

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

VOL. XXXIX.

JANUARY, 1890.

No. 3.

BUBASTIS: AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

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PREFATORY NOTE.



UCH a story as the one told in the following lines is a very uncommon one.

It rarely happens that the pen of a novelist is inspired by archæological facts, and withal the pen of a gifted and favorite author turned aside from romance, though it be only for a while, because she has found the Valley of the Nile more enchanting, and its soil full of tales more strange than fiction.

Nor does a true story of things so marvelous often call for the telling. Three years ago the world little suspected that one of the chief places of Egypt might still lie concealed beneath the surface among the mounds of Tell Basta, together with the remains of a most ancient temple, beautiful and renowned. But the tidings came as suddenly as not long before came the news of the discoveries at Olympia, — disinterments most strikingly similar, — the latter a spot made famous by Pausanias, with its masterpieces of sculpture, the Hermes of Praxiteles, and the Victory of Paionios; the

former made famous by Herodotus, and rich in art treasures. Where Mariette had failed, the efforts of Naville were rewarded with brilliant success.

In order to feel the bearing of this trove on the history of art, compare the position in time of these two temples. Pheidias executed the colossal statue of Zeus in the then recently built Olympia between B. C. 437 and 433; the name of Cheops surviving on one of the stones of the shrine at Bubastis dates from B. C. 4206 — almost sixty-one centuries ago. Bubastis, as old as the earth itself used to be considered, was passing away when Olympia rose.

All the monuments reproduced in this article, it should be borne in mind, are now published for the first time. Miss Edwards has never before opened her portfolio of Bubastis views to the world. The objects pictured in this article, except the outline drawing of the prostrate priests by Madame Naville, are from photographs taken by Rev. W. MacGregor, Count Riamo d'Hulst, and M. Naville.—
EDITOR.



THREE colossal figures dominate the first period of Egyptian history — Mena, an august shadow projected at earliest dawn upon the mists of tradition; Khufu (Cheops), the builder of the Great Pyramid; and Pepi Merira. Of these three representative kings, only Khufu is familiar by name to the great body of general readers. Pepi Merira is, however, as great an historical character as Khufu; and

Mena, the first king of the first dynasty, has a weightier claim than either upon the gratitude of posterity.

To Mena, as to all the sovereigns of the ancient empire,¹ it is impossible to assign any but an approximate date. Himself the earliest landmark in Egyptian history, he emerges alone from prehistoric darkness, and has no contemporary. According, however, to the chronological list of kings and dynasties compiled by Manetho,² Mena would have lived and reigned

¹ The period known as the Ancient Empire comprises the first to the eleventh dynasty.

² Manetho, who was high-priest and keeper of the archives of the Great Temple of Heliopolis in the time

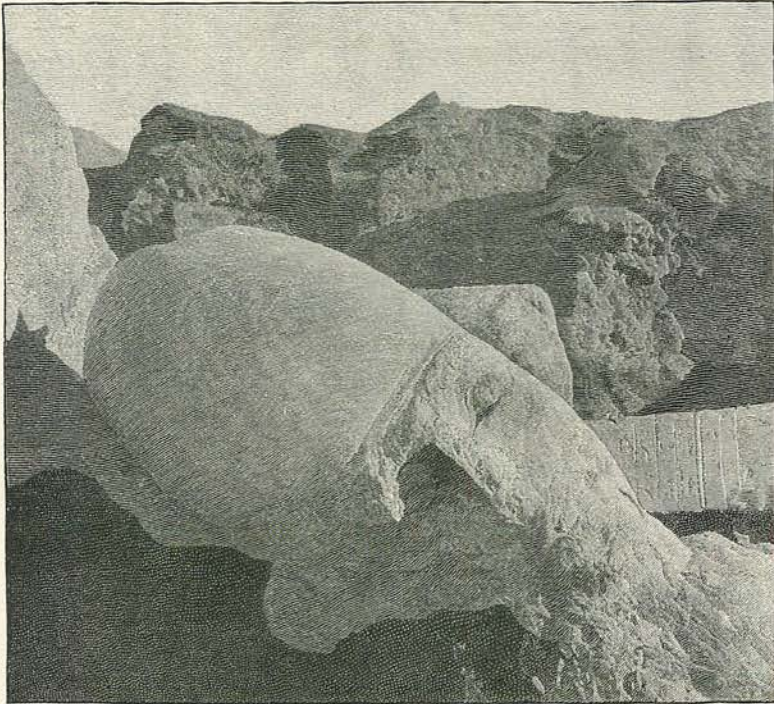
about five thousand years before the Christian era. Tradition — the earliest form of history — tells of him as a mighty man of Teni¹ who by force of arms or policy reduced the prehistoric chieftains of the Nile valley to a state of vassalage, and himself assumed the sovereignty. Having founded the monarchy, he went northward and founded Memphis, the first capital of united Egypt. The Nile at that time described a westward bend opposite Helwân and Turra, and swept round by the foot of the Libyan plateau; but Mena, seeing how the strategical position of his new city might best be strengthened, turned the course of the river in such wise that Memphis lay between the Nile and the desert. This is no fable of the early chroniclers. The old river-bed is still traceable some two miles to the southward of the mounds of Memphis, and the dyke of Mena exists to this day.²

Such are the title-deeds of the first Pharaoh. He welded the primitive clans into a homogeneous nation. He achieved an engineering

feat of colossal magnitude. He laid the first stone of the most ancient and famous of capitals; and he created an empire which endured for upwards of five thousand years.

Yet one more act of his may be positively affirmed. He founded the Great Temple of Memphis — the renowned "Abode of Ptah." No record, no tradition of this event survives, but the fact is nevertheless certain; for the Egyptians, when they founded a new settlement, began, like all the nations of antiquity, by erecting a sanctuary in honor of the chief god of the district. This sanctuary marked the center of the future town, which was then built up around it. The founder of the city of Memphis was therefore necessarily the founder of its oldest temple, and the explorer who shall some day excavate the mounds beneath which its ruins lie entombed may yet bring to light an inscription commemorative of Mena.³

It sounds like a paradox to say that the one great temple of which it is possible to affirm that it was founded by the earliest historical



COLOSSAL ROYAL HEAD, WITH CROWN OF UPPER EGYPT. (TWELFTH DYNASTY.)

of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 284-246), was employed by that king to compile a history of Egypt from the ancient chronicles preserved in the library of the temple. Manetho was the only native Egyptian historian of whom we know, and he wrote in Greek. Only a few priceless fragments of his work have survived in the pages of later writers.

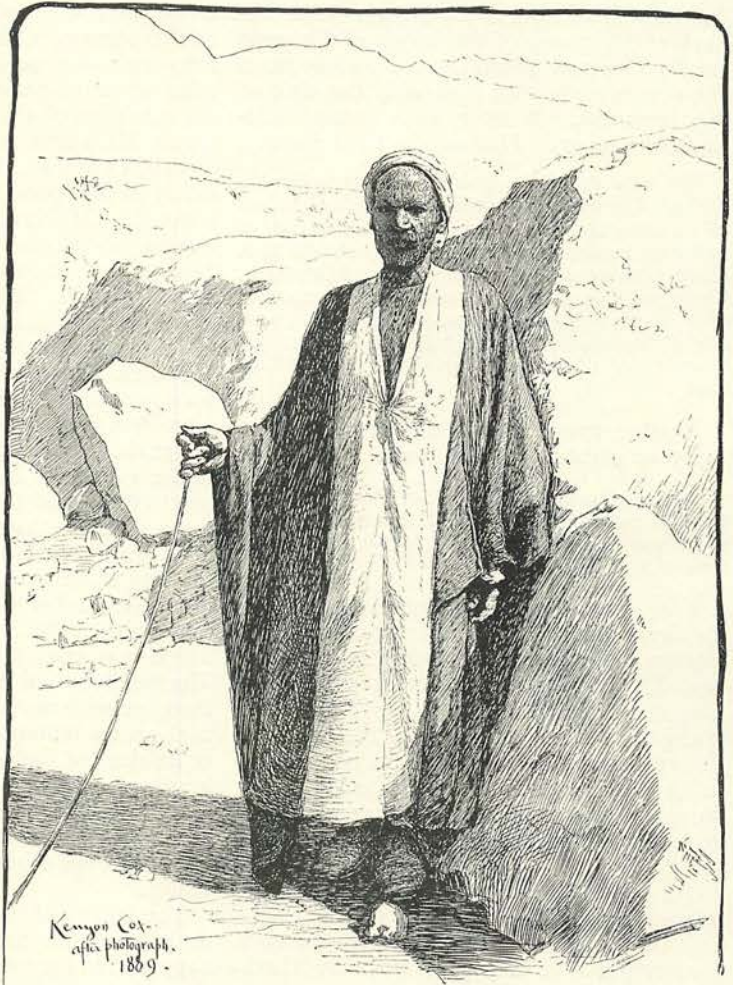
¹ Teni (Greek *Thinis*), a city of prehistoric antiquity, probably represented by the mound underlying the modern Girgeh.

² Linant Bey, the French hydrographer, believes the great dyke of Khokheish to be the dyke which Mena constructed to turn the Nile eastward; and it serves to this day to stem the waters of the annual inundation. Huge conduits issuing from various parts of this ancient dyke regulate the water supply of Lower Egypt.

³ The mounds of Memphis, close to the village of Mitrahineh, are to this day called Tell Menf, a name clearly echoing the ancient "Men-nefer."

character in the annals of the country was probably, and for that reason, one of the most recent of the high sanctuaries of the ancient empire. Yet such is the fact. These high sanctuaries — or, in other words, the chief temples of the chief provincial towns — were literally of immemorial antiquity. They dated back, for the most part, to that remote period when the land of Egypt was divided into some thirty or forty petty principalities, each little clan governed by its hereditary ruler and protected by its local deity. The rulers of these primitive clans were remembered in after-time as the *Horshesu*, or "Followers of Horus" — a name which possibly indicates that Horus in the prehistoric age, like Ra at a later period, was recognized as the supreme sun-god, and was universally worshiped.¹ Be this as it may, the Egyptians themselves regarded the time of the polygarchy as so immensely distant that to attribute any event or any building to the time of the *Horshesu* was equivalent to saying that it belonged to the ages before history. When, however, the *Horshesu* ceased to be independent, their principalities were converted into the nomes, or provinces, of united Egypt, and their little capitals became what we should call county towns. But these county towns, it is to be remembered, were already ancient when Mena diverted the course of the Nile to create a site for his new metropolis; and in each the oldest structure was the local temple dedicated to the local god.

How many of these primitive towns were in existence at the time of the foundation of the monarchy it is impossible to say; but we may reasonably assume that most of the great re-



MAGLIOUB, OUR FOREMAN.

ligious centers — especially in northern Egypt — were already established upon the selfsame sites which they occupied in historic times. As regards the Great Temple of Ra at On (Heliopolis), the question of priority is indirectly settled by the fact that certain prehistoric Heliopolitan hymns formed the basis of the sacred books of a later age. At Edfu, the present magnificent sanctuary occupies the site of a very ancient structure traditionally said to date back to the mythic reign of the gods, and to have been built according to a plan designed by Imhotep,² the eldest-born of Ptah. This means that it belonged to the remotest prehistoric period — a period before the *Horshesu*, when the gods yet intervened personally in the affairs of men.

¹ The great Sphinx, a personification of Horus, is believed by Maspero to be a work of the time of the *Horshesu*, and consequently the most ancient monument in Egypt. This was also the opinion of Mariette.

² Imhotep, identified by the Greeks with Esculapius, was a god of learning, a divine architect. He is represented seated, with a scroll of papyrus half unrolled upon his knees.

Again, at Denderah, an inscription discovered by Mariette in one of the crypts of the great temple expressly identifies the earliest sanctuary built upon that spot with the time of the Horshesu. It refers to a festival celebrated in honor of Hathor, the local divinity.

The servants of the goddess go before this divinity. The hierogrammatist stands in front of her. All is done that was prescribed for her festival of four days by the King Thothmes III., who did these things in honor of his mother, Hathor of Denderah. There was found the great fundamental ordinance of Denderah written upon goat-skin in ancient writing of the time of the Horshesu; it was found in the inside of a brick wall during the reign of King Pepi.

Another inscription at the farther end of the same crypt reads as follows:

Great fundamental ordinance of Denderah. Restoration made by Thothmes III. in accordance with what was found written in ancient writing of the time of King Khufu.

Now, the Great Temple of Denderah, like the Great Temple of Edfú,¹ is a comparatively modern building, having been begun by Ptolemy XI. (B. C. 106), and completed by the Emperor Tiberius (A. D. 14-37); but these inscriptions show that before the dawn of history some primitive chieftain of the Nile valley had founded a sanctuary to Hathor on the spot where the present structure now stands in solitary splendor. That first temple was already ancient in the time of Khufu of the fourth dynasty (circa B. C. 4206), who rebuilt or restored it; after which it was again rebuilt or restored by Pepi Merira of the sixth dynasty (circa B. C. 3650); again by Thothmes III. of the eighteenth dynasty (circa B. C. 1622); and lastly by the Ptolemies and Cæsars. Here, then, we have a great temple of the first magnitude with an unbroken genealogy literally dating back to the dark ages before Mena.

There were undoubtedly many other high sanctuaries of ancient Egypt with pedigrees as venerable as those of Denderah and Edfú; but the documentary records of their early history are destroyed. Some, after serving as quarries for building-material from the time of Theodosius, have utterly disappeared. Of others, as at Saïs, Buto,² and Heliopolis, the

crude brick walls of the sacred inclosure are all that remain. Others again are prostrate in utter ruin—mere heaps of fallen masonry piled up in unimaginable confusion. Such is the condition of the Great Temple of Tanis, where Mr. Petrie worked for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1884; and such is the condition of the Great Temple of Bubastis, discovered by M. Naville in 1887. At Tanis, the earliest inscription records the name of Pepi Merira; at Bubastis, the oldest royal name is that of Khufu. Both temples are probably of prehistoric origin; but the legends which may have commemorated that origin have disappeared. Whether they did, or did not, date back to "the time of the Horshesu" is therefore a problem which now can never be solved.

Yet there is one clue to the prehistoric date of the Temple of Bubastis which must not be overlooked; and that clue is to be sought in the curious fact that Isis was traditionally identified with both Hathor and Bast,³ and that the city of Bubastis, in geographical texts, is sometimes styled "Pa-Bast of the North," to distinguish it from "Pa-Bast of the South," which was one of the names of Denderah. The foundation of these sister sanctuaries may therefore with much probability be attributed to the same remote age; while the discovery at Bubastis of the names of Khufu and Pepi Merira would seem to point to the fact that at "Pa-Bast of the North," as at "Pa-Bast of the South," Khufu rebuilt the prehistoric temple and Pepi rebuilt the temple erected by Khufu.

The finding of the Great Temple of Bubastis is one of the romances of archaeology. It happened in the month of March, 1887, when the spring was already well advanced, and the exploration season was drawing to a close. M. Naville, accompanied by Mr. F. Llewellyn Griffith, had been sent out in January with instructions to excavate the mound of Tell el-Yahúdiyyeh—a very interesting task, which, however, came to an end somewhat earlier than was foreseen at the beginning of the campaign, and thus left the explorer with yet another month at his disposal. Now for the tourist a month means much sight-seeing, but for the purposes of serious exploration it is practically useless. To break fresh ground, in the sense of starting work upon a yet un-

¹ The first stone of the present Temple of Edfú was laid, according to one of the many thousands of inscriptions with which its walls are covered, on "the 7th Epiphi, the 10th year of Ptolemy Euergetes," *i. e.*, on the 23d of August, B. C. 237; and it was completed in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes, B. C. 80-52.

² The site of the Great Temple of Buto was identified three years ago by Mr. Petrie at Tell Ferain, adjoining the Arab village of Ubtu, which obviously perpetuates—with the transposition of the first two

letters—the ancient name of the city. The mounds are about a mile in extent, and the great temenos wall is nearly perfect. The temple, however, has been razed to the ground, and has quite disappeared.

³ According to a text of the Temple of Edfú, Bubastis is "the place where the soul of Isis was in Bast." The name of Bast is, in fact, composed of the words *Ba-ast*, or *Bi-ast*, the "Soul of Ast," or Isis. As goddess-mother and nurse of Horus, Hathor and Isis were in all respects one and the same.

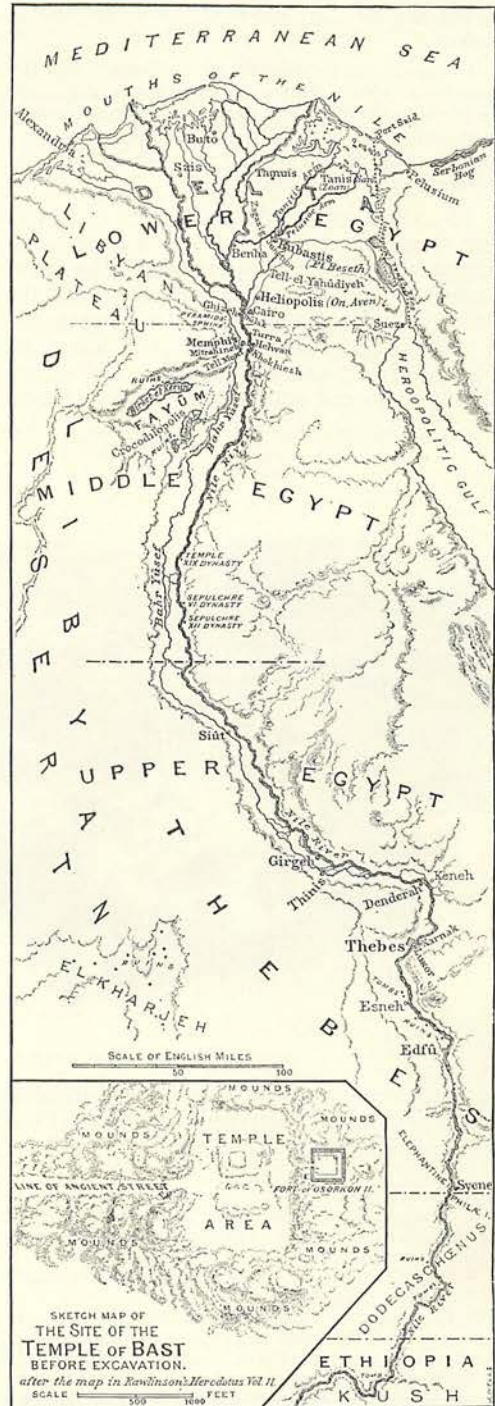
opened mound, was out of the question. The time was too short for anything but a beginning, and to make a beginning at the end of the season would be simply to attract the Arabs to a new hunting-field which they might plunder at leisure during the summer months. A new site was therefore to be avoided. But at no great distance from Tell el-Yahûdiyyeh there was an old site,—a site which Mariette had tried, and tried in vain, some years before,—where a few experimental trenches might be cut without much loss of time or money. That site was Tell Basta, the ancient Pa-Bast, or "Abode of Bast,"—called "Pi-Beseth" by the Hebrews, and "Bubastis" by the Greeks,—a spot once famous above all the cities of Egypt for the beauty of its temple and the popularity of its great annual festival.

Herodotus, who visited it three and twenty centuries ago, says :

At the town called Bubastis there is a temple which well deserves to be described. Other temples may be grander, but there is none so pleasant to the eye as this of Bubastis. . . . Excepting the entrance, the whole forms an island. Two artificial channels from the Nile, one on either side of the temple, encompass the building, leaving only a narrow passage by which it is approached. These channels are each a hundred feet wide, and are thickly shaded with trees. The gateway is sixty feet in height, and is ornamented with figures cut upon the stone, six cubits high, and well worthy of notice. The temple stands in the middle of the city, and is visible on all sides as one walks round it; for as the city has been raised by embankment,¹ while the temple has been left in its original condition, you look down upon it, wheresoever you are. A low wall runs round the enclosure, having figures engraved upon it, and inside there is a grove of beautiful tall trees growing round the shrine which contains the image of the goddess. (Book II., chaps. 137, 138.)

Such was the Pa-Bast of olden time—the high sanctuary and joyous court of that puissant goddess who, as the cat-headed Bast, represented the springtime warmth of Ra the life-giver, and, as the fioness-headed Sekhet, stood for the devastating heat of the summer solstice. It was to this her shrine that 700,000 Egyptians were wont to throng every year from all parts of the country, some by land and some by water, with shouts and choral singing, and music of flutes and tambourines, and rattling of castanets and clapping of hands; so that from the Ethiopian frontier to the sea it was one universal carnival.

¹ This is an error on the part of the old historian. The rise of the surrounding city, as on the sites of all ancient Egyptian towns, is entirely due to the fact that the houses of the inhabitants were built, like the huts of the fellaheen of the present day, of mud bricks dried in the sun, which crumble with age, and are continu-



ally being leveled to the ground, and rebuilt of similar materials. Thus each new house, being erected on the débris of the former house, stands at a higher elevation—a process which in the course of many centuries has raised the ancient towns of Egypt to a considerable height above the plain.

An ancient Egyptian text thus describes a festival:

The gods up in heaven are jubilant. And the ancestors¹ rejoice. Men run gaily hither and thither, their heads dripping with perfumes. All are drunken with wine and crowned with garlands of flowers, and the little children sport from sunrise to sunset in honor of the goddess.²

The vine, now so little cultivated in Egypt, was then abundant, and wine was drunk in excess at these pious saturnalia. The great festival of Hathor at Denderah was called the "Festival of Drunkenness," and of the great festival of Bast, Herodotus himself tells how more "grape-wine" was consumed at this season than in all the rest of the year. It was by reason

triumph of the Babylonian arms, and Ezekiel foretold that fire should be set in Zoan,³ and that the young men of Aven⁴ and of Pi-Beseth⁵ should fall by the sword. (Ezek. xxx. 14, 17.)

Diana at Ephesus was not more beloved by the Syrian multitude than Bast at Bubastis by the Egyptians of the Delta. As at Ephesus the local craftsmen fashioned silver shrines of the great Diana, and made their wealth by selling these toys to the devotees who crowded about her shrine, so at Bubastis there was an immense trade in bronze images of the goddess and her sacred animal. All, or nearly all, those engaging bronze cats and slim cat-headed Basts which figure so pleasantly under glass cases in every museum of Egyptian antiquities come from Tell Basta. They were made in all sizes, and sold at all prices. As votive offerings, they were dedicated in the temple by tens of thousands; as amulets, they were worn by the living and buried with the dead. Even the sacred cats, when they departed this life, had their funerary bronzes laid beside them in the grave.⁶

For all its splendid traditions, for all its glories departed, Tell Basta had, however, the reputation of being a thoroughly hopeless place—a place which had been ransacked and quarried for so many centuries that there was literally nothing left save a ring of jagged and fantastic-looking mounds, in the midst of which might yet be seen the huge quadrangular hollow

where in ancient time the temple stood in the heart of the city. M. Naville had visited those mounds and looked down into that hollow. He had traced the



VIEW ACROSS THE LARGE TRENCH.

of these excesses, and their social consequences, that Egypt had already become a byword and a reproach. Then Jeremiah prophesied the

¹ The "ancestors"; *i. e.*, the Manes.

² This text is found at Denderah, and is descriptive of the annual festival of Hathor; but it applies with equal truth to the annual festival of Bast.

³ Zoan (Tanis).

⁴ Aven (On, Heliopolis).

⁵ Pi-Beseth (Bubastis).

⁶ The bronze cats and kittens of Bubastis have never been excelled for truth and suppleness of modeling. As for the cat-headed Basts, so admirably is the head of the intelligent Egyptian tabby adapted to the graceful proportions of the goddess, that we lose our perception of the incongruity, and find the combination perfectly natural. The name of the cat in the ancient Egyptian language is *mau*—a name evidently onomatopoeic, and so affording no clue to the original nationality of the animal, which was certainly unknown to the Egyptians of the Pyramid period. Lenormant remarks with truth that Bast in the time of the Ancient Empire was invariably represented with the head of a

lioness, and that it is only with the advent of the twelfth dynasty that she begins to appear upon the monuments in the likeness of a cat. This was the time of the great raids of the Pharaohs into the land of Kush (Ethiopia); and it is a notable fact that the cat and the Dongolese dog are first represented in the wall-paintings of Beni-Hassan during the reigns of the User-tesens and Amenemhats. Rüppell has shown that the cat of the wall-painting and bronzes is identical with the *Felis maniculata* still found in a wild state in Upper Nubia and the Soudan; so that it may fairly be taken for granted that the sacred animal of Bast was an importation of the twelfth dynasty Pharaohs from "the Land of Kush." This view is strikingly corroborated by the tenor of a demotic papyrus recently translated by Professor Revillout, which professes to record the philosophical conversations of "The Jackal Khûfi and an Ethiopian Cat." This cat is half a goddess, and that she should be designated as "Ethiopian" points with

line of the old fortifications, and the direction of the street described by Herodotus as leading from the Temple of Bast to the Temple of Hermes;¹ and, somehow, the place attracted him. The mere fact that it had been unsparingly condemned may perhaps have led him to wish that it might have one more trial.

Let the sand-buried chambers of Ombos be cleared if it be deemed worth while; and by excess of precaution let it be ascertained whether the mounds of Lower Egypt, such as Thmuis, Tell Mukhdam, and Bubastis, where so many monuments have been eaten away by the nitrous soil, may not yet contain some fragments of Ptolemaic work. This done, the epoch of the Lagidæ and the Cæsars will make no more demands upon us.²

These were discouraging words; but even a few blocks of Ptolemaic work, if inscribed, might throw some new light upon history. A vague rumor also had been floating in the air touching a recent discovery of tombs at Tell Basta, and these tombs, it was whispered, were of the time of the eighteenth dynasty; a fact which, if true, would be of great importance; for, with the exception of a single sculptured stone found at Benha, no traces of that famous and powerful line of Pharaohs had yet been discovered in the Delta. At Tanis, for instance, where almost every great phase of Egyptian history is represented by obelisks, statues, and inscriptions, there is not so much as a single cartouche belonging to the warlike dynasty which expelled the Hyksôs and restored the liberties of the country. This puzzling fact had long exercised the ingenuity of the learned, some of whom contended that the Pharaohs of the Restoration purposely abandoned the desecrated temples of the Delta, while others went so far as to suggest that the foe continued to hold the northern provinces till finally dislodged by the kings of the nineteenth dynasty.

Hoping, therefore, to decide this important question, M. Naville marched his little army of diggers from Tell el-Yahûdiyeh to Tell Basta, and pitched his camp on the verge of the cat cemetery at the northwest corner of the

special significance to the original habitat of the animal sacred to Bast. Strangely enough, M. Naville reports of the remains of the sacred cats in the cat cemetery at Bubastis, that the species there buried was not that of the common cat of Egypt, either of ancient or of modern times, but that of apparently another species of the feline tribe. The skulls found are much larger than the skulls of any cats known to naturalists. They may possibly be the skulls of some kind of small lynx. M. Naville suggests that they may represent the animal sacred to Mahes, son of Bast, a divinity also worshipped at Bubastis. Mahes is figured as a lion-headed man, and, whether in bronze or in glazed pottery, his statuette is of extreme rarity.

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COLOSSAL FRAGMENT OF A ROYAL PORTRAIT-STATUE.
ARCHAIC STYLE, USURPED BY RAMESSES II.

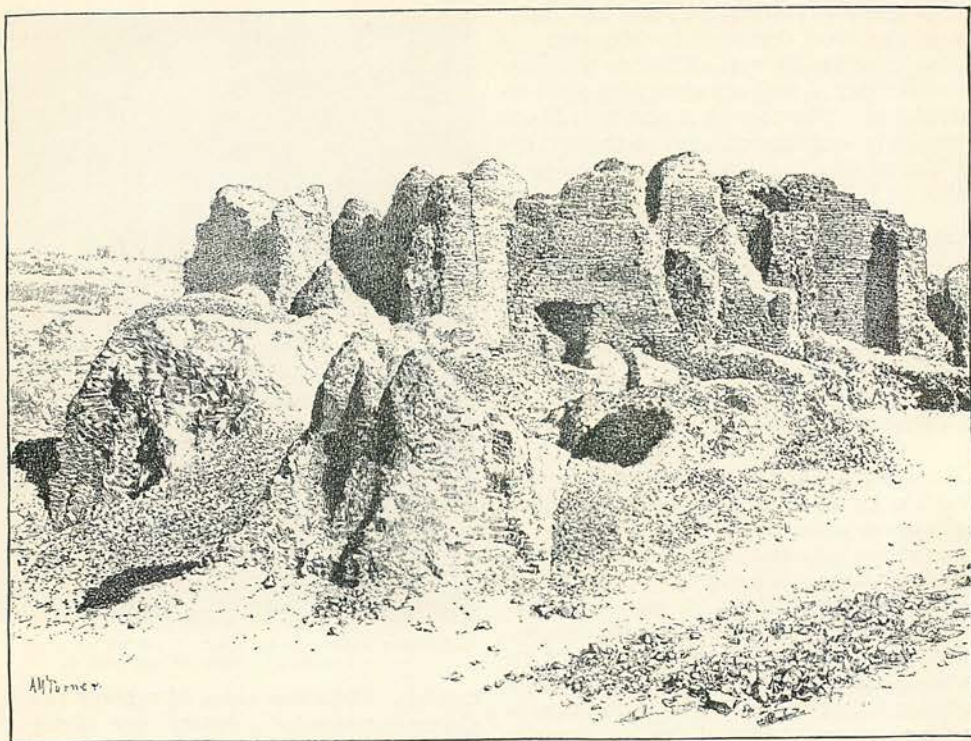
mounds. From this point of vantage the explorers commanded a distant view of rich alluvial flats, and a less picturesque foreground of railway and town; the ancient city being within a few minutes' walk of Zagazig junction.

The first day's survey proved the reported tombs to be of Ptolemaic or Roman date, and quite barren. The mummies were mere dust and ashes, and the coffins were all decayed. This was the first disappointment. Next, the cat cemetery, which for the last twenty years or more has been systematically plundered by the fellaheen, was apparently exhausted. This was the second disappointment. M. Naville had calculated with confidence on at least reaping a harvest of feline bronzes; but the bronzes were gone, and only the mortal remains of many generations of sacred pussies were left.

The cat cemetery [wrote Mr. Griffith, in a report addressed to the present writer] stretches southward along the edge of the mound in a broad band

¹ The Greeks identified Thoth, the Egyptian god of letters, with Hermes. The Temple of Hermes mentioned by Herodotus was therefore a subsidiary temple, or chapel, in honor of Thoth. Some remains of this structure were excavated during the present year by M. Naville; but the site is covered with arable land, and it was with difficulty that he succeeded in purchasing the right to dig over a limited area.

² See *Extrait d'un mémoire intitulé, "Questions relatives aux Nouvelles Fouilles à faire en Égypte,"* par M. Mariette; read at the annual meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Paris, November 21, 1879.



ANCIENT FORT ON THE LINE OF THE CITY WALLS.

for about a quarter of a mile. Here the bones of millions of these animals have been thrown out by antiquity hunters. There are evidences of fire in the pits, and the bricks of which the pits were built are burned red, the bones being massed together in a kind of conglomerate that looks like slag. We have cleared one pit, or rather chamber, some ten feet wide by thirty feet long. The interments here had already been disturbed; but under the bricked floor we found a second layer of bones, six or seven inches deep. Among them were two small bronze statuettes of Nefer-Tum, quite spoiled by the action of fire.¹

Further examination showed that here, as at the cat cemetery of Tell el-Yahûdiyeh, the sacred animals had been cremated; whereas in Upper Egypt and the Fayûm they are found mummified and bandaged.

No results being obtainable from either the tombs or the cat-pits, M. Naville had now no resource but to attack either the mounds of the ancient town or the quadrangular hollow which marked the site of the temple. In this hollow, besides some fragments of a group of miniature palm columns,—apparently the remains of a small chapel,—there were a few blocks of much weathered red granite upon

which the names of Rameses II. (nineteenth dynasty) and Osorkon II. (twenty-second dynasty) were yet legible. Mute witnesses to the barrenness of the soil, the abandoned excavations of Mariette added the last touch of desolation to the scene. Most men would have struck their tents and shaken the dust of Tell Basta from their feet. Not so M. Naville. He doubled the number of his diggers, and started five parallel trenches across the presumed axis of the temple. The labor would not be in vain if it merely served to determine the level upon which this famous building originally stood. The hollow described by Herodotus—who gives no measurements—must certainly have been deeper in his time than in ours, the washings from the surrounding mounds during the rainy season having inevitably deposited a considerable stratum of mud in the course of a score of centuries. This problem alone was worth solving.

It was solved in three days. It would have been solved years before had Mariette been less easily discouraged. At a depth of but a few feet from the surface, the picks and spades of the diggers struck granite all along the line. Broken columns, capitals, architraves, building-blocks, roofing-stones, and large slabs covered with elaborate sculptures in low relief were uncovered in swift suc-

¹ An exploration in another part of the cat cemetery conducted this year (1889) by Dr. F. Goddard, the American student attached to the Fund, resulted in the discovery of a few fine bronzes of cats, etc.



VIEW OVER THE RUINS OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL.

cession. Then the plan of the structure began gradually to unfold itself. It was oriented, as usual, from east to west. At the lower, or easternmost end, two enormous columns with palm capitals, now prostrate and broken, marked the entrance to what seemed like a great first hall. The next trench, about 150 feet higher up, disclosed another hall, situated apparently about the middle of the building. A hundred and fifty feet higher yet, it was evident that the site of the Hypostyle Hall was laid open. Lastly, at the sanctuary end, the diggers encountered a vast and confused pile of enormous granite blocks, and a mass of limestone chips.

It was clear that Mariette had made a fatal mistake, and that the site which he had so hastily condemned was a mine of unexplored wealth.

"It is not a few stray blocks that we are finding at Tell Basta," wrote M. Naville, in the first flush of his great discovery; "it is a whole temple."

All hands were now toled off to the two trenches which promised the richest results. The trench of the Hypostyle Hall, as it was daily widened and deepened, yielded more and more columns—some square, some round; some polished, some unpolished; some with palm capitals, some with lotus-bud capitals, and some with square dies sculptured on two sides with a colossal head of the goddess Ha-

thor. All were in red granite, more or less shattered; and wherever there was space for an inscription, there, in large and deeply cut hieroglyphs, were emblazoned the names and titles of Rameses II. Some of these inscriptions were flagrant usurpations, being re-engraved over the erased names of Usertesen III. and other earlier kings.

The diggers in the second trench continued, meanwhile, to discover an apparently inexhaustible supply of massive slabs closely covered with small figure subjects; the spaces above, below, and between the figures being filled in with minutely executed hieroglyphic inscriptions. These bas-reliefs formed part of one vast historical tableau, or series of tableaux, representing an important religious ceremony. Here, also, jammed in between slabs and roofing-blocks, or lying prostrate under piles of debris, were the shattered remains of an extraordinary number of statues of all sizes, of all materials, and, as it seemed, of all periods—heads without trunks, trunks without heads, feet and pedestals without either heads or trunks. This hall had been a walhalla of sculptured kings and gods, the whole magnificent structure having come down apparently with one tremendous crash, and entombed them as it fell. As fragment after fragment was dragged out, nine in every ten proved to be indorsed with the oft re-



HEAD OF RAMESES II. WITH THE ATEF-CROWN.

peated insignia of Rameses II. The remains of four pairs of colossal portrait-statues of this one Pharaoh were here identified in the course of a few days—two in black granite of great size, the eyes seven inches in length; two in gray granite, two in green granite, and two in red granite; besides fragments of several huge groups representing the king standing or enthroned, now with a goddess, and sometimes as the third member of a divine triad. Other statues of the same Pharaoh were of heroic size, and some of life size; to say nothing of innumerable heads belonging to statues which had been broken up for building-material at a later period. Among these, one was especially noticeable for the exquisite modeling of the face and the delicacy of its execution. It had belonged to a life-size figure in red granite, representing Rameses II. as a youth of about eighteen or twenty years of age, crowned with an elaborate Osirian helmet issuing from a diadem encircled by uræi. This charming head—the most beautiful portrait of the hero of Kadesh which has ever been discovered—is in the Museum at Gizeh. This helmet is known as the atef-crown.

From this time till the end of the month every day's work brought fresh monuments to light, each monument a fragment of history. From these slight and scattered data it soon became possible to reconstruct an imperfect outline of the rise and fall of the temple.

The discovery of a stone inscribed with the throne-name of Pepi Merira showed that it was either founded by that very ancient king, or was already standing in his time. Between the inscription of Pepi of the sixth dynasty, and the inscriptions of Usertesen III. of the twelfth dynasty (B. C. 2943), there lies an interval of seven hundred years; and it is to Usertesen III. that M. Naville attributes the erection of the Hypostyle Hall. Another great stride of more than fifteen hundred years carries us on from Usertesen III. to Rameses II. (nineteenth dynasty, B. C. 1405), who emblazoned the temple all over with his titles, and peopled it with his statues. Some four hundred and sixty years later Osorkon II., third king of the Bubastite line (twenty-second dynasty), added a magnificent hall entirely constructed of unpolished red granite, the walls being lined with slabs elaborately sculptured in low relief. Later still, about B. C. 380, Nectanebo I., of the thirtieth and last native dynasty, built a large sanctuary with extensive wings at the western end of the pile.

Here, then, with but two trenches worked, and two-thirds of the area yet unexplored, five great epochs in the making of the temple were already ascertained, and those five epochs, beginning with the sixth dynasty, and ending with the thirtieth, extended over a period of nearly 3300 years.

The gaps between these dates were enormous; but further excavations, it was hoped, would go far towards supplying the missing links. When, therefore, M. Naville disbanded



STONE OF PEPI MERIRA.

his men at the close of the fourth week, he had not only found a large number of very precious monuments in a surprisingly short space of time, but he left the ground chronologically staked out.

The task thus begun in 1887 was resumed in 1888, and finished in 1889. Great as were the expectations raised by the successes of the first season, they were surpassed by the results of the second. Every week, every day, of that exciting campaign beheld the discovery of new statues, new inscriptions, new historical data. The main object being to clear the whole of the temple area, the excavations were pushed on as rapidly as possible in every direction — eastward, in search of entrance-courts and pylons; westward, in the direction of the sanctuary; and to north and south as far as the blocks extended on either side, so as to determine not only the length but the breadth of the structure. Work on so large a scale called for a proportionate number of workers, and M. Naville's "hands," including overseers, diggers, basket-carriers, and miscellaneous helpers, rarely fell below four hundred. Among these were included a gang of "Shayalin," or native porters — men as tall and powerful as their brethren, the Hammals of Constantinople — who belong to a local guild and earn large wages by carrying cotton bales at Zagazig station in the cotton season.¹

At this time a visitor to the explorer's camp wrote as follows:

To see these hundreds of Arabs at work is worth a much longer journey than from Cairo to Zagazig. Long before you reach the spot, you hear a strange sound which comes and goes upon the air like the "murmuring of innumerable bees." Not, however, till you have climbed to the top of the mound commanding a view of the temple site do you realize the fact that the bees are human bees, digging, chattering, singing, swarming to and fro like ants on an ant-hill. The sight, as one looks down upon it from this point, is really extraordinary. Below you yawn three huge pits, which are rapidly merging into one. These pits are full of swarthy, bare-legged laborers, lightly clad in loose shirts and drawers of blue or white calico. They work vigorously with pick and spade, the stuff they throw out being scraped up by the women and girls, who are all day slowly toiling up and down the crumbling slopes, with baskets full or empty on their heads. The women wear shining silver bracelets on their brown arms, and black veils, and dark blue robes that trail in the dust. They look wonderfully stately and picturesque. Even the little girls have their floating rags of veils; and all, as they scrape, and fill, and carry, and empty their baskets, chant a shrill monotonous chorus which has neither tune nor rhythm, nor beginning nor end. Meanwhile, you see the "pathway men" doing police duty by keeping the paths open and the carriers moving; messenger boys running to and fro; and here and there,

¹ Zagazig is the center of the Egyptian cotton trade.

easily distinguishable from a distance by their long staffs and white turbans, the *reises*, or overseers, at whose approach gossips are stricken dumb, and idlers start into spasmodic activity. And now, perhaps, while you are looking on, there is a sudden movement in the direction of the farthest pit, where a group of Shayalin has been hauling on a rope for the last quarter of an hour without being able, apparently, to move the block to which it is lashed. But now they have dragged it out, and are looking



BACK VIEW OF THE SITTING STATUE OF AMENHOTEP,
GOVERNOR OF BUBASTIS.

into the hole in which it was embedded. What have they uncovered? Something of importance, it is clear, for yonder come two of the overseers; and now a slender brown mite of a boy runs off at full speed, in the direction of the camp, to summon the howadji.

To this may be added an extract translated from a letter addressed by Madame Naville to the present writer:

Nothing is more exciting than to watch these enormous blocks being turned over, thus showing inscriptions which have been concealed for centuries. The difficulty of turning them may, however, be imagined, when a mass weighing several tons is wedged in between three or four huge fragments of colossal statues, with not one foot of *terra firma* for the men to stand upon. Once raised, a block of only a few hundredweight is slung between poles, and easily carried to a clear space on the brink of the excavation. The larger ones are lifted and turned by means of rollers and levers between two long lines of ropes. The sheik of the Shayalin dresses the



LEGS AND THRONE OF SECOND HYKSÓS STATUE.

lines of men with his stick, and marks the time by shouting some sing-song and well-accentuated phrase. When at last the block moves, it often happens that a statue—till then completely hidden—appears underneath. The work of taking paper impressions has become very heavy, and there was much rejoicing when Count d'Hulst arrived the other day to the assistance of M. Naville and Mr. Griffith. I watched him yesterday going from block to block, clearing the sand and soil from the hollows of the hieroglyphs, washing the sculptured surfaces, damping the paper, and taking the impressions. Wherever he went, he was followed by a fellah woman carrying a bowl of water, which she continually refilled.

Thus vigorously pushed, the second season's campaign went on apace. The mound being cut away between the trenches at the eastern end, the ruins of a third great hall and the remains of a colonnade were brought to light. The hall proved to be the work of Osorkon I., or possibly a restoration; the colonnade, like the sanctuary at the other extremity of the temple, was due to Nectanebo I. Discoveries of great interest now followed so quickly that the weekly letters from Tell Basta read more like pages from the descriptive catalogue of some great museum than reports from a site under excavation.

The first great historical sur-

prise of 1888 was the discovery of a group of monuments belonging to the school of the eighteenth dynasty.

This group consisted of (1) a bas-relief tablet of Amenhotep II. in adoration before Amen enthroned;¹ (2) the upper half of a black basalt statuette of a young man engraved on the breast with the name-cartouche of Amenhotep III.; (3) two life-size sitting statues, unfortunately headless, of a nobleman who flourished during the reign of Amenhotep III.; and (4) a fragment of a

block sculptured with the sacred oval of Atenra—a monument which it is impossible to attribute to any but Khuenaten, the disk-worshipping Pharaoh of Tell el-Amarna. The headless nobleman was a namesake and high official of Amenhotep III.; he sits cross-legged, with an open scroll upon his lap, upon which it is graven in hieroglyphic characters that he was "the prince, Amenhotep, the good Friend who loves his Lord, Chief of the works of his King, Governor of the

¹ This tablet was re-inscribed about 130 to 150 years later by Seti I. (nineteenth dynasty).



DOOR-JAMB OF RED GRANITE WITH CARTOUCHE, AND PART OF INSCRIPTION OF APEPI.

City, and of the provinces of the marshlands"; upon the brooch which fastens his garment is inscribed the name of Amenhotep III.; and over his shoulder are suspended the palette and ink-bottle of a scribe. Now, these monuments convey much more than appears upon the surface. They supply the long-sought link which connects the eighteenth dynasty with the Delta, and they show that the authority of the Pharaohs of the Restoration not only extended as far as the Bubastite nome, but that it was enforced throughout the littoral provinces, even to the marshlands around the mouths of the Nile, and the mazes of the Serbonian bog. Proving this, they at once dispose of the theory of a foreign occupation of the Delta during the term of this dynasty.

The most startling discoveries, however, were yet to come. Early in March, in an open space at the eastern extremity of the temple area, where the ground was low and swampy and the water yet lay in muddy pools, the diggers one morning unearthed a colossal black granite head of unmistakable Hyksôs type. Though split across the face, the two halves were fairly perfect. On the head was the folded "khaft," or shawl, and on the brow the basilisk of royalty.

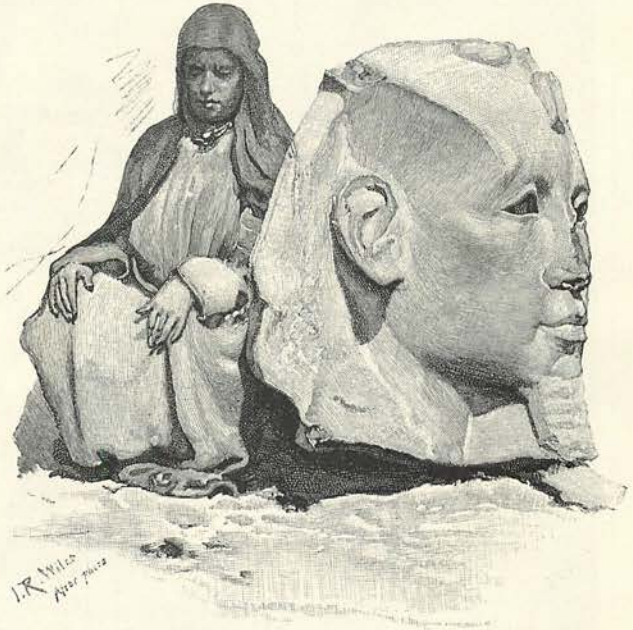
A shock of excitement thrilled the little band of explorers; for that Bubastis had been a Hyksôs settlement was an utterly unexpected revelation. Except one barbaric bust found in the Fayûm, a sphinx discovered at Tell Mukhdam, and two heads in private collections, all the Hyksôs monuments known were found by Mariette in the ruins of the Great Temple of Tanis; and even at Tanis, their chosen capital, no portrait-statues of these alien rulers had been discovered. Yet here, some thirty-five miles nearer to the apex of the Delta, in a spot which had never been associated with Hyksôs traditions, was a colossal Hyksôs head, some six times the size of life, evidently a portrait, and adorned with the insignia of Egyptian sovereignty!

"We are making anxious search for the rest of the statue," wrote M. Naville, immediately after the event, "in the hope of finding a name; but, even if we are successful, I fear the cartouches will have been erased by Rameses II."

A day or two after these prophetic words were penned, the lower half of the statue was found lying upside down in a deep pool of water. It proved to be a seated figure, the legs, throne, and plinth in one huge block, weighing

from twelve to fifteen tons. As foreseen, however, by M. Naville, the royal ovals on the front of the throne had been erased and re-engraved by Rameses II., the vacant spaces at each side being filled in with six columns of inscription in honor of Osorkon II. Here, then, was a twofold usurpation, and no trace left of the original legend.

And now, although the ground in this part was as treacherous and spongy as a bog, dis-



FELLAH WOMAN AND HEAD OF SECOND HYKSÔS STATUE.

covery followed fast upon discovery. The feet and plinth of a second sitting figure, sculptured in the same granite and upon the same scale, were found within a few yards of the first. Next came two enormous fragments of this second colossus, consisting of the legs and throne in one piece, and part of the trunk in another. Desperate efforts were now made to find the trunk of the first and the head of the second statue. At last, after days of suspense, when further search seemed well-nigh hopeless, the international cable flashed a message of good news from Zagazig to London:

Second Hyksôs head, nearly perfect.—NAVILLE.

M. Naville has since then described the finding of this head as the most exciting event of his five winters' experience in the Delta. It was already late in the afternoon when he heard a loud cry of "*Râs! Râs!*" ("The head! The head!") He ran to the spot, and there, midway between the base and torso of



"SHAYALIN" CARRYING A BLOCK.

the last found colossus, on the shelving bank of a deep pool, he saw the top of a huge head just visible above the surface. The men were hauling, shouting, damming back the water, and flinging out great handfuls of the mud in which the face was embedded. Was it perfect? Or was it broken, like its fellow? M. Naville and Count d'Hulst waded in, feeling eagerly under the water, and passing their hands under the yet half-buried features. Finding the end of the nose fractured, M. Naville had, as he afterwards confessed, "an instant of despair"; but his despair the next moment became exultation on finding the face well-nigh perfect. Then the dusk rapidly closed in, and they left their treasure in the water, only to haul it out next morning, high and dry, and photograph it on the spot.

Now, a pair of colossal figures stationed just outside the first hall of a temple, and at so short a distance apart, must have been seated on either side of the entrance. When, therefore, by and by a massive door-jamb in red granite was found, engraved with the cartouche of Apepi and part of an inscription stating that he had erected "many columns and bronze doors" in honor of some god whose name is missing, a clue was at once obtained to the identity of one, if not of both, of the statues. For, strange to say, the faces of the pair, though strikingly alike, were not the same; the broken head representing a man of maturer age and harsher features than the original of the head last discovered. They may, however, be portraits of the same king at two different periods. The famous diorite statue of Khafra¹ in the Gizeh Museum represents him at about thirty years of age; but flung into the same well in which that masterpiece of very early art was discovered were also found the shattered fragments of eight other statues of this king, one of which shows him old and wrinkled. The difference between the two Hyksôs heads of Bubastis is not so great as that between the two Khafras of Gizeh. The older may be half way between fifty and sixty; the younger is scarcely more than forty.²

Another stone sculptured with the "ka-name"³—commonly called the "standard-name"—of Apepi was found in 1889, close to

the spot from which the colossi were recovered in 1888. Nor is this the only evidence which points to the identification of at least one of these statues. The younger head closely resembles the celebrated andro-sphinxes discovered by Mariette at Tanis, and the andro-sphinxes of Tanis—one of which, under an erasure, still preserves recognizable traces of the name of Apepi—have long been accepted as portraits of the last of the Hyksôs kings. As, however, there seems reason to believe that the cartouches of a yet earlier Hyksôs originally occupied the place of honor on these sphinxes,⁴ it is not worth while to insist upon any identity other than that of race. The ethnological characteristics of the Tanite monuments and the Bubastis colossi are at all events the same; and those characteristics are unquestionably Turanian. The high cheek-bones, the eyes inclining slightly upward, the prominent jaw, the curious muscular bosses at the corners of the mouth, the open nostrils, the full lips curving sternly downwards, the hard lines about the mouth, are alike in all. It is a saturnine, melancholy, Mongolian type, as distinct from the national Egyptian type as the Dacian from the Roman.

The obscure story of the Hyksôs invasion need not be recapitulated in these pages. Enough that somewhere about B. C. 2000 the Delta was inundated by a vast wave of barbarian hordes from over the northeastern border, and that the conquest thus achieved by sheer force of numbers was held by the strong hand of the invader for five hundred years.⁵ Like the armed hosts which in a later age flooded southern Europe under the banners of the Goth and the Vandal, this conquering multitude consisted of warlike tribes of various nationalities. The bulk were doubtless Semites from Sinai, Syria, and the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; yet the classic tradition which ascribes the early subjugation of Asia and Egypt to a warrior-king from the steppes of Scythia may not have been without some element of truth. The Idanthyrus of Strabo is scarcely to be accepted as an historical personage; neither is it practicable to assign a date to his somewhat mythical expedition; yet it must not be forgotten that Justin

¹ These statues of King Khafra (Chephren) of the fourth dynasty were found in the well attached to his funerary chapel, the so-called "Temple of the Sphinx," at Gizeh.

² Though the one statue is now at Gizeh and the other in the British Museum, they may still be compared by those who visit either Museum. Beside the older Apepi, M. Grébaud has placed a plaster cast of Apepi the younger; and a plaster cast of the Gizeh statue will shortly be placed *vis-à-vis* of the younger in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum.

³ See Mr. Petrie's discovery of the meaning of this term, "A Season in Egypt," chap. iv., p. 21.

⁴ The name of Apepi, which has been hammered

out, but is still traceable, is on the right shoulder, the place being reengraved with the cartouches of Menepthah, fourth Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty. On the chest of the sphinx are sculptured the cartouches of Pisebkhanu, an obscure king of the twenty-first dynasty. Professor Maspero has, however, discovered that the cartouches of Pisebkhanu are also carved over an erasure; and as the chest was undoubtedly the place of honor, this shows that the earliest name of all is missing.

⁵ The dates and figures adopted throughout this paper are those of Manetho; but the dates of Manetho are not accepted by some Egyptologists, and statements of numbers and periods are not to be taken literally when derived from Oriental sources.

also takes note of a supposed Scythian invasion of Egypt in very remote times. Both traditions are possibly based on vague echoes of the Hyksôs period, and may point to a dominant Turanian force by which the masses were led and organized. Were the Egypt of to-day to be invaded by her Asiatic neighbors, we should witness a precisely similar phenomenon.¹ The enemy would be of Semitic race, but they would be officered by Turks; and the Turk of the present, like the Scythian of the past, is Turanian.

The Mongoloid characteristics of the Tanis sphinxes were long since recognized by Professor Maspero, by the two Lenormants, and by Professor Flower. It is therefore satisfactory to know that Dr. Virchow, who visited Tell Basta a few days after the discovery of the second colossal head, not only pronounced the ethnological type to be identical with the ethnological type of the Tanite sculptures, but concurred with Professor Flower and the above named eminent authorities in pronouncing that type to be distinctly Turanian.²

The names of a few Hyksôs kings have been preserved by Josephus and other early historians,³ but they contribute little towards the solution of this question. Salatis or Silites, Bnôn or Bëôn, Pachnan or Apachnas, Staan, Iannas, Arkhlës, Asseth, Aphobis or Aphophis, have a strange, barbaric sound. Aphobis or Aphophis is a cumbrous transliteration of Apepi, and we have existing monuments of two Hyksôs kings of that name. The rest may be Scythian names Grecized; but they probably retain little of their original aspect. It is to the second Apepi⁴ that M. Naville attributes the inscriptions and — with due reservation — the colossi of Bubastis.

Notwithstanding that they had yielded this harvest of unexpected treasures, the ruins had yet another surprise in store. I quote from M. Naville's report dated March 18, 1888:

I had noticed on Friday the corner of a block of polished black granite which I thought might belong to some good monument, and I had it unearthed yesterday. It proved to be the lower half

¹ See a paper read by M. Naville at a meeting of the Victoria Institute, July 5, 1889.

² Dr. Virchow, although he identifies the ethnic type, is not prepared to specify to which branch of the great yellow race the men of the Tanite sphinxes and the Bubastite colossi belonged.

³ Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus have all quoted the names of a few Hyksôs kings from the lost history of Manetho; but, as shown above, they spell them variously.

⁴ Apepi was a name borne by at least two Hyksôs rulers, one of whom belongs to the fifteenth and one to the seventeenth dynasty. The Hyksôs Pharaohs established their capital at Tanis, the biblical Zoan, also called in their time Avaris, which they fortified, and which was the nucleus of their great armed camp. From this stronghold they were expelled by the Theban princes at the close of the war of liberation begun

of a life-size figure of very beautiful workmanship, with two columns of finely cut hieroglyphs engraved down each side of the front of the throne to right and left of the legs of the statue. These inscriptions give the name and titles of an absolutely unknown king, who, judging from the work, must belong to the Hyksôs period, or at all events to one of the obscure dynasties preceding the Hyksôs invasion. One cartouche, containing the coronation name, reads User-en-ra, which is not unknown. The other reads "Ian-ra," or "Ra-ian," a name unlike any I have ever seen. He is described, most strangely, as the worshiper of his ka (*i. e.*, his ghost, or double⁵). . . . Since writing the above I have been over to Boulak, and have shown my copy of the inscription to Ahmed Kemal-ed-Din Effendi, the Mohammedan official attached to the museum. He was deeply interested, and said at once: "That is the Pharaoh of Joseph! All our Arab books call him Reiyân, the son of El-Welid." He then wrote the name for me in Arabic, which I inclose herewith. For my own part, I know nothing of Arab literature or Arab tradition. I should not, however, be disposed to attach much weight to this curious coincidence. Still, it is curious, and certainly interesting.

Now, Ahmed Kemal-ed-Din Effendi, who is also a high authority on Arab literature, enjoys the unique distinction of being the only Oriental Egyptologist in the world. His opinion is therefore highly esteemed by his fellow-countrymen; and that a "Frank" had found a statue which the Effendi identified with the Pharaoh of Joseph was a fact which at once found its way to the columns of the native press. The result was novel. For the first time in the history of exploration in Egypt a genuine interest — an interest altogether independent of the greed for treasure or the trade in "antikahs" — was awakened in the better-class Cairenes; and among the visitors who thronged daily to Tell Basta to watch the progress of the work, there might now be seen an unwonted sprinkling of grave and turbaned Arabs. For Joseph is a typical hero of Arab legendary lore, and a nucleus of local tradition. The pyramids, for instance, were his granaries, in which he stored Pharaoh's corn against the seven years of famine. He, and

by Skenen-ra-Taa-ken and brought to a victorious issue by Ahmes I., first Pharaoh of the restored legitimate line. The war of liberation, though traditionally said to have lasted for one hundred and fifty years, did not probably last more than thirty. Apepi II., the last of the Hyksôs according to some, the last but one according to Manetho, beautified Tanis and there built a temple to Set, of which every vestige has disappeared. This king is the hero of a celebrated Egyptian popular tale — founded probably on an historic basis — which has been translated into English by Professor Lushington and the late C. W. Goodwin, and into French by Chabas and Maspero. The original manuscript, known as the First Sallier Papyrus, is in the British Museum.

⁵ See a paper entitled "The Nature of the Egyptian Ka," in "The Academy," January 5, 1889, in which I have ventured to suggest another interpretation.

none other, founded the city of Memphis. A canalized branch of the Nile, of immemorial antiquity, is to this day known as the Bahr Yûsuf, or Canal of Joseph. The old palace of Saladin in the citadel, which was pulled down in 1829 to make room for the mosque of Mehemet Ali, was called "Joseph's Hall"; and a rock-cut well, most probably of ancient Egyptian work, on the eastward side of the citadel hill, goes by the name of "Joseph's Well." As for the biblical history of Joseph, it is filled in and colored to suit the national taste. The anonymous Pharaoh of the Mosaic narrative becomes Er-Reiyân, son of an Amalekite king called El-Welid; Potiphar's wife figures as "the fair Zuleika"; and Joseph himself, seen through a mirage of Arab romance, becomes a curious combination of the Mohammedan santon and the errant prince of the "Thousand and One Nights."

The Arab chronicles which identify the Pharaoh of Joseph with Reiyân are unanimous in ascribing a foreign origin to that prince and his dynasty; and although the details of the story are somewhat variously related by different historians, the leading incidents remain for the most part the same. It is thus told by El-Makrizi, the topographer of Cairo, and author of many learned works. "The Amalekites," he says, "led by Welid, son of Dumî," invaded the land of Egypt, then ruled by Aymen of Qûs (Coptos). A great battle was fought. The Egyptians were defeated "with an exceeding great slaughter," and Pharaoh Aymen fled. The conquerors then chose their leader, El-Welid, to reign over them; and El-Welid, having reduced the Egyptians to slavery, and passed through many adventures, ruled for one hundred and twenty years, "till he perished."

Then his son Er-Reiyân, the son of El-Welid, the son of Dumî, one of the Amalekites, reigned; and he was one of the most powerful of the people of the earth in his time, and the greatest king. Now the Amalekites were descended from Amlîk, son of Laud (Lud), son of Sâm (Shem), son of Nua (Noah); and Er-Reiyân was the Pharaoh of Yûsuf (Joseph), on whom be peace. . . . And it is said that the Pharaoh of Yûsuf was the grandfather of the Pharaoh of

Moses, his father's father, and his name was Barkhû; and he was lofty of stature and beautiful of countenance. And after him reigned his son Dârimush, and he is also called Darim, son of Reiyân, and he was the fourth Pharaoh, and Yûsuf was his Khalifa.

Admitting the fantastic character of the Amalekite genealogy and the absurd chronological transposition which makes Moses antecedent to Joseph, one cannot help asking whether this legend may not, after all, breathe a faint echo of historic truth? As the Amalekites are said by El-Makrizi to have chosen their leader El-Welid to reign over them, so Manetho relates of the Hyksôs invaders that "they made one among them to be their king, and his name was Salatis."¹ That Arab tradition should ascribe the great conquest to a people of Asiatic origin is natural enough; and, as we have seen, it is more than merely probable that the foreign hordes were mainly Semites. Arab chroniclers, eagerly gathering up every thread of local tradition in an age when the Egyptians yet preserved some vague memory of the early history of their nation, would, as a matter of course, ignore the Hyksôs supremacy, and give the command and the victory to a race akin to their own.

But the main point is that the Arabic "Reiyân" exactly transliterates the group of hieroglyphs rendered by "Ra-ian." Ra-ian, however, may as correctly be read Ian-ra,² which bears a close resemblance to "Iannas," classed by Manetho as one of the Hyksôs or "Shepherd" kings—"Hyksôs" and "Shepherd," according to Josephus, being convertible terms.³ Now, that the Hebrew settlement in Egypt befell during the Hyksôs dynasties is an accepted proposition, and the internal evidence of the Mosaic record⁴ goes far to corroborate a very ancient Christian tradition which places the ministry of Joseph under a Pharaoh of that time. Syncellus, a Byzantine chronologer of A. D. 800, actually specifies Apepi as the Pharaoh in question. Unfortunately, the Pharaoh of Joseph, like the Pharaoh of Moses, is not once mentioned by name in the Bible. Which, then, are right—

¹ On a Hyksôs sphinx found at Tell Mukhdam in the Delta, Mariette and some others believed that the name of Salatis (or Shalati) was recognizable in a broken and very illegible cartouche.

² In Egyptian solar names (*i.e.*, coronation names affiliating the king to Ra) the "Ra" is often transposable, as Ra-meri — Meri-ra Ra-men-kheper — Men-kheper-ra; Ra-en-user — User-en-ra, etc.

³ *I. e.*, "Hyk," ruler, "Sôs" or "Shos" from "Shasû," shepherd. This etymology, however, is scarcely satisfactory.

⁴ Whether the story of Joseph be accepted as strictly historical or as an Oriental legend embroidered upon a background of fact, this indirect evidence is equally valuable as pointing to the nationality of the anonymous Pharaoh. Joseph, for instance, is represented as counseling his brethren to tell Pharaoh that

they were shepherds, for the reason that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Here we have good inductive evidence that what was an abomination to the Egyptians must have been a passport to the favor of the king, and consequently that the king himself was of shepherd origin. The sequel of the story confirms this conclusion. The sons of Jacob follow Joseph's instructions, and the king not only makes them welcome, but grants them "the best of the land" for their abiding place. This, however, by no means proves that Pharaoh was, like themselves, a Semite of Syria. The Scythians, and other Mongoloid tribes, were nomadic shepherds, like the "Shasû" of Syria and Arabia, and the term "Hyksôs," in the sense given to it by Josephus, would apply equally to all nations living the life of wandering herdsmen.

the Christian chroniclers who place Joseph under Apepi, or the Arab chroniclers who place him under Reiyân? Without more direct evidence, that is a question which cannot be authoritatively settled; but neither are necessarily wrong. There is much evidence to show that the war of national independence under Sekenen-ra-Taa-ken,¹ Prince of Thebes, broke out during the reign of Apepi, and that Apepi was the last Hyksôs who ruled in Egypt.

The lists of Manetho, however, place Iannas after Apepi. In either case Joseph, who is reputed to have lived to extreme old age, would in all probability have served under two successive kings.² As for Iannas, who is said by Manetho to have reigned for fifty years and one month, we have no reason to doubt that he was as genuine an historical personage as Apepi; though whether he preceded or succeeded Apepi remains for the present an open question. He may or he may not be the Ra-ian of the Bubastite statue; but that the Bubastite statue represents an historical personage cannot for a moment be doubted. A portrait-statue dedicated in a temple and inscribed in full with the customary Pharaonic titles is as good evidence as would be the mummy of the king himself.

Whether Ra-ian of Bubastis and Reiyân of the Arabic chroniclers are one and the same is perhaps the most difficult point under consideration. Only those who have made an especial study of Arabic literature are, however, qualified to pronounce upon it. The following letter addressed to the editor of "The Times" by Dr. Rieu, Keeper of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum, is therefore of great value, as representing the opinion of one of the first of living authorities in this department of scholarship:

The name of King Raian, recently discovered by M. Naville at Bubastis, is all but identical with the name which Arab tradition gives to Joseph's Pharaoh. Mas'ûdi, who has been followed by all the later historians, says in the *Morûj ud-Dahab* that the Hamites who peopled Egypt had been for some time ruled over by women, in consequence of which kings from all quarters were lusting after their lands. An Amalekite king named al-Walid invaded it from Syria, and established his rule there. After him came his son, Raïyân ibn al-Walid, in whose time Joseph was brought to Egypt.

¹ The mummy of this prince was among those discovered in 1881 in the hidden vault of the priest-kings at Deir el-Bahari in western Thebes. Sekenen-ra was evidently slain on the field of battle. His skull is cloven in two places; the frontal bone is pierced as by a dart and the jaw is laid open.

² Makrizi, in the passage previously quoted, expressly says that Yûsuf was Khalifa under Darimush, the son of Reiyân, thus showing that he served under two kings.

³ Published in "The Times," April 10, 1888.

It is hard to believe that so striking a coincidence should be due to mere chance. But the question it raises cannot be finally settled until the Arab tradition shall have been traced to its source. Meanwhile, the alien character of the dynasty may be noted as an additional point of resemblance.

BRITISH MUSEUM, April 7, 1888.³

Such, with many omissions, were the principal discoveries of 1888, a season momentous in the annals of exploration, and unparalleled for the wealth of its results. A small part of the temple area had, however, not yet been dug over, and many blocks were still unturned. M. Naville accordingly went back to Tell Basta in the month of February, 1889, for the purpose of completing the excavation. The party consisted of M. Naville, Count Riamo d'Hulst, the Rev. W. MacGregor, and Dr. Harley Goddard, a young American archæologist who was sent out from the United States in the capacity of traveling student attached to the Fund.

So much had been done during the two previous seasons that little remained to enliven the labors of the third. All, in fact, that remained for the explorers to do was to clear up the site, to make an exhaustive search for inscriptions, and to complete their series of paper impressions from the bas-relief sculptures of the halls of Osorkon I. and Osorkon II. These tasks occupied them from the beginning of February to the end of March; and when M. Naville and his party at the end of this short season came to "fold their tents, like the Arabs," it was with the satisfactory certainty that there remained no gleanings for any future explorer. M. Naville had now literally left no stone unturned in that vast area. Every block had been lifted, rolled, and examined on all sides. Every inscription had been copied. Every bas-relief had been reproduced in paper casts, and many had been photographed. Of the minutely sculptured subjects covering the lining blocks of the Festival Hall of Osorkon II., some hundreds of invaluable "squeezes" were taken, each "squeeze" capable of a second and more permanent reproduction in plaster or by photography.

The objects found in the course of this final campaign were few. They included, however, part of a large black granite tablet in praise of Rameses II., several inscriptions, a much-weathered colossal group of Rameses II. and Ptah, a few good bronzes, and a huge bronze pivot, or "crab," consisting of a ponderous mass of metal measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches square by 10 inches deep, with a large boss in the upper surface, upon which the hinge worked. It was yet embedded in part of the door-sill, a deeply scored quadrant on the surface showing where the door had scraped and swung. This fragment of door-sill was probably the only stone found *in situ* in the whole course of the exca-

vations. To suggest that the pivot formed part of one of the bronze doors added to the temple by Apepi would perhaps be to consider the question too curiously. Of inscriptions, M. Naville had a melancholy tale to tell. "The work of Rameses II. at Bubastis," he wrote in one of his latest reports, "was chiefly a work of usurpation. I never saw so many erased inscriptions. I have very carefully examined all the large architraves, upon which the hieroglyphs measure two feet in height, and there is not one which is not engraved upon an erased surface. In fact, I have found but *one* moderately long inscription of this Pharaoh which is not cut over an effaced inscription of earlier date." In other words, Rameses II. had destroyed the records of his predecessors in order to substitute his own names and titles for the names and titles of those by whom the different parts of the building were erected.

If, however, the most conspicuous surfaces were thus usurped, some very precious original documents were found on smaller blocks, many of which had been re-used — perhaps more than once — for building-material. Up to 1889, for example, the earliest royal name discovered in the ruins was that of Pepi Merira of the sixth dynasty;¹ but two stones unearthed towards the close of last season (1889) showed the temple to have been in existence as far back as the time of the fourth dynasty, one block being sculptured with the ka-name of Khufu,² the builder of the Great Pyramid, and the other with the throne-name of Khafra,³ the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh. The date of the Great Temple of Bubastis is thus carried back to a point some six hundred years earlier than the first estimate, and its period extended over nearly 3900 years.

To write the history of this temple, which it has cost so much time, labor, and money to excavate, is impossible. The data are too imperfect; the gaps are too many and too wide; the destruction wrought by time, flood, and the hand of man has been too complete. The ruins tell their own tale; but they tell it imperfectly. The wreck of the great stone book is there, but more than half its pages are gone,



LEGS AND THRONE OF RA-IAN.

and whether we indeed possess a fragment of the first of those pages, or even of the last, who shall say? The ka-name of Khufu registers the earliest fixed point from which it is possible to reckon; but was Khufu the founder of the building? Is it not more probable that the site was already occupied, as at Denderah, by a prehistoric sanctuary which Khufu, in like manner, rebuilt? Rebuilder or founder, that mighty autocrat who arrogated to himself "the labor of an age in piled stones" put his mark upon the structure, and it has survived to this day. Khafra, though he left his pyramid and his magnificent red granite chapel without a line of inscription, gave his cartouche to the temple, thus showing that he had carried on, or completed, the work of Khufu. Then comes the first great blank. Six hundred years go by, and Pepi Merira — a pious king, who feared and honored the gods — follows Khafra in the royal roll of Bubastis. With Usertesen I. (circa B. C. 3055) we pass from the sixth to the twelfth dynasty. An inscription of this Pharaoh, found a few days before the excava-

¹ Circa B. C. 3650.

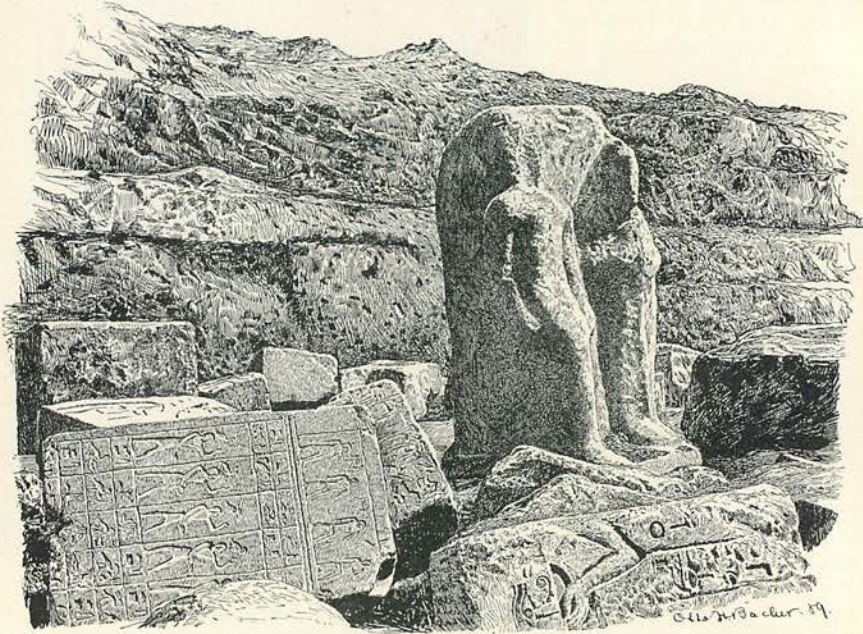
² Khufu (Cheops), circa B. C. 4206.

³ Khafra (Chephren), circa B. C. 4143.

tions were finally closed, states that the early temple was yet standing in his time. Now, from the reign of Khufu to the reign of User-tesen I. represents about a century more than from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Victoria; if, therefore, the first temple of Bubastis were of no higher antiquity than the Great Pyramid, it was already, in the time of Usertesen I., more venerable by a hundred years than is our Westminster Abbey at the present day. Next taken in hand by Usertesen III., it was so greatly enlarged that it ranked thenceforth as a temple of the first magnitude.

Of the Xoite line, and of the first two Hyksôs dynasties, the temple ruins have nothing to tell. Nor do they take up the broken chain of history till Apepi holds his court at Tanis, and the Theban princes are preparing for war. With the Hyksôs monuments we touch the fairly approximate date of B. C. 1750, the restoration of the legitimate line being with great probability placed at about B. C. 1703.

Next comes the glorious eighteenth dynasty; the earliest record of this period being a bas-relief block of Amenhotep II., followed by the monuments of Amenhotep III., already



COLOSSAL GROUP OF RAMESES II. AND PTAH, SHOWING ALSO A BAS-RELIEF BLOCK FROM THE FESTIVAL HALL.

Up to this time it would appear to have covered no more than the space occupied at a later date by the first and second halls; but Usertesen III., besides building the Hypostyle Hall, added considerably to the second hall, and must certainly have built a new sanctuary, of which, however, no vestige remains. The Hypostyle Hall, like the rest of the temple, was constructed entirely in the red granite of Syene, the roof being supported by alternate rows of round columns with lotus-bud capitals and square columns with Hathor-head capitals.¹ An architrave carved with the ovals of Sebekhotep I. bears solitary witness to the rule of the thirteenth dynasty, and with this one stone the great period of the Middle Empire passes away.

¹ The two finest specimens of these gigantic capitals have been presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, and may be seen in the new Egyptian room lately added to that building.

described. Of actual additions to the structure by the Pharaohs of the Restoration there are no traces. For some reason—probably a very simple one—these great builders and soldiers apparently took no interest in the cities and temples of Lower Egypt. It may well be that they found it occupation enough to conquer the known world of their time; to plant temples and fortresses along the banks of the Nile from Middle Egypt to the Isle of Argo in Ethiopia, and to carry the terror of the Egyptian name as far northward as the upper waters of the Euphrates. The marvel is, not that they left some things undone, but that they achieved so much. A single inscription inserted in a blank space upon the bas-relief of Amenhotep II. is the only record found of Seti I. (B. C. 1455–1404). This brief entry marks the advent of the nineteenth dynasty (B. C. 1462–1288). Next came Rameses II., who appears to have added nothing to the structure, while, by con-



STONE SCULPTURED WITH THE "KA-NAME" OF KHUFU.

verting it into a huge palimpsest, he robbed it of much of its history. Handed over to the tender mercies of an army of masons, the records of many kings of many dynasties were industriously effaced; the pompous titles of "The Golden Hawk," "The Powerful Bull," "The Lord of the Two Lands," "The Son of Ra," "Rameses, Beloved of Amen," being substituted on architrave and pillar, lintel and soffit, from end to end of the building. Also, as we have seen, he multiplied his own image in the halls of Bubastis almost as profusely as he multiplied his cartouches. Menepthah, his son and successor,—the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus,—is next represented by various broken statues; and after him the next link in the historic chain is represented by Rameses VI., of the twentieth dynasty. Fragments of several statues of this king were found, and the upper half of a fine red granite colossus, now in the Gizeh Museum.¹

The twentieth dynasty expires. The twenty-first dynasty runs its obscure race, and the princes of the twenty-second dynasty—by some believed to be of Hyksôs descent,² and by others of Libyan origin—obtain possession of the double crown before the ruins again take up the story of their changing fortunes. This time something like one hundred and thirty years have elapsed, of

which we know nothing. What happened at Bubastis during those one hundred and thirty years? What happened during the same interval at Tanis? The wrecks of both temples are silent; but even their silence is eloquent of some tremendous and unrecorded catastrophe. Both were among the most gorgeous of their time, and both were at the height of their splendor under the nineteenth dynasty. At Bubastis the last Ramesside Pharaoh of whom a memorial has been found is Rameses VI.; at Tanis it is Rameses III., both of the twentieth dynasty. After these, in some form which we can only surmise, came ruin. Of invasion or rebellion between the twentieth and twenty-second dynasties history preserves no record. Earthquakes, however, were more frequent in the Egypt of ancient days than at the present time, and it is difficult to understand how the destruction wrought at Bubastis and Tanis in the tenth century before our era could be due to any other cause. That Bubastis was of old a center of seismic disturbance may be inferred from a very ancient tradition which tells how the earth opened at this place in the reign of Boëthos (Butau), a king of the second dynasty, and swallowed up many of the inhabitants. Be this as it may, the kings of the twenty-second dynasty found the Great Temples of Bubastis and Tanis in a condition of utter ruin, and they repaired them with the material found upon the spot. At Bubastis, Sheshonk I., the founder



THRESHOLD STONE AND BRONZE PIVOT.

¹ Monuments of Rameses VI. are extremely rare.

² This is the view adopted by Mr. Le Page Renouf, who regards the Hyksôs as Turanians of Edom, and the

Bubastite kings as their descendants. Mr. Renouf derives the name of Sheshonk, the founder of the twenty-second dynasty, from two Aramaic words signifying "the man of Susa."

of his house, is represented only by a statuette, whereas at Tanis, among other works, he cut up the largest colossal statue ever executed by the hand of man,¹ to build a pylon gateway. His immediate successor, Osorkon I., did apparently nothing at Tanis; but at Bubastis he rebuilt the Hypostyle Hall and the first hall of bas-reliefs, to which Osorkon II. added the Hall of the great Festival. That the two Osorkons practically restored the whole structure is shown by the way in which the building-blocks were shifted — sculptured stones which had

the works of their predecessors, it is inconceivable that the Bubastite princes should have purposely destroyed the most splendid ornaments of these temples for mere building-material. Had they not found the statues already shattered, like the structure which they adorned, the new Pharaohs would assuredly have reinscribed and appropriated them. This is virtually proved by the fact that they did appropriate some which may be supposed to have escaped the general wreck, as, for instance, the two Hyksôs colossi.



COLOSSAL "LOTUS-BUD" CAPITAL FROM THE HYPOSTYLE HALL. (NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.)

originally formed part of dado subjects having been rebuilt into the walls of the new Osorkon halls at what must have been a considerable height from the ground. As the monster colossus of Rameses II. was converted into a gateway at Tanis, so were the innumerable colossi of the same king cut up at Bubastis to make the lining blocks for the Festival Hall. Many of these, when turned over by M. Naville's Shayalin, proved to have the serene and smiling features of the great Pharaoh on one side, and part of a processional subject of twenty-second dynasty work on the other. Little as Egyptian kings were wont to respect

But the Osorkons, besides restoring the Great Temple of Bubastis, made a very important change in its religious history. Notwithstanding that Bast was the tutelary goddess of the province, and although her temple — Pa-Bast, "the Abode of Bast" — gave its name to the city, yet in that temple she had hitherto occupied but a secondary position. It was placed under her protection, as local divinity; but it was dedicated, like the Temple of Tanis, to the cycle of great gods — Ptah, Khnum, Tum, Ra, Amen, and Set; but principally to Set. Before the worship of Set went out of fashion, Bubastis must, in fact, have been a principal center of the

¹ See "Tanis," Part I., by W. M. F. Petrie, published by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. This immense statue, of which Mr. Petrie has

identified various fragments, was sixteen times the size of life, and it represented Rameses II. standing erect.

cult of that deity.¹ But the kings of the twenty-second dynasty, when they adopted Bubastis as their capital city, also adopted Bast as their patron goddess. In her honor they deposed the cycle of the great gods, and changed the dedication of the temple. Thenceforth it was not only the Great Temple of Bubastis; it was the High Sanctuary of Bast herself, wherein she reigned supreme. Taken in this connection, the fact that Osorkon II. should have held a magnificent festival in honor of Amen assumes a certain significance.

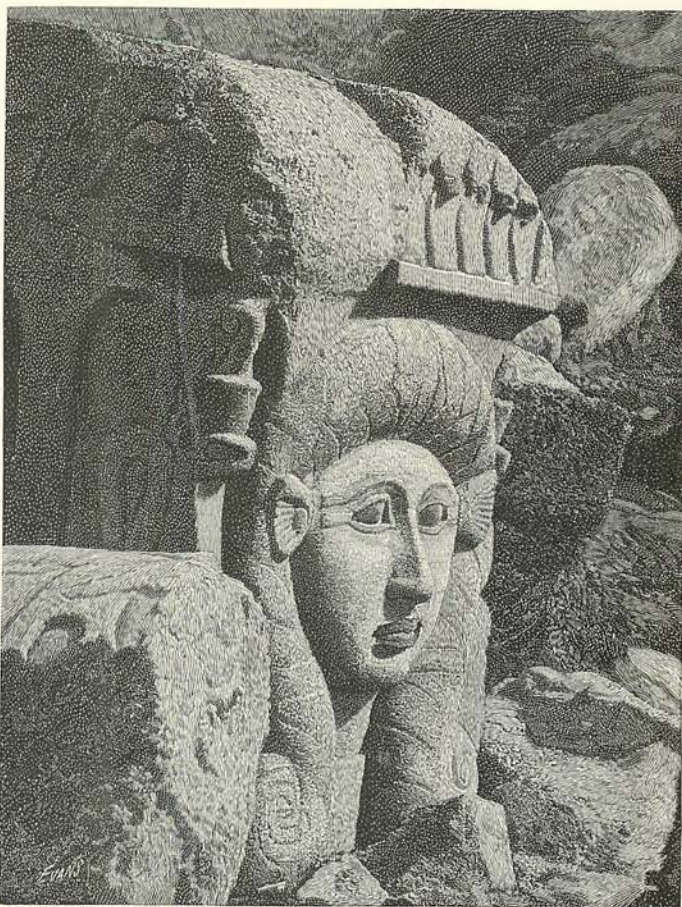
This festival was entirely distinct from the annual festival described by Herodotus. It was a special ceremony which, according to an inscription found upon the spot, was held at Bubastis every fifty years. It took place on this occasion in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. There is nothing to show that it was now held for the first time. More probably it commemorated some ancient tradition, and was merely celebrated by Osorkon II. with extraordinary splendor. Why this king should have elected to do more than customary homage to the Theban god may not be beyond the reach of conjecture. He was the husband of two wives, Queen Karoama and Queen Maut-hat-ankhes, both Theban princesses. Of these two royal ladies Queen Karoama was highest in rank and position. A daughter of the royal Amenide line,² she not only inherited sovereign rights over the principality of Thebes, but she was also hereditary high-priestess of Amen.³ A festival in honor of the supreme deity of her native province would therefore be, in some sort, a festival in honor of Karoama herself, and Osorkon may thus have emphasized the importance of an alliance which legitimized his own claims as suzerain of Thebes.

The walls of the Festival Hall were lined

¹ This fact alone would account for the choice of Bubastis as a Hyksôs settlement, Set having been identified by the Hyksôs with Sutekh, their own national deity.

² *I. e.*, the twenty-first dynasty of priest-kings founded by Her-hor.

³ It is a remarkable fact that in the time of the twenty-



COLOSSAL "HATHOR-HEAD" CAPITAL FROM THE HYPOSTYLE HALL. (NOW IN BOSTON.)

up to a considerable height with processional subjects in bas-relief representing the various stages of the ceremony. The figures vary in height from about ten inches to four feet, and the ground-spaces between are closely filled in with minute and exquisitely carved hieroglyphic inscriptions. The granite is left unpolished. Were none of the blocks missing, it would have been possible to reconstruct the whole of the tableaux in consecutive series from the paper casts. But the ruins have been largely plundered in ancient times, and perhaps nearly half the original number of blocks are wanting to complete this wonderful illuminated chronicle in stone. From such as are left, however, much of the character of the ceremony may be gathered.

The name given to the Festival Hall by M. second dynasty the pontificate of Thebes was transmitted through the female line, precisely as the double crown of Egypt had been transmitted in the time of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth dynasties. See "Les Momies Royales de D ir el-Bahari," par G. Maspero; "M moires de la Mission Arch ologique Fran aise au Caire," Tome I., 4^{me} fascicule.

Naville is a literal translation of the name given to it in the dedicatory inscription, which reads thus:

In the year 22, the first day of Choiak,¹ the appearing of His Majesty in the Hall of Festival. He reposes on his throne, and the consecration is begun; the consecration of the Harem,² of the House of Amen, and the consecration of all the women who have dwelt as priestesses therein since the days of his fathers.

This preliminary statement is succeeded by the first item in the programme, "The carrying of the king upon his throne"; but the block which should show this scene is missing. The procession of the queen probably followed the procession of the king. Then came

block to block, each priest carrying a bird in one hand and a fish in the other. A short inscription specifies in every instance to what deity that bird or fish is sacred. On other blocks are depicted rows of shrines, and in every shrine the statue of a god, his name and titles being given in full. All the local gods of Egypt would seem to have been present in effigy, each attended by a deputation of priests from his own sanctuary.

The consecration of the handmaidens of Amen being apparently the main feature of the festival, it is not surprising that we find an important part performed by women. Slender and graceful, in close-clinging robes, some car-



BROKEN COLOSSUS OF RAMESES VI., IN RED GRANITE.

endless files of shaven priests represented in horizontal rows, often five rows deep in a single block—the "Sam," or high-priest, in his panther-skin garment; the sacred scribe with pen and palette; the "Fai Senneter," or incense bearer; the "Ab," or libation-pourer; the "Neter-atef," or divine father; and so on, through all grades of the priesthood. Some bear aloft sacred standards surmounted by the emblems of various gods; others carry flails, staves, libation jars, and offerings for the shrine of Amen. These offerings are of various kinds, as live geese, cranes, and fishes. There are long processions of priests continued from

rying water-jars, said to be fashioned of electrum, others bearing sheaves of flowers, others grasping the "ankh," or emblem of life, they pace in single file, as in a kind of Panathenaic procession. Some are clapping their hands to the measure of a chant which they are singing. Foremost among them are Queen Karoama and "the royal daughters," three of whom are seen standing behind their mother. Their names, here known for the first time, are Tasba kheper, Karoama, and Armer. The queen, exercising her prerogative as hereditary high-priestess of Amen, assists the king in making offerings; but he is more frequently accompanied by Bast herself. Sometimes he stands in a shrine, as if he were a god, wearing the double crown and grasping the flail and crook.

¹ *J. e.*, October 8 of our reckoning.

² The priestesses of Amen were designated as wives of the god.



COLOSSAL ARCHITRAVE ENGRAVED WITH A DEDICATION TO SET.

Most curious of all are certain tableaux representing what might be taken for scenes from some kind of religious drama, or "mystery," performed by priests wearing costumes and bearing titles elsewhere unknown. Some perform feats of posturing; some hold scrolls of papyrus, and appear to be in the act of declaiming; some kneel on one knee, the right hand pressed to the breast, and the left upraised, in the traditional attitude of the "Amemu," or genii of the earth. Elsewhere we see bearded priests with fillets on their heads, lying flat on the ground in groups of three together, their hands and feet extended, as in imitation of swimming. Others hold hands, and are said in the inscriptions to "turn round," thus evidently executing a sacred dance such as was danced of old by the Semitic nations, and is danced to this day by the dervishes of Cairo. A procession of misshapen dwarfs walking with staves, and a strange figure of a man wearing what resembles a grotesque mask and wig, look curiously like impersonations.

The dwarfs might be there in the character of the pigmy god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and the masker is strangely like Bes, the semi-barbarous deity of music, mirth, and dance.¹ For a full explanation of these singular subjects we must await M. Naville's translation of the texts, which, however, are more than commonly difficult.

An inscription engraved upon a scene where Amen is carried in his sacred boat shows the hall to have been erected expressly for the festival. The god speaks, thanking Osorkon for this building made in his honor, and promising him by way of guerdon "thousands of panegyries";² a promise which could be fulfilled only in the next world. One very interesting block represents Amen enthroned upon a lofty dais approached by a flight of steps. A file of worshipers advances, and the leader of the procession mounts the steps in order to do homage. This bas-relief is now deposited in the Mu-

¹ He is described in the accompanying inscription as an "Ua-Ua," or southeastern Ethiopian.

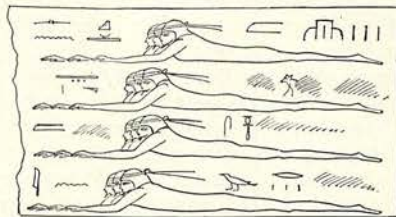
² A panegyry was a popular festival, or jubilee, held on the thirtieth anniversary of the accession of the reigning Pharaoh.

³ A warlike nation of Syria, divided into the Upper

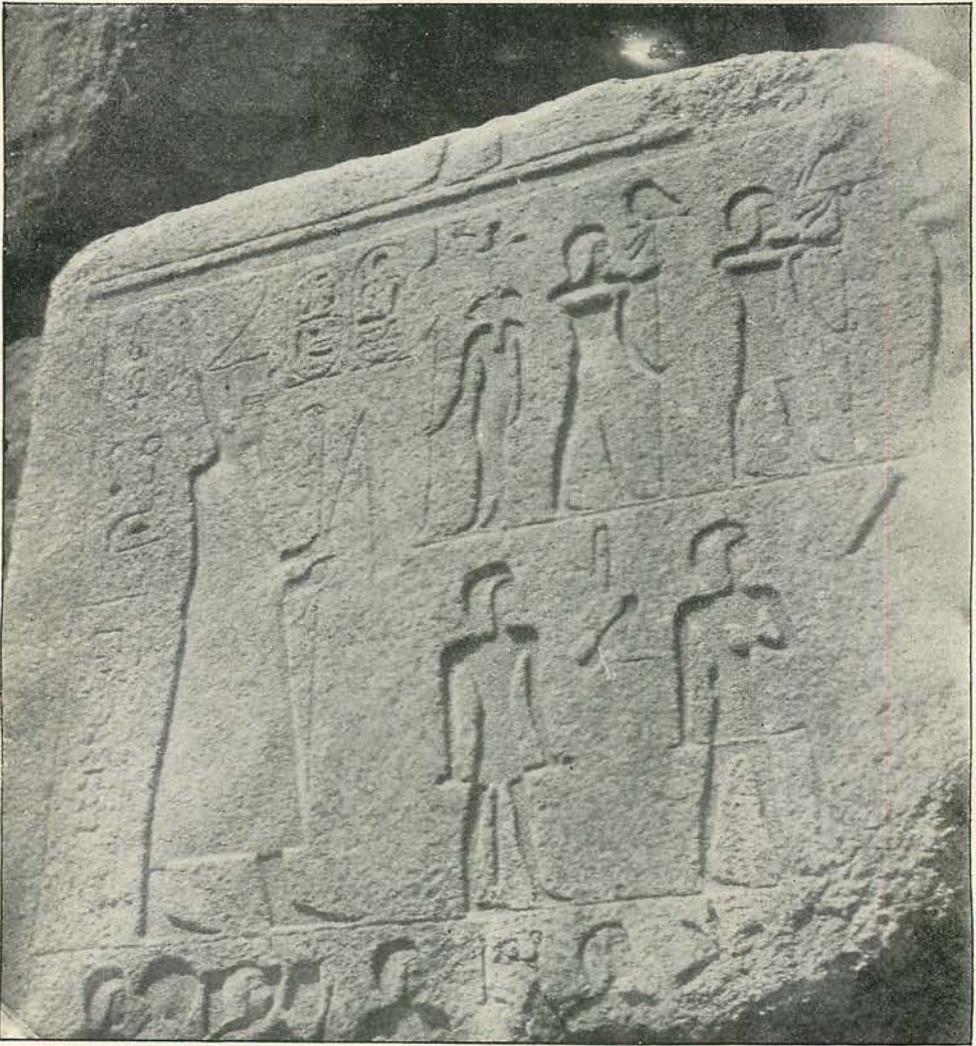
seum of Fine Arts at Boston. Another, sculptured with full-length portraits of Osorkon II. and Queen Karoama, has been presented to the British Museum. These are the only two blocks from the Festival Hall which have as yet been removed from the scene of the excavations.

As a contribution to the history of an obscure dynasty, the discovery of the Festival Hall is one of the most important results of the work at Tell Basta. It shows Osorkon II. to have commanded large resources, and—if we may literally accept some of the speeches put into the mouth of Amen—to have made his power respected beyond the limits of the Egyptian frontiers. "The Upper and Lower Rutennu," says the god, "are under thy feet."³

All that is splendid in the ruins of the Abode of Bast expires with the twenty-second dynasty. Two small statuettes mark the reigns of Apries and Achoris, kings of the twenty-sixth and twenty-ninth dynasties, and carry us on to the time of Nectanebo I. (thirtieth dynasty, B. C. 378). With Nectanebo we bid farewell to the last native dynasty, and almost the last native Pharaoh. Finally, we touch the comparatively modern age of the Ptolemies. A certain Apollonius, son of Theon, who claims to be "one of the king's friends," would seem to have erected two votive statues of himself within the precincts of the temple; but of these only the black granite pedestals were found, each pedestal engraved with a dedication to Ptolemy V. and Queen Cleopatra the first; thus bringing down the chronological data to some point intermediate between B. C. 205 and B. C. 182. Last and latest, an inscription of the time of Ptolemy IX. carries the history of the temple forward to within less than one hundred and fifty years of the Christian era.

PROSTRATE PRIESTS.
(FROM A BAS-RELIEF BLOCK OF THE FESTIVAL HALL.)

and Lower Rutennu, whose territory extended over the whole of Palestine and the coast of Phenicia on the west, and as far as Damascus on the east. On the north they held the country as far as the Amanus, while on the south their frontier was conterminous with that of Egypt.



OSORKON II. MAKING OFFERINGS TO BAST, WITH PART OF THREE PROCESSIONS. (BAS-RELIEF FROM FESTIVAL HALL.)

How long it continued to flourish after this, it is impossible to say. Except the ruins of some small structure—possibly a fort—built with Roman bricks, no trace of the Roman period, no fragment of Latin inscription, not even a Roman coin, was found. Yet it would be rash to conclude from merely negative evidence that a temple so exceptionally beautiful, so popular, and within so easy a distance of Alexandria, was already abandoned to decay in the time of the Cæsars. Whatever its condition, we know, however, that it must have shared the fate of its fellows when the national religion was proscribed by the edict of Theodosius, A. D. 389. All were alike given over into the hands of the spoilers. Statues of kings and gods were flung into the Nile and the canals; vessels of gold and silver were cast into the melting-pot; sacred groves were

felled; mud-built huts sprang up like fungi within the sacred precincts; and in those holy halls which before were fragrant with incense and resonant with chanted hymns, the fellaheen of fifteen hundred years ago stabled their asses and stored their grain precisely as their nineteenth century descendants swarmed of late with their poultry, and pigeons, and beasts of burden in the storied chambers of Edfû and Luxor.

The work begun by the Christian iconoclast was completed by the Mohammedan invader. In a manuscript treatise preserved in the French National Library it is said by El-Makrizi that Bubastis was one of the cities awarded by way of appanage to those Arab tribes that had taken part in the conquest of Egypt. We do not need to be told what treatment the ruins of the Abode of Bast would receive at the hands of

the followers of 'Amr. Every temple, every pyramid, every tomb in Lower and Middle Egypt, became at that time a quarry for the architects of palaces, fortresses, and mosques. Limestone buildings were demolished, and granite buildings were wrecked for the sake of their limestone foundations. At Bubastis, as at Tanis, pavements and foundation courses were systematically quarried out; and, as a necessary consequence, the superstructure came down *en masse*.

From the time of El-Makrizi to the advent of the French commission in 1798 the history of Bubastis is again a blank; but with the brief report of M. Malus on "Thal Bastah," in the first volume of the "Mémoires sur l'Égypte," it emerges for a moment from oblivion. Referring to the dividing point of the Pelusiac and Tanitic arms of the Nile, he says that from thence he first saw the mounds of "Thal Bastah," which he estimates as distant seven leagues from the Nile and half a league from the canal:

We there found many ruins of monuments illustrative of Egyptian architecture. We remarked among other objects a fragment of cornice in a massive style, with the sculptures in good preservation. This block, which measures about eight feet in length and six in height, is of a very hard, brown-colored granite. The work is highly finished, and it is covered with hieroglyphs. . . . Enormous masses of granite, almost all broken, are piled up in an extraordinary way.

It is evident from these words that a considerable part of the ruins was yet above ground ninety years ago, and that all, or nearly all, those "masses of granite" which so impressed the French savant must have disappeared since his time. Following Malus at a distance of some sixty years came Mariette. By a strange oversight, he missed the axis of the temple, sinking his pits in a northeasterly direction, instead of from west to east. Missing the axis, he missed the great discovery so fortunately achieved thirty years later by M. Naville.

Amelia B. Edwards.

THE UNDERTONE.

THY word, O Lord, for evermore is true:
 The deep without calls to the deep within.
 Here on the sunlit crags I lie at ease,
 Whence I behold an endless vast without,
 And dimly know a deeper vast within.
 One with eternal voice of pealing sound,
 And one with ceaseless crying of the soul,
 While each to each a solemn answer gives.
 Hearken! My soul, be still and understand!
 Swept by swift winds and drawn by secret power,
 The waters break in music on the shore,
 And with a speechless yet a meaning voice,
 Not to be heard but by the fortunate ear
 Attuned to high and spiritual sounds,
 These waters cry, behold, they cry aloud,
 Moaning in tender sympathy with pain,
 Shouting anon with fresh and childlike glee,
 Or murmuring low as in love's fond embrace,
 Or like the prayers of saints about to die,
 Then thundering the warrior's battle-shout;
 The market's hum, the gold of eloquence,
 The ever-wearying wrangle of the schools,
 And the vain babble of the idle crowd.
 All these I hear, repeated from the world,
 But underneath them all, in deeper strain,
 Binding the whole in smooth, unbroken rhythm,
 Is one low marvelous voice, as thunder strong,
 Divinely clear, and sweet as heavenly bells,
 That pauses not, nor ever changes tone,
 But speaks unto the soul for evermore
 Its one eternal prophecy of peace.
 That wondrous voice, O God! is surely thine;
 That selfsame voice, Eternal God! is mine.