## 古代埃及史第十七章

## THE DECLINE OF EGYPT UNDER THE LATER RAMESSIDES.

The troublous period which followed the death of Menephthah issued finally in complete anarchy, Egypt broke up into nomes, or cantons, the chiefs of which acknowledged no superior. It was as though in England, after centuries of centralized rule, the Heptarchy had suddenly returned and re-established itself. But even this was not the worst. The suicidal folly of internal division naturally provokes foreign attack; and it was not long before Aarsu, a Syrian chieftain, took advantage of the state of affairs in Egypt to extend his own dominion over one nome after another, until he had made almost the whole country subject to him. Then, at last, the spirit of patriotism awoke. Egypt felt the shame of being ruled by a foreigner of a race that she despised; and a prince was found after a time, a descendant of the Ramesside line, who unfurled the national banner, and commenced a war of independence. This prince, who bore the name of Set-nekht, or "Set the victorious," is thought by some to have been a son of Seti II., and so a grandson of Menephthah; but the evidence is insufficient to establish any such relationship. There is reason tobelieve that the blood of the nineteenth dynasty, of Seti I. and Ramesses II., ran in his veins; but no particular relationship to any former monarch can be made out. And certainly he owed his crown less to his descent than to his strong arm and his stout heart. It was by dint of severe fighting that he forced his way to the throne, defeating Aarsu, and gradually reducing all Egypt under his power.

Set-nekht's reign must have been short He set himself to "put the whole land in order, to execute the abominables, to set up the temples, and re-establish the divine offerings for the service of the gods, as their statutes prescribed," But he was unable to effect very much. He could not even discharge properly the main duty of a king towards himself, which was to prepare a fitting receptacle for his remains when he should quit the earth. To excavate a rock-tomb in the style fashionable at the day was a task requiring several years for its due accomplishment; Set-nekht felt that he could not look forward to many years—perhaps not even to many months—of life. In this difficulty, he felt no shame in appropriating to himself a royal tomb recently constructed by a king, named Siphthah, whom he looked upon as a usurper, and therefore as unworthy of

## 拉莫赛德(Ramesside)末代诸王统治 下埃及的落没

美楞普塔死后,埃及局势动荡,终于导 致政府溃败,各省乃至各州首领占地为 王,各自为政。局势好比在英格兰,几 个世纪的集权统治后,"七王国"割据 的局面忽然卷土重来。但祸不单行,内 乱最易招致外辱。不久,一位名为伊尔 苏(Aarsu)的叙利亚酋长趁埃及时局 动荡,将各省逐个吞并,几乎将埃及全 境并入自己领土。最终,民族精神觉醒 了——被一个来自劣等民族的外人统 治,埃及不甘受此大辱。后来寻出一位 王子, 系拉莫赛德王室后裔, 高举民族 旗帜,打响了民族独立的战争。王子名 叫赛特那克特(Set-nekht)——"胜 利者赛特(Set the victorious)", 有人认为是赛提二世(Seti II)之子, 也就是美楞普塔之孙,但尚有待考证。 目前可以认定这位王子是第十九王朝 赛提一世 (Set I) 及拉美西斯二世 (Ramesses II) 的后裔, 却无法确认 其与先王的具体关系。但毫无疑问,比 起出身,雄心铁腕更成就了他的王位。 战败伊尔苏,步步为营,最终号令全埃 及,他的登基之路是在沙场和刀剑中拼 杀出来的。

赛特那克特在位似乎并不长久。他励精图治,"依据埃及法令,安定社稷,惩戒奸恶,修建庙宇,复兴了服侍神明的神圣献祭。"但他的手段总有欠缺的时候,甚至没能安排好身为一国之君的后事——在有生之年为自己身后遗体备一处收容之所。修建当年风格的石墓中之收容之所。修建当年风格的石墓工程浩大,非经年累月不能完成。赛特那克特觉得自己等不上"经年",甚至或许撑不了"累月"。绝境中,他看上了前王西普塔(Siphthah)新修的皇陵。西普塔在他眼里不过一位篡位者,无足轻重。到今天,我们仍能在那处墓穴中辨认出西普塔和王后陶瑞斯(Taouris)

consideration. In this sepulchre we see the names of Siphthah and his queen, Taouris, erased by the chisel from their cartouches, and the name of Set-nekht substituted in their place. By one and the same act the king punished an unworthy predecessor, and provided himself with a ready—made tomb befitting his dignity.

的名字被凿子抹除的痕迹,取而代之的 是赛特那克特的名字。由此,他既惩罚 了西普塔,也找到一处现成的皇陵以匹 配自己的尊荣,一举两得。

It was also, probably, on account of his advanced age at his accession, that he almost immediately associated in the kingdom his son Ramesses, a prince of much promise, whom he made "Chief of On, "and viceroy over Lower Egypt, with Heliopolis (On) for his residence and capital. Ramesses the Third, as he is commonly called, was one of the most distinguished of Egyptian monarchs, and the last who acquired any great glory until we come down to the time of the Ethiopians, Shabak and Tirhakah. He reigned as sole monarch for thirty-one years, during the earlier portion of which period he carried on a number of important wars, while during the later portion he employed himself in the construction of those magnificent buildings, which have been chiefly instrumental in carrying his name down to posterity, and in other works of utility. Lenormant calls him "the last of the great sovereigns of Egypt," and observes with reason, that though he never ceased, during the whole time that he occupied the throne, to labour hard to re-establish the integrity of the empire abroad, and the prosperity of the country at home, yet his wars and his conquests had a character essentially defensive; his efforts, like those of the Trajans, the Marcus Aurelius's and the Septimius Severus's of history, were directed to making head against the ever rising flood of barbarians, which had already before his time burst the dykes that restrained it, and though once driven back, continued to dash itself on every side against the outer borders of the empire, and to presage its speedy overthrow. His efforts were, on the whole, successful; he was able to uphold and preserve for some considerable time longer the territorial greatness which the nineteenth dynasty had built up a second time. The monumental temple of Medinet-Abou, near Thebes, is the Pantheon erected to the glory of this great Pharaoh. Every pylon, every gateway, every chamber, relates to us the exploits which he accomplished. Sculptured compositions of large dimensions represent his principal battles.

或许也正因为暮年登基, 赛特那克特的 统治从一开始便离不开其子拉美西斯 (Ramesses) ——一位颇有前途的王 子,并将其封为"安之首领(Chief of On)"兼下埃及总督,坐镇都城赫利奥 波利斯 (Heliopolis, 即 On)。这就是 拉美西斯三世,古埃及历史上最杰出的 法老之一,也是在埃塞俄比亚王朝沙巴 卡(Shabaka)和塔哈尔卡(Tirhakah) 统治之前最后一位功勋卓著的法老。拉 美西斯三世统治埃及三十一年,在位早 期,发起了一系列重大战争,后期则着 手修建气势恢宏的殿宇, 兴修大型工 程, 让丰功伟绩留名千古。勒诺尔芒 (Francois Lenormant) 称他为"古埃 及最后一位伟大的统治者",并指出, 虽然拉美西斯三世在位时对内兴邦,对 外攘夷,不曾懈怠,但其军事活动本质 上都出于防卫。早在他登基前,蛮夷的 洪流就曾冲破埃及防卫的大坝,后来虽 一度被击退, 却仍在国境四围不停激 荡,国家民族危在旦夕。于是,他的志 向——正如图拉真(Trajan)、马克·奥 勒留(Marcus Aurelius),以及谢普 提米乌斯 •塞维鲁(Septimius Severus) 那样——就是要将这股不断蓄势的蛮 夷洪流彻底排空。这一努力卓有成效: 他将第十九王朝重建的辽阔疆域加以 巩固,并在相当时间里维持了国家领土 完整。雄伟的美迪奈特哈布祭庙

(Medinet-Abou) 坐落在离底比斯不远处,这座万神殿即是为了颂扬这位伟大法老的功绩而建。每一座桥塔,每一处城门,每一间宫室,都讲述着这位帝王的征伐,而大型浮雕则呈现了他几次最主要的战役。

There are times in the world's history when a restless spirit appears to seize on the populations of large tracts of country, and, without any clear cause that can be alleged, uneasy 纵观世界历史, 时有惶恐的阴霾笼罩 全国,百姓陷入一片焦躁不安,于是毫 无缘由地,动乱一触即发。百姓窃窃私 movements begin. Subdued mutterings are heard; a tremor goes through the nations, expectation of coming change stalks abroad; the air is rife with rumours; at last there bursts out an eruption of greater or less violence—the destructive flood overleaps its barriers, and flows forth, carrying devastation and ruin in one direction of another, until its energies are exhausted, or its progress stopped by some obstacle that it cannot overcome, and it subsides reluctantly and perforce. Such a time was that on which Ramesses III. was cast. Wars threatened him on every side. On his north-eastern frontier the Shasu or Bedouins of the desert ravaged and plundered, at once harrying the Egyptian territory and threatening the mining establishments of the Sinaitic region. To the north-west the Libyan tribes, Maxyes, Asbystæ, Auseis, and others, were exercising a continuous pressure, to which the Egyptians were forced to yield, and gradually a foreign population was "squatting" on the fertile lands, anddriving the former possessors of the soil back upon the more eastern portion-of the Delta. "The Lubu and Mashuash," says Ramesses, "were seated in Egypt; they took the cities on the western side from Memphis as far as Karbana, reaching the Great River along its entire course (from Memphis northwards), and capturing the city of Kaukut For many years had they been in Egypt" Ramesses began his warlike operations by a campaign against the Shasu, whose country he invaded and overran, spoiling and destroying their cabins, capturing their cattle, slaying all who resisted him, and carrying back into Egypt a vast number of prisoners, whom he attached to the various temples as "sacred slaves." He then turned against the Libyans, and coming upon them unexpectedly in the tract between the Sebennytic branch of the Nile and the Canopic, he defeated in a great battle the seven tribes of the Mashuash, Lubu, Merbasat, Kaikasha, Shai, Hasa, and Bakana, slaughtering them with the utmost fury, and driving them before him across the western branch of the river. "They trembled before him," says the native historian, "as the mountain goats tremble before a bull, who stamps with his foot, strikes with his horns, and makes the mountains shake as he rushes on whoever opposes him." The Egyptians gave no quarter that memorable day. Vengeance had free course: the slain Libyans lay in heaps upon heaps—the chariot wheels passed over them —the horses trampled them in the mire. Hundreds were pushed and forced into the marshes and into the river itself, and, if they escaped the flight of missiles which followed, found for themost part a watery grave in the strong current. Ramesses portrays this flight and carnage in the most graphic way. The slain enemy strew the ground, as he advances over them with his prancing steeds and in his rattling war-car, plying them moreover with his arrows as they vainly seek to escape. His

议,社会动荡不定,国外虎视眈眈,国 内谣言不止,直到声势不一的暴乱如洪 流倾泻而出,冲破阻碍,肆虐千里,所 到之处,疮痍满目,最终倾竭全力而作 罢,抑或面对更强大的镇压无力反抗, 只得收场。拉美西斯三世接手的天下便 是如此。四境随时可能燃起硝烟。东北 边境有沙漠中的沙苏人(Shasu),或 称贝多因(Bedouins)人,烧杀抢夺, 不仅威胁埃及国土, 也觊觎着西奈地区 (Sinaitic region)的矿藏; 西北接 壤玛克叙埃司(Maxyes)、阿司布司塔 依(Asbystae)、奥塞斯(Auseis)等 利比亚部落,日益猖獗,而埃及只得忍 气吞声,看着外邦人口渐渐侵占大片沃 土,迫使原住民迁至三角洲更东处。"那 些利布人(Lubu)和美什维什人 (Mashuash),"拉美西斯说,"盘踞

于埃及国土。自孟菲斯(Memphis)一直到卡巴那(Karbana),他们一度在西边攻城掠地,迫近整条大河西岸(孟菲斯以北河段),并占领了考库特(Kaukut)城。他们强占埃及土地已不止一两年。"拉美西斯拉开了征讨沙苏人军事行动的序幕。他麾师入侵沙苏,占领该部,摧毁木屋,夺走牛群,杀尽一切反抗势力,并将大批俘虏带回埃及,作为"圣奴(sacred slaves)"劳役于各处神殿。接着便攻打利比亚各部。他出其不意地在尼罗河支流塞班尼提克(Sebennytic)与卡诺匹克

(Canopic)间发起攻势,于一次重大战役中一举挫败美什维什、利布、梅巴萨特(Merbasat)、卡伊喀沙

(Kaikasha)、沙伊(Shai)、哈撒(Hasa)以及巴卡那(Bakana)七个部落,以屠杀排解胸中盛怒,并追击余部直至最西支流卡诺匹克对岸。"他令敌人颤抖,"王国的史学家记载,"就像一头公牛奔腾而来,铁蹄砸过地面,犄角在空中挥舞,地动山摇,势不可挡,令对面的山羊闻风丧胆。"这伟大的日子里,埃及军队没有手下留情,仇恨彻底释放:利比亚人尸横遍野,被战车碾过,在泥淖中则成了战马的垫脚石。数以百计的士兵被推入河流与沼泽,即便侥幸躲过追兵的投弹,也大都卷入急湍而葬身鱼腹。拉美西斯颇形象地描绘了这场屠杀

chariot force and his infantry have their share in the pursuit, and with sword, or spear, or javelin, strike down alike the resisting and the unresisting. No one seeks to take a prisoner. It is a day of vengeance and of down-treading, of fury allowed to do its worst, of a people drunk with passion that has cast off all self-restraint.

与逃亡:遍地是敌人的尸体,而他本人 驾着敏捷的战车,驱着昂首腾跃的战 马,在尸体上前进,并向垂死挣扎的敌 人不住放箭。一同追击敌军的还有他的 战车部队和步兵军团,或用剑,或用矛, 或投以标枪,将投降或抵抗的敌军赶尽 杀绝。谁也没想留一个俘虏。这是复仇 和蹂躏的日子,是怒火吞噬一切的日 子,是一个民族沉醉于暴怒而放弃人性 的日子。

Even passion exhausts itself at last, and the arm grows weary of slaughtering. Having sufficiently revenged themselves in the great battle, and the pursuit that followed it, the Egyptians relaxed somewhat from their policy of extreme hostility. They made a large number of the Libyans prisoners, branded them with a hot iron, as the Persians often did their prisoners, and forced them to join the naval service and serve as mariners on board the Egyptian fleet. The chiefs of greater importance they confined in fortresses. The women and children became the slaves of the conquerors; the cattle, "too numerous to count," was presented by Ramesses to the Priest-College of Ammon at Thebes.

最终,暴怒也疲倦了,握刀的手臂厌烦了杀戮。大战高捷,又追敌至绝境,埃及人民大仇已报,对异族的切骨之恨也缓和几分。他们俘虏了大批利比亚人,像波斯人那样用铁块在俘虏身上烙印,并强迫他们服役埃及海军,在舰队充当水手。有地位的首领被关进堡垒,妇女儿童则沦为奴隶;俘获的牛"数不胜数",国王下令献祭给底比斯阿蒙祭司学校(the Priest-College of Ammon)。

So far success had crowned his arms; and it may well be that Ramesses would have been content with the military glory thus acquired, and have abstained from further expeditions, had not he been forced within a few years to take the field against a powerful combination of new and partly unheard-of enemies. The uneasy movement among the nations, which has been already noticed, had spread further afield, and now agitated at once the coasts and islands of South-Eastern Europe, and the more western portion of Asia Minor. Seven nations banded themselves together, and resolved to unite their forces, both naval and military, against Egypt, and to attack her both by land and sea, not now on the north-western frontier, where some of them had experienced defeat before, but in exactly the opposite quarter, by way of Syria and Palestine. Of the seven, three had been among her former adversaries in the time of Menephthah, namely, the Sheklusha, the Shartana, and the Tursha; while four were new antagonists, unknown at any former period. There were, first, the Tânauna, in whom it is usual to see either the Danai of the Peloponnese, so celebrated in Homer, or the Daunii of south-eastern Italy, who bordered on the Iapyges; secondly, the Tekaru, or Teucrians, a well-known people of the Troad; thirdly, the Uashasha, who are identified with the Oscans or Ausones, neighbours of the Daunians; and fourthly, the Purusata, whom some explain as the Pelasgi, and others as the Philistines. The

至此,拉美西斯战无不胜。若不是短短 几年后又有新的、甚至闻所未闻的挑衅 者组成一支强大联盟, 大兵压境, 他本 可以满足于卓越战绩而不必再征伐。这 些民族的骚动早已引起注意,现又不断 扩张,竟蔓延至欧洲东南角的海岸及岛 屿,以及小亚细亚西部地区。七个民族 相互勾结,决心建一支联军,兼备陆军 和舰队, 自陆、海二路进攻埃及。至于 进攻地点, 联军放弃了部分成员曾吃过 败仗的西北边境,而选择从东侧——叙 利亚和巴勒斯坦——长驱直入。联盟中 有三个民族曾在美楞普塔时期对抗埃 及,即舍克列什(Sheklusha)、萨尔 丹纳(Shartana)和图尔沙(Tursha); 另四个则是此前名不见经传的新对手。 首先是塔挪纳(Tânauna),其中常见 《荷马史诗》中倍受颂扬的伯罗奔尼撒 的达奈人(Danai),以及意大利东南 部与雅皮吉人(Iapyges)为邻的道尼 人(Daunii);其二是特卡鲁(Tekaru), 也称铁乌克洛伊人(Teucrians),特 洛亚德(Troad)半岛颇有名的一族; 其三是维舍什(Uashasha),后人认为

lead in the expedition was taken by these last. At their summons the islands and shores of the Mediterranean gave forth their piratical hordes—the sea was covered by their light galleys and swept by their strong pars—Tânauna, Shartana, Sheklusha, Tursha, and Uashasha combined their squadrons into a powerful fleet, while Purusata and Tekaru advanced in countless numbers along the land. The Purusatawere especially bent on effecting a settlement; they marched into Northern Syria from Asia Minor accompanied by their wives and children, who were mounted upon carts drawn by oxen, and formed a vast unwieldy crowd. The other nations sent their sailors and their warriors without any such encumbrances. Bursting through the passes of Taurus, the combined Purusata and Tekaru spread themselves over Northern Syria, wasting and plundering the entire country of the Khita, and proceeding eastward as far as Carchemish "by Euphrates," while the ships of the remaining confederates coasted along the Syrian shore. Such resistance as the Hittites and Syrians made was wholly ineffectual. "No people stood before their arms." Aradus and Kadesh fell. The conquerors pushed on towards Egypt, anticipating an easy victory. But their fond hopes were doomed to disappointment.

即是道尼安人(Daunians)的邻居 欧斯干人(Oscans)或称奥苏人 (Ausons); 最后是帕来塞特 (Purusata),有人猜测即是贝拉斯基 人(Pelasgi),也有人认为是腓力斯 人(Philistine)。作为远征军总指挥, 帕来塞特号令一出,塔挪纳、图尔沙、 维舍什、舍克列什和萨尔丹纳便纠集各 自舰队,组成一支海上劲旅。侵略者浩 浩荡荡自地中海各岛屿、各海岸出发, 扬帆的轻舸遮蔽了洋面, 雄浑的飞桨搅 荡着海水。而铁乌克洛伊与帕来塞特二 部则集结重兵,自陆路进发。其中帕来 塞特人显然已决心移居埃及: 他们用牛 车载上妻儿,拖家带口自小亚细亚进军 至叙利亚北部。其他部族则只率领水手 和士兵, 无此重赘。帕来塞特一铁乌克 洛伊大军取道各个山谷突破托罗斯 将基达(Khita)一族洗劫一空,又向

(Taurus)山脉后,面向北叙利亚排开,将基达(Khita)一族洗劫一空,又向东进军,直抵幼发拉底河畔的卡赫美什(Carchemish),留盟军舰队守在叙利亚海岸。途中,赫梯人(Hittites)与叙利亚人的抵抗如螳臂当车。"没有民族挡得住他们。"阿拉多斯(Aradus)和卡叠什(Kadesh)沦陷。征服者向埃及推进,以为胜利唾手可得。但美好的愿望注定要化为泡影。

Ramesses had been informed of the designs and approach of the enemy, and had had ample time to make all needful preparations. He had strengthened his frontier, called out all his best-disciplined troops, and placed the mouths of the Nile in a state of defence by means of forts, strong garrisons, and flotillas upon the stream and upon the lakes adjacent. He had selected an eligible position for encountering the advancing hordes on the coast route from Gaza to Egypt, about half-way between Raphia and Pelusium, where a new fort had been built by his orders. At this point he took his stand, and calmly awaited his enemies, not having neglected the precaution to set an ambush or two in convenient places. Here, ashe kept his watch, the first enemy to arrive was the land host of the Purusata, encumbered with its long train of slowly moving bullock-carts, heavily laden with women and children. Ramesses instantly attacked them—his ambushes rose up out of their places of concealment—and the enemy was beset on every side. They made no prolonged resistance. Assaulted by the disciplined and seasoned troops of the Egyptians, the entire confused mass was

拉美西斯早已得知来者不善, 现时间充 裕,只需从容备战。首先加强边防,集 结精兵,建造堡垒和戍卫区,在尼罗河 支流和附近湖域部署小型舰队,于尼罗 河各河口布下森严戒备。此外,他在自 加沙(Gaza)至埃及一带的海岸线选取 一处绝佳位置——拉法(Raphia)与培 琉喜阿姆(Pelusium)中点附近——下 令修建堡垒,迎击来犯者。严阵以待的 同时也不忘在地势优越处摆一两道伏 击。这边正密切提防,那边最先来的是 帕来塞特人的陆军,以及排成长队的牛 车满载妇女儿童,缓缓前行。拉美西斯 果断出击,事先埋伏的军队如神兵天 降,将敌军一举包抄。抵抗没有持续多 久,面对训练有素而又早已适应环境的 埃及士兵,不知所措的帕来塞特人轻易 败北。一万两千人战死, 营寨被夺, 军 队崩溃,幸存者只有彻底投降,用一生 easily defeated. Twelve thousand five hundred men were slain in the fight; the camp was taken; the army shattered to pieces. Nothing was open to the survivors but an absolute surrender, by which life was saved at the cost of perpetual servitude. 奴役保住性命。

The danger, however, was as yet but half overcome—the snake was scotched but not killed. For as yet the fleet remained intact, and might land its thousands on the Egyptian coasts and carry fire and sword over the broad region of the Delta. The Tânauna and their confederates—Sheklusha, Shartana, and Tursha—made rapidly for the nearest mouth of the Nile, which was the Pelusiac, and did their best to effect a landing. But the precautions taken by Ramesses, before he set forth on his march, proved sufficient to frustrate their efforts. The Egyptian fleet met the combined squadrons of the enemy in the shallow waters of the Pelusiac lagoon, and contended with them in a fierce battle, which Ramesses caused to be represented in his sculptures—the earliest representation of a sea-fight that has come down to us. Both sides have ships propelled at once by sails and oars, but furl their sails before engaging. Each ship has a single yard, constructed to carry a single large square-sail, and hung across the vessel's single mast at a short distance below the top. The mast is crowned by a bell-shaped receptacle, large enough to contain a man, who is generally a slinger or an archer, placed there to gall the enemy with stones or arrows, and so to play the part of our own sharpshooters in the main-tops. The rowers are from sixteen to twenty-two in number, besides whom each vessel carries a number of fighting men, armed with shields, spears, swords, and bows. The fight is a promiscuousmelée, the two fleets being intermixed, and each ship engaging that next to it, without a thought of combined action or of manoeuvres. One of the enemy's vessels is represented as capsized and sinking; the rest continue the engagement. Several are pressing towards the shore of the lagoon, and the men-at-arms on board them are endeavouring to effect a landing; but they are met by the land-force under Ramesses himself, who greet them with such a hail of arrows as renders it impossible for them to carry out their purpose.

但危机尚未完全解除,来犯的毒蛇受到 重创,却不至于死。敌军舰队仍毫发未 损,一旦数以千计登陆埃及海岸,战火 和刀剑将威胁三角洲广袤大地。塔挪纳 部族携盟军图尔沙、舍克列什以及萨尔 丹纳迅速进军最近的支流培琉喜阿克 (Pelusiac) 河口,并奋力展开登陆。 但拉美西斯出征前留下的部署显然足 以将其挫败。埃及舰队于培琉喜阿克河 口泻湖的浅水湾迎击联军舰队,战况之 激烈拉美西斯后以浮雕记录,这是流传 下来的对海战最早的描绘:双方战舰均 配备风帆,又能凭借船桨行动,但交战 前会将风帆收拢。每条船均有一根桅 杆,离桅杆顶端不远处架一根帆桁,与 桅杆相交, 帆桁下挂一张方形大风帆。 而桅杆顶端则有一间钟形小室,可容一 人,通常是投石手或弓箭手,自小室向 敌人投石或射箭,作用相当于现代主桅 楼(main-top)上的狙击手。每条船有 桨手十六至二十二人不等,此外各载一 批战斗人员,持盾、矛或剑,或持弓。 战事局面堪称混乱:双方舰队混在一 起,每条船与最近的敌舰交战,不讲究 配合行动,也无战术可言。其中一条侧 翻的敌舰正沉入水中,其余仍在交战。 另有几条敌舰向泻湖岸边挺进,舰上的 战斗人员正开展登陆,却遭遇拉美西斯 亲率的陆军,一时箭如雨发,寸步难行。

It would seem that Ramesses had no sooner defeated and destroyed the army of the Purusata and Tekaru than he set off in haste for Pelusium, and marched with such speed as to arrive in time to witness the naval engagement, and even to take a certain part in it. The invading fleet was so far successful as to force its way through the opposing vessels of the Egyptians, and to press forward towards the shore; but here its further progress was arrested. "A wall of iron," says Ramesses, "shut them in uponthe

果真如此,则拉美西斯一定是在击溃帕 来塞特一铁乌克洛伊部队后即刻赶回 培琉喜阿姆,并且行军之神速竟让他得 以赶上此次海战,甚至还亲自率军作 战。至此,侵略军的舰队总算成功突破 埃及水师的防御,向海岸艰难靠拢,但 也将深陷苦战。"一道铁墙,"拉美西 斯说,"将他们困在湖中。"埃及精锐 lake," The best troops of Egypt lined the banks of the lagoon, and wherever the invaders attempted to land they were foiled. Repulsed, dashed to the ground, hewn down or shot down at the edge of the water, they were slain "by hundreds of heaps of corpses." "The infantry," says the monarch in his vainglorious inscription, set up in memory of the event, "all the choicest troops of the army of Egypt, stood upon the bank, furious as roaring lions; the chariot force, selected from among the heroes that were quickest in battle, was led by officers confident in themselves. The war-steeds quivered in all their limbs, and burned to trample the nations under their feet. I myself was like the god Mentu, the warlike; I placed myself at their head, and they saw the achievements of my hands. I, Ramesses the king, behaved as a hero who knows his worth, and who stretches out his arm over his people in the day of combat. The invaders of my territory will gather no more harvests upon the earth, their life is counted to them as eternity. Those that gained the shore, I caused to fall at the water's edge, they lay slain in heaps; I overturned their vessels; all their goods sank In the waves." After a brief combat, all resistance ceased. The empty ships, floating at random upon the still waters of the lagoon, or stuck fast in the Nile mud, became the prize of the victors, and were found to contain a rich booty. Thus ended this remarkable struggle, in which nations widely severed and of various bloods -scarcely, as one would have thought, known to each other, and separated by a diversity of interests—united in an attack upon theforemost power of the known world, traversed several hundreds of miles of land or sea successfully, neither quarrelling among themselves nor meeting with disaster from without, and reached the country which they had hoped to conquer, but were there completely defeated and repulsed in two engagements—one by land, the other partly by land and partly by sea—so that "their spirit was annihilated, their soul was taken from them." Henceforth no one of the nations which took part in the combined attack is found in arms against the power that had read them so severe a lesson.

部队将泻湖沿岸封锁,侵略军在各处尝 试登陆,均被击退。他们或在陆地被守 军掀翻,或还未上岸就为飞来的石块和 箭所击倒, "尸体堆成数以百计的小 丘。"拉美西斯立碑纪念这次大捷,并 在铭文中将自己的战绩相当夸耀了一 番: "步兵团——皆是埃及最精锐的部 队——死守岸边,像怒吼的雄狮;战车 部队则由作战最敏捷的勇士组成,率领 他们的是对自己最有把握的指挥官;而 战马四肢的肌肉都颤动着,誓要以愤怒 的铁蹄踏平来犯的异族; 至于我自己, 就像门图(Mentu),勇猛的战神。我 骑在他们头上,他们便看见了我双手的 荣耀;我,拉美西斯国王,履行了一个 英雄肩负的使命,在战争的日子里撑开 双臂守护他的臣民。我国土的侵略者将 再不能收获大地的果实,短暂的生命即 是他们全部的永恒。凡是上岸的,被我 击落水边,他们的尸体叠起;我倾覆了 他们的战舰; 他们所有的物资都叫海浪 卷去。"不久,抵抗停止了。空船或在 泻湖平静的水面上随处漂荡,或深陷尼 罗河口的淤泥中,都成了对胜者的奖 赏,从中又搜出了价值可观的战利品。 这场声势浩大的战争由此告终——几 个流淌着不同血液的民族,此前毫无瓜 葛、利益迥异,很可能互不相识,联合 起来向当时已知世界第一强国发起远 征,于是分陆、海两路长途跋涉数百英 里,一路上内无争执,外无灾害,终于 到达梦寐以求的沃土,却两战两败-一次在陆地,另一次在近海和岸边,溃 不成军,最终"他们的精神被毁灭,他 们的灵魂被剥夺。"有了这次惨痛教训, 埃及的敌对势力中就再也找不到这些 民族了。

It was not long after repulsing this attack upon the independence of Egypt that Ramesses undertook his "campaign of revenge." Starting with a fleet and army along the line that his assailants had followed, he traversed Palestine and Syria, hunting the lion in the outskirts of Lebanon, and re-establishing for a time the Egyptian dominion over much of the region which had been formerly held in subjection by the great monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. He claims to have carried his arms to Aleppo and Carchemish, in which case we must suppose that he defeated the Hittites, or

至于拉美西斯,击退了来犯者,维护了国家独立,不久便发起了所谓的"复仇之战"。他率领一支由舰队和陆军组成的部队,循着敌军来犯的路线进军,穿越巴勒斯坦和叙利亚,中途在黎巴嫩郊外猎狮,并暂时收复了相当一片曾为十八、十九王朝先王所征服的土地。他称自己进军至阿勒坡(Aleppo)和卡赫美什一带——果真如此,他一定是击败了赫梯人,或者后者避开了与埃及军队的

else that they declined to meet him in the field; and he gives a list of thirty-eight conquered countries or tribes, which are thought to belong to Upper Syria, Southern Asia Minor, and Cyprus. In some of his inscriptions he even speaks of having recovered Naharaina, Kush, and Punt; but there is no evidence that he really visited—much less conquered—these remote regions.

交锋;此外他还罗列出了三十八个征服的国家或部落,一般认为位于上叙利亚(Upper Syria)、小亚细亚南部以及塞浦路斯。一些铭文中他甚至称自己收复了纳哈瑞纳(Naharaina),库什(Kush)和蓬特(Punt),但尚无史料证明他造访过这些偏远地带,"收复"更无从谈起。

The later life of Ramesses III. was, on the wholea time of tranquillity and repose. The wild tribes of North Africa, after one further attempt to establish themselves in the western Delta, which wholly failed, acquiesced in the lot which nature seemed to have assigned them, and, leaving the Egyptians in peace, contented themselves with the broad tract over which they were free to rove between the Mediterranean and the Sahara Desert. On the south Ethiopia made no sign. In the east the Hittites had enough to do to rebuild the power which had been greatly shattered by the passage of the hordes of Asia Minor through their territory, on their way to Egypt and on their return from it. The Assyrians had not yet commenced their aggressive wars towards the north and west, having probably still a difficulty in maintaining their independence against the attacks of Babylon. Egypt was left undisturbed by her neighbours for the space of several generations, and herself refrained from disturbing the peace of the world by foreign expeditions. Ramesses turned his attention to building, commerce, and the planting of Egypt with trees. He constructed and ornamented the beautiful temple of Ammon at Medinet-Abou, built a fleet on the Red Sea and engaged in trade with Punt, dug a great reservoir in the country of Aina (Southern Palestine), and "over the whole land of Egypt planted trees and shrubs, to give the inhabitants rest under their cool shade."

拉美西斯的晚年总体得以在宁静和闲 适中度过。北非蛮夷各部企图在三角洲 西部重振旗鼓,但最终一败涂地,于是 也接受了上天加在他们身上的命运,不 再招惹埃及,而在地中海和撒哈拉沙漠 之间的辽阔土地安分地自谋生计;南方 的埃塞俄比亚没有动静; 至于东边的赫 梯人, 在小亚细亚联军远征埃及一进一 出之后,军力几近崩溃,忙着东山再起; 亚述人(Assyrians)对西方和北方的 军事侵略还没有打响,此刻或许正为维 护自家独立而与巴比伦打得焦头烂额。 总之,此后几代人的时间里,埃及不再 受到邻国侵扰, 也无需远征, 扰别国清 净。拉美西斯开始兴修工程,发展工商 业,在埃及各地植树造林。他在美迪奈 特哈布城修建了富丽堂皇的阿蒙神庙; 在红海组建商船,和蓬特人做生意;在 艾纳国 (Aina, 巴勒斯坦南部) 修建巨 大水库;并"在埃及全境种植树林和灌 木,让全国百姓都能在林荫下乘凉。"

The general decline of Egypt must, however, be regarded as having commenced in his reign. His Eastern conquests were more specious than solid, resulting in a nominal rather than a real subjection of Palestine andSyria to his yoke. His subjects grew unaccustomed to the use of arms during the last twenty, or five and twenty, years of his life. Above all, luxury, intrigue, and superstition invaded the court, where the eunuchs and concubines exercised a pernicious influence. Magic was practised by some of the chief men in the State, and the belief was widely spread that it was possible by charms, incantations, and the use of waxen images, to bewitch men, or paralyse their limbs, or even to cause their deaths. Hags were to be found about the court as wicked as Canidia, who were willing to sell their

然而,古埃及的落没也确始于拉美西斯 三世时期。所谓东征名不副实,只在名 义上迫使巴勒斯坦和叙利亚俯首称臣。 在位的最后二十或二十五年中,拉美西 斯怠于用兵,不治军事。更甚者,奢靡 之风侵染朝堂,阴谋和迷信猖獗一时, 宫廷沦为宦官和宠妃施展诡计的场所。 一些国家要员听信谣言,认为只要对蜡 像施以魔法和咒语,就能令人中蛊,致 人手脚瘫痪,乃至死于非命,于是为一 己私利不惜诉诸巫术。更有恶毒如蛇蝎 的巫婆为害朝堂,向出价最高者出卖巫 术。奸臣佞贼相互勾结,甚至不惮加害 skill in the black art to the highest bidder. The actual person of the monarch was not sacred from the plottings of this nefarious crew, who planned assassinations and hatched conspiracies in the very purlieus of the royal palace. Ramesses himself would, apparently, have fallen a victim to a plot of the kind, had not the parties to it been discovered, arrested, tried by a Royal Commission, and promptly executed.

于一国之君,竟在皇宫近郊讨论阴谋, 策划行刺。要不是王室委员团将这一干 人缉拿归案,迅速处决,拉美西斯本人 当时很可能就惨遭不测。

The descendants of Ramesses III. occupied the throne from his death (about B.C. 1280) to B.C. 1100. Ten princes of the name of Ramesses, and one called Meri-Tum, bore sway during this interval, each of them showing, if possible, greater weakness than the last, and all of them sunk in luxury, idle, effeminate, sensual. Ramesses III. provoked caricature by his open exhibition of harem-scenes on the walls of his Medinet-Abou palace. His descendants, content with harem life, scarcely cared to quit the precincts of the royal abode, desisted from all war, and even devolved the task of government on other shoulders. The Pharaohs of the twentieth dynasty became absolutefainéants, and devolved their duties on the high-priests of the great temple of Ammon at Thebes, who "set themselves to play the same part which at a distant period was played by the Mayors of the Palace under the later French kings of the Merovingian line."

拉美西斯三世驾崩(约公元前1280年) 后,王位世袭至公元前1100年。期间 有十位王都称拉美西斯,另有一位叫梅 里塔姆 (Meri-Tum)。这十一位君主子 弱于父,一代不如一代,并无一例外地 沉溺于骄奢淫逸的宫廷生活。拉美西斯 三世将他的春闺事公然刻在美迪奈特 哈布城宫殿的墙上,后世子孙皆以此为 榜样,在闺房纵情声色,鲜有闲情踏出 寝宫半步,也无心应对战事,甚至将朝 政移交他人。这样, 第二十王朝的法老 都成了彻头彻尾的"闲"王,一切政务 交由底比斯阿蒙神庙的大祭司处理,后 者就"顺势扮演了很久以后法国梅罗文 加(Merovingian)王朝几位末代君主 时期的宫相们所扮演的角色。"

In an absolute monarchy, the royal authority is the mainspring which controls all movements and all actions in every part of the State. Let this source of energy grow weak, and decline at once shows itself throughout the entire body politic. It is as when a fatal malady seizes on the seat of life in an individual —instantly every member, every tissue, falls away, suffers, shrinks, decays, perishes. Egyptian architecture is simply non-existent from the death of Ramesses III. to the age of Sheshonk; the "grand style" of pictorial art disappears; sculpture in relief becomes a wearisome repetition of the same stereotyped religious groups; statuary deteriorates and is rare; above all, literature declines, undergoing an almost complete eclipse. A galaxy of literary talent had, as we have seen, clustered about the reigns of Ramesses II. and Menephthah, under whose encouragement authors had devoted themselves to history, divinity, practical philosophy, poetry, epistolary correspondence, novels, travels, legend. From the time of Ramesses III.—nay, from the time of Seti II.—all is a blank: "the true poetic inspiration appears to have vanished," literature is almost dumb; instead of the masterpieces of Pentaour, Kakabu, Nebsenen, Enna, and others, which even moderns can perusewith pleasure, we have only documents in which

在君主专制体系中, 皇权就像发条, 带 动国家机器每一处零部件运转、发挥作 用。一旦发条松弛,失去动力,衰败迹 象便迅速显露于政治体系各环节,就像 人的生命根基为某种致命疾病所把控, 每一肢体、每一组织便立即衰弱、疼痛、 萎缩、腐朽,乃至耗竭。自拉美西斯三 世驾崩,直到示撒(Sheshonk)时期, 古埃及建筑毫无成就;绘画艺术丧失了 以往的"恢弘画风";浮雕为刻板守旧 的宗教团体剥夺了生机, 重复着枯燥乏 味的主题;雕像内容上落没,数量上几 无所成; 更甚者, 文学一蹶不振, 几近 荡然无存。前文提到,古埃及文学的璀 璨星河闪耀在拉美西斯二世和美楞普 塔统治时期。正是在这二位法老的努力 下,文字创作蔚然成风,历史、神学、 诗歌、书信、小说、游记、神话、实践 哲学……各类题材作品交相辉映。而自 拉美西斯三世——甚至早自赛提二世, 文学一片空白: "诗歌的精魂仿佛消逝 了,"文学几乎喑哑。像从前彭道厄

"the dry official tone" prevails—abstracts of trials, lists of functionaries, tiresome enumerations in the greatest detail of gifts made to the gods, together with fulsome praises of the kings, written either by themselves or by others, which we are half inclined to regret the lapse of ages has spared from destruction. At the same time morals fall off. Sensuality displays itself in high places. Intrigue enters the charmed circle of the palace. The monarch himself is satirized in indecent drawings. Presently, the whole idea of a divinity hedging in the king departs; and a "thieves' society" is formed for rifling the royal tombs, and tearing the jewels, with which they have been buried, from the monarchs' persons. The king's life is aimed at by conspirators, who do not scruple to use magical arts; priests and high judicial functionaries are implicated in the proceedings. Altogether, the old order seems to be changed, the old ideas to be upset; and no new principles, possessing any vital efficacy, are introduced. Society gradually settles upon its lees; and without some violent application of force from without, or some strange upheaval from within, the nation seems doomed to fall rapidly into decay and dissolution.

(Pentaour)、卡卡布(Kakabu)、尼 卜塞拿(Nebsenen)、恩纳(Enna)等 人的杰作,今人读来都兴味盎然,自那 以后却销声匿迹,取而代之的只有公文 案牍里"味同嚼蜡的官腔"——案件审 判摘要、公职人员名单、纷繁而冗长的 祭品细目,当然也少不了对君主的溢美 之辞,或本人御笔或由他人撰写,读来 直教人惜恨千年沧桑竟没能将其销毁。 此外,道德滑坡。身居高位者纵情肉欲; 蛊毒盛行的宫廷充斥着诡计; 君主本人 的形象出现在一些不雅的讽刺画中。国 君有神明护体的观念被摈弃,于是"盗 墓集团猖獗",皇陵频频遭窃,陪葬的 珠宝从遗体上扯下。更有私党密谋弑 君,动辄施展巫术,祭祀和高级司法官 员也卷入其中。一言以蔽之,旧有秩序 受到挑战,旧有观念被摒弃,又缺乏有 效的新准则。古埃及在旧社会的渣滓上 摇摇欲坠,没有外来势力的猛烈冲击, 也不见内部势力掀起剧变,似乎注定要 向着腐朽和瓦解的方向迅速坠落。