ART. VII.—HISTORY FROM MONUMENTS.


So recently as the year 1822 a letter of Jean François Champollion, written after long study of the three inscriptions on the so-called Rosetta Stone, foreshadowed to his correspondent, M. Dacier, the true system of interpreting the hitherto mysterious hieroglyphics of Egypt. The key thus once obtained, successive scholars have, with wonderful skill, advanced in this fascinating study, till now, in less than fifty years from Champollion's death, the author of this "History of Egypt" can put it on his title-page that it is wholly derived from the monuments.

This age has, indeed, been marked by nothing more striking than its recovery of the secrets of antiquity. Sir Henry Rawlinson has transcribed and translated the great rock inscription of Behistan, on which Darius once more speaks in his own words to us; Layard has disentombed Nineveh from the mounds of the desert; Schliemann has brought back Troy with its royal treasures, and at Mycenae has recovered for us the golden jewels, shields, masks, and armour of Homeric kings; Dennis and others have laid bare the tombs of Etruria, with their wonders of ancient art; the Germans have unearthed priceless treasures in Olympia; Italy has been made to yield details of the household feminine life of the age of Lucretia, or earlier—its workboxes and its toilette cases, with their frail contents; the sanctuaries of Venus in Cyprus and the tombs of her worshippers have enriched our museums; and if Palestine has not been productive in works of art, it has yet yielded many of its topographical details. Ages that were remote at the birth of Christ have been quickened into a posthumous vividness for which the scholars of the past could never have hoped.
Among them all, however, Egypt holds the first place of wonder, for the valley of the Nile was the seat of high civilisation when "The Friend of God" was still wandering through it with his flocks and herds. It is, indeed, a question far from settled how far back we may place the rise of Egyptian national life and culture, but it must have been very ancient; for even Mr. Stuart Poole, one of the most moderate of Egyptian scholars in his demands, assigns it to the year B.C. 2717, or about 700 years before Abraham.

The uncertainty of Egyptian chronology is still, undoubtedly, extreme. The date of the first king, Menes, is fixed by Boeckh at B.C. 5702; by Unger at B.C. 5613; by Professor Owen at about B.C. 5000; by Mariotte Bey at B.C. 5004; by Brugsch at B.C. 4455; by Maspero at B.C. 4500; by Lanth at B.C. 4157; by Chabas at B.C. 4000; by Lepsius and Ebers at B.C. 3892; by Bunsen at B.C. 3059; by Dr. Birch at about B.C. 3000; by Stuart Poole at B.C. 2717; and by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson at B.C. 2691. Thus, between the highest and the lowest estimates there is a difference of 3011 years.

The fact is, the Egyptians, like the Hindoos, had no idea of chronology in the modern sense. Fragments of an old Egyptian history by a priest, Manetho, still remain; there is a list of sixty-five kings from Menes, on a stone known as the Table of Abydus; a worn record, known as the Turin papyrus, with another list; and a tablet, known as that of Saqqarah; but no one can tell how many of the kings named were contemporary, either as heads of separate divisions of Egypt, or on the same throne; and each reign is an independent starting-point from which the events it yielded have their date. "It is only from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty (that is, from B.C. 666)," says Brugsch, "that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude." "Instead of growing less," he adds, "the difficulties in determining the chronological relations of Egyptian history are, on the contrary, multiplied day by day."

Nor is the proposal to assign an extreme antiquity to Egyptian civilisation from apparent evidence of other kinds more safe. Even so acute a mind as that of Ebers reliest on the discovery of fragments of pottery, &c., at great depths in the Nile mud; but other fragments of indisputably Greek origin, and hence comparatively modern, have been found at least as far down; and Robert Stephenson found a brick with Mehemet Ali's stamp on it at a greater depth than that of the supposed prehistoric fragments. No wonder that Sir Charles Lyell speaks of it as "not worth while to notice such absurdities." The

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1 "Ägypten und die Bücher Moses," p. 22.
presence of stone tools in the Egyptian tombs was also thought to indicate their almost fabulous age, but M. Chabas has satisfactorily shown that similar tools were in use in the latest historical periods of Egypt, and are even now not uncommon in the districts outside.\(^1\)

The origin of the strange people who settled in the Nile valley has been thought by many, of late years, to have been Asiatic; not, as was formerly supposed, African. Ebers, who agrees with Brugsch, tells us that "they were of Caucasian descent, and, as the table of nations in Genesis shows, wandered along with other tribes whose skin we may believe first darkened at a later time under the glowing sun—into the north-east of Africa, apparently by way of Arabia."\(^2\) The skulls of mummies show Caucasian peculiarities, not African, and the Egyptian language, according to both Ebers and Brugsch, not only shows no traces of derivation from African sources, but reveals intimate connections with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic dialects. Thus, we have to recognise in the mysterious community to which we owe the pyramids a distant blood relation to ourselves. Yet the question can hardly be regarded as quite settled, for Dr. Birch still maintains that the Egyptians were derived from an African source which developed itself, under unknown conditions, to a degree to which civilisation never reached elsewhere in antiquity.\(^3\)

For a vivid picture of the pre-historic times of ancient Egypt we must look rather to Ebers than to Brugsch or Maspero. The early settlement of the Delta from the north by Phœnicians; their gradual clearing away the forests of reeds with their hippopotomi, crocodiles, &c., as the forest is cleared off in Canada, and their establishment of busy trading ports on the coast, is drawn out with marvellous skill from materials which would be deemed worthless by any one less skilled in comparative philology. Settlement of the central or more southerly parts of the country proceeded side by side with this Punic invasion, agriculture and the breeding of cattle forming the staple industries. The Nile then, as now, determined the seasons of labour, but it also bore from the earliest ages a first place in the civilisation and prosperity of the land, by furnishing a highway for commerce and travel, in its main stream and greater canals, and by its inundations, and the wide irrigation of its borders by its waters. The Pharaohs themselves did not disdain to sail along the sacred river on the great festivals, in the gorgeous royal ship, or to perform mystic rites in honour of agriculture, and the priests

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\(^1\) See Chabas: "Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique," passim.

\(^2\) "Ägypten und die Bücher Moses," 53; Brugsch, i. 2.

taught that the happiness of the future world would consist in tilling the fields of the underground paradise, in feeding and tending the cattle of the subterranean god Osiris, and navigating the breezy water of his realm in slender skiffs. Thus, the husbandman, the shepherd, and the boatman were the founders of the peaceful life which flourished in the valley of the Nile.

Life in the remote ages of this primitive race was much the same as it is with ourselves. The pictures left by them on their tombs, the inscriptions carved on stone, and the records preserved on sheets of reed-paper, show that they clung to life and rejoiced in it, as they well might, in their sunny land. The prayer that they might reach the “most perfect old age” of 110 years constantly meets us. They laughed, they sang, and made merry; roamed the marshes to hunt or fish, and made the meadows echo with their holiday sports. Even the tombs witness to their fondness for jokes and sallies of wit; to their satire on their neighbours, and their cheery way of looking at all things. The working classes had their varied callings then, as now. They toiled in the field, or tended the herd, or steered and rowed their craft on the Nile. Stone-workers abounded from the earliest ages; gold, silver, copper, and iron were wrought into jewellery, tools, and weapons; wood and leather were put to countless uses; glass-works had their sweltering populations; rope-works were busy; the basket and mat-maker drove a good trade; sculptors and painters were in honour; and the potter’s wheel restlessly moulded the rich clay into vessels of every shape.

But, after all, society was rotten at the core, for the richer or ennobled classes looked with contempt on labour, and spoke of the masses as the “stinking and miserable mob.” The Bible alone, in antiquity, shows respect to man as man, and addresses itself to all classes with a recognition of the essential equality of the whole race. The Egyptian king was the visible divinity, addressed and worshipped as such; the nobles lorded it in grand palaces, and were followed by trains of dependents and slaves; the priest, the scribe, and the military were privileged classes; but the toiling millions suffered only in a measure less than the wretched fellahs of to-day. The stick then, as now, settled matters between the tax-gatherer and the peasant. The names of the kings who built the two loftiest pyramids were never uttered even in the days of Herodotus, from the bitter hatred of their oppressions, burned into the heart of the nation long ages before. It was not the Hebrew only who suffered from the tyranny of taskmasters; the degraded classes of the Egyptians themselves had to bear as hard a lot. That Moses should address himself to the people was an utterly new era in history.

Menes himself may be a mere name, but his reign at least
serves as a starting-point for history. While he himself is the reputed founder of Memphis, we ere long find in the records of his successors notices of the construction of great public works; of the introduction of the embalmment of the dead; of great military expeditions; of the building of the pyramid of Sakkarah; of the introduction of animal worship; of the sanction of female sovereigns; and, in short, of all that marks a state in which the royal, priestly, and military constitution is elaborately defined, and the arts fully developed. Architecture, unequalled since in its massive grandeur, and involving a mastery of geometric knowledge amazing in any age, filled the mind with wonder. The hugest masses of stone could be borne down the Nile from the cataracts, transported to their required site, polished and fitted to their place, with a skill we could hardly now equal. Sculpture in the hardest materials was perfect, within the limits of conventional rules. The system of hieroglyphics, so elaborate and ingenious, had been brought to perfection. Memphis was a city of temples, and swarmed with prophets and prophetesses, priests and scribes. The vast tombs which Job describes with wonder as the "desolate places," which kings and counsellors of the earth had built for themselves, had been constructed in vast numbers. The Pharaoh had risen so high over his subjects that they worshipped him as a god, and spoke of him as "his holiness," approaching him only in lowly prostration, with their faces touching the earth. His palaces were in keeping with his majesty, and were thronged by courtiers. The ceremonial of state and of religion was alike elaborate and settled. Grades of nobility were minutely fixed with their rights and precedence. High dignitaries had, respectively, charge of the Pharaoh's wardrobe, hair, nails, and bath. Others had the care of the royal amusements, the singing, playing, and entertainments of the Court. Still others were set over the royal magazines of wheat, fruit, and oil; the cellars, the bakeries, the shambles, and the stables. High inspectors had under them the domains, the farms, palaces, and even the lakes and canals of the crown.

Nor were the great nobles of Egypt, as Abraham saw them, less strikingly surrounded by all the refinements of an elaborate and artificial civilisation and luxury. Their estates were cultivated by slaves; their households full of domestics. Each had around him, for his special pleasure, his own tradesmen and artificers of every kind; the glass-blower, the gold-worker, the potter, the tailor, the barber, the baker, and the butler. The effeminate luxury in their palaces rivalled that of the palaces of Rome more than two thousand years later.1 The acrobat and the

1 "Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Rom," 3. 87 ff.
dancer, the harpist and the singer, and many others, strove to while away his evenings. His chief glory, however, was in his farm, with its flocks and herds, his household with its throng of slaves and artisans, and in his luxurious yachts on the sacred river. The use of the horse in riding is not seen on the monuments till the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1700.¹ As yet he contented himself with the stately Eastern ass, and he did not as yet know of wheeled conveyances, which also came later. The cat purred at his hearth, the dog ran at his side, and he amused himself with pet apes. Oxen of different kinds fed in his meadows, and he hunted the gazelle and the antelope. Veal and beef, varied by hyæna, graced his table, but he shuddered like a Jew at the idea of pork, and cared little for mutton. Ducks, geese, doves, and pigeons, wild and tame, were as common as now, but the domestic fowl had not yet been introduced to Egypt. His bread was of barley, but he varied it by biscuits and pastry. Grapes, figs, and dates furnished his desserts; and wine and beer his drink. Dressed in pure white linen, he as yet walked barefoot; but gold collars, bracelets and anklets, showed his wealth, and he carried a wand for dignity. At his feasts he reclined on elegant couches, but his pillows were only wooden head-rests. His chairs, stools, and household furniture were simple but elegant. There were no roses as yet in Egypt, but the lotus supplied him with garlands at his banquets, and he often held it in his hands.

Yet, with all his delight in life the Egyptian was unable to forget for any length of time that death and the world to come were near. Even in Abraham’s day stupendous pyramids, the burial-places of kings, overlooked Memphis, and at their feet, in deep pits, the walls of which were covered with pictures and inscriptions, lay the innumerable dead. Preparation for the judgment-day, after death, was the great duty of life which included all others. A high morality was taught in the sacred books, however contradicted in practice. Affection towards wife and children, kindness to the poor and wretched, and reverence to the gods, were strongly urged, but the gods were supposed to be incarnate in the sacred animals; and the good works done to the miserable were more than outweighed by the oppression which prevailed. Then, as now, not a few led quiet and pure lives, but vice and sensuality were only too common. Egypt was a paradise for the rich, but a land of sorrow for the mass. Its religion was lofty in word, but debased and degrading in practice.

Brugsch places the immigration of Jacob into Egypt B.C. 1730, under the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings, whom he describes as

¹ Brugsch, i. 295.
Syrians, with Shashu—this is Hyksos, or Shepherd Arabs—as allies, and the aid of Phoenician and other Semitic settlers already established in Lower Egypt. A memorial stone of the time of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, speaks of the reign of a Hyksos king 400 years before, and as Ramses reigned about B.C. 1350, this would carry us back to B.C. 1750. Remembering, in connection with this, that Deuteronomy speaks of the Hebrews as having spent 430 years in Egypt, to the time of the Exodus, their immigration falls under the Shepherd kings—a time which exactly accounts for their kind reception as a pastoral clan. An inscription found in one of the tombs of the date of Joseph is quoted by Brugsch for its striking corroboration of the seven years’ famine of which Scripture speaks. It records a famine which lasted many years, during which the dead man tells us he issued out corn to the city “at each famine.” Such successive dears, rising from a deficiency of water in the Nile year after year, are so rare, that the Bible narrative of those in Joseph’s day is the only instance known. There can be little doubt therefore that this inscription, written in Joseph’s life-time, alludes to the famine to which he owed his elevation in the land.

Dr. Brugsch’s illustrations of the Scripture narrative of Joseph from Egyptian sources is less full than that of Dr. Ebers, but is very interesting. The word used in Genesis for “bow the knee,” Abrek, is a Semitic one, but is still preserved in the hieroglyphics. The name Zaphnatpaneakh, given to Joseph, means “governor of the Sethroitic nome,” a district on the north-east border of Egypt, where his brethren were settled as a frontier guard to protect the country towards Syria. The Egyptian offices, Adón (lord) and Ab (father), which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, though Semitic words, were official titles under the Shepherd Pharaohs who had adopted Egyptian manners while retaining in many cases their own Semitic words. Indeed, they are still found on the monuments. Asnath, Joseph’s wife, bears a purely Egyptian name of the old and middle empire. Strange to say, the story of his trouble with the wife of Potiphar, or Putipar, “the gift of the sun,” seems to have been a not uncommon one in Egypt, for we find a narrative very like his in a story preserved on a papyrus roll. Brugsch gives an extract from it, but those who wish to read it in full, will find it in the second volume of “Records of the Past.” It has been thought by some that a striking support to the Bible narrative is to be found in the fact that the Shepherd kings disowned the religion of Egypt, and worshipped as their Supreme Divinity the god...
Sutekh—a god of Syria. This, it has been conjectured, was no other than Jehovah, whom the Shepherd kings had introduced in honour of Joseph. But Brugsch tells us that Sutekh was "the origin of all that is bad and perverse in the seen and unseen worlds—the opponent of what is good, and the enemy of light," a description which leaves no room for an identification with the God of the Hebrews—the gracious and merciful Jehovah.

The monuments begin to preserve a clear record of history from the time of Joseph, after whose death the Hyksos kings were expelled, and shepherds became a "pestilence" to the Egyptians. It is curious to find that, not long after Joseph's day, Europeans formed a corps in the Egyptian army. The negro had not been introduced by war or otherwise, so far as the monuments show, in Abraham's time, but from that of the next dynasty they had become a growing part of the population, especially in the south. Egypt had, besides, now made acquaintance with many other nations—European, African, and Asiatic.

The four centuries after Joseph were the most glorious period in Egyptian history. The victories of Thotmes III, the Egyptian Alexander, illustrated by contemporary documents, fill a large space in the pages of Dr. Brugsch, and are intensely interesting, from the insight they give into the condition of Palestine at that early time. His wars with the various nations then holding it reveal a wealth and civilisation among them, long before the days of Moses, for which few would be prepared. The account of the Khita, or Hittites, in the beginning of Dr. Brugsch's second volume, will be thoroughly fresh to most readers, though Ebers has also given an intensely interesting sketch of them in his wonderful story, Uarda. Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, fills a long space in Dr. Brugsch's volumes; and as he appears beyond question to have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression, it is well that it is so, for nothing can be more interesting than the numerous contemporary documents illustrating his long reign of sixty-seven years. The vast number of monuments he left all over Egypt fill up his story, indeed, with a vivid minuteness which makes one forget as he reads, that it illustrates a life ended at least 1300 years before Christ, while Moses was still an Egyptian courtier, or perhaps a fugitive in Midian. His journey to Thebes, to the feast of Amon, and his return to his great palace at Zoan-Tanis, the scene in his successor's reign of the miracles of Moses—his great war with the Khita, as celebrated in the contemporary epic of the poet Pentaur—his repeated campaigns in Palestine, with long details, written at the time, of the incidents of the war, and lists of the prisoners and booty taken; his

1 I. 236.  
2 Chabas, 221.  
3 Num. xiii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43.
History from Monuments.

negro-hunting raids in Ethiopia and Libya; his mighty erections at Karnac and elsewhere, still the wonder of the land; the state of Egypt under his reign, and much else, bring the whole period before the mind as if it were recent history. Nor are side­lights to the main story awanting. Dr. Brugsch believes he has discovered the name of the overseer of the Israelites in Egypt, and he gives descriptions of Zoan-Tanis, the capital, from a letter of the time; a criticism on the literature then in fashion, from a contemporary pen; thinks he has found out the name of the princess who rescued Moses from the Nile, and shows that the name of the great lawgiver is connected with that of an island in the Nile, in an inscription of about a hundred years after the death of Sesosstris.

Interesting notices of Zoan, the centre of the Egyptian monarchy in the time of Moses, and the scene of his struggle with Pharaoh, and of his miracles, are given by Dr. Brugsch. Its ancient names show its greatness in these times, for it was known as “The Strong Place,” “The City of Ramses,” and “The Great and Splendid City of Lower Egypt.” The Hebrews and other tribes of Semitic origin lived all round it, and, indeed, the city itself is everywhere represented in the inscriptions as inhabited mainly by foreigners. It was the starting-point for campaigns towards the East, and of the great roads to Palestine, and, from its position on the border, was reckoned the key of Egypt. The Shepherd kings who had originally settled the Hebrews in its neighbourhood, adorned it with many temples and monuments; but it was left to Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, to add so much to its glory, that it was thenceforward known as one of his “Temple—Cities,” this being the true meaning of the name given in the Bible—not “Treasure Cities,” as our version has it. Strange to say, the Egyptian records, and especially the papyri, abound in notices of the labours in stone or in brick with which the workmen were overburdened to hasten the completion of their task. “These documents,” says Brugsch, “are so precise and specific on this sort of work, that it is impossible not to recognise in them the most evident connection with the “hard bondage” and “rigorous services” of the Hebrews in building certain edifices at Pithom and Ramses.”

Mineptah II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, fills a less space in Dr. Brugsch’s pages, as might have been expected from the troubles of his reign. It is striking to find that he, like Ramses II., his father, who had had a family of no fewer than fifty sons and sixty daughters—Mineptah being his thirteenth

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1 The island thus mentioned is called in the inscription, T-en-Moshé, “the island,” or “the river-bank,” of “Moses.”—Vol. ii. 112.

2 II. 354.
child—lived at Zoan, and still more so, in view of the Bible narrative, to find that the end of his reign is unrecorded. His architectural works were mean compared with those of his father, and his only triumphal inscriptions are for victories over the barbarous Libyans. With the dreaded Khita of Lebanon he remained at peace, and Canaanites were employed as his messengers between Zoan and the Egyptian garrisons in their own land. Mineptah, moreover, delighted in sounding titles, and especially used that of Pirao—our Pharaoh—the “Great House” or “High Gate,” for his official name, as the Turkish Sultan uses the similar one of the Sublime Porte.

Dr. Brugsch has a new theory as to the course taken by the Israelites in their march out of Egypt. Instead of turning south, to the Red Sea, he thinks he has proof, from the names of the stations given in Exodus, that they went north to the gates of the great wall which defended the exposed north-eastern side of the country. An itinerary of an Egyptian officer which has come down to us seems to him to mark unmistakably the various marches of the fugitive Hebrews. The Red Sea he assumes to be what the Hebrew words really mean—only the “weedy sea”—and to apply with great force to the terrible Serbonian bogs which skirted the coast of the Mediterranean on the north-east of Egypt. In these, he supposes, Pharaoh and his host were engulfed, a great storm on the Mediterranean which lashed its waves at the time over the narrow line of firm land between the sea and the morasses, leading or driving the Egyptians off the right track, as happened, ages after, to a Persian army in an invasion of Egypt. Dr. Ebers, on the other hand, adheres to the traditional scene of the miracle as correct, assigning the shallow head of the Red Sea, at Suez, as the precise locality; and Dr. Birch thinks the matter far from settled in Dr. Brugsch’s favour.

The reign of Shishak or Shasanq I., which is fixed as beginning in the year B.C. 966, is another point of great Biblical interest in Dr. Brugsch’s narrative. It will be new to many readers to learn that this monarch was the son of an Assyrian king, Nimrod, and thus himself an Assyrian, Egypt having been conquered by his father. It was he who received Jeroboam, and gave him protection till his return to overthrow Rehoboam; and it was by him also that that weak son of Solomon was attacked, and forced to make a humiliating peace. This invasion of Judah has been handed down in outline on the wall of the temple of Amon in the Theban Api. On the south outside wall the Egyptian king is seen, in colossal size, dealing heavy blows with his victorious war-club on the captive Jews. The names of 102 Jewish towns and districts ravaged in the campaign are paraded in long rows on the vacant spaces of the wall, and this list
Dr. Brugsch has wisely inserted to aid students of sacred topography. It is impossible in the limits of an Article to follow Dr. Brugsch in the many illustrations of the sacred narrative his History affords. But it is pleasing in these days of sifting criticism, and often flippant cavil, to put on record the testimony of one so well qualified to speak as to the striking evidence borne by the Egyptian monuments to the truth of the records on which our faith is based:—

Any one (says he) must be certainly blind who refuses to see the flood of light which the papyri and the other Egyptian monuments are throwing upon the venerable records of Holy Scripture, and, above all, there must needs be a wilful mistaking of the first laws of criticism by those who wish to discover contradictions, which really exist only in the imagination of opponents.¹

The History virtually closes at the final conquest of Egypt by the Persians, though a few pages continue it briefly to the defeat of the Persians themselves by Alexander the Great. It marks a great progress in the decipherment of the monuments that such a narrative could have been written, and great praise is due to the author for the ability with which he has constructed it from materials hitherto unused.

CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE.

ART. VIII.—FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL.

GOD'S servants are immortal till their work is done. A thousand may fall at their side, and ten thousand at their right hand; but as long as the King their Master has one more commission for them on earth, however small it be, the arrow comes not nigh them, the angel of death passes over their dwelling. It may be that the bared breast will welcome the arrow; death may be looked for with expectant joy as the messenger summoning the loyal soul into the King's presence; but none the less is that summons impossible while the allotted work is yet unfinished. No doubt there is a sense in which even the most laborious and the most long-lived have at last to lay them down and die with the deep consciousness that what they have done in the Master's service is but a fragment of what they might have done. Yet, while it is true that opportunities are given us which we miss, and "talents" which we fail to use, that, like King Joash, we smite thrice on the ground and stay, when the arrow of the Lord's