersed countrymen, and rebuilt the city, over which his descendants presided. Others affirm, and with greater probability, that the Phrygians and Lydians became possessed of the ruined territory, and imparted the name of Phrygia to Troas.

The wooden Horse.

Æneas.

The Legend. Such are the legendary annals of an ancient people—having in it many points of fact, disguised in the garb of poetical story. The legend of Troy is so varied and contradictory, that it is impossible to harmonize it into a continuous narrative.[1] It was a magnificent romance, in which mingled gods, heroes, and men—in which was sung the beauty of Helen, the wisdom of Ulysses, the bravery of Achilles, and the lofty dignity of Agamemnon. The Homeric poems were cherished by the Greeks as exhibiting a glorious pan-Hellenic movement against discomfited Asiatic barbarians.

[1] Fuchs, de varietate Fabularum Troicarum. Dio Chrysostom overthrows the entire Homeric story, and constructs another, according to his conceptions of probability. Orat. xi. p. 310.





[Mount Lebanon and Cedars

HISTORY OF PHŒNICIA.

Names.

Phœnicia Proper, according to the ancient geographers, was bounded by Syria on the north and east, on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the south by Palestine. It was a small strip of territory, not more than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and on an average twenty in breadth. Some derive its name from Phœnix, one of its ancient kings, and son of Agenor; others from the Greek word φοίνιξ, a palm, as if that tree grew in abundance in this country. Others refer it to the Red Sea, or sea of Idumea. Vossius[1] says, "Φοίνιξ is the same with ἐρυθρος, red, thence the Latins from φοινίκιος made *puniceus*, and from φοίνιξ *poenus*." He affirms that the Tyrians came from the Idumean Sea; and concludes that from the Idumeans, or posterity of Esau, the Red Sea was styled "Erythræum mare;" whence the transplanted Tyrians were styled φοίνικες, Phœnicians. Others again derive the name from φόνος, *slaughter*. These are all purely Greek derivatives; and the origination of the name is far more probably Hebrew. Scaliger, Fuller, and Glassius, all agree to derive the name from the Chaldaic,

[1] De Idol. lib. i. c. 34.

פנג *to live delicately*, referring to the luxury of the Tyrians, as merchants; whence φοίνικων, the name of Phœnicians, *q. d.* τρύφερος, *delicate.* But the most probable solution is that of Bochart, who derives the Greek word Φοίνιξ, from the Hebrew בני ענק or בן the *son* or *sons of Anak.* From this Canaanitish name (and there can be no question that the Phœnicians were Canaanites) *Ben-Anak*, or contracted, *Beanak*, the Grecians at first formed φεανακ, thence φόινιξ and φοίνικη—Phœnicia—it being very usual with them to turn ב into φ, as from ערבה αρφα, *arrhabo.*[1]

Territory. This territory was generally considered by the ancients as a province of Syria: and it is rather remarkable that Herodotus indiscriminately makes use of the three names, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria,

Cities. as if they were the same country. The two principal cities of Phœnicia, or Phœnice, were Tyre and Sidon; both of which were situated on the sea coast. Sidon, which was the metropolis of the country, derived its name from Sidon, the son of Canaan, by whom it was

Tyre. built. The city of Tyre also stood about two hundred furlongs to the south of Sidon, and was built upon an island half a mile distant from the shore, and surrounded with a wall a hundred and fifty feet in height, and broader in proportion. Some, such as Volney and Heeren, hold, without proof, that the ancient Tyre was built on the continent, and the new or second Tyre, on an island. There seem to have been two cities, one insular, and the other on the mainland; perhaps joined originally, as long afterwards, by a mole.[2] Agenon is considered as its founder by the Greeks. It does not appear to have been of very considerable extent, though, on this point, ancient geographers are much divided. Phœnicia, besides Tyre and Sidon, contained many considerable cities: Aradus, Orthosia, Tripolis, Byblus, Berytus, and Sarepta, were situated on the coast of Phœnice. Tyre and Sidon now present only a mass of ruins to the eye of the traveller. Both the soil and the climate of this country are excellent. It is watered by rivers, which take their rise from Mount Libanus, the celebrated Lebanon of the Bible; and these streams, when swollen by rains, or the melting of the snow from the mountains, overflow their banks, and inundate the country.

The Phœnicians were undoubtedly Canaanites by descent. Small as was their country, it was still divided into many petty kingdoms, of which the principal were Sidon and Tyre. The people of Phœnice

Religion. worshipped Baal, whose name signifies Lord, and who was the Assyrian Jupiter. Astarte, the Hebrew Ashtaroth, and the Grecian Aphrodite, was also one of their superior deities. She was represented, like the Egyptian Isis, with the horns of a cow upon her head. The death of Adonis, or Thammuz, was annually lamented by the Phœnician women. To this superstition the poet refers:—

[1] See Gale's Court of the Gentiles, vol. i. b. i. c. iii. p. 18, 19.
[2] Hengstenberg, De Rebus Tyriorum. Berlin, 1832.

——— Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis, from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded;—

and it was arraigned by a greater than the poet, when Ezekiel, in his vision of the abominations of Israel, says, "He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and *behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.*" In Tyre was also placed the magnificent temple of the great god Melkarth, (King of the City,) the Hercules of the Greeks, a deity found in all the colonial settlements of Phœnicia.[1] The Phœnicians also worshipped the seven *kabirim* or great gods, the same in number as the planets.

Arts and Sciences.

The Phœnicians were skilled in astronomy and arithmetic; and to them is attributed the invention of letters. According to Herodotus, Cadmus, a Phœnician by birth, first introduced letters into Greece.[2] The people of Phœnicia were also noted for the manufacture of fine linen, the glass of Sidon, and the purple of Tyre. The "*Sidonia ars,*" was a common proverb amongst the ancients; and the epithet "Sidonian" was used by way of emphasis to express whatever was elegant or magnificent. Even in Homer's song Sidonian manufactures were highly prized by the warlike chiefs.[3] As merchants, navigators, and colonists, they had no equals, nor even rivals, for many ages. In ancient times, their country was a great warehouse, in which might be found all the necessaries and luxuries of human life; and it was long and justly considered as the emporium of the east.

Commerce.

Their commerce by sea extended from their own shores even to the British islands, to Spain, to the ports of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the lake Mærotis. According to some etymologists, our own country derived its name of Britain from these Phœnician navigators and merchants, who designated these islands, from the minerals with which they most abounded, ברה אנך, Barat-anac, or Bratanac, from the abundance of tin and lead mines found in them.[4] By land they carried on an extensive trade with Syria, Assyria, Persia, Arabia, and India. Phœnicia sent out several colonies to various parts of the world; and Carthage, Utica, and Gades are indebted for their existence as states to Phœnician founders.

Navigation.

As an evidence of their skill in navigation, it is stated that some Phœnician adventurers, in the service of Necho, king of Egypt, undertook, and completed a voyage round Africa,

[1] Movers, die Religion der Phönicier, p. 420.

[2] Cadmus is from קֶדֶם—east. Cadmus, "an eastern man," is the mythic symbol of the truth, there the use of letters came into Greece from an oriental source.

[3] Iliad, vi. 290.

[4] See Sammes's Britannia.

Language.

sailing out of the Red Sea, and returning through the straits of Gibraltar. As the Phœnicians were of Hamite descent, their language was identical with the ancient Hebrew or tongue of Canaan. Hebrew was the speech of Canaan when Abraham came to sojourn in it. The punic tongue of Carthage, after many years separation from the mother country, preserved a close resemblance to Hebrew, as is noted by Jerom and Augustine, and as may be seen in the Pœnulus of Plautus. The first of the three following lines is the Punic, disguised in Roman characters, and as it occurs in the drama, the second is the same rightly arranged, and presented in Hebrew letters, and the third is a representation of the Punic to the English eye :—

Ythalonim, vualonuth si chorathisima consyth.

נא את עליונים ועליונות שכורת יסמכון זות׃

Na eth eljonim veeljonoth sechorath yismecun zoth

This reading is in Latin,—

Rogo deos et deas, qui hanc regionem tuentur,—

Which is in perfect harmony with the Latin Comedian's own translation—

Deos Deasque veneror, qui hanc urbem colunt—

I venerate the gods and goddesses who patronize this city.[1–2]

Annals.

According to the doubtful records of Greece, Agenor was the first king of Phœnicia, and the founder of Tyre, B.C. 1497.[3] Upon the same authority, it is affirmed that he was succeeded by his son Phœnix; next to whom stands the name of Phalis. This is the meagre, and, perhaps, fabulous account given us of the first kings of Phœnicia by the Grecian writers.

Kings of Sidon.

After Sidon, who was, according to Josephus, the first monarch of the city bearing his name, we do not meet with the record of a single prince until B.C. 598, when we read of a monarch whose name is not known, but who is said, by Jeremiah, to have sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to propose a league with Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar. In point of order we are next introduced

Tetramnestus.

to Tetramnestus, who assisted Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, B.C. 481, and after him to Tennes; at which time, it appears, that Phœnice was tributary to Persia. Tennes and the Sidonians having

[1] Bocharti Phaleg. ii. c. ii.

[2] Useful and interesting information on this subject will be found in that clever and ingenious volume of Gesenius—Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ monumenta, edita et inedita. Leipzig, 1837.

[3] Buttmann says (Mythologie, i. p. 232) that the real name of Agenor was Chnas—the same as Canaan—the son of Ham, and father of these nations.

determined to throw off the Persian yoke, entered into an alliance with Nectanebus, king of Egypt, and, assisted by a body of Greek troops, drove the Persians out of the country. Darius Ochus, enraged at this defeat, marched an immense army into Phœnicia, and laid siege to Sidon. The Sidonians, when they saw that the Persian was upon the point of entering the town, set fire to their houses and possessions, and died amidst the ruins of their city, B.C. 351. The city was afterwards rebuilt, and Strato invested with the sovereignty, until he was deposed by Alexander the Great, B.C. 333. The crown of Sidon was then bestowed by the conqueror upon Ballonymus, who is called Abdolomius, by Quintus Curtius; and after this event Phœnice became a part of the great Macedonian empire.

City of Sidon.

B.C. 333.

Abibal is the first king of Tyre mentioned by Josephus, of whom we only know that he was David's contemporary, and lived B.C. 1056. He was succeeded by his son Hiram, 1046, the friend and ally of David and Solomon; by whom the latter monarch was considerably assisted in building his celebrated temple, and whose daughter he married. He was succeeded by Baleazer, B.C. 1012; and according to Josephus, Abdastartus, Astartus, Astarmius, and Phelles, followed him in direct succession. It appears, on the authority of the same historian, that Ithobal ascended the throne of Tyre and Sidon, B.C. 962, followed by his son Badezon, by Mettinus, and next by Pygmalion, to whose sister, Elisa, called also Dido, the honour of having been the founder of Carthage is attributed by Virgil. To Pygmalion succeeded Elulæus, B C. 717; then Ithobal II. in the year B.C. 585; after whom was a suspension of royalty, and Tyre was governed by judges, B.C. 562. The regal dignity was restored in the person of Balaton, B.C. 556, who was followed in an unbroken line of succession by Merbal, Irom, Marten, Strato, and Azelmie. Under this latter king, B.C. 332, Tyre was taken and burnt by Alexander the Great.

Kings of Tyre, Hiram.

Dido.



[Tyre.]



[ANCIENT COSTUMES —Lydia, Media, Persia. Phrygia, Judea, Rome, Greece, and Asia Minor.—*Sargent.*]

CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT.

AFRICA.—EGYPT, LIBYA, AND ETHIOPIA.

LIBYA—Lay in Northern Africa, and was first settled by Greeks and Phœnicians, whose colonies lay along the sea coast. The Byzantes located themselves in Carthage, and in the most fertile parts of the adjacent country. The aborigines were descendants of Phut, the third son of Ham.
? Colony of Ammonicum.

ETHIOPIA—Comprehending a large territory in the south and east of Egypt, was peopled by the descendants of Ham. The Ethiopians were descended from Cush, from whom sprang Nimrod, the first to usurp dominion over his fellow-men.
? Colonies from Ethiopia (according to some) carry civilization, religion, and the priest-caste into Egypt.

EGYPT—"The ancient chronology of Egypt," says Howard, "is a labyrinth, from which it is impossible for us, at this day, to extricate ourselves." "According to Josephus, the country, afterwards called Egypt, was originally named *Mesren*, and the people *Mesraisi*, and he considers these names to be derived from Misraim, who is reckoned by Moses one of the sons of Ham. The extent of the territory so named is uncertain; it was seated on the banks of the Nile, and may possibly have been occupied in very ancient times by several distinct tribes."—*Sir J. Stoddart's Intro. to Universal History.* Others suppose that the people by whom Egypt was colonised came from India. Among them the priest-caste predominated, the members of which occupied all the state offices, and were, probably, the first civilized tribe. "It seems to us the only rational opinion to suppose that Mizraim, the son of Ham, and the first colonists, passed out of Asia into Lower Egypt, and settling at Heliopolis or Memphis, laid the foundation of that marvellous kingdom, whose wisdom, arts, and labours, have given to it a singular and imperishable fame."—*Eadie's Oriental History.*

Fabulous and Mythical Period.

B.C.

? Osiris civilizes the barbarian inhabitants of Egypt; he teaches them various arts, and, assisted by his wife (who is also his sister) and by his counsellor Hermes, he carries civilization, literature, and the arts into Ethiopia, Arabia, and India. Having founded Macedonia, he returns home and is slain by his brother Typhon, who cuts him into twenty-six pieces. Being restored to life and soundness, he proceeds with his work of humanizing and elevating mankind.

? Animal worship; superstition the basis of civilization and order; mythological delusions the foundation on which the whole fabric of the priestly power in Egypt was built, and which maintained its sway for above 2000 years.

? Misraim and his family colonize Egypt; the city of Thebes or "No-Ammon" founded (Dr. Hales 2613—2412) ? 2188.

? *Dynasty of Menes.*—(Dr. Hales 2412—2159.) "It seems probable," says Sir John Stoddart, "that Menes is an allegorical being, indicating the power of mind over brute material instincts, as displayed in reducing the barbarous inhabitants of Egypt, India, and Crete, under the yoke of civil polity."

2412 Menes overthrows the Patriarchal government of Misraim, and establishes the kingly government; he teaches religion, builds the temple of Vulcan, institutes laws, divides the country between the crown, priesthood, and military, &c.

This dynasty ended with the death of Timæus, Thammuz, or Concharis.

2200 Menes turns the course of the Nile into a new channel.

2188 Memphis built by Menes.

? *Dynasty of the Hyksos,*
Or Shepherd Kings, (Dr. Hales 2159—1899.)

2082 Salatis invades Egypt (? 1650.)

The Shepherd dynasty, according to Dr. Hales, numbered six kings, viz.:—1, *Salatis*, 19 years; 2, *Baion*, 44 years; 3, *Apachnes*, 37 years. During this sovereign's reign was commenced
The First Pyramid (2095 Dr. Hales.)
Abram visits Egypt (2077 Dr. H.) ? 1921.
4, *Apophes*, 61 years; 5, *Janais*, 50 years; and, 6, *Assis*, 49 years.

This dynasty is rejected by Sir John Stoddart, who maintains, with Tatian, Justin Martyr, and other ancient authors, that a nation of shepherd captives (the Hebrews) are referred to, and not a dynasty of shepherd kings. If this position be correct, it is manifest that the period assigned for the kings is far too early for the captives. Dr. Eadie is, however, of a different opinion. "Josephus

and other writers," the Doctor says, "have strangely confounded the Hyksos with the Israelites; but this theory, though it has met with strenuous supporters even in modern times, may now be regarded as completely exploded." Dr. Hales states, that an account of the conquest of Egypt by the shepherd tribe is preserved in the Sacred Books of the Hindoos.

2126 Division of Egypt into four kingdoms, viz.; Egypt proper, Lower Egypt, This, and Memphis.

2122 Hieroglyphics invented by Athotes.
The fine arts cultivated in Egypt.

2111 Thebes built by Busiris.—Usher. (? 2188.)

2100 *Osymandyas's* victories in Asia, &c.
Several modern writers suppose that Osymandyas was no more than a mythological being. Consult note to 1618.
Sculpture and painting employed to commemorate the exploits of Osymandyas.
Worship of Isis, Osiris, Ammon, and Phtha introduced.

2080 Lower Egypt invaded and conquered by the Phœnicians; they retain it 260 years.

2040 *Mœris* king of Thebes and Memphis.

1938 Lake Mœris constructed (? 1327.)
The First Pyramid built, according to some. See "Dynasty of the Hyksos," and 1492.

1928 Abraham comes into Egypt.
Expulsion of the Shepherd Kings (1899 Dr. Hales.)

Dynasty of the Pharaohs.
(1899—525 Dr. Hales.)

Dr. Hales's chronology is here at variance with that adopted in the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures. According to Dr. Hales, Alaphrag Muthosis reigned 27 years. In his reign (1872) Joseph is appointed regent; and Jacob with his family settle in Goshen (1863.) Joseph's death he places in 1792, and the reign of Queen Nicrotis in 1742. (See 1715, 1706, and 1675.)

1891 Common letters introduced by Syphoas.

1828 Expulsion of the Phœnicians from Lower Egypt (2080.)

1822 Egyptian letters invented by Memnon.

1821 *Amenophis* I. king of *all* Egypt.
Several chronologists state that the sovereignty of *all* Egypt was first assumed by Ramasses III., or Sesostris (other assigned dates, 1440 and 1318.)

1806 Working of gold and silver mines.

1728 Joseph sold as a slave to Potiphar.

1715 Joseph, having interpreted the king's dreams, is made governor of Egypt (1872 Dr. Hales.)
He purchases the landed property of the people of Egypt, during a grievous famine, except the estates of the priests.

1706 Jacob and his family, 70 persons in all, settle in Goshen (1863 Dr. Hales.)

? 1695 *Chebron*, king (1623 Dr. Hales; 1575 Wilkinson.)

? 1682 *Amenophis* II. king (1518 Dr. Hales; 1500 Wilkinson; others 1821 and 1492.)

1675 Death of Joseph (1792 Dr. Hales.)

1660 *Memphis* (1567 Dr. Hales.)

1618 *Sesostris*,—Lenglet (1308 Dr. Hales.)
His glorious achievements in Asia, &c.
"There is no date, perhaps, in the whole range of profane chronology, more disputed than that of the age or accession of Sesostris. Various epochs have been assigned; the extremes differing nearly 600 years."—Dr. Hales.
"The achievements of this monarch are supposed to have been the labours of several kings, attributed by Egyptian priests to Sesostris alone, whose very existence is doubted." Haydn, Marsham, Newton, and Sir John Stoddart are of opinion that Sesostris was no other than Shishak. See 1308, 972.

1615 Settlement of the Ethiopians.

Kings of whom nothing is recorded.

1610 Amesses.—Dr. Hales.
1567 Alephres.—Dr. Hales.
1556 Rameses Miamum.
1554 Misphrag Muthosis.—Dr. Hales.
1532 Thotmes I.—Wilkinson.
1528 Tethmosis.—Dr. Hales.
1518 Amenophis II.—Dr. Hales.

1492 ? Death of Rampses or Ramases; in whose reign, according to some, the pyramids were built (? 1275.) He is succeeded by *Amenophis* (see following note.) ? 1682.

1491 Exode of the Israelites (1648 Dr. Hales.)
"Different chronologists having fixed this event," says Sir J. Stoddart, "at B.C. 1648, 1608, 1593, 1531, 1509, and 1491, it follows that several sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty have been supposed to be the Pharaoh who then reigned; *Ex. gr.* Memphres, Amenophthis, Achencherres, Chencherres, and Cherres."

1488 *Orus* or Horus, king.—Dr. Hales.

1485 *Ægyptus* reigns; from whom the country is named Egypt, instead of Misraim, its former name (? 1760.)
Plutarch makes Ægyptus a son of Vulcan and Leucippe; Eusebius states that he was identical with Rampses (1481); Hesyschius says the name of the country was derived from the river; while Sir W. Drummond is of opinion that Ægyptus was a Greek corruption for the land of Vulcan, the first of its divine kings.

Names of Kings—Periods uncertain.

1452 Accenchris.—Dr. Hales.
1440 Rathosis.—Dr. Hales.
1431 Accenchres I.—Dr. Hales.
1418 Accenchres II.—Dr. Hales.
1398 Armais.—Dr. Hales.
1394 Rameses.—Dr. Hales.
1393 Harmesses.—Dr. Hales.
1379 Hermes Trismegistres, king of Thebes.
1376 Sethos (? 1308.)

1327 *Amenophis* III. or Mœris, a wise and equitable king, and the reputed founder of Lake Mœris (? 1938.)

1308 *Sethos* or Sesostris, celebrated by the Egyptian priests for his glorious victories, and his great national undertakings; *Ex. gr.* The Temple of Vulcan at Memphis, the Sepulchral Temple of Thebes, canals, &c. (see 2412) ? 1618.

1300 New division and valuation of the lands, tribute levied accordingly, military expeditions of Sesostris in most known countries.
1299 Sesostris repulsed at the Tanais, returns home laden with the spoils of his prosperous wars.
Domestic improvements engage his attention, canals are dug, &c.; and a wall of 1500 stadia is built across the desert.
1275 *Rampses* or Pheron (see 1492.)
There were several kings named Rampses or Ramases, some of whom were successful in war; but this prince is represented as being indolent and effeminate, which occasioned the loss of all his father's conquests.
Egypt divided into thirty-six nomes.
1214 *Thuoris*, Ramases, or Proteus; Dr. Hales (another date 1189.)
This king was eminent for his wisdom, by which his kingdom flourished.—Blair.
The Greeks have endowed him with the faculty of assuming at pleasure any form in nature, as a lion, a dragon, a tree, fire, water, &c.
1194 Paris and Helen driven upon the Egyptian coast are brought before Proteus.
Paris expelled; Helen detained.
1183 Menelaus comes to Egypt, to whom Proteus delivers his wife, Helen, with all her treasures.
1164 *Amenophis* IV.—Dr. Hales.
1124 *Rhamsinitus*.—Dr. Hales.
He is represented as a wealthy prince, and a patron of the Elusinian mysteries.
1082 *Cheops* (Chemnis.)
The Egyptian priests ascribe the building of the *Second Pyramid* to this prince.
1032 *Cephrines* (? Pseucennes, or Shishak, or Cephres) reigns.
According to some the second pyramid was built in this reign (? 1492.)
1004 Alliance with Solomon, king of Israel.
972 Shishak's expedition against the land of Judea (? 978 or 975.)
Sir J. Stoddart contends for the identity of Shiskak with Sesostris:—"There was a lapse of above 500 years between the reign of Shiskak and the researches of Herodotus, who is the first extant writer that mentions the name of Sesostris; and in that long space of time circumstances may have given abundant occasion for error on the part of the priests, from whom he obtained his information; and what is more material, there was an actual groundwork of truth in the victories of Shiskak, on which an edifice of fiction might, with some plausibility, be raised."—*Intro. to Universal History.*
960 *Mycerinus* or Cherisus (976 Dr. Hales.)
According to Dr. Hales, a chasm of 150 years intervened from the death of Mycerinus in 966 to the accession of Bocchoris in 815.
The *Third Pyramid* built.
941 Zerah the Ethiopian.
825 The *Tanaite* dynasty begins with Peterbastes.—Blair.
815 *Bocchoris* or Asychius.—Dr. Hales.
815 Celebrated for his wise and prosperous administration.
Usher places the invasion of So in this reign; he says, that having conquered Bocchoris, So condemned him to be roasted alive: but Usher carries the date down to 737 (see 769.)
786 Egypt mistress of the Mediterranean to 751.
781 Dynasty of the *Saites*.
772 Egypt celebrated for its sculptures.
771 *Anysis* (the Blind.)
769 He is deposed and expelled by the victorious So, (Sabaco,) chieftain of an immense horde of Ethiopians (737 Usher.)
So, the first Ethiopian king of Egypt.
A prosperous and equitable reign.
757 Period of So's invasion, according to Usher.
747 The old Egyptian year (Feb. 26.)
725 So invades Judea.
719 So resigns the throne of Egypt and retires to his own country.
Anysis restored to his throne.
713 Usurpation of Sethou or Sebecou, a priest of the temple of Vulcan.
He seizes the lands of the warriors, and thus provokes them to opposition.
711 Assyrian invasion under Sennacherib.
705 *Tirhakah*, king of Ethiopia.
685 The Dodecarchy; twelve cotemporary kings reign over the twelve districts or nomes. According to some they govern 15 years, according to others, 25 years.
670 or 660 Overthrow of the Dodecarchy by Psammetichus, one of the twelve, who hires Greek and Carian mercenaries to effect his purpose.
The Labyrinth near lake Mœris, with 3000 chambers, constructed.
Psammeticus I. (the powerful,) king of Egypt.
He maintains a Greek standing army.
647 Azoth besieged for 19 years.—Usher.
Memphis becomes the capital of Egypt; the king's residence is chiefly at Sais.
Greek standing army maintained
Psammeticus introduces the Greek language; he institutes an inquiry into the primitive language of man.
630 Battus, the Grecian, founds Cyrenë, also called Aristæus, after the name of its first chief.
516 *Pharaoh Necho*, or Nekus.
610 Canal to connect the Mediterranean and Red Seas, commenced; abandoned in 12 months, after a loss of 120,000 men.
Navy established; national prosperity; voyage of discovery and exploration; the fleet sails through the Straits of Babelmandeb, and at the end of three years returns by the Straits of Gibraltar.
609 Necho's Expedition into Asia.
606 He is defeated by Nebuchadnezzar.
600 *Psammis* succeeds Necho (Dr. Hales 603.)
Ethiopia invaded by Psammis.
594 *Apries*, or Pharaoh Hophra
He conspires with Zedekiah of Jerusalem against Nebuchadnezzar.
581 Apries deposed by Nebuchadnezzar.
572 Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt.
570 Rebellion of Amasis; Apries defeated and strangled at Memphis.
569 *Amasis* made king by Nebuchadnezzar.

569 He marries a Greek; supports the priest-caste; erects monuments at Sais and Memphis, &c.
Flourishing state of his kingdom, which numbers 20,000 cities.
Decree enjoining every subject to state his means of subsistence.
568 Naucratis granted to the Greeks for the purposes of trade.
554 Visit of Solon the Philosopher.
536 ? Pythagoras visits Egypt, and is instructed in the Egyptian Mythology.
Amasis displeases Cyrus of Persia.
535 Egypt made tributary by Cyrus.
525 *Psammenitus* revolts against Persia.
Invasion of Cambyses, and defeat of Psammenitus at Pelusium.
A herald is sent to the Egyptians at Memphis; they murder him and the crew of his vessel, numbering 200 persons.
Memphis besieged and taken.
Murder of Psammenitus; horrid butchery of the children of the grandees; the whole country ravaged.
525 Egypt is conquered by Cambyses, which ends the Dynasty of the Pharaohs.
Egypt a Persian province.
Persian expedition into Ethiopia of 50,000 men; all of whom, according to Justin, were lost in the burning sands.
520 Thebes (Luxor) taken and plundered; 6000 Egyptians removed to Susiana.
Tribute of fish to the Persian Monarchs.
Cambyses kills the god Apis.
Insanity of Cambyses.
486 The Egyptians revolt against Darius Hystaspes II. of Persia.
484 Xerxes subdues the rebellion; and augments the Egyptian tribute.
The Persian ruler in Egypt, Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, renders himself odious by his oppressions.
460 Rebellion against Persian authority, headed by Inarus.
Inarus receives aid from Athens.
455 The revolt quelled by Megabyzes and Artabazus; nevertheless
Amyrtæus maintains the independence of the Egyptian marshes.
448 Visit of Herodotus to Egypt.
414 *Egypt restored* to its independence under Amyrtæus.
408 *Pausiris* succeeds Amyrtæus.
401 *Psammeticus* II.—Dr. Hales.
395 *Nephereus* or Nofreoph.
He sends supplies to the Spartans, which are seized by the Persians.
Civil discord; clamour for reform.
389 *Achoris* succeeds.
377 *Psammuthis.*
376 *Nepherites.*
375 *Nectanebus* I. or Nacht-ef-neb.
He fortifies the mouths of the Nile.
374 Iphicrates repulsed.
Social reforms; public works.
363 *Tachus* or Tæos succeeds.—Dr. Hales(? 361.)
Quarrel between Agesilaus, commander of the Greek mercenaries, and Chabrias, Egyptian admiral.
361 *Nectanebus* II., nephew of Tachus, ascends the throne by the aid of Agesilaus.
Tachus retires to Persia.

350 Egypt conquered; its temples pillaged, &c. and Nectanebus, its king, expelled by Ochus of Persia.
Egypt again becomes *a Persian Province.*
332 Egypt conquered by Alexander.
Alexandria built.
323 *Ptolemy* I. (Soter) restores the independence of Egypt; he makes
Alexandria the capital of his kingdom.
In order to effect his object, Ptolemy procures the murder of Cleomenes, seizes upon the treasury of Alexandria, augments his army, and wages war against Perdiccas.
321 He defeats Perdiccas, regent of Macedon.
Perdiccas murdered by his own officers.
Lybia, Cyrene, and Cœle-Syria added to the kingdom of Egypt.
320 Phœnicia revolts against Egypt.
Aristotle's first work—on mechanics.
Diving bell introduced.
About 100,000 Jews brought into Egypt.
314 Phœnicia wrested from Ptolemy by Antigonus of Asia Minor.
313 Ptolemy captures Cyprus.
312 He defeats Demetrius at Gaza.
307 Naval defeat off Cyprus.
303 Decisive battle of Ipsus; the independence of Egypt secured.
301 Phœnicia finally united to Egypt.
Flourishing period of the cotton trade, and other manufactures of Egypt.
300 The golden age of the Ptolemies.
Alexandria celebrated for its museum and library; literature encouraged.
Euclid, Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, and other philosophers fl.
Four schools of science founded:—1, Criticism; 2, Mathematics; 3, Astronomy; and 4, Medicine.
285 Soter unites his son in the government.
Magnificent coronation festival of the younger Ptolemy.
Dionysius the astronomer fl. at Alexandria; he settles the length of the solar year at 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes.
284 The Septuagint commenced.
The Pharos commenced.
Temple of Serapis; removal of the image from Pontius to Alexandria.
283 Death of Soter, aged 84.
"The dominions which Soter bequeathed to his son were extensive and powerful. Besides Egypt, Philadelphus found subjected to his authority the important provinces of Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Arabia, Lybia, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades." —*Early Oriental History.*
Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) succeeds.
Murder of Demetrius Phalerius.
The Pharos of Alexandria completed.
Magnificent buildings erected—obelisk and other works.
282 Theocritus at the court of Ptolemy.
Timosthenes the admiral, and author of a work on harbours, fl.
276 Eratosthenes born at Cyrene.
? First society of Critics (? 300.)
273 Ptolemy sends ambassadors to Rome for the first time.

272 An embassy from Rome to Philadelphus comes to Alexandria.
Memphis the capital of the kingdom.
264 Aristophanes the grammarian fl.
259 Aratus and Lycophron fl.
256 Callimachus fl. at Alexandria.
247 Death of Philadelphus, aged 63.
Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) succeeds.
War with Seleucus Callimachus, king of Syria, in which he is victorious; he brings home immense spoils, including 2500 statues, and vessels of gold and silver.
Expedition into Ethiopia; the army penetrates as far as Axium.
240 The Apocryphal book of "Jesus the son of Sirach," about this time.
222 Death of Euergetes; accession of *Ptolemy* IV. (Philopater.)
He treats the family of Cleomenes with revengeful cruelty.
217 War with the king of Syria; victory of Raphia, by which Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia are brought into subjection.
212 Birth of Carneades at Cyrene.
205 Death of Philopater, aged 37.
Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes) 4 years old.
Sosibius and Aristomenes ministers.
203 Alliance with the Romans.
Judea lost to Egypt (217.)
201 M. Lepidus regent.
198 Syria lost to Egypt (217.)
197 Ptolemy Epiphanes crowned at Memphis.
193 Marriage of Ptolemy with a daughter of Antiochus (the Great.)
187 Alliance with the Achæans renewed.
184 Ptolemy murders Aristomenes.
183 Insurrection; quelled by Polycrates.
181 Death of Epiphanes; he is deified.
Ptolemy VI. (Philometer) 6 years old.
Cleopatra, his mother, regent.
173 Death of the Queen mother.
Eulæus, a favourite eunuch, regent
171 War with Antiochus Epiphanes; defeat of Eulæus; he is made prisoner.
169 *Physcon* made king by the Egyptians, but degraded by Antiochus.
162 Jewish colony at Heliopolis.
164 The kingdom divided; Physcon recalled by Antiochus, and placed over Lybia.
154 Physcon, with the aid of Rome, makes war against Ptolemy Philometer.
Is made prisoner, pardoned, and restored.
152 Reigns of Philometer and Physcon.
150 Philometer's daughter married to Alexander Bala.
Philometer assists Bala against Demetrius.
146 Ptolemy sides with Demetrius against Bala, but falls in battle.
Physcon, under the title of *Ptolemy* VII., (Euergetes II.) seizes on the throne.
He marries his brother's widow; and murders his infant nephew, the rightful heir.
143 Scipio Africanus comes to Alexandria.
131 Ptolemy repudiates Cleopatra, and marries her daughter by his own brother.
130 The cruelties of Ptolemy occasion a rebellion in Alexandria.
129 Ptolemy flees to Cyprus, where he makes arrangements for recovering his power.
Cleopatra, the younger, queen of Egypt.
Physcon's second crime of infanticide; he murders his two sons by Cleopatra.
129 Hegolochus, Physcon's general, defeats Marsyas; and soon after Physcon is restored to his kingdom.
128 Pestilence in Egypt, arising from the putrefactions of immense swarms of locusts; computed that 800,000 persons perished.
117 Cyrenaica lost to Egypt.
Ptolemy VIII. (Soter II. or Lathyrus.)
Cleopatra, by a wicked stratagem, compels Lathyrus to flee to Cyprus.
107 *Cleopatra* and *Alexander* (her younger son) joint rulers of the kingdom of Egypt.
89 Conspiracy of Cleopatra against her son Alexander, by whom she is killed.
Alexander banished.
88 *Civil War;* Lathyrus and Alexander.
Alexander defeated and put to death.
Ptolemy VIII. (Lathyrus) restored.
84 Revolt of Thebes; it is besieged.
82 Capture and destruction of Thebes.
Marriage of Alexander, nephew of Ptolemy VIII., with Cleopatra his cousin.
Alexander and *Cleopatra*, through the influence of Rome, reign conjointly.
Cleopatra murdered by her husband 19 days after marriage.
Assassination of Alexander.
81 Death of Ptolemy VIII. (117.)
Berenice, his daughter, succeeds.
The difficulties connected with the affairs of Egypt at this period are chronologically inextricable.
80 *Alexander* III. and *Ptolemy* IX. competitors for the throne.
Civil disturbances; Alexander abdicates and retires to Tyre.
Ptolemy (X.) *Auletes* elected king.
He is tributary to the Romans.
Is compelled to relinquish Cyprus.
65 Death of Alexander III.
59 Insurrection against Ptolemy Auletes.
He is compelled to quit his capital.
Berenice and *Tryphæna* reign conjointly for one year.
58 Ptolemy goes to Rome to solicit aid for the recovery of Egypt.
Berenice reigns two years.
55 Auletes restored by Gabinius, according to the command of Cæsar and Pompey.
Berenice put to death.
51 Death of Auletes; he is succeeded by *Ptolemy* XI., (Dionysus,) and his sister *Cleopatra*, then 17 years old.
50 Dissensions between the royal brother and sister, instigated by the eunuch Pothinus.
49 Expulsion of Cleopatra.
48 The Alexandrine war.
The rival forces at Pelusium.
Death of Pompey near Alexandria.
Cæsar lands his army at Alexandria.
He commands Cleopatra and Ptolemy to submit their quarrel to his arbitration.
Cleopatra's stratagem to secure the favour of Julius Cæsar.
Ptolemy's party refuses to submit to Cæsar's dictation.
47 Civil War; Cæsar besieged in the capital of Alexandria.
Naval battle; Cæsar's fleet victorious; the magazines, magnificent library, &c. burnt.
Escape of the princess Arsinoë to the Alexandrians.

47 Pothinus put to death by Cæsar.
The war rages with great fury.
Narrow escape of Cæsar at Pharos.
46 Ptolemy defeated by Cæsar; he is drowned in crossing the Nile.
Cleopatra, and her younger brother, *Ptolemy* XII. eleven years old, reign conjointly.
Banishment of Arsinoë.
Cæsar and Gannymede depart for Asia, &c.
44 Cleopatra poisons her brother, (14 years old,) and reigns alone.
40 Cleopatra summoned before Mark Antony to answer for the crime.
41 Antony is captivated by Cleopatra; he follows her into Egypt.
Murder of Arsinoë.
36 Phœnicia, Cyrene, and Cyprus, bestowed upon Cleopatra by Antony.
35 All Asia, from the Indus to the Mediterranean, conferred upon Cleopatra.
War declared against Egypt by Cæsar.
Antony prepares for the struggle; his fleet winters in the Ambracian gulf.
34 Naval battle off Actium; total defeat of Antony and Cleopatra.
Cleopatra and Antony escape to Alexandria; preparations for war renewed.
Cæsar invades Egypt; the Egyptian sailors surrender their fleet.
Antony stabs himself; and dies in the presence of Cleopatra.
Interview of Cleopatra and Cæsar.
Suicide of Cleopatra.
Alteration of the Egyptian Æra.
Egypt a Roman province.

CHRONOLOGY OF BABYLON AND ASSYRIA.

"The Babylonian and Assyrian empires, in all historical records, are much blended together. These empires, whether distinct or united, possessed in very early times two vast cities; Babylon on the Euphrates, and Nineveh on the Tigris. The country on the Tigris was called Assyria; that on the Euphrates Babylonia; and the large intervening space was commonly termed Mesopotamia, or 'between the rivers:' and this, together with Babylonia, seems to be meant in Scripture by the land of Shinar. According to the scriptural account, it would seem that Babylon was the first great city built after the deluge, and that it was founded by Nimrod, a great grandson of Noah, or at all events, by a tribe of his descendants, bearing his name. The origin of Nineveh is involved in much uncertainty, whether we consult sacred or profane history."—*Stoddart's Introduction to Universal History.*

"Asshur, the second son of Shem, probably gave his name to the country of Assyria. There is some doubt whether the reading of Gen. x. 11, should not be thus:—'Out of that land he (*i.e.* Nimrod) went forth into Asshur or Assyria, and builded Nineveh.' At any rate, the weight of authority favours the position, that Nineveh was founded by Nimrod."—*Dr. Eadie.*

"Though the main body of the Cushites was miraculously dispersed, and sent by Providence to their original destinations along the sea coasts of Asia and Africa, yet Nimrod remained behind, and like the 'giants and mighty men—men of renown' of the old world, who founded an empire in Babylonia, according to Berosus; Nimrod did the same, by usurping the property of the Arphaxadites in the land of Shinar."—*Dr. Hales.*

B.C.
? *Nimrod*, a mighty hunter, subverts the Patriarchal government, and establishes the regal (Dr. Hales, Syncellus, 2554; others, 2234.)
? The city of Babylon founded (2547, Eustathius; 2247, others.)
? Ecced, Chalnah, Erech, &c. founded.
? Nimrod, or Asshur, goes into Assyria, and there founds a city, afterwards called Nineveh (2147, 2069.)
Dr. Hales assigns several reasons for believing that Nimrod, not Asshur, the son of Shem, was the founder of the city of Nineveh.
? Numerous cities founded; prosperous condition of Babylon.
? Nimrod introduces the Sabian idolatry.
Rehoboth, and other cities founded.
2147 *Ninus* (? Nimrod or Asshur) founds Nineveh.—Diodorus.
? Astrology studied at Babylon.
2124 Death of Nimrod (? Ninus I., Belus, or Mahla Bela.)
Deification of Nimrod; his worshippers place him in the constellation *Orion*, as hunting the Great Bear.
Belus II. or Ninus II. (Dr. Hales 2230.)

B.C.
2069 Reign of Ninus, son of Belus, from whom Nineveh derives its name.
2059 *The Assyrian Empire.*
Babylon reduced by Ninus; the two kingdoms united; Nineveh the capital.
2017 *Semiramis* succeeds Ninus.
Babylon enlarged and beautified by Semiramis, who makes it the capital of the empire (? 2107.)
1978 Victories of Semiramis in Ethiopia, Lybia, and India.
"As we find that this lady was worshipped as the celestial Venus, we may conclude that the outline of her story is purely mythological. This is the more easily to be believed, because there are no facts connecting her pretended exploits with any thing else, either in the Babylonian or any other history."—*Sir J. Stoddart.* See B.C. 747.
1975 *Ninyas* succeeds Semiramis.
1937 Nineveh seized by the Arabs.
Overthrow of the first Assyrian empire; it is divided into four kingdoms:—
Shinar; Amraphel its king.
Ellasar; Arioch, or (Arius,) its king.

1937 Goim; (including the mingled nations of Cœle Syria, &c.;) Tidal, king.
Elam; Chedorlaomer its king, by whom the others were held tributaries.
Thus the Assyrian sceptre had departed to Persia.
1912 Chedorlaomer (? Hushang, see *Persia*,) king of Elam; and his allies, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goim, conquer the Pentapolis, and carry away Lot and all the people of Sodom captives.
Chedorlaomer defeated and slain.
1907 *Aralius*, king of Assyria, 40 years.
1867 *Baleus* or *Xerxes*, reigns 30 years.
1837 *Arniamithres*, reigns 38 years.
1799 *Belochus*, reigns 35 years.
1764 *Balæus*, reigns 52 years.
1712 *Sethos* or Altadas, reigns 32 years.
1680 *Maniythus*, reigns 30 years.
1650 *Aschalæus* or Manchaleus, reigns 32 years.
1618 *Sphærus*, reigns 20 years.
1598 *Mamylas*, reigns 30 years.
1568 *Sparthæus*, reigns 40 years.
1528 *Ascatades*, reigns 40 years.
1488 *Armyntes*, reigns 45 years.
1443 *Belochus*, reigns 25 years.
Belochus has been considered as the last of the race of Ninus.
1420 Belochus unites his daughter Atossa (Semiramis II.) in the government.
1418 *Belatores* or Bellapares, reigns 30 years.
1388 *Lamprides*, reigns 30 years.
1358 *Sosares*, reigns 20 years.
1338 *Lampraes* or Lampares, reigns 30 years.
1308 *Panyas*, reigns 45 years.
1263 *Sosarmus*, reigns 21 years.
1242 *Mithræus* or Mitreus, called by some Ninus II., and celebrated as a hero of great renown, founds the
Second Assyrian Dynasty.
He reigns 27 years.
1215 *Tautanes* or Teutamus, 32 years.
1183 *Teutæus*, reigns 40 years.
1143 Interregnum for 5 years.
1139 *Thinæus*, reigns 30 years.
1109 *Deranlus*, reigns 40 years.
1069 *Eupalis*, (? Eupachmes,) reigns 38 years.
1031 *Laosthenes*, reigns 45 years.
986 *Pertiades*, reigns 30 years.
956 *Ophratæus*, reigns 21 years.
935 *Epecheres*, reigns 52 years.
883 *Acraganes*, reigns 42 years.
841 *Thonus Concholerus*, reigns 20 years.
This prince, it is said by some, is identical with the Sardanapalus of the Greek historians, who place him in the year 767.
820 The king who reigned when Jonah visited Nineveh.—Dr. Hales.
800 Jonah's preaching in Nineveh. — Dr. Hales.
790 *Sardanapalus*, an effeminate and grossly depraved prince.
773 Rebellion of Arbaces, governor of Media, and Belesis, viceroy of Babylon.
Nineveh besieged for two years.
771 Fall of Nineveh; Sardanapalus fires his palace, and thus destroys himself and his wives, &c.
End of the First Assyrian Empire.
Three kingdoms are eventually formed out of its ruins: Media, Babylon, Nineveh.
770 *Pul* or Belus II. king of Nineveh.
769 Pul brings the Israelites under tribute.
Flourishing condition of Assyria.
766 *Belesis* or Nabonassar, king of Babylon.
"Belesis is the same with Nabonassar."—Dr. Eadie (see 773 and 747.)
It has been conjectured that Belesis did not assume the royal state and title till after the decease of Pul, who (according to Sir I. Newton) divided his kingdom, just before his death, between Nabolassar and Tiglath-pileser.
747 *Nabonassar*, king of Babylon (? 766.)
The Era of Nabonassar commences Feb. 26.
"The celebrated Semiramis, who built the walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, might have been either his wife or his mother."—Dr. Hales.
Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria.
740 Victories of Tiglath in Syria (? 738.)
738 Tiglath is subsidized by the king of Judah; he accordingly goes against Syria and Israel, the former he reduces by repeated victories, and from the latter he takes many captives.
733 *Nadius*, king of Babylon.
731 *Chuizirus* and *Porus* reign in Babylon.
729 *Shalmanezer*, king of Assyria.
728 Shalmanezer invades Samaria.
726 *Jugæus*, king of Babylon.
721 *Mardocempadus* or Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon.
Shalmanezer's victories in Samaria; he sends colonies of Cutheans thither.
719 He besieges Tyre, but at the end of five years abandons the siege.
714 *Sennacherib*, king of Assyria.
713 Sennacherib's first invasion of Judah.
711 Sennacherib's second invasion of Judah.
Return of Sennacherib to Nineveh.
Assassination of Sennacherib by his two sons in the Temple of Nisroch.
710 *Esarhaddon* (? Sardanapalus) succeeds.
Revolt of Media and Babylon; Mardocempadus asserts his independence.
He sends an embassy of congratulation to the king of Judah on his recovery from illness.
709 *Archianus*, king of Babylon.
Great confusion in the affairs of this kingdom till its re-subjugation by the Assyrians.
704 An interregnum of two years in Babylon; anarchy and strife prevail.
702 *Belibus*, king of Babylon.
699 *Apronadius*, king of Babylon.
Esarhaddon (of Assyria) takes Babylon.
Chronologists who give to Esarhaddon a reign of 39 years, bring this event down to the year 680.
693 *Regibaldus*, king of Babylon.
Asordanes (Apronadius) king of Assyria.
692 *Mesesimordacus*, king of Babylon.
691 *Adrameles* (Sammughes) king of Assyria.
688 Death of the king of Babylon.
An interregnum of eight years.
680 *Asaridinus* brings the discontented and factious Babylonians into subjection, and then ascends the throne of Babylon.
The kingdom in a state of depression.
677 or 675 Successful invasion of Judah by Asaridinus; Manasseh brought captive to Babylon.

676 or 674 Manasseh restored to his kingdom.
670 *Axerdis*, brother of Adrameles, king of Assyria.
667 *Ninus* III. king of Assyria.
Ninus III. is rejected by some chronologists, who make Saosduchinus king of Assyria, instead of king of Babylon. Ptolemy states that Saosduchinus was either the son or deputy of Ninus, and that they began their respective reigns at the same time.
Saosduchinus king of Babylon (? 669.)
The kings enumerated between the death of Esarhaddon and the accession of Saosduchinus, are rejected by those chronologists who make the latter the son and immediate successor of the former.
650 or 658 *Nabuchodonasor* (? Sardanapalus) king of Assyria.
Dr. Eadie and others suppose that this prince is identical with—
647 *Chinaladamus* king of Babylon.
Those who identify this sovereign with Nebuchodonasor, make Saracus ascend the Assyrian throne about this date, instead of 630.
641 Nabopolassar defeats the Median army near Ragon; he takes Arphaxad prisoner, and destroys Ecbatana.
640 Expedition of Holofernes against all the refractory states of the empire.
639 Murder of Holofernes by Judith.
630 *Saracus*, (? Sardanapulus II.) Assyria.
The Medes retake Ecbatana, and restore and fortify it.
625 *Nabopolassar*, king of Babylon, asserts his independence of Assyria.
He unites his son Nebuchadnezzar in the government.
623 Alliance between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares king of Media.
Nebuchadnezzar marries Amytis, daughter of Cyaxares of Media.
610 Death of Tobit and Anna at Nineveh.
609 Tobias removes to Ecbatana.
608 Nineveh besieged by the kings of Babylon and Media; Nebuchadnezzar general of the united armies.
606 Nineveh taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and added to the Median kingdom.
Sarac destroys himself in his palace (771.)
605 Nebuchadnezzar repulses Necho of Egypt at Circesium (Carchemish.)
Death of Nabopolassar, his son.
604 *Nebuchadnezzar* reigns alone.
He founds the Chalde-Babylonian empire, which extended from the Tigris to the Nile.
596 Nebuchadnezzar's successful campaigns in Elam or Persia.
587 And in Judea.
585 And in Phœnicia.
584 Evil-Merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, is routed in a skirmish with the Median troops under Astyages.
582 He takes Susa, or Shushan, in Elam.
Daniel chief of the astrologers and magicians in Nebuchadnezzar's court.
Ezekiel prophecies to the captive Jews by the river Chebar.
570 Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt.
569 The "Golden Image" set up.
Insanity of Nebuchadnezzar.
562 Nebuchadnezzar's reason restored.
561 *Evil-Merodach* succeeds Nebuchadnezzar.
He forms a confederacy against Media.
559 Defeat of the confederacy by Cyrus, general of the Median army.
Evil-Merodach, of Babylon, slain.
558 *Neriglassar* (Belshazzar) succeeds.
Babylon besieged by Cyrus the Mede.
556 Neriglassar celebrates his birth-day with great rejoicing and excess.
The "hand-writing on the wall."
Cyrus and his guards enter the city; the king and his nobles are slain.
555 *Laborosoarchod*, for nine months.
Darius the Mede, king of Babylon as well as of Media.
551 *Nabonadius*, titular king of Babylon.
He aspires to be independent of Media.
549 Nabonadius joins the Syrian confederacy against king Cyrus.
548 Defeat of the confederates at Pteira.
They are again defeated at Thymbra.
After the defeat of most of the confederates, Cyrus marches against Babylon.
540 Babylon invested by the Medes.
538 Cyrus takes Babylon; he overthrows the kingdom, and annexes it to the Persian empire (? 536.)
537 Daniel in the lion's den.

CHRONOLOGY OF PERSIA.

B.C.
Mythical, fabulous, and uncertain periods.
The Peshdadian Dynasty—
During which time the affairs of Media and Persia are intermingled.
2190 *Kaiumarath* or Kaiomers, the first Persian king, elected in a time of anarchy.
He founds several cities, Balch the capital.
His eldest son, Nazek, murdered.
Kaiumarath resigns the sceptre after a reign of 40 years.
2150 *Siamek* (grandson) succeeds to the throne.
Death of Siamek in battle.
Kaiumarath resumes the government and reigns well for about 30 years.
2120 *Hushang* or Hosheng, son of Siamek, succeeds Kaiumarath.

B.C.
2120 He is entitled Pischdad—"the just."
He introduces canals and other internal improvements.
Rice first cultivated.
Susa and other cities founded by Hosheng.
Introduction of fire-worship ascribed to him.
He extends his kingdom by the conquest of neighbouring nations; reigns 50 years.
2070 *Tahmuras* (son or grandson) succeeds Hushang.
He restores peace to his dominions, remits taxes, promotes agriculture, trade, &c., distributes even-handed justice, encourages virtue, fortifies his frontiers, &c.

2070 Is taken ill of fever, and dies, universally lamented, after a reign of 30 years.
2040 *Jemshid* or Giemschid (son or grandson.)
He divides his subjects into three classes, —soldiers, agriculturalists, and artizans.
He makes several alterations in the calendar; invents the solar year; institutes the *Neurez*, or the festival of the new year, which was observed for six days at the Vernal Equinox, &c.
Founds several cities—the great city Estechae (? Shiraz or Persepolis) being one of the number
Claiming divine honours, a revolt ensues.
2010 Dahak, rebel and tyrant, defeats Jemshid.
Jemshid sawn asunder by Dahak's order.
Dahak or Zohak (an Arabian) king.
His cruelty provokes the people to rebel.
Kaoh, a smith, leader of the insurrection, defeats Dahak.
Feast of Mihrazain instituted.
Feridun or Phridun, (3 years old) son of Jemshid, proclaimed king.
1980 Feridun appoints Kaoh generalissimo.
Kaoh's leathern apron made the royal standard.
The dominion of Syria thrown off, and all the lost conquests restored.
The Sabian idolatry discountenanced.
Feridun celebrated for his wisdom.
He divides his extensive kingdom among his three sons:—
To Tur, (the eldest son,) the eastern division, including India and Tartary, hence called Turan or Turkestan.
Tur receives the title of "Fagfour."
To Salme or Selm, (second son,) the western portion—Asia Minor, Egypt, &c.
The title "Kai-sav" is given to Selm.
To Iran or Irage, (the youngest son,) Persia Proper, thence named Iran.
Iran's title is "Schah," which is still retained by the kings of Persia.
Wars between Iraje and Tur.
Iraje assassinated by Tur and Selm.
Manugiahr (son of Iraje) defeats and slays Tur and Selm in battle.
Feridun appoints him his successor.
1860 *Manugiahr* or Manuchker called Firouz.
He restores peace, promotes internal improvements, cuts canals, encourages agriculture, gardening, &c.
He patronises medical botany.
Birth of the hero Rustem.
1800 Afrasiab or Apheresiab, king of Turan, invades Manugiahr's dominions, to whom large cessions in the east are made.
1740 *Nodar* or Nauzer (son of Firouz) succeeds.
Persia invaded by Parhang, king of Turan, with an army of 400,000 men, horse and foot, under command of his son Afrasiab.
Nodar's army defeated, and himself slain by Afrasiab's own hand.
1733 *Afrasiab* rules over Iran and Turan.
His government haughty and oppressive.
Revolt of the Persians under Zalzar.
Afrasiab retires to his own country.
Zalzar proclaims Zu or Zav, son of Manugiahr, king of Iran.
1721 *Zu*, Zab, Zav, or Zoab, succeeds Afrasiab.
He endeavours to promote the prosperity of his distracted kingdom.
1721 He Unites Gerschasp or Kershasp, his nephew, in the government.
Zu resigns the kingdom to Gerschasp.
1691 *Gerschasp*, or Kershasp, reigns alone.
Afrasiab again invades Persia.
1661 He defeats and slays Kershasp, and *Overturns the Pischdadian dynasty.*
From this time, to the establishment of the Kaianite dynasty, (B.C. 641,) a period of about 1020 years, the name of Persia, as an independent kingdom, was unknown. It was first subject to the empire of Turan, and subsequently to that of Assyria.

Dynasty of the Kaianites.

641 Kai-Kobad or Cyaxares, of the line of Kaiumarath, through Manugiahr, with the assistance of Rustem, son of Zalzar, expels the Turani from Persia (? 629.)
Kai-Kobad, king of Persia and Media.
Ispahan made the capital city.
Peace being restored, the soldiers are employed in making roads; their organization and discipline improved.
War with Assyria; Nineveh besieged, but the siege is soon raised, because of Scythian inroads upon Media.
Kai-Kobad tributary to the barbarous Scythians for 28 years.
The Scythian chieftains slain at a banquet by Kai-Kobad.
The Scythian invaders expelled.
War with Alyattes, king of Lydia.
Nineveh taken by Kai-Kobad.
An eclipse puts an end to the Lydian war.
Marriage of Kai-Kaus, son of Kai-Kobad, and Aryenis daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia.
601 *Kai-Kaus*, or Astyages, succeeds Kai-Kobad (? 597.)
Rebellion in the province of Mazandran, on the Caspian sea, suppressed.
Birth of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus.)
Kai-Kaus defeated and taken prisoner by the king of Turan.
Rustan, the Persian general, rescues his master and restores him to his kingdom.
Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Arabia, made tributary.
Two observatories erected at Babel, (subsequently called Bagdad.)
Carpet and stuff factories at Babylon.
559 *Cyaxares* II. or Fraiborz (? Darius the Mede.)
Cyrus is general of the forces, and the actual ruler of the kingdom.

The Persian monarchy founded.

Cyrus becomes king of Persia.
Cyaxares II. retains the kingdom of Media.
Cyrus defeats the Armenian king.
Defeat of Crœsus and the confederate princes; Evil Merodach of Babylon slain.
558 Cyrus defeats the Assyrians, and routs the army of Belshazzar of Babylon.
556 Babylon taken; the kingdom of Babylon added to the Median empire.
551 Death of Cyaxares; Cyrus reigns alone over Media and Persia.
Zoroaster's Zendavesta.

546 Cyrus besieges and takes Sardis.
He treats Crœsus with great kindness.
Lydia and Asia Minor annexed.
Syria and Arabia overrun by Cyrus.
540 Nabonadius (Labynetus) besieged in Babylon by Cyrus.
538 Babylon taken by stratagem (? 536.)
536 Phœnicia conquered and annexed.
Cyrus having restored peace to his dominions, repays the war taxes by the spoils obtained in his successful campaigns.
The religion of Zoroaster introduced.
According to Herodotus, Cyrus, having extended his empire from India to the Mediterranean Sea, was seized with a desire to subdue the Massagetæ. Whereupon he invaded their territory; and though at first his arms were successful, yet his army was soon routed and himself slain. Xenophon, on the contrary, states that he died in peace (529.)
Permission given the captive Jews to return to Judea.
532 Usurpation of Polycrates, at Samos.
529 Death of Cyrus, in peace, according to Xenophon (see 529.)
Cambyses, or Lohorasp, the eldest son of Cyrus, succeeds.
Smerdis, or Tanaoxares, the king's younger brother, made satrap, or governor, of the province of Bactria.
525 Egypt and other parts of Africa conquered by Cambyses.
The western provinces subdued by Gudarz or Raham, Cambyses' general.
Disastrous expedition of Cambyses against Ammonium and Meroë.
He is jealous of his brother Smerdis, and sends Preaxpes to assassinate him.
522 Cambyses receives a mortal wound, by accident, when about to proceed against Smerdis Magus.
Smerdis, the magian, usurps the sovereignty for seven months, when he is slain by a conspiracy of seven nobles.
Execution of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, by order of Orœtes of Sardis.
521 *Darius* I., Hystaspes or Gushtap.
Darius was one of the seven conspirators, and descended in the royal line.
The empire is divided into twenty satrapies, and a systematic mode of taxation introduced for the first time.
Darius increases his army; fortifies his kingdom; has *darics* (of gold) coined, &c.
Darius sends an army under Otanes against Samos, which he subdues.
Syloson, brother of Polycrates, restored.
Greek refugees and favourites at the court occasion much dissatisfaction.
518 Babylon revolts; it is besieged.
517 Darius takes Babylon and destroys it.
508 Expedition against the Scythians fails.
Darius's cruelty to the sons of Oebazus.
Macedon and Thrace tributary to Persia.
Pharaoh Necho's unfinished canal completed (see 610, Egypt).
Scylax, of Caria, sets out on a voyage of discovery; he sails down the Indus and returns by the Red Sea.
506 Expedition into India, by which all the country north of the Indus is subdued.
506 Aryandes, prefect of Egypt, imitates the *darics* issued by the king; for which Darius puts him to death.
Religious reforms under Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, the younger.
Histæus incites the Ionians to revolt.
501 The Naxian war; siege of Naxos and defeat of the Persians.
Hecatæus gives counsel to the Ionians.
Revolt of Anaxagoras (428).
500 He solicits aid from Sparta.
The Persian court famed for its magnificence; 15,000 courtiers sit down at the king's table; whole provinces converted into royal parks; splendid palaces, &c.
499 Rebellion of the Ionians; they besiege Sardis, which is accidentally burnt.
The Athenians assist the Ionians; this leads to the Persian war.
War against Greece.
494 Naval victory over the Greeks at Lade.
Fall of Miletus to Persia.
493 Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, are this year reduced by the Persians.
492 Expedition under Mardonius against Greece; defeated by sea and land.
490 Datis and Artaphernes lead a second expedition into Greece; unfortunate.
Darius makes preparations for another invasion of Greece and Egypt.
489 Unsuccessful attempt of Miltiades, the Athenian, upon Naxos.
486 Irruption of Scythians into Bactria; the Archimagus slain.
Darius assumes the office of Archimagus.
Revolt of Egypt from the Persian yoke.
485 Death of Darius. He appointed *Xerxes*, his eldest son, to succeed him.
484 Xerxes reduces Egypt to his sway.
483 Xerxes makes extensive preparations for the invasion of Greece.
480 *Xerxes' expedition against Greece.*
Herodotus states that Xerxes' army and camp followers amounted to 5,000,000 men, and that his object was to reduce the whole earth under his sway.
Xerxes departs from Susa at the time of a half-eclipse of the sun.
At Celænæ Xerxes and his army are entertained by Pythias, a Lydian.
Cruelty and ingratitude of Xerxes in putting Pythias's eldest son to death.
Xerxes has a bridge of boats laid across the Hellespont; his army (1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse) are seven days and seven nights in crossing it.
Xerxes' fleet, numbering 1207 ships, sail to Mount Athos.
Defeat of the Persians in Greece.
Xerxes recrosses the Hellespont from Greece, and comes to Sardis.
479 Invasion of Greece unsuccessful; Mardonius slain at Platæa.
466 Battles of the Eurymedon; Cimon defeats the Persians by sea and land.
The Hellespontine Chersonese taken by Cimon, the Athenian.
Xerxes spreads devastation in his homeward route. His cruelties render him everywhere detestable.
The independence of Iona restored.
Naxos revolts; it is soon subdued.

465 Assassination of Xerxes by Artabanus and the eunuch Spamitres.
Murder of Darius, Xerxes' eldest son.
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus) ascends the Persian throne.
Themistocles arrives in Persia, and is protected by Artaxerxes.
The conspirator Artabanus put to death.
Civil war between Artaxerxes and his brother Hystaspes of Bactria.
462 Artaxerxes' celebrated feast at Susa.
Deposition of Vashti, his queen.
460 Revolt of Inarus, and commencement of war with the revolted Egyptians.
Defeat of the Persians under Achæmenes by sea and land.
459 Megabyzus, with an army of 30,000, is sent against the Egyptians.
458 Esther chosen queen by Artaxerxes.
Commission granted to Ezra to go to Jerusalem, with power to correct abuses.
457 Panyasis put to death by Lygdamus.
455 Egypt brought under subjection; Amyrtæus, however, maintains his independence in the marshes.
450 Cimon, the Athenian, defeats Artabazus, the Persian admiral, and takes from him one hundred ships.
449 Defeat of Megabyzus at Salamis.
Peace with Greece; acknowledgment of the independence of the Asiatic Greeks by the Persian court.
447 Rebellion of Megabyzus, Syrian satrap, aided by the queen Amytes and the dowager-queen Amestris.
Artaxerxes obtains peace by conceding to Megabyzus all his demands.
445 Nehemiah receives a commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.
428 Death of Anaxagoras at Lampsacus.
425 *Xerxes* II. succeeds Longimanus.
Sogdianus, the king's natural brother, assassinates Xerxes, after a few months' reign.
Sogdianus is himself assassinated by another natural brother.
424 *Darius* II. (Nothus or "bastard.")
He is represented as a weak-minded prince, and under the influence of his wife Pharysates and her eunuchs.
422 Arsites' revolt, aided by the son of Megabyzus; it is quelled.
Arsites smothered in ashes.
414 Revolt of Pisuthnes, satrap of Lydia.
Egypt regains her independence.
412 Lesbos, Chios, and Eurythræ, make preparations for revolt.
411 League with Sparta against Athens.
Alcibiades visits Tissaphernes.
409 Thrasyllus invades Lydia.
The independence of Rhodes acknowledged by Persia.
407 Cyrus, governor of Asia Minor, assists the Spartans against Athens.
405 *Artaxerxes* II. (styled "Mnemon" on account of his great memory.)
Conspiracy of Cyrus detected; he is pardoned and restored.
Democritus visits Persia.
401 Pharasytes incites her son Cyrus to become candidate for the crown.
Cyrus receives aid from the Spartans.
400 Battle of Cunaxa; defeat and death of the rebel Cyrus.
Retreat of the 10,000 Greeks under Xenophon; Clearchus having fallen.
War with Sparta; Tissaphernes commands the expedition.
399 Thimbron, the Spartan, commands the Greek army in Asia.
Dercyllidas supersedes Thimbron.
398 Truce between Dercyllidas and Pharnabazus.
Hostilities renewed; Atarnæ besieged.
The history of Persia by Ctesias, brought down to this date.
396 Agesilaus, king of Sparta, carries his triumphs into Asia, which threaten the safety of the Persian empire.
395 Agesilaus gains a victory at Sardis.
He pushes into Phrygia, &c.
Tithraustes supersedes Tissaphernes.
Mission of Timocrates into Greece.
394 The Corinthian war commenced.
Agesilaus recalled from Asia.
Victory of Conon at Cnidus; favourable to the Persian interest.
390 In the Corinthian war, Persia espouses the Spartan cause.
Evagoras of Cyprus receives aid from the Athenians.
Battle of Asphendas; Telutius, the Spartan, victorious; defeat and death of Thrasybulus of Athens; ten Athenian ships captured.
388 Antalcidas, the Spartan, commands on the coast of Asia Minor.
387 Peace of Antalcidas; Clazomenæ, and the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor restored to Persia.
385 Sea fight with Evagoras off Cyprus.
The ten years' war between Persia and Cyprus commenced.
384 War with the Cadusians of Mount Caucassus; unsuccessful.
Greek mercenaries form, from this time, the flower of the Persian army.
380 The Persians distress Evagoras in Cyprus.
376 Tenth and last year of the war with Cyprus.
374 Expedition into Egypt; unsuccessful, owing to dissensions between Pharnabazus and Iphicrates.
Death of Evagoras.
Conspiracy of Tiribazus, and fifty of the king's sons; (he had 118;) it is detected.
Contest between three of the king's sons respecting the succession; Ochus murders his two fraternal rivals.
369 *Artaxerxes* III. (Ochus or Darab.)
He murders his whole family, and hundreds of the nobility, male and female.
Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Syria, revolt.
The revolt suppressed owing to the treachery of the insurrectionary leader, Orontes.
365 Bagosas, satrap of Syria, interferes in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Jews.
366 Revolt of Artabazus, governor of Asia Minor, assisted by Chares the Athenian.
Ochus threatens to make war on Athens, hence Chares is recalled.
354 Artabazus applies to the Thebans for aid; they send him 5,000 men.
Two victories of Artabazus over Ochus.
351 Revolt of the Sidonians, Phœnicians, &c.

351 Mentor of Rhodes leads 4,000 Greeks to the aid of the Sidonians.
Sidon besieged; Temnes, its king, betrays it into the hands of Ochus.
The Sidonians, in despair, fire their city, and perish in the flames.
Temnes, the traitor, rewarded with death.
Mentor and his army join Ochus.
350 Invasion and subjugation of Egypt.
Ochus returns with immense spoils.
349 Mentor mediates between Ochus and Artabazus and Memnon.
344 Embassy to Philip of Macedon; Alexander (the Great) then 12 years old.
338 Ochus poisoned by Bagoas, who also destroys all the royal family, except *Arses*, whom he raises to the throne.
336 Arses deposed and murdered by Bagoas, who confers the crown upon *Darius* III. (Codomanus.)
Bagoas executed by order of Darius.
336 Intrigues of Darius for effecting the murder of Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander (the Great.)
334 War with Macedon; Asia invaded by Alexander with only 3,600 men.
Battle of Granicus; defeat of the Persian provincial governors.
333 Death of Memnon, the Rhodian, before Mytilene.
Unjust execution of Charisdemus.
Battle of Issus; Darius defeated.
Darius makes proposals to Alexander for the ransom of his wife, &c.
331 Battle of Arbela, Oct. 1; Darius again defeated; he flees into Media.
330 Alexander pursues after Darius.
Treachery of Bessus; he assassinates his royal master Darius.
Alexander honourably inters the body of the murdered king.
Fall of Persia; it is now added to *The Empire of Alexander of Macedon*.

CHRONOLOGY OF PHŒNICIA.

B.C.
So called, according to Bochart, from בני ענק "the sons of Anak," by whom the country was first peopled.
Sidon founded, probably by Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. x. 15; (period early but uncertain.)
Sidon celebrated for her textile manufactures. (See *Homer's Iliad*.)
2267 Tyre founded by a colony from Sidon.—Dr Hales (? 1497.)
1800 Republics of Phœnicia (cities and suburbs.)
Phœnician fleets visit most countries.
The Tyrian manufactures excel those of Sidon, the parent state.
Worship of Baal and Astarte.
Letters and the art of writing known.
Confederacy of the Phœnician cities.
Phœnician colonies settle in Africa and Spain, and other countries, for trading purposes.
The idolatry of Baal and Astarte established in all the Phœnician colonies.
Colonies to Ireland, by whom, it is supposed, the round towers were built for the worship of the sun.
Arvath, or Aradus, founded.
Importation of tin, silver, amber, spices, perfumes, slaves, horses, &c., from those countries where colonies exist.
1497 *Agenor*, the first king of Phœnicia, and founder of Tyre (? 2267.)
1250 The Tyrian purple celebrated for its splendour and costliness.
1232 The Tyrians found Carthage (878.)
1070 Heremon, from the Phœnician colony of Galatia, conquers Ireland.
1056 *Abical*, or Hiram, king of Tyre.
1046 Treaty of commerce between Hiram of Tyre, and David of Israel.

B.C.
1012 *Baleazar*, king of Tyre.
1000 The Phœnician League (? 1800.)
Colonies continue to proceed from Phœnicia to various countries.
Silver imported from the Phœnician mines in Spain.
920 *Ethbaal* king of Tyre and Sidon (? 962.)
905 Elijah lodges with a widow at Sarepta.
900 *Pygmalion* usurps the government, and rules tyranically.
878 Emigration of Elisa or Dido, (Pygmalion's sister,) and many of the Phœnicians to Africa. (See 1800 and 1232.)
832 Phœnician supremacy of the sea till 786.
Victory of the Tyrians over the fleets of Syria and Phœnicia.
721 Tyre besieged by Shalmaneser.
717 *Eulœus* king of Tyre.
716 Shalmeneser raises the siege of Tyre, and returns home.
590 *Ithobaal* II. (Ethbaal) king of Tyre.
585 Nebuchadnezzar besieges Tyre.
The Tyrians abandon their city, and remove to insular Tyre.
Insular Tyre soon rises to great power and opulence.
Baal king of Tyre (a tyrant.)
562 Deposition of Baal, and establishment of a republican government.
556 The kingly form of government restored by *Belator* king of Tyre.
Merbal king of Tyre.
Hiram king of Tyre.
538 Phœnicia reduced by Cyrus, but it is allowed to retain its kings.
520 Founding of New Tyre.
Flourishing prosperity of its commerce, trade, and manufactures, under the protection of the Persian kings.

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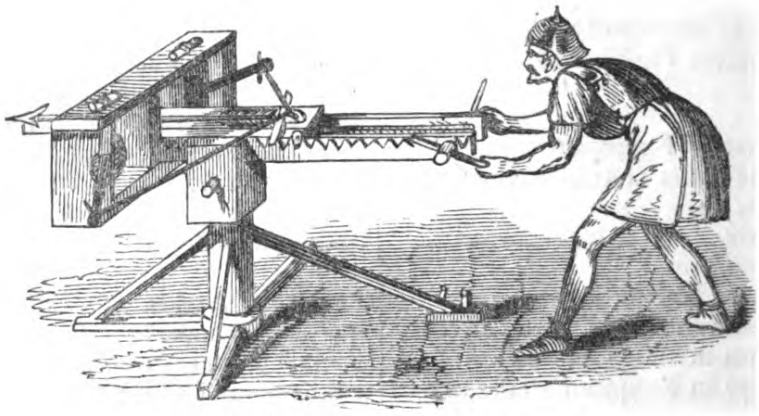
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