

## CHAPTER IV.

'LÚQSOR, EL UQSOR, OR ABOO 'L HAGGÁG, CALLED BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS "SOUTHERN TAPE' ;" AND EL KARNAK.

'LÚQSOR, which occupies part of the site of ancient Diospolis, still holds the rank of a market town, the residence of a Káshef, and the head-quarters of a troop of Turkish cavalry. Its name signifies the Palaces,\* and some might perhaps feel inclined to trace in that of El Qasryn, or El Uqsorayn (the dual of the word Qasr) by which it is sometimes designated, the existence of the two distinct parts of this building, erected by Amunoph III. and Remeses II.† The former monarch, who, at the time

\* 'Lúqsor, El Uq'sor, and El Qosóor, are the plurals of Qasr, a palace, country seat, pavilion, or any large mansion. Aboo 'l Haggág signifies "the father of the pilgrims," from the Shekh there *worshipped*. Throughout Egypt, victims are immolated to these demi-gods, *more veterum*.

† On the obelisks, and on some of the architraves, we find mention made of the palace or "abode of Remeses;" but it does not imply that this monarch resided merely in the part erected by him. If so, where were the apartments of the royal abode? an open court, or the staircases of the propyla, would have been *uncomfortable*. The addition of this front gave Remeses a right to introduce the mention of *his* palace; and his accession to the throne, long since evacuated by Amunoph, authorised him to occupy also that part which his predecessor had erected. Had Amunoph still reigned, Remeses might have been contented with what *he added to the*



*From a drawing by ...*

*Engraved by ...*

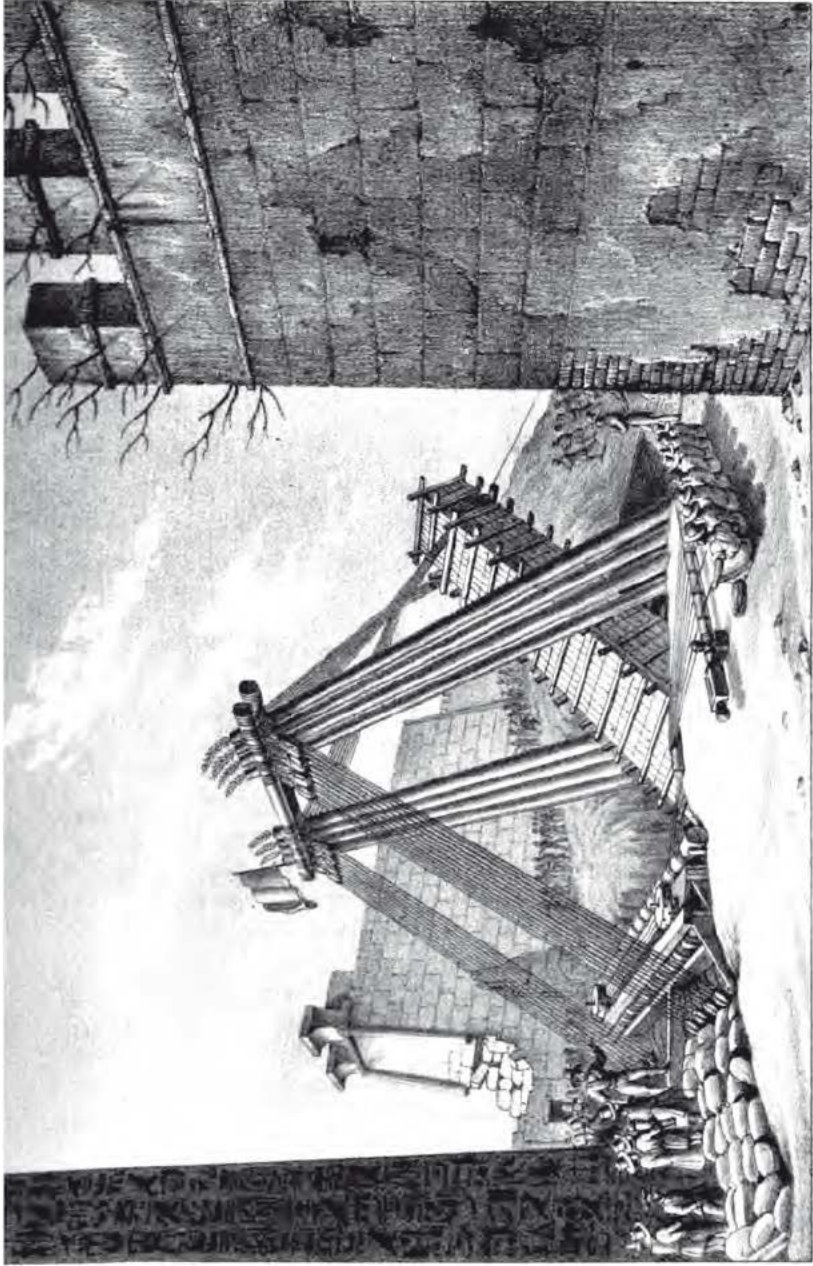
**OBELISKS IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF AIN HELWAN.**

of its foundation, appears to have reigned conjointly with his brother, built the original sanctuary and circumjacent chambers, with the addition of the large colonnade and the pylon before it, to which Remeses II. afterwards added the great court, the pyramidal towers, or propyla, and the obelisks and statues.

These, though last in the order of antiquity, necessarily form the present commencement of the temple, which, like many others belonging to different epochs, is not "two separate edifices," but one and the same building. A dromos, connecting it with Karnak, extended in front of the two beautiful obelisks of red granite, whose four sides are covered with a profusion of hieroglyphics, no less admirable for the style of their execution than for the depth to which they are engraved, which in many instances exceeds two inches.\*

*original building*; but if he really intended it to be a "separate monument, distinct from the Amenophium," as M. Champollion states, it does not maintain the appearance he proposed.

\* The faces of the obelisks, particularly those which are opposite each other, are remarkable for a slight convexity of their centres, which appears to have been introduced to obviate the shadow thrown by the sun even when on a line with a plane surface. The exterior angle thus formed by the intersecting lines of direction of either side of the face, is about  $3^{\circ}$ , and this is one of many proofs of their attentive observation of the phenomena of nature. Since writing the above, the French have removed the westernmost of these two obelisks, in order to transport it to Paris; and being there at the time of its descent, I observed beneath the lower end on which it stood the nomen and



—Souris, 1870—

THE FORTIFICATION OF THE BARRIÈRE DE BRISACQ, 1870,  
by the French Engineers in 1851

—Souris, 1870—

Two sitting statues of the same Remeses are placed behind these, one on either side of the pylon; but, like the obelisks, are much buried in the earth and sand accumulated around them. Near the north-west extremity of the propyla, another similar colossus rears its head amidst the houses of the village, which \* also conceal a great portion of the interesting battle-scenes on the front of these towers. At the doorway itself is the name of Sabaco, and on the abacus of the columns beyond, that of Ptolemy Philopator, both added at a later epoch.

The area, whose dimensions are about 190 feet by 170, is surrounded by a peristyle, consisting of two rows of columns, now almost concealed by the hovels and mosk of the village. The line of direction no longer continues the same behind this court, the Remessean front having been turned to the eastward,† in order to facilitate its connexion with

premen of Remeses II. (the Great), Variation *i*, 2, given in my plate of the kings. A slight fissure extended some distance up the lower part *before* it was erected, and it had been secured by two wooden dove-tailed cramps, which were destroyed by the humidity of the earth in which the base had become accidentally buried.

\* They have since been removed by the French.

† M. Champollion accounts for this deviation from its being "a separate monument, distinct from the Amenophium," and censures travellers for "supposing them to form one whole, which," he adds, "is not the case." This idea is singular for an Egyptian antiquary. *Lit. Gazette*, Letter 12. Besides, it cannot be said to be "*connected by* the great colonnade with the Amenophium," as that savant affirms, since the colonnade was built by Amunoph, and not by Remeses.

the great temple of Karnak, rather than to avoid the vicinity of the river, as might at first be supposed.

Passing through the pylon of Amunoph, you arrive at the great colonnade, where the names of this Pharaoh and his brother are sculptured. The latter, however, has been effaced, probably by order of the surviving monarch, as is generally the case wherever it is met with, and those\* of the immediate successor of Amunoph III. and of Osirei are introduced in its stead.

The length of the colonnade to the next court is about 170 feet, but its original breadth† is still uncertain, nor can it be ascertained without considerable excavation. To this succeeds an area of 155 feet by 167,‡ surrounded by a peristyle of twelve columns in length and the same in breadth, terminating in a covered portico of thirty-two columns, 57 feet by 111.

Behind this is a space occupying the whole breadth of the building, divided into chambers of different dimensions, the centre one leading to a

\* On the exterior of the temple, at the south-east side, is the name of Remeses III.

† It can scarcely be confined to the line of the wall extending from the pylon, which would restrict its breadth to sixty-seven feet; but there is no part of the wall of the front court where it could have been attached, as the sculpture continues to the very end of its angle. The side columns were probably never added.

‡ This is the measurement within the walls, which are entirely gone, and have been supplied from a comparison with other buildings in the plan I have made of it.

hall\* supported by four columns, immediately before the entrance to the isolated sanctuary.

On the east of this hall is a chamber containing some curious sculpture, representing the accouchement of queen Maut-m`-shoi, † the mother of Amunoph and his brother: the two children nursed by the deity of the Nile, and presented to Amun, the presiding divinity of Thebes; and several other subjects relating to their education and subsequent history.

The sanctuary, which had been destroyed by the Persians, was rebuilt by Alexander (the son of Alexander, Ptolemy being governor of Egypt), and bears his name in the following dedicatory formula: "This additional work made he, the king of men, lord of the regions, Alexander, ‡ for his father Amunre, president of Tapé (Thebes); he erected to him the sanctuary, a grand mansion, with repairs § of sandstone, hewn, good, and hard stone, instead

\* The door of this was closed by the Christians, who cut the niche of their altar in its place.

† Tmauhmshoi or Tmaumshoi. The Thebans use *s* or *sh* for *g*, as *som* for *gom*, *n'shi* for *n'ge*, *shoi* for *goi* ("a boat"), &c.

‡ I omit the prenomens of these kings, as being mere titles, and forming no part of the name, unless we reserve that in the original Egyptian. The meaning of this is, "Beloved of Amun and approved by Re."

§ We have no exact word to express this group, for it signifies any addition made to a built or excavated temple in sculptural or architectural details. Here, in fact, "repairs" is not the word we want, as the sanctuary was entirely *rebuilt*. It answers to the Arabic *zera'adeh*, "increase" or "addition."

of\* ————— his majesty, the king of men, Amunoph." Behind the sanctuary are two other sets of apartments, the larger ones supported by columns,† and ornamented with rich sculpture, much of which appears to have been gilded.

Behind the temple is a stone quay, of the late era of the Ptolemies or Cæsars, since blocks bearing the sculpture of the former have been used in its construction. Opposite the corner of the temple it takes a more easterly direction, and points out the original course of the river, which continued across the plain, now lying between it and the ruins of Karnak, and which may be traced by the descent of the surface of that ground it gradually deserted. The southern extremity of this quay is of brick, and indicates in like manner the former direction of the stream, which now, having formed a recess behind it, threatens to sweep away the whole of its solid masonry, and to undermine the foundations of the temple itself.

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The road to Karnak lies through fields of *halfeh*,‡

\* The meaning is evidently, "instead of that destroyed (by the Persians), which had been erected by Amunoph." At Karnak, the expression "*pounded*" seems to refer to the cotemporary destruction of its sanctuary.

† The mode of roofing their buildings prevented the possibility of their having halls of any great size without a profusion of columns, which necessarily took off from the general effect and from the actual space.

‡ A coarse wild grass; the *poa cynosyroïdes*.



indicating the site of ancient ruins, and here and there, on approaching that magnificent building, the direction of the avenue and the fragments of its sphinxes are traced in the bed of a small canal, or watercourse, which the Nile, during the inundation, appropriates to its rising stream. To this succeeds another dromos of Criosphinxes, and a majestic Pylon of Ptolemy Euergetes, with his queen and *sister*, Berenice,\* who, in one instance, present an offering to their predecessors and parents, Philadelphus and Arsinoe. In one of the compartments within the doorway the king is represented in a Greek costume, of which there are some other instances in Ptolemaic ruins. Another avenue of sphinxes extends to the propyla of the isolated temple behind this gateway, which was founded by Remeses IV., and continued by Remeses VIII. and a late Pharaoh, who added the hypæthral area and the propyla. His name, and the exact era at which he flourished, are not precisely ascertained; but if, as is very probable, we are authorized to read Bocchoris,† this part will date in the time of the twenty-fourth dynasty, or about 810 B. C. Other

\* Philadelphus had a daughter named Berenice, who married Antiochus Theos; but this queen should be daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene, and half-brother of Philadelphus.

† In the "remarks" of my *Materia Hierogl.* I have stated my reasons for this conclusion. Pehor is the reading of the hieroglyphics, in the nomen of this king, which being pronounced *Bahor*, and in the Memphitic dialect *Bakhor*, gives with the Greek termination the name before us.

names appear in different parts of the building, among which are those of Amyrteus and Alexander on the inner and outer gateways of the area.

The principal entrance of the grand temple lies on the north-west side, or that facing the river. From a raised platform commences the avenue of Criosphinxes \* leading to the front propyla, before which stood two granite statues of a Pharaoh.† One of these towers retains a great part of its original height, but has lost its summit and cornice. In the upper part their solid walls have been perforated through their whole breadth, for the purpose of fastening the timbers that secured the flag-staffs usually placed in front of these propyla ; but no sculptures have ever been added to either face, nor was the surface yet levelled‡ to receive them. Passing through the pylon of these towers, you arrive at a large open court, two hundred and seventy-five feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, with a covered corridor on either side, and a double line of columns down the centre.§ Other pro-

\* These, like many other sphinxes, have an Osiride figure of the king attached to their breast.

† No doubt of Remeses II., who added the front area and propyla. The three isolated chambers in this area are of the second predecessor of Remeses III.

‡ I have already noticed in chap. vi., and in my "Extracts," p. 14, the real acceptation of this expression of Herodotus when speaking of the pyramids, which has been translated "to cover with a casing."

§ I merely now propose giving the position and dimensions of the principal parts of this temple, according to their architectural

pyla\* terminate this area with a small vestibule before the pylon, and form the front of the grand hall, one hundred and seventy feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, supported by a central avenue of twelve † massive columns, sixty-six feet high (without the pedestal and abacus), and twelve in diameter; besides one hundred and twenty-two of smaller, or rather less gigantic dimensions, forty-one feet nine inches in height, and twenty-seven feet six inches in circumference, distributed in seven lines on either side of the former. Other propyla close the inner extremity of this hall, beyond which are two obelisks, one still standing on its original site, the other having been thrown down and broken by human violence. A small propylon succeeds to this court, of which it forms the inner side; the next contains two obelisks ‡ of larger dimensions, being ninety-two feet high and eight square, surrounded by a peristyle, if I may be allowed the expression, of Osiride figures. Passing between two dilapidated propyla you enter another

situation, since their chronological order must necessarily be rather retrograde and complex, and commence in the centre, not at the entrance of the building.

\* The lintel-stones covering the doorway between these propyla were forty feet ten inches long.

† Originally fourteen, one having been afterwards inclosed within the masonry of each of the front propyla, (at Number 7.) This was apparently an alteration made by Osirei himself, the founder of the hall.

‡ Dedicated to Amunre by Amunneitgori, in honour of Thothmes I.

smaller area, ornamented in a similar manner, and succeeded by a vestibule, in front of the granite gateway of the pyramidal towers, which form the façade of the court of the sanctuary. This last is also of red granite, divided into two apartments, and surrounded by numerous chambers of small dimensions, varying from twenty-nine feet by sixteen, to sixteen feet by eight. A few polygonal columns of the early date of Osirtesen I., the contemporary of Joseph, appear behind these in the midst of fallen architraves of the same era, and two pedestals of red granite \* crossing the line of direction in the centre of the open space to the south-east, are the only objects worthy of notice, until you reach the columnar edifice of the third Thothmes. The exterior wall of this building is entirely destroyed, except on the north-east side ; to it succeeds a circuit of thirty-two pillars, and within this square are twenty columns, disposed in two lines, parallel to the outer walls, and to the back and front row of pillars. Independent of the irregular position of the latter, with regard to the columns of the centre, an unusual caprice has changed the established order of the architectural details, and capitals and cornices † are reversed, with-

\* They may have supported obelisks, but they are not square, like the basements of those monuments, and rather resemble, for this reason, the pedestals of statues. Their substructions are of limestone.

† For this innovation of the cornices there is some excuse, as

out adding to the beauty or increasing the strength of the building. A series of smaller halls and chambers terminates the extremity of the temple, one of which \* is remarkable as containing the names of the early predecessors of Thothmes III., their founder. In the western lateral adytum † are the vestiges of a colossal hawk seated on a raised pedestal; the sculptures within and without containing the name of Alexander, by whose order this was repaired and sculptured.

The total dimensions of this part of the temple, behind the inner propyla of the grand hall, are six hundred feet, by about half that in breadth, making the total length, from the front propyla to the extremity of the wall of circuit, inclusive, one thousand one hundred and eighty feet. The additions made at different periods, by which the distant portions of this extensive mass of buildings were united, will be more readily understood from an examination of the survey itself than from any description, however detailed, I could offer to the reader; and from this it will appear that Diodorus is fully justified in the following statement: ‡ that “the circuit of the most ancient of the four temples at Thebes measured thirteen stadia,” or about one

more light was thereby admitted from the windows of the upper part.

\* Marked 14.

† Number 17.

‡ Diod. lib. i. s. 46. Indeed it will be found to surpass the measurement of the historian by at least two or three stadia.

mile and two-thirds English; the thickness of the walls, "of twenty-five feet," owing to the great variety in their dimensions, is too vague to be noticed; but the altitude of the building, to which he allows only forty-five cubits, falls far short of the real height of the grand hall, which, from the pavement to the summit of the roof, inclusive, is not less than eighty feet. \*

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We next proceed to examine the comparative antiquity of the component parts of the grand pile of Karnak, and to trace the gradual extent of the oldest of the four great temples of Diospolis, and the epoch of the subsequent additions† which tended to its aggrandizement, and ultimately entitled it to a pre-eminent rank among the most extensive and stupendous monuments in the world.

No part, in my opinion, remains of its earliest foundation; but the name of Osirtesen‡ suffices to support its claim to an antiquity surpassing that of every other building in Thebes by at least one hundred years. The original sanctuary, which may have been of sandstone, must

\* The propyla are of course considerably higher. Diodorus alludes to the temple itself.

† As I must refer the reader to the Survey, I shall indicate each by the letter attached to it.

‡ Many names of Egyptian monarchs anterior to Osirtesen I. appear in the sculptures of Thebes, but no monument remains erected by them. I have found in the Assaseef a broken block, the fragment of an ancient building, having that of his immediate successor.

have existed in and previous to the reign of this monarch, and probably stood on the site of the present one,\*—an opinion confirmed by the circumstance of our finding the oldest remains in that direction, as well as from the proportions of the courts and propyla, whose dimensions were necessarily made to accord with the symmetry of the previous parts, to which they were united. All is here on a limited scale, and the polygonal columns † of Osirtesen, the prototype of the Greek Doric, evince the chaste style of architecture in vogue at that early era. ‡

Subsequently to the reign of this Pharaoh were added the small chambers of Amunoph I., § the obelisks of Thothmes I., the great obelisks, and the rooms || near the sanctuary of Amunneitgori, and on the corresponding side those of Thothmes II.

These constituted the main part of the temple at this period. The succeeding monarch, Thothmes III., made considerable additions to the buildings and sculptures, as well in the vicinity of the sanc-

\* Marked 9. The restoration of Philip is mentioned in the hieroglyphics, as also the name of Thothmes, the first monarch who built this sanctuary of *granite*.

† Marked 12 of the ground plan in the Survey.

‡ M. Champollion supposed that this Pharaoh, in whose reign the grottos of Beni Hassan were commenced, was "the second king of the twenty-third dynasty, in the ninth century B.C.;" but he afterwards perceived that he was a member of the sixteenth, at the commencement of the eighteenth century B.C.

§ Marked 8.

|| Marked 12.

tuary as in the back part of the great inclosure, where the columnar building above mentioned, the side chambers, and all the others in that direction, were added by his orders.

The sanctuary destroyed by the Persians, and since rebuilt by Philip Aridæus,\* was also of the same Pharaoh; most probably having been at first, like the rest of the temple, of sandstone, and re-erected by him of red granite.† The wall Number 11 is double, the inner part bearing the name of Amunneitgori, the actual face that of Thothmes III., who presents to the god of Thebes a variety of offerings, among which are two obelisks ‡ and two lofty tapering staffs, similar to those placed before their propyla.§ At the close of his reign the temple only extended || to the smaller obelisks, before which were added by Amunoph III. the

\* That is during his reign, Ptolemy Lagus being then only governor of Egypt in his name.

† A block of red granite, now forming part of the ceiling, bears the name of the third Thothmes, having most probably belonged to the first granite sanctuary.

‡ Mr. Burton, who first discovered and cleared the sculptures of this wall, has given a copy of them in his "Excerpta." The obelisks were of "granite."

§ I once thought they might be the granite pillars before the sanctuary, whose summits are fallen; but these sculptured representations do not imitate the devices of the water-plants with which they are ornamented.

|| To give a minute explanation of the different additions made previous to this Pharaoh, requires a much larger plan than that given in the Survey; I therefore only propose for the present a general view of the subject.



propyla (D.), whose recesses \* for the flagstaffs, proving them to have been originally the *front* towers of the temple, are still visible on the north-west face.

The propyla to the south-west were already erected in the reigns of the Thothmes, as I shall have occasion to remark presently.

In the third reign after Amunoph the grand hall (C.) was added by Osirei, the father of Remeses II., about 1380 B. C. ; and besides the innumerable bas-reliefs that adorn its walls, historical scenes, in the most finished and elegant style of Egyptian sculpture, were designed on the exterior of the north-east side.

In the next reign other grand additions were made by the son of the last monarch, who completed the sculptures on the south-west side of the grand hall and exterior of the wall of circuit, and built the area in front, with massive propyla, preceded by granite colossi and an avenue of sphinxes. Succeeding monarchs continued to display their piety, to gratify their own vanity, and to court the good will of the priesthood, by making collateral additions to the buildings erected by their predecessors ; and the several isolated monuments becoming attached to the principal pile formed at length one whole, connected either by grand avenues of sphinxes or by crude brick in-

\* The back wall of the grand hall has been placed *against* the north-west face of these propyla.

closures. The principal edifices united to the main temple by the successors of the second Remeses are the three chambers below the front propyla (B, 2), and the small but complete temple on the west side of this area;\* the latter by Remeses III., the former by his second predecessor, Osirei II.†

Several sculptures were added during the twenty-second dynasty at the west corner of the same area; and on the exterior wall, near the doorway, are the names of the captive towns and districts, which the first Sheshonk (Shishak of the Scriptures) boasted to have taken in his expedition against Jerusalem, B. C. 971. The columns in this court, one alone of which is now standing, bear the name of Tirhaka, Psamaticus I., and of Ptolemy Philopator; and the gateway between them and the grand hall were altered by Ptolemy Physcon, and additional sculptures,‡ bearing his name, were inserted amidst those of the second Remeses.

Of the other monuments, originally detached from the main body of the temple, the most ancient are the propyla, X, Z, and a temple of Amunoph III. (K)§ on the north-east of the great inclosure

\* Marked 9.

† I am by no means certain as to the real phonetic name of this or of the first Osirei. It is perhaps Oei.

‡ At 6 and 7. At 7, on the left, *entering*, he wears a Greek helmet.

§ Other names, in the different parts of this building, are of Pthahmen, Remeses IV., Amyrteus, Hakōris, and some of the Ptolemics.

which, once adorned with elegant sculptures and two granite obelisks, is now a confused heap of ruins, whose plan is with difficulty traced beneath its fallen walls.

In front of it stands a well-proportioned pylon, bearing the names and sculptures of Ptolemy Euergetes with Berenice, and of Philopator; beyond which an avenue of sphinxes extends to a raised platform at its north-east extremity. The pylon, which was of a much earlier date than the sculptures it bears, having attached to it the statues of Remeses II.,\* is the only part of this building which has escaped the fury of the invader; and though we may with reason attribute a considerable part of the destruction of Thebes to the Persian conquest, the names on this pylon, and many *Ptolemaic* additions to the temple of Amun, fully prove that its capture by Lathyrus was not less detrimental to this city than the previous invasion of Cambyses.

A protracted siege of three years had exasperated the Ptolemaic conqueror against his rebellious subjects, and he sought, by the destruction of Thebes, to wound the pride of its inhabitants, while he wrested from them for ever the means and prospect of future resistance.

The feeling which induced the Persians to deface its monuments was of a different nature. They

\* The feet, and fragments scattered before them, are all that remain of these colossi, having been destroyed at the same time as the temple. They were of gritstone, and of a very good style.

were now masters of Egypt; they were not more inimical to the Thebans than to any other of the inhabitants of the country; the destruction of the statues or the sanctuaries\* of their temples was prompted by a contempt for their votaries, not by the fury of an injured master; and the pillage of all that was capable of being removed, and the burning of a captured city, were rather the custom of the day than any extraordinary severity exercised by the conquering enemy.

The Persians were hostile to Egypt; Lathyrus was solely enraged against the Thebans, and on them the whole weight of his vengeance naturally fell. And the animosity of civil war, inflamed by jealousy against a neighbouring rival, prompted the Egyptian victors to destroy those monuments which contributed to the grandeur or the strength of Thebes.

Had the temple before us been demolished at the earlier period of the Persian invasion, it is needless to remark that the sculptures of the pylon would not have been added during the Ptolemaic reigns to adorn a mass of ruins, or that the Persians would not have left this gateway *alone* untouched; and though to the conquest of Cambyses is to be attributed a great part of the destruction of Thebes, modern visiters have more reason to regret the im-

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\* Ptolemy spared the sanctuaries, the abode of the gods he pretended to respect, as being common to other parts of Egypt; the Persians, on the contrary, derided the religion of the Egyptians.



which, once adorned with elegant sculptures and two granite obelisks, is now a confused heap of ruins, whose plan is with difficulty traced beneath its fallen walls.

In front of it stands a well-proportioned pylon, bearing the names and sculptures of Ptolemy Euergetes with Berenice, and of Philopator; beyond which an avenue of sphinxes extends to a raised platform at its north-east extremity. The pylon, which was of a much earlier date than the sculptures it bears, having attached to it the statues of Remeses II.,\* is the only part of this building which has escaped the fury of the invader; and though we may with reason attribute a considerable part of the destruction of Thebes to the Persian conquest, the names on this pylon, and many *Ptolemaic* additions to the temple of Amun, fully prove that its capture by Lathyrus was not less detrimental to this city than the previous invasion of Cambyses.

A protracted siege of three years had exasperated the Ptolemaic conqueror against his rebellious subjects, and he sought, by the destruction of Thebes, to wound the pride of its inhabitants, while he wrested from them for ever the means and prospect of future resistance.

The feeling which induced the Persians to deface its monuments was of a different nature. They

\* The feet, and fragments scattered before them, are all that remain of these colossi, having been destroyed at the same time as the temple. They were of gritstone, and of a very good style.

were now masters of Egypt ; they were not more inimical to the Thebans than to any other of the inhabitants of the country ; the destruction of the statues or the sanctuaries\* of their temples was prompted by a contempt for their votaries, not by the fury of an injured master ; and the pillage of all that was capable of being removed, and the burning of a captured city, were rather the custom of the day than any extraordinary severity exercised by the conquering enemy.

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placable rage of the Greek monarch, which reduced it to so deplorable a state that it “no longer deserved a rank among the cities of Egypt.” Nor indeed did it ever revive from this fatal blow; and though the respect for the deities there worshipped, or the interest of the Theban priesthood, induced the succeeding Ptolemies\* to repair several of the gateways and other parts of these ancient buildings, Thebes gradually sank into oblivion, and its reduced population, divided into separate bodies, withdrew to small villages within its former precincts.†

The propyla before alluded to‡ are of the early date of the first, second, and third Thothmes, and of Amunoph II.; and on the southernmost of the two§ we find the mention of additional work or repairs made by king Osirei to the temple of Amunre.

Other monarchs have added sculpture to different parts of these two areas, in which appear the names of Remeses II. and III. with some other early Pharaohs.

To the south-east is a lake or spacious reservoir, lined with masonry, which still receives the water of the rising Nile, as it oozes through the ground; and

\* Particularly Dionysus, who also restored part of *this* temple of Amunoph; so that it must have been destroyed *again* subsequently to his reign. There happened a sedition in the Thebaid under Corn. Gallus, but Strabo says it was easily quelled; which would imply that Thebes was not besieged on that occasion.

† This happened before the time of Strabo, who mentions the circumstance, lib. xvii.

‡ p. 180.

§ Marked Z.

on its banks are a few small ruins\* of the late epoch of Psammouthis, of the twenty-ninth dynasty. The small edifice† of the front area is of the second Amunoph, but the name on these propyla is of the successor of Amunoph III., the androsphinxes‡ bearing that of Osirei II. In the small isolated edifice (O), are those of Thothmes I. and the third Amunoph,§ whose statues of black granite adorn the inner door-way.

The ruins within the crude brick inclosure of the western lake are of various epochs; and among the sculptures are observed the names of Thothmes III., Amunoph III., Sheshonk I., and Ptolemy Dionysus. The temple (T, 3), and statues, which once stood before it, are of Remeses II.; and that on the western corner of the lake, also adorned with two granite statues, is of Remeses III. Numerous figures of black granite, representing the lion-headed goddess, are deposited in the precincts of the inner inclosure; and some elegant androsphinxes, on the left of the front door, are worthy of notice.

The water of this lake also receives an annual supply, through the soil, from the Nile; but being strongly impregnated with nitre, and other salts, and stagnant during the heat of the summer, it is no longer drinkable.

The sculptures of the Pylon,|| behind the great

\* Marked 25, 26, 27. † Marked 28. ‡ Number 39.

§ These are *sitting* statues; the former *stood* somewhere near the same door.

|| Marked 21.

temple, have never been completed. In the doorway is the name of Nectanebo, and on the upper part of the south-east side those of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and of Arsinoë, his sister and second wife.

In the area, within this gateway, are a few other remains, of the time of Osirei, Remeses II.,\* Tirhaka,† Ptolemy Physcon, Dionysus, and Tiberius. The commencement of it, however, dates from the earlier era of the third Thothmes, as the statues‡ placed against the wall of circuit of the great temple have the name of this Pharaoh. By the same monarch was founded the small edifice§ on the east of the crude brick inclosure, where the names of Remeses III.,|| of Sabaco, and of the Ptolemies Philopator, Euergetes I. and II., Alexander I., and Auletes or Dionysus, are also met with. The small ruin E is of Psamaticus III., and H of Amyrteus of the twenty-eighth dynasty, L of Philopator, Q of Euergetes II. with the two Cleopatras, and of Dionysus, and at R is the name of a Cleopatra.

Such are the dates of the principal parts of this extensive mass of buildings, which I have endeavoured to state in as brief a manner as possible, omitting, of course, the mention of the numerous

\* Number 19.

† The columns, Number 20.

‡ Number 18.

§ F.

|| Probably only a stone used at a later period. The gateway to the south of E was added by his order.

repairs made at different times by other of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies.

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The principal historical sculptures are on the exterior of the great hall. Those on the north-east side are of Osirei I.,\* and relate to his campaigns in the East. To commence with the northern extremity:† the upper compartment represents the king attacking a fortified town situated on a rock, which is surrounded by a wood, and lies in the immediate vicinity of the mountains, whither the flying enemy drive off their herds on the approach of the Egyptian army. The suite of this is entirely lost.

In the first compartment of the second line the king engages the enemy's infantry in the open field, and having wounded their chief with a lance, entangles him with his bow-string, and slays him with his sword. The drawing in these figures is remarkably spirited, and cannot but be admired by the greatest sceptic; nor are the principal groups of any one of these subjects the productions of inferior artists, but of men whose talents

\* By adding the article, which would make Posirei, we might suppose him to be the Busiris of Diodorus, and the great additions made by him to this temple to have led to the belief of his having been the founder of Thebes itself. The P in Coptic is pronounced B. If Remeses II. be Sesostris, the name Amunoph, which was said to be that of his father, may have been derived from, or confounded with the title Amunmai, "the love (or beloved) of Amun," forming part of the nomen of Osirei.

† Marked C, 1.

would do credit to a later epoch than the fourteenth century before our era. In the second compartment (following the same line) the Egyptian hero, having alighted from his car, engages hand-in-hand with the chiefs of the hostile army; one has already fallen beneath his spear, and trampling on the prostrate foe, he seizes his companion, who is also destined to fall by his victorious hand. Returning in triumph, he leads before his car the fettered captives, whom he offers, with the spoil of the cities his arms have taken, to Amunre, the god of Thebes. This consists of vases, silver, gold, precious stones (?) and whatever the monarch has been enabled to collect from the plunder of the conquered country.

The lowest line commences with an encounter between the Egyptians, and the chariots and infantry of the Rot-ñ-no. Their chief is wounded by the arrows of the Egyptian monarch, who closely pursues him, and disables one of his horses with a spear; he attempts to quit his car as his companion falls at his side covered with wounds. The rout of the hostile army is complete, and they fly in the utmost consternation.\* The victorious return of king Osirei is the next subject; and alighting from his chariot, he enters the temple of

\* One is on horseback. There are several instances of this in their battle scenes, but no Egyptian is thus represented, at least to my recollection. Hence it would seem that this custom was considered by the Egyptians more particularly characteristic of the Eastern or Northern nations. Homer, in like manner, describes his heroes in cars. But v. note infra, p. 194.

Amunre to present his captives and booty to the protecting deity of Thebes. He then slays with a club\* the prisoners of the two conquered nations in the presence of Amunre, the names of whose towns and districts are attached to other figures on the lower part of the wall.

The order of the other historical subjects commences at the south-east angle.† In the lower line the Egyptians attack the infantry of an Asiatic enemy in the open field, the same Rot-ñ-no, or Retenno, whose dress and colour, if they are the same as those represented in the Theban tombs, prove them to have inhabited a country very far to the north of Egypt. The Egyptians subdue them and make many captives, and their march, perhaps during their return, is directed through a series of districts, some of which are at peace with, others tributary to them.‡ The inhabitants of one of these fortified cities come out to meet them,§ bringing

\* I do not suppose from this that the Egyptian monarchs actually sacrificed their captives; they were found much more useful as slaves than victims.

† Marked C 3 in the Survey.

‡ The following, inscribed over the king, is peculiarly Egyptian: "The good god, the sun of Khemé (Egypt), the moon of all the regions, Mandoo towards the Gentiles," &c. To the nations mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, who were famed for pompous titles, we might now add the Chinese and Turks, who vie with any people of antiquity for absurdities of this kind.

§ From the date of his first year this should be the first campaign of Osirei, and precede the others I have before described.



presents of vases and bags of gold, which, with every demonstration of respect, they lay before the monarch as he advances through their country. He afterwards meets with opposition,\* and is obliged to attack a hostile army and a strongly fortified town, situated on a high rock, and surrounded by water, with the exception of that part which is rendered inaccessible by the steepness of the cliff on whose verge it is built. It seems to defy the Egyptian army, but the enemy are routed and sue for peace.

Their arms are a spear and battle-axe, and they are clad in a coat of mail, with a short and close dress. The name of the town, Kanana, and the early date of the first year of the king's reign, might lead us to conclude that the defeat of a Syrian nation is here represented; but I leave this subject for a future occasion.

In the other compartments is represented the return of the Pharaoh to Thebes, leading in triumph the captives he has taken in the war, followed by his son and a "royal scribe," with a body of Egyptian soldiers, "the royal attendants, who have accompanied him to the foreign land of the Rot-ñ-no."

The succession of countries and districts he passes through on his return is singularly but ingeniously detailed: a woody and well-watered

\* At the angle of the wall. The name is unfortunately lost.

country is indicated by trees and lakes, and the consequence of each town by the size of the fort that represents it ; bearing a slight analogy to the simple style of description in Xenophon's retreat.

The Nile is designated by the crocodiles and fish peculiar to that river ; and a bridge,\* serving as a communication with the opposite bank, is a remarkable object in the picture. A concourse of the priests and distinguished inhabitants of Thebes† comes forth to greet his arrival ;‡ and he then proceeds on foot to offer the spoil, and captives he has taken, to Amunre.

\* We have, as usual, a bird's-eye view of it, and cannot therefore pronounce whether it was made with arches or with rafters.

† Though probable, it is by no means certain, that Thebes is here represented, especially as the name of that city does not occur in the hieroglyphics. The deputation consists of the "priests, and chief men of the upper and lower countries ;" it should therefore rather refer to his entrance into Egypt. Tanis would agree better with the hieroglyphics. The battled edifices on the road bearing the name of the king may either signify that he had a palace at each of these places, or that they were tributary to him. I had imagined that the Egyptians did not make any "permanent settlements" in the East, but this is evidently erroneous—1st. Because we learn from the Bible (2 Kings xxiv. 7, *supra cit.*) that the possessions "*appertaining* unto the king of Egypt," *even in the time of Neco*, extended to "the Euphrates ;" 2nd. From the alliances formed with the nations they subdued, which are noticed at the Memnonium and Medeénet Háboo ; 3rd. From the colonization of Colchis by the Egyptians. It is therefore probable that they left Egyptian garrisons in the countries they conquered, from one of which, according to Herodotus, the Colchians were descended.

‡ The interesting sculptures of the lower part of this wall were discovered by Mr. Hay and Mr. Burton. The latter has given a copy of this subject in his "Excerpta."

In the compartments of the upper line the Egyptians attack the enemy in the open field, and oblige them to take shelter in a fortified town situated on a lofty hill flanked by a lake of water. Near its banks and on the acclivity of the mountain are several trees and caverns, amongst which some lie concealed, while others, alarmed for the fate of their city, throw dust on their heads,\* and endeavour to deprecate the wrath of the victor.

Their chariots are routed, and the king, having seized the hostile chief, smites off his head, which he holds by the beard. The pursuit of the enemy continues,† and they take refuge amidst the lofty cedars ‡ that crown the heights of their mountainous country. The Egyptians follow them to the woods, and heralds are sent by the king to offer them their lives, on condition of their future obedience to his will, and of the payment of an annual tribute. §

Alighting from his car, he awaits their answer, which is brought by an Egyptian officer, who on

\* An Eastern custom mentioned in the Bible, represented in the Egyptian tombs, and common at the present day.

† Round the corner of the wall. The suite then returns to the former part of the sculptures.

‡ Such are probably the lofty trees here represented. The name of the people is Limanon; the substitution of *m* for *b* is so very common, that we may be allowed to conjecture that Libanon is intended.

§ Such is the probable construction of the supplications they address to the king, through the intercession of an Egyptian officer.

his return salutes his sovereign, and relates the success of his mission.

In the third compartment, the hero, who in the heat of the fight had alighted from his chariot, gives proofs of his physical powers \* as well as his courage, and grasps beneath each arm two captive chiefs; while others, bound with ropes, follow to adorn his triumph, and grace the offerings † of victory to the god of Thebes.

On the other wall, at the south-west side of the grand hall, are represented the conquests of his son Remeses II.; from which it appears that the war against the same people was continued during the reign of this monarch.

In the upper compartments, at the north-west end, Remeses attacks the enemy, who are routed, and take refuge in their fortified town, situated on a high mountain. He then storms another fort; and in the next compartment he gives them battle in the open plain, where he obtains a complete victory, and secures many prisoners. The remnant of their army retreats to a fortified city, which he storms, and obliges to surrender at discretion.

In all these compartments, except one, the king is represented on foot, with his shield before him and a spear in his hand, indicating that these

\* Probably, like Homer's heroes, by the miraculous assistance of some deity. Here is at least a "dignus vindice nodus."

† A tribute was also imposed on the vanquished countries,—as on the land of Judah, by Nechoh. 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 35.

places were taken by assault. In the lower line he advances in his car to the walls of a fort; in the next compartment he storms another on foot; and afterwards appears before a third, mounted in his chariot. The rest is much defaced; but sufficient remains to show that he offers the spoils and captives to the god of the temple.

Behind the side door of the hall, in the upper line, he besieges a fortified town, on foot; he then attacks the enemy in the open field, and having overtaken the car of their chief, entangles him with his bowstring, and stepping forward on the pole, despatches him with his sword. The discomfiture of the hostile army is now complete, and they fly\* to their fenced city in the utmost confusion. The subjects in this line terminate with offerings to the deity of Thebes.

In the lower series is a large tablet of hieroglyphics, and the attack of another fortified town. The battle scenes continue on the wall of the court,† where the Egyptians attack the foe in the plain, who are routed‡ and pursued to the walls of their city.

\* One is on horseback, as in the battle scene of the Memnonium, mentioned in p. 26.

† Number 29.

‡ One of these is also on horseback, mounted sideways. They had no saddles, but always bridles. The Numidian cavalry had neither. With regard to the Egyptians, we should conclude that they also had cavalry, since we read in Isaiah (xxxvi. 9.) "put thy trust in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen;" and in

In the inferior compartments are other similar subjects, and a tablet of the twenty-first year of Remeses II., in which mention is made of his father Osirei and grandfather Remeses I. Beyond this, the Egyptian monarch storms another fort; his troops apply scaling ladders to the walls, and, forcing the gates, oblige the inhabitants to surrender at discretion. In the next compartment, he alights from his car, and binds the prisoners he has taken to serve as a token of his victory, and as an offering to the god of Thebes. The remaining walls of these courts were ornamented with a continuation of similar historical sculptures; but few traces of them now remain.

The captives taken by Sheshonk (Shishak), in his expedition against Jerusalem, are on the south-west wall;\* but the greater part of the remaining subjects relate to offerings made by the kings, who officiate before the different deities of the temple.

Beyond the circuit of ancient Thebes may be noticed, on the east side, some stone remains near the road to Medamot, and some grottoes † in the mountains towards the south-east of Karnak, from near which an ancient road runs southwards into the desert of the Ababdeh. On the Libyan side, upon the summit of the mountain, which pro-

Moses' song, "the horse and his *rider*." Besides these, we find Shishak went against Jerusalem "with twelve thousand chariots and threescore thousand *horsemen*." 2 Chron. xii. 3.

\* Marked 8.

† This is on the report of the Arabs.

jects to the north of the Aq'aba road, are the ruins of a crude brick building, most probably of Christian date, whence a road leads over the mountains to the northwards,\* joining the former at a short distance inland, and leading towards Farshoot.

\* The Arabs speak of a ruin some distance to the north-west; but it is very doubtful. I could find no one to show me the way.

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