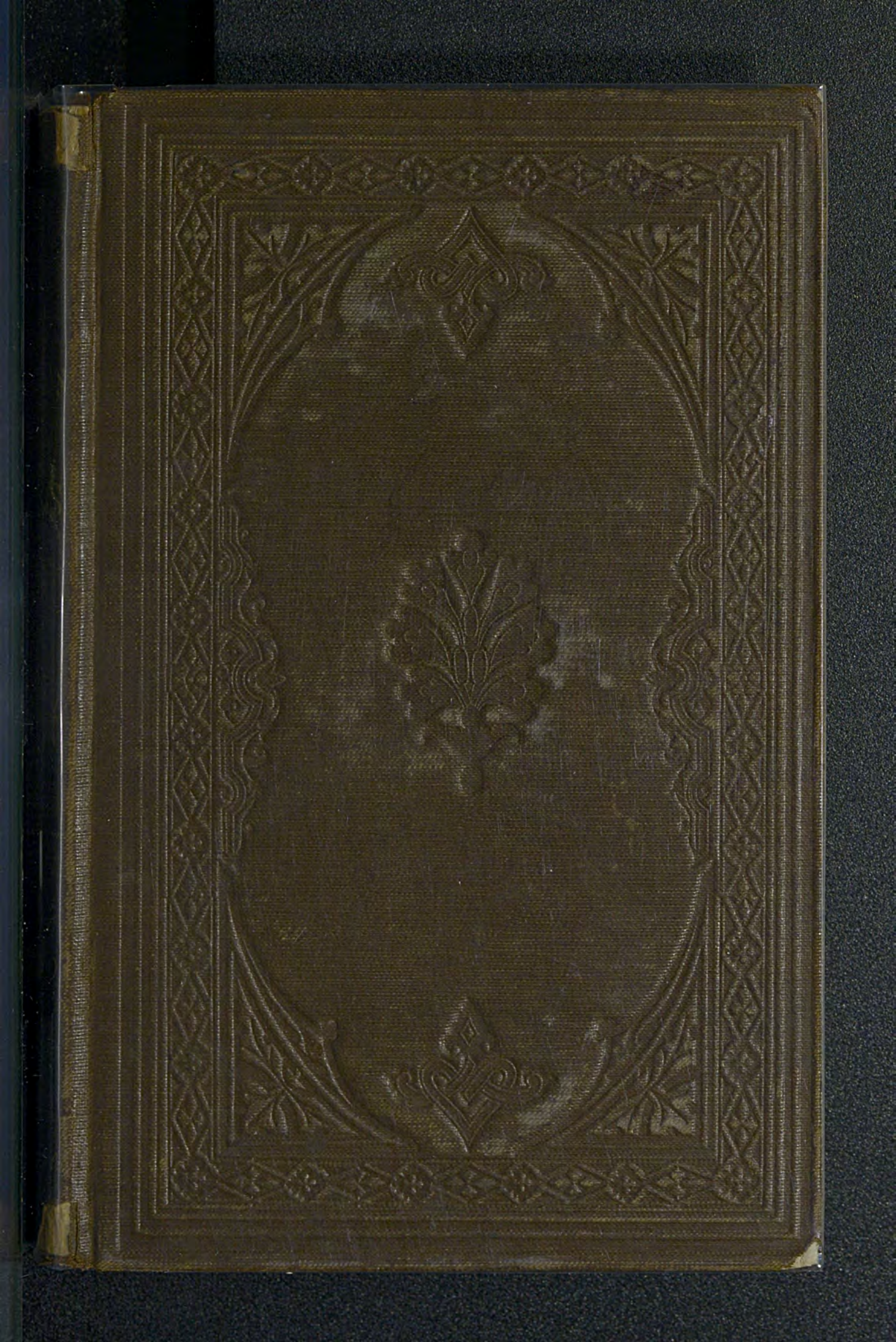

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From the German
Translation of:

Drei Tage in Memphis.... (1856)

THREE DAYS IN MEMPHIS;

OR

SKETCHES OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE OF THE OLD EGYPTIANS.

BY

DR. MAX UHLEMANN,

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PHILADELPHIA:

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

22 AND 24 NORTH FOURTH STREET.

1858.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTICE.

EGYPT has been truly called the land of wonders. The interest felt in it and its early history is seen in the great variety of forms in which the discoveries of modern times have been spread before the public, the discussions excited among the learned respecting its chronology, and many questions connected wtth its relations to sacred and profane history. Ever since the discovery by Champollion and Dr. Young of the Key to the Hieroglyphics, there have been in training, especially in Europe and Great Britain, a class of investigators called Egyptologists. While equally acknowledging the importance of the results of the research, they differ very considerably as to the truth of the positions assumed on many of the points in question maintained by one another. The two great schools in Germany probably are those of LEPSIUS and BRUGSCH on the one side, and SEYFFARTH, with the author of the present work, MAX UHLEMANN, on the other,—Uhlemann being somewhat in the middle-ground, leaning toward Seyffarth. At least they may be regarded as the most prominent representatives of these classes. Little, comparatively, has been known on this side of the Atlantic except of the former, that of Lepsius. His authority has been appealed to as decisive, especially by some who appear to aim with not a little earnestness in destroying or impairing the credibility of the early Scripture History. It seems desirable therefore that the reading public in this

country should be introduced to some of the authors of the other school. Uhlemann has written a number of treatises and reviews on the various subjects relating to Ancient Egypt. The volume which is now presented in an English dress has recently made its appearance in Germany, and is well adapted in a few pages to convey to the reader a sketch of the manners and customs, religious belief and history of Egypt as it appeared long before the Christian Era. The Author's design is carried out by a three days' sojourn in a sort of vision in Old Memphis, during which a variety of scenes and incidents pass before him. His sketches of what he saw are enlivened by occasional short tales or descriptive occurrences as related to him, having for their object to illustrate the former or then condition of different classes of the people. It is thus instructive and amusing. The sketches are lively, and interspersed with information derived from his studies, evidently bearing the marks of truthfulness. It was this feature of its reliableness, and at the same time its adaptation to popular readers, which led the Translator to feel that it might be usefully given to the public in the form in which it now appears. The Author by foot-notes furnishes references to his authorities, and but for the additional expense the volume would have been improved by the insertion of wood-cuts and quotations from the writers mentioned. His more learned discussions are thrown into Notes at the end of the book, where too is embodied a variety of information which may interest the general as well as the more learned reader.

As the Author has not fixed definitely the period of his sojourn in the Old Capital, and as it preserves its character of a transportation from the present day to an ancient period, there is a sort of blending of the two states of consciousness or periods perceptible in the conversations that occasions a little ambiguity thus easily accounted for, a deficiency which might have been remedied by more care in the management

of the story. Still it is hoped that it may be found useful, and a pleasing addition to the means of information relating to antiquity.

As a translation it is believed to be a faithful transcript of the original. The Translator has bestowed not a little care in the effort to reproduce it so that the English reader may have the full benefit of Dr. Uhlemann's learning and skill in his work. He hopes that his opinion of its worth may be justified by the reception it may meet with, and should it be thus successful, may perhaps further present to the public the Author's more systematic and learned work "THOTH, &c." often referred to in these pages. All the merit he claims is to have done a service to some, by introducing to them in a mainly faithful translation a book deserving notice whose pages of interest might not otherwise be within their reach.

E. GOODRICH SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 1857.

PREFACE.

When the Author the past year submitted to the judgment of his readers a small treatise on the Egyptian Sciences, —Thoth, oder die Wissenschaften der Alten Ægypter, Göttingen, 1835, 8,—and was rewarded by acknowledgments from many quarters, he formed the determination to sketch also, in a more agreeable as well as instructive method, the private life of this original people, claiming for itself at the present day a general interest on account of the researches of numerous learned men. The romantic method and form chosen for this work needs no apology or justification; since similar portraitures of Grecian and Roman Antiquity—as for example Barthelemy's "Voyage de Jeune Anarcharsis en Greece;" Becker's "Gallus" and "Charicles," bright models, though not equalled in the following work—have found approval and in the highest degree excited the interest of their readers. The work which now makes its appearance, craving indulgence, must not be regarded as the picture of fancy of an idle hour, nor as invented and baseless fable; the quotations continually given prove that everything related and sketched rests on the testimonies of classic authors, and Old

Egyptian representations and wall-paintings, which the Author has sought to combine and blend into a true and life-like picture.

The Old Egyptian wall-paintings in accordance with which most of the scenes are truly delineated may be found copied in the "Description de l'Egypt," in the works of Rosellini, and in Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," &c. Some points which are only incidentally touched upon or alluded to in the text—as for example those relating particularly to the Book of the Dead, (Todtenbuch,) its Contents and Editions; the primitive history of Egypt; style of building; Sesostris; Apis; the Sacred Cats; the Phœnix; the origin of the City of Memphis and its Temple of Ptah; hieroglyphic writing, &c.—are treated more at large in the Notes or Appendix at the end of the book, to which the numerals in the text refer. This has been done for the benefit of any who from a greater interest in Egyptian Antiquity desire such additional information.

Almost every one who in former as well as at later periods has visited this land of wonders, has felt it necessary to publish his observations and experience in travels. Why should not the same privilege be allowed to *him* whose dreams of a brief period have carried him back thousands of years, while they exhibit to him in his earnest research of the old monuments a picture of the Ancient Capital of the land of the Pharaohs long since buried beneath its ruins. Large books have indeed been written during the last few years respecting one and another branch of Egyptian public and private life; but they are intelligible and accessible to but few, on account of their learned character as well as their great extent and cost;

and hence the Author hopes, by means of the following work, which he commends to the indulgence of the reader, to have furnished at least a small contribution for the illustration of the culture-history of THAT people who continually more and more stand forth as the cradle of civil life of the Heathen religion and the important sciences, arts and inventions; and without the correct appreciation of whom Antiquity in general cannot be fully comprehended and valued in all its relations.

GÖTTINGEN, *August*, 1856.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

THREE DAYS IN MEMPHIS.

CHAPTER I.

A STORY TO BEGIN WITH.

It was some days since I had left my home and found myself ready to enter on the duties of my professorship in the University City of G——. The autumn had already begun its work of destruction; in the charming promenades which surround the pleasant city the tall old trees were already half robbed of their ornaments, and a furious tempest exerting its power ever since the day I arrived had entirely stripped them and driven the withering leaves across the wide plain to the mountains near by.

Still, I felt constrained to go abroad into the open air. I wished to get acquainted with the place where I must fix my future abode, to let my eye rove, from the nearest hill, over the valley, and then take a look on the little city and on my new country. Whoever has seen himself (as was the case with me) suddenly

torn away from his dearest kindred, from the arms of love and friendship, sundered from his most beloved country, and, like a tender plant, transferred to a strange, unknown soil,—he can, perhaps, feel what I then felt on the top of the mountain. I had cast a hasty glance on the region around, even still charming in the late autumn season, but my spirit bore no part in it. It swept away far into the distance, glowed once more in the parting look of my father, gave the farewell pressure of hand anew, threw a last glance into the little chamber where I had so long strove, wrestled, and fought for science. But pleasanter scenes besides passed before my mind. A bright, merry face of childhood also smilingly beckoned me. But, ah! the boy whose mind I had formed, to whose innocent plays I gave their meaning, who had accompanied me on my walks and had enlivened me and cheered me by questions of curiosity, was left behind. I stood alone on the top of the mountain, and solitude never appeared more sad and wanting of purpose than now, when destiny had brought it to me. How often like a fool I had wished for it, and now when it had become a necessity it was full of terror.

But these pictures, too, passed away. Science would assert its claim. How often had I before investigated antiquity; how often had I cast a curious look behind the walls of Egyptian temples; how often in the palace of Sesostris; how often in one or another Egyptian workshop! But was not this all mere piecemeal? What use to me were the detached scenes which I had laboriously disenchanted, if there was no powerful hand to bring them into a whole life-like picture?

"Yes, if only one had himself been there, lived at

that time, and might now bring us knowledge of what we so laboriously search into!" This I thought to myself with a sigh, and pensively descended to go into the valley. The sun sunk deeper and deeper, and the evening crimson gilded the slope of the mountain, across which the wind drove about the rustling leaves in wild whirls. Suddenly I stopped as if struck with lameness. It was not fear which chained me there, not a sudden terror which made me tremble throughout; it was a sight that called forth the most pleasant feelings, but at the same time with the conviction that it was only a phantom, and filled me with sadness and melancholy.

A few steps before me, at the foot of an old, sturdy oak, sat a lovely boy, who smiled at me in the most kindly manner. The features were not unknown to me: they perfectly resembled those of the dear child who only a few minutes before had occupied my thoughts. I felt already like springing toward him and clasping the boy to my heart and inquiring after many dear ones in my home, but the thought, the certainty "it cannot be so," anew restrained me. And yet there was something else which made me hesitate,—the position of the boy. He continued motionless in a posture such as I had oftentimes seen and admired in the Egyptian pictures. He sat still, squatting on the ground, with one knee drawn up to a right angle, his left arm hanging down, his right, on the contrary, bent together, and his hand, as if enjoining silence, laid on his mouth. Was it a statue which by chance had here been thrown in my way? No, that could not be: it was the image of a fresh, vigorous life; the eyes shone out so fiery beneath the long, dark lashes. Life was in every feature.

"But whatever it is," I thought to myself, "I will find it out." So I resolved to go nearer to it.

"Who are you, my little fellow?" I asked in a friendly and encouraging tone.

No answer. I repeated the question.

"Who are you?"

Finally the boy let fall his hand and opened his mouth.

"Are you a learned man?" said he to me, with a roguish smile. "And do you ask me who I am?"

"Now, then," I replied, "Can it be that you are Horus?"(1)*

"Why not?" he continued, as he slowly raised himself up. "Do you learned men of the closet believe that the times of the old kingdom are at an end, that my reign has passed away? Or do you not know that my mother Isis has made me immortal by an enchanted cup? Would you not desire the power, if it could be, now to bring to life again Egypt—the old Egypt?"

"It is a mere jest—a fable!" I cried out, almost angry. "Your temples are in ruins, your cities are lying waste, your bodies are moldered away, and no power on earth can breathe into them new life."

"And if there be not any such," asked the boy, suddenly becoming serious; "Is not my mother Isis the greatest and most powerful goddess of the world? Has not mighty Rome itself built a temple to her? Look! Your brave struggle to become acquainted with our spirit, our olden life, gives me pain. Will it ever succeed? The dead letter, the lifeless hieroglyphic, mocks your weak intellect. Only in fresh life is there truth. Come, I will show it to you."

* See notes at the end, which are thus marked by figures.

"It is a dream," I said, thoughtfully, as he caught hold of my hand.

"And if it should be a dream, would it be less beautiful?" replied the boy. "You have seen the ruins of our temple, you must see how they once looked, alive, with priests, and a believing, adoring multitude; you have, perhaps, shuddered as you gazed on many a mummy, many a moldered hand; you must see them at work and busy; you must talk, eat, drink, and play with them."

"But whither do you carry me?" I asked, when I noticed that at these words he drew me along further and further with himself.

"To Memphis!"

"But the evening is just coming on; the sun has already sunk beneath the horizon!"

"No, you are mistaken," rejoined Horus,—for so I must now call him;—"that red, which glimmers above the mountains, it is the morning dawn which betokens a new day,—the first day in the newly-restored land of the Pharaohs. Look round you."

We stood, as I thought, on the wall which surrounds the University City and affords a charming promenade. I looked forward on the right, where I knew the railroad station ought to lie. But who can describe my astonishment! The first rays of the morning sun gilded not the points of the telegraph tower. No, but the summit of pyramids commanding all, and at my feet lay the mighty, imperial city, with her temples and shrines, her palaces and castles.

Who can describe the feelings which this view awakened, the remembrances it called forth! Here once Joseph spoke out his rebukes; here the old Pharaohs

reigned; here before me lay the famous temple of Vulcan or Phtha, where the decree of the priests was deliberated upon and drawn up, which is to-day preserved in the Rosetta Inscription. Every step must suggest new ideas, give a new exposition.

Whether a dream or reality, I dashed forward into the arms of the then present. Yes; in the fear that it might be only a dream and fly away too quickly and unenjoyed, I called out to my little guide an impatient and impetuous "Go ahead!" So we descended into the valley.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST MORNING IN MEMPHIS.

"THE dam from which we are descending," said my little conductor, "is a work of the first king of the country, whom, indeed, I do not need to name to you. Here, where we are now walking, was the old bed of the Nile. Menes conducted this arm of the Nile westward, and built Memphis on the spot where before the Nile glided gently along. For the maintenance and improvement of this dam a still greater care must now be used; for if at any time the river should break through, the whole of Memphis would be overflowed and rendered uninhabitable. But you do not listen to me; you are wandering off in your thoughts!"

"I was thinking," I answered, "where I must have already heard something like it. Herodotus, if I am not mistaken, relates the same, and in similar language; you, perhaps, dictated it for his pen."

"Oh, no!" replied Horus, smiling. "What I know I taught the priests, and, as you are aware, the man you speak of was a scholar of theirs. But let that pass. Do not believe all the Greeks have told you about us. I much doubt whether the priests always told them the truth. The priests very strictly kept their own secrets, and readily lied when they were closely questioned by curious strangers. They told the same Herodotus that no vines grew in our country; and yet, believe me, we

cultured the vine, gathered grapes, pressed out the juice and drank it, and it has been at all times much to our taste. Now is the time of the wine-harvest, and I will conduct you to-day into a vineyard."

Amid this and similar discourse we came near the gates of the city, after Horus had promised, as he saw my general acquaintance with it, that he would then only explain to me particular things as I myself made my inquiries.

Already before the gate a scene presented itself which I must not pass over. Close beside the road sat, with their feet bent under them, according to Egyptian custom, eight blind persons,—a harper and seven singers, no doubt waiting for compassionate passers-by.* When they heard our coming footsteps they placed themselves in position, folded and raised supplicatingly their hands, and while the harper, with his seven-stringed instrument before him, accompanied their music with both hands, they sang the following song:—

"Hail to Thee, Light of the Sun!
We indeed cannot behold thee
Either rise or set;
Isis has from us taken our sight.
But we feel thy warm beams,
Which from us, poor and blind,
Thou dost not withdraw.
Hail to Thee, Light of the Sun!"

It was a matter of doubt whether with this song they greeted the rising sun or my little companion, the young sun-god; but still fixed in my earlier, and indeed just left relations, I was about to put my hand into my pocket and hunt up a little gift for the poor unfortunates,

* Wilkinson, II. 239, No. 193.

when, for the first time, I noticed that Horus, without my having perceived it, had changed my clothes and enchanted me into an Egyptian dress. This I must describe in a few words.

I wore the simple white linen tunic so customary in the East, with fringe around the lower border, this being the common dress of the old Egyptians, which must always be kept perfectly white and clean.* This cloak, with short sleeves, which might be best compared to our shirt, was sometimes longer, sometimes shorter; but in most cases it reached only to the knee, and was held together above the hips by a girdle. So it was, too, with mine. Very different from this simple dress, of course, were the elegant robes of the king, the royal princes, and of the priests, which I afterward saw. The length, too, of the dress seemed, as it occurred to me, to be a mark of distinction of the higher ranks and official position. The officers of the army were distinguished from the rest of the soldiery by a longer tunic. In my girdle I carried a dagger or short sword, or rather something between these, without a sheath, two-edged, and with a sharp point. When I looked at it more closely I observed on the golden hilt, beautifully wrought, a hawk's head,† the symbol of Horus, my guide. Astonished, my eyes glanced thence downward to my feet. In place of boots were soles with cords, or sandals, which were fastened on the bare feet with straps, like our skates, and like them were marked in front by a long, bended point.‡ Finally, around my head was wound the well-known Egyptian kerchief, the long ends hanging down on both sides to the shoulders.

* Herod. II. 37. † Wilkinson, I. 319, No. 39.
‡ Wilkinson, III. 365, No. 7.

"So," said Horus, as he laughed at my astonishment, "you will be taken for a soldier, and we shall find entrance everywhere. At the court you will be looked upon as one of the body-guard, and even the king himself dare not force you to remove. Perhaps he may hold you for a spy of the priests, and if so, will be the more gracious."

"For a spy of the priests?" I asked, wondering, for I could not comprehend at once the meaning of his words.

"Yes!" he replied. "Your kings, who rule with despotic will, are fortunate in governing their people according to *their own* conscience, promote or destroy the weal of their subjects, and for both must wait and reap the love or hatred of their people and the reward or punishment from Osiris. It is not so with us. Here the priests and their commands bear sway. The king is only a name, his power a mere empty word. The life of the king is regulated by the priests: prayers, sacrifices, eating, drinking, sleeping, all take place with him according to fixed laws and at appointed hours. He must not allow himself to be served by bought or born slaves; sons of the most distinguished priests and chosen soldiers surround him constantly, as he perhaps flatters himself, to do him special honor, but in fact to watch over him as the lowest spies, whose duty it is to report every action, word, and thought of the king to the all-powerful priests."

"O poor kings!" said I, sighing. "I always regarded their enslavement, as Diodorus portrays it, only for a fable."*

"Lament not for them!" said Horus, breaking in

* Diod. I. 70.

upon my words. "They do not feel their dependence. You will see them in their majesty, glory, and splendor, and envy them. You will see how much incense is scattered upon them. The love of their subjects, the reverence, the adoration paid to them as to the gods, since the time of Menes, is the most glorious ornament, the costliest pearl in the crown of our kings."

We entered the gate. A cold air was all around us inside of this enormous mass of stone. It was formed wholly of square stones, a lofty quadrangle, but without any decoration or ornament. Only above and on both sides of the entrance three royal shields, just alike, chiseled in stone, with hieroglyphic characters, made known the founder's name. I could easily decipher the particular signs: they were the well-known pictures from the tablet of Abydos, by which the name of Menes was always expressed.

In the gate something new at once arrested my attention,—it was a sentinel. I had again forgotten that I was in Memphis, and that between to-day and yesterday lay three thousand years, and was afraid of a challenge for the watchword and things of this sort. But the soldier allowed us to pass unhindered; he appeared to think of no hostile assault. His large shield, rounded at the top, angular at the bottom, which he held before him, and had planted one corner firmly on the ground, almost wholly covered him, and kept his figure, up to his head and the projecting point of his lance, from our sight. The copper-pointed lance, which he had also fixed on the ground, reached far above him, and might have been six to seven feet long; and his brazen helmet, which appeared to be not a little burdensome to his head, marked him out as one of the heavy infantry,

and also one of the king's guard. Had not Horus prudently changed my dress he would have hardly allowed us to enter, at least he would certainly have warned me to report myself to the police. This expression may sound modern, and needs an explanation. In no State of antiquity was the administration of the police so organized and strict as in Egypt. Every inhabitant of the land was bound yearly to report himself to the superintendent of his *nomos* or district, and conscientiously give in his name, rank, profession or occupation, income, and other particulars. The making of a false statement or wholly to neglect such a report was regarded as a crime to be visited with the severest punishment; and, although the accounts of the ancients are silent as to the laws of the police respecting strangers, it may certainly be supposed that travelers and foreigners were subjected to similar regulations. But my dress was well-chosen, and saved me; and I was now, if I may so speak, a concealed person, in a new sense of the word, within the walls of Memphis.

Much as the Egyptians have been represented by the old authors as a serious and morose people, yet here early in the morning there met us the purest joy, cheerfulness, and contentment. From certain buildings, behind which towered the colossal temple of Ptah, with its famous propylæ, resounded the cheerful song of merry artisans; porters passed by with heavy burdens on their heads; the traders opened their shops; bakers and butchers bore in elegant baskets on their heads their articles of sale to their customers; and, in short, it was a stirring picture of the industry of a great city at the first hour of the morning. Two boys, apparently belonging to a higher rank, sat before the door of a

house, on the ground, in the well-known Egyptian style, kneeling on the right foot so that the knee touched the ground, and sitting on the heel of that foot, the left foot being drawn up high to balance the knee.* They were earnestly playing at *morra*, which the Greeks afterward learned from the Egyptians, and from them the Romans, and which to-day is customary in Italy, though it is forbidden, for there it scarcely ever ends without a dangerous stab of the knife. It is, indeed, a play which only two friends who have perfect confidence in each other can try. It consists in one person's suddenly and with the greatest quickness stretching out and pressing together the fingers, and the other at the same instant must guess the number of fingers extended. I say "guess," for it is done so quickly that there is no time for seeing and counting. Thus the two Egyptian boys mentioned above were playing, and I stood for some time enjoying it as I looked on and heard their rapid, sometimes false and sometimes correct, answers. Quick as lightening the hand of one was stretched out; "three," cried the other; "wrong, it is four," replied the first. So it goes on, often for an hour, until one of them does not trust to the other's word, accuses him of deception, and after a short interchange of words they take to blows. And here a like result was threatened, when suddenly the door of the house opened and a harsh voice told the boys that it was time for them to take their papyri and writing-instruments and go to school to the priests. With cross faces they hurried away. I would gladly have followed them to share in their hour for writing, and

* Wilkinson, II. 417, No. 1.

make some advances in reading hieroglyphics, but I could not, and must not leave Horus.

The long morning walk from the dam of the Nile even to the gate of Memphis had in the mean time made me hungry, and Horus, who either felt so too or saw into my feelings and understood my wishes, with a kind anticipation proposed to me to step into a baker's shop near by; a proposal to which I agreed with the greater pleasure, as I could here join the useful and the agreeable and satisfy both my thirst of knowledge and my appetite. Bread was one of the chief articles of food among the old Egyptians, on which account they were called by the Greeks, by way of derision, *Artophagi*, or bread-eaters. But they baked it less from barley or wheat than from the meal of a sort of grain which the Greeks called *Olyra*, or *Zea*, and which at the present day is much used in Egypt and corresponds to our Spelt, (*triticum Spelta* of Linnæus.)*

We knocked at a door over which stood written, in hieroglyphic letters, *Ahmes er-aik*, *i.e.* "Ahmes the Bread-maker." "Amu (come in) sounded from within. We entered a high room, in which the master-baker was at his work with at least some twenty men. The first sight which offered itself to me was adapted to take away from a born and bred European all desire of eating. If Herodotus indeed accuses the Egyptians of kneading their dough with their feet and the clay on the contrary with their hands, I found the first part of his statement fully confirmed.† On the right of the entrance stood a large bowl-shaped vessel or trough

* Herod. II. 36 and 77. † Herod. II. 36. Wilk. II. 385, figs. 1, 2.

filled with dough, in which two lusty fellows of some fifteen years old were dancing about with their bare feet according to a measure which they accompanied with a low humming. Further in the back-ground stood a simple wooden table, on which the dough, kneaded as described above, received its various forms and shapes. An elderly man here not only fashioned bread-loaves of different size, which, as is sometimes the case with us, were adorned by indentations and lines, but also other figures of fourfooted animals, fishes, &c. came forth from his artistic hand. The loaves and cakes beautifully arranged on tables and boards, and which had just then been drawn out of the oven, presented an agreeable sight, well adapted to excite the appetite. The single bread-loaves were flat, round, or oval-shaped, and were decorated with a handsome edge, a raised place in the centre, and other little elevations or hollows. But there were also articles baked from wheat, in elegant forms, arranged on wooden benches that stood against the left wall. There were oxen, cows, and sheep lying down; great and small fishes, five-pointed stars, triangles, disks, and things such as with us are to be found at the confectioner's or pastry-cook's shop.* In the middle of the room, lastly, stood large flat baskets and men by them, to whom the master, or "chief bread-maker," counted out the single articles and gave directions to whose house they must be carried. These fellows raised the baskets on their heads often up to three or four, one above another, and hurried away. On seeing this I was vividly reminded of the dream of Pharaoh's chief-baker, who thought that he bore three baskets, piled on each other with their various fine-baked articles, on his head.†

* Rosellini, II. 2, p. 464. † Genesis xl. 16.

His dream was produced, as to its whole outlines, from the former business of his life.

We made known our wants, and immediately each of us received a simple round loaf of bread about the size of a hand, baked from Olyra—the usual food of the poorer Egyptians. When Herodotus calls this kind of loaf *Kyllestis*, this is a mistake, or a Greek word in disguise; among the names of the various sorts of bread which I heard from the mouth of the baker I do not recollect to have heard that one. This bread had a strong, somewhat too acid taste, and on this account, when I had eaten it, I took a small fine wheat loaf, in the form of a fish, and ate it with great relish.

After a friendly good-by we were about to go further on our way when the hospitable baker, who, without our noticing it, had gone out a few minutes before, returned with a pitcher and invited us to a drink of beer, or barley-wine as he called it, which he had shortly since received as a present from a friend.* We thanked him for his kind offer. Elegant porcelain cups, vase-shaped,† were brought in at the beckoning of the master, and the glorious foaming drink, the refreshment of the Germans, was drunk to the host's health. With grateful wishes that the gods might bless him, I took my departure, leading Horus, as if a son, by the hand.

"Now it is time," said he, as soon as we were in the open air, "to go to the court and mix with the courtiers; two hours ago the horoscope must have been to the king and announced to him the break of day."

"And does the king really rise from his bed every day at so early an hour?" I asked, surprised.

"Certainly," replied the little fellow. "As I have

* Herod. II. 77.

† Wilk. II. 355, No. 5.

already told you, his mode of life is strictly regulated by the priests; every hour has its destined business; and there never is an exception to the rule but when the king must be conceived as on a warlike expedition and out of the city. A festival only disturbs the daily customs. On a festival generally the whole active power of the state-machine comes to a stand till the new arrangement again begins, the pilgrimages and processions have reached their end, and every one returns to his occupation. But on days like this, with the first ray of the morning sun also the horoscope appears by the bedside of the king; the king rises; the private secretary enters and lays before him letters that have come in from all quarters, petitions, reports, and complaints; and while he is bound to read them closely and examine them conscientiously, and so fill up the first hour of the day with these affairs, he maintains a daily survey of the state of his kingdom. After this he takes a bath, in which he is served by the noblest sons of the priests, who are constantly about him. This over, he puts on a splendid cloak, decorates himself with the royal insignia, and goes openly to sacrifice to the gods in the presence of the priests, the body-guard, and his whole court-state. This takes place commonly in the royal palace, at the altar of the house-god, and if we make haste we can yet be present at this solemnity."

We walked quickly forward, and after a few minutes the royal palace, which in its broad extent almost formed a city, lay before our eyes. Six steps led us directly to a pillared passage the floor of which was laid with the purest alabaster. The thickness of the pillars was large in proportion to their height; they had a circumference of from ten to fifteen feet or more, but they

stood so near together that the spaces between them were hardly four feet. They appeared as if every one was wrought out of a single piece, and perfectly polished; instead of our square pedestals they had round ones, and capitals in the form of the lotus-flower. The roof was not arched, but consisted of long, massive blocks of stone, which were laid across from one pillar to another. On these again rested others, which crossed the first at right-angles. We walked through this passage, then we went between two rows of sphinxes, whose unexpressive faces stared at us motionless, and reached a tower-like gate-way, which formed the before-mentioned gate of the city, and was richly adorned with hieroglyphical inscriptions. A band of about ten soldiers kept watch at the entrance, every one of them armed with a bow and a battle-ax, the former of which they bore in the left, and the latter in the right hand; and a trumpeter, too, was with them, to sound the alarm in any case of necessity. Through the portal we reached a large square vestibule, which was shut in round about by covered colonnades. Here stood on the right a gigantic statue of the god, the image of Ptah, the Vulcan of the Romans, who appeared to be the protecting deity of the reigning king and on this account was very properly here found in his place.* It was a pillar of Ptah such as is commonly found: a standing figure in which only the head was formed out, while from the shoulders downward it terminated in a thick column. On the front side of the pillar was a hieroglyphic inscription that contained a prayer to the god,—in the last words of which he was called "Creator, God, Lord

* Compare the inscription of the Rosetta Stone, ἠγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ φθᾶ, beloved of Phthah.

in Eternity." We were thinking of proceeding on our way to the left when here suddenly the daily sacrificial procession came forth from a portal.

A company of the royal body-guard opened the procession, having in front a band of music; they marched once all around the vestibule, and then placed themselves on both sides of the portal by which the king was to enter. After them followed the lower classes of the Egyptian priests, who carried the apparatus necessary for the solemn rites. I noticed among these, particularly, costly golden vessels filled with wine, and a remarkable instrument that was designed for the exhibition of the incense. It consisted of an outstretched human arm, almost of the size of life, wrought of the purest gold, the hand of which held the censer filled with glowing coals.* Others again bore precious golden and silver boxes, which were filled with incense of various kinds. Next followed the king, with him the prophet or chief-priest of the college; both of them large, majestic figures, who strode in proudly in the consciousness of their dignity and high rank. After them followed the sacred scribe, recognized by the pen he bore as an ornament for his head, and with a book-roll in his hand; and then came the whole crowd of courtiers, young sons of the priests, and soldiers, who pressed in hurriedly and placed themselves on both sides of the image of the god, while the king, prophet, and the sacred scribe stood up before the god, and the servants of the temple took their position behind the king.

At a sign by the prophet, who here also acted as mediator between the god and the king, the assembled multitude began a solemn hymn in praise of the divinity.

* Wilk. II. Ser. Suppl. plate 82.

It sounded monotonous, but still was not wanting in making a solemn impression even on myself. I had mixed myself among the courtiers; I looked one and another in the face, and everywhere met with so much seriousness, such hearty devotion, that I recognized how fixed and immovably rooted in them was faith in their god. There was no one here, as, alas! there are many among us, who had come only to let himself be seen and to seem not godless. Every one here felt the nearness to him of his god, while singing with upraised hands, and praying most earnestly, he gazed on the motionless face of the image. They sung thus:*—

"Praise to thy face, Creator, God!
Praise to thy visage, great Ptah!
Who hast formed the great world,
The heaven, earth, and starry host;
Praise to thy face, Father of the world!

"Praise to thy face, Creator, God!
Praise to thy visage, great Ptah!
Thou who dost adorn the world around
To-day, as ever, with thy gifts;
Praise to thy face, Preserver of the world!

"Praise to thy face, Creator, God!
Praise to thy visage, great Ptah!
Thou who dost rule and judge the world,
Destroy the wicked, reward the good;
Praise to thy face, Sovereign of the world!"

When the hymn was ended the whole assembly sunk down on their knees—only the king and the prophet remained standing; and while the king received from the hands of the servant of the temple a vessel of wine, and

* From the Todtenbuch, (Book of the Dead,) chap. cxxxix.

poured out the libation, and afterward took the golden hand with the censer of incense in his right hand and held it toward the image of the god, and strewed sweet-smelling incense into the basin of coals, the prophet uttered this prayer:—

"Great Ptah, Lord of the heaven, Father of the gods! The king comes before thy face in the morning hour to thank thee! Thou hast granted him power, wisdom, long life, victory over his enemies, and dominion over Egypt. Graciously hearken to him! Countless are his virtues. He reveres thee and the other gods daily and hourly; he has ever been obedient and loving to his parents, to whom he owes his life; he hath wronged no one in anger, killed no defenceless person in unrighteous fight; he hath robbed no one of his property unjustly; he knows not of lies nor deceit; his words and his actions are pure and without falsehood. So judge the priests, who have watched over his life; so judge his friends, who are round about him; so judge the people, whom he rules wisely and justly. But Thou seest into the depths of the heart; Thou beholdest the evil that escapes our eyes; Thou hearest the complaint of the oppressed and wretched which may not reach our ears. Is there *one* in Egypt who accuses the king in his prayer to thee? Has wrong been done to *one* in Egypt and we know it not? So speak Thou the king, the unpunishable, free from all guilt, and roll it on his servants and counselors who have deceived him. Great God! The day has begun; guard the realm; give also to the king wise thoughts this day, and be Thou gracious to all. Hail to thy face!"

When the prophet had uttered this prayer, and had risen, the sacred scribe drew near with the holy book,(2)

in order, according to the ancient custom, to read some passages from it.* He opened the roll and read the following:—"Thus speaks Osiris: 'I am the Creator of the other gods, shining high above in the place of the divine abode, which encircles the lands. Sing praises, ye men, to the splendor of my work and the beams of the other leaders, (of the house of the stars,) the children of the gods, who there walk in the space of the girdle of Osiris, in the windings of their paths, mounting and descending according to various rules. I am the compeller of men, the Sun-god who walks about on the firmament of the heaven; the shining king; the living Osiris; who there judges the pious and the wicked one day as every day; who there wakes the son of the Sun, the Indian bird, (the Phœnix,) the son of Osiris. The God of the universe of life, Osiris, rejoices as we rejoice ourselves, in life. I am the bright, the shining one in the house of the gods at On, the city of the Sun.'"

When the Hierogrammatist or sacred scribe had read these words from the sacred roll, the prophet took up the words to explain and illustrate them in a short address. He spoke of the mighty Sun-god, the Creator of the universe, of the bright, shining zodiac, the girdle of Osiris, which, as a dwelling of the watchful gods, encircles the earth. In lively colors he portrayed the fidelity and watchfulness of the Sun-god, Osiris, who appears in the East in the morning, walks about the heaven, at midday, rich in blessing, stands at his highest point, and then descending, sinks deeper and deeper, till he disappears in the West in the evening, with a last glowing look of departure. "Rich in blessing is

* The Book of the Dead, chap. iii.

his working;" thus he proceeded, enthusiastically; "from morn to evening he watches over his native land, where he once lived, wrought, reigned as king, bravely fought, and suffered death from the hand of the wicked blasphemer. As then his appearance brought on earth fortune and safety, so it is to-day and every day, when he mounts up into the heaven. The flower raises its head and uncloses its cup; the bird begins his joyous morning lay; man goes forth from his abode, and all are quickened and warmed by the beams of his eye as soon as he, the thousand-eyed,(3) quits the dwelling of Athor and spreads abroad his blessing. Bless and praise him, then; him the faithful watcher in the firmament of heaven! And when he has gone down, and has disappeared behind the western mountains, are we then forsaken? Oh no! His spouse, Isis, his innumerable children and her attendants, then mount up to protect the realm. To him and to his children, the other gods, we can trust; in their protection we feel ourselves secure. His power, his majesty, his grace, his compassion, are infinite. Do you ask, What is infinite? Man cannot comprehend it, cannot grasp it; he must not try to understand it, for the glory of the Sun-god is unfathomable. Let us search not further! When we in Amenthes are united to him we shall look into his greatness and glory; now it is a labyrinth to us that only the consecrated prophet penetrates, where every layman loses himself and wanders. Hear a parable! An overcurious boy once wanted to look at Osiris close by. He stood on the eastern shore of Lake Moeris, and Osiris disappeared at evening in the lake. The boy, during the night, ran along the lake to see Osiris nearer; in the morning he was on the west shore, and Osiris arose

again from the lake, in the East, and walked his eternal path; the boy ran further on, and in the evening he stood at the foot of the mountain that separates our country from Lybia; Osiris disappeared behind. 'There dwells Osiris,' cried out the boy; and with unspeakable toil he ascended the mountain, that he might look into the dwelling of the god. But the darkness increased; the evening broke in, and when the boy had reached the top Osiris was no more this side of the mountain. Weeping, the boy spent the night on the top of the mountain, and looked down east on the lake, and on the west to a boundless and horrible desert. But what a wonder! The new day begins, and Osiris comes forth, mounting higher in the East, from the lake. The boy stayed on the top of the mountain, from which he hoped to see where Osiris walked that day. At noon the Sun-god stood high over the mountain's top and moved toward the West. The boy went down from the mountain, hastened toward Osiris in the desert. 'To the West, to the West!' The sand of the desert surrounded him; before him Osiris disappeared in the desert. So the boy ran on and on. Finally his strength failed: he had lost himself in the desert, and perished miserably there. That is the labyrinth of the divinity. Stay back, spirit of man, search not further. Thou weak man, only the priest knows the mysteries which thou canst not comprehend. Go away, and praise Osiris, for his glory is without end!"

When the prophet had thus spoken, all arranged themselves for the march, in the same order as before, and the procession disappeared through the same entrance, and returned to the interior chambers.

"The king goes to the business of state," said my

little conductor, with a roguish smile; "let us now make a visit to the king's harem."

I agreed; but before I relate and sketch what I further saw and experienced, I must premise a few words respecting the condition and social position of women in Old Egypt.

The social position of the female sex in Old Egypt has been estimated very differently by different authors, even up to the latest times. This diversity of views has been produced and favored particularly by the accounts varying from one another, and sometimes also self-contradictory, of the old classic historians, who have left us the most extended information about the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. Before, therefore, —as is the case in modern days,—the Egyptian monuments and wall-paintings in the temples and sepulchres had been drawn forth from their ruins and examined, and could be brought forward to decide the question, the learned expressed different views and suppositions on this point of Egyptian antiquity, according as they believed they ought to yield the greater credit to this or that author, one or another statement. Thus, in earlier modern times, it was believed* that in Egypt females were not eligible to the throne; but, on the contrary, history, the best instructress, furnishes many names of arbitrary queens. Who has not heard of Nitocris, of Skemiophris, and others? who does not know that Isis, later adored as a goddess, in the earliest times must have been queen and sovereign of the country? A people who excluded the female sex wholly from the throne would not certainly have represented one of its

* De Pauw: "Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens," &c. T. i. p. 30.

most excellent, universally-reverenced goddesses as the oldest queen of the country. Further: Herodotus relates that the female sex in Egypt were wholly excluded from the priest's office, and no woman had served in any temple as a priestess; yet the same historian contradicts himself in another place,* and in the story of the Oracle of Dodona makes express mention of the *Priestesses* of Thebes. Again: Plutarch speaks of an Egyptian law, according to which women were not permitted to wear shoes. Hence it has been concluded that the Egyptians, in this way, wished to force their women always to remain at home, as it was regarded indecorous for them to go into the streets bare-foot. Herodotus, on the contrary, reports† that among the Egyptians the wives went to market and traded, while the men remained at home and attended to the household affairs; and so it has been maintained that this is only to be understood of the lowest classes of the populace, and some have even gone so far as to conclude, from these reasons, that Herodotus could not have been in the best society in Egypt. By such and similar argumentation, and resting on the report of Diodorus,‡ that the Egyptians, with the exception of the priests, were allowed to marry as many wives as they chose,—though Herodotus says the contrary, while he maintains that every Egyptian had only one wife,—they went so far, pardonable enough, indeed, as to compare the Egyptian life in this respect to that of the other Oriental nations, and with tolerable certainty to suppose, also, that the Egyptians were most oppressive despots; held their women as slaves, shut up in their harems, guarded strictly

* Herod. II. 54. † Herod. II. 35.
‡ Diod. Sicul. I. 80. Compared with the contrary in Herod. II. 92.

by eunuchs, and generally in every respect let them play only a subordinate part; and that how little they regarded their wives, and made hardly any difference among them, is evident from this, that there was a law in Egypt, according to which every child, even one born of a bought slave-woman, was looked upon as equal in birth.* This view once held and established, led to the necessary conclusion that we must pronounce the biblical narrative we have respecting Joseph and Potiphar's wife unworthy of belief, as Joseph was not near the woman, and, least of all, could have reached the harem.† But our view is different when we consider the Egyptian monuments and inscriptions. If the Egyptian queens had, indeed, held as subordinate a position as in modern times in the East, we should know as little about them as we do of the Persian and Turkish sultanas. This, however, is not the case. History has preserved many names for us, and the monuments and hieroglyphic inscriptions have made immortal many more. In the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, under which the Israelites went out of Egypt, and which reigned in Egypt about eighteen hundred years before Christ,‡ and, therefore, at a very early period, we find on the monuments the names given of royal wives, *e.g.* Nane-Atari, wife of King Amenophtep; Taja, wife of Amenoph the II., &c.; and when we compare with this the account of Diodorus§ that there was paid to the queens of Egypt greater honor than to their husbands themselves, there, too, appears to have been among them only one wife, or, in case of several, the first and preferred wife always took a place of dignity. From

* Diod. I. 80. † Von Bohlen, die Genesis, &c. pp. 371, 372.
‡ See my "Thoth," "Hyksos," &c. p. 237. § Diod. II. 27.

various passages of the Greek authors, likewise, it may be concluded that it was an early custom in Egypt to bestow with the daughters whom they wished to marry, from their father's property, a marriage portion; and on this account, also, the Egyptian wives must have stood in far higher estimation and enjoyed a far more agreeable condition than in other parts of the East, where the custom had been introduced, and is yet observed, to buy the bride of her parents and kindred for a sum of money, for which reason the husband believes himself justified in treating her as a bought-slave or bondwoman. Women in Egypt, too, lived—and this is the main proof, according to pictorial representations on the monuments—by no means so restrained and imprisoned as in the East.* Besides social states, where the wives and their husbands are found in the different chambers, and which remind us of similar European domestic arrangements, we find them also often in the same chamber mingling together with all the social freedom of modern enjoyments. The children, too, were not imprisoned in the harem, as is usual now in the East; they were much more frequently introduced into society, and allowed to sit with the mother or on the father's knee. When my little conductor, therefore, spoke of the harem of the king, he meant by it the chambers of the queen and all the luxury and elegance by which they were furnished; the female slaves, singers, dancers, and the court-state, which I shall have occasion to describe. But perhaps an allusion may be expected as to the beauty, the charming figure, and loveliness of the Egyptian women. Here I must be silent. All writers know of more to relate respecting

* Wilk. II. 389.

their homeliness than of their charms, and the monuments in all respects confirm this judgment. Thick, upturned lips, large ears standing high on the head; but no! let whoever would learn to know them accurately, let him travel to Egypt and observe their descendants, the female Copts: they who at this day hold that there is a charm in fatness, must be apt copiers of their forefathers.

Horus conducted me back again the same way by which we had entered the inside of the palace. We passed beyond the statue of Ptah again into the collonade, which at this time we did not cross lengthwise, but turned off to the right. Some steps forward led us into another lofty antechamber, and after we had gone about ten paces we stood before a parti-colored, embroidered, woolen curtain, which shut out the view into the sanctuary of the women's chamber. Guards were nowhere to be seen, and my idea of meeting here the watchmen of the harem and eunuchs was not in the least degree confirmed. Only one old slave—a black, bought at the South, who appeared to have grown gray in the service of the royal family as a door-keeper—cowered in one corner of the chamber; but the heat of the day had overcome him, and he was asleep. So we could, without danger, enter? Oh no! I dare not do that! But lift the curtain a little, and cast a curious glance into the interior. The splendor of the women's chamber dazzled my eyes. The floor, composed, no doubt, as that of the whole palace, with plates of alabaster, was covered with carpets wrought or embroidered in the most beautiful manner; the walls and the ceiling were painted blue, and decorated with countless golden stars. Around the walls and in the middle of the chamber stood the most

costly and elegant furniture. How can I describe all this splendor, this luxury! Besides the most beautiful couches, overlaid with covered cloth, and that rested on low footstools erected against the walls,* the royal throne-chair and divan, with high-back supports, stood in the middle of the chamber. This was formed of cedar-wood, furnished with four golden lion-feet, and adorned with every kind of golden decorations. The name of the queen was also immortalized on every one of the feet of the chair in a golden hieroglyphical shield. I read it, Ahmes-t, *i.e.* daughter of the moon. The cover of the chair was like the walls,—blue, with stars. Divans, also, for two persons, like the one-seated kind, were not wanting.† In one corner, on the floor, lay field-chairs, folded together. Tables, also, of the most elegant kind, stood against the walls, before the couches. I admired the tastefulness of their workmanship. The tops of the tables were round, of fine wood; they rested, as in many tables of our time, on one foot; but this foot consisted not, as with us, of a simple thick pillar, but of artistically-wrought, rich, golden, standing human figures, —Africans, slaves, soldiers, and others,—who bore the top on their heads. To give firmness to the table, these figures also stood at the bottom again, on separate wooden footstools.‡ Upon the table I saw the most splendid vessels for display, of gold, silver, ivory, and variously-colored glass vases, bowls, cups, cans, and pitchers. Especially a large golden vase excited my wonder, the two handles of which were formed by two silver cats that stood with their hind-feet upon the swell of the vase and reached up with the fore-feet to lay hold of the brim. In like manner with all the other

* Wilk. II. 196, 199, &c. † Wilk. II. 191. ‡ Wilk. II. 202.

vessels, whole figures of animals, or heads of goats, cows, horses, and birds, were used as handles or decorations of the covers.* Cups of porcelain, in the shape of lotus-blossoms, with golden leaves, stood around a costly mixing-pitcher, arranged in a circle.

In a few minutes this place of splendor and royal luxury began to be full of life. Back of the curtain, the same behind which we lay hid, the queen come forth not yet indeed dressed in her ornaments, but only covered by a long garment, full of folds flowing down to the feet; yet still in her stately, beautiful figure, and in her proud, dignified, majestic gait, easily to be recognized as the royal spouse. A throng of companions, maid-servants, and slaves, crowded in after her. Two children, also, of about one and two years old, no doubt royal princes, were brought in by their nurses. The manner in which the children were treated especially fixed my attention. They were neither tied up in bandages or in close garments, but stretched out naked on the carpet of the floor, where nothing hindered them from breathing freely and extending and moving their limbs as they chose. Playthings, likewise, of all sorts, were laid near them; thus, I saw, for example, dolls, whose limbs, as with us, might be set in motion by a thread hanging down.† In this way, in Old Egypt, all children were appropriately tended and brought up; they were wont to bathe them every day, and, besides, they let them have perfect freedom to stretch themselves out as described. Thus they by degrees, of themselves, exercised their powers of going and running, and as even a fall on the soft carpet did them no harm, they grew rapidly under the eyes of their mothers and nurses.

* Wilk. II. 346–349. † Wilk. II. 427.

The queen cast a look, beaming with joy and happiness, on her children, and seated herself on her throne-chair. At a signal given, the female slaves above mentioned, who followed her, hastened to the corner, brought out the field-chairs, drew them apart, and arranged them in a semicircle opposite the queen. The queen's companions, easily distinguished as Egyptians by their dress and complexion, took their seats on them. They were all homely, as I have sketched them in general above. The toilet of the queen now began: one of the slaves, with a fragrant vessel which contained a pomade, came up to her, while another unbound her long, dark hair, and yet a third approached with a round hand-mirror;* the queen clapped her hands, and immediately there came forth from the company of female-slaves a lively dancer and sprung into the middle of the chamber. She could have scarcely been sixteen years old; her bright complexion, beautiful, noble features, dark and languishing eyes, marked her out as a daughter of Asia. Her long black hair hung free and unbound down over her shoulders; she wore only a fine, short, little frock, which was confined above her hips by a costly girdle, and adorned at the lower border by a pointed edge. Her arms and feet were bare; around her neck she wore an elegant broad neck-kerchief, fastened together with blue and white pearls. In her hand she held a small musical instrument like a guitar, with a little keyboard but a long handle.†

A symphony on the instrument, played by herself, was the introduction to her dance, and which she accompanied with a wild melody. I could not enough

* Wilk. III. 385, 386. † Wilk. II. 301.

drink in the sight, so charming and multiplied were her passionate movements. Sometimes rising on either of her feet; sometimes violently beating the floor with her heels; sometimes turning on this or that foot in a circle; sometimes with incredible skill springing on high and hovering in the air; she was in nothing behind the most celebrated female dancers of our day. When, finally, wearied out and exhausted, she ended her play and dancing, the queen threw her a kind and assenting look, but that was all the reward, all the applause which she earned.

I now gained time once more to turn my eyes to the toilet of the queen, which in the mean time had gone forward. Her raven-black hair was now arranged in innumerable braids and tresses: a third part of it fell down on the right side; a third at the left, on her bosom; and another third covered her neck and shoulders. This style of hair was confined by a costly, broad, golden band across the forehead, taken from the jewel-box.* Her hands, also, were now decorated with rings of every description; on every finger, even on the two thumbs, she bore at least one, and on the fore and middle fingers two or three rings apiece.† These rings were of the most varied forms: some of them were seal-rings, shaped like ours; others consisted of serpents, which, after one or more coils, held their tails in their mouths; and others yet were broad, round finger-rings, with the most diverse ornaments and inscriptions. Whether the queen, as I supposed, also wore ear-rings, I could not easily see, as her ears were entirely covered up by the tresses of hair hanging down on the side of her head. Around

* Wilk. III. 368. † Wilk. III. 372, 374.

the wrists she had, likewise, golden bracelets, which consisted of several chain-like parts; on every one of these hung still other small golden ornaments,—little figures of the gods, animals, plants, and instruments. Thus I saw the queen decked when my eye returned from the beautiful dancer to her chair. Another female-servant approached to place on her the costly neck-kerchief and girdle, when the old watchman in the ante-chamber where we were snored so loud that we drew back affrighted. We feared lest they might have heard his snoring within,—but they had noticed nothing; and when we again looked through the curtain the queen's toilet was over, and at a new signal from her hand a table was brought forward. She beckoned to one of her playfellows, who immediately drew her stool nearer, and the servants, at some words of their mistress, hurried out, and, after a few moments, returned with a costly little ivory box. What did it contain?

The queen opened the box: it contained a number of little white balls, and the same number, also, of black ones, which were divided among the two players. She herself took the white, her companion the black, stones; both stood them up on the table, in a row, separately. First, I noticed that there was a square in the centre of the top of the table, which was divided, after the manner of our draught-board, into separate spaces, there being twelve times twelve, *i.e.* one hundred and forty-four spaces.* That games were played by the old Egyptians, and these of very different kinds, is well known and attested by history, and still further by old legends. Thus, the Egyptian god, Thoth or Hermes, played

* Wilk. II. 419.

draughts with the moon-goddess, Selene, and won from her five days.* Rhampsinit, the well-known Egyptian king, in his descent to hell, threw dice with Isis or Ceres, and won of her a golden mantle.† The queen's play was the signal for universal freedom and enjoyment. Some also seated themselves to play draughts; others threw dice, which were formed exactly as ours, and marked with numbers from one to six, in the shape of as many eyes;‡ while others still played the game of morra, already described above, or odd or even. The scene became more lively, noisy, and boisterous. Besides, the female-slaves, with their musical instruments, harps, flutes, and tambourines, began to set up a tumultuous din which scarcely deserved to be called music.

I would gladly have seen the end of the play, and learned whether the queen or her fellow-player won; but suddenly the watchman, who had hitherto slumbered close by us, roused himself up. The boisterous music waked him from his soft dreams. With big eyes he stared at us. Horus cast on him a pleasant, roguish look, and handed him a gold ring which he drew off from his finger. The black cunningly grinned a smile, and allowed us to make our retreat unhindered; probably he considered us a pair of young fellows of the priestly-class, whom a love-intrigue with one of the court-dames had lured hither. It was then as now, "There is nothing new under the sun."

We left the king's palace. On our wandering from the city (for we hurried out into the air as the sun was

* Diod. I. 13. Plut. Is. v. Os. 12. † Herod. II. 122.
‡ Wilk. II. 424.

now at mid-day) we came to an open space where young soldiers were exercising their weapons and engaged in various bodily feats of skill. Combats, wrestling, and throwing quoits were the chief practice;* but, without stopping, we hastened on, in order to see and be able to learn more new things. In a quarter of an hour we had reached a gate and entered a fertile plain.

* Wilk. II. 438, 439.

CHAPTER III.

THE VINEYARD—THE PROPHECIES—AN EGYPTIAN RATIONALIST.

We walked toward the west, and in a short period reached the famous canal of Joseph, which ran to the distance of thirty German miles (ninety English) parallel with the Nile, on the west side, and served for irrigation, and by its overflow increased the fertility of the land. The overflows of the Nile usually began then, and do so now, toward the end of August; but they were at this time anticipated, for, according to my judgment, little Horus had transported me into Egypt in the time of the fruit-harvest, and probably we were now in July, in which month, as I had heretofore read, the vintage takes place.* The whole tract of land which we passed through was, in the highest degree, fruitful; fig-trees (*Ficus Sycamorus*, Lin.) which grew on both sides of the road overshadowed the way, as every one of them spread out its thick-leaved branches so far that it covered a space of thirty paces in diameter with its shade. These trees had broad, oval, blunt, heart-shaped leaves on the stems, and the fruit did not grow, as in other fig-trees, on the branches, but was produced in bunches from the trunks themselves. This fruit, as I learned from Horus, was the most common and acceptable food of the poor. Although the tree yearly bears ripe fruit, yet we could

* Hartman's Egypt, pp. 214, 215.

not then taste of it, for one harvest appeared to be over and the new fruit was yet very small and unripe.

When we had reached the canal of Joseph we turned to the left, toward the south, along its bank. Here, for the first time, I saw little Egyptian boats which conveyed articles of traffic, especially fruits in elegantly-woven baskets, to the North. They were built of the wood of the Egyptian mimosa, because this, in ancient times, was considered indestructible in water; the other parts—the sails, ropes, &c.—were formed of the bark of the papyrus-stalk.* In the smaller boats there were two rowers on each side, a fifth was employed at the helm, and a sixth about the mast; in the larger ones a greater number of rowers was required; but all glided on with incredible rapidity.† As we proceeded forward we reached a garden fenced in, the simple square gate of which consisted of three large hewn stones: two of these standing upright formed the two sides; a third was laid flat across, upon them. The gate was open, and we entered. On the right first met my eye a large water-basin, which was planted around with trees; on the left lay outstretched one of the most luxuriant vineyards I had ever seen.(4) The soil, indeed, was moist and marshy, but the grape in Egypt, as I afterward saw, throve as well in the midst of water as the marsh-plants.‡ The portion of the garden on the left was intersected by a broad path, which we struck into; on both sides of it forked sticks of about half the height of a man were set in the earth in regular rows; upon the fork rested other long sticks, and on these ran along the most noble grape-vines. Beautiful large white and blue grapes hung

* Pliny, XIII. 11. † Wilk. III. 205, 211.
‡ Michaud: Correspondenz aus dem Orient. t. ii. p. 12.

on the vines, and two merry lads of about twelve years old ran up and down with rattles, which they constantly shook, to frighten away the greedy and bold filching birds. Soon we came to other laborers, who broke off the grapes and gathered them into a kind of tall wicker baskets. The overseer, resting on his staff, stood near by, carefully inspecting all. We requested permission, which we readily obtained, to take a look at the various operations; at the same time we learned that the owner of the vintage was commander of the royal body-guard, and was expected toward evening, as he had given directions to put everything in order for his visit.

The chief-superintendent kindly offered to show us, and also to explain to us the other arrangements. He intrusted his supervision to an old workman, and begged us to proceed onward. So we soon reached a building resting on pillars, in which the wine was pressed out. In the middle of it, something like a yard and a half high and four yards long and broad, there was a beautifully ornamented box of hard mimosa-wood that had at the four corners four pillars, on which rested, likewise, a firm wooden roof. From the middle of the roof hung down five ropes, to which five workmen held fast with their hands. In this box were cast the grapes plucked from the vines; the workmen walked about in a circuit with firm step, holding constantly by the ropes, and thus trod out the grapes on all sides. Soon so much juice was trodden out that they stood in the *must* up to their ankles. A stop-cock was now opened in the side of the box and the juice let off into another receptacle.

But this was not the only mode in which wine was pressed out. In one corner stood a large earthen vessel; two workmen put grapes into a linen bag, and in the

same way as our washerwomen are wont to wring out wet clothes, they seized upon the bag at both ends, one twisted to the right and the other to the left, and the juice thus pressed out ran into the vessel standing underneath till nothing but the skins and stems were left in the bag, when it was emptied, cleaned, and filled with new grapes.

For preserving the wine thus obtained large two-handled pitchers, tapering at the bottom, were used, which were then carried away by other workmen and leaned in a row against the wall in a deep cellar.*

When I expressed my surprise at finding such a good cultivation of the wine here, so contrary to the old writers, Horus replied, "Such and similar vineyards you would find in the whole valley of the Nile, even up to the island of Elephantis and the Cataracts, where it is said to be the southern boundary of Egypt. I could name to you at least ten different kinds of Egyptian grape-vines, which, as with you, were called after the places where they are cultivated, and partly, too, are celebrated on account of their excellence. Generally here in this country much wine is consumed and drank; it is used liberally in various forms with the offerings of the kings to the gods; even to the priests the enjoyment of it is not forbidden, but they receive regular daily allowances during the period of their temple-service; and to every one of the two thousand soldiers who form the continual body-guard of the king, daily, four measures (quarts) of wine are given out by the Government Office of Supplies. The beer which we drank this morning is more a drink of the lower classes and poorer people; the king, priests, and soldiers, on the contrary, drink

* Wilk. II. 146–157.

wine; and even foreign kinds of wine are every year brought into Egypt in large quantities, from Greece and Phenicia. Why did the Egyptians find it necessary to pass a law prescribing to the king only a fixed small quantity of wine for daily use, if they had not been from the earliest period addicted to the drinking of it?" *

While the chief-overseer was giving some directions at the wine-presses to the workmen, and Horus and I went again into the alley which intersected the vine-plantings, I saw in the opposite end a young maiden coming out to meet us, who bore in her appearance the most unmistakable marks of sorrow and trouble. On account of the noon-day heat she was clad only in a long linen garment; her walk was slow, her look was wild and downcast to the ground, her hair fell negligently and dishevelled over her shoulders; she allowed her arms sometimes to hang motionless and idly; sometimes she raised her hands in order to cover her face, and probably to hide her tears from the laborers whom she passed. With sympathy for her I asked Horus who she was. He related to me the following sorrowful history:—

"That young maiden whom you see coming toward us there so slowly is the daughter of the steward with whom we have just spoken; her name is Alula. It is now almost three years since she became so unhappy, sad, and desponding. At that time her father had an able workman to whom he could commit all, who took charge of his work, and under whose care all throve in the best manner. On this account, also, the steward loved him very greatly, and readily promised him his daughter's hand, as they both cherished a mutual affection. The

* Rosellini, p. 376. Wilk. II. 164. Herod. II. 37, 168; III. 3. Diod. I. 70.

young laborer was named Muimas, *i.e.* the *Lion-son*, because his father, on account of his incredible bodily strength, was called the Lion. The son, too, was stout and powerfully built, in short, an ornament of the country people of Egypt. Now it happened that the country, and especially Lower Egypt, which we call Sahet, *i.e.* the North, was threatened by a mighty foe. The king thought that the standing-army of four hundred thousand men of the soldier-class was not enough, and therefore determined to double it by strong and powerful persons from the other classes.* A call for the formation of such a levy to protect the realm went through the whole land; in every district appeared royal officers, who chose out the most powerful and fittest and carried them off, willing or unwilling, with them. So Muimas was torn away from his Alula, brought to Memphis, there armed, drilled some weeks in the exercise of weapons in the use of which he soon distinguished himself, and about three miles from here, on the other side of the Nile, was attached to a company of soldiers who formed the garrison of a fortified city. Thus the months passed on and the longing of the young people for each other grew stronger from day to day. After half a year Muimas once came from the watch and learned that not till two days more he would be called again to service; the desire of seeing her unmanned him, and he stole out of the city and hastened to his beloved Alula, with the firm purpose to return to his place again within the two days. He spent a happy day, and the next day, in the morning, broke forth in good time to reach the garrison at the usual hour. But fortune did not favor him; hardly a mile from here,

* Diod. I. 54.

walking in the open field, he heard on one side, in the bushes, some one crying out, in distress, for help. I do not know whether you are acquainted with the wise law which commands every one, if on his way he see murder or violent outrage, to hasten to assist the sufferer and prevent the deed, and which threatens every one who neglects it with the punishment of death, as well as to the murderer himself. Lovers are good reckoners. Muimas had counted accurately every minute, so that he could be in his place at the right time, but he must not stop a moment on his way. So he wavered between the fulfilment of this philanthropic law and the fear of having his desertion discovered. Then two men rushed out of the bushes, the one defenceless, the other, his persecutor, armed with a short sword. The persecuted man was a friend, known to Muimas, and duty to his fellow-man and the law enjoined him to lend his aid. He threw himself between the two, and after a quarter of an hour's fight, in which Muimas bore away a slight wound, the murderer fled. But by this act of philanthropy Muimas was rendered forever unhappy. He was obliged, together with his friend, immediately to satisfy the further demand of the law; he must haste with him to the nearest magistrate of the district to make out an official notice of the case.* Thus hour after hour passed on, and the poor fellow returned sick, pale, and wounded, to his garrison, where he had been long missed and his escape discovered. He was seized and placed before a court; he made a good defence, but with us the LAW only is supreme, and disgrace follows desertion. He was declared by the pitiless judges dishonorable, doomed to forced labor, and sent to the quarries in Upper Egypt.

* Diod. I. 77.

There he still pines; there he must, day after day, labor in chains without any relaxation. Foreign soldiers, who are ignorant of the Egyptian language, there guard the unhappy criminals, and the slightest remissness is punished by being beaten with cudgels.* In the mean time poor Alula's heart is broken. She accuses herself of having caused the misfortune; and who knows but that by her solicitations she did not lead the unfortunate fellow to his fault. A half year ago she threw herself at the feet of the queen and implored her favor and intercession; the owner of the vineyard, also, who was kindly interested in the welfare of the poor maiden, employed his efforts for the unfortunate man; but up to this day no favorable change has taken place in the matter."

In the mean time the sorrow-stricken girl had approached us. We addressed her kindly; but, as she regarded me as a soldier, and perhaps thereby her anguish and recollection were yet more excited, she covered her face with her hands and tears burst forth anew from her eyes. It was not till her father came up that she sought to recover herself, and in a few words, often interrupted by her sobs, told us the following particulars:—

She had, as we learned, some time since, with the knowledge and consent of her father, left the district, and, provided with the necessary food, in the anguish of her heart hastened to the temple of Ammon, in the desert, to inquire of the Oracle whether and when her lover might be soon released. She had shunned no toils, no privation, and finally, exhausted and half dead, reached the end of her journey. The answer to her question was unfavorable. "The time," so the priests gave reply, "will not be soon; till thy lover has lived

* Diod. I. 78; III. 12–14.

through half his life he will remain imprisoned." "Ah! and he is only twenty-three years old," added the unhappy girl, sobbing. With death in her heart, and comfortless, she returned; and yesterday the walls and towers of Memphis greeted her. She determined to ask also of Apis,—"in him must dwell the soul of Osiris; from him the God himself might reply." She hurried to the temple; she crossed the vestibule; she entered the shrine, and with beating heart stood before the divine black bull. Breathless she called out to him the question, "Will the king at last show favor and compassion?" and cast down before the animal his favorite food. Apis turned, bellowing, away; he despised the food offered him, and by this unfavorable sign gave an undoubted negative answer. She was ready to despair, but she would yet try the last oracle, that of the children playing in the vestibule, who are regarded as inspired, and whose innocent, accidental expressions are observed in going out of the temple and considered as an answer of the God. She stepped out of the sanctuary into the vestibule. "No! I will not," she heard the smallest of the children cry out, who would not give up from his hand a ball with which the whole company were playing.

"No! he will not;" so she concluded her story; "the king will and will not show favor and compassion, and I shall never live to see the return of my beloved Muimas."

Vainly we tried to comfort her; leaning on her father, she left us, sobbing. The story had put me in a sorrowful mood. I was also wilted down by the heat, and Horus probably felt very much the same. Silent and sad we stretched ourselves out beside the water-basin, under a shady tree.

"And can you really look with so little compassion on the sorrow and sadness of that young maiden?" said I, after a quarter of an hour's mutual silence.

"And what can I do?" asked Horus.

"Undeceive her; inspire her with courage; tell her the truth; let her hope for the deliverance of her beloved," cried I, excited.

"Can I do it?" replied Horus, quietly, and with composure. "Do you regard me as omniscient? I know only the past, not the future, with which the gods have nothing to do. The future lies in the hands of the king. Whether he will condemn or show favor, who else can know?"

"Now, then, if you know not," I objected, "how can Ammon or Apis or Osiris know? Are not thus all your prophecies and oracles lies and deception? Undeceive her, then; tell her that she must put no faith in Ammon or Apis; that hope may yet be cherished; that the priests—pardon me the expression—are deceivers."

"The people wish to be deceived," replied Horus, calmly. "But if any are in a situation to know the future, it is the priests. *They* direct the king; they watch his thoughts; they can know whether they will advise a pardon or condemnation. Do not, too, sometimes, prophets appear with you; are there not among you fortune-tellers by cards? And do you believe that the cards are less deceptive than our Apis? Is it not an equal chance when with you the cards lie in this way or that; and when with us Apis eats or does not eat? And yet our priests have oftentimes foretold the truth; often announced what was correct. Why? Because our priests are all-powerful, and because they learn and understand everything; because they guide by invisible

threads all events; because with prophets, gipsies, and card-conjurors they have their assistants and spies, who, beforehand, acquaint them with the relations of life, inclinations and wishes of those who question them; and because, in short, chance often plays a great part, and if the prophet is only cunning, and makes his replies obscure and mysterious, the half of them at least will be correct. Prophesy much and you will be reckoned a great prophet. For, on account of *one* accidentally correct answer, the people will pardon a hundred blunders. Despise not, then, our wisdom. Our Apis, who announces the future, is as good as your divining rods, your magic keys, your dancing and speaking tables, and yet more wondrous things. Apis is an animal like every other; your wooden prophets are wood, like other wood. Leave to the people their playthings which are so necessary that for four thousand years they have not been able to give them up; leave to them an imagined look into the future!"

I neither could nor would say anything against his views. He spoke like a German philosopher, and I was silent. We moved further into the shade, and the sun sunk continually deeper in the horizon. A refreshing breeze spread abroad a coolness, and I was about to ask of my little conductor to resume our walk, when a noise of the neighing of horses, the baying of hounds, and men's voices in joyous talk came thick upon our ears. We quickly sprung up, and, all curiosity, hurried to the entrance of the garden.

On the same road on which *we* had reached the garden there approached a procession of ten or twelve wagons,(5) dashing forward at the quickest pace. The wagons were mostly two-wheeled, every one drawn by

two horses. The wheels, which almost all had six spokes, turned on an axle round at the end and square in the middle, on which the wagon-body rested. This was rounded in front and open in the back part, so that the passengers could mount into it from behind; the bottom space was wide enough to take in conveniently two persons standing; the sides so high that they covered those who stood within almost up to their middle. These wagons, of course, had no top; the shaft, fastened below in the middle of the axle, stretched along under the wagon and was bent up at the bulge in front, and then reached on in a straight direction to the necks of the horses. All the parts just described—the spokes of the wheels, the wagon-bodies, the edge running along on the sides, and, finally, the shaft—were overlaid in various forms with metal and adorned with ornaments, and, in some of the wagons, even decked and inlaid with precious stones and pearls.

The horses were yoked to the wagon; the shining yoke, mostly formed of metal, was of a crooked shape, having a bow for the neck of each of the animals; it was fastened on the necks of the horses and to the shaft-pole by broad leather straps also rich and variously ornamented in colors. The leather harness was just like that of modern times, and hence needs no special description. On every wagon stood two persons, the master and the servant or driver, the latter holding the reins with both hands; in his right hand, also, he held the whip, which consisted of a wooden handle and one or more thongs or twisted cords fastened on it. At the bottom end of the whip-stock there was a short leather sling, which the driver wound round his wrist, so that he could let the whip, when not in use, hang down without losing

it.* Hounds, of different species and sizes, the faithful attendants of their masters, sprung forward near the wagons. Thus the wagon procession quickly drew near, which already at the distance had attracted our notice by the noise which it occasioned. In front, as we afterward learned, was the master and proprietor of the garden, the already-mentioned commander of the royal body-guard, named by his friends Atnute, *i.e.* the Unbeliever, because in confidential discourse he had often allowed to gleam out unbelief as to the gods of the State. He was born at Memphis, and traced his genealogy back to the oldest times of the first priestly colony, and pretended to be in the possession of important original documents and writings which contained valuable information respecting the origin of the Egyptian State; but no one had seen them. He was, in the highest degree, scientifically educated; in his youth he, like all the wealthy Egyptians, had been instructed by the priests in the various kinds of writing, and in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and even also in astrology.† As a youth he already had such a special gift for the solution of difficult questions, and exhibited so remarkable a natural understanding, that the priests felt they must either draw him over to themselves, and commit him to their interest, or destroy him. They tried the former course; he was initiated into the first degree of the temple-mysteries, but he had soon seen down into the lowest depth, and quitted the temple forever, dissatisfied. About this time he had also drawn on himself the eyes of the reigning monarch by his peculiar boldness and bravery, and was soon advanced to his present prominent position. But the scornful and indignant priests labored

* Wilk. I. 339, 354. † Diod. I. 81.

for his overthrow; their vengeful hand waved, like the sword of Damocles, over his head.

In the other wagons followed his friends, most of them, likewise, members of the warrior-class, all, under that glorious sky, being clad in simple tunics. Their woolen mantles were to be put over them in the evening, on their return, and were, therefore, rolled up and bound on to the edge of the wagons. Having now reached the garden, the masters sprung from the wagons and entered. By Horus's advice I introduced myself to them as a soldier from Pelusium; my little conductor had rapidly run his eye over them and ascertained that no one from that region was in the company, and that I could not, therefore, be punished for my falsehood. I was kindly greeted, and hospitably invited to share in the vintage-feast. At the further end of the garden a tent was erected; thither the company betook themselves, and I followed as a mute spectator. The interior arrangements of the tent were simple, just such as the steward had been able to make. Simple wooden tables, and common fourfooted reed chairs with perforated wooden backs, stood around.* The host excused himself, on this account, with a short, courtly address of welcome. They seated themselves and spoke of the news of the day, while the steward appeared with some slaves and brought in food and cups. The simple meal which the steward had prepared in haste consisted of various meats, dried fish that were caught in Lake Moeris, and, as vegetables, roasted lotus-bulbs, which in size and taste were quite like our potatoes.† The black bread, such as I had tasted in the baker's shop, was specially praised as

* Wilk. II. 192. † Pliny Nat. Hist. XIII. 12.

something rare and excellent by the wealthy Egyptian epicures, who usually were wont to eat wheat bread.

The short, simple meal, in which I also shared, and which, by its good relish and cleanliness of preparation perfectly satisfied me, was soon over; and scarcely was it ended, when the master gave orders to bring in some pitchers of the must or wine-juice just prepared. The cups were filled, and Atnute first emptied his own to the health and welfare of the company. The rest followed his example, but I could hardly bring my mind to it, while I recollected in what way some hours before it had been pressed and trodden out with the feet. Reflection or hesitation, however, was of no use to me; suddenly, in the middle of the tent stood, right over against me, a slave with the frightful skeleton of a dead man in his hand, and cried out to me the horrible words,—

"Look on this; drink and be joyful, for so wilt thou look after death!"*

Thus compelled, I dashed off my cup.

The fresh, unfermented juice of the grape tasted sweet and pleasant, and appeared to be not in the least intoxicating; I, therefore, willingly allowed my cup to be filled anew by a slave who stood prepared to do so. Soon the pitchers brought were emptied, and now, after the fresh must had been praised on all sides, began the proper drinking bout. Other kinds of wine also were brought in from the cellar,—wines from Upper and Lower Egypt, from Philæ, Thebes, and Sais, and even foreign wines from Greece and Phenicia were not wanting.† The company drank bravely, sometimes from one, and sometimes from another sort, and every moment they became more and more gay, jovial, and unrestrained.

* Herod. II. 78. † Rossell. II. 377. Herod. III. 6.

Only the steward, who went back and forth to receive and execute the commands of his lord, could not forget the misfortune of his child, and continued sad, gloomy, and melancholy. Even the master, although he was busy in drinking, observed his sadness, and asked the cause.

But hardly had the steward answered, and mentioned the name of his daughter, Alula, and her misfortunes, than the whole company broke out in commendation of her, praised her virtue, beauty, and modesty, and loudly called for her to come in.

Alula was called in by her father.

Bashful and timid she entered the tent, into the circle of the men, but her fear was groundless; she was received kindly and respectfully by all. She must tell her story, and with sorrowful countenance and resigned heart she narrated her recent experience, as well as what had transpired before.

"It is all a trick!" cried out Atnute, when she had ended her story. "Believe not the prophecies of the gods; there are no gods!" And although he was rebuked by the warning looks of his more rational friends, he went on thus:—

"I will reveal to thee, and to all of you, my friends, the past. The first men whom the earth brought forth lived simply, and unsinning; without envy, hatred, or passion, they pastured their herds, and in harmony ate the fruit of their industry; but they did not remain so long. All the passions of which man is now capable reposed and slumbered in his nature, and gradually came into appearance and influence. Inequality and injustice got the upperhand; the stronger oppressed the weaker, and at last one, by the power of his spirit, sub-

jugated all the others. Thus in Meroe there was a wise man named Sabo. But could he long hold in order the unbridled masses of the people, with all their lusts, inclinations, and passions? No! He needed a strong body-guard; stout troops which might protect the power which his own spirit created. The body-guard was—superstition; the troops—the gods. He found out the only means which can afford comfort for all human sorrows, troubles, and injustice—religion. He spake to his fellow-countrymen of the gods; of a supreme God, Ammon. If he saw the oppressed, who were lamenting, he pointed them to Ammon for help; if he saw the unjust or wicked, he threatened them with the wrath and punishment of Ammon; if he saw the sick and suffering, he promised them alleviation by prayer to the gods. And every one had a wish, a petition; every one needed a consolation, a hope; an invisible power must give them aid and comfort where human power could not comfort or help them. But still more. The wise Sabo pretended to have intercourse with other gods; to have seen them, to have talked with them, and to have received instructions from them. So he became a mediator between men and the gods; he became the all-powerful priest of the divinity, and, what no power on earth could accomplish, invented names of innumerable gods,—they founded a state and civil security. But this power was neither Ammon, nor Osiris, nor Isis: it was a divine breath which all here on earth cannot comprehend or explain. Men had already gone out from the schools of our priests who had proclaimed to other nations a new and only God, and called him the Eternal; the most High; the Almighty; the Benefactor; the Dispenser of blessings. Do we not say the same of our gods? Do not

the inscriptions of our temples proclaim the same doctrine?* The God of the Shepherds—that Jehovah is our Ammon; and that well-known Moses, of whom you have all heard, with his god will govern his new-founded State firmly and surely as our forefathers governed the particular States which extend from Meroe over all Egypt, even up to the shores of the sea toward the North. A higher, I readily allow, a diviner spirit, runs through all nature—that is, Order. But this spirit is neither Ammon, nor Osiris, nor Isis, nor Jehovah: it is an inconceivable and inexplicable spirit! Men pray to it sometimes under the name of this, and sometimes of that god. Who propounded to Ammon, Osiris, Thoth, as the founders were named, the holy divine laws? Order, Nature, gave them, urged them on the human lawgiver. Dissolve them, and the universe falls into nothing. Do you now conceive the wisdom of Sabo? The wise man would obey these laws without divine command, for he recognizes their necessity; but the people need a commanding, forbidding, rewarding and punishing divinity. And now, Alula, What is your Ammon, whose oracles you trust, to which you have so fervently prayed? What is Apis, whose signs of marvel you give yourself up to with such unshaken faith? A consolation, a refuge for the good; a terrific image and scarecrow for the wicked; a playball in the hand of the wise; the invisible scepter in the hand of powerful rulers; a chain, finally, which with iron force binds kings to the will of the almighty priesthood! If you ask how I obtained this knowledge, how these false gods have arisen here or emigrated into Egypt, this, too, you may learn. Our State is not as old as we boast. In the earliest time,(6) south of Egypt,

* Plutarch de Is. et Os.

between the immeasurable wastes and the Eastern Sea, the dwelling-places of the Ethiopians, the priestly State, Meroe, was known as the mightiest and most civilized and famous. As the highest god, the creator and ruler of the world, according to the doctrine of Sabo, Ammon was adored; his priests chose after their number the king, who, clad only with the name of this dignity, and always dependent on the priests, remained a play-ball in their hands. From Meroe to Egypt went out several priestly colonies, with similar institutions, constitutions, and laws, which grew up into priestly States that were governed after the names of elected kings, but, in fact, by the ambitious priests. Besides the lesser ones, were particularly celebrated, among these, Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis. The power of the priests increased to unlimited hierarchies; the kings remained only tools in the hands of the almighty priesthood. Thus centuries passed on; the relation and the internal power of the wise, these possessors of all science and all salutary knowledge, remained the same. Intrenched or hid behind these mysteries and their secrets, they could boldly and fearlessly offer resistance to every assault of an internal foe. Only a few rulers dared to raise themselves above the power of the priests. Once only began the morning dawn of a freer development. The illustrious Sesostris boldly united all these little States under his sceptre; the power of the king extended over the whole empire, grew into strength and authority; the power of the priests was threatened, and had to tremble lest it should be forced into the background. That period of splendor is over; all the States are, indeed, united into one realm, but the priests bear sway as before, and the king is powerless in their hands."

He had spoken thus far; most were silent, bewildered by his bold language; some laughed. Only one, a gray-headed soldier, ventured to contradict him and to take the power and existence of the gods under his protection. But Atnute would not let him speak out. "I will prove to you," he cried, more and more heated by wine,—"I will prove to you that your pretended gods have lied to poor Alula." He beckoned to his servant and to the young maiden that they should come up nearer.

The servant gave to him a papyrus-roll, elegantly wrapped up, which he slowly unfolded.

"There, read that!" he cried to the maiden, while he held the sheet before her eyes, "and see that men can effect more than our gods! Here is the secret of the king,—Muimas is pardoned!"

"Pardoned!" cried Alula, with joyful astonishment. The next moment she and her father lay at the feet of the skeptic, and wet with her tears his hands, which they caught hold of and kissed, full of gratitude. The friends sprang up and crowded together; they wished to see for themselves the important document. But Atnute waved them back to their places, caused the cups to be filled anew, and with a gracious look on the father and daughter, whom he quickly raised up, he said, "This cup to innocence and love! Rejoice, Alula; before the ten days of this week have passed your beloved will be at your side. You know the estate which I own east of the river? I will lease it to him; you shall go with him into the house that is new-built there. Now go in peace."—Happy in her new thoughts and hopes, she withdrew.

As soon as the men were alone, and after they had

emptied one cup to the health of the gracious monarch and another to that of their host, they returned to their earlier conversation, although the minds of many were so clouded by their enjoyment of the wine that they scarcely had sense enough to understand. The old gray-haired soldier, who had already contradicted Atnute, turned to him this time with the question,—

"So you then doubt every possibility of searching into the future, since you have no gods, no Ammon, no Isis, no Thoth, no Serapis; and for you no soul of Osiris dwells in Apis?"

"Not so;" replied Atnute. "I believe only in that which I see, and which I have myself learned by experience. I have never seen a god with my eyes; I have had no correct answers from Apis. But there is an irreversible power—a fate, which no one can escape, and this the stars determine. Astrology is the only true and unobjectionable thing which your superstition contains."

"And why the stars and not the gods?" asked several voices.

"Because their effect is visible," he went on. "Does not every one feel the efficient power of the sun? Do you not see that by it all nature is warmed, quickened, and rendered fruitful? What causes the regular succession of day and night? The sun! What the seasons? The sun! Why do the flowers bloom? Why do the fruits ripen? Because the sun and his beams call them forth. There are flowers which blossom by day and close their cups at night. Is it the gods, or the sun and moon, that cause these things? Does not the first morning-ray awaken you? Does not wearisomeness overcome you when it disappears in the west? And

when the sun and moon create and operate so evidently, why do not in a less degree and invisibly the rest of the planets! Why not also Seb, Thoth, Surot, and Moloch?* The stars determine our fate; in the hour of our birth they plant in our inmost souls the germ of good or evil; of fortune or misfortune; of superiority or inferiority. I was born at noon; the sun stood in its highest power in the mid-heavens, and this betokens something great, high, sublime. But Moloch and Seb† looked unfavorably upon me when I opened my eyes to the light, and on that account a violent, painful death awaits me.‡(7)

"But how many are born at noon! Have they all, as you, become commanders?" objected one of the guests.

"No!" replied Atnute. "You forget our different classes. Whoever is born at this hour in the priestly order, he will, without doubt, become an able priest; and the farmer, the merchant, the sailor, can distinguish himself in his occupation; every one can do something remarkable in his own class, and reach to the highest point, if the sun favor him. But we forget our drink. Ho! slaves; fill up the cups!"

They drank, and drank on, one cup after another. Shall I sketch the end of the carouse? Many staggered when they rose up; many had already fallen down dead-drunk on the floor. Here the servants were busy in steadying, by their hands, their masters to the wagons, on which they were to return to the city. Those who were wholly drunk were carried off. Here, again, I noticed an old Egyptian custom, of bearing all, even the heaviest burdens, on their heads.§ This custom, as

* Saturn, Mercury, Venus, and Mars. † Mars and Saturn.
‡ Ovid, Am. I. 8, 29. § Herod. II. 35. Wilk. II. 151, 385.

it appears, the old Egyptians had in common with the negro slaves of the present day. It is related that a rich planter in the West Indies, once pitying his negroes on account of the heavy burdens which they bore on their heads, and to afford them relief and accustom them to means of conveyance less injurious to health, imported from Europe several hundred of the well-known wheel-barrows. When the ship landed with them, he sent his slaves to the wharf with the commission that every one of them should bring home such a barrow for his future use. After half an hour they returned together, every one with his wheelbarrow on his head!

So it was here. Every sick person was taken up by three servants, laid on his back, raised up and placed so that he rested, with his back downward, on the heads of the bearers. The foremost one supported his back with his head; with the left hand he held the head, heavy with wine; with the right, the left hand hanging down loose of his senseless master; the second head was under his thighs; the third stood under the feet of the drunken fellow. Thus they carried him out, and the burden evidently caused less headache to them than his hard drinking did to the patient.*

Finally the tent was forsaken and empty. I sought Horus. I would have gladly asked many questions, which the discourse of the guests had raised in my mind. But look! The little fellow lay quietly in a corner. He had long ago lain down to rest, and now he was softly asleep; a happy childish smile played round his lips. Perhaps he had not heard the godless words of the skeptic. I was also fatigued. The night

* Wilk. II. 168.

broke in, and I stretched myself down on the floor of the tent beside Horus.

Yet for a long time before my eyes floated the various wonderful scenes which I had witnessed; but finally I yielded myself up to refreshing slumbers. And thus ended my first day in Memphis.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND MORNING—THE BURIAL—FISHING IN LAKE MOERIS—THE LABYRINTH—A HUNT.

At the first appearance of the morning-dawn Horus awaked me. All was still and deserted; the birds only joyously carolled their morning song. I cast a look at the desolation which surrounded us: chairs overturned, empty pitchers and porcelain cups broken in pieces, and even a pair of sandals, which one of the guests had lost and forgotten to take with him, lay strewed about the floor. I was driven, by this confusion, forth into the open air, and I went out from the tent. A flock of geese waddled along, cackling and undisturbed, in the cross alleys of the garden; swans swam through the dark watery mirror of the water-basin; busy bees were already flying away and back and gathering honey. Only the men yet slumbered and dreamed of future fortune or ill-luck.

I came up to the water, Horus following me. Quickly our clothes were thrown off, and a cool bath refreshed and invigorated us for our new wanderings. The water, which was conducted by a canal from the Nile—as this river was on the rise and the overflow at hand—was turbid and of a reddish color,—a circumstance that has been ascribed, in modern times, to the vast multitude of insects which the heat generated therein, or to the thickened particles that the stream brings down with it

from Sennaar. It might have been sweet and well-tasting, but I could not on that account decide on tasting it; the contrast was too great, when I remembered our excellent pure and clear spring-water. It was believed, also, of the water of the Nile, that it had a tendency to fatten, and for this reason they never gave it to the sacred bull, Apis; the Egyptian priests, too, on this account, wholly abstained from its use.

When, after some half an hour or so, we came out of the bath, and were about to dress ourselves, all was full of life in the garden. The steward, who remembered us, and probably had already perceived us in the garden, sent two slaves to us with articles necessary for the arrangement of our toilet. They brought us an elegant, round, highly-polished metallic mirror, and a little box with the well-known *kiki*, a fragrant ointment which the old Egyptians were wont to prepare from the fruits of a plant called *Sillicyprium*, growing on the banks of the river and lake. Scarcely had we anointed ourselves and put on our clothes than the steward himself appeared with a kind morning-greeting. A breakfast, consisting of bread and wine, was quickly brought in, and Alula entered, no longer sad and desponding, as yesterday, but joyous and lively, springing about and singing. We bade them both farewell, and, with hearty thanks, passed through the gate and struck into the road leading to the Lake Moeris, which was already quite astir, since, as Horus informed me, there was to be a funeral of a royal scribe. Many were walking on before us; many hurried by us, partly curious spectators, partly those who, as the judges of the dead, must pronounce a judgment respecting the deceased.

At the lake a large number of people were already

assembled,—men and women of all classes, the wealthy and the poor, who had poured in partly in wagons and partly on foot. On the lake, close to the shore, stood the splendid boat, variegated and richly adorned with gold, which was to bear the sarcophagus and the mourners across the lake to the place of burial.

The funeral-procession was not long in coming. It was opened by six servants of the temple, who carried articles and vessels necessary for the sacrifice of the dead. They, as well as almost all taking part in the procession, were clothed only about their loins with a white linen apron. The first bore a low wooden frame filled with fruits and flowers of all kinds; another the most beautiful white dove; a third led by a rope a young calf destined for the sacrifice; the rest joined in with different kinds of pitchers and vessels. After these followed the well-known so-called *Pastophori*, also six in number, with various-colored painted little wooden shrines or temples, which, to my regret, were closed upon all sides, so that the contents could not be seen; but they contained, as similar receptacles, statues of the gods, of the sacred animals, or of the forefathers of the dead man. His slaves next bore the articles of furniture which he had particularly made use of during his life,—a field-chair, a one-seated and a double-seated cushion-chair, and finally, also, a two-wheeled wagon, such as I have before described, with all its appurtenances. To this was joined the state-chariot of the deceased, yoked to two spirited brown horses. It was empty: the driver, holding the reins, walked along sorrowfully beside it. Next to this chariot again followed other servants, the first with costly vessels and the golden censer for incense, already described in the

king's sacrifice; the others with boxes, pictures, ornamental articles, golden neck-chains and amulets, weapons and insignia, which partly belonged to the dead, partly to the king, whose faithful scribe and servant he had been. Little costly statues of the gods, likewise of precious metals, beautiful stones, or parti-colored glass—among which, especially the well-known Horus-hawk, with a man's head, pleased me—were borne by in the procession on particular repositories, and also a small blue boat on a sledge.

After these followed seven more men, every one with two little wooden boxes filled with palm-branches; then the well-known mourning women, clad in long white robes, their hair dishevelled, beating their breasts with their hands, and singing a wild, mournful lay, in which they sometimes lamented the death of the deceased, sometimes praised and lauded his virtues. Finally, appeared the high-priest, marching forward seriously and gravely, with a gold vessel and the incense-censer in his hands. He was clad in a white apron, and had over it a leopard's skin, the fore-paws of which he had so bound on his left shoulder that his right arm remained free, and the tail of the animal hanging down, almost touched the ground. Immediately behind the priest followed the sarcophagus, standing on a boat, which again was fastened on a sledge, and was drawn by four beautiful white bullocks and seven men. The sarcophagus itself was of cedar-wood, richly decorated with carved image-work and inscriptions, and covered with fragrant flowers. Behind the bier followed the whole company of the afflicted friends.* In this order of march the procession gradually drew nigh.(8) The

* Wilk. Plate 83, Suppl.

judges of the dead, forty-two in number, had, in the mean time, all assembled, and arranged themselves at the lake in a semi-circle; the sarcophagus was borne into the midst, while all who had taken part in the procession placed themselves around it. The curious populace, Horus and I numbered with them, crowded up impetuously, and inclosed in a circle the whole ceremony which was now to take place. At a sign from the high-priest, the mourning-women became silent, and a death-like stillness reigned throughout. Now one of the friends entered into the middle of the circle, placed himself at the head of the sarcophagus, turned his face to the sun, rising in the east, and, with his hands upraised, uttered a prayer in the name of the dead to the eternal Sun-god. It would be tiresome to the reader were I to give this prayer, as he has already read several like it in the preceding sketches. The friend spoke for the deceased; he began with the words,—"Thus says Osiris-Hopra."—Hopra, *i.e.* favorite of the sun, was the name of the person to be buried, and it is well-known that the dead were wont to be regarded as united in one person with Osiris in the world below, because he, after his earthly death, passed into the lower world, and there entered on his office as ruler and judge.* After this introduction, by which, therefore, the dead is brought in as speaking, followed then a prayer to the Sun-god and the other gods; he supplicated for his reception into the sacred abodes, and, in forty-two strophes, sought to purify and justify himself before the forty-two judges of the dead in the world below, whose earthly representatives surrounded the

* Compare my Todtengericht bei der Alten Ægypter, (Court of Death among the old Egyptians,) Berlin, 1854, p. 12.

coffin in a semi-circle, from as many transgressions. He finally concluded in these words:—

"But have I sinned in life? So the guilt was not mine, but of that other; therefore forgive and purify me, ye gods in the world below!" Then he pointed to a particular urn which contained the stomach and bowels taken out from the mummy, and which afterward, as I saw, being regarded in a certain measure as a sin-offering, was sunk in the lake; for the old Egyptians considered the stomach as the cause of every spiritual and bodily evil.*

Now began the judgment proper of the dead. When the friend had ended his prayer and had retired among the others, the president of the court—who was distinguished from the rest of the judges of the dead by a particular tablet with the image of the goddess of justice formed of a precious stone, worn on a gold chain about the neck, and hanging in front on the breast—raised his voice, and spoke aloud seriously and solemnly to the assembled multitude:—

"Hopra, the son of Petamon, born of his mother, Bert-Reri, (rose-blossom,) the royal scribe, is he whose mummy lies in this sarcophagus, and who implores for an honorable burial. He was born on the seventh day of the month Thoth, in the year of the dog-star period, 1212, in the sixth year of the reign of the ever-living God, the father of our king; he died seventy days ago, in the month Payni. Whoever knew him and points him out guilty of a sin, to whom he owed money without having paid it, whom he has injured in body or estate without atoning for his evil conduct, let him come forward and accuse him openly to his judges before us.

* Porphry. de Abstin, IV. 10. Diod. I. 82.

We will judge strictly; we will condemn or acquit. But let every one beware of *false*, malicious, vengeful accusations! The punishment will fall back from the accused upon the accuser."*

A heavy, unearthly stillness succeeded,—only some curious persons raised their heads to see whether any one would come forward with an accusation, and the deceased be pronounced unworthy of burial. The brother especially looked anxiously around, though he had paid all the debts of the departed known to him before the day of the burial. But might there not be some evil-minded or dissatisfied creditor left, and now enforce his debt and his right? All waited anxiously. No one ventured to whisper a single word. But no accuser appeared, and the judges entered into a circle in order, apparently, to consult together. Thus passed a painful quarter of an hour. Finally the judges returned to their former places, and the president advanced to the sarcophagus, raised his hands, and spoke these solemn words, which penetrated every heart:—

"We have adjudged respecting thee, Hopra, son of Petamon, son of Bert-Reri. We have found thee justified; and so, by virtue of mine office as president of the judges, I speak thee free from all sins and guilt. Descend, justified, to Amenthes. May also there the scales of justice be favorable to thee; may Thoth inscribe thy name in the roll of the guiltless; may Osiris find thee also unpunishable, as we thy earthly judges of the dead have found thee! The court permits thy burial; it grants thee a place of repose the other side of the lake, in the bosom of the mountain!"

Scarcely had the judge ended, than joy succeeded,

* Diod. I. 92, 97.

and rejoicing in place of the former mourning. The high-priest sacrificed to the gods; he himself and some of the relatives of the blessed deceased uttered eulogies on his upright and virtuous conduct; and finally, amid the offerings, prayers were put forth to the gods below the earth, and they were implored to receive the deceased among the pious in the kingdom of Osiris. After all these solemnities were finished, in which the people collectively bore a part, the priests gave the signal for the passage across the lake.

The beautiful boats already mentioned received the particular persons who had formed the procession. All the parts of the boats were adorned with variegated colors, specially painted in gold, green, red, and blue, and with religious decorations. Some of them had tall and spacious cabins, others little open shrines or temples resting on pillars, like those borne by the Pastophori. In the first boat was placed the sarcophagus and a sacrificial table; the high-priest mounted into the same, with the most wealthy relatives, and during the whole passage incense was diffused. The helmsman of this ship was named Charon, and to him the Charon of the Grecian infernal world, who ferried the shades across the Styx, must have owed his origin and name. A second boat bore the mourning women; a third, instruments for performing sacrifice, (as on the other side of the lake the same sacrificial ceremonies were to be repeated;) and others, finally, the rest of the objects and persons of the procession. Thus they pushed off from the shore, moved according to their size by from six to twenty rowers; and the gold and red-painted oars, the gilded keels and helms, glittering in the beams of the sun now mounted higher, held my eyes enchained for a

long time. All the rest of the people collected, also gazed at the procession of the vessels until they grew continually further and further off; but for a long while they shone like springing trout and lively gold-fishes on the horizon.*

We now walked along the lake on the right, and Horus, whom the beautiful glorious morning had rendered talkative, informed me that he would show me an Egyptian fishery. He told me many things that I already knew, and which had long been familiar to me from old writers, but I allowed the little fellow the pleasure of playing the teacher. He described to me the richness of the Nile and Lake Moeris in fish, and gave me a statement of the daily produce from the fisheries of the latter in thousands of dollars, which I believe he as well as Diodorus† somewhat exaggerated, and added that King Moeris formerly assigned this revenue to his wife as pin-money. All these were things well known to me, and I hastened to ask him questions and lead him to other communications.

"Fishing, I presume, is here carried on, as a business, by a particular class of people?" I asked, during a short pause, in which he took breath.

"Yes, in a great measure;" he replied. "But I will not deny that with the higher classes also fishing is among the noblest of their favorite occupations; and among our great people there may be probably as many passionately devoted to it as with you and among English gentlemen. They make it, indeed, as convenient for themselves as possible. Slaves attend them on the bank of the river; if the ground is moist, a mat is spread out, a chair taken with them from home is placed

* Wilk. Suppl. plates 83, 84. † Diod. I. 52.

on it, on which the master then sits down comfortably. If the day is hot, and the sun burns, there are other slaves with a shade and conveniences at hand.* To-day you will not see the noble, but only simple fishermen by profession; a jovial, lively little people, who are so overloaded with work that they can scarcely find time to dress and salt all the fish they take."

"And what fish, particularly, do they take and consume with you," I further inquired.

"Carp, sturgeon, perch, trout, and many other large kinds, with the names of which I will not tire you."

"And are all these kinds of fish dressed and eaten?"

"All," replied Horus, "with the exception of the unhealthy ones, consecrated to Typhon, the 'Lepidotus, Phagrus, and Oxyrrhynchus,' of which you well know how they conducted toward the dismembered Osiris. For this reason also the priests eat no fish, or at least none taken by a hook, for they fear that sometimes one of these three different kinds might have bitten at the same bait."†

"And what kinds of fish were these three? Are they easily to be distinguished from the rest?"

"I do not exactly know with what fish I must compare them," said Horus, after a short reflection. "The Oxyrrhynchus, which was not eaten by the Oxyrrhynchites, living not far from the Kunopolites, is a sort of sturgeon which, as its Greek name indicates, is distinguished from the other fishes of the Nile by its pointed nose; the Phagrus is the eel, only longer and thicker than it is usually found with you; and the Lepidotus, finally, which has caused so much perplexity to your

* Wilk. III. 52. † Plutarch de Is. et Os. 7.

learned men, is a great scaly fish of the Nile, like the salmon."

Amid such kind of conversation, during which I had cast a look at the lake, the view of it being, for the most part, broken and hidden from us by plants of all kinds on the banks, we had walked a considerable distance; and suddenly drawn off from the interesting discourse by a tumult of singing, talking, and commanding voices, I directed my eyes to a large place which we had just reached, and where the lively spectacle of an Egyptian fishery presented itself with all its peculiar and parti-colored scenes. There were from one to two hundred persons, who, partly on land and partly from larger or smaller boats, had thrown out their nets and hooks into the lake. I saw two sorts of hooks, partly simple or slender wires on which the bait was fastened, and partly rod-hooks, which consisted of pretty thick staffs, and lines or cords hanging down from them; but the most, as well from the shore as from the boats, fished with large drag-nets, which they drew back and forth through the water, and which, like ours, were formed with meshes, out of twine.* The fishes caught by the hooks or nets were cut open and dressed on the shore or the boats, then salted and hung up in the air to dry. Some of them were so large that a man could carry only one of them at a time, as he placed one hand under the head, and grasped with the other the tail; others were just cut into halves, and three or four were strung by the gills on twine, and hung on a pole, which two men took up on their shoulders. The knives, which the men sitting on the shore and engaged in dressing the fish made use of, were long ones, with short handles,

* Wilk. III. 37, 53, 55, 57, &c.

the blade in the form of a half-segment of a circle of from sixty to seventy degrees, with rounded cutting-edge and sharp point. But all these various occupations, which I looked upon with much interest, were accompanied with songs by the merry, jovial people. Royal stewards also stood round about to watch the fishing and urge up the lazy, as the income of the fisheries makes a part of the state-revenues. Herodotus, it is well known, gives the income from Lake Moeris at 263 talents, and so more than $200,000, [computing the talent at £163 15*s*. English.]

Near by stood a pretty large square building, made of rough brick.* It was a store-house of salted and dried fish, which were kept here until transported to Memphis. To this house Horus now conducted me; and the intendant of the house, who occupied not an unimportant position and had many scribes as his subordinate officers, met us kindly. In the building into which he introduced us were fish of all shapes and sizes hung upon long poles; the scribes sat busily occupied with their work at the door, counted the fishes brought in and entered the number in the register. That we should taste of them followed of course; and even the German salmon, I must confess, is far behind their delicate flesh and pleasant relish. But the sun was getting higher continually, and, although I would gladly have asked many questions of the intendant, I was obliged to yield to my conductor's wishes, who pulled me by the strings of my tunic to go forward.

So we began our return to Memphis. On the way the Labyrinth occurred to my mind, which I knew was

* Ottfried Müller: Archæology, § 226.

situated on Lake Moeris, and I asked Horus if it would not be possible to get to it and visit it.

"It is impossible," replied he, briefly; "it lies too far off from our way; and on foot, as we are, we could not think of it, to walk thither and back again to Memphis to-day. But to satisfy your curiosity I will describe it fully, and give you all the necessary information respecting it."

I was content, and Horus began.

"The external impression and appearance of the Labyrinth is this: Think of three vast masses of buildings which in their breadth of three hundred feet inclose a quadrangular space of about six hundred feet long by five hundred broad. The fourth side, one of the lesser extent, is bounded by a pyramid situated behind it, which Herodotus also mentions,* and which is three hundred feet square, and so does not reach entirely up to the side wing of that mass of buildings.† The Grecian Herodotus was correct when he said that even the most admirable buildings of his countrymen—for instance, the famous temples of Samos and Ephesus: yea, the largest Egyptian pyramids—must yield to this huge structure. And yet from the outside we see only the half of the immense building, that which stands above the ground; the second half, corresponding to the first one, is built below the ground. If you succeed in entering into it, and, without losing yourself, should wander through the whole Labyrinth, you would find twelve palace-like temples, six above ground and six below, with innumerable adjoining chambers, galleries, and winding passages. The twelve great palaces or halls rest round about on pillars, which for the most

* Herod. II. 148. † Lepsius' Letters, p. 75.

part are of white marble; all, the roof, walls and floors of the whole building throughout, are of stone, and the pillars as well as the walls are adorned with hieroglyphic inscriptions. In every one of the twelve halls stands a statue of one of the twelve well-known superior gods, from Ammon to Thoth, and the figures of the animals sacred to the particular divinities there occupy a place in the representations. These various large halls, as I have said, are connected together by side chambers, galleries, and stairways, the whole number taken together of the single chambers, large and small, amounting to three thousand, of which one half are above the ground and the other half below. If any one wishes to ascend to the highest chamber of the building, ninety steps lead up to it, and as many to get down to the ground again; so, if you wish to go down to the lowest chamber under ground, you find ninety steps necessary, and, on the other hand, the same number to come back to daylight.* After every ten steps there is a special landing-place."(9)

"And who was the builder of this astonishing work?" I asked, with new curiosity.

"I know," added Horus, "the old historians give different accounts about it, but not one of them appear to me to have fallen upon the right one. When Herodotus relates that the twelve princes, whom he calls Dodecarchs, built it as a common monument and tomb,† he is in a great error, for it had its origin at a far earlier period; and to-day, when I conduct you about here in Egypt, long before the Dodecarchy, it is already finished in all its parts. The occasion of this false supposition may be the accidental agreement of the

* Pliny, XXXVI. 6. † Herod. II. 148. Diod. I. 86.

number of palaces and of the kings. So, too, Diodorus makes the Labyrinth to be the place of burial of Pharaoh-Mendes; and Pliny, a work of Petosychis, who lived 3600 years before his time. To Manetho, also, who attributes its building to the 12th Dynasty, shortly after the great Sesostris, you need give no credit. Or do you in general suppose that this gigantic building in all its parts could have been the work of a single king? Not of a single one—no; ten kings and more lavished all their resources and all their revenues upon it."

"If I am not mistaken," I broke in, "one of my most learned countrymen,* who has himself visited the ruins, states that he found inscriptions in the same which clearly mentioned the name of King Amenemha the Third, and that this king was buried in the pyramid standing near."

"And what follows from that?" proceeded Horus. "Nothing else than that this king, whose name, besides, ought not to be written Amenemha, but Amenemes, because the last hieroglyphic symbol, the forepart of a lion, denotes the letter S, and not Ha; that this king, I say, had a share in the building of the structure, that he was one of the many under whose reigns the particular portions were made, and perhaps built one of the palaces."

"But what, finally," I asked further, "was then the object of the building? It must indeed have been a greater and more sublime one! I have often sought and strove to ascertain it; but, alas! always in vain."

"Must I yet tell you?" asked Horus, astonished. "After what I have told you, and I have described

* Lepsius' Letters, p. 76.

it to you, I should have supposed that you would be in no doubt about it. Pliny has already put you on the right track, who says that most persons held the Labyrinth to be *a building consecrated to the sun*, and that this is the view most worthy of credit. Consider the name itself. The Greeks made out of it Labyrinthos; we Egyptians pronounce it Lapurontho, and this signifies 'Sun, king of the world.'* You will object that the sun is not called La, but Ra; remember, however, that we make no great difference between R and L, that one and the same hieroglyph denotes both sounds;† that, for example, Wine, in different dialects among us is sometimes expressed by Erp and sometimes by Elp. If, now, the Labyrinth, this glorious astronomical structure, was consecrated to the sun, then the twelve halls or palaces at once lead us to the well-known twelve signs of the zodiac, through which the sun moves, and which also are named thus by other nations; for instance, by the Greeks the *twelve abodes*, and by the Arabians *towers* or *palaces*, because they believed them to be inhabited by deities. On this account, here in the Labyrinth, the statues of the twelve great gods were set up in particular palaces as in their heavenly dwellings. Six of these palaces are above and six below the ground, just as six signs of the zodiac or divine abodes are above and six below the horizon. I might speak further of four times ninety steps partly above the ground and partly below, and which conduct around inside the building. What can you understand by that except the four quarters, with their 360 degrees of the zodiac, which the sun must go through?"

* La-puro-n-tho.

† Compare Thoth, pp. 163, 164, and Ling. Copt. Gram. p. 4.

"But in all there were three thousand chambers, as you have informed me; what does that number signify?"

"Here I must confess the imperfection of our astronomical observations," said Horus, with a sigh. "The gradually-receding motion of the equinoxes, which, according to your more accurate reckoning, amount in a hundred years to 1° 23′ 10″, was well known to us in general; but we took inaccurately, for every one hundred years, only a single degree, consequently, according to our view, the recession, after three thousand years, amounted to only 30 degrees, or one whole sign of the zodiac. Do you not now perceive the meaning of those three thousand chambers? They mean the number of years which, as we believe, were requisite for the point of the equinox to pass through the whole zodiac; in a word, they represent symbolically the walk of the god from one palace to the other, and every chamber means the advance of one year. To this corresponds, likewise, the doctrine of the migration of the soul, which Herodotus has mentioned to you. He relates, that when men die and their bodies pass into corruption, every one of the souls wander into another living being; after they have wandered in this way through all kinds of land, water, and flying animals, they come again into the new-born men. This wandering goes on for the period of three thousand years.* For with their three thousand years began with the Egyptians a new cycle of the world, and the same cycle of the world of equal duration is to be found in the religious books of the ancient Parsees, resting on the same astronomical foundation.† Thus, then, the Labyrinth offers a terres-

* Herod. II. 123. † Historische Theologische Zeitshcrift, V. 1.

trial image of our astronomy and astrology; and because in every heavenly house, and, indeed, in every degree, a deity rules, so at the same time it is in all respects an Egyptian Pantheon; and finally, also, it has a political reference, because the whole of Egypt, according to the type of the heavenly zodiac, with its triads, its twelve signs of the zodiac, and thirty-six decades, ever since the time of Sesostris has been divided into three great portions, twelve provinces, and thirty-six nomes. Officers from every one of these provinces could assemble here, and in the corresponding palaces offer sacrifices to their respective divinities, and thus they were often used in political unions and for great days of all kinds. Our religion, our division of the country and its administration, our astronomical and astrological calculations, all rest upon *one* foundation,—the division of the sun's orbit; and as this division was represented by the later astrologers on the rolls of papyrus and walls of the temples, even so here it was placed before the eyes of the people in a vast, splendid building, exciting the astonishment of all travelers,—in a Labyrinth."

I must admit that Horus's explanation surprised me, although it did not perfectly satisfy me. Would an astronomical and astrological object be a sufficient one for the erection of such a structure? But I would not communicate to him my doubt and misgiving, in order not to make him angry. I will confess here, however, that I was convinced he had told me only half of the truth, and that there was still a mystery untold. Be that as it may, we see that the Labyrinth must forever remain a Labyrinth to the learned, and for their explanations and hypotheses.

We had walked on toward the east, and again reached the canal of Joseph. "Can you swim?" Horus asked of me.

"Alas, no!" I replied, and looked on the water which separated us from the bank on the other side.

"Then we must walk along on the canal till we meet a compassionate boatman who will set us over," answered my little conductor.

I looked to the right and left and soon saw a little boat standing at the bank. The boatman had tied it there and stretched himself out in the luxuriant green of the Nile-grass. The heat of the day had worn him down, and it was a long time before we could awake him. Finally he rubbed his eyes, and gradually raised himself up; but as soon as he understood our request he hurried to the boat to unloose it. The Egyptians were in general of a sober, morose disposition, but, as I have already had occasion to observe, kind, and unwearied whenever they could do a service to a fellow-man. To practice the greatest hospitality toward every one, to help every one to the best of their ability, to give comfort to the suffering, and to bring immediate aid to any one in danger, were virtues which were enjoined by their religion; and the thousand years' priestly rule had so imbued them that such had become almost the reigning custom and manners.

We quickly sprang into the boat; the boatman seized one of the oars and I another, and, although the current was quite strong, we soon reached the opposite bank.

"En-urot-nak,"—*i.e.* we thank you,—cried Horus to the man, and sprang on the land.

We hurried forward without stopping, though the sun stood high, and the sweat dripped from me, while Horus

did not seem to suffer at all from the sun. No wonder; the son of Osiris must be accustomed to being near to his father.

Suddenly there rose a tumultuous noise; men's voices calling aloud, and the barking of hounds came thick upon our ears. A hare and two gazelles passed near us on our path, in wild flight; hunting-dogs, distinguished by their collars, dashed by after them; an arrow whizzed through the air, and the hare lay weltering in its blood. In a few minutes the hunters sprang forward; young persons, partly armed with bows and arrows, partly with a noose, the well-known lasso.*

While one of them lifted up the hare we saluted the others, and soon recognized among them a person belonging to the social circle at whose drinking-bout we had been present yesterday. I asked him about the best animals which they were wont to hunt and trap in Egypt, and whether he had been successful in getting many.

With the love of boasting belonging to all hunters he told me about the different kinds: gazelles, rock-goats, wild goats, and oxen, hares, antelopes, wolves, foxes, hyenas, leopards, and lions, were among them. With special delight and enthusiasm he spoke of a hunt at which he was present in a desert, while on a journey made with his father to Thebes, and in which, as he pretended, he himself had killed two hares, a gazelle, and a hyena. He particularly commended the maternal love of the hyena, who had turned against the whole company of hunters, consisting of forty persons, in order to defend her young, but which was struck down by an arrow from his bow.†

* Wilk. III. 15, 16, 18. † Wilk. III. 22.

"See here!" he added, and pointed to an elegant hound which stood by him, and responded to his master's caresses; "see, here is my constant attendant. My friends call him the *unwounded*, for often as he has been attacked by furious beasts and wild oxen, he has always escaped, as if by a miracle, unharmed."

I collected more detailed information respecting the mode and manner of the chase. Wild, raging beasts, of course, were for the most part attacked at a distance and shot with arrows, while, on the contrary, the wild oxen, gazelles, and others, were often caught alive by the lasso, which the hunters endeavored to throw over their necks and horns.* The hounds were leashed, as with us, led by particular servants, and set free at the beginning of the chase. When they formed larger hunting-parties for the desert, they assembled in numbers, with a great collection of servants and slaves, who carried with them the necessary food—bread, meats, water, and wine. They mostly engaged in such excursions in wagons, as they were of essential use in the pursuit. Our hunting-company with whom we spoke had also come in wagons, but had sat down under a shady tree for breakfast when they noticed the animals, one of which had but just now been struck down before my eyes. Finally, I learned also that fox-traps were known to the Egyptians, in which sometimes, too, larger animals, and even hyenas, were caught.†

"Come; let us go back to breakfast;" said the young man with whom I was conversing and had struck up a quick friendship. "You will have to be contented with cold food and a cup of wine; immediately after breakfast we will hasten our return to Memphis, whither your

* Wilk. III. 15. † Wilk. III. 2.

road leads. It will be a great pleasure to me to take you in my wagon; the driver can look out another place, and I will myself undertake the guidance of the horses. I will take you to a country-estate of my father's, close to Memphis, and, if you are fond of farming, the arrangements there may be interesting to you."

I took the hand so kindly offered. Scarcely a hundred paces off from the place where the hare had fallen stood the tree under which the company had already seated themselves and begun their breakfast, which was going forward. It was a simple, genuine hunter's breakfast: bread, little meat-pies,* and wine, were the principal articles. As soon as the last cup was emptied we burst forth. The wagons, which stood near by, were called for. I sprang into my new friend's; he followed me, and received the reins and whip from the hands of his servant; Horus was lifted up and taken in between us. With a full trot the horses hurried off to the city.

From the account of hunts with which the young man sought to entertain me on the way, I learned many items of information. Among other things, he said to me:—"The killing of the Nile-horse, or hippopotamus, affords a special pleasure. This animal is seldom to be found in our region, but in great numbers in Upper Egypt, and when at Thebes, I accompanied my father on such a chase. They commonly go into a little boat and attack the beast with a broad, flat blade armed with barbs, attached to a rope, and thrown, like a spear, at the head or back, to wound and entangle him. When the Nile-horse feels himself thus assaulted he sinks down to the bottom, but he is wounded anew with spears every time he comes up, until he is wholly exhausted, and then

* Rosellini, II. 2, p. 464.

they throw a noose over his head and drag him to the land. If he is not yet dead they kill him at last by beating him on the head with iron bars.* The hunting of this animal is also otherwise of the greatest use, and very profitable, because his thick hide is prepared and applied in so many different ways. They cover with it shields and helmets, make whips and scourges of it, and when it is dry and hardened can even make spear-shafts of it.† Commonly they join this hunting with that of fowls, which make their nests in vast numbers among the water-plants, and are killed from the boats by means of the throwing-stick. This weapon is a simple bent wooden staff, with which they seek to strike the bird on the neck, and whereby it is killed, or at least stunned. But as the use of this weapon requires great force for the throw, and the thrower might thus lose his balance and tumble overboard, so there are usually others, too, in the boats, who hold him by the body or feet to prevent his falling."‡

These and similar things the young man told me, until suddenly we reached a cross-way, and the other wagons turned off to the right toward Memphis, but we to the left to the country-estate. In a few minutes it lay, with all its farm-buildings, before us.

* Wilk. III. 71. Diod. I. 35.
† Diod. I. 35. Pliny, VIII. 25. Herod. II. 71.
‡ Wilk. III. 39, 41.

CHAPTER V.

THE VILLA—THE BRICKYARD—THE STABLES—RETURN TO MEMPHIS—THE SHOEMAKER—THE TEMPLE OF PTAH, APIS—THE SERPENT-CHARMER—THE LIBRARY.

THE country-estate, which belonged to the father of the young man, and in which he sometimes spent several weeks, and occasionally, also, the whole summer months, was, as respected the farming operations, leased to a very able farmer, who paid for it to the owner a yearly rent of a thousand golden rings—a pretty large sum at that period. For, while stamped coin (in our sense of the word) were unknown to the old Egyptians,(10) in their intercourse they made use of gold and silver rings, accurately weighed and marked with a sign of their weight.* The whole estate was inclosed by a canal conducted from the Nile, and which we crossed on a simple unartistic bridge before we reached the gate. The gate was shut, but as soon as the rumbling of our wagon was heard on the bridge it was thrown open, and several servants appeared, who saluted the son of the owner in the well-known style. They bent the whole of the upper part of the body forward, and while they let their hands hang loosely down, they almost touched the ground with the ends of their fingers. As soon as we had passed through the gate we came to a green lawn; three slaves

* Wilk. II. 10, 11.

sprang forward; the first held the horse in front by the bit, the second took from the young man's hands the reins and whip, and the third helped us to get out. Before us, and on the right and left, there were outstretched broad, shady alleys of trees; behind them rose the tall farm-buildings and the dwelling-house, with their flat roofs. We turned directly to the right, and passed a reservoir entirely walled in by stones and provided with steps for the drawing of water, and so reached the portico of the dwelling-house, which I wished to look at immediately in all its parts.* This portico, the columns of which were adorned above on the capital with banners and ribbons, led us to the main gate, which in form resembled the city gates of Memphis, already described, though very much smaller; above, and on both sides of the door, were long hieroglyphic inscriptions, which were in praise of the original proprietor and builder of the house; told of the events of his life, and described his wealth. His name was Pakemis; he was governor of the nomos Memfi, under King Sesostris, and at that time built this villa in the vicinity of the capital. In his thirtieth year—so the inscription stated—the bird Phœnix had come from the East and burned itself in the city of the sun.† He had so greatly distinguished himself by the wise government of the district intrusted to him, that Sesostris, when after nine years he returned with vast booty from his wars, made him a present of fifty choice slaves, taken in war, and many gold and silver vessels. A later portion of the inscription, added after his death, stated that he died at an advanced age, leaving behind him many children and grand-children. The doors of the gate were of sycamore-wood, and

* Wilk. II. 94, Pl. V. † Tacit. Annal. VI. 28.

were ornamented with tasteful carved work. When we entered we came to an open court; on the right hand stood a sitting statue of Pakemis. Opposite to the gate, somewhat raised and furnished around with steps, I saw a square hall resting on twelve high pillars, filled with the most costly furniture, it being the reception-room proper. Here on elegant tables were arranged original relics: foreign vases which Pakemis had formerly received from Sesostris out of his spoils, little statues of gods of old and more recent times, weapons of all kinds, gold chains, and other articles of ornament. After we had proceeded through this hall and descended the steps on the other side, a pretty high wall, with three gates—a large one in the middle and two smaller ones on either side—separated us from a second court. We entered through the middle gate, and found ourselves now in a second court, having on the right and left lofty blocks of houses, and inclosed by a high wall, with a back door. This court was more like a garden, and planted with tall shady trees. Into the two side buildings, on the right and left, other doors again led, through one of which we went into a new pillared passage, and from this reached to single rooms level with the ground. All these rooms in the basement—which with much curiosity I walked through—were store-rooms, filled with all imaginable articles of food. In one chamber were tapering wine-pitchers, ranged about against the walls; in another olive-jars; in another large smoked fishes, hung up in rows; others still contained furniture of all kinds, bowls, plates, pitchers, and cups. In the outermost corner was the kitchen, with the hearth, water-troughs, pots, cooking-spoons, and other utensils. All these rooms we ran through hastily in order to reach the

upper story, in which were the sitting-rooms, the sleeping-chambers, and those for guests. We came to this story by a hall and stairway, in which beautiful, broad, massive steps led above. When we had mounted them we next came to a large eating-room, and then into a most elegantly-furnished parlor.(11) Fatigued by our much walking about in the wide building, we seated ourselves on a soft divan; Horus curled himself upon the carpet at my feet.

"Which of your ancestors bought of Pakemis's family this estate?" I asked the young man.

"My grandfather," he replied. "If you wish I can show you the deed of it, which is carefully preserved in this house."

He stepped up to a wooden case standing on the opposite side of the chamber where we were, and which, like our bureaus, rested on four feet, and perfectly resembling in its shape our German houses. It was a square chest, with pointed triangular roof. In the upper edge of the roof there were on both sides a round knob, so that the slanting sides of the roof could be raised, while it turned on the lower edge with hinges.* In this way the chest was opened; and I rose from my seat in order to look more closely and examine its contents. The polished cover was painted with hieroglyphics; the sides, on the contrary, were inlaid in the highest artistic style of Mosaic, with variously-colored wooden blocks, which appeared to be glued into the wood of the chest itself. In the chest lay a great number of rolls of papyrus mixed together, every one elegantly wound round with a neat band. It was some time before the young man could find the deed mentioned. Many rolls were

* Wilk. III. 176.

untied, unrolled, and rolled up again as soon as any was seen not to be the right one. Finally he hit upon that which he wanted, and kindly handed it to me. It was executed in hieroglyphic writing, inclining to the hieratic characters, and by the aid of little Horus, who had stepped up close to me and taught me respecting this and that word unknown to me, I read the following:—

"In the third year of the reign of his majesty, N.N., son of the sun and King of Upper and Lower Egypt, on the 19th Mechir, it is, that Pakemis, the son of Horus, has sold this country-estate, inherited from his grandfather Pakemis, with all its appurtenances, to the royal governor." Then followed an accurate description of the whole plot of ground, with account of the length, breadth, and height of every building belonging to it, of every particular portion of the land, &c. &c. Then it further said: "He has received of Athothis, the son of Petosiris, a thousand well-weighed weights of gold, in rings, chains, and large pieces of gold, in the presence of the following witnesses." Now followed twenty subscriptions, partly written beautifully, and partly hurriedly; beginning, of course, with the name of the lawyer who had drawn up and executed the contract of sale, namely, Petecarpocrates, the son of Amonorythius, the scribe.*

I asked respecting the contents of the rest of the rolls. They were, as he told me, partly other contracts of his father; partly judicial documents of the family, and legal papers; partly papers of an economic description,—to wit: accurate accounts of the yearly income of the estate, and careful measurements of the particular lots.

* Wilk. II. 57.

He showed me, among other articles, an accurate map of the whole estate, of which no surveyor in our day need to have been ashamed. Every particular measurement was noted in the most careful manner, and the length of every boundary-line written down in hieroglyphics. They were all given in ells and palms, and as I knew that the old Egyptian ell was about twenty-two and a half Leipzig inches,* [nearly the same, likewise, English,] so I had a complete representation of the size and extent of the whole estate and all of its parts.

"Such accurate plans are necessary," added the young man, "since the Nile yearly overflows the whole region, removes the boundary-marks, and, without this precaution, litigation as to their respective properties might easily arise between neighbors. The magistracy also possess such plans and maps, in order to be able to decide cases of this sort; and every variation, even the minutest, must be immediately reported to them. For the calculation of the estate-tax, too, which is not small, the superintendent of the district must know precisely the size of every piece of ground."

While we were still talking, we heard a loud outcry below, in the court, and, out of curiosity, I hurried down with Horus to see what caused it. The son of the owner of the estate followed us. When we had come into the fore-court we saw a sorrowful execution going on. A slave, who had probably been guilty of a slight fault in his work, was undergoing punishment. They had wholly stripped him and laid him down with his face to the ground; two of his fellow-slaves had to hold

* Seyffarth, Beiträge zu Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythologie und Geschichte der Alten. Egypter Heft VII. p. 151.

him down in front, by his hands, and a third behind, by the feet. The slave-overseer, or task-master, of whom there were several in every large domestic establishment, pitilessly smote with his long stick upon the poor wretch.* I hoped that the young master would put a stop to the cruel punishment, or at least inquire into its cause; but he looked smilingly on the whipping until the task-master had tired his arm and the punished man was let go. All of them then disappeared through a side-door in the house.

"Poor fellow!" I whispered to Horus. "What great fault has he committed?"

"It is perfectly right," replied my little conductor. "Our slaves are the dirtiest, most unfaithful and thankless people in the world. They are partly captives in war, partly criminals, and partly purchased slaves; a miserable set of fellows, who deserve no better treatment; and the lawgiver did right in allowing the masters to beat and imprison them at their pleasure, for otherwise the slaves would get the upper-hand of us if they were not ill-treated by us; and had they not to stand in fear of us daily and hourly they would abuse their masters and put them into anxiety and terror."

"In confirmation of this I can relate to you a pretty story of a slave of my father's," said the young man, who had heard Horus's last words. "My father once had a young and fine-looking slave who came from Asia, brought here by an Arab caravan, and who was bought on the boundary. But he was lazy and disobedient, so that he had often to be punished and chastised by the overseer in the vineyard where he was put among the other laborers. On this account he conceived such a

* Wilk. II. 41.

hatred to the overseer that he swore a bloody revenge, and sought in every way to destroy him. He succeeded, alas! only too well. After various other attempts had failed, which always brought on him new punishments, he stole from the overseer his long staff, which had a gold knob at the head, and on which was engraved the overseer's name. Armed with this staff, the slave by night went out upon the road, murdered and robbed a rich merchant who was traveling past, and threw the bloody staff by the corpse. The next morning the dead body was found, and the staff lying near bore too strong witness against the unfortunate overseer; and though he had nothing in his possession from the robbery, and although, too, he asserted up to his death his innocence, yet he was condemned by the high and wise court of the one and thirty to be strangled."

"Horrible!" I replied. "And how was the wickedness of the slave discovered?"

"When, after the execution of the overseer, he believed himself safe, he boasted in secret of his act to some of his fellow-slaves, who, as well as himself, had hated the overseer. A thoughtless word here and there thrown out finally came to the new overseer; he told of it to my father, who gave information to the officers, and when they searched the box of the slave they found in it the treasures robbed from the merchant. Thus Osiris finally brings all to light! The slave confessed his crime, and was first scourged almost to death, and then executed. But as they could not recall to life the overseer put to death while innocent, they could only publicly establish his innocence, as brought to light, by bestowing on him an honorable transportation of his corpse; and the priests commended him in their prayers to the

special favor and mercy of Osiris and the other judges of the dead below."

During this narrative we had walked through the court, and had entered through the back-door beforementioned into a large open place, on which, as the young man told us, a large new store-house was about to be erected. The preparations for it had so far already gone forward that a great number of slaves were busied in forming the bricks required.(12) On the right side I saw large heaps of clay, which was worked over by some people with hoes; the necessary water was brought by two others, in pitchers, from a reservoir close by. Small chopped straw was mixed with the mass of clay, to give it greater tenacity and firmness. And now I understood how the passage in the second book of Moses (Exodus v. 3) is to be interpreted, where it is said, "Ye shall no longer give the people straw for making their bricks." We must not here think of straw as fuel, as Luther says, since in Egypt the bricks were not burned; but rather regard this straw as always in Egyptian brick, mixed in with the clay.* Further to the left the slaves were occupied in forming the bricks, while they pressed square wooden forms into the clay, drew the bricks so shaped out of the forms and laid them near each other on the ground, where they quickly became dry in the burning heat of the sun. Still further on at the left lay the already dried bricks, which some men with a wooden yoke on the back, having ropes on both sides, bore away and arranged in piles for further use. In the whole business there were two task-masters present, one of them sitting near those who were working over the clay, the other walking about, with his stick raised,

* Rosellini, II. 2, p. 259.

to overlook the whole. The slaves might be easily recognized as foreigners: their complexion and formation of face and beard, clearly marked them out from the Egyptians; they bore about their hips the usual Egyptian apron, but so hung that it rather formed a kind of short hose, like the Oriental Miknasim. On the other hand we could see in the complexion, clothing, and physiognomy of the task-masters, decisive marks of their Egyptian origin.*

We passed through the workmen, and in my heart I pitied the poor slaves, who here in the greatest heat of mid-day, the sun upon their heads, must perform such hard and heavy work. The sweat ran down over their faces, and many were minded from fatigue to rest a little, but the stern look of the overseer drove them immediately to work again. Behind the place lay the stables, to which my young friend led me, to show me his father's wealth in cattle. They were low buildings, having only small windows, and constructed of coarse bricks, and thus they formed a striking contrast to the elegant dwelling-house which we had just left.

We entered by a low door into the first stall which lay before us. This was by means of a broad passage that led from the entrance to the opposite side, and divided, by a narrow way crossing right and left, into four parts, in which the cattle stood close to each other; every one of them tied by a rope to a ring fastened to the floor.† What reminded me of my own country and modern times was, that every one of them was marked, as with us, on the flanks. These marks, as Horus told me, were made by a branding-tool, and burned in after the cattle had been fastened by the fore and hind feet

* Wilk. II. 99. Rosellini, II. 254. † Wilk. II. 134.

tied together, and thus rendered incapable of resistance. I could imagine to myself their unfortunate condition in this cruel moment, and from my heart I pitied them.* But I was soon drawn away from these thoughts, and into wonder at their powerful forms and stately horns; and I likewise learned that it was a custom to adorn them with neckbands and little bells when they were led out to pasture. The sheep-stall adjoined this stable, and was connected with it by a door, for sheep were had in special regard in Egypt, and particularly in the vicinity of Memphis; since they could shear them twice a year, and, besides, they were used as sacrifices by some people, as, for example, the inhabitants of the Mendesian Nomos, and were eaten by the inhabitants of Lycopolis.† Still further on, and adjoining, were other stalls with asses, which were mostly used for riding, and horses; the latter especially, of which there were at least twenty together in one stable, reminded me of the elegant wagon procession I had admired the day before. They were the most beautiful, choice animals; large and slender like the English race-horses, particularly distinguished by their long tails, that almost reached to the ground. The harness, too, yokes, and all which belongs to wagon-furniture, hung on the walls. The horse was used by the old Egyptians for drawing only, never for riding; therefore I looked around here in vain for a saddle or a saddle-cloth, as I had noticed among the asses.

After we had rapidly gone through the stalls, and had expressed our wonder at the wealth of the owner, we passed through a side-door to a hen-yard, where we were greeted by the cackling of the hens and the hissing of

* Wilk. III. 10.

† Diod. I. 36, 37. Herod. II. 42. Wilk. II. 368.

the geese. A flock of doves also flew up, scared, as we approached. Opposite, lay the corn-crib, a high building in which were large wedge-shaped bins, like our hay-ricks, with a window above, to which a ladder conducted in order to pour in the corn, and a door below to take it out again when needed.* The grain, as is well known, was trodden out on the threshing-floor by cattle, —which I mention here, by the way, because neither to-day or on the following one had I any opportunity to see a threshing scene of this kind with my own eyes. As Horus told me, it was then always a merry and jovial time; the ox-drivers usually sung a joyous song, while they continually drove on the beasts with the whip.† Near the corn-crib was a low shed, in which the farming-tools were kept. I cast an inquiring look into it to learn accurately about them. The plough was a most simple thing, but made perfectly corresponding to the object. It consisted of two parts: first of all, of a crooked piece of wood, on the fore-end of which was the iron ploughshare, and was divided on the opposite side, that bent upward, into two ends, connected by a cross-piece of wood, which cross-piece the ploughman was accustomed to take hold of with the hand to guide the plough. The second part was the shaft-pole, to which the oxen were yoked; it was fastened to the place where the plough-beam was divided into the two parts. Two persons commonly were occupied with the plough, one who guided it, the other who drove the cattle with a whip or a club.‡ Another instrument with which they used to loosen the soil was the mattock, or hoe; it was of wood, and in the shape of a Roman capital A, consist-

* Wilk. II. 136. † Wilk. II. Series I. 87, 88.
‡ Wilk. II. 40, 42.

ing of a hand-stock, and a second piece of wood, somewhat crooked, narrow or broad, and sharp at the bottom, fixed into it, these two parts being joined together in the middle by a rope wound round. They used with this mattock to follow the plough and break in pieces the clods. Little tubs, likewise, stood round about, in which the seed-grain was kept and was wont to be carried out on the field. There the sower made use of a little woven basket which had a handle, and was filled with the grain; he held it in his left hand and scattered abroad the seed with his right, as he every time took a handful from the basket.* A great number of sickles, likewise used in harvesting, were hung up in the shed, on nails. They were small crooked knives with a wooden stock, which could be managed with one hand. Finally, I saw a considerable number of fans, with which they used to separate the grain from the chaff on the threshing-floor.† I will mention, in conclusion, an instrument that I had not before known. It consisted of a broad piece of wood set with pins of metal close to each other. It was rested in a slant direction on one foot, so that the end furnished with the metal pins was about one foot and a half above the ground, the other end resting on the earth. When I asked Horus the object of this instrument, I learned that it was used to separate the grain from the straw; for as they caught hold of a handful of the mowed sheaf below and drew it through the pins, the straw remained in the hand, and the grain so stripped off fell to the floor.‡ After I had looked at all these instruments we went back to the garden, which lay in the middle of the farm-buildings. A low pavilion,

* Wilk. II. 48. † Wilk. II. 86, 90.

‡ Wilk. II. 99.—[It quite resembled our flax-hatchel.—Tr.]

to which broad marble steps conducted, and that rested on pillars of the purest alabaster, invited us to repose; but we had already lost too much time, and were obliged to hurry away. I must go back from the stillness of the country again to the noisy Memphis. On this account I bade our host farewell as soon as, in our walking on further, I noticed a passage out from the garden and a bridge over the canal.

"You cannot now possibly go in the heat of the day to Memphis," said he, kindly. "I will take care that you shall reach the city gate without fatigue. Lachares!" he cried aloud, turning toward the pyramidal tower at the entrance of the garden, in which was a porter's lodge.*

The porter made his appearance. The young man whispered to him some words in his ear; he hurried quickly to the stables and wagon-house which we had just left. I hoped to see immediately again the beautiful team which had brought us to the villa, but I was mistaken.

After a few minutes, four men hastened in with a sedan, which they respectfully set down before their master. The sedan, formed of the finest wood, in which flowers were most artistically carved, was so long that a large man could sit in it perfectly well with his feet outstretched. It was open above, but richly cushioned, and promised a most agreeable mid-day repose. We mounted into it, and I found the interior space so wide that, without being crowded, I could take Horus alongside of me. As soon as we had sat down a cover was brought on over the back supports, which protected us from the sun's rays. Once again I rendered my thanks

* Wilk. II. Pl. 8.

to my young host. Four slaves raised the four poles of the sedan on their shoulders, and in a moment appeared an overseer, who, with his upraised staff driving on the bearers like beasts, accompanied us on foot.*

Thus we left the hospitable villa, and, gently balanced, both of us sank into a refreshing mid-day slumber. We did not wake till the sedan was let down, and we found ourselves at the gate. Quickly we sprang out, and thanked the overseer for the easy and rapid conveyance. That we charged him also with many thanks to the young master was a matter of course, and hardly needs mention.

As I leaped out of the sedan I met with an unlucky mishap. One of the straps of my sandal burst off from the sole, the knots loosed, and the sandal fell from my foot. I sorrowfully pointed out to my little conductor the misfortune. He laughed heartily.

"What is now to be done?" I asked, much troubled. "I cannot go into the great capital with a shoe on one foot only and the other in my hand!"

"Two stitches will remedy it," answered he, still laughing, and enjoying my perplexity.

"Yes, two stitches;" I said, pitifully; "but where is our thread and needle?"

"Do you think there is no shoemaker in Memphis? Close here by the gate I will take you to a shop where, for a pleasant word, the strap will be fastened again. Come, follow me!"

In fact, inside of the city, close to the gate through which we entered, there were many low houses, which appeared to belong to mechanics, whence the sound of hammers, saws and other tools broke forth. Over the door stood,

* Wilk. II. 208.

as upon our signs, the name and business of the occupant. There were cabinetmakers, turners, potters, shoemakers, tailors, weavers and many others. We entered into a shoemaker's shop, and, I must confess, it was with a great effort I could help laughing outright. On a low three-legged stool sat the master, holding a sandal with both hands, and drawing a thin strap, which he had thrust through a hole on its side, with his teeth. His face presented such a strange expression that the desire to laugh, which was ready to overcome me, might well be excused. A second shoemaker, who sat on a similar stool close to the first, was busied with an awl in boring the necessary holes on the two sides of the sole. Other tools, as, for example, large needles, long and short, straight and crooked awls, knives, wooden and iron hammers and things of this sort, as well as pieces of leather not used, lay about on the floor. Finished sandals, awaiting customers, hung around on the walls.* We approached, and Horus told one of them of my mishap. He was ready in a moment, took his needle, threaded it in the large eye without the least difficulty, and in two minutes the work was done. Horus helped me; the sole was again strapped to my foot, and we left the shop to walk on further.

"Where now?" asked Horus.

"Would it be possible now to pay a visit to Apis?"

"Certainly; and at the same time you will have an opportunity to get acquainted with the famous temple of Ptah. So let us go forward!"

We walked through several narrow streets, lined with rows of low houses built of brick, behind which rose loftily the proud temple, and, in a quarter of an hour—during

* Wilk. III. 160.

which I noticed nothing besides here and there business people passing by, and a troop of soldiers who marched in front of the gate with a drummer and fifer—we reached an open square that was about ten or twelve stadia, or a quarter of a German mile [three quarters of an English mile] in circuit. In the midst of this place the vast, old and venerable temple upreared itself with its countless pillared passages and adjoining buildings. The whole might have been called a priestly city, for here dwelt, lived, and carried on its operations, one of the most famous colleges of priests, from which every year ten judges were chosen for the highest courts; and its prophets, hierogrammats, horoscopes and other classes of priests were celebrated in all times for their learning. Here abode the successors of those priests and magicians who had formerly contended in miracles with Moses, and to their shame had been overcome by the power of the one true God.

The temple proper, which lay in the midst of many other buildings, was surrounded on every one of the four points of the heavens by lofty colonnades, or fore-courts, resting on pillars, called propylæ, to which there was an ascent by stone steps. Four kings have been particularly named by the old historians as those who erected these great structures and enlarged the temple and beautified it. Outside of the temple proper were other large buildings, partly containing the dwellings of the different classes of the priests, partly the library, the court of Apis and the astronomical observatory, &c. We hastened on directly, without stopping, through these immense masses of stone, to reach the temple proper. We mounted the steps leading to the propylæ on the east side; close to these pillared halls there ad-

joined a long gallery, or alley, which was formed of sphinxes, at least forty in a row. The sphinxes standing here were not composed, as those well-known ones, of lion's bodies and human faces, but, instead of these latter, had the heads of rams, and symbolically designated the power and majesty of the god here throned and dwelling. At the end of this gallery I looked at the one of the four principal gates which led to the temple: it was very high and broad, in the form of a pyramid, cut off nearly in the middle, built of red, polished granite, and all over on its face adorned with hieroglyphic inscriptions and on the sides with colossal bas-reliefs, which represented the worship of the god, the offering of sacrifices and festal processions. When we had entered through this gate we came to the proper court of the temple, which was copied in the porch of the later Jewish temple. Here stood the six famous, lofty stone statues of Sesostris, his wife and his four children, which this king caused to be erected after his return from his victorious warlike expeditions.* Two obelisks, also, hewn wholly out of granite, at least sixty feet high, covered with hieroglyphics, here raised their tapering points toward the heavens, and seemed as if touching the clouds. Opposite the gate through which we entered was the passage into the inside of the temple proper, the *holy place*, where the worshiping people were wont to assemble, and, under the guidance of the priests, pray, bring their gifts and offer sacrifices. This entrance had hung before it a richly-wrought curtain, in various colors. We raised it and found the door behind it, consisting of two folding leaves, closed; Horus knocked hard on it, and three heavy strokes resounded

* Herod. II. 110. Diod. I. 57.

in the inside of the temple, and a sacred shudder ran through my frame.

"Who is there?" a voice sounded from within.

"Two pious persons who want to offer prayer to the Almighty God Ptah, the great architect of the world," replied Horus, instead of myself, who was overcome by a solemn dread.

Some moments after the folding-doors opened as of themselves, and a priest appeared in his long white dress rolling down on the marble threshold. We entered; the door closed again, and the priest disappeared into a side-chamber, leaving us to our thoughts and meditations. This interior square space of the holy place of the temple rested on a hundred pillars, and in the midst of the great square there was a colossal sitting-image of the god Ptah, on a high pedestal, which was covered around with hieroglyphics. Here we stood for a long time and contemplated the rigid, motionless face of the Deity. "Is it possible," I thought to myself, "that a people so full of genius, knowledge and invention, as the Egyptians, can adore such a dead idol and expect help from him?" Then my eye fell upon an inscription which required of the worshiper faith in the Deity, faith in virtue, faith in immortality; and the simple words with which this doctrine was preached in a few lines of hieroglyphics reconciled me again to the stark, cold look of the image of the god. I recognized the power and nearness of a Deity. Where such holy doctrines were given, and surely lived in every heart and bore good fruits, there the divine spirit could not be far off.

A new, costly, celestial-blue curtain, set with stars, separated the temple from the most holy place, the *shrine*, or *adytum*, in which stood, as I had conjectured,

from the inscription of Rosetta, the golden images and little chapels of the divinity, and in which they were dressed by the Hieroskolists before the processions,* and in which, at a later period, also, Antiochus Epiphanes dedicated a little chapel and was honored as a god. A curiosity seized me to cast, also, behind this curtain a searching look; but little Horus held me back. "Entrance there," said he, "is only allowed to those consecrated to the god. Do you wish to be admitted into the Priest-caste? Recollect what you have read of Pythagoras; to what examinations, what privations, and what cruel tortures he had to subject himself. And what else but curiosity impels you to it; and the vulgar curious can never see the light!"

I wavered between thirst of knowing and fear. I wished and longed for the re-appearance of the priest, in order to read in his eyes whether I could trust myself to him. But Horus hastened to add, "And what would you learn of our priests? Their wisdom has long ago gone out into the world, and has shaken into ruins cities, states and kingdoms. What our priests teach, hundreds of philosophers have since taught and copied. Yes; there yet are, in the time in which *you* live, priests of Ptah in the world; go and seek them. I shall not betray their secrets."

As there was nothing more to see, and yet further the stillness which reigned around us began to be awful to me, I begged Horus to return with me and conduct me to more lively scenes. But since the door of the Holy place, as I stated, had closed behind us, I was beginning to fear we should have to await the return of the priest, and must request him to open the passage

* Plutarch de Iside, 366.

out. Horus, however, appeared to know the custom here; he stepped to the door and pressed with his foot on a knob that, hardly perceptible, was on the threshold; immediately the door sprang open, and we returned through it into the fore-court. By the same way through the gallery and the propylæ we left the lofty building, and then turned around to the right, to the court of Apis, which was built on the south side of the temple. It was surrounded with pillared halls, inclosed by thick stone walls, and the floor was laid with marble plates.

Here reigned the greatest, an almost regal luxury, and a fairy-like splendor in all respects. The keeper of Apis, who stood at the door and looked curiously at the new-comers, allowed us readily to enter, after Horus had declared that we wished to consult Apis,(13) and had given a yet stronger emphasis to our request by a rich present of gold for the divine bullock, which, of course, went into the keeper's pocket. I gazed around within astonished and wondering. Was this a chamber for Apis, or for a most luxurious Egyptian queen? The court was divided into two rooms, both of which were destined for the bullock. In the first into which we entered, on the left was a couch furnished with swelling cushions and costly carpets and covers; on a table at the right side stood fragrant ointments; near by was a basin, of alabaster, richly ornamented with gold, where, as Horus told me, Apis was every day bathed and anointed by the priests. In the corner stood a vessel of coals into which incense was cast at short intervals by them, and from which arose the sweetest odors, almost stupefying me. On a second table stood, in golden vessels, the most costly food with which he was accustomed to be fed.*

* Diod. I. 84.

As I was about to enter the second adjoining chamber, Apis appeared at the gate, which led from one to the other. In fact, he was a royal divine animal; more majestic than I had yet seen. Some of the signs known to me from the old writers immediately caught my eye: he was black, had a square white spot on his forehead, and a picture of the moon on the increase on the right side.* But when Ælian gives twenty-nine such marks, a great part of them must have existed in the imaginative power of the priests; and a bullock could never, but with the greatest difficulty, be found which at the same time possessed them all. The number of twenty-nine signs appears to refer to the twenty-nine days of the synodic month, since Apis is to be regarded as a symbol of the Nile and the month, and, according to Plutarch, must likewise have been begotten by a moon-beam.† As Horus told me, near to the two courts lay a third, in which the mother of Apis is fed during her life; and a fourth, with a whole harem of cows for his choice.‡

"Does Apis always remain shut up here?" I softly inquired of Horus.

"Almost always," he replied. "Only on special festive and extraordinary occasions he is carried out, as all the images of the gods are, through the city, and then surrounded by soldiers, who are appointed to keep off the curious people from crowding on him. Then children go before him who sing hymns to his praise."

The keeper of Apis constantly stood before the door, eagerly listening to what we wished to ask of Apis. A new present and the assurance that we wished to com-

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. VIII. 46.

† Plutarch Symp. VIII. 1, de Is. c. 53. Herod. III. 28.

‡ Ælian de Natura Animal, XI. 10.

municate alone with the oracle induced him to walk out into the fore-court. Apis came a step nearer, bellowing aloud, and then remained standing, looking bold and threatening with his unintellectual eyes. I overcame my fear, and asked aloud:—

"Sacred Apis, earthly body of Osiris, reveal to me the truth. When, sometime hereafter, your temple is fallen into ruins; when your people have died off, and have taken away their knowledge of the language and writing with them into the tomb, will there, then, in after times, be a man who can inspire a new life into your ruins, penetrate your spirit and decipher your written monuments?"

Hardly had I spoken these words than I caught some dainties from the golden vessel and offered them to Apis. He turned off one side, displeased.

"You lie," I added. "Think of Champollion, and many other men, whom the after-world will name and praise; will no one of them tread in the footsteps of the Egyptian priests?"

Apis still had no appetite, and evidently shook his head as if offended.

"And yet, once more," I added, "will I ask. Look at me! Shall I find no favor in your eyes? Shall I strive for my hitherto pursued object? Shall I hereafter find that which is correct? Answer, Apis!" and I held out anew to him his food.

He appeared to reflect for a long time; but he turned not away from me, and his notice being arrested by my loud and raised voice, he looked steadily at me. Finally he stretched his head forward, took the food from my hand, then slowly turned about and with a solemn and serious step went back into the second room.

"You see," said Horus,—"only do not lose courage, —the bold may hope; he who seeks will find."

Smiling and incredulous, I turned back to the entrance. Many others yet stood before the gate who also wished to inquire of Apis, but who were let in only one at a time by the keeper. There were soldiers who had before them a dangerous undertaking; merchants who were about to ascend the Nile into the interior of the country with their wares; sick persons who had long suffered with painful diseases; men and women whom one and another misfortune crushed to the earth, —all would obtain from Apis consolation and hope, or misery and despair. Oh, the foolish multitude! Many to-day will surely return home comfortless; for Apis appears to me wholly satiated for hours to come.

When we went out we were immediately surrounded on all sides. "Is Apis in a favorable mood? Has he eaten?" These questions resounded from at least twenty tongues. I gave no answer; the superstition of the multitude had in it something frightful for me,—humbling to the dignity of man. I pressed through the crowds so quickly that Horus could hardly follow me, and did not rest till I again stood at the eastern portal of the main temple.

Here a wondrous spectacle presented itself. On the lowest step leading up to the propylæ, surrounded by a multitude of people, stood one of those enthusiasts belonging to the priest-class, which Egypt, ever from the earliest down to modern times, has hidden in her bosom.* He was a serpent-charmer—almost naked, except a little apron about his hips—who gestured convul-

* Ælian Hist. Animal, XVII. 5. Quatremere Memoires sur l'Egypte, T. I. p. 202, ff.

sively like a maniac, so that the foam and slaver came out of his mouth. He held in his hands three serpents universally dreaded by the people as venomous, and which coiled themselves around his body and to whose bite he appeared to expose himself without harm. He imitated most deceptively the hiss of the serpent, and thus, as well as by his wonderful and magical practices, excited so powerful an influence on the animals that in a moment they became obedient to his will and command. While the other two wound themselves round his whole body, he opened the mouth of the third one, spit in his throat, laid his hand imperatively on his head, and immediately it became stiff and motionless as a stick, letting itself be taken hold of and handled as if it were so. Every eye hung on this wonder, till the multitude passed from mute astonishment to loud admiration and wild shouts of applause. After some minutes the charmer caught the serpent by the tail, then rolled it between his hands, and it was as lively again and capable of motion as before.*

"These are the wise men," said Horus, "who first were set up to oppose Moses. But they were entirely conquered by a miracle which is, even to this day, inconceivable to me. Moses' rod swallowed up the rods into which they had changed the serpents; and even in the very art of which Egyptian wise men especially boast, by which, as you see, they enchain the people and carry them away to blind wonder and enthusiasm, Moses was superior to them, and armed with a higher, unsearchable power."

I drew Horus along with me. The sight of the brown, savage-looking man, covered with foam and blood; the

* Description de Egypt, T. xxiv. p. 82, ff.

glittering, hissing serpents; the wild shouts of the people,—all these filled me with fear and horror. We went along to the eastern propylæ until we bent round to the left and found ourselves on the north side of the temple. Here were many side-buildings, constructed, like the temple, entirely of stone, dwellings of the priests, astronomical observatories, and, finally, the library belonging to the priests. The last especially arrested my notice and excited my curiosity, and so I begged Horus to let me have a look into it. Immediately he declared his readiness, and after we had passed the houses where, in single cells, the priests were busied with the wisdom, and restlessly at work for the fame of their country and their protector Thoth, we entered a high gate, and found ourselves in a large square building that embraced a main saloon and some small adjoining rooms.

When we entered the great library-hall my first look fell upon a large statue of the god Thoth, the inventor and guardian of all the sciences and arts, and especially the art of writing, which statue was set up on the right of the door, and bore the inscription—"Thoth, the scribe, the Lord of Hermopolis, (Egyptian Schmun.)"* He was represented with the head of an Ibis, and with writing materials in his hand, by which marks he may easily be distinguished in almost all the pictures. Next I turned my attention to the opposite wall, which was occupied by a large painting. On drawing near I perceived the astronomical zodiac with its twelve houses, six and thirty decans and three hundred and sixty degrees; with every decan in every degree stood the figure and name of the deity which, according to astro-

* Wilk. Suppl. plate 45, and Diod. I. 49.

logical determinations, was regarded as ruling in it. The seven planetary divinities, also, had received their place where they stood at a certain hour, probably at the hour of birth, of the founder of the building. One look at this picture was sufficient to establish and confirm the idea I had already formed of the astronomical knowledge and astrological reveries of the old Egyptians. The three other walls, also, were filled all over with hieroglyphical incriptions that referred partly to the god Thoth himself and partly to the sciences, and celebrated their use; as also in the same manner was the famous library in the temple of Thebes most fitly called "a house for the cure of the soul." As to the book-rolls themselves, they lay partly in open repositories standing against the walls, partly in chests or boxes, which were very similar to those heretofore described. Six or seven scribes sat around in the hall and were busily copying different valuable manuscripts. The librarian, who in Egyptian is called "the governor of books," walked back and forth, looking at the rolls; he was an old priest, who already had long held this office, and appeared to have grown gray in it. At our request he willingly drew out sometimes one roll and sometimes another, in order to unroll it to our astonished eyes, and added short observations respecting its contents. The books were almost all written in hieroglyphic characters, only a few in the hieratic current style, not one in the demotic mode; as this method first came into use at a later day, and the middle kind formed the transition from the sacred to the demotic method of writing. Though now, as every one knows, the whole Egyptian literature was a work of the priests, and at that time, at least, bore a more or less religious charac-

ter, yet there was already in the library, as to its prevailing contents, it might be said, an arrangement in accordance with the departments of science, just as every particular branch of the wisdom of the priests was assigned to a special priestly-class. In one repository lay the theological, in another the more juridical, in a third the medical, and in yet another, finally, the astronomical, historical and other book-rolls.

The first which the librarian drew out and showed us were ten in number; the so-called sacred books of the prophets, which treated of the laws relating to the worship of the gods and the doctrines of the divinities. Every one of them was at least thirty feet long, divided into large sections and subdivisions, and with respect to every one of these subdivisions the laity could easily conjecture the contents by vignette-titles. There were represented in these vignette-titles sacrificial solemnities, processions, various figures of the gods, with all their attributes, and the pictures of the sacred animals. Ten other books, likewise shown us, were on liturgical subjects, and contained prescriptions for worship; two others, hymns and prayers, which the Hieroskolists and singers had particularly imprinted for themselves. The first glance convinced me that these latter, if they were not rhythmical and measured in our sense, yet had a poetic cast, and were destined to be sung off according to certain regular melodies. The songs were all divided into a number of strophes, some into twenty and more, of equal length, which always begun and ended with the same words. There were the twenty-two religious books, in a closer sense of the term; to them were added fourteen others, which, too, were regarded as sacred, because they treated of the sacred writing in all

the relations of hieroglyphics, art of drawing, of geometrical representation, cosmography, geography, topography, &c. I would gladly have more accurately studied these books, but the time was too short and the books too long; and the sacred scribes only could perfectly expound them, who on their part instructed the wealthy young Egyptians in the outlines of the art of sacred writing. I saw merely, by a hasty glance at the titles, that they were thrice inscribed to the great Thoth, the Hermes Trismegistus of the Greeks.*

The juridical literature was of the least extent. Its basis served eight book-rolls, in which the collective laws of the land were distinguished.† They contained the criminal laws, the laws as to marriage, those as to war, and the laws of trade, &c. These were all short and compact, mentioning only the crime and the punishment attached to it from the earliest times. An innumerable multitude of other rolls contained the papers of the different trials brought down even to the then present day, such as in modern times would hardly find place in a library; the documents of accusation or of defence, and the judgments of the courts. The six medical books, too, which, as is well known, were borne in the processions by the so-called Pastophori, I had laid before me. The first of them treated of the organism of the body; all its single parts were delineated in rough sketches, and described as accurately as possible; and, so far as I could judge, there was more attention bestowed on the outer than the inner parts. The second

* Clem. V. Alex. Strom. V. p. 260, and Bunsen Ægyptens Stelle, etc. Bd. I. p. 34.

† Diod. I. 75.

treated of diseases, a third of cures, the others of surgical instruments, &c. But particularly interesting to me was a little book which the "governor of the books" brought out only after many requests by my little conductor. It was the so-called "Holy Ambres."* It contained a short account of all the symptoms of disease and the judgment every time made, whether or not the cure was possible, so that the prophets could decide respecting the life or death of patients seeking counsel of them. The principal Egyptian diseases, such as plagues, leprosy, inflammations of the eye, and others, were here so accurately described in their particular appearance that I was convinced Moses drew from it his medical wisdom which we find laid down in his books.

The number of astronomical and astrological books was large; and especially important appeared to me an astrological work, which I took into my hand, and of which the name of Petosiris was given in the superscription as its author.† It contained the secret science of the effects of the planets, and the influences which they exert on the destiny of a new-born child in the hour of his birth, according as they stand in this or that house or decan. Innumerable examples were annexed as an appendix; from Menes even to the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the destinies of the most important kings and state-officers were collected together with the constellations of their natal hours. The astronomy was also expressed in other books with a surprising accuracy for that period. The place of the fixed stars and the constellations, the planets, the division of the sun's path, the conjunctions and phases of the sun and moon, as well as the rise and setting of stars, the reckoning of

* Horap. Hieroglyph. I. 38. † Jul. Firmicus, L. IV. c. 16.

time, the whole calendar, and some astronomical periods —the Apis periods, the Phœnix periods, and the Sothis periods, or cycles—were given in them most definitely.

On papyrus-rolls of larger size were prepared maps of the whole country and its particular portions, as well as accurate plans of surveys of the landed property belonging to the State and temple. Such a map which I unrolled contained a ground-plot of a catacomb at Thebes; the particular sepulchral chambers were clearly marked out, and in every such chamber the existing tablets were noticed, how long, how broad and high, even to the inch, by whom and at what time they were erected, &c. Another map represented the whole of Egypt, with its twelve provinces and thirty-six nomes, from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea to Suan, or Syene; and I saw that the north coast of Egypt must formerly have had a different appearance from the present one. In the former marshy regions which were inhabited by tribes carrying on the raising of cattle, if compared with recent maps, entire lakes have arisen, while former lakes, on the contrary, have been wholly filled up by sand. So, too, the old Lake of Sirbonis, which, in the delineation lying before me was situated on the east side of Egypt, has now wholly disappeared; while, on the contrary, the old Lake of Tanis, which the Arabians now call Birk-Menzaleh, and in which the Pelusian, Tanitic, and Mendesian arms of the Nile emptied themselves, have become so enlarged in the course of centuries that it now almost embraces a third of the whole north coast; and cities which once lay on the main-land, as, for example, Pelusium, now are entirely covered by water.

The librarian was tired of unrolling and rolling up so many books, as well as we with looking at so many inte-

resting objects; the time was already far advanced, and the priests appeared to wish to withdraw into their abodes.

"I could show you yet many other books on important subjects," said the old man, as he concluded his explanations, "but they present the same outward appearance. The historical rolls and lists of kings, preserved in the different unopened chests, are of weighty importance."*

"Let us go," whispered Horus to me. "The historical works are already known to you. The lists of Dynasties, the descriptions of the warlike deeds of Sesostris, Amasis, the different Ramses and others are there, which Manetho, Herodotus and Diodorus have used, or from which they at least have caused the most essential parts to be communicated to them by the priests. Besides, the sun is sinking lower down to the horizon, and before we wander into new scenes I need a moment's repose."

We left the library, which was immediately closed behind us. The librarian and the scribes went to their cells after having completed their work, to take their meal.

"What industry! what learning!" cried I, astonished, as soon as we again stood before the temple, in the open air. "Your priests do, in truth, deserve the fame and veneration which all antiquity has paid them. They must be the noblest of men; they who labor restlessly in the cultivation of the sciences without laying claim to the least reward; for I have never yet heard that the name of a priest has been celebrated by history, though they are those who deserve the highest fame and thanks of posterity. Unselfish, they toil on only for one aim,

* Diod. I. 96.

the glorifying of the protecting god Thoth, for the ennobling of mankind."

"You think so?" said Horus, with a bitter smile. "As to individuals, you may be right; but most of the priests are like all men; behind the temple walls many a crime is hidden. The prophet of this temple himself, many years ago, committed a crime which has never come to light, but so much the more does his conscience pain and torture him. Look up now to that window in the dark, mysterious building; there he lives, his crime unpunished, for the arm of earthly justice penetrates not into the sacred inclosure where the priests dwell."

"Oh tell me about it!" cried I, full of curiosity.

We seated ourselves on the steps of the propylæ, and Horus began:—

CHAPTER VI.

THE TALE.

"About fifty years ago Egypt was the theatre of great conflicts and movements. At that period the country had not the good fortune to be united under *one* scepter; here and there existed in particular provinces different dynasties, who governed not by powerful kings, but by weak rulers, and, indeed, were swayed by some important colleges of priests. Thus ruled over Memphis and its weak king a priest who bore the name of Sesom, *i.e.* Son of Hercules. He it is of whom I am about to tell you; he who now, almost a hundred years old, is hastening to meet his death; but who at that time was in the most vigorous years of manhood, which the astrologers had placed under the protection of the powerful and mighty Planet-god Mars.(14) And, in fact, conflicts, cunning murder and misdeeds of all kinds marked the years of his life.

"As has often been the case in the history of Egypt, so about this time broke forth the morning-dawn of a freer development. A bold king united all their little kingdoms into one whole; his strong arm ruled the whole land from Memphis even to Syene, and the power of the priests, which had so joyously forged fetters for the country and its kings, was destroyed by one mighty and powerful arm, and driven back into the walls of the

temple. Could the priestly order allow this to take place quietly? Could they let their authority and power, which they had possessed for years, slip from their hands without a blow of the sword? Could they see their crafty web torn asunder without an attempt to join again the broken threads to each other? No! A struggle; a fearful contest of the Priesthood against the Sovereignty must be ventured on: not an open, honorable fight, in which the priests, without doubt, would be worsted under such a king, but a secret, crafty conspiracy, of which no one knew, that no one dreamed of, whose horrible threads should be lost in the most holy sanctuary of the temple and never come to public view. The high-priest and prophet Sesom was, as you will see, the soul of the whole. The king had a daughter, a lovely, tender child, hardly seventeen years old, named Athyrtis,—not that well-known daughter of Sesostris, but like her in wisdom, eager desire of knowledge, and prophetic gifts. The child had already gladly stayed within the temple walls, listened to the prayers of the priests, and admired the splendor of the sacrifices and the priesthood; and, indeed, it might be said, she lived no earthly, but only a heavenly life, in the silent converse with Ammon, Osiris, Isis and other deities, who she believed hovered over and protected her. Thus she stood, sixteen years old, when her father mounted the throne, in the calling of a holy, consecrated prophetess.

"Her way led her often to the temple of Ptah. Attended by only two trusty handmaids, she walked silently through the streets of Memphis, deep-veiled, mixed herself among the worshiping people, and frequently lingered a longer time than other worshipers of the Deity, in the vestibule, praying and thirsting for

higher wisdom. Often believing herself alone she clasped with beautiful arms the image of the God, lifted her protecting veil, and gazed with her black, ardent eyes up into the face of the Exalted one. She also frequently gazed with a silent sigh on the curtain which separated her from the most Holy place, and which was opened only for the initiated. Thus Sesom saw her; frequently hid behind a pillar, he listened to the inmost thoughts of the princess, which she uttered aloud in her prayers; he saw her developing herself every month more majestic and beautiful, and soon only two emotions swayed his unholy bosom: Love and Revenge; love to the most beautiful woman that he had ever seen, and revenge against the king, whom he hoped to reach through the daughter. She should be an instrument to break the power of the king.

"I must not make my story too long. A year passed, during which the prophet came to meet the wishes of the maiden. Hypocritically he had drawn her to himself, and instructed her in many secrets of the divinity. She was initiated into the first degree of the mysteries, and, unconscious and dreaming of nothing evil, had fallen more and more into the power of the priest. Soon she gazed behind the veil, and was admitted into the most Holy place. It was the twelfth day of the month Mesori; the sun had sent a burning glow over the day, and as he declined toward his setting hour the sultry air yet retained all the inhabitants in their houses. The streets of Memphis were desolated and empty. Then a maiden, alone, without any attendant, covered with an impenetrable veil, stole out of the women's chambers of the royal palace; silent as a shadow she glided through the portal, passed the tired watchmen,

and, ever looking anxiously about her, struck into a path toward the temple. Upon the great steps on which we are here sitting she made a halt to catch her breath; trembling and excited she uttered fervent prayers; the veil fell from her shoulders, and as she stood there in her beauty and majesty one might have thought her to be Isis incarnate. But there was no one saw her; only a fresh, evening breeze played with her locks; only the departing sun once looked into her eye and disappeared behind the chain of western mountains which there bounds the horizon.

"When she had so stood for about a quarter of an hour and prayed, she suddenly came out of her deep thoughts, threw her thick veil anew over her beautiful face, mounted with firm foot the steps through the vestibule and to the gate of the inner temple. Once she seemed to delay at the door, but it was a few moments only; then, with strong hand, laid hold of the knocker; three heavy strokes resounded in the inside of the temple and sent a holy shuddering through the otherwise courageous and composed, yet at this moment timid, maiden. But in a few minutes the door opened, and Athyrtis, for it was she, entered; the prophet, in his long, white, flowing robe, received her upon the marble threshold.

"With seriousness and dignity he caught hold of the trembling hand of the king's virgin daughter; slowly and solemnly she walked through the temple, and in a few moments stood before the curtain. The priest lifted it up, and she entered into the most Holy place. A glare of light, which streamed forth for a moment from behind the curtain and illuminated the temple, vanished as quickly again. In the temple all was desolate and empty. What they two uttered there, what the priest

taught her, what the princess learned, no one knows. You who already, before you found me, have cast a look into the essence of our religion and the mysteries of our priests, can conjecture it.

"Sesom let her cast one glance into the mysteries of the temple and into his heart glowing with love. The gods to whom she had looked and prayed so sincerely, in whom she had trusted with such unshaken faith, were now before her eyes, stripped of their decorations; they were changed from living persons, beaming with dignity, into simple stars, which, according to eternal laws, wander through the heavens; the myths, which attracted and inspired the laity, were pointed out to her in their astrological sense, and sunk down to legends invented by the priests; the wonders of the temple, which she had hitherto admired and that had astonished her, were explained to her, and became for her tricks and deceptions of the ambitious priestood deserving contempt; it was with her as with a child who had gazed with amazement and awe of belief on the arts of a juggler, and who is suddenly pitilessly dragged upon the scene to look through the instruments of the enchanter's craft. She had lost the most beautiful ornament and mightiest stay of the woman: devoted faith in the divinity and its miracles. She was morally annihilated.

"Soon all was alive in the temple. The Neokori, or ministers of the temple appeared, to purify the holy room and decorate it for the next day, which was a festival-day. The necessary sacrificial furniture was brought in, also the various little statues of the gods, clad in costly robes and placed in a circle.

"Suddenly resounded behind the curtain a long and piercing cry. Then all was again still.

"A servant, moved with curiosity, stepped to one side of the curtain and threw a glance into the most Holy place. Athyrtis lay in a swoon, and without motion, in the arms of the priest.

"When she awaked she lay gently reposing on a soft couch in an adjoining hall of the temple, whither the priest had caused her to be borne. A sweet strain of music recalled her to life; perfumes breathed all around her, and a table set with excellent, delicious food and costly wines invited her to taste. Sesom stood on one side watching every motion of hers, and when the first signs of life returned, when she opened her eyes and mechanically laid her hand on her burning brow, then a new unholy fire burned in his eyes; it was a lightning flash, a sign of wild triumph. The fright, confusion and horror which had a short time before possessed the young maiden, all which she had experienced, was so mighty in its effect that she could only with difficulty, and gradually, recall to her mind what had transpired. First came clearly before her soul the fervent prayers which she had sent up to the throne of the divinity; but, while slowly and by degrees her powers and recollections returned, she suddenly heard in her ears the unholy words of the priest which had robbed her of her senses. Affrighted anew she wished to raise herself, but her feeble limbs refused their office, and she sunk back exhausted upon her pillow, when suddenly a minister of the temple, quickly changed into a cup-bearer, stood beside her with the frightful skeleton upon his arm, and the horrible words upon his lips: 'Look on this, eat and drink, for to-morrow thou mayest be dead and like to it!'

"Athyrtis, who felt pressed down by an unaccountable weakness and exhaustion, and saw the necessity of gathering all her energy and power, cast a look upon the richly-laden table, and almost involuntarily stretched forth her hand for the cup of sparkling wine, which the priest coming forward held out to her. But she stopped before she touched it to her lips. Was she afraid of betrayal, of a cunningly-prepared enchantment? Sesom anticipated her, again took the cup which she already held, half emptied it, and gave it back to her again, with the words, "Fear not, beautiful daughter of the most powerful king, neither poison nor enchanting draught will be offered to you by me; drink, the body needs strength and invigoration for the new doctrines which you must receive."

"She drank; and while the fiery wine ran through her veins her life-spirits were once more aroused, and new courage and firm self-confidence returned to her. She proudly raised herself up.

"'Let me,' said she boldly and firmly, 'return to the world, where true love and piety dwell. I scorn you and your whole treacherous system of doctrine. You shall not rob me of my god who dwells in my bosom, who rewards, punishes and judges me, who promises me blessedness and immortality.'

"'Athyrtis,' said the priest, breaking in upon her words with a wondrously deep emotion, 'you have received the holy doctrines of the priests, and your conscience binds you to an eternal silence. Now examine yourself and see whether you have courage to go out and betray our secrets; two enemies stand opposed to you, both alike mighty, alike to be dreaded: the *people*, who will not believe you, and will condemn you as a

blasphemer of the gods, and the *priests*, who, with invisible hand, will reach and punish you as a betrayer; therefore be silent, and listen to that wisdom which I have further to make known to you.'

"Athyrtis had gradually sunk into a deep stupor, supported her head in her hand, and still and silently hearkened to the words of the priest. Now she raised herself up.

"'And if there are no gods,' said she, seriously and slowly, 'what are ye the priests of those divinities that do not exist? Let me go out, reflect on your wicked words, condemn them, by prayer atone for every evil thought, and never return again. Yes; I swear it; never shall my foot touch this unholy threshold again!'

"'You are free; and yet you will involuntarily return here,' said the priest, quietly and pleasantly. 'But once more I leave you the choice; will you remain and hear further?'

"'No!' cried Athyrtis, aloud, with all the power of her determination. 'No; give me freedom!'

"'Farewell, for a speedy meeting with each other again!' whispered the priest.

"Athyrtis went out.

"The priest could have held back the young daughter of the king, robbed her of her freedom, and indeed put her to death without the black deed becoming known to the public. But he gave her freedom; he calculated with certainty and prudence on the future; he needed the young maiden for his dark purposes, and he possessed, as you will see, invisible means enough to bring her back at any time within the walls of the temple.

"On the same evening the priest summoned together all the associates of his order. They held long and

solemn councils. And when, also, the assembly was separated, the high-priest again sat busied in long and deep thought. But the first morning-beam found him zealously deciphering the old written character.

"Weeks had passed; Athyrtis had not again allowed herself to be seen in the temple. Strictly true to her determination, she had avoided all meetings with the priest, and although in the first days after the events already related deep melancholy and sorrowfulness had weighed her down, yet by the unbounded love with which her life was adorned in her father's house gradually her joyous feeling partly came back to her, and all that she had heard, seen or experienced on that evening, moved sometimes before her soul only as a bitter, distressing dream. Then dawned the birth-day of her royal father—the highest festival for all his subjects who felt contented and happy under his strict but just government. Already early in the morning the collective priesthood of Memphis were assembled in the palace to greet the king at his awaking, in order in his presence to pray and offer sacrifices for his prosperity. But the subject for whom these solemnities were prepared had not come in, and priests and prophets, horoscopes and hierogrammatists, stood mixed up with fierce soldiers, waiting in the ante-room. Sesom stepped aside with one of the ministers of the temple and whispered with him in a low tone words that could not be understood, while his black burning eyes, now and then with a searching glance, shot over the multitude, to make himself certain that they were unnoticed and unmarked. Then, suddenly, he caught hold of the fold of his long-flowing

priestly linen robe and drew forth a little glass phial, which was so small that he could easily hide it in his hand. From his own hand he slid it softly into the hand of his attendant; the contents were limpid and colorless as the purest spring-water. Two undistinguishable words only he whispered further to the other. A look of agreement on both sides, and the crime was concerted. The day beginning joyously was to end in sorrow. The king appeared, and the priests fell in hypocritically among the ranks of the well-wishers.

"The mid-day saw the whole company of courtiers and state officers seated at a splendid repast; even the women had come with their husbands and shared in the universal pleasure and joy. In Egypt the drinking hour begins at the end of the banquet; the women then drink one or two cups in the society of their husbands, and withdraw afterward into the harem. Thus it was also to-day. In the large hall where the feast took place stood on one side a table filled with cups and pitchers awaiting their destination. Two cups among these were specially distinguished as pledge-cups, particularly designed for the king and his lovely daughter: they glittered with the purest gold, and showed on the outside (formed of costly precious stones) the name-shields and letters of the king and Athyrtis. The cup-bearer stood awaiting the royal nod, and with constant eye directed to the king, close beside the wine-table. Many persons, filled with curiosity, who belonged to a lower rank, and had not been at the king's table, but had their place in a side-hall, here and there showed themselves in the great hall, admiring the costly articles of the regal table—its dishes, vases and elegant furniture. Thus also a minister of the temple, unnoticed, ventured through the mov-

ing multitude, and pressed forward even up to the table with the wine waiting to be tasted, where he remained standing as if astonished and full of delight.

"'What costly furniture!' he whispered to the chief cup-bearer; 'a kingdom could be bought for it, and might be weighed against it. But where are the royal cups which are so famed?'

"The cup-bearer readily showed them to him. 'This larger one,' said he, 'is for the king, the smaller one for the princess;' and quickly turned again toward the king, in order not to let any nod escape him. This moment the villain made use of, and while all eyes were directed to a beautiful and agreeable female slave, who enlivened the banquet by song and dance, unmarked he bent himself over the small cup in the form of a lotus-flower terminating below in a point, as if he was admiring its pure metal and costly gems, and quickly let fall the contents of the phial which he had received from the priest into the cup. Then he disappeared among the multitude.

"When the banquet was ended and the well-known call for drinking to the guests was made, the king beckoned. His own and Athyrtis's cups were first filled with sparkling wine; then followed the others. Every one held his cup, and the drinking began, with song and dance spiced with play and conversation.

"Athyrtis, who sat beside her father, not far from the hated priest, wished to show the latter that instead of terror the joyousness and love of life had come back to her this evening, with scornful looks gazed on him, and then turned herself with ecstatic laugh to her father:—

"'May the gods grant thee long life, health and strength; may they bestow on thee and thy posterity

victory, fame, and constant dominion over the Land of Ptah, that the sovereignty may continue to thee and thy children forever!'

"So she spoke enthusiastically, and emptied her cup. The king was enraptured with the enchanting smile, sparkling eyes and charming appearance of his lovely child. Ah, ruin undreamed of was near! Athyrtis had to-day laughed for the last time.

"The king, after a few moments, turned toward her graciously with his cup to drink in turn to her. But he, and all who had followed his eyes and looked in the face of the king's daughter, drew back affrighted. Athyrtis had become deadly pale; an unearthly fire shone from her otherwise so soft and peaceful eyes. With her right arm uplifted, she began as one inspired by a god:—

"'What do you stand astonished at? Do you not know me who have come among you to announce the disasters of after-times? Do you not know your Isis, your goddess, the queen of this land, the pupil of Hermes, the wife and sister of the King Osiris? Have I not proved myself your benefactress? have I not for you invented prosperity, agriculture? have I not brought forth little Horus, the son of light?* Hear my words! Thousands of years pass before my view. I see enemies in the South, in the East, and in the North; I see how they, one after another, break in, overflow my land, and drive me myself from my dominion. I see yet more! I see the temples desolate, the palaces fallen into ruins; I see men walking about with hoe and shovel, who in vain seek for the proud regal city in the

* Diod. I. 27.

rûins of Memphis; I see others who bear off our monuments of stone, obelisks, tablets and sarcophagi, to the cold North. The land of Ptah disappears from the horizon; its gods are no more, its temples are destroyed, its corpses are moldered! Yes, you are right, wise priest, there is no immortality!'

"That was the first outbreak of the fever or madness. Sinking back exhausted, the unfortunate girl was caught by her father, and, her handmaidens hastening forward, she was borne by them into a side-chamber and laid upon a couch. The joyous company was thrown into confusion; and as the king, in his terror and anguish, had not thought to give any definite command, so the courtiers, after they had sprung up in horror from their seats, silently looked to his place with anxious expectation for the development of the tragedy.

"Finally, the king called for the physicians. Our medical science was at all times in a sad state; I do not say that our priests had not essayed to acquaint themselves with the effects of the medicinal plants which Egypt produces so abundantly: they also had, as far as it was possible for them, studied the principal and specific diseases; but the extension of this knowledge was limited and hindered by laws the most wonderful, yet sacred on account of their age. What anatomical knowledge and facilities could they gain, when the dissection of a corpse was regarded as a punishable sacrilege? How could they by new researches extend this science, while every novelty was looked upon as a departure from the old consecrated laws of medicine? How, in short, could they effect a fortunate cure in difficult diseases, since for every symptom there were specific physicians, with

particular law-books, as those for the eyes, head, teeth, belly, feet, &c. ?*

"So it was here. From every side of the hall poured in physicians: those who were not present at the feast were summoned, by quick messengers, from their temples. Every one of these latter bore on his head an apothecary's small box, which in particular divisions contained surgical instruments and the necessary remedies in little phials and boxes.† In these were extracts of the roots of thistle, chicory-juice, pills rolled out of pounded roots of wall-lettuce, juice of chervil, oil from the seed of saffron-flowers, asparagus-root steeped in vinegar, the red berries of the so-called scorpion-weed, a black powder prepared from the ashes of papyrus, and many others.

"Finally, to calm the maiden, and probably to throw her into a salutary sleep, a portion of the last-mentioned powder was scattered into wine, and in spite of her resistance this drink was given to her.‡

"In the mean while all who did not belong to the ministers of Esculapius withdrew and dispersed themselves about the ante-room. Only the physicians watched and with anxious solicitude observed the progress of the disease. Sesom, who as prophet possessed a great amount of theoretical medical knowledge, directed the whole and had the reputation of being able to express a wise and unerring judgment, went uneasily up and down in the hall, after he had at first apparently regarded the poor creature with the greatest sympathy,

* Herod. II. 86. Diod. I. 82. Herod. II. 84.

† Such an apothecary's small box is in the Royal Museum at Berlin, in the glass cases of the Historical Saloon.

‡ Compare my Thoth, p. 144.

and felt and examined her pulse and the beating of her heart. When finally the king had come to him with a look full of despair, and begged of him his opinion, he bowed down low and reverentially before his sovereign, raised his right hand toward heaven and said, with a solemn voice—

"'Neither Isis nor Serapis can save her; she will never again awake from her sleep!'

"As is the case among all people and at all times—and is indeed yet the case with you, who give yourselves out to be enlightened and educated—after this cruel expression, despairing of the help of the physicians, they turned to their superstition: they sent to the various oracles in the region around to search out a remedy. But was it chance, or had Sesom the guidance? The oracles, which always in such cases were ready with answers of all kinds, remained dumb.* After some four hours of apparently quiet slumber, the king's daughter was no more.

"As the Greek authors correctly relate, in Egypt they show almost as great honor to queens and female members of the royal family as to the kings themselves; so Athyrtis, first in the capital, and, after her death was known, through the whole land, was universally lamented with the deepest sorrow and sincerity. Next, all the inmates of the harem undertook the usual mourning procession through the streets of Memphis, in which they besmeared and disguised their faces with earth and mire, made bare the breast, cried with loud voices for the dead, smote themselves and tore out their disheveled hair. The men did the same; for seventy days no razor

* Herod. II. 133. Diod. I. 81.

came upon their heads; and while they denied themselves every convenience and agreeable and dainty food and drink, and even the so indispensable bath, they openly and solemnly made known their deep sorrow.

"But we return to Athyrtis's corpse. Already the next day, at Sesom's command, appeared in the palace twelve ministers of the temple, with a sort of funeral litter close shut up and covered over, in which the dead was laid. In solemn funeral procession they thus bore it into an adjoining chamber of the temple of Ptah, where the embalmers carried forward their work which belonged to a lower class of the priests. After the king had given to the high-priest present his special directions respecting the embalming, the inscriptions which the mummy covers and the sarcophagus should bear, &c.,* Sesom withdrew."

[Horus here drawing his breath made a stop. I felt that he had reached to the development of his story, and followed his further account with increasingly intent expectation.]

"You think now," he went on, "I am going to describe to you the details of the process of embalming. No! it was different from what you may imagine. Under the protection of the night a shoemaker, with his eyes blindfolded, was conducted from his shop, up and across through the streets of Memphis, and finally brought into the temple already known to us, to a side-cell before Sesom. Here, after the most splendid promises, he was instructed to manufacture, according to the exact proportions which the priest gave him, a leather doll. Leather, straw, needles and everything necessary for his work he found already lying prepared in the cell,

* Herod. I. 85.

and stimulated by the hope of a large reward, he began his work quickly by the light of two lamps as soon as Sesom had bolted the door and gone away. In the morning it was done, and—after being shut up till the next night, and then again, with eyes blindfolded, bound to silence, and loaded for his wages with more silver than he had ever before earned in his whole life—he was taken back to his shop; the ministers of the temple took the doll that had been manufactured in order to substitute it for the corpse of Athyrtis. Everything else was then done according to the rules of the art and as the king had commanded. The leather figure was wrapped up from head to foot in cotton bandages of different widths, and especially the head, the body and each of the arms and legs. Then the arms were laid crosswise over the breast, and the whole body wrapped up in new rolls, until no one could distinguish either the head or limbs, and the whole had exactly the exterior look of a mummy. Over this whole mummy (as I will now call it) from the head to the foot was laid a sort of long mask, which consisted of many pieces of cotton glued together, to which, finally, was applied a coating of gypsum. Now came the painter, who, according to the direction of the hierogrammatist, painted with various colors on the head-end a female face, and on the other parts of the mask mythological representations—a whole Egyptian pantheon. Finally, on the middle of this mask, from the chin down to the knees, was fastened a broad gilded strip of wood, an inch wide, on which the sacred scribe had engraved the following short inscription:—'She is gone over to a reunion with Osiris, who forever shines in Egypt; she, the king's daughter, the darling of Isis and the other divinities, the pupil of

Thoth, acquainted with the art of prophecy, the wise Athyrtis, born of the legal wife, the queen, who has already gone before her into Amenthes, and daughter of the powerful King, N.N., beloved of Ptah and Isis.'*

"After some weeks the sarcophagus ordered was brought from the cabinet-maker's shop. It was formed of sycamore, or the so-called mulberry fig-tree, but not as most others which are found at the present day in many catacombs and subterranean tombs in the form of a Greek Hermes, but in the perfect human form, representing on the cover the image of a maiden reposing with her arms crossed over her breast, in which the carved visage appeared to have really some resemblance to the dead Athyrtis. The cabinet-maker had given a genuine specimen of his art; the hands and feet, the folds of the dress reaching down to the ancles, chains and ornaments were carved in the wood in a manner most fitted to deceive any one.† In this sarcophagus the mummy was laid; objects of delight and adornment which had belonged to the deceased, and that had been sent by the king to the temple—a mirror, costly elegant sandals, golden ear-drops and rings, and lastly rolls of papyrus which had been prepared and written by the sacred scribes, and were wont to be furnished and filled out with the names of the deceased for whose sepulchres they were chosen—occupied the places left empty in the sarcophagus. These rolls of papyrus contained the biography of Athyrtis, prayers to the gods of the lower world, to whom they believed she would descend, justifications which were to be put in

* Almost all mummies, or their sarcophagi, contain similar inscriptions. Compare Seyffarth, Theologische Schriften der Alten Ægypter. Gotha, 1855, p. 41, ff, and 49.

† Such a sarcophagus is in the Royal Egyptian Museum at Berlin.

her mouth before the subterranean judges, representations of her holy life in the kingdom of the gods and many other things. So the wooden coffin stood in the cell of the temple and waited the stone chest of granite which was yet in the hands of the artist, and was to be furnished with mythological representations and hieroglyphical inscriptions, and in which, after seventy days, it would be placed in a solemn procession.

"But you ask where, in the mean time, was Athyrtis? As soon as her corpse was brought into the temple Sesom had caused it to be taken from the embalming hall into a subterranean vault already darkened. Here lay Athyrtis, in the glimmer of an eternal lamp, on a soft carpet, as one sleeping. She was not dead. The intoxicating charm which the priest had caused to be dropped into her cup, and by which he had thrown her into this catalepsy, was a diluted extract of strychnos berries,(15) a kind of night-shade, the medicinal but also dangerous effects of which were then already known to our priests.*

"After a few hours Sesom appeared with an antidote. 'Now, thou art mine!' he whispered, with an unholy and triumphant tone. 'But,' he added, speaking to himself, 'should my art deceive me now; if she really should not awake? Yet no, no! She must awake; she must be the instrument in the hand of the all-powerful priest to destroy the proud kingly house.'

"And by way of trial he siezed her hand; he sought long, silently and with anxious look for the first beat of the pulse; finally a flash of indescribable joy shot from his eyes; he had felt a weak pulse, an almost imperceptible quiver. But there was yet life in the cold, death-like

* Pliny Nat. Hist. XXI. 30, and XXVI. 12.

body of Athyrtis. Immediately the priest drew from his girdle a little phial, with the contents of which he rubbed the temples and brow of the swooned girl; then with great effort he forced open her convulsively-closed mouth and poured into it some drops of the same liquid, which had scarcely touched her tongue than she made an involuntary movement with her right arm.

"Silently Sesom withdrew from the vault; a servant of the temple, called in, set a pitcher of water, a bowl of wine and a loaf of wheat bread at the door, on the stony-floor, and after a few minutes Athyrtis was again alone, behind the closed bolts.

"Finally she awoke from her catalepsy without being able to remember what had occurred. With the last joyful and child-like look on her father had departed, also, her consciousness. Astonished and confused she raised herself up. Opposite to her bed, on the wall, stood a shrine, in which was a statue of Osiris, enthroned as usually he is represented, as the judge of the dead, known by his crown, scourge, crooked staff and necklace of judgment. Her eye glanced thence to the right wall, where in a tall painting was represented the well-known court of the dead. Here she saw a dead person enter and pray to the goddess of justice, beheld the balance in which the heart was examined by the gods Anubis and Horus, saw the god Thoth with the writing-reed and papyrus in his hands for noting down the result of the trial. Above the whole representation, finally, she saw the forty-two judges of the dead, well-known to her, sitting, and with ostrich feathers, the sign of their judicial dignity, on their heads.* Was she

* Uhlemann, Todtengericht bei der Alten Ægypter, Berlin, 1854, pp. 10–12.

dead? Was this the immortality believed in by her, desired and so ardently longed for? Had she descended into Amenthes, and here, too, were there no eternal and living gods? Was she here, in the lower world, shut up between stone walls, with lifeless stony images of the gods?—Thus she questioned herself without being able to answer her questions, and overcome by the thought and exhausted sank back upon her pillow.

"But life conquered, and without in her thought coming to any conclusions, she was warned by the wants and demands of the body of the duties of life. By degrees she sought and found the earthly food, felt herself more and more strengthened, and only lamented that she had been so soon torn away from life and her loved father's house. Was not her father the mightiest in the whole land? Could any one but almighty death have robbed him of her? No! The thought that she was dead gained increasing force in her soul, and even more and more probability.

"Thus a long period passed. Forty times the sun had risen in the east, and as often had it proclaimed the noontide and declined to evening without being able to cast a ray into the subterranean prison of the unfortunate girl. Forty times had the door opened and an invisible hand had thrust new food and drink into the vault without an answer following her fervent prayers and supplications, her sighs and weeping. Forty days were past.

"After this period of time, during which Athyrtis had undergone every degree of anguish and despair, the high-priest believed he might advance to the further execution of his purpose. His prisoner should know that she

was wholly in his power; that every possibility of return to life was cut off if she would not subject herself to his pleasure.

"One day Athyrtis lay before the stone image of Osiris and implored with the most fervent prayers that he would be alive again, and that he would reveal himself to her.

"Then Sesom entered in his funeral robes and ornaments, as though he would follow a dead person to his last resting-place, and at the entrance of the sepulchre offer the sacrifice of the dead. He wore only a slight linen tunic, over which hung a leopard's skin, exactly as you saw on the high-priest in the funeral procession at Lake Moeris. He came up close behind, and while she yet was stammering out the words of the prayer, and dreamed nothing of what awaited her, he called out her name with a loud and commanding tone, which resounded through the stone walls of her subterranean chamber. The young maiden sunk down affrighted, without daring to look up. Was it one of the divinities which suddenly opened his mouth and addressed her?

"'Athyrtis!' said the priest, whose voice she now recognized with terror, 'I have kept my word; you are again in my temple. For the second time I demand obedience as formerly, when I left you the freedom to choose and to return back to life. To-day the bridge between death and life is broken off behind you. You have nothing more to do with the living, if I do not lead you back to them. Follow me!' And he caught her, trembling, by the hand, and led her, without her daring to resist, into the adjoining vaulted chamber from which he had entered. Here stood the wooden sarcophagus,

richly adorned with hieroglyphics. The cover, on which Athyrtis saw carved her own likeness in wood, lay close by, and in the open coffin rested the mummy. She came up to it.

"'Here rests your body,' continued the merciless priest. 'Read yourself the inscription, which announces your death. You are dead, and your spirit has flown out of your body. But this spirit is, as you see, in the power of the all-powerful priest who commands over the living and the dead. Now, choose yet once more! Will you return to an eternal subterranean imprisonment; to your lifeless and silent gods? Reflect! To an *eternal* endless imprisonment, loss of fame and solitude! To-day there is yet sorrow, mourning and lamentation for you in your father's palace; in thirty days the coffin will be closed; you will be buried up and forgotten. But I promise to you eternal fame and immortality, with prosperity, if you choose another part. You shall return to your father; shall be his protecting spirit, and while you tear him away from his inactivity and lead him to glorious battle and war, you shall make him and yourself immortal. Will you obey?'

"Athyrtis reflected: shudderingly, she in thought looked back to the past weeks of loneliness. Two ways stood open to her—here was eternal forgetfulness and oblivion; there beckoned to her love, honor and fame. Female weakness conquered. There is no more frightful thought for a woman than to be forgotten, forsaken and solitary; she wishes to know that she is loved, adored and admired. This is woman's nature; and the king's poor daughter, grown up in the midst of love and honors, followed her natural impulse. She promised

obedience to the priest; and who can, on this account, cast a stone at her and condemn her? who, in the same situation, would have done otherwise? But it was not easy to conquer her dislike, hatred and opposition to the priest; and it was not till after a long internal struggle she spoke, trembling, and with a low and scarcely audible voice, 'I will obey!'

"'You have chosen what is the best,' replied the priest. 'But here, on thine own mummy, swear to me only to do as I command you: if you become rebellious and disobedient, so may your body fall to pieces and molder, and never again be inhabited by a soul for thousands of years; may it be torn out of its grave by the hands of our enemies, and as a warning example of faithlessness be carried out of the country of your gods to the far North, where no lotus-flower blooms, where no palm shades the way;* may you yourself then await new eternal imprisonment in the kingdom of the dead below the earth! Swear!'

"Athyrtis uttered the required oath. At this moment the power of the kingdom was broken, and the priesthood began triumphantly to raise its bowed head.

"The day of the burial of the king's daughter was over. In the palace, though the deceased was yet deeply lamented at heart by many, yet at least outwardly there was a return to peace and tranquillity. The usual order and the old course of affairs and business were observed as before; nothing more recalled to mind the days of mourning. Only the king was filled with the deepest

* The mummy of a young Egyptian beauty by the name of Athyr, is in the Royal Museum at Berlin.

anguish that his only child had gone before him to the realm of death, of whom he had hoped that, as a second Nitocris,* she would mount the throne after him, and as powerful as a man would rule the land of her fathers. This dream, a beautiful hope, was now dashed in pieces and destroyed.

"In the mean while the rainy season, often continuing many months in Lower Egypt, had commenced; a tempestuous north wind blew through the streets of Memphis, and shook even the solid and imperishable stone walls of the palace. The king had retired into his sleeping chamber, lighted by a single lamp, but no sleep came to his eyes, and he tossed himself unquietly on his pillow; while in the ante-chamber, the watchmen of his body-guard, resting on their lances and leaning against the walls in a half-waking state, with closed eyes, waited for their dismissal. Then glided past them a white airy form; only one of the watch noticed it, and rubbed his eyes: then it had vanished. 'I was dreaming!' muttered the soldier to himself, and let his head sink again on his arm which held his lance stayed on the floor just under its iron point.

"The king, who had closed his eyes for some minutes, suddenly started up, astonished and affrighted. A soft delicate hand had touched his brow. But when he had opened his eyes, he raised himself up fully, and sunk back again confused. A tall figure, covered from the head to the feet with a white veil, stood before him:

* Herodotus, II. 100. Nitocris, according to Manetho, belonged to the Sixth Dynasty, was the bravest among the men and the most beautiful among the women of her time, and built the third pyramid. She reigned twelve years, and her name (the victorious Neith) is immortalized on many monuments.

only the deathlike pale face, from which shone out two black fiery eyes, was to be seen. It was the face—of his daughter!

"Thus the father and daughter again met each other; yet not as formerly, in love, but with contradictory feelings, sundered by the horrible decree of the priest. Could the father believe it was his daughter, whom he had himself accompanied to the court of death, and even into the sepulchral chamber? Could the daughter make herself known to her father, bound as she was by a horrid oath, and sometimes under a delusion, believing herself to be bodily dead? The king, collecting his thoughts, laid his hand on his brow, covered with a cold sweat: he, too, believed himself in a dream. But as the form stood immovable and always looking steadily at him, the unhappy father felt that he was not dreaming, that he was awake, and that he saw before him his beloved child.

"'My daughter—Athyrtis!' were the only words which he could at last utter.

"'Not your daughter—not Athyrtis!' answered the form, with the loved voice so well known to him, but now solemn and serious. 'Your daughter you have buried: Athyrtis is dead, and in the realm of shades awaits a new life, after thousands of years, when the cycle is ended and a new life begins for the whole world!'

"'But who art thou?' cried the king, retreating a step backward.

"'I am one of those higher beings who walk through the heavens in the ministry of the supreme gods, who came down here from the gods to execute their command. I am your genius, your guardian spirit, who,

born with you, protected your childhood, defended your youth, and watch over your manhood.* To-day Osiris the lofty, the eternal god, sends me to speak to you the words which he has put into my mouth. Your daughter has gone down into Amenthes without glory; already she is to-day forgotten and no monument will proclaim her deeds. Will you, too, so go down from this wide world, forgotten by posterity? The king is the successor of Osiris; you must protect and extend the kingdom he founded; you must imitate him in his blessed works. Osiris went out over the circle of the earth; not this little Egypt only was his—no! the remote North, the impenetrable South, were bound to his sway. But the lands which he passed through, the people he conquered, the kings and princes whom he subdued,—they are now but names, empty names. Sesostris was a worthy successor of the king of the gods. Shall there never be a second Sesostris? Shall both of them have sown the seed only for himself, and not for posterity? Be a man if you would be immortal! Life in the world beneath (through which I have traveled) is empty, solitary and horrible; the true immortality only is glory with posterity. If your people bless you, if your enemies fear you, the nations of the North and South bow beneath your sceptre,—then will your name be immortal, though after you another royal dynasty may rule the land of Ptah!'

"Then seizing the hand of the king, she went on as if inspired:—

"'And what a shame will it be for you and your times that the bounds of the illimitable empire of Osiris in the North were washed by the Danube, and in the East by

* Censorinus de die Natali, chap. iii.

the Ganges,* while your own kingdom is only watered by the Nile,† whose sources are also yet unknown to you. On the other side of the Cataracts still dwell your enemies and rejoice over your weakness, in which you leave them undisturbed. But I see you on your war-chariot, in the midst of your countless host, in Ethiopia; see how the hated black tribes of the South bow their necks beneath your iron will; see you in triumph return back, greeted by the jubilee of your people and blessings and prayers of the priests; I see, finally, your name immortalized on the war-pictures and monuments; see you shine among the immortal sovereigns of the land in the annals of the empire. The night is nearly gone; in a few hours Osiris will mount up, proclaiming the morning dawn. Let it be a new morning dawn of fame and immortality for you, for your house and kingdom!'

"After these words, she laid her hand over the eyes of the king, while he, astonished and wondering, as also distressed by the strange apparition, withdrew from her his hand, and exhausted and faint sank down on his couch. Probably the priest had provided her with some soporific charm; hardly had he been touched by her than the king fell into a deep slumber, and the mysterious figure disappeared in the same way by which she had come.

"Not till the sun sent his warming rays into the chamber did the king first awake; but then sleep had followed so close upon the events of the night, and both had passed away so imperceptibly blended, his first thought was that a revelation had been made to him in a dream-vision of that which the cunning spirit of the

* Diod. I. 17–20. Herod. II. 102. Diod. I. 53, ff. † Herod. II. 18

priest had, after mature reflection, introduced to him. Long sat the sovereign of the realm buried in serious thoughts. Should he call the interpreters of dreams and seek from the priests an explanation? But why? The vision was clear and plain, the command of the god direct and capable of no misinterpretation.* Finally, he raised himself and looked out of the window down upon his Memphis, where already life and activity had begun in every house and every shop. 'And I alone,' he cried out, 'am idle! The morning dawn has found me asleep, while I should be watching over the welfare of my people and the glory of the land. Yes, my beloved, my dear people, you shall not reproach me in the judgment, at death, that I was weak and inactive and a mere tool, without a will of my own, in the hands of the priests. But I, too, will bring in a morning dawn, the morning dawn of power and splendor. Thou and thy gods shall reign as far as the foot of man can penetrate!'

"He quickly opened the door which led into the front hall. Fixed and motionless stood the watch, and greeted him silently, while with their right hand they rested their lances on the floor and laid their left upon their breasts.

"'Call to me the commander of the body-guard,' commanded the king, and turned, as he went on through the watch toward the audience-chamber.

"War in Egypt was at all times the watchword for the freedom of the kings. The sovereigns of the country were restricted to the utmost by the priests in their State affairs and private occupations; no important

* The unconditional obedience of the kings to dreams was not rare in Egypt. Compare Gen. chap. xli.; Herod. II. 141.

conclusion could be made by them, no judgment be established by them, without the will of the priests:* but since the times of the famous Sesostris they were, as commanders in war, the unlimited monarchs over the army and its actions. With the word 'war,' the land assumed a wholly different appearance; the king came forth from his inactivity and idleness, and, like a Roman consul, he strode on proudly, in the consciousness of his dignity, to inflict punishments, give laws, issue commands and choose his officers; and the discipline of war created for him power, might and authority, which in peace he never enjoyed.

"Thus, at this time the word 'war' sounded forth to the astonished people from the palace at Memphis. Messengers hurried onward and back to carry to every portion of the country the king's commands, which awakened an unwonted activity. After eight days the standing army was mustered, which in a great measure were stationed in Lower Egypt, the weakest part of the land, and so could be easily gathered together at Memphis. It was a splendid army of 400,000 infantry and 20,000 war-chariots; but, as the country must not be robbed of all its fighting strength, other levies had to be made. Every class—artists, merchants, mechanics and farmers—must furnish their young men, from eighteen to twenty years old, from whom the king himself chose the most able-bodied, and by this means his army was doubled in its strength. The great and rich armories were opened, the new soldiers were furnished with all kinds of offensive and defensive weapons, and drilled to the use of them, as well as in marches and conflicts. Thus in a few months an army, well-

* Diod. I. 71.

appointed and trained for war, was ready, and the purposed campaign could begin toward the country of the blacks.*

"The army presented a magnificent and splendid sight from the pinnacles of the temple, as like a mighty royal serpent it wound its way along into the valley of the Nile here some miles broad. In front was a large division of light-armed troops, having bows five to six feet long and on their backs quivers filled with arrows; then a part of the heavy infantry with brazen helmets, coats of mail, shields and lances; then a division armed with slings. To these were joined the royal body-guard, with spear and battle-ax, who followed the king in his war-chariot, surrounded by the noblest warriors of the land, also in war-chariots.† But among these war-chariots, close to the king, there was *one* which above all others excited the amazement and wonder of the people. It was one of the most beautiful in the whole line; all parts of it were adorned in the richest manner with golden ornaments of every kind. An old black slave guided the reins of the horses that were of a dazzling white, wondrously contrasting with the other dark-colored ones. Near the slave stood, leaning on an elegant lance, whose shaft of a black wood was studded all over with pearls and precious stones, a tall, powerful female form. Her face was not to be seen, as it was covered by the vizor of a warrior's helmet; only the fire of her black eyes shone out unearthly through the opening of the protecting bars. It was Athyrtis, the

* Compare the war-pictures of Karnak, Beitnalli, Ipsambul, and Medinet-Abu, in Rosellini Mon. Real. Plates XLV.–CXL.

† Wilk. I. 290–354.

guardian spirit of the king, who accompanied him also to the war, in order at all times to stir up his courage and to inspire his sinking powers anew to a glowing thirst for deeds. I might compare her to the Grecian Athena, who corresponds exactly to our Egyptian Neith.* Like her, Athyrtis stood in her chariot, veiled in her long white robe, motionless, with a helmet on her head, her spear in her right hand and shield in her left. Following the chariots were a great multitude, with all sorts of instruments of camp and siege, with storming-ladders, wall-breakers, and the necessary platforms for protecting them;† and after these came, finally, new troops of light-armed and heavy infantry, in their various kinds of arms, with lances, swords, daggers, clubs, scourges, bows and slings. Every division had its own insignia and standards, which mostly were the ensigns of the Nomes or districts of the country to which they belonged; most of the banners consisted of tall poles, on which were paraded sacred animals, as the Ibis, hawk, cat, crocodile, &c., in gold and silver. Thus the line of march moved on slowly toward the South, for a mile around causing the earth to tremble at the measured tread of the infantry.

"In all places to which, one after another, the army came—in Crocodilopolis, Heracleopolis, Oxyrrhynchos, Hermopolis, Apollinopolis, Thebes, Latopolis—it was received by the people with astonishment, exultation and enthusiasm, and dismissed by the priesthood with sacrifices, prayers and blessings. Every one praised the mighty king who was going forth to subdue the blacks, against whom already many kings before him had unsuccessfully waged war; many also fell down in adoration

* Plato in Timæus. † Wilk. I. 360.

before the incarnate Neith, who seemed to have appeared on earth to protect the king in all dangers and afford him a victory in his warlike expeditions.

"When the army had reached to the southern boundary of the kingdom, the king made a halt directly over against the island of Philæ, on which the later Grecian kings erected such glorious and magnificent monuments. Here he once more threw back a look on the land of his forefathers, which he was probably leaving for years, and called into the presence of the assembled army, and a vast multitude of the people who had poured on after him, a worthy man by the name of Saophi, *i.e.* Son of the Serpent, whom he would leave behind as his viceroy, and here wished to clothe with the ensigns of his high dignity as the representative of the king. He loosed the golden neck-chain which he had hitherto worn himself, and gave it to his future viceroy; he drew off also his ring from his finger, which contained a precious stone with the hieroglyphic letters of the king's name, and with which he hitherto, together with the signing of his name, had confirmed and accredited all his commands and decrees. This he likewise placed in Saophi's hand, and solemnly added, so loud that it might be heard at a distance—'Take here these ensigns of your office, act in the name and the mind of the king, who delivers them to you; and you, my people, who have thus far conducted me, and now are to return to your peaceful occupations, proclaim in the whole country and far and wide the last words and last command of the king, that they obey Saophi and his decrees as they have obeyed me and mine. May the Gods grant to me to return to you victorious and crowned with glory!'

"After a last sacrifice to the gods, and prayers and

prophecies of the priests promising success, the king began his march of conquest toward the South, and the viceroy returned to Thebes, where he established the seat of his government.

"You do not need to accompany the king in all his splendid and victorious marches; everywhere the enemy, after a short resistance, fled before the vast Egyptian army; fortresses were destroyed, cities laid waste, and prisoners carried away out of all places to adorn the future triumph, and then, as slaves of the State, to pine out their lives in the mines and the hardest bondage. If the enemy had offered a stout resistance, then the king himself seized upon a part of the fettered captives by the hair and with his broad sword struck off their heads. An uninterrupted stream of blood marked the way which the army went, and if, in some weak moments, the king became tired of the bloody work and longed for a return to the throne of his own peaceful reign, there was Athyrtis, who appeared to him like a vindictive goddess, and inflamed him with a new thirst of valiant deeds.

"Thus fell the mightiest cities of the country of the blacks; and, finally, we find the king with his army on the coast of the sea which separates Asia and Africa, before the powerful and well-fortified royal city Saba, which had already for a year bid defiance to the siege. The Sabaens were a dangerous and fearful foe; they were famed for their great riches and power, for their mighty and tall bodily frames, far exceeding the small contracted stature of the Egyptians.* Many times already had they tried bold sorties, but they were obliged always to retire before the superior force of the besiegers.

* Isaiah xliii. 3; xlv. 14. Ps. lxxii. 10. Herod. III. 20.

Finally the walls of the city tottered beneath the constant shocks of the Egyptian wall-breakers, which consisted of long and thick beams hung so as to move back and forth, and which were protected by a staging with a roof, so that they could be run close up to the walls without exposing the warriors who were employed to any danger of being wounded from the arrows, spears and stones launched down from above by the defenders.* The storming-ladders were set up at the same time, and after a horrible bath of blood inside of the city, the Sabaens were obliged to retire to their numerous ships; and now began a fight such as had often taken place between the Egyptians and their enemies who practiced navigation. The king stood in the midst of the blood, and among the bodies of the slain on the shore, in his war-chariot; archers surrounded him, and discharged their arrows out on the sea toward the valiantly-defended ships.† Then suddenly whizzed a slight, pointed arrow through the air; no one could imagine whence it came, as the ships continually removed further and further off; but the arrow hit its mark, and pierced the eye of the Egyptian king. A cry of pain was heard, which for a moment sounded above the wild tumult of the battle. All looked toward the king's chariot. A veiled figure sprung from her chariot, threw away her spear and shield, and caught the fainting king in her loving arms. Her helmet had fallen from her head, and all recognized in this figure with black locks and fiery eyes the long-believed-dead daughter of the king,—Athyrtis. Amid the amazement produced by this strange occur-

* Wilk. I. 360.

† Such a fight is represented on the walls of the temple of Medinet-Abu, among the warlike deeds of Ramses IV.

rence, and the confusion on account of the wounded king, who, holding his hand upon his eye, had sunk away in the greatest anguish, the fight ended. This moment the enemy made use of, sought to land again, and in compact masses pressed through to the Egyptian army, which, in the confusion and disorder, and deprived of its royal commander, was obliged to retreat. The guard, that had been broken up, finally gathered themselves again around the king's chariot, which in the wild flight hurried on through the city and reached the camp. Here the physicians could first think of examining the king's eye. When he withdrew his hand with which he had as yet held it covered, he was blind.

"And the end? It happened to the king I am telling you of as to his great predecessors, who had conquered the earth and lost their own realm. Osiris returned from his great war-expeditions crowned with fame and as lord of the world, and was robbed of his life and sovereignty by the conspiracy of his ambitious and treacherous brother. Ambushes awaited Sesostris on his return home, which the brave hero could only escape by an ignoble sacrifice of the dearest of his possessions. His brother, whom he had left behind him as his viceroy, maliciously invited him, with his wife and children, to a banquet which was prepared under an elegant tent. But during the meal he caused bundles of rice to be laid about the tent, and these to be set on fire at once on all sides. Sesostris could only retain his kingdom by throwing two of his children on the burning wood and passing over them, as on a bridge, through the fire.*—So this warlike expedition was the signal in Egypt for an insurrection and revolution for the discontented and ambi-

* Herod II. 107. Diod. I. 57.

tious there. And thus, during the three years' absence of the now blind king, the good-natured but weak Saophi, through the wiles of the priests, was called forth and acknowledged as king; and while by him a new dynasty of Thebes appeared to rule the country, the priests as before bore sway from the recesses of their temple. So Sesom's plan was carried into effect, and his passion and revenge gratified. In all Lower Egypt, from Memphis to the mouths of the Nile, there was no mightier ruler than he.—And the blind king! He was soon abandoned by his army. Ten years later there dwelt in the island of Philæ, close by the bank of the Nile, in a poor little hut, an old blind beggar. No one cared about him; no one wanted to know him. Only a daughter, with hair bleached by sorrow, and lusterless eyes, attended upon him; and his only consolation was when the daughter wound her arm around him and slowly and safely led him along; and he who could no more see might tenderly embrace her and ask—'Is it you, my daughter?' 'I am your guardian spirit, who patiently waits for you till Osiris releases you from your sufferings!' was the daily answer, accompanied by sighs and tears."

CHAPTER VII.

THE EVENING WITH THE ROYAL BODY-GUARD—SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING EGYPTIAN TRADE—A SOLDIER-QUARREL—THE CAT.

HORUS concluded. As we rose from our stone seats, I cast a look of horror toward the window behind which the criminal in priestly robes had his abode. But the evening had come on as we had lingered with the tale; we therefore started forth and walked through the broad, open space, which lay outstretched before the temple. For several minutes Horus went on silently at my side; he thought of what he had been narrating to me, as I too was yet dwelling on what I had heard. Finally, I interrupted his thoughts with the question, "Where are you taking me now?"

"To the watch-house of the palace," he replied; "for I like the soldiers, and with them we can hear the latest news and learn what festivities await us to-morrow."

"Festivities! Is to-morrow a feast-day?"

"Certainly; an important one—or rather, a succession of feast-days begins with to-morrow. We are to-day in the last day of the month Mesori, and to-morrow is the first of the five intercalary days which separate it from the newly-beginning year, and, as you know, will be celebrated as the birthday of the gods.*(16) On the first of them Osiris was born, and as you may ima-

* Herod. II. 4. Diod. I. 43. Plutarch de Iside, chap. xii.

gine, the whole country will be given up to festivities. But you shall see; so let us make haste."

And as with the setting of the sun the air suddenly became quite cool, he seized my hand and drew me rapidly forward. Neither moon nor gaslight illumined the streets of Memphis; and as the dusk quickly came on, I recognized, only for a moment, when a late passer-by hurried on with a torchlight, the dark outlines of the lofty buildings of the royal city. When we had reached the palace, we turned to the left around a corner, and stood before a stately wing adjoining, the foremost part of which was supported on eight pillars, and its door was lighted by feeble lamps on both sides. A soldier, with the well-known battle-ax on his shoulder and a short sword at his side, walked up and down in the pillared hall, guarding the door before it, while he hummed a little song, as the louder shout and noise resounded to meet us from within.

He readily gave us admission, for my soldier-dress made him suppose me to be an associate of the soldier-class, and so we entered the cheerfully-opened gate into a high, broad hall, in which hundreds of soldiers mixed up most variously stood round about or lay in convenient places on soft carpets. Their arms were piled up against the wall, and the horns for signals also hung there idly, as no one feared any hostile attack; here the cup was going its rounds, there rattled the dice: serious or sportive conversation was lost in the confused noise of the whole, as a single wave is lost in the raging sea.

"Within there," whispered my little conductor, while he pointed to a side-door which led into an adjoining room, "dwells the commander of the body-guard; he is

one of the most powerful officers of the State; for he not only commands the choicest troops of the country, but he is also at the same time the superintendent of the prisons, and under his supervision all executions and beheadings take place.* He is called Petisis; he enjoys the great confidence of the present king, and is employed by him in the most important business and commissions."

Our presence was hardly noticed or thought of by the soldiers; only those who lay nearest the door through which we entered moved a little closer to make place for the strangers, that they might sit down on the carpet. We did so, as true Egyptians stretching the feet out forward and erecting the upper part of the body. Accident had conducted me near two dice-players, who were busily occupied with their game, made a great noise, and only now and then took a draught from their cups standing near them filled with wine, which is daily given out to the body-guard at the expense of the State.† "By the life of Pharaoh!" said one of them, as he set down his cup, "this wine is sour and hardly fit to drink; we ought to make complaint on account of such bad supplies. Bad wine, black bread and tough beef! It was formerly better, when Sesom had the supplying of us to entice and gain us for his new king."

"And he, too, soon had to make place for a newer one," replied the other. "But cheer up! for to-morrow at the feast they give us double measure, and it is to be

* Gen. xxxix. 20, 21; lx. 3. Hammer Staatsverf. des Osman. Reiches, II. 44. Under the Ptolemies he is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions as *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ*, and still at the present day plays an important part.

† Herod. II. 168.

hoped, too, of better quality. Shall we throw? Come! For half of the good things of the feast, three-quarters, or the whole?"

And they threw by turns. The dice were exactly like ours; and whoever first threw doublets, as we say, *i.e.* two equal sides, won the game. After numerous throws, the first one finally gained it.

"In truth," said the other, "it is as though to-day was already Typhon's Day, ill luck so persecutes me!* But once more—all or nothing!"

And they threw again.

I now turned to the other side, where behind little Horus jovial and powerful throats sang a joyous war-song, with Sesostris for its subject. For Sesostris the mighty conqueror was always regarded as the protecting patron and shining example of the soldier-class.(17) The song must have been generally well known, for the refrain of the single verses was always repeated on all sides. The substance of it was very much the following:—

"Five and twenty thousand chariot-riders
And as many more of the drivers,
And six hundred thousand men,
Sesostris thus addressed:—

"'Up, and forth! in distant wars
I lead you out to proud victory;
So raise your courage—
Fight bravely and strike you well!

"'Up, ye bold chariot-fighters!
Up, ye riders, daring unto death!
Up, my foot-soldiers! fight well;
For your king pour out your blood!'

* The middle one of the five intercalary days was the birthday of Typhon, and on that account was regarded as a peculiarly unlucky day.

"And they followed—all, all,
To the trumpet's peal;
Rich in hope, joyous of heart,
They marched out to the East.
The foemen had to yield
Beneath their hardy blows;
Even distant India's land
Fell into Sesostris's power.

"For the bold chariot-fighters,
And the riders, daring unto death,
And the foot-soldiers, fought well—
For their king poured out their blood!

"In the cold Northern clime, too,
They fought and battled on;
And the proud host of Ptah
Was nigh to Ister's flood;
And again they ever sung
Their joyous songs of victory;
And they sang bright and clear
In the foeman's land!

"Ay, the bold chariot-fighters,
And we riders, daring unto death,
And the foot-soldiers, fight well—
For the king pour out our blood!

"But, ah!" * * * *

Here the simple soldier-song, which I would gladly have heard to the end, and which I have sought to give in words as nearly corresponding as I am able,* was suddenly broken off by a new scene. A loud blow against the door, made as it seemed from without with the back side of a battle-ax, resounded in the hall and attracted universal attention, since it was without doubt the signal of a call to service. One of the soldiers, an under-

* Compare Papyr. Sallier, and *Campagne de Rhamses le Grand. Notice sur ce Manuscrit*, par Fr. Salvolini. Paris, 1855.

officer of the corps, immediately rose up, went to the door, opened it and called out, in a tone somewhat angry on account of the unpleasant disturbance, "U petschóp?"—What's the matter?

But as he perceived several men outside and the spears of the night-police, he went out to take a report. In the mean time too the commander of the body-guard had his notice drawn to it, and sent one of the soldiers, constantly on the watch in a room adjoining his own, into the hall to ascertain what had occurred and to bring him the requisite information.

In a few minutes the outside door opened and two men were thrust in, whom the before-mentioned inferior officer followed. He again shut the door, and seated himself in his old place, after he had communicated to the waiting soldier the necessary information, which was then further given in the adjoining room. The soldiers cast a glance of curiosity toward the new-comers, but only a single look, to return again once more to their cups and dice. It seemed to be no rare event for them. The two newly-introduced persons had their hands tied behind their backs, and from the account which I heard it appeared that they were merchants. One was unquestionably an Egyptian; the other wore rope-sandals bound on the feet by miserable leather straps, a sort of head-band or turban on the head, a tunic fastened with a broad leather girdle about his hips, and had been covered in front with a broad woolen mantle full of folds, but which had been taken off when they tied his hands and then bound crosswise over the right shoulder. His long and stiff black head of hair, his whiskers and beard, showed him to be an Oriental, and doubtless a Ben Israel, or Hebrew. He kept constantly crying

out—"Beschem Elohai, naki ani!" *i.e.* In the name of God, I am innocent! But when he noticed that no one heeded him, no one did or would understand his words, he finally seated himself in a corner and let his head sink despairingly upon his knees. The two merchants had accused each other of fraud and false measures, and raised so loud a noise in a tavern that the police-guard laid hold of them and brought them to the watch-house, whence, according to the Egyptian custom, they would in the morning be taken to the prison, to remain there until the judicial decision on their trial. In any case, the innocent had cause to complain, as on the festival days now at hand there would be no sitting of the court.

Much as I pitied the unfortunate, yet it was a godsend to me, as I hoped to be able to learn something more particular respecting the trade of the country at that time. I knew indeed that later, after Psammeticus established a navy and made treaties with the Phœnicians and Grecians, the trade of Egypt also rose to a great height of prosperity. Having by the help of the Ionian and Carian pirates attained to the sole sovereignty, this king from gratitude to the Greeks granted them different places in Lower Egypt—on both sides of the Nile, and particularly on the sea-coasts and the Pelusian mouths of the Nile—on which they might erect their trading-houses. His successors, Necho and Amasis, made themselves still more deservedly illustrious on account of commerce; and the conquest of Cyprus by the latter laid the foundation for an Egyptian mercantile marine, as this island afforded a large supply of timber for ship-building, in which Egypt had before been very deficient. But the country reached to its highest point

in trade under the Ptolemies, after Alexandria had been built on a spot most highly favorable and advantageous for the same. The three harbors of this city stood open to all sea-faring nations, which thus made it the central point into which was gathered all the various traffic of the then known world. King Ptolemy Lagus was so great a patron and favorer of navigation that at the court of Demetrius he was called only the *admiral.* He it was who erected a *pharos*, or light-tower, at Alexandria, with the inscription—"To the god who cares for the safety of voyagers." The descriptions of the old historians are almost fabulous as to the gigantic ships which were built at that time and afterward. Plutarch relates of one which belonged to the fourth Ptolemy, that it was two hundred and eighty yards long, forty-eight yards high at the stern, and was manned by four hundred sailors, four thousand rowers, and carried also about three thousand soldiers. As to the articles of trade which were at that time exported from Egypt, I may mention especially the wheat, Egyptian flax and the famous Egyptian sail-cloth. Besides there was paper, for in the whole Roman Empire writing was executed only on Egyptian paper; and not till one of the Ptolemies, from displeasure at Eumenes, King of Pergamus, forbade the export of paper, was the art invented in Pergamus of preparing skins as writing material, and this substance was called *Pergamena*, parchment, after the city of that name. If we reckon with the above articles, also, the various fine wines which Egypt produced, especially in Marea and Sebennytus, and further, honey, precious stones, alabaster, porphyry, marble, granite, alum, vitriol, soda, saltpetre, earthenware, carpets, cotton stuffs, glass and all sorts of color-

ing-substances, which this land of marvels afforded, the products of trade must have been large; and thus may be easily explained the elegance and lavish display which then prevailed in the courts of these Grecian kings.

Such was the Egyptian traffic afterward; but it must have been more restricted at the period in which Horus placed me in Memphis, especially as at an earlier date, as is well known, the inhabitants cherished a real dread of the sea and all extended sea-voyages. For this reason I went up to the Egyptian merchant, who stood serious and silent on one side, in order to engage him in conversation. Perhaps I might enlarge my knowledge in this respect if I could get him to impart to me the account of his troubles. The attempt succeeded beyond my expectations; the poor man was most cordial, and readily imagining the sympathy I had with him, gave me the following account of himself:—

"As you know, to-morrow is the day of Osiris. Such festivals are also well-known to strangers, and because on them the people pour forth out of every region in order to take part in the sacrifices, processions and sports, so foreign merchants use this opportunity to be here with their wares and exchange them for Egyptian products. They come into this country mostly from the North or East, by ships or caravans; many, too, in whole companies, with camels, on which, besides the articles they wish to sell, they bring their tents and food. So they encamp around the cities, and people go out to them and exchange for whatever they want. The Phœnicians and Arabians particularly bring wine, for Egypt consumes more than she is in a condition to produce; also oil, incense and timber; for these they most gladly re-

ceive from us flax, linen cloth, wheat, embroideries and other things. He whom you see there came early to-day with wine, grape-honey and raisins, and as on the feast to-morrow these will be much used by all, I hoped to carry on a good business if I made a bartering trade with him for some skins of wine. We were striking a bargain, and he maintained that every skin held twenty *hins*.* But I could not trust this unshaven, bearded stranger; they are too much inclined to deceit in trade, and I desired, therefore, first to measure the contents. The skin which among many others I opened from his stock, contained only fifteen hins according to my measure. I accused him of cheating; he complained that I had taken for measuring a false and too large hin, in order to get the advantage of him, and so we both are here and shall lose all the profits of the market."

Such was his story; and I was sorry that I could not be present at the decision of the case. It would have been highly interesting for determining the old Egyptian measures.—"But what trade do the Egyptians carry on with each other?" I further inquired.

"Oh, our trade in the interior," he replied, "is very wide spread, and we do not give it up to the close-fisted foreigners, as our country produces richly almost everything which we need. The many canals that our kings have caused to be conducted through all Egypt are certainly not merely designed to aid the cultivation and

* The *hin* was an Egyptian as well as a Hebrew liquid measure. Names and things alike came from Egypt into the East. Compare De Wette's Lehr. der Judischen Archæologie, p. 229, and Seyffarth, Theologische Schriften der Alten Ægypter, Gotha. 1855, p. 118. The *hin* held three cans, or, according to the Rabbins, 36 egg shells.

fruitfulness of the fields, but they were also without doubt to give facilities to the inland intercourse and exchange of wares between the different cities and provinces of the kingdom. Merchants and seamen are on this account most closely connected; for the little, light Nile boats, made of gum-trees,* furnished with rudder and sail and moved forward by stout rowers, quickly carry the articles of traffic from one place to another. A great number of them to-day stopped near the city and brought in all sorts of wares necessary for the festivals: such as cattle, wine, flowers, fruits, bread, beer and other things. My boat was laden with glass, stone and earthen vessels, and I wished in the morning to open my shop near the public square by the temple, and felt certain that in the games, the time of the banquet and the carousals that followed I should sell much, especially when at the same time I could have retailed the wine I had bought. But our laws of trade are strict, and by the quarrel into which I have fallen with this foreigner I shall lose all my expected profit. Were there not justice in the land, and did I not hope to be able to prove my innocence before the judges, I should have to fear that both my hands would be cut off as a falsifier of measures."†

As the unfortunate merchant with these words sunk into sorrowful reflections, and it was not possible for me to comfort him or to cheer him into a joyful mood, so I turned my eyes again to the single groups of soldiers, in one of which there had, at the same time, arisen a quarrel. The original cause, indeed, as in all such cases, was a trivial one, but since each of the parties thought of

* Herod. II. 96, ἐκ τῆς ἀκανθης, *Mimosa Nilotica.*

† Diod. I. 78.

new wrongs, it grew continually more and more violent and important. The cause that gave rise to it was the joke of one of them about a beautiful slave whom the other loved.

"And, I repeat," cried the first, aloud and heated, "I should think it base and ignoble to ask for the love of a slave-girl. She is forced to love you, but her heart does not feel it. Torn away from her country, her parents, her sisters, she has been sold here. Can any one buy love as we buy a skin of wine? But you yourself are the son of a slave-woman, and who could expect any noble feelings from you?"

"The son of a slave-woman!" replied the other, in a rage. "And should that be a reproach? Don't you know that, according to a wise decision of the judges, our forefathers, the children of slave-women are, by the laws, of equal birth, and the worthy heirs of their fathers?* Go and learn the laws of your own country before you undertake to contend with persons who are better taught. To what priest have you been to school? Have you ever learned to read and write?"†

"To read and write, and more yet!" replied the first. "I will show you what I have learned, and that I have learned how to handle a sword!"

And he was about to rush to his arms, which lay on one side piled up with others. It was with effort he was held back and quieted; but, at the same time, they agreed upon a meeting in the fencing-school, after the dismission of the watch by another division of the guard, to test in honorable combat their respective powers and skill. So, at least outwardly and for the moment, peace was restored in the hall.

* Diod. I. 80. † Diod. III. 2.

Now began a new spectacle. The time for the dismission of the special watch in the royal palace had arrived, and they who were to take the places of the others were called off by name by the inferior officer. Unwillingly and sullenly they arose; for they would rather have remained with the wine and food, or still stretched themselves down to sleep, as the night was further advancing. But they were under a good discipline, and without saying a word to the contrary caught up their arms. Then they went out and unto their posts.

Some of those who had been released and who came back brought news from the palace which they by chance had heard at their posts. In the opposite side-wing of the palace, in the dwelling of the royal steward and superintendent of the castle, for an hour past there had been shouting and rejoicing, as a lusty son had there made his appearance. One of the body-guard in that wing had learned of it from a slave-woman who was hurrying by, and now told to her friend as much as she knew of the matter. At the same time the horoscope and astrologer had been sent for to cast the destiny of the new-born, and, as the temple was not far off, so this guard had soon seen the horoscope enter the abode of the happy father with his mathematical and astronomical instruments, and the astrologer with his thick rolls of books that contained the old astrological determinations ascribed to Thoth, and drawn out by Petosiris and Nekepso.

There they still were, examining the positions and the decrees of the gods; and the superstitious among the watch, full of expectation, were anxiously awaiting the declaration of the prophet, which they might

learn in the same way through the gossiping servants. I must admit that I was less curious, as I belonged to the unbelievers.—The astrology of antiquity, indeed, rested on important truths. The visible and evident influences which the sun and moon exercise over all nature, must have easily led to the belief that the other planets, and stars, too, might have a proportionate effect. The sun and moon wrought the most important changes in the *great* world, why not then in the *little* world—on men who were compounded out of the same elements?* But even admitting an influence of the stars upon the world, yet could I never believe that the ancients had so accurately studied and proved it as to be able to deduce certain and unfailing conclusions from the various combinations of their positions in respect to each other. In short my unbelief forced me to smile when I heard astrology mentioned, and thought of the destiny that would befall these reputed wise men, at that time the objects of wonder, and which they themselves, the announcers of fate, had not yet dreamed of. I saw them carried over to Old Rome; saw them there spending their lives, and derided by the Roman poets and philosophers; prohibited by the Roman Emperors, with severe edicts, from the exercise of their art; I heard in spirit the warning of Horace not to give in to astrological calculations; heard the same post call the *Circus Maximus* a treacherous spot, because the soothsayers and astrologers sat there and carried on their occupation. Thus as in many others, their knowledge of the stars and astrology had Egypt for its native land, and borne out from thence into foreign countries, they exerted their influence in the East as well as in the West, and could

* Firmicus, Libri. VIII., matheseos, in the Third Book.

neither, at any time, by ridicule nor by the severest prohibitions, be wholly crushed out and annihilated even up to the present day. There is something grand and overpowering in everything which comes out of this land of marvels!

In the midst of these and similar thoughts I had wholly forgotten my little conductor, who now softly touched me and called my notice to a cat which boldly and skilfully crept down from off the window-sill of the hall. Courageously, and without the slightest fear of men, she looked down from thence with her shining eyes on the whirl of people below; she appeared perfectly secure in the feeling of sacredness and immunity from all harm, which in its religious superstition the whole country bestowed on her race.* For the cat, a favorite of Isis, and of the goddess Pascht, the daughter of Isis, was a sacred and universally-honored animal; and the crime of injuring and harming such a one in any manner would have been punished most severely, and probably even with death. It was a striking sight to behold how every soldier, as soon as she reached the floor rose up and reverentially gave place to her; how even some of the pious placed their hands on their breasts, bent down low and whispered a silent prayer, while the animal, looking fearlessly around her, walked in slow and lengthened steps to the door. As they here knew from her piteous mewing that she wanted to go out into the air, the door was opened and the cat sprung forth.(18) Now again some seized their dice-cups or resumed their interrupted conversation, while most of them, tired and sleepy, lay down to rest, as midnight was not far off. Horus and I followed the example of these latter, and

* Herod. II. 65–67. Diod. I. 83, 84.

in the same way as they, for they willingly lent us one of the instruments that they used as a sort of pillow for the head. This instrument—which I had already seen in the Egyptian Museum at Berlin, without having been able to explain its use—consisted of a wooden foot-stool, hardly a foot high, on which a semi-circular cross-piece of wood, hollowed on top, was fixed. For the officers it was cushioned; the soldiers and we had to content ourselves with the simple wood. After conveniently lying down on the back this instrument was placed under the neck, and served to keep the head in a somewhat higher position; and when I had folded together my mantle and thrust it under my head, and covered the wood too with one of its borders so as not to be hard, I found this kind of sleeping-stool not uncomfortable, though a German feather-pillow would have been preferable. But as I was tired, finally I went to sleep on an Egyptian soldier's board-pillow, and so ended my second day in Memphis.

CHAPTER VIII.

A DREAM — OSIRIS — THE LAND OF THE BLESSED — SESOSTRIS—THE FEAST OF OSIRIS.

THE festivals which existed in Egypt, and which had before already appeared to me in dreams in the most brilliant light, were the birth-days of Osiris, Arueris, Typhon, Isis and Nepthys. With all of them, but especially with the first, were associated for the Egyptian people the most sacred and sublime recollections and legends. When formerly, thousands of years ago, Osiris, the Sun-god, was born, a voice had been heard which proclaimed aloud that the Lord of all things had come into the light. It was likewise related that at Thebes a certain Pamyles, while drawing water, had heard a voice from the temple of Ammon which commanded him to announce the birth of the great king of the world—the beneficent Osiris, rich in blessing; and on that account the feast was in after times called that of the Pamyliæ.* There were yet other festivals celebrated in honor of the same Osiris which referred to his sufferings, his death, his coming again to life and sovereignty in the world below; but the festival of his birth-day was, and remained to all times, the highest and most sublime feast of joy, as in all the forms in

* Plutarch, de Iside et Osiris, 12. Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. VI. 2, p. 255. Todtenbuch, chap. cxlviii.

which he appeared among men he ever continued to be the true and immortal benefactor of the country. So in the beginning they honored in him the sun; afterward, on the other hand, the Nile, accordingly as they sometimes ascribed to the former or the latter the most beneficial powers and effects. The day of his birth—that on which the lord of all things, the great benefactor of the country, entered into the light—must accordingly be for the grateful Egyptians the object of the most holy reverence, and was on this account very often mentioned, praised and celebrated in their religious writings, while the birth-day of Typhon, under whose form and name were feared all noxious influences of nature, was more a day of sorrow and anxiety, in which they gladly avoided undertaking any important business, because the hostile god would certainly turn all to ill luck.—In the night before the festival I had seen, among various other dream-pictures, a remarkable appearance, of which I scarcely dared to maintain whether it was Osiris himself or my excited fancy had bewildered me. In spirit I saw myself amid the ruins of an old temple, and, most surprising, all appeared known to me as if I had never lived in any other region or in another clime, and as though I had hundreds of times wandered through the same rooms. They were the remains of the old temple of Osiris, at Abydos, which Memnon-Osimandyas had formerly built.* With feelings of wonder I walked through the ruins that had braved the destroying tooth of time. Slowly I trod through the portico, sixty feet high, the pillars of which, set up in double rows, were covered from top to bottom with hieroglyphics. Then I entered the temple itself. The columns

* These ruins are a mile from Girge, the capital of Upper Egypt.

yet stood, the wall and the stone slabs fitted to each other over head, and which had formerly covered the whole. But already had foreign nations begun their work of destruction, searched for treasures and carried off the precious articles of furniture into far distant lands. The doors of the side-chambers were blocked up by heaps of rubbish, and from the subterranean rooms, to which broad stone-steps led down, thickly rose up noxious and stupefying exhalations which poisoned the air all around and rendered a further penetrating into them impossible. So I stood solitary, as if fixed by a curse, in the midst of the temple, before the motionless image of Osiris the poor Sun-god! The enemy too had mutilated him; one foot dashed in pieces, one hand broken off lying on the ground, bore witness of the love of destroying by the later conquerors.

Suddenly it was as though a fresh, mild breath of spring passed through the pillared hall, and all appeared to be changed as if by a stroke of magic. The rubbish and mold was gone, and the venerable temple anew upreared itself in its original splendor and glory. The lofty columns, with their proud capitals imitating lotus-blossoms, the beautifully-adorned balcony, the thick walls smoothed and polished to the utmost, the steps laid with carpets, the parti-colored, richly-embroidered curtains, the pillars, obelisks and statues stood without injury and unimpaired as formerly. A tall, powerful human figure, with a double kingly crown on his head, around which played a golden gleam of light and irradiated all afar off, stepped forth from one of the side-chambers, with a firm tread advanced to meet me, and with solemn but benevolent voice asked me—"Whom do you seek here in this sanctuary?"

"I was seeking Osiris," I answered, falteringly, "the old king of the land, the sovereign of the world beneath. I sought the temple where they once worshiped him and found only rubbish, mold and decayed walls; sought the spirit of the Past and found the destruction of the Present; I sought a beneficent living god dispensing blessings, and have found only a mutilated idol which the people derided."

"So thou, too, wouldst ridicule the spirit of the venerable Past!" answered the form of light. "Osiris lives, if not in his old temples yet in his original symbols! Osiris lives so long as the sun completes his daily round! *I am the father of the gods; I am the mother of the gods; I am the god who has created the world, who delivers you from your sufferings—Osiris.** Every form under which men think of God is perishable and mortal. So too Osiris is dead with the people that adored him, but the spirit of light lives ever on in eternity; so Allah, the god of Mohammed, who to-day rules my heritage and with bloody sword demands faith and obedience, will die and vanish from the earth with the whole host of his worshipers, until hereafter one name of the one God rules the whole world. But then also I shall yet live, and all nations will adoringly raise their eyes to the light of the sun; for I am he who rules the old world, who holds command over hours, days, months and years, who calls forth the seed laid in the soil at its time in order that it may bear fruit and dispense food for man!"

The form was gone; the temple again was empty and decayed as at the beginning of the dream. Then I noticed before me, beneath the rubbish of the ruined

* Todtenbuch, cxlviii. 16.

structure, a stone which bore a hieroglyphic inscription that referred to Osiris the Sun-god. It proved most clearly what I had just learned, that the old Egyptians under their Osiris honored not the great golden ball of fire which walks through the heavens, not a stone image, but rather a living, eternal divinity, who beneficently and as blessing them watches over men. It read:—

"Osiris lives; he sees as ye see; he hears as ye hear; he stands as ye stand; he sits as ye sit."*

And on another mutilated stone Osiris spoke of himself. "I am the Light, the son of Light; I dwell in the sublime land of light; I am born in the land of light."†

And yet on a third I read the words:—

"God enjoys the world of life; Osiris enjoys himself in it as you rejoice yourselves of your life."‡

I would gladly have further sought and deciphered what the old stones told of that time vanished away. But suddenly I felt myself borne upward as if carried by spirit-hands continually higher and higher, till the temple-structure beneath me finally vanished from my eyes; clouds covered the earth, and I felt that I had entered into the heavenly heights. That was a new blessed life, not unlike the earthly, as the venerable priest had proclaimed it to the believing people.§ Here also flowed a heavenly Nile covered with numerous boats; here too the blessed, whom Thoth the conductor of the dead had let in, ploughed, sowed, harvested, threshed and finally brought a thank-offering to the mighty Nile-god. He was known by the bulrush belonging to him on his head; and an inscription affixed

* Todtenbuch, I. 11, 12. † Ibid. I. 4, 5. ‡ Ibid. III. 3.
§ Todtenbuch, Plate XLI. Compare Seyffarth, Theol. Schriften der Alten Ægypter, p. 31.

to his throne-chair named him Hapi-Mou, the Father of the gods. In a fine harbor, which I reached as I was walking about, stood a costly boat whose bow and stern ran out at the point into a serpent's head. This boat it was on which the almighty Sun was wont to steer through the heavenly water. It bore the inscription—"Boat of the Sun-god, the king of the two worlds, (above and below the horizon,) who sails upon his boat to determine the times in the house of the world."(19)

It was with me here as in the temple; all came up before me known and familiar, and many of the blessed, who were sauntering about, I could name and address by their titles. Here I saw the first king, Menes, who introduced religious customs and sacrifices into Egypt,* and for this reason was especially honored in the heavenly dwelling of the righteous. I saw Nitocris, who yet was radiant in the beauty of youthful bloom. I saw the kings under whom Joseph governed the realm and Moses led out his own people to the East. I saw all, only not those to whom, on account of a godless and unjust course of life, was forbidden in the earthly court of the dead an honorable burial of the corpse, and who hence were also excluded from the heavenly kingdom. Among the most important of all, and surrounded by a splendid court-retinue, appeared to me to be Sesostris; a tamed faithful lion was beside him as when he was in life. I ventured to address him to learn whether all which I had read respecting him and his warlike deeds, in later authors, was true, or what was well-founded and what might not be so.

"That I was a great king, and likewise a great conqueror," he began, with all that love of boasting and

* Diod. I. 45.

vainglory belonging to the Egyptians, "will be allowed me even by Osiris. The magnificent arrangements of the State, admired by all who visited Egypt, are my work. The distribution of the land into provinces and Nomes; the regular administration of these by particular governors and superintendents of the districts; the collective military power; the code of laws for the soldiers; many of the canals which conduct the Nile into regions destitute of water, and also the dams that prevent the dangers of too great an overflow; and in fine the measurement of the land and its proportional division among the obedient subjects,—these beneficial arrangements all owe their existence to me. I too undertook great war-expeditions, and sought in this to rival Osiris.* But I should certainly go too far if I wished to arrogate to myself all which later authors, and especially the Greeks have related of me with especial praise. There were great, perhaps greater, conquerors after me. I will only name the whole succession of the Ramses, whose warlike deeds are immortalized and pictorially represented on innumerable monuments.† But the Greeks knew of and mentioned scarcely any Ramses; all the deeds of these kings have been ascribed to my name, and so there has arisen a confusion which no investigator of antiquity of later ages can reduce to order. Even I myself hardly know where I was with my victorious army, what nations I subjected, what cities I destroyed and spoiled of their treasures. When I went through the world it was so little known that it would be impossible for me to give you the present

* Herod. II. 108. Diod. I. 57. Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 4, and xiv. 34.

† Rosellini, Mon. Real. III. 2, Plates LXV.–CL.

names of the particular cities, mountains and rivers; for, like all things, so do the names of regions change as soon as they are once laid waste, forsaken by their primitive inhabitants and come into possession of other nations. The period too when I lived, is to the people whose glory and flourishing state I once established an enigma.* Have they not often confounded me with this or that Ramses because too they were great conquerors? Have not others likewise held me to be Sisak, who took and plundered Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam? No! Believe me, I am much older; not only older than the Assyrian king Ninus,† yes, older, much older! One circumstance I recollect which I will impart to you more fully. In the year before I began my great warlike expedition, while I was yet busied with the preparations of my army, about the vernal equinox, the priests and astrologers announced to me with great joy and solemnity a wonder which promised the best success for my undertaking. Suddenly, against expectation, as they told it, came a beautiful bird from the East, even from the furthest India, to the City Heliopolis, and built for itself there a nest on a palm. A great number of other birds reverentially accompanied it on its flight. The incomparable bird, which they called Phœnix, then set fire to its nest and thus gave itself up to death.‡ But, oh! a miracle! from the ashes of the burned one rose up another Phœnix in the most beautiful bloom of its youth.—This wonderful event was celebrated at that time, and as I have heard has been repeated several times since, after a definite long course of years.(20) When now in the evening, I asked the

* Boeckh, Manetho, p. 296. Ideler. Hermapion, p. 249, &c.
† Justin, T. I. ‡ Tacit. Ann. VI. 28.

priests how the bird looked and what was its color, they mysteriously named it the Indian, a Son of Osiris, and the four-colored. Its golden and red feathers were especially dazzling in the sun.* I eagerly desired to see him; then the priest pointed silently toward the heavens, where no bird was to be seen, but thousands of stars were twinkling; and so it was clear to me that under the whole mysterious narration of the astrologers was concealed an astronomical event which they neither wished to communicate and betray to me nor to any one else. If you can now," concluded Sesostris, "accurately learn from the priests what they understood by the Phœnix, then will you thus easily be able, likewise, to calculate and determine the epoch of my life."†

Here ended my dream; and it may be said in passing, that during the feast I inquired of the priests of Heliopolis, who happened to be present, about the period of time according to the expiration of which the appearance of the Phœnix was wont to be repeated. But they could give me no definite information. One named this, another that number, and Horus whispered to me deridingly in my ear, that they themselves did not know when the bird would appear; and while they could not agree with themselves or with each other, sometimes the bird would come, and so be unexpected, since he from his own wondrous knowledge hits on the correct epoch. Then his arrival is immediately and solemnly proclaimed and celebrated as one of the most important festivals.‡

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* Todtenbuch, iii. 3; xvii. 29; lxxxiii. 2. Herod. II. 73.

† As to the astronomical meaning of the Phœnix period, compare Thoth, p. 226.

‡ Ælian. Hist. Anim. VI. 58.

Already early in the morning the music which poured into the hall of the guard-room from without awoke me. The clangor could not be called agreeable; the noisy and tempestuous prevailed in it, which no doubt was to be ascribed to the musical instruments that were used in the festive processions in Egypt. Drums, fifes, tambourines, cymbals, trumpets, horns and other noisy instruments played a large part therein.

As soon as I had rubbed my eyes and had shaken off the different dreams of the night, Horus conducted me out in front of the door of the guard-room that we might see the festive march around of the priests. Immediately after the numerous bands of music, whose wild melodies had awakened me, followed the individual members of the priest-class, every one with his special insignia and badges. They walked past with an uncommonly venerable demeanor in measured tread, their eyes directed steadily before them, neither wandering to the right or left, so that they appeared as though buried in deep reflection. Never during my three days' sojourn in Memphis did I see a priest laugh, rarely one smile; and if this class of people was formerly so highly honored, and almost adored, this is certainly in a great degree to be ascribed to the serious mien which its members knew how to assume as often as they appeared in public in the discharge of their official duties. Foremost in the procession came the singer, with a musical instrument in his hands, and a roll of writing which contained the sacred songs to be used for the feast; then followed the astrologer, who as the token of his official dignity bore a palm-branch, the symbol of the division of time,* and the so-called Horologe, a kind of indicator

* Horapollo, Hieroglyph, I. 3, 4.

of the hours. For he it was whose principal business consisted in the observation of the stars and the astronomical, chronological and astrological calculations connected therewith. Behind followed with gravity the sacred scribe, with the ostrich feather on his head and a book-roll and writing instruments in his hands.—The next that succeeded, the Stolist, as a sign of his dignity bore a censer and a measuring-wand, the symbolic reference of which to the duties of his office, especially as to the wand, it is easy to recognize. The Stolist was not only intrusted with the clothing and decoration of the statues of the gods, but he was likewise especially the arranger of the festival and procession, and he had therefore to watch that in the festivities, sacrifices and processions, everything should take place properly according to the prescriptions and laws laid down in the particular books. The yard-wand therefore undoubtedly indicated here that he should suitably proportion all the transactions, usages and ceremonies. Finally followed the Prophet as I have already several times sketched him.* Those hitherto named appeared to be the most respectable members of the priestly-class; to them were directly joined a great number of the servants of the temple, who partly led sacrificial animals and bore other articles necessary for the offerings. From the great number I will only notice particularly the following:—Immediately after the prophet came at least twenty Pastophori, some with little shrines or chapels dedicated to Osiris; others with small handsomely-decked images of Osiris, and finally yet others dragging forward a large statue of Osiris by ropes attached to a sort of

* As to this order of succession in the procession, compare Clemens Alexandrinus, VI. 268, and Wilkinson, Plate LXXVI.

sledge. The larger, as also smaller statues, were clad in costly robes, and adorned with flowers, garlands, chains and bands; the robes on the sun Osiris were red, as the morning-dawn which daily announces his coming;* this was the only color which I noticed in them; no other might be used as the ornament of the Sun-god; the shrines were partly of variegated woods and richly-adorned, and partly of stone. Apis also was in the procession, for, according to the belief of the people, he was the abode of the soul of Osiris;† he was slowly and carefully led with a costly rein by his special keepers and servants. Then followed the sacrificing priests, the so-called Moschosphragists, who have to seek out the appropriate beasts for offerings and to provide them with a seal in confirmation of their fitness. At this time they led only swine, as the designated feast-day of Osiris or Dionysos was peculiar for this reason,—that merely swine, and especially young pigs, were brought as an offering to him, not merely publicly, but also by every private man. Only the very poorest contented themselves, instead of living animals, with those that were formed and kneaded out of dough.‡ Others still, finally brought up the whole procession, who bore sacrificial vessels filled with wine and milk, as these liquids likewise were copiously dispensed to the gods.§

But after all these different orders of priests had passed, the streets for a long time were not yet free so as to allow us to join the procession. Now followed some divisions of soldiers, with slow music and in slow-measured march; and then, finally, a vast, countless number of people, who crowded on as in Catholic coun-

* Plutarch, in Osir., 51, 78.

† Diod. I. 85.

‡ Herod, II. 47, 48.

§ Wilk. II. 2, pp. 365, 366.

tries, after the crucifix; so here, after the image of Osiris and the Apis. All castes were here mixed up together; even the so-much-hated and despised swine-herds I saw here to-day in the midst of the throng, as they also had presented beasts for sacrifice, and would afterward receive again the slaughtered flesh as a present. But yet we could observe the aversion among the people that was universally felt toward the swine-herds. They anxiously sought to avoid them and to keep away from them just as we give the way to a chimney-sweep or miller's boy from the fear that we may be soiled by contact with them. To-day, however, they allowed them a place in their midst, while else their avoidance of them was so great that none of them would enter a temple nor dared to contract any relationship by marriage with one of another caste; and the slightest touch from one of the unclean beasts they herded was so great a contamination that those who met with this misfortune were bound immediately to dash into the Nile and purify themselves according to the laws of religion.*

So rolled slowly onward the procession, in which we both finally mingled, amid the shouts of the people, until it reached the large open place of which I have already spoken and which extended out before the temple of Ptah. Here a number of the members of the other priesthoods were gathered, and among these Horus pointed out to me Sesom, almost a hundred years old, whose life and deeds he had related the day before. He lay on a white cushion, in a sedan, which his servants had brought thither; for as my little guide informed me, he was crippled in both of his feet. But in

* Herod. II. 47.

the body, destitute of motion, almost dead, there yet lived a proud lofty commanding spirit, which sparkled out of his dark eyes, and by all who passed before him there was paid him a reverential greeting and a low bowing down.

I had placed myself with Horus on one of the highest steps of the temple, from which we could overlook the whole open space lying before us, in the midst of which was the sacrificial altar, and where the sacred ceremonies were to take place. Those who bore part in the procession placed themselves around the altar decked with flowers, and encircling these a chain, forming a square, was drawn by the soldiers posted so as to keep off the people crowding in from curiosity. The particular festivity, with its prayers, sacrifices and gifts, had little interest for me, as I had already seen similar ones in the past days; I longed for the peculiar popular festivals which should exhibit the otherwise sober and morose Egypt in its joy and license.* But it did not yet take place. After the signal had been given by a horn for the beginning of the feast, and a universal silence had taken place, the singer came up to the altar in order to recite publicly the well-known hymns to Osiris. For though he bore in his hands, and must do so in all festive processions, the two rolls of books, of which one was songs in honor of the gods and the other a sketch of the royal life, yet it was his particular business to know them perfectly by heart, and be able to rehearse them in public.† During his half-sung half-spoken address, universal silence reigned; only certain single passages, full of the subject, that always returned at definite

* Ammianus Marcellinus, B. XXII., and Herod. II. 60.

† Clemens of Alexandria, ut supra.

intervals, and formed a sort of refrain, were repeated aloud and spoken after him by the priesthood and the people. The first one I call to mind even to this day; it ran thus:—

"I sing the works of the Lord, which quickens my heart so long as I walk in the house of the Lord."*

After this the liquids mentioned were poured out as libations on the altar by the high-priest. Then the great statue of the god was set up, and the sacrifice began by the priests especially called to it. The swine, the feet of which had been tied together, were slaughtered; their entrails taken out and then the heads cut off. These heads of the sacrificial animals correspond in a certain degree to the scape-goat among the Hebrews, which, as is well-known, was laden with all the sins of the people on the great day of atonement and driven into the wilderness; so here the head of the animal for offering was laden by the Egyptian priests with curses and imprecations. The high-priest spoke over it the following words:—"If any misfortune is coming upon the land, let it be averted and fall on this head!"—This head was then, as Herodotus relates, borne away and cast into the Nile; at a later time, when foreigners, and especially Greeks had gained an entrance into the country, it was sold in the commercial cities.

While I followed with anxious observation this scene of imprecation, I felt myself suddenly surrounded by an exceedingly strong, intoxicating odor, and turning myself almost involuntarily toward the temple, I saw a thick cloud of smoke pressing through it, which soon wholly covered us. Horus, who remarked my astonishment, at once readily explained to me this new appear-

* Todtenbuch, I. 22.

ance. "They are burning incense," said he, "in the temple, with Kyphi, well known to you certainly by name. The preparation of this incense according to rule, is no easy matter, and is a particular secret of the temple-servants assigned to the duty. Sixteen different substances must be mingled for it in equal proportions. I will try to enumerate them in your own language. For this purpose they take honey, wine, resin, galgant,* turpentine, myrrh, aspalathus, *i.e.* a thorny shrub which affords a kind of oil like your oil of roses, also stone-clover, the gum mastic, or as the botanists call it, of the *Pistacia lentiscus*, asphalt, fig-leaves, sorrel, berries of the large and small juniper, a kind of root which the old Greeks called 'kardamon,' and finally, kalmus.† All these put together furnish an incense which is daily used to purify and consecrate the air of the temple, and thus likewise promote the health as well as serve and please the gods. But as to the name the Greeks have so corrupted and distorted, it is to be expressed not properly by Kyphi, but by Schobe."

As soon as the cloud of incense had somewhat passed away, in the distance, on the extreme and opposite side of the open space, a new and unexpected spectacle presented itself to me. These were the embassadors of various subject-tribes, who at the close of the year brought their tributes in the manifold natural products of their country, and marched with them slowly and solemnly, almost unmarked and disregarded by others, to the king's palace, there to deliver them to the Royal Intendant, who with numerous secretaries took an ac-

* *Maranta Galanga*, Lin., yet known by its balsamic resin and ethereal oil, which is extracted by means of spirits of wine.

† Plutarch, de Iside et Osiri, chaps. lii. and lxxxi.

curate reckoning of them. The white complexion, dress and growth of hair of these new-comers, showed them clearly to be foreigners and Asiatics. The leader who marched at their head bore a club, bow, shield and lance; a musician with a seven-stringed lyre and the plectrum followed him. Others bore gold and silver vessels, baskets of fruits of all kinds, and also as a present of honor to the king splendid weapons and arms; captured animals likewise, as for example a gazelle, appeared in the procession.* It was certainly only by accident that there was on this day present another deputation belonging to another nation, which followed immediately after the first. They were Mauritanians, of a somewhat clearer complexion than the Egyptians, and beardless.† They wore a hair-net and a short, girded garment, and brought as presents to the king giraffes, ostriches, rock-goats, monkeys, ostrich eggs and feathers. Horus named this people Punt, and on this I involuntarily thought of the Phut of the Bible, whom Jeremiah (xlvi. 9) mentions as bearers of shields in the army of Pharaoh-Necho.

When the procession to which I had exclusively turned my attention had passed by, then the sacrificial solemnities concluded with a prayer were also finished, and now began the festival-sports which I had with longing expected. The priests marched back into the holy place of the temple, whither no one might follow them, and thus it remained hidden from me what they did there in the further course of the day. For with anxious carefulness the priests at all times sought to keep far

* Rosellini, Monum. Storici. III. A. p. 48, &c.

† Bunsen's Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, II. S. 323, and the places there cited.

away every uninitiated person from their mysteries, and for this purpose invented a sacred legend to affright the curious. They related that there was once a man who had in no wise the privilege of going into the temple, yet crept in by stealth, and was therefore punished for his curiosity; for having cast a look behind the curtain of the most holy place, he had seen all there full of terrific images and apparitions, and after giving an account of it to others he suddenly died.

Scarcely had the priests disappeared than with an almost fabulous hurry and quickness everything was removed by the servants of the temple that had been used for the sacrifice, and immediately all was gone that could bear witness to what had been already done. The open space was cleared out, strewed with fresh sand and prepared for the sports of combat, which were now held without any decoration, while at a later period probably an arena was erected, with seats for the spectators. Strabo, at least, relates the following particulars:—"On this open space near the temple of Vulcan, in Memphis, there is a colossus made of a single stone. In this space too are held bull-fights; the bulls are specially trained for it as a man trains a horse. Set loose they meet in combat. The victor receives a prize." Such a bull-fight it was that next presented itself to my sight. Two powerful, courageous bulls, one of which was black, the other speckled, were brought in. Their two leaders, who without doubt belonged to the herdsmen-caste, were clad only with a common linen apron and armed with long and thick clubs. After they had placed the animals eager for the fight opposite to each other, at about the distance of six paces, they were set loose. Furious they dashed against one another, assault-

ing each other with their horns; as often as one was tired, or was forced by the impetuous shock of his adversary to turn about in flight, he was driven on anew from his master by blows of his club. When they would no more obey the cudgel an iron point was fixed on it, and with this the poor beasts were pricked from behind in the back.* The fight did not end till one of the two combating beasts sunk down with shattered skull and ripped-up belly, and dying reddened the sand with his blood. A tempest of applause by the people, as if unwilling to stop, was the only reward for the master of the victor-beast, unless some other awaited him; for I saw several scribes with their writing-materials sitting on the lowest steps of the temple, who were busy in noting accurately the course of every game of combat. Both of the herdsmen likewise deserved praise and admiration, as not seldom the furious animals had turned against their masters, and they could then only defend themselves and save their threatened lives by the greatest skill and adroitness. Less dangerous were the gymnastic and warlike exercises that now followed. The young sons of the soldiers also must contribute their share to the general pleasure of the assembly. For the most part they were young persons of between sixteen and twenty years of age, who exhibited splendid proofs of the skill which they had acquired in the wrestling and fencing schools. They fought with wooden weapons only, but with these they could have easily injured each other, had they not understood how to catch every stroke dexterously on their wooden shields covered with

* Representations of bull-fights are to be found in the sepulchral chambers of Thebes and Beni-Hassan. Compare Wilk. II. 444 to the end.

leather. I saw only a few bloody heads, and every cut which was made was greeted by the people with laughter, humbling and causing shame to him who was hit. If, as was often the case, their swords were broken in pieces in the single fight, their weapons were cast away, and then began a wrestling which was not regarded as ended till the overthrow of one and the complete victory of the other of the two.* Then every time the vanquished must withdraw, while the conqueror kept the field of battle and another opponent came forth to meet him. I saw some who remained victors ten times and more in succession before they had to yield to a stronger and more accomplished antagonist. Thus the fight continued for an hour, and many an old bearded soldier stood among the spectators and with sparkling eyes silently rejoiced over the address and most promising bravery of his young son. At the conclusion, round wooden disks were brought in and placed on poles, at which the soldiers might shoot with their arrows and hurl their spears. An elegant silver cup was the prize of the one who in a certain number of shots hit the mark the oftenest.

But the sun already stood high in the heavens and sent down his glowing rays, which were reflected from the flat stone-steps of the ascent to the temple with redoubled violence, and thus made a longer stay impossible for one from the North. "Let us go under the tent and to the river," said Horus, and drew me forth with him; "there we shall find a jubilee, joy and refreshing which we so much need." So we left the place of combat.

Beneath the tents at the river the little fellow said

* Leipzig Illust. Zeitung, Band, VII. 1852, p. 331, &c.

we should find jubilee and joy. And so indeed it was; for here was the proper popular festival. Whoever has not once had an opportunity to be in Leipzig or some great city of traffic to visit a fair, and there on the different market-places to notice under the tents and in the shops the business, the crowds and the amusements of the visitors, can with difficulty form a correct and perfect idea of this fair of Osiris. Already the yearly torrents of rain had begun in Upper Ethiopia and brought in a swelling of the Nile; already some fields in its neighborhood were overflowed, from which the higher-situated country-houses of the region around upreared themselves as islands. Here on the waves of the *black* river, as it was called by almost all the old nations,* sported thousands of gondolas and pleasure-boats, which were all decorated in the most festive manner by variegated bands, curtains and garlands of flowers. As on a Corso in the lagunes of Venice, the Egyptians, men and women variously intermingled, sailed back and forth, courteously greeting each other when they met with friends or kindred. They had music, they sung, they danced, they drank on the boats.† Many of those also whom I had become acquainted with on the former days I saw fly by in their barks, and called out to them a friendly salutation, which they also kindly returned. The young man whom I had met hunting on the second day, and who had so kindly shown me his father's estate and had returned me to Memphis, also shot his boat toward the land at the place where we stood observing, and invited us to mount

* Diodorus calls it *Okeame*, the Chaldeans *Ukkam*, and this is the Egyptian word *Ukame*, or *Black*.

† Herod. II. 60.

his boat and contemplate the wild whirl still closer; but I did not dare to give myself into the vortex where innocent joys were interchanged by wild pleasure, friendly jokes with indecent scoffs and vulgarities, quiet laughter with the most unrestrained mirth and excess; and in all this dissipation the women, who had for a long time rejoiced in the feast-days as days of freedom and license, took the liveliest part.*

Under the tents and huts which stretched like a long street on the high-situated bank we met the same unbridled license. Most of the tents were consecrated to Ceres and Bacchus. Wine, beer, cakes and different baked articles, eggs, honey, figs, dates, melons, pomegranates, grapes, onions and other products of the country were presented in rich abundance. In another tent warm food was spread out, prepared near it on simple hearths formed of three stone slabs. We contented ourselves with tasting the various fruits, and ate some wheat-bread; then desirous of a drink of foreign wine I entered with Horus into a drinking saloon which, standing here and there, were easily to be distinguished from the other shops by the noise that burst forth from them. The view which the inside of the first tent offered was indescribably disgusting. It appeared to be filled only by persons of the lowest class, but even in these I should have expected more propriety and sense of shame. Sitting partly on low benches, partly lying about on the ground, they gave themselves to the utmost licentiousness; and even the drunken, noisy women whom we looked at, expecting that exhausted and no longer capable of controlling their feelings they would sink down

* Herod. as above.

into a corner, were no uncommon spectacle.* While with us the glow of fiery wine, moderately enjoyed, reddens the cheeks, and hence an otherwise pale face may sometimes be disfigured, with these dark-complexioned Egyptian women it showed its effects especially in their lips and eyes: the lips and eye-lids were swelled up, the eyes became piercing and rolled around like balls of fire in their sockets,—it was the picture of the Furies as they mounted from their home in hell in order to torture and persecute the evil-doers on earth.

But there was yet *one* scene which caused me to remain a few minutes among this coarse multitude of the populace. On one side of the tent particularly all crowded around a magician, who by his arts of juggling excited the highest astonishment of the spectators and gained many a treat for himself. On a low table behind which he stood, he placed two little cups and covered each one of them with a larger. When he again lifted off the latter the first and smaller one had disappeared. Now he placed the larger one again upon the table after he had shown that there was nothing hidden under it. But oh, wonderful! he made one of those present raise up one of the cups and there stood the little one under it; then he raised this, under which was found a smaller, and so on till the whole table was filled with cups of different sizes. All these cups were placed with the edge turned down in a row on the table; the conjuror asked for a ring and seized his magic wand. "Under which cup shall the ring lie?" he asked the spectators. "Under the smallest!" all cried, with one voice. Then he threw the ring into the air, it disappeared as a flash

* Wilk. II. 168, &c.

of lightning from our eyes, and was found again under the cup pointed out.*

Although *we* are accustomed to such a sleight of a practiced hand exciting astonishment, by our jugglers, yet the Egyptian conjuror awakened the greatest attention and the highest surprise; and while on the other side of the tent the noise increased every moment, all around him reigned astonishment and silence. Breathless the spectators looked at him and his hand practiced in the art, and scarcely ventured to speak a word for fear of disturbing and causing displeasure to the divinity, which appeared to work through and in him. The juggler too left them in this belief; the superstition of the Old Egyptians at that time was great and powerful, and not only priests and lawgivers, but also impostors, conjurors and other jugglers, whose knowledge and arts appeared inexplicable and supernatural to the astonished multitude, might openly and without apprehension of danger exhibit and boast of the aid of a divinity.

After we had seen and admired some other tricks of his art we left the tent to seek out for ourselves a more respectable society. We went through the shops, many of which, besides the kinds of food before mentioned, contained also other articles on sale, and found eager venders, and reached a larger tent in which a great number of respectable Egyptians had assembled. Before it various pole-balancers and jugglers exhibited their arts, accompanied by a band of musicians with noisy music, and sometimes interchanged with the

* Minutoli, Social Sports and Gymnastic Exercises of the Old Egyptians, in the Leipzig Illus., Zeitung, 1852, p. 331.

dances of lovely foreigners who betrayed an Eastern origin. These dancers were wild and passionate, such as we may see in the East at the present day. There were not only dances, but dramatic and pantomimic representations of the various feelings and passions, in which not only the feet but also the hands and features of the countenance were brought into action. The airiness of these female dancers in all their motions was extraordinary; wondrous was the quickness with which they knew how to change their features according as they wished to express joy or sorrow, pleasure or grief, desire or indifference. The voluptuousness of their postures might sometimes, according to our ideas, exceed all bounds; but while the looks, movements, and in short all in them spoke a language too evident to be mistaken, they presented an indescribably lovely picture that will never indeed be effaced from my memory.*

In the tent itself into which we next entered to refresh ourselves by a cup of good wine, brought into the country by foreign traders, sat soldiers, artists and merchants in a parti-colored mixture, busied in eating, drinking and gaming. Especially the dice were agoing, as on the evening before at the watch-house, and many a large sum, many a costly estate, were staked on a single throw. At many tables sat in pairs opposite each other a party playing draughts. The stones, in the form of our wedge, were white and black, or red and black, and were pushed back and forth on a square tablet divided out by lines according to the rules of the art.† The players were so engaged and buried in the

* Wilk. II. 301, 329.

† Wilk. II. 448, &c., and Minutoli, ut supra.

game that they rarely raised their eyes, fixed on the table, to cast a glance at the assembly or take a drink from their cups. They seldom also spoke, and then only to make a remark as to one and another turn of the play. If in the first tent I had been driven away by the dissipation and noisy tumult of the company, here, on the contrary, I felt myself restrained and distressed by an almost unearthly stillness and repose. As we had no wish to take part in the games or remain idle spectators, when, after a few moments, we had eaten and drank and refreshed ourselves, we had nothing more to see here. We therefore soon went again out into the open air, and took our way anew through the ever-increasing whirl of human beings.

On an open square, which we finally reached, were at least forty respectable young women assembled enjoying themselves at ball-play or throwing hoops. For the ball-play—which I had often already seen represented in pictures, and that may be seen at the present day in the grotto of Beni-Hassan—in all Ancient Egypt was only a play for females, who threw back and forth to each other parti-colored leather balls, caught them again, and sought to surpass one another in both kinds of skill, especially in the height and distance of the throw.* In the same way as with us too they threw the hoops, which were wound about with elegant ribbons;† and the pleasure and joy which shone forth in these gymnastic plays, their sportive jokes and merry springing, dissipated the unpleasant impression which their well-known and already-mentioned ugliness had produced upon me. But my little conductor left me

* Wilk. II. 429, 430, 432. † Minutoli, ut supra.

a short time only for observation; anxiously and impatiently he drew me further on and forth from the wild, furious activity of the popular festival.(21) Keeping the Nile always on the right and the east, toward which side it here bounded the city, we walked ahead with rapid step.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PYRAMIDS—THE FAREWELL.

WHILE my little conductor talked with me about one person and another known to me, and sometimes told me of the different princes who had built the city of Memphis, and especially the well-known temple of Vulcan, and beautified and enlarged it,(22) sometimes praising the wisdom of the first founder, who, by the formation of dams and canals, regulated the overflow and gained the greatest merit on account of the fertility of the soil, we withdrew ourselves further and further from the noise and tumult of the festival, and were recalled to it only here and there by a Nile-bark gliding past, which was bringing in new participants and guests from cities situated in the North. Joyous laughter, merry jokes and music resounded over to us from them; and if by chance they saw us walking off, we were also not secure from their raillery and jibes, to which they usually added an invitation to come into the bark and return back to the festival.* But Horus always replied to them with like jokes, and they let us go quietly on our way. I soon noticed that the ground was more elevated, and that gradually we ascended one of those dams the first formation of which tradition ascribes to Menes. After we had walked about a mile we found ourselves high above the water-level, and now my con-

* Herod. II. 60.

ductor, who had hitherto sought to divert me by conversation of all kinds, proposed to me to take a look backward to the region lying on the South.

It was the last look which was permitted me on the old land of the Pharaohs. Before me at my feet lay a once-mighty royal city with her temples and palaces, which have been destroyed for centuries; whose ruins in the invasion of the Islamites into Egypt have been converted into building-materials for the new city of Cairo on the opposite side of the river; whose last remains and foundation-walls have become covered with the mud of the Nile and withdrawn from the view of the world. But there yet remains one thing that testifies even at this day to the power and greatness of the former kings of Memphis—the Pyramids which rose on my right hand, and on this side of the land of Joseph, with their outlines sharply defined on the horizon. With what anxious care for the imperishableness of their earthly bodies, with what outlay of expense and lives of men the old Pharaohs built them, prepared in them a little sepulchral chamber for themselves that might not only remain secluded from the air but also from the curiosity and love of destruction of later centuries! And yet the desire of knowledge respecting them of the last century again found out their walled-up and hidden entrances, penetrated into the dark passages and galleries, and has drawn forth from the deep chambers coffins and mummies into the daylight. Walk in thither, O proud man! confess thy feebleness, and gain the conviction that the work of man is a perishable thing. Until a requickening at some future time, after a long wandering and purification of their souls for thousands of years, the kings hoped to rest here undisturbed in their tombs,

and now they are torn out and scattered over the world to be exposed to the eyes of the curious multitude.

Horus pointed with his hand over to the largest and highest pyramid. "There, in that," said he, "reposed Suphis, one of the first builders of the pyramids, whom our historian Manetho has placed far before the times of the great Sesostris.* It is almost five hundred feet high; its entrance, as in all of them, is on the north side, yet not exactly in the middle, but somewhat to the east. It stands on a level rocky-bottom, by which it gains considerably in height. On the south and east sides there are certain large temple-edifices belonging to it which are covered up and not visible from the point where we stand. The pyramid itself contains in its inside one subterranean chamber above a hundred feet below the surface of the ground; a sepulchral chamber for the queen, the spouse of the builder; and finally a third, some two hundred feet above the before-named, in which stands the sarcophagus of the king.† To all these rooms steps and galleries, mounting upward and outward, formerly led, but which immediately after the deposit of the dead were filled and walled up with stones, so that, as you know, but a short period before your time there has been no success in discovering it, or by hewing out the stone to re-open it."

"Is it true," I interrupted him, "that the builders of

* Manetho, according to Syncellus, says of the kings of the fourth Dynasty:—"The third was Suphis; he built the greatest pyramid, which Herodotus ascribes to Cheops. He was a despiser of the gods," &c. The Egyptian name of the builder is Chufu, of which Manetho has made Suphis, and Herodotus Cheops.

† An accurate description may be found in Bunsen's "Ægypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte," II. p. 149, &c.

the pyramids were so hated by the people that they only unwillingly spoke their names?"

"With some this was indeed the case," replied Horus; "and this evil reputation has been propagated even to the latest times of the kingdom, so that the Greeks traveling to Egypt heard of it and related it in their writings. But remember too what forces they must have employed for these huge structures, which properly had no other object than to receive their mummies to secure them from corruption. The builder of the largest pyramid was a cruel and tyrannical monarch. Yes; he went so far in his godlessness that he shut up the temples of the country and forbade the sacrifices and usages of religion, in order that all the people might labor without interruption for himself only. Many drops of sweat, many tears has this mighty structure witnessed, many sighs, many a curse has it heard. While some had to hew out the stones in the quarries in the Arabian mountains, others brought them to the Nile, where they were again carried over by yet others, and so brought on this side of the river to the place of their destination. Aside from these laborious works and the long time in which they were hewing out the subterranean chambers and passages in the rock, twenty years were spent simply in building the pyramid. When Herodotus visited the country it was related to him that, according to an old inscription, the cost of furnishing the laborers with radishes, garlics and onions merely, amounted to a million and a half of dollars,* and he justly cries out, 'If this cost so much how much must the other food, with the clothes for the workmen and the iron tools, have cost?'†

* Six hundred talents of silver. † Herod. II. 125.

Under the following kings likewise the oppression of the people continued on, and Mencheres, or Mycerinus, first gained for himself the thanks of the people and the name of Holy. He opened the temples and again allowed the celebration of the various festivals. He indeed built himself a pyramid, but without torturing his subjects and forcing them to hard bond-service, and so he remained to the latest time in songs and odes of the people as a favorite, and is frequently named and glorified in the sacred hymns."*

"And had then these colossal structures, the pyramids, really no other object than merely to conceal the mummy of a king?" I asked, as have many antiquarian investigators of older or later times.

"What object else could they have had?" said Horus, astonished at this to him unexpected question. "Do you think they were for astronomical observatories because their four sides were accurately turned to the four quarters of the world? Then they certainly would not have been crowded together near Memphis alone in such numbers, but would be found in other parts of the kingdom, and especially at Heliopolis, whose priests from ancient times have been famous for their astronomical knowledge. Their tops also would have been accessible, while most of them are laid above with flat, polished stones, and cannot be ascended. Or could they be symbolic representations of the realm of shades and the life after death, as some have supposed? Why are they then not to be found in all Egypt? And wherein consists the similarity of the symbolic image with the object symbolized? And as they are likewise walled up and

* Todtenbuch, LXIV. 31.

their entrances closed, wherefore a symbol that was in a state to make no impression on the observer? For a similar reason, because they were inaccessible they could not have been designed for priestly consecrations and other services of divine worship.—I know indeed that posterity have also supposed them to be storehouses for grain, and those even which the Israelites must have built during their residence in Egypt. But you cannot believe anything of the kind, since the pyramids have been opened after thousands of years and been searched into on all sides, and their whole interior arrangement has proved most contrary to this supposition, as they contain no rooms except little sepulchral chambers, which have no proportion to the magnitude of the structure. They were also air-tight, and a current of air is indispensable to the preservation of grain.* No! They were nothing but tombs for the kings; and two reasons may be given for building the pyramids—Religion and Policy. The religious faith of the old Egyptians is well known, that after death the soul leaves the body and wanders through the bodies of various animals for purification, and not till after a succession of thousands of years returns back to the same human body to live anew in it. This was reason enough for mighty kings to cherish the wish either to hold back the soul in the body and wholly to escape the dread wandering, or at least to preserve the body from any corruption, any disgrace, disturbance and destruc-

* [It may be observed in passing that this remark of Horus is doubtless incorrect, as the exclusion of air as much as possible is deemed important in *silos*, or subterranean pits for preserving grain. —Tr.]

tion till the requickening. On this account all the Egyptians were embalmed after death and placed in air-tight, closed catacombs, and for this reason the most powerful kings built the pyramids as the most solid, surest and most durable tombs. But there was another reason which was the cause of these structures—Policy. As afterward the Israelites were forced to the hardest labors, because they hoped thus to prevent their increase and possible rebellion; as Tarquinus Superbus for similar reasons employed the Roman people in the building of subterranean sewers,* so the building of the pyramids gave our kings an excellent opportunity to occupy thousands of idle people, and to hold them in oppressive bondage. Those who first tried it were indeed cursed and execrated by the people; but, in time, the people became accustomed to it, and the later ones were built without exciting the discontent of the population. For it is an old and acknowledged State-craft of tyrants to make their subjects poor by oppressive labors; to enslave and humble them in their own eyes in order that, occupied in their business and with daily food, they might have no time to think of rebellion."†

During these words of my little conductor the sun had sunk continually lower, and we might expect to see it soon disappear behind the tops of the pyramids in the West. Its last beams irradiated the numerous canals which connected the Nile with Lake Moeris and stretched like silver bands over the fruitful plains. Then Horus, with a friendly gaze on the lovely valley, seized my hand. "We must now part," said he, with a troubled look; "but I hope you have seen and heard enough to

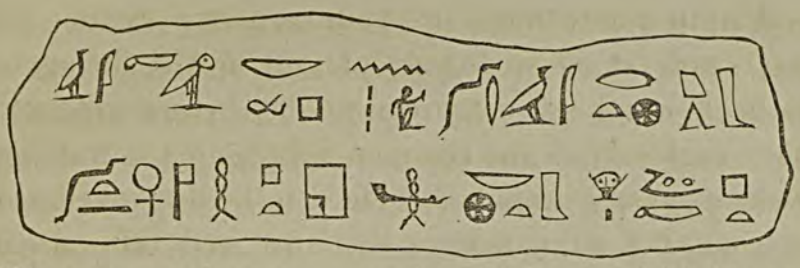
* Ex. i. 10. Livy, I. 56, 59. † Aristotle's Politik, V. 11.

be able to relate much to your contemporaries. The time is not far off when our old realm will lie open to you as it has been outspread to-day before your eyes. Labor earnestly in the common fight for truth and light. There are many prejudices indeed to be destroyed which the learned of all ages have cherished and diffused. But they will disappear; the majority of our dead will come out of their graves and bear their testimony to the vanished splendor of past centuries. But for the proof that you have not dreamed, that I have in truth appeared to you and been your faithful guide, you must take with you into your own country a memorial of me."

And he looked around him as though he was seeking for some object which he could give me for a present. Then the wind, which had risen at the departure of the sun, blew before our feet a small, torn piece of papyrus which a scribe might have thrown away as useless and worthless. This the little fellow caught up, and after he had directed a silent prayer to the god Thoth, the secret scribe of his father Osiris, and he with an invisible hand had reached out to him a writing-reed dipped in ink, he bent down in his well-known position on the earth, wrote very hurriedly some hieroglyphics on the paper, and held it out to me.

"Go," said he, for a farewell, "into the city and relate to all the people what you have heard and seen in the city of Memphis and the sanctuary of Ptah, the everliving God!"

Yet one friendly greeting, a kind, childish nod of the head and—all had vanished. I stood again under the old oak; only the leaf of papyrus in my hand recalled to me what I had experienced. I cast a glance on it and saw the following writing:—



They were the same words which my faithful companion had last addressed to me, which I also deciphered from the hieroglyphics.(23) The autumn wind rustled in the branches of the trees, and from the leaves falling and driven around in a whirl there resounded to me as on spirit-wings these words:—

"*Go into the city and relate to all the people what you have heard and seen in the city of Memphis and in the sanctuary of Ptah, the everliving God.*"

Thoughtful, I walked homeward. And what I had seen in spirit I wrote down, and often thought of the wondrous appearance. But the yellowed leaf reposes in a hidden compartment of my writing-table as a dear memorial of a dream fresh with life, of three days pleasantly lived in the old venerable city of Memphis, of which an Arabian historian,* who visited Egypt in the thirteenth century of our chronology, says, "Although this formerly so rich and venerable city, in which so many different religions have prevailed, has been wholly despoiled by successive bloody revolutions of its citizens; although it is buried in ruins and its foundation-walls are destroyed even to their last vestiges; although its stones and remains have been carried away; although its buildings have been dragged off and its statues mutilated; although more than four thousand years have destructively passed over it, yet you will find

* Abdollatif ed. White, pp. 118, 120.

much of the wondrous, at which even the reason of the most acute observer will stand still and the most eloquent historian must be dumb. The more attentively you consider the ruins the more admiration will they excite in you; the more carefully you investigate them the more must you be astonished. As often as you penetrate into anything you will confess that yet greater things lie hidden beneath it, and as often as you derive knowledge from them you will be aware that what remains concealed must be far greater and still more worthy of your admiration."

NOTES.

(1) p. 16. The little god is called Horus on account of its being shorter; but by him is properly meant to be understood the well-known Harpocrates. For the Egyptians in their mythology distinguish two of the name of Horus—an older and a younger. The former is a brother of Osiris, born with him on one of the five intercalary days, and was called Har-ueri, *i.e.* Horus the Elder; the latter is the son of Isis and Osiris, and in the well-known myth the avenger of his murdered father. He is always called Harpo-chroti, [Harpocrates,] *i.e.* Horus the Child. That he always remained a child, and is always represented as such, is for the reason that in contrast to the powerful Osiris, who was conceived of as the autumn-sun dispensing fruits and blessings of all kinds, he was figured as the feeble and powerless early spring-sun. Compare the author's Thoth, pp. 33, 40. His name is always written and represented on the hieroglyphic monuments by the so-called Horus-hawk [Har], a square [P], and the image of a child in the position sketched [Chroti]. Frequently, also, the words are added—"Son of Osiris and son of Isis." Compare Bunsen's Ægypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, Plate xiv.

(2) p. 33. The sacred books of the Old Egyptians contain, according to Clement of Alexandria, [Strom. vi. 4, S. 757,] not only hymns to the gods and directions for the life of the king, but they treat also of the particular branches of astronomy, cosmography, geography, the Nile, the estates and furniture of the temples, sacrifices, prayers, festive processions, feasts, laws, and all parts of medical science. The legends themselves place the time of the composition of these writings in the earliest reigns of the old kingdom; and that in fact they must have been very old is evident from this, that already under Osimandyas—about 1700 years before Christ—there is mention made

of a famous library building. A great number also of rolls of papyrus, of the contents above mentioned, have been found, that probably may be regarded as parts and extracts of those old scientific works. Among them, namely, are the papyrus of Cadets—in the *Description de l'Égypt;* the large Minutoli papyrus; and prominent above all is the large papyrus, fifty-seven feet long, at Turin, which Lepsius published after a drawing of the Director, under the title of "The Book of the Dead of the Old Egyptians, according to the hieroglyphic papyrus in Turin, [Das Todtenbuch der Alten Ægypter nach dem hieroglyphischen papyrus,] Berl. 1842." Brugsch, who in the year 1851 had an opportunity to compare this edition in the time and place with the original, in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1851, p. 515, describes it as "*very defective;*" and if this objection is well grounded, the merit of this publication also will be considerably lessened; as the Egyptian philology and knowledge of writing and speech are in a great degree founded on the few monuments and written rolls hitherto published, and accuracy, care and conscientiousness must be regarded as the first requisites for the Egyptologist.

Champollion has already subjected this papyrus to an examination, and in his writings cites some groups from it. He divided the whole into three parts, [Chaps. 1–15; 15–125; 125–End.] The occasion of this division was the circumstance that these sections are often found alone; and some manuscripts conclude with chap. 15, others with chap. 125, whereby these three great portions appear to be separate writings, independent of each other. Let us hear, now, what the editor says of the contents of this Turin roll of papyrus. Differing from Champollion, who calls it a funeral liturgy, [*Rituel funéraire,*] and explains it as being precepts for the worship of the dead, hymns and prayers, Lepsius in his Introduction says—"The dead person in whose tomb it was found was the person treated of in it, and it relates only to him and his circumstances in his long wandering after his death on earth. It tells where he comes, what he does, hears, sees; or it contains the prayers and discourses which he himself utters to the different gods to whom he makes his approach." Lepsius further designates the whole book as a collection of single, more or less early, independent texts, joined in one roll and placed under the title which refers only to the first fifteen chapters, as follows: "Beginning of the chapter of the appearance in the light of Osiris." Then the particular vignettes of the title and larger pictorial representations—as, for example, of the judgment of the dead—are described generally.

Lepsius has not given connected translations, and we ought not to expect any from him; as at a later period he has first declared we must entirely refrain from it in course and as a whole, and only use those parts which can be unquestionably explained. Compare Ueber eine hieroglyphische Inschrift am Tempel zu Edfu: Aus den Abhandlungen der Königlichen Academie zu Berlin, 1855, pp. 69–141. Some years after the publication of the Book of the Dead, [Todtenbuch,] Seyffarth directed his attention especially to it, whose principles of deciphering, differing from Champollion's, need not here be repeated, as they are to be seen in many works of modern times. Compare my *De Veterum Ægyptiorum lingua et literis*. Leips. 1851, and Seyffarth's *Grammatica Ægyptiaca*, Goth. 1855. He treated of the Todtenbuch in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1845, '46, p. 71, &c., under the title "das Turiner Hymnologium," and translated its superscription thus: "Contemplation of the discourses of the Serene, Sublime King, the Creator of Men, the God before whom bow the mountains of the world," [Betrachtung der Reden das Erlauchten, des Erhabenen Königs. des Schöpfers der Menschen, des Gottes vor dem sich die Berge der Welt beugen.] Some other chapters also—1, 6, 7, 11, 65, 80, 88—he subjoins in a translation, and endeavors to define the contents of all the chapters according to their superscriptions. But much as the phonetic system and principle of homonyms discovered and followed by him is to be recommended, yet the translations at that time given by him suffer from certain defects which he has first corrected recently. He assuredly would have obtained many more disciples of his system, and have secured much greater applause for himself from the learned, had he adopted the pure Coptic language as the basis of his decypherings. But he held to the Old Egyptian language as a peculiarly sacred one—a dialect approaching the Chaldaic; and then explained this simultaneously from the Coptic, Chaldaic and Hebrew languages, whereby he allowed a considerable play for mere conjecture. It is also known that in the Oriental languages, in the case of genitives the principal governing word always precedes, and the dependent ones always follow; and that in the same the object hardly ever can stand before the verb. Seyffarth on the contrary left out of view this important law of Oriental language; he translated, for example, wholly according to modern usage,—"The raiser of the dead; the people of the law; the godless he punishes in the name of the prince; he who does not honor the laws; to what flames he is hurled down like the stars,"

&c. [Der Todten Auferwecker; des Gesetzes Leute; die Gottlosen straft er im Namen des Fürsten; wer die Gesetze nicht ehrt; welcher Flammen herabstürzt gleich den Sternen, &c.]

But aside from this and some other defects of his translations in 1845, Seyffarth, without receiving the acknowledgment due to him, has essentially aided the study of the deciphering of hieroglyphics, and in respect to Champollion must always be named as the first discoverer of syllabic hieroglyphics. But that Lepsius and Seyffarth translated the title itself of the book so diversely from each other, is the less remarkable, since even the name of the mother of the dead is differently read by different advocates of the same system, as for example by Lepsius, Setuta; by Brugsch, Tsenmin; by Orcurti, Setmin.

If we wish further to pursue the fates of the Todtenbuch, besides small portions and sections,—as for example in my Thoth, Gött. 1855, and Todtengericht bei den alt. Æg., Berl. 1854,—there have very lately again been made essays at its translation. Especially we may cite Seyffarth's Theologische Schriften der Alten Ægypter, Gotha. 1855, in which book—chaps. 1, 5, 108, and plates xli. l. lxxii.—twenty-five are translated and illustrated in detail. Almost contemporaneously, or only a short period later in the same year, has appeared an accurate description of the monuments of the Turin Museum, [Orcurti. Catalogo illustrato, etc., Tur. 1855, 8,] in which also some sections of the Todtenbuch are translated into Italian. Of these two, Seyffarth's appears to be entitled to the most credit, and so to deserve the preference; because they seem to be founded on the paraphrase of the hieroglyphic pictures by Coptic letters, and the tracing them back to Coptic roots of words, and for an accurate exposition; and it can thus be subjected to a test, while in Orcurti's there is only a simple Italian translation, without any linguistic explanations, in which a person conversant with hieroglyphics could not once imagine why it should be translated precisely thus and not otherwise. For his exposition, which he has translated after Champollion, is not satisfactory, as a great number of groups of hieroglyphics which are found in the Book of the Dead are scarcely explained at all in Champollion's Dictionaries, or otherwise than by his successor.

As now in this volume of mine frequent reference is made to particular sections of the Book of the Dead, so I subjoin a short account of the contents, according to the superscription of the particular chapters:—

Superscription—"Book of the Discourses of the Supreme God, the

Most High King, the Ruler of his Slaves, the God who Created the World."

Chap. 14—treats of the Creator and of the Creation; especially of the formation of light, of the human race, of the four-footed animals, fruit-trees and fruits. Next follow, on to *Chap.* 20, pious meditations, and hymns to particular divinities, especially to the Sun-god, to Thoth [18] and others. Then meditations on the various parts of the human body—the mouth, the bladder, the stomach, the heart [26], and especially important beasts—for example the beetle, [30] the crocodile, [31, 32] serpents and worms. *Chap.* 42, in the manner of the old astrology distributes the fourteen members of the human body under the seven planetary divinities and twelve great zodiacal gods, and recommends the same to their special protection. Then follows sketches of particular trades or occupations, as of a butcher, cabinet-maker, baker, apothecary, seaman; then particular magistrates, supreme judge, the executioner, jailer, college of justices and others, as well as finally sacred animals—for example the hawk, the phœnix; also writing and its inventor are celebrated in *Chap.* 90, &c. *Chap.* 99 treats of navigation on the Nile, and the necessary parts of a well-built vessel. Of particular interest here too are *Chap.* 110 and *Plate* xli., on account of a representation of the land of the blessed, where the dead sails on the heavenly Nile, where he ploughs, sows, harvests, threshes and sacrifices; where the two barks are formed on which the sun and moon navigate the heavens. *Chap.* 125 and *Plate* l. represent the already-explained judgment of the dead in Amenthes. Compare my Todtengericht bei den Alten Ægypter, Berl. 1854. The proper hymnology, with the song of praise to the gods, begins with *Chap.* 127; and then follow the astronomical books [*Chaps.* 144–150]. Of these Lepsius in his Introduction, p. 16, says only the following: "*Chap.* 144, Seven Ari are enumerated in the following twenty-one Sebchet, then fifteen Sebchet, then again seven Ari,"—without further explanation what the heavenly abodes Ari and Sebchet mean. But the sections bear the following superscriptions:—

144. Book of the Seven Princes, the Lords of the house [planets].

145. Book which treats of the twenty-one possessions of the house of the Shining abodes in the dwelling-house of Osiris [constellations].

146. Book of the fifteen possessions of the house of the Shining abodes in the dwelling of Osiris.

149. Without superscription treats also of the groups of Stars, of which every one is named Kol, *i.e.* collection, viz. of stars.

The numbers 7, 21 and 15 might have been introduced because the

discourse here is of the planets and groups of stars, as also Ptolemy in his "Almagest" mentions 21 constellations of the Northern and 15 of the Southern Hemisphere. The last sections appear, again, to be of medical subjects, as they treat of some internal parts of the human body. Compare Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft, &c.

(3) p. 35. Plutarch in his well-known essay "De Iside et Osiri," chap. 10, says, respecting the name of the latter,—"Some also explain the name [Os-iri] by Many-Eyed, because *Os* signifies many, and *iri* in Egyptian language is the eye." Since now Osiris was originally regarded as the God of the Sun-light, so this explanation is not only sensible but it is confirmed and justified by the Egyptian language and by the hieroglyphics in which both parts of the name are found in the given meaning. Compare the Author's *Philologus Ægypticus*, Lips. 1853, p. 24. On the other hand moderns have sought other explanations of the name; and although Osiris is well known to be the husband of Isis, Bunsen, following Plutarch, chapter 34, names him Hysiris, and says, [Æg. Stelle in der Weltgsch. I. p. 494,] "This connected with the hieroglyphic leads to the sole correct derivation of the name—*the Son of Isis*." But aside from the fact that Osiris *never* appears as the son but always as brother and husband of Isis, according to this explanation *iri* must signify *son*, which cannot be proved, as *iri* and *alu*, p. 566, are widely different, though the change of *r* and *l* is found in the Egyptian language. Another explanation is found in Seyffarth's Theol. Schrift. d. alt. Æg. He says, p. 2, "Osiris signifies the Most Holy." But this translation appears not to be founded in the Coptic language, as in that there is no single word similar to *iri* with the meaning of *holy*. The meaning of the name therefore already proposed by Plutarch must be allowed the preference.

(4) p. 50. The wine-culture among the other ancient nations is described by the old writers exactly in the following sketch of the culture of the vine in Egypt according to representations on the wall-pictures. According to Pliny, XVII. 21, there were five different methods of the same: either they left the grapes to run simply on the ground, or to shoot without any supports upward, or they fastened them to single poles or two or three supports connected by a yoke. The first of the kinds mentioned is even to-day used in Palestine, [Rosenmuller Morgenl. iv. 88, ff,] while the latter, according to the monuments, were specially in use in Egypt. Among the old Romans the vine-stock was planted in hollows or trenches, supported by poles of reed, oak or olive wood; sometimes every stock had four poles

with a cross-piece over every one, and was then called *vitis compluviata*, on account of the resemblance of this square to the *compluvium*, the inside court of the Roman house surrounded by buildings. They were also wont to bind the vine-stocks to certain trees, and as it were marry them with the same, of which Horace plays upon the words in his Second Epode, [Plin. xiv. 1: *populis nubunt maritas complexæ.*] The pressing took place among the Old Hebrews as with the Egyptians, by treading out in a trough, while among the Romans frequently a particular machine for pressing is mentioned, from which the pressed-out juice was run through a sieve and caught in a large tub. But that wine was cultivated, pressed out and drunk early in Egypt, the many pictures of the wine-culture, vintage, taking off of the grapes, pressing and filling the juice into flasks and pitchers, prove, which are found on the Old Egyptian wall-pictures, and which have been published by Rosellini and Wilkinson, [Ros. ii. 1, p. 365; Wilk. ii. 143, &c.] Rosellini says of these pictures,—"These objects are not found merely in the tombs of the time of the 18th Dynasty, but also in those which belong to the oldest dynasties." With this may be compared what Athenæus says in his Deipnosophists, v. p. 191: "Among the Egyptians formerly the banquets of every kind were moderate, as Apollonius relates, who has written concerning the customs of this people. They contented themselves when they sat at table with the most common and healthy food, and with as much wine as is sufficient to cheer the heart, [*ad animum exhilarandum.*]" The same author at the end of his first book praises greatly the Egyptian wine, mentions a number of species, and says that the kind which grew especially around Koptos was so light that it might be given without hesitation to the sick.

(5) p. 59. The Egyptian wagon is correctly described here according to the representations on the Egyptian monuments. Exactly similar, only probably more durable and less elegant, were the Egyptian war-chariots. Compare Thoth, p. 94. Two-wheeled battle-chariots are also found with the Homeric heroes and the Old Hebrews, with whom they doubtless consisted wholly of iron, as in the different passages in the Bible the iron is named, [Josh. xvii. 16; Judges i. 19.] Also among these people only two persons stood up in the chariot as with the Egyptians, one a combatant and the other a driver. The Gauls and Britons too had such battle-chariots, which were called *esseda*, and after whom the combatants in the chariots were called *essedarii.*—Caes. Bell. iv. 33.

(6) p. 66. The account of Atnute respecting the primitive history

of Egypt, with the exception of the invented name Sabo,—Æg. *Sabe*, the Learned, *Sabo*, to learn,—are perfectly historical. The original inhabitants of the country, according to the legends of the Egyptians themselves, were without the knowledge of agriculture, and lived, without any regular civil government, on the natural fruits of the earth, and on fishes which the Nile furnished in abundance; and they inhabited huts made of rushes. Compare Heeren Ideen. ii. 60. The first culture these tribes of black and dark-brown color, and who appear thus represented in the monuments, received, were by means of people of another descent and complexion, who settled down in the valley of the Nile, built cities, erected monuments and founded States. The ruling castes of priests and soldiers, according to the variegated wall-pictures, belonged to a fairer race, who subjected the dusky ones and made them their dependents. The origin of these two castes, who exercised the most decisive influence on the cultivation and religion of the whole people, is of the highest importance, and can be easily discovered and proved. Thebes and Elephantine, which are called the two most important States of Upper Egypt, in the statements of the priests to Diodorus, must have been colonies of Meroe in Ethiopia, while Memphis on the contrary was a colony of Thebes. So then it was that the priestly stock, who reigned in Memphis, spread themselves out by colonies first in Upper Egypt, and from thence again caused other settlements following the course of the river in the northern regions, which originally also formed as many single priestly States independent of each other, and afterward united by powerful rulers into one whole. This mother-State Meroe was in the earliest period already famed on account of its proportionably high cultivation, its cities, temples and palaces, as well as on account of its picture-writing, civil institutions and laws. The ancients speak of an *island of Meroe*, by which is understood the country that is surrounded by the rivers *At-bar* and *Bahr el Abiad*, and might easily be regarded as an island, as in the inundation it might present such an appearance. The ancient authors have related many things of this Meroe. The ruling priestly stock chose from among themselves a king, who was honored as a god by the people, but was as dependent on the priests as was afterward the Egyptian kings. Compare Thoth, p. 82, &c. The priests, as Diodorus relates, III. 6, when it was thought best for him to die, sent a messenger to the king with such a command. They caused it to be announced to him that the Gods had enjoined this—and the king in such a case never ventured to resist the will of the Gods or of the priests, but yielded himself up to death. But

Meroe was, according to Herodotus, II. 29, at the same time also a warlike, conquest-loving State, which as Pliny, VI. 29, relates in the period of its highest prosperity had an army of 250,000 men under arms. Priests and soldiers therefore, those whom Egypt received from abroad as an entering element, possessed Meroe in the greatest degree and in large numbers, so that the opinion that colonies of Meroe had wandered into Egypt appears ever more credible and deserving of credit. The two principal gods who were honored in Meroe were Jupiter and Dionysios, or Ammon and Osiris. The worship of Ammon became extended even to Thebes the city of Ammon, and to Ammonium in the Lybian Desert, both of which are named after this god, [Herod. II. 42.] And when Diodorus, III. 3, relates that the Egyptians were colonists who went out of Ethiopia to Egypt under the lead of Osiris, by this legend is intimated the diffusion of the worship of Osiris from Ethiopia and Meroe. In the same place Diodorus points to the agreement of Egyptian manners and laws with the Ethiopian.

(7) p. 70. According to the concurring accounts of later writers, astrology was first and especially cultivated in Egypt, and then communicated to the rest of the world. Herodotus relates, II. 82, that the Egyptians had first found out what god ruled in every particular month and every particular day; and how, therefore, it could be reckoned what misfortunes awaited any one according to the constellation at the hour of birth; how and when one should die, and what character he should have. For according to the ancient astrology the signs of the zodiac, its decans and degrees and the months corresponding to them, the ten-day weeks and the days, yea, even the hours, were under the reign of well-known planet-gods, and they sought, from their different positions in relation to each other, from their reciprocal, friendly, or hostile appearance [aspect] to determine the fate or destiny of the newly-born. In this respect generally certain planets were benignant, others unfavorable; the former promised good-luck, the latter foreboded ill-luck. Jupiter and Venus were always propitious; on the other hand Saturn and Mars were always unfavorable, while Mercury was variable. The sun and moon, although the greatest, most powerful and efficacious of all, had in different places a different influence. Compare Sextus Empiricus *Adversus Astrologos* and the astrological writings of Ptolemy, Vettius Valens, Paulus Alexandricus, Firmicus, Marcus Manlius. When now Atnute relates that he was born in the hour of mid-day, the sun standing high in the zenith was decidedly favorable to him, while Mars

and Saturn, the hostile stars, threatened him with misfortune and ruin, from their hostile aspects. In the same manner, though much more favorable, because the influence of the two unpropitious planets fell out, was the constellation of Goethe. He begins in Dichtung and Wahrheit with the words—"With the stroke of the clock at twelve I came into the world. The constellation was favorable: the sun stood in the sign of the Virgin and culminated for the day. Jupiter and Venus looked down kindly; Mercury not contradictory; Saturn and Mars were indifferent."

(8) p. 76. It is of course to be understood that other funeral processions might and did differ from that here described, in some particulars. This is correctly described according to that of a Royal Secretary which Wilkinson gives in pictures in the above-mentioned place. The funeral processions no doubt differed according to the class, occupation, or the higher or lowlier position in life of the deceased. As the opened tombs prove, the principal ensigns of his former business and different objects that he prized were carried after the mummy in solemn procession and put into the tomb—as for example, for the soldiers their arms; for mechanics their tools; for physicians their surgical instruments and a small medicine chest, such as may be found in the Royal Museum at Berlin; for the deceased, if a woman, her mirror, combs, ear-drops, necklace and other ornaments. In the whole ceremonies likewise there was displayed more or less splendor and cost, corresponding to the birth, position in life and riches of the deceased. The sketch too of the passage across the lake, given in what follows, is according to the pictures on the monuments. The Berlin Museum possesses two old Egyptian models of such barks which were found inside of a sepulchral chamber close to the sarcophagus. In the former of them lies the mummy of the deceased on a bed of death, under a canopy; two priests stand beside it, one of them reading in a written roll, the other is slaying a bullock. Orcurti also—*Catalogo Illustrato*, p. 101, No. 167—mentions a model of the bark of the holy procession in the Egyptian Museum at Turin.

(9) p. 86. The description of the Labyrinth is attempted, according to the accounts—varying indeed from each other in some details—of the old historians, especially Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny. The passage quoted from Pliny gave occasion to the hypothesis advanced respecting the object of this vast building, yet it is not to be denied nor passed over that other attempts have been made at all times to find out its destination. It has been regarded sometimes as a burial-

place of the kings, sometimes as a house destined for the conferences of State-officers, sometimes as a place where the mysteries were celebrated, and sometimes finally as a laboratory, where the Egyptian priests sought to find out the philosopher's stone. Compare Gatterer, Weltgeschichte in ihrem ganzen Umfange, i. p. 504, &c. As to the builder, or rather the first founder of the Labyrinth, we find in Eratosthenes that it was Marĕs, while in Manetho it is Lamares, the successor of Sesostris, [Twelfth Dynasty,] in eight years of his reign, and the inscription is—"This Labyrinth was erected for a tomb." Herodotus likewise narrates of the old kings who "originally" erected the Labyrinth, and whose coffins stood in it. Diodorus, I. 61, says that it was built by a monarch by the name of Mendes, whom some also call Maros, which latter name agrees with Marĕs and Lamares. But the building may have decayed somewhat by time, and been restored under the Dodecarchy, so that afterward the Dodecarchs themselves were looked upon as its builders, [Herod. II. 148.] That, as is here shown, the building itself at different times received alterations and new additions, may probably also explain how the different historians, who visited Egypt in different centuries or drew from various accounts, disagree in some points with each other in their descriptions of it. If as the old historian maintains, it was a tomb of the kings, it shows a great progress of the art and taste in contrast to the earlier colossal pyramids, [4th Dynasty of Manetho,] void of taste, the entrance to which, after the deposit of the mummy, was walled up and wholly closed against access to the outer world. An Essay for an architectural plan of the interior arrangement of the wondrous structure, made according to the old descriptions, by Mr. Arundale, may be found in Bunsen's Ægypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, ii. S. 334, and plate xxi. The Labyrinth which Dedalus constructed in Crete might have been an imitation, in miniature, of the Egyptian; a third one was in Lemnos, a fourth in Italy.—Pliny Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 13.

(10) p. 96. Proper coins, in our sense of the word, are first to be found in Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies and the Roman sovereignty, and so since about 300 B.C. "The so-called *Scarabæi* often found in great quantities in Egypt, and now preserved in European museums, have for this reason been regarded as Egyptian money. These are smaller or larger stone images of beetles, with longer or shorter inscriptions engraved on the bottom surface. But they could not have been money, because they are never of the nobler metals but wholly of stone. Moreover they are no doubt seal-stones, as

some of them were set in gold rings, and as their inscriptions not only contain the names of the kings but also of the gods and of private persons. The collection by Doron and Klaproth—*Collection d'Antiquités Égyptiennes*, Par. 1829—contains more than a thousand of such various Scarabæi impressions. Compare Zeitsch. der Morgenl. Gesellsch. vol. vi. p. 111, &c. They therefore, as is more than probable from the account of the most ancient times in Egypt as well as in other nations, made use of smaller and greater lumps of gold and silver, which were furnished with marks of their weight; and thus by those who in an ancient Egyptian law—in Diodorus i. 78—are called *νόμισμα παρακόπτοντες*, *counterfeiters of money*, persons are to be understood who made false accounts in respect to the signs of weight. So Abraham, [Gen. xxiii. 16,] in payment of a field of Ephron, weighed out silver, and the ancient Israelitish merchants for this object carried a little balance in their girdle-bags. But since often in the Egyptian monuments persons are pictured who weigh a quantity of equally large golden and silver rings with each other, there is reason for the supposition that they probably made use of small rings of defined weight as a sort of common money.

(11) p. 99. We must in general confess that we know much less of the dwelling-houses of the old Egyptians than of their temples, palaces and other vast public works of architecture. Old writers—as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, &c.—have only described in detail temples, palaces, pyramids, obelisks and the Labyrinth, but on the other hand have said little or nothing respecting the private dwellings of the Egyptians. Ruins too are preserved even to the present day of temples and other magnificent buildings, on account of their solid and durable materials, while there remains hardly a trace of the private houses, since they were always made less solid and mostly of bricks. As to the ruins of temples which remain, we perceive at first sight that the old Egyptians, as in many other things, were original in their architecture, and differ essentially from other people of the same times. Vitruvius relates that the public buildings of the Greeks had a country house for a model, as the first inhabitants of Greece were early compelled by the climate of their country to erect huts of trunks of trees, twigs and straw, and therefore in their later architecture this form necessarily had an influence. On the other hand we find in the Egyptian buildings no trace of a similar primitive model, and we must therefore admit De Pauw's supposition that the original type of the Egyptian architecture was a cavern in a mountain, since the Egyptians must have dwelt in such caverns in the

earliest times, as they were lacking in timber; and on account of the inundations of the Nile they must have settled down earliest in the mountain regions of the Thebaid. The walls of the Old Egyptian temples and other public buildings were disproportionately thick; according to the accounts of travelers they have been found from 20 to 24 feet thick. The pillars were of such a kind that their thickness was very great in comparison to their height, the proportion of the diameters to the height varying from 1 to 3 and 1 to 6. Many pillars were 20, 24 and yet more feet in circumference, and they sometimes stood so near each other that the space between two of them was only 1½, 2 or 3 feet. The forms of the pillars were diverse. Most of them were round, many octagonal or hexagonal, and a very few square. With most of them the diameter was everywhere alike, yet there were those which bulged out in the lower third or half. The oldest pillars, for example many among the ruins of Thebes, had no pedestals; but in other regions there have been found under the remains of the bottom, round, many-cornered and some few cube-shaped pedestals. The capitals of the pillars were of manifold shape,—square stones, lotus-flowers, leaf-work, Isis-heads, &c., the more decorated and artistic of which must be referred to a later period of the Egyptian kingdom. The roof was for the most part entirely flat, and consisted of large massive pieces of work which were laid across from one pillar to another, and on which again others rested, and so were rendered necessary many pillars standing so close to each other.

As to the private dwellings of the Old Egyptians, alas! descriptions are wanting; but the circumstance that hardly any ruins of them are preserved indicate that they were built of lighter and more perishable materials than the temples. Without doubt they were formed of rough bricks; and Wilkinson says, II. p. 96, the use of rough bricks hardened in the sun was common as well for public as also for private buildings, inclosures of gardens or grain-houses, walls around the courts of temples, the fortresses, cities and dwelling-houses and tombs—in short all except the temples themselves were of rough bricks. The picture in Wilkinson, II. p. 94, gives us a general idea of an Egyptian house according to the sculptures. We enter directly through a portico and the main gate into the first open court; before us lies a hall resting on pillars which Wilkinson states to be the reception-room; three gates open into a second court, which is planted with trees and has in the rear a large gate to go out by; on the right and left again three gates lead to the interior of the house itself, *i.e.* first into two pillared passages, from which by a great number of

doors entrance can be had to as many rooms in the basement: they contained, according to the articles pictured therein, various kinds of stores, pitchers, boxes, dried fish, &c. At the further end is the kitchen. According to Wilkinson's supposition, the proper sitting-rooms, sleeping-chambers and guest-chambers were in a second story, above this basement. In respect to the Villa described in our text, reference may be made to a representation in Wilkinson, II. p. 132, taken from one of the old monuments, and which contains reservoirs, store-rooms, watch-rooms, stairway, an open court, a pavilion, a fruit-garden, stables, dwelling-rooms, shady alleys of trees, a canal from the Nile, pyramidal towers with porter's lodges, &c.

(12) p. 104. Such unburnt bricks dried and hardened in the sun may be found in the Royal Berlin Museum, in a little passage-room which leads from the temple into the historical saloon. These bear the stamp of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and recall to mind vividly the time of the Israelitish bondage in Egypt. They contain for the most part a quantity of chopped straw, which is mixed in with the clay to give it firmness and durability. Baumgarten mentions similar ones in modern times in Cairo, in his Travels, chap. 18. "The houses are mostly of bricks which are merely dried in the sun, and mixed with straw to give them firmness." Compare Rosenmuller, *Morgenland.* I. p. 27, and Rosellini, *Monumenti del Egitto e della Nubia*, II. p. 259.

(13) p. 116. Not only on account of the prophetic gifts here described which is assigned to him, but also in a chronological respect, is Apis of the highest importance. The five and twenty years' cycle of Apis, [*εἰκοσιπενταετηρίς,*] an equalizing of the solar and lunar calendar is well known, while 309 mean synodic months are equalized with 25 Egyptian years up to 1 hour, 8 minutes and 33 seconds. Compare Bailly, *Hist. de Astron.* pp. 404, 405; Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 160, and the author's *Thoth*, p. 225. It is also known that the Old Egyptians, in order to give to this astronomical period an outward symbolic dress, adored the sacred bullock Apis, at Memphis, and after he had been worshiped for twenty-five years killed him and supplied his place by another. For Apis was an animal consecrated to the Moon. Among the four genii of death he bore the head of the cynocephalus sacred to the moon, and which was named after his name, *Hapi*, [Plut. Symp. viii. 1, and de Iside, chap. 43,] and on his right side had a picture of the moon on the increase, [Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 46.] That he was consecrated to the moon Ammianus Marcellinus, Ælian, Porphyry, Suidas, &c. also confirm. Compare Zeitschr.

der Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellsch. vol. vii. p. 427. According to other authors, Apis stood in a certain relation likewise to the Nile, and this it is easy to explain, since the swelling of the Nile was frequently brought into connection with the effects of the moon. Either the birth or the death of an Apis, the mourning over the same, or the festival and joy on account of again finding one, is mentioned in many ways by the ancient authors; and the tombs of Apis recently discovered at Memphis promise new and important conclusions. But yet in these circumstances so full of significance for chronology there are some difficulties which hitherto have not found their entire explanation. Apis, like all living creatures, was mortal, and subject to different casualties. If now he died before the fixed period of the twenty-five years was he to be lamented till the end of this period, and then first a new one supplied in his place? Or did he immediately have a successor, who filled up the remaining years of the twenty-five of his predecessor? How long was Apis usually mourned before they sought out and found a new one in place of the one deceased or killed? These and other questions may be very properly asked and an answer to them desired, before the Apis-period can be allowed a determinate voice in the establishment of the Egyptian chronology; and when Seyffarth, for example, uses the account of Diodorus, I. 84, "That just after Alexander's death an Apis died in the *feebleness of age* [*γήρα*]," for correcting the chronology [Berichtungen der Geschichte und Zeitrechnung, Leips. 1855, pp. 11, 12] it may be justly objected that here the question is not of the close of an astronomical Apis-period; as the death in the *feebleness of age* might take place at any given time within the twenty-five years, and only the drowning of Apis in the Nile by the priests at the end of his prescribed lifetime is related to an astronomical change of Apis. Compare Plin. viii. 46; Solinus, 32; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 14. 7. At how early a time the introduction of this period falls is evident from this, that Manetho says, Under the second king of his second dynasty *Kaiechos*, the bulls Apis in Memphis and Mnevis in Heliopolis were proclaimed to be gods, [*ἐφ οὗ οἱ βόες Ἄπις ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Μνεῦις ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει . . . . . ἐνομίσθησαν εἶναι θεοί.*] But as every dead person was after his death identified with Osiris and was thought to be joined to him as one person, so too was Apis after his death, who received the name Osiris-Apis [*Ὀσοραπῖς*], that is by contraction *Serapis*, and as such, till the discovery of a new Apis, was as dead, mourned over, honored and worshiped, and placed in the *Serapion* in Memphis. Compare Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. ut

supra, p. 428. From "*Osiris-Apis* in *Amenthes, King of the Gods*," as he is often named on the monuments, arose the *Serapis* of the Greeks, the God of the world beneath.

(14) p. 129. As the old astrologers placed every particular division of the zodiac—the years, months, weeks, days and hours, and in short all things in space and time—under the special protection of one of the seven planets, so to the various divisions of human life the planetary divinities were assigned as special sovereigns and rulers, and indeed in the following manner:—

1. Childhood	(*infantia*),	lasting	4	years,	the Moon.
2. Boyhood	(*pueritia*),	"	20	"	Mercury.
3. Adolescence	(*adolescentia*),	"	8	"	Venus.
4. Youth	(*juventus*),	"	19	"	Sun.
5. Manhood	(*virilitas*),	"	15	"	Mars.
6. Age	(*senectus*),	"	12	"	Jupiter.
7. Old Age	(*senium*),	"	till death,		Saturn.

Compare Ptolemy Quadripart. post Firmic. vol. ii. p. 72. For as further the old astrologers maintained that the particular events of life might be accurately reckoned to a day or hour according to the horoscope, they also placed the particular years of the life of man under the seven planets in the succession given; and thus the years 7, 14, 21, &c. were regarded as specially unfortunate, because they had the hostile and ruinous Saturn for their governor. This is precisely our so-called years of the stages of life, which even to the present day are regarded as peculiarly dangerous turning-points in the life of a man, and owe their origin without doubt to the Old Astrology. Every such series of seven years was again placed under a particular planet, and so the 7 times 7 or 49th year was the most hazardous year of life, because it was doubly under Saturn—first as Saturn ruled this year 49, and secondly because the same unpropitious planet ruled the whole succession from 43 to 49. And who does not know that in the superstition of all times, even to the most modern, the 49th year of one's life has always played a principal part!

(15) p. 147. Strychnos [*στρύχνος*], according to Pliny, xxi. 15, a plant growing wild in Egypt, was well known to the ancients for its effects. The same author in different places of his *Natural History* gives different species and names to it. It was, for instance, called spear-plant [*δορύκνιον*], because the ancients were wont to poison the points of their spears and arrows with the juice drawn from it; the Romans called it *vesicaria* [bladder-plant], because they used it sue-

cessfully for the stone-disease of the bladder. Another species called *halicacabon* produced death more quickly than opium, and was also named *morion* or *moly*. This is the well-known *μῶλυ* of Homer's Odyssey, x. 304, which was given to Ulysses by Mercury as a counter-charm against the enchantments of Circe, and which had a black root with milk-white blossoms. Xenocrates maintained that there was no bodily disease which could not be healed by strychnos. According to Pliny, xxvi. 12, the juice of the plant was applied with success to all kinds of wounded limbs; it was also useful for bites of serpents and scorpions, headaches, goitres, &c. Its narcotic effects Pliny describes, xxi. 31.—The smallest dose caused violent hallucinations, a double dose real madness [*legitimam insaniam*], and only a trifle more might produce death. It is well known that one of our most violent poisons [*Strychnine*] received its name from it. This latter most dangerous and destructive alkaloid is contained in the so-called *strychnos nux vomica*, the *ignatius amara*, in the *strychnos columbiana*, and in the arrow-poison of Borneo, [the *Woorara*, *Upas tieute*.]

(16) p. 166. As the Old Egyptians did not intercalate, as we do, one day after four years of 365 days, but as the well-known Sothis period proves, after 1460 years one whole year, the festivals connected with particular calendar-days of the civil year did not always happen in the same season of the year. For since the New Year's day [the 29th of the Julian August] once fell due on the first *Thoth* of the civil year, so after the first four years it fell on the second, after eight years on the third Thoth, and so on, and run through all the days of the civil year till after 1460 civil years it returned once more to the first Thoth. Thus too must the festival here described of Osiris, which every time followed directly after the last day of the month *Mesori*, run through the whole civil year; and just so might the various periods of the year—of the inundation, gathering of fruit—sometimes fall on this and sometimes on that month of the Egyptian year. But on the other hand there were also some festivals connected with determinate periods of the year, and so these again could not always happen in the same month. For example, the departure of *Sirius* or the dog-star was celebrated; on the shortest day a cow was led seven times around the temple, and on the same day were brought the first-fruits of the blossoming lentils; and about the time of the spring equinox the lying-in of Isis was celebrated. Compare Plutarch de Iside, 65. The arrangement of the festivals and the determination to what days of the calendar they must belong was always a prerogative of the priests, who reckoned besides the civil year an

astronomical year of 365 days and 6 hours. This latter *fixed* year Cesar borrowed of the priests, as Dion Cassius [Hist. xliii. 26,] and Macrobius [Saturn. i. 14,] agree in stating. Compare Lepsius, Chronol. p. 149.

(17) p. 169. *Sesostris* is a personage too prominent in Egyptian history not to devote to him some pages, and to make the attempt to determine accurately the time of his reign. Manetho in his whole list of Dynasties gives only *one Sesostris*, namely the third king of the 12th Dynasty, to whom he assigns a forty-eight years' reign. It is probable the original work contained a fuller account; the fragments that have reached us in Africanus and Eusebius relate of him the following particulars:—"He was four ells, three palms and two inches high. In nine years he subdued all Asia, and Europe to Thrace, and everywhere erected monuments among all the nations whom he conquered. By the Egyptians he was regarded as the greatest after Osiris." The extended legend of Sesostris is found in Herodotus, II. 102, &c. and Diodorus, I. 55, &c. Both agree in substance in the following statements:—He was educated in common with those boys who are born on the same day in the whole of Egypt, and early trained in warlike exercises. In his father's lifetime even he had conquered Arabia and a great part of Africa. After he had himself come to the throne, excited by his daughter Athyrtis, he formed the purpose of conquering and subjecting all the kingdoms of the world to himself. Before he went forth to the wars he made many good regulations, in order that during his absence peace and quiet might be preserved in his country. On this account he sought especially to assure to himself the love of his subjects by large releases from debts and presents of gold and estates, and then divided the land into 36 Nomes or provinces, over every one of which he placed a governor or Nomarch. After this he assembled his army, which consisted of 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry and 27,000 war-chariots. As leaders of the different divisions he appointed those warriors who were born on the same day as he was and had afterward been brought up together with himself. With this host he went at first to Ethiopia, conquered it without difficulty and rendered it tributary. Thence he sailed with a large fleet of 400 ships across the sea between Africa and Asia, and subdued the islands of the Indian Ocean, and also the mainland of India up to the Ganges. But as it was impossible to have carried so large an army over so wide an ocean, it is to be supposed indeed that at least a part of it marched on the roads by land to Asia, and there again may have met him. He now passed on westward, conquered Scythia to the

Don, Colchis, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago. At last he marched to Europe, where he contented himself however with reaching the Danube and making this river the boundary of his conquests. As we see he marched through and conquered the whole of the then-known world, and ended his warlike expeditions where 2000 years later Alexander the Great began his. In all the countries subdued by him he left monuments which contained inscriptions that gave his own name and that of his father, and related whether the conquered people had offered a brave resistance or cowardly yielded themselves. Among cowardly people the monumental columns contained particular and dishonorable images, [MANETHO, HERODOTUS.] Such monumental pillars of Sesostris Herodotus himself saw in Syria and Ionia with his own eyes; and of these campaigns the same author derives the agreement that is to be found in the particular customs of the Egyptians and other nations, as for example circumcision, which also was later in use among the Ethiopians, Phenicians, Jews, Colchians, &c. Finally wearied with conquests, after nine years Sesostris returned to Egypt with an indescribable number of captives and with great booty and countless riches, where the wiles awaited him which are alluded to on page 164. Having escaped these in the way mentioned, after he had caused his insidious and traitorous brother to be executed, he remained in the quiet and undisturbed possession of his sovereignty. He divided all the spoil he had acquired in his campaigns among his soldiers, and now turned himself to peaceful acts, arrangements and laws, which were preserved to the latest period and proved full of blessing.

The larger portions of Sesostris's kingdom being uninhabitable, partly on account of excessive inundations, and partly in regions at a distance from rivers on account of the want of water, he caused a large number of canals to be dug from the Nile throughout all Egypt, which moderated the overflows and distributed the water proportionally through the country; so that a great part of it could now be cultivated and newly peopled. To afford protection from the too large inundations he also erected a great number of high and wide dams, on which afterward whole cities could be built. He likewise fostered the Arts, and caused very many temples, obelisks and statues to be erected. In all these magnificent buildings and works only the prisoners of war were used; and it was the special pride of the king that no Egyptian was employed for the same, which as Diodorus relates he boasted of in innumerable inscriptions. He is also regarded as the first founder and originator of the Egyptian laws of

war, which is not improbable, as he was the first one who gathered so large an army around him, and therefore must have turned his particular care and notice to its discipline.—Thus Sesostris was great as a warlike hero, great as a lawgiver and in manifold works of peace, particularly by the erection of buildings and monuments; and the memory of him was so sacred to the Egyptians that when two thousand years afterward the king of Persia, *Darius Hystaspis*, wanted to set up his statue in a temple of Memphis before that of Sesostris, the high-priest without hesitation ventured to make objections, and boldly observed that the statue of Darius did not deserve this place because he had hitherto done nothing which could be compared with the deeds of Sesostris much less exceed them.

The views of modern investigators of history are now very diverse as to Sesostris. Although indeed Manetho has only *one* Sesostris in his list of kings; although he ascribes to him the same deeds as Herodotus and Diodorus, yet an attempt has been made to place the mighty conqueror and hero in other times and explain him to be the same person with other kings. For as his reign is one of the most important in the history of Egypt, so it has been the main effort of the chronologers of all times to determine his period accurately. Thus for example Marsham [*Chron. Can.* pp. 22, 352] believed Sesostris to be identical with the Shishak of the Holy Scriptures, who took and plundered Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam. "For," says he, "according to the Alexandrine version and the Vulgate there followed Shishak a multitude of Lybians, Troglodites and Ethiopians, people of whom profane history says they were conquered by Sesostris." Marsham also believes that the pillars mentioned by Herodotus which he himself saw in Syria, were erected by the conqueror for the disgrace of Rehoboam, who had surrendered the city without the least resistance.

This view Perizonius [*Orig. Æg.* p. 106, &c.] very justly controverts. He says Shisak and Sesostris were different kings and far separated from each other. Sesostris according to the clear declarations of the Greeks [compare, besides the before-quoted passages, Strabo, xvii. and Aristotle's *Politik*, vii. 10] was much anterior to the Trojan war. Justin, I. 1, says he lived before the days of Ninus, [*Primus omnium Ninus, rex Assyriorum. . . . Fuere quidem temporibus antiquiores Sesostris, etc.*]; and Ælian [*Var. Hist.* xii. 4] maintains that he was instructed by Mercury. Perizonius too justly supposes that if Sesostris had lived in the time of Rehoboam, the Greeks who at that time possessed the greater part of Asia Minor, where the con-

quering marches of the former were extended, would have noticed them, and that Homer, born a few years afterward, would likewise have done so. Further, according to the Holy Scriptures and Josephus, Shisak after he had plundered Jerusalem and the temple returned home, while according to the accounts of the Greeks Sesostris overran the whole of Asia in a warlike campaign of nine years. Perizonius expresses the idea that Sesostris flourished in the time of the Judges, and the Israelites did not mention his campaigns in their writings because these were directed not so much against *them* as against the other inhabitants of the country; and as Sesostris introduced no change in the kind of government of the countries and did not secure his conquests permanently for himself, so they might have regarded his conquest of Palestine merely as a passage through their country.

In the most recent times the view is become almost universal that Sesostris was one of the Ramses whom Manetho [Dynasties XVIII. XIX. XX.] and the monuments mention. The main inducement for this is without doubt indeed the many war-pictures in the Egyptian wall-paintings, which represent the warlike expeditions and heroic deeds of the Ramessides; and that these Ramessides and their warlike deeds are hardly mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus. Boeckh for example says [Manetho und die Hundsternsperiode, Berlin, 1845, p. 294] of the 18th Dynasty—"Between Ramesses the 15th and Amenophat the 16th kings in Africanus, is to be inserted Ramses the Great, whom Africanus has omitted. While heretofore indeed Sethos or Sethosis, the first king of the 19th Dynasty, was held by Scaliger to be the Sesostris of the Greeks, yet on the other hand Champollion and Rosellini after the guidance of the monuments have recognized the Ramses Miamun found in this place of the 18th Dynasty as the Sesostris of the Greeks. Herodotus, II. 10, admits that the Egyptian priests had placed 330 families or kings after Menes, the last of whom, Moeris, was the 331st including Menes. After him, according to Herodotus, directly followed Sesostris, Pheron, Proteus, &c. Herodotus further relates that when he conversed with the Egyptian priests Moeris had now been dead not nine hundred years. If we place Herodotus's visit to Egypt from 454 B.C. and on, then according to him Sesostris first came to the throne after the year 1354 B.C."

Boeckh also remarks, p. 296, that Herodotus among other monuments in Asia, in Syria and Palestine, saw one of the pillars of Sesostris with the dishonorable images which he caused to be set up among the conquered people whom he had found cowardly in resist-

ance. This monument is now known; the image has indeed disappeared, but the surname-shield Ramses III. is yet discernible. Compare Ideler, *Hermapion*, p. 249. Therefore the *Sesostris* of Herodotus was this *Ramses.*

Another able critic, *Rühle of Lilienstern*, [R. v. L. Graphische Darstellungen zur ältesten Geschichte und Geographie von Æthiopien und Ægypten, p. 72,] maintains that Ramses VI. the first king of the 19th Dynasty was Sesostris. He says, p. 73, "No one of all the Pharaohs has left behind him so countless a multitude of monuments as this famous conqueror, whose marches according to the traditions spread to the East, West and South, and almost the whole of the then-known world. . . . But further that this Ramses must have been one and the same person with the grandson of Miamun—who is called in the different fragments of Manetho *Sethos* and *Sethosis*, and by Diodoris *Sesoosis*, by Strabo and Herodotus *Sesostris*—may be regarded as proved partly by Manetho's own account of the flight of Amenophis [Ramses V. of the monuments] to Ethiopia, in Josephus against Apion, [I. p. 1035,] partly by the answer which Germanicus received in Thebes, [Tacit. *Annal.* II. 60.] There it is expressly said that the son of Amenophis, Sethos, was also called Ramesses or Ramses equally with his grandfather, and here the name of Ramses is affixed to the Egyptian conqueror of Lybia, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, &c. by the priests of the country." Besides he appeals, p. 75, to a bilingual inscription in hieroglyphics and arrow-headed characters mentioned by Champollion [Précis, p. 231] as made at *Nahr el Kelb* in Syria.

The two principal reasons on which a union of Sesostris and Ramses in one person rests, are, as is evident from the above-quoted passages, besides the war-pictures of the Ramessides, in the *first* place the number 900 with Herodotus, and *secondly* the monument in Syria which does not contain the name of Sesostris but Ramses. But these reasons do not compel us to bring Sesostris [XII. Dyn.] forward to a much later time [XVIII. or XIX. Dynasty] against Manetho's account. The war-paintings which refer to Ramses prove nothing in favor of that hypothesis, as no one will maintain that no warlike king lived in Egypt except Sesostris, or after him. When then Herodotus further says that Sesostris lived only 900 years before his time, it is known from many other examples how uncertain he is in the account of numbers, and especially in respect to Egyptian history; and an author to whom in the restoration of an old Egyptian chronology scarcely any voice is allowed, cannot indeed alone decide this point in opposition to other witnesses. The monument finally, in Syria, with the

name of Ramses, only proves that *a* Ramses came thither on his march and there immortalized himself in an inscription; but not that Ramses and Sesostris were the same person; especially as the peculiar dishonorable images characteristic of Sesostris, of which Herodotus and Manetho concurrently make mention, are not found on that monument of Ramses, as Boeckh [page 296] expressly testifies.

For another view that the Sesostris of the 12th Dynasty of Manetho was the *true* Sesostris, the famous conqueror of the world, many important reasons may be adduced. Manetho was an Egyptian priest, and wrote his history in accordance with the old Egyptian temple-archives. He wrote long after Herodotus, knew of his works and took every opportunity to correct him; as, for example, is evident from the history of the builders of the pyramids, where on King Suphis he makes use of the words—"He built the great pyramid which Herodotus ascribed to Cheops." If therefore one of the Ramessides had really been that Sesostris of Herodotus, then Manetho would certainly have here made a correction, and said—"To this Ramses are ascribed the deeds which Herodotus relates of his Sesostris." He does not however do this, but he places a Sesostris, and indeed the *only* Sesostris which he mentions, in the 12th Dynasty, and says of him in a few words the same that Herodotus relates about him more fully. The popular traditions and the sources which he followed must therefore in Manetho's time have pointed to the great conqueror of the 12th Dynasty, about 2600 years B.C. If on the other hand this Sesostris who conquered the whole world was really one of the kings of the 18th or 19th Dynasty, then he lived one or more centuries after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, as they left in the reign of *Amos*, the first king of the 18th Dynasty. But then it certainly is remarkable that in the Book of Kings there is to be found no mention of this mighty foe, for there is no mention here of any campaign of this kind. The Israelites during this period only fought with their nearest neighbors in Palestine, in the midst of whom they dwelt, but never with Egyptian armies of conquest. Finally, in Tacitus [*Annals.* VI. 28] the account is preserved that the Phœnix appeared for the first time under Sesostris, and the second time under the likewise already-mentioned Amosis, the first king of the 18th Dynasty. Sesostris was therefore a whole Phœnix-period [according to Lepsius 500, according to Seyffarth 652 years] older than Amosis, while those critics would place him some centuries later than Amosis. According to Seyffarth, Sesostris falls into the year 2555, as in his view the first appearance of the Phœnix was in this

year, and the second in 1904 before Christ. In this time also Orcurti, in page 217 of the work heretofore quoted, places him, while he makes him reign in the 11th Dynasty, up to 2600 B.C.—But if the Sesostris of the 12th Dynasty was indeed an historic person, yet it is by no means maintained that *all* which is related of him is to be regarded as unconditionally true historically. He was the national hero, and to his name there were probably many things transferred by which the name of a great monarch could be glorified but which otherwise did not belong to him. Thus he was a victor and a great conqueror, the founder of the political division of the country, and of the canal so full of blessing for the fruitfulness of the land, the famous lawgiver, and finally the builder of magnificent temples, palaces and monuments. Compare Heeren Ideen ueber die Politik, &c., Wien. 1817, II. 2, p. 81.

We cast now a look at *Sethos*, often interchanged with Sesostris. Compare as above Rühle von Lilienstern, p. 72. Respecting him Josephus communicates to us [against Apion, I. 15] the following particulars from Manetho:—"Sethos, who is likewise called Ramses, possessed a cavalry and a navy. He appointed his brother Armais as the representative of his sovereignty, and gave over to him the whole kingly power; only he prohibited him from wearing a diadem or showing indecorum to the queen and mother of his children, and required him to refrain from the other royal wives. But he himself undertook a campaign to Cyprus and Phenicia, and then against the Assyrians and Medes. All these he subjected to himself partly by force, and partly without a single blow by the fear which his mighty host inspired. As his courage increased, he pressed boldly forward and subdued the cities and countries which are situated toward the East. But after some time his brother Armais whom he had left behind in Egypt began to act contrary to all that Sethos had forbidden and refused him. He violently possessed himself of the queen, and recklessly and continually served himself of the other wives of the king; and finally, advised by his friends, took the royal diadem and openly revolted from his brother. But the high-priest of Egypt informed Sethos by letter what had taken place. On this account he immediately relinquished his conquests, returned to Pelusium and again took possession of his kingdom." He then further says that Armais was also called Danaos, and was banished by his brother from the country.

The cause of uniting Sethos and Sesostris was doubtless the resemblance of the narrations of Josephus as to Sethos, and of Herodotus as to Sesostris. But the similarity is not so important as it might

appear at a hasty glance; on the contrary, there are many wholly different features in them. They both indeed were conquerors, but Sesostris reached much further than Sethos-Ramses: Sesostris returned after he had subdued the whole world, Sethos after a short period was recalled by the high-priest; the faithless brother of Sesostris rebelled after his return, that of Sethos during his absence; the former sought to destroy his brother with all his family, the latter arrogated to himself only the throne, diadem and wives of his brother; the former was executed, the latter banished. In short all is different. The only agreement is that of two treacherous brothers who grasped after the crown of the sovereign at a distance, who had gone forth on conquests, and this circumstance, if not often repeated, might occur certainly twice in almost a thousand years, just as in a space of fifty, two Napoleons have twice founded a French imperial throne; but both need not therefore be regarded as one person. From all these reasons the Sesostris of the Greeks must be fixed in the 12th Dynasty and decidedly separated from the Ramessides.—For the comparison with what is related finally, the legendary fates of Osiris are worthy of attention, who likewise after long and distant warlike expeditions returning back victorious to Egypt had to fall a victim to the wiles of his brother Typhon. Compare Thoth, pp. 51–58.

(18) p. 180. The Cat was one of the most sacred animals universally honored in Egypt. Herodotus, II. 66, relates the following fable of the priests: — "If a fire breaks out a divine enthusiasm seizes on the Cats. The Egyptians regard then only the Cats without any thought of extinguishing the fire; but the Cats creep through under the men or spring away over them, and rush into the fire. When this takes place there bursts forth an universal wailing. But in the house where the Cat dies a natural death all the inhabitants shave off their eyebrows." The dead Cats, like men, were carefully embalmed, wrapped in linen bandages and laid away in sacred chests in Bubastis, where they have a common tomb. Such Cat-mummies are found in great numbers and brought into the European museums. The *designed* death of any one of the sacred animals was punished with death, with the exception of the Cat and the Ibis; for whoever had the misfortune to be guilty of the death of one of these two animals was unconditionally obnoxious to death, whether he did it purposely or not. The reverence paid to this sacred animal continued even to much later times. When Ptolemy Philometor had not yet secured the friendship of the Romans, and the people zealously endeavored to gain those of them who were present in Egypt by atten-

tive civilities of all kinds, at a period when from fear they were careful not to give any occasion for controversy or war, a Roman had the imprudence to kill a cat. Then the people assembled around the house of the criminal, and neither the messengers from the king for the quieting of the multitude nor the universal fear of Rome could save the unfortunate man from punishment, though he had only undesignedly killed the sacred animal. This Diodorus himself saw with his own eyes when he was in Egypt, [I. 83.]—The Cat was consecrated to the two goddesses Isis and Pascht, which by some, as for example by Bunsen, II. 491, are united in one person. Both of them frequently bear in the pictures or statues in place of a man's head the head of a Cat, on a round disk of the moon, about which the primitive serpent coils itself. Compare Bunsen, Plate XI. The latter, Pascht or Bubastis, is compared by Herodotus, II. 137, to the Grecian Artemis; and when Stephen of Byzantium says that the Egyptians called the Cat Bubastis [*οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιον Βὸυβαστον τὸν αἴλουρόν φασι*] they may have regarded this name "the Bubastic" as that of the sacred animal Bubastis.

(19) p. 187. The kingdom of the blessed is represented in the Book of the Dead, Plate XLI. Just as given in the already earlier-mentioned Essay, [Todtengericht bei Alten Ægypten, Berlin, 1854,] this picture of the heavenly family-economy is in a certain measure to be called dramatic, since everywhere that the space allowed their names, actions and words are marked above the persons represented. Compare Thoth, pp. 60, 128. The whole picture [Plate XLI.] is encircled by the waters of a heavenly Nile, and it is intersected and divided in three separate divisions, standing above each other, by the same Nile. In the uppermost on the right we see first the god Thoth, with the head of an Ibis, and the style and writing-tablet in his hands; here he corresponds entirely to the *Ἑρμῆς ψυχοπομπός* of the Greeks, and conducts the dead who has been justified in the court of the dead into the kingdom of the lower world. On the left hand of Thoth stands the just-introduced dead person, who may be easily known by his name marked above him. This name Lepsius reads Aufanch; Seyffath on the other hand, Ahap Anuk. The former gives no etymological meaning, the latter is translated by "Friend of Anuke." Compare Seyffarth, Theol. Schriften der Alt. Ægypt. p. 2. The deceased is pictured out most exactly three times near each other in different positions in order to express the emotions of the soul which possessed him on his first entrance. These are humility, astonishment and gratitude. As a humble being he has his hands hanging

down and his head bowed; as astonished he appears to be admiring the glories of the heavenly kingdom with uplifted hands; and finally as grateful he presents an offering and comes forward with a censer in his hand to a table of offerings, full of fruits, bread and a slain goose, behind which on elegant pedestals sit three divinities, and above them stands written in hieroglyphics "the three great gods," who no doubt are the rulers of the three Trines of the zodiac and the three Egyptian seasons. [There is another explanation in Seyffarth, ut supra, p. 35.] Further to the left the same deceased person sails on a bark furnished with a sacrificial table, past many heavenly countries and cities, and a writing affixed above announces—"Osiris Ahap-Anuk sails with his bark on the way prescribed to him;" then he brings the world-soul again as an offering to the Creator and to the other gods. The *second* and middle division represents the heavenly family and the heavenly cultivation of the land entirely similar to the earthly. We see here advancing nearest from the right to the left the deceased ploughing with a plough drawn by two cattle, and then also near by sowing the seed; above it stands the hieroglyphic words—"Ploughing and Sowing." Further to the left we see him as a reaper, with a sickle in his hand and busy in cutting the ears, and next follows a threshing-floor, on which are two cattle treading out the grain while they are driven by him with a whip. A longer inscription says in these words—"Description of the harvest which embraces the irrigation of the Nile, ploughing, sowing and growth; further the mowing of the sheaves, a threshing-floor proper for the place, then the treading out on the threshing-floor; finally the separation of the chaff and the grain with the winnowing-fan." To these last words refer two vessels standing near each other, of which the one is filled with chaff and the other with grain. Compare Thoth, p. 104. In the conclusion of this division we see the blessed one anew giving thanks, praising, praying and bringing his offering. Here too he appears again as at the beginning, in threefold positions: he praises the divinity rich in blessing with upraised hands; he prays kneeling, and has also his right hand laid on his heart; and finally in the third place he stands again before a table of offerings, behind which the Nile-god sits enthroned in his chair, with a lotus-blossom on his head and the sceptre in his hand. Above the offerer stands—"Osiris . . . . the Just;" the name of the deceased, which was to be inserted between the two words, has been left out through the negligence of the scribe, as the written rolls of this kind destined for the dead were wont to be prepared beforehand, and there was afterward inserted in

all the necessary places where the discourse was of the dead, together with Osiris, also the name of the blessed one referred to; on which account as here also this addition might easily be forgotten and overlooked in some places. Over this Nile-god are found the words—"Hapi-Móu, Father of the Gods." That the Nile was honored in almost all the cities of Egypt as a distinct god is evident from the fact related by Herodotus, II. 90, that when any one was drowned in the Nile and was driven ashore near a city, the priests of the Nile must embalm him and solemnly bury him. There was likewise a special festival celebrated to his honor which began about the time of the longest day, and so at the commencement of the swelling of the Nile, and in which the river-god was called on to produce an overflow rich in blessing.

Finally the third and lowest division contains two harbors connected with the water that streams around the whole picture, in each of which there is a bark. They are called the "*Harbors for the ships of the powerful;*" and of these two barks, according to the inscription, one is for the Sun, the other for the Moon, that in them they may steer through the heavenly waters. The bark of the sun bears a pair of stairs, that of the moon, on the other hand, a throne-chair; the latter is furnished with eight rowers, by which also is signified the rapidity with which she circles about the heaven compared to the bark of the sun. On the right side of this lower division the water represented divides into several arms, by which the dwellings of every one of the particular divinities are bounded. On both sides of the whole picture in the Turin papyrus stands a long prayer, [Book of the Dead, chap. cxxx. *a*,] which is put in the mouth of the deceased and spoken by him with upraised arms, in reference to the represented kingdom of the blessed.

(20) p. 189. The duration and meaning of the Phœnix-period has been treated by no one more correctly, scientifically and with greater discrimination than by Seyffarth, who after close examination of all the sources belonging to it has proved that the Phœnix signified the planet Mercury, and his burning of himself the transit of the planet through the sun's disk—an astronomical event which repeats itself every 652 years, shortly after the spring equinox. Compare Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, 1849, p. 63; Thoth, p. 226; and Seyffarth, Berichtungen der Geschichte und Zeitrechnung, p. 250. This explanation, which we will not here discuss anew, has hitherto found neither an opposer of name nor a scientific contradiction; for a notable unsupported ridicule by a name-

less reviewer of it [Leipz. Liter. Central Blatt, 1856, No. 25,] is scarcely worth notice, and not to be named a contradiction, with however much assurance he has sought to make himself of importance. Full of errors and contradictions on the other hand is the explanation of the Phœnix fable in Lepsius' Chronologie, p. 108, &c., in which likewise the sources relating to it are not properly used and kept in view. Compare *Leipziger Repertorium der Literatur*, 1849, II. vol. i. St. s. 14. In the above-mentioned work it is attempted to prove that the Phœnix "means the soul purified by the circle of its wanderings." Pliny's account [Nat. His. X. 2] that the Phœnix-period lasted 540 years, in p. 170, is changed into 1464 years, because, according to the opinion of the author, MDLXI. could easily be read instead of DXL.; though Solinus clearly writes *quingenti quadrigenti anni.* Besides the just-mentioned account of Pliny, the 500 years of Herodotus and others, the 1000 years of Lactantius, and the 7006 years in Tzetzes, none are further named or noticed, and it is asserted, p. 181,—"I have by careful comparison been able to find out no others among the ancients."—Shortly after, p. 189, note 3, we read the words "Suidas *v. φοίνιξ*;" yet the number given by Suidas of 654 years is nowhere brought into the investigation. Now it is likewise maintained that the Phœnix-period was originally not different from the Sothis-period that embraced 1500 figurative years, and was reckoned from the days of the summer solstice. If we take from the 1500 years one-half or two-thirds, we arrive at the 500 of Herodotus and 1000 of Lactantius. The period properly lasted 1505 years, but this *small variation* is hardly worth mentioning, p. 187; it indeed began according to Pliny, Syncellus and others, not at the solstitial Thoth but at the spring equinox, on which account, without anything further, these two writers are accused of an error. The appearances of the Phœnix testified to by the ancients do not agree with this explanation, and it is said, p. 189,—"It is clear that some misunderstanding must have crept in there, because the times of the reigns of the kings named, which are sufficiently well known to us, cannot be harmonized with any view of the return of the Phœnix." According to Pliny he appeared 215 years before 97 B.C., on which account CCXV. is changed into CCXXV. and the latter again into MCCXXV. in order to bring out the year 1322 B.C.; according to Tacitus he appeared under the third of Lagidæ, and as this again does not suit, so it is said, p. 189,—"But this opinion is obviously incorrect. Tacitus must either here himself have committed an error, or have incorrectly understood his authority." According to the same Tacitus, further

[Am. VI. 28] the Phœnix came the first time under Sesostris, the second time under Amosis; and in order to explain this, the author thinks of Amosis, and assumes [p. 189] a half Phœnix-period of 250 years; and finally the above-mentioned Sesostris [p. 190] is not the famous one, but Sesostris Ramses II., with whom again the later warlike Ramses III. must be confounded. In short all the old authors have erred and made false reckoning, only not so the author of the celebrated Chronology. Finally the appearances of the Phœnix represented on the money are hardly alluded to, as they could not confirm the proposed hypothesis, much more indeed, would have militated against it. Then further, on p. 196, it is said, "This Phœnix-period being placed beyond a doubt,"—yet a doubt may be allowed to the thoughtful reader until all the points which remain obscure in this inquiry are cleared up. In general there are in the book many incorrect numbers on which false estimates are founded, and which also cannot be removed by the denial in the Leipzig Literary Central Blatt, [as above.] Did the reviewer not examine the book, or did he wish *in the author's favor* to be guilty of a falsehood by maintaining as to its inconclusiveness that there was nothing of the kind to be found in the passages referred to? From a regard to truth we must therefore here once more minutely return to it. Lepsius, in his above-mentioned work, p. 168, says,—"Clemens Alexandrinus . . . . who relates that the exodus of the Israelites followed 345 [*three hundred and forty-five*] years before the Sothis-period." On the contrary it is likewise said, some pages later, [171, 172,]—"If we now, according to the concurrent accounts of Manilius, Censorinus and Theon, have been brought to the year 1322 B.C. as the close of the last Sothis-period, and we afterward turn to the passage of Clemens, it is clear that he in making the exodus of the Israelites to fall 245 [*two hundred and forty-five*] years before the Sothis-period, places it in the year 1567 B.C." This is not an easily admitted and pardonable error of the printer; but as every one may see, the false figures 245 are employed in the calculation, and it is said of Clemens that he referred the exodus of the Israelites to the incorrect year 1567. Compare the Leipzig Repertorium der Literatur, 1849, II. 1, S. 4. Just so in respect to the dates in the Book of Kings, from the Exodus to the death of Solomon, it is reckoned "not much over three hundred years," &c.

(21) p. 208. All the sports and popular amusements are represented and explained in Rosellini and Wilkinson according to the monuments, and also in a short but most interesting treatise

of Minutoli,—"Social Sports and Gymnastic Exercises among the Old Egyptians," Illust. Zeitung VII. 1852, p. 331. The pictures there given are—1. The play of Morra; 2. Odd or even; 3. Game of draughts; 4. Ramses playing draughts; 5 and 6. Draught-men; 7. Chess-men; 8. Hoop-players; 9 and 10. Throwing the spear; 11. Blind-plays; 12–14. Gymnastic Exercises; 15. Boxers; 16–22. Wrestlers; 23. A sham-fight on the water; 24–26. Bull fights; 27–29. Throwing the quoit; 30 and 31. Balls; 32–34. Ball-play; 35–40. Dancers; 41–46. Balancers; 47. Jugglers.

(22) p. 209. While the origin of Thebes, in Upper Egypt, falls into an ante-historical-period, all old authors place the founding, establishing and beautifying of the second capital, Memphis—the extent of which, later, according to Diodorus, was 150 stadia, and thus about nine miles—in the time of the reigns of the first kings, and connect it with the so-called Menes, the first sole sovereign of the country, who followed directly upon the reigns of the gods, by which probably are to be understood the original priestly-colonies and the rule of the gods introduced by them. Menes must have been sole sovereign of the whole country, as all the lists of the Egyptian Dynasties which we possess unitedly begin with Menes, however much they may vary from each other in the names of the other kings. Up to the time of this Menes the whole Delta was a marsh and uninhabitable; but he saw the place there for the future capital, and sought to protect it from overflow by dams and canals. From Herodotus, II. 99, the following is evident:—"The Nile ran formerly along the sandy mountain-chain of Lybia. Menes dammed up the bend of the river above, about one hundred stadia from Memphis, by which the stream received another direction; the old bed of the river was laid bare, and it was forced to flow between the two mountain-chains." Even yet in Herodotus's time this bend of the Nile, forced in by a dam, was carefully examined by the Persians and improved in damaged places, because it was feared that the whole of Memphis might be swallowed up by the river if it should at any time break through and overflow. After now Menes had rendered dry the land ,so dammed up he built the city of Memphis in the mountain vale of Egypt, on the west side of the river, and laid the foundation of the great and famous temple of Hephaistos, [Ptah.] This account of Herodotus in respect to the damming up of the western arm of the Nile has been fully confirmed by modern investigations. Compare Bunsen, II. p, 40, and Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, p. 341. Menes, according to Manetho and Eratosthenes, was a Thinite, born in the city of This, near Aby-

dos, and from this place he appears to have founded his sole sovereignty and there reigned, and afterward removed his royal seat to the newly-founded city of Memphis. Of his son and successor, Athothis, Manetho says, "He built the royal palace in Memphis." But as relates to the name of the city, Plutarch explains it, [de Iside et de Osiride, chap. xx.] "Haven of Good," or "Haven of the Good," [ὅρμιος ἀγαθῶν;] and this the Old Egyptian *Man nufi* really indicates, from which afterward came *Memphi*, *Mephi*, and finally arose the name of the now Arabic village *Menf*, situated in the same spot. The two Hebrew names *Moph* and *Noph* [Hos. ix. 6; Isa. xix. 13] are contracted from the same form. In the hieroglyphics the city is called *Manuf* and *Panuf*. Compare the author's *Inscriptionis Rosettanæ decretum sacerdotale*, Lips. 1853–4, pp. 39, 131.

The famous temple of Ptah frequently mentioned and described in the preceding tale, was according to Herodotus [as above] likewise a work of Menes. But he only laid the foundation and erected the temple-buildings proper, while many later kings contributed to its extension, beautifying and decoration. The well-known king Moeris, who is looked upon by the ancients as the author of the Lake Moeris, named after him, and whose tomb Herodotus fully describes, adorned the temple by propylæ on the north side; the famous Sesostris, with the aid of the prisoners brought back from his warlike expeditions, enlarged it, and erected before it six stone statues, which represented himself, his wife and his four children; the covetous and greedy king Rhampsinitus, known by his treasure-house, one of the Ramessides, the first king of the 20th Dynasty, built the propylæ on the west side, while those toward the east and south owe their origin to Arychis and Psammetichus. The latter also added over against the propylæ a court for Apis, in which he was thenceforth taken care of, which was surrounded with galleries and covered with hieroglyphic pictures, and instead of pillars had collossi twelve ells high, [Herod. II. 153; Strabo, XVII. 64.] Finally Amosis erected on the same portion of the temple a colossus of seventy-five feet high, and two smaller ones of Ethiopian stone, each of which was twenty feet high. Compare Thoth, p. 46. In yet later times also much was done for the adorning and preserving of the temple on the part of the kings. The Inscription of Rosetta relates for example, in its Greek portions, [lines 29–35,] of Ptolemy V., that he had freed the temple from taxes of all kinds, had bestowed on Apis, Moeris and the other sacred animals rich presents, employed large sums in sacrifices and festivals, provided the Sanctuary of Apis with elegant additional buildings, newly-

erected temples, chapels and altars, or caused those which required it to be improved and renovated. But that this temple of Ptah itself maintained and preserved to the latest times its old venerable privilege is especially evident from this, that the same Ptolemy adhered to the ancient custom of the earlier kings, solemnly entered in procession the temple and submitted there to the consecration of the priests, from which no king at his entrance on his reign dared to withdraw himself. Compare Inscript. von Rosette, line 44, and Polybius, xviii. 38.

(23) p. 217. Although the foregoing two hieroglyphic lines in some of the images betray the still uneducated hand of a child, yet the single figures may be easily compared with the hieroglyphics on the splendid monuments and the rolls of papyrus wrought by skilful scribes, and must be briefly explained here. In this the following rules are to be observed:—

1. The hieroglyphics were written on columns from the right to the left and from the top downward. In the former(?) case if several stand above one another they are to be read from the top to the bottom; if in the latter(?) case several stand near each other, they are to be read from the right to the left.

2. The views of Champollion and his successors [Lepsius, Brugsch, de Rougè, &c.] are often false and contradictory,—as that a great part of the hieroglyphic images are to be explained symbolically; they are much more, *without exception*, partly letters and partly signs of syllables.

3. The figures express either the letters with which the name begins, [letter signs,] or the consonants which contain the name, consisting for the most part of two consonants and a vowel interposed between. For example, the foot [*pat*] has the sound of P; the serpent [*set*] expresses the syllable ST.

4. The vowels, as in all Oriental languages, are mostly not expressed, and are only added when there is reason to fear a misunderstanding.

5. Sometimes behind a sign of a syllable two, or at least its last consonant, are once more expressed by other signs, in order to guard against any ambiguity, [Phonetic marks of distinction.]

6. The Old Egyptian language is to be explained by the Coptic, and is only distinguished from this latter language by greater simplicity and a less-developed grammar. The article of the feminine gender and the designations of the persons in the verb in the Old Egyptian language stand after the words to which they belong, (suffixes,) while in the Coptic they come first, (prefixes.) Compare the author's *Linguæ Copticæ Grammatica*, Lips. 1853, pp. 12, 14.

The single figures of the writing in question denote the following letters or syllables:*

Line 1.

Foot, B or P, 35.
Quadrant, K, 56.
Feet, ER, AR, *S.* 207.
Mouth, HR, 26.
Plan of a city, BK, 69.
Half-circle, (mountain,) T, 6. The feminine article standing after the noun.
Leaf, (Champoll., leaf of calamus,) A, 57.
Bird, O, U, 47.
Serpent, ST, ZT, 54.
Fringe, T, *R.* 108.
Line of waves, N, 8.
Little man, RM, *S.* 43.
Three strokes. Sign of the plural.
Bowl, NB, 83.
Square, P, PT, 86.
Ear? *S.* (Todtenbuch, i. 11, cxxxiii. 9; Bunsen, i. p. 687, No. 8.)
Owl, M, 46.
Handle-basket, K, 84, 2d pers. singular.
Leaf, A, 57.
Bird, O, U, 47.

Line 2.

Square, P, PT, 86.
Half-circle, T, 6.
Eye-balls, R, *S.* 135.
Sickle, S, *S.* 605.
Handle-basket, K, 84, as above.
Face, H, *R.* 18.
Stroke, J, *S.* 35.
Foot, P, as before.
Bowl, NB, 83.
Half-circle, T, 6.
Plan of a city, BK, 69.
{ Sling, H, 91.
{ Arm, A, 28.
Temple, Abet.
Square, P, 86.
Half-circle, T, 6.
Sling, H, 91.
Hammer, HTR, 77.
Handle-cross, ANK, *S.* 202.
Serpent, ST, ZT, 54.
Half-circle, T, 6.
Stroke, shortened from the wave-line, N, 8.

If we supply to these hieroglyphical consonants the vowels wanting, we have the following Old Egyptian words:

BoK eR HaRo BaKi-T AuO ZoT eN NiBi Pe T Sme-K AuO.

PeT Ro'Si-K HJ PaNuB T-BaKi HA ABeT PTaH HaTiR ANK ZoT TeNe.

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* The simple numbers refer to my Glossary in *De Veterum Ægyptiorum lingua et literis*, Lips. 1851, pp. 77–100; the letter *R* to my Alphabet in *Inscriptionis Rosettanæ decretum Sacerdotale*, Lips. 1853, pp. 113–120; and the letter *S* to Seyffarth's *Grammatica Ægyptiaca*, Goth. 1855, in the lithographed Appendix.

Or in Coptic—

Ari-bok haro ti-baki auo zot en-romi nibi pet ak-sme auo
Go into the city and say to men all what you heard and

pet ak rosi hi Panuph ha abet Ptah hatir (אַדִּיר)
what you saw in Memphis, and in the house of Ptah the God,

ank zot tene.
the living without end.

The passages in which the same groups of hieroglyphics are found with the same meaning are the following:

Bok, GO, *Inscrip. von Rosette*, line 5. Er, Ari, MAKE; here make as a designation of the imperative, *Ib.* lines 5, 8, 13. Haro, IN, *Ib.* line 8. Baki, CITY, *Ib.* lines 8, 9. Auo, AND, *Ib.* lines 11, 13. Zot, SAY, RELATE, *Todtenbuch*, ii. 2, iii. 1, iv. 2. Romi, MEN, *Inscrip. v. Rosette*, line 11; *Todtenbuch*, cxxiv. 4. Nibi, ALL, *Inscrip. v. Rosette*, lines 6, 8, 10, 11, &c. Pet, WHAT, *Ib.* line 6; *Todtenbuch*, xcii. 3. Sme, HEARD, *Todtenbuch*, i. 11, cxxxiii. 9. Rosi, SAW, *Todtenbuch*, i. 11. Hi, IN, *Inscrip. v. Rosette*, lines 7, 8, 9, 10. Panub, MEMPHIS, *Ib.* line 9. Ha, AND or IN, *Ib.* lines 5, 7, 11. Abet, HOUSE, TEMPLE, *Ib.* line 9. Ptah, PTAH, *Ib.* in many places; *Todtenbuch*, xlii. 7. Hatir, GOD, compare the author's *Inscript. v. Ross.*, p. 135. Ank zot tene, LIVING WITHOUT END, ETERNALLY LIVING, *αἰωνόβιος*, *Ib.* p. 160.

(24) Appendix to pages 182 and 219. The king's name, Osimandyas, which Diodorus writes *Osymandyas*, Strabo *Ismandes*, is to be translated according to the hieroglyphics, especially on the Flaminian obelisk in Rome, by *Os-ma-n-Ptah*, THE MUCH-BELOVED OF PTAH.

THE END.

ERRATA.

The distance of the translator from the press and the necessity of hurriedly reading the proofs by night have caused some errors to escape his notice which, or any others, the reader will please correct.

Page 25, line 12 from the bottom, for *lightening* read *lightning.*
" 68, " 15 " top, " *secret* read *decree.*
" 76, " 9 " " " *on* read *in.*
" 89, Note †, " *Zeitshcrift* read *Zeitschrift.*
" 99, " 19 " " insert *a* before *pointed.*
" 100, " 15 " " insert *an* before *account.*
" 123, " 12 " bottom, " *Hieroskolists* read *Hierostolists.*
" 191, " 14 " " " *or* read *nor.*
" 196, " 5 " top, " *quickens* read *quicken.*
" 197, " 14 " " " *kardamon* read *kardamomon.*
" 210, " 15 " " " *land* read *canal.*
" 210, " 20 " " insert *and* after *them.*
" 211, " 15 " " " *above* read *more than.*
" 211, " 4 " bottom, " *but* read *till.*
" 211, " 3 " " " *has been* read *was.*
" 215, " 10 " " " *might* read *may.*
" 221, " 18 " " " *is* read *are.*
" 221, bottom line, for *to what flames he is hurled down* read *who hurls down to flames.*
" 226, line 2 from the top, for *are* read *is.*
" 226, " 9 " " " *were* read *was.*
" 226, " 22 " " erase *from* before *thence.*
" 227, " 3 " bottom, " *Alexandricus* read *Alexandrinus.*
" 231, " 19 " " transpose *were rendered necessary* to the end of the next line.
" 232, " 18 " " " *gifts* read *gift.*
" 237, " 13 " top, " *of* read *from.*
" 240, " 6 " " " *altesten* read *ältesten.*

Where the word *Horoscope* occurs as a *person*, the word *Horoscopist* may be read.

12/15
Wm. Matthews
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