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RUINS
OF
SACRED AND HISTORIC LANDS.



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RUINS OF SACRED
AND
HISTORIC LANDS.

1840

1840



T NELSON LONDON & EDINBURGH

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R U I N S
OF
SACRED AND HISTORIC LANDS.

| | | |
|------------|-----|------------------|
| BABYLON. | | EGIPT. |
| NINEVEH. | | CENTRAL AMERICA. |
| PALESTINE. | | ITALY. |
| &c. | &c. | &c. |

"In many a heap the ground
Heaves, as though ruin, in a frantic mood
Had done his utmost. Here and there appears,
As left to show his handy-work, not ours,
An idle column, a half-buried arch,
A wall of some great temple.—It was once,
And long, the centre of their universe."

ROBERTS.

London:
T. NELSON AND SONS, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND EDINBURGH.

MDCCLII.

203. d. 234.



PREFACE.

THE study of antiquity, however cumbered by the tedious minutiae of the professed antiquary, and the extravagancies of the unbridled theorist, possesses in itself elements of attraction such as very few intelligent minds fail to appreciate. We cannot witness the death of individuals without solemn feelings of sympathy and awe; and, in like manner, we learn to contemplate, with deep emotion, the decay and extinction of mighty nations.

The ruins of historic lands are often far more valuable and trustworthy memorials than the records which contemporary annalists bequeath to us. In the one case we must be content to accept of history imbued with all the prejudices of the writer, of his nation, and his age. In the other case, we are free to read and judge for ourselves, and can feel no hesitation in our conclusions as to the barbarous magnificence of Mexico or Yucatan; the splendour and luxurious pomp of Assyria and Babylon; the cultivation, the intellectual progress, and also the superstition and moral debasement of Egypt; and the high advancement, in literature and arts, of the polished Greek. But the study acquires a far deeper interest when it promises to reveal to us new truths in relation to our own historic ancestry, or to throw fresh light on the pages of sacred story, and add unexpected confirmation to the most remarkable declarations both of fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecy. Viewed in this aspect, we follow, with untiring zeal, the explorer of the antiquities of Jerusalem, or the excavator amid the shapeless mounds of the Assyrian plains. In such investigations the past becomes the great text-book of the present: pregnant alike with solemn warnings, and with lessons abounding in novel truths.

The interest which at all times attaches to the memoirs of mighty empires has been greatly strengthened and extended in its influence, of late years, by the researches of intelligent and enterprising travellers. This century has witnessed the re-discovery of Petra; the exploration of Babylon; the restoration from oblivion of the ruined cities and temples of central America; the recovery of the secret by which the records of Egyptian learning have been dumb for nearly two thousand years; and the exhumation of the buried evidences of Assyrian arts and historic annals, leading back to the birth-time of earth's youngest empire. On such themes it is impossible to dwell without exciting the liveliest emotions of sympathy in every intelligent and inquiring mind. This volume is accordingly devoted to a sketch of the whole circle of explorations and discoveries extending throughout the known world. It includes both a review of the earliest notices, and of the most recent disclosures, relating to the traces of former arts, civilization, magnificence, and dominion, of the various kingdoms which have successively played their part on the world's stage. Embracing, as it does, so wide and varied a field, it cannot fail to interest; and it has been no less the aim of the author, that it should also instruct the reader of its pages. The indications of prophetic warning, and the evidences of remarkable fulfilment, have been carefully traced out, and applied to these demonstrations of their solemn import; nor will the thoughtful reader fail to trace, in the unwritten records which the ruins of empires disclose, a consecutive history of our race, more ample and instructive than the ethnologist has to offer him, and far more calculated to elevate the mind, and impress it with the sense of how fleeting and transitory are earth's most stable possessions.

JUNE, 1850.

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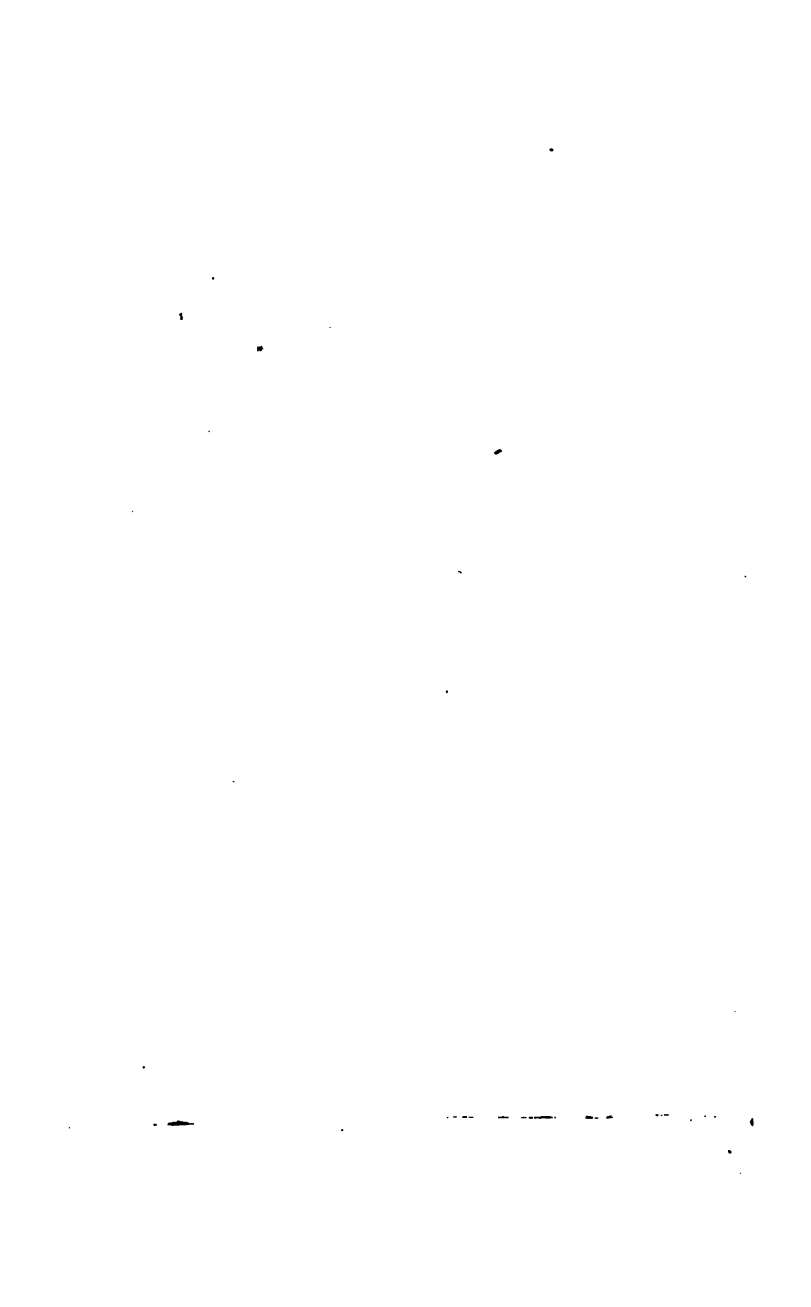
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RUINS OF SACRED AND HISTORIC LANDS.

PART I.—ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING OF EMPIRES.

“Cypress and ivy, weed and wall-flower grown
Matted and massed together, hillocks heaped
On what were chambers, arch-crushed columns strown
In fragments, choked up vaults, and frescos steeped
In subterranean damp, where the owl peeped,
Deeming it midnight:—temples, baths, or halls?
Pronounce who can; for all that learning reaped
From her research hath been, that these are walls—
Behold the imperial mount! 'tis thus the mighty falls.”

THE distinguished author of the “Seven Lamps of Architecture” remarks, when treating of the hold which great and beautiful structures have upon the memory, “How cold is all history, how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears! How many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare, for a few stones left one upon another! The ambition of the old Babel-builders was well directed for this world. There are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality; it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes

beheld, all the days of their life. The age of Homer is surrounded with darkness, his very personality with doubt. Not so that of Pericles: and the day is coming when we shall confess, that we have learned more of Greece out of the crumbled fragments of her sculpture, than even from her sweet singers or soldier historians." It is this world-history, written in the uncorrupted marble which we propose to investigate, and it is strange, when we come to investigate with care into its records to discover how very few even of the earliest links are wanting. It is with a just, though it may be a somewhat free interpretation, that architecture has been styled the primal art of man. We will not indeed seek to carry it so closely back to the infancy of our race, as to include within its records either the bower of paradise, or the rude hut or cave which sheltered the banished pair, when with all the world before them," they first experienced life's necessities, and entered on its cares, its sorrows, and its toil. But passing downward for a very brief space, we come to that ambitious work of the old Babel-builders, which, more perhaps than any other of the elder works of man, commands so peculiarly the interest of these later generations. Its history is briefly and expressly told: "The whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make bricks, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Their aim gives strange insight into the history of primitive thought, and of the low and most inadequate ideas of God, and of the universe, man had already acquired. All the elevating con-

ceptions taught to man either amid the purity and holiness of his first state, when he held converse with God, and was ministered to by his heavenly messengers, or amid the more recent judgments of the deluge, had been of no avail. So unspiritual were his conceptions of divine or created things that he would seem to have deemed it possible to scale the heavens. This has, indeed, been regarded as a mere eastern figure of speech for a very lofty tower, and it would seem to be in some degree confirmed by the choice of a site on the plain of Shinar, and not rather on some of the mountains of Asia. Yet the facility of acquiring needful materials was sufficient to retain the ambitious builders amid the fertile plains of central Asia, which we still regard with such peculiar interest as the cradle of the human race; and we are certainly taught by the narrative of sacred history to look upon them as guilty of an act of daring presumption and impiety, to restrain and punish which their language was confounded, and their social union broken up. Whatever the exact nature of their presumptuous impiety may have been, it was obviously connected with the building of the tower, and it has been assumed, with considerable probability, by various interpreters, that it was designed as an idolatrous temple for the worship of Belus. On this subject Rich remarks, in his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon:" "The most extraordinary building within the city was the tower, pyramid, or sepulchre of Belus, the base of which Strabo says was a square of a stadium each side, and it was a stadium in height. The tower stood in a quadrangle of two miles and a half, which contained the temple in which divine honours were paid to the tutelar deity of Babylon, and probably also cells for the numerous establishment of priests attached to it. An additional interest attaches itself to the sepulchre of Belus, from the probability of its identity with the tower which the descendants of Noah, with Belus at

their head, constructed in the plain of Shinar, the completion of which was prevented in so memorable a manner. I am strongly inclined to differ from the sense in which Gen. xi. 4, is commonly understood, and I think too much importance has been attached to the words '*may reach unto heaven,*' which are not in the original, whose words are *וַיֵּאָמֶר בְּשָׁמַיִם* 'and its top to the skies,' by a metaphor common to all ages and languages, *i. e.* with a very elevated and conspicuous summit. This is certainly a more rational interpretation than supposing a people in their senses, even at that early period, would undertake to scale heaven by means of a building of their own construction. The intention in raising this structure might have been displeasing to the Almighty on many other accounts; such for instance as the paying of divine honours to other beings, or the counteracting of the destined dispersion of mankind. For, notwithstanding the testimony of Josephus's Sibyl, we have no good reason for supposing that the work suffered any damage; and allowing it to have been in any considerable degree of forwardness, it could have undergone no material change at the period the building of Babel was recommenced. It is therefore most probable that its appearance, and the tradition concerning it, gave those who undertook the continuation of the labour, the idea of a monument in honour of Belus; and the same motives which made them persist in adhering to the spot on which such a miracle had been wrought, would naturally enough induce them to select its principal structure for that purpose. Be this as it may, the ruins of a solid building of five hundred feet must, if any traces of the town remain, be the most remarkable object among them. Pliny, seventy years after Strabo, mentions 'the Temple of Jupiter Belus, the inventor of astronomy,' as still standing; and all travellers since the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who first revived the remembrance of the

ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed upon the most conspicuous eminence to represent the tower of Belus."

The rise of the great Assyrian empire is related in a still earlier portion of the sacred narrative. Ham, the son of Noah, beget Cush, and to him was born Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one in the earth; and was called the mighty hunter before the Lord. The course of the sacred history is most brief and concise. "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." It was the early origination of those great social and political unions which have ever since bound men together by more or less strong and beneficial ties. The impression, however, which we are taught to form of the first mighty one on the earth, the powerful hunter, and the earliest sovereign among men, is not one very favourable to him as a distinguished scion of the new father of the human race. We shall regard him more justly if we look upon him as the premature introducer of sovereign rule and despotic sway, into the young world. The patriarch Noah set the needful example of paternal rule; and there could be little necessity in the days of his great-grandson Nimrod, that the patriarchal government, so suited to a simple pastoral life, should be superseded by any premature anticipation of the social necessities of later times. The world was all before them, as it had been before our first parents. Ambition alone, and pride, and the haughty love of dominion, induced men to forsake the fertile and peaceful plains of Asia, to crowd within the narrow limits of brick-built cities. Their experience of the restraints of absolute dominion appear to have differed in no way from those of later ages. It was not seemingly from any feeling of love that men cherished the memory of the founder of Babel. It must be understood, rather as a proverbial expression of his haughty dominion, when the sacred historian

remarks: "Wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord." His game it is obvious was not always the wild beasts of the field, and we should rather perhaps assume as the meaning of these words, "before the Lord," that not even the consciousness of God's presence and oversight could restrain his excesses.

The site of the chief city of earth's first empire, was chosen in the midst of the vast plains of Shinar. The bricks were made and burned, and the city and its tower arose, the fame of which was to keep them in remembrance, and preserve their social unity. "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded." When we reflect on this remarkable passage, and think of that first great effort of architectural power and skill, which thus attracted the notice of heaven by its impious ambition; it becomes a subject of curious speculation to think that it is assumed, not without considerable probability, that the ruins of that primal structure, have not yet yielded entirely to the obliterating hand of time. A new and lively interest has been excited in these primitive ruins of ancient empire, by the recent important discoveries effected by M. Botta, and our own enterprising countryman, Dr. Layard. We must not, however, confound the two great first empires of Asia. The empire of Nimrod, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel, is altogether distinct in origin from that of Assyria. There was abundant room for both, on the vast continent of Asia, though aggressive ambition afterwards forced them into union under one supreme despot.

The sacred historian thus describes the rise of the Assyrian empire as the first offshoot from the kingdom founded by the mighty hunter: "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city of Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and

Calah; the same is a great city." It is this very city of Calah, that Dr. Layard is believed to have exumed from the heaps beneath which it has lain intombed for so many centuries. On this subject much curious, and frequently ill-grounded speculation has been indulged. The strangely recovered Nimroud, on the banks of the Tigris, has been assumed to be Nineveh, or sought for among records of other elder cities of Asia. But Major Rawlinson, who has been the first to master the key of the cuneiform characters, impressed on the bricks, and carved on the sculptured marbles of Nimroud, has also cleared up some of the chief mysteries and errors regarding the ancient city to which tradition still attaches the name of the mighty hunter. At a recent meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, Major Rawlinson laid before the members an interesting communication descriptive of his recent visit to explore the ancient ruins, from whence the Assyrian marbles have been procured, and to explain in what way the cuneiform or arrow-headed characters inscribed on them are to be read. After assuming the general familiarity with the interesting work of Dr. Layard, to which we shall have repeatedly to refer, Major Rawlinson proceeded to combat the popular error, which confounds Nimroud and Nineveh :—"The greater number of the inscriptions," he remarked, "were generally supposed to have been found at Nineveh; but the correct modern name of the place was Nimrud; and though it was in all probability one of the group of cities to which Jonah was sent, yet it had no claim to be considered Nineveh itself. Its ancient name, as denoted on the inscriptions, was Khala, or Sala, and it was probably the Calah mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis." The real metropolitan Nineveh he conjectures to have stood on the site now occupied by that huge mound on the opposite side of the Tigris from Mosul, on the top of which is the pretended tomb of the prophet Jonah.

That mound, Major Rawlinson remarked, was held so sacred by the Turks that they would not allow Europeans to excavate it; but he did not believe Dr. Layard would leave the country without some of its inscriptions. There were two other towns in the neighbourhood whose modern names were Khorsabar and Konyinjuk; and these two towns he believed were the two chief cities of the kingdom of Nineveh. The early history of that country was buried in the deepest obscurity. Even if they should be able to decipher all the inscriptions, still these would give little insight into the chronology of the period unless they could lay hold of some event which touched upon the history of other countries. They had already obtained some valuable notices of the reigns of six monarchs in succession, but any one must see that that was but a short way towards a connected history of the nine centuries to which the Assyrian empire extended. Of the six monarchs mentioned, there was little to mark the era of their reigns; but, after being engaged in the examination of the question for many years, the conviction had been forced upon him that the date of the building of the north-west palace of Khala or Nimrud, on which palace the inscriptions relating to these monarchs had been found, was nearly coeval with the extinction of the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt, and the first establishment of the Jews in Palestine. The earliest cuneiform descriptions which he had been able to decipher, related to a king whose name he read Sardanapalus, not the voluptuary with whose name they were so familiar, but a monarch much anterior, the builder of the north-west palace; but it did not therefore follow that he was the first king, or the builder of the city, for several other names of monarchs are incidentally mentioned, and his own father and grandfather are always spoken of as kings. He might mention a great difficulty that was thrown in the way of identifying a monarch referred

to in different inscriptions, or in various parts of the same inscription, from the fact that the names were not marked by any definite phonetic sound, but rather by the sense, so that synonymes were employed to any extent. The inscription to which he had referred began,—“This the Palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarach.” There could be no doubt that this Assarach was the Nisroch mentioned in Scripture, in whose temple Sennacherib was slain. He was most probably the deified father of the tribe, the Assur of the Bible. This Assarach was styled in all the inscriptions as the king, the father, and the ruler of the gods, thus answering to the Greek god Chronos, or Saturn, in their Assyrio-Hellenic mythology. The inscription then went on to record the extent of the dominions of King Sardanapalus, from which it appeared that Phoenicia was not at that time subject to his sway ; but another inscription stated, that after passing the great desert, he received tribute from the kings of Tyre and Sidon and Accaia on the sea coast. There was another inscription, giving an account of various wars, but in so mutilated a condition that it was impossible to make out a connected narrative. He therefore passed on to another inscription, giving an account of the reign of Tummum Bahr, the son of Sardanapalus. This inscription was complete, and it gave an account of an active and restless monarch, who, during a period of more than thirty years, carried on his wars and conquests on every side, quelling rebellions, plundering cities, leading princes into captivity, and slaughtering thousands in battle. These expeditions were invariably headed by the king himself, till towards the thirtieth year of his reign, when, sated with glory, and probably worn out with action, he remained at home and sent his armies to rob, plunder, and slay, under the command of his lieutenant. The whole of this long and deeply-interesting inscription, which gave much curious information

respecting the early tribes then inhabiting these countries, as read by Major Rawlinson, supplied a continuous and singularly coherent narrative, in which there were only two checks of any consequence: one was where the events of the third and fourth years of the monarch's reign were hopelessly mixed up together, and which he said he could only account for by supposing that the workmen employed to make the inscription had inadvertently left out a line; and the other was where, towards the end of his reign, the events of a campaign begun by the lieutenant were ascribed to the king, and which is probably to be ascribed to the vanity of the monarch, or the flattery of the scribe. It was further mentioned that the events of one of the early campaigns, productive of more than ordinary treasure, were commemorated in more detail in an inscription on a colossal bull which had been found among the ruins, and which Major Rawlinson also read. Above the inscription were several epigraphs illustrative of the tribute received from different countries. He could not attempt to decipher all the articles apparently enumerated, but among them were gold and silver, horses and camels, which were termed "beasts of the desert, with double backs." There were also mutilated inscriptions relating to the son and grandson of this monarch; but after them it appeared that from domestic troubles and foreign conquests there was an interruption to this dynasty; and when events could be again deciphered through the inscriptions, there appeared to be such a great change in the manners and customs of the people, that Dr. Layard had thought a new race had come to inhabit the land. Major Rawlinson is not of that opinion, though he remarked that he was satisfied a great change must have occurred among the people. There had been an interregnum, and possibly another branch of the family came afterwards to the throne, but the later inscriptions all asserted the then

reigning monarchs to be of the family of Sardanapalus. One curious fact apparent from the later inscriptions was, that a strong Scythic element had been infused into the west of Asia, and the Cymri were referred to in almost every inscription.

In answer to inquiries, Major Rawlinson said, that undoubtedly the language was of a true Semitic character, closely allied to the Hebrew and Chaldee in the pronouns and prenominal affixes, but otherwise more allied to the African languages; and he had a strong impression that what were called the Semitic languages, would be found to have sprung from an African source.

In these remarkably interesting investigations, we are led to follow down the history of the Assyrian Empire not only to its connection with some of the later dynasties of Egypt, but also, with a race far more interesting to us, since we trace in them the parents of European colonization, and of the first occupants of the British Isles. It is astonishing, indeed, the sagacity with which Major Rawlinson has followed out the difficult inquiry regarding the meaning and value of the cuneiform characters. We can hardly attach too great an interest to these inscriptions when we consider the circumstances under which they have been found. From the unmistakeable records of sacred history, we learn of the founding of Babel, by Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, and out of that went forth Ashur the builder of Nineveh and Calah, and the founder of the Assyrian Empire. These therefore without doubt are the oldest of the world's cities, and amid the newly discovered ruins, the clayey heaps of which are believed to be the tumuli of these buried capitals, impressed bricks and cylinders, and inscribed gems and marbles, have been found, doubtless containing some of the oldest written records of man. We may well search into them, to read if possible their long treasured secrets. Who can tell what wonderful revelations they may con-

tain! It is certain that the least important fact which they may disclose must be of some value to the historian, and may add new light to the labours of the chronologist. It is not necessary to remark to the reader that the cuneiform, or arrow-headed character, was known to the students of antiquity before the recent researches at Nimroud and Khorsabad. They had, long before, been observed stamped on the bricks of Babylon, and cut upon the marble monuments of Persepolis, as well as on rocks in Armenia, and even, under very rare circumstances, in Egypt.

The arrow-headed characters differ in every respect from the hieroglyphics used in the inscriptions of Egypt. They are purely literal, not symbolical. They are, in fact, arbitrary alphabetic signs, and on this very account it might justly be considered a much more hopeless task to attempt to recover their meaning, than to decipher the hieroglyphic records of the Egyptian temples and tombs. One of the first and most marked characteristics of the arrow-headed characters is, that they were obviously designed for inscriptions, cut on stone or impressed in brick, and were by no means adapted for current writing. An ingenious suggestion has been recently thrown out, by which their intimate connection with the early brick-makers of the Asiatic plains is rendered still more apparent. It is found that by taking a common square burnt brick, figures may be impressed with its corner and edge upon the unburnt clay exactly resembling a certain class of the cuneiform inscriptions. Such therefore, in all probability, was the origin of these characters. The makers of bricks for building the old cities on the banks of the Tigris or Euphrates, wishing, it may be, to distinguish the bricks of particular workmen, or those destined for a special purpose, would indent their surface with the mark formed by the most ready implement, one of the burnt bricks lying around them. A change of dis-

tinctive marks being required, it may be to denote the products of different kilns, or the materials destined for several important erections carrying on at once, two, three, or more, triangular indentations with the corner of the hard brick, would abundantly answer the required end, and be followed naturally by other more complicated combinations of indented triangles and lines, as additional marks were required. Thus simply, in all probability, originated the first Asiatic alphabet, contemporaneously with some of the earliest structures of primeval cities. Through time a phonetic value would be attached to them, as to the arbitrary signs of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and thus the great gift of letters was secured, by means of which records of Babylon and Nineveh are still recoverable from the mouldering rubbish over which the storms of so many centuries have swept in their desolation.

Many of the inscriptions on the bricks brought from the various sites of the ancient cities of Asia, have evidently been impressed with a stamp, containing a set formula, and not infrequently bearing the name of the reigning sovereign. Hieroglyphic impressions, of similar import, and containing royal cartouches, are found on the early bricks of Egyptian pyramids or tombs. Others, however, are probably unique, and at any rate numerous such inscriptions have been copied, besides those now deposited in the public museums of London and Paris. The Babylonian characters, on account of their extremely rude shape, have been frequently called nail-headed; whereas the Persepolitan, as well as those sculptured on the Nimroud marbles, have the distinct arrow-headed form. No real difference, however, seems to exist between them. It was for many centuries a subject of doubt, if not of positive disbelief, whether the Egyptians had ever attached an alphabetic value to their symbolic hieroglyphics. No such doubts, however, could reasonably

be entertained in reference to the cuneiform characters. They are manifestly arbitrary alphabetic signs, the key to which being once lost, all hope of reading them would appear, to the ordinary student, at an end. This seemed further rendered certain by the absence of all distinct allusions, by either Greek or Latin writers, to the arrow-headed characters and inscriptions. Herodotus, indeed, mentions the *Assyrian writing*, and both Thucydides and Pliny refer to *Assyrian letters*; and it has been very reasonably conjectured that all of these allusions are to the character of which we speak. But after all, it is only a probability; and even if the fact were established, it would throw no light on the meaning of the several Assyrian letters, by which alone the inscriptions of Nineveh and Babylon, of Nimroud and Khorsabad, can be turned to account by the historian and the archæologist. Sir William Ousley, who made such extensive and minute observations and researches, during his twelve years in the East, has published, in his "Oriental Collections," an extract from a Mohammedan manuscript which professes to furnish a key to the alphabet of the Persepolitan inscriptions; but, like other alphabets contained in the same manuscript, it is a mere fiction: Niebuhr was the first to publish exact and trustworthy copies of arrow-headed inscriptions; and this led to various attempts at deciphering them; but the utmost difficulty was experienced in discovering any ascertained or probable point from whence to set out. No Rosetta Stone inscription existed, with parallel inscription or translations; and so dubious was the whole inquiry, that it even remained open to question, if the markings impressed on the bricks, and hewn on the sculptures and rocks of Asia, were alphabetical characters capable of being separated into words, and subjected to translation; or if they were not, as some maintained, mere barbarous and arbitrary signs. All analogy, however, is unquestionably in favour of their alpha-

betic character. At the commencement of the present century the inquiry was taken up by Tychsen and Münter, two Danish antiquaries, who affirmed several propositions relating to the division of words, and their order of arrangement; in addition to which they endeavoured to prove that a certain group of the arrow-headed characters, which they found frequently repeated, must signify "*King*."

It would tend to little profit to follow out the various speculative theories by which European scholars have aimed at interpreting the ancient characters found on the site of the first antediluvian city of the world. The stimulus to seek for their interpretation was great; and from the novelty of the subject, and its apparently close connexion with the primeval history of man, the investigation was even more tempting than the hieroglyphical inscriptions of Egypt. The first attempts at this elucidation of the Babylonian records bore a marvellous resemblance to the fanciful and very profitless labours of the earlier hierologists. In 1801, Dr. Hager published his "*Dissertation on the Babylonian Inscriptions*." The opinion advocated by him was the not very attractive one, that the characters on the bricks were simply the brick-makers' names. Inquiry, however, was roused by the publication of fac-similes of the inscriptions, and discussions on the interpretations thus advanced. Lichtenstein entered with zeal on the inquiry, and maintained the arrow-headed characters to be a variety of the ancient Arabic or Cufic character, still used, with slight variations, in the empire of Marocco. By means of this very arbitrary assumption, he read, to his own satisfaction, versions of passages in the Koran. He then proceeded to form the whole into an alphabet, and to interpret Babylonian and Persepolitan inscriptions, with a facility very much akin to that of some of the earlier translators of the hieroglyphics, and to equally little purpose. Various writers, of great learning and research, have since

devoted themselves to this interesting inquiry. Much zeal has been displayed by intelligent travellers, and by several British ambassadors and resident agents at the Persian and Turkish courts; the latest and the most successful of whom is Major Rawlinson, to whose recent researches we have already referred.

But the great source of general interest, and concentrated devotion to the study and elucidation of the Assyrian inscriptions, has been the discovery of the recent monuments of Nimroud and Khorsabad. The sculptures and inscribed marbles sent by M. Botta to Paris, and by Dr. Layard to the British Museum at London, could not fail to excite a new and lively interest in the study of Assyrian antiquities, the results of which are already of considerable value to the historian and the archæologist. "Two characters," Dr. Layard remarks, "appear at one time to have been in use amongst the Assyrians. One, the cuneiform, or arrow-headed, as in Egypt, was probably the hieroglyphic, and principally employed for monumental records; the other, the cursive or hieratic, may have been used in documents of a private nature, or for records of public events of minor importance. The nature of the arrow-headed will be hereafter fully described. The cursive resembles the writing of the Phœnicians, Palmyrenes, Babylonians, and Jews; in fact, the character, which, under a few unessential modifications, was common to the nations speaking cognate dialects of one language, variously termed the Semitic, Aramæan, or, more appropriately, Syro-Arabian. There is this great distinction between the cuneiform and cursive,—that while the first was written from left to right, the second, after the fashion of the Hebrew and Arabic, ran from right to left. This striking difference would seem to show that the origin of the two modes of writing was distinct.

"It would be difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the period of the invention and first

use of written characters in Assyria; nor is there any evidence to prove which of the two forms, the arrow-head or the cursive, is the more ancient, or whether they were introduced at the same time. Pliny declares that it is to the Assyrians we owe the invention of letters, although some have attributed it to the Egyptians, who were said to have been instructed in the art of writing by Mercury; or to the Syrians, who, in the passage in Pliny, are evidently distinguished from the Assyrians, with whom they are, by ancient authors, very frequently confounded. Lucan ascribes their introduction to the Phœnicians, a Syrian people. On monuments and remains purely Syrian, or such as cannot be traced to a foreign people, only one form of character has been discovered, and it so closely resembles the cursive of Assyria, that there appears to be little doubt as to the identity of the origin of the two. If, therefore, the inhabitants of Syria, whether Phœnicians or others, were the inventors of letters, and those letters were such as exist upon the earliest monuments of that country, the cursive character of the Assyrians may have been as ancient as the cuneiform. However that may be, this hieratic character has not yet been found in Assyria on remains of a very early epoch, and it would seem probable that simple perpendicular and horizontal lines preceded rounded forms, being better suited to letters carved on stone tablets or rocks. At Nimroud, the cursive writing was found on part of an alabaster vase, and on fragments of pottery, taken out of the rubbish covering the ruins. On the alabaster vase it accompanied an inscription in the cuneiform character, containing the name of the Khorsabad king, to whose reign it is evident, from several circumstances, the vase must be attributed. It has also been found on Babylonian bricks of the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

“The cuneiform, however, appears to have been the character in general use in Assyria and Babylonia, and at

various periods in Persia, Media, and Armenia. It was not the same in all these countries; the element was the wedge, but the combination of wedges, to form a letter, differed. The cuneiform has been divided into three branches; the Assyrian or Babylonian; the Persian; and a third, which has been named, probably with little regard to accuracy, the Median. To one of these three divisions may be referred all the forms of arrow-headed writing with which we are acquainted; and the three together occur in the trilingual inscriptions, containing the records of the Persian monarchs of the Achæmænian dynasty. These inscriptions are, as it is well known, repeated three times on monuments of this period, in parallel columns or tablets, in a distinct variety of the arrow-headed character; and, as it may be presumed, in a different language.

“The investigation of the Persian branch of the cuneiform has now, through the labours of Rawlinson, Lassen, and others, been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I presume that there are few unacquainted with the admirable memoirs by Major Rawlinson upon the great inscription at Behistun, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Some, however, are still inclined to look upon the results of his labours with doubt, and even to consider his translation as little more than an ingenious fiction. That the sudden restoration of a language no longer existing in the same form, and expressed in characters previously unknown, should be regarded with considerable suspicion, is not surprising. But even a superficial examination of the ingenious reasoning of Professor Grotefend, which led to the first steps in the inquiry, the division of words and the discovery of the names of the kings, and an acquaintance with the subsequent discoveries of Rawlinson and other eminent philologists, must at once remove all doubt as to the general accuracy of the results to which they have arrived. There

may undoubtedly be interpretations, and forms of construction open to criticism. They will probably be rejected or amended, when more materials are afforded by the discovery of additional inscriptions, or when those we already possess have been subjected to a still more rigorous philological examination, and have been further compared with known dialects of the same primitive tongue. But as to the general correctness of the translations of the inscriptions of Persepolis and Behistun, there cannot be a question. The materials are in every one's hands. The inscriptions are now accessible, and they scarcely contain a word the meaning of which may not be determined by the aid of dictionaries and vocabularies of the Sanscrit and other early Indo-European languages."

Some of the accidental confirmations of the accuracy of the conclusions which have been arrived at regarding the Assyrian inscriptions, are of the most interesting and satisfactory character, and none more so than those derived from the conjoint occurrence of cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions. In this respect it is exceedingly fortunate that the recent successful exploration of some of the most important sites of ancient Asiatic cities, has not taken place till such a mastery of the inscriptions of Egypt had been acquired, that the hieroglyphical counterparts could be converted into the means of elucidating cuneiform records. Not the least interesting of the more obvious inferences deducible from such double inscriptions, is the evidence thereby afforded of the ancient intercourse maintained between the great empires of Asia and Africa. Dr. Layard has brought from Nimroud beautiful carved ivories, not only characterized by the peculiar features of Egyptian art, but with the hieroglyphic characters, and the royal cartouch, of the Nile monuments. In 1825, Mr. Price, the Assistant-Secretary to Sir Gore Ouseley, Ambassador to the Court of Persia, published a work, entitled "A

Dissertation upon the Antiquities of Persepolis." Several cuneiform inscriptions are interpreted in it; and one of the engravings represents a scroll found in the case of an Egyptian mummy, on which both a hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscription occurs. But still more interesting examples of this nature have been noted on two Egyptian vases. The name of the king inscribed on one is found to be that of Artaxerxes; and the undoubted accuracy of this interpretation is proved by the same name having been independently read both by Major Rawlinson and Sir Gardner Wilkinson; the former arriving at it by means of the cuneiform inscription, and the latter by the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Such evidence leaves no room to doubt that the key to the interpretation of the ancient Assyrian characters has been discovered, though much remains to be done by the students both of cuneiform and hieroglyphical records, before it can be assumed that an entire mastery has been gained over these long dumb and forgotten annals of the elder world.

CHAPTER II.

BABYLON.

With these came they, who from the bordering flood
 Of old Euphrates, to the brook that parts
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 Of Baalim, and Ashtaroth; those male,
 These feminine.

MILTON.

WE are left in no doubt, from the records of sacred history, as to who was the first founder of empires, or which was the earliest of the world's cities, reared by the subjects of the mighty hunter, Nimrod. The narrative is most concise and distinct. "Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth; and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel." This ancient city, Babel, or Babylon, occupies a most important place among the great capitals of the older Asiatic kingdoms. We learn of it in connexion with the Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Hebrew, and the Macedonian Empires. It figures in the pages of sacred history, as a mighty city influencing the fate of other nations, and becoming the instrument for the accomplishment of God's primitive purposes on his chosen people, and when, at length, its own doom is pronounced, and it is hurled to destruction by the judgments of God, it becomes a monument of divine wrath, to which the closing revelations of the Apocalypse refer as the fittest emblem of the most dreadful manifestations of God's anger.

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BIRRS NIMROUD.

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It is a subject of the liveliest interest to inquire whether the celebrated *Birs Nimroud* be, indeed, the ancient Temple of Belus, and the still older Tower of Babel, the first great architectural structure of the human race. Mr. Rich, to whom we owe the first accurate and trustworthy account both of the *Birs Nimroud* and of the whole extensive group of surrounding ruins on the east bank of the Euphrates, thus describes his impressions on obtaining sight of the remarkable ruin, under an exceedingly advantageous aspect for appreciating its imposing mass, and its interesting associations: "I visited the *Birs* under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its effect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy clouds separating discovered the *Birs* frowning over the plain, and presenting the appearance of a circular hill crowned by a tower with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. Its being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride prevented our acquiring the gradual idea, in general so prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who visit the Pyramids. Just as we were within the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight in the midst of rolling masses of thick black clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent, and dreary solitude, of the wastes in which this venerable ruin stands.

"The *Birs Nimroud* is a mound of an oblong figure, the total circumference of which is seven hundred and sixty-two yards. At the eastern side it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; but at the western it rises in a conical figure to the ele-

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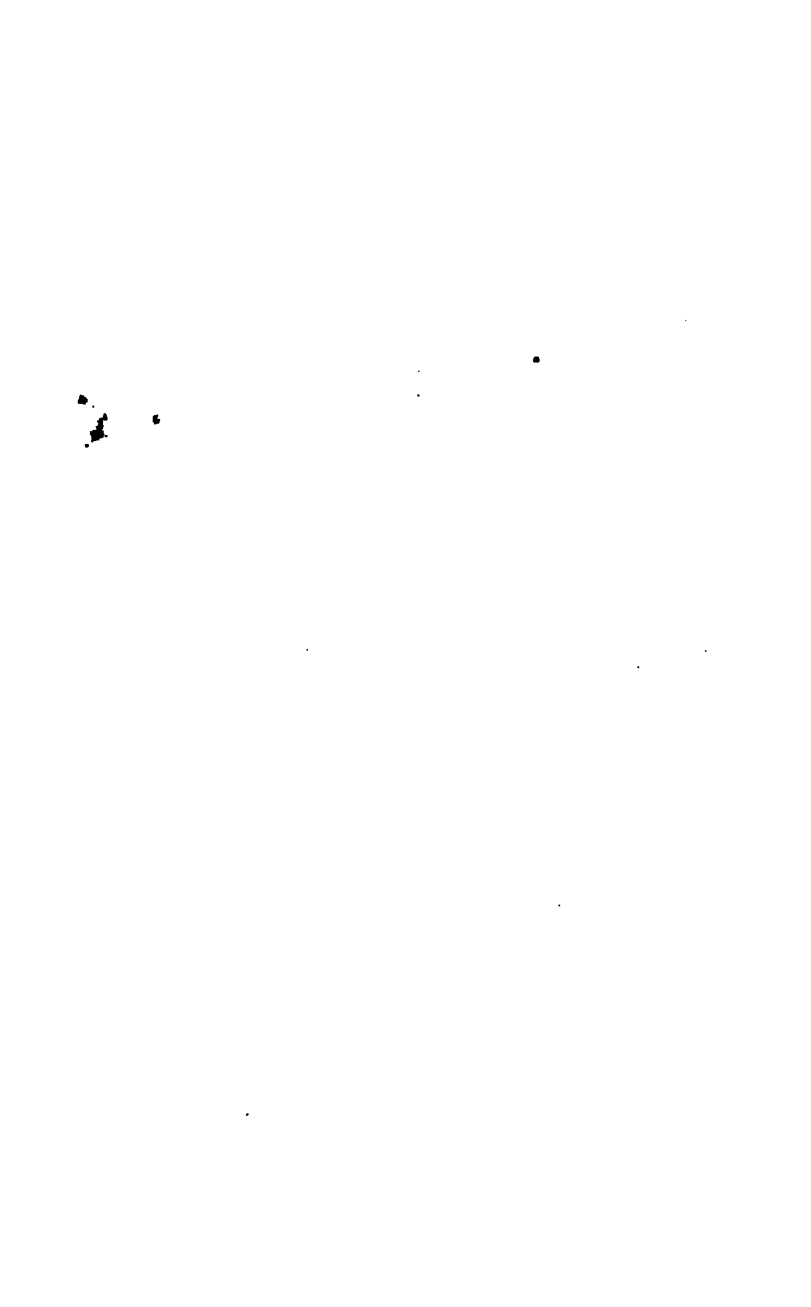
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BIRS SIMROUD.

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vation of one hundred and ninety-eight feet, and on its summit is a solid pile of brick thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure extending through a third of its height. It is perforated by small square holes disposed in rhomboids. The fine burnt bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them; and so admirable is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that, though the layers are so close together that it is difficult to discern what substance is between them, it is nearly impossible to extract one of the bricks whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the fiercest fire or been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of the bricks being perfectly discernible,—a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly incapable of accounting. These, incredible as it may seem, are actually the ruins spoken of by Père Emanuel, who takes no sort of notice of the prodigious mound on which they are elevated.

“It is almost needless to observe that the whole of this mound is itself a ruin, channelled by the weather and strewn with the usual fragments, and with pieces of black stone, sand-stone, and marble. In the eastern part layers of unburnt brick are plainly to be seen, but no reeds were discernible in any part: possibly the absence of them here, when they are so generally seen under similar circumstances, may be an argument of the superior antiquity of the ruin. In the north side may be seen traces of building exactly similar to the brick-pile. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent by several feet each way the true or measured base; and there is a quadrangular inclosure round the whole, as at the *Mujelibè*,

but much more perfect and of greater dimensions. At a trifling distance from the Birs, and parallel with its eastern face, is a mound not inferior to that of the Kasr in elevation, but much longer than it is broad. On the top of it are two Koubbès or oratories, one called Makam Ibrahim Khalil, and said to be the place where Ibrahim was thrown into the fire by order of Nimroud, who surveyed the scene from the Birs; the other, which is in ruins, Makam Saheb Zeman; but to what part of Mehdy's life it relates I am ignorant. In the oratories I searched in vain for the inscriptions mentioned by Niebuhr; near that of Ibrahim Khalil is a small excavation into the mound, which merits no attention; but the mound itself is curious from its position, and correspondence with others."

Mr. Rich subsequently made the ruins of ancient Babylon the objects of a most careful and minute investigation and to his descriptions we owe the most full and trustworthy accounts which we possess of the ruined capital of Nimrod's Empire. He conceives the mound still remaining on the eastern side of the Birs Nimroud to have been a building of great dimensions, and most probably a temple attached to the tower of Belus. The same form of mound has been observed, similarly situated, attached to other ruins which bear a considerable resemblance to the pyramidal tower of Birs, so that it seems reasonable to conclude that these are the relics of the vast temples once devoted to the rites of that long extinct and forgotten faith. From the general appearance of the ruin, Mr. Rich infers that it was a pyramidal erection, built in several stages gradually diminishing to the summit, and corresponding to the great pyramids of Mexico, which some ingenious theorists have conceived to furnish evidence of the early correspondence of the two races. Such speculations, however, are extremely fallacious, similarity of climate and materials will produce a corres-

pondence in the style of building among the most diverse races, and in forms so simple as the pyramids, either of Egypt or Mexico, we can detect nothing more than the most ready shape which building materials assume. Even a child supplied with his miniature toy bricks, builds pyramids in which the fanciful theorists might detect the models of Babylonian or Mexican towers.

Whether we look to sacred or profane history, scarcely any relic of the former site of human habitations, royal palaces, and pagan temples, can equal in interest the ruins of ancient Babylon. Leaving those early sacred narrations of its founder, and of its first disastrous interruption, during the building of the tower of Babel, we turn to the earliest accounts of classic historians. The exact, or probable date of its foundation, which has been frequent subject of discussion, is now, more than ever, likely to excite renewed interest. The period usually assigned to it is about two hundred years after the deluge; but biblical critics are now generally agreed that the system of chronological interpretation which has been hitherto applied to the arrangement of sacred history is no longer tenable. It is generally held that a much longer period must have intervened between the period of the deluge and the birth of our Saviour, from whence we date the new era of the world's history, than that assigned by Archbishop Usher, and usually attached to our English Bibles. This consideration throws the most lively interest upon the investigation of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities, and make the researches of Major Rawlinson, Dr. Layard, and other archæologists and travellers, into the inscribed records of the Nimroud marbles and cylinders, assume a most important character.

We have already referred to the remarkable and interesting discovery of a bilingual inscription on a vase preserved in the treasury of St. Mark, at Venice; and which may in some sense be regarded as bearing a correspond-

ing place in the history of Assyrian researches, to that which the more celebrated Rosetta Stone does in relation to Egyptian hieroglyphy. This most interesting relic belongs to the period of Artaxerxes, the first, as is presumed, who ascended the throne 465 years before Christ. Another example similar to this had been previously noted. It is on an alabaster vase preserved in the Cabinet du Roi, at Paris, and was first depicted by Count Caylus, but not very accurately, in his work on Antiquities. It attracted the attention of the celebrated Champollion, who deciphered correctly the Hieroglyphics, which he read Kh-sch-ea-r-scha, or Xerxes. The addition of the word or title *Erpr*, now believed to signify great, he interpreted to read *Irina*, and supposed it to mean Iranian, or Persian. In 1844, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the celebrated Egyptian traveller, sent home from Venice a rubbing, or fac-simile impression, of the inscription on the vase of St. Mark, which those who are curious in such matters will find engraved on the thirty-first volume of the *Archæologia*, plate vi. Sir Gardner reads the Hieroglyphic name, inclosed in the Egyptian cartouche Ard-kho-scha, according to the phonetic value now assigned to the hieroglyphic characters, and he interprets the whole inscription, King Artaxerxes the Great. Immediately underneath the hieroglyphics the same is repeated in cuneiform characters, which read Ardt-kh-sh-scha, and the whole of which Major Rawlinson satisfactorily shows may be held to bear a similar significance in the dialect of the ancient kingdom of Persia.

How remarkable is this discovery, and how full not only of interest but of richest promise for the future! For if the Birs Nimroud be indeed the ruins of the tower of Babel, we have in its inscribed bricks, records nearly coeval with the patriarchs of the deluge, from whence we may yet be able to deduce the lost annals of the race, and the age of the world. According to Herodotus, the

building of the great capital of the Babylonian empire was the work of several successive sovereigns, among whom he particularly distinguishes the two Queens, Semiramis and Nitocris. Semiramis, who succeeded to the throne on the death of her husband Ninua, the Assyrian king and conqueror of Babylon, selected it for her chosen residence. According to Diodorus, she enclosed it with immense brick walls of great height and thickness, extending the city over both banks of the Euphrates, and uniting them by means both of a tunnel and a bridge; and to her the latter historian ascribes the erection of a lofty temple to the honour of the god Belus. When contrasted with these records of the world's first empires, how mean and insignificant do the relics of our most ancient cities and kingdoms appear. We speak of the 15th century as of a remote era, and regard the 10th and 11th centuries as separated from us by a dark and broad gulph of time. But how modern do such dates appear when we remember that the era of Semiramis is believed to have been about 2000 years prior to the commencement of our era, or nearly as many thousands of years remote from our own day, as mere centuries intervene between us and the English Tudors, and the memorable historic incidents of their times.

The history of Babylon, in the period succeeding the reign of Semiramis, is almost a total blank. It is not a vain hope, however, to think that it may not always remain so. Much has already been done for the recovery of Egyptian chronology. The historic data of the great empire of Africa, are being restored and arranged so as to fill up many important lacunæ which were deemed irrecoverable blanks. But the same sculptures and paintings of Egypt, which furnish so many details for the completion of the historical narrative based on the chronological data supplied by the hieroglyphics and tabular series of royal cartouches, also furnish no less

interesting allusions to contemporary nations. Here therefore is one source of important and trustworthy information; while it encourages us to pursue the more direct search for corresponding native annals, amid the ruined heaps that lie piled along the margin of the Euphrates,—these strange but striking memorials of the truth of prophecy, and the inevitable accomplishment of God's righteous judgments.

Perhaps no city of all the ancient world ever presented an aspect more calculated to tempt its citizens to apply to it the title since conferred on the capital of the old Roman empire, as the Eternal City. According to the statements of ancient historians, its walls measured about sixty Roman miles in their whole extent around the vast metropolis of Babylonian empire. The accuracy of statements involving belief in the existence of a single city of such enormous extent, have been frequently challenged; but all discussion leads to the conclusion that though they may perhaps be chargeable with some degree of exaggeration or error, there can be no question that ancient Babylon covered an extent of ground such as we can form little conception of, when judging in accordance with modern customs.

The ancient eastern cities included not only pleasure grounds and hanging gardens, but even cultivated fields. The chief dangers apprehended by the occupants of a besieged city were the privations and famine consequent on a protracted siege, and one of the provisions against such dangers was the enclosure of fields within the protected area. Herodotus states the circumference of the wall as 480 stadia; a mistake, as some writers have thought for 380 stadia; and Major Rennel estimating the stadium at 491 feet, computes the extent of the wall at 34 miles. The height and breadth of the walls have equally been subjects of dispute, this, however, all historic evidence concurs in proving, that they were of such

enormous strength and massive solidity, that we can well conceive the haughty Babylonian monarch smiling in derision at the threat of their destruction, and deeming the thought of that vast peopled capital becoming what it has so long been, desert heaps of formless rubbish, a thing as impossible as that the everlasting hills should decay and be scattered into dust by the summer breezes. Yet the doom had gone forth while the rulers of Babylon were still in the plenitude of their power, and the mighty capital seemed to bid defiance to destruction or decay. Dr. Keith thus forcibly depicts the contrast of its glory, and the fulfilment of the words of divinely inspired prophets, which laid it in the dust: "Its walls, which were reckoned among the wonders of the world, appeared rather like the bulwarks of nature than the workmanship of man. The temple of Belus, half a mile in circumference and a furlong in height—the hanging gardens, which, piled in successive terraces, towered as high as the walls—the embankments which restrained the Euphrates—the hundred brazen gates—and the adjoining artificial lake—all displayed many of the mightiest works of mortals concentrated in a single point. Yet, while in the plenitude of its power, and, according to the most accurate chronologers, 160 years before the foot of an enemy had entered it, the voice of prophecy pronounced the doom of the mighty and unconquered Babylon. A succession of ages brought it gradually to the dust; and the gradation of its fall is marked till it sunk at last into utter desolation. At a time when nothing but magnificence was around Babylon the great, fallen Babylon was delineated exactly as every traveller now describes its ruins; and the prophecies concerning it may be viewed connectedly from the period of their earliest to that of their latest fulfilment."

Babylon was, indeed, once "the glory of kingdoms," and around it lay the most fertile districts, the garden of

the world, which had been chosen by God, as that where-in to place the first family of mankind, but which the despotism and oppression of ages has reduced for many centuries almost to a desert waste. Herodotus and Strabo speak of its fertile soil producing two, and even three hundred fold of corn; and even after repeated conquests and desolations, the vast plains, enriched by the Euphrates and Tigris, and their tributary streams, and irrigated by numerous artificial canals, the traces of which may yet be seen, continued to furnish such abundant supplies as the natives of northern and less favoured climes can hardly conceive of. Wealth abounded, luxury and sensual enjoyments were pursued as objects worthy of the highest ambition of man. Gold, silver, precious jewels, spices, silks, and every costly means of pleasure or adornment were accumulated, and the rulers of Babylon added kingdom to kingdom, until their vast dominions, extended from the Helespont to the Indian Archipelago, and embraced nearly the whole of the Asiatic continent under one sovereign ruler. Human ambition seemed to have achieved its utmost desires, and to be established beyond the reach of fate. But all was hollow within. Under this splendid despotism vice and misery prevailed. The grossest forms of idolatry associated impure and horrible rites with the worship of their deities; and the great mass of the people toiled in hopeless slavery to contribute to the unbounded desires of the few who trampled on their rights. But the doom of their mighty empire was pronounced. It was "weighed in the balance and found wanting," while yet the sunshine of prosperity seemed to rest upon it, and now it lies amid the crumbled ruins of its palaces and temples, a byword and a mockery to the nations.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOOM OF BABYLON.

Struck by a thousand lightnings still 'tis there,
As proud in ruin, haughty in despair.
Oh! oldest fabric reared by hands of man!
Built ere Art's dawn on Europe's shores began!
Rome's mouldering shrines, and Tadmor's columns gray,
Beside yon mass, seem things of yesterday!
In breathless awe, in musing reverence, bow,
'Tis hoary Babel looms before you now!

MICHELL.

NUMEROUS as are the records of ancient historians as to the magnificence of the Babylonish capital, and the extent of its empire, nothing more effectually exhibits its greatness among the elder empires of the world than the large space which it occupies in the terrible denuncements of ancient prophecy. No portion of the prophecies recorded by the inspired authors of the Old Testament Scriptures, has more frequently supplied evidence and argument for their divine authority, than the remarkable and literal words in which they foretold the doom of Babylon. The prophet Isaiah delivered his remarkable denuncements fully one hundred and sixty years before the taking of Babylon, and upwards of two hundred and fifty years before Herodotus recorded the history of these events, altogether unconscious that he too was guided not only as a recorder of incidents of common history, but of evidence that should avail to remote ages in proof of the divine origin of the first of books. When Isaiah recorded, "the burden of Babylon," which, says the prophet, "Isaiah the son of Amos

did see," a century and a half had to pass, and generations to be gathered to the dust, ere what he witnessed in vision should be fulfilled. Yet he said, as of a thing that is being accomplished: "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle. They come from a far country from the end of heaven, even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land. Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. It shall be as the chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up; they shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every man unto his own land. Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Behold I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver, and as for gold they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces."

Ere these words could be accomplished God had destined Babylon to be made his servant and tool, for the punishment of others. The chosen people to whom

Isaiah prophesied, were themselves to be subjected to his anger, and were to be sent away captives into Babylon. The gorgeous temple of Solomon was to be spoiled. The city of David was to be desolate, and in ruins; and Babylon was to triumph for a time over the people whose prophets had foretold her coming fate. But the words of God are sure. The faithful among the captives of Judah, who hung their harps on the willows of Babylon, and wept when they remembered Zion, believed no less certainly in the promises to their fathers, than in the threats and denouncements to their captors, and anticipated with longing hearts, the time when God would remember Zion, and build up her ruined walls.

It seems not improbable that an important class of the inscriptions brought to light by Dr. Layard while exploring the palaces of Nimroud, will be proved to be contemporaneous with the period of the later grandeur of Babylon, when, while she rejoiced in her haughty power and luxury, the Hebrew prophet was recording her coming doom, and foretelling the fate which the Christian believer can now read for himself amid her desolate and ruined heaps. At a meeting of the Syro-Egyptian Society of London, on the 12th of February 1850, Mr. Sharpe laid before the meeting a communication regarding Major Rawlinson's reading of the inscriptions from Nimroud, which he characterized as one of the greatest triumphs of ingenuity, and as the result of a rare union of learning, patience, sagacity, and that wise caution which is so specially needed, while the true value and force of many of the letters is still doubtful. Mr Sharpe, however, challenges some of the most important of Major Rawlinson's historical conclusions, while attaching full reliance to his elucidation of cuneiform inscriptions. Major Rawlinson produces the names of seven or eight kings; some of these make Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt pay tribute, and carry on a long war against Ashdod. Even the name of Jerusalem, it is

thought possible, may be traced among the conquered cities. These eight kings may occupy about two centuries; and Mr. Sharpe exhibited tables of chronology for Egypt, Palestine, and Assyria, from which he argued that these circumstances in history could be true of no other period of similar duration than the two centuries comprehending the era of the prophet Isaiah; and that these were the kings spoken of in the Bible, whose dynasty was put down by Nabopolassar, for there was no other time in which Egypt and the Phœnician cities could have paid tribute to Assyria. It is wise that we should not too hastily assume unauthenticated evidence which may seem to confirm the prophetic writings. They stand in need of no such confirmation, though we derive a most legitimate gratification from the discovery of such evidences, and may, therefore, look forward with no slight degree of interest to the results of such intelligent research among the vast ruins of Central Asia.

It is an interesting truth, proved by many concurrent evidences, that, while Providence has frequently employed heathen and idolatrous nations for the punishment of his own church and people, yet the Divine anger has always been, sooner or later, manifested against such unbelieving instruments of God's displeasure. To those who look forward to the restoration of the Jews to their own land in these latter days, it is a subject of serious consideration whether God will not also, in like manner, judge the Gentile nations among whom the weary wanderers of Israel have so long borne their sad exile. Such thoughts may well stimulate the generous zeal of those whose hearts are now yearning after the outcasts of Judah. Little did the proud Babylonians dream that it was in his wrath God had suffered them to triumph over the kingdom of Judah, and to spoil the gorgeous temple which Solomon dedicated to his worship in so noble a strain of inspired devotion, when, standing before the altar of the one true

God, and spreading forth his hands towards heaven, he thus prayed:—"Lord God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that thou promisedst him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in thy sight to sit on the throne of Israel; so that thy children take heed to their way, that they walk before me as thou hast walked before me. And now, O God of Israel, let thy word, I pray thee, be verified, which thou spakest unto thy servant David my father. But will God indeed dwell on the earth. Behold, the heaven, and heaven of heavens, cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded! And hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place: and hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place; and when thou hearest, forgive. If any man trespass against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, condemning the wicked, to bring his way upon his head; and justify the righteous, to give him according to his righteousness. When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and shall turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and pray, and make supplication unto thee in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest unto their fathers. Moreover, concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name's sake; for they shall hear of thy great name, and of thy strong hand, and of thy stretched out arm; when he shall come and pray toward this house: hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as do thy people Israel: and that they may know that this house, which I have

built, is called by thy name. If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the Lord toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house that I have built for thy name: then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause. If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captives unto the land of the enemy, far or near; yet if they shall bethink themselves in the land whither they were carried captives, and repent, and make supplication unto thee in the land of them that carried them captives, saying, We have sinned, and have done perversely, we have committed wickedness; and so return unto thee with all their heart, and with all their soul, in the land of their enemies which led them away captive, and pray unto thee toward their land which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name: then hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven thy dwelling-place, and maintain their cause, and forgive thy people that have sinned against thee, and give them compassion before them who carried them captive, that they may have compassion on them: for they be thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst of the furnace of iron, for thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth to be thine inheritance."

These were the people who, beneath the willows of Babylon, wept when they remembered Zion. How different their prospects from those of their enslavers. It is as the answer to these solemn supplications at the dedication of the first Temple, that Jeremiah thus prophesies of the fate of its spoilers:—"It is the vengeance of the Lord: take vengeance upon her: as she hath done, do unto her. Woe unto them! for their day is come, the

time of their visitation. The voice of them that flee and escape out of the land of Babylon, to declare in Zion the vengeance of the Lord our God, the vengeance of his temple—recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her; for she hath been proud against the Lord, against the Holy One of Israel. I will render unto Babylon, and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea, all their evil that they have done in Zion in your sight, saith the Lord—the Lord God of recompences shall surely requite.”

Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, encamped against Jerusalem, with a mighty host. He besieged and took the city of David, slew the princes of Judah, and carried the vessels of the holy temple, and all the treasures of Jerusalem, with him to Babylon. The chosen men of Judah also passed into captivity; a miserable remnant of the poorest of the people were alone left to serve as vine-dressers and husbandmen, that the conquered land might yield its tribute and sustain its spoilers. It seemed for a time as if God had forgotten his promise to his servant David, and had blotted out for ever from the cities of the nations the place where he had so long “dwelt with men.” But their prophets had foretold the fate both of Judah and of Babylon, though these words had seemed but as idle tales to their own people, and remained unheard and unknown to the luxurious idolaters of Babylon, even while they were being so strikingly fulfilled. Belshazzar, the king, made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and while he triumphed amid the splendour of his luxurious court, he commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; and he was obeyed. The vessels of the sanctuary, once sacred alone to the temple service of the one true God, were laid before the revellers of the Babylonish court; and the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines,

poured into them the wine, and drank and praised the gods of gold and silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone. They had filled up the measure of their impiety, and the hour of retribution was come. In the same hour came forth the fingers of a hand, and wrote upon the walls of the palace hall the mysterious writing which one of the children of the captivity interpreted to the affrighted king. The monarch was troubled and shook with fear, and the astonished revellers could offer no assurance or comfort. The Hebrew prophet was brought into the midst of that strange scene, and the king proffered to him the vain gifts and honours which were passing from his own grasp. But the hour of Judah's retribution was at hand, and the captive Hebrew replied with dignity, "Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation. O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory and honour: and for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him, and he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses; they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will. And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this; but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast

praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from Him; and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. TEKEL; thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. PERES; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom. In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom." The reader is probably familiar with the strange device by which the Babylonian capital was first taken by Cyrus. "The walls of Babylon," says Dr. Keith, "were incomparably the loftiest and strongest ever built by man. They were constructed of such stupendous size and strength, on very purpose that no possibility might exist of Babylon ever being taken. And, if ever confidence in bulwarks could have been misplaced, it was when the citizens and soldiery of Babylon, who feared to encounter their enemies in the field,—in perfect assurance of their safety, and beyond the reach of Parthian arrow, scoffed, from the summit of their impregnable walls, at the hosts which encompassed them. But though the proud boast of a city so defended, and which had never been taken—that it would *stand for ever*,—seemed scarcely presumptuous; yet, subsequently to the delivery of the prophecies concerning it, Babylon was not only repeatedly taken, but was never once besieged in vain."

Walls, indeed, are a vain defence even against human valour, and how much less against divine judgments,

and the hosts appointed to victory. After long tarrying with his mighty army arround the leaguered walls of Babylon, it was suggested to the besiegers to divert the course of the Euphrates; and through the channel of its dry bed they entered into the midst of the city, while its rulers, amid their profane orgies, were boasting of its impregnable walls. A traitor superseded the necessity for this laborious device when it again fell before another conqueror, and its glory passed away as an imperial city. Thenceforth it had to pay the tribute it had so long exacted, and to endure the humiliation thus strikingly foretold: "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground, there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans." It was not, indeed, by one conquest that this earliest seat of empire was laid utterly waste. Though the spoiler had become the prey, yet her glory and wealth tempted the conqueror to reserve to her some rank and honour. Thus was Babylon sustained, only to experience repeated reverses and humiliations. Alexander marched against it, and Babylon exchanged the Persian for the Macedonian yoke. Seleucus, one of the successors of the Macedonian conqueror, built the city of Seleucia in its neighbourhood, and thereby rapidly hastened its decay. Antigonus, Demetrius, and Antiochus the Great, all successively became its conquerors. The Parthians spoiled it once more, and Phraohates, their king, delegated his authority to a licentious favourite, who degraded it still lower by oppression and spoliation. "there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans," exclaims the prophet, foretelling her utter degradation, and the enslavement of her inhabitants. "Thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstones and grind meal." And now the desolate heaps and pools that stand along the reedy banks of the Euphrates are a monument in our own day of the truth of prophecy. Every word spoken

against Babylon has been, and is now being, literally fulfilled. The glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, is as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. The wild beasts of the desert prowl about its heaps. It is made a possession for the bittern and pools of water. It is literally swept with the besom of destruction.

Modern research, however, will doubtless now recover from its desolate ruins much that will add to our knowledge of its former grandeur, and help to illustrate the greatness of its fall. In the course of one of Major Rawlinson's valuable communications to the Royal Asiatic Society, on the Assyrian inscriptions and antiquities, he described some very interesting observations already noted by him in reference to Babylonia, and noticed eight or nine of its kings whose names were found upon different monuments; but he added, that in the present state of our knowledge, it was impossible to classify these monarchs, or even to identify any kings but Nebuchadnezzar, and his father, Nebopolasser. He observed, that throughout Babylonia Proper, even at Borsippa, which was evidently one of the oldest sites in the country, the only name which he had found upon the bricks was that of Nebuchadnezzar, or rather *Nabochodrossor*. This king appeared to have formed some hundreds of towns around Babylon, rebuilding the old cities and founding new ones. Further to the south, however, at Niffer, at Warka or Orchœ, (Ur of the Chaldees), at Umgheir, and Umwâweis, there are magnificent ruins belonging to other royal lines; and it is probable that if bricks from all these sites were collated, something definite might be made out with regard to the Babylonian and Chaldean chronology.

Major Rawlinson drew especial attention to the standard inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, the best and most perfect copy of which is engraved on a slab preserved in the India House. This, he said, is a sort of hieratic statisti-

cal charter. He did not pretend to be able to read and interpret it throughout; but he had, he observed, found in it a detail of all the temples built by the king in the different towns and cities of Babylonia, together with the names of the particular gods and goddesses to whom the temples were dedicated, and a variety of matter regarding the support of the shrines, and the ceremonial and sacrificial worship performed in them, which it is exceedingly difficult to render with any approach to literal certainty with the present imperfect knowledge of the language.

Major Rawlinson further stated, that the name of Babel was never used until the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and he protested, therefore, against the possibility of the title being found in an Egyptian inscription of Thothmes III., as has been maintained by other intelligent archæologists. The ancient name of Babylonia, he conceives, was *Sen-árch*, the Shinar of Scripture, and $\Sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\alpha\zeta$ of Histiaëus. In more recent times, it was termed *Babeleh*, or more frequently *Athreh*, a title which he considers to be identical with the *Otri* of Pliny. Thus do we find, on every hand, the researches of modern science and learning throwing new light on those ancient Scriptures, which the infidel, in his pride of learning, has sought in vain to decry; while history is being extended and amplified in many departments where its imperfect and meagre records had seemed to be closed without hope or possibility of addition.

CHAPTER III.

NINEVEH.

The tents are all silent, the banners alone,
The lances unlifted, the trumpet unblown;
And the widows of Ashur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broke in the temple of Baal:
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord.

BYRON.

THE interest which hangs around the history of Nineveh, and the ancient empire of Assyria, has been greatly heightened during recent years by the extensive and successful investigations of the long-buried ruins of some of the chief Assyrian cities. This we chiefly owe to the indefatigable zeal and enterprise of our fellow countryman, Dr. Layard, and to M. Botta, a native of France, each of whom have secured for their own country most valuable and magnificent monuments of ancient Assyrian luxury and art. Wandering amid the vast plains of Asia, and seeking not in vain, the hospitality of the wild Arab's hut, Dr. Layard had happily rendered himself familiar with eastern life and manners, and had been unconsciously educating himself for his important task, as the restorer of long buried annals of the elder world, when he at length bent his course towards the seat of some of its first cities. "I had traversed," says he, "Asia Minor and Syria, visiting the ancient seats of civilization, and the spots which religion has made holy. I now felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates, to which

history and tradition point as the birthplace of the wisdom of the West. Most travellers, after a journey through the usually frequented parts of the East, have the same longing to cross the great river, and to explore those lands which are separated on the map from the confines of Syria by a vast blank stretching from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris. A deep mystery hangs over Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa. With these names are linked great nations and great cities dimly shadowed forth in history; mighty ruins in the midst of deserts, defying, by their very desolation and lack of definite form, the description of the traveller; the remnants of mighty races still roving over the land; the fulfilling and fulfilment of prophecies; the plains to which the Jew and the Gentile alike look as the cradle of their race. After a journey in Syria the thoughts naturally turn eastward; and without treading on the remains of Nineveh and Babylon our pilgrimage is incomplete.

“As we journeyed thither we rested for the night at the small Arab village of Hammum Ali, around which are still the vestiges of an ancient city. From the summit of an artificial eminence we looked down upon a broad plain, separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east, and one of a pyramidal form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly traced the waters of the Zab. Its position rendered its identification easy. This was the pyramid which Xenophon had described, and near which the ten thousand had encamped: the ruins around it were those which the Greek general saw twenty-two centuries before, and which were even then the remains of an *ancient* city. Although Xenophon had confounded a name, spoken by a strange race, with one familiar to a Greek ear, and had called the place Larissa, tradition still points to the origin of the city, and, by attributing its foundation to Nimroud, whose name the ruins now bear, connect it with one of the

first settlements of the human race." Dr. Layard believed these lofty mounds to be none other than the ruined heaps of the great city to which the prophet Jonah bore the message of God's threatened wrath.

We have already referred to the opinion of another distinguished eastern traveller, Major Rawlinson, on this subject. He conceives the name still traditionally attached to it to be its original designation, and points to another tumular heap in the same vast plain, through which the river Tigris rolls its waters, as the true site of Nineveh. The tenacity of popular tradition is often wonderful. There, too, is preserved the name of the prophet Jonah, still associated with the presumed scene of his successful ministrations. It will be a remarkable example of the endurance of local tradition, if it shall be found that the latter is indeed the great capital of the empire which Assur founded when he went forth from the land of Shinar. The magnificent monuments, and, perhaps still more, the inscribed cuneiform tablets already referred to, promise to furnish trustworthy answers to these inquiries. Of these remarkable sculptures, contemporaneous, it may be, with the sculptures of Thebes and Memphis, the indefatigable traveller has already had the satisfaction of seeing the first instalment deposited in the British Museum, before returning to the scene of his singularly interesting excavations on the banks of the Tigris, where he is now once more busied in disinterring the evidences of history from the graves of the world's elder cities. Within the vast mounds to which a faithful tradition has attached the name of Nimrod the mighty hunter, our persevering countryman discovered monuments of ancient art and imperial magnificence which amply justify the title that has for ages associated it with one of the earliest settlements of the human race. Though completely distinct in character and style from the monuments of Egypt, these relics of old Assyrian art still present such affini-

ties to them as might be anticipated from the productions of contemporaneous races and creeds somewhat similarly situated as to climate and locality. Like the ibis and hawk-headed deities of Egypt, the Assyrian marbles present frequent repetitions of the eagle or vulture-headed god—a human form conjoined with the head of a bird of prey. In like manner, among the sculptures of both countries, the sphinx occurs. Not greatly dissimilar in character, and akin to it, are those most remarkable monuments of Assyrian arts and mythology—the colossal human-headed lions and bulls—which the wild Arab sheik, who witnessed their exhumation, pronounced to be “the idols which Noah cursed before the flood!” On the discovery of the winged human-headed lions, Layard was filled with admiration and delight. “These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art,” he remarks, “were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines of the details of the wings, and in the ornaments, had been retained with their original freshness. I used,” adds the enthusiastic traveller, “to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temples of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength than the body of the lion; of ubiquity than the wings of the bird. These winged human-headed lions were not idle creations, the offspring of mere fancy; their meaning was written upon them. They had awed and instructed races which flourished three thousand years ago!” Such reflections, however, must not mislead us into the false spirit of admiration for the poetical elements discoverable even in very gross forms of idolatry, which has proved a

frequent stumbling-block to recent writers, especially in treating of the mythology of ancient Egypt. In one of the most striking visions of Ezekiel, the idolatry of "Aholah, with the Assyrians her neighbours," is pre-figured in terms which exhibit it as grossly sensual, and only comparable to the vilest of personal vices. Dr. Layard was himself struck with the wonderfully vivid and truthful reference in that ancient prophecy, to the sculptured tablets discovered by him in the ruined palaces of Nimroud, many of them still retaining the traces of vermillion dye, such as the prophet describes in his remarkable vision:—"When she saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermillion; girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity."

In striking contrast to the enthusiastic idealism of Dr. Layard, were the feelings which their discovery excited in his wild Arab workmen. "The Arabs," says he, " marvelled at these strange figures. As each head was uncovered they showed their amazement by extravagant gestures, or exclamations of surprise. If it was a bearded man, they concluded at once that it was an idol or a Jin, and cursed or spat upon it. If an eunuch, they declared that it was the likeness of a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. They soon felt as much interest as I did in the objects discovered, and worked with renewed ardour when their curiosity was excited by the appearance of a fresh sculpture. On such occasions they would strip themselves almost naked, throw the kerchief from their heads, and letting their matted hair stream in the wind, rush like madmen into the trenches, to carry off the baskets of earth, shouting, at the same time, the war cry of the tribe."

Still more vivid is the traveller's description of a visit

paid to him by Tahyar Pasha, while he was engaged in the anxious task of despatching his first freight of sculptures on the frail rafts of sticks and skins, with which he floated them down the Tigris. "The Pasha," says he, "was accompanied, for his better security, by a large body of regular and irregular troops, and three guns. His Diwan Effendesi, seal-bearer, and all the dignitaries of the household, were also with him. I entertained this large company for two days. The Pasha's tents were pitched on an island in the river, near my shed. He visited the ruins, and expressed no less wonder at the sculptures than the Arabs; nor were his conjectures as to their origin and the nature of the subjects represented, much more rational than those of the sons of the desert. The gigantic human-headed lions terrified as well as amazed, his Osmanli followers. 'La Illahi il Allah (there is no God but God),' was echoed from all sides. 'These are the idols of the infidels,' said one more knowing than the rest. 'I saw many such when I was in Italia with Reshid Pasha, the ambassador. Wallah, they have them in all the churches, and the Papas (priests) kneel and burn candles before them.' 'No, my lamb,' exclaimed a more aged and experienced Turk. 'I have seen the images of the infidels in the churches of Beyoglu; they are dressed in many colours; and although some of them have wings, none have a dog's body and a tail; these are the works of the Jin, whom the holy Solomon, peace be upon him! reduced to obedience and imprisoned under his seal.' 'I have seen something like them in your apothecaries' and barbers' shops,' said I, alluding to the well-known figure, half woman and half lion, which is met with so frequently in the bazars of Constantinople.' 'Istafer Allah (God forbid),' piously ejaculated the Pasha; 'that is the sacred emblem of which true believers speak with reverence, and not the handywork of infidels.' 'There is no infidel living,' ex-

claimed the engineer, who was looked up to as an authority on these subjects, 'either in Frangistan or in Yenghi Dunia (America), who could make any thing like that; they are the work of the Majus (Magi), and are to be sent to England to form the gateway to the palace of the queen.' 'May God curse all infidels and their works!' observed the Cadi's deputy, who accompanied the Pasha; 'what comes from their hands is of Satan: it has pleased the Almighty to let them be more powerful and ingenious than the true believers in this world, that their punishment and the reward of the faithful may be greater in the next.'"

Nimroud, as we have already shown, is regarded by Major Rawlinson, as the old Biblical city of Calah, or Hala, the latter form assimilating very closely, according to his reading of it, with the cuneiform orthography of the name. He also identifies it with Xenophon's Larissa. Thus restoring some of the earliest, and other most remarkable associations of history, to a locality, which for ages has presented to the eye nothing but a barren heap of mouldering rubbish. Khorsabad he describes as a city specially named after the ruler who founded it;—while the true Nineveh, probably an older city than either of them, is yet to be exumed by zealous explorers from beneath the heaps at Nebi-Yunas, opposite Mosul. Such excavations, whensoever they shall be made, cannot fail to be regarded with the deepest interest. Few pictures of the prophetic history are more touching than that of the prophet Jonah, commissioned to go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it. The rebellious prophet went not, but fled, if it might be, from the presence of the Lord. And then, after his strange and unparalled dwelling in the deep, the word of the Lord came again to Jonah, the second time, "Arise, go unto Nineveh," an exceeding great city of three days journey. And he went and entered the city, and as he walked through its streets he proclaimed the message committed to him:

“‘Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.’ So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh: and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink water: But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. But it displeased Jonah exceedingly.” Another lesson, not of judgment, but of mercy follows; and God gives utterance to those most remarkable words, in which he sets forth his care for us, because of our creation by his hand, and extends merciful loving-kindness, to the helpless and the dumb. “Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night. And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?”

But though the ancient Nimroud be not identified with the scene of the old prophet's warnings, and of the singular example of national repentance, it is, nevertheless, undoubtedly, a contemporaneous city of the same Assyrian kingdom. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of rendering the inscriptions of Nimroud and Khorsabad

available for the illustration of history, owing to the practice which the Assyrians followed of distinguishing their proper names by the sense, rather than by the sound; so that the form of a name could be varied *ad libitum*, by the employment of synonyms, expressed either symbolically or phonetically. Yet some important results have already followed to the historian from the researches of Major Rawlinson. A further source of confusion arises from the multiplicity of names attaching to the different divinities, any one of which might be employed in forming a king's name, without regard to phonetic uniformity. The investigation is thus cumbered with many difficulties which did not attach to the study of the inscriptions of Egypt, after the discovery of the key to their alphabet and language. The general uniformity of the hieroglyphic series of royal cartouches, and the possibility of identifying many of them with the sovereigns recorded by Manetho, gives a precision and definiteness to the recent labours of hieroglyphic students, which can hardly be hoped for in the present early stage of the investigation into these newly discovered Assyrian inscriptions. Still, Major Rawlinson, has so far mastered the records of the Nimroud marbles, as to feel confident in affirming that the Nimroud kings were undoubtedly the most ancient of whom any records have yet been discovered on the Tigris or Euphrates. Six of these kings who followed in a line of direct descent are thus enumerated, they were:—Hevenk I. a name suggested by him to be the same as the Evechius of Alexander Polyhistor, whom Syncellus identified with Nimrod; Altibar; Asser-adanpal or Sardanapalus; Temen-bar; Husi-hem; and Hevenk II. An earlier monarch, whom Major Rawlinson distinguished as Temen-bar I., and whom he conjectures to be the father of Hevenk I., he believes will prove to have been the original founder of the city of Halah, or Nimrud.

Many of the most remarkable discoveries of Dr. Layard were made in what he has styled the north-west palace, and it was there that the gigantic head was exposed to view, so graphically depicted in one of the illustrations to his interesting work, with the wondering Arabs grouped around it in wondering amazement. "I rode," says the traveller, "to the encampment of Sheikh Abdur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. 'Hasten, O Bey,' exclaimed one of them—'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;' and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

"On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, stand near a heap of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

"I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch

of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and had run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learnt this with regret as I anticipated the consequences.

Whilst I was superintending the removal of the earth, which still clung to the sculpture, and giving directions for the continuation of the work, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahman, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. As soon as the two Arabs had reached the tents, and published the wonders they had seen, every one mounted his mare and rode to the mound to satisfy himself of the truth of these inconceivable reports. When they beheld the head they all cried together, 'There is no God but God, and Mahommed is his Prophet!' It was some time before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. 'This is not the work of men's hands,' exclaimed he, 'but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet, peace be with him! has said, that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood.' In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred."

The report of the discovery filled the neighbouring town of Mosul with commotion. The Cadi made this a new occasion for throwing impediments in the way of Dr. Layard, and the explorations were for some time arrested. By judicious management, however, these obstacles were overcome, and it was from the chambers of

this palace that many of the most interesting Bas-reliefs and inscriptions now in the British Museum, were brought. The latter were made the subject of special investigation by Major Rawlinson, in his communications to the Royal Asiatic Society. A brief account was given by him of **Sardanapalus**, the builder of the north-west palace, and the earliest Assyrian king—as far as we yet know—whose inscriptions have come down to us. He was shown by him to be the warlike Sardanapalus, whose tomb was described by Amyntas at the gate of the Assyrian capital, and whom Callisthenes took care to distinguish from the better known voluptuary of historical romance. Portions of the dedicatory inscription, which is repeated above a hundred times upon his palace, were also read and explained. The gods whom he worshipped—Assarac and Beltis, the shining Bar, Ani, and Dagon, were duly enumerated; and he read a special note on the subject of Assarac, the head of the Assyrian Pantheon, showing him to be the same as the Biblical Nisroch, and comparing him with the Chronos of the Greeks. A list was also given of the provinces tributary to Assyria at the period of the building of this palace by Sardanapalus, comprising many districts of Syria and Asia Minor, the country upon the Tigris, Armenia, the lands watered by the two Zabs, and the lower regions, as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf.

After some further observations on the extent and power of Assyria under Sardanapalus, Major Rawlinson proceeded to investigate the annals of Temen-bar II., who had commemorated his wars upon the singularly interesting black obelisk, now in the British Museum, upon the two large bulls in the centre palace of Nimrud, and also upon the sitting figure discovered at Kileh Shergat. The obelisk inscription commences, according to his reading, with an invocation to the Assyrian gods, among whom the following names can be identified with some

certainty:—Assarac, Ani, Nit, Artank, Beltis, Shemir, Bar; and perhaps also Ammun and Horus, Nebe, Tal and Set. Temen-bar then records his genealogy, naming his father, Sardanapalus, and his grandfather, Alti-bar; and afterwards goes on to chronicle his wars, describing the events of each regnal year with great exactness, and at the same time with remarkable simplicity. These wars appear to be directed against all the nations contiguous with Assyria. In Syria Proper the chief antagonists of the king are Hem-ithra and Ar-hulena, the rulers of Atesh (which Major Rawlinson considers to be Hems or Emessa), and Hamath, who appear to have been confederated with the Sheta and the twelve tribes of the upper and lower country. These Sheta (or Khetta, according to the usual orthography at Khorsabad), were, Major Rawlinson observes, undoubtedly the same as the Khita of Egyptian history. They appear to have been a large tribe, holding the entire country between the Syrian desert and the Mediterranean; and he conceives it most probable that the Hittites of Scripture were either an offshoot from, or a fragment of, the same nation. On one occasion, while the king was in this country of Atesh, or Hems, among the tribes of the Sheta, he appears to have received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal. This has been already referred to, and it shows how precise and minute are these elements of ancient history, relating to periods of which not the slightest knowledge has existed for ages.

The expeditions of the king, whether directed against Syria Proper, Asia Minor, or Upper Armenia, are usually prefaced in the inscriptions with the phrase—"I crossed the Euphrates."

In the ninth year of this king's reign, he led an expedition to the southward, to the land of Shinar, or Babylonia, raising altars to the gods in the cities of Shinar and Bersippa, and subsequently pursuing his march as far as

the land of the Chaldees who dwelt upon the sea-coast. On two occasions, in his sixteenth and twenty-fourth years, the king led his armies to the eastward, crossing the lower Zab, and ascending the range of Zagros. He recounts his movements in this direction against the Arians (the Arii of Herodotus), the Persians, the Medes, and the Armenians of Kharkhar. On two other occasions he sent his general, Tetarassar, to wage war upon the same nations, and among the conquests of this chief is found the land of Minni, which was undoubtedly, Major Rawlinson conceives, the country of that name associated by the prophet Jeremiah with Ararat and Askchenaz, in his denunciations against Babylon, and appears to be the province of which Van was the capital, as the local title of the sovereigns recorded at that place very nearly corresponds with the Assyrian orthography of Minnie.

After following the record through the whole series of the thirty-one years of Temen-bar's reign, Major Rawlinson remarks on the epigraphs attached to the figures sculptured on the obelisk. These he explains as describing the tribute brought in from different lands to the Assyrian king. The rare animals, about which so much curiosity has been excited—that is, the two-humped camel, the elephant, the wild bull, the unicorn, the antelope, the monkeys, and the baboons—appear among the tribute of a country named Misr, which there are grounds for supposing may be the same as Egypt, in as much as the sculptures of Khorsabad prove that Misr adjoined Syria, and as a name pronounced in the same manner, though written with a different initial character, is used at Persepolis and Behistun for the Persian Mudráya. The only animals specifically mentioned in the epigraphs are horses and camels, the latter being called, “beasts of the desert with the double back;” and Major Rawlinson remarks, that if Misr should ultimately prove to designate Egypt, it will be necessary to suppose that those animals had

been imported into the country, as curiosities from India.

Major Rawlinson thinks that all the inscriptions of Assyria yet discovered, whether found at Nimroud, Khorsabad, or at Koyunjik, belonged to that line of kings known in history as the dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis. He does not believe that we have hitherto found any memorials of the lower dynasty, or of those kings mentioned in Scripture as contemporary with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; and he added that he almost expected, if such memorials should come to light, Assyria would be found during the period in question, to have been in dependence on the lords paramount of Media.

Since Dr. Layard's valuable work, entitled "Nineveh and its Remains," was published, several very valuable additional sculptures and inscribed slabs have been brought to this country, and presented by him to Sir John Guest, whose seat, Canford Manor, they now adorn in a manner, the interest of which may be estimated from the following description of some of the principal marbles:—

The sculptures consist of ten bas-reliefs, and are of two distinct characters. Five of them are from Birs Nimroud, and in a very perfect state; the other five from Koyunjik are much smaller in size, and have suffered more from the lapse of time. Some of the Canford marbles differ, but in minute particulars, from those engraved in the "Monuments of Nineveh."

One of them is a colossal head with a pointed helmet, which has three clasping horns, and is ornamented with what has been described as a fleur-de-lis. The eardrop is in the form of a Maltese cross.

Another is a Nisroch, or eagle-headed divinity, of colossal size. It is very similar to that given in the "Monuments of Nineveh." The chief points in which the sculpture and the plates differ are these:—The Canford bas-relief has a rosette on both bracelets, and has also armlets

above the elbow, which are not in the plates. These arm lets are formed of a simple band, the ends of which do not unite, but pass beyond each other on the outside of the arm. In the sculpture also there are only two dagger hilts, both of which are plain, whereas in the plates there are three, one of which has an animal's head for the handle. The divinity bears, as usual, one of the square pendant vessels in his hand, already familiar to us from the marbles deposited in the British Museum.

A third consists of two gigantic forms—that of a winged priest and his attendant. The former resembles the Nis-roch, with the exception of the head being human, with stiffly curled beard and hair. His head-dress is formed of the horned cap, and his ear ornamented with a plain drop. He carries the fir-cone in his uplifted right hand, and in his left the square vessel or basket, which is ornamented on its side with a representation of two worshippers on each side of the cone bearing the tree of life. Above this is a winged circle, supposed to be the emblem of the Triune deity.

But the indefatigable explorer is again at the scene of his former most interesting and romantic exploits, and already announces equally remarkable, if not still more valuable discoveries, than any that have yet been made. From time to time news reaches us of the progress of Dr. Layard's labours. By letters, dated from Nimroud, on the 7th January 1850, we learn that he has pursued his researches in the old Nimroud palace, and has cleared an entrance into a chamber wherein he has discovered an extraordinary and most interesting collection of relics, including domestic utensils, personal ornaments, and weapons of war. Among these are specified a remarkable assortment of Assyrian antiquities, including shields, swords, pateræ, bowls, and cauldrons, crowns, and other distinguished features of state decorations, and personal ornaments in mother-of-pearl, ivory, &c. The en-

gravings and embossed decorations on these are described as exceedingly beautiful and elaborate, while their correspondence with the details and mythic representations, on the sculptures already sent home, leave no room to doubt that they are contemporaneous productions. They include hunting scenes, personal encounters with lions, armed warriors on foot and in their chariots, &c. At Koyunjik, Dr. Layard has also successfully begun a series of excavations, and has already uncovered a range of sculptured slabs, singularly interesting from their containing representations, in bas-relief, of the process of building these very palaces and mounds, which now, after the lapse of so many centuries, are being explored and studied by natives of the far north, whose island home, when these sculptures were hewn, and these palaces built, was in all probability a tangled forest, and savage jungle waste, where the wild boar and the wolf alone disputed possession.

CHAPTER V.

THE RECORDS OF ASSYRIA.

The ancient worlds their mysteries yield,
 The Chaldean sages' secrets are unsealed,
 The history of old time, that seem'd undone,
 Proves in the last of days but yet begun;
 And prophecy awaits the child of time,
 To give fresh beauty to its truths sublime.

BROWNE.

THE great interest which attaches to the recent discoveries in Assyria cannot fail to be kept alive by the activity with which the explorers of its ancient remains, both at home and abroad, are pursuing their researches. While

Dr. Layard is labouring, amid his wild Arab hords, to secure the long hidden treasures of Assyrian art, Major Rawlinson continues to attract attention to the study of these new elements of ancient history, by his ingenious and elaborate deductions. The universal interest felt in these inquiries was proved by the audience which assembled at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, to hear the communications of Major Rawlinson on the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. The chair was occupied by His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, and among the auditors were noted the Chevalier Bunsen; Mr. Hallam; Sir R. Murchison; Mr. Hamilton, and other distinguished scholars and men of science.

Many of Major Rawlinson's deductions from the cuneiform inscriptions furnish entirely new elements for filling up the long intervals which have heretofore remained a total blank in early Asiatic history. In the course of his remarks, he explained the process, to which we have already referred, by which the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria have been rendered legible. There are in Persia a vast number of cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, tri-lingual, and tri-literal; that is, composed in three different languages, and expressed by three different alphabets. These languages are Persian, Scythic, and Babylonian, agreeing with the three great lingual families into which the empire of Cyrus and Darius was divided. The Persian inscriptions are comparatively easy, being written in a language closely allied to the Sanscrit; and the alphabet being sufficiently regular. They were accordingly first studied, and by dint of a careful analysis, have been completely deciphered.

The next step was to apply the alphabetical key thus acquired to the Babylonian transcripts. A list of about eighty proper names was soon obtained, of which the approximate pronunciation was known from their Persian

correspondent; and from these names an alphabet was drawn up, giving the value of about one hundred Babylonian characters. A diligent collation of inscriptions has since increased the number of known signs to about one hundred and fifty; and such, Major Rawlinson observed, is the extent of his present acquaintance with the Assyrian and Babylonian writing.

In its nature and structure, the Assyrian alphabet appears to bear undoubted marks of an Egyptian origin. It is partly ideographic, and partly phonetic; and the phonetic portion is partly syllabic, and partly literal. It will be obvious to the reader that, if this inference be confirmed, we must still turn to the hieroglyphic records of Egypt for the world's first history. Major Rawlinson remarked that he could not admit that the phonetic system was entirely syllabic, as had been sometimes stated. There is, no doubt, an extensive syllabarium, and the literal characters, moreover, require a vowel sound, either to precede or follow the consonant; but such vowel sound, in so far as he has yet observed, is rarely uniform; and he prefers, therefore, distinguishing the literal signs, as sonant and complemental, leaving the vowels to be supplied according to the requirements of the language. Non-phonetic signs, he conceives, were used as determinatives, in the same manner, though not to the same extent, as in Egyptian; while the names of the gods were usually represented, either by arbitrary monograms, or, perhaps, by the dominant letter of the name. Some characters, indeed, he remarked, may be used to express a syllable, or the dominant sound in that syllable; while others are employed to represent two entirely dissimilar alphabetical powers, very great confusion and uncertainty prevailing in consequence. He also drew attention to the fact that there appears a very marked poverty of the elemental alphabetical powers; the want of distinction between the hard and the soft pronunciation of the consonants;

the mutation of the liquids and other phonetic powers; not strictly homogeneous; and the extensive employment of homophones: and he endeavoured to illustrate all these obscurities of alphabetic expression, by suggesting that, as the Assyrian system of writing was borrowed from that of Egypt, so each cuneiform sign must have been originally supposed to represent a natural object, and the phonetic power of the sign may have been in some cases the complete name of the object, and in others, the dominant sound in the name, whether initial, medial, or final. Thus minute are the inferences already deduced from the observations made in this early stage of the inquiry.

The reader does not need to be informed that Major Rawlinson's observations are to a great extent independent of, and even prior to, the labours of Dr. Layard. During his long official residence in the neighbourhood of Behistun, he had abundant opportunities of carrying on investigations on the remaining antiquities and inscriptions of Assyria, nor did he overlook the probability of such hid treasures being recoverable, as have since so amply repaid the labours of Dr. Layard. Several very remarkable sculptures were recovered by him in the same way, and have been brought safely home to this country.

But besides these, the Major employed himself in securing fac-similies of cuneiform inscriptions, by a process, the simplicity and utility of which can hardly fail to interest the reader; and may even be applied by him with great effect to similar purposes at home. A piece of stout paper is taken and thoroughly soaked in water until it is quite soft and pulpy. It is then laid on the face of the inscription, or piece of incised sculpture, and pressed into all the lines and crevices by means of a long haired brush, or any similar convenient apparatus. It is generally necessary to add one, two, or even more sheets of paper above the first, after preparing them by a similar process,

and when the whole dries, it furnishes not only an exact reversed fac-simile, as perfectly trustworthy for reference as the original, but, if the paper be impregnated with a strong size, it will even suffice, in many cases, for a mould from which permanent casts may be taken. Under the warm sun of Assyria the process is extremely rapid; but even in our own climate, on a dry and sunny day, the same plan may be made available for taking fac-similes of runic sculptures, incised slabs, or bas-reliefs.

Paper casts of many Babylonian inscriptions, which had been taken in this manner, by Major Rawlinson, were suspended round the walls of the Asiatic Society's Rooms in illustration of his observations; and among them was a cast of the Babylonian translation of the great Behistun inscription—this cast being as valuable, Major Rawlinson remarked, for cuneiform decipherment as was the Rosetta Stone for the interpretation of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. On this point, however, it must be noted that some actual progress had been made by Grotefend and others, in deciphering cuneiform writing prior to the discovery of the Behistun inscription, so that though it may be fully as valuable to the Assyrian student, as the Rosetta Stone proved to Young and Champollion, it does not possess the peculiar interest of the former; nor, indeed, even of the vases of Paris and St. Marc's. From this Behistun document, from a complete copy of the Babylonian inscription at Naksh-i-Rustum, which Major Rawlinson also fortunately secured, and from the many published copies of the tri-lingual tablets, a vocabulary has now been formed of more than two hundred Babylonian words, of which the sounds are known approximately, and the meaning certainly. Furnished with this basis of interpretation, and instructed as to the general grammatical structure of the language, Major Rawlinson has carefully gone through the whole of the materials available to research. He has diligently compared and analyzed the

inscriptions of Assyria, of Babylonia, of Armenia, of Susianna, and of Elymais ; not merely extracting the historical and geographical information of value which such inscriptions contain, but anatomizing the sentences, collating similar phrases wherever they occurred, and submitting the whole mass to a thorough examination, both philological and mechanical.

The labour involved in such a process can only be very partially comprehended by most readers. The result has been that the vocabulary is now increased to about five hundred standard words, and a sufficient knowledge has been obtained of the language to enable Major Rawlinson to interpret the historical inscriptions pretty closely, and to ascertain the general purport of records of various ages and on very diverse subjects. He, however, warned his audience, at the meeting of the Asiatic Society, against running away with the idea that the science of Assyrian decipherment was exhausted, and that nothing now remained to be done but to read the inscriptions and reap the fruits of our knowledge. He observed, that in the alphabetical branch of the subject there is still much to be verified—much, perhaps, to be discovered ; whilst the vocabulary of five hundred words, which is at present the only manual of interpretation, does not contain a tenth part of the vocables used in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. He likewise drew attention to the fact, that “ although fifty years had elapsed since the Rosetta Stone was first discovered, and its value recognised as a partial key to the hieroglyphs, during which period many of the most powerful intellects of modern Europe had devoted themselves to the study of Egyptian ; nevertheless that study, as a distinct branch of philology, has hardly yet passed through its preliminary stage of cultivation.” “ How then,” he justly asked, “ could it be expected that in studying Assyrian, with an alphabet scarcely less difficult, and a language far more so than the Egyptian—with

no Plutarch to dissect the Pantheon, and to supply the names of the gods—no Manetho or Eratosthenes to classify the dynasties, and furnish the means of identifying the kings—how could it be supposed, with all the difficulties that beset, and none of the facilities that assist hieroglyphic students, two or three individuals were to accomplish, in a couple of years, more than all Europe had been able to effect in half a century?"

After an ingenious analysis of the grammatical peculiarities discoverable in the Assyrian language, Major Rawlinson enumerated a list of about thirty of the commonest verbal roots, comparing them with their correspondents in the cognate languages, and remarking that those examples proved the Assyrian and Babylonian languages to be in a more primitive state than any other Semitic tongue open to our research;—in as much as the roots were almost universally free from that subsidiary augment which in Hebrew, Aramæan, and Arabic had caused the trilateral to be usually regarded as the true base, and the bi-literal as the defective one. After citing a number of nouns and adjectives, all closely resembling well-known forms in Hebrew and Arabic; he resumed the historical inquiry, part of which has already been considered in a former chapter. One of the most interesting points commented on by him was the question which has been raised with regard to the identification of the Khorsabad kings, and which is of paramount importance to Assyrian chronology. It has been affirmed that the kings who built the palace of Koyunjik, and the southwest palace at Nimrud, were the Biblical Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; and if this were the case, of course the Khorsabad king, who was the father of the builder of Koyunjik, would be the Shalmaneser, or Sargon of Holy Writ. Major Rawlinson does not pretend to state authoritatively that these identifications are, or are not, true; he contented himself with giving the arguments for and

against, leaving others to draw their own decisions. In favour of the identification of the Khorsabad king with Shalmaneser or Sargon, there was, he remarked, firstly, the title of *Sarghún* attaching to the city as late as the Arab conquest; whilst the city is especially said in the inscriptions to be named after the king who built it. Secondly, the presumed synchronism of the king with Bocchoris, king of Egypt, who was the immediate predecessor of Sabacon, or So, this latter monarch being the party with whom Hoshea, the contemporary of Shalmaneser, formed an alliance. Thirdly, the remarkable accordance of the inscription on the Cyprus Stone in the Royal Museum of Berlin, with Menander's account of the assistance rendered by Shalmaneser to the islanders in their contest with Phœnicia.

With regard to the identification of the Koyunjik king with Sennacherib, Major Rawlinson noticed the reduction of Babylon, and the conquest of Sidon; and showed that the tablet at the Nahr-el Kelb might be very plausibly supposed to record the great expedition against Phœnicia and Egypt, described by Josephus.

In respect to the third king of the line, the most interesting point worth mentioning, is that the two first elements of the name are to be read Assaradon, which is almost the same as the Biblical Esarhadden.

Against the identifications, Major Rawlinson noticed the entire difference of the nomenclature, the ordinary forms of these kings' names on the monuments being, one, Arko-tsená; two, Beladonim-sha; and, three, Assar-adon-assar; and the improbability—if the kings in question were the Biblical line—of such well-known appellations as Shalmanesser and Sennacherib never being employed, the latter name in particular having been preserved by Herodotus and the Chaldee historians, as well as in Scriptures.

He also observed that there are many cuneiform records

of Assyrian kings posterior to the builders of Khorsabad and Koyunjik; and these kings were evidently not less celebrated warriors than their predecessors. If then the Koyunjik line were really Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon, who, it might justly be asked, were the latter monarchs?

Major Rawlinson finds from the inscriptions that the south-west Palace at Nimrud has not been built, as usually supposed, by the son of the builder of Koyunjik; but that it owed its origin to some monarch of an entirely different line, who was so reckless of the ancient Assyrian glories that, in erecting his new edifice, he destroyed the elaborate annals of the builder of Khorsabad engraven on the slabs of the centre palace. This different line, he thinks, must represent the second or lower dynasty of Assyria, in which case it will be necessary to assign all the other monuments to the upper and original line.

He has also noted other circumstances which he conceives to render impossible the identification of the builder of Khorsabad with Shalmaneser, or the builder of Koyunjik with Sennacherib.

We shall examine, however, still further, in the succeeding chapter, the chronological system of Assyrian history which has been already deduced from the partial, and necessarily extremely imperfect study of the newly deciphered annals of nations that perished before the dawn of the Roman power, or the rise of the civilization and arts of Greece.

CHAPTER VI.

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

Time moveth not ! our being 'tis that moves ;
And we, swift gliding down life's rapid stream,
Dream of swift ages, and revolving years,
Ordained to chronicle our passing days.

WHITE.

THE utter oblivion into which the history of the capital and kingdom of Nineveh has fallen, is one of the many singular evidences of the literal fulfilment of prophecy. The earliest profane historians furnish only the most scanty and meager records of some late struggles of this ancient Asiatic kingdom, and we are indebted for the record of its greatest magnificence and grandeur to the same sacred annals of prophecy which foretold its doom and irretrievable overthrow. Dr. Keith remarks :—"The utter and perpetual destruction and desolation of Nineveh were foretold : 'The Lord will make an utter end of the place thereof. Affliction shall not rise up the second time. She is empty, and void, and waste. The Lord will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. How has she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in !' In the second century, Lucian, a native of a city on the banks of the Euphrates,

testified that Nineveh was utterly perished,—that there was no vestige of it remaining,—and that none could tell where once it was situated. This testimony of Lucian, and the lapse of many ages, during which the place was not known where it stood, render it at least somewhat doubtful whether the remains of an ancient city, opposite to Mosul, which have been described as such by travellers, be indeed those of ancient Nineveh. The name, however, was attached to the spot by the inhabitants of the country in the beginning of the seventh century. The battle of Nineveh decided the fate of Chosroes. Its locality is thus described by Gibbon:—‘The Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected: the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared: the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operation of the two armies.’ The great city had become ‘the field’ of Nineveh. An utter ruin had been made of it at once; affliction did not rise up a second time. ‘One thing is sufficiently obvious to the most careless observer,’ says Rich, who was himself a most careful observer, ‘which is, the equality of age of all these vestiges. Whether they belonged to Nineveh or some other city, is another question, and one not so easily determined; but that they are all of the same age and character does not admit of a doubt.’ ‘Pottery, and other Babylonian fragments’—‘fragments of cuneiform inscriptions on stone, similar in every respect to those got at Babylon,’ are found in the mounds that constitute the ruins. In contrasting the then existing great and increasing population, and the accumulating wealth of the proud inhabitants of the mighty Nineveh, with the utter

ruin that awaited it,—the word of God, (before whom all the inhabitants of the earth are as grasshoppers), by Nahum, was—‘Make thyself many as the canker-worm, make thyself many as the locusts. Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: the canker-worm spoileth and fleeth away. Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun riseth, they flee away; and their place is not known where they are,’ or were. Whether these words imply that even the site of Nineveh would in future ages be uncertain or unknown, or as they rather seem to intimate, that every vestige of the palaces of its monarchs, of the greatness of its nobles, and of the wealth of its numerous merchants, would wholly disappear; the truth of the prediction cannot be invalidated under either interpretation. The avowed ignorance respecting Nineveh, and the oblivion which passed over it, for many an age, conjoined with the meagreness of evidence to identify it still, prove that the place was long unknown where it stood, and that even now it can scarcely with certainty be determined. And, if the only spot that bears its name, or that can be said to be the place where it was, be indeed the site of one of the most extensive of cities on which the sun ever shone, and which continued for many centuries to be the capital of Assyria,—the ‘principal mounds,’ few in number, in many places overgrown with grass, ‘resemble the mounds left by intrenchments and fortifications of ancient Roman camps,’ and the appearances of other mounds and ruins, less marked than even these, extending for ten miles, and widely spread, and seeming to be ‘the wreck of former buildings,’ show that Nineveh is left without one monument of royalty, without any token or memorial of its ancient splendour and magnificence; and so entirely are the very vestiges of the city in many places swept away, that of a large space which the plough has passed

over for ages, it is said, 'what part was covered by ancient Nineveh it is nearly now impossible to ascertain.' 'The country,' 'this uneven country,' are epithets descriptive of its supposed site. 'In such a country it is not easy to say what are ruins and what are not; what is art converted by the lapse of ages into a semblance of nature, and what is merely nature broken by the hand of time into ruins approaching in their appearance those of art.' Of the merchants, that were multiplied above the stars of heaven—of the crowned and of the captains of the great Nineveh, it may be said, that they were as the great grasshoppers, which, camping in the hedges in a cold day, flee away on the rising of the sun, and their place is not known where they were. Neither from the low grounds, covered with bushes of tamarisk, where it is not cultivated, nor from the high country completely covered with pebbles, could it be known where the nobles of Nineveh were." Thus comprehensive is the testimony of Volney, an avowed infidel, to the like effect:—"The name of Nineveh, seems to be threatened with the same oblivion which has overtaken its greatness."

The pious author of the *Evidences of Prophecy*, taking his ideas of the disclosures of recent investigations amid the ruins of Assyria, from the first impressions formed on the arrival of the fruits of M. Botta's explorations, at their Parisian destination, concludes that in these exhumed sculptures and inscriptions, we look once more upon the palaces of Nineveh, of which the prophet exclaims, "their place is not known where they are." This however, we have already shown, has been proved by more recent investigations to be an erroneous conclusion. The palaces of Nineveh still lie beneath their heaps, though it is not improbable that from these also may soon be drawn forth evidences of the glory, and the terrible fall of that mighty city, which once experienced so singularly the long-suffering mercy of God.

Leaving, however, for the present the sacred records of the Assyrian metropolis, we return to the valuable chronological system which has already been deduced from Dr. Layard's and Major Rawlinson's recent investigations.

In the valuable communications which the latter laid before successive meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, he showed from Herodotus, and other authorities, the probability of the Assyrian monarchy dating from the commencement of the thirteenth century before the Christian era; and he proposed, accordingly, to place the six kings recorded at Nimrud from about B.C. 1250 to about B.C. 1100. The wars described upon the beautiful inscribed obelisk, now in the British Museum, during which the Assyrian arms certainly penetrated to the confines of Egypt, thus fall in with the latter part of the 20th dynasty, when Egypt was suffering under great depression. A vast number of geographical coincidences seem to corroborate this chronology. An interval of perhaps seventy years appears to have occurred between the grandson of the king, whose deeds are recorded on the obelisk, and the builder of Khorsabad; the reign of the latter is thus placed in about B.C. 1030, at a period when Pe-hur, the fifth king of the 21st dynasty, was reigning in Egypt. The Koyunjik king is believed by Major Rawlinson to be contemporary with Solomon; and his son, Asser-adon-asser, with Reheboam and Sheshonk of Egypt; while he supposes we have yet to identify the monuments of the Assyrian kings, who contracted alliances with the 22nd dynasty of Egypt, as well as those familiar to us from Scripture history.

We thus see that the fields of study and of discovery are both alike only opening upon us, and neither the historian, nor the interpreter of prophecy must be in too great haste to rush to conclusions, which future disclosures may very speedily compel him to abandon. It

need not surprise us if we find the Jews occupying a little share of the Assyrian, as of the Egyptian records. It was no part of the scheme of providence, that his chosen people should rival in splendour, or extent of conquests, the Gentile nations around them. Under Solomon alone did the Hebrew nation rise to a position of worldly power and grandeur, which enabled it to deal on equal terms with Tyre and Egypt. But that glory was short-lived, and proved only a prelude to dismemberment and intestine war. Major Rawlinson conceives that the Jews were always classed by the Assyrians with the Khetta, or Hittites, who were the dominant race in Palestine. He showed in the course of his communications to the Asiatic Society, the probability of Jerusalem being mentioned as a city of the Khetta; and stated that it was even possible the children of Israel might be represented in the earlier inscriptions by the "twelve tribes of the upper and lower country," who were always associated with the Hivites in the notices of the wars of Assyria against Hamath and Atesh. Here, therefore we have a most valuable field of investigation for the students of Assyrian antiquities, in relation to their bearing on the elucidation of Scripture history.

Amongst numerous subjects of great interest, to which the same ingenious Asiatic scholar referred, he particularly drew attention to the various notices of Misr, or Egypt, translating the passages which referred to that country verbatim, and explaining that the city Rá-bek, which was always spoken of as the chief place in the country, was the Biblical *On*, the Greek Heliopolis, the name being formed of *Rá*, the sun, and *bek*, (Coptic *baki*) a city, in the same manner as Baal-bek, or the city of the sun; and here it may be noted that it is questionable, if Bel or Baal, should so much be regarded as the name of a special object of idolatrous worship, as an epithet for gods in general, of the male sex. That this is no new

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5. In addition, it discusses the challenges faced during the data collection process and how they were overcome.

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14. It is a valuable resource for anyone looking to improve their understanding of research methodology and data analysis.

15. The document is a well-organized and easy-to-follow piece that provides a comprehensive overview of the research.

16. The document is a well-written and informative piece that provides a clear and concise overview of the research.

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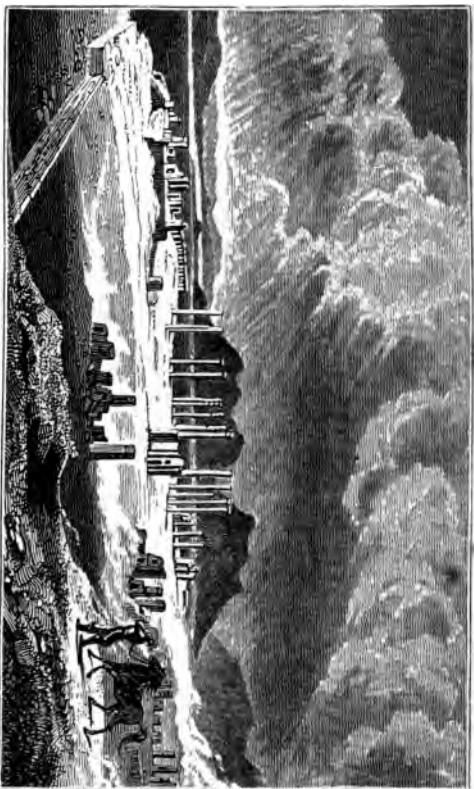
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RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

.dea, is shown by the passage already introduced, at the head of a former chapter, from the *Paradise Lost* :—

“With these came they, who from the bordering flood
Of old Euphrates, to the brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baalim, and Ashtaroth; those male,
These feminine.”

It is manifestly as a term generally applying to idolatry that the prophet Hosea speaks of, Israel's services to Baal, and the days of Baalim. This opinion has been recently revived with much ability, by Mr. Ackerman, a distinguished English archaeologist. It is possible, however, that the term should rather be understood as synonymous with the Latin Jupiter, or chief of the gods, which came, in a certain sense to be very generally applied, as *Jove* still is occasionally in a frivolous or profane sense, as an abstract term for the Deity. On this subject Dr. Layard remarks, in reference to a curious symbol of the Deity of frequent occurrence on the Assyrian sculptures: “This well-known symbol constantly occurs on the walls of Persepolis, and on Persian monuments of the Achæmenian dynasty, as that of the supreme divinity. It is also seen in the bas-reliefs of Pterium, and furnishes additional evidence in support of the Assyrian or Persian origin of those rock-sculptures, and of the Assyrian influence on Asia Minor.

“We may conclude from the prominent position always given to this figure in the Nimroud sculptures, and from its occurrence on Persian monuments as the representation of Ormuzd, that it was also the type of the supreme deity amongst the Assyrians. It will require a more thorough knowledge of the contents of the inscriptions than we at present possess, to determine the name by which the divinity was known. It may be conjectured, however, that it was Baal, or some modification of a name which was that of the great god amongst nearly all na-

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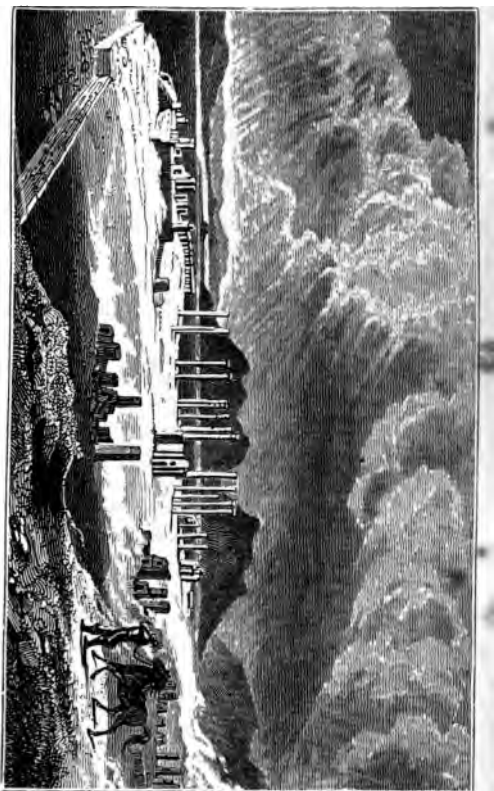
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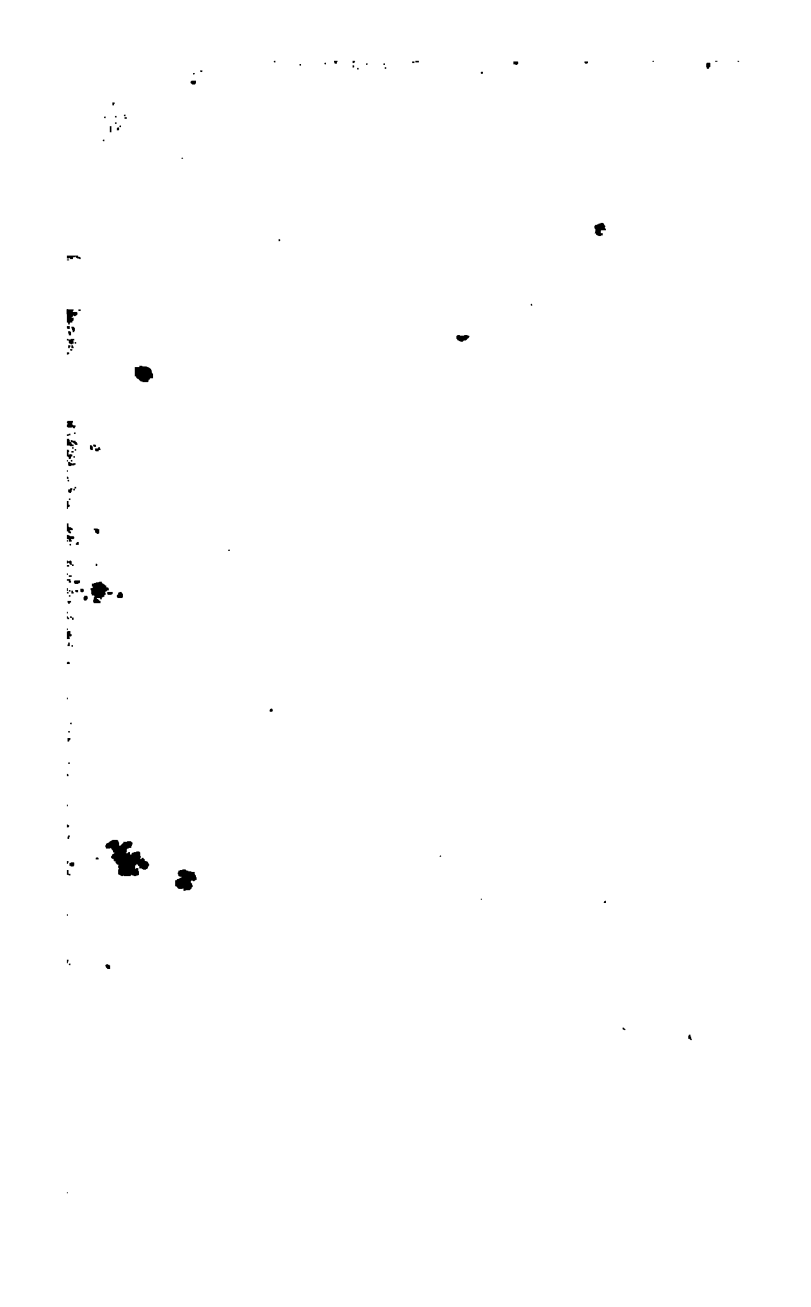
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REINS OF PERSEPOLIS.



tions speaking cognate dialects of the Semitic or Syro-Arabian language. According to a custom existing from time immemorial in the East, the name of the supreme deity was introduced into the names of men. This custom prevailed from the banks of the Tigris to the Phœnician colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules; and we recognise in the Sardanapalus of the Assyrians, and the Hannibal of the Carthaginians, the identity of the origin of the religious system of two nations, as widely distinct in the time of their existence, as in their geographical position. To the Jews the same name was familiar, and was applied very generally to the gods of the surrounding nations. Even under its various orthographical modifications, there can be no difficulty in detecting it.

“From this Baal came the Belus of the Greeks, who was confounded with their own Zeus, or Jupiter. But whether he was really the father of the founder of the empire, or was himself its founder, as some have asserted, and then came to be considered, after the fashion of the Greek theology, its principal deity, there may be good reason to doubt.”

Returning, however, from this digression, Major Rawlinson further remarked, that he thought there were two distinct divisions of Egypt, commonly mentioned at Khorsabad, one *Misr*, (or, perhaps, Mitsur,) which seemed to be lower Egypt, and which was ruled over by Bi-arhu, possibly the Pe-hur of the hieroglyphs: and the other *Misek*, or higher Egypt, governed by a king whose name was written Me-ta, which he thought might possibly, though hardly probably, be a contraction of Menophtha. He suggested that these two divisions may represent the upper and lower country of the hieroglyphs, and that it was in consequence of the great similarity of the names that the Hebrews employed a single dual form, *Misraim*. At any rate, the country of *Misek*, which plays so very conspicuous a part in the annals of Khorsabad, must

have been contiguous to *Misir*, or lower Egypt, for the king Me-ta appears sometimes to have resided in *Rabek*, or Heliopolis; and the two geographical names, moreover, are always associated. It should also be remembered, in connexion with this, that the names Menophtha and Pehur follow each other in the hieroglyphic lists of the 21st dynasty.

The remarkably interesting ivory relics discovered by Dr. Layard at Nineveh, had already furnished evidences of the early intercourse of Assyria with Egypt, and of their familiarity with the phonetic hieroglyphics of Egypt. Dr. Layard remarks, in reference to the ivory inscribed with a royal cartouch, "Important facts in our inquiry may be connected with the assertion of Diodorus, that on the taking of Nineveh by the Medes, under Arbaces, the city was destroyed; or with the usual historical account of the death of Sardanapalus, about 876 or 868 years before Christ.

"The north-west palace, if already in ruins or buried, must have been partly uncovered, perhaps excavated for materials, in the time of the Khorsabad king; because there was in one of the chambers, as I have already mentioned, an inscription commencing with his name, cut above the usual standard inscription. It has every appearance of having been placed there to commemorate the re-opening, discovery, or re-occupation of the building. Moreover, the vases bearing the name of this king, and found in the rubbish above the chambers, must be of the same period. The ivory ornaments I conjecture to be contemporaneous with the vases, and so also most of the small objects found in the edifice. And if this fact be established, we may obtain important chronological data; for if the name in the cartouche could be satisfactorily deciphered, and identified with that of any Egyptian king, or with that of any Assyrian king whose place in history can be determined, we should be able at once to decide

the period of the reign of the Khorsabad king and his successors.

“As the name cannot yet be determined, Mr. Birch, in a memoir read before the Royal Society of Literature, has endeavoured to fix the age of the ivories by ‘their artistic style, by philological peculiarities, and by the political relations between Egypt and Assyria.’ He well observes, that the style is not purely Egyptian, although it shows very close imitation of Egyptian workmanship, and this must strike any one who examines these fragments. The solar disc and plumes surmounting the cartouche, appear to have been first used in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, in the reign of Thothmes III., and are found above the names of kings as late as the Persian occupation of Egypt. The head attire of the king bears some resemblance to that of Amenophis III. at Karnak, and the kheppr, or helmet, also appears at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty; the absence of peaked sandals, and the masses of locks of side hair, may possibly have been the fashion of the twenty-second dynasty.

“As to the evidence afforded by the philological construction, and the employment of certain letters, all the symbols, except one, appear to have been in use from the earliest period in Egypt; the exceptional symbol, the u, was introduced generally in the time of the eighteenth dynasty. Mr. Birch concludes, that the time of the twenty-second dynasty would well suit the cartouche, if stress may be laid upon certain philological peculiarities.

“We have next the evidence of political intercourse between the two countries, as showing at what period it is likely that by trade or otherwise, articles of Egyptian manufacture may have been carried into Assyria, or Egyptian workmen may have sought employment in the Assyrian cities. It has already been shown that from the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty a close intercourse had already commenced,—chiefly, it would ap-

pear, by conquest: as the monuments of that period frequently allude to the subjugation of the countries on the borders of the Euphrates. But it is about the time of the twenty-first dynasty of Tanite kings, that the relations between the two countries seem to have been most fully established, and that more than a common connexion had sprung up between them. Mr. Birch has discovered, and pointed out, the remarkable evidence afforded by the names of male and female members of this and the following dynasty, which are evidently of Semitic, and even of Assyrian, origin. Those of many of the kings of the twenty-second or Bubastite dynasty, are the most remarkable instances. We have Sheshank, his sons Shapud and Osorchon, Nimrot, the son of Osorchon II., Takilutha or Takellothia, Nimrot, the son of Takellothis II., and the names of queens, Lekamat or Reamat, Karmam or Kalmim, daughter of the Prince Nimroud and Tatepor. The two first, Sheshank and Shapud, and the names of the queens, Mr. Birch shows, are not referable to Egyptian roots, but follow the analogy of Assyrian names. Osorchon he identifies with the Assyrian Sargon, Nimrot with Nimrod, and Takilutha with Tiglath; a word which enters into the composition of the name of the Assyrian monarch, Tiglath Pileser.

“It is highly probable, therefore, that at this period, the reign of the twenty-second dynasty, very intimate relations existed between Egypt and the countries to the north-east of it. Solomon had married a daughter of an Egyptian monarch, and Jeroboam fled to the court of king Shishak. The same alliances, therefore, may have been formed between the most powerful monarchs of the time—those of Assyria and Egypt. The two countries appear then to have been at peace, and in friendly communication; for we have no notice in the Bible of wars between the Assyrians and Egyptians at this period, nor does Naharain appear amongst the numerous conquests of

Shishak. As their battle-ground would probably have been some part of Syria, and the troops of one of the two nations would have marched through the Jewish territories, some record of the event would have been preserved by the sacred writers. The monuments of this dynasty do not contain any notice of triumphs and conquest to the east of the Euphrates. During this period of intimate alliance, the Assyrian monarchs may have adopted Egyptian names or prenomens, or may have employed Egyptian artists to record their names and titles in the sacred characters of Egypt. It is even possible that this connexion may account for the appearance of Egyptian names in the lists of Assyrian kings.

“ Thus the evidence afforded by the artistic style of the cartouches, and by their philological peculiarities, as well as by the principal period of political and commercial intercourse between the two people, appears to coincide, and points to the twenty-second dynasty, or 980 B. C., as the most probable period of the ivories. At the same time it must be observed that there is no argument against their being attributed to the eighteenth dynasty.” At best, these speculations must still partake much of conjecture; but we see in them many indications of approximation to the truth, and may confidently anticipate the most valuable results when sufficient time has been allowed to mature these recondite studies, and bring into one consistent whole the results of diverse speculations such as those of Major Rawlinson, Dr. Layard, and Mr. Birch.

Leaving then the consideration of relations of Assyria with Egypt, Major Rawlinson next proceeded to investigate the traces of intercourse with other nations.

In noticing the campaign against Senacte, a city of Phœnicia contiguous to Ashdod, or Azotus, he observed that, after the place was taken, the Assyrian king gave it to Metheti of Athenni; and suggested that, as the city of Senacte was stated in another passage to be in the

hands of the Yavana, or Ionians, this Metheti of Athenni, might possibly be Melanthus of Athens, or, at any rate, some Athenian leader, subsequent to the immigration of the Ionic families, who, being in command of a fleet on the coast of Phœnicia, had rendered assistance to the king of Assyria in bringing the sea-ports under subjection.

He then proceeded to describe all the campaigns of the Assyrian monarch in succession, furnishing much illustration from the ancient and modern geography of the countries between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Upwards of one thousand names of countries, tribes, and cities, occur in these inscriptions, so that, when the records are completely and determinately made out, a most invaluable *tableau* will be furnished of the political geography of Western Asia ten centuries before the Christian era.

Before closing his notice of the Khorsabad inscriptions, he explained some former observations, to which we have already referred in an earlier chapter, in regard to the introduction of a strong Scythic element at this period into the population of Central and Western Asia. He showed that the Sacæ or Scyths, were always named Tsimri, by the Babylonians and Assyrians; and that, under the reign of the Khorsabad king, these Tsimri were to be found in almost every province of the empire constituting, in fact, as it would seem, the militia of the kingdom. Major Rawlinson further observed that he considered the Tsimri, Sacæ, or Scyths, to represent the nomade tribes generally, in contradistinction to the fixed peasantry and without reference to nationality, including, in fact, in their ranks, Celts, Slavonians, and Teutons, as well as all grades of the Tartar family, from the primitive type of the Fin and Magyar, to the later developed Mongolian and Turk; and he added that the Zimri of Jeremiah, associated with the Elamites and Medes, referred in all probability to the same tribes. The prophet says.

“ Then took I the cup at the Lord’s hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me.” Then follows a remarkable enumeration of Judah, Egypt, Edom, Tyre, all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert ; and *all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes.*

Much, as we have already said, remains to be done before we can fully avail ourselves of these important observations and discoveries ; but it cannot but fill the mind of the pious student of Scripture prophecy with the deepest interest, to find the truths of its ancient revelations brought thus to the test of unexpected historical disclosures. He knows well that **THE BOOK OF TRUTH** has nothing to fear in the comparison, while much is to be hoped for from the elucidation of many of its partially understood truths, for the more perfect understanding of which we cannot doubt but that Providence has reserved such important disclosures to our own day, as other discoveries and fulfillments of prophecy are reserved for later ages.

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, on March 7th, 1850, Major Rawlinson exhibited the original rubbings on paper of the celebrated inscriptions of Darius at Behistun, and gave an interesting account of the difficulties he had to overcome in obtaining them, especially the Babylonian inscription, which was situated in what even the mountain-hunters consider to be an inaccessible spot on the rock, but which was reached by the daring of a Tartar boy. This last is an achievement, as he remarked, of the greatest importance for science, inasmuch as the Babylonian inscription alone furnishes the key to the interpretation of the language of the others, and it is now in a condition that threatens its entire destruction within probably not more than two or three years.

Major Rawlinson, in concluding his interesting communications to the Royal Asiatic Society, remarked:—
“ Nations whom we have hitherto viewed through the dim medium of myth or of tradition, now take their definite places in history; but before we can affiliate these nations on any sure ethnographical grounds; before we can trace their progress to civilization, or their relapse into barbarism; before we estimate the social phases through which they have passed; before we can fix their chronology, identify their monarchs, or even individualize each king's career, much patient labour must be encountered, much ingenuity must be exercised, much care must be bestowed on collateral as well as intrinsic evidence, and, above all, instead of the fragmentary materials which are at present alone open to our research, we must have consecutive monumental data, extending at least over the ten centuries which preceded the reign of Cyrus the Great.”

Before leaving the subject of ancient Nineveh, with the inscriptions and monuments of art gathered from the ruins of great cities which once owned it as their capital, or disputed with it the rights and honours of the Assyrian metropolis, we are enabled, by recent communications from the East, to glance at some of the recent labours of Dr. Layard since his return to Nimroud, and to anticipate, in some degree, the important discoveries which will hereafter be rendered available as the elements of ancient history, and the evidences of the complete fulfilment of the prophecies recorded in Holy Writ. The following narrative is derived from a letter sent home by Mr. Stewart Erskine Rolland, late of the 69th Regiment, who is now at Nimroud with Dr. Layard, assisting him in his endeavours to bring to light the hidden antiquarian treasures of Assyria. The enterprising discoverer has to contend with many difficulties, owing to the limited pecuniary resources at his disposal, and to these Mr. Rolland refers, expressing his fears that the French antiquarian

agent recently despatched, with much larger funds (£30,000, it is stated), will materially encroach on the harvest of antiquities which would fall to the lot of the English nation were Dr. Layard possessed of more ample means:—

“The first two or three days at Mossul I spent in examining the excavations at Koyunjik, where fresh slabs are being every day brought to light. Two new colossal bulls and two colossal figures were discovered while I was there, at the entrance of the city gates; and the pavement at the gateway, marked with ruts by chariot wheels, was also uncovered. I left my wife under Mrs. Rassam's care, and accompanied Layard a day's journey to the villages of Baarshekah and Bamyaneh, and to the Mound of Khorsabad. We took greyhounds with us, and had a day's hunting, catching seven antelopes. After our return, Dr. Layard, Charlotte, and I, and our servants, embarked on a raft, and floated down the Tigris in seven hours to this little village of Nimroud, close to the large mound, which was the first excavated, sending our baggage and horses by land. We have since been residing in his house here; it is, in fact, little more than a mud hut; but he has put in glass windows, a table, and some sofas, and made it as comfortable as circumstances will admit. Layard has placed a party of the workmen under my control, and allowed me to dig where I please. I am sinking wells in all directions, and am not without hopes of discovering subterranean chambers, which I am convinced must exist. In one place considerably below the level of any of the hitherto discovered monuments, a brick arch between two walls of brick has been uncovered: it is a puzzle to us all. Another great discovery is an immense stone wall of most solid masonry inside the brick pyramid. The workmen are labouring to force an entrance into it; but their progress is necessarily very slow, not exceeding a foot or two in a day. But the greatest

discovery yet made since the earth was first turned, remains to be told. I will give it you in due order.

“*January 3, 1850.*—On the 28th of December, Layard and I, with our attendants and two or three Arab Sheikhs, started off to pay a visit to the Tai, on the other side of the Zab. We were the first Europeans who had ever visited that country. Three hours' galloping from Nimroud brought us to the banks of the stream, which is as rapid and broad as the Tigris, and nearly as deep, but here, being divided into four branches, is fordable. With some difficulty we swam our horses across it, getting, of course, very wet in the operation. Our visit here has a threefold object,—first, to explore the mound of Abou Sheeta, which appears to contain a buried city; secondly, to make friends between two rival chiefs of the Tai; and, thirdly, to promote a reconciliation between them and their implacable enemies, the Jibours, which will much facilitate Layard's future operations. Our first visit was to the camp of the Hawar, who is considered by all the Arabs, even by those of the great African desert, to be the highest born and noblest among them. He is probably the man of most ancient descent in the world, reckoning his genealogy far above the time of Abraham. He is supported in his pretensions to the chieftainship by the noblest of the tribe, while his rival, Feras, is supported by the Turks and the greater number of the Tai. His brother, the handsomest man I have ever seen, came out to meet us with a hundred horsemen, most of whom had come to our village to plunder the other day. They galloped madly about the plain, brandishing their long spears, shouting their war cry, and escorted us in great state to the camp of the Sheikh, where he stood to receive us. I never saw so noble or dignified a figure; he is eminently handsome, though advanced in years and suffering from ill-health. In stature he is gigantic—six feet four or five, at least, and erect as a pine tree. His

tent was a spacious one, a load for three camels, with the women's tents on the one side and that of the horses on the other, all under the same covering. Mats and cushions were spread on the floor of the tent, on which the Hawar, Layard, and I sat, as did his brother, his uncle, and others of the magnates of the tribe, while the rest stood in a semicircle at the door. A noble hunting-hawk stood on his perch in the centre. We partook of spiced coffee, discussed the business on which we came, and dined in the tent on a capital stew of mutton, pumpkins, rice, and sour milk. After we had partaken, the rest of the tribe made their repast, a certain number sitting down together, each man rising when he was satisfied, and a sort of master of the ceremonies calling out the name of the man who was to succeed him. There was no bustle or indecorum. After dinner they all said their prayers. We had set on our tents, which, by the way, got very wet crossing the river, and we pitched them close to that of the Sheikh. The next day the encampment changed its quarters. I have seldom seen a more picturesque sight. The Sheikh's tent was struck first, and the long procession of laden camels, horsemen, donkeys, and cattle, stretched as far as the eye could reach. I calculated that there were about two thousand persons with their camels, horses, and cattle. We paid our visit to Feras, the rival Sheikh, taking with us the brother of the Hawar. We were well received, though not with the same dignified courtesy. While we were away the workmen had opened a trench, by Layard's direction, to show my wife a certain slab which he had buried; in doing so they uncovered three copper cauldrons of immense size, and some huge dishes of metal. Layard carefully removed the earth from one cauldron, which was partially filled with it, and discovered an immense variety of ivory ornaments, an iron axe-head, and innumerable other articles, which, for the present, I must forbear to mention.

having promised secrecy. Layard removed as many as he could and covered the rest with earth. It is by far the most important discovery that has yet been made. He has placed them under my charge, and given me the direction of the workmen, as he is obliged to go to Mossul to make preparations for the removal of the two finest colossal lions that have yet been discovered, which will, I trust, be on their way to England in a month or two. After that we shall cross the Zab with our tents, encamp there, and pass our time alternately in hunting and digging in the mound. You can have no idea of the difficulties Layard has to contend with, or the energy, talent, perseverance, and shrewdness with which he surmounts them, or the exquisite tact and good humour with which he manages the different people he has to deal with. In the first place he has nothing but conjecture to guide him in his researches; it is literally groping in the dark, and all sorts of buried treasures may lie within his reach, while, from the very small amount of funds placed at his disposal, he is unable to make anything like a proper search, and contents himself with sinking trenches almost at hazard as it were.

*“ January 6.—*Yesterday we removed more than thirty metal vases, bowls, and saucers, most beautifully embossed and engraved, some shields and swords, of which the handles remain alone, the iron blades being decomposed, and a small marble vase. The cups and bowls and other ornaments are of some unknown alloy of metals, but they are all so encrusted with decomposed and crystallized copper, and so fragile that they cannot be handled without great danger, and Dr. Layard is sending them home in the state in which he found them, without attempting to remove the rust. I spent eight hours yesterday scratching them out of the clay with my hands, as the operation was too delicate to allow even a knife to be used. My wife was employed the whole night in packing

them. We may now congratulate the British nation in being possessed of an entirely unique collection, the value of which is inestimable. The ornaments and sculptures on the vases denote a very advanced stage of civilization. Not the least curious of the discoveries are several hundred mother-o'-pearl studs, in form exactly resembling our shirt buttons."

But still more remarkable disclosures are since announced by Dr. Layard himself. Letters have been received from him giving intelligence of new and important discoveries in the Nimroud mound. He has made fresh and extensive excavations in parts of the eminence not yet explored, and the result has been the finding of what is believed to be the throne upon which the Assyrian monarch, some three thousand years ago, sat in state, in the splendid palace whose ruined heaps are now being explored. It is composed of metal and of ivory, the metal being richly wrought and the ivory beautifully carved. It seems that the throne was separated from the state apartments by means of a large curtain, the rings by which it was drawn and undrawn having been preserved. No human remains have come to light, and everything indicates the destruction of the palace by fire. The throne has been partially fused by the heat; but it is thought it can be sufficiently preserved to exhibit to us so remarkable a relic of ancient art and royal pomp.

These can be regarded as only the first fruits of the harvest, and while it must be owned that the British government has more important duties to perform with its revenues than the search for Assyrian sculptures in the mounds of Koyunjik and Nimroud, it will be a just cause of regret, if, after an expedition has been sent out, it should be crippled, or rendered fruitless, from an ill-judged economy.

CHAPTER VII.

JERUSALEM.

In ages past all glorious was the land,
 And lovely were thy borders, Palestine
 The heavens were wont to shed their influence bland
 On all those mountains and those vales of thine,
 But there survives a tinge of glory yet
 O'er all thy pastures and thy heights of green,
 Which, though the lustre of thy day hath set,
 Tells of the joy and splendour that hath been.

NICHOLAS

AROUND the capital of Judah lingers an interest which the associations of no other scene can parallel. Amid the hills and valleys of the ancient land which the seed of Abraham inherited, the perverse and accursed seed of Canaan established their footing almost immediately after the abated flood had restored the world to the human race. The promised inheritors of the favoured land sojourned in Egypt for four hundred years, until the iniquity of the Amorites was full, and they were doomed to be extirpated, like the inhabitants of the plain, whose ranker crime had first ripened them for judgment. There, at the appointed time, entered the wanderers born in the wilderness, through the dried-up bed of the Jordan, into the inheritance of their fathers.

Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Tyre, Carthage, Rome, and other younger cities, claim indeed the world's notice by the large field they occupy, in some respects, in its elder history. Excepting during Solomon's glorious reign, Judah claims no part among the mighty nations of the earth, but she stands apart with a lasting glory, compared

with which all the associations of the "Eternal City" sink into utter insignificance.

The feelings with which we look upon this remarkable land have been expressed somewhat in these terms. Abstracting our thoughts from all the considerations of supernatural agency which are suggested by the inspired narrative, we still feel compelled to acknowledge that the course of events which constitutes the history of ancient Palestine has no parallel in any other part of the world. Fixing our eye on the small district of Judah, we call to mind that, eighteen hundred years ago, there dwelt in that little region a singular people, differing from all the rest of mankind in the very important circumstance of not being idolaters. Looking around upon every other country of the earth at the same era, we discover superstitions of the most hateful and degrading kind darkening all the prospects of man, and corrupting his moral nature in its very source. Some of these nations are seen to be far advanced in many intellectual accomplishments, yet, being unable to shake off the tremendous load of error by which they are pressed down, are equally irregular and capricious in the exercise of their reason and in the application of their affections. Yet this little spot called Palestine is seen to be despised and scorned by those proud kingdoms, whose wise men will not imagine that any speculation or tenet, arising from so ignoble a quarter, ought to have the slightest influence upon their belief, or could in any way affect the general character of their social institutions. But, behold, while we yet muse over this interesting scene, a Teacher springs up among this people, —himself not less contemned by his countrymen than they were by the warlike Romans and the philosophic Greeks,—whose doctrines, notwithstanding, continued to gain ground on every hand, till at last the proud monuments of pagan superstition, consecrated by the worship of a thousand years, and supported by the authority of

the most powerful monarchies in the world, fall one after another, at the teaching of his disciples, and before the prevailing efficacy of the new faith. A little stone becomes a mountain, and fills the whole earth. Judea swells in its dimensions till it covers half of the globe, carrying captivity captive, not by force of arms, but by the progress of opinion and the power of truth. All the nations of Europe in successive ages,—Greek, Roman, Barbarian,—glory in the name of the humble Galilean; armies, greater than those which Babylon, in the pride of her ambition, led forth to conquest, are seen swarming into Asia, with the sole view of ejecting the maintainers of another creed, and getting possession of his supposed sepulchre.

The effects, too, produced on society, exceed all calculation. It is vain that we attempt to compare them to revolutions which have changed for a time the face of nations, or given a new dynasty to ancient empires. The impression made by such events soon passes away. The present condition of the world is not greatly different from what it might have been, though Alexander had never been born, and Julius Cæsar had perished in his cradle. But the occurrences that enter into the history of Palestine possess an influence on human affairs which has no other limits than the existence of the species. The greatest nations upon earth trace their happiness and civilization to the benign principles and lofty sanctions of the faith to which it gave birth. Science, freedom, and security, attend its progress among all conditions of men; raising the low, befriending the unfortunate, giving strength to justice, and breaking the rod of the oppressor.

Nor is the subject of less interest to the pious Christian, who confines his thoughts to the momentous facts which illustrate the early annals of his religion. His affections are bound to Palestine by the strongest associ-

ations; and every portion of its varied territory, its mountains, its lakes,—and even its deserts,—are consecrated in his eyes as the scene of some mighty occurrence. His fancy clothes with qualities almost celestial that holy land,

“ Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nail'd
For our advantage on the bitter cross.”

These momentous associations serve to conceal from us the astonishing history of this most remarkable city, even since old Hebrew rites were brought to a close, and the sceptre finally departed from Judah. Yet what other city in the world can compare with it even in the later vicissitudes of its history; its siege by Titus; its rebuilding by the Romans; the attempted rebuilding of its temple, and the wondrous arrest of the impious attempt. The wars of the Saracens, Crusaders, and Mahomedans; the pilgrimages of medieval superstition, of Hebrew piety, and of Mahometant zeal, have all marked it out as the most remarkable of cities even in those later centuries of the world's history which belong to the Christian era.

The facilities of modern civilization have removed nearly every difficulty which once made pilgrimage to Jerusalem so formidable. Travellers can, in a few weeks, explore the whole of the antiquities of Syria and Palestine, and return to publish the narrative of their travels for the succeeding season's readers. Yet while such facilities have destroyed the novelty and lessened the romance of what was once a sacred pilgrimage, supposed to secure to him who accomplished it eternal rewards, while it gave to him special favour and distinction in the eyes of his less daring or less fortunate contemporaries; yet the destruction of the novelty of a visit to Jerusalem has in no degree impaired the wondrous interest which still clings to the hallowed scenes.

How memorable are the associations which rise to the

mind of the Christian at the very name of Jerusalem. Within its walls David, the psalmist, the sweet singer of Israel, composed the songs still sung in every Christian land. There Solomon built and dedicated that first temple, within whose holy place the Most High condescended to manifest his presence. There Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and nearly all the prophets and mighty men of Old Testament history dwelt, triumphed, or suffered. There, at length, in the fulness of time, the angel of God appeared to the high priest, Zecharias, and announced to him that he should have a son, who should be the forerunner of our Great High Priest, the long-expected Messiah. Within its temple the Holy Child first manifested his divine wisdom, disputing with the doctors. Within its streets his most mighty acts were performed; and in an upper chamber there that solemn sacramental rite was instituted, which Christians of every succeeding age have practised in obedience to his commandment, and in remembrance of his dying love; and, finally, Jerusalem is the city over which Jesus wept, as he exclaimed, "O Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

But not less distinguished in her overthrow than in all other respects is the glorious but doomed city of Zion, in that her destruction was the type and prefigurement of the final close of our world's being, when these elements shall melt with fervent heat. "In patience possess your souls," said Christ, addressing his disciples, and forewarning them of the approaching fulfilment of ancient prophecy, "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of

It depart out: and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh."

All that is here foretold of the Jewish capital literally came to pass, and all that was forewarned of its people is being still accomplished. The time of the Gentiles is not yet fulfilled, and mount Zion, once "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth," is still trodden down of the Gentiles, after nearly eighteen hundred years have passed over its fallen palaces and walls, whose stones are still dear to the outcast Hebrew.

Immortalized by revolutions more various and destructive than have occurred in any other city of the world, Jerusalem claims a sad pre-eminence in suffering, as once she did in glory. Seventeen times has it been sacked and partially destroyed. It has been the field of the most brilliant exploits of the Jewish, Roman, and Saracen armies, and has been moistened by the blood of our ancestors during the romantic ages of the Crusades.

"During the reign of Nero, the Jews having revolted,

the city was invested by Titus, and having desperately sustained the most remarkable siege in history, from the 14th of April to the 2d of September, in the year A. D. 71, it was taken, and, together with the temple, plundered and burnt. The Jews, after having courageously defended the third and second walls, fell back upon the fortress Antonia which commanded the temple. Torn into factions among themselves, they fought madly against each other, whilst the Romans burned and laid waste the outer and lower cities of Bezetha and Acra; but Titus, after great labour, having brought the war-engines to bear upon this fortress, the Jews were ultimately driven back upon the temple itself. The principal tower having fallen, the northern portico of the temple was left defenceless. Titus, commanding in person, was anxious to save it, but, on the seventh day after the Romans had taken possession of Antonia, the outer portico having caught fire, the temple itself, together with the magnificent porticos by which it was surrounded, was totally destroyed. Being the Feast of the Passover, the city was crowded with people, and Josephus, who was present, relates that six hundred thousand perished of famine, one million by the sword, and ninety-seven thousand were sent away prisoners. The young, with the women, were sold for slaves, and thirty might be bought for a piece of silver."

One of our most eminent painters, Mr. David Roberts, has recently chosen the scene of the conflagration of Jerusalem as the subject of a large and most magnificent picture. The Roman legions encompass the doomed city; and already the overwhelming conflagration rages within its walls, lurid clouds overhang the temple and palaces of Zion, and the spectator seems, as he gazes on the advancing flames, to hear, as for the last time, the touching words: "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark well her bulwarks, consider her palaces." Few more interest-

ing or remarkable pictures have been produced by a living artist.

Dr. Keith, in pointing out the exact fulfilment of every tittle of ancient prophecy in this awful overthrow, after referring to the horrors of the famished wretches within the walls—too horrible to read—thus depicts this final scene:—"Sixty thousand Roman soldiers unremittingly besieged them; they encompassed Jerusalem with a wall, and hemmed them in on every side; they brought down their high and fenced walls to the ground; they slaughtered the slaughterers, they spared not the people; they burned the temple in defiance of the commands, the threats, and the resistance of their general. With it the last hope of all the Jews was extinguished. They raised, at the sight, an universal but an expiring cry of sorrow and despair. Ten thousand were there slain, and six thousand victims were enveloped in its blaze. The whole city, full of the famished dying, and of the murdered dead, presented no picture but that of despair, no scene but of horror. The aqueducts and the city sewers were crowded as the last refuge of the hopeless. Two thousand were found dead there, and many were dragged from thence and slain. The Roman soldiers put all indiscriminately to death, and ceased not till they became faint and weary and overpowered with the work of destruction. But they only sheathed the sword to light the torch. They set fire to the city in various places. The flames spread everywhere, and were checked but for a moment by the red streamlets in every street. Jerusalem became heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest. Within the circuit of a few miles, in the space of five months,—foes and famine, pillage and pestilence, within,—a triple wall around, and besieged every moment from without,—eleven hundred thousand human beings perished, though the tale of each of them was a tragedy. Was there ever so concentrated a mass of misery? Could

any prophecy be more faithfully and awfully fulfilled? The prospect of his own crucifixion, when Jesus was on his way to Calvary, was not more clearly before him, and seemed to affect him less, than the fate of Jerusalem. How full of tenderness, and fraught with truth, was the sympathetic response of the condoling sufferer to the wailings and lamentations of the women who followed him, when he turned unto them and beheld the city, which some of them might yet see wrapt in flames and drenched in blood, and said, 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in which they will say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.' "

Babylon, Nineveh, and the mighty cities of Assyria, are all buried under their heaps, but Jerusalem lives on, reserved for other and brighter days. She, too, it may be, holds buried treasures that shall yet be disinterred, to add new evidence to all that has been already yielded, though "Titus commanded the whole city and temple to be razed from the foundation. The soldiers were not then disobedient to their general. Avarice combined with duty and with resentment: the altar, the temple, the walls, and the city, were overthrown from the base, in search of the treasures which the Jews, beset on every hand by plunderers, had concealed and buried during the siege. Three towers and the remnant of a wall alone stood, the monument and memorial of Jerusalem; and the city was afterwards ploughed over by Terentius Rufus."

The Roman ploughshare tore up the very foundations of the temple, leaving no longer one stone upon another, and the triumphal arch of Titus, erected at Rome in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem, still stands in evidence of the captured spoils of the last temple, wherein the desire of all nations had appeared, making

the glory of the latter house greater than the former. Sculptured on this memorial of the triumph of Titus, are still seen the Roman soldiers, bearing on their shoulders the seven-branched candlestick, and the holy vessels of the temple. Yet much may, and indeed must, have escaped the search of the Roman treasure-seekers, for Jerusalem was made heaps, even as Babylon and Nineveh.

Rome, a younger city than Palestine's ancient capital, bears abundant evidence of the changes wrought on a city set upon hills in the lapse of ages, the ancient remains which now exist, have mostly been dug out far beneath the ruins of her modern dwellings; and even since the expulsion of the present pope from the Roman capital, and its occupation by the soldiers of France, some very remarkable discoveries have been made. But great as the vicissitudes have been to which Rome has been exposed at different periods, they can never stand comparison with those of Jerusalem. The Romans, the Saracens, the Christian Crusaders, and the Turks, have each rebuilt a city of their own on the ancient site, in heedlessness or wilful contempt of all the work of their predecessors; and it, amid the vicissitudes of Roman history such a total change has taken place on the topography of the seven-hilled city, how vain must it be to imagine that the modern Turkish capital of Syria retains unaltered, after a lapse of eighteen centuries, features which characterized it in the days of the Redeemer.

But a complete confirmation of these observations has recently been recorded. Amid the earnest and increasing interest felt in the ancient land of Palestine, the chosen people to whom it belonged of old have not been forgotten by the Christians of Britain. Missionaries have of late years returned to Jerusalem, bearing the message of glad tidings which once went forth from thence to the Gentiles; and during the visit of Mr. Bonar and Mr. M'Cheyne, two clergymen of the Church of Scotland, sent

to Jerusalem on a mission of inquiry in 1839, one of the novelties which struck them in that strange city, was rows of camels following one another, carrying stones into the town from a quarry a few miles to the north of Jerusalem, and designed for materials wherewith to build a Hebrew Christian church. In a letter of Mr. Nicolayson, the English missionary to the Jews of Palestine, published in the Jewish Intelligence for April 1840, he describes the protracted excavations made in digging for a foundation for the new church. They laid bare heap after heap of the debris of ancient buildings, and it was not till they had dug upwards of fifty feet under the modern surface of Jerusalem that they reached the ancient foundations on which the city of Judah was built. The Rev. Mr. Bonar, who was there while these excavations were in progress, remarks: "In seeking a solid foundation they had dug down about forty feet, and had not yet come to rock. They laid bare heap after heap of rubbish and ancient stones. It is a remarkable fact, which cannot but strike the traveller, that not only on mount Zion, but in many parts of the city, the modern town is really built on the rubbish of the old. The heaps of ancient Jerusalem are still remaining; indurated masses of stones and rubbish forty and fifty feet deep in many places. Truly the prophets spoke with a divine accuracy when they said, 'Jerusalem shall become heaps.' 'I will make Jerusalem heaps.' And if so, shall not the future restoration foretold by the same lips be equally literal and full? 'The city shall be builded upon her own heap.' The fact that these heaps of ruins are of so great depth, suggested to us a literal interpretation of the words of Jeremiah, 'Her gates are sunk into the ground.' The ancient gates mentioned by Nehemiah are no longer to be found, and it is quite possible that several of them may be literally buried below the feet of the inquiring traveller."

Who shall say what interesting memorials may yet be brought to light from beneath the foundations of modern Jerusalem? A lively sympathy is experienced by every intelligent mind in the researches of Dr. Layard and Major Rawlinson among buried palaces and temples of Assyria, but how would the heart thrill with emotions of deepest interest and high anticipation, if it were possible to conduct such researches on the site of the Temple, or amid the vast accumulations of debris that now fill up the ancient valleys once intervening between the heights on which Jerusalem stood! But even now, the intelligent traveller can discover remains which appear undoubtedly to belong to the city, against which Titus led the avenging legions of Rome. Dr. Robinson, the distinguished American traveller, furnishes in his "Biblical Researches in Palestine," a most interesting and minute account of the topography of Jerusalem and its environs, comparing and contrasting them with the features of the ancient city, as described by Josephus. He thus describes the result of his investigation of the walls of the modern city adjoining the site of the Great Mosque, which has always been held, both by Jew and Gentile, to occupy the site of Solomon's Temple:—"The lower part of this wall in several places is composed of very large hewn stones, which at once strike the eye of the beholder as ancient; as being at least as old as the time of Herod, if not of Solomon. The upper part of the wall is every where obviously modern; as is the whole wall in many places. The Golden Gate, which once led out from the area of the mosque upon this side, is now walled up. Near the north-east corner of this area, towards St. Stephen's Gate, we measured one of the large stones in the wall, and found it twenty-four feet long, by six feet broad and three feet high. Just north of the same gate is a small tank or reservoir on the outside; and within the gate, on the left hand, is the very large and deep reservoir, to which the name of Bethesda is commonly

given, though probably without good reason. It is entirely dry; and large trees grow at the bottom, the tops of which do not reach the level of the street. North of this, a little to the right of the street, is the dilapidated church of St. Anne, over the grotto which is shown as the birthplace of the Virgin. The church has pointed arches; and was obviously the work of the crusaders. We now returned home along the *Via Dolorosa*, in which monkish tradition has brought together the scenes of all the events, historical or legendary, connected with the crucifixion. Along this way, they say, our Saviour bore his cross. Here one may see, if he pleases, the place where the Saviour, fainting under his burden, leaned against the wall of a house; and the impression of his shoulder remains unto this day. Near by are also pointed out the houses of the rich man and Lazarus in the parable. To judge from present appearances, the beggar was quite as well lodged as his opulent neighbour. But enough of these absurdities!"

It is not, indeed, from the monkish traditions, attaching spurious and childish associations to its localities, that the intelligent mind is likely to derive pleasure or interest from a visit to Jerusalem. These are rather felt to be like the hackneyed and foolish tales of some ignorant cicerone, which mar the pleasure with which we gaze on an ancient palace, or tread the dim aisles of a venerable cathedral. But when we know not only that the ground is the site of the ancient city, in which our Saviour's mighty mission was accomplished, but can discover that it still retains, from amid the wrecks of its former grandeur, relics of that very Jerusalem over which he wept, we feel that scarce another spot on earth can have the same power over the thoughtful mind. Resuming the subject in a subsequent portion of his interesting Researches, Dr. Robinson remarks:—"Allusion has already been made to the immense size of the stones, which com-

pose in part the external walls of the enclosure of the mosque. The upper part of these walls is obviously of modern origin; but to the most casual observer it cannot be less obvious, that these huge blocks which appear only in portions of the lower part, are to be referred to an earlier date. The appearance of the walls in almost every part seems to indicate that they have been built upon ancient foundations; as if an ancient and far more massive wall had been thrown down, and in later times a new one erected upon its remains. Hence the line between these lower antique portions and the modern ones above them is very irregular, though it is also very distinct. The former, in some parts, are much higher than in others; and occasionally the breaches in them are filled out with later patchwork. Sometimes, too, the whole wall is modern. It is not, however, the great size of these stones alone which arrests the attention of the beholder, but the manner in which they are hewn gives them also a peculiar character. In common parlance they are said to be *bevelled*; which here means, that after the whole face has first been hewn and squared, a narrow strip along the edges is cut down a quarter or half an inch lower than the rest of the surface. When these bevelled stones are laid up in a wall, the face of it of course exhibits lines or grooves formed by these depressed edges at their junction, marking more distinctly the elevation of the different courses, as well as the length of the stones of which they are composed. The face of the wall has then the appearance of many panels. The smaller stones in other parts of the walls are frequently bevelled in like manner; except that in these, only the bevel or strip along the edge is cut smooth, while the remainder of the surface is merely broken off or rough-hewn. In the upper parts of the wall, which are obviously the most modern, the stones are small and are not bevelled. At the first view of these walls, I was led to the persuasion, that the lower portions

had belonged to the ancient temple; and every subsequent visit only served to strengthen this conviction. The size of the stones and the heterogeneous character of the walls, render it a matter beyond all doubt, that the former were never laid in their present places by the Mahometans; and the peculiar form in which they are hewn does not properly belong, so far as I know, either to Saracenic or to Roman architecture. Indeed, every thing seems to point to a Jewish origin; and a discovery which we made in the course of our examination reduces this hypothesis to an absolute certainty.

“During our first visit to the south-west corner of the area of the mosque occupying the site of the temple, we observed several of the large stones jutting out from the western wall, which at first sight seemed to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake. We paid little regard to this at the moment, our attention being engrossed by other objects; but on mentioning the fact not long after in a circle of our friends, we found that they also had noticed it; and the remark was incidentally dropped, that the stones had the appearance of having once belonged to a large arch. At this remark a train of thought flashed upon my mind, which I hardly dared to follow out, until I had again repaired to the spot, in order to satisfy myself with my own eyes, as to the truth or falsehood of the suggestion. I found it even so! The courses of these immense stones, which seemed at first to have sprung out from their places in the wall in consequence of some enormous violence, occupy nevertheless their original position; their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this western wall in a direction towards Mount Zion, across the Valley of the Tyropœon. This arch could only have belonged to **THE BRIDGE**, which, according to Josephus, led from this

part of the temple to the Xystus on Zion; and it proves incontestibly the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs. The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken. Its southern side is thirty-nine English feet distant from the south-west corner of the area, and the arch itself measures fifty-one feet along the wall. *Three* courses of its stones still remain; of which one is five feet four inches thick, and the others not much less. One of the stones is twenty feet six inches long; another twenty-four feet six inches; and the rest in like proportion. The part of the curve or arc which remains is of course but a fragment; but of this fragment the chord measures twelve feet six inches; the sine eleven feet ten inches; and the cosine three feet ten inches. The distance from this point across the valley to the precipitous natural rock of Zion, we measured as exactly as the intervening field of prickly pear would permit, and found it to be 350 feet, or about 116 yards. This gives the proximate length of the ancient bridge. We sought carefully along the brow of Zion for traces of its western termination, but without success. That quarter is now covered with mean houses and filth; and an examination can be carried on only in the midst of disgusting sights and smells. The existence of these remains of the ancient bridge seems to remove all doubt as to the identity of this part of the enclosure of the mosque with that of the ancient temple. How they can have remained for so many ages unseen or unnoticed by any writer or traveller, is a problem which I would not undertake fully to solve. One cause has probably been the general oblivion, or want of knowledge, that any such bridge ever existed. It is mentioned by no writer but Josephus; and even by him only incidentally, though in five different places. The bridge was doubtless broken down in the general destruction of the city; and was in later ages forgotten by the Christian population, among whom the writings of Josephus were

little known. For a like reason, we may suppose its remains to have escaped the notice of the crusaders and the pilgrims of the following centuries. Another cause which has operated in the case of later travellers, is probably the fact, that the spot is approached only through narrow and crooked lanes, in a part of the city whither their monastic guides did not care to accompany them; and which they themselves could not well, nor perhaps safely, explore alone."

Dr. Robinson conceives that some of these remains of Jewish antiquity not only belong to the period of our Saviour's earthly pilgrimage, but that they are not improbably the work of Solomon,—the massive walls, "immoveable for all time," which the Jewish king built as the foundations, on which the stones of the temple were laid.

The modern Jew, who still clings, as his fathers did, to the stones and to the very dust of Jerusalem, have long regarded this portion of the walls as specially associated with its ancient glory. The Rev. Mr. Bonar, the Scottish missionary, who visited Palestine subsequently to the researches of Dr. Robinson, thus describes a scene which he witnessed, when proceeding to examine these ancient remains, on which the speculations of the intelligent American traveller have conferred such lively interest:—
"Towards evening, we visited that part of the old temple wall to which the Jews are allowed to go that they may pray and weep over the glory that is departed. It is a part of the western enclosure of the Haram, and the access to it is by narrow and lonely streets. The Jew who was our guide, on approaching the massy stones, took off his shoes and kissed the wall. Every Friday evening, when the Jewish Sabbath begins, some Jews may be found here deeply engaged in prayer; for they believe that prayer still goes up with most acceptance before God, when breathed through the crevices of that building of which Jehovah said, 'Mine eyes and my heart shall be there

perpetually.' This custom they have maintained for centuries, realizing the prophetic words of Jeremiah, 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.' We counted ten courses of those massy stones one above another. One of them measured fifteen feet long by three broad; another was eight feet square; others farther south were twenty-four feet long. They are bevelled like the immense stones of the mosque at Hebron, and are of a very white limestone resembling marble. Some of them are worn smooth with the tears and kisses of the men of Israel. Above the large stones the wall is built up with others smaller and more irregular, and is evidently of a modern date, affording a complete contrast to the ancient building below. Later in the evening, Mr. M'Cheyne went to visit the same spot, guided by Mr. George Dalton. On the way, they passed the houses where the lepers live all together, to the east of the Zion Gate within the walls. A little farther on, the heaps of rubbish on Mount Zion, surmounted by prickly pear, were so great, that at one point they stood higher than the city wall. The view of Mount Olivet from this point is very beautiful. The dome of the mosque El Aksa appeared to be torn and decayed in some places, and even that of the Mosque of Omar seemed far from being splendid. Going along by the ancient valley of the Tyropœon, and passing the gate called by the monks the Dung Gate, now shut up, Mr. Dalton pointed out in the wall of the Haram, near the south-west corner, the singular traces of an ancient arch, which Professor Robinson had discovered to be the remains of the bridge from the temple to Mount Zion, mentioned frequently by Josephus, and remarkable as a work of the highest antiquity. The stones in the temple wall that form the spring of this ancient bridge are of enormous size. This interesting discovery goes to prove

that the large bevelled stones, which form the foundation of the present enclosure of the Haram in so many parts, are really the work of Jewish hands, and the remains of the outer wall of the temple of Solomon. Neither is this conclusion in the least contradictory to the prophecy of our Lord. 'There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down,' for these dreadful words were spoken in reference to the temple itself, which was 'adorned with goodly stones and gifts;' and they have been fearfully fulfilled to the very letter, for the Mosque of Omar, entirely a Moslem building, stands upon the rock of Moriah, probably on the very spot where the temple stood. The Jewish place of wailing is a little to the north of this ancient bridge. Here they found a young Jew sitting on the ground. His turban, of a greyish colour peculiar to the Jews here, shaded a pale and thoughtful countenance. His prayer-book was open before him, and he seemed deeply engaged. Mr. Dalton acting as interpreter, he was asked what it was he was reading. He showed the book, and it happened to be the 22d Psalm. Struck by this providence, Mr. M'Cheyne read aloud till he came to the 16th verse, 'They pierced my hands and my feet;' and then asked, 'Of whom speaketh the prophet this?' The Jew answered, 'Of David and all his afflictions.' 'But David's hands and feet were not pierced!' The Jew shook his head. The true interpretation was then pointed out to him, that David was a prophet, and wrote these things of Immanuel, who died for the remission of the sins of many. He made the sign with the lip which Easterns make to show that they despise what you are saying. 'Well, then, do you know the way of forgiveness of which David speaks in the 32d Psalm?' The Jew shook his head again. For here is the grand error of the Jewish mind, 'The way of peace they have not known.' "

Such then is the modern Jew, and the desolate city to

which he still clings with such blind yet heart-felt sorrow. What it shall be, who shall say? The restoration of Judah to her own land appears to be most distinctly foretold in the same sacred page, where we read the records of prophecy which have been so wondrously fulfilled in the doom of Jerusalem. The time to favour Zion shall yet come. The city of David shall resume her ancient glory, and Palestine once more be a land flowing with milk and honey.

“ O happy once in Heaven's peculiar love,
 Delight of men below, and saints above!
 Though, Salem, now the spoiler's ruffian hand
 Has loosed his hell-hounds o'er thy wasted land;
 Though weak, and whelm'd beneath the storms of fate,
 Thy house is left unto thee desolate;
 Yet shalt thou rise;—but not by war restored,
 Not built in murder,—planted by the sword:
 Yea, Salem, thou shalt rise: thy Father's aid
 Shall heal the wound his chastening hand has made;
 Shall judge the proud oppressor's ruthless sway
 And burst his bonds, and cast his cords away
 Then on your tops shall deathless verdure spring—
 Break forth, ye mountains, and ye valleys, sing!
 No more your thirsty rocks shall frown forlorn,
 The unbeliever's jest, the heathen's scorn;
 The sultry sands shall ten-fold harvests yield,
 And a new Eden deck the thorny field.
 Even now, perchance, wide waving o'er the land,
 That mighty angel lifts his golden wand,
 Courts the bright vision of descending power,
 Tells every gate, and measures every tower;
 And chides the tardy seals that yet detain
 The Lion, Judah, from his destined reign.”

It is painful to think that the oppression and unjust exactions of Mohammedan tyranny are even now the chief impediment to the restoration of the once favoured land, as a scene of happiness and plenty. Yet situated as Jerusalem is upon the summit of the lofty table land, which slopes thence, with successive intervening ranges of hills, towards the coast, it is obviously more adapted for the capital of a peculiar and isolated people like the ancient



ENTRANCE TO PETRA.

Hebrew commonwealth, than as the centre of great commercial traffic, for which the enterprise of the modern Jew seems so peculiarly adapted. The site of Jerusalem was evidently divinely chosen, with a view to the peculiar constitution of the Hebrew polity. Had it been situated on the coast of the Levant it would have become a great maritime city under Solomon, when the fleets of Tyre brought the wealth of the world to enrich the temple and the palace which he built. It would have been alike exposed to greater temptations in peace and to greater dangers in war. If Israel is to be restored as a temporal kingdom, and to retain, as she doubtless will, the ancient city of David as her capital, this circumstance alone will exercise a considerable influence in modifying the national characteristics of the restored race. How marvellous would it be to see Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, all yielding up their thousands of despised wanderers and outcasts, to return in triumph and re-possess the promised land!

CHAPTER VIII.

RUINS OF PETRA.

Rough as the hand of Esau is the site
 Of Edom's capital, yet fair her towers,
 Though strange, as is the glance of eastern maid's
 Unsunned perfections, garnered jealously
 Within the harem's ward,—apt simile
 For that strange valley, with its rock-hewn piles.

ANON.

THE ruins of Petra, the rock-built city, the capital of Idumea or Edom, differ entirely from those of any ancient capital we have yet noted, and stand unique among the



ENTRANCE TO PETRA.

TABLE

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ENTRANCE TO PETRA.

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remarkable ruins of the old world. This celebrated city is believed to have been founded by the descendants of Esau, who settled among the mountains of Seir. Petra was very advantageously situated for commanding a large share of the commercial wealth which continually circulated between Syria and the trading cities on the Red Sea. We learn from sacred history that the Edomites were a powerful people fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, and even the wealth of Babylonia contributed to her splendour, by means of the laden caravans which passed and repassed, by the way of the Desert, to its capital. Saul conquered Edom, and compelled Petra to become tributary to the Jews. It recovered its liberty, but was again subjected to Hebrew supremacy, the seed of Esau, the elder, being thereby made to serve the descendants of Jacob, and with the rest of the Jewish kingdom it was at length subjected to the Roman sway. After the time of Hadrian, no further traces of the name of Petra can be discovered in ancient historians. The once magnificent capital of Edom, on which the Roman arts had engrafted new beauties, appears to have gradually sunk into insignificance and obscurity. The destruction of the Assyrian empire, the degradation of Egypt, and the desolation of Palestine, would all contribute to its ruin. Utterly abandoned in its strange "cleft in the rock," history preserves no further record of its fate; and it would now be vain to inquire at what time the last of its inhabitants forsook it, and left its palaces for dens to the wild beasts of the desert. From the third century, when Origen refers to Idumea as a country that had ceased to exist, to the year 1812, when the indefatigable English traveller, Burckhardt, rediscovered it, it had remained unvisited, save perchance by some wandering Arab, for fully fourteen hundred years.

Michell has pictured the remarkable aspects which its strange vestiges still present, in his "Ruins of Many

Lands." Hewn as its dwellings, temples, and tombs are, out of the living rock, Time's effacing fingers have left but slight traces of the long centuries in which it has been abandoned to his will, when compared with the ravages wrought on more fragile structures of human builders. Pillars have fallen, and yet the friezes they seemed to support remain ; cornices have given way, while the superincumbent pediments and entablatures stand. All seems a strange and wonderful contradiction of the ordinary characteristics of human art. "On leaving the ravine, Petra bursts on the traveller in all its desolate beauty. Its site forms a natural amphitheatre, about two miles and a half in circumference, a few openings appearing here and there between the lofty hills. Some of the buildings, or rather excavations, exhibit a freshness of hue, and a delicacy of ornament, which nothing but a very dry climate, and their protected situation, could have succeeded in preserving. 'The sides of the mountains,' says Irby, 'covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented the most singular scene we ever beheld.'"

It is thus Michell pictures the first prospect of this wonderful relic of ancient grandeur :—

"The dell is passed ; the moonbeams, soft and white,
 Pour on the scene—now forward cast thy sight ;
 Sudden and strange, as 'twere enchanted ground,
 A fair and spacious area spreads around :
 Pillar and arch, defying Time's rude shock,
 Gleam on each side, upstarting from the rock :
 The ancient way shows polished pavements yet,
 Where Pleasure tripped, and Traffic's children met,
 But ah ! no more, to merry pipe and song,
 Through those ravines shall wind the vintage throng,
 Or caravans bring store that Commerce loves,
 From Ind's gemmed hills, and Saba's spice groves.
 Down by yon stream unnumbered dwellings trace,
 Each hollowed from the mountain's marble face,
 Halls, and long corridors, and banquet-rooms,
 Where music rang, and maidens swung perfumes ;

For slave and lord alike one impulse felt
 True sons of Esau, still in rocks they dwell.
 See yonder shrine, with frieze and moulding rich,
 And finely carved each pedestal and niche,
 Long pillared rows where Attic taste is shown,
 Cornice on high,—all cut from living stone!
 So fresh, so pure, the gazer well might say,
 Nor twenty ages since!—'twas built to-day!
 Turn, too—for Rome has left her impress here,
 Gorgeous in art, though not, like Greece, severe—
 See, round and round, theatric benches sweep,
 For Edom's children once could smile and weep;
 On yon broad stage where brambles flourish now,
 The actor trud, with strangely vizored brow,
 Or, thrilling listeners' ears with notes of fire,
 Burst the full chorus forth and swelled the lyre.
 Now the brown fox across those benches springs,
 To Beauty's marble seat the blind worm clings:
 Hark! 'tis my step that sounds too loudly rude,
 The rill's small voice disturbs this solitude.
 High o'er my head ascends a spiral stair,
 Across yon cleft a bridge seems hung in air;
 While, mingling life with death, a thousand caves
 Yawn far and near, the ancient dwellers' graves;
 Some proud inscriptions bear, some fretted towers,
 And others flame-crowned urns, and sculptured flowers.
 O'er all, the hills still lift their brows to heav'n,
 Like giant guards by jealous nature giv'n,
 The peaks their spears, the clouds their flags unfurl'd,
 To shut this rock-built city from the world."

The ruins of Petra are situated in the Wady Musa, two day's journey from the Dead Sea, as strange a monument of fallen grandeur as the world has to show. In the reign of Augustus it was a large and flourishing town, where the great caravans bearing the merchandise of nearly every quarter of the known world left some portion of their wealth at this principal halting-place, or exchanged there the products of the east and west. Many Romans took up their abode there after its incorporation into the vast empire which was gradually absorbing the world into one dominion, before its dismemberment should again cast old kingdoms loose, as elements free for new combination.

Such was its grandeur in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, that he conferred on it his own name, and the last mention of it in history is under its new epithet of Hadriane (*Αδριάνη*.)

Passing through the gorge of a narrow valley, formed by the channel of a small rivulet, which still winds among the rocks, the traveller rides along a narrow defile extending nearly two miles in length, and frequently between rocks approaching so near to one another, as only to leave room for the passage of two horsemen abreast. Yet through this gorge must the long caravans of eastern merchants have wound their way, bearing the wealth of other nations to be exchanged or sold in the strange rock-hewn city of Edom. On each side of the narrow valley numerous tombs are seen cut out of the rock, at various heights. As the traveller approaches nearer the city, these become more frequent on both sides, till at length he passes through a continued street of tombs. Nearly at the termination of this singular approach, stands the remains of a magnificent temple entirely hewn out of the solid rock, "the minutest embellishments of which, wherever the hand of man has not purposely effaced them, are so perfect, that it may be doubted whether any work of the ancients, excepting perhaps some on the banks of the Nile, have come down to our time so little injured by the lapse of ages. There is in fact scarcely a building of forty years' standing in England so well preserved in the greater part of its architectural decorations."

The prophecies relating to Idumea and its capital are not less remarkable in their character and literal fulfilment, than those which denounced doom on older empires of Asia, or on the favoured city of the chosen seed of Jacob. "I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him. If grape-gatherers come to thee, would they not leave some gleanings? If thieves by night, they will destroy till they have enough."

But I have made Esau bare, I have uncovered his secret places, and he shall not be able to hide himself. Behold, they whose judgment was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken; and art thou he that shall altogether go unpunished? thou shalt not go unpunished, but thou shalt surely drink of it. I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, that Bozrah, the strong city, shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes. Lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men. Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord. Also Edom shall be a desolation; every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof. As in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it. Thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it: and they shall know that I am the Lord. Edom shall be a desolate wilderness. For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof. Thus saith the Lord concerning Edom, I have made thee small among the heathen, thou art greatly despised. The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high. Shall I not destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? The house of Jacob shall possess their possessions. I laid the mountains of Esau and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness."

It is scarcely possible that any doom could be more literally fulfilled. Except for an occasional wandering party of Arabs folding their cattle among the ruined palaces of Petra, no human sound breaks on the solitude

of its wild and deserted streets. Nor is it the capital alone that is thus desolate. Within the surrounding country of ancient Edom, for several days' journey on every side no human habitation is visible, save when the wandering Arab pitches his tent amid the desert scene. Yet within three days' journey of Petra upwards of thirty ruined towns have been noted, some of them still adorned with the remains of magnificent temples, and vast buildings, with columns still preserving memorials of the influence of Roman and Greek art on the ruder tastes of the children of Edom. But Esau's heritage is now literally laid waste for the dragons of the wilderness, and even the wild Arabs avoid the ruins of his towns, and drive their cattle beyond their outskirts, from apprehension of the enormous scorpions with which they swarm.

Nothing is more strange in the world's history than these vicissitudes of great and populous empires; so numerous were the inhabitants of the land of Edom in the first century of our era, that, when Titus appeared with his Roman legions, bent on the capture of Jerusalem, Josephus tells us that thirty thousand Idumeans assembled immediately, and joined with the citizens of Jerusalem in the defence of the devoted city. "Idumea," says Keith, "was a kingdom previous to Israel, having been governed first by dukes and princes, afterwards by eight successive kings, and again by dukes, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel. Its fertility and cultivation in the earliest times, are implied not only in the blessings of Esau, whose dwelling was to be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above; but also in the condition proposed by Moses to the Edomites, when he solicited a passage for the Israelites through their borders, 'that they would not pass through their fields or through the vineyards.' The Idumeans were, without doubt, both an opulent and a powerful people. They often contended with the Israelites, and entered into a league with their

other enemies against them. In the reign of David they were indeed subdued and greatly oppressed, and many of them were dispersed throughout the neighbouring countries, particularly Phœnicia and Egypt. But during the decline of the kingdom of Judah, and for many years previous to its extinction, they encroached upon the territories of the Jews, and extended their dominion over the south-western part of Judea. Though no excellence whatever be now attached to its name, which exists only in past history, Idumea, including perhaps Judea, as Reiland has shown, was then not without the praise of the first of Roman poets." Lucan celebrates its riches, and Virgil thus refers to it :—

Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.

"But Idumea, as a kingdom, can lay claim to a higher renown than either the abundance of its flocks, or the excellence of its palm-trees. The celebrated city of Petra, (so named by the Greeks, and so worthy of its name, on account both of its rocky situation and vicinity,) was situated within the patrimonial territory of the Edomites. There is distinct and positive evidence that it was a city of Edom, and the metropolis of the Nabatheans, whom Strabo expressly identifies with the Idumeans—possessors of the same country, and subject to the same laws. 'Petra,' to use the words of Dr. Vincent, by whom the state of its ancient commerce was described before its ruins were discovered, 'is the capital of Edom or Seir, the Idumea or Arabia Petræa of the Greeks, the Nabatea, considered both by geographers, historians, and poets, as the source of all the precious commodities of the east.' 'The caravans, in all ages, from Minea, in the interior of Arabia, and from Gerrha on the Gulf of Persia, from Hadramaut on the ocean, and some even from Sabea or Yemen, appear to have pointed to Petra as a common centre; and from Petra the trade seems again to have

branched out in every direction, to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoe, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of subordinate routes that all terminated on the Mediterranean. There is every proof that is requisite, to show that the Tyrians and Sidonians were the first merchants who introduced the produce of India to all the nations which encircled the Mediterranean; so there is the strongest evidence to prove that the Tyrians obtained all their commodities from Arabia. But if Arabia was the centre of this commerce, Petra was the point to which all the Arabians tended from the three sides of their vast peninsula.' 'The name of this capital, in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a rock, and as such it is described in the Scriptures, in Strabo, and Al-Edrissi.'"

But we need not follow the history further. Edom has become a desolation, and it seems scarcely conceivable that it shall ever be restored as the habitations of men. "The total cessation of its commerce; the artificial irrigation of its valleys wholly neglected; the destruction of all the cities, and the continued spoliation of the country by the Arabs, the permanent exposure, for ages, of the soil unsheltered by its ancient groves, and unprotected by any covering from the scorching rays of the sun; the unobstructed encroachments of the desert, and of the drifted sands from the borders of the Red Sea, the consequent absorption of the water of the springs and streamlets during summer, are causes which may have all combined their baneful operation in rendering Edom most desolate, the desolation of desolations."

Were it not for the evidence of its imperishable ruins, it would seem inconceivable that the arid and stony desert had ever been capable of cultivation, or the site of human dwellings, and yet here were the fields and the vineyards of Edom, while yet the descendants of Jacob were wanderers in the desert, and here still was the centre

of Asiatic commerce, when the kingdom of Judah was at an end, and the chosen race were dispersed as wanderers and outcasts among every people and nation under heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

CAVE TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA, ADJUNTA, AND ELLORA

See! where those caverns yawn on Carl's steep;
 Do spirits call, awaked from ages' sleep,
 That yon lone Hindoo creeps with stealthy tread,
 Hies down the hill, nor darsæ to turn his head?
 So old those grots, so silent and so drear,
 E'en Brahmin's view them with a solemn fear.

A. ICHELL.

ASIA has many other ruins besides those referred to in previous chapters, for there were all the world's first kingdom's founded, and for many ages it formed, along with the adjacent regions of the African continent, the chief centre of population, and the sole seat of empire and civilization. One other singular class of architectural remains, however, will suffice to illustrate the relics of ancient skill and grandeur on the Asiatic continent.

The cave temples of Elephanta, Ellora, Adjunta, and other ruined shrines scattered throughout India, form a most interesting branch of monumental remains connected with one of the early races of the human family. Certain general resemblances have been traced among all the relics of Eastern art and ancient mythology, which add new confirmations to the scriptural history of the Asiatic origin of the human race. Still an undue weight has frequently been attached to this, as though it pointed to

some intimate intercourse or great similarity in faith and manners among widely-separated races.

Much must be allowed in such investigations for the uniform influence of climate and other local circumstances, and this is peculiarly observable in the apparent correspondence which has been supposed to be traceable between the ancient mythology of India and Egypt. This has frequently been referred to as conclusive evidence of an intimate connection between the religions of these two countries, and one interesting incident excited special attention. During the war with the French in Egypt, some sepoys of our Indian army, who crossed from the Red Sea to the Nile, were attracted, on their visit to the temple of Dendera, by the sculptured representation of the cow of Athor, and were observed to prostrate themselves before it. This has been referred to, both by French and English writers as triumphantly proving the kindred character and common source of the two creeds; but the argument will not stand investigation. Had the Indian sepoys been arrested by some arbitrary and unintelligible symbols of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which possessed to them a sacred meaning, importance might justly be attached to their proceedings; but the selection of the cow by two agricultural nations as a sacred symbol, may admit of very easy explanation without supposing them to have had any previous intercourse, and a critical investigation into the minute details of Egyptian and Indian mythology, shows that the creeds of the African and Asiatic kingdoms resemble each other only in very general features, such as will be found to be common to nearly all the earlier forms of heathen mythology. On this subject it has been remarked by a recent writer, in comparing the ruined temples of the two countries, that their dates appear on closer investigation so widely different, that all idea of a common source of design must be completely abandoned; and we must

rather fall back upon the more consistent explanation of any apparent uniformity, in the corresponding results of human invention and design, when operating under similar circumstances. "Mr. James Fergusson, the most recent investigator of the antiquities of Hindoostan, after personally examining the architectural remains of Egypt and India, denies that they have any essential features in common; and all the latest inquiries into the subject of Indian antiquities seem to lead to the conclusion, that the ideas which have been so generally received of the immutability of the Hindus, and the primeval antiquity of their remains, have been based on theories unsupported by evidence. Already the colossal elephant which gave name to Elephanta has progressed so rapidly to decay, as to excite just doubts of its great antiquity at the time of its discovery; and if the general diffusion of the religion of Buddah in India is correctly fixed at a period little more than 150 years B. C., it is obvious that the remains of temples dedicated to that religion must no longer be classed along with those of Egypt. Mr. Fergusson assigns them a far more recent date than even this might imply. He has carefully studied them, and made drawings of their various details; and in his 'Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan,' he advances the opinion that the most ancient of the cave temples are not many centuries old. India, however, has undoubtedly formed an early seat of civilization, traces of which are apparent both in the faith and the manners of the more ancient races that still occupy the country, though these are much too slight to justify many of the arguments that have been deduced from them. Impressed, indeed, as all European thinkers are, with the influence of religious opinions which have been slowly developing their powers during many centuries, they are too ready to take for granted the same slow development in judging of Eastern creeds. Recent investigations

prove, on the contrary, that the religion of the Sikhs, and those of many other Indian sects, have sprung up and been adopted by whole races almost in our own time." But whatever may be the date we are led to assign to some of the more remarkable temples, the ruins of which still remain in British India, no doubt can exist as to the great antiquity of India as a seat of empire, and of primitive population, whatever be thought of the date of their earliest remains. Down to a comparatively recent period it has been the seat of splendid empires, and the scene of a most remarkable idolatrous worship. Whatever be their age, the ruins of many of the temples are peculiarly worthy of notice, from their singular architectural features, and this is especially the case of those found in different parts of the Deccan, not consisting of masonry, but excavated in the sides of mountains, which, in many instances, have been entirely cut out into columns, temples, and images. The first of these remarkable excavations which excited much notice, was the celebrated cave temple of Elephanta; and to this, perhaps, as much as to its peculiar features, is owing the interest with which it is still regarded. It has been called "the wonder of Asia," and has been visited, described, and drawn by numerous travellers. It lies remote from the great centres of commercial enterprise in British India, about half way up the declivity of a hill, in a small wooded island near Bombay. Three entrances are afforded between rows of massive columns, the principal one measuring 220 feet long by 150 broad. The most conspicuous object, placed in the centre of the temple, is a triple head of colossal dimensions, being six feet from the chin to the crown. It was long supposed to represent the Hindoo triad; but is now believed to be simply a figure of Siva, to whom this temple is dedicated, and with whose images it is filled. The pillars are peculiar in form, resembling a Roman pilaster, fluted, and elevated on a high square pedestal. Several

of these have fallen ; thereby adding to the remarkable character of the whole, as the capitals remain suspended to the roof, which stands unaffected by the fall of its apparent supports. On the larger island in the neighbourhood of Elephanta, are the cave-temples of Kenneri, less spacious, but more lofty, and equally rich in sculptures. A whole hill has here been formed into an excavated city, with tanks, stairs, and every accommodation for a large population ; all now deserted and silent. These remarkable ruins may not inaptly class with those of ancient Idumea ; corresponding as they do to them both in durability and utter desolation.

A singular group of temples no less remarkable, though little known or visited, are situated at Adjunta. They are thus, for the first time described in a communication by Lieut. J. E. Alexander, to the royal Asiatic Society. "It was in the month of February 1824, that, while on leave from my regiment, and travelling about the province of Berar, I visited the extraordinary excavations of Adjunta, situated in lat. 20° 25' N. and lon. 76° 12' E. These, though I believe hitherto undescribed, are as much deserving of a separate publication as the far-famed temples of Ellora ; and though I spent only a few hours in their gloomy recesses, yet I saw enough to convince me that they are well worthy of a more minute investigation, and a lengthened sojourn amongst them.

"After passing the night in a well built caravansary in the town of Adjunta, situated at the head of the pass of the same name through one of the Berar ranges of mountains, I mounted early in the morning, arrayed in my Muselmani costume, and accompanied by a couple of servants and a guide, all of us well armed with sabres, pistols, and hunting spears. We rode through a crowd of camels with their tinkling bells, and Bunjari bullocks, reposing beside their loads of grain and salt. In passing a small party of the Nizam's horse, the Duffadar (an

inferior officer) saluted us with the customary compliment of '*Salam alicum*' (Peace be with you;) and inquired where we were going. I told him we proposed visiting the caves: to which he replied, '*La illah illillah!*' (There is but one God) you will never return: for if you escape the tigers, these stony-hearted robbers, the Bheels, will destroy you.' To this I answered, '*Inshallah* (please God) we'll have the pleasure of smoking a pipe with you in the evening.' He replied, '*Khoda hafiz*' (may the Lord preserve you:) and taking leave of him, we rode out of the gate which led to the head of the pass, down which our road lay.

"After travelling some distance along a stony road, and passing several cairns, near which were many bushes covered with rags, pointing out the spot where unfortunate travellers had been destroyed by tigers, we suddenly found ourselves at the top of the precipitous *ghat* or pass. The scene which now opened upon us was magnificent in the extreme. The vale of Candesh was stretched beneath our feet, extending far into the blue distance, and enclosed by wooded mountains. We now dismounted, and leading our horses down a precipitous pathway to the left of the pass, found ourselves at the bottom among sweet-smelling kuskus grass. Directing our steps towards an opening between the deeply serrated hills, we arrived at the *débouche* of the glen, and fell in with a mountain stream, along whose banks lay the pathway to the caves, leading through low under-wood interspersed with trees and water-grass fifteen feet in height; amongst which, not long before, three tigers had been killed.

"We had not advanced far up the glen, when a low whistling was heard above us to the left, and was quickly repeated from the opposite cliffs. This proved to be Bheels intimating to one another that strangers were approaching. The guide evinced strong symptoms of fear; but

on being remonstrated with, and encouraged with the hope of a handsome present, he proceeded onwards. Some of the Bheels showed themselves, peeping out from behind the rocks. They were a most savage looking race, perfectly black, low in stature, and nearly naked. They seemed to be armed with bows and arrows. The principal haunts of these Bheels are in the Northern Deccan, along the course of the Nerbuddah. They live entirely in the jungles, are in a state of great barbarism, and subsist by hunting, rapine, and plunder. They sometimes approach the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of their haunts, and lurk about the outskirts to attack individuals. Whilst in the caravansary at Adjunta, a Muselman came to me for bandages for his left arm, which had been cut off at the elbow the night before. He lived outside the walls of the town in a garden, which the Bheels entered by a hole they dug under the wall; and the Muselman, in defending his property, was disabled by a cut from a sabre. Our fire-arms prevented their attacking us; and we were allowed to proceed unmolested.

“The glen, up which our road lay, almost to its termination, where the caves are situated, was remarkable for its picturesque beauty. It continued winding amongst the hills, which rose from the banks of the stream with a considerable acclivity, and having their sides clothed with scattered jungle. Amongst the trees I observed the *melia azadirachta* (neem,) the *robinia mitis*, *mimosa Arabica* (babool,) *bassia latifolia* (mowah,) from which a spirit is distilled, *ficus religiosa* (peepul,) &c. The hills, whose height was from four to five hundred feet, now began to close in their wild and romantic features upon us; and though I cannot pretend to rival the author of ‘The Wonders of Ellora’ in enthusiasm, yet it was with no common interest, and with my expectation intensely excited, that I viewed the low browed entrance to the

first cave, which is not attained till a mile of the glen has been traversed.

“Although the beauty of the surrounding scenery infinitely surpassed that at Ellora, yet I cannot say, like the author above quoted, ‘that my feelings were interested to a high degree of awe, wonder, and delight, at first so painful, that it was a long time before they became sufficiently sobered and calmed to contemplate, with any attention, the surrounding wonders;’ neither can I assert ‘that Bruce’s emotions were not more vivid or tumultuous when first beholding the springs of the Nile, than mine were on first reaching the caves;’ yet *this* I will say, that the retired and umbrageous situation of the Adjunta caves, completely secluded from the busy haunts of men, and enclosed with overhanging hills and woods, with a clear stream rushing past them over its rocky bed, evinced a far better and purer taste in those by whom they were excavated, than can be conceded to those who constructed the caverned temples of Ellora, in the face of a low and barren ridge.

“The caves of which I am now treating are excavated in horizontal strata of grey wacke, with imbedded portions of quartz approaching to chalcedony. Blood-stones, in which the portions of jasper are larger than usual, may be picked up in a water-worn state, in the bed of the stream. Indurated felspar is also in abundance.

“The first cave is about forty or fifty feet above the stream, and faces the south. The whole series of caves has the same aspect, but gradually ascends higher up the ridge; the central ones being about a hundred and fifty feet from the stream. The most remote one is near a bluff rock of two hundred feet of elevation, over whose brow a cascade dashes during the rains, though in the dry season the face of the cliff glistens with only a scanty rill.

“The first circumstance that strikes an attentive observer of these magnificent remains of antiquity and wonders

of art, who has previously visited the mythological or pantheistical excavations of Ellora, is the great want of ornamental and minute sculpture in the former, compared with the exquisite and elaborate finishing of the latter. The general appearance of the Adjunta caves is similar to that of the caves of Ellora; that is, they are mostly low, with a flat roof supported by massive pillars having cushioned capitals; but there is a great deficiency in ornamental carving and fret-work. Some, however, are exceptions to this remark. In most of the caves, to compensate for the want of profuse entaille and sculptures, are paintings in fresco, much more interesting, as exhibiting the dresses, habits of life, pursuits, general appearance, and even features of the natives of India, perhaps, two thousand or two thousand five hundred years ago, well preserved and highly coloured, and exhibiting in glowing tints, of which light red is the most common, the crisp-haired aborigines of the sect of Buddhists, who were driven from India to Ceylon after the introduction of Brahminism."

From premises detailed by the author he conceived the age of the caves of Adjunta to be nearer three than two thousand years. The following is the result of his examination.

The principal excavation, or grand temple, is situated about a hundred and fifty feet from the bed of the nullah, or stream, and on the face of the hill. The magnificent entrance is surrounded by scattered jungle and brushwood, and is particularly striking; being a lofty portico, somewhat resembling those of Caneri and Carli. In the centre of the portico is an immense horse-shoe arch, on each side of which there stand colossal janitors, ten or twelve feet in height, and with curled hair. At the request of the guide we approached with great caution; and on coming under the arch he pointed to the roof, from which a number of wild bees (*apis rufa*) had sus-

pended their pendant hives. We were careful not to disturb them, or they would have soon deprived us of the use of our visual organs, here so much required.

We proceeded to the interior. On looking round, I found myself in a lofty and well-lighted hall, which may be about twenty-five or thirty feet in height, instead of the low caves with flat ceilings, as in the other parts of the hill. This is a well-aired chamber, and in many respects similar to the high coved excavation of Carli, or to what is commonly termed the carpenter's cave at Ellora. The form of the arch is however different. In the Carli cave the roof bears a close resemblance to the high-pointed gothic arch. It is ribbed with teak wood, so as to fit the cove, and is attached to the stone by wooden nails or teeth. In the Ellora caves, stone ribs supply the place of the teak ones of Carli; but the Adjunta cave has a Saxon or (nearly) semicircular roof, without ribs of any sort. Two rows of hexagonal pillars run along the sides of the cave, and behind them is a passage. The entablature of the pillars is without ornament, and the pillars themselves are quite plain. Many of them are broken off, and have fallen on the floor.

Opposite to, and about fifty feet from the entrance, at the farther extremity of the cave, is what is called, in descriptions of the caves of Carli, &c. a circular temple; but which I consider to be nothing more than the *rostrum* from which the *Rhahans*, or Buddhist priests, recited prayers and delivered homilies to the assembled congregation in the hall. A passage from a description of the ritual of the Siamese will illustrate this idea. Treating of the present state of religion in Siam, it goes on to state: "Attached to the temples there are generally monasteries, and within these are oratories or small pulpits. In these the priests, morning and evening, recite prayers. From these same pulpits they likewise preach sermons, taking as a text some sentences in the *Bali* or

language of their sacred books, and descanting on it in the vernacular language; their principal hearers on these occasions being women, who sit with their hands clasped, their feet under them, and small lighted tapers burning before them."

"The stone hemisphere, then, probably served the purpose of a pulpit. It rests on a pedestal, somewhat larger than the hemisphere, surmounted by a square block, in shape resembling the capital of a pillar. In Ellora the *figure* of the deity, of gigantic dimensions, is placed on a seat in front of this hemisphere of stone; but in this cave it is omitted. In the gallery, or passage behind the pillars, are fresco paintings of Buddha and his attending supporters, with *chowrees* in their hands. The thickness of the stucco is about a quarter of an inch. The colours are very vivid, consisting of brown, light red, blue, and white: the red predominates. The colouring is softened down, the execution is bold, and the pencil handled freely; and some knowledge of perspective is shown. The figures are two feet and a half or three feet in height. The obliterating and sacrilegious hand of the Portuguese has not exercised itself in defacing with pious rage these caves; nor are any of those mutilations visible here which are so common in the excavations which the Portuguese converted into places of worship. That these excavations served for the retirement of some monastic society, does not, I think, admit a doubt. Adjoining the large caves are several cells with stone bed-places, which, in all probability, were the abodes of the devotees: and in many there are springs of clear water.

"The other caves which I visited are all flat-roofed, and generally in excellent preservation. The fetid smell, however, arising from numerous bats (*vespertilio noctula*) which flew about our faces as we entered, rendered a continuance inside, for any length of time, very disagreeable. I saw only one cave with two stories or tiers of

excavated rock. In it the steps from the lower apartments to the upper had been destroyed by the *Bheels*. With our pistols cocked we ascended by the branch of a tree to the upper range of chambers; and found, in the middle of one of the floors, the remains of a recent fire, with large foot marks around it. In a corner was the entire skeleton of a man. On the floors of many of the lower caves I observed prints of the feet of tigers, jackals, bears, monkeys, peacocks, &c.; these were impressed upon the dust, formed by the plaster of the fresco paintings which had fallen from the ceilings.

“The paintings in many of the caves represent highly interesting and spirited delineations of hunting scenes, battles, &c. The elephants and horses are particularly well drawn. On the latter two men are often seen mounted. Ram and cock-fights I observed in one of the excavations. The spears are peculiar, having three knobs near the head; and there was an instrument resembling a lyre with three strings. I observed something like a zodiac; but not at all resembling the celebrated one of Dendera. The pillars, in most of the caves, resemble the cushion-capitalized ones of Elephanta. In one I saw a pair of fluted pilasters: and fluting is supposed to have originated in Greece, to prevent the spears from slipping off the columns.

“After making a few hasty sketches of the lower caves, and the most interesting objects in them, I consumed some time in unavailing attempts to reach some apparently well-preserved caves higher up on the hill. We clambered up on our hands and knees, till stopped by a precipice; and not having ropes, we were unable to reach the caves from above: we therefore gave up the attempt in despair, and after we had partaken of a slight repast, and a *chilum* had been smoked in one of the best lighted and finest excavations, we returned to the horses, and rode back to the town of Ad_unta.

“Though it was but a rapid and unsatisfactory glance (unsatisfactory in as much as my time was limited, from my leave being nearly expired) that I had of these imperishable monuments of antiquity, yet I was highly delighted with my excursion; and although many are the caverned temples which I have explored, and many which I wish to revisit, yet to none would I sooner return than to those of Adjunta. Several of them I was unable to examine; but the paintings alone, in such as I had an opportunity of examining, would render them much more interesting to those who might desire to become acquainted with the appearance of the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan, than the grotesque, though beautifully sculptured deities of Ellora.”

The difficulties in the way of a careful investigation of these remarkable remains have prevented them receiving the notice which has been extended to Elephanto, Ellora, and others of the more celebrated cave temples. Those of Ellora are situated near the ancient city of Deognir and the modern Dowlatabad. A lofty hill is cut out into a range of temples, and its surface covered with varied sculpture and ornaments. “The first view,” says Mr. Erskine, “of this desolate religious city is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterranean temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish but distract the mind. The empire, whose pride they must have been, has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it.” When we consider the vast extent of British empire in India, and the very partial exploration of some of its great central districts, it seems not improbable that rock temples and other remarkable remains may yet be brought to light, not less interesting than those of Adjunta. The

wonders, indeed, of ancient Asia are yet but partially revealed. While we write, her long buried and forgotten ruins are being explored, and, for centuries to come, it seems probable that fresh discoveries shall continue to be made, serving as new revelations of elder history and fresh confirmation of the fulfilment of prophecy and the truth of Scripture.

PART II.—AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT.

Time's gnomons rising on the banks of Nile,
Unchanging while he flies, serene and grand,
Amid surrounding ruins : 'mid the works
Of man unparalleled ; 'mid God's, how small !
Beside His Alps, the pigmy works of ants,
The mole-hills of a mole !

THE records of sacred history establish the priority of the kingdoms and cities of Babel and Assur among the earliest of earth's recorded empires. History, however, preserves to us a far more ample narrative of the early annals of Egypt than of either of the first Asiatic empires, while the vast pyramids and imperishable monuments along the valley of the Nile have preserved records of ancient times, which are now being decyphered and translated, and converted into new materials of history.

It may naturally excite surprise that the remotest evidences of civilization should be discovered on the African

continent. All writers, however, who have investigated the subject, agree in assigning a Semitic origin to the ancient Egyptians. Their features, their language, and many of their peculiarities, clearly point to their complete affinity with the Asiatic rather than with the African Negro race. The formation of the skulls of mummies found in the catacombs no less distinctly exhibit the characteristics of the Caucasian variety, which so remarkably contrasts with all the cranial developments of the true African race. We are left to conjecture in assigning that remote period during the infancy of nations, when the first Asiatic colony settled on the banks of the Nile. It is sufficient, however, to know that, from the ascertained dates of its early history, there can be no doubt Egypt was one of the first countries brought under a fixed social and political system, and where an associated community successfully pursued the arts of civilization. It has even been suggested that Egypt may have owed its origin to a detachment from the Noaick race, peaceably departing from the first home of the post-diluvian race, or wandering by chance into the fertile valley of the Nile, prior to the ambitious plans of the Babel builders in the plain of Shinar, and the violent dispersion of the human race, amid the astonishing confusion of tongues.

But the most remarkable features of ancient Egypt are its vast and durable monuments, pertaining to periods, the earliest dates of which are still subject to uncertainty and discussion. As a civilized people there seems every reason for regarding the claim of the Egyptians to priority as well founded. The elaborate and learned researches of Major Rawlinson and others into the Assyrian antiquities, it has been seen from the relations of previous chapters, tend, as yet, in no degree to establish any priority of Asiatic over African civilization; nor has such a view been thought in any way inimical to the description of

the sacred narrative, by the ablest Biblical critics. "No nation," says Dr. Keith, "whether of ancient or modern times, has ever erected such great and durable monuments. While the vestiges of other ancient monarchies can hardly be found amidst the mouldering ruins of their cities, those artificial mountains, visible at the distance of thirty miles, the pyramids of Egypt, without a record of their date, have withstood, unimpaired, all the ravages of time. The dynasty of Egypt takes precedence, in antiquity, of every other. No country ever produced so long a catalogue of kings. The learning of the Egyptians was proverbial. The number of their cities, and the population of their country, as recorded by ancient historians, almost surpass credibility. Nature and art united in rendering it a most fertile region. It was called the granary of the world."

Were it not that long familiarity with the monuments of Egypt has prevented their astonishing magnificence and durability from being felt to their full extent by most men, it would be regarded as a subject of never lessening wonder, that, along the banks of the African Nile, and amid the barren sands still stand the enduring monuments of the world's earliest civilization. It would almost seem as if the locality wherein civilization and arts, and a written language, should be first developed, had been specially chosen as that wherein its fruits would longest endure; while as if to carry out still further the same preconceived design, the vast plains of Egypt tempted the builders to the erection of such enduring pyramids and huge monolithic temples as no natives of a hill country would ever attempt. But it is the inscriptions of the Egyptian monuments which form the real source of their interest and value. There, amid the strange scenery of the Nile valley, still stand the temples and palaces of an empire whose native dynasty had passed away, while the banks of the Tiber bore only their

marshy reeds ; and yet we can now read on their columns and obelisks the records of their earliest dynasties, back even to that remote era where truth and fable seem to mingle, and the philosophic historian turns in doubt from the written records of a founder whose era seems to precede that of our earth.

We have considered, in the previous chapters, the remarkably interesting investigations now making by some of our ablest scholars, into the records of ancient Assyrian empire, as contained in the remarkable cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon, Nineveh, Koyunjik, Nimroud, and other ancient seats of Asiatic empire. But it was the arduous and successful investigations of Young, Champollion, and other European scholars, into the hieroglyphic records on the Egyptian monuments which paved the way for these latter discoveries, and rendered them comparatively easy. The mystery which for so many ages had hung over the engraven records of Egypt had indeed sufficed to clothe them with an exaggerated value. It was believed that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments included a complete record of all early science, nor was it doubted by many that they embodied numerous truths long lost to the world. Could the secret of their characters be recovered, it was anticipated that they would be found to contain a summary of the most important mysteries of nature, and the rudiments of knowledge partially indicated in the most valued heirlooms of Grecian and Roman learning. The Christian looked to find in their records new illustrations of the sacred writings and fresh proofs of their truth ; while the sceptic was not without a secret hope that the evidences of a civilization far older and more complete than the Mosaic history allows, and of a mythology and philosophic creed embodying doctrines hitherto believed to be of comparatively recent origin, and of direct Divine annunciation, would enable him to combat, with new weapons, the advocates

of truth. The use made, especially by some modern French philosophers, of recent discoveries sufficiently justifies the latter conclusion; and the well known opinions of the whole body of French savans who accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, amply accorded with such views. A pleasant anecdote is told in connexion with the novel union of a philosophic and military expedition which set sail together from France for the ancient seat of Egyptian civilization and learning. "When the First Consul crossed the Mediterranean on his Egyptian expedition, he carried with him a cohort of savans, who ultimately did good service in many ways. Among them, however, as might be expected at that era, were not a few philosophers of the Voltaire-Diderot school. Napoleon, for his own instruction and amusement on shipboard, encouraged disputation among these gentlemen; and on one occasion they undertook to show, and, according to their own account, *did* demonstrate, by infallible logic and metaphysics, that there is no God. Bonaparte, who hated all ideologists, abstract reasoners, and logical demonstrators, no matter what they were demonstrating, would not fence with these subtle dialecticians, but had them immediately on deck, and pointing to the stars in the clear sky, replied by way of counter argument, 'Very good, messieurs! but who made all these?'"

Such was one class of the students of Egyptian antiquities at the close of last century, though with them, too, there were not wanting equally zealous champions of Divine truth, who were little likely to let such a "packed jury" give an unchallenged verdict on the subject under review. Sympathies of a widely opposite class have thus been enlisted in the desire for recovering the hidden lore of Egypt. The classical scholar looked to it for explanation of many disputed allusions of Plato and Aristotle. The student of science was not without hope that secrets in medicine, in astronomy, in mathematics, might be

hid under these strange symbols, amid which he was able to trace—as in the gorgeous ceiling at Dendera—the records of a system of astronomical science, established ere the barbarian Roman had laid the foundation of his younger empire. To these several motives for investigating the secrets of Egyptian records, we may add the scarcely less influential one of natural curiosity, and the desire to overcome obstacles which had so long baffled the most zealous assailants. To this latter source may be ascribed, with considerable justice, much of the zeal which was manifested by the savans of the eighteenth century, and the very questionable results which it produced. Without any very special cause arousing general attention to the subject, various disclosures sufficed from time to time to keep some degree of interest alive. Travellers occasionally overcame the obstacles to the exploration of the ancient scenes of Egyptian art and worship, and brought back with them fresh glimpses of the wonders disclosed to their view; not rarely adding to these some new theories and speculations of their own, calculated, as they conceived, to throw some light on the mysteries of the Nile. The fruits of all this were more abundant than valuable. Ponderous folios and quartos were written, full of learning and ingenuity, but yielding no real knowledge on the subject they professed to investigate; and students seemed at length disposed to turn with hopeless apathy or disgust from a subject on which the curiosity and the learning of nearly sixteen centuries had been expended, almost without a single result of trustworthy character, or apparently of the slightest real value. Such was the state of the subject, and the prevailing tone of feeling throughout Europe, in regard to the enduring memorials of primeval civilization, when the sagacious eye of the First Consul of Republican France was turned towards the old historical land, as the possible centre of a future commercial empire that should hold an equal

balance between the East and the West, and transfer to an elder precursor the dowry of the venerable Adriatic Republic which the French ruler brought to a close:—

“Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the eldest child of Liberty.”

We owe, undoubtedly, to the ambitious projects of Napoleon, both the revival of general interest in Egyptian antiquities, and the acquirement of the means for turning these to account. “Before the year 1800,” says Gliddon, “Egypt was a sealed book, whose pages could not be opened, until Napoleon’s thunder-bolts had riven the clasps asunder.” The soldier of Corsica has indeed riven many venerable clasps asunder, that, but for him might long enough have remained unopened. Whatever view we take of the restless and insatiable ambition of Napoleon, it affords no trifling evidence of the beneficent influence of civilization in controlling and overruling the evils of war, to find the soldiers of France accompanied by a body of savans, no less ambitious for trophies won in the peaceful triumphs of science, than were the veteran legions covetous of the bloody trophies of victory. Yet, strange to say, the greatest trophy won by science from this expedition, was the fruit of the soldiers’ and not the savans’ labours; and furnished a more valuable contribution to our knowledge than all that had been accomplished by the investigations, or the learning of centuries, in the celebrated stone already referred to. In digging the foundations of a fort near Rosetta, at one of the mouths of the Nile, the French discovered an inscribed block of black basalt, which, along with other antiquities secured by the army of Napoleon in Egypt, were resigned to the British general, and adorn the Egyptian Gallery in the British Museum. Among these the inscribed block of basalt is conspicuous, and is now fami-

liarily known as the Rosetta Stone. This valuable relic, which forms one of the most interesting features of the Egyptian collection in the Museum, contains an inscription in three distinct characters—the *Hieroglyphic*, or sacred; the *Enchorial*, or common Egyptian; and the *Greek*. From the terms of the latter, it became immediately apparent that the three inscriptions were versions of the same decree, in these several characters; and this was further confirmed by observing that the hieroglyphic inscription ends with the numerals I. II. and III., where the Greek has “The first and the second....” the remainder being broken away. A key had been at length found to the long hidden mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which had mocked the curious zeal of ages with the vain offer of unrevealed secrets. Yet this seemed long to be utterly illusive. The Greek text was indeed speedily translated; but its contents added no other information to our previous knowledge, than that such was the general tenour of the hieroglyphic writing. Its letters, words, sentences, forms of speech, or modes of writing, seemed as dark and unintelligible as ever; and so they remained for years, after accurate fac-similes of its inscriptions had been distributed among the first scholars of Europe. England had secured the valuable though puzzling relic, and to an Englishman, the honour is due of having read the mysterious riddle. Dr. Thomas Young was the first to master any of the unknown hieroglyphics. With great sagacity, he noted the recurrence of certain words, such as Alexander, Ptolemy, &c.; and in corresponding parts both of the enchorial and hieroglyphic inscriptions, he detected equivalent groups of characters, and established the important fact, which had been previously assumed as probable by Zoega, an eminent Danish scholar, that proper names are distinguished by the enclosing oval or royal *cartouche*, of such frequent occurrence on all Egyptian monuments. These he suc-

ceeded in reducing to their elementary alphabetic characters, and thus established the *phonetic* use of hieroglyphics; or in other words, their application, like modern alphabetic characters, to represent sounds, instead of symbols. This discovery, however, sufficed to prove at the same time that the Greek is not a literal translation of the Egyptian. The names do not invariably recur in corresponding places of the several inscriptions, nor are they repeated equally, synonymes or pronouns being substituted for them; so that the Greek cannot be assumed as expressing more than the general meaning of the other inscriptions. This of course greatly detracts from the value of the Rosetta Stone as a key to hieroglyphics; and though it has now been familiar to the scholars of Europe for nearly half a century, a literal translation of its symbols has only been partially effected.

Much of the earlier difficulty arose from the extravagant anticipations of hieroglyphic students, to which we have already referred. "From the preconceived notion," says a recent critical writer, "that each hieroglyph was the representative of a distinct idea, the great object of ambition came to be, to extort per force the esoteric meaning which it was supposed to involve. It was never doubted that the most profound mysteries of nature and art lay hidden in these monumental sculptures; the simplest characters were conceived to be the types of ideas too lofty for vulgar comprehension, and worthy of the eternal records to which their preservation had been consigned. Thus, imagination usurping the place of reason, and conjecture that of fact; the learned, who had addicted themselves to these inquiries, soon became involved in an inextricable labyrinth, and like Milton's devils, posed by their metaphysical speculations, 'found no end in wandering mazes lost.'" But these erroneous anticipations are fortunately at an end, and the inscriptions of Egypt have now been sufficiently mastered, to show what may

be anticipated from them when the whole shall be rendered equally accessible by further victories which patient learning and assiduity may anticipate.

It is not necessary that we should follow in detail the laborious researches of Young, Champollion, and others, by which victory was at length achieved; or enter into the less pleasing field of controversy in relation to claims advanced by others to the merit, so justly due to Dr. Thomas Young, of having first mastered the problem and furnished the key on which all succeeding labours have depended. But one remarkable incident in the labours of Dr. Young must not be omitted, it seems so surprising that it might almost be deemed providential, if not miraculous. It seems indeed, to the reflective mind, to say that the appointed time had at length arrived when the secrets of Egyptian history were at length to be revealed, and to cast their reflective light on the darker pages of sacred and profane history. At the very time when Dr. Young was engaged in the investigation of the inscription of the Rosetta Stone, as detailed by him in his "Discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature;" Mr., afterwards Sir, George Francis Grey, an intelligent traveller, returning from Egypt, in 1822, brought with him a letter from Sir William Gell, and deposited with Dr. Young some of the most valuable fruits of his researches among the ancient relics of Egyptian art, including several fine specimens of writing on papyrus, which he had purchased from an Arab at Thebes, in 1820. Previous to Dr. Young's obtaining possession of these, an individual of the name of Casati arrived at Paris, also bringing with him a parcel of Egyptian manuscripts, and among these Champollion observed one which bore in its preamble some resemblance to the enchorial text on the Rosetta Stone. This discovery naturally excited much interest; and Dr. Young having procured a copy of the papyrus, proceeded to attempt to decipher and translate it. In this he had already

made some progress when the arrival of Mr. Grey with new papyri threw an altogether unexpected light on his investigations. "Mr. Grey," says Dr. Young, "had the kindness to leave with me a box, containing several fine specimens of writing and drawing on papyrus; they were chiefly in hieroglyphics, and of a mythological nature; but the two which he had before described to me, as particularly deserving attention, and which were brought, through his judicious precautions, in excellent preservation, both contained some Greek characters, written apparently in a pretty legible hand. He had purchased them of an Arab at Thebes, in January 1820; and that which was most intelligible had appeared, at first sight, to contain some words relating to the service of the Christian church. Mr. Grey was so good as to give me leave to make any use of these manuscripts that I pleased; and he readily consented to their insertion among the lithographic copies of the 'Hieroglyphics, collected by the Egyptian Society,' which I undertook to superintend from time to time, in great measure for the private use of an association of my own friends, not sufficiently numerous to insure any permanent stability to its continuance.

"M. Champollion had done me the favour, while I was at Paris, to copy for me some parts of the very important papyrus, which I have before mentioned as having given him the name of Cleopatra; and of which the discovery was certainly a great event in Egyptian literature, since it was the first time that any intelligible characters of the enchorial form had been discovered among the many manuscripts and inscriptions that had been examined, and since it furnished M. Champollion at the same time with a name, which materially advanced, if I understood him rightly, the steps that have led him to his very important extension of the hieroglyphical alphabet. He had mentioned to me, in conversation, the names of Apollonius, 'Antiochus,' and Antigonus, as occurring among the wit-

nesses; and I easily recognised the groups which he had deciphered; although, instead of *Antiochus*, I read *Antimachus*; and I did not recollect at the time that he had omitted the M.

“ In the evening of the day that Mr. Grey had brought me his manuscripts, I proceeded impatiently to examine that which was in Greek only; and I could scarcely believe that I was awake, and in my sober senses, when I observed, among the names of the witnesses, ANTIMACHUS ANTIGENIS; and, a few lines further back, PORTIS APOLLONII; although the last word could not have been very easily deciphered, without the assistance of the conjecture, which immediately occurred to me, that this manuscript might perhaps be a translation of the enchorial manuscript of Casati; I found that its beginning was, ‘ A copy of an Egyptian writing;’ and I proceeded to ascertain that there were the same number of names intervening between the Greek and the Egyptian signatures that I had identified, and that the same number followed the last of them; and the whole number of witnesses appeared to be sixteen in each. The last paragraph in the Greek began with the words, ‘ Copy of the Registry;’ for such must be the signification of the word ΠΤΩΜΑΤΟΣ, employed in the papyrus, though it does not appear to occur anywhere else in a similar signification. I could not, therefore, but conclude that a most extraordinary chance had brought into my possession a document which was not very likely, in the first place, ever to have existed, still less to have been preserved uninjured, for my information, through a period of near two thousand years; but that this very extraordinary translation should have been brought safely to Europe, to England, and to me, at the very moment when it was most of all desirable to me to possess it, as the illustration of an original which I was then studying, but without any other reasonable hope of being able fully to comprehend it; this combination would,

in other times, have been considered as affording ample evidence of my having become an Egyptian sorcerer."

The reader can hardly fail to sympathize with the feelings expressed by Dr. Young at so strange and altogether marvellous a coincidence which thus threw into the hands of almost the only man in the world who could make use of it, the very document he would have desired to possess had he known of its existence. He may well refer to it as resembling the assumed exploits of Egyptian sorcery, for scarcely any tale of a fairy wishing-cap could surpass this singular incident in modern science. "The contents of Mr. Grey's Greek manuscript," Dr. Young continues, "are of a nature scarcely less remarkable than its preservation and discovery: it relates to the sale, not of a house or a field, but of a portion of the collections and offerings made from time to time on account, or for the benefit, of a certain number of MUMMIES of persons described at length, in very bad Greek, with their children and all their households. The price is not very clearly expressed; but as the portion sold is only a moiety of a third part of the whole, and as the testimony of sixteen witnesses was thought necessary on the occasion, it is probable that the revenue thus obtained by the priests was by no means inconsiderable.

"The result, derived at once from this comparison, is the identification of more than thirty proper names as they were written in the running hand of the country. It might appear, upon a superficial consideration, that a mere catalogue of proper names would be of little comparative value in assisting us to recover the lost elements of a language. But, in fact, they possess a considerable advantage in the early stages of such an investigation, from the greater facility and certainty with which they are identified, and from their independence of any grammatical inflexions, at least in the present case, by means of which they lead us immediately to a full understanding

of the orthographical system of the language, where any such system can be traced."

To these remarks Dr. Young adds, "The general inference to be derived from an examination of the names now discovered, is somewhat more in favour of an extensive employment of an alphabetical mode of writing, than any that could have been deduced from the pillar of Rosetta, which exhibits, indeed, only foreign names, and affords us, therefore, little or no information respecting the mode of writing the original Egyptian names of the inhabitants."

But it will be seen that it is not alone as a key to the phonetic character of the hieroglyphics of Egypt that these remarkable papyri are valuable. They are scarcely less interesting as historical documents, furnishing a clue to the religious and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians, and to the customs and mode of sustentation of the priesthood. Remarkable, however, as the chance appears which placed this Greek autograph in the hands of almost the only man in England capable of turning it to good account, it was by no means a solitary example of an Egyptian legal document. From invaluable stores, secured by the enterprise and diligence of Sir George Grey, Dr. Young procured various Egyptian conveyances in the enchorial character, with separate Greek registries on the margin. By means of these, many additional examples of enchorial proper names were obtained in addition to the minute illustrations they afforded of the domestic history of Egypt, and of its singular customs and religious rights. Historians and archæologists have been long labouring to recover, from every dusty charter-chest and neglected record office, the chartularies of the middle ages, and rejoicing, as over discovered treasures, when they were so fortunate as to light on a parchment bearing date in the eleventh or twelfth century. But here were documents relating to the sale of lands in the neighbour-

hood of Thebes, more than a thousand years prior to the date which British historians are content to look upon as almost the remotest era of definite written records.

It is not easy for the ordinary reader to comprehend all the difficulties that beset the study of which we have thus described some of the first steps. Yet it may alone suffice to show how great the obstacles were, to mention that the Rosetta Stone, which is so highly valued as having furnished the first key to the nature and meaning of the characters in which the records of Egypt are inscribed, was in the hands of the ablest and most profound scholars of Europe for nearly twenty years without their being able to turn it to the least account. Now, however, it seems fully mastered. The cartouches which contain the names of the ancient Egyptian Pharaohs, and which, on the Abydos and other tables, are arranged apparently in historic order, are being read and arranged in dynasties. Chronology receives new light from the investigations; ancient history obtains many additions to its data, and the researches into the monuments of contemporary Asiatic empires, furnish sources of mutual light and fresh incentives to future study.

CHAPTER II.

THE RUINS OF EGYPT.

Far stretching thoughts are thine, Egyptian land
 Of desert, and oasis, and old Nile;
 Fountain of myriad dream and monster pile,
 Casting each giant shadow on the strand
 Of long-gone ages, peopled by a band
 Of thine embalmed shapes.

ANON.

THE facilities of modern travel, and the increasing intercourse among nations hitherto severed by space and by political and social differences, which for ages had seemed insurmountable, have made known to us in recent years numerous remarkable monuments of ancient architectural skill. During the half century that has just drawn to a close, Egypt, India, Asia-minor, and Assyria; Greece, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome; Mexico, Yucatan, and even the populous valley of the Mississippi; have all yielded up to the indefatigable zeal of modern research, monuments of ancient sculpture and architecture, rivaling or surpassing nearly every previous discovery of similar memorials of past ages. But still the monuments of Egyptian skill and architectural magnificence retain their old supremacy. They appear to be at once the most ancient, the most gigantic, and, withal, the most interesting and remarkable of all the early works of man.

We find in these monuments not mere memorials of former labour and skill, but a definite and trustworthy history, which discloses to us the annals of a people more

remarkable than any other of the first founders of empires. Yet amid all the remarkable disclosures which these monuments have yielded to the patient perseverance and sagacity of recent investigators, it has been justly said, that "Egypt presents nothing more wonderful than the magnitude and durability of the public works which were accomplished by her ancient inhabitants. Prodigal of labour and expense, her architects appear to have planned their structures for the admiration of the most distant posterity, and with the view of rendering the fame of their mechanical powers coeval with the existence of the globe itself. It has been suspected, indeed, that the omnipotent spirit of religion mingled with the aspirations of a more earthly ambition in suggesting the intricacies of the Labyrinth, and in realizing the vast conception of the Pyramids. The preservation of the body in an entire and uncorrupted state during three thousand years, is understood to have been connected with the mythological tenet that the spirit by which it was originally occupied would return to animate its members, and to render them once more the instruments of a moral probation amid the ordinary pursuits of the human race. The mortal remains, even of the greatest prince, could hardly have been regarded as deserving of the minute care and the sumptuous apparatus which were employed to save them from dissolution, had not the national faith pointed to a renewal of existence after the lapse of ages, when the bodily organs would again become necessary to the exercise of those faculties from which the dignity and enjoyment of man are derived. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Egypt was indebted to the religious speculations of her ancient sages for those sublime works of architecture which still distinguish her above all the other nations of the primitive world." Still, while we gaze with wonder and admiration on the vast structures, which still stand amid the plains of Egypt, we must

not be deluded into the extravagant admiration of her ancient wisdom and piety, which has led some recent writers to seek there, rather than in the sources to which divine revelation points, for the origination not only of all human arts, but of nearly all human faith. The talented authoress of "Eastern Life," thus expresses her conception of the vast importance of the disclosures which may be anticipated from the perfect understanding of the long sealed records graven on the monuments of Egypt: "When the traveller gazes at vast buildings covered over in every part with writing; every architrave, every abacus, every recess, and every projection, all the lines of the cornice, and all the intervals of the sculptures, he is overwhelmed with the sense of the immensity of knowledge locked up from him before his eyes. Let those at home imagine the ecclesiastical history of Christendom written up thus, on every inch of the surface of its cathedrals, and the civil history of any country, from its earliest times, thus engraved on all its public buildings and palaces, and he may form some conception of what it would be, in regard to mere amount, to be able to read the inscriptions in Egypt. If he is also aware that the religion, philosophy, and science of the world for many thousand years, a religion, philosophy, and science, which reveal a greater nobleness, depth, and extent, the more they are explored, are recorded there, under our very eyes and hands, he will see that no nobler task awaits any lover of truth and of his race, than that of enabling mankind to read these earliest volumes of its own history."

But more caution must be used in drawing our conclusions from these wonderful structures, graven with old Egypt's history. The vastness of their size and the huge massess of stone with which most of them are constructed, do not necessarily evince the highest development of human wisdom and skill. We see in them, rather, the imposing evidences of great mechanical difficulties

overcome, by which comparatively rude nations aim at giving expression to human power. The pyramids, more especially, which required the treasures of a wealthy people, and the labours of thousands for many years, to pile stone upon stone, and build up an artificial hill amid the sandy plains beside the Nile, are fit only to be the monuments of a barbarian despot. Modern science and mechanical skill can see in them nothing that time and money could not now accomplish, were the end deemed worthy of the cost and labour; while the intelligent mind will own the evidence of more intellect and mental labour in the sculptured pediment of the Athænian Parthenon, than in all the groups of pyramids which still rear their lofty points towards heaven. But, though the barbaric idea of vast stones, and gigantic structures, evincing the victory over mere mechanical difficulties, never disappears from the architecture of the ancient Egyptians, there is abundant evidence of a remarkable progress attained in civilization and the arts. Were it not for this indeed, we should look in vain for a satisfactory reason to account for the sustained interest with which successive ages have returned to the investigation of Egyptian antiquities. But while we gaze with wonder and admiration on evidences of human skill, dating back almost to the era of the Deluge and the second origin of the human race, we must exercise a judicious restraint on our fancy in its inclination to assume that all which pertained to the people, whose temples and tombs form such enduring monuments of genius and mechanical skill, was in consistent harmony with what is so worthy of admiration as the creation of human intellect. We know too well from the history both of classic and medieval art, that the highest excellence in the creation of beautiful forms, and new combinations of earlier elements of art, was perfectly compatible with the most vicious moral tastes and habits, and with most degrading conceptions of spiritual things.

That which we know to have been true of the latter Romans, and of the nominal Christian nations of medieval Europe, we must not hastily assume to be inconceivable of the older race of Egypt. The progress which that wonderful people had made in arts and science, while yet the nations of Europe existed only in the scattered nomades that chance or necessity drove from their eastern homes, confers on their history, the chief interest with which we still regard it. It cannot be questioned that the Greeks derived from them the rudiments of their noblest arts,—of their geometry, of their poetical mythology, and even of their refined philosophy. To the great mass of the people, however, the theology of Egypt must have proved, like every other system of idolatry, a vain and degrading superstition. It is easy for the intelligent scholar to perceive poetry and beauty in the Egyptian depictions of the final judgment of the dead, which is sculptured on the temples and tombs, and even frequently painted on the coffins and mummy cases. There he sees pictured the recording deity, the presiding Osiris, the awful balance, and the soul weighed with its deeds against the divine standard of right. All this seems the embodiment of a noble though imperfect conception of human responsibility and final retribution. But how vain must the practical efficacy of such doctrines have been when cumbered with all the endless complications of the Egyptian Pantheon:—ram-headed, snake-headed, cat-headed, and crocodile-headed gods,—spirits of good and of evil of the grossest and most contradictory kinds! Doubtless a vast amount of knowledge, well worthy of the utmost labour to recover, was familiar to the old priesthood of Egypt, and, in part at least, awaits the disclosures of the students of hieroglyphics. But the momentous truths of religion rest on a surer basis, and we may be well content to believe that no researches amid the graven records in the valley of the Nile, will

change the aspect of that "life and immortality" which is brought to light in the gospel.

On this subject Dr. Russell has justly remarked, in the introduction to his "Ancient and Modern Egypt:" "There is nothing more remarkable in its history than that the same people who distinguished themselves by an early progress in civilization, and who erected works which have survived the conquests of Persia, the triumphs of Roman art, and all the architectural labours of Christianity, should have degraded their fine genius by the worship of four-footed beasts, and even of disgusting reptiles. The world does not present a more humbling contrast between the natural powers of intellect and the debasing effect of superstition. Among the Jews, on the other hand,—a people much less elevated by science and mechanical knowledge,—we find a sublime system of theology, and a ritual which, if not strictly entitled to the appellation of a reasonable service, was yet comparatively pure in its ordinances, and still farther refined by a lofty and spiritual import. It has been said of the Hebrews, that they were men in religion, and children in every thing else. This observation may be reversed in the case of the Egyptians; for, while in the greater number of those pursuits which give dignity to the human mind, and perpetuate the glories of civilized life, they made a progress which set all rivalry at defiance,—in their notions and adoration of the invisible powers who preside over the destinies of man, they manifested the imbecility, the ignorance, and the credulity of childhood."

While recognising the justice of these remarks, the singular illustration of the Egyptian ideas of death and judgment, which we have alluded to above, is well worthy of minute investigation. Few, indeed, of the relics of their ancient builders, which the ruined temples and tombs of Egypt have preserved to us, are more worthy of study; for in this singular exposition of Egyptian faith,

we recognise a perverted image of truths, doubtless, traditionally derived from the preaching of Noah, and the divine knowledge which the patriarch sought to impart to his descendants. Amid all that may seem to us unintelligible or grotesque, we still detect, beyond a doubt, the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and of final retribution. It is a scene frequently painted and figured, not only on the temples and tombs, but also on the coffins and mummy cases. Osiris, the judge of the dead, appears seated on his throne, attended by Isis and Nephthys. The most prominent object invariably represented in the scene is the balance and scales, in which the actions of the deceased are to be weighed, reminding us most forcibly of the interpretation by Daniel, of the mysterious writing on the wall of the Babylonian palace: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Anubis the jackall-headed deity presides over the balance, watching its ascending and descending scale, from which he is styled "Director of the Weight." His office in the Egyptian mythology was to superintend the passage of the soul from this life to a future state. He is frequently introduced in the sculptures standing over the bier on which a corpse or mummy is laid; and though to the Egyptian he thus represented the presiding angel, attending the soul on its departure from the earthly tabernacle, it is difficult to conceive that the idea of such a monstrous-looking angel of death invisibly present by the bed of the dying, could fail to add to the terrors of that closing scene, illuminated by no brighter hopes than those of the Egyptian creed.

Herein, indeed, lies the difference between the Christian religion and all other creeds. "The wayfaring man, though a fool cannot err therein." The philosophers of Greece and Rome, laughed at the silly fables of their own gods and goddesses, or at best beheld in them the mystic symbol of spiritual conceptions, and emblems of the

genial changes of nature. But to the great mass of the people the doctrine was a degrading and enslaving idolatry. It is Christianity alone that leaves the proud and the wise to wander in their own vain speculations, while the humblest believer finds no mystery in the simplicity of the gospel,

“Heaven’s easy, artless, unincumbered plan.”

Returning, however, to the description of the oft repeated Egyptian picture of the judgment scene, and its monstrous officiating deities, it is obvious that it occupied a most prominent place in the popular creed, and most probably had no inconsiderable share in exciting the motives for the preservation of the body after death, which led to the singular national practice of embalming. The deceased Egyptian is conducted to judgment by the god Horus, and Anubis places on one of the awful balances a vase supposed to contain his good actions, while in the other is seen the emblem of truth, usually a representative of Thmè or Thmèi, the goddess of truth, which was also worn on the judicial breastplate, and is supposed by Gliddon, the Egyptian traveller, to have suggested the form and remarkable symbolism of the Jewish high priest’s breastplate. Thoth, the ibis-headed god, represents the recording angel, standing by the balance with tablet and style in his hand, ready to write down the results of the impartial judgment. If the result is such that the deceased is weighed in the balance and not “found wanting,” he is then seen introduced by Horus to Osiris, by whom he is dismissed with favour, and conducted by his guide to the mansions of the blessed, over the gate of which Cerberus is generally represented seated. But if the actions of the deceased cannot abide this solemn judgment, the soul is then condemned to return to the world under the form of a pig or some other unclean animal, and is seen borne back to earth in this degraded form, being generally ferried across the river of death, to the world of life, where he had pursued his

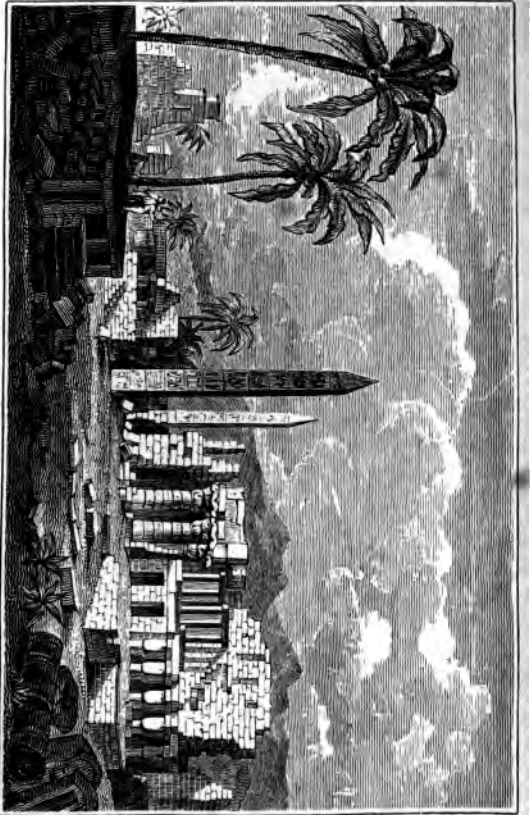
sinful career, by a crew of baboons. The doctrine of the Egyptians taught them to believe in a system of transmigration, somewhat analogous to parts of the singular creed still maintained by the Hindoos. The soul returned to earth as a punishment for "the deeds done in the flesh," and after passing through many changes, and enduring long degradation and suffering, it was at length permitted to resume the human form, and reappear at the judgment seat to be again tried by the dread Osiris. In this as in so many other heathen creeds we can detect many elements manifestly derived from the pure source of Divine revelation; we can even in many of them detect ideas not only of retribution but of atonement. But the real nature of all is the same. Their final elements are not productive of hope but of gloom and terror, and in the purest of them we look in vain for the doctrine of Divine atonement, which gives to Christianity its noblest element of assured hope, and consistently justifies the ways of God to man.

No ruins of Ancient Egypt surpass, either in remarkable character or interesting associations, those of Ancient Thebes. Wilkinson remarks of this extensive city, when describing its varied features: "The time of its foundation still remains, like that of Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, enveloped in that obscurity which is the fate of all the most ancient cities; but probability favours the conjecture, that though Menes, the first king of Egypt, found it in the humble condition of an infant capital, its foundation will date several generations before the accession of that monarch to the throne of his native country.

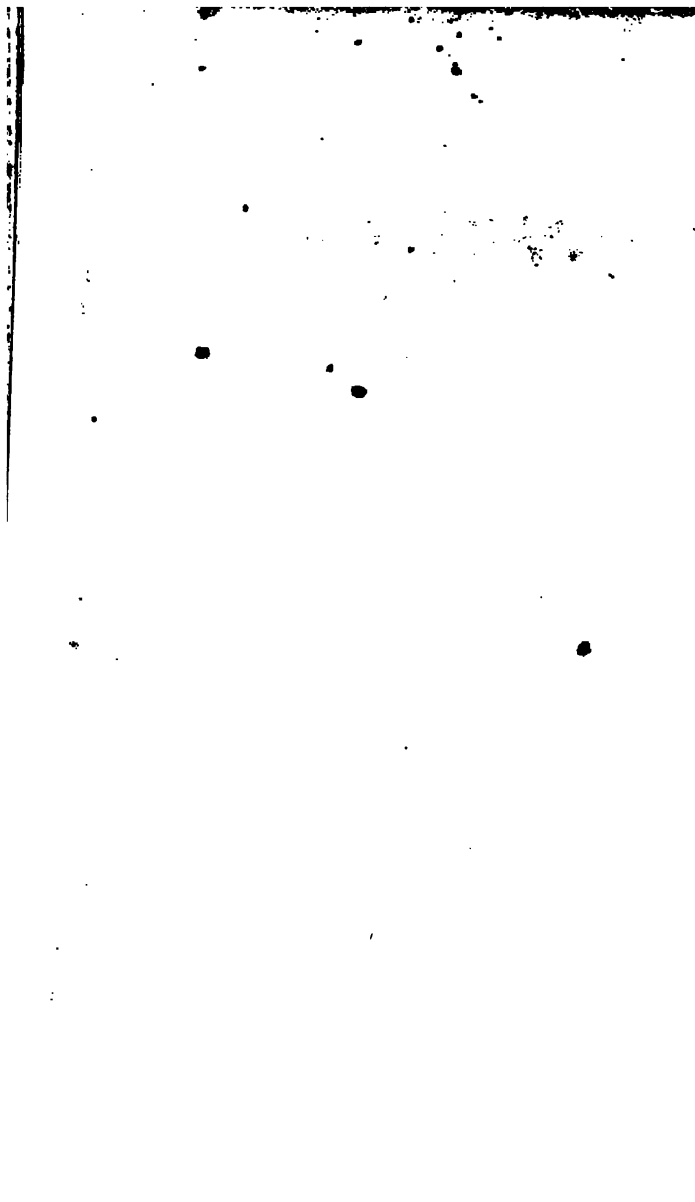
"The most ancient remains now existing at Thebes are unquestionably in the great temple of Karnak, the largest and most splendid ruin of which perhaps either ancient or modern times can boast, being the work of a number of successive monarchs, each anxious to surpass his predecessor by increasing the dimensions and proportions of the part he added. It is this fact which enables us to



The first part of the paper is devoted to a study of the
 properties of the \mathcal{L}_p spaces. It is shown that the
 spaces \mathcal{L}_p are reflexive for $1 < p < \infty$ and
 that the dual of \mathcal{L}_p is \mathcal{L}_q where $1/p + 1/q = 1$.
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 the spaces \mathcal{L}_p are reflexive for $1 < p < \infty$ and
 that the dual of \mathcal{L}_p is \mathcal{L}_q where $1/p + 1/q = 1$.



RUINS OF KARNAK—THEBES.



account for the diminutive size of the older parts of this extensive building; and to their comparatively limited scale, offering greater facility, as their vicinity to the sanctuary greater temptation, to an invading enemy to destroy them, added to their remote antiquity, are to be attributed their dilapidated state, and the total disappearance of the sculptures executed during the reigns of the Pharaohs who preceded Osirtesen I., the contemporary of Joseph, and the earliest monarch whose name exists on the monuments of Thebes." But, indeed, no better evidence could be sought for the importance of the remains of ancient Thebes, than the fact that Wilkinson has devoted a large volume to the illustration of its remarkable relics. After describing the small temple and palace, near the river, dedicated to Amun, the Theban Jupiter, by Osirei, he remarks: "Following the edge of the cultivated land, and about one hundred and eighty yards to the west of this building, are two mutilated statues of Remeses II., of black granite, with a few substructions to the north of them; and seven hundred and seventy yards farther to the west, lies, in the cultivated soil, a sandstone block of Remeses III., presenting in high relief the figure of that king between Osiris and Pthah. Fourteen hundred feet beyond this, in the same direction, is a crude brick inclosure, with large towers, which once contained within it a sandstone temple, dating probably from the reign of the third Thothmes, whose name is stamped on the bricks, and who appears to have been the contemporary of Moses.

"Other fragments and remains of crude brick walls proclaim the existence of other ruins in its vicinity; and about a thousand feet farther to the south-west is the palace and temple of Remeses II., erroneously called the Memnonium: a building, which, for symmetry of architecture and elegance of sculpture, can vie with any other monument of Egyptian art. No traces are visible of the

dromos, that probably existed before the pyramidal towers, which form the facade of the first hypæthral area, a court whose breadth of one hundred and eighty feet, exceeding the length by nearly thirteen yards, is reduced to a more just proportion, by the introduction of a double avenue of columns on either side, extending from the towers to the north wall. In this area, on the right of a flight of steps leading to the next court, was the stupendous Syenite statue of the king seated on a throne, in the usual attitude of these Egyptian figures, the hands resting on his knees, indicative of that tranquility which he had returned to enjoy in Egypt after the fatigues of victory. But the fury of an invader has levelled this monument of Egyptian grandeur, whose colossal fragments lie scattered around the pedestal, and its shivered throne evinces the force used for its demolition.

“If it is a matter of surprise how the Egyptians could transport and erect a mass of such dimensions, the means employed for its ruin are scarcely less wonderful; nor should we hesitate to account for the shattered appearance of the lower part by attributing it to the explosive force of powder, had that composition been known at the period of its destruction. The throne and legs are completely destroyed and reduced to comparatively small fragments, while the upper part, broken at the waist, is merely thrown back upon the ground, and lies in that position which was the consequence of its fall; nor are there any marks of the wedge, or other instrument, which should have been employed for reducing those fragments to the state in which they now appear. The fissures seen across the head, and in the pedestal, are the work of a later period, when some of these blocks were cut for millstones by the Arabs, but its previous overthrow will probably be coeval with the Persian invasion. To say that this is the largest statue in Egypt will convey no idea of the gigantic size or enormous weight of a mass, which

from an approximate calculation, exceeded, when entire, nearly three times the solid content of the great obelisk of Karnak, and weighed about eight hundred and eighty-seven tons five hundred weight and a half."

One of the most celebrated relics still remaining in a mutilated state, amid the vast ruins of Thebes, is the "Vocal Memnon." On this the author of the "Topography of Thebes," remarks:—"The easternmost of the two sitting colossi has been the wonder of the ancients, and the subject of some controversy among modern writers; nor were the numerous inscriptions, which decide it to have been the Memnon of the Romans, sufficient to convince every one that this was the statue reported by ancient authors to utter a sound at the rising of the sun. Strabo, who visited it with Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, confesses that he heard a sound, but could 'not affirm whether it proceeded from the pedestal, or from the statue itself, or even from some of those who stood near its base;' and independent of his total disbelief that it was uttered by the stone itself, he does not hint that the name of Memnon had as yet been given it. The superstition of the Roman visitors, however, shortly after, ascribed it to the son of Tithonus, and a multitude of inscriptions testified his miraculous powers, and the credulity of the writers. Previous to Strabo's time, the 'upper part of this statue, above the throne, had been broken and hurled down,' as he was told, 'by the shock of an earthquake;' nor do the repairs afterwards made to it appear to date prior to the time of Juvenal, since the poet thus refers to its fractured condition:—

'Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.'

But from the account in the Apollonius Thyaneus of Philostratus, we should conclude that the statue had been already repaired as early as the age of Juvenal, who was also a contemporary of the emperor Domitian, since

Damis, the companion of the philosopher, asserts that the 'sound was uttered when the sun touched its *lips*.' But the license of poetry and the fictions of Damis render both authorities of little weight in deciding this point. The foot was also broken, and repaired; but if at the same time as the upper part, the epoch of its restoration must date after the time of Adrian, or at the close of his reign, as the inscription on the left foot has been cut through to admit the cramp which united the restored part. Pliny, following the opinion then in vogue, calls it the statue of Memnon, and adds that it was erected before the Temple of Sarapis;—a strange mistake, since the temple of that deity was never admitted within the precincts of an Egyptian city, and the worship of Sarapis was unknown in Egypt at the epoch of its foundation.

“The nature of the stone, which was also supposed to offer some difficulty, is a coarse hard gritstone, ‘spotted,’ according to Tzetzes’ expression, with numerous chalcidones, and here and there coloured with black and red oxide of iron. The height of either Colossus is forty-seven feet, or fifty-three above the plain, with the pedestal, which, now buried from six feet ten inches to seven feet below the surface, completes, to its base, a total of sixty. The repairs of the vocal statue are of blocks of sandstone, placed horizontally, in five layers, and forming the body, head, and upper part of the arms; but the line of hieroglyphics at the back has not been completed, nor is there any inscription to announce the era or name of its restorer. The accuracy of Pausanias, who states that ‘the Thebans deny this is the statue of Memnon, but of Phamenoph, their countryman,’ instead of clearing the point in question, was supposed to offer an additional difficulty: but the researches of Pococke and Hamilton have long since satisfactorily proved this to be the Memnon of the ancients; who, we learn by an inscription on *the left foot*, was supposed also to bear the name of

Phamenoth. And the hieroglyphical labours of M. Champollion at length decided the question, and Amunoph once more asserts his claims to the statues he erected.

“The destruction of the upper part has been attributed to Cambyses, by the writers of some of the inscriptions and by some ancient authors, which seems more probable than the cause assigned by Strabo, since the temple to which it belonged, and the other colossi in the dromos, have evidently been levelled and mutilated by the hand of man.

“The sound it uttered was said to resemble the breaking of a harp-string, or, according to the preferable authority of a witness, a metallic ring, and the memory of its daily performance, about the first or second hour after sunrise, is still retained in the traditional appellation of *Salamat*, ‘salutations,’ by the modern inhabitants of Thebes. The priests, who, no doubt, contrived the sound of the statue, were artful enough to allow the supposed deity to fail in his accustomed habit, and some were consequently disappointed on their first visit, and obliged to return another morning to satisfy their curiosity. This fact is also recorded on its feet with the precision of the credulous.

“In the lap of the statue is a stone, which, on being struck, emits a metallic sound, that might still be made use of to deceive a visitor, who was predisposed to believe its powers; and from its position, and the squared space cut in the block behind, as if to admit a person who might thus lie concealed from the most scrutinous observer in the plain below, it seems to have been used after the restoration of the statue; and another similar recess exists beneath the present site of this stone, which might have been intended for the same purpose when the statue was in its mutilated state.”

In still further illustration of the same curious inquiry, the author observes:—“Mr. Burton and I first remarked

the metallic sound of this stone in 1824, and conjectured that it might have been used to deceive the Roman visitors; but the nature of the sound, which did not agree with the accounts given by ancient authors, seemed to present an insuperable objection. In a subsequent visit to Thebes, in 1830, on again examining the statue and its inscriptions, I found that one Ballilla had compared it to the striking of brass: and feeling convinced that this authority was more decisive than the vague accounts of those writers who had never heard it, I determined on posting some peasants below, and ascending myself to the lap of the statue, with a view of hearing from them the impression made by the sound. Having struck the sonorous block with a small hammer, I enquired what they heard, and their answer, 'Ente betídrob e'nahás,' 'You are striking brass,' convinced me that the sound was the same that deceived the Romans, and led Strabo to observe that it appeared to him as the effect of a slight *blow*."

Thus insignificant and puerile, in all probability, was this Egyptian miracle, which has been the subject of so much learned discussion both in ancient and modern times. It would not be difficult to find its parallel among the follies of medieval superstition. The result indeed of all modern researches into early history seems to be of this twofold character: we find evidences of civilization having existed at a very remote and almost primeval period, among numerous early races. Architecture, sculpture, letters, painting, mechanical arts, the manufacture of beautiful fictile ware, the science of agriculture, the taste of landscape gardening, the minuter provisions for domestic convenience and luxury, were all known and practised by the ancients. Gunpowder was used in Asia many centuries before its discovery by the English monk. Printing from wooden blocks was practised there for long generations prior to the ingenious European inventor of *the printing press*. The compass and magnetic needle

guided the Chinese barque long ere its secret was known to the immortal Genoese, and gave him courage to tempt the unknown waste of waters, beyond which lay the New World. But even that unknown continent was not in reality a new world to Europe, but had been visited, as is now established beyond doubt, centuries before the era of Columbus, or the European discovery of the magnetic needle, by the hardy Norse vikings who colonized Iceland and Greenland, and left evidences of their occupation of the North American continent, which is celebrated in their earliest sagas under the name of Vinland. In all this we see abundant lessons teaching us to view the acquisitions of modern science and learning with humility. Yet we must also learn to estimate the lore of earlier ages with discriminating wisdom, as well as with veneration. The foolish sceptic has only been too ready to fall down and worship the wisdom of the ancients, while despising the oldest and only sure record of early wisdom which is furnished in the books of the Old Testament scriptures. We discern in the disclosures of the Egyptian priesthood's puerile knavery, as furnished by the vocal Memnon, and in the degrading character of Eastern mythology, as manifested in the sculptures of Nimroud, or of Elephanta and Ellora, abundant evidence that man has ever been the same. God made him in his own image, and endowed him with the noble gifts of reason and intellect, the fruits of which are never entirely effaced in his most barbarian state. But man sold his primeval birthright, won for himself the sad knowledge of good and evil, and inherited too often only the latter.

CHAPTER III.

THE PYRAMIDS.

Of merchants from Golcond or Astracan,
 Or some great caravan, from well to well,
 Winding as darkness on the desert fell,
 In their long march, such as the prophet bids,
 To Mecca from the land of pyramida.

ROGERS.

WE have already referred, in passing to those rude yet most remarkable monuments of human power, and of human labour, the pyramids of Egypt. Their seeming imperishable vastness and solidity of structure, their lofty proportions, compared to which man and his common works become so mean and insignificant, and the mystery which has seemed to enwrap their uninscribed walls, have all combined to confer on them a remarkable and enduring interest. Many ingenious and very diverse theories have been suggested to account for the vast expenditure of time, labour, wealth, and even human life, on the erection of what is after all a pigmy mountain of stone. Mr. Wilford, in a communication to the Asiatic Researches, informs us that, on his describing the great Egyptian pyramid to several very learned Brahmins, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked if it had not a communication with the river Nile. When he answered that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma Devi, and that the supposed tomb

was a trough which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotus-flowers.

Dr. Russel observes of the pyramids:—"The most probable opinion respecting the object of these vast edifices is that which combines the double use of the sepulchre and the temple,—nothing being more common in all nations than to bury distinguished men in places consecrated by the rites of divine worship. If Cheops, Suphis, or whoever else was the founder of the great pyramid, intended it only for his tomb, what occasion was there, says Dr. Shaw, for such a narrow sloping entrance into it, or for the well, as it is called, at the bottom, or for the lower chamber with a large niche or hole in the eastern wall of it, or for the long narrow cavities in the sides of the large upper room, which likewise is incrustated all over with the finest marble,—or for the antechambers and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the Egyptian theology was clothed in mysterious emblems or figures." Hence Dr. Shaw assumes that the numerous turnings and passages, the concealed chambers and approaches, and all the manifestly designed secrecy of the internal arrangements of the pyramids, prove that their builders had some nobler purpose in view than the mere provision of the central catacomb hewn out of the solid rock, wherein to deposit the bodies of the dead.

Such may suffice as a specimen of the arguments usually drawn from an examination of the pyramids. Their numbers, however, seem to justify the idea of their mere sepulchral character, though it is probable that no Egyptian catacomb was entirely divested of somewhat of the significance of a temple. The undecaying characteristics peculiar to the Egyptian dead implied a continued care for them by the living, and the curious Egyptian document referred to in a former chapter as discovered by Sir George F. Grey, and deciphered by Dr. Young, shows

that the ancient Egyptians maintained priestly services for their dead, curiously corresponding to the chantry services and masses of the Romish Church. The pyramids which have attracted the largest attention are those of Ghizeh, and this fully as much from the readiness of access, as from their magnificent proportions. The number of such structures scattered over Egypt is very great; but by far the most remarkable are those at Djizeh, Sakhara, and Dashour. "The first of these places, which is situated about ten miles from the western bank of the Nile, and nearly in the latitude of Grand Cairo, is distinguished by possessing the three principal edifices described by Herodotus, and which are still regarded as the finest monuments of this class in any part of the world. It is noticed by every author who, from personal observation, has described these wonderful works of art, that the sense of sight is much deceived in the first attempt to appreciate their distance and magnitude. Though removed several leagues from the spectator, they appear to be quite at hand; and it is not until he has travelled some miles in a direct line towards them that he becomes sensible both of their vast bulk and also of the pure atmosphere through which they are viewed. They are situated on a platform of rock about a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the surrounding desert,—a circumstance which at once contributes to their being well seen, and also to the discrepancy that still prevails among the most intelligent travellers as to their actual height."

The following may suffice as a summary of all but the most recent observations on the principal group of pyramids, to which we shall afterwards refer:—"The largest stands on an elevation free all round, on which account the accumulation of sand in contact with it is less than might have been apprehended. It has, however, suffered much from human violence, immense heaps of broken

stones having fallen down on each side, which form a high mound towards the middle of the base. The corners are pretty clear, where the foundation is readily discovered, particularly at the north-west angle; but it is impossible to see straight along the line of the base on account of these heaps of rubbish. Hence, as has been already suggested, the difficulty of making an exact measurement, and the frequent disagreement of the results; it being impracticable, without removing the sand and fallen stones, to run a straight line all the way in contact with the building. Dr. Richardson paced one side, at a little distance from the wall, and found it two hundred and forty-two steps; whence he conjectures that the extent of seven hundred feet, usually assigned to it, is not far from the truth."

The accuracy of the observations of Herodotus, are thus established in nearly every case, where he reports what lay within his own personal cognizance, but it is otherwise when he reports information derived from the priests, or other second hand authorities. "The entrance into this Pyramid is on the north side, nearly in the centre, and about an equal distance from each angle; being, at the same time, elevated about thirty feet above the base, probably that it might be more difficult for a conqueror to discover it, and less liable to be blocked up with sand. The ascent to it is over a heap of stones and rubbish that have either fallen from the Pyramid, or been forced out and thrown down in the various efforts made at successive periods to find a passage into the interior.

"After advancing nearly a hundred feet into the entrance, which slopes downward at an angle of about twenty-six degrees, the explorer finds an opening on the right hand, which conducts him up an inclined plane to the queen's chamber, as travellers have agreed to call it,—an apartment seventeen feet long, fourteen feet wide, and twelve feet high, to the point on which the roof is suspended.

Ascending a similar passage, but somewhat steeper than the first, he perceives another chamber of larger dimensions, being thirty-seven feet two inches long, seventeen feet two inches wide, and about twenty feet in height." This is denominated, though on no very definite authority, the king's chamber, and it will be seen that the names conferred on those more recently discovered are merely convenient and arbitrary terms. Towards the west end of the king's chamber stands the sarcophagus, which likewise consists of red granite highly polished, but without either sculpture or hieroglyphs. Its length is seven feet six inches, while the depth and width are each three feet three inches. There is no lid, nor was any thing found in it on gaining an entrance, except a few fragments of the stone with which the chamber is decorated.

"As this room does not reach beyond the centre of the pyramid, it has been suggested that there are other passages leading to other chambers in communication with it; the entrance to which, it is thought likely, would be found by removing some of the granite slabs which serve as wainscoting to the walls. To present to the eye a uniform surface in the interior of an apartment was one of the devices usually employed by an architect in old times when he wished to conceal from an ordinary observer the approach to a secret retreat,—reserving to himself and his employer the knowledge of the particular stone which covered the important orifice, as well as the means of obtaining a ready access.

"A third chamber, still higher in the body of the pyramid than either of the two just mentioned, was discovered by Mr. Davison, who, about sixty years ago, was British consul at Cairo. Having on one of his visits observed a hole in the top of the gallery, he resolved to ascertain the object of it, and whether it led to any apartment which had not yet been described. He was able to creep in, though with much difficulty, and when he had ad-

vanced a little way, he discovered what he supposed to be the end of the approach. His surprise was great, when he reached it, to find to the right a straight passage into a long, broad, but low place, which he knew, as well by the length as the direction of the entry he had come in at, to be immediately above the large room. The stones of granite which are at the top of the latter form the bottom of this, but are uneven, being of unequal thickness. The room is four feet longer than the one beneath; in the latter you see only seven stones, and a half of one, on each side of them; but in that above, the nine are entire, the two halves resting on the wall at each end. The breadth is equal with that of the room below. The covering of this, as of the other, is beautiful granite, but it is composed of eight stones instead of nine, the number in the lower room."

In the year 1836, Colonel Howard Vyse, an intelligent and wealthy British officer, undertook at his own expense to investigate the secrets of the Pyramids. With the most persevering enthusiasm he obtained a firman from the Pasha empowering him to make the necessary excavations, and was speedily at work with some hundreds of Arab labourers, men, women, and children, digging, carrying sand and rubbish, or hewing passages through the solid masonry of the vast structures. The fruits of his undertaking are published in two large and costly volumes, furnishing most minute details of many interesting disclosures effected by his zealous labours. The results of these successive investigations into the structure of the great Pyramid, are that, above the king's chamber, and only separated from it by the huge masses of stone forming its roof, is the chamber discovered by Davison, and bearing his name. Immediately above this Colonel Vyse effected an entrance, with great labour into another apartment to which he gave the name of Wellington's chamber; another discovered above this he styled Nel-

son's chamber, a third, in compliment to a friend, Lady Arbuthnot's chamber; and a fourth, Campbell's chamber, after the resident British Consul. All these, however, including the first discovered by Davidson, are mere chambers of construction, or spaces left in the mass of the pyramid, lessening the superincumbent weight over the roof of the king's chamber. No entrance was found to any of them, or had ever been intended by the builders of the Pyramid, and they were only reached by quarrying a passage through the solid masonry, which had lasted for so many thousand years, no more affected by the lapse of centuries, than the rocky cliffs of the Andes.

But a still more interesting discovery was made in the third pyramid. Into this also Colonel Vyse effected an entrance, and in the central sepulchral chamber he found a remarkably beautiful sarcophagus, covered with sculpture. It had been opened, its lid broken, and its contents rifled. The remains of rude Arabic inscriptions on the walls, left no room to doubt that the same early Mohammedan searchers had opened it as well as the larger pyramid. As the sarcophagus would have been speedily destroyed had it been left in the pyramid, Colonel Vyse resolved to send it to the British Museum. With great labour and difficulty it was got out of the subterranean chamber, and at length brought into daylight. Considering that it weighed nearly three tons, and had to be brought through steep, narrow, and greatly encumbered passages, where no light could be had but by means of torches, its removal was not the least arduous of the undertakings involved in the opening of the pyramids. It was, however, at last safely hauled out, and placed on a carriage constructed for the purpose. A sort of railway of planks had to be laid, over which it was drawn across the rocks and sand to the Colonel's encampment. There it was cased in strong timbers, so as to secure it from injury, and by the like laborious process it was

despatched once more on its journey, and at length reached Alexandria in safety. It was embarked there in the autumn of 1838, on board a merchant-ship, safe, as it was presumed, for its final destination in the British Museum. On the 12th of October in the same year, the vessel departed from Leghorn, where she had touched in her homeward voyage, and this was the last account ever obtained of her or her crew. It is supposed that the ship was wrecked off Carthagena, as some fragments of a vessel believed to be parts of her, were picked up near that port, but nothing definite was learned, or ever will be now, concerning her fate. The remarkable and beautiful relic of Egyptian art, which had lain unharmed for ages in its original shrine, was only laboriously brought forth to the light to be consigned for ever to the depths of the sea, where lie so many strange treasures, and some more precious than these relics of ancient art. One of our sweetest poetesses thus touches on the thoughts which such an incident suggests, in her "Treasures of the Sea: —

What hidest thou in thy treasure-caves and cells?
 Thou hollow-sounding and mysterious Main!
 Pale glistening pearls, and rainbow-coloured shells,
 Bright things which gleam unrecked of and in vain.
 Keep, keep thy riches, melancholy Sea!
 We ask not such from thee.

Yet more, the Depths have more!—What wealth untold,
 Far down, and shining through their stillness, lies!
 Thou hast the starry gems, the burning gold,
 Won from ten thousand royal Argosies.
 Sweep o'er thy spolia, thou wild and wrathful Main!
 Earth claims not these again!

Yet more, the Depths have more!—Thy waves have rolled
 Above the cities of a world gone by!
 Sand hath filled up the palaces of old,
 Sea-weed o'ergrown the halls of revelry!
 Dash o'er them, Ocean! in thy scornful play,
 Man yields them to decay!

Yet more, the Billows and the Depths have more!
 High hearts and brave are gathered to thy breast!
 They hear not now the booming waters roar,—
 The battle-thunders will not break their rest,
 Keep thy red gold and gems, thou stormy grave!—
 Give back the true and brave!

Give back the lost and lovely!—Those for whom
 The place was kept at board and hearth so long;
 The prayer went up through midnight's breathless gloom,
 And the vain yearning woke 'midst festal song:
 Hold fast thy buried isles, thy towers o'erthrown,—
 But all is not thine own!

To thee the love of woman hath gone down;
 Dark flow thy tides o'er manhood's noble head,
 O'er youth's bright locks, and beauty's flowery crown!
 Yet must thou hear a voice—Restore the dead!
 Earth shall reclaim her precious things from thee!—
 Restore the dead, thou Sea!

The reader will not find it difficult to sympathize with the feelings of Colonel Vyse, in the loss of one of the most valuable results of his laborious and costly investigations. Other relics, however, found in the same pyramid, were fortunately despatched by a different conveyance, and reached their destination. A considerable portion of the top of a mummy-case, inscribed with hieroglyphics, and part of the mummy which it had inclosed, probably that of the mighty Egyptian for whom so vast a sepulchre was reared, were found, and are now safely deposited in the British Museum. The hieroglyphic inscription on the mummy case shows it to be that of Mycerinus, and thus furnishes the most remarkable confirmation of the accuracy and trustworthiness of Herodotus. According to him the third pyramid was built by Mucherinos, the successor of Chephrên, the son or brother of Cheops, or Suphis, who erected the great pyramid. Such a discovery is alone honour and reward enough for all the labour and cost incurred by this zealous and intelligent explorer of the remains of ancient

Egypt. The entire inscription so far as the present knowledge of hieroglyphics admits of it being deciphered, consists of an address to the deceased monarch, as identified with Osiris. It may be thus translated, the peculiar phraseology being an embodiment of the Egyptian creed, which implied that the deceased returned into the divine essence from whence the soul had emanated, and hence Mycerinus is spoken of throughout, under his new character of Osiris, or the Osirian,—he who has returned to the supreme Deity:—

Osirian, king Men-kah-re, inheritor of eternal life engendered of the heaven, child of Netpe (Osiris being the son of Netpe and Seb, the Egyptian Rhea and Saturn), who extends her care over thee as thy mother. Nepte guardian of thee, may she watch thy abode of rest in heaven, revealing thee to the God supreme over thy impure enemies. King Men-ka-re living for ever, or the immortal.

Some words have been supplied as indispensable to the complete illustration of the ideas designed to be embodied in this inscription. But as a whole, we believe, it conveys a nearly literal meaning of the Egyptian record. It may be received by the reader as a tolerably fair example of hundreds of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The same, or a somewhat similar formula is repeated on sarcophagi, and tombs. Other formulas are to be found, equally unvarying, on temples, obelisks, and even on the little mummy figures, sarabei, and other diminutive Egyptian relics. The cartouche is generally the chief object of interest, but its discovery is frequently, as in this instance, invaluable to the historian. We learn, however, from these and similar inscriptions, what were the ideas, and what was the nature of the ancient mythology of the Egyptians, and thus are we enabled to obtain an insight into the character of the people, and their cast of thought; thereby recovering much know-

ledge, which throws new light on the later creeds of Greece and Rome, as well as on the mythology of the great empires of Assyria, and even of India.

CHAPTER IV.

EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Gods of the heathen, lights amid that waste,
 Raying down darkness on its hopeless gloom ;
 An immortality without the life
 The gospel gives it ; an eternity
 Like your own mummied dead, that will not rot,
 A life in death, that vainly craves to die.

ANON.

THE sources whence a knowledge of Egyptian theology may be obtained, we examine, with the firm conviction, that as the characteristics of the mind of man change not with changing seasons, however strange we imagine their religious opinions, or mysterious the sacred usages of their temples, they sprang from the conception of minds, gifted with the same faculties which we ourselves possess. So that to a certain extent we may regard the ancient Egyptians as ourselves, placed in their peculiar circumstances, and their habits of thinking and modes of acting as ours, and thus we trace out their distinguishing characteristics with greater zeal and interest, by identifying ourselves with them ; a mode of regarding the actions of nations long extinct, which adds greatly to the interest of their history, if we are but careful to make concessions for national peculiarities, the result of differences in cli-

mate, government, and religion, as well as the other great moral and physical causes which exert an influence over the condition of man.

The sources whence our information is to be obtained, at first sight seem ample and satisfactory. We have their sacred temples, still in high preservation, open to our examination, bearing on their gorgeous walls the forms of the deities who received adoration, the symbols used in connexion with the worship, and pictorial representations of the ceremonies accompanying the sacred celebration, and long tablets of hieroglyphics, now no longer altogether sealed volumes. To explain these rites or doctrines, which could not be learned from the pantomime of the temple, we have the explanations of the sacred priests themselves, which through various channels have reached us; and the records of those Greeks their contemporaries, who visited their temples, beheld their penetralia, and learned from their ministering hierophants the lessons taught to the worshipping throng. From that period down to the present time, we have a host of historians, commentators, and travellers, who have compared the records of former writers with the existing remains at their own day, pointing out those ancient opinions which are at variance with the sacred ruins as seen by themselves, and explaining after a novel and often more satisfactory manner, those sacred rites and representations which admit of so varied and often contradictory interpretations. But much of this array of evidence fails us on closer examination. Perfect though the temples are, we gaze on many pictures, strange forms, and confused symbols, and walls covered with mysterious hieroglyphics, but we cannot understand them; nor on this account have we to regret that time and violence have dilapidated many an edifice, while we cannot explain what the destroyer has left. Hence too the commentaries, whether of contemporary or succeeding writers, avail

us little; they could not explain the devices they studied, and often guessed at their hidden meaning. They amount to no more than opinion, they never can be termed facts, and we are perplexed with the knowledge that no theory, however ingenious it might be, has served to reconcile the contradictions of their creed, and on some points we are as much perplexed now with all our discoveries in the intricacies of hieroglyphics, as were the Greek philosophers in the days of Pythagoras.

The explanation is found, in part at least, in the peculiar mental constitution of the people, and the great subtilty of the sacred priests, whose design it was to conceal from all but the initiated, those esoteric doctrines which owed much of their solemnity and admiration to the mystery in which they were shrouded;—and well have these ghostly advisers effected their purpose; they have clothed every rite and doctrine in hieroglyphic and symbol,—every metaphysical notion and even historical fact, in a cloak of mystery, which the unwearied efforts of the learned of all ages have in vain essayed to remove. Hence there is still doubt, confusion, and perplexity; every theory failing to explain contradictions, or give a satisfactory explanation of the peculiar rites of the creed. There is thus no room left for dogmatizing, and, it might be imagined, little for a record of facts; yet enough remains known and probable to make the study both interesting and instructive.

A dogma prevailed over the whole ancient world, that there brooded over the earth a certain formative and conservative power, from the mighty workings of which the world sprang into existence, and to whose constant operations the permanence and perfection of all things were owing. This belief seems to have early prevailed among the Brahmins of India, who entertained the notion of an elementary fire, the soul of the world. A similar belief existed in Egypt, of which the famous Hermes Trismegistus

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NORTHERN GATE OF THE TEMPLE OF DENDEERA.



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is believed to have been the great propagator in the latter country, where it seems to have been universally believed, at least in the first ages of its history. From the sacred priests, the opinion passed through Thales and Pythagoras to Greece and Italy, where, more or less modified, it formed a tenet of all the schools. To Egypt, indeed, may be traced nearly all the doctrines and mythic fables which form the ground-work of classic mythology, as well as the principles on which even the exact sciences of modern times are based.

Very diversified were the opinions entertained of its real character, some regarding it as of the nature of fire, others a kind of air, some an ether—a spirit—the breath, and some as water. In the form of fire it has been immortalized in the history of Prometheus, and his famous story of stealing fire from heaven. Whatever were its nature it was believed to influence the world in the capacity of life and soul, and to be the divine aura, whence a part or particle was infused into every organized being, as the principle of vitality and soul of existence. This universal principle or power, is the nearest approach which seems to have been made to the belief in a Great First Cause of all things.

Thus, under the name of Athor or Athyr, a goddess, we find this principle adored. One of the recent travellers in Egypt mentions that on the roof of the pronaos of the great temple of Dendera he found “a mythological representation of the birth of the universe from the bosom of Athor, whose outstretched arms appear to embrace the whole expanse of the heavens; from her mouth proceeds the winged globe, (the emblem of the world self-balanced in space,) her womb gives birth to the sun and moon, which diffuse their light and generative influence over the earth, while the other gods with their stellar mansions, mystic symbols, transmigrations, avatars, and earthly representatives, are seen moving in order along the firmament,

enveloped within the starry robe of this queen of heaven." In other sacred edifices and parts of the mythology, traces are found of the worship of other deities as the representations of this power, as the god Osiris and his consort Isis; but the indications of this are less clear.

Having premised the Great First Cause of all things, we come naturally to the second class,—the great natural powers which effect the changes on the world's surface, and the consideration of this subject brings us at once to the mysteries of Sabaism. This adoration, the purest which may well be believed to succeed to the absence of revealed religion and the forgetfulness of a true God, history makes it exceedingly probable was at one time universally practised in the ancient world. The Chaldean shepherd and the Egyptian sage were the earliest astronomers, and the first who bowed the knee to the host of heaven. Egypt, a country noted for the loveliness of its nights, the great beauty of the moon and the splendour of the stars which sparkled in its unclouded sky, might well be the great supporter of such a system.

But their astronomy soon became astrology, and to each planet was attributed a mystic influence, and to every heavenly body a supernatural agency, and all the stars that gem the sky were supposed to exert an influence over the birth, and life, and destiny of man; hence arose the casting up of fate, the prayers, the incantations, and sacrifices, and all the superstition and fanaticism that followed in their train; of which we have some traces even to the present day in those professors of astrology and divination, the gipsies, whose very name links them with the ancient country of such arts.

The first heavenly body worshipped by the Egyptians was the greatest of all—the sun; and although some of his attributes are symbolized in almost all the gods, there can be no doubt that Osiris was the great and peculiar deification of this luminary, and worshipped as such.

It is not needed to enlarge on how the sun gilds this world of ours with beauty, that without him no flowers would scent the air, or song of birds be heard, or hum of busy bees, that the sky owes her varied tints to him, that unless he shine the deep would never break into a smile, for the very consummation of gloomy desolation seems summed up in the poet's words,—“a world without a sun.” All this must have been strikingly apparent to the ancient Egyptians: dwelling in a land exposed to the sun's most vertical rays, and clothed in vegetation of characteristic tropical luxuriance. But besides this, the dwellers in the valley of the Nile, patiently watching the river's decline, beheld with astonishment the moist earth on which the sun's rays fell, give birth to innumerable hosts of living creatures, winged insects of all forms and colours, with reptiles of hideous shapes, crocodiles and serpents moving among the green plants and young grass, which the same power called into existence from the bosom of the earth. Reasoning little on the hidden origin of life, they believed the sun to warm into life the very earth itself,—as we believe our common father Adam to have been formed from the dust by the fingers of the Almighty. Thus far then Osiris was the deification of the sun, as the creator of the beautiful and fruitful among the living inhabitants of the earth.

Next to the sun, no power exerts so great influence over the fruitfulness of the earth as moisture, nay, it may with justice be considered of equal power, for unless heat be accompanied with moisture, the earth can never be fresh and beautiful. And to the refreshing influence of water Egypt was constantly indebted, for without the Nile it must have been but a portion of the Libyan Desert. Watered, however, as it was by its broad and beautiful river, and fertilized by its annual inundations, it became like a garden of Eden, teeming with life. For these reasons, the Egyptians looked with veneration on the waters

of the Nile; and as its mountain sources were wholly unknown then, as to a certain extent they are even at the present day, it was a matter of belief among the lower classes, that it flowed down from the sun itself, by some from the moon, as the Hindoos believe their holy Ganges to descend from heaven. Thus connected with the orb of day, and believed to co-operate with it, in producing the same beneficial results, its attributes were added to those of Osiris, already worshipped as the peculiar deification of the sun; but the name and worship were retained as before. It will be observed, the character of Osiris—whether regarded as the sun, or the Nile, or both collectively—was that of a power always working for the production of good. This principle was carried out still further, and every element or power of nature producing a beneficial result was incorporated with the element already deified, and served to swell the list of the attributes of the deity. Thus the etesian breezes, which, wafted from the Mediterranean, came cool and refreshing over the land, repelling the advances of the fatal sirocco, and assuaging the otherwise intolerable sultriness of the climate, and the rain which occasionally fell, and any other benign influence, were formed into one great power, and seems to have received almost universal adoration from the ancient Egyptians.

We come by an easy and natural transition from the worship of the God of Day to the adoration of the Queen of Night, we should expect the worshippers of the sun, in any clime, to regard the moon as an object worthy of their devotional regard; but we wonder less at this when we call to mind the unsurpassable liveliness of the moonlight nights of Egypt. A people who were prevented by the warmth of their climate from much active exercise during the day, must have made the evening the season of their promenades, and a bright and beautiful moon, in a clear sky, shining on the deep calm river below, could

not fail to make the religious feelings of a people prone to worship and symbolize the powers and elements of nature. The moon accordingly was deified and named Isis, and the images of this goddess were accordingly made with horns in imitation of the lunar crescent, and were attired in sable robes to denote the dimming of her lustre which monthly came round; she was regarded as the sister and wife of Osiris, the sun; and her monthly revolution was conceived to be her flight in pursuit of her liege lord, the sun, and for this reason she was invoked in all affairs of love, but like all the other deities of Egypt, Isis was not the personification of one power or principle, but of several. Thus she was not only the moon, but also the earth, and, more generally, nature. In all these points of view, however, she was considered as dependent on the sun, and receiving from him that genial and animating influence which gave her life, light, and beauty. The fable of the mutual adventures of Isis and Osiris is famous in mythological story, and formed a very large portion of the sacred traditions of the ancient Egyptian priesthood.

The consideration of these fabulous pilgrimages and events can be referred to with greater propriety after the consideration of some other of the Egyptian gods with whom they are involved.

The deified principles hitherto considered, are benevolent in their character and beneficial to man in the exercise of their powers. Now we come to wholly dissimilar agents, as the elements of nature which work for the good of man, were personified and worshiped by the Egyptians, so also those which bring evil or destroy the comforts of man, or in any way prove injurious to his interests, were raised to divine honours and received adoration.

Thus the salt sea which swallowed up the fertilizing Nile; the sandblast, the dismal simoom which blew from the south and burned up every herb and green thing, and

suffocated or destroyed every living creature exposed to its influence ; the darkness and chillness of winter, stripping the leaves of foliage ; the eclipses of sun and moon, obscuring the light and heat and genial influence of Isis and Osiris ; in short, every occurrence which in any way lessened the comforts of life, or marred the beauty of nature, or interfered with the fruitfulness of the earth, was concentrated into one evil being named Typhon, a dread and malignant power. We have said one evil being ; he has, however, like all the Egyptian gods, a consort, Nepthe, who, though sometimes referred to, generally as the evil power, was more properly the deification of the sands of the Libyan Desert, which bordered on Egypt, and threatened to over whelm it with barrenness and desolation.

Regarded as the cause of all evil and misfortune, as a power capricious and cruel, the essential part of the worship here consisted in propitiations of his wrath, and in endeavours to avert his savage revenge. We need not here advert to the worship of indignant powers, a more convenient opportunity will be afforded in the attempt to sketch the philosophy or spirit of the Egyptian mythology, before concluding.

Meanwhile, we revert, for a few moments, to the connexions believed to subsist between Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. A relentless enmity, as might readily be imagined, was believed to obtain between the opposite principles of good and of evil, and in the legends of the Egyptian creed, the details of the conflicts, and success of these dissimilar powers, occupy a large and important share. Without entering into the minutiae of these mythological fables, it may suffice to say, that Osiris, in his capacity of ruler of the whole earth, was believed to sway the sceptre of peace. During his reign, all nature smiled ; the bountiful earth brought forth abundantly, the Nile ran deep and majestically to the sea, evil was not known, and the earth was in her golden age. Against

this mighty and benevolent power, Typhon, the evil principle, conspired, secretly assailed and overcame him. The spirit of Osiris was believed to descend to the shades below (where he acted in an important capacity afterwards to be noticed), and his body was hewn to pieces by his ruthless murderer, and scattered to the winds. Thus the evil principle became the presiding genius of the earth. During his reign, nature lost all her beauty; the withered foliage dropped from the trees, the Nile dwindled to a small stream, and the winds of the south whirled the noxious sand of the Libyan over the whole land, making the earth barren and desolate; pestilential vapours arose from the surface of the ground, and the fields swarmed with serpents and scorpions, and all noxious animals.

Meanwhile Isis, with a wife's affectionate care, gathered together the fragments of her lord's murdered body, and arrayed it together. Soon after Osiris returned from the subterranean realms, vanquished Typhon, and imprisoned him; and again restored the earth to beauty and fertility. It is important to notice that the conflict between the powers of good and evil was a yearly event, and solemnized as such.

Commentators on the ancient Egyptian mythology have abundantly shown that in this mythic fable were shadowed forth certain natural occurrences. And it is easy to trace in the preceding tradition, an allegorical representation of the course of the sun and the changes of the seasons. Thus the golden age of the earth and her beautiful appearance during the reign of Osiris, were the richness and loveliness of nature in spring and summer when the sun and moisture contribute to fill the earth with fruits and flowers and happy living beings; and the fading grandeur of autumn, when the earth looks old and wan, and the desolate cheerlessness of winter, with its tempests and diseases, was embodied in the evil Typhon. Isis was nature, smiling and rejoicing under the warm rays of the

sun, and mourning and losing all her beauty when the god of day departed and storms shook the land, but again rising into new life and regaining her charms when her beloved sun assumed the sceptre of the earth. Accordingly, in Egypt, and in many other nations of the ancient world, festivals, mournful in their character, were solemnized in the close of autumn for the death of Osiris and the grief of Isis, in other words, for the departure of the sun and the desolation of nature; and a second festival, but one of rejoicing, was held in spring when the young herbs were springing from the earth, watered by the Nile, and the days becoming longer than the nights, showed that the sun was regaining his power; for the joy of Isis at the re-appearance of Osiris.

In connexion with the preceding deities, and as a deified natural power or element, we must refer to the god Horus, although some obscurity prevails as to his supposed attributes and history, he was the son of Isis and Osiris, and worshipped over a large portion of Egypt. He was adored as the god of light; and obelisks, the symbols, as is supposed, of the rays of the sun, were dedicated to him. There appears in this a clashing with the attributes of Osiris. It will be observed, however, that Osiris was the sun, as the power vivifying nature, and that it was as a source of heat he was as highly adored; so that his light not being included in this deification, was given to another god, Aroeris. Perhaps, also, this latter deity presided over light from all sources, as well artificial as from the heavenly bodies; and a student of mythology must not be a stickler for consistency, or he will soon drop the investigation. Whatever were his attributes, he was confessedly an important deity in the eyes of the Egyptians. In connexion with Osiris and Typhon, he formed the chief triad of the Egyptian creed, which seems to have included a triple personification of the generative, the destructive, and the restoring powers of

nature ; the latter, however, being attributed to Aroeris as his light, evidenced in the increase of day over night ; first seen in spring, was the earliest proof of the restoration of Orisis to his kingly power. Like the other gods, Horus had a consort, Bubastis, who bore the same relation to the moon which he did to the sun, but in addition, she was believed to watch over the birth of children, an idea traceable to a superstitious belief among the Egyptians, and almost every nation of antiquity, the Jews not excepted, that the hopes and happiness of all beings depended on the phase of the moon under which they were born. The last god who personified some natural principle was Sem ; a curious deity, power personified. Whatever operations of nature exhibited resistless force were combined to form this object of adoration. The impetuous fury of the wind, the crash of masses of rock dashed to the earth, the headlong course of the Nile at the cataracts, the speed and deadly influence of the winged lightning, and the wild rage of the sea, lashed by a storm, may all reasonably be believed to have been centred in this deity's attributes. The last divinity in this class was Buto, a goddess, who appears to have been the personification of night or shade, sometimes considered as the emblem of primeval darkness and chaos ; she is beautifully termed the mother of dew, and was at first strictly termed the goddess of night. Her powers were afterwards increased, without, however, altering her characteristics : thus she was believed to preside over the gloom of the darkness of the tomb, and carried out still farther to be the presiding goddess of the gloomy infernal regions.

Egypt, like every other country of the human race shut out from the guidance of revelation, had a deified personation of love. This goddess, however, as worshipped in Egypt, has not been handed down to us by a distinct and significant name ; she seems to have been looked upon as Isis, or rather, in a peculiar deification, adored as such.

No divinity, not even Osiris himself, was so universally worshipped over Egypt as this goddess. The most splendid temple in the valley of the Nile, the famous temple of Dendera, was consecrated to her. In splendour of design and execution, in richness and delicacy of sculpture and painting, and in the beauty and variety of its decorations, this sacred edifice stands pre-eminent in Egypt; and many of its alto-reliefs and statues might vie with the exquisite productions of the Grecian school.

The personified ideas, sentiments, and affections, next occupy our attention, these include a meagre list, and yet a very singular class of divinities. The Egyptians, beautiful though their country was for a great part of the year, and stern and sublime for the other, have been justly characterized as a quaint and unimaginative people, and as far as may be judged from the records of history and the details of travellers, the lovers of poetry and the romantic have little reason to believe that the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics would add any to this stock of beautiful sentiments or sublime imagery.

Foremost among these may be noted Harpocrates, the god of silence. Although his attributes are confused, and sometimes contradictory, his most prominent characteristics were silence and mystery. He is generally represented as a young boy, with his finger on his closed lips, standing beside Isis, or sitting on a lotus flower. He is found represented in almost every temple from the Delta to Ethiopia, and from this it is extremely probable that he stood in relation to the sacred mysteries performed at certain seasons in all the temples of Egypt, which none but the initiated were permitted to behold, as a memento or warning of the inviolable secrecy demanded of their privileged spectators. A more important rank is occupied by another deity, Thoth, the Hermes Trismegistus of notorious memory, believed to possess many endow-

ments. Among other attributes, he was believed to be the god who presided over the heart and swayed all its actions.

The priests and sacred scribes of the temples of Egypt, a body of men deeply skilled in the secrets of human nature, appear to have infused into the minds of their superstitious followers the belief that they possessed supernatural powers and could predict coming events; and as the Pharaohs included in their persons the office of priest and king, it is not difficult to understand how a slavish people would raise to divine honours the mortal who had ruled them on this earth, and whom, there was reason to dread, might be supreme in another world, where his revenge would be wreaked on those who neglected to pay him posthumous honours. Nothing is more surely known of Egyptian manners than the adulation of the subjects and the tyranny of the rulers of that land; and the famous Valley of the Kings, at Thebes, with its splendid rock-cut chambers, sculpture, painting, and sarcophagi, manifest the costly labour spent in surrounding, with every art and decoration, the mummies of Suphis and his royal descendants.

It may be observed that many attributes of mortals are confusedly mingled with those of supernatural powers. Thus there seems to have been a mortal Osiris, one of the early kings of Egypt, who first taught his subjects the benefits of agriculture, the value of the cow, and the method of preparing corn. He was, for all these good benefits, enrolled among the powers divine, not, however, as a peculiar deity. His attributes were given over to swell the attributes of the solar Osiris, and that the lessons of the mortal were gratefully remembered, is evidenced in the fact, that the statue of Osiris was almost invariably represented with a winnow, or hoe, in his hand as a symbol of his connexion with agriculture. Another god, adding to his spiritual powers those of a canonized mortal,

is Thoth or Hermes, already alluded to as the god who presided over the wisdom of the heart. But the most extraordinary, and perhaps the most interesting division of all the objects of Egyptian worship, is the adoration of animals, to some of the forms of which, as evidences of the character of Egyptian mythology, reference has already been made in a former chapter. On a first consideration, nothing seems more extraordinary than that men should bow down before a brute or a loathsome reptile. An adoration of so strange a kind seems at variance with every feeling of our minds, and every recollection of our sensations or emotions. Nevertheless, there can be but one opinion as to the sincerity of the worship paid to them; the death of the sacred animals was bewailed with bitter lamentation; the slayer of one was immediately put to death by the multitude without waiting even the semblance of a trial. The dead bodies of cats and dogs were buried with the most solemn funeral rites, and it is even believed that mothers looked with horrible delight on their children devoured by sacred crocodiles.

“The walls of this temple,” says an ancient author, “shine with gold and silver, and with amber; and sparkle with the various gems of India and Ethiopia; and the recesses are concealed by splendid curtains. But if you enter the penetralia and inquire for the image of the god, for whose sake the same was built, one of the pastopheri, or some other attendant on the temple, approaches with a solemn and mysterious aspect, and putting aside the veil, suffers you to peep in and obtain a glimpse of the divinity. There you behold a snake, a crocodile, or a cat, a fitter inhabitant of a cavern or a bog than of a temple.” Yet the feelings of contempt with which we first regard this animal worship, are diminished on closer examination, and we find it based on certain simple and not unnatural ideas, involving proofs of greater acuteness and ingenuity than

other circumstances would warrant us in imputing to the Egyptians.

We have no reason to believe that the Egyptians worshipped animals in admiration or dread of any of their own attributes. Though many of the brute creation possess powers to inflict pain and injury on man, the feeling of terror is but a transient one. It is far more natural to man's proud heart and invincible reason, to glory in the conviction that he can crush and utterly annihilate the most cruel and wild of the lower animals, and that he only spares brute power and energy, because, in the exercise of his selfish utilitarianism, he can turn it to good account. Nor can we imagine feelings of the opposite kind to have prompted to the adoration. Dogs and cats, or shrewmice, do not render such benefits to men that they should bow down and worship, yet these were famous divinities of the Egyptians. It is then to some other source we are to look for the solution of the enigma, and it is at once found in the knowledge of the facts that the ancient Egyptians looked on certain animals as the personifications of peculiar gods. That a people believing in the existence of supernatural powers, and that they beheld before them their visible incarnations, should pay to these devout homage, is no way unnatural, though sufficiently characteristic of the degradation of the most sublime conceptions of spiritual things, when wrought out by man without the light of Divine inspiration.

Osiris, the first god, was believed to be personified in the bull, and his consort, Isis, in the cow. In the cities of Memphis and Heliopolis, no god was worshipped but Apis the sacred bull, to whom the most gorgeous temples that Egyptian genius could execute were consecrated, and in whose honour festivals and ceremonies were continually celebrated; nor was Isis less adored. The inhabitants of Aphroditopolis invoked her as their chief goddess, and on a white cow was lavished the most devout

worship of her pious votaries. Osiris was symbolized in the bull as the god who presided over agriculture, but from some strange and truly Egyptian connexion between some astronomical cycle and the constellation Taurus, each individual four-footed Apis was believed to live on this earth for twenty-five years and then to drown himself in the Nile, on his way to a better world, and the whole of Egypt was astir till a new bull-god was procured. We need not stop to remark on the jugglery with which the cunning priests must have deluded the superstitious Egyptians.

To Isis was given the cow, both because her husband was the bull, and that the colour of white animals of this species seemed to associate them with the white silvery light of the moon, of whom Isis was the personification.

The domestic dog came in for a large share of veneration; he had a whole city, Cynopolis, dedicated to him; but besides this, he was also associated with the worship of Isis, and looked upon as the incarnation of Anubis, the impersonification, as is thought, of Sirius, the Dogstar, one of the heavenly bodies, which occupied a most conspicuous place in the Egyptian astronomical calendar. If such were his attributes, it is not difficult to understand how the symbol of a star came to be worshipped along with that of the moon, or Isis. Cats, too, received no inconsiderable share of Egyptian adoration, being dedicated to Bubastis, the deified light of the moon; from the observance of the peculiar contractions of the pupil of the cat's eye, when exposed to different degrees of light, which was believed, by the superstitious votaries of the goddess, to increase or diminish along with the waxings and wanings of the moon. Other analogies of a like nature contributed to the causes of veneration in which these animals were held; and, accordingly, all cats that died in Egypt were embalmed and sent to the city of Bubastos, the great seat of the worship of the goddess in question.

The wolf, according to mythologists, or more probably the jackal, for we have no reason to believe that the Egyptians were acquainted with the wolf, had a whole city dedicated to himself, and named Siscopolis. Horus, the consort of Bubastis and god of the sun's light, was believed to have been suckled like Romulus and Remus of old, by an animal of this species. It is difficult to assign a satisfactory origin for a fable by which so savage an animal as the wolf or jackal should have been supposed to overflow with maternal kindness. Yet it is curious that in two very dissimilar countries the same office should be assigned to the same animal. To Hermes, as the patron of learning, was dedicated no less strange an animal than the monkey, from a singular belief that this animal understood hieroglyphics; and, if we may trust the narratives of classic commentators, on the death of one of the monkey gods, the priests of the temple tested the abilities of his successor for his new office, by placing before him a writing table, with pens and ink. It may perhaps be assumed, however, that the sagacity of animals of this class gave them their claim to be enrolled as the living symbols of the god of learning.

The hippopotamus and the ass were abhorred by the Egyptians, and for their uncouth appearance and perverse habits were dedicated to the evil and abhorred god Typhon. Every animal loathsome or hostile to man, was looked on as an incarnation of this demon, hence serpents, some kinds at least, and occasionally crocodiles, were worshipped as Typhonian animals. In particular districts of Egypt, however, serpents and crocodiles were worshipped as the personifications of different deities. In the whole of Egypt, serpents were regarded with peculiar reverence; it is not easy, however, to ascertain in what light they were viewed,—one species was dedicated to Osiris, (as Serapis,) another to Isis, the rest seem to have been looked upon as the agents of Typhon, certainly as

monsters of evil; they were fed with every costly dainty, and surrounded with every Egyptian luxury, and all the services rendered them were solemn and mysterious, and looked upon as the propitiation of powers capable of inflicting the most terrible revenge on those who neglected or insulted them.

As an incarnation of Typhon, the crocodile was universally worshipped, and most sumptuous temples were erected to his honour, where many animals of the species received all the attention which the Egyptians loved to lavish on their four-footed gods. But besides this, the worshipped crocodile was thus associated with their ideas concerning mystical numbers, they believed this animal to have sixty teeth, to lay sixty eggs, and to have sixty joints in its backbone, and to live for sixty years; while we may trace the curious symbolism involved in their mythology in their paying them homage, as the living personification of Chronos, the god of time, not unjustly imagining that time, which destroys all things, was fitly symbolized in the devouring monster of the Nile.

Birds also received a large share of religious veneration among the Egyptians. To Osiris and Horus, the heat and light of the sun, were dedicated all the varieties of the hawk. The Egyptians thought that the characteristic energy of this rapacious bird, the unerring rapidity of his flight when in pursuit of his prey, and, above all, the brightness of his beautiful eye, made him a fit symbol of the splendour and rapid motion of the sun's rays; it must strike every one that surely the Egyptians must have been little acquainted with the eagle, or must have improperly appreciated his characteristic habits, or on this noble bird—whose strength and energy raise him above the whole feathered creation, and who can gaze with unfaltering eye on the sun's meridian splendour—would have been lavished all those honours paid to the hawk. From this is derived the hawk-headed deity of Egypt.

and perhaps also the vulture and eagle-headed gods of the Assyrians.

Another bird, the most celebrated animal known in connection with the religion of Egypt, is the ibis. Many theories have been promulgated by talented writers to explain the extraordinary regard in which this animal was held, and one of the most accomplished French savans who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, dedicated a whole volume to its explanation. Many circumstances served to give rise to this. We know that the ibis is a bird of passage, that he arrived in Egypt in spring when the Nile was beginning to rise, that he remained during the whole inundation, and flew back across the Mediterranean to Europe when the river had returned to its channel. The Egyptians welcomed the arrival of the ibis as the herald of the Nile's rising, as we gaze with pleasure on the cuckoo or swallow as the harbingers of spring; but carrying their adoration still further, they fell into an error not unfrequently committed by other metaphysicians and logicians of our own learned day, of looking upon two coincidences in the light of cause and effect. They looked upon the ibis not as the concomitant of the Nile's rise, but as its very cause. Thus inclined to gaze on the bird in a most favourable point of view, they soon discovered other adorable qualities to swell the list of its attributes. They observed the space included between the legs of the bird to form an isocetes triangle, and this accorded with their love of geometry. When its head was under its wing as birds do when sleeping, its body was thought to resemble the heart in shape, and it was dedicated to Thoth the god of the heart, who is generally represented as a human being with the head of an ibis. To Isis, as the moon, it was dedicated, because its crooked beak, and the crossing of its wings, resembled the crescent. It was believed to possess an invincible antipathy for all venomous animals, and was worshipped as an enemy of Typhon; finally, as

the most sacred of the Egyptian animals, it was sacred to the Egyptian trinity. It was elevated on a shrine in the temple of Isis, and the nymphs of the fane danced round it joyously, and when life had departed, its dead body was embalmed and carefully preserved. At Saccara, large excavations have been discovered, containing nothing but the mummies of this sacred bird.

Before concluding the notice of the sacred animals of Egypt, we must also note the adoration of insects, and especially of the scarabeus or sacred beetle. This was a no less celebrated object of religious veneration; and an eminent French naturalist, M. Latreile, has devoted an elaborate essay to explain the causes of its singular worship. A student of this branch of Egyptian mythology will rise from its contemplation struck with the acuteness and ingenuity of the allegories associated with the history of the insects of this class. We know it to be a curious fact in the natural history of this tribe of insects, that the female forms a round ball of earth, in which she deposits her eggs; this ball she hides in the earth, and after a certain number of days, the eggs give birth to small caterpillars, which, after undergoing changes analogous to those of the butterfly, become perfect insects. The Egyptians observed this extraordinary occurrence, but as both sexes in this class are extremely similar in form and colour, they imagined all of them to be males, and would have smiled at any one who talked of a female beetle. They supposed the male scarabeus to be the personification of Osiris, as the genial heat which warmed into life all the inhabitants of the earth; the thirty joints of its body were believed to correspond with the period of the passage of the sun through one sign of the zodiac, the ball was thought to be round to correspond with the shape of the globe, and to be rolled from east to west in accordance with the motions of the heavenly bodies; it was believed to be left in the earth by the sage beetle for

twenty-eight days, the period of a lunar month, when it was cast into the Nile, and in a short time a new brood of male beetles came forth, full grown and winged for flight. It was thus that the Egyptians, conceiving the influence of the beetle over its own microcosm to be equal to that which the sun exerted on the great globe, worshipped the latter as the symbol of the former. A second species, whose head was surmounted with horns, was dedicated to the lunar crescent, and a third was consecrated to Thoth for some similar reason. We would not have dwelt at so great length on this curious branch of Egyptian worship, were it not that every fact shows that, next to the ibis, no animal was more universally worshipped than the scarabeus. Its form is found represented in every temple of Egypt. It was carved in precious stones, inscribed with hieroglyphics, and set in gold. The smaller scarabei were worn as amulets or charms, and are among the most common Egyptian relics. Thousands of them have been found in the catacombs, and they are frequently discovered on removing the swathings of mummies, laid on the breast of the dead.

Such was the animal worship of Egypt;—however extraordinary it may appear to the well-informed mind, the striking analogies and real or imagined coincidence in which it appears to have originated, furnish a curious insight into the origin of the grossest idolatry, from the refined symbolism of a learned and philosophical priesthood.

CHAPTER V.

IDEAS OF A FUTURE STATE.

Darkness their light, and sternest fate their hope
Death the dread portal to the awful bar,
Where stands the Osirian judge, recording Thoth,
The balance, and the weights, and the decree,
And time's dread cycle bringing round for aye
The unextinguished past.

THERE still remains for consideration the essential and ultimate doctrines of the Egyptian mythology, including the ideas entertained of the deities in reference to a higher state of being, of the human soul, and the belief entertained of the future state of the disembodied spirit. To the last some reference has already been made, but we shall now view it in another aspect in relation to the process of embalming, which is so peculiarly characteristic of ancient Egypt. Perhaps no relic of former ages, handed down to our own times, awakens more curious emotions than the embalmed body of an ancient Egyptian; we gaze with awe and solemnity on "the statue of flesh," the "imperishable type of evanescence," the rigid form snatched from the darkness and rottenness of the grave, which, if it have lost all traces of beauty, at least shows no signs of decay. We may be contemplating one who has sat on the throne of Pharaoh, and the dim and lustreless eyes may have gazed on the mighty manifestations of God's power, "when he smote Egypt with his wonders," or, spectator of all but the last, he may have been among the first victims of the destroying angel.

The belief current among the Egyptians has already been referred to, that the soul was an emanation from the Creator of the world, and in accordance with this we find indications of a common idea in early times, that the soul was to return to its source and be absorbed again into the deity; yet the expressions of ancient authors on this point are vague and contradictory, and the evidence is too scanty to furnish a complete elucidation of the opinions entertained. It is undoubted that the Egyptians believed in the doctrine of transmigration, which they taught to Greece, but it is difficult to reconcile the idea of a return to the source of the soul's emanation and an eternal metempsychosis from one form of animated being to another, and more difficult to see the use of preserving a man's body, if the disembodied spirit were to go to heaven, or about to be transformed into a bird or serpent. Indeed, the very fact that so much care was spent in embalming the dead body, showed that it was believed to be of some future use to its former possessor, and this, coupled with some doctrines known to have been entertained by the ancient Egyptians, justifies the belief that the resurrection of the body at some future period was looked for. The various changes through which a soul was believed to pass, may be thus gathered from the details of older authors, and especially from the sculptures and paintings on the ruins of Thebes, and on the walls of the neighbouring royal tombs. As soon as death, who strangely enough seems not to have been deified by the Egyptians, had severed the mortal tie, Thoth came to conduct the disembodied spirits to Amenti, the world of spirits; it was at once introduced into the presence of Osiris the judge of the future world, who presided on his throne of judgment, wearing a look of unalterable serenity. Beside him sat his consort Isis, but a more stern and unrelenting goddess, than the earthly Isis, and arrayed around them stood the other gods, as spectators or administrators of the sentence

of the supreme judge. The good and bad deeds of the being before the tribunal were then balanced together as already described, and a punishment proportionate to the guilt incurred, inflicted on the sinful spirit. No representation illustrative of Egyptian mythology, can be compared in interest to the frequently-repeated pictures of this remarkable scene,—the judgment of the soul. In one example, which has been engraved by Dr. Pritchard, Osiris is seen seated on his throne, and before him are ranged the spirits to be judged, who, according to the unideal forms of Egyptian art, are represented as mummies. Behind them stands Thoth, who has ushered them into the royal presence, holding in his hand a tablet which appears to contain the record of the “deeds done in the body,” and behind, the gods Anubis and Aroeris are weighing in a very large balance an object bearing a rude resemblance to the human heart, while in the middle stands Typhon, the Satan of the Egyptian creed, gaping with his horrid jaws, and seemingly waiting for the souls of the condemned. Thus the judgment which the Egyptian expected to undergo in the unseen world was a just though rigid one, and we might, on first sight, esteem the moral rectitude of a people who looked forward to their final doom being settled by the investigation of their conduct on earth, and the examination of the state of their heart or feelings, on appearing in another world. There is not wanting abundant evidence how little influence such teaching exercised on the moral rectitude of this curious people.

Much doubt and mystery still pertains to the ideas we are able to form of the heaven and hell of the Egyptian creed. No theory will accord with the known facts of belief, however ingenious. We know the period of time, however, which was believed to extend between the creation of the world and the resurrection of the dead and final destruction. The Egyptians believed that at the

creation of the universe all the heavenly bodies stood in particular relations to each other, which every year of the world's age had tended to change. The planets (for all the stars were planets with the Egyptians) were believed to revolve in mighty circles and in a mysterious manner, known only to the sacred astrologists. After the lapse of three thousand years, it was believed that all of them would return to the mutual relations subsisting between them at their creation, and that on the occurrence of this the world would be destroyed; according to some, the whole universe. The longest period then during which punishment could be inflicted was this cycle of time, which was known to the Egyptians under the name of the Great Year.

Those whose sins were greatest were punished with transmigration; according to the nature of their crimes they were transformed into birds, beasts, or serpents, and sent back to the world. For the slighter crimes they were again clothed with the human form and returned to upper air; so that an Egyptian, a firm believer in the latter part of the creed, could never be sure that among the mummies he carefully preserved as the relics of his forefathers, there was not one, perhaps two, which he himself had formerly occupied, or that having had one, before his present earthly tenement, he had to look forward to wearing out a third. One would imagine such an idea to have been a most perplexing one, yet the Egyptians seem to have delighted in all sorts of odd contradictions, and perhaps they may have reasoned on the probability of their having three bodies to pick and choose among when the great year had run its course, and their souls would return to inhabit their former tenements.

Some, however, as kings and priests, seem to have been thought so pure as to require no punishment, and were believed to be retained in the world of spirits till the great year was ended; but royalty by no means proved

moment of our birth and the limits of our career,—what then is crime? Fate. What life? Submission.” Such a doctrine, while it lessened the incentive to virtue, must have destroyed all the most powerful moral curbs on the passions, furnishing to vice at once an incentive and an apology; and destroying all the influence which the idea of final judgment might otherwise have had. It has been thought, however, that many of the Egyptians were fully persuaded that at the end of the great year the world should be destroyed, but that at the end of time the soul should enter on its career of immortality, the good being wafted to the sun or dog-star, the heaven of the Egyptian creed, the wicked consigned to an abode whence release was hopeless. The sculptures of Egypt furnish evidence that such ideas were entertained. One Egyptian traveller detailing the paintings on the tombs of the Theban kings, describes one wall as representing a band of blessed spirits, holding in their hands the symbol of immortality, following in the train of a god, who conducts them to Elysium; on the opposite wall is the descent into hell,—gods, boats, serpents, unhappy souls, hurrying towards that place whither “hope never comes.” There is always a danger, however, of judging of such representations in accordance with preconceived opinions. Many of the Egyptian philosophers taught the doctrine, that the human race were degraded spirits, who for crimes or earthly desires were deprived of the angel wings they had worn in a heavenly sphere, and doomed to the pilgrimage of this earth, as an expiatory period of suffering, “to lift the heart from low desires,” and fit them for returning to their celestial birthplace. This belief gave rise to certain ceremonies in connexion with the sacred mysteries or religious celebrations of the great temples; for the wild creations of the imagination were regarded not as the unbidden workings of the mind, but as the dim and shadowy remembrance of a former state of existence. Hence

the aspirant to initiation was informed that, on drinking in the cup of immortality, besides the other unspeakable delights,

Memory, too, with her dreams should come,
Dreams of a former happier day,
When heaven was yet the spirit's home,
And her wings had not yet fallen away.
Glimpses of glory ne'er forgot,
That tell like gleams on a sunset sea
What once hath been, what now is not;
But oh! what again shall brightly be.

Such were the principal ideas and religious observances of the Egyptians, leaving out of consideration the worship of Venus Pandemos, Pan, and Priapus; a class of divinities whose worship, there is reason to believe, was of too revolting a kind to be minutely investigated, were it not that they received a very large share of Egyptian adoration.

In the Egyptian mythology there were associated together the apparently contradictory systems of Pantheism, Manicheism, and the belief in the descent of the soul from heaven and its return thither. Along with the first was implied the paralysing belief in an eternal succession of wholly similar worlds, to which the same spirits returned to perform the same actions; this, then, was a system of rigid fatalism. With the second was bound up the purer doctrine of opposing principles of good and evil, and the expectation of rewards and punishments in another world for the deeds committed while sojourning on earth; this was a pure and ennobling belief. The third system looked forward to all receiving back their angel wings, in other words, to the final happiness of every human being; this, at least, was a consolatory doctrine. All recognised, however, the belief in one eternal immutable principle or being as the cause of all things, on whom all existences, material or immaterial, depended for their being, to whose agency all changes were referred, and by whose

will the eternal destiny of all would be fixed. A firm conviction in the existence of such a mighty power reconciles all the system of belief. On this the whole fabric of Pantheism depended. The Manichean, who conceded this point, looked on the principles of good and evil not as self-existent independent powers, but as subsidiary manifestations of the creation of the eternal principle; while the advocate of the ascent and descent of the soul worshipped the deities as the agents of the everlasting God, for preparing degraded spirits for their returning to their home again.

In ancient Egypt, however, no more than at the present day, did men universally believe in one creed or system of theology. While the separate systems mentioned already were unconditionally advocated by particular classes of men, the majority mingled the Egyptian systems together, to form, if it might be, an harmonious whole.

In the earliest and purest ages of the Egyptian history, Knuphis, the eternal principle, was adored. But this was wholly given up in later eras, and the whole adoration lavished on the lesser gods. All the deities came in for their share of adoration; Osiris, Typhon, and Horus, were universally worshipped along with their consorts, Isis, Æsthys, and Bubastis. But particular districts choose particular gods as their especial favourites, and each city had its sacred patron like the superintending saints of the Romish calendar. Thus in the Arsinoite district of Egypt, Typhon, as the crocodile, was peculiarly adored; the inhabitants of Cynopolis worshipped Anubis, those of Aphroditopolis Venus, and so on. Yet the records of history, and the discoveries made in our day, have, to a lamentable extent, shown that whatever pure and ennobling doctrines were involved in the Egyptian's creed, however lofty might be the abstract ideas impersonated in their gods, the Egyptians themselves were a quaint unimaginative people, who, when they lost their

belief in one god, fell into the most revolting sensualities. An examination of the writings of those who have dedicated themselves to the inquiry, fully shows that the great mass of the community sacrificed to two classes of divinities, the one including the personifications of licentiousness, Pan, Priapus, and Venus Pandemos; the other the personification of moral and physical evil, Typhon, in all his power.

From this very slight glance at some of the most prominent features of the Egyptian creed, the reader may perhaps be able for himself to draw the conclusion, that the gods of Egypt were deified attributes indicative of the intellect, power, goodness, might, and other principles essential to the idea of the Supreme Being. The mere glance at the most prominent of these deified ideas, however, convey only examples of them. Their number is very great, and the difficulties attendant on the attempt to arrive at a definite understanding of the abstract ideas originally represented by them. It is not difficult however to detect in these, indications of a perverted refinement of a pure faith, ending at length in the grossest idolatry. The wanderers from the Noahic family brought with them, in all probability, to Egypt the pure belief in the one true God. Regarding him according to his various attributes, they appear to have symbolized these and represented them by allegorical figures, perhaps with no original intent of idolatry, or of a plurality of gods. The doctrine of one Supreme Being is believed never to have been altogether lost to the few learned men, admitted to share in the sacred mysteries of the religion of Egypt. The same belief was secretly held by the wisest Greeks, if not indeed taught as a secret unfit to be communicated to the vulgar. With both people, however, the creed was productive of the grossest idolatry to the great mass, and with the Egyptians we have evidence that it was practically one of gross sensuality. To the people taught

in such a faith, might be applied with peculiar force, the words of the sacred text. "If the light that is in them be darkness, how great is that darkness." Then, indeed, darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. Life was without moral guidance and death without one pure ray of hope.

On the origin of the comparatively pure basis of the Egyptian creed, Wilkinson remarks:—"I do not pretend to decide respecting the origin of the notions entertained by the Egyptians of the triad into which the Deity, as an agent, was divided; nor can I attempt to account for their belief in his manifestation upon earth: similar ideas had been handed down from a very early period, and having been imparted to the immediate descendants of Noah, and the patriarchs, may have reached the Egyptians through that channel, and have been preserved and embodied in their religious system. And this appears to be confirmed by the fact of our finding the creative power, *whilst* in operation upon matter, represented by Moses as a *Trinity*, and not under the name indicative of unity until *after* that action had ceased. For the name given to the Deity by the divine legislator, when engaged in the creation of material objects, is not *Ihôah*, ("who is, and will be,") but *Elohim*, "the Gods;" and this plural expression is used until the seventh day, when the creation was completed."

Following out these ideas, the same learned and judicious writer remarks:—"It may appear singular that the principle of a Trinity should be so obscurely noticed in the Old Testament; but the wise caution of the divine legislator foresaw the danger likely to result from too marked an allusion to what a people, surrounded by idolatrous polytheists, might readily construe into the existence of a plurality of Gods: the knowledge, therefore, of this mystery was confined to such as were thought fit to receive so important a secret: and thus dangerous specu-

lations and perversions were obviated, of which the fancies of an ignorant people, predisposed to idolatry, would not have failed to take advantage.

“It is unnecessary to enter into the question respecting the connection between the name of *Ihôah*, and the nature of man, as represented in the second chapter of *Genesis*; but I have considered it proper, in noticing the adoption of the two, *Elohim* and *Ihôah*, to show the possibility of the Egyptian notions of a Trinity having been derived from early revelation, handed down through the posterity of *Noah*; and I now proceed to mention some other remarkable coincidences with scriptural data.

“Of these, the most singular are the character of *Osiris*, and the connection between *truth* and the *creative power*. In the latter, we trace the notion, which occurs in the Christian belief, that the Deity “of his own will begat us with the word of *truth*;” and not only do the sculptures of the earliest periods express the same, and connect the Goddess of Truth with *Pthah* the creative power, but *Iamblichus* also, in treating of the ancient mysteries, asserts it in these words: ‘Whereas he makes all things in a perfect manner, not deceptively, but artificially, *together with truth*, he is called *Pthah*; but the Greeks denominate him *Hephæstus*, considering him merely as a physical or artificial agent,’ and not looking upon him, as they ought, in an abstract or metaphysical light. But the disclosure of truth and goodness on earth was *Osiris*; and it is remarkable that, in this character of the manifestation of the Deity, he was said to be ‘full of goodness (grace) and truth,’ and after having performed his duties on earth, and fallen a sacrifice to the machinations of *Typho*, the evil one, to have assumed the office in a future state of judge of mankind.”

Enough, however, has already been said to show the pure origin, and the perverse corruptions, of the *Egypt-*

tian creed. Refined, poetical, and highly symbolic in its lofty ideal; yet practically sensual, corrupt, and debasing, degrading the human soul to the worship not only of stocks and stones, but of hideous and repulsive reptiles, of four footed beasts and creeping things. It retained to the last traces of its pure origin, and it is even possible that there were never wanting some among the priests of Osiris, who saw in some degree into the spiritual nature of its rudimentary ideas, and discerned some practical meaning, and even some incitement to virtue, in its doctrine of final retribution. To the great mass of the people, however, it was only a complicated and vicious system of the most debasing idolatry. Such indeed, more or less, are all false religions, and probably no religion was ever less influential in its moral influence on the people by whom it was received and believed, than that elder child of Egyptian mythology, the creed of ancient Greece, to which we owe so much of her sublime poetry, and of her matchless sculpture.

The characteristics and the results of Egyptian mythology, form perhaps the most remarkable of all the commentaries history preserves to us on the vanity of every human system of expiation for sin, or of enforced virtue.

Strange race of men! more anxious to prepare
 Their last abodes, and make them grand or fair,
 Than grace their living homes; one gloomy thought
 Their souls possessed, one honour still they sought—
 To lie in splendour, and to bear in death
 Life's form and seeming—all things but its breath
 What though around them summer-flowers might bloom,
 And bright suns shine, they only saw the tomb,
 Wished there to rest their unconsuming clay,
 And dream, in pomp, eternal years away.
 For this they gathered gold, the slave, the king;
 And all the wealth that toiling years could bring
 Was lavished oft on rites, which e'en outshone
 The conqueror's march, the pageants of a throne!

Such is the poet's idea of the ancient Egyptians, but

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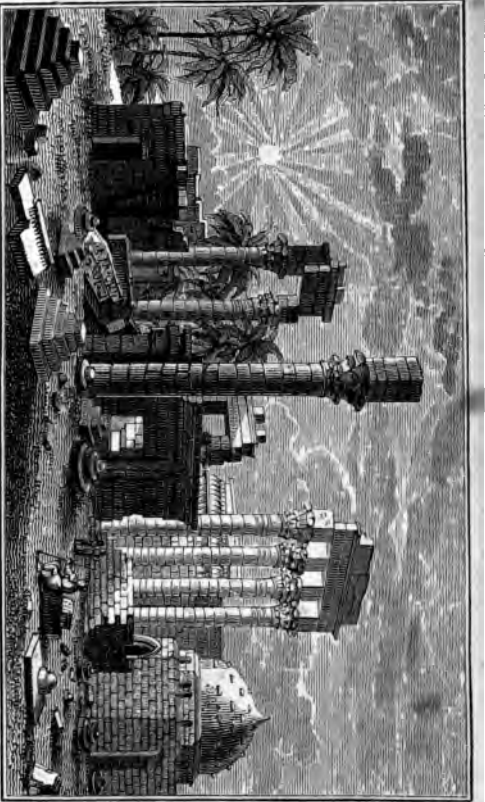
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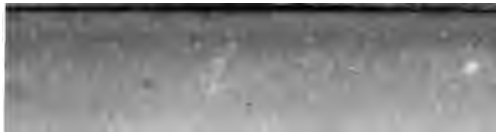
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RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HERMENT, OR HERMONTIUS.



the moralist beholds in them the remarkable example of a people, believing in a doctrine of divine retribution, surrounded even at their feasts, and in their kings' palaces, with the mementos of death, and yet living in the grossest sensuality, the evidences of which remain pictured on the walls of the very temples, where also is recorded the sublime but vain doctrine of the awful balance and the judgment of Osiris.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

Speak, silent witnesses from ages past,
 Eloquent in your stillness, 'mid the sand
 Of Lybia and the Nile! while ye shall last,
 Giants of older time, at the command
 Of younger ages, what have we to fear,
 While history, more remote, grows aye more clear.

MOLESWORTH.

A MUCH larger portion of this volume has been devoted to the consideration of Egyptian antiquities than has been deemed necessary for those of Babylon and Nineveh, or even of Jerusalem. The propriety of this can hardly fail to be apparent to every reader. The place which Egypt occupies in the world's history is altogether remarkable and unparalleled. In one important respect it stands alongside of Jerusalem, while in its influence on the earlier nations that established the great empires of the world, it stands alone, extending its wonderful teachings on every hand, centuries before the summit of Mount Moria, on which the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Je-

Jerusalem is now affirmed to stand, had borne another structure than the wild thicket, in which the typical ram was caught which the patriarch sacrificed instead of his son.

Egypt was the secular, and Jerusalem the religious, teacher of the world. Jerusalem has triumphed at length. The divine Teacher hath sent forth his disciples to all the earth, commissioned to make known the lessons which he taught to every creature. The words of his mouth have free course. He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. Not so of Egypt and her teachings. Their influence was great ere Jerusalem was builded on her sacred hills. India, it is not improbable, learned from her its first lessons of knowledge of symbolic myth, and of error. Babylon and Assyria drank deeply from her strange fountains, and Greece and Rome received from thence the vivifying well-spring from whence was watered and nourished the strange but most poetical mythology which animated the dramas of Æschylus, and the fancies of Homer and Virgil. But all this has for ever passed away. Egyptian mythology is dead and vanished as the leaves of long-forgotten summers, that have decayed and decomposed into the incumbent earth. It is only as a key to a state of things as utterly passed away as the world before the flood, that we turn to its study; but as such it is invaluable. It reveals to us how men thought and acted, by what hopes and fears they were influenced, how they lived and how they died, in those old centuries when the fathers of the Hebrew race were dwelling in tents amid their flocks, or struggling in strange conflict with the accursed children of Canaan.

The investigations into a field of research which promises such results, cannot fail to attract the most earnest attention. There is something extremely fascinating to the intelligent mind in the study of a branch of antiquities which seems to bring us into familiar contact with events *and* occurrences that happened contemporaneously with

those which have been revealed to us only in connexion with the solemn and commanding disclosures of the inspired Scriptures. Glancing over the chronological tables of Wilkinson, we follow down from Menes and Athothis, his son,—rulers, it may be, contemporary with, or perhaps even prior to the founders of Babel and Nineveh; to Suphis, the builder of the great pyramid; to Aphoph, under whom Abraham is supposed to have visited Egypt, when the beauty of Sarai won the favour of Pharaoh. After a considerable interval, familiar to us in many ways by the sacred narrative, we are next attracted by the events of the reign of Osirtasen I., under whom it seems most probable that Joseph was called from his dungeon to the position of honour and influence, by means of which we obtain so remarkable a glimpse of the internal economy of this singular land. Wilkinson remarks: "The accession of the first Osirtasen I conceive to date about the year 1740 B. C., and the length of his reign must have exceeded forty-three years. If the name of this monarch was not ennobled by military exploits equal to those of the Remeses, the encouragement given to the arts of peace, and the flourishing state of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom; and his pacific character satisfactorily accords with that of the Pharaoh, who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger.

"Some insight into Egyptian customs during his reign is derived from the story of Joseph, with whom I suppose him to have been coeval; and the objects taken thither by the Ishmaelites, consisting in spices, balm, and myrrh, which were intended for the purposes of luxury as well as of religion; the subsequent mention of the officers of Pharaoh's household; the state allowed to Joseph; the portion of lands allotted to the priesthood, and other similar institutions and customs—tend to show the advanced state of society at this early epoch."

In this respect we are introduced to a singularly interesting field of study, by observing the mutual relations of sacred and profane history which have been already noticed in parallel cases resulting from recent Assyrian discoveries. It is the previous study and knowledge of Egyptian antiquities, however, which has enabled the inscriptions and antiquities of Assyria to be so speedily turned to account. A single season may, to the superficial observer, appear to have sufficed for the application of recent Assyrian researches to the direct purposes of the historian, but the conclusions arrived at by Layard and Rawlinson, are in reality the results of the laborious investigations of half a century, in which some of the most learned men of Europe have engaged with unremitting assiduity.

Returning, however, to our summary of the disclosures which have been revealed by these researches among the ruins of Egypt, we reach, after another interval, the reign of the first Theban or Diospolitan king, Ames, or Chebron, the introducer of a new dynasty, believed, on good evidence, to be that "other king who knew not Joseph." He is succeeded by Amunoph I., and by Amense, the sister of the latter, a singular evidence of the peculiar customs and also of the elevation accorded to women, consequent on the great advancement the Egyptians had then made in civilization. This queen is succeeded by Thothmes I., II., and III., in the reign of the last of whom, as has already been indicated, the wondrous manifestations of divine power were displayed which are recorded in the Book of Exodus. In many cases, neither the date of accession, nor of the death of these successive monarchs, has yet been discovered; nor is it necessary, for many purposes both of the chronologist and the historian, that more than a general approximation to this should be attained. There is abundant room, however, still left for the assiduous labours of the

Egyptian scholar. Many discrepancies have to be reconciled, many dark and extremely dubious points to be cleared up. Following back their most interesting researches into ancient chronology, these patient investigators have gone back further and further in search of the beginning of things, till cautious students hesitate to follow them in their dim and dubious track. The process of investigation followed for this purpose may be very simply explained to the ordinary reader. Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other ancient authorities, have left on record consecutive accounts of the kings of Egypt, much of which was long regarded as purely fabulous, and received little serious attention from historians. Recent discoveries in hieroglyphics have led to an entire change of opinion, though not without much confusion and error. These authors are now believed to have recorded historical facts. The knowledge of the special character and meaning of the cartouche, as the mark of a royal name, has drawn attention to these abundant marks on the ancient ruins of Egypt. More careful observation discloses the important fact, that they occur, not only thus detached on various temples and tombs, but that chronologically arranged tables of them are to be found constructed in various localities and at different dates. Here then is a most important element for further investigation. Of some of the more recent of these we possess accurate historical records; and knowing the date of accession, even of the first of the Ptolemies, it is not difficult, if we are sure that we possess a complete list of the whole intervening monarchs, to ascertain a very near approximation to the epoch of the first of Pharaohs, Menes. To guess at the length of a monarch's reign, merely by knowing his name, would be a sufficiently vague and profitless riddle; but, taking one with another, the chronologist does not run great risk of error when, taking them together, he estimates the duration of the reigns of some twenty or

thirty unknown kings, as equal to the combined reigns of the same number of succeeding known kings.

We find so much that is well defined and intelligible in the most ancient of Egyptian relics, now that we have mastered the key to the hieroglyphics, that the antiquities of only a century or two old become dim and visionary, when contrasted with these revelations shining out so clearly in the far distant past, among the most venerable incidents of the infant world. The practice of carving the cartouche of the king on every building, and attaching it to mummies, pictures, temples, tombs, papyri, and even personal ornaments, along with the singularly graphic character of their pictorial representations of conquests, triumphs, religious ceremonials, &c., all furnish the most gratifying field for investigation. Compared with these, all other archæological speculations appear to be attended with the most painful uncertainty and doubt. Still much remains to be done in clearing up the evidence in relation to these historical materials before a definite general conclusion can be arrived at. Wilkinson remarks, in introduction to a chronological table which is appended to his *Topography of Thebes*, characterised by a very great amount of learning and research:—"In introducing some of the names given by Manetho and Eratosthenes, I neither pretend to fix the precise era of their reigns, nor the actual succession of those kings; nor can I follow Manetho in the division of his first dynasties, which have every appearance, owing probably to the inaccuracies of his copyists, of having been greatly misplaced. Indeed, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, do not all accord with the names remaining on the monuments, if, as there is every reason to induce us to admit, the eighteenth contains the same series of kings mentioned by that author.

"With respect to the shepherd-kings, there is a considerable difficulty in fixing the exact era of their invasion,

while some suppose it to be merely an exaggerated account of the power of the Jewish tribes in Egypt; but at all events the story of their inroads into that country, as given by Josephus, one of the copyists of Manetho, bears the evident stamp of anachronism, and in some parts of pure invention.

“ Whatever may have been the motive of the mysterious secrecy observed by the priesthood respecting the original object of the pyramids, it does not appear at all probable they were the work of foreigners, or of a tyrant at variance with the priests of the established religion of the country: much less that they were *accidentally* made to correspond with the four cardinal points, with their faces of a certain angle, which, in other pyramids to the southward, seems to increase in proportion to the decrease of their latitude; nor would priests and grandes of succeeding ages have felt so anxious to have their tombs in the vicinity of monuments, that, according to the too credulous Herodotus, were solely memorials of their country's oppression. For my own part, I consider them purely Egyptian, and totally inconsistent with the notions of those Arab tribes, called Shepherds by Manetho, whose invasion probably dated after their erection, and whose expulsion must at least have preceded the accession of the first Osirtasen; though that of the Jews, with whom they have been confounded, appears to have happened during the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

“ I am aware that the era of Menes might be carried to a much more remote period than the date I have assigned it; but as we have as yet no authority, further than the uncertain statements of Manetho's copyists, to enable us to fix the time and number of the reigns intervening between his accession and that of Apappus, I have not placed him earlier, for fear of interfering with the date of the deluge of Noah, which is 2348 B. C.

“ In the fifteenth dynasty I have been guided by the

tablet of kings at Thebes, which gives one Diospolitian between Menes and the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho makes it consist of six *Phœnician shepherd* kings!

“ I have already stated my reasons for considering Amosis and Chebron one and the same king; and this conjecture gains considerable weight from the fact, that Manetho, as quoted by Syncellus, mentions the name of Amosis, without assigning any number of years for his reign; and the total of years allowed by him for the duration of this dynasty agrees exactly with that of the reigns of the remaining monarchs.

“ The contemporary reigns of Shishak and Solomon are the earliest fixed epoch for the construction of a chronological table; but reckoning back the number of years of each king's reign, either according to Manetho, the dates on the monuments, or the average length of their ordinary duration, we may arrive at a fair approximation; and the epoch alluded to on the ceiling of the Memnonium, mentioned in the note on Remeses II., seems greatly to confirm my opinion respecting the accession of that prince, and, allowing for the reigns of the intervening monarchs, his predecessors, to make the Exodus of the Israelites agree with Manetho's departure of the Pastors in the reign of Thothmes III.

“ But I offer this table with great deference, and shall willingly yield to any opinion that may be established on more positive and authentic grounds.”

Other Egyptian chronologists have been much less cautious, and altogether heedless, of any risk of clashing with the sacred narrative,—possibly, indeed, not altogether unwilling that modern historical discoveries should give the lie to the Book of Truth. Of this, however, we have already remarked, there is no danger. Ancient chronology must indeed be revised, and many preconceived ideas abandoned, including chronological errors of Archbishop Usher and others, which have been too hastily accepted

as though they were a part of the sacred canon of Scripture. The Bible student has abundant reason to rejoice in these researches, which, even if carried out in a spirit of indifference, or even of antagonism, to the divine revelation, can only furnish new weapons wherewith to defeat its opponents.

But we have already referred to the interesting fact, that it is not only from the graven records of Egypt that such knowledge may be drawn, nor are we limited in our researches, to the royal Pharaohs, or to the dates and duration of their reigns. The minutest details of the manners, the arts, and the domestic habits, or agricultural proceedings, of that ancient land have been rendered familiar to us by means of their paintings and the numerous relics inclosed in their tombs. We have accordingly come to view the Egyptians as a living people, in a sense far more definite than that which we are able to accord even to the Greeks or Romans, with whose writings we have been familiar from early youth. The wonderful preservation of the paintings and other relics of this people, consequent on the extreme dryness of the climate and the sandy nature of the soil, has secured for modern inspection the minutest and apparently most trifling details. "When I was in the portico of the temple at Kom Umboo," says the observant author of "Eastern Life," "I saw into a secret which I should have been sorry to have overlooked. Some of the paintings were half finished; and their ground was still covered with the intersecting red lines by which the artist secured their proportions. These guiding lines were meant to have been effaced as soon as the outlines were completed; yet here they are at the end of at least two thousand years! No hand, however light, has touched them, through all the intervening generations of men: no rains have washed them out during all the changing seasons that have passed over them; no damp has moulded them: no curiosity has meddled

with them. It is as if the artist had lain down for his siesta, with his tools beside his hand, and would be up presently to resume his work; yet that artist has been a mummy, lying somewhere in the heart of the neighbouring hills, ever since the time when our island was bristling with forests, and its inhabitants were dressed in skins, and dyed their bodies blue with woad, to look terrible in battle."

Such is a specimen of the remarkable minuteness of the old Egyptian traces surviving to us, and still decipherable with no greater appliances than an intelligent mind and observant eye. In so far as they are capable of being rightly interpreted, they have the important advantage over all written records, that they are unquestionably true. We may indeed err in our reading of them, but they are certainly neither false nor garbled. Such cannot be said of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, even in so far as they have yet been read. Independent of the dubiety which still hangs over the primitive Menes, leaving us in some doubt if he be a real Pharaoh, or but a mythic Saturn or Thor of the old Egyptian first history, we find alike in the ancient hieroglyphs on the mummy-case of Mycerinus, found in this pyramid, when opened by Colonel Vyse in 1838, and in the late Ptolemyan trilingual inscription on the Rosetta Stone, the same turn of formal panygeric still common to modern courtiers, and which the historian well knows to be little worth. "King Men-Kah-re, inheritor of eternal life," &c. may, for ought we know, have merited the epithets engraven on his coffin, very much as our own Charles II. did that of "our most religious and gracious king," specially inserted in the English Prayer Book for his behoof! Yet one more interesting example will suffice to show the reader what valuable historical discoveries are due to the decyphering of hieroglyphic inscriptions.

We learn from the sacred historian, that, in the reign

of Rehoboam, Sheshonk, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and spoiled the temple of the Lord and the palace of the Jewish king: becoming therein the unconscious instrument of the Divine anger manifested against His chosen, but unfaithful and rebellious people. This Shishank or Sheshonk, is perhaps, without exception, one of the most interesting, to us, of all the Pharaohs of Egypt whose records have yet been deciphered on the Egyptian monuments, from his intimate connexion with scriptural history, and the remarkable confirmation thereby afforded of the historical accuracy of the sacred narrative. Champollion was the first to discover the name of this sovereign among the monumental records of Egypt. "It is due to the memory of this illustrious man," says Gliddon, "to mention that, in his 'Precis,' he had identified and produced the name of SHESHONK, the Shishak of Scripture, who deposed Rehoboam, in the hieroglyphical oval, drawn in a plate of the great French work, as found at Karnac, which reads Amonmai Sheshonk.

"Four years elapsed, before he could verify this fact on the temple itself, during which interval, the name of Sheshonk, and his captive nations, had been examined times out of number by other hieroglyphists, and the names of all the prisoners had been copied by them, and published, without any one of them having noticed the extraordinary biblical corroboration thence to be deduced.

"On his passage toward Nubia, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the vast halls of Karnac; and he at once pointed out in the third line of the row of sixty-three prisoners, (each typical of a nation, city, or tribe,) presented by the god Amunra to Sheshonk, the figure and oval containing the hieroglyphics, which read Judah Melek Kah, that is, KING of the country of JUDAH."

M. Champollion had more of the shrewd sagacity and tact, than of the caution and patience, which are so essen-

tial to accurate scientific observations, and in this, as in other cases, aimed at deducing more from his discovery than the premises will legitimately admit of. Yet the discovery is of great value, and cannot fail to command the interest of the reader. Every student of the ancient remains of Egypt is familiar with the frequent representation of the Pharaohs triumphing over their enemies, and with hieroglyphical inscriptions which evidently record their various conquests over other nations. In these the names and titles of the captive kings appear surrounded by their peculiar cartouches, adding a most valuable source of materials to the historian and chronologist. During Champollion's hasty inspection of the ruins of Karnac, though only able to spend an hour or two among them, his experienced eye detected among the rows of prisoners presented by the god Amun-ra to Sheshonk, a captive figure surmounting a cartouche, which is now well known as inscribed with the designation of the King of the country of Judah. It was supposed, indeed, at first, that it might also be justly esteemed to be a portrait of Rehoboam, as there cannot now be a doubt that portraiture was aimed at in some of the sculptures on the temples, and that even in this case national, though not individual, portraiture is clearly traceable. But in the case of the rows of prisoners represented on the temple of Karnac and elsewhere, they are evidently to be regarded as typical of the nation or city which the Egyptian Pharaoh had conquered. Each of them represents a figure bound as a captive. But a manifest difference in the character of the countenance, and peculiar costume is discernible, so that an opinion can generally be formed of the nation or class of races to which they belonged. This peculiar representation of distinctively national features is indeed remarkable in all the Egyptian paintings, and of great value to us now. The Negro appears in them with the same woolly hair, thick lips, and black

complexion, as he has in our own day; while the native Egyptians are entirely free from these features which we esteem peculiar to Africa; thereby showing the entire distinctness of the two races. Another interesting inference, derived from these national portraitures on the Egyptian monuments, is, that only a very slight change appears to have occurred on the Jewish physiognomy during the many ages that have elapsed from the periods of their assuming their place among the nations to our own day, when they have wandered for eighteen centuries as strangers and vagabonds on the face of the earth. Reference to the Scripture narrative will suffice to show that it is erroneous to look for Rehoboam's portrait on the Egyptian monuments, as we learn from the Book of Chronicles that, though "Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the measures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house," that the Jewish monarch was not himself carried away captive into Egypt, but succeeded, by the payment of a large ransom, in securing the forbearance of the spoiler.

The further value of this discovery in aiding the chronological investigations to which we have so frequently referred, will be seen by the following remarks of Wilkinson, in his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," who refers to Sheshonk as the Egyptian king to whom Jeroboam fled, and probably the immediate successor of the Pharaoh whose daughter became the queen of Solomon. "Sheshonk was supposed by the learned Sir I. Marsham, and other distinguished chronologists, to be the same as Sesostris; but this untenable hypothesis has long since been abandoned, and Sesostris has resumed his place among the monarchs of an earlier dynasty. He was the Shishak of Scripture, who, in the fifth year of Rehoboam (B.C. 971), marched against Judea with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horse, and a numerous body of infantry, composed of Lybians, Sukiims, and Ethiopians; took all

the walled towns of Judah, and pillaged the temple of Jerusalem; and though no very extensive buildings remain erected by him, the sculptures he added on the walls of Karnac, suffice to show that this campaign is recorded with the names of the captured places. The king, as usual, presents his prisoners to the deity of the temple, and to each figure is attached an oval, indicating the town or district he represents; one of which M. Champollion concludes to be the Yooda Melchi, or kingdom of Judah; a name whose component letters agree with the hieroglyphics, though the place it holds is not sufficiently marked to satisfy the scruples of a rigid sceptic.

The era of Sheshonk is the first fixed point for the establishment of chronological data; and we have been enabled, by reckoning backwards to the Exodus, and from inscriptions on the monuments, to fix the probable duration and date of each reign. From the accession of Thothmes III., about 1495, B.C. to the year 1068, twenty-three kings succeeded to the throne of Egypt, which gives about eighteen years to each reign; and the ninety years intervening at the end of the twenty-first dynasty, may readily be accounted for by assigning them to sovereigns whose names are lost.

“ A very favourable argument in support of the dates I have given, is derived from the astronomical subject on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, erected by Remeses the Great: where the heliacal rising of Sothis is found to coincide with the beginning of Thoth, which could only have happened in the year 1322 B. C., and this falls, according to my table, in the middle of his reign. But whatever I offer on such intricate questions is given with much deference, and I shall willingly yield to the sounder judgment of the scientific reader.”

Few students of Egyptian archæology have been at once so accurate, and so cautious and modest, as Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson. We must leave, however, these most

interesting speculations and inquiries, of which only a glance can be taken in the limits of these chapters. No ruins of the ancient world, it will be seen, yield results at all to be compared, either in interest or value, to those which have heretofore been deduced from the remains of that ancient land which is so remarkably associated with the early pages of sacred history, and so closely connected with all the most remarkable characteristics of Greece and Rome.

With the close of Egyptian annals, we wellnigh exhaust the interest which attaches to the ruins of Africa. Once, indeed, civilization extended along the whole Mediterranean shores of that continent. Phœnician colonies were planted on its coasts, and rose to such wealth and power as to eclipse their parent sources. Carthage especially became the centre of commerce, and for a time seemed destined to preserve to the ancient African continent the chief seat of empire and civilization. But Rome triumphed at length, after a terrible struggle. Hannibal in vain swept across the Alps, and led the hosts of the African capital into the fertile plains of Italy by such strange paths. The scene of African grandeur became a heap of ruins, of which no traces remain; even the works of later Roman colonists on its site having been nearly obliterated.

Greece also sent her colonists to Africa. Cyrene and other seats of Greek colonization are still discernible by the fragments of ruined temples and sculptured marbles, while amid the barbarous Moors, and within sight of the distant rock of Gibraltar, the remains of Saracenic art still tell of the old builders of the Alhambra, ere the chivalry of Spain compelled them to abandon for ever the country which retains such magnificent traces of Moorish art and civilization.

PART III.—AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEW WORLD.

Say who, when age on age had roll'd away,
And still, as sunk the golden orb of day,
Who first adventured—in his birth obscure,
Yet born to build a Fame that should endure;
Who the great secret of the deep possest,
And issuing through the portals of the West,
Fearless, resolved, with every sail unfurled,
Planted his standard on the Unknown World!

ROGERS.

THE course of our history now leads us from the continents whereon the scenes of ancient story have been chiefly enacted, to that vast portion of the globe which still emphatically receives the name of the New World. Our province, however, is to deal, not with the new, but with the ancient relics of our race, and of these the American continents are no less prolific than those which have been from earliest times the seat of empire and of human action. Few questions have excited greater interest, or led to more varied controversy, since the dis-

covery of the New World, than the probable source of its first colonists. Theories of the most extravagant and improbable nature have been advanced to account for the peopling of a continent separated by impassable oceans from the ancient scenes of human habitation, and yet to reconcile it with the scriptural fact, that the single human pair who inhabited the garden of Eden, were the parents of the whole human race, "made of one blood on all the face of the earth." One among the several theories advanced has aimed at making of the Red Indian race, the lost Ten Tribes, whose restoration to their ancient land the prophecies of Scripture are thought clearly to foretell. Others looking to the simplest and most natural source of population for the New World, have pointed to the facilities offered by the near approach of the North American continent to that of Asia, at Bhering's Straits, for the passage of wanderers from the Old World to the New, or for their boats and canoes being driven by chance upon the further shores.

Recent literary discoveries have put the question beyond all possibility of dispute, that the New World had been known by Europeans, and visited and colonized, centuries before the discovery of the Indian Isles by Columbus; who, it will be remembered, never landed on the American continent. The Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, published in 1837, a work of great learning and research, entitled "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," designed to furnish evidence of the discovery of the American continent by the Norsemen several centuries before the voyages of the Spanish discoverers. These Danish antiquaries have entered into lengthened correspondence with distinguished American scholars and men of science, on this subject, the result of which has been the discovery of some curious traces of these older Scandinavian colonists, of whose pre-occupation of the North American continent, upwards of four centuries before it

was rediscovered by the Spanish followers of Columbus, and by other European explorers, it is no longer possible to doubt. In one of the communications furnished to the antiquaries of Copenhagen by the secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, it is remarked :—" In the western parts of our country may still be seen numerous and extensive mounds, similar to the tumuli met with in Scandinavia, Tartary, and Russia ; also the remains of fortifications that must have required for their construction a degree of industry, labour, and skill, as well as an advancement in the arts, that never characterized any of the Indian tribes. Various articles of pottery are found in them, with the method of manufacturing which they were entirely unacquainted. But, above all, many rocks inscribed with unknown characters, apparently of very ancient origin, have been discovered, scattered through different parts of the country, such as it was impossible so to engrave without the aid of iron or other hard metallic instruments." Of several of these inscribed rocks engravings are given in the Danish Society's publication, and while some are in rude and unknown characters and hieroglyphics, others are unquestionably engraved in Runic characters, corresponding to the ancient monuments of Northern Europe. But what appears at first still more extraordinary, the same traces of the ancient dawn and slow progression in the arts of civilization, are discoverable in the New as in the Old World. Historians and archæologists may speculate and theorise, but the antiquities of the New World occupy a place in their investigations altogether apart from every other branch of their studies, though the very recent date of the discovery of the great continents of North and South America only renders more interesting whatever is calculated to throw light on their previous history. The modern archæologists, reasoning from the discovery that in nearly every primitive state of society, where the arts of civilization have been unknown,

it is found that sharpened flints and stones have supplied the place of metallic weapons and implements, has arrived at the conclusion, that nearly all the most civilized nations of the world have passed through this rude stage of the arts, to which he gives the name of the stone period. But America has its stone period as well as Europe and Asia. Tumuli, the burial mounds of ancient races, are found in immense numbers in the great valley of the Mississippi, in the plains of Mexico, on the banks of the Hudson, and amid the Canadian forests, containing spear-heads and adzes of flint and stone, and urns of rudely-baked clay, not greatly dissimilar to those found in the barrows of England, or in Denmark and Brittany. This, however, can hardly be regarded as furnishing conclusive evidence of early intercourse or a common origin, since it only exhibits the relics of that primitive stage of society through which the most civilized nations of antiquity appear to have passed. The student of another science, that of ethnology, reasoning from equally satisfactory data, arrives at the conclusion, that the American continent must have been peopled by diverse races, and from different points. In Greenland, and along the northern coasts, within the arctic circle, he finds a race closely corresponding to the Finnish race of the north of Europe. In the temperate zones, the red Indian still occupies many districts to which the enterprise of the white man has not yet penetrated, and he presents affinities most closely allied to the Mongolian race of the Old World, yet with very remarkable and essential peculiarities, indicating the development of a new division of the great human family. To the south again are the Mexicans, the descendants of that singular race among whom such remarkable traces of high civilization were found by the Spaniards of the fifteenth century, associated with the most cruel and barbarous rites, and with the most degrading superstitions.

The history of the discovery of America by Columbus is familiar to all readers. Long had the ardent genius of him who was destined to reunite the severed families of the human race, to contend with the prejudices and ignorance of his generation. Learned churchmen were prepared to prove not only that the discovery was impracticable, and an impossibility; but that even the very proposition of it was impious and heretical. Rogers has translated a remarkable Spanish poem, found in a fragmentary state, among other manuscripts, in an old religious house near Palos, situated on an island formed by the river Tinto, and dedicated to our Lady of La Rabida. "The subject," says its English translator, "is a voyage the most memorable in the annals of mankind." The writer describes himself as having accompanied Columbus ere he withdrew to the cloisters of La Rabida; but he embodies in his curious poem the traditions of a later period, and a reverence for the great discoverer which was manifested by few of those who shared in the great work due to his indomitable genius. He thus pictures the remarkable discovery of a light on shore, during the night, by which Columbus first became assured of the vicinity of the unknown land:—

" Chosen of men! 'Twas thine, at noon of night,
 First from the prow to hail the glimmering light;
 Emblem of truth divine, whose secret ray
 Enters the soul, and makes the darkness day!
 Pedro! Rodrigo! there methought it shone!
 There—in the west! and now, alas, 'tis gone!
 'Twas all a dream! we gaze and gaze in vain;
 — But mark and speak not, there it comes again!
 It moves!—what form unseen, what being there
 With torch-like lustre fires the murky air?
 His instincts, passions, say, how like our own?
 Oh when will day reveal a world unknown?"

So sings again the old Castilian monk, who with the great commander beheld the sun rise on that New World, on the morning of Friday, 12th of October 1492. When

the day dawned, there lay before the delighted voyagers a level and beautiful island several leagues in extent, lovely as in the freshness of an early spring. Everything appeared in the luxuriant beauty of tropical vegetation : it seemed one grove of orchards where man might resume the lost Paradise, and live without toil or care amid the free bounty of nature. Yet the land was populous as lovely, the inhabitants were seen emerging in crowds from the woods, and rushing to the shore, with every mark of astonishment and awe, to gaze upon the wondrous ships that had emerged like huge monsters from the deep. The feelings of the discoverers and the discovered were perhaps in some respects much akin. Columbus immediately ordered out the boats, manned and armed. Decked as High Admiral of these new seas, and bearing the royal standard of Spain, he rowed towards the shore, the commanders of the other vessels bearing him company in their boats, with crosses borne aloft, and banners emblazoned with the initials and royal insignia of their sovereigns. A clear and transparent sea washed the shores of the lovely isle, the ample forests that fringed its margin were hung with fruits of tempting form and hue, and the richly laden breezes from the land gave the voyagers ample promise of wealth and plenty to repay their daring exploit.

The whole incidents narrated to us by eye-witnesses of this first landing of Columbus in the New World, are curiously in accordance with the feelings with which, after the lapse of wellnigh four centuries, we still look upon that remarkable event which was the prelude of such vast results to both hemispheres. No sooner did Columbus reach the land, than throwing himself upon his knees, he kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. All who had accompanied him followed his example, though not many hours before he alone had withstood their faint-hearted resolves to abandon the attempted discovery, which they looked upon as chimerical

and absurd. But no unbelief could now exist; every heart overflowed with gratitude and joy. All joined in the thanksgiving of Columbus, and then rising, he unfurled the royal standard of Spain, and with notary, and official witnesses, drawn sword in hand, and every needful form and ceremony, took solemn possession of this New World in the name of the united sovereigns of Spain.

A recent biographer of the great discoverer, thus justly comments on this remarkable formula witnessed with unconscious awe and surprise by the natives:—"No empty mockery this, on which these poor naked Indians are now gazing with wonder and awe, but a most earnest fact, to be hereafter confirmed by papal bulls, by warlike armaments, and colonists clad in mail; by slavery, and perjury, and wrong; by deeds that shall make some of these, among the loveliest spots on God's earth, also among the most miserable. But such at least are not the great discoverer's views; he, as far as his own knowledge of the truth goes, would wish to be its messenger to a world shut out from the light of divine truth, would wish to bear to them a message of love, as he thus stretches out to the vast continents of America the hand of kindred brotherhood from his far distant home. There is, indeed, something graceful and noble in the first act of this enthusiastic man. Not with vain self-gratulation does he seek to magnify his hard-won discovery, but humbly, on bended knee, he directs the grateful hearts of all to God, who hath thus led them, by a way they knew not, to so favoured a land."

Nothing was more remarkable in the character of Columbus than the ardent religious enthusiasm which influenced his whole conduct. Strong in his faith in such imperfect views of Christian truth as were then attainable, he looked upon himself as commissioned to open up the way to these benighted regions of the earth, that their natives might partake of the blessings of a divinely re-

vealed faith. Alas! could he have foreseen all that resulted to the poor Indians from his discovery, how different would have been the feelings that influenced him as he crossed the Atlantic; if, indeed, he would not have gladly turned back his prow, and left for other generations the discovery of the New World. The Spaniard descended, not as the messenger of peace, but rather as the terrible angel of death, on these peaceful isles, Christ's name, indeed, on his lips, but covetous lust of gold alone in his heart. Our English poet, Montgomery, has thus vigorously, but most truly, pictured him, in tracing the history of West Indian slavery:—

“A rabid race, fanatically bold,
And steeled to cruelty by lust of gold,
Traversed the waves, the unknown world explored,
The cross their standard, but their faith the sword;
Their steps were graves; o'er prostrate realms they trod;
They worshipp'd Mammon, while they vow'd to God.”

Such was indeed the history of Spanish colonization in the New World. Successive voyagers followed on the track that the great Admiral pointed out; colonies were formed; white men crowded to the western shores; cities arose, with fortress and palace and church, on the ruins of older capitals, once gorgeous with the strange ingenuity and lavish wealth of Indian builders and worshippers, but still the cry in every mouth was gold. What though beneath that genial sky the fertile soil yielded abundant fruits, the sugar cane filled the marshy valleys with its treasures, the cotton tree offered its unwrought wealth for European looms, and the simple Indian, gathered these treasures of his soil, to store them in the strangers' dwellings,—all was valueless; the Spaniard cursed with a lust for gold, that no reward of honest industry could satisfy, gave full play to all those degrading and merciless passions of our nature, which covetousness calls into action, for gold he forsook every feeling that the heart

would cherish; for gold he bartered gratitude, patriotism, honour, and humanity. Superstition lent its sanction to his proceedings, and seconded deeds of barbarism and cruelty in the name of religion. The splendid fabrics of native skill perished with their builders. The miserable Indian expired amid the flames of his dwelling, or more slowly bowed down by an iron slavery; blood-hounds tracked him in his flight, and rent his unclothed limbs with their fangs. Every device that avarice and cruelty could suggest was put in force; regardless even of the dictates of wiser, though equally selfish prudence.

“O'erwhelmed at length with ignominious toll,
Mingling their barren ashes with the soil,
Down to the dust the Charib people passed,
Like autumn foliage withering in the blast;
The whole race sunk beneath the oppressor's rod,
And left a blank among the works of God.”

An old historian, after describing with much minuteness the palaces of Montezuma, and the vast gardens and pleasure grounds which were attached to them, adds. “Of all these palaces, gardens, and woods, there is now remaining the wood of Chapoltepec only, which the Spanish Viceroy's have preserved for their pleasure. All the others were destroyed by the conquerors. They laid in ruins the most magnificent buildings of antiquity, sometimes from an indiscreet zeal for religion, sometimes in revenge, or to make use of their materials. They neglected the cultivation of the royal gardens, cut down the woods, and reduced the country to such a state, that the magnificence of its former kings could not now find belief, were it not confirmed by the testimony of those who were the causes of its annihilation.”

The Spanish colonists looked, indeed, solely to present aggrandizement. They were alike indifferent to the rights of the unhappy natives, and to the future interests of *their own country*; so that they could only succeed in

obtaining gold with sufficient speed, and thus be able to return home enriched with the spoils of the country to which the genius of Columbus had opened a way. By this means the arts of the natives, wherein they displayed remarkable skill, were entirely lost. The people were undoubtedly enslaved by a most bloody superstition. But the eradication of that necessarily followed on the occupation of their country by the, so called, *Christians* of Spain. Had these colonists been actuated by a wise moderation they might have found in the well-directed arts of the natives, the wealth which they in vain sought in their spoils; while they would have escaped both the execration, and the retributive punishment, which now alone remain to their descendants, as the sole inheritance of Spain, from that New World which Columbus discovered for them. The same biographer of the great Admiral from whom we have already quoted, exclaims in reference to this subject :—“ Has not the righteous judgment of Heaven followed with swift vengeance on these accursed deeds? Spain in the fifteenth century stood foremost among the nations of Europe for learning and chivalry; the noblest monuments in arts and literature yet survive to attest her greatness; yet her gold has been the prey of every nation; her colonies have been wrested from her, or have disowned her yoke. Low and degraded, and a byword among the nations, she owns not a foot of soil on the continents discovered and peopled by her sons.”

The natives of Mexico appear to have been in that stage of progressive civilization, at the time of their discovery, when their acquirements were perhaps most susceptible of being turned to useful account by a superior race. Subject as they were to an absolute monarchy, and a cruel spiritual despotism, the mild but firm rule of a superior race, guided by wise and humane foresight, might have made of them willing tools of the most comprehensive projects of national aggrandizement, in

which Spain would have reaped the wealth she vainly sought, and have inherited the blessings instead of the curses of those whom she spoiled without enriching herself.

In the old description of the palaces of Montezuma it is remarked:—"In one of the royal buildings was an armoury filled with all kinds of offensive and defensive arms which were made use of by those nations, with military ornaments and ensigns. He kept a surprising number of artificers at work, in manufacturing these and other things. He had numerous artists constantly busied likewise, namely, goldsmiths, mosaic workers, sculptors, painters, and others.

"The number of the images by which their gods were represented and worshipped, in the temples, the houses, the streets, and the woods, was infinite. Zumarraga affirms that the Franciscans had, in the course of eight years, broken more than twenty thousand idols; but that number is trifling compared to those of the capital only. They were generally made of clay and certain kinds of stone and wood; but sometimes, also, of gold and other metals; and there were some of gems. In a high mountain of Achiauhtla, in Mizteca, Benedict Fernandez, a celebrated Dominican missionary, found a little idol called by the Miztecas *The Heart of the People*. It was a very precious emerald, four inches long and two inches broad, upon which was engraved the figure of a bird, and round it that of a little snake. The Spaniards offered fifteen hundred sequins for it; but the zealous missionary, before all the people, and with great solemnity, reduced it to powder."

The recent explorations among the remains of ancient native structures, render it almost needless to glance at the descriptions of some of those which were utterly destroyed. Yet the magnificence of the former capital of Montezuma confers on it an interest, in connexion with

its remarkable history, which it is impossible to associate with architectural remains, however vast, of the history of which we know nothing. The old historian remarks of the vast metropolitan temple which filled the chief place in the ancient capital of the native Mexicans:—"This great temple occupied the centre of the city; and, together with the other temples and buildings annexed to it, comprehended all that space upon which the great cathedral church now stands, part of the greater market-place, and part likewise of the streets and buildings around. Within the enclosure of the wall which encompassed it in a square form, the conqueror Cortez affirms that a town of five hundred houses might have stood. The wall, built of stone and lime, was very thick, eight feet high, crowned with battlements in the form of niches, and ornamented with many stone figures in the shape of serpents, whence it obtained the name of *coatepantli*, or the wall of serpents. It had four gates to the four cardinal points: the eastern gate looked to a broad street which led to the lake of Tezcuco: the rest corresponded to the three principal streets of the city, the broadest and the straightest, which formed a continuation with those built upon the lake that led to Iztapalapan, to Tacuba, and to Tepejacaë."

The builders of these vast temples appear at one time to have occupied a large portion of the North American continent, and are evidently a totally distinct race from the Red Indians, with which the British colonists of America have had to deal. The Smithsonian Institution of Washington, in the United States, have recently published a remarkably interesting volume, entitled "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." In this a singularly interesting and extensive series of earth-works, forts, altars, tumuli, and other remains of an early race, are described, accompanied with engravings of numerous relics of their builders. In the sepulchral tumuli especially, a

very varied collection of primitive relics were found, many of them obviously pertaining to the same race as the ancient natives of Mexico and Yucatan. In both of these latter countries, the graves and sepulchral monuments of the natives have been ransacked for treasures and relics, from the very earliest times, and it is worthy of notice, that among the sites of the ancient temples and ruined cities both of Mexico and Yucatan, tumuli occur of the same character as those which in other places of the world indicate to us the primitive habits of the human race, ere the arts of civilization have modified this character into the manifold peculiarities of distinct nationalities. During the visit of Mr. Stephens, the well-known traveller, to the village of Chemax, while travelling through Yucatan, the Cura informed them that at some leagues distant, nearer the coast, were several mounds or tumuli. The Indians had been employed shortly before in digging and excavating in the neighbourhood of them for stones for building; and on chancing to dig into one of the tumuli, they uncovered three skeletons, all in a state of extreme decay, which, according to the Cura, were those of a man, woman, and child. At the heads of the skeletons were two large vases of *terra cotta*, with covers of the same material. In one of these, a large collection of Indian ornaments was found, including beads, stones, and two carved shells. The other vase was filled to the top with arrow-heads, made of obsidian, most probably the work of the ancient Mexicans, in whose country volcanic regions abound. But besides these, Mr. Stephens was struck by being shown a penknife found from the same tumulus, and which he regarded with peculiar interest as a memorial of the European discoverers of Yucatan, and an evidence of the probable date of the tumulus. "Speculation and ingenuity," says he, "may assign other causes; but in my opinion the inference is reasonable, if not irresistible, that at the time of the conquest, and afterwards, the Indians were ac-

tually living in and occupying those very cities on whose great ruins we now gaze with wonder. A penknife—one of the petty presents distributed by the Spaniards—reached the hands of a cacique, who, far removed from the capital, died in his native town, and was buried with the rites and ceremonies transmitted by his fathers.”

The social state, and the peculiar arts of the natives of the New World, furnish very remarkable illustrations of that peculiar transition state through which many nations have passed, in which the people have attained to considerable progress in useful and ornamental arts, while they have obtained only a partial command of those materials which are indispensable to complete civilization and the perfect development of the social arts. The accounts of the Spanish conquerors describe the Indians as opposing them with wooden swords, and the like imperfect and primitive weapons of war. Among them, therefore, the spear and arrow-heads of flint and obsidian are likely to have been in use ; but such instruments would be utterly inefficient as tools for sculpturing the temples and palaces of Mexico or Yucatan ; and we are therefore tempted either to regard the latter as the works of an older and superior race, or to question the inference which derives from the discovery of the knife, evidence of the tumulus being contemporaneous with the era of the Spanish invasion. But a more intimate familiarity with the arts of races in a similar state, suffices to dispel much of the uncertainty involved in this discovery. With all the skill of the Indian sculptors and temple builders, they were still in the very transition state in which is found those remarkable discrepancies ; vast temples and palaces, decorated with lavish and costly treasures, the evidences of barbarous magnificence, and yet the great body of the people destitute of all but the coarse necessities of a very rude state of society.

The exploration of some of the most remarkable native

sepulchres by the Spanish conquerors is thus described :—
“ The ashes of the kings and lords were, for the most part, deposited in the towers of the temples, especially in those of the greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were also innumerable sepulchres. The tombs of those whose bodies had been buried entire, agreeably to the testimony of the anonymous conqueror who saw them, were deep ditches, formed with stone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a sitting posture upon *icpalli*, or low seats, together with the instruments of their art or profession. If it was the sepulchre of any military person, they laid a shield and sword by him ; if of a woman, a spindle, a weaver's shuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed vessel for holding food for the use of the deceased. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make. The Spanish conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up several, and found considerable quantities of that precious metal. Cortez says, in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was besieged by his army, his soldiers found fifteen hundred *castellanos*, that is, two hundred and forty ounces of gold, in one sepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple.”

Gold was the great object of every adventurer. Merchants, nobles, soldiers, and priests, all sought the newly discovered regions intent on no other end than the acquirement of the coveted metal, by whatever means it could be procured. The recent discovery of a new gold region at California, on the North American coast of the Pacific Ocean, has sufficed to develop anew the eager thirst of those who hasten to be rich, not by patient industry, but by chance or crime. The impetuous rush of thousands from our own country, and of hundreds of thousands from the United States of America, furnishes no un-

meet illustration of the state of things in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries among the Spaniards who sought their fortune in the New World. But there they found the remarkable elements of arts and civilization, and of an abundant population ; all of which unhappily only sufficed to furnish fresh incentives to crime. The superstition and barbarous idolatry of the Indians was a convenient pretext for every species of cruelty and extortion by the more barbarous emissaries of the Spanish Inquisition. For others the law of the sword sufficed to sanction every act of robbery and bloodshed. In the new regions of California, ruins of ancient cities are said to exist, indicating a civilization no less remarkable than that of Montezuma's kingdom. But they are deserted and in ruins, so that the gold-seekers of the nineteenth century are happily spared the temptation of staining the history of our age with the repetition of such wrongs as were perpetrated by the first Spanish colonists of America.

Of the equally barbarous destruction of works of art, as of relics of superstition, abundant evidence remains. The history of ancient Mexico has now to be gathered anew from the records of the ruins perpetrated by Spanish violence and crime. "The Mexican empire abounded with all kinds of paintings ; for their painters were innumerable, and there was hardly any thing left unpainted. If those had been preserved, there would have been nothing wanting to the history of Mexico ; but the first preachers of the gospel, suspicious that superstition was mixed with all their paintings, made a furious destruction of them. Of all those which were to be found in Tezcuco, where the chief school of painting was, they collected such a mass, in the square of the market, it appeared like a little mountain ; to this they set fire, and buried in the ashes the memory of many most interesting and curious events. The loss of those monuments of antiquity was inexpressibly afflicting to the Indians, and regretted sufficiently

afterwards by the authors of it, when they became sensible of their error ; for they were compelled to endeavour to remedy the evil, in the first place, by obtaining information from the mouths of the Indians ; secondly, by collecting all the paintings which had escaped their fury, to illustrate the history of the nation ; but although they recovered many, these were not sufficient ; for, from that time forward, the possessors of paintings became so jealous of their preservation and concealment from the Spaniards, it has proved difficult, if not impossible, to make them part with one of them.

“ The cloth on which they painted was made of the thread of the maguey, or aloe, or the palm *icxotl*, dressed skins, or paper. They made paper of the leaves of a certain species of aloe, steeped together like hemp, and afterwards washed, stretched, and smoothed. They made also of the palm *icxotl*, and the thin barks of other trees, when united and prepared with a certain gum, both silk and cotton ; but we are unable to explain any particulars of this manufacture. In this respect we have also to lament the furious zeal of the first bishop of Mexico, and the first Spanish preachers, who, in order to remove from the sight of their converts all incentives to idolatry, have deprived us of many valuable monuments of the sculpture of the Mexicans. The foundation of the first church which was built in Mexico was laid with idols, and so many thousand statues were then broken in pieces and destroyed, that, although the kingdom was most abounding in works of that kind, at present the most diligent search can hardly find any of them remaining. The conduct of those missionaries,” adds the historian, “ was no doubt laudable, but they should have distinguished between the innocent statues of those people and their superstitious images ; that some of the former might have been not entire in some place where no evil consequences would have attended their preservation.”

Some few of these Mexican idols, however, still remain, notwithstanding the iconoclastic zeal of the Spanish missionaries, and are certainly not calculated to convey a very exalted idea of the refinement or spirituality of their worshippers. Yet perhaps the most remarkable thing brought to our knowledge by the observations of Mr. Bullock, during his sojourn in Mexico in 1823, was the fact, that centuries of degradation and oppression have not totally eradicated the native traditions relative to the remarkable people from whom they are descended. The following account by this traveller, will show how singular has been the hold of tradition on the memory of those descendents of the subjects of Montezuma :—"The sacrificial stone, or altar, is buried in the square of the cathedral, within a hundred yards of the Calendar stone. The upper surface only is exposed to view, which seems to have been done designedly, to impress upon the populace an abhorrence of the horrible and sanguinary rites that had once been performed on this very altar. It is said by writers that thirty thousand human victims were sacrificed at the coronation of Montezuma. Kirwan, in the preface to his *Metaphysics*, states the annual number of human victims immolated in Mexico to be two thousand five hundred. I have seen the Indians themselves, as they pass, throw stones at it; and I once saw a boy jump upon it, clench his fist, stamp with his foot, and use other gesticulations of the greatest abhorrence. As I had been informed that the sides were covered with historical sculpture, I applied to the clergy for the further permission of having the earth removed from around it, which they not only granted, but, moreover, had it performed at their own expense. I took casts of the whole. It is twenty-five feet in circumference, and consists of fifteen various groups of figures, representing the conquests of the warriors of Mexico over different cities, the names of which are written over them. More information is to

be acquired from these figures, respecting the gaudy costumes of the ancient warriors, than can be obtained elsewhere. During the time (and it occupied several days) the operation of taking the casts was going on, the populace surrounded the place, and, although they behaved with great order and civility, would frequently express their surprise as to the motives that could induce me to take so much pains in copying these stones; and several wished to be informed whether the English, whom they considered to be non-Christians, worshipped the same gods as the Mexicans did before their conversion. I availed myself of the publicity which this operation gave to my pursuits, to offer to purchase any articles of curiosity from the Indians, or to reward those who could procure me intelligence of such. The consequence was, that various articles which had been carefully concealed were brought to light. Such as were portable I purchased, and of others I took casts and drawings, to enable me to make fac-similes on my return to England.

Mr. Bullock brought home with him to England, a most singular and highly interesting collection of Mexican antiquities, and also numerous fac-similes and casts of such objects as were either too bulky to be brought away, or could not be removed. These were exhibited in the Egyptian Hall London, and excited a lively interest about the country from whence they were brought. This curious collection was afterwards dispersed; and the casts of the singular native groups which adorn the sacrificial stone of Mexico, as well as other and still more remarkable relics afterwards referred to, now form part of the valuable collection of antiquities preserved at Edinburgh, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries.

But still more remarkable is the evidence called forth by another incident during Mr. Bullock's residence in Mexico, which suffices to show that the endurance of Spanish domination, and the enforced uniformity of creed

among the native Indians by their conquerors, have failed to obliterate entirely their veneration for the faith of their fathers. Pursuing his researches, Mr. Bullock remarks : " The largest and most celebrated of the Mexican deities was known to be buried under the gallery of the university. With some difficulty the spot was ascertained. Application was made to the heads of the college through the politeness of Senor Del Rio, professor of Mineralogy, and the great goddess was disinterred at the expense of the university. It was the labour of a few hours only, and I had the pleasure of seeing the resurrection of this horrible deity, before whom tens of thousands of human victims had been sacrificed, in the religious and sanguinary fervour of its infatuated worshippers.

" Those who have read the relation of Cortez of the transactions of the siege of Mexico must have shuddered at the horrid recital of the enormities committed on those who were unfortunately made captives by the natives. The heart, still panting with life, was taken by the priest from the breast, and deemed the more acceptable to the deity if it smoked with life : and the mangled limbs of the victim were then divided amongst the crowd as a feast worthy of the goddess.

" In the night of desolation, called by the Spaniards *Noche Triste*, in which many were made prisoners by the Mexicans, the adventurous Cortez, and his few remaining companions in arms, were horror struck by witnessing the cruel manner in which their captive fellow-adventurers were dragged to the sacrificial stone, and their hearts, yet warm with vitality, presented by the priests to the gods ; and the more the separated seat of life teemed with animation, the more welcome was the offering to the goddess,—the more heart-rending the cries of the victims, the more grateful the sacrifice to this monster representative of deformity and carnage.

" Some writers have accused the Spanish authors of ex-

aggeration in their accounts of the religious ceremonies of this, in other respects, enlightened people; but a view of the idol under consideration will of itself be sufficient to dispel any doubt on the subject. It is scarcely possible for the most ingenious artist to have conceived a statue better adapted to the intended purpose; and the united talents and imagination of Brughel and Fuseli would in vain have attempted to improve it.

“ This colossal and horrible monster is hewn out of one solid block of basalt, nine feet high, its outlines giving an idea of a deformed human figure, uniting all that is horrible in the tiger and rattle-snake. Instead of arms it is supplied with two large serpents, and its drapery is composed of wreathed snakes, interwoven in the most disgusting manner, and the sides terminating in the wings of a vulture. Its feet are those of the tiger, with claws extended in the act of seizing its prey, and between them lies the head of another rattle-snake, which seems descending from the body of the idol. Its decorations accord with its horrid form, having a large necklace composed of human hearts, hands, and skulls, and fastened together by the entrails,—the deformed breasts of the idol only remaining uncovered. It has evidently been painted in natural colours, which must have added greatly to the terrible effect it was intended to inspire in its votaries.

“ During the time it was exposed, the court of the university was crowded with people, most of whom expressed the most decided anger and contempt. Not so, however, all the Indians:—I attentively marked their countenances; not a smile escaped them, or even a word—all was silence and attention. In reply to a joke of one of the students, an old Indian remarked, ‘ It is true we have three very good Spanish gods, but we might still have been allowed to keep a few of those of our ancestors!’ and I was informed that chaplets of flowers had been placed on the

figure by natives who had stolen thither, unseen, in the evening for that purpose; a proof that, notwithstanding the extreme diligence of the Spanish clergy for three hundred years, there still remains some taint of heathen superstition among the descendants of the original inhabitants. In a week the cast was finished, and the goddess again committed to her place of interment, hid from the profane gaze of the vulgar."

This interesting narrative gives a melancholy picture of the wretched substitute of the "Three Spanish Gods," for such bloody idols. Had the Spanish conquerors been the means of introducing the pure light of Christian truth among the benighted Indians, it would indeed have proved a recompense for the sufferings and wrongs which their fathers endured; but all modern travellers concur in describing the Spanish American priests as openly abandoned to the grossest vice, while their religious services, though devoid of the bloody sacrifices of the old native rites, are not a whit less idolatrous and puerile than those which they superseded.

CHAPTER II.

MEXICAN ARCHITECTURE.

Build on in hope, with pillar, dome, and tower,
 Not for the present, but a distant hour.
 Brief is the span of life; the builder eyes
 His deep-thought plan, and sees the walls arise;
 Anticipates the whole, and then expires
 Ere half accomplished. Yet his genius fires
 The lasting pile. Not men but nations too
 By such defy oblivion.

ANON.

THE curiosity naturally excited by the discovery of powerful and comparatively civilized nations, occupying a continent separated by vast and seemingly impassable oceans from the Old World, has naturally led to a most anxious investigation of whatever seemed to present an appearance of affinity and legitimate ground of comparison with works of the Old World. Two of the most noted of these have been, the pyramids and the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Aztec monuments. To the superficial reasoner it might seem to settle the question of the origin of the Aztecs, Tolteckans, or by whatever name the American pyramid builders are known, to learn that they built pyramids and used a hieroglyphic mode of inscribing them. Pyramids, however, we have already shown, are found to have been erected by many ancient people, and are in themselves among the most primitive of all defined architectural forms.

The probable use for which the vast structures of the earlier Pharaohs were designed has been the subject of much discussion, and repeated attempts have been made

to prove their construction for astronomical purposes. This, however, we have already shown, receives little confirmation from the very complete researches of later times. The fact of their being found only to contain sarcophagi and their mouldering contents; with the grouping alongside of the largest pyramids, of so many of small dimensions, along with catacombs, notoriously constructed as places of sepulture, can hardly justify any conclusion but that the Egyptian pyramids were nothing more than royal tombs;—an opinion still further confirmed by the great care with which the passages to the sepulchral chambers have invariably been found closed up and concealed. But such is by no means found to be the case on examining, with equal care, other structures corresponding to these Egyptian sepulchres in external form.

There are numerous pyramids of various sizes in Nubia. The Temple of Belus (the Birs Nimroud) and the Mujelibè at Babylon, have already been amply described as pyramidal buildings of large dimensions, chiefly constructed of brick. India, in like manner, furnishes examples of pyramidal buildings still standing in the neighbourhood of Benares. But next to the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, those of Spanish America are most calculated to excite attention. Like those of Babylon, the Mexican pyramids are chiefly constructed of bricks. The Great Pyramid of Cholula covers an area more than three times the base of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh; but it is built in the usual form of the Mexican pyramids, consisting of four receding platforms, each of which is subdivided into a number of small steps, and the top is left as a large open platform, so that the height of the whole is small when compared with the base. Here, however, nearly all resemblance to the pyramids of Egypt ceases, though internal chambers have been discovered in some of them, containing skeletons and having perhaps a monumental character. The

pyramids of Cholula appear to have been chiefly designed by the ancient Mexicans as pedestals for the statues of their gods. When Cortez first beheld them, a colossal statue occupied the summit of each, covered with plates of gold; but the Spaniards stripped them of their costly coverings, and broke them in pieces. Cupidity and blind superstition were the ruling passions of the conquerors, and their proceedings with these native monuments are sufficiently characteristic of their whole course of conquest and dominion. The lofty terrace of the Great Pyramid of Cholula was chosen as the site of a church, dedicated to the Lady de los Remedios, and mass is now daily celebrated in it by a priest of the Indian race, whose ancestors practised there the rites of a scarcely more idolatrous worship.

Some of the pyramids of Mexico, though known to the natives, have only recently been discovered by Europeans, and it is a curious fact, consistent with the reverence which we have already observed them to retain for the barbarous idols of their ancestors, that they seem anxious to hide from the strangers the monuments of their forefathers. It is to be noted, however, that no such feeling appears to have been manifested towards Mr. Stephens, when he explored the ancient cities of Yucatan. "On the east of the group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan," says Humboldt, "on descending the Cordillera towards the Gulf of Mexico, in a thick forest, called Tajin, rises the pyramid of Papantla. This monument was by chance discovered scarcely thirty years ago, by some Spanish hunters; for the Indians carefully conceal from the Whites whatever was an object of ancient veneration. The form of this teocalli, which had six, perhaps seven stories, is more tapering than that of any other monument of this kind: it is nearly eighteen metres in height, while the breadth of its basis is only twenty-five, and consequently about half as high as the pyramid of Caius Cestius at

Rome, which is thirty-three metres. This small edifice is built entirely with hewn stones, of an extraordinary size, and very beautifully and regularly shaped. Three staircases lead to the top. The covering of its steps is decorated with hieroglyphical sculpture, and small niches, which are arranged with great symmetry. The number of these niches seems to allude to the three hundred and eighteen simple and compound signs of the days of the Cempohualihuitl, or civil calendar of the Toltecks.

“The greatest, most ancient, and most celebrated of the whole of the pyramidal monuments of Anahuac is the teocalli of Cholula. It is called in the present day the Mountain made by the hand of Man (*monte hecho a manos*). At a distance it has the aspect of a natural hill covered with vegetation.

“A vast plain, the Puebla, is separated from the valley of Mexico by the chain of volcanic mountains which extend from Popocatepetl towards Rio Frio, and the peak of Telapon. This plain, fertile though destitute of trees, is rich in memorials interesting to Mexican history. On it flourished the capitals of the three republics of Tlascalla, Huexocingo, and Cholula, which, notwithstanding their continual dissensions, resisted with no less firmness the despotism and usurping spirit of the Aztec kings.

“The small city of Cholula, which Cortez, in his Letters to Charles V., compares with the most populous cities of Spain, contains at present scarcely sixteen thousand inhabitants. The pyramid is to the east of the city, on the road which leads from Cholula to Puebla. It is well preserved on the western side, which is that represented in the engraving. The plain of Cholula presents that aspect of barrenness, which is peculiar to plains elevated two thousand two hundred metres above the level of the ocean. A few plants of the agave and dracæna rise on the foreground, and at a distance the summit of the volcano of Orizaba is beheld covered with snow; a colossal moun-

tain, five thousand two hundred and ninety-five metres of absolute height. A sketch of it is published in Humbolt's Mexican Atlas.

“The teocalli of Cholula has four storeys, all of equal height. It appears to have been constructed exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points; but as the edges of the storeys are not very distinct, it is difficult to ascertain their primitive direction. This pyramidal monument has a broader basis than that of any other edifice of the same kind in the old continent. I measured it carefully, and ascertained that its perpendicular height is only fifty metres, but that each side of its basis is four hundred and thirty-nine metres in length. Torquemada computes its height at seventy-seven metres; Betancourt, at sixty-five; and Clavigero, at sixty-one. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a common soldier in the army of Cortez, amused himself by counting the steps of the staircases, which led to the platform of the teocallis: he found one hundred and fourteen in the great temple of Tenochtitlan, one hundred and seventeen in that of Tezcuco, and one hundred and twenty in that of Cholula. The basis of the pyramid of Cholula is twice as broad as that of Cheops; but its height is very little more than that of the pyramid of Mycerinus. On comparing the dimensions of the house of the Sun, at Teotihuacan, with those of the pyramid of Cholula, we see, that the people, who constructed these remarkable monuments, intended to give them the same height, but with bases, the length of which should be in the proportion of one to two. We find also a considerable difference in the proportions between the base and the height in these various monuments. The pyramid of Cholula is built with unbaked bricks, alternating with layers of clay. I have been assured by some Indians of Cholula, that the inside is hollow; and that, during the abode of Cortez in this city, their ancestors had concealed, in the body of the pyramid, a considerable number of

warriors, who were to fall suddenly on the Spaniards: but the materials with which the teocalli is built, and the silence of the historians of those times, give but little probability to this assertion.

“It is certain, however, that in the interior of this pyramid, as in other teocallis, there are considerable cavities, which were used as sepulchres for the natives. A particular circumstance led to this discovery. Seven or eight years ago the road from Puebla to Mexico, which before passed to the north of the pyramid, was changed. In tracing the road, the first story was cut through, so that an eighth part remained isolated like a heap of bricks. In making this opening a square house was discovered in the interior of the pyramid, built of stone, and supported by beams made of the wood of the deciduous cypress. The house contained two skeletons, idols in basalt, and a great number of vases, curiously varnished and painted. No pains were taken to preserve these objects, but it is said to have been carefully ascertained, that this house, covered with bricks and strata of clay, had no outlet. Supposing that the pyramid was built, not by the Toltecks, the first inhabitants of Cholula, but by prisoners made by the Cholulans from the neighbouring nations, it is possible, that they were the carcasses of some unfortunate slaves, who had been shut up to perish in the interior of the teocalli. We examined the remains of this subterraneous house, and observed a particular arrangement of the bricks, tending to diminish the pressure made on the roof. The natives being ignorant of the manner of making arches, placed very large bricks horizontally, so that the upper course should pass beyond the lower. The continuation of this kind of stepwork served in some measure as a substitute for the Gothic vault, and similar vestiges have been found in several Egyptian edificos. An adit dug through the teocalli of Cholula, to examine its internal structure, would be an interesting operation;

and it is singular, that the desire of discovering hidden treasure has not prompted the undertaking."

The Indians preserved many strange traditions, some of which pointed to the Great Pyramid as a temple or place of worship for a divine being, whom they regarded as the conductor of their race to that country, and their instructor in the metallurgic arts. The name by which he was known among them is Quetzalcoatl; and he was described as having been induced by the intreaties of a former and inferior race of beings who occupied the territory of Cholula, to tarry among them. He left after a time, and Montezuma imagined when the Spaniards appeared that they were the posterity of this divinity returned to claim the land which his race had been allowed to occupy for a time. The submissive spirit of resignation which such a belief implies, adds an additional trait of sadness to the memory of the unhappy Mexican king, whose fate it was to come into collision with the first voyagers from the Old World. "We know by our books," said Montezuma in his first interview with Cortez, "that myself, and those who inhabit this country, are not natives, but strangers, who came from a great distance. We know also, that the chief, who led our ancestors hither, returned for a certain time to his primitive country, and thence came back to seek those who were here established. He found them married to the women of this land, having a numerous posterity, and living in cities which they had built. Our ancestors hearkened not to their ancient master, and he returned alone. We have always believed that his descendants would one day come to take possession of this country. Since you arrive from that region where the sun rises, and, as you assure me, you have long known us, I cannot doubt but that the king, who sends you, is our natural master."

Another very remarkable tradition still exists among the Indians of Cholula, according to which the great pyra-

mid was not originally destined to serve for the worship of Quetzalcoatl. "After my return to Europe," says Humboldt, "on examining at Rome the Mexican manuscript in the Vatican library, I found that this same tradition was already recorded in a manuscript of Pedro de Los Rios, a Dominican monk, who, in 1566, copied on the very spot all the hieroglyphical paintings he could procure. Before the great inundation, which took place four thousand eight hundred years after the creation of the world, the country of Anahuac was inhabited by giants (tzocuillixequé). All those who did not perish were transformed into fishes, save seven, who fled into caverns. When the waters subsided, one of these giants, Xelhua, surnamed the architect, went to Cholollan, where, as a memorial of the mountain Tlaloc, which had served for an asylum to himself and his six brethren, he built an artificial hill in form of a pyramid. He ordered bricks to be made in the province of Tlamanalco, at the foot of the Sierra of Cocotl, and to convey them to Cholula he placed a file of men, who passed them from hand to hand. The gods beheld with wrath this edifice, the top of which was to reach the clouds. Irritated at the daring attempt of Xelhua, they hurled fire on the pyramid. Numbers of the workmen perished; the work was discontinued, and the monument was afterwards dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air."

This narrative contains too manifest resemblances for us to doubt its derivation from the primitive traditions of the flood, and of the remarkable dispersion of the human race on the plains of Shinar. "It reminds us," says Humboldt, "of those ancient traditions of the East, which the Hebrews have recorded in their sacred books. Rios, to prove the high antiquity of this fable of Xelhua, observes that it was contained in a hymn, which the Cholulans sang at their festivals, dancing around the teocalli; and that this hymn began with the words *Tulanian huhu-*

laes, which are words belonging to no dialect at present known in Mexico. In every part of the globe, on the ridge of the Cordilleras, as well as in the isle of Samothrace in the Egean sea, fragments of primitive languages are preserved in religious rites."

These and many other indications seem very clearly to point to the fact that the race which occupied the southern regions of the North American continent at the time of its discovery in the fourteenth century, were the successors of a still older race, whose unrecovered annals stretch away into the dim and mysterious past, involved in more impenetrable shades even than that ancient epoch of the Egyptian Menes, which still hangs doubtfully on the mystic verge between history and fable.

Humboldt has carefully investigated the interesting question to which we have referred, of the correspondence between the pyramids of Mexico and those both of Egypt and Assyria. He finds a much closer affinity between them and the great pyramid of Babylon than is traceable to any of those of Egypt. But the vast period which is known to have intervened between the building of these similar erections, is a more unanswerable argument against any idea of a common origin, than even the continents and oceans which interpose between the countries where the corresponding structures are found. The Mexican pyramids, it is clearly established, were built in the comparatively brief interval between the epoch of Mahomet and the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Humboldt most justly remarks, after showing the similarity of the Asiatic and American pyramids: "We cannot observe without astonishment, that American edifices, the form of which is almost the same as that of one of the most ancient monuments on the banks of the Euphrates, belong to times so near our own.

"When we consider in the same point of view the pyramidal monuments of Egypt, of Asia, and of the

New Continent, we see, that, though their form is alike, their destination was altogether different. The group of pyramids at Gizeh and at Sakhara in Egypt; the triangular pyramid of the Queen of the Scythians, Zarina, which was a stadium high, and three in circumference, and which was decorated with a colossal figure; the fourteen Etruscan pyramids, which are said to have been enclosed in the labyrinth of the king Porsenna, at Clusium; were reared to serve as the sepulchres of the illustrious dead. Nothing is more natural to men than to commemorate the spot where rest the ashes of those whose memory they cherish, whether it be, as in the infancy of the race, by simple mounds of earth, or in later periods, by the towering height of the tumulus. Those of the Chinese and of Thibet have only a few metres of elevation. Farther to the west the dimensions increase; the tumulus of the king Alyattes, father of Cræsus, in Lydia, was six stadia, and that of Ninus was more than ten stadia in diameter. In the north of Europe the sepulchres of the Scandinavian king Gormus, and the queen Daneboda, covered with mounds of earth, are three hundred metres broad, and more than thirty high. We meet with these tumuli in both hemispheres; in Virginia, and in Canada, as well as in Peru, where numerous galleries, built with stone, and communicating with each other by shafts, fill up the interior of the *huacas*, or artificial hills. In Asia these rustic monuments have been decorated with the refinement of eastern luxury, while their primitive forms have been preserved. The tombs of Pergamus are cones of earth, raised on a circular wall, which seems to have been encased with marble.

“The teocallis, or Mexican Pyramids, were at once temples and tombs. The plain on which were built the houses of the sun and of the moon at Teotihuaca, is called the *Path of the Dead*; but the essential principal part of a teocalli was the chapel, the *naos*, at the top of the edi-

ficé. In the infancy of civilization, high places were chosen by the people to offer sacrifices to the gods. The first altars, the first temples, were erected on mountains; and when these mountains were isolated, the worshippers delighted in the toil of shaping them into regular forms, cutting them by stories, and making stairs to reach the summit more easily. Both continents afford numerous examples of these hills divided into terraces, and supported by walls of brick or stone. The teocallis appear to me to be merely artificial hills, raised in the midst of a plain, and intended to serve as a basis to the altars. What more sublime and awful than a sacrifice that is offered in the sight of an assembled nation!"

It is impossible, however, to associate ideas of sublimity with a worship, the rites of which were so bloody and revolting as that of the ancient Mexicans.

It is justly remarked in the introduction to the researches concerning the institutions and monuments of the ancient inhabitants of America:—"We shall be surprised to find, towards the end of the fifteenth century, in a world which we call new, those ancient institutions, those religious notions, and that style of building, which seem in Asia to indicate the very dawn of civilization. The characteristic features of nations, like the internal construction of plants, spread over the surface of the globe, bear the impression of a primitive type, notwithstanding the variety produced by the difference of climates, the nature of the soil, and the concurrence of many accidental causes.

"In the beginning of the conquest of America the attention of Europe was chiefly directed toward the gigantic constructions of Couzco, the high roads carried along the centre of the Cordilleras, the pyramids with steps, and the worship and symbolical writings of the Mexicans. The country around Port Jackson in New Holland, and the land of Otaheite, have not been more frequently de-

scribed in our times, than were the regions of Mexico and Peru at that period. To form a proper estimate of the simplicity, the true and local colouring which characterizes the descriptions of the first Spanish writers, we *must* have visited the spot. While we peruse their writings, we regret that they are not accompanied with drawings, to have given us a precise idea of the numerous monuments which became the prey of fanaticism, or which have been suffered to fall into ruin from negligence not less culpable." Such unavailing regrets, however, meet us wherever we investigate the remains of former ages.

The researches of Humboldt gave, as might have been expected, a new impetus to the study of American antiquities. Many careful and ingenious investigations by different European students led to the recovery of the forgotten works of Spanish historians, and to the discovery and examination of genuine Aztec paintings and manuscripts preserved in the library of the Vatican since the original conquest of Montezuma's empire, but which had been utterly lost sight of for centuries. More recent travellers have visited and described the country and thereby kept alive the interest excited in its ancient annals, until the influence of European movements convulsed it with political revolutions. The singular collection of Mexican antiquities brought home and exhibited by Bullock gave fresh impetus to the desire for further acquaintance with the old American race. Among travellers who have explored their remains, Mark Beaufoy, a British officer, published, in 1828, a work entitled Mexican illustrations. He thus describes a visit to a group of pyramids much less noted than those of Cholula:—"The most curious, and from various circumstances which connect them with the first colonization of America, by far the most interesting monuments in the Mexican territory, are the pyramids of Otumba or Teotihuacan. They are situated north thirty-five degrees east from the capital, at

about the distance of twenty-four miles in a straight line, and on a branch of the great valley; which, by winding round some mountains, and crossing a few insignificant ridges in other places, joins the extensive plains of Apan, Tlascal, Puebla, and Perote.

“So little had I been led to expect from report, that these ancient edifices would be found more worthy of attention than the three ruinous pyramids of Cholula; that I had neglected to provide myself with the means of measuring them, or to make such arrangements as might have enabled me more thoroughly to investigate the extraordinary scene I was about to visit. I remained on the spot more than two hours, ascended both the pyramids, rode about among the smaller heaps of volcanic stones, and sketched the exact appearance of the whole group, as contemplated from the summit of the pyramid called the Moon.

“I have never ceased to regret I was not prepared to make a more accurate and detailed inspection of what I then saw; but I must urge in palliation, the fatigue of loaded mules, the impatience of servants under a broiling sun—who no doubt wished I might break my neck—and the necessity of riding nearly thirty additional miles during the heat of the day. It is astonishing how much more trivial all those little circumstances appear to me now in England, than they did on the 23d of last March, under a burning sun at Teotihuacan.

“The two pyramids of Otumba have their sides and shape perfectly distinct, facing the four cardinal points of the compass; with an inclination to the summit of about forty-five degrees, and those summits appearing at a short distance to end in a peak. They are placed at half a mile from each other, north and south, in such a position, that the east base of the lesser is in a direct line with the west base of the greater.

“Each has two stages about three feet wide, at regular

distances up the sides, and running quite round the building; they had been covered with a cement painted light blue streaked with red, which is yet distinguishable in many places, and pieces of which I brought away: it seemed to me that these stages had been connected by a sloping path at the north-west angle; but if such were really the case, the remains are not sufficiently perceptible to justify a decided conclusion in the affirmative.

“On the summit of each pyramid is a small platform, once apparently covered with cement, and probably surmounted by a temple; but a few modern ruins show clearly, that the Spanish conquerors had erected chapels on the sites of the Mexican edifices.

“In no part could I discover any thing resembling an entrance; but several large holes which had been dug into the sides, either from curiosity or avarice, gave me the opportunity of ascertaining that neither layers of brick, or adobas (unburnt) were used in the construction: common volcanic stones, with which the surrounding plain is strewed, appear to have been first agglomerated into the pyramidal mass, by means of a cement composed of water, earth, and mortar; and the faces of the four inclined planes afterwards smoothed and perfected as to their shape and proportions. The latter operation has been effected with so much care, and the fissures so well closed, that the small nopal and other bushes now growing on them, have scarcely proved injurious to the workmanship.”

The group of primitive remains which surround these remarkable structures are no less singular. “Between the two pyramids, arranged in regular order, and forming a kind of street, are a vast number of small mounds or tumuli of volcanic stones; varying in height from five to twenty and thirty feet: these did not seem to have had their sides smoothed, but wore the appearance of heaps raised to commemorate the dead.

“To the right hand of the pyramid of the Moon, stands the head of an immense idol, carved in a hard species of porphyry; and in another place a stone altar extremely well fashioned, which I measured as well as I could with my pocket-handkerchief, and then compared with my own height: this rude mode gave eleven feet long (for it had been thrown down,) four wide, and four thick.

“The ground further to the right, outside of the tumuli, was so thickly scattered with small earthenware heads, and grotesque faces of men, that my two servants, assisted by an Indian, picked up a considerable quantity while I was rambling about the lesser edifice: the difficulty of conveyance made me select only a few; some of which I afterwards gave away, but the Indian assured me I could purchase, at the different huts in the neighbourhood, far better and larger specimens of ancient workmanship.”

Many of these singular terra cotta relics are to be found both in public and private British Museums. They are exceedingly varied in design, and have been thought by some writers to bear in many cases a close resemblance to Egyptian relics. Such similarity, however, generally fails to satisfy when subjected to careful scrutiny by students familiar with Egyptian antiquities, and the whole results of the most recent investigations into American antiquities tend to invalidate the conclusions of earlier writers as to an affinity traceable between Egyptian and Mexican antiquities.

CHAPTER III.

RUINS OF YUCATAN.

The dense wild wood, that hid the royal seat,
 The lofty palms that choked the winding street,
 Man's hand hath felled, and now in day's fair light,
 Uxmal's broad ruins burst upon the sight.
 City! whose date, and builders are unknown,
 Gracing the wild, mysterious and alone.

MICHELL.

COLUMBUS, it is well known, never landed on the continent of America. The spot which he took possession of with such rapturous demonstrations of joy and triumph, was, it is believed, one of the Gucayr's, or Bahama Islands. Pursuing his course, he afterwards discovered Conception, Exuma, and Isla Larga; and when at length he landed at Cuba, he doubted not but he had found the real Cipango, which he had looked forward to as the reward for all his toils; nor did he ever abandon the belief that it formed a part of the Asiatic continent, and of the mainland of India, which he expected to reach when he sailed westward across the unexplored Atlantic Ocean. Later voyagers, however, speedily extended their discoveries. The mainland, and the magnificent capital of Montezuma, were discovered, and Mexico, after a time, yielded to the superior skill and courage of the strangers. But another part of the North American continent was also taken possession of by the Spanish colonists. Yucatan is an extensive peninsula lying between the Bay of Honduras and the Gulf of Mexico. Seen, as it usually is, only delineated

on the map of the continent of America, it appears an insignificant tract of country. But it is in reality a vast region, extending over five degrees of longitude, and including vast, unexplored regions, which, for aught that we know of them, may include ancient cities, not like the crumbling ruins of Uxmal or Mayapan, but still occupied by the descendants of their native builders.

Many allusions to the cities of Yucatan are to be found in the accounts of the early Spanish historians. But an entirely new interest has been conferred on the subject by the publication of Stephens's "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan." This enterprising traveller, after exploring many new regions of Central America, had his attention drawn to Yucatan by accounts he received of ancient ruins of great extent which lay buried in the vast forests with which nearly the whole country is covered. He made a hasty visit to it, along with Mr. Catherwood, the results of which are mentioned in his "Incidents of Travel in Central America," &c., but the information he then received of the ruins of great cities and other ancient remains, determined him to devote another season for exploring this remarkable region. He accordingly revisited Yucatan in the following year, and carried out his design of visiting its chief ruins. On examining these his highest expectations were gratified. In the interesting narrative of his travels he gives an account of visits made to forty-four ruined cities, many of them containing extensive remains of temples and palaces still covered with sculptures, and frequently adorned both with paintings and hieroglyphics. Mr. Stephens's work possesses a further value from being adorned with numerous engravings of these gigantic memorials of an ancient race, large views of the ruined temples and palaces, curious representations of sculptures, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and many of the very singular natural features peculiar to that remarkable country. By means

of these, we are able to form a very clear and definite conception of the actual appearance of the remarkable structures, which stood forth as the architectural adornments of the strange land, to which the Spaniards of the fifteenth century were led by the indomitable faith and genius of Columbus. Yet as we have already remarked, Columbus never reached the mainland of the new world. On his last and most sad and ill-fated expedition, after experiencing the most tempestuous weather, he reached a small island, which is thought to be the obscure and little noted one, not to be found even now on every map of the west Indian islands, but known by the name of Bonaca. On this island he landed, and while there he beheld approaching from the west a canoe of large size, the Indian crew of which, appeared to be more civilized than any he had yet met with, and on the Spaniards showing them gold, and inquiring by signs where it might be had, they pointed towards the west, and urged them to sail still further in the direction they had come. Columbus never doubted but that he had discovered in the island of Cuba, a land of ancient fame, which latterly he concluded to be that of Ophir, from whence Solomon obtained the stores of gold with which he adorned the temple of Jerusalem. But the star of Columbus's fortune had set, and the discoverer of the western world was not destined to pass beyond the islands that stand between it and the broad Atlantic. "Well would it have been for Columbus," says his biographer, Washington Irvine, "had he followed their advice. Within a day or two he would have arrived at Yucatan; the discovery of Mexico and the other opulent countries of New Spain would have necessarily followed. The Southern Ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glory on his declining age, instead of its sinking amid gloom, neglect, and disappointment."

Yet perhaps it was also well that it should not be so. Columbus might indeed have returned to Spain in triumph, instead of in chains, and have reaped still greater honours and rewards. But he might also have had his great name sullied by the infamous deeds of those who did annex the kingdoms of Mexico and Yucatan to the crown of Spain.

It was only four years after the last voyage of the great Admiral that one of the companions of his previous voyage discovered the mainland of Yucatan. Eleven years more elapsed, however, before any effectual steps were taken for exploring or acquiring possession of the new country. On the eighth of February, 1517, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, a rich hidalgo of Cuba, with three vessels of good burden and one hundred and ten soldiers, set sail from the port now known as St. Jago de Cuba, on a voyage of discovery. Doubling St. Anton, now called Cape St. Antonio, and sailing at hazard toward the west, at the end of twenty-one days they saw land which had never been seen before by Europeans.

On the fourth of March, while making arrangements to land, they saw coming to the ships five large canoes, with oars and sails, some of them containing fifty Indians; and on signals of invitation being made, above thirty came on board the captain's vessel. The next day the chief returned with twelve large canoes and numerous Indians, and invited the Spaniards to his town, promising them food, and whatever was necessary. The words he used were *Conèx cotche*, which, in the language of the Indians of the present day, means, "Come to our town." Not understanding the meaning, and supposing it was the name of the place, the Spaniards called it Point or Cape Cotoche, which name it still bears.

The Spaniards accepted the invitation, but, seeing the shore lined with Indians, landed in their own boats, and carried with them fifteen crossbows and ten muskets.

After halting a little while, they set out, the chief leading the way; and, passing by a thick wood, at a signal from the chief a great body of Indians in ambush rushed out, poured upon them a shower of arrows, which at the first discharge wounded fifteen, and then fell upon them with their lances; but the swords, crossbows, and fire-arms of the Spaniards struck them with such terror that they fled precipitately, leaving seventeen of their number slain.

The Spaniards returned to their ships, and continued towards the west, always keeping in sight of land. In fifteen days they discovered a large town, with an inlet which seemed to be a river. They went ashore for water, and were about returning, when some fifty Indians came toward them, dressed in good mantas of cotton, and invited them to their town. After some hesitation, the Spaniards went with them, and arrived at some large stone houses like those they had seen at Cape Cotoche, on the walls of which were figures of serpents and other idols. These were their temples, and about one of the altars were drops of fresh blood, which they afterward learned was the blood of Indians, sacrificed for the destruction of the strangers.

These hostile demonstrations were only the precursors of still more formidable opposition. Whenever they attempted to land for water or provisions, they were similarly assailed. At several different parts of the coast they went ashore with their water casks, but were compelled to return to the ships. At Champoton, they at length filled their casks, "and were about putting them into the boats, when large bodies of warlike Indians came upon them from the town, armed with bows and arrows, lances, shields, double handed swords, slings, and stones, their faces painted white, black, and red, and their heads adorned with plumes of feathers. The Spaniards were unable to embark their water-casks, and, as it was

now nearly night, they determined to remain on shore. At daylight great bodies of warriors, with colours flying, advanced upon them from all sides. The fight lasted more than half an hour; fifty Spaniards were killed; and Cordova, seeing that it was impossible to drive back such a multitude, formed the rest into a compact body and cut his way to the boats. The Indians followed close at their heels, even pursuing them into the water. In the confusion, so many of the Spaniards ran to the boats together that they came near sinking them; but, hanging to the boats, half wading and half swimming, they reached the small vessel, which came up to their assistance. Fifty-seven of their companions were killed, and five more died of their wounds. There was but one soldier who escaped unwounded; all the rest had two, three, or four, and the captain, Hernandez de Cordova, had twelve arrow wounds."

Such was the first experience by the Spaniards, of the courage and hostility of the natives of Yucatan. Nevertheless, the reports of those who returned roused afresh the spirit of adventure, and new expeditions speedily followed in their course, with more efficient means for repelling the aggressive hostilities of the natives. At length, while Cortez was pursuing his gigantic designs for the subjugation of Mexico, the Spanish king bestowed on Don Francisco Montejo a grant for the pacification and conquest of, what were then styled, the islands of Yucatan and Cozumel.

The history of the successive expeditions by which Yucatan was at length subdued to the power of Spain, abounds with the most remarkable and stirring incidents. The Indians fought with the most resolute courage and perseverance, but their resistance was ineffectual against the repeated reinforcements from the island colonies and from Europe. The Spaniards prevailed; the priests of Yucatan were superseded by Spanish monks, and Indian

gave place to European superstitions. The ruins of palaces and temples, and the degradation of their native builders and occupants followed here as in Mexico; and now the gigantic and mysterious ruins which we seek to review, alone attest their former skill and magnificence.

It is to the perseverance, and adventurous zeal of Mr. Stephens and his companion, that we owe nearly all the knowledge we yet possess of these most singular remains. One of the most remarkable groups of ruins explored by the travellers was that of Uxmal, from Mr. Stephens's account of which we shall make a few extracts. The first of these singular ancient relics which they examined is called the Casa del Gobernador. "This building," says Mr. Stephens, "was constructed entirely of stone. Up to the cornice, which runs round it the whole length and on all four of its sides, the façade presents a smooth surface; above is one solid mass of rich, complicated, and elaborately sculptured ornaments, forming a sort of arabesque.

"The grandest ornament, which imparts a richness to the whole façade, is over the centre doorway. Around the head of the principal figure are rows of characters, which, in our first hurried visit, we did not notice as essentially different from the other incomprehensible subjects sculptured on the façade; but we now discovered that these characters were hieroglyphics. We had ladders made, by means of which Mr. Catherwood climbed up and made accurate drawings of them. They differ somewhat from the hieroglyphics before presented, and are more rich, elaborate, and complicated, but the general character is the same. From their conspicuous position, they no doubt contain some important meaning; probably they were intended as a record of the construction of the building, the time when, and the people by whom, it was built.

"The full drawing of this rich and curious ornament

could not be presented with any effect on an ordinary scale. All the other doorways have over them striking, imposing, and even elegant decorations, varying sometimes in the details, but corresponding in general character and effect with the one of which careful drawings were made.

“The part immediately over the doorway shows the remaining portion of a figure seated on a kind of throne. This throne was formerly supported by a rich ornament, still forming part of similar designs over other doorways in this building. The head-dress is lofty, and from it proceeded enormous plumes of feathers, dividing at the top, and falling symmetrically on each side, until they touch the ornament on which the feet of the statue rest. Each figure was perhaps the portrait of some cacique, warrior, prophet, or priest, distinguished in the history of this unknown people.”

Of these and of many others of the most remarkable ruins of Yucatan, Mr. Catherwood made not only general views, but elaborate drawings of their most singular and characteristic details. Still more, Stephens confesses that it is impossible, by means of any ordinary engravings, to convey an adequate idea of their gigantic size or numerous details. He thus, for example, refers to his own attempts to illustrate some of the Uxmal ruins, glancing in passing at the peculiar ideas entertained of them by the degraded descendants of their builders:—“At this day the Indians believe these old buildings are haunted, and that all the *monofatos* or ornaments are animated, and walk at night. In the day time, it is believed they can do no harm, and for ages the Indians have been in the habit of breaking and disfiguring them with the machete, believing that by so doing they quiet their wandering spirits.

“The combination of the last two engravings is probably intended to represent a hideous human face; the eyes and teeth appear in the first, and the projecting stone

is perhaps intended for the nose or snout. It occupies a space in breadth equal to about five feet of the wall. To present the whole façade on the same scale would require an engraving sixty-four times as long as this. The reader will perceive how utterly unprofitable it would be to attempt a verbal description of such a façade, and the lines in the engraving show that, as I remarked in my former account, there is no tablet or single stone representing separately and by itself an entire subject, but every ornament or combination is made up of separate stones, each of which had carved on it part of the subject, and was then set in its place in the wall. Each stone by itself is an unmeaning fractional portion, but, placed by the side of others, makes part of a whole, which without it would be incomplete. Perhaps it may with propriety be called a species of sculptured mosaic; and I have no doubt that all these ornaments have a symbolical meaning; that each stone is part of a history, allegory, or fable.

“The rear elevation of the Casa del Gobernador is a solid wall, without any doorways or openings of any kind. Like the front, above the cornice it was ornamented throughout its whole length with sculptured stone. The subjects, however, were less complicated, and the sculpture less gorgeous and elaborate; and on this side, too, a part of the façade has fallen.”

We have described in a former chapter, dedicated to the pyramids of Egypt, the fate of the beautiful Sarcophagus, rescued by Colonel Howard Vyse, and safely transported to Alexandria, on its way to final destination in the Egyptian Hall of the British Museum at London. A fate equally irretrievable, and perhaps still more sad and disheartening, destroyed the fruits of some of the American travellers' researches among the ruins of Uxmal. On Mr. Stephens's first hasty visit, he had been struck by the richness and peculiar character of some

carved beams of wood remaining in the ruins, and he determined on his return to rescue some of these and carry them home, as examples of the ancient arts of Yucatan. In the south-end apartment of one of the ancient buildings, most carefully investigated by him, he remarks, "We found the sculptured beam of hieroglyphics which had so much interested us on our former visit. In some of the inner apartments the lintels were still in their places over the doorways, and some were lying on the floor sound and solid, which better condition was no doubt owing to their being more sheltered than those over the outer doorway. This was the only sculptured beam in Uxmal, and at that time it was the only piece of carved wood we had seen. We considered it interesting, as indicating a degree of proficiency in an art of which, in all our previous explorations, we had not discovered any evidence, except, perhaps, at Ocosingo, where we had found a beam, not carved, but which had evidently been reduced to shape by sharp instruments of metal. This time I determined not to let the precious beam escape me. It was ten feet long, one foot nine inches broad, and ten inches thick, of Sapote wood, enormously heavy and unwieldy. To keep the sculptured side from being chafed and broken, I had it covered with costal or hemp bagging, and stuffed with dry grass to the thickness of six inches. It left Uxmal on the shoulders of ten Indians, after many vicissitudes reached this city uninjured, and was deposited in Mr. Catherwood's Panorama. I had referred to it as being in the National Museum at Washington, whither I intended to send it as soon as a collection of large sculptured stones, which I was obliged to leave behind, should arrive; but on the burning of that building, in the general conflagration of Jerusalem and Thebes, this part of Uxmal was consumed, and with it other beams afterward discovered, much more curious and interesting; as also the whole collection of vases, figures, idols, and other re-

lies gathered upon this journey. The collecting, packing, and transporting of these things had given me more trouble and annoyance than any other circumstance in our journey, and their loss cannot be replaced; for, being first on the ground, and having all at my choice, I of course selected only those objects which were most curious and valuable; and if I were to go over the whole ground again, I could not find others equal to them. I had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing their ashes exactly as the fire had left them. We seemed doomed to be in the midst of ruins; but in all our explorations there was none so touching as this."

The reader cannot fail to sympathize with the keen feelings of disappointment and regret with which the enthusiastic traveller must have beheld the fruit of so much toil and anxiety, and the long buried relics of a forgotten race, thus rescued from oblivion only to be destroyed.

The peculiar characteristics of nearly all the remains of ancient sculpture and architecture in Yucatan are a barbarous magnificence, and indefinite grandeur, as if the ideas of the designer had been superior to his powers of execution. Yet mingled with these are many traces of skilful and artistic design. At Kabah, for example, another very extensive group of ruins, Mr. Stephens was struck with some remarkably rich architectural details which he thus describes: "In the centre of the platform is a range of stone steps forty feet wide and twenty in number, leading to an upper terrace, on which stands the building. This building is one hundred and fifty-one feet front, and the moment we saw it we were struck with the extraordinary richness and ornament of its façade. In all the buildings of Uxmal, without a single exception, up to the cornice which runs over the doorway, the façades are of plain stone; but this was ornamented from the very foundation, two layers under the

lower cornice, to the top. A great part of this façade has fallen; toward the north end, however, a portion of about twenty-five feet remains, which, though not itself entire, shows the gorgeousness of decoration with which this façade was once adorned. The ornaments are of the same character with those at Uxmal, alike complicated and incomprehensible, and from the fact that every part of the façade was ornamented with sculpture, even to the portion now buried under the lower cornice, the whole must have presented a greater appearance of richness than any building at Uxmal. The cornice running over the doorways, tried by the severest rules of art recognised among us, would embellish the architecture of any known era, and, amid a mass of barbarism, of rude and uncouth conceptions, it stands as an offering by American builders worthy of the acceptance of a polished people.

“The lintels of the doorways were of wood; these are all fallen, and of all the ornaments which decorated them not one now remains. No doubt they corresponded in beauty of sculpture with the rest of the façade. The whole now lies a mass of rubbish and ruin at the foot of the wall.”

The objects of their worship appear to have closely corresponded with the barbarian idols already described among the remains of ancient Mexico, and indeed there is no doubt that the races of the two countries were of the same stock, and closely allied to each other in creed, national customs, and religious rites. Mr. Stephens thus describes a huge idol discovered by him among the ruins of Uxmal. “Near the centre of the platform, at a distance of eighty feet from the foot of the steps, is a square enclosure, consisting of two layers of stones, in which stands, in an oblique position, as if falling, or, perhaps, as if an effort had been made to throw it down, a large round stone, measuring eight feet above the ground and five

feet in diameter. This stone is striking for its uncouth and irregular proportions, and wants conformity with the regularity and symmetry of all around. From its conspicuous position, it doubtless had some important use, and, in connexion with other monuments found at this place, induces the belief that it was connected with the ceremonial rites of an ancient worship known to have existed among all Eastern nations. The Indians call this stone the Picote, or whipping-post.

“At a distance of sixty feet in a right line beyond this was a rude circular mound, about six feet high. We had used it as a position from which to take a Daguerreotype view of the front of the building, and, at the instance of the Cura Carillo, who came to pay us a visit, we determined to open it. It was a mere mass of earth and stones; and, on digging down to the depth of three or four feet, a sculptured monument was discovered. It is carved out of a single block of stone, and measures three feet two inches in length and two feet in height. It seems intended to represent a double-headed cat or lynx, and is entire with exception of one foot, which is a little broken. The sculpture is rude. It was too heavy to carry away. We had it raised to the side of the mound for Mr. Catherwood to draw, and probably it remains there still.

“Why this monument had been consigned to the strange place in which it was discovered we were at a loss to conjecture. This could never have been its original destination. It had been formally and deliberately buried. In my opinion, there is but one way of accounting for it. It had been one of the many idols worshipped by the people of Uxmal; and the probability is, that when the inhabitants abandoned the city they buried it, that it might not be desecrated; or else the Spaniards, when they drove out the inhabitants and depopulated the city, in order to destroy all the reverential feelings of the Indians toward

it, followed the example of Cortez at Cholula, and threw down and buried the idols."

It is fortunate that this enterprising traveller visited the scene of such singular discoveries at the time he did. For since then political convulsions, civil war, famine, and disease, have all combined to change the face of the country, and it may be long before another traveller shall be able to follow in his track, or pursue similar investigations with equal facilities. Meanwhile time is rapidly effacing these traces of ancient art. Mr. Stephen's thus describes the destruction of a singular ruin not far from those previously referred to. "It is called the Casa de las Tortugas, or the House of the Turtles, which name was given to it by a neighbouring cura, from a bead or row of turtles which goes round the cornice.

"This building is ninety-four feet in front, and thirty-four feet deep, and in size and ornaments contrasts strikingly with the Casa del Gobernador. It wants the rich and gorgeous decoration of the former, but is distinguished for its justness and beauty of proportions, and its chasteness and simplicity of ornament. Throughout there is nothing that borders on the unintelligible or grotesque, nothing that can shock a fastidious architectural taste; but, unhappily, it is fast going to decay. On our first visit Mr. Catherwood and myself climbed to the roof, and selected it as a good position from which to make a panoramic sketch of the whole field of ruins. It was then trembling and tottering, and within the year the whole of the centre part had fallen in. In front the centre of the wall is gone, and in the rear the wooden lintel, pressed down and broken in two, still supports the superincumbent mass, but it gave us a nervous feeling to pass under it. The interior is filled up with the ruins of the fallen roof.

"This building, too, has the same peculiar feature, want of convenient access. It has no communication, at

least by steps or any visible means, with the Casa del Gobernador, nor were there any steps leading to the terrace below. It stands insolated and alone, seeming to mourn over its own desolate and ruinous condition. With a few more returns of the rainy season it will be a mass of ruins, and perhaps on the whole continent of America there will be no such monument of the purity and simplicity of aboriginal art."

Now that new interest has been excited in these long forgotten relics of the aboriginal arts and civilization of America, it is found that much information may be recovered regarding the design aimed at by their builders, and the objects to which they were applied. Some of these are associated with the barbarous and bloody rites of their strange religion, and are the least calculated to excite sympathy on behalf of those whom the Spaniards supplanted. Were it not indeed for the terrible history of persecution, oppression, and priestly despotism which the history of Spanish America reveals, it would be difficult to sympathize with a people, the magnificent ruins of whose ancient cities are linked to associations such as attach to a huge pyramid at Uxmal, surmounted by what is sometimes called the House of the Dwarf. It is by no means singular among the ruins of Yucatan, the rites with which it is still associated, having been common to the whole Indian race of the kingdoms of Mexico and Yucatan. "It was also known by the name of la Casa del Adivino, or the House of the Diviner, from its overlooking the whole city, and enabling its occupant to be cognizant of all that was passing around him.

"The courtyard of this building is one hundred and thirty-five feet by eighty-five. It is bounded by ranges of mounds from twenty-five to thirty feet thick, now covered with a rank growth of herbage, but which, perhaps, once formed ranges of buildings. In the centre is

a large circular stone, like those seen in the other courtyards, called the Picote.

“The base is so ruined and encumbered with fallen stones that it is difficult to ascertain its precise dimensions, but, according to our measurement, it is two hundred and thirty-five feet long, and one hundred and fifty-five wide. Its height is eighty-eight feet, and to the top of the building it is one hundred and five feet. Though diminishing as it rises, its shape is not exactly pyramidal, but its ends are rounded. It is encased with stone, and apparently solid from the plain.

“At the height of sixty feet is a solid projecting platform, on which stands a building loaded with ornaments more rich, elaborate, and carefully executed, than those of any other edifice in Uxmal. A great doorway opens upon the platform. The sapote beams are still in their places, and the interior is divided into two apartments; the outer one fifteen feet wide, seven feet deep, and nineteen feet high, and the inner one twelve feet wide, four feet deep, and eleven feet high. Both are entirely plain, without ornament of any kind, and have no communication with any part of the mound.

“The steps or other means of communication with this building are all gone, and at the time of our visit we were at a loss to know how it had been reached; but, from what we saw afterward, we are induced to believe that a grand staircase upon a different plan from any yet met with, and supported by a triangular arch, led from the ground to the door of the building, which, if still in existence, would give extraordinary grandeur to this great mound.

“The crowning structure is a long and narrow building measuring seventy-two feet in front, and but twelve feet deep.

“The front is much ruined, but even in its decay presents the most elegant and tasteful arrangement of orna-

ments to be seen in Uxmal, of which no idea could be given in any but a large engraving. The emblems of life and death appear on the wall in close juxta-position, confirming the belief in the existence of that worship practised by the Egyptians and all other Eastern nations, and before referred to as prevalent among the people of Uxmal.

“The interior is divided into three apartments, that in the centre being twenty-four feet by seven, and those on each side nineteen feet by seven. They have no communication with each other; two have their doors opening to the east and one to the west.

“A narrow platform five feet wide projects from all the four sides of the building. The northern end is decayed, and part of the eastern front, and to this front ascends a grand staircase one hundred and two feet high, seventy feet wide, and containing ninety steps.

“The steps are very narrow, and the staircase steep; and after we had cleared away the trees, and there were no branches to assist us in climbing, the ascent and descent were difficult and dangerous. The padre Cogoludo, the historian referred to, says that he once ascended these steps, and ‘that when he attempted to descend he repented; his sight failed him, and he was in some danger.’ He adds, that in the apartments of the building, which he calls ‘small chapels,’ were the ‘idols,’ and that there they made sacrifices of men, women, and children. Beyond doubt this lofty building was a great Teocalis, ‘El grande de los Kues,’ the great temple of idols worshipped by the people of Uxmal, consecrated by their most mysterious rites, the holiest of their holy places. ‘The high priest had in his hand a large, broad, and sharp knife made of flint. Another priest carried a wooden collar wrought like a snake. The persons to be sacrificed were conducted one by one up the steps, stark naked, and as soon as laid on the stone, had the collar put upon their necks, and the four priests took

hold of the hands and feet. Then the high priest with wonderful dexterity ripped up the breast, tore out the heart, reeking, with his hands, and showed it to the sun, offering him the heart and steam that came from it. Then he turned to the idol, and threw it in his face, which done, he kicked the body down the steps, and it never stopped till it came to the bottom, because they were *very upright;* and 'one who had been a priest, and had been converted, said that when they tore out the heart of the wretched person sacrificed, it did beat so strongly that he took it up from the ground three or four times till it cooled by degrees, and then he threw the body, still moving, down the steps.' In all the long catalogue of superstitious rites that darkens the page of man's history, I cannot imagine a picture more horribly exciting than that of the Indian priest, with his white dress and long hair clotted with gore, performing his murderous sacrifices at this lofty height, in full view of the people throughout the whole extent of the city."

Yet the very publicity of these terrible sacrifices, show how completely the people sympathized in them, and some curious incidents mentioned by earlier historians show with what tenacity the natives clung to their ancient creed; secretly burning incense to the idols of their fathers, amid their ruined temples, and performing other idolatrous acts of devotion, even so recently as towards the close of the seventeenth century. Time indeed has leagued with Spanish rulers and priests, to efface the memory of their old creed, but the so-called Christianity which supplanted it was little calculated to supersede it by any very great superiority that it possessed. The Inquisition of Spain was established at the very period of the discovery of America, and accompanied the conquerors of Mexico and Yucatan. Horrible auto-da-fes took the place of bloody Indian rites. St. Jago, the Virgin, and other Romish idols, were substituted for those of the

native mythology; and all writers, ancient and modern, unite in conveying to us a picture of the grossest bigotry, sensuality, and crime, as characterizing both priests and laymen. Gambling and licentiousness are still openly encouraged in many cases by the precept and example of the curas, and it may be unhesitatingly affirmed, that after centuries of the so-called Christianizing of Mexico and Yucatan by the emissaries of Spain, both are nearly as destitute of any practical knowledge of the Christian religion, as when Cortez and his followers first landed on the American continent.

Considerable sameness characterizes the numerous remains of the ruined cities of Yucatan, so that the description of the remains of Uxmal comprises much that is again met with on other ancient sites. Yet each presents some peculiar and interesting feature of its own. At Kabah, for example, after describing some of the most beautiful and finely designed sculptures which were met with, Mr. Stephens remarks: "There are on this side of the camino real the remains of other buildings, but all in a ruinous condition, and there is one monument, perhaps more curious and interesting than any that has been presented. It is a lonely arch, of the same form with all the rest, having a span of fourteen feet. It stands on a ruined mound, disconnected from every other structure, in solitary grandeur. Darkness rests upon its history, but in that desolation and solitude, among the ruins around, it stood like the proud memorial of a Roman triumph. Perhaps, like the arch of Titus, which at this day spans the Sacred Way at Rome, it was erected to commemorate a victory over enemies."

It was here also that one of the finest carved lintels was extracted from the ruins only to experience the mortifying fate already alluded to. "All the lintels over the doorway," says the traveller, "are of wood, and all are still in their places, mostly sound and solid. The

doorways were encumbered with rubbish and ruins. That nearest the staircase was filled up to within three feet of the lintel; and, in crawling under on his back, to measure the apartment, Mr. Catherwood's eye was arrested by a sculptured lintel; which, on examination, he considered the most interesting memorial we had found in Yucatan. On my return that day from a visit to three more ruined cities entirely unknown before, he claimed this lintel as equal in interest and value to all of them together. The next day I saw them, and determined immediately, at any trouble or cost, to carry them home with me; but this was no easy matter. Our operations created much discussion in the village. The general belief was that we were searching for gold. No one could believe that we were expending money in such a business without being sure of getting it back again;" fortunately, though the original no longer exists, careful drawings of it were made, and a large etching illustrates the narrative of the indefatigable explorers' labours.

A critical investigation of these remains of primitive American art, leads to the conviction that no conclusion can be deduced from the architecture or sculpture of the ancient Aztecs or Tolteckans, in reference to their origin. The style of their sculpture and architecture is alike peculiar, and obviously of native origin. We are well content to assume that the builders of Shinar, and even of Thebes, worked without models, seeing that we believe them to have been the first of human builders; and no greater difficulty can possibly be felt, in assuming that some stray wanderers from the Noahic family group, being at length cast on the shores of the New World, established themselves there, and in the course of centuries grew up to be a numerous race, with stone palaces, instead of rude huts and wigwams, and with temples and pyramids not greatly inferior to those reared by the first idolators for the rites of Belus.

CHAPTER IV.

AMERICAN HIEROGLYPHICS

World! wrongly called the New — this clime was old
When first the Spaniard came, in search of gold.
Age after age its shadowy wings had spread,
And man was born and gathered to the dead;
Cities arose, ruled, dwindled to decay,
Empires were formed, then darkly swept away:
Race followed race, like cloud-shades o'er the field,
The stranger still to strangers doomed to yield;
Till to invading Europe bowed their pride,
And pomp, art, power, with Montezuma died.

MICHELL

WHILE we find in the remains of primitive American art abundant evidence of its native origin, we discover in it no less obvious traces of the derivation of its originators from the one centre of the human race. Their arts, mythology, science, and traditions, are all their own; yet in most of them we discover the common features pertaining to the works of the same class throughout the human family. In their science, and in their mythic traditions, especially, we detect singularly definite traces of the familiarity of their fathers with the true history of the race, and of the world, as it was known to the post-deluvian patriarchs. An affinity was naturally looked for at first, between their works and those of the oldest races of history. India was referred to for analogies in illustration of their mythology, and Egypt for a counterpart to their architecture and symbolic inscriptions. Where the idea of such affinities was already firmly established in the minds of the investigators, the most was naturally made of very slight analogies. But more

extensive study of the remains of the ancient Americans has served to dissipate many of the theories formerly entertained in regard to their origin, and models; and it is now very generally acknowledged that we possess no clue to the history of those first steps by which the vast continent of America was reclaimed from the solitude of an unpeopled wilderness.

Such a state of belief is the most favourable for unprejudiced study; and now, that American archæologists are fully alive to the interest which attaches to the history of the continents they have inherited from older races of the human family, much new and valuable light may be looked for, in reference to those obscure and lost chapters of the world's history relating to its first peopling, and the rise of its native arts and wild mythology.

The discovery of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments of the Aztecs, was one of the most tempting analogies to the earliest relics of the Old World which the curious explorers of ancient history found in the New World. At first sight there seemed ground whereon to rear a basis of truth for mastering the whole mystery, and even for obtaining the clue to the then unknown secret of the older hieroglyphs of Egypt. It was assumed, somewhat hastily, that hieroglyphic writing was every where one and the same. Supposing it to be a purely representative system of picture-writing, it seemed to require little more than a tolerably clear understanding of the intended representations of objects in order to master the whole. The Aztecs had indeed just such a hieroglyphic system in use; and their picture-writing still survives on many of the monuments of Mexico and Yucatan. There is good reason to believe that it was no more than an abbreviated system of literal representation, such as the Egyptian system of hieroglyphic writing was universally believed to be prior to the discoveries of the present century, and such as it doubtless was in its origin, though its pictorial representa-

tions have gradually passed into symbolic or arbitrary signs. An illustration of the mode adopted by the Aztecs in making use of their picture-writing on extraordinary occasions, is shown in the account preserved by the early Spanish discoverers of America. We learn from their historians, that the Indian scouts despatched to bring back word of the strange invaders who threatened the kingdom of Montezuma, informed their master of the arrival and appearance of Cortez and his followers, by sketches of the Spaniards, their ships, horses, firearms, &c. Such was no doubt the origin both of the American and Egyptian systems. They were at first no more than rude methods of conveying an idea of objects by miniature representations of them. The earliest refinement on this would consist chiefly in the most natural mode of abbreviation, by substituting a part for the whole. In this way the crown became the symbol of the *king*, and the inkhorn of the *scribe*; or again, a male and female figure together stood for *mankind*, an ox with three lines below it for *oxen*, or *many oxen*, &c. But the symbolic writing of America retained much more of its primitive pictorial character than that of Egypt; and there is certainly nothing in its details to justify any idea of its correspondence to the Nile monuments. "The most prominent feature," says Humboldt, "among the analogies observed in the monuments, the manners, and traditions of the people of Asia and America, is that which the Mexican mythology exhibits in the cosmogonical fiction of the periodical destructions and regenerations of the world. This fiction, which connects the return of the great cycles with the idea of the renewal of matter, deemed indestructible; and which attributes to space what seems to belong only to time, goes back to the highest antiquity. The sacred books of the Hindoos, especially the *Bhagavata Pourana*, speak of the four ages, and of the *pralayas*, or cataclysms, which at different epochs have destroyed the human race. A

tradition of *five ages*, analogous with that of the Mexicans, is found on the elevated plain of Thibet. If it be true, that this astrological fiction, which is become the basis of a particular system of cosmogony, originated in Hindostan, it is probable also, that it passed thence by the way of Iran and Chaldea to the western nations. It cannot but be admitted, that a certain resemblance exists between the Indian tradition of the *Yugas* and the *Kalpas*, the cycles of the ancient inhabitants of Etruria, and that series of generations destroyed, which Hesiod characterizes under the emblem of four metals.

“The nations of Culhua, or Mexico, says Gomara, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, believe, according to their hieroglyphical paintings, that, previous to the sun which now enlightens them, four had already been successively extinguished. These four suns are as many ages, in which our species has been annihilated by inundations, by earthquakes, by a general conflagration, and by the effect of destroying tempests. After the destruction of the fourth sun, the world was plunged in darkness during the space of twenty-five years. Amid this profound obscurity, ten years before the appearance of the fifth sun, mankind was regenerated. The gods, at that period, for the fifth time, created a man and a woman. The day, on which the last sun appeared, bore the sign *tochtli* (rabbit); and the Mexicans reckon eight hundred and fifty years from this epoch to 1552. Their annals go back as far as the fifth sun. They made use of historical paintings (*escritura pintada*) even in the four preceding ages; but these paintings, as they assert, were destroyed, because in each age every thing ought to be renewed. According to Torquemada, this fable of the revolutions of time, and the regeneration of nature, is of Tolteck origin: it is a national tradition common to that group of people, whom we know under the name of Toltecks, Chichimecks, Acolhuans, Nahuatlacks, Tlascaltecks,

and Aztecs; and who, speaking the same language, have been flowing from north to south since the middle of the sixth century of our era."

Instead of looking in these curious traditions for affinities with the mythology of India or Egypt, we find ourselves on much safer, and more certain ground, when we discover in them only the confused and distorted traces of the true history of the world which we possess in the authentic records of the inspired narrative.

The definite pictorial character of many of the mythological representations of the Aztecs renders it easy to arrive at the meaning they were designed to convey. It was ideas, and not words, that they represented; and therefore they contain records engrossed in a language intelligible to all, differing therein entirely from the Egyptian inscriptions. For even now, that the meaning of their symbols is ascertained, the ideas they convey are found to be rendered in a lost language, and can as yet be, at best, only obscurely guessed, by means of the modern Coptic, a corrupted dialect of the language of ancient Egypt. An examination of the paintings representing the successive destructions of the elder worlds has furnished the interpretation both of hieroglyphic signs, and of ideas of natural science, according to the ancient belief of the Aztecs. "We find," says Humboldt, "in the four destructions, the emblems of four elements, earth, fire, air, and water. These same elements were also indicated by the four hieroglyphics of the years, rabbit, house, flint, and cane. *Calli*, or house, considered as the symbol of fire, reminds us of the usages of a northern people, who, from the inclemency of the climate were obliged to warm their huts; and the idea of *Vesta*, which, in the most ancient system of the Greek mythology, represents at once the *house*, the *hearth*, and the domestic *fire*. The sign *tecpatl*, flint, was dedicated to the god of the air, *Quetzalcohuatl*, a mysterious personage, who belongs to the heroic

times of Mexican history, and of whom we have had occasion to speak several times in the course of this work. According to the Mexican calendar, *tecpall* is the sign of the night, which, at the beginning of the cycle, accompanies the hieroglyphic of the day, called *ehecatl*, or *wind*. Perhaps the history of an aerolite, which fell from the sky on the summit of the pyramid of Cholula, dedicated to Quetzalcohuatl, led the Mexicans to establish this singular connection between a flint and the god of the winds."

The signs of the days of the week, and the whole system of chronological measurement, has been mastered with no great difficulty. But one very simple and remarkable symbol, on the monuments not only of the most civilized regions of the aboriginal American races, but, as it would seem, common to nearly all the different races peopling the vast continent, is peculiarly worthy of notice. In describing some of the most remarkable features of the ruins at Uxmal, Mr. Stephens remarks:—"Over a cavity in the mortar, were two conspicuous marks, which afterward stared us in the face in all the ruined buildings of the country. They were the prints of a red hand with the thumb and fingers extended, not drawn or painted, but stamped by the living hand, the pressure of the palm upon the stone. He who made it had stood before it alive as we did, and pressed his hand, moistened with red paint, hard against the stone. The seams and creases of the palm were clear and distinct in the impression. There was something lifelike about it that waked exciting thoughts, and almost presented the images of the departed inhabitants hovering about the building. And there was one striking feature about these hands; they were exceedingly small. Either of our own spread over and completely hid them; and this was interesting from the fact that we had ourselves remarked, and heard remarked by others, the smallness of the hands and feet as a striking

feature in the physical conformation of the Indians at the present day."

This singular sign afterwards became familiar to the traveller by its repeated recurrence on the many ancient ruins which he visited, and naturally excited considerable interest and curiosity. The following observations, afterwards communicated by Mr. Schoolcraft, an intelligent native of the United States, throw some little light on the subject. "The figure of the human hand is used by the North American Indians to denote supplication to the Deity or Great Spirit; and it stands in the system of picture-writing as the symbol for strength, power, or mastery, thus derived. In a great number of instances which I have met with of its being employed, both in the ceremonial observances of their dances and in their pictorial records, I do not recollect a single one in which this sacred character is not assigned to it. Their priests are usually drawn with outstretched and uplifted hands. Sometimes one hand and one arm, but more commonly both are uplifted. It is not uncommon for those among them who profess the arts of medicine, magic, and prophecy (the three are sometimes united and sometimes not) to draw or depict a series of representative or symbolical figures on bark, skins of animals, or even tabular pieces of wood, which are a kind of notation, and the characters are intended to aid the memory in singing the sacred songs and choruses. When the inscriptions are found to be on wood, as they often are in the region of Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi, they have been sometimes called 'music boards.' I induced a noted meta, or priest, to part with one of these figured boards, many years ago, and afterward obtained impressions from it in this city by passing it through Mr. Maverick's rolling press. It was covered with figures on both sides, one side containing forty principal figures; six embrace the symbol of the uplifted hand, four of which had also

the arm, but no other part of the body, attached. Their import, which the man also imparted to me, is given in the general remark above. On the reverse of this board, consisting of thirty-eight characters, nine embrace the up-lifted hand, in one case from a headless trunk, but in the eight others connected with the whole frame.

“The design of the hand is uniformly the same with our tribes, whether it be used disjunctively or alone, or connected with the arm alone, or with the whole body. In the latter cases it is a compound symbol, and reveals some farther particular or associated idea of the action. The former is the most mysterious use of it, precisely because there are no accessories to help out the meaning, and it is, I think, in such isolated cases, to be regarded as a general sign of devotion.

“In the course of many years’ residence on the frontiers, including various journeyings among the tribes, I have had frequent occasion to remark the use of the *hand alone* as a symbol, but it has generally been a symbol applied to the naked body after its preparation and decoration for sacred or festive dances. And the fact deserves farther consideration, from these preparations being generally made in the arcanum of the medicine, or secret lodge, or some other private place, and with all the skill of the priest’s, the medicine man’s, or the juggler’s art. The mode of applying it in these cases is by smearing the hand of the operator with white or coloured clay, and impressing it on the breast, the shoulder, or other part of the body. The idea is thus conveyed, that a secret influence, a charm, a mystic power is given to the dancer, arising from his sanctity or his proficiency in the occult arts. This use of the hand is not confined to a single tribe or people. I have noticed it alike among the Dakotahs, the Winnebagoes, and other Western tribes, as among the numerous branches of the red race still located east of the Mississippi River, above the latitude of

forty-two degrees, who speak dialects of the Algonquin language."

These ideas Mr. Schoolcraft illustrates by other curious examples of the use made of this strange symbol by the Red Indian tribes. But its chief value to us is the evidence it affords of an affinity between the Red Indians of the north, and the ancient civilized races of the southern portions of the North American continent. Whether this be an affinity of customs, derived solely from imitation, and the traces of some partial intercourse at a late period in the history of the old races of Mexico and Yucatan, or whether it points to some community in the origin of the races, is still a point undetermined, though most circumstances incline the students of this subject to the belief that the two races spring from entirely different stocks. We have already referred to a very remarkable American work on the ancient monuments of the Mississippi valley. In it the archæological relics of the primitive occupants of that region,—their temples, their forts, their weapons, implements, and personal ornaments,—are all minutely described and illustrated. The work is one of immense value in its influence on the future investigation of American primitive history. The following are some of the conclusions arrived at by its authors, in which it will be seen that a very close affinity is traced between the original population of the great valley, and the civilized race over whom Montezuma ruled. "With the facts presented to the reader he will be able to deduce his own conclusions as to the probable character and condition of the ancient population of the Mississippi valley. That it was numerous and widely spread, is evident from the number and magnitude of the ancient monuments, and the extensive range of their occurrence. That it was essentially homogeneous, in customs, habits, religion, and government, seems very well sustained by the great uniformity which the ancient remains display, not only as

regards position and form, but in respect also to those minor particulars, which, not less than more obvious and imposing features, assist us in arriving at correct conclusions. This opinion can be in no way affected, whether we assume that the ancient race was at one time diffused over the entire valley, or that it migrated slowly from one portion of it to the other, under the pressure of hostile neighbours, or the attractions of a more genial climate. The differences which have already been pointed out between the monuments of the several portions of the valley, of the northern, central, and southern divisions, are not sufficiently marked to authorize the belief that they were the works of separate nations. The features common to all are elementary, and identify them as appertaining to a single grand system, owing its origin to a family of men, moving in the same general direction, acting under common impulses, and influenced by similar causes.

“ Without undertaking to point out the affinities, or to indicate the probable origin of the builders of the western monuments, and the cause of their final disappearance,—inquiries of deep interest and vast importance in an archæological and ethnological point of view, and in which it is believed the foregoing chapters may greatly assist,—we may venture to suggest that the facts thus far collected point to a connection more or less intimate between the race of the mounds and the semi-civilized nations which formerly had their seats among the sierras of Mexico, upon the plains of Central America and Peru, and who erected the imposing structures which, from their number, vastness, and mysterious significance, invest the central portions of the continent with an interest not less absorbing than that which attaches to the valley of the Nile. These nations alone, of all those found in possession of the continent by the European discoverers, were essentially stationary and agricultural in their habits,—conditions indispensable to large population, to fixedness

of institutions, and to any considerable advance in the economical or ennobling arts. That the mound-builders, although perhaps in a less degree, were also stationary and agricultural, clearly appears from a variety of facts and circumstances, most of which will no doubt recur to the mind of the reader, but which will bear recapitulation here.

“It may safely be claimed, and will be admitted without dispute, that a large local population can only exist under an agricultural system. Dense commercial and manufacturing communities, the apparent exceptions to the remark, are themselves the offspring of a large agricultural population, with which nearly or remotely they are connected, and upon which they are dependent. Now it is evident that works of art, so numerous and vast as we have seen those of the Mississippi valley to be, could only have been erected by a numerous people,—and especially must we regard as numerous the population capable of constructing them, when we reflect how imperfect at the best must have been the artificial aids at their command, as compared with those of the present age. Implements of wood, stone, and copper, could hardly have proved very efficient auxiliaries to the builders, who must have depended mainly upon their own bare hands and weak powers of transportation, for excavating and collecting together the twenty millions of cubic feet of material which make up the solid contents of the great mound at Cahokia alone.

“The conclusion, that the ancient population was exceedingly dense, follows not less from the capability which they possessed to erect, than from the circumstance that they required, works of the magnitude we have seen, to protect them in danger, or to indicate in a sufficiently imposing form their superstitious zeal, and their respect for the dead. As observed by an eminent archæologist, whose opinions upon this and collateral subjects are enti-

bled to a weight second to those of no other author, 'it is impossible that the population, for whose protection such extensive works were necessary, and which was able to defend them, should not have been eminently agricultural.' The same author elsewhere observes, of the great mound at Grave creek, that 'it indicates not only a dense agricultural population, but also a state of society essentially different from that of the modern race of Indians north of the tropic. There is not, and there was not, in the sixteenth century, a single tribe of Indians (north of the semi-civilized nations) between the Atlantic and the Pacific, which had means of subsistence sufficient to enable them to apply, for such purposes, the unproductive labour necessary for the work; nor was there any in such a social state as to compel the labour of the people to be thus applied.'

"Another evidence of the probable agricultural character of the mound-builders, is furnished in the fact already several times remarked, that these remains are almost entirely confined to the fertile valleys of streams, or to productive alluvions bordering on the lakes or on the Gulf of Mexico,—precisely the positions best adapted for agricultural purposes, and capable of sustaining the densest population, as also affording, in fish and game, the most efficient secondary aids of support.

If the mound-builders were a numerous, stationary, and an agricultural people, it follows of necessity that their customs, laws, and religion, had assumed a fixed and well defined form,—a result inseparable from that condition. The construction therefore of permanent fortifications for protection against hostile neighbours, and of vast and regular religious structures, under this hypothesis, fell clearly within their capabilities."

These mounds, from which such important conclusions are deduced, are, in many cases, literally earthen teocallis, or Mexican pyramids, with a graded approach and other

marked peculiarities, leaving little room for doubt that the same creed and customs, and also, it may be assumed, with little doubt, the same bloody rites, had prevailed among nearly the whole primitive occupants of the American continent, as were found by Cortes in the kingdom of Mexico. On this subject the authors of the exploration of the Mississippi valley remark :—" If we are not mistaken in assigning a religious origin to that large portion of ancient monuments, which are clearly not defensive, nor designed to perpetuate the memory of the dead, then the superstitions of the ancient people must have exercised a controlling influence upon their character. If, again, as from reason and analogy we are warranted in supposing, many of these sacred structures are symbolical in their forms and combinations, they indicate the prevalence among their builders of religious beliefs and conceptions, corresponding with those which prevailed among the early nations of the other continent, and which, in their elements, seem to have been common to all nations, far back in the traditional period, before the dawn of written history. Their consideration under this aspect involves a preliminary analysis of the religious belief of the various aboriginal American families, an examination of their mythologies and superstitious rites, and a comparison between them and those of the primitive nations of the Old World. It involves, also, an attention to the sacred monuments of the eastern continent, to the principles upon which they were constructed, and to the extent to which a symbolical design is apparent in their combinations and ornaments. But it is alike beyond the scope and design of this work to go into these inquiries, which in themselves, from their attractiveness and importance, deserve a full and separate consideration. We may, however, be permitted to express the belief, that researches in this department, philosophically conducted, must lead to results of the highest value, and greatly aid

in the solution of the interesting problems connected with our aboriginal history. For, in the words of a writer of distinction, 'of all researches that most effectually aid us to discover the origin of a nation or people, whose history is unknown or deeply involved in the obscurity of ancient times, none perhaps are attended with such important results, as the analysis of their theological dogmas, and their religious practices. In such matters mankind adhere with greatest tenacity, and though both modified and corrupted in the revolutions of ages, they still preserve features of their original construction, when language, arts, sciences, and political establishments, no longer retain distinct lineaments of their ancient constitutions.

"No attempt accurately to fix the date of the ancient monuments of the Mississippi valley, can, from the circumstances of the case, be successful. The most that can be done is to arrive at approximate results. The fact that none of the ancient monuments occur upon the latest-formed terraces of the river valleys of Ohio, is one of much importance in its bearings upon this question. If, as we are amply warranted in believing, these terraces mark the degrees of subsidence of the streams, one of the four which may be traced has been formed since those streams have followed their present courses. There is no good reason for supposing that the mound-builders would have avoided building upon that terrace, while they erected their works promiscuously upon all the others. And if they had built upon it, some slight traces of their works would yet be visible, however much influence we may assign to disturbing causes,—overflows, and shifting channels. Assuming, then, that the lowest terrace, on the Scioto river for example, has been formed since the era of the mounds, we must next consider that the excavating power of the Western rivers diminishes yearly, in proportion as they approximate towards a general level.

On the lower Mississippi,—where alone the ancient monuments are sometimes invaded by the water,—the bed of the stream is rising, from the deposition of the materials brought down from the upper tributaries, where the excavating process is going on. This excavating power, it is calculated, is in an inverse ratio to the square of the depth, that is to say, diminishes as the square of the depth increases. Taken to be approximately correct, this rule establishes that the formation of the latest terrace, by the operation of the same causes, must have occupied much more time than the formation of any of the preceding three. Upon these premises, the time, since the streams have flowed in their present courses, may be divided into four periods, of different lengths,—of which the latest, supposed to have elapsed since the race of the mounds flourished, is much the longest.

“The fact that the rivers, in shifting their channels, have in some instances encroached upon the superior terraces, so as in part to destroy works situated upon them, and afterwards receded to long distances of a fourth or half a mile or upwards, is one which should not be overlooked in this connection. In the case of the ‘High Bank Works,’ the recession has been nearly three-fourths of a mile, and the intervening terrace or ‘bottom’ was, at the period of the early settlement, covered with a dense forest. This recession, and subsequent forest growth, must of necessity have taken place since the river encroached upon the ancient works here alluded to.

Without doing more than to allude to the circumstance of the exceedingly decayed state of the skeletons found in the mounds, and to the amount of vegetable accumulations in the ancient excavations, and around the ancient works, we pass to another fact, perhaps more important in its bearing upon the question of the antiquity of these works than any of those presented above. It is that they are covered with primitive forests, in no way distinguish-

able from those which surround them, in places where it is probable no clearings were ever made. Some of the trees of these forests have a positive antiquity of from six to eight hundred years. They are found surrounded with the mouldering remains of others, undoubtedly of equal original dimensions, but now fallen and almost incorporated with the soil. Allow a reasonable time for the encroachment of the forest, after the works were abandoned by their builders, and for the period intervening between that event and the date of their construction, and we are compelled to assign them no inconsiderable antiquity. But, as already observed, the forests covering these works correspond in all respects with the surrounding forests; the same varieties of trees are found, in the same proportions, and they have a like primitive aspect. This fact was remarked by the late President Harrison, and was put forward by him as one of the strongest evidences of the high antiquity of these works. In an address before the Historical Society of Ohio, he said :—

“ ‘The process by which nature restores the forest to its original state, after being once cleared, is extremely slow. The rich lands of the West are, indeed, soon covered again, but the character of the growth is entirely different, and continues so for a long period. In several places upon the Ohio, and upon the farm which I occupy, clearings were made in the first settlement of the country and subsequently abandoned and suffered to grow up. Some of these new forests are now sure of fifty years’ growth, but they have made so little progress towards attaining the appearance of the immediately contiguous forest, as to induce any man of reflection to determine that at least ten times fifty years must elapse before their complete assimilation can be effected. We find in the ancient works all that variety of trees which give such unrivalled beauty to our forests, in natural proportions. The first growth on the same kind of land, once cleared

and then abandoned to nature, on the contrary; is entirely homogeneous, often stunted to one or two, at most three kinds of timber. If the ground has been cultivated, the yellow locust will thickly spring up; if not cultivated, the black and white walnut will be the prevailing growth. Of what immense age then must be the works so often referred to, covered as they are by at least the second growth, after the primitive forest state was regained? It is not undertaken to assign a period for the assimilation here indicated to take place. It must unquestionably, however, be measured by centuries."

The result of these and of all other investigations into the remains of ancient races and the relics of their arts and mechanical contrivances, is to show us how very meagre and imperfect are the historic records which have been preserved of man. Men have, strangely enough, been oftener intent on learning the secrets of the stars than of the earth; and when they have turned their attention in more recent years to their own planet, it has been to search into the history of preadamite ages, and not into the lost annals of man. The success which has attended the curious inquiries of the geologist into the habits and character of races of beings which were extinct thousands of years ere the first man was called into being by the fiat of his Creator, ought to give a new stimulus to the researches, already begun, into the records of Adam's seed. The preceding chapters suffice to show how important a place these investigations are entitled to in the varied departments of human knowledge and study. To the biblical student they furnish ever new illustrations of the sacred records, fresh elucidations of their meaning, and fresh evidences of their truth. To the historian, they add to every department of his studies, enabling him to revise, correct, and extend the earliest historic records, and even to furnish a trustworthy and consistent history of nations that have passed away from

the great family of man, without apparently leaving the elements of a single authentic record. In this way the ruined temple and town may be peopled anew with historic life; the buried city may become the scene whereon ancient and long-forgotten story is re-enacted for our instruction; and past ages be recalled to furnish for us the great lessons taught by their wisdom, their sufferings, and even by their errors and their crimes. This is no less effectually shown in the relics of ancient civilization than of primitive simplicity or imperfectly developed arts; and will be found even more powerful in exciting our sympathy and interest, now that we turn to the antiquities of our own continent and the memorials of our historic fathers.

PART IV.—EUROPE

CHAPTER I.

THE TEMPLES OF GREECE.

Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground;
 No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould,
 But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,
 And all the muse's tales seem truly told,
 Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold
 Defies the power which crushed thy temples gone:
 Age shakes Athena's Tower, but spares grey Marathon.

CHILDE HAROLD.

WE are naturally less inclined to associate our own country and race with the present than the past, and pursue our investigations into its primitive history rather as a means of illustrating modern customs and events, than from the spirit of curiosity which incites our inquiries into evidences of primeval history. It is with a spirit somewhat akin to this that we turn to the ruins of ancient Europe, after having explored those of Asia and Africa, and even of that strange continent on which the novelty of re-discovery has conferred the title of the New World. The usual course of modern education largely tends to increase this feeling. Familiarized as we are,

from early studies, with the literature, history, and the social habits of the Greeks and Romans, we cannot learn to look upon them as peopling a remote antiquity like that of the Egyptian or Assyrian nations, or even of the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonists, through whom Greece and Rome, and even, as we believe, Britain, learned some of the earliest useful arts.

Turner observes in the early part of his Anglo-Saxon history: "That the re-peopling of a globe which is nearly twenty-four thousand miles in circumference, should have been immediately effected, no reflecting mind will suppose; and the slow progress which population must have made over so large a surface, could not but be more gradual from the mountains, deserts, lakes, woods, and rivers, which divide its various regions, and obstruct human access.

"The impenetrable forests, ever increasing from the vegetative agencies of nature, till checked by human labour; and the continual and deleterious marshes, which rain and rivers are, every year, producing and enlarging in all uninhabited countries, must have long kept mankind from spreading rapidly, or numerously, beyond their first settlements. These seem generally to have been made along the inland rivers, or on the maritime shores of the earth. Almost every where the high mountains are uninhabited, while the valleys and the plains abound with towns and villages.

"No ancient history exhibits mankind as first inhabiting Europe. Although this is now the most important part of our globe, it was once to Asia what the Americas were, until the last three centuries, to us—an unknown, and unexplored world. All the records of human transactions in the earliest times of our knowledge agree with the Mosaic, and with the researches of modern science and antiquarian curiosity, to place the commencement of population, art, and knowledge, in the eastern

portions of the earth. Here men first appeared and multiplied; and from hence progressively spread into those wilder and ruder districts, where nature was living in all her unmolested, but dreary, vacant, and barbarous majesty."

This interesting confirmation of sacred story has already been abundantly illustrated in preceding sections; while we have found that even the antiquities of the American continent assume so singular and unfamiliar an aspect, when investigated with a view to the illustration of primitive history, that it becomes a conceivable thing to look upon the primeval aborigines of America as already establishing their locations amid its forests, while the first Asiatic nomades were passing onward into the younger continent, which forms the chief seat of modern civilization. Behind each there lay the Asiatic plains, and the contiguous Nile valley, the established seats of arts and social refinements, while the wanderers of the great human family passed onward to privations, and, for a time at least,—frequently including in it many generations,—to increasing barbarism, and the utter extinction of many useful arts, altogether incompatible with the nomadic state. Yet it was a change indispensable to new developments. From these very barbarian nomades have sprung the modern originators of a civilization far beyond that which was lost to their primitive forefathers. "It was impossible for any portion of the civilized population of the world to wander from their domestic localities, and to penetrate far into these unpeopled regions, without changing the character and habits of their minds, or without being followed by a progeny, still more dissimilar to everything which they had quitted. In some, the alteration was a deteriorating process, declining successively into absolute barbarism. But in the far greater number it became rather peculiarity than perversion, and a peculiarity not without beneficial

operation on the ulterior advances of human society, for it is manifest to the impartial eye, as it calmly contemplates most of the less civilized populations which have come within the scope of our knowledge, that original forms of character, and many new and admirable habits and institutions, often grew up in these abodes of want, exertion, independence, and vicissitudes. The loss of some of the improvements of happier society was compensated by energies and principles, which such must necessarily sacrifice, or cannot obtain; and it will be nearer the actual truth, to consider the barbarous and civilized states of antiquity, as possessed of advantages distinct from each other; and perhaps not capable of continuous union, although often becoming intermingled, for a time, with mutual improvement.

“In our late age of the world, the term barbarian is often correctly applicable to many countries which we have visited; but it will be unjust to the ancestors of all modern Europe, not to consider, that the appellation had not anciently a meaning so directly appropriate. The Greeks denominated all nations as *barbaroi* but their own; although Egypt, Phenicia, Babylon, and Carthage had preceded them in civilization.

“The rise of the two ancient grand divisions of mankind may be dated from their dispersion at the confusion of human language. When their unity was by this event broken up, and they had separated from each other to form independent tribes in new and wilder districts, the differences of their manners and social life must have soon afterwards begun. The choice of northern or southern regions—the effects of colder or warmer climate—the preference of indolent pasturage to laborious agriculture, and of changeable abode to the fixed mansions of a monotonous city, must have caused their posterities to become very dissimilar to each other. To many active spirits, it was then more gratifying to hunt the eatable animals in

their woods, than to cut down the trees, grub up their roots, erect log-houses, or drain bogs : while some would submit to these patience-needing and slowly-rewarding toils. Hence the hunter state, the shepherd state, the rude first-clearers' state, and the industrious tillage state, would be arising in many places *simultaneously* with each other, and with the more stationary and self-indulgent accumulation of city populations in those warmer and longer cultivated localities, where the arts, industry, and enjoyments of regular life under kings, hierarchies, and aristocracies, first appear to the researches of an investigating curiosity. All these conditions of society have been always found too coincident to have been originally converted into each other ; and when we consider mankind to have early branched off into unconnected ramifications, separating for ever from their parent root, we shall perceive that their coincidence involves no inconsistency. We even now, at this late age of the world, see the Esquimaux, the wild Indian, the backsettler, and the cultivated Philadelphian, existing at the same time in North America ; so did the Egyptian, the Scythian, and the Greek ; so did high polish and rude barbarism at all times appear in disparted but coeval existence, whenever the ancient traveller or historian sufficiently extended his geographical inquiries. But all the early great divisions of mankind were not, at once, as strongly unlike, as the New Hollander, or Caffre, is to a modern European. They were at first to each other, what the Dorians were to the Athenians in Greece ; the one a settled population, the other migratory and restless. And though we may retain the expression of civilization, as the character of the settled races, it will less mislead our imaginations, if we call the other portion of mankind the Nomadic race. These had improvements and civilization of their own, though of a sterner and more hardy nature. They differed in attainments from their more polished relatives ; ~~but~~

were not in all things their inferiors. It is unjust to degrade those with the appellation of barbarians, in the present meaning of the term, from whose minds, institutions, and manners, all that we now possess in civilization, superior to the most cultivated states of antiquity, has been principally derived. Our ancestors sprung from the great barbaric or Nomadic stock; and it may divest us of some of our unreasonable prejudices and false theories about them, if we make a rapid survey of the circumstances by which the two great classes of mankind have been principally distinguished.

“Of these, the civilized were those nations who, from their first appearance in history, have been found numerously and durably associated together; building fixed habitations; cultivating continuously the same soil; and fond of connecting their dwellings with each other into cities and towns, which, as external dangers pressed, they surrounded with walls. They multiplied inventions in the mechanic and manufacturing arts; allowed an individual property in ground and produce, to be acquired and transmitted; and guarded and perpetuated the appropriation, with all the terrors of law and civil power.

“They became studious of quiet life, political order, social courtesies, pleasurable amusements, and domestic employments. They exercised mind in frequent and refined thought; pursued intellectual arts and studies; perpetuated their conceptions and reasonings by sculptured imagery, written language, and an improving literature; and valued those who excelled in mental studies. They promoted and preserved the welfare of their societies by well-arranged governments, which every citizen was desirous to uphold; by a vigilant policy, which they contentedly obeyed; and by laws, wise in their origin and general tenor, but often pursuing human actions with inquisitorial severity; with vindictive jealousy; with sanguinary punishments, and with a minuteness and subtlety

which destroyed individual freedom, and bounded public improvement. They have usually loved religion; though they have made it a slavery, whose established superstitions it was treasonable to resist. They erected temples, oracles, and altars; they divided the energies and attributes of the Supreme Being into distinct personalities, which they adored as divinities; made images and mythologies of each; devised and established a ceremonial worship and permanent priesthood, which has usually been intimately connected with their political government; and made the sanctioned teachers of the belief, morals, and main opinions of their people."

Foremost among the civilized races of the great human family, must ever rank the polished Greeks, from whom we have inherited so large a portion of all the learning and refinement which is not the product of modern thought. The very faults and errors of that remarkable people were manifested in the same direction, so that the great apostle of the Gentiles, when contrasting the polished Greek and the superstitious Hebrew, with the enlightened and spiritually minded inquirer after divine truth, exclaims, "The Jews ask a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." From the Greeks we derive the elements of the history of our continent, and the basis of nearly all ancient profane history, not of Europe only, but of Asia and Africa. From them in like manner, we have inherited the chief sciences, and laws of reasoning, philosophy, and *Æsthetics*. To this remarkable people we still look back over a period of two thousand years, acknowledging their poetry, their sculpture, their architecture, as rarely equalled and never surpassed.

In seeking to illustrate the history of this distinguished people, we are at no loss to discover traces of their early arts and civilization. There still exist abundant remains of astonishing magnitude and beauty. In Athens especially, where war and desolation have so

frequently renewed the work of destruction, the monuments of ancient art retain so much of their original beauty and completeness, as to furnish models and laws for the architects of modern Europe. The last, indeed, is one of the most remarkable characteristics peculiar to Greek art. For the first time, we find the varieties of taste and inventive design subjected to definite rules of arrangement and relative proportions, and made to combine according to fixed laws; resulting in the three first orders of architecture, as they are termed. The subjection of the human mind to the restraints of casts, formulas, and hereditary occupations, exercised a remarkable influence on the arts and literature, and on the mythology of Egypt; while Greece owed, perhaps, its chief elements of progress to the enfranchisement of the human mind from restraints which still pertain to some of the oldest Asiatic nations. The one exhibited the arbitrary bonds of unreasoning despotism; while the other established the intelligible restraints of reason and order, which supply laws in obedience to which the modern architect still combines his materials into proportion and beauty. The Egyptian temples resemble each other in their general character, and present a peculiar and unmistakable style, but no rules appear to have subordinated the endless variety of details to any system. Egypt only devised the crude materials out of which Greece afterwards educed principles still recognized as based upon the essential laws of beauty.

It is now impossible to do more than guess at the gradual process of development which resulted in the final recognition of those rules of art which were latterly so implicitly followed in the most refined period of Grecian history. An intelligent critic has thus endeavoured to trace the gradual transition from the rude primitive inclosure to the perfect temple of later Greek art. "In Troy, the temple of Minerva appears to have been a mere shrine,

in which a statue was inclosed, and probably, in Tenedos, a temple of Apollo is merely alluded to. During the age of Homer, then, the primeval altar, common both to Europe and Asia, was the only sacred edifice known. This differed little from a common hearth; the sacrifice being in fact a social rite, the victim at once an offering to heaven, and the food of man, was prepared by roasting; the first improvement upon this simple construction appears to have been the addition of a pavement, an obvious means of cleanliness and comfort. Yet even this appears to have constituted a distinction, at least not common, since, in particular instances, the pavement is mentioned as a peculiar ornament. Subsequently, in order to mark in a more conspicuous manner, and with more dignity, the sacred spot, while the rites should be equally exposed to the spectators, an open colonnade was added, inclosing the altar and pavement. Thus the roofless temple might be said to be finished; but whether this primeval structure existed in his native country during the age of Homer, does not appear. We remark here a very striking resemblance between the ancient places of devotion in Greece, and the Druidical temple of the more northern regions. In fact, the astonishing remains at Stonehenge present the best known, and perhaps one of the most stupendous examples ever erected of the open temple. This species of religious erection appears to have been co-extensive with the spread of the human race, and not, as generally supposed, limited to the northern portion of the globe.

The revolutions in Greece, which abolished the regal, while they respected and increased the pontifical authority, the gradual additions of magnificence and convenience to the places of sacrifice, producing at length the regular temple; the change of design from the circle to the quadrangle; all these can now only be conjectured as to their causes and progressive vicissitudes. One thing

appears certain, that the earliest approaches to the perfect temple were erections of wood; and this materially contributed to fix the character of later architecture: yet there still remain temples of stone, whose date transcends the epochs of known history. During this interval, Grecian architecture assumed regularity and science, for the earliest dawnings of authentic information light us to monuments of a systematic style, differing from the Egyptian, in the rejection of all variety of ornament, yet, like it, solemn, massive, and imposing. This is the order which, subsequently, under the name of Doric, extended over the whole of Greece and her colonies. To this, the most ancient species of the art, various origin has been assigned; but from our imperfect knowledge of contemporary events, and from the impossibility of extending research, it is plain that nothing can, with certainty, be known."

Nevertheless, we possess much minutely-detailed information relative to the grand era of the development of Greek art, and indeed know far more of the builders and adorners of the temple of Athens, than of the cathedrals and churches which still adorn the chief cities of our native land, or rise, in majestic ruin, amid the deserted scenes of former population. The date of the Propylea and the Parthenon, which crown the Acropolis of Athens, are both well ascertained. The patron, the architect, and the sculptor, are alike known to us, and preserve, for all generations, names most famous in an age which stands perhaps unmatched in the brightest eras of genius. Both were built under the fostering encouragement of Pericles, and guided by the directions of Phidias, the ablest sculptor of that race whose sculptured marbles still enchant the world. The Propylea is supposed to have been built by Mnesicles, and the Parthenon by Callicrates and Ictinus; while the sculptures which filled the pediments and metopes of the latter—now familiar to us as the Elgin

marbles—are justly regarded as the *chef d'œuvres* of Phidias, and, even in their imperfect and fragmentary state, as matchless creations of genius.

It is melancholy to reflect that the destruction of both the Propylea and the Parthenon has, to a very great extent, been the work of comparatively recent times. The Propylea, a magnificent work of Pentelic marble, was built at the west end of the Acropolis of Athens, where alone the approach is practicable, so that it served both as an ornamental approach, and a military defence to the citadel. The front consisted of six fluted Doric columns, supporting a pediment, and was flanked by two projecting wings. A beautiful portico faced the platform of the Acropolis, and the massive marble beams which formed the ceiling were richly carved, and, there is little doubt, adorned with colour. Unfortunately, the commanding height, which first attracted the old Athenians to build there their chief temple, and rear the colossal statue of the goddess of learning the patroness of Athens, presented like attractions for the barbarous Turks. The Acropolis once more became the citadel of Athens. The beautiful marble Propylea was converted into their powder magazine; and, in 1656, during the siege of the city by the Venetians, these dangerous stores having exploded, nearly the whole of this magnificent relic of Greek art was totally destroyed, after having existed for upwards of two thousand years. Little more of it now exists than some of the columns of its west front. But the noblest ornament of the Athenian Acropolis, was the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva, built of the same beautiful and durable marble as the Propylea, and despoiled of some of its chief ornaments, in consequence of the same barbarian incursion from the east which led to the ruin of the beautiful contemporary work of Mnesicles. It is universally regarded as the most refined example of Grecian Doric art; and still, in its ruins, supplies the modern architect

with his most perfect model. In 1823, an edifice was begun on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh, designed to be a *fac simile* of this noble feature of ancient Athens; but this costly project has proceeded, as yet, only a very short way, and there is too much reason to fear its ever being completed.

This beautiful temple of the age of Pericles remained, like the one already described, in a state very nearly perfect as to external form, when the heights of the Acropolis were taken possession of by the Turks, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. But it was turned by them to the same vile uses as the neighbouring Propylea, and the powder-magazine exploding during the siege of the city by the Venetians, no conjecture can now be formed, from what remains, of its original internal construction and details. The chief portion of its sculptures were removed by Lord Elgin, and are now deposited in the British Museum. The spoliation of the ruined fane of works which had retained their original place for so many centuries, was made the subject of severe animadversion at the time, and called forth the sarcastic muse of Lord Byron to assail the nobleman by whom these treasures were secured for Britain. Just, however, as such censure would be, had the spoliation been wantonly done, or under the mere influence of a selfish or mercenary spirit, it has since been very generally admitted that the removal of the sculptures of Phidias from the walls of the Parthenon was designed to rescue these invaluable relics of ancient art from the imminent danger to which they were exposed by the wanton barbarity of the Turks, as they had already been by their indifference. When the Venetians laid siege to the Acropolis, in 1687, they battered it with four mortars and six pieces of cannon; and some of the most beautiful works of Phidias, in the west pediment of the temple, were destroyed by the shot and bombs. It had previously been used as a Christian church,

and was afterwards converted into a mosque; thus placing it once more under the protection of a superstitious veneration. All such feelings, however, had disappeared when Lord Elgin proceeded to remove the remains of its sculptured decorations; and so little veneration did they then excite, that the Turks were known to point their rifles at the most delicate portions of the sculpture, and enjoy the evidence of their skill as marksmen, in seeing the fall of the shattered fragments. It requires such evidence to incline us to pardon the defacement of the noble temple; and it perhaps justified the indignant protest of the Poet, that the removal of the marbles was attended with needless injury to the remains of the temple, owing to the carelessness of the workmen employed; while the squabbles of two rival collectors gave it, at the time, the character of a mercenary and selfish act of spoliation. Yet even the indignant Poet shows, in the very stanzas in which he reflects on the remover of the Phidian sculptures from their original sites, how indifferent both Turk and Greek were to their fate.

Here let me sit upon this massy stone,
 The marble column's yet unshaken base;
 Here, son of Saturn! was thy fav'rite throne:
 Mightiest of many such! Hence let me trace
 The latent grandeur of thy dwelling-place.
 It may not be: nor even can Fancy's eye
 Restore what Time hath labour'd to deface.
 Yet these proud pillars claim no passing sigh;
 Unmov'd the Moslem sits, the light Greek carols by

But who, of all the plunderers of yon fane
 On high, where Pallas linger'd, loth to flee
 The latest relic of her ancient reign;
 The last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?
 Blush, Caledonia! such thy son could be!
 England! I joy no child he was of thine:
 Thy free-born men should spare what once was free;
 Yet they could violate each saddening shrine,
 And bear these altars o'er the long-reluctant brine.

But most the modern Pict's ignoble boast,
 To rive what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spared:
 Cold as the crags upon his native coast,
 His mind as barren and his heart as hard,
 Is he whose head conceived, whose hand prepared,
 Aught to displace Athena's poor remains:
 Her sons too weak the sacred shrine to guard,
 Yet felt some portion of their mother's pains,
 And never knew, till then, the weight of Despot's chains

What! shall it e'er be said by British tongue,
 Albion was happy in Athena's tears?
 Though in thy name the slave her bosom wrung,
 Tell not the deed to blushing Europe's ears;
 The ocean queen, the free Britannia, bears
 The last poor plunder from a bleeding land;
 Yes, she, whose gen'rous aid her name endears,
 Tore down those remnants with a harpy's hand,
 Which envious Eld forbore, and tyrants left to stand.

Where was thine *Egis*, Pallas! that appall'd
 Stern Alaric and Havoc on their way?
 Where Peleus' son? whom Hell in vain enthral'd,
 His shade from Hades upon that dread day
 Bursting to light in terrible array!
 What! could not Pluto spare the chief once more,
 To scare a second robber from his prey?
 Idly he wander'd on the Stygian shore,
 Nor now preserv'd the walls he loved to shield before.

Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on thee,
 Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they loved;
 Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
 Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed
 By British hands, which it had best behaved
 To guard those relics ne'er to be restored.

The Parthenon has, more than any ancient relic of the Grecian arts, commanded the admiration and reverence of mankind. Many causes were united to produce this. Associated as it was, by distinct historic records, with the era of highest intellectual culture, and of greatest prowess it still further commanded our admiration, and stood apart from every mere architectural work, from its adornment

with the noblest works of the chisel of Phidias. Its site is not less remarkable than its artistic features; and all combine to account for the admiration with which it is even now viewed, in its shattered and despoiled state of decay. Numerous other classic ruins still adorn the ancient land, and preserve for us fitting memorials of that remarkable people, who produced not only a Phidias and Apollos, but also a Socrates and a Plato, a Sophocles, a Euripides, and an Æschylus; with other master minds to which we still look back with mingled admiration and awe. Nor was the influence of Grecian civilization limited, even at the period of its development, to the land of its birth. We have already referred to traces of Greek art still discoverable on the sites of their African colonies, at Cyrene and elsewhere; and we are still more familiar with their architectural remains in the Italian peninsula. By far the most remarkable of these are the celebrated temples of Pæstum:

“They stand between the mountains and the sea;
 Awful memorials, but of whom we know not!
 The seaman passing gazes from the deck;
 The buffalo driver, in his shaggy cloak,
 Points to the work of magic, and moves on.
 Time was, they stood along the crowded street,
 Temples of gods! and on their ample steps
 What various habits, various tongues beset
 The brazen gates for prayer and sacrifice.”

There is a strange, mysterious feeling of awe and wonder, of which most men are conscious, when we tread the ruined scenes of ancient prayer and sacrifice. We see in such the objects of greatest reverence abandoned to unheeded desolation, the evidence that the old worshippers and the old faith are alike, for ever, passed away. The same is witnessed in all lands. In Egypt, in India, in Assyria, amid the wilds of the southern forests of America, and in the populous scenes of Europe; most pregnant memorials of the transitory nature of all that

belongs to man. The Rev. J. C. Eustace remarks, when describing his visit to Pæstum:—"Obscurity hangs over, not the origin only, but the general history of the city, though it has left such magnificent monuments of its existence. The mere outlines have been sketched perhaps with accuracy; the details are probably obliterated for ever. According to the learned Mazzochi, Pæstum was founded by a colony of Dorenses or Dorians, from Dora, a city of Phœnicia, the parent of that race and name, whether established in Greece or in Italy. It was first called Posetan or Postan, which in Phœnician signifies Neptune, to whom it was dedicated. It was afterwards invaded, and its primitive inhabitants expelled by the Sybarites. This event perhaps took place about five hundred years before the Christian era. Under its new masters Pæstum assumed the Greek appellation Posidonia, of the same import as its Phœnician name, because a place of great opulence and magnitude, and is supposed by Mazzochi to have extended from the present ruin southward to the hill on which stands the little town still called, from its ancient destination, Agropoli. The Lucanians afterwards expelled the Sybarites, and checked the prosperity of Posidonia, which was in its turn deserted, and left to moulder away imperceptibly; vestiges of it are still visible over all the plain of Spinazzo or Saracino. The original city then recovered its first name, and not long after was taken, and at length colonized by the Romans.

"From this period Pæstum is mentioned almost solely by the poets, who, from Virgil to Claudian, seem all to expatiate with delight amid its gardens, and grace their composition with the bloom, the sweetness, and the fertility of its roses. But, unfortunately, the flowery retreats,

"The eternal sweets of Pæstum's rosy bowers,"

seem to have had few charms in the eyes of the Saracens,

and if possible, still fewer in those of the Normans; who, each in their turn, plundered Pæstum, and at length compelled its remaining inhabitants to abandon their ancient seat, and to take shelter in the mountains. To them Capaccio, Vecchio and Novo, are supposed to owe their origin; these towns are situate on the hills: the latter is the residence of the bishop and chapter of Pæstum.

“It will naturally be asked, to which of the nations that were successively in possession of Pæstum, the edifices which still subsist are to be ascribed: not to the Romans, who never seem to have adopted the genuine Doric style; the Sybarites are said to have occupied the neighbouring plain; the Dorians therefore appear to have the fairest claim to these majestic and everlasting monuments. But at what period were they erected? To judge from their form we must conclude that they are the oldest specimens of Grecian architecture now in existence. In beholding them, and contemplating their solidity, bordering upon heaviness, we are tempted to consider them as an intermediate link between the Egyptian and Grecian manner, and the first attempt to pass from the immense masses of the former to the graceful proportions of the latter. In fact, the temples of Pæstum, Agrigentum, and Athens, seem instances of the commencement, the improvement, and the perfection of the Doric order.”

The temples of Pæstum are three in number, differing considerably in size and number of pillars, but otherwise exhibiting the unvarying features of a Greek temple. But besides these, there are numerous remains of other structures; the traces of a theatre, the substructures of large public buildings, and a complete line of circumvallation still traceable. The ancient walls of this desolate city remain from five to twelve feet high; formed of solid blocks of stone, and with towers at intervals. Even the archway of one of the gates stands entire. But the whole is overgrown with brambles and nettles. One or

two dwellings are still maintained within the area of the walls, as if to tell more strikingly by the contrast, of the desolation which has swept over the once populous and magnificent city. Such is Pæstum; such also is Cyrene such are the colonies founded by ancient Greece in other lands; while Greece herself, though restored by diplomacy to a nominal independence, still strikingly contrasts with the era of her glory and magnificence, when one little state of southern Europe gave birth to learning, art and philosophy, which have furnished the elements of teaching for all future times and nations. This very influence of her learning, however, renders her ruined monuments less valuable as historical data, though still studied with undiminished interest and reverence for the canons of art. In the buried palaces of Nineveh, and the ruined temples of Yucatan, we find evidences of civilization, mechanical ingenuity, and artistic skill, such as give us an entirely new view of their ancient builders. But no such evidence is needed to convince us that the Dorians and Athenians had attained to a civilization, compared to which most living nations merit the barbarian title which they bestowed on contemporaries.

CHAPTER II.

POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

Let us turn the prow,
 And in the track of him who went to die,
 Traverse this valley of waters, landing where
 A waking dream awaits us. At a step
 Two thousand years roll backward, and we stand,
 Like those so long within that awful place,
 Immovable, nor asking, Can it be?—
 'Tis but a mockery of the sense,
 Idle and vain! We are but where we were;
 Still wandering in a city of the dead!

ROGERS.

ON the plain which surrounds the base of Vesuvius, and occupies the space between it and the sea, the geologist, as well as the antiquary, discovers many remarkable traces of former changes. Of the towns which once occupied the ancient Campania, history has preserved sufficient records to furnish us with no unsatisfactory picture of their state while yet occupied by a busy populace, and sharing in the social and political changes of the Roman peninsula. Far more remarkable historic records, however, have rendered them objects of peculiar interest to future ages. Pompeii and Herculaneum, after being engulfed for so many centuries beneath the lava and ashes of Vesuvius, have been brought to light again, and partially explored, revealing to us the inner social life of Roman citizens contemporary with Pliny, such as no written history could furnish. The situation of Vesuvius is still remarkable; and its surrounding Campania has attractions which counterbalance all the dangers of the

fiery mountain, and still, as of old, attract a busy populace to occupy the fertile, but treacherous plains. A modern traveller remarks of the site: "It is so advantageous, that the scene which it unfolds to the eye probably surpasses that displayed from any other eminence. That scene is Naples, with its bay, its islands, and its bordering promontories; the whole of that delicious region justly denominated the *Campania Felice* (happy Campania), with its numberless towns and townlike villages. It loses itself in the immensity of the sea on one side, and on the other is bordered by the Apennines, forming a semicircular frame of various tints and bold outline. I own I do not admire views taken from very elevated points: they, indeed, give a very good geographical idea of a country; but they destroy all the illusions of rural beauty, reduce hills and vales to the same level, and confound all the graceful swells and hollows of an undulated surface, into general flatness and uniformity."

The first recorded eruption of Mount Vesuvius, is that which occurred in the reign of Titus, and overwhelmed the cities which are now being restored to light. This remarkable eruption is graphically described by the younger Pliny, in two epistles addressed by him to Tacitus, the historian. It would appear that, previous to this occurrence, the pent-up fires gave no external indications of their destructive power. Vesuvius had then presented only such features as are still familiar to us in many extinct volcanoes; and though its hollow caverns and rugged rocks were not unnoted even then, as affording indications of the work of fire, no traditions of the Roman occupants of Pompeii preserved any distinct tradition of the crater of Vesuvius having ever formed an aperture ~~through~~ which the central fires escaped to pour destruction over the neighbouring plains. Yet there are abundant traces apparent, of many remarkable geological changes having taken place on the whole surrounding

district, including eruptions of ashes and lava; many of which must be referred to the historic era.

Pompeii appears to have been originally a sea-port, built on an elevated plain, close to the Mediterranean shores; so that its chief characteristics, during its earlier occupation by the Osci, or the Tyrseni and Pelasgi, who are its first recorded possessors, were probably those of a maritime town. Now, however, it stands nearly two miles distant from the sea. Its site is an elevated bed of lava. Around it lie the evidences of successive volcanic changes; nor is it impossible that, even beneath it, lie the traces of a still earlier population, on the same remarkable site. Previous to the occupation of Pompeii by the Romans, it was held by a Greek colony: nor was it till about the year 360 before the Christian era, that it fell under the power of Rome; the inhabitants having sought the protection of that rising power against the Samnites, who had then been masters of it for about eighty years. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the repeated changes of occupancy which history records, we should have no distinct accounts of any remarkable natural phenomena occurring in the district prior to the Roman era.

It is only in the latter years of the century immediately succeeding the Christian era, that we find Pompeii particularly noticed. In the reign of Nero, the Pompeians fell under the displeasure of the emperor. This occurred in the year A. D. 59; and the emperor adjudged that they should be deprived of all theatrical amusements for ten years,—a punishment sufficiently characteristic of the emperor, but which was regarded as peculiarly severe by the gay and pleasure-loving citizens of Pompeii. But other and more terrible visitations were at hand. Only four years of this involuntary abstinence from pleasure had passed, when, in the year 63 of the present era, a fearful earthquake involved the larger por-

tion of the town in ruins; and, in the following year, another earthquake shook the whole surrounding Campania, and disturbed the frivolous Emperor Nero, while he was singing at Naples. These successive occurrences sufficed to give no unequivocal evidence of the pent-up fires which lay concealed beneath the fertile and beautiful plains so often celebrated by the poets; and at length, in the year 79, the fatal eruption occurred which involved both Pompeii and Herculaneum in ruins.

The elder Pliny, incited by the remarkable appearance of the eruption, while still in progress, ascended the mountain, and perished while endeavouring to make himself more familiar with the peculiar characteristics of so singular a phenomenon. But his nephew, commonly known as the younger Pliny, has left on record an account of this first recorded eruption of the mountain, which suffices abundantly to supply us with a definite idea of the destruction of the cities, the re-discovery of which, during the last century, excited so much interest. But, independent of all extraneous records, it is surprising how ample and minute is the history which its own relics supplies. It was naturally a source of no common interest when it was found that a Roman city lay buried beneath the modern vineyards of the Campania. Rome, indeed, as well as other scenes of classic occupation, still present relics of the Roman era to the eye of the curious; but these have stood the wasting tooth of centuries, the ravages of barbarians, and the changing tastes of many successive centuries, and of various races. But Pompeii and Herculaneum have been sealed up like the treasures deposited in ancient tombs, and are restored to us nearly as perfect as on the morning when the lurid sky and trembling earth gave warning to the ancient Pompeians of the approaching destruction of their town.

Herculaneum does not appear to have been a city of the same importance as Pompeii; but the greater suddenness

and completeness of its overthrow, while creating more effectual obstacles to its complete exploration than are found at Pompeii, have also, there is reason to believe, preserved a more complete accumulation of Roman remains than have been found on the site of Pompeii. Herculaneum, after being completely buried under showers of ashes, was subsequently still more effectually shut in by the overflow of lava ; and it is now about seventy feet below the surface. Pompeii, on the contrary, being farther removed from the centre of the destructive elements, appears to have been, at first, only partially buried by the showers of ashes, which were disturbed soon after by the proprietors returning to dig out their most valuable treasures from the ruined dwellings. The first re-discovery of Herculaneum occurred in 1713, by the sinking of a well, when several interesting relics were found ; and after private explorers had pursued the search for several years, with no great success, the Neapolitan government at length undertook the work, and were rewarded by a magnificent collection of statues, paintings, bronzes, vases, and domestic implements, of all varieties of forms and uses, which now form a very prominent attraction of the Royal Museum at Portici.

The first indications of the site of Pompeii were observed so early as 1689, but it was not till 1755 that any effectual attempts were made to explore its remains. This, it was found, was a much simpler and less difficult process than the attempt to exhume the buried treasures of Herculaneum, as it was not only much less deeply situated, but the loose ashes are removed with little labour. The process of excavation has accordingly been resumed from time to time, till nearly a fourth of the city has been almost entirely cleared from the rubbish, and numerous valuable discoveries have been added to the Royal Neapolitan Museum.

Few works can be conceived more exciting than this

exhumation of a buried city. "The upper stories of the houses," says the author of the elegant little English work on Pompeii, "which appear to have consisted chiefly of wood, were either burned by the red-hot stones, ejected from Vesuvius, or broken down by the weight of matter collected on their roofs and floors. With this exception, we see a flourishing city in the very state in which it existed nearly eighteen centuries ago: the buildings as they were originally designed, not altered and patched to meet the exigencies of newer fashions; the paintings undimmed by the leaden touch of time; household furniture left in the confusion of use; articles, even of intrinsic value, abandoned in the hurry of escape, yet safe from the robber, or scattered about as they fell from the trembling hand, which could not pause or stoop for its most valuable possessions; and, in some instances, the bones of the inhabitants, bearing sad testimony to the suddenness and completeness of the calamity which overwhelmed them."

One interesting example of the evidences of the sudden flight of the startled citizens, is thus pointed out:—"I noticed," says M. Simond, "a striking memorial of this mighty interruption in the Forum, opposite to the temple of Jupiter. A new altar of white marble, exquisitely beautiful, and apparently just out of the hands of the sculptor, had been erected there; an enclosure was building all round; the mortar, just dashed against the side of the wall, was but half spread out; you saw the long sliding stroke of the trowel about to return and obliterate its own track—but it never did return; the hand of the workman was suddenly arrested, and, after the lapse of eighteen hundred years, the whole looks so fresh and new, that you would almost swear the mason was only gone to his dinner, and about to come back immediately to smooth the roughness."

The reader will bear in remembrance that only sixteen

years elapsed between the overthrow of the greater part of Pompeii by an earthquake in the year 63, and its final destruction in A.D. 79. This brief interval had been diligently employed by the citizens in rebuilding the ruined town, and hence it was fresh from the hands of the artists and workmen, when the sudden outbreak of Vesuvius buried it in the grave where it lay undisturbed for nearly seventeen centuries. Abundant traces of the progress of the rebuilding of the city, at the very period of its destruction, have been found. Temples in the progress of erection, with the columns half hewn, the walls just rising, and the mason's tools lying beside them, as if we might expect to see the old Pompeian builders resume their implements, and complete the work they had already carried thus far. There have been about four hundred skeletons already discovered in Pompeii; but as a large portion of the city still remains to be disinterred, it is impossible to calculate the number of those who perished in its destruction.

We have already referred to the contemporary account of Pliny; yet it is a singular fact, that that writer, though giving a minute and circumstantial detail of the phenomena accompanying the eruption of Vesuvius, in which his uncle perished, makes no direct allusion to the sudden and total overthrow of Herculaneum and Pompeii, an occurrence of so momentous a character that we could hardly conceive of any Roman writer of the period omitting some notice of it. Yet, notwithstanding such important omissions in the narrative of Pliny, it is a subject for special gratulation on many accounts, that we possess the faithful narrative of a deeply-interesting eye-witness of this first recorded eruption of Vesuvius. Sir Charles Lyell, after describing in his *Principles of Geology*, the numerous evidences of an extensive volcanic region existing from the earliest period in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, remarks:—"In the first century of the

Christian era, we arrive at a crisis in the volcanic action of this district—one of the most interesting events witnessed by man during the brief period throughout which he has observed the physical changes on the earth's surface. From the first colonization of Southern Italy by the Greeks, Vesuvius afforded no other indications of its volcanic character than such as the naturalist might infer, from the analogy of its structure to other volcanos. These were recognised by Strabo, but Pliny did not include the mountain in his list of active vents. The ancient cone was of a very regular form, terminating, not as at present, in two peaks, but with a flattish summit, where the remains of an ancient crater, nearly filled up, had left a slight depression, covered in its interior by wild vines, and with a sterile plain at the bottom. On the exterior, the flanks of the mountain were covered with fertile fields richly cultivated, and at its base were the populous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. But the scene of repose was at length doomed to cease, and the volcanic fire was recalled to the main channel, which, at some former unknown period, had given passage to repeated streams of melted lava, sand, and scorixæ. The first symptom of the revival of the energies of this volcano was the occurrence of an earthquake in the year 63 after Christ, which did considerable injury to the cities in its vicinity. From that time to the year 79 slight shocks were frequent, and in the month of August of that year they became more numerous and violent, till they ended at length in an eruption. The elder Pliny, who commanded the Roman fleet, was then stationed at Misenum, and in his anxiety to obtain a near view of the phenomena, he lost his life, being suffocated by sulphureous vapours. His nephew, the younger Pliny, remained at Misenum, and has given us, in his Letters, a lively description of the awful scene."

It adds to the value of the narrative of Pliny that it was written for the eye of a friend, interested in the welfare

of his distinguished relative, and not penned for publication to the world, in the form in which it was originally written. "Your request," he writes to the younger Tacitus, "that I would send you an account of my uncle's death, in order to transmit a more exact relation of it to posterity, deserves my acknowledgments; for, if this accident shall be celebrated by your pen, the glory of it, I am well assured, will be rendered for ever illustrious. And notwithstanding he perished by a misfortune, which, as it involved at the same time a most beautiful country in ruins, and destroyed so many populous cities, seems to promise him an everlasting remembrance; notwithstanding he has himself composed many and lasting works; yet I am persuaded the mentioning of him in your immortal works will greatly contribute to eternize his name. Happy I esteem those to be, whom Providence has distinguished with the abilities either of doing such actions as are worthy of being related, or of relating them in a manner worthy of being read; but doubly happy are they who are blessed with both these uncommon talents; in the number of which my uncle, as his own writings and your history will evidently prove, may justly be ranked. It is with extreme willingness, therefore, I execute your commands; and should indeed have claimed the task, if you had not enjoined it. He was at that time with the fleet under his command at Misenum. On the 24th of August, about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a cloud which appeared of a very unusual size and shape. He had just returned from taking the benefit of the sun, and after bathing himself in cold water, and taking a slight repast, was retired to his study. He immediately arose and went out upon an eminence, from whence he might more distinctly view this very uncommon appearance. It was not at this distance discernible from what mountain this cloud issued, but it was found afterwards to ascend from Mount Vesuvius. I can-

not give a more exact description of its figure, than by resembling it to that of a pine-tree, for it shot up a great height in the form of a trunk, which extended itself at the top into a sort of branches; occasioned, I imagine, either by a sudden gust of air that impelled it, the force of which decreased as it advanced upwards, or the cloud itself being pressed back again by its own weight, expanded in this manner: it appeared sometimes bright and sometimes dark and spotted, as it was more or less impregnated with earth and cinders. This extraordinary phenomenon excited my uncle's philosophical curiosity to take a nearer view of it. He ordered a light vessel to be got ready and gave me liberty, if I thought proper, to attend him. I rather chose to continue my studies; for, as it happened, he had given me an employment of that kind. As he was coming out of the house, he received a note from Rectina, the wife of Bassus, who was in the utmost alarm at the imminent danger which threatened her; for her villa being situated at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, there was no way to escape but by sea: she earnestly entreated him, therefore, to come to her assistance. He accordingly changed his first design, and what he began with a philosophical he pursued with a heroic turn of mind. He ordered the galleys to put to sea, and went himself on board with an intention of assisting not only Rectina, but several others; for the villas stand extremely thick upon that beautiful coast. When hastening to the place from whence others fled with the utmost terror, he steered his direct course to the point of danger, and with so much calmness and presence of mind, as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the motion and figure of that dreadful scene. He was now so nigh the mountain, that the cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the nearer he approached, fell into the ships, together with pumice-stones, and black pieces of burning rock: they were likewise in danger, not only of being aground by the

sudden retreat of the sea, but also from the vast fragments which rolled down from the mountain, and obstructed all the shore. Here he stopped to consider whether he should return back again; to which the pilot advising him, 'Fortune,' said he, 'befriends the brave; carry me to Pomponianus.' Pomponianus was then at Stabizæ, separated by a gulf, which the sea, after several insensible windings, forms upon the shore. He had already sent his baggage on board; for though he was not at that time in actual danger, yet being within the view of it, and, indeed, extremely near, if it should in the least increase, he was determined to put to sea as soon as the wind should change. It was favourable, however, for carrying my uncle to Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest consternation: he embraced him with tenderness, encouraging and exhorting him to keep up his spirits, and the more to dissipate his fears, he ordered, with an air of unconcern, the baths to be got ready; when, after having bathed, he sat down to supper with great cheerfulness, or at least (what is equally heroic) with all the appearance of it. In the meanwhile, the eruption from Mount Vesuvius flamed out in several places with much violence, which the darkness of the night contributed to render still more visible and dreadful. But my uncle, in order to soothe the apprehensions of his friend, assured him it was only the burning of the villages, which the country people had abandoned to the flames: after this he retired to rest, and it is most certain he was so little discomposed as to fall into a deep sleep; for being pretty fat, and breathing hard, those who attended without, actually heard him snore. The court which led to his apartment being now almost filled with stones and ashes, if he had continued there any time longer, it would have been impossible for him to have made his way out; it was thought proper, therefore, to awaken him. He got up, and went to Pomponianus and the rest of his company, who were not unconcerned

enough to think of going to bed. They consulted together whether it would be most prudent to trust to the houses, which now shook from side to side with frequent and violent concussions; or fly to the open fields, where the calcined stones and cinders, though light indeed, yet fell in large showers, and threatened destruction. In this distress they resolved for the fields, as the less dangerous situation of the two; a resolution which, while the rest of the company were hurried into by their fears, my uncle embraced upon cool and deliberate consideration. They went out then, having pillows tied upon their heads with napkins; and this was their whole defence against the storm of stones that fell around them. It was now day every where else, but there a deeper darkness prevailed than in the most obscure night; which, however, was in some degree dissipated by torches and other lights of various kinds. They thought proper to go down farther upon the shore, to observe if they might safely put out to sea; but they found the waves still run extremely high and boisterous. There my uncle, having drunk a draught or two of cold water, threw himself down upon a cloth which was spread for him, when immediately the flames, and a strong smell of sulphur, which was the forerunner of them, dispersed the rest of the company, and obliged him to rise. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his servants, and instantly fell down dead; suffocated, as I conjecture, by some gross and noxious vapour, having always had weak lungs, and being frequently subject to a difficulty of breathing. As soon as it was light again, which was not till the third day after this melancholy accident, his body was found entire, and without any marks of violence upon it, exactly in the same posture that he fell, and looking more like a man asleep than dead. During all this time my mother and I were at Misenum."

This narrative, which connects the death of the distin-

guished Roman naturalist with the destruction of the ancient cities of the Campania, is described in the conclusion of the same letter, as either the result of the writer's own personal observations, or gathered from the accounts of eye-witnesses immediately after the occurrence of these events. In a subsequent letter he thus recounts the terrors and dangers experienced by himself while at Misenum. The personal character of both these epistles suffices to account for the otherwise remarkable omission of all notice of the sudden and complete overthrow of the two large and populous cities. Tacitus was doubtless already informed of their destruction, and now sought to fill up the general picture, by details to which friendship gave a special interest. "My uncle having left us," continues the younger Pliny, in his second letter, "I pursued the studies which prevented my going with him, till it was time to bathe. After which I went to supper, and from thence to bed, where my sleep was greatly broken and disturbed. There had been, for many days before, some shocks of an earthquake, which the less surprised us as they are extremely frequent in Campania; but they were so particularly violent that night, that they not only shook everything about us, but seemed indeed to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my chamber, where she found me rising, in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the buildings. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I know not whether I should call my behaviour, in this dangerous juncture, courage or rashness; but I took up Livy, and amused myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if all about me had been in full security. While we were in this posture, a friend of my uncle's, who was just come from Spain to pay him a visit, joined us; and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, greatly condemned her calmness, at the same time

reproved me for my careless security. Nevertheless still went on with my author. Though it was now morning, the light was exceedingly faint and languid; the buildings all around us tottered, and though we stood upon open ground, yet, as the place was narrow and confined there was no remaining there without certain and great danger; we therefore resolved to quit the town. The people followed us in the utmost consternation, and, as their mind distracted with terror every suggestion seems more prudent than its own, pressed in great crowds about us on our way out. Being got at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a most dangerous and dreadful scene. The chariots which we had ordered to be drawn out, were so agitated backwards and forwards, though upon the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motion of the earth; it is certain at least the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea animals were left upon it. On the other side a black and dreadful cloud, bursting with igneous serpentine vapour, darted out a long train of fire resembling dashes of lightning, but much larger. Upon this our Spanish friend, whom I mentioned above, addressing himself to my mother and me with great warmth and earnestness: 'If your brother and your uncle,' said he, 'were safe, he certainly wishes you may be so too; but if they were perished, it was his desire, no doubt, that you might both survive him: why, therefore, do you delay your escape a moment?'—We could never think of our own safety, we said, while we were uncertain of his. Hereupon our friend left us, and withdrew from the danger with the utmost precipitation. Soon afterwards the cloud seemed to descend, and cover the whole ocean; as indeed it entirely hid the island of Capræ and the promontory of Misenum. My mother strongly conjured me to make my escape:

any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily do : as for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible. However she would willingly meet death, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her, and taking her by the hand, I led her on : she complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I turned my head, and observed behind us a thick smoke, which came rolling after us like a torrent. I proposed, while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest she should be pressed to death in the dark by the crowd that followed us. We had scarce stepped out of the path, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up, and all the lights extinct. Nothing then was to be heard but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men ; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands, and only distinguishing each other by their voices ; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family ; some wishing to die from the very fear of dying ; some lifting their hands to the gods ; but the greater part imagining that the last and eternal night was come, which was to destroy the gods and the world together. Among these were some who augmented the real terrors by imaginary ones, and made the frightened multitude falsely believe that Misenum was actually in flames. At length a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames, as in truth it was, than the return of day. However, the fire fell at a distance from us : then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off, otherwise we should

have been crushed and buried in the heap. I might boast that, during all this scene of horror, not a sigh or expression of fear escaped from me, had not my support been founded in that miserable, though strong, consolation—that all mankind were involved in the same calamity, and that I imagined I was perishing with the world itself! At last this dreadful darkness was dissipated by degrees, like a cloud of smoke; the real day returned, and even the sun appeared, though very faintly, and as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being covered over with white ashes, as with a deep snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear; though indeed with a much larger share of the latter; for the earthquake still continued, while several enthusiastic people ran up and down, heightening their own and their friends' calamities by terrible predictions. However, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no thoughts of leaving the place till we should receive some account from my uncle."

It is not improbable that among the enthusiastic alarmists alluded to by Pliny, he specially referred to the early Christians. Bulwer has availed himself of the peculiar historical incidents of the first Christian era, to add additional interest to some of the scenes in his "Last Days of Pompeii." While the internal fires are preparing to overwhelm the guilty city, luxury, gross sensuality, and fraudulent scepticism are pictured as openly indulged in. Gambling and its attendant knavery are carried to their utmost excess, and pleasure alone is aimed at by the sensuous Pompeians. Much of this has been amply confirmed by the singular discoveries brought to light of late years in excavating among its ruins. The fine embossed wares used at the tables of the luxurious citizens are seen figured

with the most indecent and offensive representations that gross sensuality could dictate, and among the relics of the gambler's pastimes cogged dice have been found, the implements by which the old Roman gambler cheated his dupe. It may not therefore have been without good reason, if the primitive Christians of Pompeii looked upon the cities of the Campania as, like the elder cities of the plain, justly "doomed to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire." Bulwer, however, characteristically, and with equal justice, represents them as viewing in it the approaching end of all things. Dion Cassius, who flourished about a century and a half after Pliny, affirms that "Herculaneum and Pompeii were buried under showers of ashes while all the people were sitting in the theatre." Though the result of recent explorations disproves such an idea, if literally received, it is very possible that the pleasure-loving Pompeians may have been disturbed amid their games, by the sudden eruption so graphically described by Pliny, and Bulwer has accordingly represented them assembled in the amphitheatre, where a noble Greek is abandoned to the fangs of a lion, and a Christian is about to be cast into the arena to combat with a tiger, when the awful catastrophe arrests alike the callous onlookers and the victims, and palzies even the lion's rage. We may be pardoned extracting here the supposed glimpse of the Christians of Pompeii caught thereafter amid the terrible scenes which swept over the doomed city. "While thus protected, a group of men and women, bearing torches, passed by the temple. They were of the congregation of the Nazarenes; and a sublime and unearthly emotion had, not indeed quelled their awe, but it had robbed awe of fear. They had long believed, according to the error of the early Christians, that the last day was at hand; they imagined now that the day had come.

"'Wo! wo!' cried, in a shrill and piercing voice, the elder at their head. 'Behold! the Lord descendeth to

judgment! He maketh fire come down from heaven in the sight of men! Wo! wo! ye strong and mighty! Wo to ye of the fasces and the purple! Wo to the idolater and the worshipper of the beast! Wo to ye who pour forth the blood of saints, and gloat over the death-pangs of the sons of God! Wo to the harlot of the sea!—wo! wo!

“And with a loud and deep chorus, the troop chanted forth along the wild horrors of the air:—‘Wo to the harlot of the sea!—wo! wo!’

“The Nazarenes paced slowly on, their torches still flickering in the storm, their voices still raised in menace and solemn warning, till, lost amid the windings in the streets,—the darkness of the atmosphere, and the silence of death, again fell over the scene.”

But we need not turn to the picturings of a lively fancy for the full rendering of the terrible scenes witnessed in the overthrow of the cities of the Campania. The discoveries of recent times have revealed minuter incidents than the most graphic chronicler could pen, exhibiting the inner life of that heathen city, in the first century of the Christian era, and showing, in many cases, the transitory and passing incidents of its last hour, arrested and sealed for the instruction of later centuries. Pompeii, as we have said, was not completely buried by a single eruption. Eight successive lairs have been traced above its ruins, the evidences of repeated outbreaks of the same destructive elements which involved it in ruin. The lowest of these has alone been disturbed previous to the modern excavations on its site. When the volcano had expended its fury, the inhabitants must have returned to secure their most costly property, and hence it is that comparatively few articles of great intrinsic worth have yet been brought to light by modern research. Treasure and other portable articles of value were doubtless, in many cases, carried off by those who effected their escape from the devoted city

during the continuance of the volcanic eruption. Sir William Gell mentions that a skeleton of a Pompeian was found in the street extending from the Temple of Fortune to the Forum, "who apparently for the sake of sixty coins, a small plate, and a saucepan of silver, had remained in his house till the street was already half-filled with volcanic matter." The position of the skeleton indicated that he had perished apparently in the act of escaping from his window. Other incidents of like character are no less striking. The skeletons of the Roman sentries were found, in more than one instance, at their posts, furnishing a remarkable proof of the stern military discipline of imperial Rome. The Roman soldier stationed at his post, stood faithful to it even amid such awful convulsions of nature, and perished there, because he had not received permission to desert from his appointed station.

In the interesting volumes of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a very concise and valuable abstract of the numerous narratives of explorations on the site of Pompeii is given. One or two extracts from this will suffice to illustrate the varied character of the relics which modern investigations have brought to light. The following brief account will suffice to illustrate both what were abandoned, and what were afterwards recovered by those who escaped from Pompeii:—

"Between the Forum and the Baths is a small Corinthian temple, dedicated to Fortune by a private person, one M. Tullius. It has been cased with marble both within and without, and is accessible by a flight of steps, broken in the middle by a podium or low wall. The lower flight consists of three, the upper of eight, steps. There is an altar placed upon the podium, which was protected from wanton intrusion by an iron railing running along the side-margins and in front of the steps. Holes for the reception of the uprights still remain, together with

pieces of iron. The portico has four columns in front, and two at the sides, and the external walls of the cella are decorated with pilasters. At the end of the building is a semicircular niche, containing a small temple of the Corinthian order, richly finished and designed, under which the statue of the goddess was placed.

“This Marcus Tullius, who appears, from an inscription on the architrave, to have erected this temple, has been supposed to be a descendant of the great Cicero. But the belief seems to rest entirely on the circumstance of a statue, the size of life, bearing some resemblance to the busts of that distinguished orator, having been found in the interior of the building. He is represented clothed in the toga prætexta, the robe of office of the Roman magistrates; and, which adds value and singularity to the statue, this robe is entirely painted with a deep purple violet colour. This seems to give reason for believing that the prætexta, instead of being a garment with only a purple hem, as it is usually explained, was entirely dyed with this precious colour; at least in the later times of the republic, in which the influx of wealth had introduced an extravagant scale of expenditure. The price of this purple was enormous; the violet, though the less costly sort, is said by Pliny to have been worth one hundred denarii (about £3, 4s. 7d.) the pound; the red is valued by the same authority at one thousand denarii. It was obtained from the murex, a shell-fish found in various parts of the Mediterranean. The species which produced the violet dye was found in considerable quantity near Tarentum; the red was chiefly brought from the neighbourhood of Tyre, whence the common name of Tyrian purple. Cochineal has now entirely superseded these dyes, but we may still perhaps trace the estimation anciently set upon them in the colours appropriated to the Romish hierarchy, in which the prelates are dressed in violet, and the cardinals carlet.

“ A female statue, the size of life, was also found within the cella, clothed in a tunic falling to her feet, and above it a toga. The border of the former is gilt; the latter is edged with a red purple bandeau, an inch and a quarter wide; the right arm is pressed upon the bosom, with the hand elevated to the chin, while the left hand holds up the toga. The face of this figure has been sawn off. Some have supposed this a piece of economy of the Pompeians, who, wishing to pay a compliment to some distinguished person, had thought that the cheapest way of doing it was to substitute her face for that originally belonging to the statue.

“ It is manifest that the ancients have made excavations on this spot, and carried away the columns of the temple, and the marble with which it was covered, both within and without. Some of the capitals, however, remain to show the order of its architecture, and enough is preserved to assure us that it was rich in ornament and highly finished.

“ The street running from the Temple of Fortune to the Forum, and called the Street of Fortune, has furnished an unusually rich harvest of various utensils. A long list of these is given by Sir W. Gell, according to which there were found no less than two hundred and fifty small bottles of inferior glass, with numerous other articles of the same material, which it would be tedious to particularize.

“ A marble statue of a laughing faun, two bronze figures of Mercury, the one three inches and the other four inches high, and the statue of a female nine inches high, were also found, together with many bronze lamps and stands. We may add vases, basins with handles, pateræ, bells, elastic springs, hinges, buckles for harness, a lock, an inkstand, and a strigil; gold ear-rings, and a silver spoon; an oval cauldron, a saucepan, a mould for pastry, and a weight of alabaster used in

spinning, with its ivory axis remaining. The catalogue finishes with a leaden weight, forty-nine lamps of common clay ornamented with masks and animals, forty-five lamps for two wicks, three boxes with a slit to keep money in, in one of which were found thirteen coins of Titus, Vespasian, and Domitian. Among the most curious things discovered, were seven glazed plates found packed in straw. There were also seventeen unvarnished vases of terra-cotta, seven clay dishes, and a large pestle and mortar."

One house which has been explored bears the name of the House of the Surgeon, from the variety of surgical instruments discovered in it. "In number they amounted to forty; some resembled instruments still in use, others are different from anything employed by modern surgeons. In many the description of Celsus is realized, as, for instance, in the specillum, or probe, which is concave on one side and flat on the other; the scalper excisorius, in the shape of a lancet-point on one side, and of a mallet on the other; a hook and forceps, used in obstetrical practice. The latter are said to equal in the convenience and ingenuity of their construction the best efforts of modern cutlers. Needles, cutting compasses (*circini excisorii*), and other instruments were found; all of the purest brass, with bronze handles, and usually enclosed in brass or box-wood cases. There is nothing remarkable in the house itself, which contains the usual apartments, atrium, peristyle, &c., except the paintings. These consist chiefly of architectural designs; combinations of golden and bronze-coloured columns placed in perspective, surmounted by rich architraves, elaborate friezes, and decorated cornices, one order above another. Intermixed are arabesque ornaments, grotesque paintings, and compartments with figures, all apparently employed in domestic occupations."

Another locality brought to light the shop of a baker,

with his mill, workshops, cisterns, ovens, &c. Even the loaves have been found, some of them stamped, apparently with the description of their quality and value; so minute are the records furnished from this interesting source of the habits and domestic life of the Romans in the first century of our era. "Three bakers' shops, at least," says the author of Pompeii, "have been found, all in a tolerable state of preservation. The mills, the oven, the kneading-troughs, the vessels for containing water, flour, leaven, have all been discovered, and seem to leave nothing wanting to our knowledge; in some of the vessels the very flour remained, still capable of being identified, though reduced almost to a cinder. But in the centre some lumps of whitish matter resembling chalk remained, which, when wetted and placed on a red-hot iron, gave out the peculiar odour which flour thus treated emits. One of these shops was attached to the house of Sallust, the other to the house of Pansa; probably they were worth a handsome rent. The third, which we select for description, for one will serve perfectly as a type of the whole, seems to have belonged to a man of higher class, a sort of capitalist; for instead of renting a mere dependency of another man's house, he lived in a tolerably good house of his own, of which the bakery forms a part. It stands next to the house of Sallust, on the south side, being divided from it only by a narrow street. Its front is in the main street leading from the gate of Herculaneum to the Forum. Entering by a small vestibule, the visitor finds himself in a tetrastyle atrium (a thing not common at Pompeii), of ample dimensions considering the character of the house, being about thirty-six feet by thirty. The pillars which supported the ceiling are square and solid; and their size, combined with indications observed in a fragment of the entablature, led Mazois to suppose that, instead of a roof, they had been surmounted by a terrace. The impluvium is marble. At the end of the atrium is what would be

called a tablinum in the house of a man of family, through which we enter the bakehouse, which is at the back of the house, and opens into the smaller street, which, diverging from the main street at the fountain by Pansa's house, runs up straight to the city walls. The atrium is surrounded by different apartments, offering abundant accommodation, but such as we need not stop to describe.

"The workroom is about thirty-three feet long by twenty-six. The centre was occupied by four stone mills, exactly like those found in the other two shops, for all the bakers ground their own flour. To give more room they are placed diagonally, so as to form, not a square, but a lozenge. Mazois was present at the excavation of this house, and saw the mills at the moment of their discovery, when the iron-work, though entirely rust-eaten, was yet perfect enough to explain satisfactorily the method of construction."

Mere verbal description can convey only an imperfect idea of machinery and implements entirely strange to us, yet the following account will abundantly suffice to contrast the method of the Roman tradesman with our own:—"The base is a cylindrical stone, about five feet in diameter, and two feet high. Upon this, forming part of the same block, or else firmly fixed into it, is a conical projection about two feet high, the sides slightly curving inwards. Upon this there rests another block, externally resembling a dice-box, internally an hour-glass, being shaped into two hollow cones with their vertices towards each other, the lower one fitting the conical surface on which it rests, though not with any degree of accuracy. To diminish friction, however, a strong iron pivot was inserted in the top of the solid cone, and a corresponding socket let into the narrow part of the hour-glass. Four holes were cut through the stone parallel to this pivot. The narrow part was hooped on the outside with iron, into which wooden bars were inserted, by means of which

the upper stone was turned upon its pivot, by the labour of men or asses. The upper hollow cone served as a hopper, and was filled with corn, which fell by degrees through the four holes upon the solid cone, and was reduced to powder by friction between the two rough surfaces. Of course it worked its way to the bottom by degrees, and fell out on the cylindrical base, round which a channel was cut to facilitate the collection. These machines are about six feet high in the whole, made of a rough grey volcanic stone, full of large crystals of leucite. Thus rude in a period of high refinement and luxury, was one of the commonest and most necessary machines: thus careless were the Romans of the amount of labour wasted in preparing an article of daily and universal consumption. This probably arose in chief from the employment of slaves, the hardness of whose task was little cared for; while the profit and encouragement to enterprise on the part of the professional baker was proportionally diminished, since every family of wealth probably prepared its bread at home. But the same inattention to the useful-arts runs through everything that they did. Their skill in working metals was equal to ours; nothing can be more beautiful than the execution of tripods, lamps, and vases, nothing coarser than their locks; while at the same time the door-handles, bolts, &c. which were seen, are often exquisitely wrought. To what cause can this sluggishness be referred? Here we see that a material improvement in any article, though so trifling as a corkscrew or pencil-case, is pretty sure to make the fortune of some man, though unfortunately that man is very often not the inventor. Had the encouragement to industry been the same, the result would have been the same. Articles of luxury were in high request, and of them the supply was first-rate. But the demands of a luxurious nobility would never have repaid any man for devoting his attention to the improvement of mills, or perfecting smiths' work, and there was

little general commerce to set ingenuity at work. Italy imported largely both agricultural produce and manufactures in the shape of tribute from a conquered world, and probably exported part of her peculiar productions; but we are not aware that there is any ground for supposing that she manufactured goods for exportation to any extent."

We find a very remarkable means of contrasting ancient and modern customs and arts in this singular Pompeian discovery. In this as in many other of the ancient Roman shops and workrooms, which have been restored to light from the ruins of Pompeii, paintings, mosaics, marble troughs, pillars, &c., all speak of the luxury and refinement of the classic age. Yet in these practical elements of extended social comfort, to which so great importance is now attached, they appear totally deficient. It was a period, in fact, when the interests of the Patrician and the possessor of wealth were alone consulted, and popular rights and interests, such as we now understand them were totally unknown.

The same writer remarks: "There is only one other trade, so far as we are aware, with respect to the practises of which any knowledge has been gained from the excavations at Pompeii; that of fulling and scouring cloth. This art, owing to the difference of ancient and modern habits, was of much greater importance formerly than it now is. Wool was almost the only material used for dresses in the earlier times of Rome; silk being unknown till a late period, and linen garments being very little used. Wollen dresses, however, especially in the hot climate of Italy, must often have required a thorough purification; and on the manner in which this was done their beauty very much depended. And since the toga, the chief article of Roman costume, was woven in one piece, and was of course expensive, to make it look and wear as well as possible was very necessary to per-

sons of small fortune. The method pursued has been described by Pliny and others; and is well illustrated in some paintings found upon the walls of a building, which evidently was a *fullonica*, or scouring-house. The building in question is entered from the street of the Mercuries, and is situated in the same district as the house of the Tragic Poet.

“The first operation was that of washing, which was done with water mixed with some detergent clay, or fuller’s earth: soap does not appear to have been used. This was done in vats, where the cloths were trodden, and well worked by the feet of the scourer. A painting on the walls of the Fullonica, represents four persons thus employed. Their dress is tucked up, leaving the leg bare: it consists of two tunics, the under one being yellow, and the upper green. Three of them seem to have done their work, and to be wringing the articles on which they have been employed; the other, his hands resting on the wall on each side, is jumping, and busily working about the contents of his vat. When dry, the cloth was brushed and carded, to raise the nap,—at first with metal cards, afterwards with thistles. A plant called teazle is now largely cultivated in England for the same purpose. The cloth was then fumigated with sulphur, and bleached in the sun by throwing water repeatedly upon it, while spread out on gratings. In one painting the workman is represented as brushing or carding a tunic suspended over a rope. Another man carries a frame and pot, meant probably for fumigation and bleaching; the pot containing live coals and sulphur, and being placed under the frame; so that the cloths spread upon the latter would be fully exposed to the action of the pent-up vapour. The person who carries these things wears something on his head, which is said to be an olive garland; if so, that, and the owl sitting upon the frame, probably indicate that the esta-

blishment was under the patronage of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the loom. Below is a female examining the work which a younger girl has done upon a piece of yellow cloth. A golden net upon her head, a necklace and bracelets, denote a person of higher rank than one of the mere work-people of the establishment: it probably is either the mistress herself, or a customer inquiring into the quality of the work which has been done for her."

Among other curious representations, contained in these pictorial adornments of the Pompeian Fuller's workshop, is a double screw-press, used evidently for pressing the cloth, and showing that the Romans were familiar with the mechanical power of the screw. Many such interesting illustrations of the arts and customs of classic ages, have been recovered by means of the intelligent observation of these common decorations of the houses and shops of this long buried city. But indeed the same practical character runs throughout the whole system of Roman ornamentation. One of the most common classes of Roman domestic pottery consists of a fine red glazed ware, decorated with embossed figures and ornaments, and usually styled Samian ware. These relics of the Roman arts have been found not only in Italy, but wherever the Romans conquered and colonized other countries. In Spain, France, Germany, and also very abundantly both in England and Scotland. To these therefore we may not unaptly direct the readers attention as relics no less directly associated with the ancient ruins of Europe, than are the cuneiform bricks and pottery of Babylon, or the inscribed procelain seals and mummy-figures of Egypt, with those of Asia and Africa.

CHAPTER III.

ROMAN AND ROMANO-BRITISH WARE.

How profitless the relics that we cull,
Troubling the last holds of ambitious Rome,
Unless they chasten fancies that presume
Too high, or idle agitations lull!
Heaven out of view, our wishes, what are they?
Mere fibulæ, without a robe to clasp;
Obsolete lamps, whose light no time recalls;
Urns without ashes, tearless lacrymals!

WORDSWORTH.

AMONG the more fragile relics of various early ages, which most frequently reward the researches of the antiquary, none are so common as those of sepulchral and domestic earthenware. In the British Museum, we have specimens of the fictile vessels of the Greeks and Romans, and the ruder cinerary urns of our own British ancestry, probably many centuries before the galleys of Cæsar first bore the Roman legions to our shores. We possess also very fine examples of ancient vases, the work of that elder civilization which has left such enduring traces of its progress along the banks of the river Nile; and an exceedingly varied and beautiful collection of the Etruscan pottery of ancient Italy. With these also are examples of the modern earthenware of India, and of Mexico and Peru. The most careless student of antiquities can hardly fail to be struck with the marked character with which the nationality of their makers is impressed on even the rudest of these specimens of earthenware. Similar collections of ancient fictilia are preserved in the Scottish Antiquarian Museum.

Among the examples in the latter curious collection, are some very beautiful specimens of undoubted Romano-British pottery, the product of native kilns, constructed under the guidance or in imitation of the example of the Roman conquerors. But there is another species of Roman pottery of frequent occurrence in Britain, as well as on other scenes of Roman conquest and colonization, of which many specimens exist in public collections. The places of manufacture of this beautiful ware still remain open to question. It consists of the fine red glazed pottery of the Romans now most usually termed "Samian Ware." It is exceedingly abundant throughout the whole range of Roman London. It is also occasionally, though less commonly met with in various parts both of England and Scotland. A considerable quantity, for example, though in a very fragmentary state, was discovered near the site of the wall of Antoninus, in the neighbourhood of Kirkintulloch, Dumbartonshire, during the construction of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. Along with these a very perfect Roman inscribed slab, and other remains of the invaders, served to confirm still more undoubtedly—if needs be—the Roman origin of these fragile relics of an elder time.

A peculiar interest attaches to the Romano-British period, in these historical investigations, connected with our own country, from its connection with the earliest rudiments of modern civilization, and its relation to the first undoubted historical narrative of our island and its inhabitants. To the investigators of the last generation, indeed, this proved so seductive, that they scarcely deigned to acknowledge any other branch of antiquity as worthy of their investigation. It accorded with the spirit of the age. Generalization was at once easier and more acceptable than analysis. The pseudo-geologist, with his miscellaneous collections of fossil fauna, minerals and shells, had the Mosaic deluge with which he was ever

ready to drown the inquirer, who demanded a *cui bono* for all his patient accumulations, and even so your old antiquary had his Roman invasion, which amply sufficed to account for every tumulus, kist-vaen, celt, or torque, that excited his veneration by its rarity and age.

Now, however, that we are learning to read a still older history by means of archæology, and no longer deem it necessary annually to call up Agricola and Galgacus, and fight over again the old battle of Mons Grampius on a new Kaim of Kimprunes, we are in danger of as greatly under estimating the value of Roman antiquities as they were before overrated. There is so much to attract us in the dim mystery and the remoteness of the eras to which Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities pertain, that we are apt, at the least, to treat the Romans as Prior's learned lady did:—who

Kindly talked at least three hours,
Of plastic forms, and mental powers;
Described our pre-existing station
Before this vile terrene creation;
And, lest I should be wearied, Madam,
To cut things short, came down to Adam;
From whence, as fast as she was able,
She drowns the World, and builds up Babel:
Through Syria, Persia, Greece, she goes,
And takes the Romans in the close!

The most marked character of the Roman, in comparison with the remoter periods, which relate to British relics of native origin, is its definiteness. We deal with inscriptions, votive altars, coins, medals, and other intelligible evidences, whose chronology scarcely admits of dispute, while in many cases we are able to appeal to the writings of contemporary historians, some of whom themselves visited our shores, and reared the monuments we anew investigate. This definiteness of character distinguishes even the pottery of the Roman period from the cinerary urns, and other fictile vessels that preserve to us

the ruder evidences of human art, which were displayed by our British ancestry, ere the first Roman beheld the white cliffs of Albion. In the Celtic and early British pottery, found in native tumuli, we find indeed the rude sun-dried urn, the half-baked, hand-made vase, destitute of ornament or any symmetrical beauty, and lastly the well turned vase, with its variety of chevron and other incised ornaments, each indicating different periods, and a progress both in refinement and mechanical skill. But when we turn our attention to the fictile ware, fabricated under the influence of Roman civilization, we find it not only characterized by a more refined taste and by greater elegance both in form and details, but in very many cases it bears the maker's name, accompanied by marks or other characteristics, leading us to infer both the probable date and place of manufacture.

It is a well established fact, that extensive potteries existed in various parts of England of the Romano-British period. Several have been discovered with the potter's kilns complete, the furnaces sufficiently perfect to show the mode of burning, and with numerous fragments, and some few whole specimens of the pottery manufactured in them. Mr. Akerman, in his *Archaeological Index*, gives an account of several discovered near Peterborough, extending for several miles along the banks of the Neu, and its tributary streams. The mode of constructing the kilns, and the process of packing and firing them is detailed with great minuteness in a communication by Mr. Artis, in the second volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*. The most extensive Anglo-Roman pottery yet discovered, however, is at Upchurch, in Kent. A long and straggling creek of the river Medway makes its way through a marsh to the village of Upchurch, and here an immense quantity of Roman pottery of various kinds has been discovered. So fertile is this marsh in fictile relics of Roman art, that

a certain class of Cockney antiquaries, are wont to make up parties to go to these archæological diggings, somewhat like our newer fashioned California excavators.

The mode of search may not be uninteresting to the reader, as a novelty in what Burns styles, "the antiquarian trade." At low water the explorers set to work, armed with a long stick or metal rod, and poking this into the mud and clay, that forms the bed of the creek, whenever the rod meets with resistance it is almost sure to indicate some specimen of Roman pottery, more or less worth the labour of digging for. This species of archæological investigation, it may be added, not being held in the highest estimation by antiquaries who stand on their dignity, goes among the latter by the name of *Pottering!*

The pottery found in all these localities, generally consist of two kinds. First, The product of the smother kiln, which occurs in great abundance, and is undoubtedly of native manufacture; and Second, The beautiful red glazed ware, commonly known as *Samian ware*, which is found only rarely on the sites of the potteries, but abound on the localities of early Roman occupation, such as London, York, and Colchester, and in Scotland at some of the chief stations on the Roman wall.

This latter kind of fictile manufacture is characterised by so much beauty and variety of design, and such skillful workmanship, that it becomes an interesting inquiry, whether or not we can class it among the native products of the Anglo-Roman period. The term *Samian ware*, was most probably adopted by antiquaries from the fact that an extensive trade in earthenware was carried on at Samos, and because earthen vessels of red clay, were made there, to which reference is not unfrequently found in ancient writers. Plautus alludes to them, so that this manufactory must have existed at an early period. Pliny likewise mentions Samos as famed for its pottery, but he

also refers to Aretium in Italy, to Saguntum in Spain, and to Pergamos in Asia.

Dr. Fabroni, an Italian antiquary, published, in 1840, a work entitled, "Descriptions of the ancient fictile vases of Arezzo," the ancient Arretium. The work is illustrated with engravings of a beautiful kind of red-pottery, discovered at Arezzo, resembling our Samian ware, but superior in execution, and more classic in the designs. He also furnishes a copious list of potters' stamps, with engravings of their most marked features. One of the types peculiar to the Arezzo stamps, is a sandal or foot, inclosing the potter's name. One or two specimens have been found at Colchester, and a few in London, with the Arezzo stamp, but they are exceedingly rare, and suffice to indicate that our, so-called Samian Ware, was not brought by the Roman invaders from Italy. The names also differ from those most common in this country, not only individually, but in general character, the latter being frequently semi-barbarous in sound notwithstanding their classic terminations, such as *Cobnertus*, *Dagodubnus*, *Durinx*, and *Boiniccus*, from the London list, and *Cakiufus*, *Cocurus*, *Crobiso*, and *Zapepidius*, from the York list. Some of the names are decidedly Gaulish in sound, and the discovery, not only of great quantities of the ware, but of several of the stamps, and some portions of the moulds, in different parts of France, all tend to suggest the probability that we must look there for the site of one important branch of this fine fictile production, if not for the centre from whence it was chiefly distributed among the trans-alpine portions of the Roman empire. A cast for making embossed Samian ware, with the stamp for the name *Cobnertus*, in the large characters in which it is introduced as part of the ornamental decorations on the outside of vases, was found in the interior of France. The same name precisely similar in type, has been found on a fragment of pottery dug up in London. Various

stamps for impressing potters' names, discovered in different parts of France, have in like manner been found to correspond with the impressions on London ware. While such is the case, the pottery itself abounds in England, and is by no means uncommon at the most important Roman stations in Scotland. The pottery disclosed at the Castlecary station, on the line of the wall of Antoninus, during the progress of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway in 1841, was found in such great quantities that the cutting was made through fully eighteen feet of rubbish, the debris of the old Roman fort, and including a great mass of the Samian ware.

Many discoveries on this site have proved its importance as a Roman station. In 1769, during the excavation of the neighbouring canal, the remains of a *Sudarium* were uncovered, and near it a large and beautiful altar dedicated to Fortune, by the second and sixth legions. In 1771 another altar was found, along with a sculptured figure supposed to represent the goddess Fortuna. Gordon also refers to a broken altar found there, inscribed *Legio Britannorum*, and describes three others, all more or less mutilated, from the same locality. But in addition to these the old Scottish Itinerarium mentions among the discoveries at the same place, an antique brass lamp, and a number of urns of fine red clay; no doubt specimens of the same Samian ware, discovered and recklessly destroyed in 1841. During these recent excavations a very neat inscribed slab was discovered, and is now in the possession of the Earl of Zetland. The abbreviated inscription of which should probably read: *Cohortis sextae Decimo Antonio Arati*, that is, "A dedication by the 6th Cohort to Decimus Antonius the son of Aratus."

But indeed few localities in Scotland have proved so rich in Roman antiquities as Castlecary. Mr. Buchanan of Glasgow, has in his possession a curious piece of sculpture found there, evidently a relic of Roman art,

representing two stags butting at each other, with their antlers entwined, and near them a figure, dressed in the Roman tunic, is taking aim at one of the combatants with bow and arrow. The execution is rude and probably of late date. On the bottom of a broken piece of Samian ware, found at the same locality, and now also in the same gentleman's possession, the potter's name is stamped *Patirati*. *Of.*—a contraction of very frequent occurrence in potters' stamps for *officini*. Thus by means of the operations of a modern railway, we recover the name of an ancient potter, of the first or second century. This name it may be added, does not occur either in the York or London lists, nor among the numerous examples in Colchester collections.

In the collection of the Scottish museum, an exceedingly interesting variety of specimens of Roman pottery, and particularly of Samian ware, are preserved. Among these are a large and very fine collection from Colchester, the ancient Camulodunum, and what, from their rarity, are still more valuable, one or two interesting fragments of embossed Samian ware from the neighbourhood of Alicant in Spain. In addition to these must also be noticed various specimens of the same fine pottery, including two vessels nearly entire, brought from Tangier by Mr. Hay, who resided there as British consul-general of Morocco. Mr. Hay has accompanied them with the following note, descriptive of one of the specimens of Roman pottery, discovered by him in Africa. "A drinking cup of red pottery which appears to be of the better times of the Roman empire, if it be not of an earlier time. It was found (with the prettily embossed fragment that is within it,) on digging out the foundation of a small Roman house near to the Danish consulate gate in Tangier, in July 1836. The name of the potter impressed at the bottom of the cup within, is indistinct, but looks like ITSVS, a "vely imagination may read IESVS." Possibly the

name, which is described as indistinct and doubtful, may have been that of IABVS, which is frequently found on London pottery.

Another of these African relics of Roman civilization is not less interesting from presenting in its stamp the rare feature of the Arezzo type, a neatly impressed sandal, with the letters C. O. C. Two others also correspond in general character to the Arezzo stamps. One of them has the name *Agate*. The other is apparently a series of contractions and initials. But the whole of them possess a peculiar interest to us from the indications they afford of the same ancient Roman civilization contemporaneously present on the coasts of Barbary and in the British isles.

The Spanish fragments of Roman ware in the same collection, want the potters' names, but their ornaments in relief admit of comparison, and both present what is styled the *festoon* and *tassel* border exactly corresponding with the London types, and differing from those of Arezzo, so that both were probably derived from Gaul.

But another and no less interesting feature on this class of fine Roman pottery is the frequent occurrence of names on the vessels, evidently executed after they have been entirely finished and stamped with the maker's name. These, it does not seem an extravagant inference to suppose, may be the first owners of the vessels, and if so, would suggest the idea of greater value having been attached to them than would otherwise be imagined from their occurring in such quantities in all localities where the Romans were established for any length of time. On the under side of one of the fragments of a shallow cup found at Tangier, the name *Chilonis* is thus introduced. It is somewhat rudely done; while on the upper side is a very neat stamp of the Arezzo type. Such names are by no means uncommon, and are frequently seen on the Roman pottery found in London, presenting us in fact with the

rude autographs of their old British or other native owners, in the early centuries to which they belong.

Examples somewhat analogous to these occur on rude small cylindrical cups of unglazed red clay, found in a Roman cemetery at Vallenciennes in France. The rims are flat, and fully three-tenths of an inch broad. A name is traced on each; on the one *Claudius Goth*, on the other *Mariniana*. The letters are neatly and regularly executed, and appear to have been done before the clay was exposed to the fire of the kiln.

The extent to which the manufacture and use of this fine Samian ware was carried at the period of the Roman invasion, may be inferred from the fact, that upwards of 400 different stamps occur on London specimens. Both York and Colchester have added to the list, and the Roman sites in Scotland furnish farther additions. Among these many are barbarous in sound, and evidently foreigners, that is, not Romans. Many of the London ones are identical with those found in various parts of France; and the evidence seems at present to render it exceedingly probable that most of our finer kinds of pottery of the Anglo-Roman period must be regarded as importations from Gaul. We learn, however, from the various specimens referred to, to how great an extent commercial intercourse must have been fostered and extended throughout Europe by the Roman conquerors. The products of Italy and of Gaul are found together amid the relics of Roman occupation in Africa. They abound at every great Roman station of England and Scotland; and we may add, that ruder specimens frequently occur among the debris of Anglo-Roman potters' kilns, evidently native attempts to imitate the arts of the conquerors. From all these we learn by what means the Roman legions uprooted the evidences of barbarism in the scenes of their conquests, and proved themselves, it may be, harsh and bloody, yet no less invaluable missionaries of civilization.

This ornamental Samian ware which we have thus described, is worthy of much more careful study than it has generally received, from the illustration which its details furnish of early costume, public ceremonies, domestic manners, and even national morals. These vases appear to have frequently been entirely cast from one mould, but in numerous examples the design is made up by stamping a variety of ornaments and figures on the soft clay with separate moulds. This, indeed, is frequently done with little attention to relative proportion or consistency of design. Figures, animals, and ornaments are grouped together, in all varieties of sizes, and occasionally even turned topsy-turvy, when the potter found his stamps would not otherwise fit into the general pattern. The designs, however, even when thus heterogeneously jumbled together, are generally characterized by much grace and beauty when separately examined. They embrace a very extensive series of representations of figures and groups curiously illustrative of national and religious customs and ceremonies. Some of them exhibit frequent repetitions of figures, most probably imitated from the favourite sculptures of the Roman capital; and among which, indeed, we detect both the Venus and Apollo. Others represent divinities, satyrs, griffins, sea-horses, and the like classical conceits, accompanied by suggestive and appropriate emblems. Military and triumphal processions and gladiatorial combats are no less common; and in these the variations between the Roman and the barbarian soldiery are well worthy of study, both by the artist and the classical student. The ornamental designer will find these specimens of Roman art no less rich in suggestive details. The borders of clustering grapes and tendrils, the vine-wreaths, and festooned garlands, and the almost endless variety of fancy patterns, would furnish a novel and rich field from whence to derive suggestions for the decorator. We have added, that in these stray frag-

ments of broken pottery, curious illustrations even of national morals may be found. We are led to form a high idea of the old Roman, when we discover him even in this remote province of the empire, indulging in the luxuries of a refined and elegant taste, and adorning the simplest domestic utensils with graceful symmetry of proportion, and great beauty of detail. But we must moderate our admiration when we discover among the ornaments of these elegant cups and vases that graced his board, designs so grossly sensual and vicious that only the most depraved tastes could either suggest or tolerate them. It is sufficient, however, that on this point we refer those who are curious in this department of classic art, to the specimens of ancient pottery to be seen in many antiquarian collections, reminding them at the same time of the allusion by Pliny to such depraved tastes :—" *In poculis libidines cœlare juvat, ac per obscenitates bibere.*"

We would only add, in concluding this chapter, that it might prove a very fortunate speculation, were some of our modern British potters induced to revive the Samian ware of the second and third centuries, with such modifications as modern taste might suggest, and as modern habits may require. It appears that after the vessels had been thrown upon the wheel, the several compartments were separately stamped by the potter. By this means, though several moulds were required for a single dish, a comparatively small assortment of patterns sufficed, along with the variations in the general form, to produce an almost endless diversity of combinations. This is a hint which might probably be new to the potters of Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and in these days when novelty is so much sought after, the simplest way of arriving at it is frequently found by those who have the greatest faith in Solomon's maxim, that "There is nothing new under the sun!"

CHAPTER IV.

R O M E.

All that was
 Of them destruction is; and now, alas!
 Rome—Rome imperial, bows her to the storm,
 In the same dust and blackness, and we pass
 The skeleton of her titanic form,
 Wrecks of another world, whose ashes still are warm.

CHILDE HAROLD.

ROME has received, not without some elements of just claim to such title, the name of the Eternal City. Its early history is wrapped in myth and fable. Yet there is a latent truth involved in the story of the rival brother-founders quarrelling, when Remus, in derision, leapt over its pigmy walls. Its origin was as obscure and unnoted as that of a thousand other cities, and long ere its rising importance had contributed a new interest to those stories of its infancy, they had become involved in the extravagances of legendary tradition, or substituted by the convenient inventions of more recent fable. While yet the great cities of Greece retained their arts and matchless schools of learning and philosophy, the newer capital of the world was rising into importance; and its first great act on the theatre of the world, was the strife which lasted, through successive generations, in the Punic wars, —a struggle to determine whether the seat of the world's empire should return to the African continent, or be continued to Europe, where Greece had already asserted the supremacy of intellectual empire. The Phœnician colony

of Carthage struggled bravely for supremacy, but the younger colony of the European peninsula prevailed; involving in its success so much of the whole after-history of the continent, and the fate of our own little group of British islands, from whence we now look, with feelings of compassion, or perhaps of contempt, on the decrepid government of the ancient capital of the Roman world. A world-capital it, however, is, even now, in more than name. When the sceptre of imperial sway passed away from it, it had laid hold of a sceptre of spiritual rule, more absolute and despotic even than the old empire won by the legions of the Roman Cæsars. It was, indeed, part of the plan of Providence, by means of the Roman empire, to prepare the world for the extension of the more enduring kingdom of the Prince of Peace. The sceptre was not to depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh should come; and, in curious coincidence with this, when the fulness of time was accomplished, it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed; and all went to be taxed, every one into his own city; and Joseph also went up from Gallilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, to be taxed, with Mary, his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for him in the inn. An old era was come to an end; a new era was beginning; and the Roman rulers, who worked out these great ends, dreamt not of the high purposes they were accomplishing.

Even so it was in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the scattering of the chosen people from the land of promise, as narrated in a former chapter; and so too was it in the

conquest of Europe and the subjugation of the British Isles. The Roman empire was but as the plough which pierces the hitherto unbroken and uncultivated soil. Rudely it tears through the flowery covering with which nature clothes the roughest and most profitless moorland waste. Rough and unmanageable appear the first rugged furrows. But other operations follow, and abundant harvests at length replace the useless gorse and heath. Such was the influence of the Roman, a bloody, yet valuable missionary of civilization; an unconscious instrument of Providence for working out ends undreamt of in his plans. A modern traveller thus justly expresses the feelings with which the traces of the capital of this wondrous empire are still reviewed:—"On our first visit we contemplated ancient Rome as she *now* appears, and from thence we passed to the consideration of the modern city. We now turn to ancient Rome again, and while we still tread the spot on which she stood, we recollect what she once was, and endeavour to trace out some of her majestic features still faintly discernible through the gloom of so many ages. The subject is intimately connected with the views of a classical traveller, and is indeed forced upon him in every morning walk. While he ranges over the seven hills, once so crowded with population and graced with so many noble fabrics, now inhabited only by a few friars, and covered with piles of ruin, he cannot but recollect that under the rubbish which he treads lies buried Imperial Rome, once the delight and the beauty of the universe. Deep interred under the accumulated deposit of the fifteen centuries, it now serves for the foundation of another city, which, though the fairest in the world, shines only with a few faintly reflected rays of its tarnished glory. If then the magnificence of modern Rome be an object of admiration and wonder, what must have been the majesty of the ancient city? Greater probably than the imagination of moderns, little accustomed

to works of unusual beauty or magnitude, can conceive, and capable of astonishing, not strangers only, but even the Greeks themselves, though the latter were habituated to architectural scenery, and almost educated in the midst of temples and colonnades." It is this idea of the buried glories of Rome, of the changes of many successive centuries, and the novel beauties of mediæval art, reared above the models from whence the principles on which they are constructed were first derived, that gives rise to some of the most peculiar feelings with which the intelligent mind receives the impressions produced by a visit to the singular city still enthroned on the banks of the Tiber.

In all ages since Rome became the world's capital, it has been a marvel to men of every country and faith. Even the rude Gauls who forced its gates in the centuries preceding its imperial grandeur, gazed in awe and astonishment on its Forum, and the venerable senators who sat there in dignified silence, awaiting whatever should befall them. Doubtless it was not less strange and wonderful to the first captive Britons whom the Cæsars dragged unwillingly, bound to their triumphal cars, through the crowded streets of ancient Rome. But even the Greek, familiar with higher art, and with purer and not less gorgeous temples than those of Rome, owned the matchless splendour of the city of his conquerors. "Constantius," says Mr. Eustace, "a cold and unfeeling prince, who had visited all the cities of Greece and Asia, and was familiar with the superb exhibitions of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Athens, was struck dumb with admiration as he proceeded in triumphal pomp through the streets; but when he entered the Forum of Trajan, and beheld all the wonders of that matchless structure, he felt for once a momentary enthusiasm, and burst into exclamations of surprise and astonishment. Strabo, who had traversed Greece in every direction and was without doubt intimately ac-

quainted with all the beauties of his country, and, like every other Greek, not a little partial to its claims to pre-eminence, describes the magnificence of Rome as an object of transcendent glory, that surpassed expectation, and rose far above all human competition.

“If Greeks so jealous of the arts and edifices of their native land; if emperors of the East, who idolized their own capital, and looked with envy on the ornaments of the ancient city, were thus obliged to pay an involuntary tribute to its superior beauty, we may pardon the well-founded enthusiasm of the Romans themselves, when they represent it as an epitome of the universe, and an abode worthy of the gods. And indeed, if Virgil, at a time when Augustus had only begun his projected improvements, and the architectural glory of the city was in its dawn, ventured to give it the proud appellation of *rerum pulcherrima*, we may conjecture what it must have been in the reign of Hadrian, when it had received all its decorations, and blazed in its full meridian splendour. Even in its decline, when it had twice experienced barbaric rage and had seen some of its fairest edifices sink in hostile flames, it was capable of exciting ideas of something more than mortal grandeur, and raising the thoughts of a holy bishop from earth to heaven. After the Gothic war itself, which gave the last blow to the greatness of Rome, when it had been repeatedly besieged, taken, and ransacked, yet then, though stripped of its population, and abandoned with its tottering temples to time and desolation; even then, deformed by barbarism, wasted by pestilence and bowed down to the ground under the accumulated judgments of heaven, the ‘Eternal City’ still retained its imperial features, nor appeared less than the Mistress of the World.”

The magnificence of ancient Rome is still indisputable, though we should seek to prove it only from the last lingering fragments of its ruins. Its very cloacæ, or

sewers, with its *Cloaca Maxima*, whose highest keystone was thirty feet above its base, remain even now in sufficient preservation to attest the astonishing scale upon which every work of imperial Rome was executed. The *Cloaca Maxima* owes its origin to Tarquinius Superbus, and the portions still existing, though ruined and choked up, and no longer of use to cleanse and purify the modern city—much needing as it does such useful ducts—are wonderful monuments of solid and enduring masonry. Its aqueducts, some of them carried over arches for many miles, at a level varying with the undulating surface, but sometimes upwards of an hundred feet above their foundations, are no less astonishing proofs of the magnificent scale upon which all the works of ancient Rome were planned and executed. Temples, palaces, baths, tombs, triumphal arches, theatres, and every class of structure of which any remains have been preserved to our time, are all of the same character, testifying to the grand conceptions which the revenues and the pomp and glory of a world-wide empire gave birth to. Nor was all this magnificence a mere empty show. Time brought about its restless, unceasing changes, and luxury and enervating love of pleasure crept over the heart of the great empire, choked up the fountain of its former strength and greatness, and prepared the way for its fall. But there was a time, still memorable in the history of Rome, when its magnificence served as an incentive to patriotism and virtue.

We can form but a very slight and inadequate idea of what the Forum was in the era of Roman greatness. Yet we can realize some conception of it from the indications of its ancient site and the contemporary descriptions of its original splendour. Surrounded with temples, approached through triumphal arches and avenues of statues, and overlooked by the Imperial Palace which crowned the Palatine Hill, and by the Capitol, the citadel alike of

Rome's strength and of her faith, it was well calculated to awake the exulting pride of the ancient Roman, the "citizen of no mean city," but the privileged sharer in the rights, the glories, and the immunities which were his peculiar birth-right. This it was which enabled Manlius, pointing from the Forum to the Capitol, to stay the sentence of the ungrateful Romans, and guided Scipio Africanus, instead of stooping to his defence when accused by envious detractors before the same fickle bar, to turn to the overlooking height of the Capitoline Hill, and bid them leave the tribune of the Forum, where he stood as a criminal, and join him there in the temple of the supreme deity of their creed, that both together might thank the gods for the defeat of Hannibal and his Carthaginian host. While such things are possible, the virtue of a nation is still powerful for good and great deeds. But the spirit of national pride and public honour shrunk before the luxuries of licentious tyrants and the baseness of mercenary legions. Rome had accomplished the purposes for which empire had been allotted to her, and then she sunk, not indeed to pass away into oblivion, but to give place to that new and unparalled empire, half spiritual, half still imperial, with now a licentious Alexander, or John, wearing its papal tiara; and then, as of old, a warlike Julius, a luxurious Leo, and—unknown before—an ascetic Adrian.

Under such rulers, Rome received new glories above the ruins of those that time and misfortunes had crumbled and buried beneath their debris. But an entirely new character marks not only what has replaced the old, but even what survives of its remains. It lacks the stern manliness of Rome's best days, and the associations which could awake the generous sympathies of a people. It holds indeed the strange empire derived from the enthronement of the spiritual ruler of Christendom, mighty to wield the keys of heaven and hell. But superstition

must sustain the throne, and ignorance and moral degradation attend to secure the services of its abject subjects. Medieval Rome is a great, a most wonderful centre, round which the history of Europe revolves, but its greatness dazzles the eye without winning the heart. It seems to have no citizen of its own, and as little to command the pure emotion of the world's citizens, as did old Rome, in her day of triumph, win the love of the captives who added to the glories of her triumphal displays. It is not, therefore, without reason that the poet thus gives vent to feelings which have been sympathized in by thousands, as they gazed on modern Rome, and thought of what once she was:—

“Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul!
 The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,
 Lone mother of dead empires! and control
 In their shut breasts their petty misery.
 What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see
 The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
 O'er steps of broken thrones and temples, Ye!
 Whose agonies are evils of a day—
 A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay.

“The Niobe of nations! there she stands,
 Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;
 An empty urn within her wither'd hands,
 Whose holy dust was scatter'd long ago;
 The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;
 The very sepulchres lie tenantless
 Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,
 Old Tiber! through a marble wilderness?
 Rise with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress.

“The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood, and Fire,
 Have dealt upon the seven-hill'd city's pride;
 She saw her glories, star by star, expire,
 And up the steep barbarian monarchs ride,
 Where the car climb'd the capitol; far and wide
 Temple and tower went down, nor left a site:—
 Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,
 O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
 And say, 'here was, or is,' where all is doubly night?

"The double night of ages, and of her,
 Night's daughter, Ignorance, hath wrapt and wrap
 All round us; we but feel our way to err:
 The ocean hath his chart, the stars their map,
 And Knowledge spreads them on her ample lap;
 But Rome is as the desert, where we steer
 Stumbling o'er recollections; now we clap
 Our hands, and cry 'Eureka!' it is clear—
 When but some false mirage of ruin rises near."

The poet felt that "the commonwealth of kings, the men of Rome," had passed away, and been succeeded by others whose greatness seems a mockery beside their grandeur. Yet the monuments of Rome's old magnificence show how petty often were the ends for which nations were conquered, that their treasures might flow into the imperial treasury. Of all the ruins still existing, none can be compared with their ancient amphitheatre, the magnificent Colosseum reared by the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. Yet this is but the reconstructed materials of an older and more sumptuous edifice; for the Emperor Vespasian is said to have ordered its construction with the materials of the gorgeous palace of his predecessor, which was usually styled Nero's golden house. So solid, substantial, and skilfully designed is the vast Roman amphitheatre, that, had it been simply let alone, it would have remained perfect even now. It escaped the ravages of the Gothic spoilers of Rome, owing to its durable construction, and was used for the celebration of public games even in the thirteenth century. But the demolition of the most valuable architectural monuments of former ages has far more frequently been occasioned by deliberate cupidity, or the designed purposes of ignorance and presumption, than from the devastations of war, or the wasting effects of time. It was in the era of Rome's later revival, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that the solid masonry of the Colosseum yielded to the deliberate spoliation of ignorance and pride. Wealth and

luxury had again returned to Rome, and their attendant pomp and magnificence were once more aimed at; but personal vanity little heeds the sacrifices necessary to minister to its vanity. The Colosseum was converted into a convenient quarry. Papal authority conferred on every powerful noble, or greedy favourite, the right to spoil it for the materials with which to build or enlarge his palace; and thus this remarkable example of ancient architecture and engineering skill, was stripped of a large portion of its decorative exterior, and its interior entirely dismantled and laid waste. Fortunately, its substantial construction rendered even deliberate demolition a difficult task. Yet the work went on, and doubtless would ultimately have reduced it to a shapeless heap of ruins, when the Pope, Benedict XIV., who succeeded to the papal throne in 1740, luckily bethought him of the Christian martyrs who had perished within its arena. This wise occupant of the spiritual throne of Christendom conformed, with shrewd sagacity, to the changed aspect of the times in which he lived, and waived many of the obsolete pretensions of his predecessors. He was a great encourager of learning, and Rome became again, under his liberal patronage, the seat of science and the arts. From him Rome received many of its later embellishments, and had others of its earlier ones once more restored to it. He dug out the obelisk which lay buried in the Campus Martius, and which was afterwards raised on the pedestal it now occupies by Pius VI. It was in the same spirit that he raised a cross within the area of the Colosseum, and declared it consecrated, as the scene of early Christian martyrdom. One cannot but regret that the spirit of superstitious relic worship, and veneration for holy sites, which at an earlier period conferred a spurious sanctity on so many doubtful and fictitious objects of veneration, had not bethought itself of this genuine scene of Christian martyrdom. It is, in fact, the only scene in modern Rome which the Chris-

tian traveller can associate with the sufferings of the primitive Church, if we except the Catacombs, wherein its earliest assemblies were held in secret, and some, at least, of the victims of the bloody Colosseum interred.

The origin and antiquities of the quarries of ancient Rome, have recently been made the subject of a most interesting work, entitled the "Church in the Catacombs," by Dr. Charles Maitland. He thus remarks on the probable origin of their appropriation, as a refuge for the first persecuted Roman Christians:—"It being proved by historical evidence that the Catacombs were originally dug by the Pagans as sand-pits and quarries, it remains to be shown in what manner the Christians became connected with them. The *arenarii* or sand-diggers were persons of the lowest grade, and from the nature of their occupation probably formed a distinct class. There is reason to suppose that Christianity spread very early among them, for in time of persecution, the converts employed in the subterranean passages not only took refuge there themselves, but also put the whole church in possession of these otherwise inaccessible retreats. When we reflect upon the trials which awaited the church, and the combined powers of earth and hell which menaced its earliest years, it is impossible not to recognise the fostering care of a heavenly hand, in thus providing a cradle for the infant community. Perhaps to the protection afforded by the Catacombs, as an impregnable fortress from which persecution always failed to dislodge it, the Church in Rome owed much of the rapidity of its triumph; and to the preservation of its earliest sanctuaries, its ancient superiority in discipline and manners. The customs of the first ages, stamped indelibly on the walls of the Catacombs, must have contributed to check the spirit of innovation soon observable throughout Christendom: the elements of a pure faith were written 'with an iron pen in the rock for ever:' and if the Church of

after-times had looked back to her subterranean home; 'to the hole of the pit whence she was digged,' she would there have sought in vain for traces of forced celibacy, the invocation of saints, and the representation of deity in painting or sculpture. Whatever dates may be attributed to other remains, this fact is certain, that the Lapidarian gallery, arranged by the hands of the modern Romanists, contains no support whatever for the dogmas of the Council of Trent. Resting upon this distinction, virtually drawn by themselves, between what belongs to a pure age, and what to the times of innovation, we may safely refer to the latter a number of inscriptions of doubtful date, preserved in the vaults of St. Peter's, which contain prayers to the Virgin Mary, and other peculiarities of Romanist theology."

It is very curious and interesting to observe the numerous ways in which researches into the remains of elder times are thus found to bear on some of the most important historical questions. Even in our own country, the ruins of an ancient church, not long since discovered in Cornwall, have been produced in evidence of the purity of the primitive English Church from many of the errors of the Church of Rome, which some false sons are now labouring to engraft anew upon it. Dr. Maitland has been most successful in tracing out many singular evidences of clumsy medieval imposture, or gross blunders of ignorant superstition, by means of the ancient monuments of the Catacombs. Meanwhile, it is interesting to contemplate these subterranean retreats as the shelter and hiding-place of the early Church; and, when they failed as such, also the scenes of her sufferings. For there is no doubt of the fact, that they have been rendered memorable by the martyrdom of witnesses for the truth, as well as consecrated by the practice of Christian rites. Among the wells and basons still visible in various passages of the Catacombs, some are pointed out as the fonts where baptism was

administered to the early converts. Chapels, with altars, episcopal chairs, and other indications of Christian worship, still remain also in the same retreats. Some of these belong to very different eras, but there is not wanting authentic and trustworthy proof that some of them pertain to the periods of persecution of the first and second centuries. Dr. Maitland gives the following inscription, which was found over a grave in the cemetery of Callistus, as affording clear evidence of the practice of the early Christians to withdraw to the Catacombs as to a house of prayer. It belongs to the reign of the Emperor Antonine, —not the beneficent ruler, on whom the Romans conferred the title of Pius, but his successor, in the following century, in whose reign the fifth Christian persecution occurred :—

“ In Christ. Alexander is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. He lived under the Emperor Antonine, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For, while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O, sad times! in which sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, afford no protection to us. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? when they could not be buried by their friends and relations—at length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived, who has lived in Christian times.”

Upon this early Christian memorial, the author remarks :—“ A number of circumstances in this inscription are worthy of notice—the beginning, in which the first two words (*Alexander mortuus*), after leading us to expect a lamentation, break out into an assurance of glory and immortality—the description of the temporal insecurity in which the believers of that time lived—the difficulty of procuring Christian burial for the martyrs—the certainty of their heavenly reward—and lastly, the concluding sentence, forcibly recalling the words of St. Paul, ‘ as dying,

yet behold we live;' and again, 'I die daily.' It must be confessed that the epitaph does not directly affirm that Alexander was put to death on account of his religion, but would imply that the private hatred of the emperor found in it a pretext for his destruction."

But what had originated in necessity and fear, became matter of choice in the more peaceful times of early Christianity. The endearing associations which belong to the last resting-place of those who are loved by us, were greatly increased by the still more sacred feelings pertaining to social Christian worship, performed under circumstances of danger which united all by unusually strong ties. In addition to these, there were not wanting those extravagant excesses of feeling by which veneration so speedily degenerated into superstition. Proximity of sepulture to the tombs of the martyrs, was early made an incentive to the continued occupation of the Catacombs as places of burial; and we accordingly find various allusions on the inscribed tablets found in them, to burial in the vicinity of the tombs of favourite saints and confessors. At the same time Dr. Maitland effectually exposes the credulity and ignorance with which hundreds of tombs have been ransacked for the bones of martyrs, on the most frivolous and false grounds. The emblems of common trades, and the familiar symbols of early times, have been converted into the presumed instruments of martyrdom; and thus it has happened, that the remains of a Pagan woolcomber have been venerated by the devout and superstitiously-credulous of many successive generations, for no better reason than that the humble stone-cutter who carved his tomb, added to its brief inscription, the device of his comb and wool-shears; which later credulity converted into the instruments of his martyrdom. Yet even now, though these and many other such follies of superstition have been exposed, they are not abandoned. Still the Catacombs are resorted to when

a saint is wanted wherewith to add an increased sanctity to some consecrated place. It was the same spirit which originated nearly all the monuments of Christian Rome. The sufferings of those who had witnessed a good confession for the faith, were degraded into apologies for the superstitious follies of those who professed to maintain the same pure confession in more peaceful times. "The Basilica of St. Peter," says Mr. Eustace, in his Classical Tour, "was the first and noblest religious edifice erected by Constantine. It stood on part of the circus of Nero, and was supposed to occupy a spot consecrated by the blood of numberless martyrs exposed or slaughtered in that place of public amusement by order of the tyrant. But its principal and exclusive advantage was the possession of the body of St. Peter; a circumstance which raised it in credit and consideration above the Basilica Lateranensis, dignified its threshold with the honourable appellation of the *Limina Apostolorum*, or the Threshold of the Apostles, and secured to it the first place in the affection and reverence of the Christian world. Not only monks and bishops, but princes and emperors visited its sanctuary with devotion, and even kissed as they approached the marble steps that led to its portal. Nor was this reverence confined to the orthodox monarchs who sat on the throne of its founder; it extended to barbarians, and more than once converted a cruel invader into a suppliant votary. The Vandal Genseric, whose heart seldom felt emotions of mercy, while he plundered every house and temple with unrelenting fury, spared the treasures deposited under the roof of the Vatican Basilica, and even allowed the plate of the churches to be carried in solemn pomp to its inviolable altars. Totila, who in a moment of vengeance had sworn that he would bury the glory and the memory of Rome in its ashes, listened to the admonitions of the pontiff, and resigned his fury at the tomb of the apostles.

“Every age, as it passed over the Vatican, seemed to add to its holiness and dignity; and the coronation of an emperor, or the installation of a pope, the deposition of the remains of a prince, or the enshrinement of the reliques of a saint, appeared as so many tributes paid to its supereminence, and gave it so many new claims to the veneration of the Christian world. At length, however, after eleven centuries of glory, the walls of the ancient Basilica began to give way, and symptoms of approaching ruin were become so visible about the year 1450, that Nicholas V. conceived the project of taking down the old church, and erecting in its stead a new and more extensive structure.”

The new Church of St. Peter's at length slowly arose, completed by the contributions of Christendom, wrung from superstitious devotees, by means which have rendered it one of the most remarkable monuments of the Reformation. The reader is doubtless familiar with the history of the sale of Indulgences: of the claims of exemption from penance of certain German possessors of these papal privileges: of the stern protest of the monk Luther against them and their retailers: and of the great consequences to all succeeding ages which have sprung out of what seemed at first only the sticklings of an obscure and uninfluential monk. Thus may the protestant Christian regard the vast pile of St. Peter's at Rome, not only as a work which for upwards of a century occupied the zeal, and exhausted the revenues of eighteen successive pontiffs, and ere it had been brought to a close had extended over the long period, embracing the pontificates of Nicholas V. in 1450, to that of Pius VI. in the present century. Of how many memorable changes may it be esteemed the memorial. Re-edified as the visible centre of the papal system, with its vast system of pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns; its monasteries, its penances, its inquisitions, its auto-da-fés; it has

seemed to stand still with its little, old-world centre of things, while all else is changing. The gorgeous magnificence of the papacy still exists there; but we cannot look on the passing events and believe that all is sound and enduring, though the gilding and the tinsel is still renewed on its showy exterior. This century has twice witnessed the sovereign pontiff driven from his seven-hilled throne, and twice has he been restored to it by the most unlikely means. Once did protestant England step forward to rescue the successor of St. Peter from the un-dutiful hands of those who pretended still to own his infallibility, and to recognise him as the divinely appointed vicegerent and representative of God on earth. A second time it may be said to be the work of faithless, of infidel France, whose children for the most part declare that pope and pagan are alike to them; though it has not escaped the thoughts of many, that the unbelieving gallic soldiery may be, after all, only the tools of those who are watching the working out of the present restless changes of France, and dexterously converting them to the ends of the same vast system. Into such questions it is not our province to enter here. Yet no thoughtful mind can contemplate that gorgeous pile, where the visible head of the Romish Church occupies the throne of temporal and spiritual power, without the thoughts reverting to that vast system, which has for ages enslaved the souls of millions, and bound the nations down under its dark and blighting yoke of ignorance, superstition, and cunning priestcraft. How strange a change from old imperial Rome.

The city stands, her domes and turrets crowned
 With many a cross; but they that issue forth,
 Wander like strangers who had built among
 The mighty ruins, silent, spiritless;
 And on the road where once we might have met
 Cæsar and Cato, and men more than kings,
 We meet, none else, the pilgrim and the beggar.

The change is indeed immense from the Imperial City, along whose crowded ways the tramp of armed men bore the spoils of the world, and shouted the triumphs of victorious leaders. Yet the cowled and sandaled cohorts of the later holder of its world-empire, drag more abject slaves in their train, and have proved more invincible in their conquests and more enduring in their triumphs, than even were the imperial legions, when the world admitted but of one throne. The Goths and Vandals of the north, swept at length over the decrepid empire, tottering to its fall, and we cannot doubt, but that the days of that system are also numbered, the history of which reveals so much that is at variance with the whole system of divine law.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH PAGAN TEMPLES.

Screams round the Arch-druid's brow the seamew—white
 As Menai's foam; and towards the mystic ring
 Where Augurs stand, the future questioning,
 Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy flight,
 Portending ruin to each baleful rite,
 That, in the lapse of ages, hath crept o'er
 Diluvian truths and patriarchal lore.

WORDSWORTH.

WE are so accustomed to date our national history from the period of the Roman invasion, if not indeed from the later eras of the Saxon heptarchy, or the Norman conquest, that comparatively few allow their thoughts to

dwell on the possibility of a period of national existence prior to the earliest of these events. Yet not only was Britain a populous and comparatively civilized country at the remotest of these fixed epochs, but even at this day the sites of many important localities are traceable to events of that dim or altogether unexplored period of our history. The city of Exeter occupies a site where evidences of Greek and Phœnician intercourse have been discovered, manifestly long prior to the first visit of the Romans to our shores. The city of York, it is believed, covers the area of a druidical temple, where the bloody rites of heathen superstition were practised for ages; and the site of the venerable Abbey of St. Albans is still surrounded with the traces of ancient occupation. In its immediate vicinity the most remarkable example of a Roman amphitheatre ever found in England has been disclosed.

Doubt and uncertainty necessarily attends us when we seek to explore these unilluminated portions of history. It seems indeed, at first sight, vain to hope for any light to guide our investigations, or furnish a single well-authenticated fact. The dimness of this remote period, and the illusive shadows of its traditions and fables struck the fancy of the poet from whose beautiful series of ecclesiastical sonnets the motto of the present chapter is selected, and he thus depicts the vain attempt to grope our way amid its mysterious gloom:—

“ Darkness surrounds us; seeking, we are lost
 On Snowdon's wilds, amid Brigantine coves,
 Or where the solitary shepherd roves
 Along the plain of Sarum, by the ghost
 Of Time and shadows of Tradition, cross;
 And where the boatman of the Western Isles
 Slackens his course—to mark those holy piles
 Which yet survive on bleak Iona's coast.
 Nor these, nor monuments of eldest fame,
 Nor Tallesin's unforbidden lays,

Nor characters of Greek or Roman fame,
To an unquestionable Source have led ;
Enough—if eyes that sought the fountain head in vain,
In vain, upon the growing Rill may gaze.

Yet though we cannot reach the fountain head, much curious insight may be gleaned into the features, once visible within this surrounding darkness. The investigations into the very early period of human history are now receiving a degree of attention, never yielded to them before. The study of the past is recognized as something not necessarily dependent altogether on written histories, nor even on graven inscriptions; although we have seen the remarkable light, which hieroglyphic and cuneiform records are capable of throwing on periods which had seemed utterly passed away into oblivion. We possess in England no such definite records of its infant history. Both letters and science are affirmed to have been familiar to the British Druids, but if so they used them solely for their own ends, and if they left any graven inscriptions relating to their creed, or to the national annals, the last of these have long since been swept away with numberless other monuments of the period to which they pertained. Nevertheless remarkable memorials of the age still remain, which have already sufficed as the basis for some intelligent conclusions, and for far more vague and profitless theories and speculations. Huge volumes have been written about the Druids, their worship, their learning, their government, their mysteries and rites, and yet after all it must be owned that we know very little about them, and can place but slight reliance on nearly all the statements even of the earliest and most trustworthy writers. But besides the remains of temples associated with Druid rites, we possess some curious though little noted traces of the barbarian state of ancient Britain, which, insignificant as they may appear, cannot be altogether unworthy of notice, since

Whatever is calculated to throw light on the past, should possess some value. The investigations of these traces of earliest population, carry us back far before the date of any written history, and prove that there lie around us, on the unbroken soil, as well as in the later alluvial formations, clear and intelligible records of the character and habits, and of the amount of civilization of the aboriginal tribes of Europe and the British Isles. Intelligent chronologists have thought themselves successful in tracing the passage of the Celtic tribes towards the western parts of the Old World, 2100 years before Christ, and Higgins, one of the ablest writers on this subject, in treating of the Celtic Druids, has brought forward evidence to prove their colonization of Britain about 1600 years before the Christian era. It is not necessary here to do more than merely indicate the nature of the argument on which such speculations are based. The profound astronomical knowledge of the Druids, is recorded by many writers, as a well established fact. Its rudiments were, in all probability, brought with them from the plains of central Asia, the cradle of early science; and they are even thought to have understood the principle of the telescope,—the foundation of modern astronomical discovery. The chronological calculations to which we allude, refer accordingly to the religious festivals of the Druids, the dates of which were affected by that slow movement of the seasons through the signs of the zodiac, caused by the precession of the equinoxes. The direct archæological evidence amply confirms these speculations by proving the existence of a native population in Britain at a very early period.

The subject is one of curious interest, leading us to this striking chronological coincidence, that, just about the time when the aged patriarch Jacob took his journey into Egypt to behold his long lost son, the nomadic Celts were crossing the English channel, and peopling

the savage coasts of the British Isles. It gives new life to our ancient annals, long buried in fable and error. We behold in idea, the British Druids raising their ponderous altars and temples amid our northern forests, while the priests of Isis were consecrating on the banks of the Nile the giant monuments of ancient Thebes, and while the great Jewish lawgiver was setting up the pillars of the twelve tribes in the wilderness of Sinai.

The evidence from whence we trace the records of the eastern wanderers who first disputed with the wolf and the wild boar of the primeval forest, their right to the uncultivated soil of our insular home, while it confirms such curious speculations, also satisfies us that these rude aboriginal tribes were almost destitute of any rudiments of the arts of civilization. In Denmark, in Ireland, and in the north of Scotland, the evidences of this primeval race abound to a degree unknown in other parts of Europe where the Roman invasion has obliterated many of the traces of aboriginal occupants; but they are also of very frequent occurrence in England; though the greater attractions found there in the remains of the Roman invaders have too frequently led to their neglect.

The evidences we possess of the national character and habits, and of the various degrees of civilization of the aborigines of Great Britain, are derived from their ancient dwellings and sepulchres, from cromlechs, barrows, cairns, and tumuli; and from their weapons, ornaments, pottery, &c. Remote as is the period, the history of which we seek by such means to recover, the evidence on which we have to reason is neither scanty nor isolated. Scattered over the uncultivated downs of England and Scotland, there still remain numerous examples of the rude dwellings of our barbarian ancestry, which have escaped the waste of centuries, or the more destructive inroads of the plough, and speak in no uncertain language of the barbarism which surrounded the homes of our forefathers. On

the Yorkshire moors, on the extensive plains of Wiltshire, on the Sussex downs, and even on the cultivated hills of Surrey, as well as in Aberdeenshire, Morayshire, and in the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the ruined dwellings of the ancient British savage still speak to us in no uncertain language, of the unskilled and simple state in which he lived.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his valuable work on ancient Wiltshire, remarks: "We have undoubted proofs from history, and from existing remains, that the earlier habitations were pits, or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf." These locations are almost invariably found in groups, showing the gregarious and social habits of man in the rudest stage, but the low state of their occupants, physically and mentally, is apparent from the character of these simple dwellings. They consist of mere excavations in the earth, of a circular or oblong form, averaging about eight feet in diameter. They are excavated generally about three feet below the surface, and surrounded with a raised edge, save where an opening is left, which no doubt served for door and window, and probably for chimney also. On digging in the centre of these pit-dwellings, ashes and charred wood are found, the evidences of their domestic fires, and with them occasionally some flint arrow heads and stone instruments, proving their connection with the earliest race whose weapons are known to us. The ancient names of some of these primitive locations, still preserve an allusion to their characteristics, such as that of Pen Pits, one of the most extensive of them in Wiltshire. They are exceedingly common in Scotland, in the neighbourhood of the British camps, crowning such heights as the Campsie and Lammermoor hills. Another kind of dwelling, examples of which also remain in various districts of Britain, may be considered as the first

stage in advance of these primitive huts. They also consist of pits, but edged with stones, and occasionally accompanied with small circular field inclosures as if indicating the rudiments of a pastoral life, in the domestication of animals and the protection of them, as well as their multiplication, under the direct care of their owners. The use of stone in the construction of these habitations, marks the first stage in the progress of their builders, and this appears ultimately to have led to extensive changes in the habits of the early Britons. From whatever motive, however, it may have arisen; their dwellings are still found to be subterranean, while some of them are on so large a scale as to suggest the probability of their being adapted to the habits of a people who sheltered themselves like the Esquimaux and the Greenlander, from the inclemency of a northern winter. Professor Stuart gives, in the second volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*, an account of some very curious and little noticed remains in Aberdeenshire, consisting of a number of subterraneous habitations spread over an extensive district of that country. The situation appears to have originally been a forest, from many large trunks of trees still dug up there; but it is now chiefly dry moorland. The roofs of these subterranean houses are on a level with the surrounding ground, so that they are only discovered from time to time by the plough striking against some of the stones that compose them. The only entrance appears to have been between two large stones placed in a sloping direction at one end, between which the entrant must slide through an opening about eighteen inches wide, to a depth of about six feet, when he finds himself in a large vault, frequently upwards of thirty feet long, and from eight to nine feet wide. Upwards of fifty of these have been found in one district. The walls incline inwards so as to approach the form of an arch, and across these are laid large stones of five or

six feet in length, and frequently above a ton in weight. Where the ground in the neighbourhood of these ancient cave-dwellings has escaped the inroads of the plough, the small earthen inclosures already described are very frequently found in their neighbourhood. Some writers have contended that these alone are the remains of the native dwellings, while the subterranean structures were used as granaries, and sometimes as places of retreat and concealment from an enemy. Their chief value to us now are as the indications of the amount of skill, and the degree of civilization existing at the period to which we may see reason to assign them.

Leaving these, however, the rude pit and cave-dwellings, which form the aboriginal ruins of Britain, we turn to the consideration of the singular structures commonly known as Druidical temples, and which form the most remarkable characteristics of the period of paganism. Of these probably the most ancient as well as the largest, was at Avebury in Wiltshire; but unhappily a village has been erected on its site, its large unhewn blocks have furnished a convenient quarry for the villagers, and only a few slight remains now attest the rude magnificence of its former state. Fortunately before it had been greatly injured, or its original form and proportions effaced, it was carefully surveyed by Dr. Stukeley. No fewer than six hundred and fifty blocks of stone are believed to have been included in the circles and avenues of this vast temple, varying from five to twenty feet above ground, and from three to twelve feet in breadth and thickness. The singular inclosure formed by these huge stones was surrounded by a deep ditch and a bank of earth, of which considerable remains may still be traced, originally inclosing an area of upwards of twenty-eight acres. The columns of Avebury Temple must have been brought together with much labour, from a great distance. In the neighbouring valleys, larger masses of stone are fre-

quently met with, and a considerable number of detached oolitic sand-stones of various sizes lie scattered about at no great distance. These are known by the name of Gray Wethers, and from among such the builders of the temple appear to have selected the materials with which it was constructed. Stukeley supposes that Avebury might be the grand national cathedral, while the smaller circles, met with in various parts of the island, may be compared to the parish or village churches. The idea is by no means improbable though we owe more to that writer for his careful survey, taken in 1720, than for any very valuable deductions drawn by him from his observations.

But the most remarkable British monument of this class, and indeed, unequalled by any known structure of the kind in the World, is the celebrated temple of Stonehenge, on the Downs of Wiltshire. Fortunately this remarkable primitive structure has escaped the fate which has befallen Avebury, and there is now good reason to hope that the increasing reverence with which such ancient national monuments are regarded will preserve it from wanton injury. Dr. Stukeley remarks of this temple, writing in 1743;—"Stonehenge stands, not upon the summit of a hill, but pretty near it; and for more than three quarters of the circuit you ascend to it very gently from the lower ground; at a half a mile distance its appearance is very stately, awful, and really august. As you advance nearer, especially up the avenue, which is now most perfect, the greatness of its contour fills the eye in an astonishing manner."

Stonehenge is inclosed within a circular ditch; after passing which the visitor ascends thirty-five yards before he comes to the work itself. This measure is the same as that which Webb calls one hundred and ten feet, the diameter of the circle; for the area inclosed by a ditch, wherein the temple of Stonehenge is situated, is three times

the diameter of Stonehenge: the distance between the verge of the ditch within side, quite round to the work of the temple, is consequently equal to the diameter of the temple.

Upon entering the building, whether on foot or horseback, and casting the eye round upon the yawning ruins, the mind is impressed with a sense of wonder which none can describe, and they only can be sensible of, who have felt it. Other buildings fall by piece-meal: but here a single stone is a ruin, and lies like the haughty carcase of a Goliath. Yet there is as much of it undemolished as enables us sufficiently to recover its form in its most perfect state. When we advance farther, the dark part of the ponderous imposts over our heads, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the cell, the singular construction of the whole, and the greatness of every part excite renewed feelings of astonishment.

All writers who allude to the remarkable temple on Salisbury Plain, speak of its gigantic and imposing effect as producing on their minds mingled impressions of surprise and awe. Yet it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that it is a mere wreck of what it once was, when its circles were complete, and its huge masses stood poised in air. Portions of it have fallen at a recent period, and slow as the work of destruction progresses, it is vain to hope that this has the elements of perpetual endurance in it more than any other work of man's hands. The following account of the sudden fall of two of the largest columns, towards the close of the last century, is contained in a letter written by Dr. Manton to Mr. A. B. Lambert: "On the 3d of January 1797, some people employed at plough, full half a mile distant from Stonehenge, suddenly felt a concussion, or jarring of the ground, occasioned, as they afterwards perceived, by the fall of two of the largest stones and their impost. That the concussion should have been so sensible will not appear incredible, when I state the weight of these stones.

A cubic inch of the substance of which the stones are composed, weighing, according to my experiments, one ounce, six pennyweights, the ponderosity of the entire trilithon, will be found to be nearly seventy tons. The impost alone is considerably more than eleven tons in weight. The stone which was projected about two feet beyond the supporters, made an impression in the ground to the depth of seven inches or more; it was arrested in its tendency to roll by the stone it struck while falling. The supporters of course have not sunk so deep; indeed one of them fell on a stone belonging to the second circle, which I at first supposed to have been thrown down by it, but which from recurring to the plans of the prior state of the structure, I find has long been prostrate.

The immediate cause of this memorable change in the state of Stonehenge, must have been the sudden and rapid thaw that began the day before the stones fell, succeeding a very deep snow. In all probability the trilithon was originally perfectly upright, but it had acquired some degree of inclination long before the time of its fall. This inclination was remarked by Dr. Stukeley, though it was not so considerable, I think, as is represented in his north view of Stonehenge. One of the supporters had lost much of its original bulk, in consequence of corrosion by the weather, near its foundation; this circumstance also rendered it less secure. As both had so inconsiderable a depth in the ground, a sudden though slight diminution of the pressure of the latter against the inclining side must appear to have been fully sufficient, on account of the shock which the impost would suffer, to occasion the downfall of the whole.

We do not find the precise time of any alteration prior to this upon record. It is therefore probable that none may have happened for several centuries, and the late accident being the only circumstance ascertained with

exactness, may be considered as a remarkable æra in the history of this noble monument of ancient art."

During the past year unusual attention was directed to these remarkable memorials of antiquity, by a congress of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held in the neighbouring city of Salisbury. Some very interesting investigations were then prosecuted in regard to the remains of ancient times. Several sepulchral barrows were opened, and their singular deposits of urns, weapons, and personal ornaments brought to light. But the most laborious and costly operation consisted in carrying a tunnel through Silbury Hill, a vast artificial earth-pyramid which rises to a height of one hundred and seventy feet above the surface of the plain. The immense proportions of this singular structure, which covers an area of five acres and thirty-four perches of land, had led many to expect that it might prove to be a chambered tumulus, revealing contents of value proportionate to its unequalled dimensions. In this, however, they were disappointed, and it is now generally assumed that we must look upon Silbury Hill, not as a monumental structure, but rather as what is termed in Scotland a Moat Hill, or Hill of Justice, from whence law was dispensed, and the decisions or sentences of the judges announced to the people.

Such are some of the interesting and instructive memorials of the past still lingering among the ruins of many lands, and preserving so many striking records of the history of the elder world. If we proceed to investigate them in the mere spirit of curiosity hunters, valuing them merely because they are strange and rare, or unlike what we have been accustomed to, we shall reap little profit or abiding interest from the study. But when we have learned to behold in every relic of the past the eloquent record of former generations; the evidence of how they lived, and

thought, and planned ; of what progress they had attained in arts and civilization, and of what rank they occupied in the scale of nations ; then we may be considered to have discovered an entirely new field of research. We have learned, in some degree, to read the Book of Nature as well as the Book of Revelation, finding in it evidences of God and of his works which elevate the understanding and enlighten the mind. In this new field of research we may be considered to open up another book, the Book of Art, the record of God's dealings with man, the evidence of the rise, the progress, and the ruin of empires, and the manifestation of the fulfilment of prophecies written by inspired penmen ere some of the nations that have since perished had a being. They are greatly differing records, yet all teach the same truths. All present to us the same Omnipotent Ruler of the universe, controlling the works of creation and the destinies of man, and guiding the whole purposes of his vast and immeasurable dominion in accordance with unerring beneficence and wisdom.

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