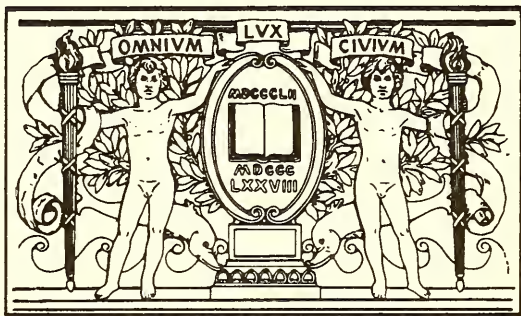


BOOKS ON
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10s.

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

- Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.
 „ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.
 „ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts
 from the Pyramid Texts.
 „ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.
 „ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.
 „ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about
 B.C. 1000 (English translation).
 „ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).
 „ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-àbt (English
 translation).

2. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD
 (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the
 famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the
 Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been
 reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent
 photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE END OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO
THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII. B.C. 30

VOL. I.

EGYPT IN THE NEOLITHIC AND
ARCHAIC PERIODS

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I DEDICATE THIS WORK

BY PERMISSION

TO

GENERAL LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTÛM,

G.C.B., K.C.M.G., ETC.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR MUCH

FRIENDLY AND EFFECTIVE HELP


DURING MY MISSIONS TO THE SÛDÂN,

AND AS A MARK OF ADMIRATION FOR

A STRENUOUS, JUST, AND FEARLESS SOLDIER.



P R E F A C E



THE present volume is the first of a group of volumes dealing with the history of Egypt, which will be published at frequent intervals in the series of "Books on Egypt and Chaldaea." The narrative begins with an account of Egypt and her people in the latter part of the Neolithic Period, and ends with the description of her conquest by the Romans under Cæsar Octavianus, B.C. 30. The history of Egypt as an independent country properly ends with the death of Cleopatra, for this great queen was the last of the independent monarchs who succeeded to the throne of the Pharaohs.

Each volume describes a certain period of Egyptian history, and is divided into chapters, each of which treats of a dynasty, or a group of dynasties, or contains a summary of the principal characteristics which distinguish the period with which the volume is concerned. The reign of each king is described in a number of paragraphs, wherein will be found not only an enumeration of the bare facts of history, but also extracts from papyri and stelae and other Egyptian documents, which

serve to illustrate the condition of the country, both civil and military, during the period of his rule. Besides such extracts there have been added a number of passages from the works of Herodotus, Diodorus, and other classical writers, which supplement the bald statements of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and supply interesting and often important information about Egypt and the Egyptians, not only whilst they were ruled by their native Pharaohs, but also whilst the country was under the domination of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and other conquerors.

The names and titles of each king, whether as the representative of Horus and Set, or as the son of Rā, or as the Horus of Gold, or as the lord of the shrines of the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchet, are given in the hieroglyphic characters at the head of the section which treats of his reign, and the names of the kings given throughout the volumes of this work form the fullest King List which has hitherto been published.


The main facts given in this History of Egypt are derived from ancient Egyptian monuments and papyri, and the reader who wishes to study at first hand the original documents will find scattered throughout the volumes numerous references to published works in English, French, and German, wherein he will find the Egyptian texts, often with translations and elaborate introductions.

The volumes are illustrated by a series of reproductions made from (1) a large number of predynastic

and dynastic antiquities preserved in the British Museum; (2) from photographs of Egyptian temples and pyramids, and other monuments, and of Nile scenery; and (3) from outline drawings and tracings made chiefly from published works. The photographs copied herein were made by Signor A. Beato, the distinguished photographer of Luxor, Egypt, who has kindly permitted me to make use of his work in this manner, and the drawings and tracings reproduced in the following pages were made by Mr. F. Anderson.

The greater part of the present volume is occupied with a narrative of the excavations which have been made during the last ten years on predynastic sites in Egypt by Messrs. J. de Morgan, Petrie, Amélineau, and others, and with an account of the various sources from which we derive our knowledge of the chronology of Egypt. It was necessary to discuss the results of recent excavations at some length, especially the correct deductions which M. J. de Morgan was the first to draw¹ from them with the help of Professor Wiedemann of Bonn, and of M. Jéquier, because they have a most important bearing on the views which must now be taken concerning the course of early Egyptian history and the antiquity of Egyptian civilization. It has long been held by archaeologists that the period of

¹ Professor Petrie has now rejected the name of "New Race," and admits that the people whom he thus described were predynastic Egyptians. See Sir John Evans, *Presidential Address*, London, 1901, p. 8; and Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, London, 1901, p. 28.

three or four thousand years which many were content to allow for the rise, growth, development, maturity, and decadence of ancient Egyptian civilization was insufficient, and that the beautiful bas-reliefs and paintings, and the gigantic Pyramids, which were the works of the Egyptians in the IVth Dynasty, could never have been produced by men who a few hundred years before were quite savage or very nearly so. The correctness of these views has now been proved, and it is known that Menâ, or Menes, was not the first king in Egypt, and that the phase of civilization which is revealed to us by the works of the dynastic Egyptians did not spring up ready made, as it were, during the reign of that king. It is also certain that numbers of independent kings must have ruled both in the Delta and in Upper Egypt long before Menâ, though it is quite possible that he is the first historical king who succeeded in making himself lord both of the South and of the North. The names of some of these early kings of the North are preserved on the Stele of Palermo, and Professor Petrie has found at Abydos both tombs and certain funereal objects of the kings of the South, e.g., RE and KA; thus it is evident that before dynastic times the Egyptians were acquainted with the art of writing, the earliest example of an Egyptian hieroglyphic which we possess being probably the sign for "king of the South," , which we find cut in relief on a slate object of the predynastic period from Al-'Amrah (Brit. Mus., No. 35,501). Now the

civilization of these predynastic kings of the North and kings of the South differed in many respects from that of the dynastic Egyptians, but this is not to be wondered at, for the predynastic Egyptians themselves differed from the dynastic Egyptians in several particulars, although some writers think otherwise. The latter part of the predynastic period and the age of the first three dynasties may be conveniently grouped together as a period which can be called "Archaic," during which period Egyptian civilization developed rapidly. The earlier predynastic Egyptians sprang from one of the indigenous non-Negroid races of north-east Africa, whilst the Egyptians of history were a people whose parents on the one side were originally of African, and on the other side of Asiatic origin. The descendants of the indigenous folk were conquered by the immigrants, who seem to have been bigger and heavier than they, and to have been better armed, their weapons being, perhaps, of metal, and the new-comers appear to have taught the men they vanquished the arts and crafts of which, up to that time, they were ignorant, and to have adopted themselves a number of indigenous African customs. The civilization of the dynastic Egyptians contained, then, an African as well as an Asiatic element, and the influence of the beliefs and ideas of the predynastic Egyptians, which made itself felt chiefly in the religious character of its development, was never eradicated from it. The immigration of the conquering people from Asia must

have taken place between the earlier and later predynastic periods.

But although we see that the civilization of the dynastic Egyptians rested upon a phase of civilization which had existed in predynastic times when men could write, and that that phase rested in its turn upon a phase of civilization which existed when men could not write, the recent excavations which have given us this knowledge do not help us to assign dates to either one or the other of the phases of the predynastic civilization of Egypt. The impossibility of estimating in years the lengths of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Periods in Egypt is so obvious as scarcely to need mention; that these Periods existed in Egypt may be taken for granted, when we remember that the evidence for their existence was accepted by the late General Pitt Rivers, and is admitted by Sir John Evans, K.C.B., M. J. de Morgan, and other eminent experts.

The impossibility of assigning a date to the beginnings of Egyptian civilization naturally calls attention to the fact that it is equally impossible to assign an exact date to the reign of Mená, i.e., to the first historic king of Upper and Lower Egypt, whatever his name may have been, or to formulate an approximately exact system of chronology from the materials now available. In a chapter of the present volume an attempt has been made to describe the sources in Egyptian and Greek which may be used for this purpose; and it will be seen by a perusal of the evidence that no exact

conclusions can be deduced from them. The three King Lists of Şakḳâra, Abydos, and Karnak prove chiefly that Lists of this kind cannot be regarded as complete, that they only contain selections of royal names, which in one case are arranged in a purely arbitrary order, whilst the inscriptions derived from the recent excavations at Abydos prove that, in the XIXth Dynasty, the scribe who compiled the King List for Seti I. actually misread the names of several of the kings of the Ist and IIInd Dynasties! He may, of course, have been careless in reading the hieratic characters which were written on the papyrus document before him; but it is unlikely, for the Greek forms of these names, which are given by Manetho in his King List, indicate that the readings of the names, as found in the documents from which he compiled his work on Egypt, were similar to those given in the papyrus from which the scribe of Seti I. drafted the List for the mason. It must, of course, not be forgotten that Manetho's List may have been compiled from the monumental lists made at the time of the XIXth Dynasty; hence these mistakes have been perpetuated in Manetho. Thus we cannot rely absolutely upon such lists even for the correct spelling of royal names in the Archaic Period. The Royal Papyrus at Turin would have been of the greatest value to us, but alas, the fragments into which it was broken on its ill-fated journey, were "joined" by Seyffarth, and the document has been useless ever since. The best general authority

on dynastic Egyptian chronology is, after all, Manetho's King List, even though his copyists have played havoc with his figures, and one or two of his dynasties seem to have got out of place. His List must be studied with the Old Lists, and checked by the actual monuments. The hieroglyphic inscriptions prove that the order of the kings in many of his dynasties is correct, and that the lengths of many kings' reigns are stated by him with considerable accuracy, and it seems that he, at any rate, copied his archetypes with care; since the scribe of Seti I. blundered so seriously, as we have seen above, we cannot expect Manetho, who lived about one thousand years later, to be better informed. As far as it goes, Manetho's King List is extremely valuable, but it does not enable us to get behind the mistakes made by the scribe of the XIXth Dynasty, as the excavations at Abydos have enabled us to do. The information which has been obtained from native Egyptian monuments as to dates is, at present, insufficient to enable us to correct the mistakes in the figures of Manetho's List which are due to the carelessness or ignorance of copyists, and until some other means of doing this is found, it is idle to shuffle and torture his figures, as many writers on Egyptian chronology are pleased to do. The order of the succession of the kings is, generally speaking, tolerably certain; in the periods of Dynasties IV.—VI., XII.—XIII., XVIII.—XXII., XXVI.—XXX., complete certainty has been attained, though the exact lengths of

the reigns is often doubtful. The truth of the matter is that we shall never be able to construct an exact system of *chronology* until we have a complete series of inscribed monuments of the kings of Egypt, which either record the lengths of their reigns or are dated in the highest years of their reigns, or until a List be discovered which will give the names of the kings, in the order which the Egyptians believed to be the correct one, and the lengths of their reigns. Future excavations may bring to light such a List, but it is useless to hope for the discovery of a complete series of monuments or documents which will give us the highest regnal years of all the kings of Egypt, and thus we have to fall back upon such material as we have, and to be content with broad generalizations as to the duration of certain periods of Egyptian history. But in a modern work on the history of Egypt it is necessary to have some system of chronology, otherwise the general reader will be hopelessly bewildered, and think that the subject is nothing but a confused mass of facts about wars and conquests which may be shuffled into any chronological order, and that any one arrangement of them is as good as any other. Many systems of Egyptian chronology have been invented by Egyptologists and others, but only a few of them have been constructed with a due regard to the facts and probabilities of the history of Egypt. The systems of Archbishop Usher and Sir Gardner Wilkinson must be entirely set aside, for the former scholar made his

figures fit his preconceived views and theories about Bible history, and the latter never realized the great antiquity of the civilization of the wonderful country in which he lovingly toiled for so many years, and in which he did such a great work. The systems of Champollion-Figeac and Mariette showed that each of these able workers was on the right track, but viewed in the light of recent research the date assigned to Menes by them appears to be too remote. Of all the systems hitherto propounded, that of the late Dr. H. Brugsch has most to recommend it for *practical purposes*, and it agrees exceedingly well on the whole with the evidence, derived from various sources and considerations, which indicates that the duration of the dynastic period, beginning with Menes and ending with the close of the Ptolemaic Period, was about 4500 years. Dr. Brugsch had an unrivalled knowledge of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic texts, and there is no branch of Egyptological literature in which he was not a first-rate expert. His chronological system, like that of Herodotus, allows three generations to a century, and contains one great gap of 500 years between the XIIth and the XVIIth Dynasties; but although the average of three generations per century is too low, and the years given to the gap in the history are too many, the 4400 or 4455 years, which he considered to be the length of the dynastic period as a whole, do not seem excessive. The dates which he assigned to kings individually were never intended

to be more than approximately correct, and in the earlier dynasties many of the kings may be antedated or postdated by as much as thirty years. Synchronisms with Babylonian history have shown that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the date given by Brugsch to Thothmes III. is more than fifty years too early, and it is of course possible that other dates may be equally incorrect, but it is unlikely; in any case, working backwards from the XXVIth Dynasty to the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the error in the date of any king can hardly be greater than this. Before the XVIIIth Dynasty the error may be, and probably is, much greater, because there is reason to believe that several kings, whose names find no place in Manetho's King List, reigned over Egypt during the period before the XVIIth Dynasty. These facts must of course be remembered in using Brugsch's system of chronology. No *exact* dates can be assigned to Egyptian kings before the XXVIth Dynasty, and any system which attempts to date the reigns of the kings of the earlier dynasties otherwise than after the manner employed by Brugsch is both misleading and incorrect. We do not possess chronological data sufficient for the purpose, and no amount of shuffling of figures, or guesses, or emendations, can be regarded as satisfactory equivalents of facts. Still less can any trustworthy estimate in years be made for the duration of the predynastic period of Egyptian history, even if we deny the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt; nor can

any calculations concerning it which are based upon the rate of the deposit of mud in the Nile Valley be regarded as final, because the conditions under which it was laid down in all parts of the Valley are unknown. The actual facts of the case must be admitted, and though these indicate that the period of the predynastic and dynastic civilizations covers many thousands of years, they do not show how long that period was.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON :

December 13th, 1901.

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EGYPT

IN THE

PREDYNASTIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREDYNASTIC EGYPTIANS.

UNTIL within the last few years the writer who set out to gather together the facts concerning the various great periods of Egyptian history, with the view of placing before his readers a connected sketch of the most important events which took place in the Valley of the Nile between the Fourth Cataract and the Mediterranean Sea, was compelled to state unhesitatingly that Egyptological science possessed no exact knowledge concerning the origin of the people who have been universally called "Egyptians." It was generally assumed that they were not indigenous, but hardly any two Egyptologists agreed as to the site of their original home, and whilst one authority declared unhesitatingly that the Egyptians came from Central or North-Eastern Asia, another placed their probable home in some country far to the south of that

portion of the Nile Valley which is commonly called "Egypt," and another maintained that some tract of land lying to the west of the Nile in Northern Africa must be regarded as their true home. Each authority produced proofs in support of his assertion, and each group of proofs was regarded as satisfactory evidence by those who accepted the *theory* which they were intended to support.

The various theories put forward by competent men were based upon:—(1) The scientific examination of the mummified remains of the historical Egyptians; (2) historical and geographical information derived from the hieroglyphic inscriptions; (3) the philological peculiarities of the language as exhibited by the hieroglyphic texts; and (4) statements made by ancient chronographers and historians.

The evidence derived from the statements referred to under No. 4 was, of course, only of scientific value when supported by evidence derived from any or all of the classes of information summarized in Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The researches which have been made since the times when the main theories about the original home of the Egyptians were propounded show that in each of them many of the details were correct, and that their authors would have arrived at right conclusions had their deductions been based upon a larger number of facts, and upon a wider field of examination and information. Unfortunately, however, the field available for examination was limited, and all the

necessary facts were not forthcoming, and the pity is that the early writers on Egyptology assumed that they had solved a number of far-reaching problems in Egyptology when it was evident to all unbiased observers and honest enquirers that they still lacked the information which could only be obtained from data that were then non-available. Speaking broadly, the propounders of theories were hampered by their own preconceived views, and also by ideas derived from the works of Scriptural and classical writers; and their difficulties were increased greatly by their own efforts to make the evidence derived from the ancient Egyptian native writings "square" with that which they obtained from foreign sources.

Side by side with the question of the site of the original home of the Egyptians it was necessary to discuss the cognate subjects of early Egyptian chronology and the language of the primitive Egyptians, and the views and opinions put forward by writers on these matters were as conflicting as those which existed on the original home. Some held that the language of the early Egyptians was of Aryan origin, others declared it to be closely allied to the Semitic dialects, especially to those belonging to the northern group, i.e., Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee, and others claimed for it a Berber, or Ethiopian, or Libyan, or Central African origin, according to individual fancy or observation.

On early Egyptian chronology opinion was hopelessly

divided, the principal reason being that many investigators attempted to confine 'the whole period of Egyptian dynastic history within the limits assigned to Old Testament history by the impossible system of Archbishop Usher.¹ Those who did this lost sight of the fact that they were not allowing sufficient time for the rise and growth and development of Egyptian civilization, and they wrote as if they thought that the wonderfully advanced state at which the religion, and art, and sculpture, and architecture, and education, and government of ancient Egypt had arrived at the beginning of the IVth Dynasty had been reached after the lapse of a few centuries. No system of chronology which may at present be devised can be accurate in the modern acceptance of the term, and none can ever, with truth, pretend to be approximately so, except in respect of isolated periods of time of relatively limited duration. But the system which will have the best chance of survival, and at the same time be the most correct, seems, judging by the evidence before us, to be

¹ James Usher was born in Dublin on January 4th, 1580, and died on March 20th, 1656, at Reigate in Surrey. He was a contemporary of Camden, Selden, Sir Thomas Bodley, and Sir Thomas Cotton. Between 1650 and 1654 he published *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in which he propounded an impossible system of chronology for the Bible. This system was, unfortunately, inserted in many editions of the Bible with most disastrous results, for thereby it gained an authority which it should never have enjoyed. The system is worthless, and has proved a stumbling-block to many honest enquirers into Bible history.

that which will take into due consideration the extreme antiquity of civilization of one kind and another in the Valley of the Nile, and which will not be fettered by views based upon the opinions of those who would limit the existence of the civilization of ancient Egypt to a period of about 3000 years.

Until the year 1891 the writer in favour of assuming a high antiquity for ancient Egyptian civilization was obliged to rely for his proofs upon the evidence furnished by the inscriptions, and upon deductions based on information supplied by texts written upon papyri, but, thanks to the labours of the recent excavators who have examined and cleared out a number of the predynastic cemeteries in Egypt, it is now possible to produce objects of various kinds which prove beyond all doubt that Egyptian civilization is older by several thousands of years than many Egyptologists have wished to admit, and that the existence of man in the Valley of the Nile may be traced back even to the Palaeolithic Period in Egypt. But before passing on to the consideration of the predynastic Egyptian it will be well to summarize briefly the principal facts in connection with the important excavations which have produced such remarkable results.

It will be remembered that between the years 1870 and 1890 there appeared from time to time in the hands of dealers in Egyptian antiquities numbers of rude figures of animals made of green slate, with inlaid eyes

formed of bone rings, and little groups of earthenware vases, painted in red, with unusual designs. Specimens of these were purchased by travellers and others, and certain examples were acquired, through the late Rev. Greville Chester, B.A., by the British Museum. Thus a large, flat, green slate figure of a horned animal, with inlaid eyes (No. 35,049), was purchased in June, 1871; a figure of a sheep, in the same material (No. 20,910), in October, 1886; a green slate object, belonging to the class which has been wrongly called "palettes" (No. 21,899), in July, 1887; and a green slate bat, with outstretched wings (No. 21,901), in the same year. Among the painted vases which were acquired in 1881 may be mentioned a little two-handled vase, ornamented with red wavy lines (No. 35,050); and two black and red earthenware vases, and two earthenware pots with most unusual ornamentations, which were presented to the British Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1885 (Nos. 22,185, 22,186, 22,173, and 22,200). Besides these there remain to be enumerated a small earthenware vase ornamented with series of concentric rings painted in red (No. 26,411), and a number of flints and small green slate objects, which have not as yet been satisfactorily identified. The provenance of many of these objects was well known, viz., Gebelên (a town situated on the left bank of the Nile, about 470 miles south of Cairo, which marks the site of the Crocodilopolis of the Greeks) and the neighbourhood of Abydos. Opinions

differed as to the age of the green slate figures of animals and the earthenware vases ; some Egyptologists boldly declared the former to be "clumsy forgeries" and the latter to be the product of the Roman period, and others believed both classes of objects to be the work of a non-Egyptian people, who, for some reason or other, had settled in Egypt during dynastic times.

About the year 1890 it became known that certain natives in Egypt had discovered large quantities of pottery,¹ i.e., vases, jars, bowls, saucers, etc., some being of most unusual shapes, and others being ornamented with unusual designs. The decorations on the pottery consisted chiefly of series of concentric rings, wavy lines, which were probably intended to represent water, and figures of a number of objects which could not then be identified, traced in red paint. Among this pottery were a large number of vessels made of red and black earthenware, the upper parts being black and the lower parts red, and it was generally agreed that these, at least, belonged to no comparatively modern period like the Roman. Subsequent inquiries revealed the fact that pottery of this kind was always found in graves of a certain class, which seem to have been quite unknown to anyone except the native dealers in antiquities in Egypt, and little by little the characteristics of such graves became

¹ Examples of the predynastic pottery which reached the Museum in 1891 are Nos. 26,635-26,638, 26,643, 26,644, 26,651-26,653, 26,657, 26,660, 26,729, all of which came from Abydos.

known generally. The most important variation in the system of sepulture employed by those who made the graves from that in use among the historical Egyptians was in the preparation of the body for burial and its disposal in the tomb. As we shall return to this subject later on, there is no necessity to go into details here, and it will be sufficient to say that the bodies which were found in the graves mentioned above were not mummified, that they were sometimes dismembered, and that when discovered in a perfect state they were always resting on their left sides, with their knees drawn up on a level with their chins, and their hands were raised to their faces almost as if in an attitude of prayer or adoration.

Little by little it became clear that graves containing bodies which had been buried in this fashion were to be found in many parts of Egypt, and that they existed in such large numbers that it was almost impossible for them to be the remains of any small, isolated body of settlers in Egypt, or of an unimportant section of the old population of that country.

Meanwhile the natives in Egypt had excavated with great thoroughness some of the sites where such graves were found in abundance, and many of the older men among them, having learned exactly what class of antiquity was being demanded by European *savants* and archaeologists, remembered that flint knives of fine workmanship, and vases and vessels of earthenware made in various shapes and painted in red with con-

centric circles and wavy lines, had been found near Abydos, and at Naqâda, and Gebelên, and other places, and they set to work to obtain permission to dig on these sites. Most of the applications for licenses to dig made by natives were refused by the authorities, and comparatively little was done in the matter of excavating these curious graves until the end of 1894, when Professor Petrie decided to make excavations on a large scale on a site which lay along the "edge of the desert, between Ballas and Naqada. This district is "about thirty miles north of Thebes, and on the western "side of the Nile."¹ In the course of the winter of 1894-95 he "recorded the plans and contents of nearly "three thousand graves and two towns . . . in the four "or five months of work;"² a vast quantity of pottery and large numbers of other objects were found in the course of the excavations on this site, and thus much material became available for study. To the facts already known the following details were added:—The graves were often made in the gravel shoals of the stream courses; the typical tombs were vertical pits, and the "pit in all wealthy graves was roofed over with "beams and brushwood; in place of preserving the body "intact and embalming it, the bodies are usually more "or less cut up and destroyed; in place of burying at "full length, with head-rest and mirror, the bodies are "all contracted and accompanied by many jars of ashes."³

¹ See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, London, 1896, p. vii.

² *Ibid.*, p. vii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

“ The knees are always sharply bent at 45° to the thighs,
“ or else nearly parallel ; while the thighs are always
“ at right angles to the body, or even more drawn up so
“ that the knees touch the elbows. The arms are always
“ bent, with the hands placed together before the face or
“ the neck. In a few cases the body is laid on the back
“ and the knees bent sharply, so that the legs are folded
“ up together ; or else both knees and hips are bent
“ sharply, so that the legs are folded up on either side of
“ the body. The direction of interment was as constant
“ as the attitude . . . the body lay on the left side,
“ facing the west, with the head to the south and the
“ feet to the north.”¹

From an examination of the graves which he excavated Professor Petrie concluded that:—1. *The skull was often intentionally removed before burial.* 2. *The skull was separately placed in the grave, perhaps some time subsequent to the burial.* 3. *The lower arms and hands were often removed before burial.* 4. *Sometimes the trunk was partly cut to pieces before burial.* 5. *The whole body was sometimes dismembered completely before burial, and artificially arranged.* 6. *Bodies were sometimes—with all respect—cut up and partly eaten.*

About a year later, that is in the winter of 1895-96, M. Amélineau was sent to Egypt at the instance of M. le Marquis de Biron and his friends M. le Comte Henri de la Bassetière and M. Sigismond Bardac, and

¹ Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 32.

he began to make excavations on a large scale at Abydos, where, notwithstanding the vast clearances which had been made by Mariette, a great deal of work needed to be done. Mariette excavated with thoroughness the temples of Seti I. and Rameses II., but it is quite clear that he never recognized the real antiquity of the site nor even suspected the existence there of antiquities belonging to a period earlier than the VIth Dynasty. As M. Amélineau has described at great length the results of his labours at Abydos,¹ it is only necessary here to say that he discovered a number of graves of the same kind as those which Professor Petrie had excavated at Nakâda, and in one wherein the body had escaped destruction he saw that it lay on its side in the position which has already been described;² he also found large numbers of stone jars and earthenware vessels. The pottery he described as coarse, and the decorations upon the various vases he considered to be quite primitive, and to have been designed by men who were still "trying their brush" and educating themselves in artistic matters.³

¹ *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, Angers, 1896.

² "Il n'était point momifié, était couché nu sur le côté, les genoux ramenés à la hauteur de la poitrine, les deux bras par devant le visage, dans la posture de l'enfant dans le sein de sa mère." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ "Je dois dire cependant que sur les vases de terre grossière que je trouvai dans quelques sépultures je reconnus des dessins tout à fait primitifs, dessinés par des hommes qui en étaient en corse à essayer leur calame et qui faisaient leur éducation artistique." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

In the winter of 1896-97 M. Amélineau continued his excavations in the neighbourhood of Abydos, and he was rewarded by the discovery of a large and very important tomb, in the chambers of which he found a variety of objects, i.e., fragments of metal, metal tools, flints, pottery, alabaster and marble jars, etc.; he believed this tomb to date from a period anterior to that of the tombs which he had found during the previous winter.¹

In the month of March, 1897, another worker entered the field, and M. J. de Morgan, Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, decided to examine for himself some of the cemeteries where graves of the kind which has already been described were to be found. The spot selected by him for excavating was Nakâda, a locality already well known as a source of supply of the curious pottery, which had by this time become tolerably common; according to M. de Morgan, a portion of the district had already been explored by Professor Petrie two years previously, but the explored portion only included the cemeteries of Tûkh and Ballâs, and the region to the south of Tûkh was virgin soil.² Two

¹ "Je crois que le monument de cette année appartient à une époque quelque peu antérieure à celle des tombes découvertes pendant la campagne 1895-96." See Amélineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* (Deuxième Campagne, 1896-1897), Paris, 1897, p. 43.

² "Deux ans auparavant, M. le Professeur Flinders Petrie avait, avec mon autorisation, exploré une partie de ce district; mais je savais que ses investigations avaient porté sur les nécropoles de Toukh et de Ballas et que, bien qu'ayant intitulé *Naqadah* et

cemeteries were attacked, the one to the south, which belonged to the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt, and the one lying at a distance of a few miles to the north, which contained the tombs of the early Egyptians. Important results attended these excavations, for in a little hill situated to the north of the northern necropolis the remains of a monument built of crude bricks were found, and M. de Morgan was fully convinced that it dated from one of the most ancient periods of Egyptian civilization. The walls and other parts of the building exhibited traces of fire, and M. de Morgan believed that an attempt had been made to destroy the building by fire some time after it had been finished. M. Amélineau had found at Abydos a number of tombs to destroy which by fire an attempt seemed to have been made, and this apparently shocking work he attributed to the Coptic spoilers of tombs, who, at the beginning of their career as Christians, set out wilfully to destroy the monuments of the ancient Egyptians whom they called heathen. His views on this subject were at first shared by M. de Morgan, but subsequently he rejected them, for he found abundant proof that whatever damage had been done to the tombs by fire had been done in very ancient times, and indeed it was soon clear to his satisfaction that such tombs were deliberately set on fire by the friends and relatives of the deceased when they laid

Ballas l'un de ses derniers ouvrages, l'archéologue anglais avait laissé vierges les terrains situés au sud de Toukh." J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, Paris, 1897, p. 148.

him in the tomb which had been specially built for him. Large numbers of vases in stone and other materials had been placed in the various chambers of the tomb, but nearly all of them were found to be broken, and M. de Morgan, on examination of the fragments, decided that they were broken and scattered about in the tomb before it was set on fire in remote days at the time of the funeral. The breaking of the vases and vessels was not the work of tomb robbers, for pieces of the same vase were found in different rooms, and it is well known that among many peoples the custom of breaking vessels of pottery, and figures of various kinds, at the time of the funeral is observed; had the breakages been the work of robbers, the various pieces belonging to one jar would have been found together, for they would never have taken the trouble to scatter them.

Of the identification of the builder of the great tomb which M. de Morgan discovered we need not speak here, and as he himself has described it and given a list of the objects which he found therein,¹ we may pass on to note other facts in connection with the excavation of predynastic sites.

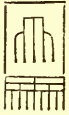
In November, 1897, M. Amélineau continued the work of excavation which he had begun in 1895, and

¹ See *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte, Ethnographie Pré-historique et Tombeau Royal de Négadah*, par J. de Morgan, avec la collaboration de MM. le Professeur Wiedemann, G. Jéquier, et le Dr. Fouquet, Paris, 1897.

his labours were crowned by the discovery of the tomb of a king (whom he identified with the god Osiris), to which he gave the name "Tomb of Osiris."¹ In his opinion the tomb dated from the time when Osiris Un-nefer, the god of the Egyptian underworld and of the dead, actually reigned upon earth, and although it resembled in construction and fabric several of the tombs which stood near it, M. Amélineau saw no "antecedent improbability" in its being the veritable sepulchre of the god. The building was in the form of a house built on three sides, north, east, and south, with an inner court, and at the north-west end was a staircase, which M. Amélineau believed to be the staircase referred to in the texts which speak of the "god who is at the top of the staircase," i.e., Osiris. The tomb contained fourteen chambers of various sizes, all of which were without doors, and this fact the discoverer accounted for by declaring that at the time when the tomb was built men had no knowledge either of windows or doors. The greater number of the chambers were empty, but some of those that were built along the sides of the tomb contained large wine jars, and although most of the jars had been broken, a few still possessed their conical mouth covers, which had, however, been burnt as hard as tiles by the fire which had been kindled in the tomb at the time of burial. These jar stoppers were all stamped with one of the names of the personage

¹ A minute description of the tomb will be found in M. Amélineau's *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris, 1899, chap. v. p. 91 ff.





for whom the tomb had been built; this name appeared to be the "Horus name"¹ of some king and was written thus:—



The Horus
name of
the new
king.

On the 2nd of January, 1898, M. Amélineau found in the chamber marked D on his plan, a skull which lacked the lower jaw, and which he believed to be the head of the god Osiris; a little later in the day the so-called "bed of Osiris" was dug out by his men.

The "bed of Osiris" is a grey granite monolithic monument hewn in the shape of the lion bier, i.e., a funeral couch supported by legs made in the form of the legs of a lion, with a lion's head at one end and a lion's tail at the other, which is so familiar in Egyptian funeral scenes. On this "bed" is a figure of the god Osiris, who wears the white crown upon his head, and holds the usual symbols of sovereignty and dominion, i.e., a sceptre and a whip, in his hands. At the head of the god and at his feet are the remains of figures of two hawks, which, according to the legend inscribed under each, represent

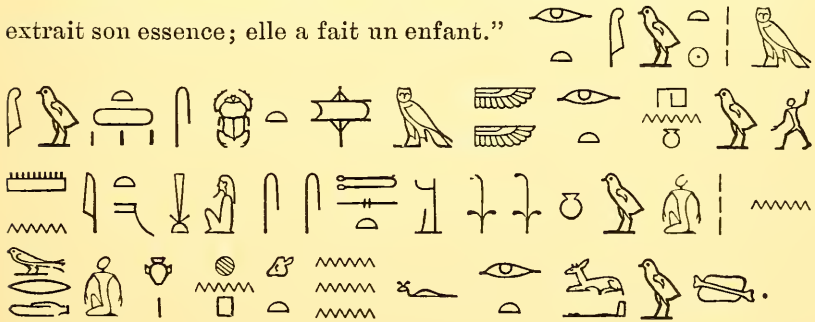
¹ The kings of Egypt possessed several names, viz., one as the representative of Horus, which is commonly known as the "ka name" or "banner name," one as the representative of the god Set, one as the lord of the shrines of the vulture and uraeus , one as the Horus of gold , one as king of the South and North, , and one as "son of the Sun" . The last two names are usually written within cartouches. The first king to use a cartouche was Besh.

Horus, the avenger of his father. Above the middle of the body are the remains of another hawk, which, according to the inscription near it, represents the goddess Isis.¹ Close by the right shoulder of Osiris is a line of inscription which reads, "Osiris Un-nefer, victorious," that is to say, Osiris in his character of god of the underworld, and judge of the dead. On the sides of that portion of the monument which represent the framework of the "bed" are inscriptions which, when complete, contained the name of the king who dedicated the monument for worship or veneration in the tomb; but at some period subsequent to its dedication the king's name was very carefully hammered





"Horus, the avenger of his father."

¹ The position of Isis refers no doubt to the passage in the Hymn to Osiris quoted by Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65:—"c'est Isis, l'illustre, la vengeresse de son frère; elle l'a cherché sans se reposer; elle a fait le tour de ce monde en se lamentant; elle ne s'est point arrêtée sans l'avoir trouvé; elle a fait de la lumière avec ses plumes; elle a fait du vent avec ses ailes; elle a fait les invocations de l'enterrement de son frère; elle a emporté les principes du Dieu au coeur tranquille; elle a extrait son essence; elle a fait un enfant."



out, and except for the general style and character of the monument there is no evidence available for helping us to assign an exact date to it. M. Amélineau first thought that the prenomen which had been chiselled out was that of Seti I., the second king of the XIXth Dynasty, but later an examination of the broken surface seems to have convinced him that the hieroglyphics which form the prenomen of that king would require more space than the enclosing line of the cartouche contains, and that the monument was made for the king for whom the tomb was built, with which it was contemporaneous.

In April, 1898, M. Amélineau announced officially to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* the discovery of the "Tomb of Osiris." There is no need to follow in detail here the acrimonious dispute which arose between MM. Maspero and Amélineau concerning this announcement, and it is sufficient for our purpose to note that the former took the view that the tomb was not that of Osiris, but only a funeral chapel which had been dedicated to the god, and that Osiris was not a real king, and that Set and Horus had never been men. According to M. Maspero the tomb belonged to the same period as the tombs round about it, which contained the name of no king earlier than the period of the Ist Dynasty, and he regarded it as the product of the beginning of the Ist Dynasty or of the end of the IIIrd Dynasty; for certain reasons which he duly set forth he thought there was greater possibility of its

belonging to the IIIrd or IIInd Dynasty than to the Ist Dynasty, and it appeared to him to be a royal sepulchre which was at a later period transformed into a divine tomb. That the "bed of Osiris" was contemporaneous with the tomb he and all other Egyptologists who had examined the monument held to be impossible, for the characteristics of its style proclaim that the period in which it was made was not more remote than that of the XVIIIth Dynasty; the present writer is of opinion that it belongs to a still later period. The evidence on the subject now available seems to show that the "bed of Osiris" is a COPY of an ancient monument and that this copy was deposited in the tomb, excavated by M. Amélineau, at some period between the beginning of the XXth Dynasty and the end of the XXVith Dynasty, by Egyptians who appear to have believed that they were restoring the funeral bed of the god in a funeral shrine or chapel, which at that time was regarded as the genuine tomb of the god Osiris. This view appears to have originated from the fact that the Egyptians, who had made the original of the copy of the "bed of Osiris," finding in the tomb the remains of the king for whom it was made, and various objects inscribed with his name "KHENT," , jumped to the conclusion, like M. Amélineau, that they had discovered the tomb of "Khent-Āmenti"  i.e., the god Osiris in his capacity of "the head of the

Underworld" (Amenti). The mistake once made was perpetuated by succeeding generations of Egyptians, and there is little doubt that the tomb which modern Egyptologists have proved to be the tomb of KHENT, i.e., one of the oldest known kings in Egypt, was believed by large numbers of well-informed Egyptians to be none other than that of Osiris, and that as such pilgrimages were made thereto from all parts of the country. The archaic characteristics of the monument discovered by M. Amélineau, i.e., the forms of the lions' heads, etc., are more readily explained by the hypothesis that it is a COPY of an old original which was made during the rule of the kings of the Early Empire than by any other; it, moreover, gives a hint that the mistake was a very ancient one, and that it probably dates from a period anterior to the VIth Dynasty.

With the discovery of the "bed of Osiris" M. Amélineau's excavations practically came to an end, for although the clearing of sand, etc., went on for some time after January, 1898, no results of importance were obtained, and whether for want of funds or some other reason, the excavations were suspended at Abydos, and then the site was finally abandoned by M. Amélineau and his supporters. Every one who knows how hard M. Amélineau worked, and with what devotion he carried on his investigations, will regret that his exertions were not crowned with greater success. The fact, however, remains that he was the first to discover early dynastic tombs at Abydos, and for this,

if for nothing else, Egyptologists owe him a debt of gratitude.

In the winter of 1899-1900 Professor Petrie applied to the Egyptian Government for permission to make excavations at Abydos, and at length, when the "Mission Amélineau" had abandoned the site, he was allowed to begin work there. His search among the royal tombs, which were said to have been already ransacked and partly cleared by M. Amélineau, was rewarded by the finding of numbers of fragments of inscribed earthenware and stone vases, plaques, stelae, etc., and it is hard to arrive at any other conclusion than that the excavations of his predecessor were carelessly, though diligently, conducted, and that he had not in his employ sufficient overseers to make the diggers do their work systematically. As mention must be made later on of the results obtained by Professor Petrie at Abydos both in 1899-1900 and 1900-1901, it is unnecessary to go into details here, and it will be sufficient to note in passing that the general accuracy of M. de Morgan's views and statements as laid down in his works on *Les Origines de l'Égypte* was fully confirmed.

Among other investigators of the predynastic and early dynastic tombs of Egypt must be mentioned Messrs. Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, who made excavations at Al-'Amrah at the end of the year 1900, in two cemeteries which lie between two wide valleys that "run down from the upper desert a short distance

“north of Al-‘Amrah.” One cemetery seems to have contained about six or seven hundred graves, which “ranged from the very earliest ‘New Race’ times “through the entire middle period down to the beginning of the ‘Late Prehistoric’”; this cemetery was in the south-west corner of the tract of land between the valleys. The other cemetery contained “burials of almost, if not quite, the earliest type,” which continue “down to the Ist or IIInd Dynasty.”¹

In 1901 Mr. J. Garstang was fortunate enough to find the tombs of two kings of the IIIrd Dynasty, i.e., Tcheser and Hen-nekht at Bêt Khallâf, بيت خلاف, near Girgah.

The reader has now before him a tolerably complete statement of the work which has been done in connection with the excavation of predynastic and early dynastic graves in Egypt by Europeans between the years 1894 and 1901. Of the work which has been carried out by natives for the administration of the Gîzeh Museum nothing definite can be said, except that it was considerable. It is greatly to be regretted that so much of the native work has been unsystematic, but there is no doubt that the Egyptian has rescued many very fine objects, made by his remote ancestors, from oblivion or destruction, and there is equally no doubt that the amount and extent of the destruction of ancient remains which he is alleged to have perpetrated in recent years have been greatly exaggerated.

¹ See *Mon*, April, 1901, pp. 50, 52.

Notwithstanding all that has been said about "scientific" excavations, the native digger deserves some credit, for with very few exceptions the excavations which have been successful owe their success largely to the information about ancient sites which he has supplied.

Sufficient has been said above to indicate to the reader the class of objects which the remarkable graves already briefly described have yielded, and it now remains to show how the evidence which they afford has been interpreted, and what deductions we are justified in drawing from it.

The first investigator to publish a connected series of conclusions based upon an examination of the antiquities at first hand was Professor Petrie, who, in his *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 59 ff., stated that the classes of things, i.e., flints, pottery, etc., which had been drifting into the hands of collectors and into great national collections for several years before he began to dig at Nakâda, belonged "to a large population spread over "the whole of Upper Egypt"; and that a complete break existed "between the Egyptian civilization and "that of the New Race." By the words "New Race" he designated the people or "certain invaders of "Egypt" by whom the flints, pottery, stone jars, vases, etc., had been made, and he decided that the New Race "possessed an entirely different culture to that of "the Egyptians, and had no apparent connection with "them." Because burials were found which intruded

into the Egyptian tombs of the Early Empire, and because a burial of the XIIth Dynasty was superposed on burials of the "New Race," and because brick tombs were built during the period of the XIIth Dynasty through the ruins of a town of the "New Race," he concluded that the "New Race" lived in Egypt *after* the period of the IVth Dynasty, and *before* that of the XIIth Dynasty. Because the earthenware tables, bowls, etc., which are found in the later style of the "New Race" tombs appear to be copied from the well-known forms of the Early Empire—the adoption of forms being due to imitation and not to learning from ancient Egyptians, all the copies being made by hand, and not on the wheel like the originals—the "New Race" entered Egypt between the Early and Middle Empires. The period in Egyptian history available for such an intrusion is after the Vth Dynasty and before the rise of the XIth Dynasty, i.e., between B.C. 3322 and B.C. 3000, and "from the total absence of any known Egyptian objects belonging to this age in Upper Egypt, it seems not improbable that the dominion of the invaders covered these three centuries, and we may approximately date their remains between 3300 and 3000 B.C." Because Egyptian objects are absent, even in the later period of the history of the "New Race," and the use of the potter's wheel is disregarded, the relations of these "invaders" with the Egyptians appear to have been completely hostile, and there was no trade between them, and we

“must accept the expulsion of the Egyptians as having
“been practically complete from the Thebaïd.” That
the “New Race” was a tribe, “and not merely men
“employed by Egyptians, is also shown by the pre-
“ponderance of women, who have exactly the same
“physical characteristics as the men. Everything,
“therefore, contradicts the association of the Egyptians
“and the New Race; and the absolute exclusion of their
“remains, one from the other, in both tombs and towns,
“makes it impossible to regard them as dwelling in the
“country together. We therefore conclude that the
“invaders destroyed or expelled the whole Egyptian
“population, and occupied the Thebaïd alone.” That
the “New Race” were a “sturdy hill people” is proved
by the “massive legs and tall stature often found.”
They were neither fighters nor quarrelsome, “as only
“about one in 300 shew [*sic*] bones broken at any
“period of life, and not a single skull injured before
“death has been observed”; they were great hunters,
they were acquainted with the metals gold, silver, and
copper, they were right-handed, they could spin and
weave, they were masters in the art of working in
stone and in the production of vases and vessels of
beautiful shape and form; they “had simple marks,
“which were probably personal signs, but never com-
“bined them to form ideas; they had fixed beliefs about
“the future and the needs of the dead, as the order of
“the grave furniture is very constant, and the position
“of the body almost invariable. They had a great

“burning at their funerals, though the body was never
“burnt. But the bodies were often cut up, more or
“less, and in some cases certainly treated as if they were
“partly eaten.” The “New Race” was connected by
Professor Petrie with the Libyans because its pottery
resembles in shape, and form, and decoration, and
material that of the Kabyles, who are the modern
representatives of the Libyans, and because the
hunting habits of the “New Race” resemble those of
the Kabyles, and the tattoo patterns of the “New
Race” resemble those of the Libyans in the tomb
of Seti I., about B.C. 1370. He thought that the
“Egyptians were largely formed from Libyan immi-
“grants to begin with; the basis of the race apparently
“being a mulatto of Libyan-negro mixture, judging from
“the earliest skeletons at Medum.” Finally he concluded
“that in the New Race we see a branch of the same
“Libyan race that founded the Amorite power; that we
“have in their remains the example of the civilization of
“the southern Mediterranean at the beginning of the
“use of metal, about 3200 B.C. And that probably in
“the galleys painted on the pottery we see the earliest
“pictures of that commerce of the Punic race, which
“was so important for some three thousand years later
“on that sea. In short, we have revealed a section of
“the Mediterranean civilization, preserved and dated
“for us by the soil of Egypt.”

Certain of the conclusions which were arrived at
by Professor Petrie were generally accepted by both

anthropologists and Egyptologists, but these were of the class which were self-evident; of the remainder many were diametrically opposed to those arrived by other investigators at first hand, and many were combated with vigour on all sides. On the one hand M. Amélineau claimed that the objects which he had found at Abydos, and which resembled those found by Professor Petrie at Tûkh, dated from the time of the "divine" kings of Egypt, and on the other, Professor Petrie declared that they were not older than the period which lies between B.C. 3300 and B.C. 3000; and the "bed of Osiris," to which the former excavator attributed such a great antiquity, was thought by M. Maspero to be a work not older at most than the XVIIIth Dynasty.

At this period of doubt and uncertainty great light was thrown upon the predynastic ethnography of Egypt and the origin of Egyptian civilization by M. J. de Morgan, whose training as a scientific geologist and mining engineer qualified him to decide many questions on these subjects which were quite outside the competence of Egyptologists, and whose extensive excavations at Naqâda enabled him to speak on the subjects under discussion with peculiar authority. In the year 1898¹ he published the second volume of his work *Recherches sur les Origines de*

¹ The year given on the title-page is 1897, but the work did not, as far as I have been able to find out, appear in England until 1898.

l'Égypte, wherein he described the results of his labours in the field of predynastic research, and set forth the conclusions at which he had arrived; these conclusions were very different from those of Professor Petrie, and the evidence now available shows that the eminent geologist was usually correct in his assertions. Professor Petrie's observations led him to think that the numerous population which produced the remarkable series of objects already referred to occupied the whole of Upper Egypt only, but M. de Morgan showed that their remains may be found on a continuous chain of sites which extends from Cairo in the north to Wâdi Halfa in the south, with which also may be reckoned the Oases and the Fayyûm; thus Professor Petrie's "New Race" occupied the whole of the Nile Valley for nearly one thousand miles instead of a comparatively small portion of it in Upper Egypt. From the list of characteristics of the Egyptians and of the "New Race" which Professor Petrie drew up for purposes of comparison, it was clear that the latter were at a lower stage in the scale of civilization than the former, and that the manners, and customs, and industries, and abilities of the two peoples were entirely different, and that their physical characteristics were entirely distinct. Moreover, the objects found in the graves of the "New Race" showed not the slightest trace of Egyptian influence, and the graves contained no objects which had been made by Egyptians; but there existed considerable evidence to show that the historical Egyptians

had borrowed largely from the industries of the "New Race."

The net result of all this proved that the Egyptians and the "New Race" did not live side by side, and that they did not occupy the country at the same time; for had there been communication between them, the more civilized race would have transmitted to the less civilized a great number of its manners and customs, and the results of its industrial arts, and the use of Egyptian objects would have been adopted by the race with inferior civilization. This being so, one of the two peoples must have preceded the other in the country of Egypt, and the first occupant could be none other than Professor Petrie's "New Race," because, in spite of its less advanced degree of civilization, it had borrowed nothing from the more advanced Egyptians. The "New Race" were, then, the *aborigines, or perhaps, more correctly, the inhabitants of Egypt, whom the Egyptians found there when they entered or invaded the country*, and they could be nothing else.

Having thus proved the great antiquity of the "New Race," M. de Morgan went on to show that the period assigned by Professor Petrie for their existence in Egypt was an impossible one, for at the end of the Early Empire Egypt was highly civilized, and its armies had advanced far into Western Asia and the Eastern Sûdân, and its kings were ruling over large tracts of country; how, then, could a semi-barbarous people like those which formed the "New Race,"

who were armed with flint weapons only, invade Egypt, and expel or massacre the whole of the population of the country without leaving any trace of it behind?

The correct chronological position having been assigned by M. de Morgan to the "New Race," it remained to consider whence they came and where their original home was situated. Professor Petrie had come to the definite conclusion (*Naqada*, p. 64) that the New Race were Libyans and also kinsmen of the Amorites of Syria, and that their remains were examples of the southern Mediterranean civilization of about B.C. 3200; but it is only possible to speak of the New Race as being Libyans in the sense that they were the north-east African substratum of the later race of historic Egyptians. Of the Libyans of predynastic times we know nothing, and, as M. de Morgan has shown that the "New Race" were the aborigines of Egypt, or at least the people whom the Egyptians found in Egypt when they entered the country, it is futile to declare a relationship between the "New Race" of, say, B.C. 5000, and the Amorites, for whom the character of pre-Semitic aborigines of Palestine is claimed, so far as we know, on insufficient evidence. A similarity between early Palestinian and "New Race" pottery does not necessarily imply any racial connection between Libyans and Amorites, and, since Professor Petrie's date for the "New Race" was wrong by at least 2000 years, by his words, "civilization of the southern Mediterranean," we can only understand an early civilization which was *Egyptian*, for there is as

yet no proof that the primitive culture of Palestine and of the Aegean dates from a period which is as remote as B.C. 5000. On the other hand, M. de Morgan declares that he is greatly troubled to find for the peoples who dwelt in the valley of the Nile before the Egyptians a name which will exactly express his thoughts on the subject; he cannot describe them as aborigines, or autochthones, for they were not born in the country, and they probably came from other countries, and either drove out or subjugated the men who lived in the country before them, and whom they found on their arrival there. Further, he is unable to employ the term "Libyans," for that would imply a special origin, and besides we have, he thinks, no reason for placing the hearth of this human race in one country any more than in another. Though not strictly exact, he decided to use the expression "indigènes" for describing the "New Race," and this he uses throughout his book in its relative and not absolute sense, for we know nothing whatever about the origin of this people or of those who preceded them in the Valley of the Nile.¹

The question of the racial connection between the Egyptians and the Libyans has been discussed from a craniological point of view by Mr. Randall-Maciver, who has arrived at the following conclusion:—"The result of this whole investigation has been to show that Libya and early Egypt were not united by any ties of race, but that they were in sufficiently close contact with

¹ J. de Morgan, *o.p. cit.*, p. 51.

“one another or with some common centre to have developed a culture which was in some important respects identical. While, however, too little is known of the early civilization of the Berbers to permit of stating whether it exhibited any characteristics alien to Egypt, it is certain that the prehistoric Egyptians were acquainted with developments of art of which no trace is to be found in Libya. . . . A natural prejudice inclines the archaeologist to suppose that it was the Egyptian who possessed the superior skill, and who supplied their products to their less civilized neighbours without deriving much from the latter in return; but, after all, there is not sufficient evidence to justify any confident assertion upon the point.” (*Libyan Notes*, pp. 111, 113.) In his more recent work, *Earliest Inhabitants of Abydos*, Mr. Randall-Maciver reasserts these views.

Professor Wiedemann thinks that the civilization which is illustrated by the objects from Naḳâda was in some way related to that of the western neighbours of Egypt, and that this is more evident if we consider the “incontrovertible connection” between the civilization of Naḳâda and that which one calls the “island civilization” of Greece, which preceded the Mycenaean period in the country of the northern Mediterranean. But with the evidence at present before us it is difficult to accept as definite or final any statement which asserts an absolute connection between the predynastic cultures of Egypt and Greece, for the very simple fact that we

have at present no reason for dating even the most primitive antiquities from Greece before B.C. 2500, whereas in respect of the predynastic antiquities of Egypt almost the latest possible date that can be assigned to them is B.C. 5000. And in this connection it is important to note that Mr. Arthur Evans' recent discoveries point to the fact that the most primitive culture of Greece, i.e., the culture illustrated by the "Island Graves," was more or less contemporaneous with the period of the XIIth Dynasty.¹ And if this be so, it follows that the fragments of painted Pre-Mycenaean pottery² which were found in the tombs of Tcha, Ten, and Semerkhat, kings of the Ist Egyptian Dynasty, cannot belong to the period of these kings, but must have been introduced into their tombs at some subsequent period. Relying on his view described above, Professor Wiedemann is of opinion that the autochthones of Egypt were related to the "Libyans," that they were conquered and reduced to a state of slavery by another people, and that at the beginning of the Early Empire they formed the inferior class in the Valley of the Nile.

The views of the eminent anthropologist and craniologist, Professor Sergi, on the subject, though neither convincing nor satisfactory, must here be noted,

¹ See Evans, *Primitive Pictographs*, p. 105 ff. ; Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 71.

² These are exhibited in the First Vase Room of the British Museum (Wall-case No. 5).

for in his *Mediterranean Race*, p. 91 f., he says:—
“I cannot here reproduce all the reasons brought
“forward by de Morgan against the opinion of Petrie,
“but they seem to me for the most part just, and
“I accept his conclusions that we are here concerned
“with a primitive population, not one that arrived at a
“late epoch of the old Egyptian empire; as also I
“accept his opinion that we find here a civilisation
“anterior to that of the Pharaohs in its definite and
“well known forms. But I cannot follow de Morgan
“when he attempts to show, even with the aid of
“anthropology, that the prehistoric population was
“different from the Egyptian, which he would bring
“from Asia. Many arguments against his opinions
“may be found in his own discoveries at Naqada and
“elsewhere, and in the physical characters of the
“skulls described by Fouquet, as well as by Petrie.
“First of all we may note the method of burial adopted
“in the necropolis of Naqada and elsewhere, so well
“investigated by Wiedemann, who, though desiring to
“show the Asiatic origin of the Egyptians, really
“furnishes arguments favourable to the opposite
“opinion of an African origin. Excavation in a
“necropolis of the Naqada type shows that the men of
“that period had three methods of burial: ‘Either the
“‘grave received the disseminated and incomplete bones,
“‘or the skeleton was placed in a position recalling that
“‘of the foetus, or the body was burnt in a monumental
“‘tomb,’ as seems to have been the case with a royal

“tomb explored by de Morgan, though this has been
“doubted and even denied by others. (See de Bissing,
“*Les Origines de l'Égypte*, in *L'Anthropologie*, vol. ix.
“p. 415.) Wiedemann, however, accepts this con-
“clusion, and also agrees that these three usages are
“unlike the classical customs of the Egyptians, but he
“believes it may be shown that they are intimately
“united with the Egyptian religion and with the
“worship of Osiris and Horus, as learnt from the *Book*
“*of the Dead* and the ritual formulae of the Egyptians.
“Referring to dismemberment, Wiedemann states that
““the vestiges of this very ancient custom have never
““completely disappeared, and are preserved not only in
““the texts but also in actual practices. Up to a very
““late period the lower part of the foot of the mummy
““was dislocated, and in other cases the phallus of the
““corpse was cut off in order to be embalmed separately
““and buried near the mummy.’ This explains, in his
“opinion, the dismemberment and disorder of the
“bodies in the graves discovered by Petrie, and hence
“a custom which was symbolically preserved down to
“the latest epoch of Egyptian history. As regards
“the absence of portions of the body, explained by
“Petrie as due to a special kind of anthropophagy,
“with the object of inheriting the virtues of the dead,
“Wiedemann gives no satisfactory explanation, but
“cannot accept anthropophagy. . . . This transforma-
“tion of burial customs has convinced me that there
“has been a real evolution up to the definite form of

“embalming which then remained constant. Of this
“Fouquet, in his craniological examination, found
“evident traces in the skulls of Beit Allam, of Guebel-
“Silsileh, and other places. There exists, he states, in
“the skulls of the rude stone epoch in Egypt, deposits
“of bitumen mixed with cerebral substance, and this
“bitumen could not have been introduced by the nasal
“passages, the brain not having been removed, but only
“by the occipital foramen, after the head had been
“cut off; and Petrie repeatedly states that the head
“was generally cut off in the graves he explored. De
“Morgan is compelled to admit that the burial customs
“of the early Egyptians were not yet fixed. If this
“was so, it cannot be affirmed that the historical
“Egyptians were not the descendants of those who left
“their graves at Abydos, Naqada, and Ballas, that is
“to say, the graves of neolithic civilisation. Besides,
“the royal tomb at Naqada, regarded as the tomb
“of Menes, the founder of the Ist Dynasty, clearly
“shows a transition between neolithic civilisation
“and a new civilisation slowly acquiring its definite
“characters.”

Professor Sergi devotes several pages to a discussion of the evidence derived from craniology concerning the “New Race,” which he concludes thus (p. 112):—“Not
“only in this comparison of prehistoric skulls with those
“of the dynasties do we find that both show the same
“forms and therefore belong to the same stock, but also by
“an examination of the royal mummies of Deir-el-Bahari,

“ which, as I have found, yield ellipsoidal and pentagonal
“ forms as well as one beloid. On these grounds the
“ conviction has grown in my mind that there is no
“ difference of race between the historical Egyptians
“ and the men who preceded them, the so-called Proto-
“ Egyptians of Evans, and Morgan’s ‘old race.’ Both
“ alike belong to the Mediterranean stock, and are of
“ African origin.” The above remarks, coming as they
do from an expert craniologist, are extremely interesting,
but they leave an uneasy suspicion in the mind that
the craniological measurements of predynastic skulls
cannot be regarded as possessing any very definite or
absolute authority in the settlement of the question
under consideration, and that the archaeologist must
expect but little help from data which are capable of
being interpreted in several ways.

The view enunciated by Professor Wiedemann resembles closely that of M. Maspero, who many years ago held the opinion that the root-stock of the Egyptians was African, and in his latest pronouncement on the subject he says that the bulk of the Egyptian population presents the characteristics of the white races which one finds settled from all antiquity in the parts of the Libyan continent which are on the shores of the Mediterranean, that it originated in Africa itself, and that it made its way into Egypt from the west or from the south-west. He further suggests that when this people arrived in Egypt they may have found there a black race, which they either destroyed or

drove out, and that they were subsequently added to in number by Asiatics who were introduced either through the Isthmus of Suez or through the marshes of the Delta.¹ The views of Professors Maspero and Wiedemann seem to be the deductions which we cannot help making from the facts before us, and as they are propounded by men who are both archaeologists and Egyptologists they merit serious consideration by all who are interested in the matter. We must, however, note in passing that there is no reason for assuming the existence of a black, or negro population, who preceded the "New Race" in the occupation of the country, and that the importance of the Asiatic element in the historical Egyptian has been understated.

We are now face to face with the difficult question, "Where did the conquerors of the 'New Race' come from?" i.e., Where was the original home of the people who supplanted the "New Race," and who founded the civilization of the historical Egyptians? All the evidence now available points to the fact that these conquerors came from Asia, and as arguments which can be advanced in support of this statement the following may be mentioned:—

(1) An examination of the words found in the early Egyptian inscriptions proves that many of them are akin to the dialects of North and North-East Africa; but it is also evident that in the matter of personal

¹ *Histoire Ancienne*, Paris, 1895, pp. 45, 46.

pronouns, pronominal suffixes, idioms, etc., the language exhibits such remarkable similarities to the Semitic dialects, that they cannot be the result of accident. The only rational way to account for these phenomena is to assume that the language of the Semitic nations and that of the inhabitants of Egypt were descended from the same common stock, from which they had been severed at a very remote period. But it is not correct to assert that the Egyptian language is a Semitic dialect; on the contrary, it is one of the indigenous languages of North Africa which became greatly modified through Proto-Semitic influences; such influences must have emanated from Asia, and they did so at a time when the Semitic languages had not assumed the form in which they are known in the oldest literatures, and when they were, more or less, in a state of flux.

(2) The predynastic graves, of whatever kind, contain no inscriptions, and it is clear that those who made them were unacquainted with the art of writing. M. de Morgan declares that about B.C. 4000 the only peoples in the world who could write were the Semitic and Turanian Chaldeans, who lived side by side in Mesopotamia, and the Egyptians, who lived in a country which was at some distance from the Euphrates, and that the systems of writing employed by all three peoples had a common origin, and that it is more rational to assume that the art of writing was transmitted from the Mesopotamian to the Egyptian peoples, than to think

that it was discovered by each group independently, especially as the distance between them was comparatively small, and communication between them was relatively easy. Many scholars have held this view substantially for several years past, but all do not agree as to the details of the manner in which the transmission was effected. If we assume that the conquerors of the "New Race" came from a country in which the art of writing was practised, it is natural that they should bring with them a knowledge of it into Egypt; but although the fundamentals of the picture systems of writing employed in Mesopotamia and Egypt may at one time have been identical, it is quite certain that they developed on entirely different lines, and that an important factor in the different methods of development was the material employed for writing purposes in the two countries. In Mesopotamia the material most used for writing upon was clay, while in Egypt papyrus was employed; this was probably due to the fact that because of its fine texture and tenacity the clay of Mesopotamia was more suitable for tablets which had to be inscribed and baked, than the mud of Egypt. Be this as it may, the influence of the material upon the writing was soon evident, for whereas the Egyptian scribe found it was very easy to depict the curves and circular forms of natural and artificial objects on papyrus, his Babylonian brother found it to be almost impossible to do so, and he was obliged to make wedges impressed upon the soft clay to

take the place of linear designs.¹ That the knowledge of writing was probably derived from some Asiatic source seems evident, but the Egyptian written character was not a modification of the linear Babylonian script, still less of any variation of cuneiform character; it is probably more correct to assert that the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the early cuneiform characters had a common ancestor, of which no traces have survived.

(3) The predynastic graves of the later period were found to contain numbers of small objects made of copper and bronze; the material for the former might quite well have been dug out from the mines of Sinai by the indigenous peoples of Egypt, though no evidence in support of this view exists. On the other hand, there is every probability that they obtained their knowledge of the artificial composition bronze from some nation that dwelt in or near Southern Mesopotamia, where bronze was apparently made and used for various purposes at a very early period.

(4) Perhaps one of the strongest arguments in favour of an Asiatic origin of the conquerors of the "New Race" is the use, in the early ages only of Egyptian history, of the cylinder seal, which is one of the chief characteristics of the Sumerian and Babylonian civilization, and which was employed universally in Mesopo-

¹ The most recent word on this interesting subject has been said by Mr. L. W. King in his *Easy Lessons in the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 3 ff. The development of the wedge characters from the picture signs is well illustrated by the comparative list given on p. 4.

tamia and the neighbouring countries from the earliest to the latest times. In Egypt the earliest cylinder seals appear not to be older than the Ist Dynasty, and the latest in the British Museum is No. 16,579, which is inscribed with the name of Amen-hetep I., B.C. 1600. In connection with cylinder seals must also be mentioned the art of brick-making, and as we do not find any brick buildings in Egypt much before the period of the Ist Dynasty, whilst they were common in Mesopotamia from the earliest times, we are justified in assuming that a knowledge of brick-making was brought into the country from the East.

(5) It has been declared that whilst in general the Babylonians buried their dead in a semi-embryonic position,¹ they were sometimes in the habit of burning them partly or wholly,² but sufficient regard has not been paid to the *date* of the tombs in Babylonia which are here referred to. The glazed pottery which is found with such burials, and the peculiar character of the earthenware coffins and objects that accompany them, proclaim that all such burials belong to a period subsequent to that of the rule of the Persians in Mesopotamia; we should therefore be in error if we attempted to prove a connection between the predynastic Egyptians and the Babylonians by comparing a tomb

¹ See Taylor, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyr* (Journal R.A.S., xv. (1855), p. 270).

² Koldewey, *Die Altbabylonischen Gräber* (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. ii. pp. 403-430).

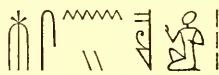
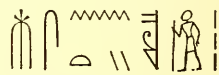
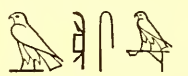
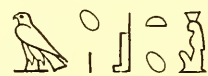
in Babylonia of, say, B.C. 250, with a tomb in Egypt of, say, B.C. 5000. Besides this, we are assuming that the conquerors of the "New Race" were akin to the Babylonians, and it was this very people who introduced into Egypt the custom of burying the dead lying on their back at full length, a custom which eventually superseded the indigenous Egyptian practice of burying the dead in a semi-embryonic position. From the famous "Stela of the Vultures"¹ it is clear that the early Babylonians were buried lying at full length and *not* in the doubled-up position which is the chief characteristic of the earliest race of Egyptians.

The facts set out in the above five paragraphs make it clear that the invaders of Egypt who conquered the "New Race" and amalgamated with them came from the East, and although it cannot be proved, as is sometimes stated,² that the Egyptians derived their earliest culture from Babylonia, it is certain that many of the most important elements of Egyptian culture were brought into Egypt by a people who were not remotely connected with the Babylonians. Where did this people come from? By what route did they enter Egypt? To answer these questions two theories have been propounded: according to one, the conquerors of the "New Race" entered Egypt from the north-east by way of the peninsula of Sinai and the Delta, making


¹ E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 97, plate 3 C, Paris, 1884.

² Hommel, *The Civilization of the East*, p. 1.

their way thence up the river; according to the other, which is certainly the more probable, starting from some point in Southern Arabia, they crossed over the straits of Bâb al-Mandab to the African shore, which they followed northwards until they arrived at the entrance of the Wâdî Ḥammâmât at Kuşêr,¹ they then entered this valley, and after a few days' march arrived in Egypt near the ancient city of Coptos. According to both theories this people was of a Proto-Semitic origin, and as it is admitted by many eminent authorities that the cradle of the Semitic Race was in Arabia, the home of these invaders may quite well have been in the southern part of that country, and their civilization may equally well have been derived from the Sumerians of Babylonia. In favour of this latter theory the following arguments may be adduced:—


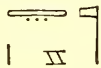
1. Tradition generally asserts that the god Horus of Behuțet and his servants, or followers, who are described as *mesniu* or *mesenti*,  or  i.e., “metal-workers,” and who are to be identified with the Shemsu Ḥeru  or “followers of Horus,” who accompany the other form of the god, i.e., Horus the son of Isis,  Ḥeru-sa-Āst, (Harsiesis), came from the South and not the North. By the word South we are not to understand Nubia or Central Africa, as some have con-



¹ The ^{قصر}القصر of Yâkût, IV. p. 126.

tended, but the South of Egypt, or Upper Egypt, when the writer is considering the matter from the standpoint of Lower Egypt. Now in the whole legend of Horus and his *mesniu* we no doubt have a tradition of the invasion of Egypt from the South by the conquerors of the "New Race," who succeeded in overthrowing the indigenous peoples chiefly by their weapons of metal. The hieroglyphic inscriptions which record this legend under different forms mention the neighbourhood of Denderah as the place where the principal battle between Horus and his *mesniu* and the indigenous people took place, a record of the incident being preserved in the name of the place which the Egyptians called "Khatā-neter"  i.e., the "god's slaughter."¹ Now, according to the second theory the invaders made their way to Kūṣêr, and if they entered Egypt by the Wādî Ḥammâmât, they would strike the Nile at a point near the modern town of Kēna, which is almost exactly opposite Denderah, near which, as we have said above, the battle took place. Having arrived at this point the conquerors occupied the country to the south as well as to the north, but they seem to have met with considerable opposition near Thebes, and not to have advanced much further than the modern town of Edfu, where their leader founded a settlement, which continued to the

¹ On this legend see Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, plates 12-19; and Maspero, *Les Forgerons d'Horus*, *Études de Mythologie*, Vol. II. p. 313 ff.

latest times, and formed the principal seat of the worship of Horus of Behutet. This is the legend of the fight between Horus and Set, i.e., the struggle of the invading leader and his followers against the so-called "New Race."

2. Another legend makes the goddess Hathor (i.e.,  Het-Heru, "House of Horus"), the principal seat of whose worship was at Denderah, come from Ta-neter , i.e., the "divine land," or "land of the god"; in late times this name is often applied in the texts to Egypt, but in the earliest times it always refers to a country to the *south* of Egypt, which may well be identified with Somaliland and Abyssinia, or even the country further to the north, i.e., the modern Erythrea.

3. The Egyptians themselves always seem to have had some idea that they were connected with the people of the land of Punt , a country which is probably identical with the Ta-neter, or the "divine land" mentioned above, and M. Naville thinks that there may have been among the Egyptians a "vague and ancient tradition that they originally came from the land of Punt, and that it had been their home before they invaded and conquered the lower valley of the Nile."¹ As the name Punt is always written in the texts without , the determinative of a foreign

¹ *Deir el Bahari*, Pt. III., London, 1898, p. 11.

country, it seemed as if they regarded the people of that place as being racially connected with themselves ; and we are probably justified in regarding the inhabitants of Punt as a section of the invading hosts from Arabia which was left behind by the greater portion of the conquerors on their way from the Bâb al-Mandab to Kûşêr. Whether this be so or not, it is quite obvious from the representations of the people of Punt which occur on the monuments that the racial connection between the two peoples must have been exceedingly close ; and we may note in passing that the plaited, turned-up beard which is a characteristic of the Egyptian gods is found to have been worn by the inhabitants of Punt in the time of Queen Hâtshepset ; and also by the Egyptians of the 1st Dynasty, though never at a later date. It is sometimes stated that the conquering race, having passed through Punt to Egypt, made its way onwards into Palestine, and that the Philistines (of the Bible) are probably a branch of this race ; such a statement, however, ignores all the arguments in favour of a Western or European origin for the Philistines. To suggest still further that the name of the people of Punt is in any way connected with that of the Poeni or Phoenicians, who in later times founded the Punic colony of Carthage, is to betray an ignorance of the following facts :—1. That the Phoenicians were pure Semites, who spoke a language which was almost identical with Hebrew ; 2. That there is no evidence that they called themselves

by any name which in any way resembled Pun or Punt or the Greek Phoinix; 3. That the Latin adjective *punicus* is derived from the noun Poenus, which is the Latin equivalent of the word Phoinix, between which and the word Punt there is no resemblance or connection whatsoever.

It may now be mentioned that the theory, which would make the conquerers of the "New Race" enter Egypt by the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, receives a remarkable confirmation in the fact that the earliest tombs and monuments of the dynastic Egyptians are found in the neighbourhood of Coptos, where the Wâdî Ḥammâmât opens into the Nile Valley, i.e., at Abydos and Naḳâda, and that Manetho states that the first two dynasties of kings were of Thinite origin. We have briefly described the excavations which have been made in the predynastic cemeteries of Egypt by Europeans and others, and have mentioned the principal deductions, which may fairly be made from the facts which have come to light through the labours of the excavators, concerning the original homes and origin of those who were buried in them; and we may now, in a few paragraphs, summarize the information derived from an examination of the objects which were found in them, and so endeavour to give the reader an idea of the physical characteristics and customs of the men who at such a remote period, by their skill and knowledge, obtained a position of pre-eminence among their fellows.

The predynastic Egyptians, that is to say, that stratum of them which was indigenous to North Africa, belonged to a white or light-skinned race with fair hair,¹ who in many particulars resembled the Libyans, who in later historical times lived very near the western bank of the Nile. They were dolichocephalic, or "long-headed," i.e., the diameter of their skulls from side to side, or the transverse diameter, bore a less proportion to the longitudinal diameter, i.e., that from front to back, than 8 to 10 ; hence they were, both physically and mentally, entirely different from the Egyptians, whose skulls, in respect of measurements, occupy a middle position between the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic, or "short-headed" men. The hair of both sexes was short, and the beards of the men were long and pointed, but turned up at the points ; the faces of both men and women were regular and oval in shape, and the lips projected but slightly. The eyes of the women were almond shaped and very broad, and they were shaded with heavy, arched eyebrows ; the figures of the women were comparatively slim, their thighs were broad, and their feet of moderate size, with, in some cases, a good instep. Both men and women seem to have had slightly sloping shoulders, and to have been a little above the average height, and

¹ Prof. Virchow (*Abhandlungen der Königl. Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1899) declares that the light colour of the hair found on predynastic bodies is due to the action of the salt in the soil, and that the hair was originally black.

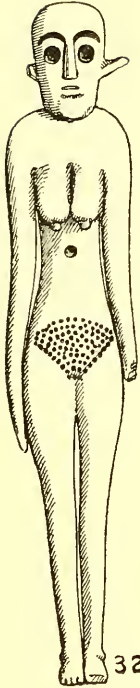
not of a heavy type in their build. They seem to have tattooed their bodies with figures of animals and with wavy lines, etc., but the direct evidence for this assumption is not very strong.¹ It is well known that nearly all semi-savage or barbarous peoples adorn their bodies either with painted scenes or with tattooed designs, and there is no good reason for believing that the predynastic Egyptians formed any exception to the general rule. The dynastic Egyptians do not seem to have adopted tattooing on any considerable scale, although, according to the examples quoted by Professor Wiedemann,² they resorted to it occasionally, but M. de Morgan thinks that the pieces of red and yellow ochre, which are found so frequently in the tombs of the predynastic Egyptians, formed the colouring matter which they used in tattooing, and if this be so the custom must have been widespread. It is probable that in the daytime most of the predynastic Egyptians wore no clothing of any kind, but the members of the ruling houses or families seem to have worn the undressed skins of animals, such as goats or gazelles, made into drawers which they fastened round the waist with a rope or cord tied into a knot; in any case there is no evidence that they wore long, loose, flowing garments. It seems that when skins of animals were worn it was the custom to allow the tail of the

¹ See J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 56.

² See J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 222, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 106, 109.

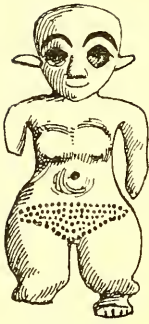
animal to hang down behind the man's back ; this is a characteristic of men's dress in the early dynastic times, and survives as an important feature of the festal costume of kings and gods down to the latest period. The principal garment of the women seems to have been a skirt, not very loose, which reached almost to the ankles, and the upper part of the body and the arms remained without covering. In the accompanying illustration are reproduced a few predynastic ivory figures of women from the British Museum collection, which will give the reader an idea of the general appearance of women during the predynastic period. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the earliest types, and Nos. 4, 5, and 6 a later type, which shows the treatment of the hair when allowed to grow long ; No. 5 has eyes inlaid with lapis-lazuli, by which we are probably intended to understand that the woman here represented had blue eyes. No. 7 belongs probably to a much later date, for, judging by the fringed or pleated work round the neck of the garment which the woman wears, at the period when she lived the people must have been able to weave linen of some fineness ; another proof of the later date of the figure is the manner in which the hair is gathered up into a mass, and held in position by a fillet which runs round the back of the head. According to M. de Morgan, the art of weaving was unknown to the earliest predynastic Egyptians, and he bases this view upon the fact that he found no woven stuffs in any of the graves except such as contained

No. 1.



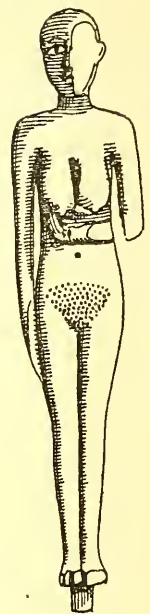
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No. 2.



32144

No. 3.



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No. 4.



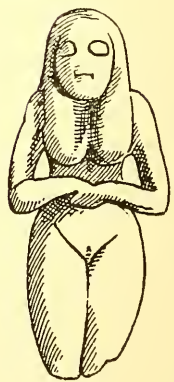
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No. 5.



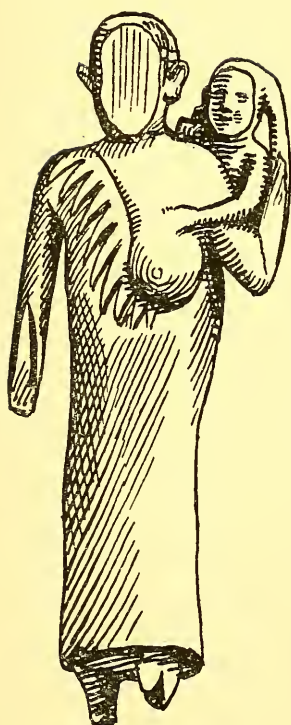
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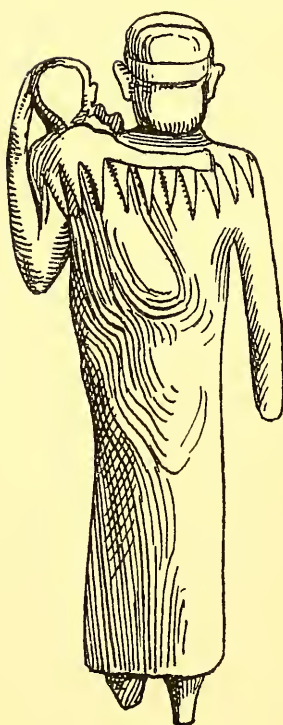
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No. 7.
Front View.



32143

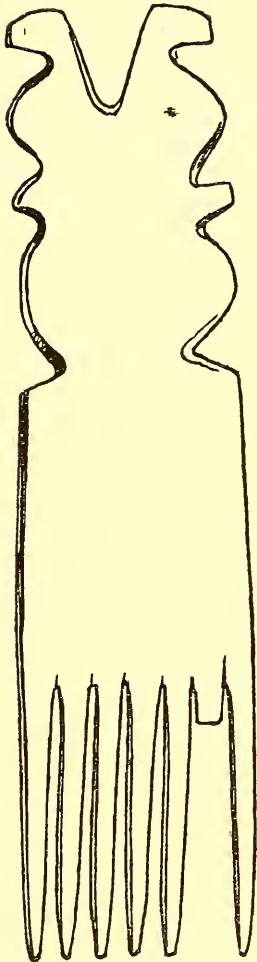
No. 7
Back View.



32143

Bone or ivory figure of a mother and child of the early Dynastic Period (?)
(Full size.)

metal objects; in this case No. 7 must belong either to the period of the Ist Dynasty or that which immediately preceded it.



18666

Bone or ivory comb,
Predynastic Period.

Predynastic women wore necklaces of beads made of carnelian, agate, flint, and other hard stones, and of limestone, and shells; bracelets made of ivory, limestone, flint, and mother-of-pearl have also been found in their graves. The flint bracelets prove that the makers must have possessed a marvellous facility in the working of flint, which could only have been acquired as the result of flint-working for generations, and we may well believe that the production of a flint bracelet marked the highest point of the art. Flint bracelets are rare in dynastic times, and it seems as if Egyptian women then no longer wore them. A number of bone combs with short teeth have been found in predynastic graves, but they can hardly have been used except for purposes of ornament, if they were

known in the early period, for women as well as men wore their hair short; some combs are surmounted by

figures of birds, but these must belong to the period which immediately preceded dynastic times. Side by side with these must be mentioned the large numbers of bone and ivory objects to which the name pendants has been given; they are often curved and in shape generally resemble the claw of an animal. Some of them are pierced at the broad end, and some of them have notches cut there, and all of them are ornamented with horizontal, diagonal, or zigzag lines; it seems as if such objects must have been worn as ornaments, or have served some purpose of the toilet. In the same class M. de Morgan groups the long, hollow ivory sticks which are made in the form of rude figures of men; the larger end is usually closed by means of a stopper made of some resinous substance, and the hollow beneath is found to be filled with coloured substance, such as sulphur of antimony, etc.

Thus we have seen that the earliest predynastic men and women in Egypt dressed themselves in skins, and that their descendants, certainly the female portion of them at least, made themselves garments out of woven fabrics, and that the ornaments worn by the women consisted of necklaces of beads made of stones, etc., of bracelets made of flint, etc., and of combs, pendants, and plaques made of bone and ivory. The ivory sticks referred to above as being filled with some coloured substance we may look upon as prototypes of the *kohl* or stibium tubes of the dynastic period, and the presence of sulphur of antimony, to which

M. de Morgan refers, adds confirmation to the suggestion.

The dwellings of the predynastic Egyptians were small huts formed of branches of trees or reeds,¹ tied together with twigs, and probably much resembled the huts, with walls formed of reeds tied together and roofs made of the dried leaves of palms called "salatik," which are in common use among the better classes of the Sûdân at the present day; in the summer time they did, no doubt, as the modern Egyptian does when he is pasturing his flocks in Upper Egypt, i.e., simply sheltered themselves behind a mat of reeds through which the wind could easily make its way. Of the position of such dwellings nothing can be said, for all traces of the habitations of the predynastic Egyptians in the actual valley are buried under some forty feet of Nile mud. Buildings or houses made of crude brick usually contain the remains of metal objects, a fact which is sufficient to prove that the art of brick-making is one of the characteristics of the conquerors of the "New Race," i.e., of the invaders from the East. Whether the indigenous population was dense or only very large cannot at present be said, but, judging from the remains of the predynastic settlements which M. de Morgan identified on the edge of the desert on both

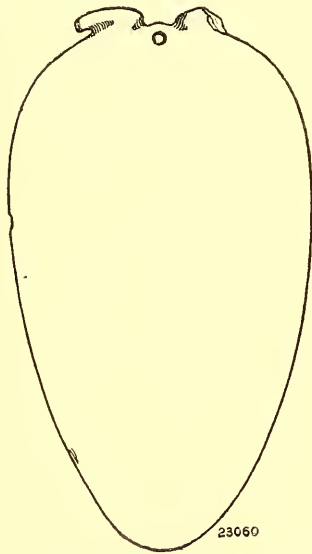
¹ This view was also held by Diodorus Siculus (I. xliii.), οἴκησιν ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἔχειν δοκιμάζοντας ἀρκεῖσθαι ταύτη. (Ed. Didot, p. 36.)

banks of the Nile, the occupants of the country must have been tolerably numerous.

From the fact that the predynastic Egyptians buried their dead in skins of animals, and that they also wore drawers made of skins, we are justified in assuming that they spent much of their time in hunting in the forests, which in the period of their earliest occupation of the Nile Valley covered the banks of the river. The numerous ivory objects which have been found in their graves seem to indicate that the elephant must have been one of the wild animals which they hunted, but it is pretty certain that long before the arrival of the dynastic Egyptians that mighty beast had retreated from the country and made his home further to the south. The name "Ābu," i.e., "elephant," which is given to the Island of Elephantine in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, is probably due to the fact that some one in very early days thought that the shape of the island resembled that of an elephant, just as some centuries ago the Arabs, thinking that the piece of land on which the great city was built at the point where the Blue Nile flows into the White Nile resembled the trunk of an elephant, called the city itself "Khartûm," i.e., "elephant's trunk." The chief point of interest in the old name of Elephantine Island is that the early Egyptians who gave it the name "Ābu" must have known what an elephant was like, and that they were familiar with the form of the animal. But although the elephant was not found in

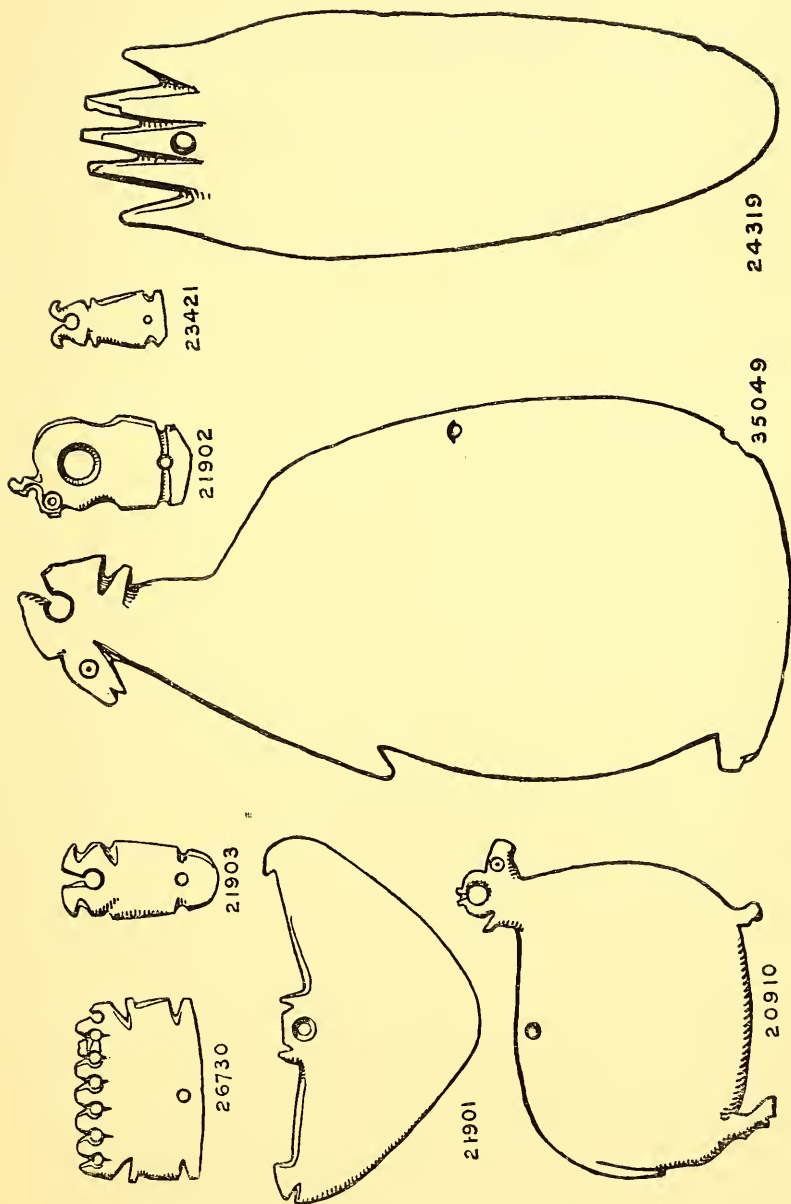
Egypt in early dynastic times, we are certain that the hippopotamus was, and that he was often hunted either in or near Egypt is clear from the fact that the tombs of great men often contain pictures showing the pursuit and attack of the beast by the deceased; the wild bull, the wild boar, and all the various kinds of animals of the gazelle and antelope species, the lion, leopards of various kinds, the hyaena, the wolf, the

jackal, the crocodile, etc., were frequently hunted. The principal homes of such wild animals must have been the swamps and marshes which existed in many parts of the Nile Valley and in the Delta, and it was in these that the predynastic and dynastic Egyptians sought their prey; the formation of such can be well explained by what takes place to this day in the rivers to the south of Egypt. As long as the rivers are in flood their irregular channels are filled to



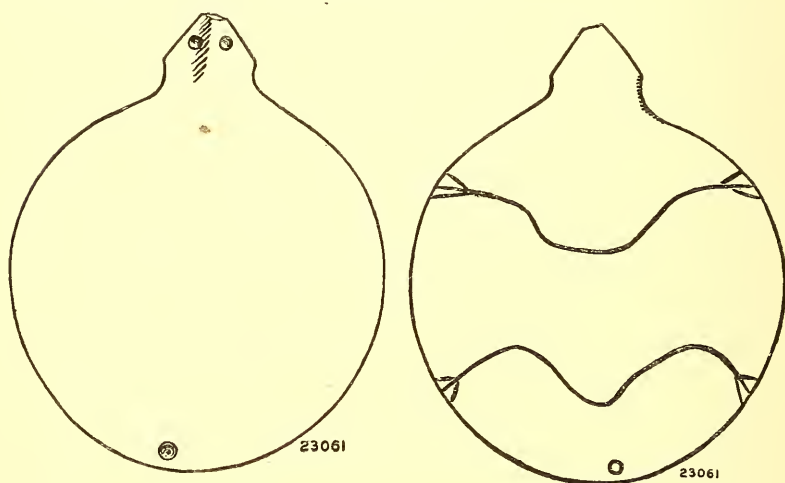
Green slate object representing
a cuttle fish.
Predynastic Period.

overflowing, but as soon as the rains in Central Africa cease the rivers fall rapidly, and before long dry patches and sand-banks appear in their beds. As the supply of water further diminishes, such patches grow wider and longer, and eventually the river becomes nothing but a series of lakes and marshes or swamps, separated



Group of green slate objects in the form of animals, etc. Predynastic Period.

from each other by long reaches of sand; want of water compels the animals and reptiles to congregate in and about such lakes and swamps, and travellers who have seen such in the remote parts of the Atbara and of the Blue and White Niles describe the scenes as something extraordinary. Here may be seen elephants, hippopotami, lions, hyaenas, panthers, crocodiles, turtles, etc., all living together in a peace which is forced upon



Green slate object representing turtle. Predynastic Period.

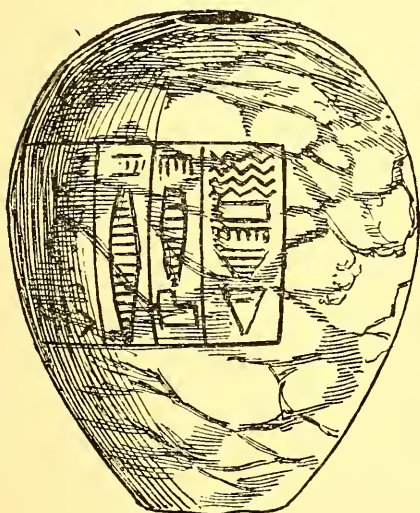
them by their common enemy—thirst. What is true of the Atbara and other rivers of the kind in our own days was true for the Nile in predynastic and dynastic times, and for long after the conquerors of the “New Race” had made their way into Egypt the lords of the land would be able to indulge their fancy for hunting “big game.” To attempt to enumerate the birds of predynastic Egypt is hopeless, for the varieties must

have been exceedingly numerous; the forms of a large number of species have been preserved by the hieroglyphic characters of the dynastic Egyptians, but these probably only represent the varieties which, either by their habits or through the ideas which were associated with them in early times, appealed in a special manner to the early masters of picture writing. Moreover, it is more than probable that by the time the dynastic Egyptians had developed their system of writing, several of the species of birds of predynastic Egypt had ceased to exist. The ostrich seems to have been esteemed in a most unusual manner, for remains of its eggs and bones are often found in predynastic graves; the few perfect specimens which have been discovered are usually pierced at the ends and covered with designs of various kinds. It is interesting to note that ostriches' eggs are used in the ornamentation of churches and mosques in many parts of Egypt and in the countries lying further east, to this day, and a certain amount of sanctity is generally attached to them; they are pierced and suspended by cords attached to the roofs in prominent parts of these edifices. In some churches they are hung before the altar, and the present writer has seen many which have been painted and decorated before they were so hung. Neither Christian nor Muḥammadan had any good reason to give for having such things in their churches and mosques, and no one seemed to know what the eggs typified, but the preservation of the

egg of the ostrich with such reverence is, no doubt, a survival of a custom which was common in prehistoric times.

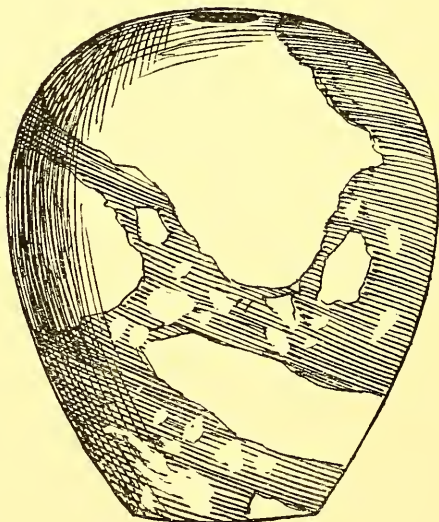
We have now to consider the various kinds of weapons with which the predynastic Egyptian armed himself when he set out to hunt wild animals, or to defend himself in war against his enemies. The commonest and simplest form of weapon, and that with which man first defended himself, was the stick or staff; when used as a weapon the stick was short, and when used as a mark of rank or dignity it was long. To make the short stick more effective it was weighted at one end with a piece of ivory or stone, which was either tied on to the stick or pierced in such a way that it might fit on to the end of the stick. Such stones, or mace-heads, as they are generally called, are usually conical in shape, and are made of several kinds of stone, the most favourite, however, being breccia, or the red and yellow "plum-pudding" stone; a mace-head attached to a stout stick about two feet long would make a very formidable club, and it is, no doubt, the knowledge of this fact which has caused this weapon to be popular all over the world. The accompanying illustrations represent the famous "mace-head" inscribed with the name of the Babylonian king Sargon I., of Agade, about B.C. 3800, and a "mace-head" from a predynastic grave in Egypt; both are of the same shape, both are pierced in the same way, and both are made of the same kind of stone,

but the former was found more than twenty years ago in Mesopotamia, and the latter was found at Abydos in Egypt a few years ago. Mace-heads are sometimes round in shape, and both round and conical were used all over Babylonia and Assyria from Sumerian times down to the period of the last Assyrian Empire, and, if Sumerian legend is to be trusted, the



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Mace-head of Sargon I. of Agade.

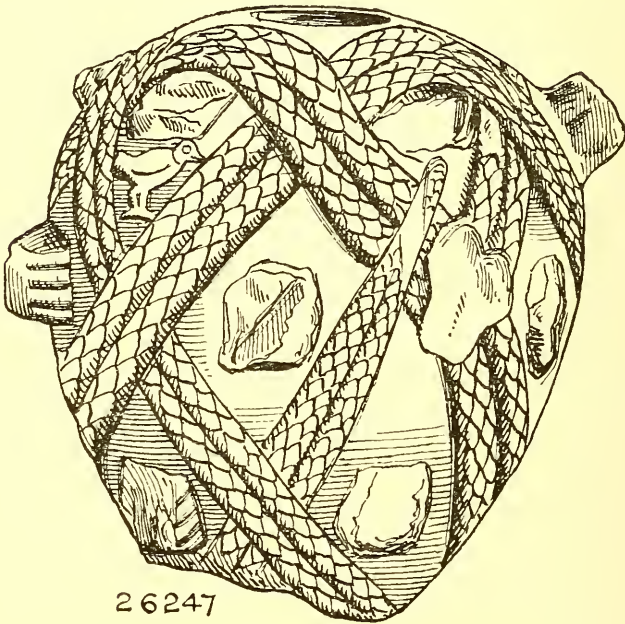


32089

Mace-head from a predynastic grave.

great god Marduk, when he was commissioned by the gods to wage war on their behalf against Tiamat and the brood of fiends whom she had spawned, armed himself with a *mul-mullu*, or club, of this kind, and the weapon helped him to slay the monster. To this day the people of Mesopotamia in their journeys through the desert carry with them clubs made of a short piece

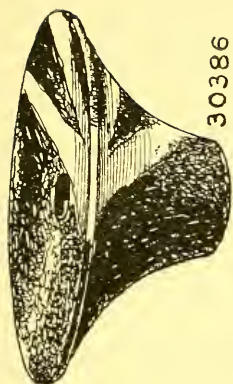
of stout stick with a head made of bitumen and clay, and its shape closely resembles that of the club which is represented on some of the Assyrian sculptures. In Egypt the club was used both by predynastic and dynastic Egyptians, and in one form or the other it is found on walls and reliefs wherever battle scenes are represented. The mace-head figured on this page is of



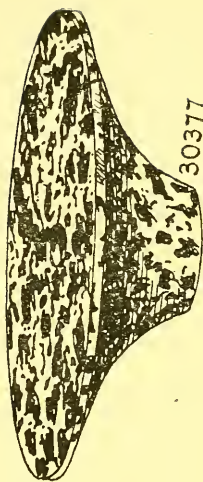
26247

Egyptian limestone mace-head of the Archaic Period.

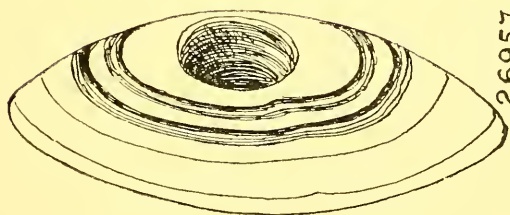
peculiar interest. It was found in an early dynastic grave, and is made of hard limestone; it is ornamented with a representation of a serpent coiled round it, and with figures of birds, and the projections on it recall the spiked club of mediaeval times. It is probable that this object was mounted on a long stick and then



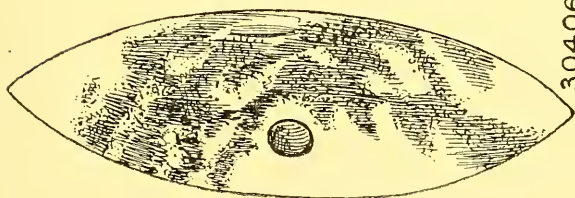
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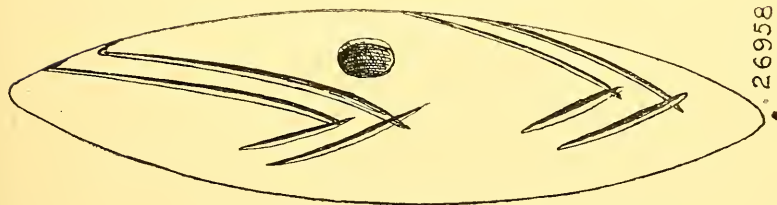
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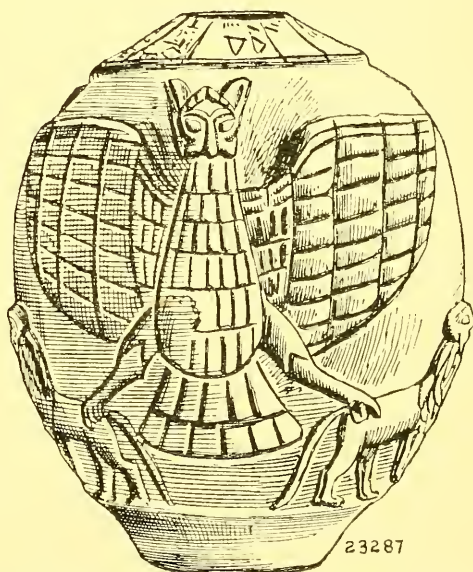


26958

Variegated stone mace-heads of the Predynastic Period.

carried about in processions or used for ceremonial purposes, even as some of the large mace-heads were used in Babylonia. An example of this class is figured below. Close by the perforation, on the top, is inscribed the record of the dedication of a temple to the god Ningirsu, by Enannadu, a governor of Shirpurla, or Lagash, about B.C. 4500. Round the object

are sculptured in relief rude figures of an eagle, lions, etc., which are considered by some to form the ancient emblem of the city Shirpurla, the modern Tell Lo. Another form of mace-head which has been found in predynastic graves is illustrated by the drawings on

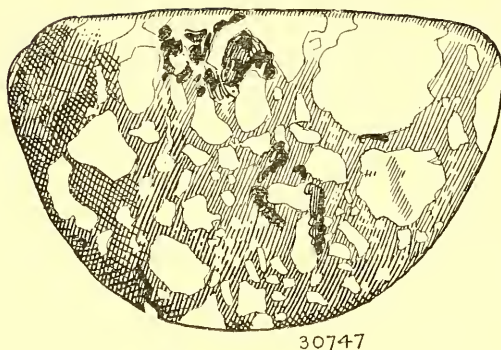


Mace-head inscribed with the record of the dedication of a temple to Ningirsu by Enannadu, governor of Lagash in Babylonia, B.C. 4500.

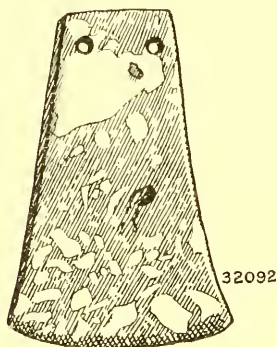
perhaps, right to group here the class of stone objects of which specimens are represented on the same page; all these are in the British Museum.

The next most useful object commonly employed by the predynastic Egyptians, whether for purposes of war or peace, was the axe-head, which was made

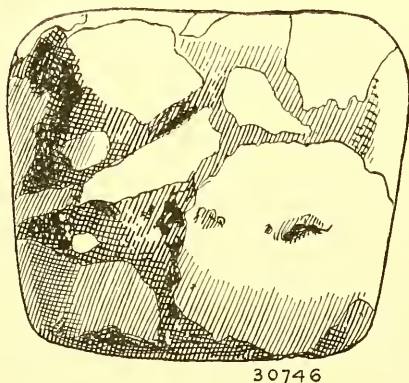
No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



Axe-heads of the Archaic Period, made of variegated red and yellow stone.

either of flint or of some other hard stone, and was either polished or left rough; it was probably fastened to its handle by means of leathern thongs. Flint daggers, knives, spear-heads, arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., have been found in large numbers, and nearly every great museum contains numerous examples of the various types of these objects. In spite, however, of the excellence of their flint weapons the predynastic Egyptians must have trapped or snared the greater number of wild beasts which they killed, for none of

their weapons mentioned above would be effective in the case of "big game," except at close quarters, and after the animal had been dragged down. With them hunting was a necessity, and it must have formed one of the chief sources of their food supply; their other great source was the Nile, which must always have contained large numbers of fine fish. The flint harpoons which have been found prove that the early indigenous peoples of Egypt knew how to spear fish with such implements, and the fishing scenes in the tombs testify to the fact that the Egyptians of dynastic times were as skilful in the gentle art as their predecessors. The greater number of the fish caught, however, were probably obtained not by spearing but by reed traps built at the sides of the river, and some were, no doubt, caught by the line and net. But there must have been a time when the pre-dynastic Egyptian possessed neither line nor net, and when he did what the poor peasant in Mesopotamia does to this day. Having selected a place on the river-bank where the side is not too steep and the water is not too deep, he fixes a number of stout reeds on sticks upright in the river in such a manner that they form a semi-circular palisade, one end of which touches the bank, whilst the other does not quite touch it; by these means a portion of the water is enclosed. In the gap which is left between the one end of the palisade and the river-bank are placed a number of reeds slantwise with their tops pointing inwards towards the enclosure, and experience proves that when

the fish have once swum over them they are unable to swim back; they are thus caught in a trap which has the merit of having water continually running through it, and is, besides, inexpensive. Great numbers of large fish are frequently caught in such traps along the swamps through which the Tigris and Euphrates flow, but in the portions of these rivers where the current runs fast traps of this kind are unprofitable, for the stream washes the reeds out of the ground. That some such method as this of catching fish must have been employed in Egypt in the earliest times is evident—for as M. de Morgan has rightly observed,¹ the peoples on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates and the Nile must have developed under the same conditions, since they had the same needs, and they possessed the same natural resources, and lived under almost the same natural conditions, in countries the soil of which had been formed in almost the same manner.

In his pursuit of his calling, or in quest of food, the predynastic fisherman must have discovered at a very early period that his labours would be much lightened if he had the means of following up his prey in the marshes, and his inventive faculties were soon set to work to make a raft or boat of some kind. The materials used first of all by him were, no doubt, tree trunks and reeds, or the leaves of some kind of tree resembling the palm; he guided the tree trunk with his

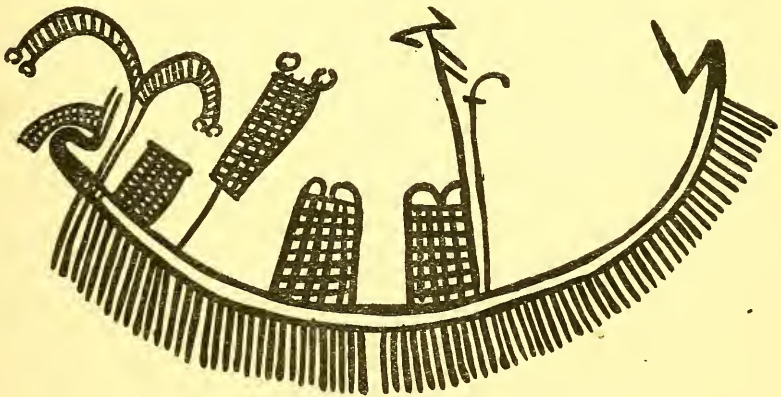
¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

In an interesting paper published in *L'Anthropologie*, entitled *Sur quelques prétendus Navires Égyptiens*, Mr. Torr has reproduced a number of drawings of early boats from vases in the British Museum which have the great merit of being faithful copies of the objects which they represent; accuracy of representation is, as Mr. Torr says, an important consideration in the interpretation of the subjects.¹ Mr. Torr goes on to point out that though we have human beings, gazelles and ostriches depicted on the vases, we never have fish; that no rowers are ever represented in the supposed boats; and from certain lines on one side of a model of a boat made of the same material as the vases, he draws conclusions which confirm him in his opinion that the long curved lines do not represent boats at all. On the contrary, he thinks the curved line represents a rampart, that the straight short lines, which are usually called oars, represent a *glacis*, that the gap which is seen in this row marks the path by which the rampart is approached, and that the objects which are called cabins are nothing else than little towers on each side of the rampart.² In the accompanying

¹ “ J’appelle l’attention sur les inexactitudes dans les figures de M. de Morgan comme dans celles de M. Petrie, parce que le degré de confiance que méritent ces images est une considération importante pour l’interprétation des sujets.”

² “ Pour ma part, je crois que les longues lignes courbes, qui ont été considérées comme représentant des navires, sont, en réalité, l’indication d’un rempart; que les lignes droites plus courtes, qualifiées de rames, indiquent une sorte de glacis; que la lacune qui

illustrations, which are drawn from predynastic vases in the British Museum, a few varieties of such paintings are depicted, and an examination of them will show that they really are intended to represent boats, and the pictures of boats which are drawn upon papyri of a late period prove that certain of their characteristics were preserved long after their meanings had been forgotten. All the boats here represented are



Representation of a boat from a predynastic vase.

of the same kind, and the plan of their construction proves that they were intended for river work, where it was necessary for the bow or stern of the boat to project up the bank over the shallow water there. This fact makes it impossible for such boats to have been used for sea-going purposes as suggested by Prof. Petrie.

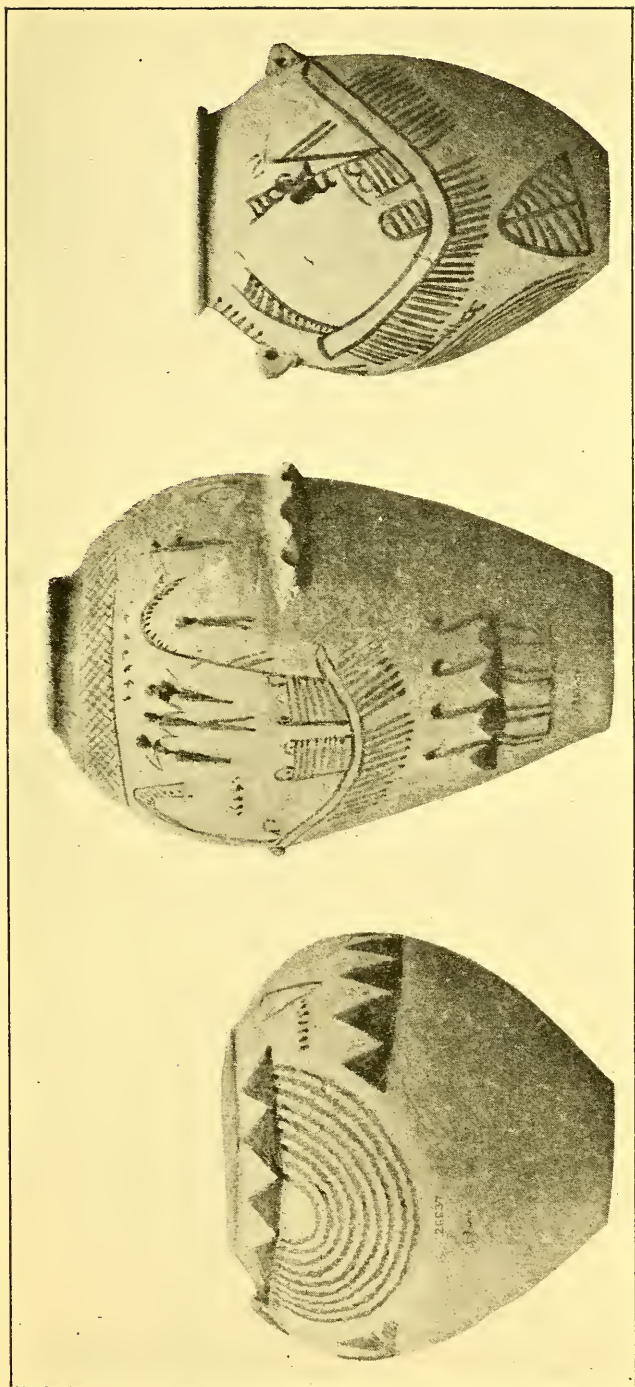
s'observe dans cette rangée marque le sentier par lequel on accédait au rempart ; enfin, que les objets qualifiés des cabines ne sont pas autre chose que de petites tourelles de part et d'autre de l'entrée du rempart." *L'Anthropologie*, tom. ix., p. 32 ; see also p. 717.

Each boat contains two small huts, which are placed amidships, and attached to one of these is a sort of mast, on the top of which is an emblem of some kind ; in the front of the boat is placed what appears to be a branch or bough of a tree, and in some examples¹ a rope for tying up is represented under the front of the boat, and steering poles are represented at the stern. The numerous lines which project from the boat vertically downwards are considered by Prof. Petrie² to represent oars, and he believes such boats to be neither more nor less than rowing galleys, probably because they contain nothing which can be identified as sails ; he would rather refer “these galleys to the Mediterranean than to the Nile,”³ and considers the pottery on which such “galleys” are represented to have been “imported into Egypt from elsewhere.” But if the vertical lines really represent oars the boats in which they were worked must have been very large indeed, in fact they would probably have been too large to float on the Nile ; but whether this was so or not

¹ See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. 67, No. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³ Professor Petrie says :—“Whether it be a sea or river boat is important. Nile boats are always mainly worked by a sail, and sails were used from the IVth Dynasty onward in a well-developed form. On the other hand, rowing galleys have characterized the Mediterranean ; the most reliable power of propulsion on that sea has always been rowing, and the galleys of the sea-fight under Rameses III., at Salamis, at Actium, of the Venetian Republic, of the Algerian Corsairs, of the French navy, show that oars were generally more important than men.”



1.

2.


3.

Predynastic vases, red on buff ground.

1. Jar with suspensory handles: wavy lines and representations of mountains.

2. Jar with wavy handles: boat, ostriches, men, etc.

3. Jar with suspensory handles: boat with banner, etc.

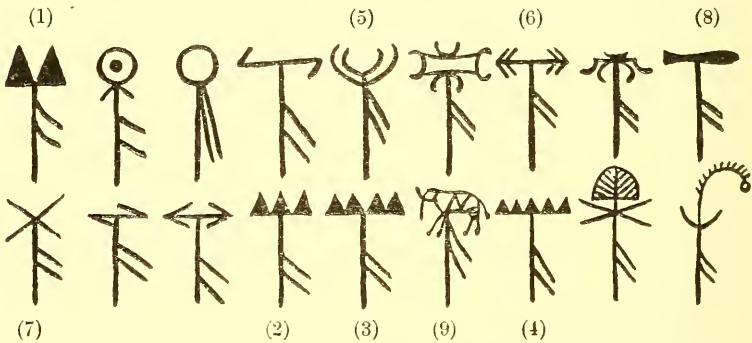
some other explanation of the lines must clearly be sought; for there is no evidence in support of the theory that they represent oars. M. de Morgan thinks that they depict "engins de pêche," i.e., fishing tackle, or some unknown objects,¹ but until we have some definite information as to the way in which such boats were built² it seems idle to speculate on the matter. There remains to be considered in connection with these predynastic boats the object, which resembles a bough or branch of a tree, or a mat, in the bows of the boat, and the mast, with the symbol on the top of it, which is attached to the aft cabin. It has been thought³ that the bough "is placed at the stem to shade the look-out man," but the bough or branch is more likely to be the precursor of the mat on which sat the man on the look-out. The part of the boat on which the man on the look-out sat was called *nefru* † , and this

¹ M. de Morgan adds:—"et que les rames sont seulement les traits qui, placés obliquement à l'une des extrémités du bateau, sont munis d'un élargissement figurant la palette." (*Op. cit.*, p. 91.)

² But compare J. de Morgan (*op. cit.*, p. 92). "Les joncs ou les roseaux étaient placés dans le sens de l'axe de l'embarcation; aux deux extrémités les divers éléments étaient reliés entre eux par un fort noeud, tandis que des liens très rapprochés les uns des autres traversaient la coque tout entière normalement à son axe en reliant entre elles toutes les tiges. Le bateau ainsi construit était formé d'une véritable natte qui n'eût pas été suffisante si l'épaisseur des nattes n'eût été triplée ou quadruplée, si des armatures de bois n'étaient venues maintenir l'ensemble rigide et si un enduit n'avait été appliqué pour rendre l'embarcation imperméable."

³ Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

is the name which is given to the look-out place in the boat of the Sun-god Rā; in the Papyrus of Ani, plate 19, the god Harpocrates is seen sitting on the mat which is stretched over the look-out place in the bark of Rā as it sails over the sky, and sometimes the place where the god usually sits is occupied by a bird. The object, however, of the bough or mat seems to have been to supply to all beholders information concerning the tribe and family of the occupant of the boat. The short mast which was attached to the aft cabin was probably used for displaying a flag or symbol which either referred to the country or city of the master of the boat, or declared his rank; the following examples of such symbols or

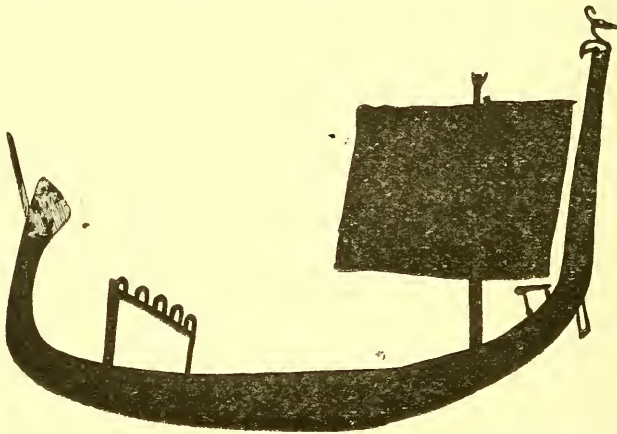


Standards from representations of boats, painted on vases of the Predynastic Period.

flags are reproduced from the work of M. de Morgan, who has borrowed most of them from the drawings of boats given in *Naqada and Ballas*. Thus we have the standard of the man from the region of two, three, four, or five hills (Nos. 1-4); and the standard of the men

who adopted horns (No. 5), and two arrows as their emblems (Nos. 6, 7), and the standard of the fish (No. 8), but most interesting of all is the flag or symbol of the man who adopted as his emblem the elephant (No. 9)! It is more than probable that these and other symbols which were affixed to the short masts in boats subsequently became the emblems of the nomes in Upper and Lower Egypt, and the nome-standards, which are so often seen depicted in the great temples of the historical Egyptians, appear to be little else than direct copies; in any case the symbols are of indigenous or North African origin, and each must be the emblem of an important division of the country, which represented the territory of a great tribe, and which under the conquerors from the East became a nome, though in historic times the personal element was eliminated from it. But as the predynastic Egyptian found a tree trunk propelled by his own hands and feet an unsatisfactory means of crossing or travelling up and down the river, so he must also have found that boats made of reeds and rushes were both unsuitable and dangerous for the purpose of fishing or fowling in the thickets of marshes, which were crowded with crocodiles, or other huge amphibious beasts, and as a result he must have set to work to build stronger craft. It cannot be said at present how far he advanced in the art of boat building, or whether he ever succeeded in building a boat which a crocodile could not crush with his

jaws, or which a hippopotamus could not easily reduce to splinters; but the probability is that his boats were always more or less fragile, and that they were most frequently of very light draught, and that they had no decks of any sort or kind. The natural assumption is that in going up stream their motive power was the wind, but in none of the examples of painted predynastic pottery which have been published



Boat with sail. From a vase of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum. (No. 35,324)

has the representation of any sail been discovered. Early in 1901, however, the Trustees of the British Museum purchased a large predynastic jar on which is an excellent representation of a boat, the shape of which is familiar to us from pictures of boats which were drawn in dynastic times. At one end of it is set a mast, whereon is a large rectangular sail, and close by the mast is a seat; at the same end of the boat is what appears to be a steering oar. At the other end is a

kind of cabin with a slanting roof, but the stern of the boat in the painting is damaged, and the details of it cannot be clearly made out. Round and about the boat are masses of wavy lines which are clearly conventional pictures of water; the other paintings on the vase depict a large bird in the act of pecking at a wriggling worm, and four scorpions on a line which seems to be intended to represent the ground. The vase is large and well made, and in respect of material, colour, etc., closely resembles other earthenware vessels of its class and period.

We have seen that the predynastic Egyptians must have been great hunters, and it is clear from what has been said above that water-fowl and fish must have formed a considerable portion of their food supply, but we have also to consider whether they raised crops of cereals, and whether they had succeeded in domesticating animals which would provide them with meat when game was scarce. M. de Morgan was first of all of opinion that they were agriculturists, and he based his opinion upon the fact that he had found in his excavations of predynastic sites a number of saw-like flints which he thought had been fastened in sickles, but subsequently he noticed that he had never found objects of the kind on any of the sites which contained nothing but remains of the predynastic period, and he therefore doubted the correctness of the opinion which he had formed, and which he had published in his work, *L'Âge de la Pierre et les Métaux*, in 1896.

Subsequently the eminent botanist, Professor Schweinfurth, pointed out to him that wheat and barley were in their natural home in Mesopotamia, where they actually grew wild, and the obvious deduction to be made from this was that if wheat and barley existed in Egypt in predynastic times they must have been brought there from that country by the conquerors of the indigenous peoples. To decide the question M. de Morgan made further very careful researches with the view of ascertaining whether wheat and the remains of agricultural tools were ever found together in the same grave, and he found that they were not; until further trustworthy excavations prove to the contrary, we must therefore assume that the cultivation of wheat and barley was introduced into Egypt by the early invaders of the country, and if this be so, the fact forms another proof in favour of the Asiatic origin of the new comers. In most countries, certainly in those which have a winter season, the absence of cereals would make it impossible to keep flocks and herds, but this was not necessarily the case in Egypt, where they have no winter in the western sense of the word; the only period of the year when the predynastic Egyptian would find any difficulty in feeding his domestic animals would be at the time of the inundation, but then he would, as his modern representative does today, fall back upon the branches of trees for food for his cattle.

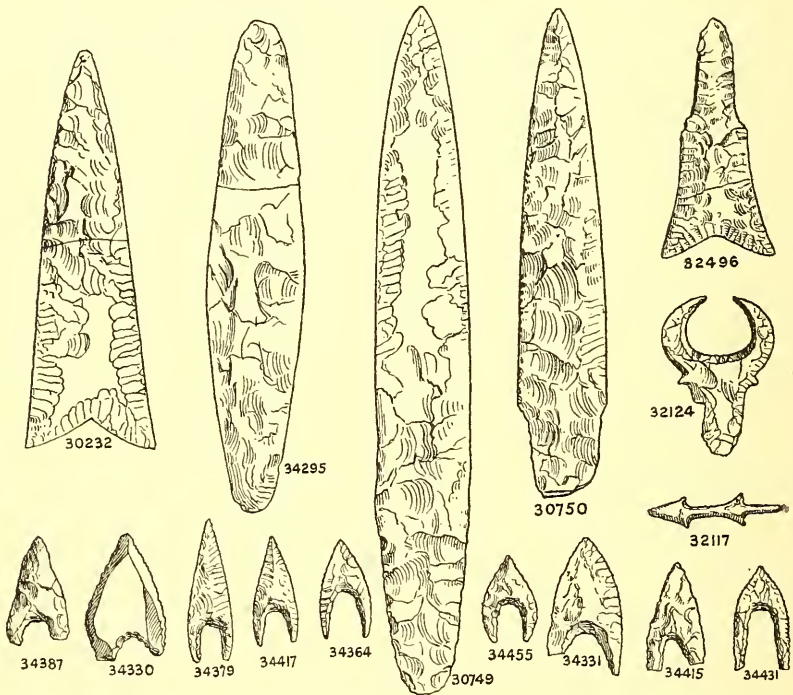
It has been often stated that the greater number

of the domestic animals which are depicted upon the tombs of the IVth and Vth Dynasties are of Asiatic origin; this may be so, but it is probable that there is a strong strain of the indigenous cattle in them, for it has yet to be proved that the offspring of foreign cattle either did or will thrive and increase in Egypt, except they be crossed with native breeds. But it is a suggestive fact, however, when viewed in connection with the Asiatic origin of cattle in ancient Egypt, that the god Osiris is called the "Bull of Amentet,"¹ and that the cow-goddess Hathor (see the flint cow's head, No. 32,124, page 84) was brought into Egypt by the invaders; these facts show that to the men who wrote at least some of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* the bull was the strongest and best animal known to them, and the one best suited to be the type of their god. The antelope, and gazelle, and goat, and all the animals of that class lived with the predynastic Egyptians in a more or less domestic state, and the paintings on pottery prove that they were well acquainted with them; on the other hand, the sheep, which forms such an important possession in Asia, was unknown to them. Even in the period of the Early Empire it was the "milk calf," i.e., the suckling calf, and not the lamb, which was the symbol of innocence and helplessness. The ram which represents the god Khnemu may have belonged to an indigenous

¹ See *Book of the Dead*, chap. I. 4; LXIII. 2; CLXXXII. 12, 17.

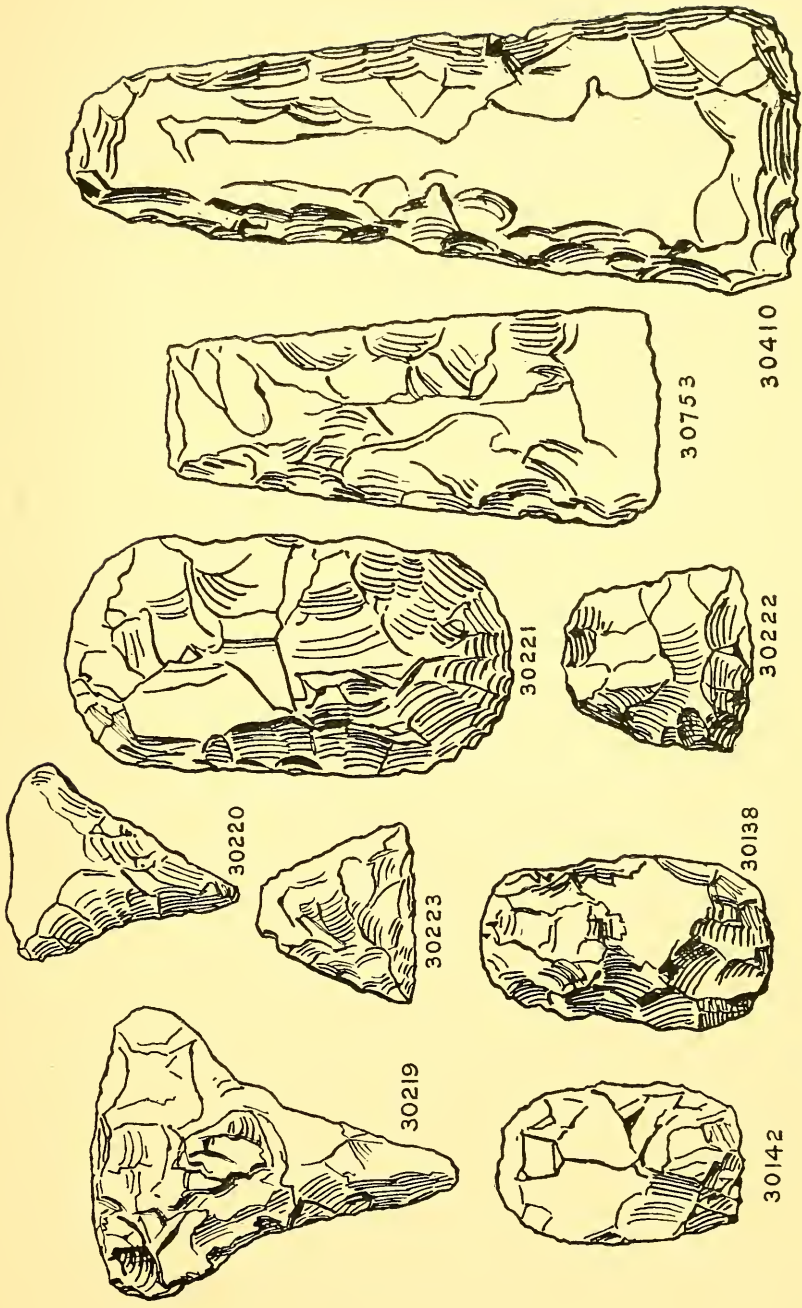
species which seems to have become extinct after the period of the XIIIth Dynasty.

When the indigenous Egyptian was not hunting or at war he probably spent much time in making his flint weapons and tools, notwithstanding the






Flint arrow and spear heads, and flint cow's head (No. 32,124), emblem of the goddess Hathor, in the British Museum. Predynastic Period.

fact that each tribe must have possessed its own skilled flint workers; for the most beautiful of the examples which have come down to us could only have been made by men who had devoted their lives to the art of working in flint. The art began



Flint implements of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Periods from Egypt, in the British Museum.

at a very remote period,¹ and it became more and more prosperous until man discovered how to work metal; the use of flint tools and knives did not at once disappear, as might be expected, but survived for a lengthy period, though chiefly in connection with religious and ceremonial customs.² In the hieroglyphic inscriptions the use of flint was commemorated long after metal tools and weapons were generally used in Egypt; thus in the hieroglyphic for sickle  the projections represent flint teeth, and in one of the ordinary words for knife, *tes*   , we see that the last sign is the determinative for stone, a fact which takes us back to the time when knives were usually made of stone, i.e., flint or chert. It is generally agreed that all the flint weapons, etc., which have up to the present been found in predynastic graves, belong to the *Neolithic* Period, but a number of others, which have been attributed to the *Palaeolithic* Period, have also been brought from Egypt; the latter were found on the surface of the ground on plateaux lying at a height considerably above the level of the Nile, and not in workshops or near mines. They have formed the subjects of minute discussion and description, and such eminent authorities as Sir John Evans, K.C.B., and M. de Morgan have no hesitation in assigning them to the

¹ "L'usage de tailler la pierre remonte en Égypte aux temps quaternaires;" J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

² See especially Sir John Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 2nd edit., 1897, p. 9; and E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 1865, p. 191 ff.

Palaeolithic Period; but, on the other hand, Dr. Forbes has come to the conclusion that "none of the surface " 'palaeolithic' implements from Egypt and Somaliland " have yet been clearly proved to belong to that period, " while the probability is that the bulk of them are of " much later date," and he thinks that "they probably " belong to the XIIth Dynasty, going back perhaps, but " not probably, to the VIth Dynasty."¹ But the late General Pitt-Rivers "discovered in 1881"² some flakes "of palaeolithic type, *in situ*, in gravel near the Valley of " the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, at a comparatively " low level, which," as Dr. Forbes admits, "all geolo- " gists who know the spot agree, must have been " deposited far back in prehistoric times." The evidence of a Palaeolithic Age in Egypt, the existence of which appears to Sir John Evans to be in the highest degree probable,³ may rest on the flakes and very rude scraper-like flints found in the Bâb al-Mulûk gravels, but until it has been proved that General Pitt-Rivers was mistaken, the apparently supplementary evidence may not be lightly thrust aside. It may, how-

¹ *On a Collection of Stone Implements in the Mayer Museum* (Bull. Liverp. Mus. II., Nos. 3 and 4, January 20th, 1900).

² See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi., p. 382, 1882 (Discovery of Chert Implements).

³ *The Antiquity of Man*, an Address delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham, October 25th, 1899, p. 13. This pamphlet contains an interesting *résumé* of the recent discoveries in Egypt, and, as M. Boule remarks (*L'Anthropologie*, vol. xi., 1900, p. 274), "est écrit avec cette facilité et cette humeur qu'ont pu apprécier toutes les personnes qui ont été en relations avec l'éminent archéologue anglais."

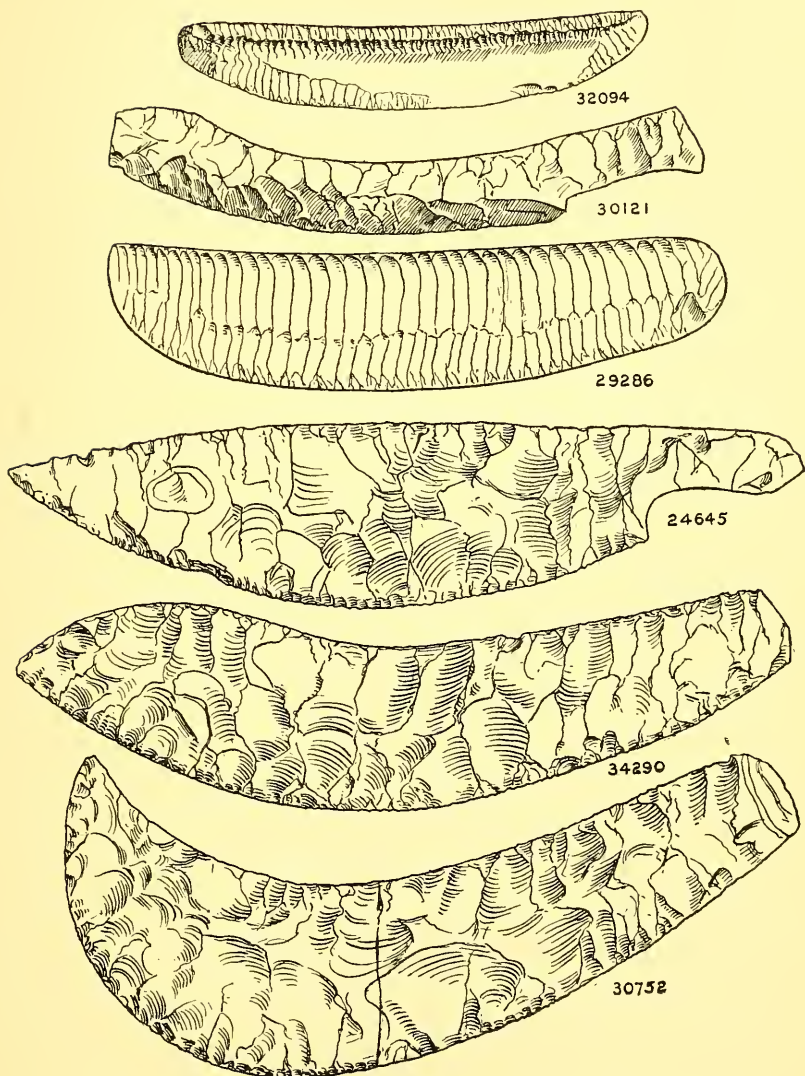
ever, be mentioned in passing that so high an authority as Canon W. Greenwell, F.R.S., has no doubt whatsoever about the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt, and the researches which Professor Sayce has made in Egypt, and the positions of the palaeolithic flints which he has found *in situ* confirm this opinion. In any case the question is one which only geologists can usefully discuss, and the Egyptian archaeologist must wait until they arrive at a decision on the matter.

An examination of the flint weapons, tools, and implements of the neolithic period figured by M. de Morgan¹ and Professor Petrie,² shows that they include a number of forms and represent several methods of workmanship which are quite unknown in any country in the same age. Similarly, many forms which exist among the flint implements of other countries of the neolithic age have no equivalent among those of pre-dynastic Egypt, and, according to M. de Morgan, the personal effects of the men who lived in the Nile Valley present certain well-defined peculiarities which seem to prove that the civilization of the Stone Age in Egypt suffered but very little from foreign influences, and that the indigenous peoples of that country were as little affected by such things as were their followers in dynastic times.

In spite of the fact that most of the tools of the predynastic Egyptians were made of flint, it seems as if they possessed the knowledge of working in stone,

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-116.

² *Naqada and Ballas*, Plate 71 ff.



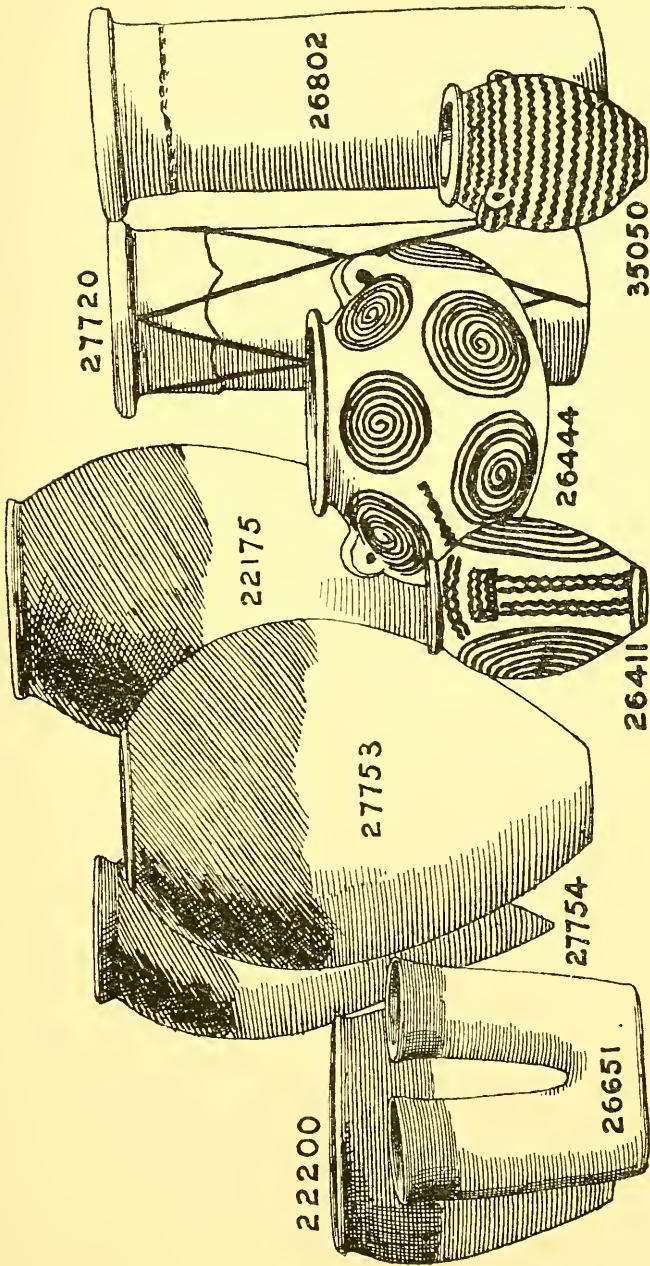
Flint implements of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum.

for many stone vases, rudely shaped and poorly worked, it is true, have been found in their graves. The custom of depositing stone vases filled with offerings of all kinds was common in Egypt in every period, and it is certain that it originated among people whose object was not to offer vases and vessels but offerings whereon those who were buried were supposed to live, after they had entered upon their new life, until such time as they were able to provide for themselves in the world beyond the grave. The dynastic Egyptians adopted the custom, and, having metal tools at their command, they succeeded in producing vases of most delicate and beautiful forms out of very hard stones, such as diorite and haematite and the like; a true idea of the variety of forms and of the excellence of the workmanship can only be obtained by examining a number of the best examples, a fine series of which will be found in the National Collection. The attempts of the earlier people to make figures in relief or otherwise were failures, but it is nearly certain that when they had been taught to use metal tools by their conquerors they became extremely useful workmen. Their want of success in working in stone was, however, counterbalanced by their skill in making objects of bone and ivory, as we may see from the numerous pendants, and combs, and figures of men and women, which have come down to us. An excellent example of their skill in working ivory is quoted by M. de Morgan,¹ who

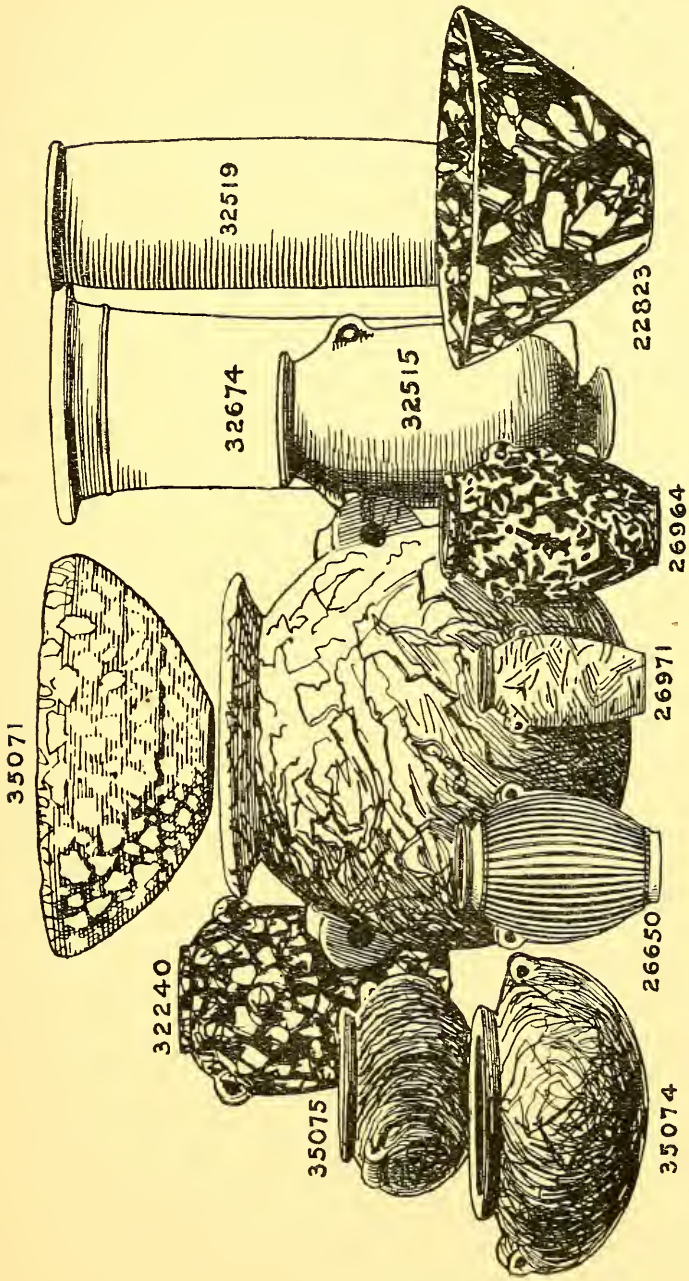
¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 71 and 118.

describes the head of a mace found at Silsila; this interesting object is made out of the tusk of a hippopotamus, and having been sawn into shape at each end had a hole drilled through it in the middle. The ends show the saw marks quite clearly, and from their irregularity M. de Morgan assumes that the task of sawing was long and tedious; on the other hand, the hole by which it was fitted on to its handle was drilled with great regularity, and this was no doubt done by means of the drill used for making hollows in vases.

The pottery of the predynastic Egyptians was made without the help of the potter's wheel, of which they had no knowledge, and the materials employed by them were Nile mud and clay; the latter, no doubt, was taken from special quarries, such as those at Aswân and Kēna, which were much worked by the dynastic Egyptians; fortunately a very large number of examples of their earthenware vessels have survived, and these proclaim that they were highly skilled in the potter's art. Pottery made from the Nile mud became of a yellowish or reddish colour when baked, and that made of clay became a bright red; brown and black vessels were made from paste with which colouring matter, such as bi-oxide of manganese, had been mixed. The most interesting of all the classes of predynastic pottery are, of course, those which are ornamented with incised designs, linear and otherwise, and paintings, and those which are bi-coloured, red and black. The paste of which the red



Group of vases of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum. Nos. 22200, 22175, 26651, 27753, 27754, red and black ware; 26411, 26444, 27720, and 35050, red on buff; 26802, plain buff.

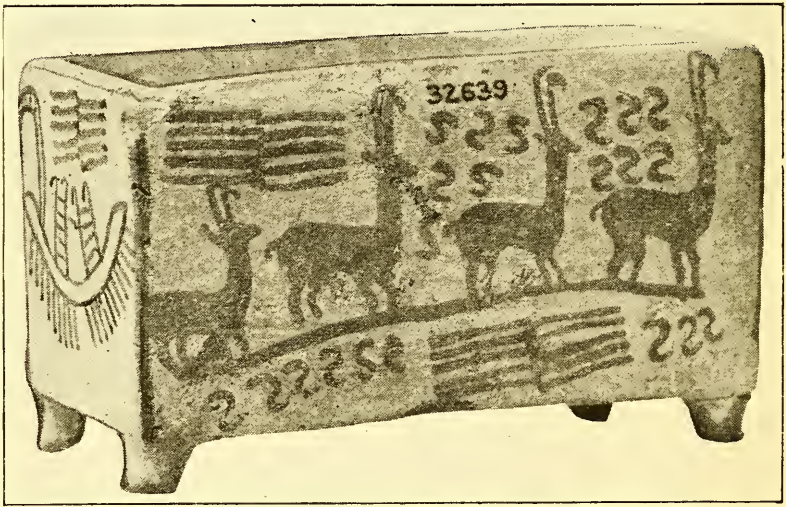


Variegated stone vases of the Predynastic and Archaic Periods in the British Museum.

and black pottery is made is fine and porous, and was well kneaded before being worked into shape; the surface is highly polished, the polishing being done by flint polishers. The upper parts of the outsides of the vessels of this class, and all the insides, are black, while some of them have black outside lower parts only, but the black is due neither to smoke nor to the employment of a second kind of paste by the potter.¹ Red and black pottery, like that wholly red, is frequently ornamented with designs in white, wherein geometric ornament, figures of men, animals, etc., are represented. Certainly of later period than these are all the classes of painted pottery in which the paste is fine, hard, and smooth, and of a yellowish colour, while the designs upon it, though resembling in some respects those which are in white on the pottery of an earlier period, are painted in red; such paintings represent wavy lines, spirals, branches of trees, lizards, oryxes,

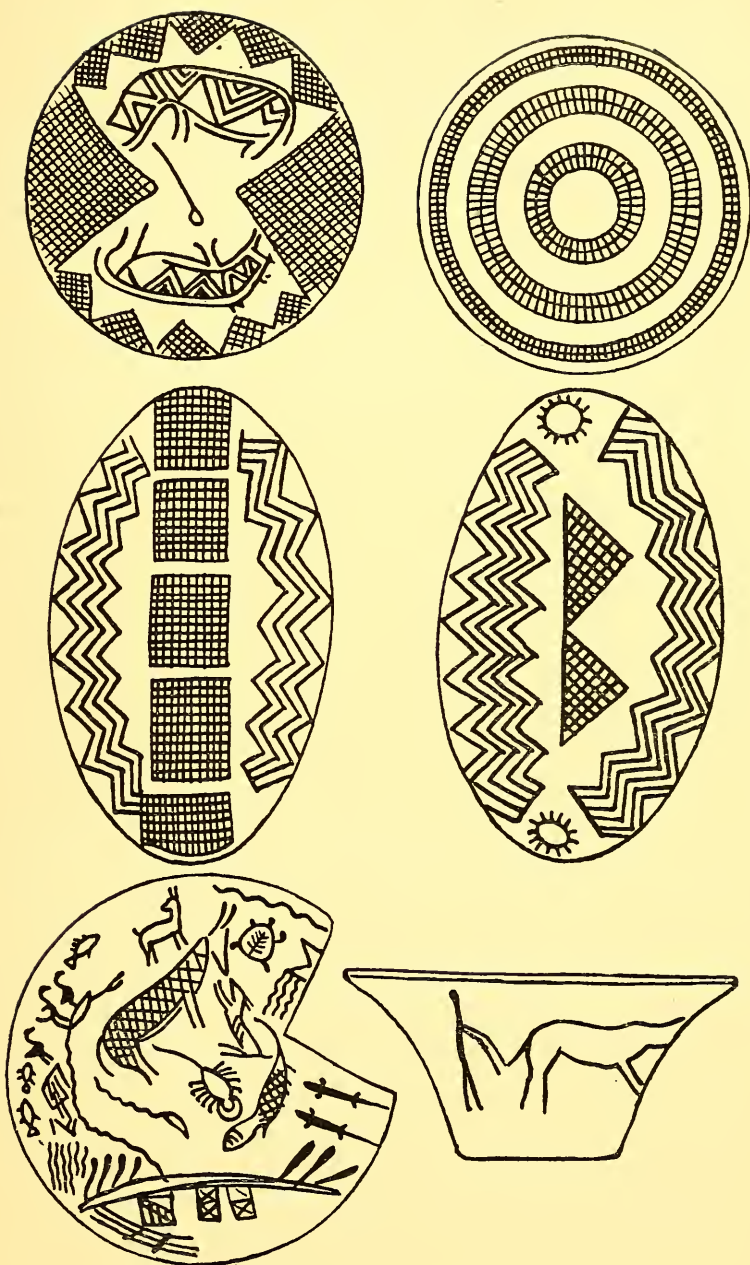
¹ Professor Petrie's explanation is as follows:—"The difference of the black-topped pottery consists in the baking. The red-polished was put in the upper part of the kiln, where it was exposed to air all round, and the red oxide of iron was preserved. The lower stratum of vases was, however, partly buried in ashes, and so far as the charcoal covered them, it deoxidized the iron from red peroxide to black magnetic oxide. All the vases were stacked mouth down in the kiln, the black part is around the mouth, or in the inner side of the large bowls. . . . It is precisely the same question of colour and composition as on Greek vases, where the black may become red wherever a draught of air has impinged upon it; and the black and red may be changed from one to the other any number of times by regulating the air supply." *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 36.

ostriches, boats, etc. This large group of pottery belongs, no doubt, to the end of the predynastic period, and it is most probable that the practice of making such in Egypt continued after the advent of the conquerors in that country. Extended research must result in a more exact system of classification of predynastic pottery, and, when further excavations of the



Earthenware box of the Predynastic Period; ibexes, boat, water, etc., painted red on a buff ground.

cemeteries of the indigenous peoples in many other parts of Egypt have been made, it may be reasonably hoped that some chronological arrangements in groupings will be possible; but at present much of the dating is the result of the "scientific imagination," or guesswork. During the early dynastic times pieces of pottery, which in shape and design recall some of the



Designs on vessels of the Predynastic Period. (After J. de Morgan).

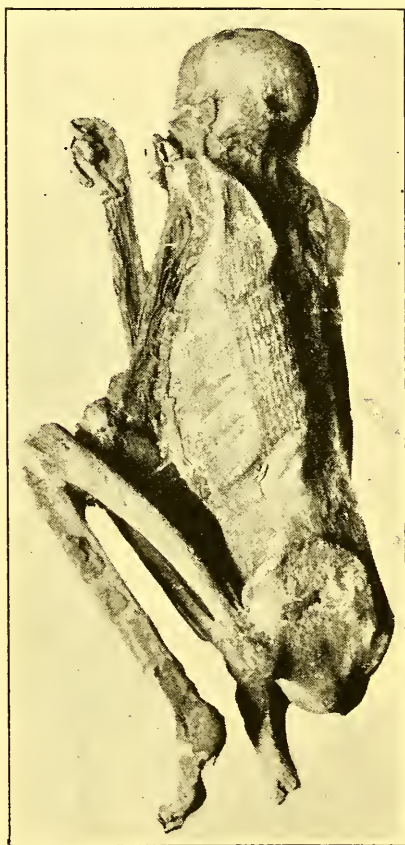
best examples of indigenous work, appear in the tombs, but speaking generally, at no time did the Egyptians of history succeed in surpassing their less cultured predecessors in the potter's art. The paintings with which the latter decorated their pottery have all the characteristics of being the production of a people who had made some progress in drawing, but their designs are heavy, and they are executed in an almost childish manner, and the artists of that time had no knowledge of perspective. With the advent of the conquerors the potter's art began to languish, and long before the end of the rule of the kings of the Early Empire it had well-nigh ceased to exist, at least as far as its connection with funeral rites was concerned.

From the above paragraphs on the predynastic Egyptians it will be seen that they were an indigenous, North African people, who lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and who possessed many of the habits and manners and customs of tribes of men who live in the valleys, through which flow great rivers, or on plains, the soil of which has been brought down from higher lands by floods caused either by rains or the melting of the snow on the mountain ranges situated on them. They were great workers in flint, and their skill in fashioning this material into weapons, tools, and implements of all kinds is truly marvellous; they also possessed great skill in pottery making, which is the more to be admired because the potter's wheel was unknown to them. They built no houses, or at least

if they did no remains of them have been found, though they probably made habitations of reeds daubed with mud, or rude shelters, the sides of which were formed of mud, which, however, was not made into bricks, for of the brickmaker's art they were ignorant. They were not cannibals, and their cemeteries seem to indicate that they were not a warlike race; of their position in the scale of civilization and development we can only judge by their attempts at sculpture and design, which it is easy to show were not of a high order. But notwithstanding these facts they succeeded in influencing their conquerors in many ways, and a number of the peculiarities which are made known to us by the inscriptions and other remains of the latter people originated among them. The conquerors and the conquered appear to have been totally distinct people, both physically and mentally, and as a natural result there was a distinct difference in their habits, and manners, and customs, and capabilities; this difference cannot be better illustrated than by a few remarks on their burial customs.

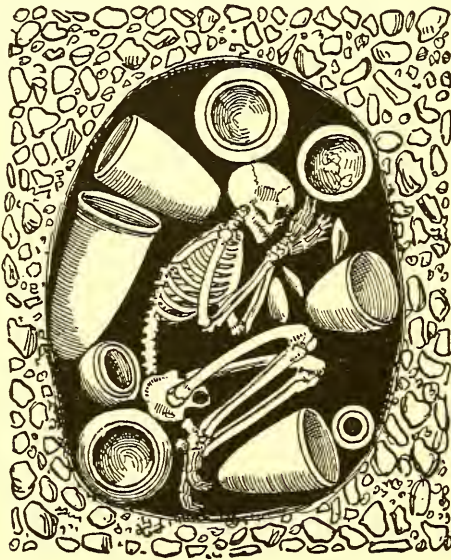
The earliest graves in the Nile Valley consisted of shallow hollows dug in the sandy, shingly ground which lies on the edge of the mud deposit and stretches away to the mountains on each side of the river; such hollows, though usually round, were extremely irregular in shape, and the object of the relatives of the dead seems to have been to get the body laid away in the ground with as little trouble and loss of time as

possible. The graves were made close together, in fact they were sometimes so close that a body lay partly in one hollow and partly in another; whether at the period when such graves were made it was customary to delimit them or not cannot be said, but in any case, if partitions or dividing walls ever existed, they have since disappeared. The body was put on the bare ground in the grave, lying on its left side, with the head usually towards the south, and the knees were bent up on a level with the top of the breast, and the hands placed before the face; round about the body were placed vessels of rude shapes, made of coarse earthenware, wherein funeral offerings were laid, and many graves contain flint weapons and implements. Some bodies were wrapped in the skins of gazelle fastened together by thongs of the same material, and others



A predynastic mummy in the British Museum. When found the deceased was lying on his left side.

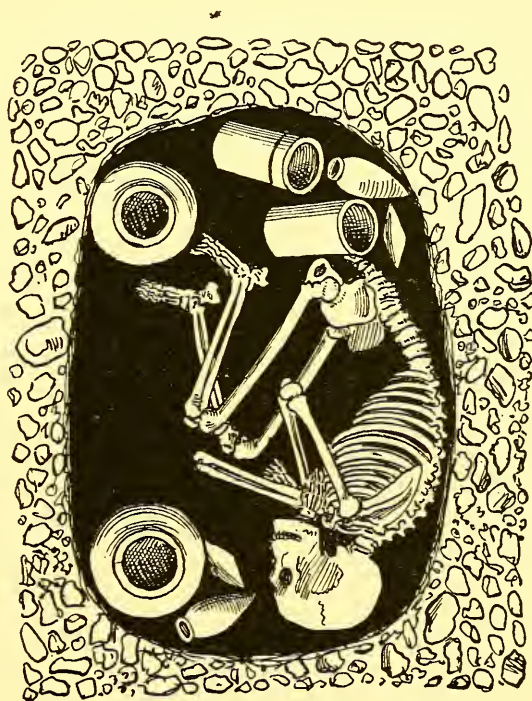
were both wrapped in and laid upon mats made of reeds or rushes. No attempt was made to mummify the body in the usual sense of the word, and there is no evidence to show that efforts were made to preserve it from natural decay; at this period the custom of burning the body, wholly or partly, had



Predynastic grave at Al-'Amrah, near Abydos. The deceased lying on his left side, and surrounded by his vases, flint weapons, etc. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

not been introduced. In some graves of the period, but these of course belong to the latter part of it, pottery of a better class is found, with worked flints and pendants made of bone and ivory, etc., and in a very few cases metal objects are found. Such graves had no superstructures, and their position in the

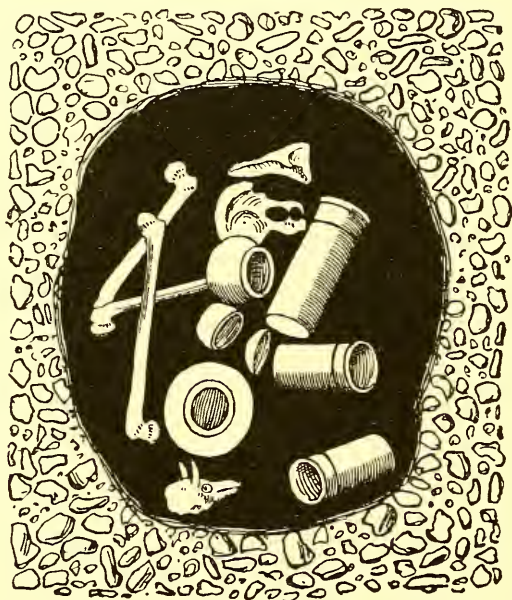
ground was probably marked by some simple method, such as covering them with stones or pebbles, or by sticks placed upright in the ground, as is the case among the tribes of North Africa and the Sûdân to the present day.



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil near Abydos. In graves of this class metal objects are found. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

In the second class of predynastic graves excavated by M. de Morgan, the body having been burnt, wholly or partly, the remains were thrown carelessly into a shallow hollow in the ground; in cases where the body was completely burnt, the bones lie scattered about in

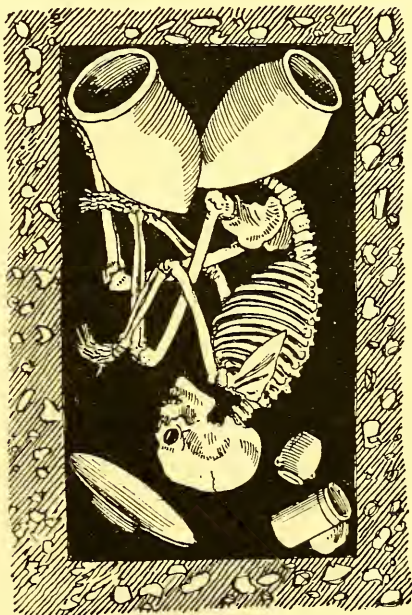
the grave in great disorder, but when it was only partly burnt, care was taken to keep the bones of the hands and the feet together, and to set the head, which was usually severed from the body, by itself, either upon the ground or upon a stone. In many graves the body is found to have been dismembered, and its various



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The bones, having been stripped of their flesh, were thrown into the grave. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

limbs are disposed in such a way as to occupy the least possible space; and some graves of the earlier period have been found to contain remains of bodies which had been dismembered. The remains of bodies which had been burnt were often laid in rectangular earthenware

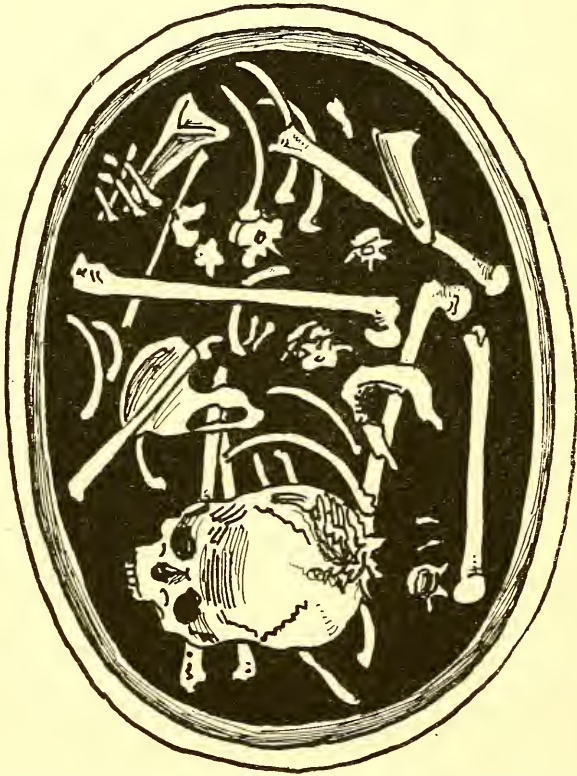
chests or boxes which were provided with covers, but, as in the case of those buried in graves, the bones were scattered about in great disorder; the objects which are found with such remains show that this custom belongs to the end of the predynastic period. About this time also bodies, though bent up in the



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil, near Abydos. The deceased lying on his left side in a grave lined with bricks. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

position in which the dead were bent in the earliest predynastic graves, were buried on their backs under constructions of earthenware which resemble large bowls inverted. Thus we see that the funeral customs of the indigenous Egyptians were quite different from

those of the Egyptians of dynastic times, and that the graves of the earlier people are entirely different, both as regards form and position, from those of the later. Moreover, the main divisions of the tombs of the



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The body was dismembered, and the flesh having been stripped off, the bones were thrown into the grave.
(Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

dynastic Egyptians, i.e., the mummy-chamber, the shaft or corridor, and the chapel or hall for offerings, represent funeral customs and beliefs which were unknown to their semi-barbarous ancestors. It is possible

to assert that the tombs of the kings and noblemen who lived during the period of the first four dynasties are developments of the brick graves, with their recesses and "pits," which were in use in late predynastic times, but the slight similarities observed are, most probably, more the result of accident than design.



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The deceased lies on his back, and the flesh has been stripped from his bones.
 (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

Of the religious beliefs and views of the predynastic Egyptians but little can be said, but it is self-evident that the living would never have made funeral offerings to the dead unless they had believed that they would

live again in some form or other, and judging from the flint weapons and implements found in their graves, we are no doubt right in assuming that the life which they thought their dead would inherit after death would be lived under conditions which resembled those under which they had lived upon earth. Whether they had formulated any ideas in the earliest period as to the existence of a divine power cannot be said, but there is good reason for thinking that they had, and also that such ideas were not on the level with those which we are accustomed to find among peoples who are barbarous or semi-savage.

CHAPTER II.

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

A BRIEF consideration of the descriptions of predynastic objects given in the preceding pages, and of the deductions which may be fairly made from them, will convince the reader that it is impossible to formulate any system of predynastic chronology, or even to assign any dates to the objects themselves, which shall be other than approximately correct. The antiquities referred to fall into two great classes, namely, those which are declared to be Palaeolithic and those which we may rightly assume to be Neolithic. The remains declared to be palaeolithic consist of flint implements, i.e., borers and the like, which have been found on high plateaux in the Nile Valley, and flakes of flint which General Pitt-Rivers discovered *in situ* in the gravel stratum at the mouth of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The great antiquity of the flint borers, etc., has been doubted, and they have been declared to belong to the period of the VIth or XIIth Dynasty,¹ but the archaeologist will have

¹ See above, p. 87.

considerable difficulty in believing that in the time of the XIIth Dynasty, when the Egyptians were well acquainted with the art of working in metal, and when they possessed beautifully worked and finely-shaped flint knives for ceremonial purposes, there were people living on or near the plateaux close to their towns who were using in daily life flint borers and axe-heads of the types which are the result in other countries of man's earliest attempts to work flint, and which represent his first step on the ladder of civilization. In the matter of the flakes of flint which General Pitt-Rivers found *in situ* at Thebes there can be no reasonable ground for doubt as to their very great antiquity, for the knowledge and experience in such matters possessed by this eminent man were so great that his views must be accepted. Add to this the opinion of Sir John Evans on the extreme probability of the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt, and that of M. J. de Morgan, both of whom base their statements upon personal observation of Egypt and the remains of her ancient peoples, and the case for the extreme antiquity of the flints declared by them to be Palaeolithic is complete. The neolithic remains are of a much more varied character, and they reveal to us man under conditions which must be quite different from those under which he lived in the Palaeolithic Period. But although the remains of neolithic man in Egypt are so many and of such various kinds, we cannot group them chronologically, except in the vaguest

manner, and when the objects found in the graves of the predynastic period have been divided into two classes, which may be labelled "Early Neolithic" and "Late Neolithic" respectively, the present limit of chronological knowledge of the period has been reached. To attempt to gauge the antiquity of such things according to any chronological theory or system is useless. When, however, we arrive at dynastic times we are on firmer ground, for the Egyptians themselves have provided us with data which will enable us to arrive at a good *general* idea of the period of the duration of their civilization, and with lists of kings which at least show what opinions on the subject of their order and succession were held by those who drew them up. When the information afforded by such lists can be supplemented and corrected by facts supplied by the monuments, either directly or indirectly, it is of the greatest value, but where we have only the statements of the lists to rely upon, some caution in arriving at a decision must be exercised, for experience has proved that the lists are not infallible. And it must be distinctly understood that, until we have more evidence of a definite character on the general facts of Egyptian history, and more accurate means for finding the date of the starting point of Egyptian civilization, we shall have to be content with a system of chronology which contains several gaps, and a series of minimum dates for the greater number of the reigns of the kings, and for the beginning of which an exact

date cannot be assigned. The data required for formulating an accurate system of Egyptian chronology are these:—1. A complete list of kings; 2. The true order of their succession; 3. A list of the lengths of the reigns of the kings. We have, it is true, lists of kings who ruled during the earlier part of the period of Egyptian history, but we have no definite statements in them either as to the order in which one king succeeded the other, or as to the length of each king's reign, or when the king whose name stands first in the lists began to reign; we have also lists of Egyptian kings written in Greek which are divided into dynasties, and which profess to give the number of the years of the reign of each king, and also the number of the years which each dynasty lasted; but these, like the old Egyptian lists, are not infallible, as we shall see. Now let us consider what value such lists have in helping us to establish an accurate system of chronology, and how far they may be trusted.

The most complete native list of kings known to us is contained in the famous ROYAL PAPYRUS OF TURIN,¹ which, as the name given to it indicates, is preserved at Turin. It originally formed part of the collection made in Egypt by M. Drovetti, the French Consul-General in that country, which was offered for purchase to the French Government in 1818, but was declined,

¹ A copy of the hieratic text is given by Lepsius, *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden*, Bll. 3-6; and see *Revue Archéologique*, vol. vii., Paris, 1850, plate 149.

and was afterwards acquired by the king of Sardinia ;¹ subsequently it was sent, with other things, to Turin, but on its arrival in the Museum of that city it was found to be broken into scores of little pieces, which lay in a heap at the bottom of the box in which it had been packed. The document is written in the hieratic character. The nature of its contents was first recognized by Champollion le Jeune, who, in the *Bulletin Universel* (Nov., 1824), described it as a “*tableau chronologique, un vrai canon royal,*” and in spite of “*l'état presque complet de destruction*” of the papyrus, he was able to collect between 160 and 180 royal prenomens; many were complete, and many were incomplete, and “*un certain nombre se suivent.*” The condition of the papyrus was lamentable, and when Champollion had discovered of what priceless worth it would have been in a complete state, the sight of its “*miseri frammenti*” must have filled him with grief. In 1826 Seyffarth went to Turin, and undertook to join the fragments of the papyrus together, and he formed an uninterrupted series of successive reigns, which, although restored, appeared to be an absolutely complete Royal Canon; but his knowledge of the hieratic character, as facts prove, was of a most limited description, his system of Egyptian decipherment was faulty, and he seems to have relied chiefly upon the *forms* of the fragments for guidance in placing

¹ See Champollion-Figeac in *Rev. Arch.*, vol. vii., Paris, 1850, p. 398.

them in what, we must assume, he believed to be their correct positions. Thus he boldly reconstructed a roll of papyrus of twelve columns or pages, each column containing from twenty-six to thirty names of gods or kings. The worthlessness of Seyffarth's "restoration" was soon recognized, for Rosellini declined to publish the "restored" text of the Turin Papyrus in his great work, and stated plainly that he doubted if the fragments as placed by the learned German were in the same positions as they had been when the document was intact; and he had great difficulty in determining what guide and what authority had been followed by Seyffarth in his arrangement of them, because the fragments into which it had been broken were so small that they could not afford any great indication of the order in which they had been originally arranged.¹ Rosellini's opinion was shared

¹ "Ma non tacerò il dubbio che fin d' allora mi nacque, e che tuttora mi fa grande ostacolo, vale a dire, se l' ordine col quale questi frammenti sono stati incomposti, sia quel medesimo che esisteva nel manuscritto, quando era intero. È da sapersi, che quel prezioso papiro trovavasi ridotto in sì minuti pezzetti, da non poter dare grande indizio dell' ordine successivo in che erano primitivamente disposti. Per lo più un solo nome isolato leggevasi su ciascun frammento, e spesso un nome solo di più frammenti si componeva; e talora, nè raramente, scaturivano delle lacune necessariamente volute dalla deformità delle parti che volevansi ricongiungere. Resta pertanto ad esaminarsi, se la ricongiunzione delle rotture e la connessione dei caratteri, abbia potuto servire di guida, e conseguentemente abbia dato autorità a ristabilire i pezzi in quell' ordine, piuttosto chè in un altro. Lo che, in materia così importante, dovrebbe essere rigorosamente dimostrato, affinchè il

by the late Dr. Birch,¹ who declared that the “extreme “smallness of the fragments renders the mere mechanical “adaptation of the pieces very problematical,” and that there is evidence that the restoration is erroneous in many places. More damaging still to Seyffarth’s “restoration” was its very strong condemnation by M. de Rougé, who said, “le document, dans son “état actuel, est sophistiqué et cela avec une déplorable “habileté, quoique ce résultat ait été sans aucun doute, “bien loin des intentions de M. Seyffarth.”² On account of a controversy between himself and Champollion-Figeac as to the arrangement of the names of certain kings in such a way as to lead the student to believe that they followed naturally after those of kings of the XIIth Dynasty, M. de Rougé visited Turin, and having examined that part of the papyrus with the help of a strong magnifying glass, he came to the conclusion that the pieces of papyrus which had been joined by Seyffarth did not join naturally, that they fitted badly,

manuscritto così ricomposto, acquistasse tutto quel prezzo inestimabile del quale potrebbe esser capace. Finchè ciò non si dimostri, avremo per quel papiro una serie di nomi di re, ma nessuna autorità potrà ottenere a ristabilir l’ordine delle successioni. Poichè quella piccola parte, ove i nome in tal modo succedonsi, che ben corrisponde all’ordine che ci è noto per altri monumenti, non vale ad acquistar fede a tutte le altre, nel ricomporre le quali, non si conosca qual guida e quale autorità fosse seguita dal dotto Tedesco.” (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. pp. 147, 148.)

¹ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. i. (Second Series), London, 1843, p. 204.

² *Revue Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 560.

and that the fibres of the papyrus itself did not match.¹ Besides this, it is clear, when the system of decipherment of hieroglyphics proposed by Seyffarth is taken into consideration, that he could not have guided himself in his "restoration" by the readings of the names, and finally there seems to be no doubt that in arranging the fragments of the papyrus he employed the information which Champollion le Jeune had published in 1824, and that he arbitrarily made the order of the kings in it to agree as far as possible with that given in the Greek lists attributed to Manetho. The above testimony is sufficient to show that beyond supplying the names of a number of kings, many of which do not occur elsewhere, the Royal Papyrus of Turin in its present state is of no use in our investigations, for it affords us no information as to the period of the beginning of Egyptian civilization, and it does not give us the order of the succession of the kings whose names it records; we cannot even make use of the fragments of it which are inscribed with numbers

¹ " Ces morceaux ainsi réunis sont encore suivis, dans l'arrangement Seyffarth, et sans aucune solution de continuité, par d'autres fragments qui se trouvaient ainsi nécessairement indiquer la tête de la XIII^e Dynastie. Ici l'examen auquel je me suis livré ne me permet pas d'hésiter, le rapprochement est mauvais, les fibres du papyrus se rencontrent mal, et je crois pouvoir affirmer que les noms derniers royaux du fragment marqué 72 dans le planche VII^e de M. Lepsius ne sont pas exactement à leur place. Ce document n'a donc à mes yeux aucune espèce de valeur, en ce qui concerne l'ordre respectif des deux familles des Amenemhè et des Sevekhotep (XII^e et XIII^e Dynastie)." *Revue Arch.*, p. 562.

and contain the lengths of the reigns of certain kings stated in months, years, and days, for it is uncertain to which names they apply. Dr. Birch calculated that the papyrus when complete contained the names of about three hundred and thirty kings, which, he declared, coincided with the three hundred and thirty kings mentioned by Herodotus.¹

Of the greatest importance for the study of Egyptian chronology is the TABLET OF ABYDOS,² which was discovered by Dümichen in the Temple of Osiris at Abydos in 1864; a good idea of the general arrangement of the Tablet will be gathered from the following illustration. Here we see Seti I., accompanied by his son and successor Rameses II., addressing seventy-five of his predecessors, whose cartouches are arranged in chronological order before him; the list is ended by Seti's own name. The names on the list are as follows; the Roman numerals in brackets are added to indicate the dynasties to which the kings belong:—

[I.]

- | | |
|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Mená. | 5. Hesepti. |
| 2. Tetá. | 6. Merbap. |
| 3. Áteth. | 7. Semsu (?). |
| 4. Áta. | 8. Qebh. |

¹ Bk. ii. § 100.

² The text was first published by Dümichen in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 81 ff; another excellent copy will be found in Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. i. plate 43.

[II.]

9. Betchau.
10. Ka-kau.
11. Ba-en-neter.
12. Uatch-nes.
13. Senṭà.

[III.]

14. Tchatchai.
15. Nebka.
16. Tchesersa.
17. Tetà.
18. Setches.
19. Rā-nefer-ka.

[IV.]

20. Seneferu.
21. Khufu.
22. Ṭeṭf-Ra.
23. Khāf-Rā.
24. Men-kau-Rā.
25. Shepseskaf.

[V.]

26. Userkaf.
27. Saḥu-Rā.
28. Kakaà.
29. Neferf-Rā.
30. Ustr-en-Rā.

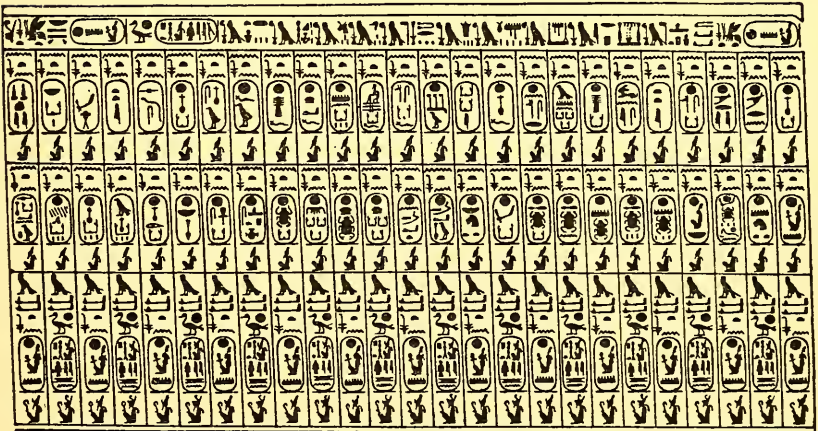
31. Men-kau-Ḥeru.
32. Ṭeṭka-Rā.
33. Unās.

[VI.]

34. Tetà.
35. Userka-Rā.
36. Meri-Rā.
37. Mer-en-Rā.
38. Neferka-Rā.
39. Mer-en-Rā-sa-emsaf
40. Neterka-Rā.
41. Menka-Rā.

[VII.-X.]

42. Neferka-Rā.
43. Neferka-Rā-nebi.
44. Ṭeṭka-Rā-maā- . . .
45. Neferka-Rā-Khentū
46. Mer-en-Ḥeru.
47. Senefer-ka.
48. Ka-en-Rā.
49. Neferka-Rā-tererel.
50. Neferka-Ḥeru.
51. Neferka-Rā-pepi-
senb.
52. Seneferka-ānnu.
53. kau-Rā.
54. Neferkau-Rā.



The Tablet of Abydos.

55. Neferkau-Heru.

56. Neferka-ári-Rā.

[XI.]

57. Neb-kheru-Rā.

58. Seānkhka-Rā.

[XII.]

59. Sehetepāb-Rā.

60. Kheper-ka-Rā.

61. Nub-kau-Rā.

62. Kheper-khā-Rā.

63. Khā-kau-Rā.

64. Maāt-en-Rā.

65. Maā-kheru-Rā.

[XVIII.]

66. Neb-pehtet-Rā.

67. Tcheser-ka-Rā.

68. Āa-kheper-ka-Rā.

69. Āa-kheper-en-Rā.

70. Men-kheper-Rā.

71. Āa-kheperu-Rā.

72. Men-kheperu-Rā.

73. Neb Maāt-Rā.

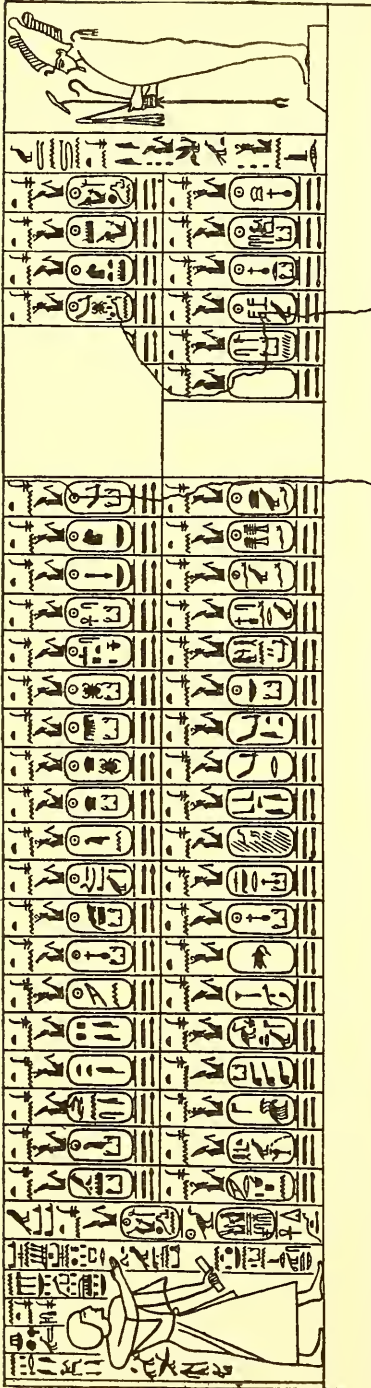
74. Tcheser-kheperu-
Rā-setep-en-Rā.

[XIX.]

75. Men-pehtet-Rā.

76. Men-Maāt-Rā.


A brief examination of this list shows that the scribe arranged in chronological order the names for which he had room in the space allotted to the list, and that he only made a *selection* from the names in the lists which, we may presume, he had before him, but what guided him in making this selection cannot be said. Some think that he wished to commemorate only such kings as were great and glorious according to the opinion prevalent in the XIXth Dynasty, and others that the names of legitimate kings only were given; but it is certain that the space at the disposal of the sculptor was limited, and that he commemorated



The Tablet of Şakḫara. Found in the tomb of Thunmei.

only a small number of names, which appear to have been chosen at random. From the Tablet of Abydos we learn the names of a comparatively large number of kings, and presumably the order in which they reigned, but it affords no information either about the lengths of their reigns or the number of years which their reigns together represent.

Of less importance, but still of considerable interest, is the TABLET OF ŞAKKÂRA, which dates from the time of Rameses II., and contains a list of forty-seven royal names drawn up, practically, in the same order as that employed in the

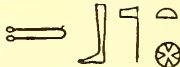
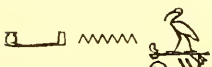
Tablets of Abydos.¹ It was found in the tomb of an overseer of works, who was also a "royal scribe" and a chief reader, called Thunurei , and the most remarkable fact about it is that the first name in the list is not that of Menä, but Mer-ba-pen, or Mer-pe-ba, whose name is the sixth in the Tablet of Abydos. This may be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe who drew up the list, or even to a blunder by the sculptor, but it may be the expression of an opinion that Mer-pe-ba was the first actual king of Egypt.

We have now to consider the TABLET OF KARNAK.² This interesting monument was discovered by Burton near the sanctuary of the great temple of Amen-Rä at Karnak, and dates from the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty; it contains a representation of Thothmes III. adoring sixty-one of his ancestors, whose names are duly set forth in cartouches above their figures. Half of the kings face one way, and half the other, but the cartouches are not arranged in chronological order; this list, like the others already described, does not give a complete series of the

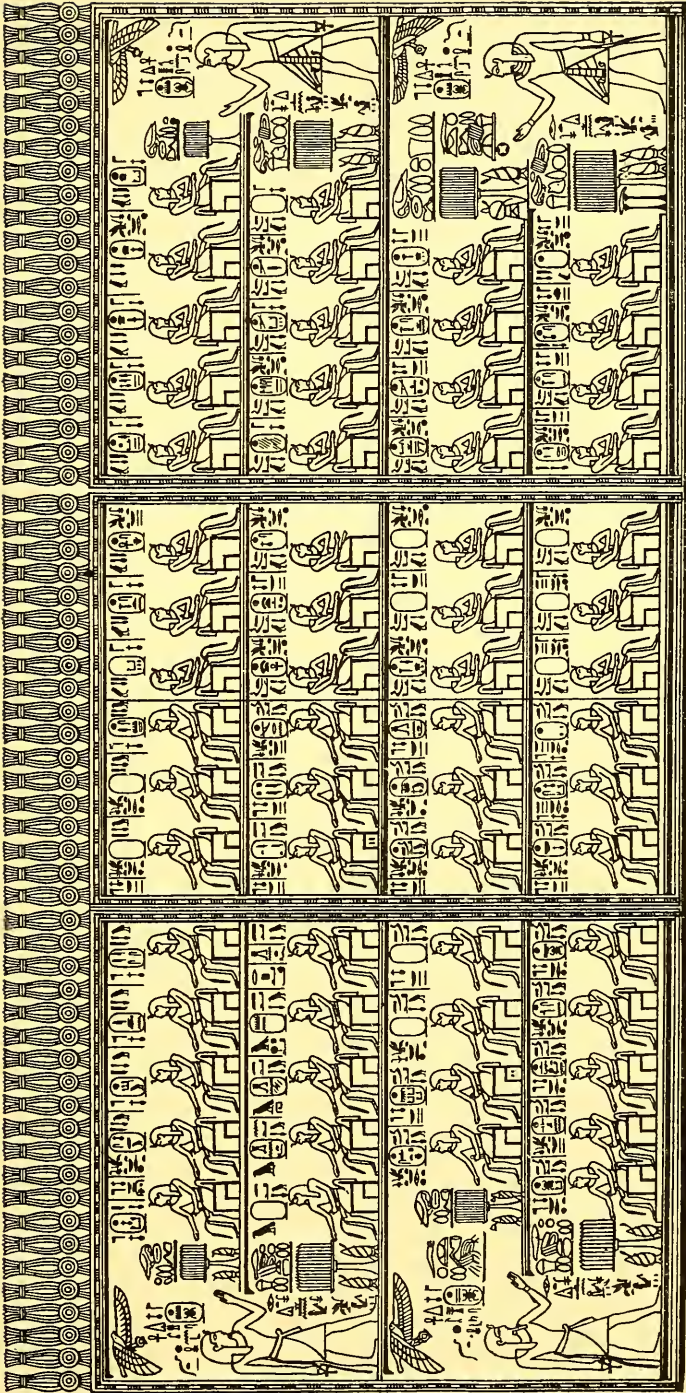
¹ A portion of another list of kings from Abydos, but made in the reign of Rameses II., is preserved in the British Museum; copies of the text will be found in Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 2, and Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 18. It was discovered by Bankes in 1818, and removed by Mimaut.

² The monument is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. For copies of text see Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 1; and Prisse, *Mónuments*, plate 1.

predecessors of Thothmes, and again it is not evident on what principle the selection of the names of the kings was made. The great value of the list consists in the fact that it gives the names of many kings of the XIth, XIIIth, XIVth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth Dynasties, and thus supplies information which is wanting in the Tablets of Abydos and Şaḡḡâra. From the above paragraphs it will be seen that from the three selections of kings' names which form the King Lists of Abydos, Şaḡḡâra, and Karnak we may collect the names of more than one hundred kings who reigned between Menâ or Menes and Rameses II., and that for the period which follows the reign of the last-named king we must seek for information from other sources.

Next to the lists of kings drawn up in hieroglyphics must be mentioned the famous List of Kings which was divided into dynasties, and which formed part of the great historical work of Manetho on ancient Egyptian history. This distinguished man was born at Sebennytus,¹ the Theb-neteret  of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and he flourished in the reigns of Ptolemy Lagus and Ptolemy Philadelphus; his name seems to be the Greek form of the Egyptian  Mā-en-Teḥuti, i.e., "gift of Thoth," or

¹ Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 9 and 28. See also Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 70 ff; and *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 511.



The Tablet of Karnak.



Ἐρμόδωρος. He is described as a "high priest and scribe," and bore a reputation for great learning, and he was undoubtedly admirably fitted to draw up in Greek the history of Egypt, and an account of her chronology, and of the manners, and customs, and religious beliefs of her people. His works are:—

1. *Αἰγυπτιακά*. 2. *Βίβλος Σώθεος*. 3. *Ἱερα Βίβλος*.
4. *Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή*. 5. *Περὶ ἐορτῶν*. 6. *Περὶ ἀρχαῖσμου καὶ εὐσεβείας*. 7. *Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων*; but among modern nations his reputation rests chiefly upon the first of these, which we may regard as his history of Egypt. He divided the kings of Egypt into thirty dynasties; the first section of his work dealt with the mythological part of the history of Egypt and with the first eleven of these dynasties; the second with Dynasties XII.-XIX.; and the third with Dynasties XX.-XXX. Now the principal versions of the King List¹ of Manetho are four in number, and they are found in the famous "Chronography," which was drawn up about the end of the VIIIth century of our era by George the Monk, the Syncellus of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and which professed to give an abstract, with dates, of the history of the world from Adam to Diocletian. The oldest version of Manetho is made known to us by an extract from the

¹ The Greek texts will be found in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. Appendix; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Berlin, 1858; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, etc.

Chronicle of Julius Africanus, a Libyan¹ who flourished early in the IIIrd century A.D., which is preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius (born A.D. 264, died about 340), Bishop of Caesarea; the version given by Eusebius contains many interpolations; and that preserved in the Armenian rendering of his works is considered by some to be the more correct. Besides the versions of Africanus and George, commonly called Syncellus, we have another known as the "Old Chronicle," and still another which is called the "Book of the Sothis." The above mentioned four versions of Manetho's King List are as follows:—

I.—MANETHO AS QUOTED BY JULIUS AFRICANUS.	II.—MANETHO AS QUOTED BY EUSEBIUS.
Dynasty I., at This.	Dynasty I., at This.
1. Menes 62 years.	1. Menes 60 years.
2. Athothis 57	2. Athothis 27
3. Kenkenes 31	3. Kenkenes 39
4. Unephes 23	4. Unephes 42
5. Usaphais 20	5. Usaphaes 20
6. Miebis 26	6. Niebaes 26
7. Semempses 18	7. Semempses 18
8. Bieneches 26	8. Ubienthes 26
Eight kings in 253 (sic) years.	Eight kings in 252 (sic) years.

¹ "He gave the traditions unadulterated just as he found them; . . . he assumed the year of the world 5500 to be that of the incarnation of Jesus Christ;" Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 213.

Dynasty II., at This.	Dynasty II., at This.
1. Boethos 38 years.	1. Bochos — years.
2. Kaiechos 39	2. Choos —
3. Binothis 47	3. Biophis —
4. Tlas 17	4. —
5. Sethenes 41	5. 3 others —
6. Chaires 17	6. —
7. Nephercheres 25	7. Another —
8. Sesochris 48	8. Sesochris 48
9. Chenephres 30	9. Another —
Nine kings in 302 years.	Nine kings in 297 years.

Dynasty III., at Memphis.	Dynasty III., at Memphis.
1. Necherophes 28 years.	1. Necherochis — years.
2. Tosorthros 29	2. Sesorthos —
3. Tyris 7	3. —
4. Mesochris 17	4. —
5. Soyphis 16	5. —
6. Tosentasis 19	6. (Six others un- worthy of mention)
7. Aches 42	7. —
8. Sephuris 30	8. —
9. Kerperes 26	
Nine kings in 214 (sic) years.	Eight kings in 198 years.

Dynasty IV., at Memphis.		Dynasty IV., at Memphis.	
1. Soris	29 years.	2 kings	— years.
2. Suphis	63	Suphis	—
3. Suphis	66		
4. Mencheres	63		
5. Ratoises	25		
6. Bicheris	22	Others	—
7. Sebercheres	7		
8. Thamphthis	9		
Eight kings in 274 (sic) years.		Seventeen kings in 448 years.	

Dynasty V., at Elephantine.		Dynasty V., at Elephantine.	
1. Usercheres	28 years.	Othoes	— years.
2. Sephres	13	Phiops	100
3. Nephercheres	20		
4. Sisires	7		
5. Cheires	20		
6. Rathures	44	Others	—
7. Mencheres	9		
8. Tancheres	44		
9. Onnos	33		
Eight kings in 248 (sic) years.		Thirty-one kings in 100 years.	

Dynasty VI., at Memphis.

- 1. Othoes 30 years.
- 2. Phios 53
- 3. Methusuphis 7
- 4. Phiops 100
- 5. Menthesuphis 1
- 6. Nitocris 12

Six kings in 203 years.

Dynasty VI., at Memphis.

- years.
-
-
-
-
- Nitocris —

..... kings in 203 years.

Dynasty VII., at Memphis.

Seventy kings in 70 days.

Dynasty VII., at Memphis.

Four kings in 75 days.

Dynasty VIII., at Memphis.

Twenty-seven kings in 146 years.

Dynasty VIII., at Memphis.

Five kings in 100 years.

Dynasty IX., at Herakleopolis.

- Achthoes — years.
- Others —

Nineteen kings in 409 years.

Dynasty IX., at Herakleopolis.

- Achthoes — years.
- Others —

Four kings in 100 years.

Dynasty X., at Hera- kleopolis.	Dynasty X., at Hera- kleopolis.
Nineteen kings in 185 years.	Nineteen kings in 185 years.

Dynasty XI., at Thebes.	Dynasty XI., at Thebes.
Sixteen kings in 43 years.	Sixteen kings in 43 years.

Ammenemes 16 years.	Ammenemes 16 years.
---------------------	---------------------

Dynasty XII., at Thebes.	Dynasty XII., at Thebes.
1. Sesonchosis 46 years.	Sesonchosis 46 years.
2. Ammanemes 38	Ammanemes 38
3. Sesostris 48	Sesostris 48
4. Lachares 8	Lamaris 8
5. Ameres 8	
6. Amenemes 8	Others 42
7. Skemiophris 4	
Seven kings in 160 years.	Seven kings in 245 years.

Dynasty XIII., at Thebes.	Dynasty XIII., at Thebes.
Sixty kings in 453 years.	Sixty kings in 453 years.

Dynasty XIV., at Xoïs.	Dynasty XIV., at Xoïs.
Seventy-six kings in 184 years.	Seventy-six kings in 184, or 484 years.

Dynasty XV., of Shepherds.

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Saites | 19 years. |
| 2. Bnon | 44 |
| 3. Pachnan | 61 |
| 4. Staan | 50 |
| 5. Archles | 49 |
| 6. Aphobis | 61 |

Six kings in 284 years.

Dynasty XV., at Thebes.

- | |
|-------|
| |
| |
| |
| |
| |
| |

..... kings in 250 years.

Dynasty XVI., of Shepherds.

Thirty-two kings in 518 years.

Dynasty XVI., at Thebes.

Five kings in 190 years.

Dynasty XVII., of Shepherds.

Forty-three kings in 151 years.

Dynasty XVII., at Thebes.

Forty-three kings in 151 years.

Dynasty XVII., of Shepherds.

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| Saites | 19 years. |
| Bnon | 40 |
| Aphophis | 14 |
| Archles | 30 |

Four kings in 103 years.

Dynasty XVIII., at Thebes.

- | | |
|------------|----------|
| 1. Amos | ? years. |
| 2. Chebros | 13 |

Dynasty XVIII., at Thebes.

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Amosis | 25 years. |
| 2. Chebron | 13 |

3. Amenophthis	21
4. Amensis	22
5. Misaphris	13
6. Misphrag-	
muthosis	26
7. Tuthmosis	9
8. Amenophis	31
9. Oros	37
10. Acherres	32
11. Rathos	6
12. Chebres	12
13. Acherres	12
14. Arnesses	5
15. Ramesses	1
16. Amenophath	19
Sixteen kings in 263	
years.	

Dynasty XIX., at Thebes.

1. Sethos	51 years.
2. Rapsakes	61
3. Ammeneph-	
thes	20
4. Ramesses	60
5. Ammenemnes	5
6. Thuoris	—
Seven kings in 209 years.	

3. Amenophis	21
4. Miphres	12
5. Misphrag-	
muthosis	26
6. Tuthmosis	9
7. Amenophis	31
8. Oros	36
9. Achencherses	16
10. Athoris	39
11. Chencheres	16
12. Acherres	8
13. Cherres	15
14. Armais	5
15. Ramesses	68
16. Ammenophis	40
Fourteen kings in 348	
years.	

Dynasty XIX., at Thebes.

Sethos	55 years.
Rampses	66
Ammeneph-	
thes	40
.....	
Ammenemes	26
Thuoris	7
Five kings in 194 years.	

Dynasty XX., at Thebes.

Twelve kings in 135
years.

Dynasty XX., at Thebes.

Twelve kings in 178
years.

Dynasty XXI., at Tanis.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| 1. Smendes | 26 years. |
| 2. Psusennes | 46 |
| 3. Nephelcheres | 4 |
| 4. Amenophthis | 9 |
| 5. Osochor | 6 |
| 6. Psinaches | 9 |
| 7. Psusennes | 14 |

Seven kings in 130
years.

Dynasty XXI., at Tanis.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Smendis | 26 years. |
| Psusennes | 41 |
| Nephercheres | 4 |
| Amenophthis | 9 |
| Osochor | 6 |
| Psinaches | 9 |
| Psusennes | 35 |

Seven kings in 130
years.

Dynasty XXII., at
Bubastis.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| 1. Sesonchis | 21 years. |
| 2. Osorthon | 15 |
| 3-5. Three others | 25 |
| 6. Takelothis | 13 |
| 7-9. Three others | 42 |

Nine kings in 120
years.

Dynasty XXII., at
Bubastis.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Sesonchosis | 21 years. |
| 2. Osorthon | 15 |
| 3. Takelothis | 13 |

Three kings in 49
years.

Dynasty XXIII., at Tanis.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| 1. Petubates | 40 years. |
| 2. Osoreho | 8 |
| 3. Psammus | 10 |
| 4. Zet | 31 |

Four kings in 89 years.

Dynasty XXIV., at Saïs.

- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| Bocchoris | 6 years. |
|-----------|----------|

Dynasty XXV., in
Ethiopia.

- | | |
|-------------|----------|
| 1. Sabakon | 8 years. |
| 2. Sebichos | 14 |
| 3. Tarkos | 18 |

Three kings in 40 years.

Dynasty XXVI., at Saïs.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Stephinates | 7 years. |
| 2. Nechepsos | 6 |
| 3. Nechao | 8 |
| 4. Psammetichos | 54 |
| 5. Nechao | 6 |
| 6. Psammuthis | 6 |
| 7. Uaphris | 19 |
| 8. Amosis | 44 |
| 9. Psammeche-
rites | $\frac{1}{2}$ |

Nine kings in 150 $\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Dynasty XXIII., at Tanis.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------|
| 1. Petubastes | 25 years. |
| 2. Osorthon | 9 |
| 3. Psammus | 10 |

Three kings in 44 years.

Dynasty XXIV., at Saïs.

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| Bocchoris | 44 years. |
|-----------|-----------|

Dynasty XXV., in
Ethiopia.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------|
| 1. Sabakon | 12 years. |
| 2. Sebichos | 12 |
| 3. Tarakos | 20 |

Three kings in 44 years.

Dynasty XXVI., at Saïs.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| 1. Ammeris | 12 years. |
| 2. Stephinathis | 7 |
| 3. Nechepsos | 6 |
| 4. Nechao | 8 |
| 5. Psammetichos | 45 |
| 6. Nechao | 6 |
| 7. Psammuthis | 17 |
| 8. Uaphris | 25 |
| 9. Amosis | 42 |

Nine kings in 163 years.

Dynasty XXVII., Persians.

1. Cambyses 6 years.
2. Darius Hystaspes 36
3. Xerxes the Great 21
4. Artabanus 7 months.
5. Artaxerxes 41 years.
6. Xerxes 2 months.
7. Sogdianos 7 months.
8. Darius 19 years.

Eight kings in 124 years,
4 months.

Dynasty XXVII., Persians.

1. Cambyses 3 years.
2. Magoi 7 months.
3. Darius 36 years.
4. Xerxes 21
5. Artaxerxes 40
6. Xerxes 2 months.
7. Sogdianos 7 months.
8. Darius 19 years.

Eight kings in 120 years,
4 months.

Dynasty XXVIII., at Saïs.

- Amyrtaeus 6 years.

Dynasty XXVIII., at Saïs.

- Amyrtaeus 6 years.

Dynasty XXIX., at
Mendes.

1. Nepherites 6 years.
2. Achoris 13
3. Psammonthis 1
4. Nepherites 4 months.

Four kings in 20 years,
4 months.

Dynasty XXIX., at
Mendes.

1. Nepherites 6 years.
2. Achoris 13
3. Psammonthis 1
4. Nepherites 4 months.
5. Mouthis 1 year.

Five kings in 21 years,
4 months.

Dynasty XXX., at Sebennytus.	Dynasty XXX., at Sebennytus.
1. Nektanebes 18 years.	1. Nektanebes 10 years.
2. Teos 2	2. Teos 2
3. Nektanebos 18	3. Nektanebos 8
Three kings in 38 years.	Three kings in 20 years.

III.—THE OLD CHRONICLE.¹

Fifteen kings, or Dynasties	443 years.
Dyn. XVI., at Tanis. Eight kings in	190
XVII., at Memphis. Four kings in	103
XVIII., at Memphis. Fourteen kings in	348
XIX., at Thebes. Five kings in	194
XX., at Thebes. Eight kings in	228
XXI., at Tanis. Six kings in	121
XXII., at Tanis. Three kings in	48
XXIII., at Thebes. Two kings in	19
XXIV., at Sais. Three kings in	44
XXV., in Ethiopia. Three kings in	44
XXVI., at Memphis. Seven kings in	177
XXVII., Persians. Five kings in	124
XXVIII.,	—
XXIX., Tanites.	39
XXX.,	One king in 18

For the Greek text, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 534.

IV.—THE BOOK OF THE SOTHIS.¹

1. Menes	35 years,	2776 A.M.
2. Kurodes	63	2811
3. Aristarchos	34	2874
4. Spanios	36	2908
5, 6.	72	2944
7. Osiropis	23	3016
8. Sesonchosis	49	3039
9. Amenemes	29	3088
10. Amasis	2	3117
11. Akesepthes	13	3119
12. Anchoneus	9	3132
13. Armiyses	4	3141
14. Chamois	12	3145
15. Miamus	14	3157
16. Amesesis	65	3171
17. Uses	50	3236
18. Rameses	29	3286
19. Ramesomenes	15	3315
20. Usimare	31	3330
21. Ramesseseos	23	3361
22. Ramessameno	19	3384
23. Ramesse Iubasz	39	3403
24. Ramesse Uaphru	29	3442

¹ For the Greek text, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 607.

25. Koncharis	5 years,	3471 A.M.
26. Silites	19	3477
27. Baeon	44	3496
28. Apachnas	36	3540
29. Aphophis	61	3576
30. Sethos	50	3637
31. Kertos	29	3687
32. Aseth	20	3716
33. Amosis	26	3736
34. Chebron	13	3762
35. Amemphis	15	3775
36. Amenses	11	3790
37. Miphragmuthosis	16	3801
38. Miphres	23	3817
39. Tuthmosis	39	3840
40. Amenophthis	34	3879
41. Oros	48	3913
42. Achencheres	25	3961
43. Athoris	29	3986
44. Chencheres	26	4015
45. Acherres	8	4041
46. Armaeos	9	4049
47. Ramesses	68	4058
48. Amenophis	8	4126
49. Thuoris	17	4134
50. Nechepsos	19	4151
51. Psammuthis	13	4170

52.	4 years,	4183 A.M.
53. Kertos	20	4187
54. Rampsis	45	4207
55. Amenses	26	4252
56. Ochyras	14	4278
57. Amendes	27	4292
58. Thuoris	50	4319
59. Athothis	28	4369
60. Kenkenes	39	4397
61. Uennephis	42	4436
62. Susakeim	34	4478
63. Psuenos	25	4512
64. Ammenophis	9	4537
65. Nephherches	6	4546
66. Saites	15	4552
67. Psinaches	9	4567
68. Petubastes	44	4576
69. Osorthon	9	4620
70. Psammos	10	4629
71. Koncharis	21	4639
72. Osorthon	15	4660
73. Takalophis	13	4675
74. Bokchoris	44	4688

75. Sabakon	12 years,	4732 A.M.
76. Sebechon	12	4744
77. Tarakes	20	4756
78. Amaes	38	4776
79. Stephinathes	27	4814
80. Nechepsos	13	4841
81. Nechos	8	4854
82. Psammitichos	14	4862
83. Nechao	9	4876
84. Psamuthes	17	4885
85. Uaphris	34	4902
86. Amosis	50	4936

An examination of the versions of Manetho's King List according to Julius Africanus and Eusebius shows that they do not agree in many important particulars, i.e., in arrangement of dynasties, in the lengths of the reigns of the kings, and in the total numbers of kings assigned to the different dynasties. Moreover, according to Julius Africanus 561 kings reigned in about 5524 years, while according to Eusebius only about 361 kings reigned in 4480 or 4780 years. In the Old Chronicle the total number of kings given is 84, and they are declared to have reigned about 2140 years, and in the Book of the Sothis the total number of kings is 86 and the total duration of their reigns is given as about 2500 years. Now the information which we have obtained from the Egyptian monuments

shows that the Old Chronicle and the Book of the Sothis are quite useless for chronological purposes, because it is self-evident that they do not contain complete lists of the kings, and that the names of the kings which are in them, as well as some of the dynasties, are out of order. This is a statement of fact and not a conjecture. But how are the discrepancies between the lists of Julius Africanus and Eusebius to be explained? The version of Julius Africanus is clearly the more accurate of the two, because it agrees best with the monuments, and Bunsen was probably right in saying¹ that his object was not to arrange a system of Annals, but to give the traditions unaltered, and just as he found them. In fact, judging only by the mere forms of the kings' names which he gives, and which (even after the lapse of 1600 years, and in spite of the ignorance and carelessness of subsequent copyists) are on the whole remarkably correct, it seems pretty certain that he must have had a copy of Manetho's list before him. The version of Eusebius was based upon that of Africanus, and he appears to have been careless in copying both names and figures, and the names of many kings are wanting in the extant copies of his works. We know from Plutarch that Manetho was a high-priest and scribe connected with the mysteries in the temple of Heliopolis, and there is no doubt that, in compiling the work which he had received the

¹ *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 213.

royal command to undertake, he would be in a position to draw his information from sources which were regarded as authoritative and authentic by his brother priests. That his name carried weight, and that his reputation for learning was very great for centuries after his death, is evident from the fact that impostors endeavoured to obtain circulation for their own pseudo-historical works by issuing them under his name. We have no right to blame Manetho for the mistakes which his editors and copyists made, and in considering his list the wonder is that the version of Julius Africanus agrees as closely as it does with the monumental evidence. The discrepancies in the numbers are due chiefly to the misreading by the scribes of the Greek letters which stood for figures; the names, however, are generally given in correct order, and as instances of this fact we may quote those of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties.

The evidence of Herodotus (B.C. 450) and Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 57) concerning Egyptian chronology is interesting, especially that of the former writer. Some of the information given by Herodotus is, no doubt, derived from Hecataeus of Miletus, but, as is the case also with Diodorus, much of it is the result of his own inquiries and observation. The list of kings given in each of their works is, on the whole, of little value, for Herodotus apparently merely set down in writing the names of the kings whose buildings he passed on the Nile in the order in which he saw them,

and Diodorus filled his history with a large amount of legendary matter from which, of course, no conclusion can be drawn. As an exception, however, it may be noted that the account of the kings who built the Pyramids in the IVth Dynasty agrees absolutely with the monuments as regards the names of the kings, the lengths of their reigns, and the order in which they reigned, and in several passages Diodorus¹ correctly estimates the period of time which had elapsed since the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy at about 4700 years.

It will be evident from what has been said above that it is impossible from the King Lists in hieroglyphics and Greek to formulate any system of chronology which shall be more than approximately correct, and although the evidence derived from such lists and from the monuments of individual kings when taken together is wonderfully strong in favour of the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization generally, it does not enable us to fix the period when we may assume that Egyptian history began. The Tablet of Abydos and the versions of Manetho ascribed to Julius Africanus and Eusebius, and even the worthless Book of the Sothis, all agree in making Menä to be the first historical king

¹ See an interesting pamphlet entitled *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*, Berlin, 1901, by Fr. W. von Bissing. He compares the accounts of Diodorus and Herodotus, and notes that the former writer says that the pyramids were built by means of inclined planes, *χωμάτα*.

of Egypt, though we now know that he was not the first king of Egypt, but none of these authorities affords the information which will enable us with certainty to assign a date for his reign. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to obtain some fixed point in the King Lists from which it might be possible to deduce his date, and the means employed have been :—1. THE SOTHIC PERIOD ;¹ 2. SYNCHRONISMS ; 3. THE ORIENTATION OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLES. Of the Sothic Period we have five mentions in the inscriptions ; three of these have been submitted to strict examination by Sir Norman Lockyer, K.C.B., and he thinks that the rising of Sirius on the 27th day of Epiphi, in the reign of Pepi-Meri-Rā, took place about B.C. 3192, and that the other risings of Sirius mentioned by Brugsch² took place about B.C. 1728 and B.C. 270 respectively.³ Now Pepi-Meri-Rā's name is the thirty-sixth on the Tablet

¹ "Now in books on Egyptology the period of 1461 years is termed the Sothic period, and truly so, as it very nearly correctly measures the period elapsing between two heliacal risings at the solstice (on the beginning of the Nile flood), on the 1st of Thoth, in the *vague* year. But it is merely the result of *chance* that $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ represents it. It was not then known that the processional movement of Sirius almost exactly made up the difference between the true length of the year and the assumed length of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It has been stated that this period had not any ancient existence, but was calculated back in later times. This seems to me very improbable." Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 256.

² *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier*, pp. 33, 64, 68 ; see also *Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxxvii. p. 100.

³ *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 262.

of Abydos, and it is clear that he is either Phios or Phiops, i.e., a king of the VIth Dynasty according to the version of Manetho given by Julius Africanus; this being so, and by adding Manetho's totals of the years of the first five dynasties, i.e., 253 + 302 + 214 + 274 + 248, or 1291 years to B.C. 3192, we arrive at the date for Mena of B.C. 4483. No one can pretend to accept this as a definite date, but it is at least useful as showing that the evidence derived from the use of the Sothic Period in Egyptian chronology indicates an antiquity for the civilization of Egypt which is higher than some are prepared to admit; on the other hand, Mr. Cecil Torr believes that the Sothic cycle was invented by the later Greeks at Alexandria, and he thinks that there is very little hope of correcting any dates in history by reference to the cycles of the phoenix¹ and the dog-star, or other things pertaining to the calendar.² In a recent paper³ an attempt has been made to fix the date of Usertsen III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, by means of two of the Kahûn papyri which mention the rising of Sirius on the 16th day of the IVth month of the winter of the 7th year of the king's reign, and the festival gifts which were made on the following day; and it is argued that this took place between B.C. 1876 and B.C. 1872. It is further argued that between

¹ See Mahler in *Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxviii. p. 115.

² *Memphis and Mycenae*, pp. 57 and 60.

³ *Der Zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun*, by L. Borchardt (*Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxxvii. p. 100 ff).

Usertsen III. and Amenophis I., whose ninth year (according to a calculation based upon a statement in respect of Sothis in the Ebers Papyrus) corresponds with B.C. 1545—1542, we must only allow a period of 330 years, and that between the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty we must only allow from 200 to 210 years in our calculations.¹ That assertions of this kind must be received with caution is evident from the fact that another investigator, using the same data, declares that the true date of Usertsen III. is B.C. 1945; i.e., there is a difference of about seventy years in the results of the calculations² of the two writers on the subject. But according to Censorinus, the Dog-star, or Sirius, rose on the first day of the first month of the Egyptian year A.D. 139, and therefore the preceding Sothic Period began in B.C. 1322; this date is called by Theon of Alexandria "the era of Menophres," who has been identified by Prof. Petrie³ with Rameses I., whose prenomen is Men-peh-Rā, and this identification may possibly be correct. Now Prof. Mahler has asserted

¹ "Es ist also das 7. Jahr Usertesens III. als in die Jahre von 1876-1873 v. Chr. fallend anzusehen, d. h. immer noch etwa 100 Jahre später als es der am niedrigsten greifende Historiker Aegyptens, Eduard Meyer, in seinen Minimaldaten annahm." A. Z. xxxvii. p. 102.

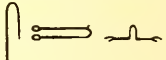
² See Nicklin in *Classical Review*, vol. xiv. 1900, p. 148; and Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, London, 1901, p. 67.

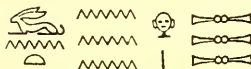
³ *History of Egypt*, ii. p. 33; the reader should consult Mr. Torr's *Memphis and Mycenae*, p. 53 ff., where the unsatisfactory nature of such calculations is demonstrated.

that a *Set* Festival, i.e., the festival which was observed at the end of a period of thirty years, which was celebrated on the 28th day of a certain month of Epiphi in the reign of Thothmes III., was commemorated in the year B.C. 1470, and as a period of about 150 years probably elapsed between the reigns of Thothmes III.¹ and Rameses I., the two dates are, more or less, in agreement. It must, however, be remembered that, as said above, very little reliance is to be placed on any calculations of this kind in attempting to formulate an exact chronology, especially as authorities, both ancient and modern, are not agreed as to the exact date in the second century of our era when the Sothic Period ended on which they based their calculations. We may note in passing that the date assigned by Prof. Mahler to the reign of Thothmes III., i.e., from B.C. 1503 to B.C. 1449, is proved to be about half a century too low by the synchronisms of Burna-buriash and Ashur-uballit with Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., as we have shown below; the arguments adduced by Prof. Petrie in favour of Prof. Mahler's date for Thothmes III., to the effect that the *Set* Festival celebrated by Mer-en-Ptah in the second year of his reign took place B.C. 1206, and the rising of Sirius in the ninth year of Amenophis I. took place B.C. 1546, do

¹ The Al-Bersheh tablet, which is thought by Professor Petrie to afford such a "brilliant confirmation of Mahler's astronomical reckoning," is destroyed, and, as data supplied by it cannot be verified, is useless for purposes of argument.

not confirm Prof. Mahler's arguments, because the calculations by which these dates are arrived at both start, the one forwards and the other backwards, from B.C. 1478, the date adopted by Prof. Mahler. This likewise is an unsatisfactory method of arriving at an exact system of Egyptian chronology.

In connection with the Sothic Period must be mentioned Prof. Petrie's attempt to extract the means of arriving at a date for the reign of Mer-en-Rā, a king of the VIth Dynasty, from the inscription of the official Unā, whose labours in the service of his royal master are so well known. Near the end of his inscription Unā says that his Majesty Mer-en-Rā sent him to the quarry of Het-nub to hew out a large alabaster table for offerings; this he did, and placing it in a broad boat, he floated it down the river to Memphis in seventeen days. The boat measured sixty cubits by thirty cubits, and he built the boat, or raft, and quarried the table for offerings in seventeen days in the month of Epiphi. Unā then says, 

, i.e., "behold there was no water on the *thesu*, i.e., shoals or sandbanks," but notwithstanding the difficulty, he adds, he brought the boat, or raft, safely into port at the Pyramid of Khānefer of Mer-en-Rā, in peace.¹ Prof. Petrie argues from this statement that when Unā arrived off Memphis in the month of Epiphi the waters of the Nile had

¹ *A History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 95.

subsided so greatly that he was unable to float the boat or barge with its heavy load over the land which had been recently inundated, for the depth of the water on the land did not permit him to do so. So far all is clear, and this is undoubtedly what the words in hieroglyphics indicate. But Prof. Petrie adds, "This fact shows the season of the month Epiphi in that age, from which—by the shifting of the calendar round the seasons in each Sothis period of 1460 years—it is possible to get an approximate date for the reign of Mer-en-Rā at about 3350 B.C." What Unā narrates may show that the month of Epiphi was considerably out of place in the year when he went to Het-nub, but the possibility of deducing any date for the reigning king from this circumstance is too remote to be seriously entertained for a moment.

Of more interest, and of much greater value, are the synchronisms which can certainly be established between Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, and Burra-buriash, king of Karaduniyash,¹ or Babylonia, and between Shashanq I., king of Egypt, and Rehoboam, king of Israel. Now we know from the form of the name Burna-buriash or Burra-buriyash that we are dealing with a member of the Kassite Dynasty which ruled over Babylonia, and we also know that the period of their rule was about B.C. 1400, because Nabonidus, who reigned from about B.C. 555 to B.C.

¹ This is the old Elamite name of Babylonia.

538, tells us in one of his inscriptions¹ that Shagash-alti-buriyash, who was one of the Kassite kings, reigned 800 years before him. From the *Synchronous History*, col. i., ll. 5-7, we know that Burra-buriyash was a contemporary of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, and from lines 8 ff. we know that Puzur-Ashur lived at an earlier period than Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria. Now Nabonidus also tells us (Brit. Mus. 85-4-30, 2, col. ii., ll. 20-24) that Burra-buriyash lived 700 years after Khammurabi; we have therefore to fix the period for the reign of the latter king before the information can be of much value to us. Now Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, who reigned from B.C. 668 to 626, says² that the Elamite king Kudur-Nankhundi invaded Babylonia 1635 or 1535 years before he himself conquered Susa, i.e., Kudur-Nankhundi invaded Babylonia about B.C. 2285 or 2185. But it was this same Elamite power which Khammurabi crushed,³ and so he must have lived *after* Kudur-Nankhundi; we may therefore at the latest place the date of his reign at about B.C. 2200. If, then, Burra-buriyash lived 700 years after Khammurabi, the date of his reign would be about B.C. 1450 or 1400. We must return for a moment to Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, who was

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. plate 64, col. iii. ll. 27-29.

² *Ibid.*, plate 6, col. 6, l. 107.

³ See especially L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, vol. iii. p. 236 ff.

one of the successors of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, and whose date may be fixed by the following facts. On a slab in the British Museum, No. 44,855,¹ Rammân-nirari states that he is the great-grandson of Ashur-uballiṭ; in another inscription² Shalmaneser I. states that he is the son of Rammân-nirari I., and in another³ Tukulti-Ninib asserts that he is the son of Shalmaneser I.; from these three statements it is clear that Ashur-uballiṭ was the great-great-great-grandfather of Tukulti-Ninib. Now, Sennacherib made a copy⁴ upon clay of an inscription of Tukulti-Ninib which had been cut upon a lapis-lazuli seal; this seal had been carried off to Babylon by some successful conqueror of Assyria, and Sennacherib found it there after he had vanquished the Babylonians and had captured their city. We know that Sennacherib reigned from about B.C. 705 to B.C. 681, and he tells us in a few lines added to his copy of the writing on Tukulti-Ninib's seal that the lapis-lazuli seal was carried off to Babylon 600 years before his own time; therefore Tukulti-Ninib must have reigned at least as far back as B.C. 1280, and as there is no evidence to show that the seal was carried off during his lifetime, we may assume rightly that Tukulti-Ninib's date is about B.C. 1300. But we have

¹ See *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. plate 39, obv. l. 27 f.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. plate 6, No. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. plate 4, No. 2.

⁴ The text will be found *ibid.*, vol. iii. plate 4, No. 2.

seen that Ashur-uballit was Tukulti-Ninib's great-great-great-grandfather, and therefore he can hardly have lived less than 100 years before Tukulti-Ninib; thus it is clear that the date which we must assign to the reign of Ashur-uballit cannot be later than B.C. 1400. Now we know that the Tell el-'Amarna tablet at Berlin (No. 9) was written to Amenophis IV. by Ashur-uballit, therefore these two kings were contemporaries, and the date of Amenophis IV. cannot be later than B.C. 1400. We have seen above that Burra-buriyash was a contemporary of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, the predecessor of Ashur-uballit, and his date may, at the lowest computation, be fixed at about B.C. 1430; but we know that Burra-buriyash wrote letters to Amenophis III., and therefore we shall be right in saying that the beginning of the reign of this king cannot be much later than B.C. 1450. This synchronism is thus well established.

The next synchronism to be mentioned is that of Shashanq I., king of Egypt, with Jeroboam, king of Israel, and Rehoboam, king of Judah, about B.C. 950.¹ The date of this synchronism is calculated from the earliest certain date or event in Syrian history, i.e., the battle of Karkar, which took place B.C. 854; in this battle Ahab and his allies were defeated by Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, who reigned from B.C. 859 to 825. It is well known that as far back as B.C. 893 nearly all

¹ This is the date adopted by Wellhausen. Professor Karl Marti gives B.C. 930.

the principal events in Assyrian history may be dated by the names in the Eponym Canon, and although the battle of Karkar (𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎲 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎲 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎲) is not mentioned in the Bible narrative, the evidence for its date is as certain as such things can ever be.

Finally, we may refer to the synchronism of Gyges, king of Lydia, with Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, and Psammetichus I., king of Egypt. We know from the inscriptions of Ashur-bani-pal¹ that he waged war against Gyges, and that Gyges assisted Psammetichus in his revolt against the Assyrian king, and there is no doubt that these events took place about B.C. 650. An indirect confirmation of this statement is supplied by the Greek poet Archilochos, a contemporary of Gyges, who mentions a total eclipse of the sun which took place at mid-day, and it has been calculated astronomically that this eclipse took place on April 6th, B.C. 648.²

In recent years Sir Norman Lockyer has devoted very considerable time and labour to the working out of the important question of the astronomical basis upon which ancient Egyptian temples were oriented, and he has arrived at the conclusion that it is possible to assign dates to the periods when many of the largest and most venerable of these edifices were founded. He has obtained his results by means of purely astronomical

¹ See *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. pl. 2, l. 95 ff.

² See H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 254, note 1.

calculations, and they agree generally with the evidence which may be deduced from the discoveries concerning the "New Race" and the kings of the Ist Dynasty, which have been made since the *Dawn of Astronomy* was written. There can be no doubt about the correctness of many of his assertions as to the refounding and reconstruction of the largest of the temples, and it is important to note that the dates proposed by him for the original foundings for certain temples, although at one time believed by some to be too early, may now be regarded as probably correct. Astronomical evidence supports the evidence derived from every other source in assigning a remote antiquity to the period when Egyptian civilization began; but unfortunately it does not assist us in formulating a complete system of Egyptian chronology with exact dates.

We may now sum up the results which may be fairly deduced from the facts set forth above. The King Lists, whether written in hieroglyphics or Greek, contain omissions and conflicting statements, but the evidence of such Lists as a whole, when taken into consideration with the information on Egyptian history which is supplied by the monuments, may be regarded as generally correct and quite credible. From the King Lists the Royal Papyrus of Turin must, of course, be excluded, for the small fragments into which it was reduced in the box on its way to Turin were pieced together by a man whose system of hieroglyphic decipherment has been universally rejected, and whose

knowledge of the hieratic character was so small as to be useless for the purpose to which he tried to apply it; moreover, according to the testimony of de Rougé, whose learning and integrity are beyond question, and whose statement on the subject must be regarded as final, no arguments can be rightly based upon the position of the fragments which seem to contain the names of kings of the so-called XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. The difficulty which besets the Egyptologist who tries to assign a date to the reign of Menes, the first king of Egypt according to the Tablet of Abydos, is well illustrated by the fact that Champollion-Figeac gives as his date B.C. 5867; Boeckh, B.C. 5702; Lepsius, B.C. 3892; Mariette, B.C. 5004; Bunsen, B.C. 3623; Wilkinson, B.C. 2320; and Brugsch, B.C. 4455 or B.C. 4400. Of these writers the only ones whose chronological views are to be seriously considered are Lepsius, Mariette, and Brugsch, between whose highest and lowest dates is an interval of over 1100 years. Viewed in the light of recent investigations, the date of Lepsius seems to be too low, whilst that of Mariette, in the same way, seems to be too high; we have therefore to consider the date for Menes arrived at by Brugsch. This eminent Egyptologist based his system of chronology upon the well-known calculation of Herodotus, that the duration of three consecutive human lives represents a century, and he thought that he could determine approximately¹ the periods of time which have elapsed between Menes

See Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. i. p. 33.

and the end of the XIIIth Dynasty, and from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty to the end of the XXVIth, by means of the King Lists and the pedigrees of high Egyptian officials. Although this system is open to many objections on the score of inaccuracy in respect of the dates of certain events which may now be fixed with considerable exactness, it has much to recommend it, and is on the whole the best that has been devised; in any case, the knowledge which Brugsch possessed of Egyptology in all its branches was so vast, that in a general question of this kind his opinion carries great weight, and is entitled to the utmost respect. The present writer here, as elsewhere, has adopted Brugsch's system, with certain modifications which were rendered necessary by recent discoveries, e.g., the date of Thothmes III. must be brought down from B.C. 1600 to between B.C. 1550 and 1500; the interval between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties, as stated by Brugsch, can hardly have been so long. But in view of our ignorance of the historical events which took place between the end of the XIIth and the end of the XVIIth Dynasty, it has been well to retain his dating of the kings of the Middle Empire, i.e., those of the XIth, XIIth, XIIIth, and XVIth Dynasties. The length of the duration of the two great gaps in Egyptian history, i.e., from the end of the VIth to the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, and from the end of the XIIIth to the end of the XVIIth Dynasty, is at present unknown; all we can now say is that

they seem to have been shorter than was assumed by Brugsch, who based his opinion on Manetho's figures, which in this section are certainly garbled. Until we obtain monumental authority for filling up these gaps, any attempt to do so which is based upon the Royal Papyrus of Turin, or upon the evidence of the unidentified royal names which are found on scarabs, is quite futile; this being so, it is far more satisfactory to employ for the Ancient and Middle Empires¹ the dates computed by Brugsch. It must, however, be distinctly understood that, when Brugsch gives the date for, let us say, Amen-em-hät I. as B.C. 2466, he does not mean to imply that Amen-em-hät I. ascended the throne in that year, but that his generation falls roughly about that time, i.e., about thirty years earlier or later than B.C. 2466. Similarly, he does not intend his readers to think that he believed Rameses II. to have begun to reign B.C. 1333, but only in the second half of the XIVth century B.C. It is very important that this fact should be borne in mind, lest the system of Brugsch be confused with the systems which assign exact dates to every Egyptian king, for no exact dates can be assigned to any Egyptian kings before the XXVIth Dynasty, although as far back as the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty no greater error than fifty years is possible.

¹ The Ancient Empire = Dynasties I. to X.; the Middle Empire = Dynasties XI. to XVI.; the New Empire = Dynasties XVII. to XXVI.

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGENDARY PERIOD.

THE fact that the ancient Egyptians of the historical period attempted to formulate their hazy ideas concerning the predynastic period of their history and its duration is made known to us by certain of the versions of the King List of Manetho, which have been preserved by George the Syncellus. The statements which refer to this period that are found in them, as well as the numbers of years which the gods, demi-gods, kings, ghosts, etc., are alleged to have reigned, prove that those who drew up the materials from which Manetho compiled his King List had no correct knowledge of the duration of the Predynastic Period in Egypt or even of the early Dynastic Period, and it is now quite clear that even in the time of the XIXth Dynasty its history had long since degenerated into legend and a confused mass of hopelessly mixed tradition. According to George the Syncellus the Egyptians possessed a "certain tablet called the "Old Chronicle, containing thirty dynasties in 113

“descents, during the long period of 36,525 years. “The first series of princes was that of the Auritae, “the second was that of the Mestraeans, and the third “of Egyptians.”¹ The reign of the gods was as follows:—

HEPHAISTOS, to whom “is assigned no time, as he
“is apparent both by day and by night.”

HELIOS, the son of Hephaistos, reigned 30,000
years.

KRONOS, and the other twelve gods, reigned 3984
years.

DEMI-GODS, eight in number, reigned 217 years.

The 30 dynasties of kings reigned 2324 years, and thus we get a grand total of 36,525 years for the duration of the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods in Egypt. The Syncellus goes on to say that the period of 36,525 years equals 25 times 1461 years, and that it “relates to the fabled periodical revolution of the “zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks, that is, its “revolution from a particular point to the same again, “which point is the first minute of the first degree of “that equinoctial sign which they call the Ram, as it “is explained in the Genesis of Hermes and in the “Cyrannian books.”

¹ For the Greek text see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Didot, p. 534; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 689; and Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 89 ff.

According to Eusebius¹ the duration of the Pre-dynastic and Dynastic Periods was as follows:—

I. GODS	13,900 years. ²
II. DEMI-GODS	
1. Demi-gods	1,255
2. Other kings.	1,817
3. Thirty Memphite kings	1,790
4. Ten kings of This	350
III. MANES.	5,813
	<hr/>
	Total <u>24,925</u> years.

According to Manetho and Panodorus³ the Divine Dynasties were as follows:—


I. GODS	(Panodorus)	(Manetho)
	Years.	Years.
1. Hephaistos reigned	727 $\frac{3}{4}$	9,000
2. Helios	80 $\frac{1}{6}$	992
3. Agathodaemon	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	700
4. Kronos	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	501
5. Osiris and Isis	35	433
6. Typhon	29	359
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	<u>969</u>	<u>11,985</u>






¹ See *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, tom. ii. p. 528, col. 1.

² "After them the empire descended by a long succession to Bites, through a lapse of 13,900 years, reckoned, I say, in lunar years of thirty days to each; for even now they call the month a year." Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 92.

³ See *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.*, pp. 530, 531.

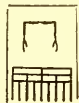
II. DEMI-GODS	(Panodorus)	(Manetho)
	Years.	Years.
7. Horus reigned	25	100
8. Ares	23	92
9. Anubis	17	68
10. Herakles	15	60
11. Apollo	25	100
12. Ammon	30	120
13. Tithoes	27	108
14. Sosus	32	128
15. Zeus	20	80
(Wanting)	$\frac{1}{2}$	(wanting) 2
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
	214 $\frac{1}{2}$	858
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Thus according to Manetho the reigns of the Gods and Demi-gods lasted about 12,843 years, and according to Panodorus about 1183 $\frac{1}{2}$ years. The beings who are thus described as "Gods" and "Demi-gods" may or may not have been primeval chiefs or heads of tribes, but there can be little doubt that by the words *νέκρες οἱ ἡμιθεοὶ* we are to understand an allusion to the dead chiefs who flourished during the period which immediately preceded that of the Ist Dynasty. The *νέκρες* are in fact neither more nor less than the well-known "Shemsu Heru,"  or "Followers of Horus," a class of beings who are mentioned frequently in Egyptian literature from the earliest times, and who seem to have introduced a higher grade of civilization





into Egypt; possibly they came, as has been said above, from the East by way of the upper part of the Nile Valley. Of such chiefs or kings traces have been found, and a number of tombs which have been declared to be, and probably are, their sepulchres have been excavated during the years 1900 and 1901 at Abydos. With these we may not now class that of KHENT, who was certainly a successor of Menâ, or Menes. The sign which expressed his name  was, at a very early period, identified with the epithet  applied to the god Osiris as "chief" of Amenti, and in the XIXth Dynasty, and probably earlier, we find that the tomb of the king Khent was regarded as that of the god. Possibly the earliest king of the group was TE or DE, the symbol of his name being the hand . With this king must also be mentioned two monarchs who reigned over Upper Egypt who were called RE, or Ro, , and KA, .¹ From the evidence now forthcoming we are justified in saying that long before the unification of the rule of the Nile Valley under Menâ, Upper Egypt, i.e., the country from the Fayyûm on the north to about Silsila on the south, and Lower Egypt, i.e., the Delta and a small portion of Middle Egypt, existed as two entirely distinct and independent kingdoms. The kingdom of Lower Egypt was probably the older, that is to say, it seems to have been inhabited by the

¹ See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., plate 13. Jars and sealings







of king KA



have been found.


descendants of the aboriginal north-east African race who were conquered by the Shemsu Heru, or the "Followers of Horus," i.e., the founders of the historical kingdom which had its beginning in Upper Egypt. This fact is proved by the use of the word SUTEN  in the Egyptian language of the historical period; originally the SUTEN was the "king of Upper Egypt," and the king of Lower Egypt was called NET or BÂT¹ , a word which has been conjectured to be of Libyan origin. It is worthy of note that in the group , which means "King of the South and North," the sign for "king of the South" precedes that of "king of the North." Now gradually the word SUTEN gained the meaning of king, *par excellence*, a signification which the word NET or BÂT never acquired. The fact that the Egyptians themselves always regarded their country as composed of two kingdoms, i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt, is proved by the two crowns which are usually united on the heads of their sovereigns. The crown of Upper Egypt was represented by the sign , and was called HETCHET, because of its "white" colour, and the crown of Lower

¹ According to the version of the Old Chronicle given by Eusebius (see Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 92), the dynasty of the gods was followed by a long succession of divine kings who reigned for 13,900 years; the last of these was *Bites*. It is possible that *Bites* has some connection with *Bât*, and if this be so, he probably represents the dynasty of Lower Egypt.

Egypt was represented by the sign , and was called TESHERT, because of its "red" colour; the united crowns were represented by , a sign which has been commonly but erroneously read "Pschent," the correct reading being, of course, "Sekhet."¹ Egyptian kings of the dynastic period were never tired of calling themselves "Lord of the two lands,"   $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{X}}$, a title which we now know must refer to the two kingdoms of the South and North, and not to the ATĒBUI, or east and west banks of the Nile. Moreover, in the earliest dynastic times the king of all Egypt was already distinguished by the title , i.e., "lord of the city of the goddess Nekhebet," and "lord of the city of the goddess Uatchet," i.e., "lord of Eileithyia-polis and Buto," which were held to be the representative cities of the South and the North. The idea of the union of the South and the North was symbolically expressed by the hieroglyphic , which was intended to represent the tying together of the papyrus and lotus, plants which typified the South and the North respectively; the sign is read "SAM TAUI," i.e., "union of the two lands," and is found engraved on the thrones of seated statues of kings. The first instance of its use occurs on a vase of King Besh, i.e., Khā-sekhem (Khā-sekhemui), the Betchau of the King

¹ According to some "Sekhmet."

Lists, and it is of such interest that a drawing of it is reproduced on page 208, Vol. I.¹

We have already stated that of the independent kings of Upper Egypt the names of three are known, i.e., TE or DE, and RE, and KA; of certain of the early independent kings of Lower Egypt we have a most interesting record on a monument which is preserved in the Museum of Palermo in Sicily, and of which an interesting account has been written by Signor A. Pellegrini.² The inscriptions upon this monument or stele show that when complete it probably contained a list of the festivals celebrated in honour of various gods by kings who reigned before the end of the Vth Dynasty; it is important to remember in considering what follows that this monument itself dates from the Vth Dynasty, and that it is not removed from the predynastic period by an interval of time greater than 500 years. In the uppermost register occur the following names of predynastic kings of Lower Egypt, and each name is followed by the hieroglyphic for a seated king who is wearing the crown of Lower Egypt  only on his head.

1.  SEKA.

2.  TESĀU.

¹ See Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate 38.

² See *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, Nuova Serie, anno xx., Palermo, 1896; and see Naville, *Les plus Anciens Monuments (Recueil, tom. xxi.)*.

3.  TĀU.

4.  THESH.

5.  NEHEB.

6.  UATCH-NĀR.
















7.  MEKHA.

When and exactly where these kings reigned cannot be said, but it seems certain that they were independent kings of Lower Egypt who reigned before the time of Menä, or Menes.

CHAPTER IV.
















THE ARCHAIC PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY, I.E.,
THE FIRST THREE DYNASTIES.

THE writers of histories of Egypt and of summaries of Egyptian history before 1894 were compelled to begin their narratives by stating briefly or otherwise that our knowledge of the history of the Ist, IInd, and IIIrd Dynasties was limited to the names of the kings which were derived from the King Lists, and from a few monuments of the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties; of the Ist Dynasty no monument whatsoever was known. Since that year, however, a number of excavations have been made in Upper Egypt by Messrs. J. de Morgan, Amélineau, Petrie, Quibell, Garstang, and others, and these have resulted in the discovery of the tombs of several of the kings and officials of the Ist and IInd Dynasties, as well as of a large number of contemporaneous objects, i.e., stelae, vases and jars, sculptured slabs, ivory and ebony objects, etc. At Nakâda, M. J. de Morgan excavated a very large tomb, which

was clearly that of a king whose Horus¹ name was , a sign now read $\bar{A}\bar{H}\bar{A}$, and at Abydos he was fortunate enough to secure objects inscribed with the Horus names of the new kings TCHA , TEN or DEN , $\bar{A}\bar{T}\bar{C}\bar{H}\bar{A}\bar{B}$ , and SEMERKHA . At Abydos, M. Amélineau discovered the tomb of the early dynastic king KHENT , and that of PER- $\bar{A}\bar{B}$ -SEN , a king of the IIInd Dynasty, already well known, and also objects inscribed with the names of some of the above-mentioned kings. The next discovery in point of importance was that made at Hierakonpolis in 1897 by Mr. Quibell, who found there, in the lowest strata of the mound of the temple of the city, remains of objects inscribed with the Horus names of two kings, i.e., N $\bar{A}\bar{R}$ -MER  , who is also distinguished on his monuments by the appellation of "Scorpion," and KH \bar{A} -SEKHEM (or Kh \bar{a} -Sekhemui)   , whose personal name was Besh. The name of the latter king was discovered by M. Amélineau, but it was misread TI.² Later, Prof. Petrie excavated the tombs of several of the kings above-mentioned, and the tomb of a king whose personal name was MER-NEIT  , but whose Horus name is unknown, and the tomb of a king whose Horus name was Q \bar{A} , and also the






¹ See page 16.


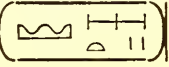
² See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, Paris, 1897, p. 243.

tomb of another king whose personal name was TCHESER . In 1901 he discovered relics of the predynastic kings RE and KA, and of the early dynastic monarch called SMA; in the same year Mr. Garstang discovered the tombs of two kings of the IIIrd Dynasty. The clue to the position in which the above-mentioned kings had to be placed in the scheme of Egyptian chronology was indicated both by the extremely archaic character of the objects which were found in their tombs, and by the occurrence of the names PER-AB-SEN     , a king of the IInd Dynasty, and MERPEBA  , whose Horus name is ATCHAB, and who is clearly to be identified¹ with MERBAP or MERBAPEN, a king of the Ist Dynasty, according to the King List of Abydos. A further important contribution to the identification of the other names was next made by Prof. Sethe,² who succeeded in proving that the king whose name was written on the objects from Abydos with the signs  was none other than the king whose name was written in later times with the characters  or  , and was read "Hesepti"; it was at once clear that the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty had misread the hieratic signs for , and had transcribed them wrongly by  , and that the true reading of the king's name was





¹ This identification was first made by Prof. Sethe.



² *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv. p. 1 ff.

“Senti”¹ and not “Hesepti.” The same scholar also was the first to identify a third king, who has since been shown to be the same as Semerkhat mentioned above, with the king of the Abydos List who has hitherto been called “Semen-Ptah,” and represents the *Σεμέμφης* of Manetho’s List. The identification of the fourth king QĀ with Qebeh has been shown by Prof. Petrie’s excavations to be correct, although Herr Sethe arrived at his result by a wrong deduction, and by a confusion of the sign *khent* on a monument of king QĀ with the name of the king KHENT, who has already been mentioned. It is true that the sign  is composed of three libation vases , the reading of which is “qebḥu,” but the true explanation of the difficulty is that king QĀ’s personal name was Sen , which the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty misread as “qebḥ” . We may now note that the names of four kings are thus identified. In the year 1897, Herr Borchardt read a paper² in which he declared that Āḥa , the king who built the tomb at Naḳâda which was excavated by M. J. de Morgan, was none other than Menâ, or Menes, the first historical

¹ It is interesting to note that in the XVIIIth Dynasty we have the form  ; see my *Book of the Dead*, text volume, p. 145.

² *Sitzungsberichte der König. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Gesamtsitzung von 25 November, 1897, pp. 1054–1058. (Ein neuer Königsname der Ersten Dynastie.)



king of Egypt.¹ On an ivory plaque now preserved in the National Egyptian Museum at Cairo are figured a boat, birds, and other objects, and in the top right hand corner occur the Horus and personal names of the king who had it made. The Horus name, i.e., Āḥa, was already well known, but the personal name which follows after the signs  was read by Herr Borchardt as "Men," i.e., . Of the meaning of the signs  there can be little doubt, for they must be equivalent to or represent , i.e., "Lord of the South, Lord of the North;" but it is not absolutely certain that the sign which follows them has been rightly transcribed as "Men." That we are dealing with a royal name is probable, but that the sign which expresses this supposed royal name is the equivalent of "Men" or "Menā" is improbable; another explanation of the sign and its signification has been given by Wiedemann.²

M. Naville in a learned paper (*Recueil*, tom. xxi., p. 105) has discussed the matter at great length, and he entirely rejects the idea that we have on the ivory plaque the name of Menā, and especially the identification of king  with Menā. On the other hand, he thinks that the sign in question is "men" ,

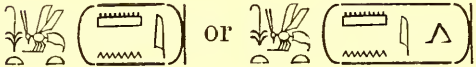
¹ According to Prof. Petrie the tomb discovered by J. de Morgan at Naḥāda is not that of Āḥa but of Nit-ḥetep, the wife of Menā. *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., p. 4.


² *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1898, p. 113 ff.


but explains its signification in an entirely different manner.

Last of all the early dynastic kings now known to us is SMA , and it is possible that he was the immediate predecessor of Menà, for his name is mentioned on some objects of Nit-hetep , who was the wife of Menà. His tomb was discovered by Prof. Petrie, who found in it some ivory pots and covers, a basalt slab, etc.

FIRST DYNASTY. FROM THIS.

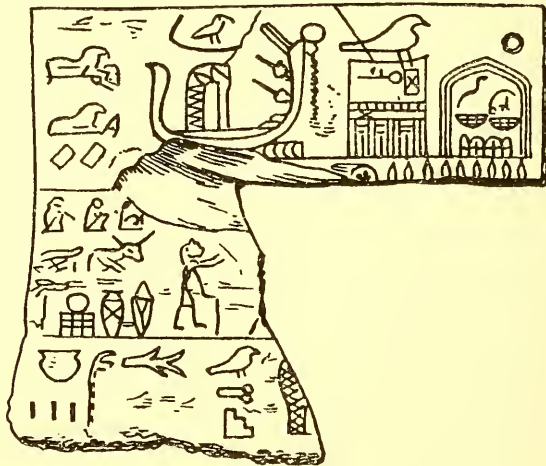
1.  MENÀ, Μήνης.

MENÀ, or Menes, is the first dynastic king of Egypt known to us, and the title "king of the South [and] king of the North" , which is given to him in the King List of Abydos, shows that he was lord of all Egypt; whether he was the first to bring the originally independent kingdoms of the South and North under one sceptre cannot be said definitely, but it is very probable, for all tradition unites in making him the first king of Egypt. In the year 1897, M. J. de Morgan excavated a large and important tomb at Nakâda, which, judging from the inscriptions found upon the objects therein, was built for a king whose



Horus name was ĀHA , and whose personal name has been declared to be Men, i.e., Menā, or Menes. This tomb is rectangular in shape, and the larger sides make an angle with the magnetic north of 15° E. Its length is about 175 feet, and its width 88 feet; it contains twenty-one chambers, six at each side, two at each end, and five which occupy the middle portion of the tomb. The central one of the five probably formed the mummy-chamber; the walls are built of unburnt bricks, Nile mud having been used for mortar. On the floor of the chambers the remains of stone and clay jars, etc., were found in great abundance, and it seems that all the sepulchral vessels were broken either immediately before or at the time of burial, and it is clear that certain parts of the tomb had been set on fire. The objects found in this tomb¹ consisted of flakes of flint, flint knives and scrapers, a sandstone mortar, about eighty red earthenware vases, the mouths of which had been fastened by means of clay cones upon which the royal seal had been rolled, large numbers of vases, etc., in yellow clay, fragments of textile fabrics (burnt), a lion, dogs, fish, a needle, a kohlstick, fragment of a ring, statuettes, vases, bracelets, etc., in ivory, shells from the Red Sea, cylinder seals, beads made of green paste, and several vases and vessels made of hard stones of various kinds. Among these objects was a fragment of an ivory plaque, on


¹ The full list will be found in J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, p. 160 f.

which were inscribed figures of birds, animals, men, a boat, etc.; a general idea of the design upon it will be gathered from the following illustration which has been traced from that given in the *Recherches* of M. J. de Morgan. We have already discussed the reading of the Horus and personal names of the king which are given in the top right hand corner of the plaque, and have stated that the identification of ĀHA with Menā



Ivory plaque inscribed with the names and titles of king Āha.

or Menes depends entirely upon the fact whether the hieroglyphic character which occurs beneath the signs  is MEN , and whether it is to be considered as a proper name or not;¹ no final decision can, of course, be arrived at in the matter until further information is forthcoming. It is, unfortunately, still


¹ It can hardly be , as M. Jéquier suggested.

extremely doubtful if any of the objects inscribed with the name of Men or Mená which exist in various collections are contemporaneous with the first dynastic king of Egypt: most of the scarabs which bear the name belong to a comparatively late period. The following extracts from the works of Herodotus, Manetho, and Diodorus are of interest:—

“After the dead¹ demi-gods the First Dynasty “consisted of eight kings. The first was Menes the “Thinite; he reigned sixty-two years, and perished by “a wound received from an hippopotamus.” Manetho, in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 94.

“To this they ad besides yt the first king yt ever “raygned was named Menes, under whose governaunce “all ye lande of Aegypte except the province of Thebes “was wholly covered and overwhelmed with water, and “yt no parte of the ground which lyes above the poole “called Myris was then to be sene: into which poole “from the sea is 7 dayes sayling.” Herodotus ii. 4. (Translation by B. R.).²

“Menes the firste Kinge of Aegypt (as the pryests “make reporte) by altering the course of the ryver, “gayned all that ground whereon the City Memphis is “situated: the floud being wonte before time to have “his course fast by the sandy mountayne which lyeth

¹ According to Chassinat, the *Nekúes* of Manetho = the “Khu”  of the Egyptian inscriptions; see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xix. p. 23 ff.

² “At London. Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1584.”





“towarde Lybia. This Menes therefore damminge uppe
“the bosome of the ryver towards the south Region
“havinge cast uppe a pyle, or bulwarke of Earth much
“after an hundred Furlonges above the City, by that
“means dryed the old Chanell, causinge the ryver to
“forsake and abandone his naturall course and runne at
“randame amiddest the hills. To which damme also the
“Persians that rule in Aegypte even at this day have a
“dilligent eye; yearely fortifyinge and repayringe the
“same wyth newe and fresh Earth. Through the which
“if by fortune the ryver stryvinge to recover his olde
“course, should happily make a breach, the city Memphis
“were in daunger to bee overwhelmed with water. By
“the selfe same Menes firste bearinge rule and authority
“in Aegypt (after yt by turning ye streame of Nilus he
“had made dry ground of that where erst the ryver had
“his passage) in the same plot of land was the city
“itselfe founded and erected, which (as well may bee
“seene) stands in the straight and narrow places of the
“country. More than this, to the North and West
“(for Eastward Memphis is bounded by the course of the
“river) hee caused to be drawne out of the ryver a large
“and wyde poole: beinge also the founder of Vulcans
“temple in Memphis, one of the fayrest buildinges and
“of chiefest fame in all the country of Aegypte.”
Herodotus ii. 99. (Translation by B. R., fol. 94*b*.)

“After the gods,¹ (they say,) Menis was the first king

¹ According to Diodorus the gods and demi-gods reigned in Egypt for about 18,000 years, and men for 15,000 years; see Bk. I. § 44.


“of Egypt. He taught the people the adoration of the
 “gods, and the manner of divine worship; how to adorn
 “their beds and tables with rich cloths and coverings,
 “and was the first that brought in a delicate and
 “sumptuous way of living.” Diodorus i. 45. (Booth’s
 translation.)

“One of the antient kings, called Menas, being set
 “upon and pursued by his own dogs, was forced into the
 “lake of Meris, where a crocodile (a wonder to be told)
 “took him up and carried him over to the other side,
 “where, in gratitude to the beast, he built a city, and
 “called it Crocodile, and commanded crocodiles to be
 “adored as gods, and dedicated the lake to them for a
 “place to feed and breed in. Where he built a sepulchre
 “for himself with a four-square pyramid, and a labyrinth
 “greatly admired by everybody.” Diodorus ii. 89.
 (Booth’s Translation.)

2.  () TETÀ, or  () À-TEHUTI,
 Athothis.

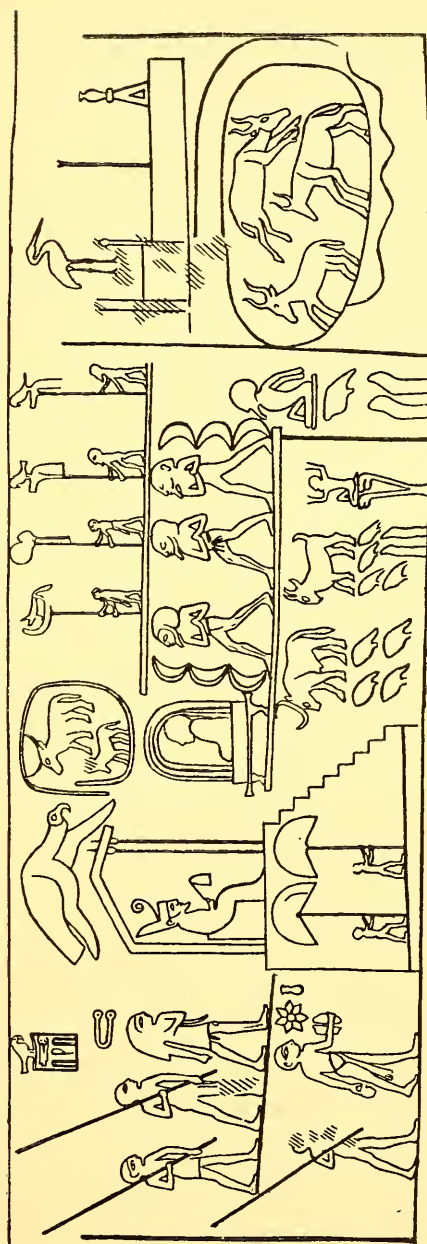
TETÀ, the Athothis of Manetho, is generally admitted
 to have been the son and successor of Menes; under
 this name, however, no monument of him is known to
 us. According to Prof. Petrie,¹ we are to identify
 with Tetà the king whom he calls ZER, but whose
 name M. Amélineau rightly reads KHENT. It may,

¹ *Royal Tombs*, p. 5.




however, be suggested that the king whose Horus name was NĀR-MER  is to be identified with Tetà; whether this identification be correct or not, it is quite certain that he lived in the early part of the period of the rule of the Ist Dynasty, and the work on the objects bearing his name, though more archaic than that of Senti, is not so archaic as that of ĀḤA. All the known evidence points to the fact that he is a dynastic and not a predynastic king, and as on his monuments he wears the crown of the South and the crown of the North, he was certainly a successor and not a predecessor of Menes. The credit of finding the principal monuments of this king belongs to Mr. Quibell, who in the year 1898 excavated the site of the ancient temple of Hierakonpolis,¹ and discovered a number of important early dynastic monuments. Among these must be specially mentioned the great mace-head, the sculptures of which he has figured on Plate XXVI B. of his work. Here we see the king, in the character of Osiris, within a shrine which rests on a flight of steps, seated on a throne, wearing the crown of the North, and holding the flail in his hand. This flight of steps, which is also depicted upon a plaque of Senti, is evidently intended for the staircase of the tomb of Osiris, which is mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*.² By the side of the throne are two fan-bearers,

¹ See *Hierakonpolis*, Part I., London, 1900. Its modern name is Kôm al-Aḥmar.

² See page 15, and *Book of the Dead*, vol. i., p. xxxv.



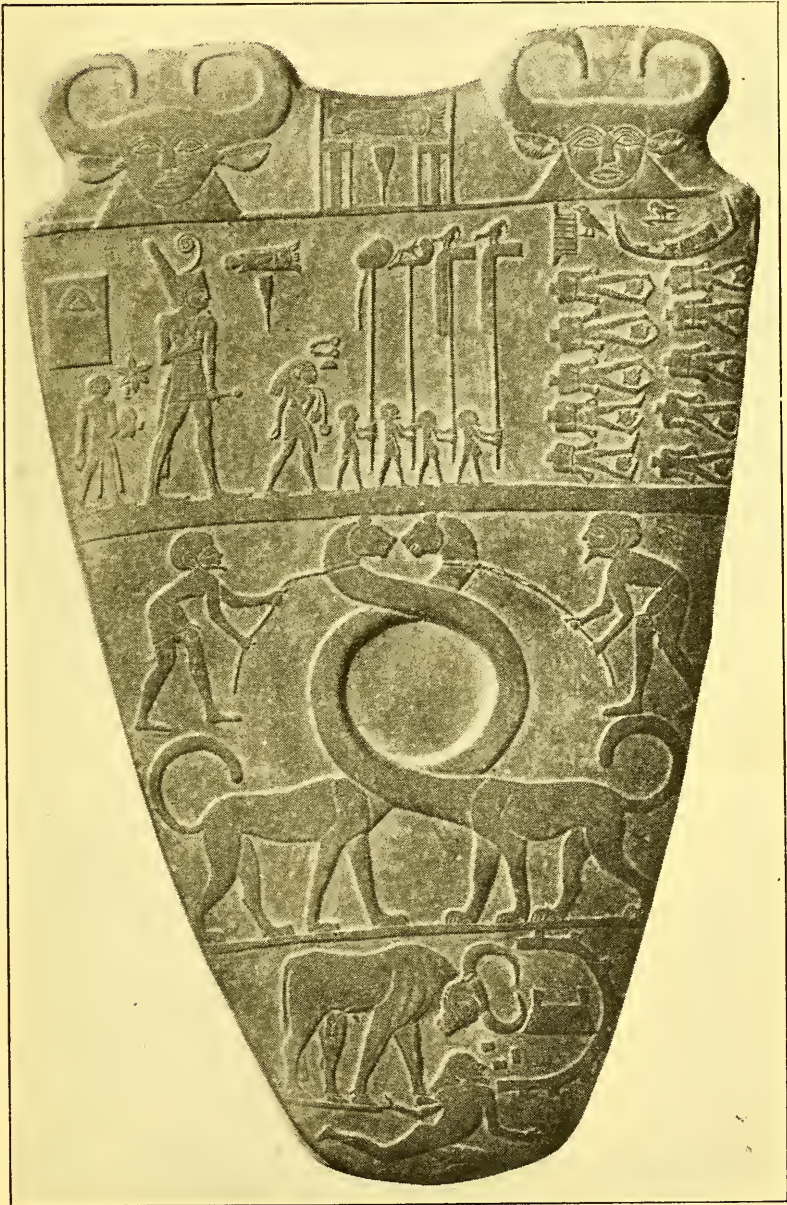
Scene from the great ceremonial mace-head of Nār-mer. From Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. xxvi.B.

and behind are a personage called Thet , the royal sandal-bearer, and three attendants bearing staves; in front are men bearing standards, cattle, goats, etc. On another mace-head (see Plate XXVI c.) we see the king, wearing the crown of the South, holding a plough in his hand, and followed by fan-bearers; he is here described (?) by the signs  and , for which reason he has been called the "Scorpion King."¹ Of more importance, however, is the green slate object which is here illustrated;² it forms the finest example of a class which has been much discussed and described during recent years. The use of such objects, which are peculiar to the period of the Ist Dynasty, is unknown, but many suggestions have been made concerning it. Mr. F. Legge has published reproductions of all the known examples in London, Oxford, Paris, and Cairo,³ and, after a very careful study, has come to the conclusion that in shape they may be a ceremonial survival of a special form of shield which was never used in actual warfare, and, like the "ancilia" of Rome, may have been preserved for ritual reasons. On the other hand, following Mr. Quibell, Professor Petrie maintains that they are highly ornamented ceremonial survivals of the slate *palettes* used in

¹ Judging by the character of the work on these mace-heads, Nār-mer and the Scorpion King are one and the same person.

² It was first described by its finder, Mr. Quibell, in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxvi. p. 81 ff.

³ *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxii. p. 125 ff.




Green slate object of unknown use bearing the name of king Nār-mer.
(Obverse.)



Green slate object of unknown use bearing the name of king Nār-mer.
(Reverse.)

predynastic times on which to grind paint;¹ another view that might be put forward is that they were libation vase stands, which were to be carried shoulder high. But all such statements can only be regarded at present as guesswork, and it is perhaps safest to describe such objects, as Mr. H. R. Hall has done,² by the word "Reliefs." The object may be thus described:—

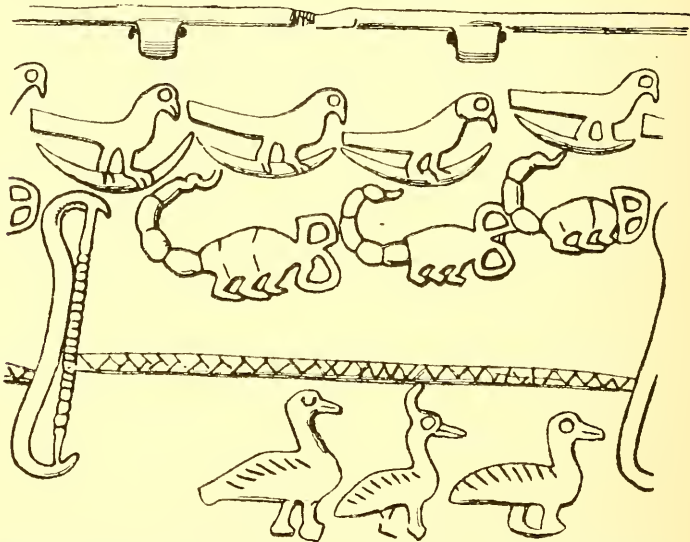
Obverse.—Two Hathor heads and the name NĀR-MER on the Horus standard. Below these we have the king, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, followed by the sandal-bearer, and preceded by the personage Thet,³ already mentioned, and by four men bearing standards; in front of these are two rows of decapitated prisoners, and near them is a boat, and the signs  "great door." In the largest division are two lions with greatly elongated and intertwined necks being lassoed by two attendants. In the lowest register is a bull, symbolizing the king, which has broken into a fortified village, and having thrown down a foe is about to gore him. On the reverse, we have at the top the two Hathor heads and the king's name as before. Below this, wearing the crown of the South, is a standing figure of the king, who is about to smite with his uplifted mace an enemy whom he is grasping

¹ *Note on a Carved Slate, Proc. S. B. A.* vol. xxii., p. 140.

² *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 320.

³ Thought by Naville (*Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xxi. p. 118), though apparently without reason, to be Nār-mer's wife.

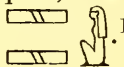
by the hair; he is, as usual, accompanied by his sandal-bearer. Above the king's enemy is a scene which is not easy to explain. A hawk drags the head of a prisoner, of the same Asiatic type as that of the man whom the king is about to smite, by a rope attached to his nose; behind the head is a group of flowers, which has been read as $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{G} & \text{G} & \text{G} & \text{G} & \text{G} & \text{G} \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ \text{X} & \text{X} & \text{X} & \text{X} & \text{X} & \text{X} \end{array}$, i.e., 6000, and the whole

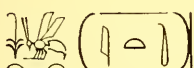




Design from a limestone vase of the "Scorpion King" (Nār-mer?).

scene has been interpreted to mean that the god Horus is bringing to the king 6000 prisoners. In the lowest register are represented two men in terrified flight. Yet another important object of the reign of Nār-mer is the limestone vase with figures of hawks, scorpions, a bow, etc., upon it in relief.¹

¹ See Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate 19.


According to Manetho, Athothis, the son of Menâ, "reigned fifty-seven years; he built the palaces at Memphis, and left the anatomical books, for he was a physician." (Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 96.) This information seems to receive proof from a statement in the Ebers Papyrus that a pomatum, which was made from the claw of a dog, and the hoof of an ass, and some dates boiled together in oil in a saucepan, was made for Tetâ's mother, who was called Shesh .¹

3.  ÁTETH, or  ÁTA,
Κενκένης.

ÁTETH, or according to Manetho, Kenkenes, was the son of Tetâ, and he reigned thirty-one years. Under the name of Áteth no monuments of this king are known, but the result of recent excavations seems to prove that the king whose Horus name is TCHA  is to be identified with him. His tomb at Abydos was partly excavated by M. Amélineau, who gave it the name of the Tomb of the "Serpent King"; M. J. de Morgan printed a plan of it in his last volume,² and Prof. Petrie in 1900 continued the work which M. Amélineau had begun. It is described "as a large chamber twenty feet wide and thirty feet long, with

¹ See Joachim, *Das aelteste Buch ueber Heilkunde*, Berlin, 1890, p. 106.

² See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, pp. 235 ff.

“smaller chambers around it at its level, the whole bounded by a thick brick wall which rises seven and a half feet to the roof, and then three and a half feet more to the top of the retaining wall.”¹ M. Amélineau found in the tomb a beautifully cut calcareous stone stele inscribed with the name TCHA surmounted by a hawk and two small ebony figures, the one representing a woman, and the other the head of a lion, of most exquisite workmanship.² Prof. Petrie found fragments of ivory and ebony tablets inscribed with the king’s name, a portion of a relief in veined marble, and jar sealings with the king’s Horus name followed by Āth , which may be his personal name.³ It may be noted in passing that Kenkenes, the name which is given to the king by Manetho, must be a corruption of one of his names.



4.   | ĀTA, Οὐενέφης.

ĀTA, the fourth king of the Ist Dynasty, is not known to us from the monuments under this name; recently, however, a theory has been put forward according to which he is to be identified with the king whose tomb at Abydos was excavated by Prof. Petrie,

¹ See *Royal Tombs*, p. 8.

² “Morceaux ravissants de sculpture archaïque.” (J. de Morgan.)

³ See *Royal Tombs*, plates 13, 18, 19, etc.






and who is known by his personal name of Mer-Nit, . The central chamber of the tomb is about twenty-one feet wide and thirty feet long, and around it are walls which vary in thickness from four feet to four feet four inches; it seems to have had a wooden floor, the remains of which show signs of having been burnt. The large stele which bears the name of Mer-Nit was found "lying near the east side of the central chamber."¹ The name Mer-Nit, i.e., "loved one of Neith," or "loving Neith," is of considerable interest, for it shows that the cult of this famous goddess held a position of great importance in Egypt in the early part of the period of the Ist Dynasty; it is, however, unfortunate that it occurs without any of the ordinary titles which were applied to Egyptian kings at that time. According to Manetho, "Uenephes reigned "twenty-three years. In his time a great plague raged "through Egypt. He raised the pyramids near Cochome." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.) Cochome is the Greek transcription of the name of the great cemetery of Memphis which was situated in the desert of Şakḳâra, and was called by the Egyptians Ka-qam . It has often been declared that the famous Step Pyramid at Şakḳâra was included among the buildings which Āta is said to have built, but it is now known that this pyramid was built by Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty.

¹ *Royal Tombs*, p. 11.

5.   or  (           SEMTI.



TEN,
the Horus
name of Semti.

SEMTI, the fifth king of the 1st Dynasty, has been long known under the name of Hesepti, which occurs in the Tablet of Abydos under the form  (   

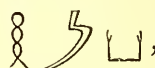





it had been covered with wooden panels, and that the pavement consisted of large slabs of red granite; it was finally excavated by Prof. Petrie, who found in it, and in the rubbish which M. Amélineau's workmen had thrown out of it, a large number of important objects, fragments of ivory and ebony plaques, etc.¹ TEN, the Horus name of the king,



Ebony tablet of the royal treasurer Hemaka with a representation of king TEN dancing before Osiris.

was also found impressed by means of cylinder seals upon the clay sealings of vases, and inscribed upon fragments of vases, etc. Of all the objects found in this tomb the most important seems to be the ebony tablet which has been already referred to, and which is now in the British Museum (No. 32,650). The

¹ *Royal Tombs*, p. 11.

inscriptions and scenes upon it are divided into two groups by means of a vertical line; on the left we have the Horus name ṬEN side by side with the name of the "royal chancellor" Hemaka , and a number of hieroglyphic signs, the meanings of which cannot, at present, be said to have been satisfactorily explained. To the extreme right is the sign for "year" , and in the uppermost register we see the figure of a god, who is, no doubt, Osiris, wearing the crown of the South, and holding a flail in his hands, seated upon a throne within a shrine which is set at the top of a staircase or flight of steps. Before the god is the figure of King Semti, who wears the crowns of the South and North united, and who is dancing; his back is towards the god, and in his left hand he holds the paddle , and in the right the flail . On each side of the king is the sign  inscribed thrice, and this sign, as Mr. H. R. Hall has pointed out,¹ is equivalent to , which is the determinative for the word for "dancing" (âb); in other words, King Semti is performing an act of worship before his god by dancing before him. It was no uncommon thing for kings to dance before their gods, and as examples of the kings who observed this custom we may mention Usertsen I., who danced before the god Amsu or Min,

¹ In J. J. Tyler's *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab*, plate 1.

attempted to gain the favour of the gods whom they worshipped by dancing before them. To the left of the second register is what appears to be an early form of the Henu boat, and it is difficult to see why this should occur on the tablet below the representation of a religious ceremony of dancing, if the king Semti was not in some way connected with the ceremonies in which we know the Henu boat played a most prominent part. Under the name of Semti and Hesepti the king is mentioned in various passages of the *Book of the Dead*,¹ and in one place the occurrence of his name is of special significance. In the Rubric to the shorter version of the LXIVth Chapter we are told that the composition was "found in the foundations of "the shrine of Henu by the chief mason during the "reign of Hesepti," and though we have no exact idea of what the word "found" here means, it is clear that in the reign of this king an important revision or discovery in connection with the literary history of the *Book of the Dead* took place. As parallel may perhaps be quoted the narrative of II. Kings, xxii. 8, where we are told that in the reign of the good king Josiah the high priest Hilkiah said unto Shaphan the Scribe, "I have found the book of the law in the "house of the Lord." We must note that the shorter version of the LXIVth Chapter is entitled "The Chapter of knowing the ' Chapters of Coming Forth by

¹ See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, text, p. 145, and p. 285.

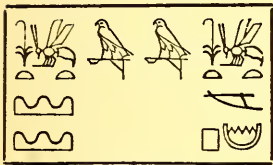
Day' in a single Chapter," and we are no doubt correct in assuming with Chabas that even at that early period the *Book of the Dead* was so lengthy a series of compositions, that a short chapter, which should comprise all the essential parts of the whole work, was felt to be a want. To meet this want the LXIVth Chapter in its shortened form was drawn up by the priests, probably under the royal command and supervision; in any case there must have been some good reason for mentioning Hesepti's name in connection with the chapter in the Rubric, and we may assume that certain important religious ceremonies were either first established or confirmed during his reign.¹ Now, the Egyptians ascribed not only certain portions of the *Book of the Dead* to the reign of Hesepti, but also books of Medicine. Thus in the Ebers Papyrus² the copy of a prescription for driving out the *ukhedu* disease from the limbs of a man is given according "to "a book which was found under the feet of the god "Anubis in the city of Letopolis, and was brought to "the king of the South and North Hesepti." And in a medical papyrus at Berlin³ further information is added to the effect that after Hesepti was dead the book was taken to his Majesty Sent; now Sent was the

¹ See also the Rubric to Chapter CXXX. in the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.



² See Joachim, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³ See Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, ii. plates 85-107; Brugsch, *Notice raisonnée d'un traité médical*, Leipzig, 1863; and Chabas, *Mélanges*, Sér. I., Paris, 1862, p. 55 ff.

from the east. The chamber was floored with planks of wood, and the roof was supported by wooden posts.¹ According to Manetho, Merpeba, or Miebis, reigned twenty-six years (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96). The fact that Merpeba succeeded Senti or Hesepti was proved by Prof. Sethe from the inscription on which his name is made to follow that of the latter king in the manner here indicated,² as well as by other considerations which are duly set forth in his article entitled *Die älteste geschichtlichen Denkmäler der Aegypter.*








7.  HU OR NEKHT. SEMSU, Σεμεμψής.


In the Tablet of Abydos the royal name which follows that of Merpeba is represented by a divine, bearded figure, who wears a garment which reaches down to his ankles, and holds in his hands the sceptre ;  now the Greek transcription of this sign attributed to Manetho is Σεμεμψής, and there is no reason to doubt that it represents nearly its reading by the Egyptian priests of his day. The modern reading of

¹ See *Royal Tombs*, pp. 12, 17, 19, 20, 38, 39, etc.

² See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 35, p. 2, and *Royal Tombs*, plate 5.






the sign proposed by Lieblein is "Sem-en-Ptah," i.e., "Sem priest of Ptah," which is based upon the view that the figure in the cartouche at the head of this paragraph has some connection with the god Ptah. But this can hardly be correct, and we have reason for assuming that the priests who drew up the King List for Seti I. were puzzled by the sign, which they found in the documents from which they compiled the List, and that they caused the mason to cut on the wall the hieroglyphic which they thought represented the ancient sign. It is possible that they connected it with the word "Semsu" or "Semsem," , or , a word meaning chief, eldest, first-born, and the like, from which Manetho's "Semempses" could easily be derived, and the sign given in the King List will bear this reading very well. The view of Mr. H. R. Hall¹ is that the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty understood the sign in the old documents as being equivalent to , the reading of which is "Shemsu," and that this word is the base of the form "Semempses" given by Manetho; in any case, Manetho's form rests on a misreading of a sign, and that sign must represent the Horus name of the king who succeeded Merpeba. But

¹ See *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 75; the resemblance of the archaic form of  to  was pointed out by Mr. F. L. Griffith (*Royal Tombs*, p. 12).

what was that sign? According to Mr. Hall, the sign which the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty read "Shemsu" was nothing more nor less than an archaic form of the hieroglyphic , which may be read either "Hu" or "Nekht," a view which was based upon an examination of the inscribed ivory tablet, the text of which is here reproduced.¹ To the right is the sign for



Ivory plaque inscribed with the names and titles of Hu or Nekht (SEMSU?).

year, , and close by are figures of the Sektet and Ātet boats, which call to mind the forms of them as given in the Pyramid Text of Unās;² between them is an ape of Thoth, and the legend    . To the left of the vertical line we have the names and titles of a


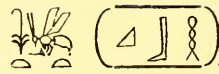
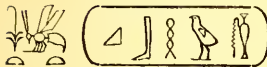
¹ First published in *Royal Tombs*, plate 12.

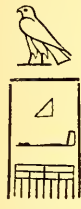
² *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. iii. p. 219, lines 292, 293.

king, followed by the sign which is evidently an archaic form of , i.e., "Hû" or "Nekht," that is to say, the king's name, which was, by the scribes of the XIXth and later Dynasties, read , i.e., "Semsu" or "Semsem." From the jar-sealings, etc., we learn that the Horus name of king Hû or Nekht was SEMERKHA,

The tomb of Hû, or Semerkha, at Abydos, is, according to Prof. Petrie, about forty-four feet long and twenty-five feet wide, and is surrounded by a wall over five feet thick;¹ it was floored with planks of wood, which M. Amélineau found to be charred, and he thought that the whole tomb had been burnt. Among the stelae found in this tomb were two of dwarfs, and the bones of dwarfs were found in two chambers; the copper bowl which was found in another chamber is the only large piece of metal-work that has been preserved. Prof. Petrie notes that the space near the entrance to the tomb was filled to the depth of three feet with sand saturated with ointment, and that the scent of it was so strong that when cutting away the sand it could be smelt over the whole tomb. According to Manetho, Merpeba's son "Semempses reigned eighteen years. "In his reign a terrible pestilence afflicted Egypt." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.)

¹ *Royal Tombs*, plate 13.

8.  SEN, i.e., , or  QEBH, or QEBHU, Βιπρεχῆς.



QĀ,
the Horus
name of Qebh.

Under the name of QEBH, the last king of the Ist Dynasty, no monuments are known, but recent excavations have resulted in the discovery of a considerable number of objects which are inscribed with the Horus and personal names of a king who must be identified with him. M. Amélineau, in the course of his work at Abydos, excavated a tomb in which he found a stele inscribed with the name QĀ,








Jar sealing of King QĀ-Sen (Qebh).

i.e., the Horus name of a king at that time unknown ; later, in or near the tomb Prof. Petrie found an ivory tablet² inscribed with the same Horus name, but side

¹ See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, p. 231.

² *Royal Tombs*, plate 12, No. 2.



by side with it were the signs  , which are to be translated "King of the South, king of the North, SEN." Thus we learn that SEN was the personal name of the king whose Horus name was QĀ. In the second cartouche given at the top of this paragraph it will be noticed that the sign , which is read "Qebh," occurs, and as we know that king QĀ succeeded HĪU, or Semempses, on the throne of Egypt, it is pretty clear that Sen and Qebh are one and the same king.¹ It seems as if the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty who drew up the King List for Seti I. were as much puzzled by the archaic or cursive sign which they read Qebh as they were by the sign which they probably read Semsem or Shemsu, and that, having no exact knowledge of the history of the old period to guide them, they wrongly transcribed the archaic sign for  by . According to Manetho, Bieneches, the son of Semempses, reigned twenty-six years. (See Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.)



SECOND DYNASTY. FROM THIS.

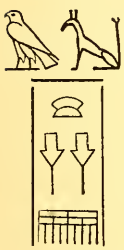
1.  BESH, *i.e.*,  , 
 NETER-BAIU (Ṣakḳāra), BETCHAU (Abydos), Βοηθός.



NETER-BAIU, the first king of the IIInd Dynasty, was buried at Abydos, and his tomb was excavated in

¹ *Royal Tombs*, p. 23.

1896-97 by M. Amélineau,¹ who found it to be a building about two hundred and sixty feet long, and to contain at least fifty-seven chambers; the tomb had neither been burnt nor plundered, and therefore many objects of great archaeological value were found in it. The earthenware vases in it contained wheat, figs, dried grapes, etc.; they were not closed by means of conical stoppers, but by pieces of clay of irregular shapes which were laid over their mouths and impressed with cylinder seals bearing the king's name upon them. From the impressions upon them² we see that the name in the first cartouche at the head of this paragraph is the equivalent of the signs  * ,

which are enclosed within a plain oval ; beneath them are the signs . On each side of this oval we



have the Horus (and Set?) name of the king given in the form here represented, and it is clear, in spite of what was first said on the subject, that this name is to be read KHĀ SEKHEMUI.³ In fuller forms of the name we see added  ,



We have now recovered the Horus name of the first king of the IIInd Dynasty, and also the name which he adopted as king of the South and North, but neither of them in any way represents the name

¹ *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1897, pp. 44, 45.
² See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 243.
³ See *Revue Critique*, December 13, 1897, p. 437 ff.





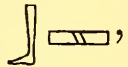
“Betchau” which is given in the second cartouche, or the Greek form of the name supplied by Manetho. Thanks, however, to the very successful excavations made at Hierakonpolis by Mr. Quibell, it is now possible to give the ancient form of the name Betchau. In the course of his excavations on the site of the old



Design on a granite vase of King Besh, showing the earliest use of the symbol of the union of the two countries of Egypt, etc.

temple at Kôm-al-Akhmar Mr. Quibell found a considerable number of objects, vases, pottery, flints, etc., and among them were some fine stone vases which were inscribed with the name and titles of the king. In the accompanying drawing¹ we see on the right the usual

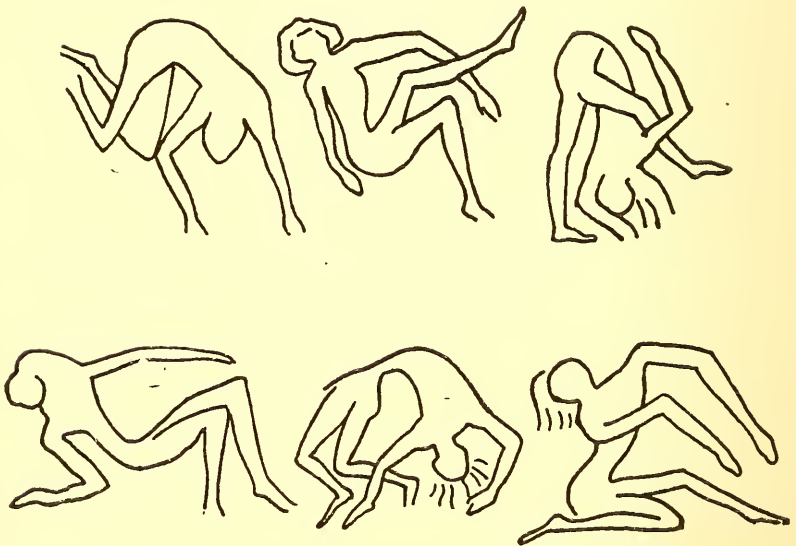
¹ First published in *Hierakonpolis*, plate 37.

emblem for "year" , which, taken together with the three signs to the left of it, has been thought to mean, "year of the fighting with the northerners." Next we see the vulture goddess, the dweller in Nekheb, with one claw resting upon the sign , and the other upon the stalks of the two plants, the lotus and papyrus, where they are tied together and represent the union of the two countries, South and North. The scene of tying together the stems of the two plants is represented in later times by the sign , and that this is what is here depicted there is no doubt. Inside the sign , *Shen*, which represents a seal, and in later times typifies the sun's path, or orbit, are the signs "Besh" , which can be nothing else than the king's personal name, i.e., Betchau; to the left is his Horus name KHĀ-SEKHEM, which becomes KHĀ-SEKHEMUI when figures of Horus and Set appear above the standard. Thus we see that in very early times the king had certainly three names, viz., Neter-baiu, Khā-sekhemui, and Besh.

Among the objects found at Kôm-al-Akhmar worthy of special note are the granite door jamb, which is inscribed with the Horus name,¹ and the limestone and slate seated statues of the king; these are, of course, the earliest statues known. Upon the bases of both statues, in front of the feet, is the Horus name, and around them we see a line of "slain enemies in various distorted

¹ See *Hierakonpolis*, plate 2.


“attitudes, and on the front is the register of ‘northern
 “‘enemies 47,209.’” The features and general treatment
 of the statues by the sculptor shows that his art had,
 at that early period, arrived at a very high state of
 perfection. As far as we now know, Neter-baiu, or Besh,
 was the first king who caused his name to be enclosed

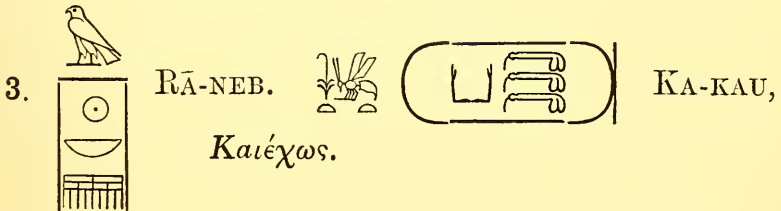


Figures of slain enemies on the pedestal of the slate statue of King Besh
 (Khā-sekhem). From Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate xl.

either in an oval or in a ring, and it is easy to see that
 the oval grew out of the ring, when the names became
 too long to be enclosed in it. According to Manetho,
 “Boethos reigned thirty-eight years. During his reign
 “a chasm of the earth opened near Bubastus, and many
 “persons perished.” (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

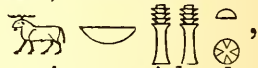



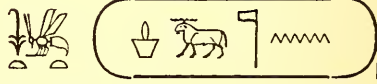

The existence of this king is made known to us by statue No. 1 at Cairo, and his Horus name, which is given above, has been found upon fragments of stone bowls,¹ etc., discovered at Abydos. His name has been read H̄etep-āḥāui , but this is an impossible form which has no meaning. His name as king of the South and North is, as yet, unknown to us.



The Horus name of this king, RĀ-NEB, is made known to us by the statuē^{*} No. 1 in the Cairo Museum, and his name as king of the South and North by the Tablets of Abydos and Şakḫâra. According to Manetho, Kaiechos “reigned thirty-nine years, and “under him the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in “Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat, were appointed to “be gods” (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98). Wiedemann has

See *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., plate 8, p. 26.

already referred¹ to the statement of Aelian² that the worship of Apis was established by Menā, or Menes, but it seems pretty certain from Manetho that some development of the worship of Apis, and perhaps of Mnevis also, must have taken place during the reign of Ka-kau. The Mendesian goat, or ram, is of course the Ram of Mendes, Ba-neb-Tattu, , which was connected in very ancient times with the worship of Osiris.

4.  ENNETER.  or
 BA - EN -
 NETER, *Binothis*.

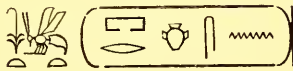
The Horus name of this king is made known to us by the statue No. 1 in the Cairo Museum, and his name as king of the South and North by the Tablets of Abydos and Şakḳâra. The position of this king as the successor of Ka-kau is indicated by the statue at Cairo, and is confirmed by the fact that En-neter inscribed his name over that of Rā-neb (Ka-kau) on a stone bowl found at Abydos, a fragment of which is now in the British Museum (No. 35,556). According to Manetho, "Binothis reigned forty-seven years, and "in his time it was determined that women might hold "the imperial government." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

¹ *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 164.

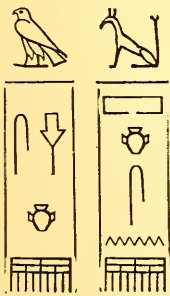
² *Hist. Animalium*, x. 11.

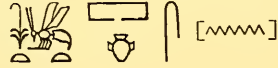
5.  or  UATCHNES, Tlās.

. Of this king, whose name is supplied by the Tablets of Abydos and Şakḳâra, nothing is known except that, according to Manetho, "he reigned seventeen years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

6.  PER-ĀB-SEN.

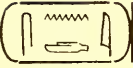

The tomb of PER-ĀB-SEN was discovered at Abydos by M. Amélineau,¹ and it is tolerably certain that the king for whom it was made is to be identified with the PER-ĀB-SEN whose name is given by the priest Sheri on the door of his tomb. The recently discovered inscriptions show that his Horus name was SEKHEM-ĀB, and that PER-ĀB-SEN, the name by which he is generally known, is his Set name. They occur side by side, thus:—






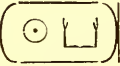
This king is commonly known by his Set name, and it seems as if in later times the Set name of a king was made into his prenomen. A massive sepulchral stele bearing his Set name is in the British Museum. Jar-sealings bearing the legend  are also known.²

¹ See *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, p. 125; *Nouvelles Fouilles*, 1897-98.

² *Royal Tombs*, plate 29.

7.   or   SENTĀ or SENT, Σεθέρης.

This king's name is found on the Tablets of Abydos and Saqqâra, and also on contemporaneous monuments. The priest Sheri   mentions the name both of king Sent and of his successor on the door of his tomb,¹ and slabs from it now preserved at Oxford² and in the British Museum³ also record his name.⁴ Sent is also said in the Berlin Medical Papyrus⁵ to have revised a certain medical papyrus, which had been found first of all under the feet of a statue of the god Anubis in the city of Sekhem (Letopolis) during the reign of Senti, or Hesepti. According to Manetho, "Sethenes reigned "forty-one years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

8.   KA-RĀ, Χαίρης.

The name of the king is furnished by a green steatite cylinder.⁶ According to Manetho, "Chaires "reigned seventeen years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

¹ See Maspero, *Gu' de du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 31, 32.

² Lepsius, *Auswahl*, plate 9.

³ See No. 1192.



⁴ Other contemporaneous monuments are mentioned by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 170.


⁵ See Brugsch, *Recueil*, tom. ii. plate 99 (page 15, line 2) Leipzig, 1863.

⁶ See *El-Kab*, Plate xx., No. 29.

9.     | NEFER-KA-RĀ, Νεφερχέρης.

The name of this king is supplied by the Tablet of Šakḫâra, and that he is identical with the Nephercherês of Manetho there can be little doubt; but, under this name at least, no monuments of him are known, and no details of the reign are forthcoming. According to Manetho, he reigned “twenty-five years. In his time “it is said the Nile flowed with honey during eleven “days.”¹ (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)



10.     | NEFER-KA-SEKER, Σεσωχρίς.

The name of this king is supplied by the Tablet of Šakḫâra, and as the latter part of the Greek name, σωχρίς, is clearly the equivalent of Seker , we may assume that the king Nefer-ka-Seker is to be identified with the Sesochris of Manetho's List. According to Manetho, Sesochris reigned “forty-eight years. His “height was five cubits, and his breadth three cubits.” (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.) The better, and probably correct, reading of the latter statement is given by the Armenian version of Eusebius, where it is said that the king's height was “five cubits and three hand breadths.”

¹ “Nilum fluvium diebus xi. melle aqua permixto fluxisse aiunt.” (Eusebius.)



11.  HETCHEFA.

Traces of this king's name are found on the Tablet of Şakḳâra, and the full name is given by Brugsch and Bouriant from the Royal Papyrus at Turin, but whether HETCHEFA is to be identified with the *Xεφεης* of Manetho cannot at present be said.

12.  TCHATCHAI, or 
BEBI.




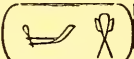
For this king, whether we read his name TCHATCHAI, according to the Tablet of Abydos, or BEBI, according to the Tablet of Şakḳâra, the King List of Manetho has no equivalent whatsoever in this place; no contemporaneous monument is known.






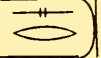
THIRD DYNASTY. FROM MEMPHIS.

1.  NEB-KA = 
NEB-KA-RĀ.

The name of the first king of the IIIrd Dynasty, according to Manetho, is *Νεχερωφίης*, and we are probably right in assuming that this king is to be identified with the NEB-KA of the Tablet of Abydos,

i.e., NEB-KA-RĀ. According to Manetho, the dynasty which was begun by Necherophes consisted of nine kings; Necherophes "reigned twenty-eight years. In "his time the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but "on account of an unexpected increase of the moon they "submitted through fear." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.)

2.  () TCHESER, or  () TCHESER-SA, *Τουσορθρος*.

The first form of this king's name is given by the Tablet of Abydos, and the second by the Tablet of Şakḳâra; what is, apparently, his Horus name is given by the now famous Stele of the Famine,¹ which was discovered on the Island of Sahal by the late Mr. Wilbour in 1889, and by the objects which were found in the tomb of the king, discovered in 1901, at Bêt-Khallâf *بيت خلاف*, in the province of Girga in Upper Egypt. In the Famine Stele following  we have the signs   , which are to be read NETER KHA, and after the next title, "golden Horus," comes the cartouche ( ) TCHESER; the Horus name of the king is also found on the portion of his tomb now preserved in the Royal Museum at Berlin, and also in the inscriptions on the rocks at Wâdî Maghâra, which have been

¹ See Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth* (text), p. 1, Leipzig, 1891. The Island of *سحل* or *ساحل* is in the First Cataract.

copied by M. Bénédite.¹ Of Tcheser Manetho says, "Tosorthrus reigned twenty-nine years. He is called "Asclepius by the Egyptians, for his medical knowledge. He built a house of hewn stones, and "greatly patronized literature." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.) The inscriptions tell us nothing about Tcheser's



The Step Pyramid at Şakḫâra.

skill as a physician or as a lover of literature, but Manetho's statement that "he built a house of "hewn stones" received remarkable confirmation from the excavations which were carried out by the Prussian General Minutoli, in 1819,² in the "Step Pyramid" at Şakḫâra. This pyramid was built by Tcheser to

¹ See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xvi. p. 104.

² *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, p. 296 ff.

serve as his tomb, and it is certainly the oldest of all the large buildings which have successfully resisted the action of wind and weather, and destruction by the hand of man. The steps of the pyramid are six in number, and are about 38, 36, $34\frac{1}{2}$, 32, 31, and $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height; the width of each step is from six to seven feet. The lengths of the sides at the base are: north and south, 352 feet; east and west, 396 feet; and the actual height is about 197 feet. In shape this pyramid is oblong, and its sides do not exactly face the cardinal points. The arrangement of the chambers inside the pyramid is quite peculiar to itself, and the remains of the walls, doors, etc., of some of the chambers prove that they must have formed fine examples of the art and skill of the decorator of funeral buildings. As Mr. Garstang has discovered at Khallâf a tomb¹ which must be that of the king, it seems that his body can never have been buried in this pyramid. Tcheser must have been an able and a mighty king, and from the fact that the Royal Papyrus of Turin, as both Wiedemann² and Krall³ have noticed, begins a new paragraph with his name, it seems as if his reign





¹ In this tomb were found bowls and dishes of diorite, alabaster, porphyry, etc., copper implements, worked flints, alabaster tables for offerings, etc. The tomb contains a staircase which, passing under an archway, leads down to eighteen underground chambers, at a depth of 90 feet from the top of the maṣṭaba. Garstang, *Catalogue*, p. 7. Mr. Garstang also discovered the tomb of another king of the IIIrd Dynasty called HĒN-NĒKHT.

² *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 172.

Grundriss der altorientalischen Geschichte, p. 18.

inaugurated a new era; in any case, he was esteemed worthy of divine honours in the XIIth Dynasty. Tchaser is mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus with other kings, e.g., Khufu (Cheops), Nebka, Seneferu,¹ etc.

In Manetho's King List Tosorthrus is followed by the names (3) Tyreis, (4) Mesochris, and (5) Soyphis, who are said to have reigned seven, seventeen, and sixteen years respectively, but of these kings no details whatsoever are narrated, and up to the present the monuments have supplied no information in respect of them. In the Tablet of Abydos the king who is made to follow Tchaser-sa is Tetà, and in the Tablet of Şakḫâra we find Tchaser-Tetà, which name seems to be a fuller form of the Tetà of the Tablet of Abydos.



3.   TETÀ, OR  

TCHESER-TETÀ.


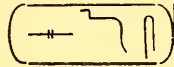
In the form of the name given in the second cartouche we have, no doubt, the base of the Greek transcription of the name of the king whom Manetho calls *Τοσέρτασις*, and of whom we know nothing, except that he is said to have reigned nineteen years. (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.) It is interesting to note that Eusebius, in the Armenian version, says that the six (not *seven*) other kings who followed Tosorthrus did

¹ Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, plates i. iii. iv.

nothing worthy of mention, and it is quite conceivable that when chronographers found nothing to say about kings they quietly omitted their names from the King Lists which they were compiling. Following the name of Tosertasis in Manetho's List comes that of Aches, who is said to have reigned forty-two years, and it is possible that he is to be identified with the king whose name is given from the Palermo Stele by Brugsch and Bouriant in their *Livre des Rois* (p. 3) under the form of

4.   | ἈΨΤΗΣ, Ἀχης.

The name of the next king which occurs in the Tablet of Abydos is Setches, and it is probable that the king who reigned thirty years, and is called Sephouris by Manetho, is to be identified with him.

5.   | SETCHES, Σήφουρις.

6.   |,  |
NEFER-KA-RĀ, HUNI.

The name which follows Setches in the Tablet of Abydos, and which precedes Seneferu, is NEFER-KA-RĀ, which is, clearly, the basis of the name of the king who reigned twenty-six years, and who is called by Manetho *Κερφέρης*; in the Tablet of Šakḫâra, however, the

name which precedes Seneferu is H̄uni. Now in the Prisse Papyrus (pl. 2, ll. 7, 8) the two names are mentioned, and it is also said there that H̄uni died, and that Seneferu became the ruler of all the land; we may therefore assume that H̄uni and Nefer-ka-Rā are one and the same person, and it is in any case clear from Manetho's King List that Seneferu was the first king of a new dynasty. The total of the years of the reigns of the kings of the IIIrd Dynasty is, according to Manetho, 214 years.

END OF VOL. I.

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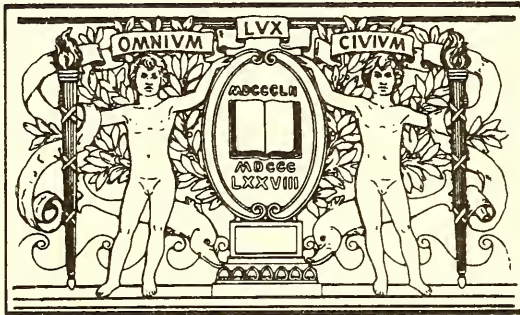


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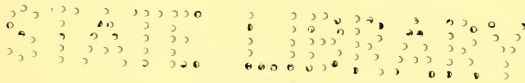
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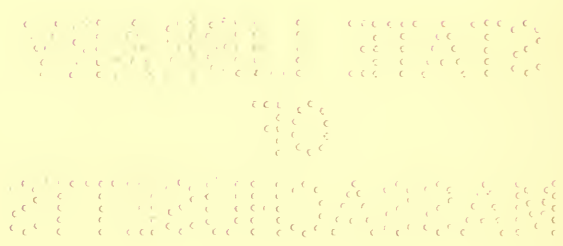
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P R E F A C E



IN the pages of this Volume the history of Egypt has been continued from the end of the IIIrd Dynasty to the close of the reign of Seānkh-ka-Rā, who was famous for the despatch of an expedition to Punt, and was the last king of the XIth Dynasty. The opening chapter is devoted to a summary in which the general condition of the country, and the state of civilization of the people, and the progress of the Egyptians during the Archaic Period are briefly described. The facts related in it illustrate the manner in which the civilization of the dynastic Egyptians developed out of the primitive culture of the indigenous predynastic peoples of Egypt, after it had been modified and improved by the superior intelligence of a race of men, presumably of Asiatic origin, who invaded and conquered Egypt. The chapters which follow deal with the period of the Great Pyramid Builders, one of the most fascinating epochs of Egyptian history. In it we see the broad-headed, dominant race in Egypt at their best, and it has been truly said that it was the kings of

the IVth Dynasty, with their architects, and practical mechanics, and artists, and sculptors, and scribes, who made the great reputation which the Egyptians have enjoyed ever since throughout the world. It may be argued that the Pyramids are useless monuments of misdirected energy, and of misapplied ability, to say nothing of the vanity of the kings who made them—a vanity which some think was as colossal in its way as the actual buildings; but it is the fact that the master minds which planned and the mechanical skill which built them remained unsurpassed, and even unequalled, in all the subsequent history of Egypt. Cheops and his immediate successors certainly deserve praise for the good sense which they displayed in giving their great architects and clerks of works a free hand in their mighty undertakings; and it must never be forgotten that the sculptures and bas-reliefs executed during their reigns are as wonderful for their delicacy and beauty as the Pyramids are for their size and solidity. That the scribes, and artists, and sculptors of the Saïte Period made them the models from which they worked is not to be wondered at, and it borders on the marvellous that the best and greatest period of Egyptian art and sculpture must be assigned to the time of the IVth Dynasty, or about B.C. 3500. In the following pages no mention is made of the various ingenious theories which have gathered round the Great Pyramid, and which would assign to that vast sepulchral monument hidden purposes and mean-

ings, for it is now admitted by all competent authorities that it was built for a tomb and not to illustrate any esoteric doctrines connected with the Hebrew Patriarchs and others.

In discussing the XIth Dynasty, a brief narrative of the *Antef* kings has been included, because the late Dr. Brugsch and Prof. Wiedemann and other Egyptologists have included them among the rulers of that Dynasty, and the general reader will expect to find them there; but it is probable, as the forms of some of the prenomens of the *Antefs*, and the peculiar shape of their coffins indicate, that they reigned at a later period, i.e., after the XIIIth and before the XVIIth Dynasty. The extracts from the History of Herodotus, given in English, are taken from the quaint and charming old rendering of the first two Books by "B. R.," which was published in 1584.¹

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

¹ THE Famous History of | *HERODOTUS* | *Conteyning the Discourse* | of dyuers Countreys, the succession | of *theyr Kyngs*: the *actes and employtes* | atchieued by them: the *Lavves* and | *customes* of euery nation: with the | true Description and Anti- | *quitie* of the time. | Deuided into nine Bookes, entituled vvith | the names of the nine Muses. | At London | Printed by *Thomas Marshe*: 1584.

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EGYPT

UNDER THE

GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS.

CHAPTER I.

ARCHAIC PERIOD.—SUMMARY.


WITH the ending of the IIIrd Dynasty we close our chapter on the archaic period of Egyptian civilization. The remains of the first three dynasties, which are now considerable, show that the civilization of this period, while marking the beginnings of *Egyptian* culture, as contrasted with that of the "New Race," exhibits many interesting points of difference from the fully developed civilization of the Nile Valley, which may be said really to have begun with the rule of the kings of the IVth Dynasty. The "New Race," or indigenous inhabitants of the Nile Valley, lived in mud huts, or in booths made of wattles and mud; but the Egyptians of the Ist Dynasty lived in wooden and brick-built houses, which had openings both for doors and windows, and which were ornamented in front with cornices and decorative wood-work. The "New Race"

buried their dead in the beds of streams, on the banks of the Nile, and in holes scooped out on the edge of the desert; but the Egyptians of the Ist Dynasty laid their dead in tombs which had substantial brick walls and wooden roofs supported by pillars, and which were usually floored with wood, but sometimes with stone as in the case of the tomb of Senti, which was paved with slabs of red granite. The use of stone in tomb building increased steadily, and already in the IIIrd Dynasty we find that the Egyptians were able to build the stone pyramid of Şakḳâra, which has been described above.

The Egyptians of the first three dynasties followed the custom of their indigenou predecessors and buried their dead in a contracted position, but there seems to be no evidence to prove that they retained generally the custom of systematically mutilating the body before burial. Towards the end of the archaic period of Egyptian history dead bodies were sometimes buried at full length and lying on their backs, and gradually this method of arranging the dead body became universal. The custom of making offerings to the dead, which was widespread among the peoples of the "New Race," was certainly adopted by the early dynastic Egyptians, for, in addition to the pottery and small articles that have been found in graves of the primitive people, the dynastic Egyptians buried with their dead amulets of many kinds, and ivory figures, plaques, etc., which display very consider-

able skill in working the material employed. The graves of the "New Race" neither contain inscriptions nor display any knowledge of the art of writing, but it is certain that before the Ist Dynasty the isolated pictures of boats, birds, animals, standards, etc., which are characteristic of the primitive period, had been elaborated and combined into a system of expressing connected ideas by means of picture writing. The names of the dead were therefore first commemorated at the time when the Nile Valley was still divided into two kingdoms, i.e., the South and the North, for the earliest Egyptian inscriptions known to us consist of the names of the predynastic kings of the south called Te, and Re, and Ka. And it is due to the preservation of the roughly hewn and roughly inscribed funereal stelae of the earliest Egyptian kings, and their nobles, and officials, that we owe a great part of our knowledge of the social conditions under which the Egyptians lived during the archaic period of their history.

The inscriptions of the Ist Dynasty contain a large number of hieroglyphic signs, the greater number of which are identical with the hieroglyphics of the later periods but are more archaic in form; many of them are, of course, crude pictures of objects, but some, even in that early period, exhibit signs of conventional treatment. Inscriptions written with such unconvention-alized pictorial hieroglyphics are of the utmost value for the identification of the objects which are depicted in a purely conventional manner in the later texts,


when the correct forms of the original objects which they represented had become forgotten. A comparison also of the archaic inscriptions with the texts of a later date shows that many of the early picture characters became obsolete as far back as the period of the IVth Dynasty; for this reason it is extremely difficult to read with certainty the inscriptions of the Ist Dynasty. The inscriptions of the period which we possess are very short, and, because they consist chiefly of names and titles, they are rarely long enough to form grammatical sentences; the longest inscription consists of but a few words, such as "great heads (i.e., chiefs) come tomb; he gives  (?)." ¹ This being so, it is impossible either to draw any final conclusion as to the grammatical peculiarities of the Egyptian language at this early period, or to make any definite statement as to the group of languages with which it was cognate; in the Ist Dynasty its construction seems to have been even more simple than in the time of the IVth Dynasty, and as far as can be seen now its relationship to any Semitic dialect becomes in no way more apparent. It is certain that many of the fundamentals of the Egyptian language, and even of the writing, were of indigenous and not Asiatic origin, and a very large portion of the vocabulary in use in the early dynasties consisted of words of an indigenous origin.

¹ See *Royal Tombs*, plate 16, No. 20.

Similarly, the fundamentals of the Egyptian religion are also of indigenous and not Asiatic origin, and it seems as if the standards of the gods, and perhaps of the sacred animals, were objects of veneration to the peoples of the "New Race" before the advent of their conquerors from the East. It is clear that the "New Race" believed in a life beyond the grave, for they laid offerings of food, etc., in the graves of their dead, and unless they had such a belief they would never have made provision for their wants in a future life. This and other primitive beliefs were retained by the early dynastic Egyptians, who, however, added thereto religious ideas of a different character, which were due partly to the newcomers and partly to natural development. Thus, with the Ist Dynasty we enter the iconic age of Egyptian religion, and it seems as if the god Osiris was already



The goddess Ta-urt.
British Museum, No. 35,700.

fashioned in much the same form as that in which he appears even in the latest times. The oldest figure of a deity which we possess is that of the hippopotamus goddess Ta-urt, which is represented on p. 5; this image, which is now in the British Museum, must belong to the archaic period of Egyptian art, for it is made of the peculiar red breccia which is characteristic of that period. Its artistic treatment points to the same age, and we are probably right in assigning it to the time of the Ist and IInd Dynasties. The remarkable green slate object bearing the name of Nār-Mer (see Vol. I., pp. 185-187) by its reliefs proves that the cow-goddess Hathor was at that remote time a favourite object of veneration, and the British Museum possesses a flint, roughly worked in the shape of her head (Vol. I., p. 84, No. 32,124), which must be considerably older than the reign of Nār-Mer. Many other deities must have been known in the archaic period, and the name Mer-Nit shows us that the warrior-goddess, whose emblem was the shield with two arrows crossed upon it, , was already worshipped, and traces of the worship of Seker appear in the form of the hieroglyphic of the Henu Boat, and of the bandy-legged figure, which in later days became the type of the triune god of the Resurrection, Ptah-Seker-Âsar. Horus, the sky-god, was certainly the supreme god at this period, but as yet no image of him in human hawk-headed form has been found; he always appears in the form of a hawk, and, indeed, it is worthy of note that in the archaic period the custom

of representing theriomorphic deities with human bodies had not yet grown up. At this period a considerable development in the religious ideas of the Egyptians seems to have taken place; incidentally an important proof of this is supplied by Manetho, who indicates that new institutions in connection with the worship of the bulls Apis and Mnevis, and of the ram of Mendes, were established by Ka-kau, a king of the IIInd Dynasty. According to traditions which are preserved in the rubrics of some of its chapters, the *Book of the Dead*, in some form or other, must already have been in existence in the Ist Dynasty. Thus in the coffin of Menthu-ḥetep, a queen of the XIth Dynasty, we have two copies of the LXIVth Chapter; in the rubric to the first the name of the king during whose reign the chapter is said to have been "found" is given as Menthu-ḥetep, which is, of course, a mistake¹ for Men-kau-Rā or Mycerinus, the fourth king of the IVth Dynasty, but in the rubric to the second the king's name is given as SEMTI or Ḥesepti. Thus it is clear that in the period of the XIth Dynasty it was believed that the chapter might alternatively be as old as the time of the Ist Dynasty. Again, in the Papyrus of Nu, a document which dates from the period of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we also have two copies of the LXIVth Chapter, and the shorter version is attributed to the time of SEMTI, or Ḥesepti, and the longer to that of Men-kau-Rā. When

¹ See Goodwin, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 54.

we remember that on the plaque of SEMTI (see Vol. I., p. 195) we find depicted a figure of this king dancing before a god, who is probably Osiris, and see thereon a figure of the Henu Boat of the god Seker, and also consider that SEMTI'S tomb was one of the finest of those of the early dynastic kings found at Abydos, it is certain that this king inaugurated some ceremonies in connection with the burial of the dead, or developed old ones to such an extent that his successors saw fit to associate certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead* with his name. And it is more than probable that he took some part personally in the "editing" or revision of the chapters which are connected with his name; for had the scribes of a later period wished merely to ascribe great antiquity to the LXIVth Chapter, they could have done so more effectually by mentioning in connection with it the name of Menà or Menes, or the "Followers of Horus," than by referring it to the time of a king who was not the founder of the rule of the dynastic kings of Egypt. In any case Senti must have been a learned man, for he is also mentioned in a medical papyrus (see p. 199), and both he and Tcheser seem to have contributed largely to the medical knowledge of the period.

We have already referred to the tombs of the archaic period, and we have seen that the art of building structures in brick and stone had so far improved by the middle of the IIIrd Dynasty that Tcheser found himself possessed of such mechanical means and archi-

tectural knowledge as were necessary to enable him to build the oldest of the pyramids, i.e., the Step Pyramid at Şakḥâra; the height of perfection to which the arts of the potters and of the workers in glaze had attained is shown by the beautiful blue glazed faïence tiles which were used to line the interior of this edifice.¹ The art of making statues of any size in the round seems to date from the time of Besh, the first king of the IIInd Dynasty, but the art of sculpturing in relief was known at a much earlier period, and indeed it seems to have been employed as far back as the time of the predecessors of Menes, to whose period many of the small figures in the round must also date. To this period, i.e., to the time of the "Followers of Horus," or the half-civilized predynastic rulers of Upper Egypt, must be assigned the two most archaic of the green slate objects already referred to in Vol. I., p. 184, the designs on which are here reproduced.² A mere glance at these two objects is sufficient to convince the archaeologist that they are the most ancient of their class, and that they are, in point of date, considerably anterior to the sculptured reliefs of the kings Āḥa and Nār-mer. The larger of them is incomplete, and the small portion missing has never been found; the remainder consists of three large fragments, two of which

¹ Specimens are preserved in the British Museum; see Nos. 2437, 2438, 2440, 2441, 2445.



² See also Mr. Legge's comprehensive and sensible description of the whole class of objects in *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, May, 1900; they are also mentioned in connection with Mycenaean theories by H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 151 ff.

are in the British Museum, and one in the Museum of



Green slate object of unknown use dating from the latter part of the predynastic period. British Museum, Nos. 20,790, 20,792.

the Louvre. The reliefs upon the larger object represent hunting scenes. We see lions, horned animals of the deer kind, jackals, and hares being hunted in the desert by half-savage chiefs and warriors who wear feathers on their heads, and at their backs tails of some animal, probably a jackal, hanging from a girdle or belt. This tail, which was worn generally by simple chiefs at the end of the predynastic age, survived, in an artificial form, as a ceremonial ornament which was worn by the kings, and which was also regarded as part of the apparel of a god. This fact

alone is sufficient to indicate the great antiquity which must be assigned to this extremely interesting object. We must first of all note that some of the warriors carry standards or emblems of the gods, the most noticeable being that which is surmounted by the hawk of Horus; others have bows and arrows, the heads of the latter being of the squared flint type which appears to have been commonly used at that epoch; others hold stone-headed maces, and others most curious weapons which consist of stone celts fastened into wooden hafts. Two men are armed with double-headed axes, which were probably made of chert, or flint, and fixed in forked wooden handles. The use of stone weapons, indicated on this object, certainly emphasizes its archaic character, for on similar objects which are known to belong to the days of Aḥa and Nār-mer metal weapons are depicted. On the upper part are two pictures which represent a double-headed bull, and a coffin or funeral chest, which, from their position in the scene and their obvious want of connection with it, must be intended for ideographs; if this be so, they are the earliest specimens of Egyptian writing known. In the later hieroglyphic system the latter survives in a practically unchanged form , and the former in the form , which is read *Akeru*; their meaning here, however, cannot be stated with certainty. As a characteristic of the art of the period it may be noted that the eyes of the men and animals have been drilled, and it is probable that they were inlaid with

small pieces of bone or some other light-coloured substance.

Another object of the same material and style, which probably dates from the same period as that just described, is also preserved in the British Museum,¹ and is here figured. The scene on the Obverse, taken as a whole, probably represents the treatment which was meted out to prisoners of war by their captors. On the right hand top corner we see a captive with his hands tied behind his back, being thrust out into the désert (?) by an official who wears a long ornamented robe with fringe. Five of the captives appear to be dead, and are being devoured by a lion and vultures; one, however, seems to have worked his hands and arms free, and is endeavouring to escape. All the captives, except one, are circumcised, and they wear beards. The artistic treatment of the scene suggests a comparison with the well-known Stele of the Vultures, which was made for the early Babylonian king E-annadu, or E-dingiragin, who is supposed to have reigned about B.C. 4500. On the Reverse we have the lower portions of the bodies of two giraffes which evidently were feeding upon a palm tree. The Reverse of a fragment which seems to have formed a part of the above object, and which is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,² supplies us with the head of one of the giraffes feeding on the leaves of the palm tree, and a bird; and on the

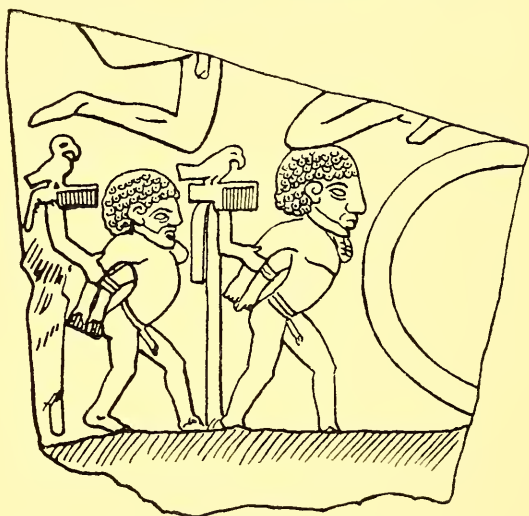
¹ No. 20,791.

² See Legge, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June, 1900.

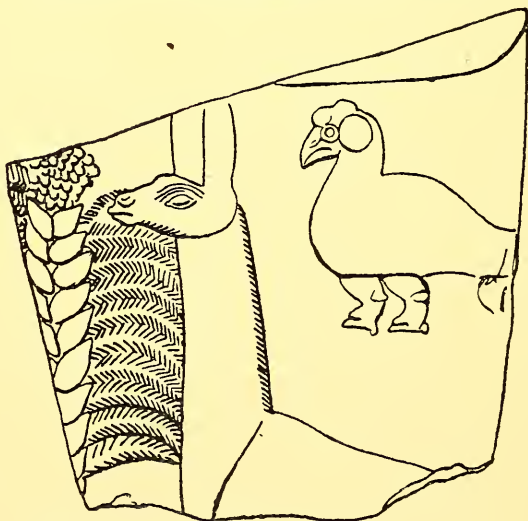


Reliefs on a green slate object of unknown use. British Museum, No. 20,791.

Obverse we find the earliest piece of Egyptian symbolism known to us. Here we have two captives, with their hands tied behind their backs, being, apparently, led to slaughter by animated hawk-standards, each of which is provided with a human arm and hand which grasps the arms of the captive under its charge. It is hard not to conclude that these two monuments were made in the time of the followers of the Hawk-god Horus, and that the second of them probably represents the actual treatment which the vanquished indigenous inhabitants received at the hands of their conquerors. The development of the






















Fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Obverse.



Fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Reverse.

art exhibited by the whole group of the green slate objects now known can be well studied by means of the facsimiles published by Mr. Legge, and therefrom it may be seen that archaic Egyptian art, the first-fruits of which are well illustrated by the two slate objects already described, developed itself on lines which, until quite recently, would not have been considered in any way of Egyptian character. One of its chief characteristics is a frequent use of monstrous or exaggerated forms of animals, etc. (see Legge, plate 3), which in historical times never appear on the monuments, and are, in fact, confined to objects and documents of a magical character. From certain of these slate objects (see Legge, plate 5) it is evident that in the time of Āḥa and Nār-mer important fortified towns and cities existed in Egypt, and it is interesting to note that the walls of those of which names are given are crenellated like the walls of the tomb of Āḥa at Naḥâda, and like the fortified palaces of the kings of the city of Shirpurla in Babylonia. The names of such cities are, as might be expected, of very simple form, e.g., Ka, Em, Khu, Kheper, Ḥa (?), etc.



In later times, judging by the evidence supplied by the jar-sealings, large estates were possessed by the king and by his nobles, and when it was necessary to record the names of such on seals they were usually enclosed in similar crenellated ovals. The names of many officials and nobles who owned landed property are made known by the jar-sealings and other inscribed objects

from the tombs at Abydos, and among such may be mentioned king Ten's "royal chancellor"  , or  , Hemaka   , and Henuka   , who was the "chief prince"  , and "royal axeman"  , or more literally "the two axes of the king," a title which is not met with after the Ist Dynasty. Many other office-bearers of the same period are mentioned on stelae, and on ivory and ebony plaques, jar-sealings, etc., their titles being more or less of the same type as those which are found in the IVth and succeeding dynasties of the Early Empire. We must here note that no trace of the existence of any regular priesthood has so far been found on these most ancient monuments, for the common signs for "libationer" or "priest" , or "servant of the god" , or "reader"   , literally, "the holder of the book," seem to have been unknown. All priestly functions were probably performed by each head of a family, from the king downwards, though it is certain, as is the case with all primitive peoples, that the man of magic and medicine existed, and, human nature being probably much the same then as now, no doubt carried on a thriving business!

From the monuments of BESH, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, we learn that he possessed a




name which belonged to him as the representative of the god Set as well as a Horus name (see Vol. I., p. 207).

The head of the state, though not yet known by the title of "Per-āa," or "Pharaoh," yet bears many of the titles which we are accustomed to

associate with him, e.g.  *suten bāt*, "king of the South, king of the North;" and , which must have

had exactly the same signification; the first of these consists of the names for "king" in Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, and the second describes the king as lord, or possessor of the two most ancient cities in Upper and Lower Egypt, i.e., Nekheb and Per-Uatchet, the seats of the vulture and the snake goddess respectively.

The kings of the Ist Dynasty did not enclose their names in cartouches, nor did they use a "throne name"; Besh, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, was the first to inaugurate both these customs, though the occurrence of the throne name is not frequent during the Early Empire. The king as head of the community represented on earth Horus, the sky-god, who was at that time regarded as the king of the gods; he was therefore under the special protection of Horus, and in this capacity had a special name which was inscribed upon a rectangular

object called in Egyptian "Serekh"   , or

"cognizance," i.e., "the thing which makes one known."

This object has been held to be a banner by some, and a piece of sculptured work by others, but in reality it is

a part of the standard of the god Horus on which the king's name was inscribed. The accompanying illustration shows two Horus standards of the time of SEMTI, the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty,¹ each with an uninscribed "serekh" hanging from the perch on which the Hawk-god stands. At a later period, which cannot be exactly indicated, the Horus name became in some way identified with the *ka* or "double" of the king, and the Horus name therefore became the name of the king's *ka*; for this reason the Horus name of the king is often called the *ka* name. The title of the king most familiar to us, i.e., "Son of the Sun," does not occur on the contemporaneous monuments of the archaic period, and the titles "good god," "great god," do not occur until a later period. Although not yet deified, the king in the archaic period seems to have been an autocratic and absolute monarch, whose people were little better than slaves, and whose nobles owed their existence and their social position entirely to him; as the kinsman and representative of the god Horus he was the absolute lord of life and death. The queen, whether royal mother or royal wife, though not mentioned on the earliest monuments, no doubt occupied the same exalted position



Ancient form of the *serekh*, or cognizance of the king.

¹ For an earlier form of the same object see the illustration on p. 15.

as was assigned to her in later days. Manetho tells us that in the reign of Ba-en-neter, the third king of the IIInd Dynasty, "it was determined that women should "enjoy royal privileges, i.e., that they should not be disqualified from ascending the throne and enjoying all the "dignity and state which appertained thereto." This is not to be wondered at, for the social position of women in Egypt was always much higher than in other Eastern countries; an Egyptian generally traced his pedigree from a maternal ancestor, as is the case with many primitive peoples, and the mother, or "lady of the house," enjoyed in Egypt a position of authority and importance rarely met with among other nations.

CHAPTER II.



THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS.

FOURTH DYNASTY. FROM MEMPHIS.

1.   or   SENEFERU,
Σώφης.

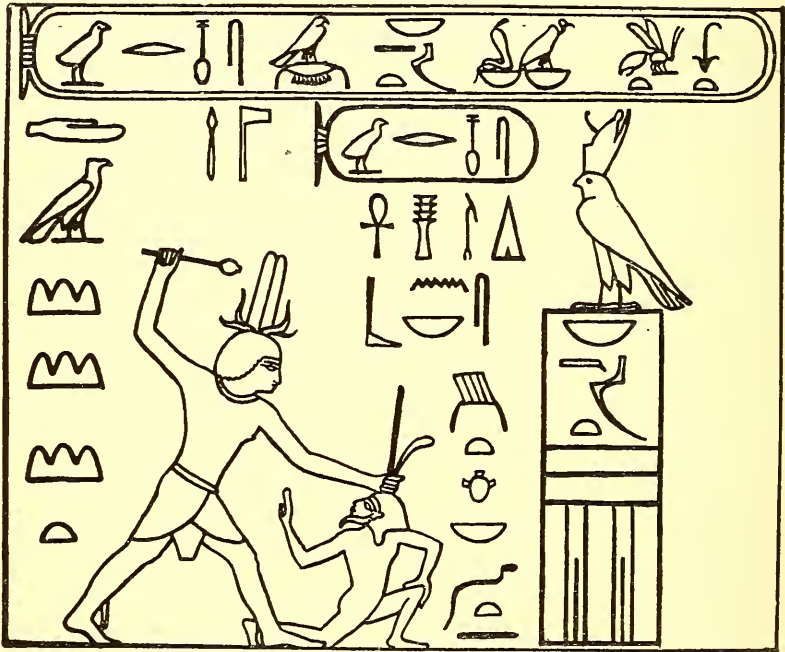


NEB-MAĀT,
the
Horus name
of Seneferu.

With Seneferu, whose Horus name was NEB-MAĀT, and who, besides , lord of the shrines of the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchet, *i.e.*, “lord of the South, lord of the North,” called himself also the “Golden Hawk,” or “Golden Horus” , we begin the IVth Dynasty; this king, according to Manetho, reigned twenty-nine years.

It is noteworthy that the Tablet of Karnak begins with his name, a fact which seems to show that the compilers of such King Lists did not hold themselves bound to follow historical considerations in such cases, and that they allowed themselves to make whatsoever selection of royal names seemed to them best. Seneferu appears to be the first

king of Egypt who carried war into foreign countries on a large scale; and this fact is illustrated by an important relief, which is found sculptured on the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra in the Peninsula of Sinai.¹ Here we see a figure of the king, wearing a crown with plumes




Rock-relief of Seneferu at Wâdî Maghâra.




and uraei, engaged in the slaughter of a typical Sinaitic foe of Egypt; the king is seizing him by the hair of the head with the left hand, and is about to aim a blow on it




¹ See the late Professor Palmer's *Sinai from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the present Day*, London, 1878, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 2. The reliefs on the rocks at Sinai were noted by Niebuhr as far back as 1762.

with a mace which he holds in his uplifted right hand. Above the scene, in a cartouche, are the five names and titles of the king given above, and below is the inscription, "Seneferu, the great god, the subduer of foreign countries, "giver of power, stability, life, all health, and all joy of "heart for ever;" on the right is the Horus name of the king. It is improbable that Seneferu was the first Egyptian king to visit the Peninsula of Sinai as a conqueror, for we know that Tcheser,¹ a king of the IIIrd Dynasty, made his way thither, and that the famous turquoise mines, which were worked in the district, supplied him with materials for ornamenting the chambers of his pyramid. Seneferu, however, conquered the inhabitants of the country, and seized the mines, and built strong forts in the neighbourhood for Egyptian garrisons to live in, and to serve as places of refuge for the miners when suddenly attacked by the natives; the ruins of certain stone buildings, which exist in the Wâdî Maghâra to this day, have been identified by modern travellers with the forts of Seneferu. The spiritual wants of the miners seem to have been ministered to by the priests of the temple which was built there, and which was dedicated to the goddess Hathor and to Horus-Sept. The mines are said to have been worked by means of flint tools only, but some think that instruments of bronze were also employed.

¹ See an article by Bénédictine in the *Recueil*, tom. xvi. p. 104, where Tcheser's Horus name is figured; it was, apparently, first noted in the work of the English Survey made in 1869.

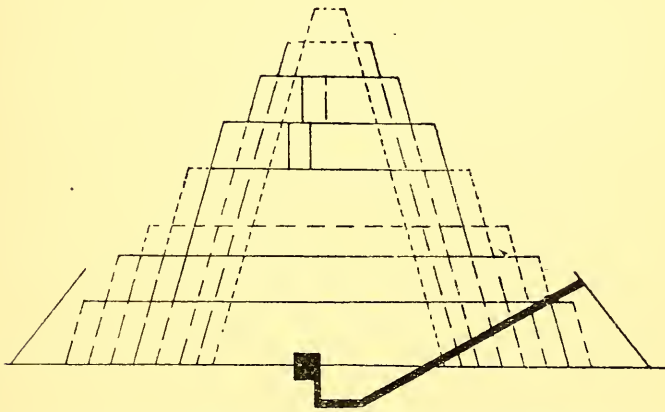
Seneferu built a pyramid which he intended to serve for his tomb at or near Dahshûr, and another which must be identified with the Pyramid of Mêdûm, and is situated at a distance of about forty miles to the south of Cairo. Each pyramid was called Khâ , a name which indicates the place where the dead king would rise with glory to the life beyond the grave, even as the sun rises with splendour on this world; but the pyramid at Dahshûr was distinguished by the addition of the word

“Southern,” i.e.,   ; the two pyramids together

were indicated by the phrase   . The pyramid

of Mêdûm, which has long been called “Al-Haram al-Kaddâb,” i.e., the “Lying (or False) Pyramid,” by the Arabs of the desert round about, was opened by M. Maspero in 1881-82, and other excavations were made on the site in subsequent years. The pyramid is over 120 feet in height, and consists of three stages, which are about 70, 20, and 30 feet high respectively; the stone of which it is built was brought from the Muḩaṩṩam hills, but it was never finished. When opened in modern times, the sarcophagus chamber was found to be empty, and it was discovered that the pyramid had been broken into and plundered in the time of the XXth Dynasty, about B.C. 1100. It is a remarkable building, and it is quite unlike the ordinary pyramid tombs, although it is entered from the north side. Originally it consisted of a rectangular, truncated building with sides which sloped to a common centre

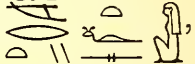
at an angle of about 74° ; the king, wishing to enlarge the mass of masonry, from time to time built round its sides thick layers of masonry, and at the same time added to the height of the original building. At length the tops of the layers of masonry formed a series of seven steps, and Seneferu no doubt intended to cover it all over, from apex to base, with a covering of polished stones. The following illustration is taken from



The Pyramid of Médûm. Plan showing the original building with additions, the mummy-chamber and the corridor leading thereto.

Medum by Prof. Petrie, who, on the east side of the pyramid, close to the casing, discovered a courtyard wherein stood the remains of the small temple which had been built of limestone; in the courtyard was an altar, by the side of which stood two uninscribed stelae. The inscriptions in and about the pyramid, which were written by visitors during the XVIIIth Dynasty, prove that the building was at that time regarded as the tomb of Seneferu. To the north and east of the pyramid

several of the officials of Seneferu were buried in "mašṭāba," or "bench-shaped" tombs; the largest of these were built for Rā-ḥetep and his wife Nefert, and for Nefer-Maāt and his wife Átet, and the statues and painted scenes which were found in the mašṭāba of Rā-ḥetep are among the finest which have ever been seen. Near the pyramid of Seneferu a number of tombs were also found, in which the bodies had been buried in a contracted position, the knees being sharply bent, and the thighs at right angles to the body. The right arm was usually in front, and the left arm was usually under the body and legs, with the hand under the knees; ¹ such burials are, of course, survivals of the old indigenous custom, and the people thus buried were, no doubt, members of some tribe of the indigenous race which had survived until this period and which had been brought into a state of subjection by the dynastic Egyptians.

The wife of Seneferu was called Mertitefs  and she seems to have been held in high honour after her husband's death by his successors Khufu and Khāfrā; his daughter Nefertkau was the grandmother of the priest Seneferu-khāf, whose tomb is at Gīzeh. Seneferu is, according to M. Golénischeff, ² mentioned in connection with a year of famine and an invasion of the Āmu, a hostile race of Asiatic origin. An interesting story, which is well worthy of mention here, is told of Seneferu in the Westcar Papyrus. ³ It appears that on a certain

¹ Petrie, *Medum*, p. 21.

² *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 110.

³ Ed. Erman, p. 9.

day the king was weary and depressed, and that he applied to his nobles to find some means of cheering him ; as they had nothing to suggest, the king sent for the magician Tchatcha-em-ānkh, who, having been brought into the presence, advised the king to go for a sail on the lake. He next proposed that he should make the necessary arrangements for the king, and having brought a boat with twenty young and beautiful virgins in it, each of whom was provided with a paddle of ebony inlaid with gold, he invited the king to embark, and the boat was rowed out on the lake. As the maidens were rowing, one of them dropped a turquoise ornament into the water, and when the king had learned what had happened, he promised to have it found for her. Having called the magician into his presence and told him what was wanted, Tchatcha-em-ānkh spake certain words of power which he knew, whereupon one section of the water of the lake straightway raised itself and placed itself upon the other portion, which thus became twenty-four cubits deep instead of twelve as formerly ; the magician then found the turquoise ornament lying on the bed of the lake, and taking it up he gave it to the maiden. This done, he uttered certain words of power, and the section of the water which had raised itself up out of its place and set itself upon the other portion at once descended to its former place, and the whole lake resumed its normal level of twelve cubits. Thus we see that in the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the copy of the story as given in the Westcar Papyrus

was made, the Egyptians believed that their ancestors in the IVth Dynasty were able to work magic of a powerful and far-reaching kind. It is impossible not to call to mind, in connection with the above story, the narrative in Exodus which tells how Moses, by means of his rod and words of power, made a way for the Israelites through the waters of the sea, so that they might pass over on dry ground whilst the waters stood up on each side of them like walls.

2.  KHEFU, or KHUFU,
Xέοψ.



MĀTCHETU,
the Horus name
of Khufu.


KHEFU, or KHUFU, the Souphis of Manetho, and the Kheops of Herodotus, was, according to the Westcar Papyrus, the son of Seneferu, and he is said by Manetho to have reigned sixty-three years. He was, beyond all doubt, a mighty builder, and it seems as if all his energies were spent in arranging for and watching the construction of the Great Pyramid at Gîzeh, which he intended to be his tomb, and which has excited the wonder and admiration of the world. On a rock in the Wâdî Maghâra is a relief in which he, like his father, Seneferu, is represented in the act of clubbing a typical Sinaitic foe, but there is no record to show that he was ever regarded as a great warrior. In connection with

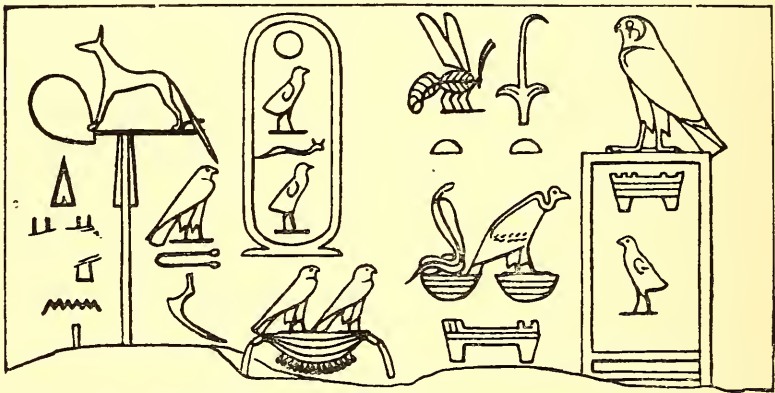
this relief it is interesting to note that he is called "Khnemu Khufu," and that the clubbing of the foe is taking place in the presence of the god Thoth, who stands there in the form of an ibis-headed man. To Khufu belongs the credit of having built the first and greatest pyramid, in the strict sense of the word, just as



Rock-relief of Khufu at Wâdi Maghâra.

to Seneferu belongs the credit of having built the first true step pyramid. In passing we may note that the derivation of the word "pyramid," *i.e.*, *πυραμίδς*, is apparently unknown, and no entirely satisfactory meaning for it has been put forward; it may, of course, be a word of Aryan origin, but we should probably rightly set aside all

the fanciful etymologies which connect it with the Greek word for "fire," and should derive it from some words of Egyptian origin which were in use in the later periods of Egyptian history. A very reasonable attempt was made by Prof. Eisenlohr in 1877 to derive "pyramid" from the Egyptian words "per-em-us" , which seem to express¹ the conception of "height," or



Rock-relief of Khufu at Wâdi Maghâra.

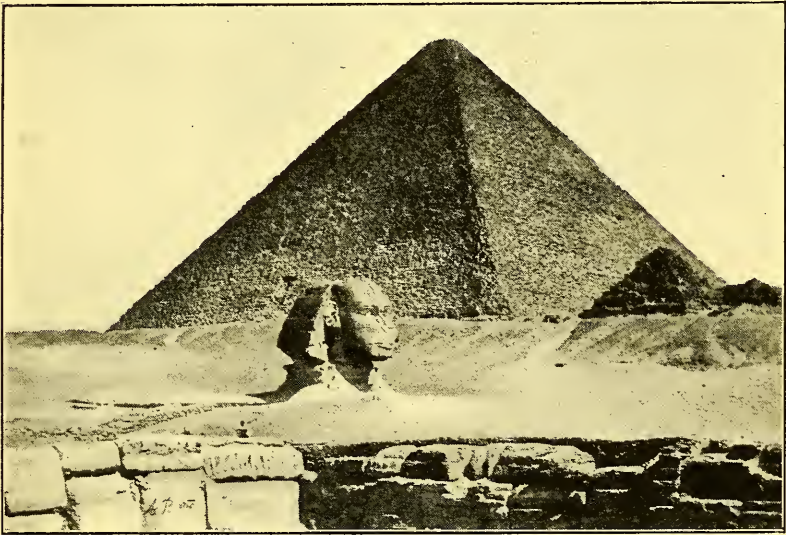
"high," and until a better derivation is proposed this one must form the best that has been made.

According to Herodotus² (ii. 124), Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, was "a man fraughte

¹ "Pir-em-us, Ursprung des Wortes *πυραμίδς*, entweder die Kante an der Pyramide oder die Gerade, welche von der Spitze der Pyramide auf die Mitte der Grundlinie gezogen wird." *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter*, p. 260. Borchardt renders the words "Die aus *us* (Grundfläche) heraustretende Linie"; see *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. 31, p. 14.

² B. R.'s translation, fol. 103 b.

“with all kynde of vicious demeanour,¹ and wicked conversation. For causing the temples of the gods to be fast locked up, he gave out through all quarters of hys Empyre, that it myght not be lawfull for any Aegyptian to offer sacrifice, to the ende, that beeing seduced from the service and reverence of the gods, he might securely



The Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) at Gizeh.

“employ them in his owne affayres. Some were appoynted to digge stones in the mountayne Arabicus, and from thence, to convey them to the river Nilus, where they were receyved of others which pheryed them over the river to the roote of a greate hill named Africus.

¹ Compare Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 102), “He was arrogant towards the gods, and wrote the sacred book, which is regarded by the Egyptians as a work of great importance.”

“ The whole number of those that were conversaunt in
“ the Kings affayres, was tenne thousande men, serving by
“ turnes, every three monethes a thousand. In which
“ manner, he helde the people the space of tenne yeares,
“ in all whiche tyme, they did nothyng but hewe and cary
“ stones, a labour of no lesse importaunce (in my judge-
“ mente) then to have built the pyre it selfe, or towre of
“ stone, which is in length five furlongs, in breadth
“ tenne paces, and in height where it is greatest, to the
“ number of eyght paces, beeyng framed of stone,
“ curiously carved and ingraven with the pictures of
“ beastes. Heerein also were consumed other tenne yeares,
“ causing certayne chambers to be cut out under the
“ grounde, undermining the stoneworke upon the which
“ the towres were founded, whyche hee provided for hys
“ sepulcher. The situation heereof was in a small
“ Ilande, through the whyche by a trench or small
“ draught, he caused the river to have passage. The
“ pyre was made stearewise, ascending by steppes or
“ degrees orderly placed one above another. Havyng in
“ suche sorte finished the lower worke, they devised
“ certayne engines or wrestes to heave up stoifes from
“ the grounde to the first stayre, and from thence
“ to the seconde, and so consequently tyll they came to
“ the place where the stone shoulde lye, havyng uppon
“ each stayre a wreast ; or (that whyche is more likely)
“ using one for all, beeyng framed of lyght wood, to the
“ intente it might the more easily be remooued. The
“ grosse worke finished, they began to polishe and

“ beautifie the towre from the toppe downewardes, com-
 “ ming last of all to the neathermost stayre, wherein they
 “ made a finall ende and conclusion of the beautie and
 “ grace of all theyr woorkemanshippe. In thys pyre, were
 “ intayled certayne letters in the Aegyptian language,
 “ declaring the expence the King was at in the time of his
 “ building, for mustardseed, oynyons, and garlike, which
 “ (as I remember) the interpreter told me, did amount to
 “ the summe of a thousande five hundred talents. If this
 “ were so, how much shal we deeme to have bene spent
 “ upon other things, as upon tooles, engins, victuals,
 “ labouring garments for the workemen, being tenne
 “ yeares busied in these affayres. I reckon not the time
 “ wherein they were held in framing and hewing of
 “ stones to set them in a readinesse for the mayne worke :
 “ neyther all the space that [was] passed over in the
 “ conveyance and cariage of the stone to the place of
 “ building, which was no small numbers of dayes, as also
 “ the time which was consumed in undermining the
 “ earth, and cutting out of chambers under the grounde,
 “ all whyche things drave the King to such a narrow
 “ straight, that he was fayne to cloute out his devises
 “ with a most wicked invention, which was this:—
 “ Perceiving his golden mine to draw low that the divell
 “ might daunce in the bottome of his bagge and finde
 “ never a crosse, he made sale of his daughter’s honestie,
 “ willing hir to entertayne tagge and ragge all that
 “ would come, in case they refused not to pay for their
 “ pleasure, sithence Venus accepteth not the devotion of

“such as pray with empty hands and threadbare purses.
“The Lady, willing to obey the hestes of the King her
“father, devised also the meane to prolong the memorie of
“herselfe, and to advaunce her fame to the notice of all
“ages that should ensue, wherefore she made request to
“suche as had accesse unto her, to give her a stone to
“the building and erection of a worke which she had
“determined, wherewith (as the brute goeth) she gave so
“many stones as served to the framing of a whole pyre,
“situate in the middest of the three former in full view
“and prospect to the greatest pyrame, which is every way
“an acre and an halfe square.”

According to Diodorus (i. 63), the Great Pyramid was built by Chemmis, the eighth king from Remphis, who was from Memphis, and reigned fifty years. “He built
“the greatest of the three pyramids, which were accounted
“amongst the seven wonders of the world. They stand
“towards Libya, 120 furlongs from Memphis, and 45 from
“the Nile. The greatness of these works, and the excessive labour of the workmen seen in them, do even
“strike the beholders with admiration and astonishment.
“The greatest being four-square, took up, on every
“square, 700 feet of ground in the basis, and above 600
“feet in height, spiring up narrower by little and little,
“till it came up to the point, the top of which was six
“cubits square. It is build of solid marble throughout, of
“rough work, but of perpetual duration: for though it
“be now a thousand years since it was built, (some say
“above three thousand and four hundred), yet the stones

“are as firmly jointed, and the whole building as entire
“and without the least decay, as they were at the first
“laying an erection. The stone, they say, was brought a
“long way off, out of Arabia, and that the work was
“raised by making mounts of earth; cranes and other
“engines being not known at that time. And that which
“is most to be admired, is to see such a foundation so
“imprudently laid, as it seems to be, in a sandy place,
“where there is not the least sign of any earth cast up,
“nor marks where any stone was cut and polished; so
“that the whole pile seems to be reared all at once, and
“fixed in the midst of heaps of sand by some god, and
“not built by degrees by the hands of men. Some of
“the Egyptians tell wonderful things, and invent strange
“fables concerning these works, affirming that the mounts
“were made of salt and salt-petre, and that they were
“melted by the inundation of the river, and being so
“dissolved, everything was washed away but the building
“itself. But this is not the truth of the thing; but the
“great multitude of hands that raised the mounts, the
“same carried back the earth to the place whence they dug
“it; for they say, there were 360,000 men employed in
“this work, and the whole was scarce completed in
“twenty years time.” (Booth’s translation, p. 65.) In
the opinion of Diodorus the architects who built the
Pyramids are “much more to be admired than the kings
“themselves that were at the cost. For those performed
“all by their own ingenuity, but these did nothing but
“by the wealth handed to them by descent from their

“predecessors, and by the toil and labour of other
“men.”

The account of the Pyramids given by Pliny (xxxvi., 16, 17) is of interest, and is as follows:—

“The largest Pyramid is built of stone quarried in
“Arabia; three hundred and sixty thousand men, it is
“said, were employed upon it twenty years, and the
“three were completed in seventy-eight years and
“four months. They are described by the following
“writers:—Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris of Samos,
“Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Poly-
“histor, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles,
“and Apion. These authors, however, are disagreed
“as to the persons by whom they were constructed;
“accident having, with very considerable justice, con-
“signed to oblivion the names of those who erected
“such stupendous memorials of their vanity. Some
“of these writers inform us that fifteen hundred talents
“were expended upon radishes, garlic, and onions alone.
“The most difficult problem is, to know how the
“materials for construction could possibly be carried to
“so vast a height. According to some authorities, as
“the building gradually advanced, they heaped up
“against it vast mounds of nitre and salt; which piles
“were melted after its completion, by introducing
“beneath them the waters of the river. Others, again,
“maintain, that bridges were constructed, of bricks of
“clay, and that, when the Pyramid was completed,
“these bricks were distributed for erecting the houses

“of private individuals. For the level of the river, “they say, being so much lower, water could never by “any possibility have been brought there by the medium “of canals. In the interior of the largest Pyramid there “is a well, eighty-six cubits deep, which communicates “with the river, it is thought. The method of ascertain- “ing the height of the Pyramids and all similar edifices “was discovered by Thales of Miletus; he measuring “the shadow at the hour of the day at which it is “equal in length to the body projecting it. Such are “the marvellous Pyramids; but the crowning marvel “of all is, that the smallest, but most admired of “them—that we may feel no surprise at the opulence “of the kings—was built by Rhodopis, a courtesan! “This woman was once the fellow-slave of Aesopus the “philosopher and fabulist, and the sharer of his bed; “but what is much more surprising is, that a courtesan “should have been enabled, by her vocation, to amass “such enormous wealth. The largest Pyramid occupies “seven jugera of ground, and the four angles are equi- “distant, the face of each side being eight hundred and “thirty-three feet in length. The total height from “the ground to the summit is seven hundred and “twenty-five feet, and the platform on the summit is “sixteen feet and a half in circuit. Of the second “Pyramid, the faces of the four sides are each seven “hundred and fifty-seven feet and a half in length. “The third is smaller than the others, but far more “prepossessing in appearance: it is built of Aethiopian

“stone, and the face between the four corners is three hundred and sixty-three feet in extent.”

The account given of the Pyramids by Strabo is meagre; he says (xvii. 1. § 33): “At the distance of 40 stadia from Memphis is a brow of a hill, on which are many pyramids, the tombs of the kings. Three of them are considerable. Two of these are reckoned among the ‘Seven Wonders.’ They are a stadium in height, and of a quadrangular shape. Their height somewhat exceeds the length of each of the sides. One pyramid is a little larger than the other. At a moderate height in one of the sides is a stone, which may be taken out; when that is removed, there is an oblique passage [leading] to the tomb. They are near each other, and upon the same level. Farther on, at a greater height of the mountain, is the third pyramid, which is much less than the two others, but constructed at much greater expense; for from the foundation nearly as far as the middle, it is built of black stone.” Many of the Arab writers have described and discussed the Pyramids. Thus ‘Abd al-Latîf, quoting other authorities, says¹ that the Great Pyramid is 317 cubits high, and that its sloping sides are each 460 cubits in length; personally he doubted these measurements, and states that he believes the height of the building to be 400 cubits, and that he one day intends to verify these figures. He thought that of all the great works in Egypt the

See Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1810, pp. 171, 177, 219.

Pyramids were the most to be admired, and he gives details concerning the attempts which were made to wreck the Great Pyramid by Othmân and other Muḥammadan rulers.

The fullest and most interesting account of the Pyramids given by any Arabic writer is that of Al-Makrîzî; see the Bûlâk edition of his works, vol. i., p. 111 ff.

Abu'l-Fida in his Geography¹ describes the Pyramids, Al-Ahrâm, and Al-Haramân, as being the tombs of ancients, and he mentions their great height; Mas'ûdî relates² a description of the manner in which they were built, according to statements made on the subject by a Copt, and adds a little account of the contents of the texts which were inscribed on their sides; and the geographer Yâkûṭ has collected³ from Muḥammadan sources a number of very curious and interesting traditions concerning the observations of stars taken near the Great Pyramid. Among Christian Syrian writers who have described the Pyramids we may mention Dionysius of Tell Maḥrê, who flourished in the IXth century of our era. In the course of his travels he tells us: "We saw in Egypt the pyramids of which "the Theologian speaks in his songs. They are not "the granaries of Joseph, as certain folk have thought,

¹ See the edition of the Arabic text by Reinaud and McGuckin de Slane, Paris, 1840, p. 108.

² *Prairies d'Or*, ed. B. de Meynard, tom. ii. p. 404.

³ Ed. Wüstenfeld, tom. iv. p. 963 (*Al-Haramân*).

“but marvellous structures which have been built above
“the tombs of ancient kings. They are solid and massive,
“and not hollow and empty. We examined the opening
“which exists on the side of one of these pyramids, and
“it is about forty cubits deep. We were able to ascertain
“that these pyramids are built of hewn stones which are
“laid one upon the other in such wise that they form a
“base which is five hundred cubits in length on each
“side, and the layers continue to diminish in size as they
“ascend until that at the top is only one cubit [square].
“The pyramids are two hundred and fifty cubits in
“height. Each stone measures from ten to fifteen cubits
“each way, and the pyramids at a distance resemble
“high mountains.” Dionysius also mentions the obelisks
of Heliopolis, which he describes as being sixty cubits
high and six cubits square, and made of hard stone. In
his time, apparently, the “white brass” caps with which
their points are said to have been covered were still
upon them, and he says that each metal cap weighs one
thousand pounds.¹

The method actually followed in the construction of
the Great Pyramid and of its fellows has been much
discussed from the time of Lepsius downwards. Accord-
ing to this eminent man, after a suitable site had
been chosen and cleared, a mass of rock was, if
possible, left in the middle of the area to form the
core of the building; around this core a truncated
pyramid was built, layer by layer, the steps being

¹ See *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, Paris, 1895, p. xxv.

filled up with suitably shaped blocks of stone. Coat after coat of stone was built round the work, which grew larger and larger until it was finished. Dr. Lepsius thought that on ascending the throne a king built for his tomb a small but complete pyramid, and that he built a new coating of stone round it every year; and that when he died the sides of the pyramid, which then resembled long flights of steps, were finished off by filling up the steps with right-angled triangular blocks of stone. This explanation has been generally accepted, and it certainly answers satisfactorily more objections than do the views of other theorists on this matter; Prof. Petrie, however, thinks that the "great pyramid" was set out from the first upon a vast scale . . . and "that it could not have been designed of any much smaller size is shown conclusively by the internal passages. The entrance to these would have been quite impracticable in design on any size of building not much over two-thirds of the present base. The actual size, moreover, shows that both this and the Pyramid of Medum were designed to an exact dimension."¹ On the other hand, Herr Borchardt is convinced, after an exhaustive study of the subject, that Dr. Lepsius's pyramid accretion theory is substantially correct, and that it needs correction in a few minor points only. In certain cases the original plans were strictly adhered to, but in others they were modified or enlarged according to the fancies of those who built for themselves pyramids.

¹ *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 38.

This last view agrees very well with the known facts ; a matter of this kind must be settled by the trained architect and not by the Egyptologist. The Great Pyramid, which was originally covered with inscribed slabs of smooth limestone or polished granite, is 451 feet high, and the greatest length of each of the four sides at the base is about 755 feet ; originally its

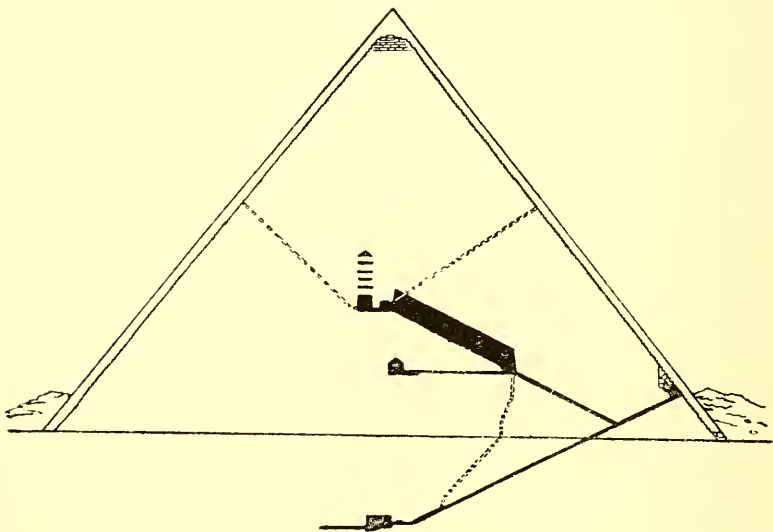


Diagram showing the arrangement of the passages in the Great Pyramid, and the position of the sarcophagus chambers.

sides were 20 feet longer, and it was about 30 feet higher. The cubic contents of the masonry, according to a recent calculation, amount to over 3,000,000 yards, and the pyramid covers an area of twelve and a half acres ; in Egyptian the building was called KHUT



, i.e., "Glory." The Great Pyramid has formed the subject of some of the most fanciful theories

which have ever been evolved concerning a building, and until quite recently certain writers solemnly declared that beneath it and inside it there were chambers filled with gold, and silver, and precious stones, in vast quantities; it cannot be too clearly stated that this pyramid was a tomb, and that it had no connection whatsoever with antediluvian patriarchs, and was not built by or for any one mentioned in Holy Scripture.

Of Khufu, or Cheops, the Westcar Papyrus has preserved an interesting story which illustrates the power of the magician of the period. It seems that the king's son, Heruṭāṭāf, was one day telling him of the skill possessed by the ancients in working magic, and in answer to some remark made by his father, Heruṭāṭāf promised to produce a magician who lived in Tet-Seneferu, who was 110 years old, and who had the power of re-attaching to its body a head which had been cut off. Khufu at once ordered his son to go and bring the sage into his presence, and the royal barge having been brought, Heruṭāṭāf set out to fulfil his father's behest. In due course the abode of Tetā the magician was reached, and when he had been informed of the cause of the prince's visit, he rose up and with his help reached the river, where he embarked on the royal barge; after a time the party arrived at Khufu's palace, and the coming of the sage was announced. When Teta had entered the presence, the king asked him if he could do according to what Heruṭāṭāf had declared, and Teta having answered in

the affirmative, the king wished to have a prisoner brought that he might see the doom inflicted upon



Khufu, King of Egypt.
(The original is in the Egyptian Museum,
Cairo.)

him; but the magician objected to exercising his skill upon a human being, and suggested that a sacred bird or animal should be brought for the purpose. Thereupon a goose was fetched, and Teta, having cut off its head, laid the body on one side of the apartment and the head on the other; this done, he rose up and began to utter certain words of power, whereupon the body began to move and the head likewise, and each time they moved they came nearer to each other, until at length the head moved to its former place on

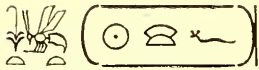
the neck of the bird, which straightway cackled. The experiment was then repeated by Teta upon another

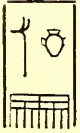
kind of bird, and afterwards upon an ox, and in these cases the heads were rejoined to their bodies, and bird and beast stood up and lived as before.

3.  RĀ-ṬET-Ṭ-F, *Ῥατοῖσις*.

RĀṬETṬ-F, who is most certainly to be identified with the Ratoises of Manetho, is placed next to Khufu because his name follows that of Khufu in the Tablet of Abydos; he is said to have reigned twenty-five years. Some authorities make him to be the successor of Khāf-Rā, and others of Men-kau-Rā, but until some sure testimony from the monuments is forthcoming the position of his name in the Tablet of Abydos must be regarded as indicating his true place among kings of the IVth Dynasty. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Mertitefes, the widow of Seneferu, mentions Khufu and Khāf-Rā as the immediate successors of her husband.¹ It will be remembered that the magician Teta lived in a district which was probably named after Rāṭetef or Ṭetef-Rā, and the "Field of Rāṭetef" was owned by an official called Per-sen. Of the details of the reign of Rāṭetef nothing whatsoever is known, but it may be assumed that it was either not so long as Manetho declares, or that if it was, the glory of this king was dwarfed by that of the great pyramid builders, Khufu, Khāf-Rā, and Men-kau-Rā.

¹ *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. ix. p. 62; de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties*, p. 37.

4.  KHĀ-F-RĀ, *Χεφρήν*.

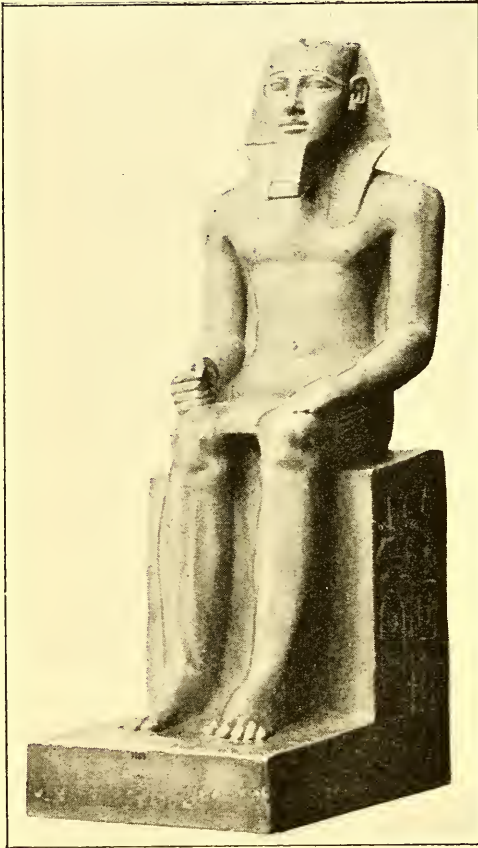


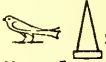
USER-ĀB,
the Horus name
of Khāf-Rā.

KHĀ-F-RĀ, or Khephren, the Suphis of Manetho, whom he declares to have reigned sixty-six years, is known to history chiefly by the pyramid which he built for his tomb close by that of Khufu; Herodotus says (ii. 129) that Khāf-Rā was the brother of Khufu, but Diodorus, after saying the same thing (i. 64), mentions the theory that Khufu was succeeded, not by his brother Khephren, but by his son Khabruen. Which of the two views is correct cannot be said, for the monuments supply no decisive information on the matter; but Diodorus goes on to say: "All agree in this, that the successor, in imitation of his predecessor, erected another pyramid like to the former, both in structure and artificial workmanship, but not near so large, every square of the basis being only a furlong in breadth. Upon the greater pyramid was inscribed the value of the herbs and onions that were spent upon the labourers during the works, which amounted to above sixteen hundred talents. There is nothing written upon the lesser: the entrance and ascent is only on one side, cut by steps into the main stone. Although the kings designed these two for their sepulchres, yet it happened that neither of them were there buried. For the people, being incensed at them by the reason of the toil and labour they were put to,

“and the cruelty and oppression of their kings, threatened
“to drag their carcasses out of their graves, and pull them
“by piecemeal, and cast them to the dogs; and therefore
“both of them, upon their beds, commanded their servants
“to bury them in some obscure place.” (Booth’s trans-
lation, p. 66.) On the other hand, Herodotus says (ii. 27):
“Ensuing the raigne of Cheops, whose kingdome con-
“tinued the space of fifty yeares, the chiefe governe-
“ment was committed to Chephrenes, his brother, which
“followed the steps of his predecessor as well in other
“things, as also in building of a pyre, howbeit, not so huge
“and great as that which his brother had finished before
“him, for we took the measure of them all. Moreover,
“such underworke wrought out in caves and chambers
“under the ground as is to be seene in the pyre of Cheops,
“are wanting in this, besides the laborious and toilesome
“worke which they had to derive and drawe the river to
“that place, which hath his course through the middest
“of the former pyre, hemming in the whole Iland
“wherein it is situate: within the compasse whereof,
“they affirme that Cheops himselfe was buried. By
“whome in his lifetime, an house was framed of one
“stone alone, diversly coloured, which he had out of the
“countrey of Ethiopia, forty foote lower then the pire
“it selfe, yet planted and built upon the selfesame
“foundation. Chephrenes also (by the computation of
“the Aegyptians) ruled the countrey fiftie yeares, by
“which meanes they make account that their miserie
“continued an hundred and five yeares, at which time

“the temples of their gods were unfrequented, abiding
 “still from time to time sealed up and unopened;
 “wherefore these princes the Aegyptians will not name
 “for the hatred they beare them, calling their pyres
 “the towres of the
 “shepeheard Phili-
 “tio, who at that
 “time kept sheepe
 “in those places.”



The pyramid of Khāf-Rā was called by the Egyptians “Ur” , i.e., “Great”; the name of this king has not been found inscribed on any part of it, but the fragment of a marble object inscribed Khāf-Rā, which was found near the temple close by this pyramid, confirms the statements of the Greek writers,


Khā-f-Rā, King of Egypt.
 (The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.)

and there is no reasonable ground for doubting the correctness of the generally received view on the subject. This pyramid, which was first opened in modern times by

Belzoni in 1818, is about 450 feet high, and the length of each side at the base is about 700 feet; according to a recent calculation¹ the cubic measure of the masonry is now 2,156,960 yards, and it is said to weigh 4,883,000 tons. The pyramid is entered by two openings in the north side, and the rock upon which it rests was scarped on the north and west sides to make the foundation level. Connected with the Pyramid of Khāf-Rā is the Temple of Seker-Osiris, commonly called the Temple of the Sphinx, which was built of granite and alabaster, and which was discovered by Mariette in 1853; it lies about forty yards to the south-east of the right foot of the Sphinx at Gîzeh. The pillars are also made of granite, and are in shape square. To the east of the smaller of the two halls of the building is a well in which nine statues of Khāf-Rā were found. The remains of this temple are eloquent witnesses to the skill which the Egyptians had acquired in the art of working and polishing granite and other hard stones.

To the period of the first or second of the three great pyramid builders we shall probably be right in assigning the SPHINX, although it is quite possible that it may be much older; it is one of the most wonderful and imposing of the monuments of Egypt. It is hewn out of the living rock, but has been often repaired. It represents a man-headed lion; the body is

¹ Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 115.

about 150 feet long, the paws 50 feet long, the head 30 feet long, the face 14 feet wide, and from the top of the head to the base of the monument the height is about 70 feet. The face was painted red, and above the forehead was sculptured the uraeus, the symbol of divinity and royalty, but most of the traces of these disappeared during the course of the XIXth century. Some hold the view that the Sphinx represents Ámen-em-hät III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, and that it was fashioned by him, but no conclusive evidence has been adduced in support of this view, and the general opinion of the best informed authorities is that it belongs to a far older period. The Egyptians called the Sphinx “Ḥu” , and he represented Harmachis, a form of the Sun-god; the fact that they connected it with this ancient god seems to indicate that they assigned a high antiquity to the object. We have no mention in the early texts of the Sphinx, but a red granite tablet was found between its paws which records the excavation, and clearing, and repairs of the Sphinx which were effected by Thothmes IV., a king of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is stated thereon that Harmachis appeared to the king and promised to bestow upon him the crown of Egypt, if he would dig his image, i.e., the Sphinx, out of the sand. In the thirteenth line of the inscription the cartouche of Khāf-Rā occurs, but the text is too mutilated to see in what exact connection; there is no good reason for asserting on the authority of the inscription that Khāf-Rā made the Sphinx, but it is

quite certain that the scribe who drafted the text represented the tradition current in the XVIIIth Dynasty, that this king was in some way connected with it, and a native tradition of this kind is entitled to far more respect and belief than the statements made on the subject by modern writers. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that the Sphinx already existed in the time of Khāf-Rā, and his opinion was shared by M. de Rougé¹ and Dr. Birch;² the view taken by M. Maspero of the meaning of the allusion in the text to Khāf-Rā is that this king excavated or cleared the Sphinx from sand, and that we have in it an almost certain proof that in the time of Khufu and of his predecessors the Sphinx was already buried in the sand. The name "Sphinx" was given to the manheaded lion at Gîzeh by the Greeks, probably because they connected it with their own mythological figure, which, however, had the winged body of a lion, and the breast and upper part of a woman;⁴ it seems, though, that the Sphinx in any form is of Egyptian origin, a view which is supported by several Greek traditions.

¹ *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 80.

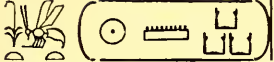
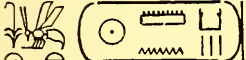
² Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 115.

³ "Il y avait là, je crois, l'indication d'un déblaiement du Sphinx, opéré sous ce prince, par suite, la preuve à peu près certaine que le Sphinx était ensablé déjà au temps de Khéops et de ses prédécesseurs" (*Les Origines*, p. 366); and compare Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 187.

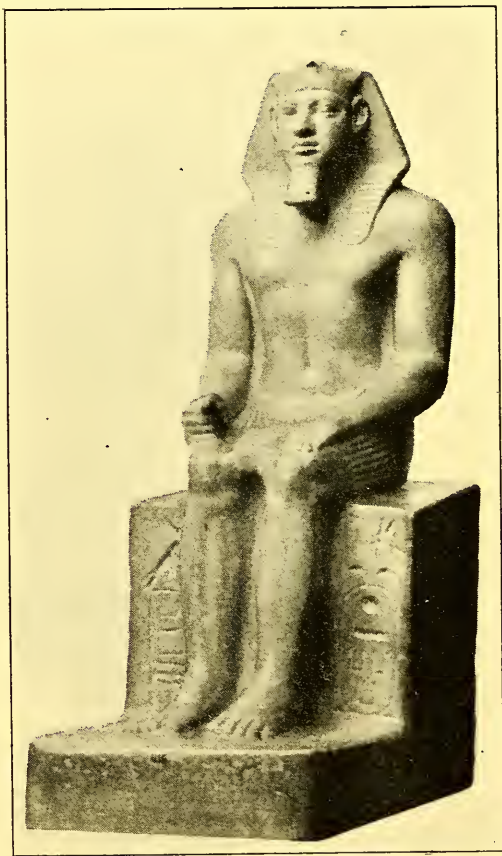
⁴ See Aelian, *Hist. Animal.*, xii. 7.

Of the SPHINX Pliny and 'Abd al-Laṭīf say :—

“In front of these pyramids is the Sphinx, a still
 “more wondrous object of art, but one upon which
 “silence has been observed, as it is looked upon as a
 “divinity by the people of the neighbourhood. It is
 “their belief that Harmaïs was buried in it, and they
 “will have it that it was brought there from a distance.
 “The truth is, however, that it was hewn from the
 “solid rock ; and from a feeling of veneration, the face
 “of the monster is coloured red. The circumference of
 “the head, measured round the forehead, is one hundred
 “and two feet, the length of the feet being one hundred
 “and forty-three, and the height from the belly to the
 “summit of the asp on the head sixty-two.” (Pliny,
Hist. Nat., xxxvi. 17). “About a bow shot from these
 “pyramids a man may see the colossal figure of a head
 “and neck emerging from the ground. To this figure
 “the name of ‘Abu’l-hawl’ (*i.e.*, Father of Terror) has
 “been given, and it is said that the body to which this
 “head belongs is buried under the ground. Judging
 “of the dimensions of the body by that of the head it
 “must be more than seventy cubits in length. The
 “face is red-coloured, and on it is a red varnish,
 “which is as brilliant as if it was new. This figure
 “is very beautiful, and its mouth bears the impress
 “of grace and beauty, and it may be said to smile
 “graciously.” (‘Abd al-Laṭīf, De Sacy’s translation,
 pp. 179, 180.)

5.  MEN-KAU-RĀ, *Μενχέρης*, or
 *Μυκερίνος*.

Of the life and history of MEN-KAU-RĀ no details whatsoever are known, and though, according to Manetho, he reigned sixty-three years, the principal event of this long period of rule seems to have been the building at Gîzeh of the third pyramid, which he intended for his tomb; but before referring to this building it will be best to repeat what is said about him by Greek writers. According to Herodotus (ii. 129),



Men-kau-Rā, King of Egypt.
 (The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.)

“Chephrenes dying, yielded the Kingdome to

“Mycerinus, the sonne of his brother Cheops, who,
“eschuing the wicked acts and detestable practises of
“his father, caused the temples to be set open, giving
“libertie to the people being so long distressed under the
“gouvernement of his father and uncle, to follow their
“owne affayres, and returne to their ancient custom of
“sacrifice, ministering iustice above all the Kings that
“were before him; for which cause, none of all the
“princes that have borne rule in Egypt is so greatly
“praysed and renowned, both for other causes which
“were wisely taken up by him in iudgement, and chiefly
“for this, that a certayne Aegyptian much complayning
“that the King had wronged him in deciding his cause,
“he commaunded him to value the losse which he had
“suffered by him, which the partie doing, he gave him so
“much of his owne goods to make him a recompence.
“Mycerinus in this wise governing the common weale
“with great clemency, and seekyng by vertue to advance
“his fame, was sodeinely daunted by a great misfortune,
“the death of his onely daughter, having no more
“children but her, which was the first and greatest
“hartbreake that befell him in his kingdome. For
“which cause, being stricken with sorrowe above
“measure, and desirous to solemnize her funeralles by
“the most royall and princely kinde of buryall that
“could be devised: he caused an oxe to be made of
“wood, inwardly vaulted and hollow within, which being
“layde over and garnished most curiously with gilt, he
“inclosed therein the wanne and forlorne corpse of his

“best beloved daughter. This royal tombe was not
“interred and buried in the grounde, but remayned unto
“our age in the city Sais in open view, standing in a
“certayne parlour of the King’s pallace, adorned and set
“foorth for the same purpose, with most beautifull and
“costly furniture. The custome is evermore in the
“daye time to cast into the belly of the oxe sweete and
“precious odoures of all sortes that may be gotten : and
“in the nighte to kindle a lampe, which burneth by the
“tomb till the next daye. In a chamber next adioyning
“are certayne pictures of women that were the concu-
“bines of Mycerinus, if we may beleewe the talke of those
“that in the same city of Sais are professours in religion,
“forsomuch as there are seene standing in that place
“certayne mighty images made of wood, twentye or there-
“aboutes in number, the most parte of them bare and
“naked, but what women they resemble, or whose
“pictures they be, I am not able to alleadge more then
“hearesay, notwithstanding, there were which as touch-
“ing the gilded oxe, and the other images framed this
“tale, that Mycerinus being inamoured of his own
“daughter, dealt unlawfully with her besides the course
“of nature, who for intollerable greefe hanging her selfe,
“was intombed in that oxe by her father: the Queene
“her mother causing the hands of all her gentlewomen to
“be cut off, by whose meanes she had been betrayed to
“serve her father’s lust, for which cause (say they) are
“these images portrayed, to declare the misfortune which
“they abode in their lifetime. But this is as true as the

“ man in the moone, for that a man with halfe an eye
 “ may clearly perceive, that their hands fel off for very
 “ age, by reason that the wood through long continuance
 “ of time was spaked and perished, whiche even to our
 “ memory were to be seene lying at the feete of those
 “ which were portrayed. The oxe wherein the young
 “ princessse lay was sumptuously clad, and arayed all the
 “ body with a gorgeous mantle of Phenicia, hys head and
 “ necke beeyng sponged and layde over with braces and
 “ plates of golde of a marvaylous thickenesse. Betweene
 “ his hornes was set a globe or circle of golde, glistening
 “ as the sunne. Neyther is the oxe standing and borne
 “ up uppon hys feete, but kneeleth as it were on hys
 “ knees, equall in bignesse to a great heighfer. The
 “ manner is once a yeare to bring this image out of the
 “ parlour wherein it is kepte, having first of all well
 “ beaten and cudgelled a certayne image of one of theyr
 “ Saintes, whome in thys case wee thinke it not lawfull
 “ to us to name. The talke goeth, that the Lady besought
 “ the Kyng her father that beeing dead, she might once a
 “ yeare behold the sunne, whereof sprang the custome and
 “ maner aforesayde.


“ After this, there befell unto him another mischiefe
 “ that fate as neere his skirtes as the death of his dilling,
 “ insomuch that he was readie to runne beyonde hym-
 “ selfe in sorrowe. A prophecie arose in the city of
 “ Butis, that the tearme of five yeares fully expired, the
 “ Kyng shoulde ende hys lyfe, leaving his Kyngdome to
 “ be ruled of another. Whereof the Kyng beeing adver-

“tised, and greatly greiving at the rigorous and uniuſt
“dealing of the gods, ſped a meſſenger to the place
“where the ſeate of prophecie was helde, to expoſtulate
“with the god, for what cauſe (ſince hys father and
“unckle, who had beene ſo unmindful of the gods, ſhut-
“ting up their temples, and making havocke of the
“people, had lived ſo long) he hymſelfe, that had dealte
“better with them, and cauſed theſe thynges to bee
“reſtored agayne, ſhould ſo ſoone be deprived of the
“benefite of lyfe, to whome aunſwere was made, that hys
“dayes were therefore ſhortened becauſe hee tooke a
“wrong courſe and dyd not as he ſhould do, beyng
“appoynted by the ceſtiall powers, that the countrey
“of Aegypt ſhould ſuffer miſerie, and be afflicted by
“their princes ye ſpace of an hundred and fifty yeares,
“which the two former princes well understanding,
“was nevertheſſe by him neglected and left unper-
“formed. Mycerinus hearing this round reply, and
“perceiuing that his thread was almoſt ſpoone, ſet al at
“revell, making great provision of lights and tapers,
“which at eventide he cauſed to be lighted, paſſing the
“night in exceeding great mirth and princely banquet-
“ting, letting ſlip no time wherein he either wandered
“not alongſt the river, and through the woods and
“groves of the countrey, or entertayned the time in ſome
“pleaſant deviſes, following all things that might eyther
“breede delighte, or bring pleaſure, which things he did,
“to the end he might proove the prophecie falſe, and
“convince the god of a lie, making twelve yeares of five,

“by spending the nightes also as he did the dayes.
“Mycerinus also built a pyre, not equall to that which
“his father had set up before him, beeing in measure
“but twentie foote square, framed quadrangularly, and
“another lower then that, of three acres in compasse,
“being built to the middest of the stone of Ethiopia.”
(B. R.'s translation, fol. 105*a* ff.)

According to Diodorus (i. 64), “Mycerinus, the son
“of him who built the first pyramid, began a third
“[pyramid], but died before it was finished; every square
“of the basis was three hundred feet. The walls for
“fifteen stories high were of black marble, like that of
“Thebes, the rest was of the same stone with the other
“pyramids. Though the other pyramids went beyond
“this in greatness, yet this far excelled the rest in the
“curiosity of the structure, and the largeness of the
“stones. On that side of the pyramid towards the
“north, was inscribed the name of the founder Mycerinus.
“This king, they say, detesting the severity of the
“former kings, carried himself all his days gently and
“graciously towards all his subjects, and did all that
“possibly he could to gain their love and goodwill
“towards him; besides other things, he expended vast
“sums of money upon the oracles and worship of the
“gods; and bestowing large gifts upon honest men, whom
“he judged to be injured, and to be hardly dealt with in
“the courts of justice.” (Booth's translation.) Herodotus relates that the Greeks thought the Pyramid of Mycerinus to be the “work of the courtesan Rhodopis,”

and this legend is repeated by both Diodorus and Strabo (xvii. 1); the latter says that, according to Sappho the poetess, she was called Doriche, and adds the following:—"A story is told of her, that, when she "was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from "the hands of her female attendant and carried it to "Memphis; the eagle, soaring over the head of the king, "who was administering justice at the time, let the "sandal fall into his lap. The king, struck with the "shape of the sandal, and the singularity of the accident, "sent over the country to discover the woman to whom "it belonged. She was found in the city of Naucratis, "and brought to the king, who made her his wife. At "her death she was honoured with the above-mentioned "tomb."

The large Pyramid of Mycerinus at Gîzeh, which was called "Her" , is built upon a rock with a sloping surface; the inequality of the surface has been corrected by building up courses of large blocks of stones upon it. The remains of the old outside granite casing are visible to a depth of about thirty feet; the length of each side at the base is about 350 feet, and its height is a little over 210 feet. The pyramid is entered on the north side, and the slanting granite-lined corridor is about 104 feet long, and having passed through a horizontal passage and two large halls, a shaft which leads to the mummy-chamber is reached; this chamber is about forty-five feet long, and some sixty feet below the level of the ground, and

in it was found the sarcophagus of Men-kau-Rā. In a lower chamber were discovered a wooden coffin inscribed with his name and titles, and the remains of a human body wrapped in a coarse woollen cloth of a



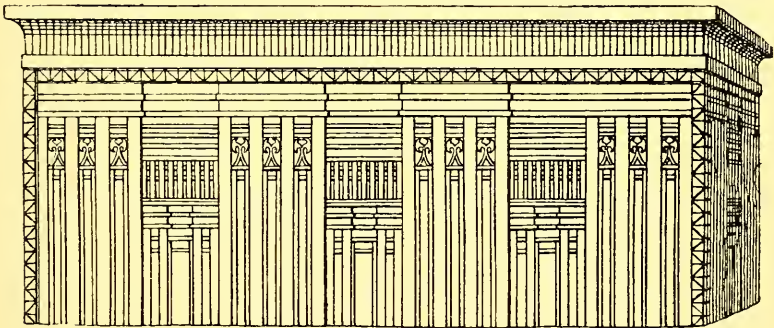
Remains of the cover of the coffin of Mycerinus. (British Museum, No. 6647).

yellow colour, and a part of the cover of the stone sarcophagus. The stone sarcophagus, having been cased in strong timbers, was with great difficulty taken out of the pyramid, and having been taken to Alexandria, was despatched to London on board a merchant ship in 1838; the ship was never heard of after her departure from Leghorn on October 12th of that year, and it is presumed that she was wrecked off Carthagenā, for some parts of the wreckage were picked up near that port. The wooden coffin and the human remains, those of a man, safely reached London, and they are now preserved in the British Museum. So far back as 1883, M. Maspero stated¹ that certain Egyptologists had declared the wooden coffin of Men-kau-Rā to

be a “restoration” of the XXVIth Dynasty, and not an original piece of work of the IVth Dynasty, and more

¹ *Guide du Visiteur de Boulaq*, p. 310.

recent writers have adopted their view;¹ but, like Dr. Birch, he was of opinion that the coffin certainly belonged to the IVth Dynasty, and adduced in support of his views the fact of the existence of portions of a similar coffin of Meḥti-em-sa-f, a king of the VIth Dynasty. The statements put forward in support of the “restoration” theory are inconclusive, and quite insufficient to set aside the opinion of the experienced archaeologists mentioned above. The text on the cover



The Sarcophagus of Mycerinus.

of the coffin, which is here reproduced, reads: “[Hail] “Osiris, King of the South and North, Men-kau-Rā, “living for ever, born of heaven, conceived of Nut, heir “of Seb, his beloved; Thy mother Nut spreadeth her- “self over thee in her name of ‘mystery of heaven’; “she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god without “thy foes, O King of the South and North, Men-kau-Rā, “living for ever!”


¹ See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxx. pp. 94-100.

The pyramid of Mycerinus suffered much at the hands of certain Muḥammadan rulers of Egypt, and we are told that Al-Mâmûn set to work seriously to pull down all the great pyramids. Idrîsî, who wrote about A.D. 1226, states that a few years ago the Red Pyramid, i.e., that of Men-kau-Râ, was opened on the north side. After passing through various passages, a room was reached wherein was found a long blue vessel [i.e., a sarcophagus], quite empty. The opening into this pyramid was effected by people who were in search of treasure; they worked at it with axes for six months, and they were in great numbers. They found in this basin, after they had broken the covering of it, the decayed remains of a man, but no treasures, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language which nobody could understand.¹ In connection with the reign of Men-kau-Râ reference must be made to some important work which seems to have been carried out by the prince Ḥeru-ṭâ-ṭâ-f on certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead*; what this work was cannot be exactly described, but it is said that this prince "found" Chapter XXXB., and one of the versions of the LXIVth chapter, inscribed upon a block of iron of the south which had been inlaid with lapis-lazuli, when he was journeying about to make an inspection of the temples.² In the texts of a sub-

¹ Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.


² See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (translation, pp. 80 and 119).

sequent period references are made to Heru-tāṭāf in such a way that it is clear that he was a man of great piety and learning, and it is very probable that the chapters which were “found” by him were either edited or partly re-written by him.

6.  SHEPSES-KA-F, Σεβερχέρης
(Herodotus, *Asychis*).

According to the Tablet of Abydos, Men-kau-Rā was followed by SHEPSES-KA-F, but Manetho names one Bicheris as his successor, and says that he reigned twenty-two years; Bicheris may be either a corruption of the name Shepses-ka-f, or another name of the king, but in any case it is perfectly certain from the evidence of the monuments¹ that Shepses-ka-f followed Men-kau-Rā in the rule of Egypt. According to Herodotus (ii. 136), “after Mycerinus, ensued the raigne and “dominion of Asychis, by whome (as the priests report) “was consecrated to Vulcane a princely gallerie standyng “to the East, very fayre and large, wrought with most “curious and exquisite workemanship. For besides that “it had on every side embossed the straunge and lively “pictures of wilde beastes, it had in a manner all the “graces and sumptuous ornaments that coulde be “imagined to the beautifying of a worke. Howbeit, “amiddest other his famous deedes, this purchased him

¹ See de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties Egyptiennes*, pp. 66, 73, 77.

“the greatest dignitie, that perceyving the land to be
 “oppressed with debt, and many creditours like to be
 “indamaged by great losse, he inacted foorthwith, that
 “who so borrowed aught uppon credite, shoulde lay to
 “pledge the dead body of his father, to be used at the
 “discretion of the creditour, and to be buryed by him in
 “what manner he woulde, for a pennaunce to all those
 “that tooke any thing of loane; providing moreover, that
 “in case he refused to repay the debt, he should neyther
 “be buryed in the tombe of his fathers, nor in any other
 “sepulchre, neyther himselve, nor the issue that should
 “descend and spring of his body. This prince desiring
 “to surpasse all that had been before him, left in
 “memorie of himselve an excellent pyre built all of clay,
 “wherein was a stone set ingraven in these wordes:
 “‘ Compare me not to the rest of the pyres, which I
 “‘ surmount as farre as Iupiter excelleth the meaner
 “‘ gods, for searching the bottome of the river with
 “‘ a scoupe, looke what clay they brought up, the
 “‘ same they employed to the building of me in such
 “‘ forme and bignesse as you may beholde.’ And this
 “did Asychis imagine to advance the fame of him selve
 “to the time to come.”¹ The pyramid here mentioned
 was undoubtedly built of mud bricks, but that it is to be
 identified with the Pyramid of Shepses-ka-f, which was
 called “Qebh” ,² is very unlikely. During the

¹ B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108a.


² See de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties Égyptiennes*, p. 74.


reign of Shepses-ka-f the official Ptaḥ-shepses flourished, and on the walls of his tomb, which M. Mariette discovered at Şakḡâra, are recorded a number of the benefits which were showered by the king upon the man who afterwards married his eldest daughter. He says ¹ that the king Men-kau-Rā and the king Shepses-ka-f placed him among the royal children; that he had access to the palace and to the king's own apartments; and that he was more pleasing in the sight of the king than any other child. When he had arrived at a marriageable age, "His Majesty gave him [his] eldest royal daughter, "Maāt-khā, to be his wife, for he preferred her to be "with him more than with any [other] man," and he was more esteemed by the king than any other servant. His Majesty also set him over all the secret works of every kind whatsoever it pleased him to have carried out, and he did his duty so well that he "made happy "the heart of his lord every day." "His Majesty "allowed him to bow down his head on his leg (or "knee) in homage, and did not make him to bow down "to the ground; ² and he entered into the boat of the "gods at all the festivals of the gods, for he was "beloved of his lord." In return for his devotion, he was made "superintendent of the house of divine food"; "superintendent of the private apartments (or affairs)";

¹ For the text see de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.; and Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, Paris, 1889, p. 113.

² I.e., instead of making him to kneel on the ground, and touch the earth with his forehead, the king accepted as his correct homage the bowing of Ptaḥ-shepses's head to the royal knee.

“chief of the crystal house”; “servant of the god Seker in his every seat”; chief of the royal estate which was set apart to supply offerings for the temple of the god Seker; “*ur-kherp-ḥem* and superintendent of the Temple of Seker”; “*ur-kherp-ḥem* in the double sanctuary of the Aged One, the Temple of Ptaḥ,” etc. Thus we see that Ptaḥ-Shepses held a number of important offices in connection with the property and worship of the gods, and the title of “*ur-kherp-ḥem*,” i.e., “great chief of the hammer,” shows that he was the high priest of the Smith-God Ptaḥ, and so played the most prominent part in the performance of the ceremonies which took place daily in the shrines of the gods Seker and Ptaḥ of Memphis, when their arks and boats were lifted upon their sledges, and were drawn round about the sanctuary at sunrise and sunset, probably in imitation of the motions of the celestial bodies.

The Sasychis of Diodorus is probably to be identified, like the Atychis of Herodotus, with Shepses-ka-f. In the King List of Manetho, following the name Sebercheres, whom we have identified with Shepses-ka-f, is the name Thamphthis, Θαμφθίς, which has been identified with that of the king I-em-ḥetep  by Brugsch and Bouriant;¹ neither the Tablet of Abydos nor the Tablet of Şakḳâra mentions this king, and the grounds for the proposed identification are insufficient.

¹ *Le Livre des Rois*, p. 6. Here also Sebercheres is identified with Sebek-ka-Râ .

CHAPTER III.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY. FROM ELEPHANTINE.

1.  USER-KA-F, Οὐσερχέρης.






ARI-MAĀT, the
Horus name
of Userkaf.

The name of USERKAF follows that of Shepses-ka-f on the Tablet of Abydos, and there is no doubt that he represents the Usercheres of Manetho, who began the Vth Dynasty, and who reigned twenty-eight years; this is proved by the inscription of Sekhem-ka-Rā — which is quoted by de Rougé,¹—who says that he held office under “Khāf-Rā, Men-kau-Rā, Shepses-ka-f, Userkaf, “and Saḥu-Rā.” According to the Westcar² Papyrus, king Userkaf was the high priest of the god Rā of Ānnu, or Heliopolis, and he seems to have had sufficient power in the land to add the title “son of the Sun” to the titles which the kings of Egypt had already adopted; from the Vth Dynasty onwards the second cartouche of a king always contained the name which he bore

¹ *Six Premières Dynasties*, p. 77.

² See Erman, *op. cit.*, plate ix. ff.

as the son of Rā. In the reign of Userkaf the worship of the Sun-god Rā increased greatly, and his cult as understood and proclaimed by the priests of Heliopolis became dominant in the land. The inscriptions of the period mention under various names certain shrines of the god Rā, and such names indicate either the dwelling-place of the god, or some spot which is favoured by him; the determinative in each case is either an obelisk , or a truncated pyramid , which shows that such buildings were dedicated to the worship of Rā.¹ Userkaf built a pyramid to which he gave the name "Āb-âst" , and we may assume that its remains will be found at Abušîr, or Busiris, where the pyramids of Saḥu-Rā and Rā-en-user, kings of the same dynasty, have already been found.





2.  SAḤU-RĀ, Σεφρής.



NEB-KHĀU, the
Horus name of
Saḥu-Rā.

SAḤU-RĀ was the successor of Userkaf, and he is, no doubt, to be identified with the Sefres of Manetho, who reigned thirteen years; a relief sculptured on the rocks in the Wādî Maghâra represents this king in the traditional attitude of clubbing a native of Sinai, but this does not necessarily imply that he led an expedition into the Peninsula. He built a pyramid called "Khā-ba,"


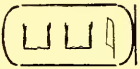
¹ See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 111.


, the remains of which have been found in the most northerly of the three largest pyramids at Abuṣîr; there is no reason to doubt this identification, for the name of the king is traced in red, as Lepsius pointed out,¹ on several of the blocks there. Saḥu-Rā's pyramid is now about 120 feet high, and the length of each side at the base is about 220 feet. The Westcar Papyrus² contains an interesting legend of the birth of Saḥu-Rā and of his predecessor Userkaf, and his successor Kakaä. It seems that king Khufu ordered a magician at his court called Ṭeṭṭä, 
, to bring him certain writings from Heliopolis, but Ṭeṭṭä refused, saying that the "eldest of the three children who "were in the womb of Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet, 
, "should bring them." The king asked who Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet was, and the sage told him that she was the wife of a priest of the god Rā of Sakhabu 
, who was about to bring forth three children of the god Rā, who had promised to bestow upon them honours and dignities of all kinds in the land, and had decreed that the eldest of the three was to be the high-priest of Memphis; and when the king heard this he was very sad. And when the days of the wife of the priest Rā-user were fulfilled, and birth-pains were coming upon



¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 40.



See Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.



her, the god Rā of Sakhabu sent Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, Heqet, and Khnemu to assist her in bringing forth her children, who in return would build temples in their honour and provide their altars with meat and drink offerings in abundance. The goddesses, having disguised themselves as dancing women, went with the god Khnemu to the house of Rā-user, who straightway brought them into the room where his wife was; soon after this Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet gave birth to three male children, whom Isis named Userkaf, Saḥu-Rā, and Kakaā, and for whom Meskhenet prophesied sovereignty over the entire land. The goddesses then came out of the birth-chamber and announced to Rā-user that three children had been born to him, and when he heard this news he wished to make a gift of barley to them; the goddesses accepted the gift, and departed, but finally they brought the barley back, and having placed it in royal diadems, presumably for the three children, they caused it to be stored in a secret chamber of Rā-user's house. Whensoever this chamber was visited after this time, sounds of singing, and music, and dancing were heard to come forth from it. The exact interpretation which is to be put on this legend is not clear, but the legend itself is very old, and it may well date from the time of the Vth Dynasty; it has value chiefly from the point of view of comparative folklore, but it is also important as indicating the order of the succession of the first three kings of the Vth Dynasty.


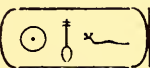
3.  () KAKAĀ.

As the name of this king follows that of Saḥu-Rā in the Tablet of Abydos, and also in the Westcar Papyrus, it is placed in that order here; in the Tablet of Şakḫâra the two names which follow that of Saḥu-Rā are:—

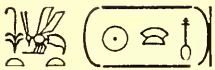
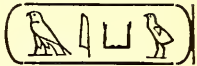

 () RĀ-NEFER-ĀRI-KA.

 () RĀ-SHEPSES-KA.

It has been suggested that Kakaā is the “son-of-the-Sun” name of Rā-nefer-āri-ka or of Rā-shepses-ka, but there is no satisfactory evidence to support either view. At this juncture Manetho also fails us, for he gives the names of kings Nephhercheres, Sisires, and Choires as the successors of Saḥu-Rā, and says that they reigned twenty, seven, and twenty years respectively; it is possible that Nephhercheres is the equivalent of the Egyptian name Rā-nefer-āri-ka, which is given by the Tablet of Şakḫâra. The pyramid which this last named king built, probably at Abuşîr, was called “Ba”  .

4.  () RĀ-NEFER-F.


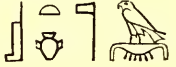

This name follows that of Kakaā in the Tablet of Abydos, and may be the equivalent of the king called

 RĀ-KHĀ-NEFER in the Tablet of Ṣak-kāra; the name ḤERU-Ā-KA-U  which occurs in the tombs of the Vth Dynasty¹ may be the “son-of-the-Sun” name of Rā-nefer-f or of Rā-khā-nefer, if this king ever existed. Rā-nefer-f built a pyramid, presumably at Abuṣîr, which was called “Neter-baiu” .

5.    RĀ - EN - USER, son of the Sun, ĀN, 'Ραθούρης.

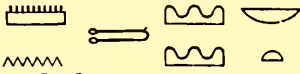


ĀST-ĀB-TAUT,
the HORUS name
of Rā-en-user.

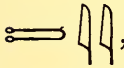
RĀ-EN-USER, the Rathures of Manetho, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, is also styled in the inscriptions, “Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet” , “and the seat of the heart of the divine Horus of gold” , and thus, with his Horus name, was the possessor of five names. He built a pyramid² which he called “Men-äst” , and which has been identified with the middle one of the three large pyramids which are found at Abuṣîr; he also waged war in the

See Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, pp. 198, 199.

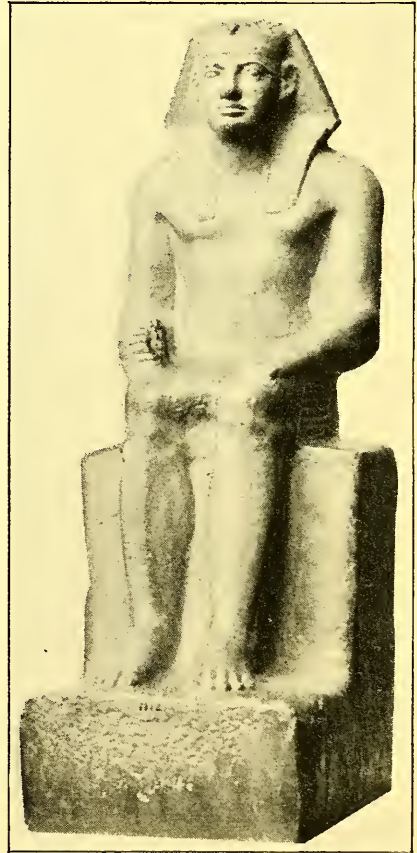
² His name is also found upon a pyramid at Riḳka; see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

Peninsula of Sinai, for a relief on the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra represents him in the act of clubbing a native, and in the text he is called the subduer of all the double land of Menthu .¹ It must, how-

ever, be remembered that by this time the Egyptians had obtained such a sure footing in the Peninsula that almost as a matter of course the courtiers of each king would take care that a rock relief should be cut in the Wâdî Maghâra, in which he would be represented in the traditional attitude of the conqueror of the country.

During the reign of this king there flourished the high official Thi , who built for himself one of the most interesting of the maṣṭaba tombs which have

been spared to us; he was a close personal friend of the king, and he held a number of the most important civil



Usr-en-Râ, King of Egypt.

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bl. 152a.

and religious offices. He was the chief reader, and overseer of the priests and scribes, and overseer of the sacred building and domains which the king had dedicated to the service of Rā, and president of the palace, and superintendent of the royal works, and director of the private business of the king in every place, and secretary to his majesty, and overseer of the pyramids of Rā-nefer-āri-ka, and Rā-en-user, etc. The inscriptions in his tomb mention neither his father nor his mother, and there is nothing in them which indicates that he was of noble birth; his wife, however, was a "royal kinswoman" called Nefer-ḥetep-s, and she held the office of priestess to the goddesses Hathor and Neith. Whether Thi attained to the various important offices which he held by merit or through the influence of his wife cannot be said.¹ The chief features of interest in the tomb of Thi are the bas-reliefs, which are, probably, the best of their class which have ever been seen; the figures of human beings are depicted according to the conventional canon which was then in use, and the work is excellent, but the figures of the animals and inanimate objects are wholly admirable. The scenes depict the feeding and fattening of birds, the reaping and winnowing of corn, the ploughing of the land and the sowing of seed, the treading in of the corn by flat-horned rams, carpenters at work sawing planks and making articles of furniture, etc., boat builders building a boat, men lopping branches off trees, etc. It is in-


¹ De Rongé, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

teresting to note that in one relief a dwarf leading an ape is represented, and in another the emptying of fish out of a wicker basket in which they have been caught; the basket in form closely resembles the bottle-shaped reed basket which the natives who live along the banks of the Tigris employ for catching fish to this day.

6.  MEN-KAU-HERU, *Μενχερίς*.



MEN-KHĀU,
the Horus name
of Heru-men-kāu.

HERU-MEN-KAU, the Menkheres of Manetho, is said to have reigned nine years; he carried on the mining works in the Peninsula of Sinai, where a mutilated relief containing his Horus and other names is found. He built a pyramid, presumably at Abušîr, which was called "Neter-âst" ,


but it has not, as yet, been identified. The Museum of the Louvre possesses a bas-relief wherein we have what appears to be a fine portrait figure of the king Heru-men-kau; it is a beautiful piece of work. The slab was found by Mariette in a wall of the Serapeum at Şakḫâra, where it was probably taken from the funeral chapel which was built in front of the pyramid of the king. Doubts¹ have been cast upon the antiquity of the relief,


¹ Krall, *Grundriss der Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 21.

but, as said de Rougé, who also gave a reproduction¹ of the monument, the surface of the stone proves that it was exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a very long time before it was buried in the wall of the Tomb of Apis. The king is represented as a young man, and


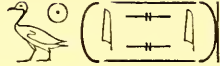


Men-kau-heru, King of Egypt.

he wears a helmet, the front of which is ornamented with the uraeus, the symbol of royalty. In the right hand he grasps the emblem of "life"  and the "Kherp" sceptre, and in the left he holds a long staff; attached to his costume is the tail of some animal, the custom of wearing which as a part of the dress was introduced into Egypt in predynastic times. Above his head is the vulture goddess Nekhebet, "the lady of heaven, and mistress of the two lands," who holds in one claw the

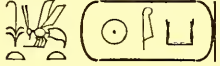
symbol of a ring , *shen*, typical of the sovereignty which she has bestowed upon the king, and other emblems; her wings are stretched out over him, and indicate that he is under the protection of the goddess.

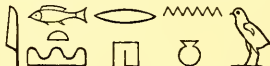
¹ *Six Premières Dynasties Égyptiennes*, p. 99, and plate vi.

7.   RĀ-ṬET-ĶA, son of the Sun, ĀSSĀ, *Tavχέρης*.



ṬETĶĀU, the Horus name of Āssā.

RĀṬETĶA, i.e., Ṭet-ka-Rā, ĀSSĀ, the Tancheres of Manetho, is said to have reigned forty-four years; the Tablet of Şakḳāra gives the prenomēn of this king as Rā-Maāt-ka , but the fact that Rāṭetḳa and Āssā represent one and the same king was discovered so far back as the time of Champollion-Figeac.¹

In the fourth year of his reign Āssā caused his Horus and other names to be inscribed in the traditional manner upon the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra, and his cartouche is also found on the rocks in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, i.e., the "Rehenu Valley,"  of the hieroglyphic inscriptions; thus the working of the copper and turquoise mines in the Peninsula of Sinai was continued, and under Āssā the Egyptians apparently opened new quarries from which to obtain hard stone suitable for statues and certain parts of buildings in general. The Wâdî Ḥammâmât formed a very ancient highway between Ḳena in Upper Egypt and Ḳuşêr on the Red Sea, and it is probable that from time immemorial all the merchandise and traffic from the East

¹ *Égypte Ancienne*, p. 284; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

entered Egypt by this route; the quarries there contain large numbers of inscriptions which were cut in the rocks by the officials who were sent there to carry on work for the Pharaohs, and, as these frequently mention the names of their royal masters, we see that the quarries in the Valley were worked from the Vth Dynasty to the time of the Persians. Hard sandstone and granite were the principal kinds of stone quarried there.

Assa built a pyramid, presumably at Abuṣîr, and called it "Nefer," , i.e., the "Beautiful." According to the inscription of Her-khuf, which was discovered in a tomb of the VIth Dynasty at Aswân, and which is now in the Museum at Cairo,¹ king Assa sent one of his high officials to the land of the ghosts,

, to bring back a pygmy, "ṭenḳ,"

, that he might dance before him and amuse him;

the official was called Ba-ur-Ṭet, , and it seems that he made his way into the pygmy country by way of Nubia, and having reached Punt,

, he secured the pygmy and returned to Egypt, where the king bestowed high honours upon him. These facts are of considerable importance, for they show that in the Vth and VIth Dynasties the kings of Egypt were in the habit of sending to the

¹ See Vol. I., p. 197.

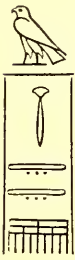
South for pygmies, and it would seem that they only followed the example set by their predecessors in the Ist Dynasty, for in the small chambers close to the tomb of Semempses the skeletons of two dwarfs, and two stelae on which dwarfs were depicted, were found.¹ It is possible that the country of the pygmies extended much further to the north than it does now, but even so a journey from Memphis to the great Central African Lakes, if not further, must have been a hazardous undertaking, and he who performed it successfully well deserved any honour that could be bestowed upon him. Among the famous men who flourished in the reign of Āssā must be specially mentioned the "governor of the town," Ptaḥ-ḥetep, but whether he is to be identified with the Ptaḥ-ḥetep whose maṣṭaba tomb still exists at Ṣaḳḳāra is not certain. Ptaḥ-ḥetep, the contemporary of Āssā, wrote a number of "Precepts," which are made known to us in the famous papyrus which was purchased and published by Prisse d'Avennes,² and which is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This papyrus is not older than the XIIth Dynasty, but it is clear from the archaic forms and words which occur in the chapters that they belong to a far older period, and that the composition must have remained practically untouched by the copyist; this fact is proved by the last word of the copy, in which the scribe says, "It hath

¹ See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, p. 13.

² *Facsimile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques, trouvé à Thèbes*, Paris, 1847.

“gone out (i.e., Here endeth the document) from the beginning to the end thereof, according as it was found in the writing.”¹ These “Precepts” show that the Egyptians in the Vth Dynasty possessed moral ideas of a very high character, and that their conceptions of truth, justice, duty, humanity, and of a man’s duty towards his neighbour, were not inferior to the counsels on the same subjects which are to be found in the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. A few extracts from them will be found in the next chapter.


8.  UNĀS "Onnos.



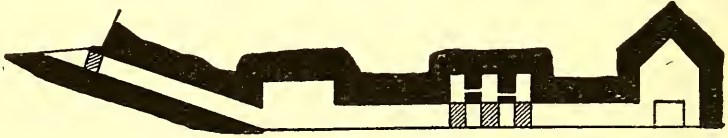
UATCH-TAUI,
the Horus name
of Unās.

UNĀS, the Onnos of Manetho, and the last king of the Vth Dynasty, is said to have reigned thirty-three years; he was the immediate successor of Āssā, and de Rougé thought that he was associated with this king in the rule of the kingdom. He is said to have built a temple to Hathor at Memphis, and it seems that he carried on quarrying operations in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât; he built a pyramid at Şaḳḳâra which he called “Ṭeṭ



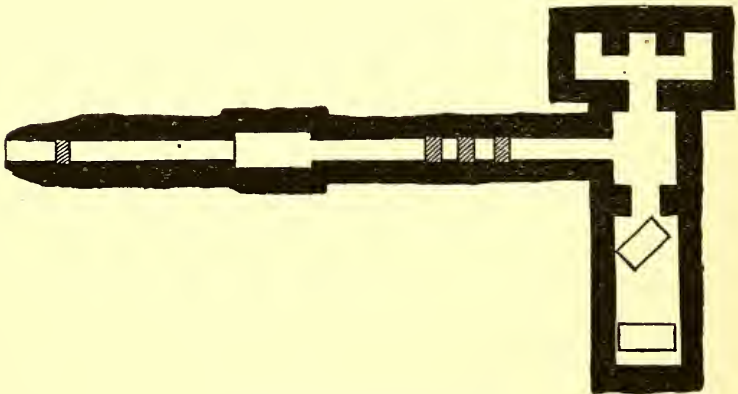
Ást" . It was thought for some time by Mariette that this pyramid was represented by the ruins at Dahshûr to which the name Maṣṭabat al-Fir'aûn, "Pharaoh's Bench (or Bed)," has been given by the Arabs, because the name of Unás was found on some of the blocks of stone there. This, however, was disproved by the results of the excavations made at Ṣaḳḳâra by M. Maspero in 1881, when it was found that Unás was buried in the pyramid which is numbered IV. on the plan of Perring, and XXXV. on the plan of Lepsius. The pyramid of Unás stands a little to the south-west of the great Step Pyramid, and was broken into and pillaged in the IXth century of our era; when complete it was about sixty-two feet high, and the length of each side at the base was about 220 feet. The slanting corridor, by which the pyramid is entered, is about 23 feet long, and ends in an empty, uninscribed chamber; a corridor about 19 feet long, with sides of fine calcareous stone, leads out of it to a passage about 27 feet long, built of granite, which was closed by means of three massive blocks of granite which slid down in grooves after the manner of portcullises, and out of this a short passage, about five feet long, the sides of which are covered with inscriptions, leads into the ante-chamber. On the left hand is a short passage leading to the serdâb, and on the right is another short passage which leads to the mummy chamber. Many of the walls of these chambers and corridors are covered with vertical lines of hieroglyphics inlaid with green paste.

The sarcophagus is of black basalt, and its cover was wrenched off with violence by the thieves who broke into the tomb. The mummy had been broken in pieces, and all that remained of it were the right arm, a tibia, fragments of the skull, and the ribs, and some of the



Tomb of Unás—Section.

linen bandages; these are all preserved in the Museum at Cairo. The accompanying plan, copied from that of M. Maspero, will give an idea of the general arrangement of the chambers and corridors of the pyramid,



Tomb of Unás—Ground Plan.

which, it seems, formed the model in almost every respect, except for the selections of texts ¹ inscribed on

¹ Transcripts of all these texts, printed in hieroglyphic type, were given with French translations by M. Maspero in the third and following volumes of *Recueil de Travaux*, Paris, 1882.

the walls, for the pyramids of the immediate successors of Unás. As a building the pyramid of Unás is of comparatively little interest, and it is chiefly of value as illustrating the decadence of the art of building such a monument; but viewed as a repository for the inscriptions which line many parts of the walls of its chambers and corridors, its value is inestimable. The inscriptions are the oldest Egyptian religious texts known to us, and as they illustrate better than anything else the views about the future life which were current at Ánnu, or Heliopolis, at that period, a few extracts from them are here given:—

I. “Behold Unás cometh, behold Unás cometh, behold Unás cometh forth! And if Unás cometh not of his own accord, thy message having come to him shall bring him. Unás maketh his way to his abode, and the Cow goddess of the Great Lake boweth down before him; none shall ever take away his food from the Great Boat, and he shall not be repulsed at the White House of the Great Ones by the region Meskhent on the border of the sky. Behold, Unás hath arrived at the height of heaven, and he seeth his body in the evening boat of the Sun, and he toileth therein; he hath satisfied the uræus in the morning boat of the Sun, and hath washed it. The Hēnmemet beings have borne testimony concerning him, the winds and storms of heaven have strengthened him, and they introduce him to Rā. O make the two horizons of heaven to embrace Unás, so that he may go forth

“ toward the horizon with Rā. O make the two horizons
 “ of heaven to embrace Unās, so that he may go forth
 “ towards the horizon along with Ḥeru-khuti (Har-
 “ machis) and Rā. Unās is happily united to his double
 “ (*ka*), his panther skin and his grain bag are upon him,
 “ his whip is in his hand, his sceptre is in his grasp.
 “ They bring to him the four Spirits who dwell in the
 “ tresses of Horus, who stand on the eastern side of
 “ heaven, and who are glorious by reason of their
 “ sceptres, and they announce the fair name of Unās to
 “ Rā, and they make him to escape from Neḥeb-kau,
 “ and the soul of Unās liveth in the north of the
 “ Sekhet-Āaru, and he saileth about in the Lake of
 “ Kha. Whilst Unās saileth towards the east side
 “ of the horizon, whilst he saileth, saileth towards the
 “ east side of heaven, his sister, the star Sothis, giveth
 “ him birth in the Underworld.”

II. “ He who setteth up the Ladder for Osiris is Rā,
 “ and he who setteth up the ladder is Horus for his father
 “ Osiris when he goeth forth to his soul; Rā is on one
 “ side and Horus is on the other, and Unās is between
 “ them, being indeed the god of holy dwelling-places
 “ coming forth from the sanctuary. Unās standeth up
 “ and is Horus; Unās sitteth down and is Set; Rā
 “ receiveth him, soul in heaven and body in earth.
 “ Those who are happy and who see [Unās], and those
 “ who are content and who contemplate [him] are the
 “ gods. If this god come forth towards heaven, Unās
 “ also shall come forth towards heaven; and he shall

“ have his souls with him, and his books shall be upon
 “ both sides of him, and his inscribed amulets shall be
 “ upon his feet, and the god Seb shall do for him what
 “ hath been done for himself. The divine souls of the
 “ city of Pe, and the divine souls of the city of Nekhen
 “ shall come unto him, along with the gods of heaven
 “ and the gods of earth, and they shall lift Unás up upon
 “ their hands. Come forth, then, Unás, to heaven, and
 “ enter therein in thy name of ‘ Ladder.’ Heaven hath
 “ been given unto Unás, and earth hath been given unto
 “ him ; this is the decree which Tem hath issued to Seb,
 “ and the domains of Horus, and the domains of Set, and
 “ the Sekhet-Áaru with their harvests adore thee in thy
 “ name of Khonsu-Sept.”

The following passage from the pyramid of Unás contains a myth of the hunting and devouring of the gods by the deceased in the Underworld which is probably based upon views and beliefs of a much earlier period, and it is intended to depict in words the terror which all creation would feel when it saw the king rise up in the life beyond the grave in the form of a god who devours “ his fathers and mothers,” and both men and gods. The passage runs¹:—
 “ The heavens drop water, the stars throb, the
 “ archers go round about, the bones of the Ákeru
 “ gods tremble, and those who are in bondage to them
 “ take to flight when they see Unás rise up as a soul, in

¹ For the text see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iv. p. 59, vol. v. p. 50.

“the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and
“who maketh food of his mothers. Unás is the lord of
“wisdom, and his mother knoweth not his name. The
“gifts of Unás are in heaven, and he hath become
“mighty in the horizon like unto Temu, the father that
“gave him birth, and after Temu gave him birth Unás
“became stronger than his father. The doubles of Unás
“are behind him, the sole of his foot is beneath his feet,
“his gods are over him, his uraei are seated upon his
“brow, the serpent guides of Unás are in front of him,
“and the spirit of the flame looketh upon [his] soul.
“The powers of Unás protect him; Unás is a bull in
“heaven, he directeth his steps whither he wills, he liveth
“upon the form which each god taketh upon himself,
“and he eateth the flesh of those who come to fill their
“bellies with the words of power in the Lake of Fire.
“Unás is equipped with power against the shining
“spirits thereof, and he riseth up in the form of the
“mighty one, the lord of those who dwell in power.
“Unás hath taken his seat with his side turned towards
“Seb. Unás hath weighed his words with the hidden
“god (?) who hath no name, on the day of hacking in
“pieces the firstborn. Unás is the lord of offerings, the
“untier of the knot, and he himself maketh abundant
“the offerings of meat and drink. Unás devoureth men
“and liveth upon the gods, he is the lord to whom offer-
“ings are brought, and he counteth the lists thereof.
“He that cutteth off hairy scalps and dwelleth in the
“fields hath netted the gods in a snare; he that

“arrangeth his head hath considered them good for
 “Unás and hath driven them unto him; and the cord-
 “master hath bound them for slaughter. Khonsu the
 “slayer of [his] lords hath cut their throats and drawn
 “out their inward parts, for it was he whom Unás sent
 “to drive them in; and Shesem hath cut them in pieces
 “and boiled their members in his blazing cauldrons.
 “Unás hath eaten their words of power, and he hath
 “swallowed their spirits; the great ones among them
 “serve for his meal at daybreak, the lesser serve for his
 “meal at eventide, and the least among them serve for his
 “meal in the night. The old gods and the old goddesses
 “become fuel for his furnace. The mighty ones in
 “heaven shoot out fire under the cauldrons which are
 “heaped up with the haunches of the firstborn; and he
 “that maketh those who live in heaven to revolve round
 “Unás hath shot into the cauldrons the haunches of
 “their women; he hath gone round about the two
 “heavens in their entirety, and he hath gone round
 “about the two banks of the celestial Nile. Unás is the
 “great Form, the Form of forms, and Unás is the chief
 “of the gods in visible forms. Whatsoever he hath
 “found upon his path he hath eaten forthwith, and the
 “word of power of Unás is before that of all the sāhu
 “(i.e., spiritual bodies) who dwell in the horizon. Unás
 “is the firstborn of the firstborn. Unás hath gone round
 “thousands, and he hath offered oblations unto hundreds;
 “he hath manifested his might as the great Form through
 “Sah (Orion) [who is greater] than the gods. Unás

“repeateth his rising in heaven, and he is the crown of
“the lord of the horizon. He hath reckoned up the
“bandlets and the arm-rings, he hath taken possession
“of the hearts of the gods. Unás hath eaten the red
“crown, and he hath swallowed the white crown; the
“food of Unás is the inward parts, and his meat is those
“who live upon the words of power in their hearts. Be-
“hold, Unás eateth of that which the red crown sendeth
“forth, he increaseth, and the magical charms of the
“gods are in his belly; that which belongeth to him is
“not turned back from him. Unás hath eaten the whole
“of the knowledge of every god, and the period of his
“life is eternity, and the duration of his existence is
“everlastingness, in whatsoever form he wisheth to take;
“in whatsoever form he hateth he shall not labour in
“the horizon for ever and ever and ever. The soul of
“the gods is in Unás, their spirits are with Unás, and
“the offerings made unto him are more than those
“made unto the gods. The fire of Unás is in their
“bones, for their soul is with Unás, and their shades
“are with those who belong unto them. Unás hath
“been with the two hidden Kha gods who are ;
“the seat of the heart of Unás is among those who
“live upon the earth for ever and ever.”

declares are the ruins of the prison of the patriarch Joseph. It was broken into in ancient days by plunderers, who succeeded in forcing their way into its innermost parts, and finding nothing of value in the chambers, they devoted their energies to smashing the walls, in which they appear to have thought that treasure was concealed. The pyramid was excavated



Bull weight inscribed with the names of Tetà.
British Museum, No. 29,211.

in 1881, and paper squeezes of the inscriptions were made by MM. E. Brugsch and Bouriant.¹ The hieroglyphics are smaller than those in the Pyramid of Unàs, but larger than almost all those which are found in the Pyramid of Pepi I. The grayish basalt sarco-

¹ *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. v. p. 2.

phagus of the king had been broken into at one corner, and the mummy was dragged out through the hole made there; the only remains of Tetā found by M. Maspero consisted of an arm and shoulder, which seemed to show that the body had not been as carefully preserved as that of Unās.


The religious compositions which are inscribed on the walls in Tetā's tomb are of great interest and importance as illustrating the views held by the Egyptians concerning the future life, and as specimens of their contents the following extracts are given:—

“Ye have taken Tetā to you, O ye gods, and he eateth
 “what ye eat, he drinketh what ye drink, he liveth
 “upon that upon which ye live, he sitteth down as ye
 “sit, he is mighty with the might which is yours, he
 “saileth about even as ye sail about; the house of Tetā
 “is a net in the Sekhet-Āaru, he hath streams of run-
 “ning water in Sekhet-ḥetep, the offerings of Tetā are
 “with you. O ye gods, the water of Tetā is as wine,
 “even as [is that of] Rā, Tetā revolveth in heaven like
 “Rā, and he goeth round about the sky like Thoth
 “(line 59 ff.). The two doors of heaven are opened for
 “thee, O Tetā, for thou hast raised up thy head for
 “thy bones, and thou hast raised up thy bones for thy
 “head. Thou hast opened the two doors of heaven,
 “thou hast drawn back the great bolts, thou hast re-
 “moved the seal of the great door, and, with a face
 “like that of a jackal and a body like that of a fierce
 “lion, thou hast taken thy seat upon thy throne, and









“thou criest to the Spirits, ‘Come to me! Come to
“me! Come to Horus, who hath avenged his father,
“‘for it is Tetà who will lead thee in.’ Thou putttest
“thy hand upon the earth, and with thine arm thou
“doest battle in the Great Domain, and thou revolvest
“there among the Spirits, and thou standest up like
“Horus. Hail, Osiris Tetà, Horus hath come to
“embrace thee with his arms, and he hath made Thoth
“to drive away for thee in defeat the followers of Set,
“and he hath taken them captive on thy behalf, and
“he hath repulsed the heart of Set, for he is stronger
“than Set; and now, thou art come forth before him,
“and Seb hath watched thy journey, and he hath set
“thee in thy place and hath led unto thee thy two
“sisters Isis and Nephthys. Horus hath united thee
“unto the gods, and they show themselves as brothers
“unto thee in thy name ‘Sent,’ and they do not repulse
“thee in thy name ‘Àtert.’ He hath granted that the
“gods shall guard thee, and Seb hath set his sandal
“upon the head of thine enemy. Thou hast driven back
“[the enemy], thy son Horus hath smitten him, and he
“hath plucked out his own Eye and given it unto thee
“in order that thou mayest be strong thereby, and that
“thou mayest gain the mastery thereby among the
“Spirits. Horus hath permitted thee to hack thine
“enemy in pieces with this [Eye], he smiteth down
“thine enemy with it, for Horus is stronger than he is,
“and he passeth judgment upon his father who is in
“thee in thy name ‘He whose father is stronger than







“‘heaven.’ The goddess Nut hath made thee to be a
“god unto Set in thy name of ‘God,’ and thy mother
“Nut hath spread out her two arms over thee in her
“name of ‘Coverer of heaven.’ Horus hath smitten
“Set, and he hath cast him down beneath thee, and
“he beareth thee up and is a mighty one beneath
“thee, inasmuch as he is the great one of the earth
“which he ordereth in thy name of Tatcheser-ta.
“Horus hath granted that Set shall be judged in his
“heart in his house with thee, and he hath granted
“that thou shalt smite him with thy hand whensoever
“he doeth battle with thee. Hail, Osiris Tetà, Horus
“hath avenged thee, and he hath caused his double
“which is in thee [to make] thee to rest in thy name
“of Ka-ḥetep (line 156 ff.). Nu hath adjudged Tetà
“to the god Tem, and Peḳa hath adjudged Tetà to
“Shu. He granteth that the two doors of heaven
“shall be opened, and he hath decreed that Tetà shall
“be among men without name; but behold, thou hast
“grasped Tetà by the hand, and thou hast drawn him
“to heaven so that he may never die upon earth among
“men (line 198 ff.). This Tetà is Osiris and he hath
“motion, this Tetà hath detestation of the earth and he
“will not enter into Seb. This Teta hath broken for
“ever his sleep in his dwelling which is upon earth.
“The bones of Tetà flourish, and obstacles to him are
“destroyed, for he is purified with the Eye of Horus.
“The obstacles which he encountered are beaten down
“by Isis and Nephthys, and Tetà hath cast to the earth

“his seed in K̄es. The sister of this Tetā, the lady of
 “the city of Pe, bewaileth him, and the two nurses who
 “created Osiris also created him; Tetā is in heaven like
 “Shu and Rā (line 271 ff.). Rise up, Tetā, and lift up
 “thy legs, O most mighty one, to go and seat thyself
 “among the gods, and do thou that which Osiris hath
 “done in the House of the Prince which is in Ānnu;
 “thou hast received thy spiritual body (*sāḥ*), and none
 “shall set bounds to thy foot in heaven, and none
 “shall repulse thee on earth. The spirits who are the
 “children of Nut, whom Nephthys hath suckled, have
 “gathered together to thee, thou standest up upon thy
 “strength, and thou doest that which thou must do for
 “thy spirit in the presence of all the spirits. Thou goest
 “to the city of Pe, thou art glorified, and returnest;
 “thou goest to the city of Nekhen, thou art glorified,
 “and returnest. Thou doest that which Osiris did, and
 “behold, this most mighty Spirit Tetā is upon his
 “throne and standeth up, being provided [with all
 “things] like the goddess Sam-ur. None shall repulse
 “thee in any place wherein thou wouldst enter, and
 “none shall set bounds to thy foot concerning any
 “place wherein it pleaseth thee to be.”

2.  RĀ-USER-KA.


Of RĀ-USER-KA, whose name follows that of Tetā in the Tablet of Abydos, nothing is known, and in Mane-

tho's list no name occurs which can be its equivalent; the name which follows that of Tetā in the Tablet of Şakkāra is that of the king of the South and North, ĀTI  ( ), and many Egyptologists have decided to identify him with Rā-user-ka, and some would make him the first king of the VIth Dynasty. An inscription in the Wādī Ḥammāmât published by Lepsius¹ says that an official called Ptaḥ-neku,  came there in the first year of the reign of Āti to fetch stone for building the royal pyramid, which was called "Āti-baiu," ( )   , but other details of this king's rule are unknown.

3.  ( )  ( ) RĀ-MERI, son of the Sun, PEPI, Φίος.



MERI-TAUT,
the Horus name
of Pepi I.

MERI-RĀ, or PEPI I., the Phios of Manetho, who is said to have reigned fifty-three years, in addition to his other titles adopted those of "Lord of the shrines of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet," i.e., king of the South and North, and "three-fold hawk of gold" .


Pepi seems to have made his rule over Egypt of a very effective character, and judging

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 115 f.; and see de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

by the number of places wherein his names are found, he must have been an energetic and capable ruler. He worked the turquoise mines in the Wâdî Maghâra, and the inscriptions indicate that he found it necessary to put down with a strong hand a confederation of the tribes of the Sinaitic Peninsula who



Alabaster vase inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi I.
British Museum, No. 22,559.

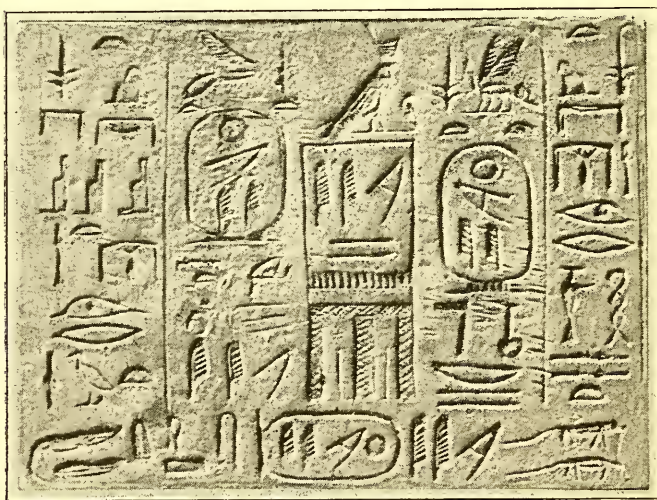
are described collectively as "Menthu" .
In a relief on the rocks we see the king clubbing a representative of these peoples in the presence of the winged disk, and above him are his titles with the additional appellations of "Beautiful god" and "Lord of

the two lands.”^{1 2} Strictly speaking, the invasions of the Peninsula of Sinai by the Egyptians were undertaken at this period more for the purposes of trade than for the extension of the boundaries of the Egyptian Empire. In the Wâdî Hammâmât the king’s agents were very active, and numerous inscriptions there indicate that many quarries were worked there during his reign. The granite quarries near Aswân, and further up in the First Cataract, were also worked by him, and it is probable that the granite statues, etc., which were set up during his reign at Tanis were hewn in them. In short, the reign of Pepi was a reign of industrial progress, and although he did not leave behind him a mighty pyramid like Khufu to prove to posterity that he was a great builder, his reign was one which left a deep mark for good upon the handicrafts of Egypt. In connection with handicrafts must be mentioned the wonderful life-size statue of the king, made of plates of copper or bronze, fastened together with nails of the same material, which was found by Mr. Quibell in the course of his excavations at Hierakonpolis; with it was also found a statue of his son which was rather more than two feet high. The copper statue was, unfortunately, discovered in a state of collapse, but the portions of it which had been cleaned and re-joined, when the writer saw them in the Museum of Gîzeh, testified to the great skill to which the workers

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 115.

² He also styled himself MERI-KHAT; compare the text in his pyramid, line 65.

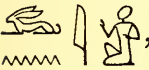
in bronze in Pepi's time had attained, and it is much to be regretted that the ravages of time, and perhaps of Egypt's enemies, have not permitted us to see in a complete form an object in bronze which, for its age and size, is as remarkable as any work of antiquity of the period. The face shows that the artist who designed the statue wished to give to it the repose and dignity



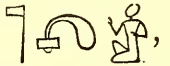

Inscription from a bronze seal-cylinder inscribed with the name and titles of Pepi I. British Museum, No. 5495.

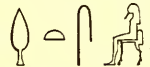
which are seen on the best stone statues of the period, and it is clear that both artist and artisans must have had considerable experience in the manipulation of metal before they could attempt to produce a bronze figure of life size. It is noticeable, too, that the artist gave additional life to the face by his method of treating the eyes, a process already somewhat familiar to us

from the fine stone statues of life size of the earlier dynasties.


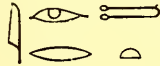


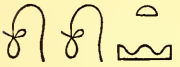


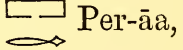
It goes without saying that Pepi must have been served by a number of skilled as well as loyal officials, and among these worthy of special mention is Unà , and, as he gives a short autobiography of himself cut in hieroglyphics upon a slab in his tomb,¹ the important information which he gives us may be regarded as authentic. Unà began life under king Tetà, that is to say, he "tied a girdle" upon himself under the Majesty of Tetà; the exact signification of the phrase is doubtful, but it seems to me that in Tetà's time he was old enough to be charged with certain duties by the king. After the death of his first patron Tetà, Unà came under the notice of Pepi I., who confirmed him in his appointments, and soon promoted him to the rank of *smer*, and made him inspector of the priests who were attached to the service of his pyramids. Unà was next made a judge, and his relations with the king were of such a confidential nature that he was allowed to be present in the palace while some case in connection with certain ladies of the king's household was tried there by the chief officer of the law. Apparently in reward for his services on this occasion the king presented to him a white stone sarcophagus, with its cover, and with the slabs of stone necessary for building the door, i.e.,


¹ The original text is given by Mariette, Abydos, tom. ii. plates 44, 45; the first English rendering of it was given by Dr. Birch (*Records of the Past*, 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 1 ff.).



the side posts, lintel, and threshold, and His Majesty sent the divine chancellor, , with a company of troops to the quarry of Re-āu,¹ , which is situated on the eastern bank of the Nile in almost a straight line with the pyramids of Zāwiyet al-'Aryân on the western bank, and about ten miles to the south of the modern Cairo. Such an honour as this had never been paid to any servant before, says Uná, and he adds, "but I was good, and I was well pleasing "unto His Majesty, and I satisfied the heart of His "Majesty."

The king next made Uná a "smer uât," and overseer of the palace, and his duties brought him into still closer relations with his master, but he performed them with such tact and address that Pepi was entirely satisfied with him. Soon after this the king had a dispute of a serious character with the chief royal wife Amtes, , and Uná was the only official who was allowed to enter into the lady's apartment to investigate the matter; he afterwards, with the help of a judge, drew up a statement on the matter for the king, who was wholly satisfied with the manner in which the case had been inquired into by his trusty servant. Subsequently king Pepi found it necessary to wage war

¹ In Strabo's day a district near the quarry bore the name *Tpóla*, and there is no doubt that he is referring to the same quarry, for he says that the stone for building the pyramids came from there, and that it was opposite them; see Book XVII. i. 34.

against the Āamu Ḥeru-shā, , a confederation of tribes, some of them perhaps of Semitic origin, who were causing trouble in the Eastern parts of the Egyptian kingdom, and especially in Sinai; whether on his own initiative, or whether on that of Uná cannot be said, but it is certain that Pepi decided to fight these bold desert men with blacks drawn from the Eastern Sûdân. Uná forthwith began to raise men in tens of thousands from all parts of Egypt and from Setcher, and Khen-setcher, and levies of negroes from Ārerthet, , and from Tcham, , and from Āmam, , from Uauat, , and from Kaau, , and from Ta-thām, , or Thameh, i.e., Libya. It is impossible to state the exact position and limits of each of these countries, but the peoples indicated formed, no doubt, the most powerful of all the desert tribes that lived in the Nile Valley between Aswân on the north and Gebel Barkal on the south. At the head of this great army of men Pepi placed Uná, and this capable official naïvely remarks that although he had been only an overseer of the house of Pharaoh,  Per-āa, it was he who gave the word of command not only to the army, but to all the generals and nobles who were attached to the expedition; and his command was so

strict that each man was compelled to perform the duties which were allotted to him, and none of the levies plundered the people through whom they passed of bread or sandals, and no man stole bread from any village, and no man carried off the animal, ram, or ewe, which belonged to the inhabitants. In due course the expedition marched against the Heru-shā and defeated them, and the havoc which it wrought must have been terrible. In its passage through the enemy's land it slew the people by tens of thousands, it cut down the vines and fig-trees, it overthrew the villages, and laid waste the fields, and having burnt all that could be burnt, carried off the wretched remainder of the inhabitants, and "returned in peace"! For these acts Unā received the greatest commendation from the king, and he tells us that he was sent on similar punitive or raiding expeditions five times. On one occasion he had to pursue the Heru-shā in boats, and having landed near the northern part of their territory, he fell upon their army and slew them to a man. Soon after these events Pepi the king died, and was succeeded by his son Mer-en-Rā. The new king at once appointed Unā to be the bearer of his chair and sandals, and he made him a *hā* prince, , and governor of Upper Egypt; this indefatigable official performed his duties with such zeal and discretion that his new master was as pleased with him as his old one. Unā declares that the excellence of conduct which he practised in the performance of his duties in Upper Egypt was such that it

ought to become the standard for that of the governors who should succeed him. While Uná held the offices already described his king despatched him to the district of Ábhat, , to bring back a stone sarcophagus, with its cover, and a small pyramid, etc., all of which were to be placed in the royal pyramid; he was also sent to Ábu (Elephantine Island) to bring back slabs of granite which were to serve as false doors, etc., in the pyramid, and in the famous quarry of H̄et-nub, near the modern Tell el-Amarna, he hewed an alabaster table of offerings. All these massive objects he floated down the river in boats of very broad beam, and they were transported in due course to their places in the pyramid. Finally Uná was sent to the First Cataract to make arrangements for the bringing of a larger supply of granite for the building of the royal pyramid, and he went there and seems to have cleared out the canal in the Cataract sufficiently to admit of the entrance of a number of boats of broad beam, which he had been ordered to build for the transport of the granite required. The chiefs of the Nubian tribes against whom he had fought five times cut down the wood for him, and having built the boats he loaded them heavily with granite, and floated them down to Memphis; he brings his autobiography to a conclusion by telling us that he was enabled to do all these things because he prayed unto the "souls," , of his king more than to any other god, and because everything happened according as it had been

commanded to happen by the behest of the "double,"



Ka, of the king.

It seems that large hollows were dug in quarry beds when the Nile was low, and that large, flat-bottomed barges were built in them; the blocks of granite were moved on to these barges, which were built quite near the spot whence the blocks were hewn, and when the Nile rose the barges floated easily and were towed out into the main stream and

floated down the river.

The last paragraph of Unâ's inscription is of considerable interest, for it proves that dead kings were worshipped as gods, and that the affairs of this world were believed to be directed by the doubles of living kings.



22559

Alabaster vase inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi I.
British Museum, No. 22,559.

Pepi I. built a pyramid at Şakḳâra which was called ¹ "Men - nefer,"



; it was opened by Mariette in 1880, but

was not cleared out until the beginning of 1881. According to Perring, on whose map it was marked No. 5, the outer covering of this pyramid was built entirely of well-cut blocks of stone which were

¹ The Arabs called it the "Pyramid of Shêkh abu Mansûr."

quarried on the eastern banks of the river; and the greater number of them had already in his time been removed by the natives for the purpose of building houses, tombs, and the foundations of water-wheels, which has also been the case with the outer stone coverings of pyramids in the Sûdân. The actual height of the pyramid in Perring's day was 40 feet, and the length of each side at the base 240 feet. The internal construction of the pyramid of Pepi is much the same as that of the pyramids of Unâs and Tetâ, and the walls of its various parts were covered in many places with inscriptions. It was entered in ancient times by thieves, who broke the granite sarcophagus, and smashed its cover in pieces, and wrecked the mummy of the king; in one corner of the sarcophagus chamber was a small red granite chest, which at one time held the Canopic jars and the alabaster vases which were deposited in the tomb. Paper impressions of the inscriptions were made by E. Brugsch Bey and others, and the complete text was published, with a French translation, by M. Maspero.¹ The pyramid of Pepi has a modern interest also, for the inscriptions in it disproved a view, which M. Mariette held with considerable tenacity, to the effect that pyramids never did contain any inscriptions inside them, and that it was only waste of time and money to open them; he carried his view so far that, when shown the paper squeezes bearing the

¹ See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. v. p. 157 ff.

characters $\left(\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \square \\ \hline \square \end{array} \right) \begin{array}{|c|} \hline \square \\ \hline \square \end{array}$, *Pepi pen*, i.e., "this Pepi," he declared that the pyramid was only a mastaba of very large dimensions which belonged to an individual called Pepi-pen.¹

The following extract will illustrate the character of the contents of the inscriptions inside the pyramid of Pepi (line 1 ff.):—"Hail, thou Pepi, thou journeyest
 "on, thou art glorious, thou hast gotten power like the
 "god who is on his throne, that is, Osiris. Thou hast
 "thy soul within thy body, thou hast thy power behind
 "thee, thy *ureret* crown is upon thy head, thy head-
 "dress is upon thy shoulder[s], thy face is in front of
 "thee, those who acclaim thee are on both sides of
 "thee, the followers of the God are following after thee,
 "the spiritual bodies (*sāhu*) of the God are upon both
 "sides of thee, and they make the God to come; the God
 "cometh and Pepi cometh upon the throne of Osiris.
 "The Spirit which dwelleth in the city of Neṭāt cometh,
 "and the power which dwelleth in the nome of Teni.
 "Isis speaketh with thee, and Nephthys holdeth converse
 "with thee; the Spirits come unto thee paying homage
 "[unto thee], and they bow down, even to the ground,
 "at thy feet by reason of thy book, O Pepi, in the cities
 "of Sāa. Thou comest forth before thy mother Nut, and
 "she strengtheneth thine arm and she giveth unto thee
 "a path in the horizon to the place where Rā is. The
 "doors of heaven are opened for thee, the gates of Qebḥu

¹ Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

“are unbolted for thee, thou findest Rā, who guardeth thee, and he strengtheneth for thee thy hand, and he guideth thee into the northern and southern heavens, and he setteth thee upon the throne of Osiris.

“Hail, thou Pepi, the Eye of Horus cometh unto thee and holdeth converse with thee, thy soul which dwelleth with the gods cometh unto thee, and thy Power (*sekhem*) which dwelleth among the Spirits cometh unto thee. In the same way that the son avenged his father, in the same way that Horus avenged Osiris, even so shall Horus avenge Pepi upon his enemies. And thou shalt stand [there], O Pepi, avenged, and armed, and provided with the forms of Osiris who is upon the throne of the Governor of Amenti, and thou shalt have thy being as he hath his among the indestructible Spirits. And thy soul shall stand up upon thy throne provided with thy attribute[s], and it shall have its being as thou hast thine in the presence of him who is the Governor of the Living Ones, according to the decree of Rā, the great god, who shall plough the wheat and the barley and give it unto thee as a gift therein. Hail, thou Pepi, it is Rā who hath given unto thee all life and strength for ever, along with thy speech and thy body. And thou hast received the attribute[s] of the God, and thou hast become great therein before the Gods who dwell on the lake. Hail, thou Pepi, thy soul standeth among the gods and among the Spirits, and the fear of thee constraineth their hearts. Hail,

“Pepi, inasmuch as thou hast set thyself upon thy
“throne of the Governor of the Living, thy book it is
“which worketh upon their hearts; and thy name liveth
“upon earth, and groweth old upon earth, and thou shalt
“neither perish nor decay for ever and ever. Rise thou
“up, O Pepi, stand thou up, O thou of great strength,
“and take thy seat at the head of the gods; and do thou
“the things which Osiris did in the house of the Prince
“in Annu (On). Thou hast received thy spiritual body,
“and thy foot shall not be restrained in heaven, and thou
“shalt not be repulsed upon earth.

“Hail, Osiris Pepi, arise, stand up, for thy mother
“Nut hath given birth unto thee, and Seb hath ar-
“ranged thy mouth for thee. The Great Company of
“the gods have avenged thee, and they have put thine
“enemies beneath thee. Pepi is pure. Pepi hath
“taken his staff, he hath provided himself with his
“throne, and he hath taken his seat in the boat of the
“Great and Little Companies of the gods; Rā trans-
“porteth Pepi to the West, and he stablisheth the
“throne of Pepi above the lords of the doubles (*ka*),
“and he writeth down Pepi at the head of the living.
“The Peḥ-ka which dwelleth in Qebḥ is opened unto
“this Pepi, and the iron which formeth the ceiling of the
“sky is opened unto this Pepi, and he passeth through
“onwards; his panther skin is upon him, and his sceptre
“and flail are in his hand. And Pepi is sound with his
“flesh, he is happy with his name, he liveth with his
“double (*ka*). This Pepi is indeed a god, and the angel

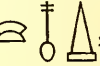
“of God. This Pepi cometh forth to the eastern part of
 “heaven where the gods are born, and where he himself
 “is born as Heru-khuti. Pepi is a being who hath ac-
 “quired the power of making to come to pass everything
 “which he uttereth, and the double (*ka*) of Pepi hath the
 “same power. He eateth of that which ye (i.e., the gods)
 “eat, he liveth upon that upon which ye live, he putteth
 “on apparel like unto the apparel which ye put on, he
 “anointeth himself with the sweet-smelling substances
 “wherewith ye anoint yourselves, he receiveth his water
 “with you at the Lake of Menā of this Pepi, and he
 “drinketh it out of the vessels of the spirits. Pepi goeth
 “forth into heaven among the stars which never diminish,
 “his sister is Septet (Sothis), and his guide, the Morn-
 “ing Star, leadeth him to Sekhet-hetep, and he seateth
 “himself there upon his iron throne which hath lions’
 “heads, and feet in the form of the hoofs of the bull
 “Sema-ur. He standeth up there in his vacant place
 “between the two great gods, and his sceptre, which is
 “in the form of a papyrus, he hath with him. He
 “stretcheth out his hand over the *henmemet* beings,
 “and the gods come to him bending their backs in
 “homage. The two great gods watch one on each
 “side of him, and they find Pepi, like the Great and
 “Little Companies of the gods, acting as the judge
 “of words, being the prince [over] every prince. They
 “bow down before Pepi, and they make offerings unto
 “him as unto the Great and Little Companies of the
 “gods.”




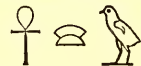


RĀ-MER-EN, son of the Sun, MEḤTI-EM-SA-F,¹ *Μεθουσούφης*.



ĀNKH-KHĀU,
the Horus name
of Rā-mer-en.


RĀ-MER-EN, or MER-EN-RĀ, MEḤTI-EM-SA-F, the Methusuphis of Manetho, is said to have reigned seven years, but of the details of this short reign nothing is known. Inscriptions at Aswân³ and in Wādī Ḥammâmât prove that work was carried on in the quarries at these places, and we may gather from the inscription of Unâ, which has been quoted above, that the activity in building, which began in Pepi's reign, was maintained during that of his son. Mer-en-Rā built a pyramid at Şakḳâra which is called "Khâ Nefer,"  in the ancient Egyptian texts, and by the modern Arabs "Haram eṣ-Şayyâdîn," i.e., the "Pyramid of the Hunters." This pyramid, which is No. 8 of Perring's plan, was opened by M. Mariette in January, 1880;

¹ The reading of the first character of this name is doubtful.

² Other titles were , , and , and .

³ Here the king is seen standing on the emblem of the union of the South and North in the presence of the god Khnemu; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 116b.


dead had reached a high pitch of perfection in the VIth Dynasty.


The inscriptions¹ which cover certain parts of the passages and mummy chamber are, for the most part, identical with those already known from those found in the pyramids of Unās, Tetā, and Pepi I.; the additional texts are merely amplifications of ideas, hinted at or expressed in earlier religious documents, and therefore need no illustrating by extracts here. We have already seen how Unā was employed in a confidential capacity by Pepi I., and how this able official was sent by Mer-en-Rā to the land of Ābhat to fetch the black granite sarcophagus, which still exists in his pyramid as a silent witness of the mechanical skill of the engineer of the day; we have now to notice an important piece of work which was performed by another high official called Her-khuf. The tomb of this distinguished man at Aswān contains a valuable inscription² recording the chief episodes in his life, and thus we have authentic information about some very interesting events which took place during the reign of Mer-en-Rā. Her-khuf, , was the son of a man of high rank in the old frontier city of Ābu (Elephantine, Syene), and he was related to the great chief Mekhu, whose tomb is at the top of the

¹ See Brugsch, *Zwei Pyramiden mit Inschriften in Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1881, pp. 1-15; and Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 179 ff.


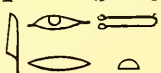
² See Schiaparelli, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, Rome, 1892; and Maspero, *Revue Critique*, November 28, 1892.



staircase which is cut in the solid rock in the hill of Contra-Syene; he held the offices of chancellor and divine chancellor, and he was a “kher heb” priest, and “smer uât,” a title usually explained to mean “only friend.” The king Mer-en-Rā sent him with his

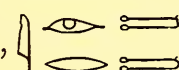
father Árá  to the country of Ámam,


, in order to open out a [trade] route therein; the father and son made the journey in seven months, and returned laden with stuff of all kinds.

The king was so pleased with the result of the expedition that he sent Her-khuf again to the south, and this time he went without his father; passing by Ábu


(Syene), , he went to Árerthet, ,


and Meskher, , and Terres, ,

and Árertheth, , and having spent eight months in travelling he returned to Egypt laden with goods of all kinds. He tells us that he visited the


courts of Sethu, , and Árerthet, and that this had never been done by any official of Ábu before.

Again the king was pleased, and again sent him to Ámam, and he marched thither by way of an Oasis

(Uḥat, ); as he was travelling on his way

he found that the king of Ámam was marching to battle with the king of the land of Themeh ,

i.e., Libya, in the west, and joining him he gave him gifts and went with him to Themeh. Her-khuf was very successful in this his third mission, for he persuaded the king of Āmam to send a company of his soldiers with him to Egypt, and it is clear that they were intended to form an escort for the 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, ivory, skins of animals, boomerangs, etc., which were going with him to Memphis. On the way back he passed through the lands of Ārerthet, Sethu, and Uauat, and when the king of these countries saw the large company of soldiers who were with Her-khuf, he was astonished, and hastened to send him a gift of oxen and goats. It is interesting to note that Her-khuf tells us that, as he was going down the river, he met his brother-official Unā on his way up to meet him with a number of boats, laden with wine and other luxuries, which Mer-en-Rā had sent to him as a reward for all the toil and labour of his travels. This narrative is one of considerable interest, but it would be much more valuable if we could find out exactly how far Her-khuf went towards the south. The mention of ivory and ebony naturally leads us to think of the country near Dar-Fûr, and even further south, but it must also be remembered that the home of these products was then probably very much farther to the north than it is at the present time. The expeditions undertaken by Her-khuf were of a trading character, and it says much for the tact and ability of this official that his journeys were so successful.

“Men-ānkh,” , but to which their modern representatives have given the name “Haram (Pyramid) al-Maṣṭaba,” because it is situated near the building which is commonly called “Maṣṭabat al-Fir‘aun.” On the plan of Lepsius it is marked No. 41, and on that of Perring No. 9 ; in his time its actual height was 95 feet, and the length of each side at the base was 245 feet.



4492

Alabaster vase inscribed with the name
and titles of Pepi II.
British Museum, No. 4492.

This pyramid was opened in 1881 by M. Maspero, who found it to be so badly built that the workmen were in serious danger of the sides of the places which they were clearing out falling in upon them ; as it was, MM. Bouriant and Maspero were shut in for several hours¹ on one occasion, owing to a sudden collapse of a part of the vaulted roof. The

plan of the pyramid of Pepi II. is identical with the other four of the class which we have already described, and the inscriptions in it are of the same character as the inscriptions in the others ; indeed it is quite clear that all five were planned by one group, perhaps even by one

See *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 56.


family, of architects, and the inscriptions were probably chosen for all of them by the priests who were attached to the same religious brotherhood, i.e., the priests of Rā-Temu of Heliopolis. The pyramid of Pepi II. was, like the others, broken into by Arab spoilers, who left behind them one or two green glazed earthenware lamps. One of the workmen¹ related to M. Maspero that his grandfather, as a child, had worked in the excavations which were made at the end of the XVIIIth century by the people of the village of Şaḳḳâra with the view of entering the pyramid, and he added that they had found numbers of objects in alabaster; it is clear that he referred to the beautiful vases inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi II., of which so many examples are known. The sarcophagus is of granite and is in a good state of preservation, for the thieves managed to thrust aside the cover, which now rests partly on the sarcophagus and partly on the two buttresses, which are built of unbaked bricks, and which were placed between the sarcophagus and the west wall in order to support the cover whilst the workmen were getting it into its final resting-place on the sarcophagus. The thieves seem to have made away with the king's mummy entirely, for no trace of it whatsoever was found; scattered about the sarcophagus chamber were some fragments of linen bandages, a fact which seems to show that the mummy was broken to pieces in the tomb by the thieves in their frantic search for treasure. The hieroglyphics of the

¹ *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 54.

inscriptions are very much smaller than those in the texts of Unās, and notwithstanding all the lost paragraphs which were destroyed when the thieves broke the walls to pieces in their search for gold, the total amount of text still preserved to us in the pyramid of Pepi II. is equal to all that found in the other four pyramids of the class.¹

We have already mentioned the three expeditions to the Eastern Sûdân, which were undertaken by H̄er-khuf for Mer-en-Rā, the elder brother of Pepi II., and which were successfully carried out during that king's reign, and we must now mention the services which this distinguished man performed for Pepi II., his new master. In addition to the inscription in his tomb which supplies the account of three expeditions given above (see p. 112), the walls are inscribed with the copy of a letter which was sent him by Pepi II., dated on the 16th day of the third month of the inundation of the second year of the king's reign; that it is a copy of a letter actually received by H̄er-khuf there is no reason to doubt, and as it was copied on the walls of his tomb it is only reasonable to assume that the contents of the royal despatch are faithfully reproduced there. After the address the king states that he knows the contents of H̄er-khuf's letter, informing him that he had entered the country of Ámam with his soldiers in peace, and that he had brought back to Egypt all the good things which Hathor,

¹ *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 56.

sovereign to provide proper people, , to prevent the pygmy from falling into the water on the way down the river, and proper people are to watch behind the place where he sleeps, and to look into it ten times during the course of each night that they may be sure that all is well with him, for, says the king, "My Majesty wisheth to see this pygmy more than all tribute of Bata and Punt. And if thou comest to court having this pygmy with thee, sound and whole, my Majesty will do for thee more than was done for the divine chancellor Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu in the time of Āssā, and conformably to the greatness of the desire of the heart of my Majesty to see this pygmy." The last paragraph of the inscription seems to refer to an order given by the king to every priest, or superintendent of a temple, on the way between Aswân and Memphis to supply Ḥer-khuf and his party with whatsoever they had need of for their journey. It is much to be hoped that other inscriptions of the kind may be forthcoming, for then it would probably be possible to say how far in the Barûda Desert and beyond Khartûm the early Egyptian travellers like Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu, Unâ, and Ḥer-khuf penetrated. We shall probably be wrong if we assume that these distinguished men were the first to make their way into the Sûdân for trading purposes, for the ebony and ivory tablets which have been found in the tombs of the kings of the Ist Dynasty, and of their immediate predecessors, prove that commercial relations between the Sûdân and Egypt must have existed from time immemorial. In

the earliest times the route followed would be, no doubt, that of the desert on the west bank of the Nile, for the great bend of the river between Wâdî Ḥalfa and Abu Ḥammad, to say nothing of the difficulty of passing the Second, Third, and Fourth Cataracts, except at the period of the Inundation when the Nile was highest, would make the shorter desert route to be preferred. From Dar-Fûr and the neighbourhood the old road ran on the west bank almost directly to the Oases in the Western Desert, and until the last few years it was the one chosen by the heads of caravans in preference to that by way of the river.



MEḤT-EM-SA-F.

Pepi II. was succeeded, according to Manetho, by a king called Menthesuphis, who reigned only one year; this king is, no doubt, to be identified with the king whose names, as king of the South and North and as son of the Sun, are enclosed within the above cartouche, which is supplied by the Tablet of Abydos. Up to the present no inscriptions of this king have been found, and there is no mention of him in any known text.



This name follows that of Menthesuphis II. in the Tablet of Abydos, but is wanting both in the Tablet of

Ṣakḥâra and in the King List of Manetho; no inscriptions of this king are known, and there is no mention of him in any text hitherto discovered. There are numerous indications in the monuments which belong to the end of the VIth Dynasty that the central Government at Memphis was growing gradually weaker and weaker, and that the kings of the period possessed far less power throughout the country than formerly. The maṣtabas and other tombs are less well built, the reliefs are coarser and more carelessly executed, and the fine *motif*, exhibited in the scenes and reliefs of the IVth Dynasty, is entirely wanting.

8.  RĀ-MEN-KA,
son of the Sun, NETĀQERTI, *Νίτωκρις*.

The prenomen of this king, i.e., the name by which he was known as king of the South and North, RĀ-MEN-KA, or MEN-KA-RĀ, is supplied by the Tablet of Abydos, where it follows that of Rā-neter-ka; the name Netāqerti is supplied by the Royal Papyrus of Turin, on a fragment of which it was first identified by de Rougé. According to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 106), the last monarch of the VIth Dynasty was a woman who was at once the “bravest and most beautiful”¹ of her time; her complexion was “red and

¹ γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη.

white,"¹ and traditions of her great beauty have been preserved in various forms by different writers. According to Herodotus (ii. 100), among the 330 other kings whom the priests enumerated from a book there were eighteen Ethiopians and one woman, and the name of this woman who reigned was the same as that of the Babylonian queen Nitocris. They said that she avenged her brother whom the Egyptians had slain while reigning over them; and after they had slain him, they then delivered the kingdom to her; and she, to avenge him, destroyed many of the Egyptians by stratagem; and, having caused an extensive apartment to be made underground, she pretended that she was going to consecrate it, but in reality had another design in view. For, having invited those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have been principally concerned in the murder, she gave a great banquet, and when they were feasting, she let in the river upon them, through a large, concealed channel. This is all they related of her, except that, when she had done this, she threw herself into a room full of hot ashes in order that by killing herself she might escape punishment. It need hardly be said that the legend related by Herodotus is not supported by the evidence of the inscriptions.

According to Manetho, she built the Third Pyramid, i.e., the Pyramid of Men-kau-Rā, the Mycerinus of the Greeks, and reigned twelve years, and there is little

¹ According to another version ξανθή τε τὴν χροάν ὑπάρξασα, "fair skinned with rosy cheeks."

doubt that this writer was repeating a tradition which was current at the time when he wrote. The similarity between the queen's prenomen Men-ka-Rā and that of her great predecessor, Men-kau-Rā, the actual builder of the Third Pyramid, may have given rise to some confusion, though it hardly seems likely, and the investigations made in the Pyramids of Gîzeh by Perring show that for Manetho's statement some historical evidence exists. In the course of his work Perring found that the Pyramid of Mycerinus had been enlarged, and he thought that the granite covering of the outside had been placed on it during the reign of Nitocris, and at her expense. In the ante-chamber he found fragments of what must have been a magnificent sarcophagus made of fine-grained blue basalt, and herein the body of the queen rested.¹

Some of the Greek travellers in Egypt in ancient times associated with the name of Nitocris that of Rhodopis, the courtesan, to whom we have already referred (see p. 58); according to M. Piehl, the name Rhodopis, i.e., the "Red-faced," was first given to the Sphinx at Gîzeh, the face of which, as everyone knows, was originally painted red, and it seems that Nitocris was called the "Red-faced," and the evil spirit with the red face which lived in the Sphinx became identified with the Rhodopis whose

¹ This view was accepted by de Rougé, Bunsen, Lepsius, and others.

body was interred in the Third Pyramid.¹ The Greeks having identified Nitocris with Rhodopis, the well-known Lesbian courtesan who lived in Egypt in the time of Apries, the character which Rhodopis had acquired was attributed to Nitocris by them, and by their successors also, and a distant echo of this reaches us in a story from Murtadi, which is quoted both by Wiedemann and Maspero. According to this writer the pyramids and temples of the ancient Egyptians were inhabited by spirits, and presumably by the spirits of those who were buried in them, or of those who built them. He goes on to say that the spirit of the southern pyramid never appears outside of it, except in the form of a beautiful woman who is absolutely naked, and that when she wishes to bestow her favours upon anyone, and to make him lose his senses, she smiles at him, whereupon he approaches her straightway, and she draws him to her and makes him so infatuated with love, that he loses his senses immediately, and wanders round about the country. Many persons have observed her wandering about the pyramid at noon, and about the time of sunset.² The "southern pyramid" is, no doubt, the pyramid of Mycerinus, and the beautiful woman³ clearly is Rhodopis-Nitocris. The

¹ Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. xi. pp. 221-223.

² Vattier, P., *L'Égypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe, ou il est traité des Pyramides, etc.*, Paris, 1666, pp. 64, 65.

³ "forme d'une femme nuë, dont les parties honteuses mesme sont descouvertes, belle au reste."


fact that a sovereign called Netâqert reigned over Egypt at the end of the VIth Dynasty is beyond doubt, but some Egyptologists have asserted that this sovereign was a man; there is, however, nothing to surprise us in Manetho's statement that Netâqert was a woman, for the social position held by women in Egypt was very high, and we know that already in the time of the IIInd Dynasty it was decreed that women were eligible for the highest offices of the state. But whether Netâqert was a man or a woman matters little historically.

It is not difficult to gather from the absence of contemporaneous monuments that the rule of the central government at Memphis must have been very weak, and it cannot even be said from them if Netâqert was the last sovereign of her dynasty or not. The probability is that she was not, and it is tolerably certain that none of her successors, who were the descendants of the pyramid-builders of the VIth Dynasty, was able to make his rule effective. During their feeble reigns no work was carried on in the great quarries of Egypt, or in the turquoise mines of the Peninsula of Sinai, for their names are not mentioned on the rocks at Elephantine, Het-nub, Hammâmât, Tura, or the Wâdî Maghâra. What happened in those times must have been similar to that which always took place in Egypt whenever the strong hand of a vigorous king was wanting. The hereditary princes in the various parts of the country asserted their

independence, small local chiefs began to quarrel with each other and to usurp each other's possessions, and the common people flocked naturally to the standard of the man who was most powerful or most successful in making good his claims, just or unjust. Meanwhile the worship of the gods was neglected, and their shrines became impoverished, and every man literally did what was right in his own eyes. The trades and the arts declined because no man could afford to build maṣṭaba tombs, or pyramids, or sepulchral edifices of any kind, and the condition of Egypt at the end of the VIth Dynasty must have been that of certain provinces in the East at the present day.

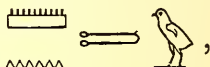
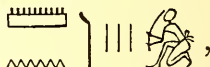

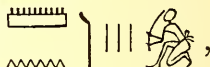






CHAPTER V.


THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH DYNASTIES.—SUMMARY.

FROM what has been said in the account of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties it is clear that we are dealing with a period of comparatively rapid development of Egyptian civilization which was followed by an almost equally rapid period of decline. In the period of the first three dynasties the rule of the Egyptian king appears to have been limited to a tract of country which extended from Silsilis or Hermonthis in the south to Buto in the north; but by the end of the VIth Dynasty we find the Egyptian frontiers pushed forward to Elephantine in the south, and to the Mediterranean on the north. The tribes of the Delta swamps, which are referred to in the texts of the time of the Vth and VIth Dynasties and onwards under the name of “Ḥaâu” and “Ḥau nebu,”¹ , or

¹ These tribes have been discussed by W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 24, and by H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 157 ff., who shows that, although in later times the Egyptians included the Greeks in the term Ḥaâu-nebu, under the Early Empire this name meant the dwellers in the swamps and fens of the Delta, and nothing more.

may note here in passing that Gudea, a Babylonian king who reigned about B.C. 2500, i.e., more than one thousand years after Sargon and Naram-Sin, tells us in a contemporary inscription that he brought stone for his statues from Makan, and gold dust and *ushû* wood from Melukhkha; Makan and Melukhkha must then represent Sinai and Egypt, identifications which are confirmed by the inscriptions of Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, in which Egypt is referred to under the name of Melukhkha.

The native tribes of Sinai and the adjacent country were known to the Egyptians at this time by the names of "Menthu" and "Menti," , , which, in later days, are spelt , , and , , and "Anu" ; the former of these names means "diggers," or "cave-makers," i.e., Troglodytes, and the latter "rock-dwellers." The Menti are also called the "Menti of Sathet" , , i.e., "the Menti of Asia";¹ the name Sathet is derived from  *Sathti*, i.e., an Asiatic, literally a "shooter" or "hunter." Other

¹ The name Sathet which occurs in the pyramid text of Pepi (l. 90) must refer to Asia, and not to the region of the cataract; this is proved by the ivory plaque in Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, plate 17, No. 30, where the name  is given above the figure of an Asiatic prisoner.

last named country by way of the Great Oasis, and found the prince of Āām at war with Themeh or Thehennu, i.e., the Libyans. He presented to the prince of Āām the gifts which the king of Egypt had sent to him, and brought back to Egypt a number of the people of Āām, three hundred asses laden with ivory, ebony, incense, panther skins, boomerangs, etc. Her-khuf in his narrative adds that "when the king of Arerthet, Sethu, and Uauat saw the troop of the people of Āām that was coming to the palace with me and my soldiers who had been sent with me, this chief wondered, and gave me oxen and goats." In connection with the negroes the land of Punt must be mentioned, although the peculiar relations of this country with Egypt and its identity have been already discussed.¹

¹ See above, Vol. I., p. 46 f. In recent years it has been positively asserted that Mashonaland is the land of Punt, whence the Egyptians obtained gold, and that it is also the Ophir, whence Solomon obtained gold. The most serious attempt to prove these statements made in recent years is given by the Hon. A. Wilmot in his *Monomotapa (Rhodesia)*, London, 1896. The author, who writes quite in good faith, was commissioned by the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes to write the history of Monomotapa, and he spent a great deal of time in visiting Rome, Lisbon, and London in search of documentary evidence in support of his settled conviction that Monomotapa is the "Ophir of King Solomon," and, of course, he found it. Mr. Wilmot begins by assuming that Mr. Bent proved that the ruins at Zimbabwe were those of buildings erected by the Phoenicians, but Mr. Bent "proved" nothing of the kind, as several competent archaeologists told him. Mr. Wilmot then sketches out a history of Phoenicia, and finally concludes, "It is certainly a startling fact, illustrating the truth of the aphorism 'that there is 'nothing new under the sun' when we find what

Under the VIth Dynasty regular communication with Punt seems to have been maintained overland by way of the Upper Nile Valley and the adjacent countries of the Negroes, for both Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu, an officer of King

“was very probably the mines of Ophir one thousand years before “Christ becomes the most recent ‘diggings’ of the British South “Africa Company, in the reign of Queen Victoria” (p. 118). Statements of this kind may suit a mining company’s prospectus very well, but when set out as archaeological facts they can only be described as incorrect and misleading. In *The Times* of October 23rd, 1901, appeared the following letter from Mr. Carl Peters on “Ophir and Punt” :—

SIR,—Since writing to you in August on the subject of my researches regarding the Punt question I have received, through the kindness of Mr. Fairbridge in Umtali, tracings of three newly-discovered Bushmen paintings in Eastern Mashonaland. These paintings, which I shall be pleased to show to any scholar interested in these matters, show distinctly the influence of Egyptian art. The head-dresses in one of them are absolutely identical with paintings on Egyptian hieroglyphic representations. I see from the researches of the late Ed. Glaser on the Punt question that he, without knowing my discoveries of this year, was, already in 1899, of opinion that Mashonaland was a part of the ancient Egyptian country “Poen-at” or “Punt.” Glaser brings forward as evidence for his theory the name Ras-Hafûn (“Ha” being mahritic prefix; “Fûn” being identical with “Phoun” or “Punt”). I beg to add to this philological evidence that the repeated appearance of the name “Pun-gwe” in East and South Africa (for instance, the Pungwe river, coming from Manicaland and with its mouth at Beira) leads us to the same conclusion. I, therefore, think that even Professor Keane will now be convinced that there is some conclusive evidence for the theory that the ancient Egyptians got their Punt gold from South Africa. The representation of the Punt expedition under the Queen Hat-Shepsut (XVIIIth Dynasty, B.C. 1516—1481) in the temple of Deir-el-Bahri proves that the ancient Egyptian ships were stronger than the modern Arabic dhows, and, therefore, absolutely fit to cross the

Assà, and Her-khuf,¹ in the time of Pepi II., made expeditions thither; and it is clear that the land of the Negroes on the south was bounded by the land of the pygmies, specimens of whom were taken from time to time to Pharaoh's court at Memphis.

The general advance in civilization in the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties is marked by considerable progress in the use of metals; the Egyptians

Indian Ocean. That Punt was an African and not an Asiatic district is proved by the single fact that giraffes are among the articles of the return freight. It is proved, therefore, by philological evidence that this country Punt reached further south than Cape Guardafui, and by zoological evidence that it was an African district. Now we find in South Africa, between the Zambesi and Sabi, the grand relics of ancient gold-mining. Copper is mentioned as one of the products of the Punt expeditions. I have discovered a chain of ancient copper workings along the Sabi river this year. Can any scholar who, like Professor Flinders Petrie, locates Punt in Somaliland, bring forward any similar evidence? Therefore I am of opinion that I can now prove that the ancient Egyptians as well as the Jews of King Solomon's period got their gold mainly from South Africa, that Punt and Afur (Hebrew, Ophir) are the same country—East Africa from Cape Guardafui down to the mouth of the Sabi. South Africa, therefore, was the Eldorado of the most ancient nations of history.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CARL PETERS.

The whole question of the position of Punt has been fully discussed by MM. Maspero and Naville, whose works on the subject have been already mentioned, but it is important to state that no evidence exists which would place Punt further south than the Elephant river on the East coast of Africa, and that all the Egyptological evidence at present available contradicts Mr. Peters' assertion that the Egyptians "got their gold mainly from South Africa."

¹ Her-khuf describes Punt as the "land of the spirits or ghosts."


of the first three dynasties used copper and flint indiscriminately, but the Egyptians of the IVth Dynasty employed chiefly tools made of bronze. Flint was still used largely in making teeth for sickles, knives, etc., and it is not until nearly the end of the Middle Empire, about B.C. 2000, is reached that its use was confined to the making of knives, etc., employed for ceremonial purposes. But it would be wrong to assert that at this period the Egyptians were living in the "Bronze Age" of their country, for iron was certainly known to and used by them in the centuries which we are discussing, i.e., from about B.C. 3800 to 3000. Iron objects of the Ancient Empire are exceedingly rare, it is true, but the word for iron is met with in the Pyramid Texts of Unás, and paintings of the time of the Ancient Empire are known in which weapons, tools, etc., are painted blue or black, i.e., the colour by which iron is indicated. In face



Statue of an Egyptian official.
IVth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 24,714.

of these facts it is hazardous to declare, as has been done, that iron was not known to the Egyptians before B.C. 1000.¹ In the most primitive graves of the "New Race" period we find flint implements only in use, and Egypt was then in its Neolithic Age; at the end of the predynastic period we find that copper has been introduced, and we may fairly assume that the knowledge of this metal and the working of it were brought into Egypt by the people who are generally known as the "Followers of Horus." The art of making bronze was introduced into Egypt very soon after, but whether it was brought from Babylonia or not cannot at present be decided; it is, however, certain that the Egyptians of the VIth Dynasty were very skilful in manipulating the metal, a fact which is proved by the large bronze statue of Pepi I., the remains of which were found by Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis. Iron was certainly known to the Egyptians as early as the Vth Dynasty, and from the fact that iron plays a great part in ancient Egyptian myths, it is probable that it was known by them at a far earlier period. Thus the firmament of heaven is described as a rectangular iron plate, each corner of which was supported by a pillar, and the throne of the supreme god is made of iron ornamented with the faces of lions and with feet in the

¹ The whole subject has been exhaustively discussed by Prof. Piehl in *Ymer*, Stockholm, 1888, p. 94 ff. (*Bronsålder i Egypten?*), and the gist of his arguments will be found in H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 198, note 2.

form of the hoofs of bulls.¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that “bâa,” , can mean nothing else but “iron,” for the form “bâa-en-pet” i.e.,



The Egyptian official Ka-Tep and his wife Hetepet-hers. IVth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 1181.

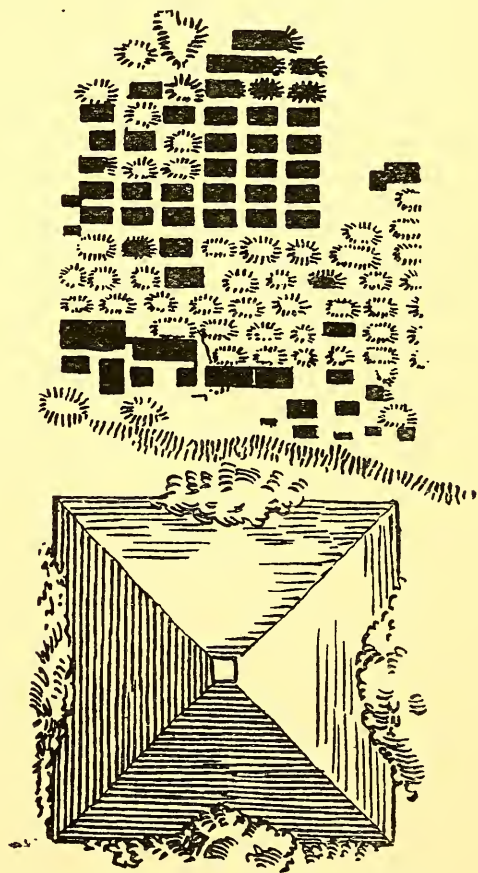
“bâa of heaven,” is the original of the Coptic *benipe*, “iron”; “bâa en-pet,” then, means meteoric iron.

The remains of the buildings which can be certainly

¹ See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vii. p. 154 (ll. 309, 310).

assigned to the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties prove that the Egyptians had already acquired most remarkable skill in architecture, for no buildings which can rival the pyramids of Gîzeh have ever been erected. These mighty works, which were constructed in the dawn of civilization, seem destined to outlast the greatest efforts of modern architects and engineers, for history shows that already they have withstood the attacks of the elements, of time, and of man for a period of six thousand years. The account given by Herodotus of the means by which they were erected is probably correct, for mechanical appliances for raising the stones, though of an elementary kind, must have been used ; in addition to these the only requisites for the erecting of monuments of this kind were the use of an inclined plane of sand, and unlimited supplies of labour and material. The conception of the Great Pyramid is a masterpiece of the human mind, and the skill with which the architect's plan was carried out by the builders is no way unworthy of the grandeur of the design. The kings who built these pyramids intended them to be their tombs ; they are nothing but tombs, and were designed for no more mysterious purpose ; but the effect which they have produced upon the mind of man in all ages has been so great that they, above all other Egyptian monuments, have been made the subjects of ignorant and superstitious beliefs which have been often paraded before the world in a pseudo-scientific garb.

Less massive and less elaborate sepulchres sufficed for the needs of the royal noblemen and officials, and "houses of eternity" which were constructed for them took the form called "maştaba,"¹ from the fact that a building of the kind, when half buried in sand, closely resembled the long, low seat, or bench, which is so common in Oriental houses. The maştaba is a heavy, massive building, of rectangular shape, the four sides of which are four walls symmetrically inclined towards their common centre. The exterior surfaces are not flat, for the face of each course of masonry, formed of stones laid vertically, is a little behind the one beneath it, and if these recesses were a little deeper, the external appearance of each side of the building would resemble a flight



The Great Pyramid with the maştaba tombs of officials and others arranged in rows behind it.

¹ From the Arabic مَشْطَبَة "bench."

of steps. The stones which form the building are of a moderate size, and, with the exception of those used for the ceiling and architrave, have an average height of 18 or 20 inches. The width and length of the maştaba vary; the largest is about 170 feet long by 86 feet wide, and the smallest 26 feet long by 20 feet wide; they vary in height from 13 to 30 feet. The best examples of the maştaba are found at Şakḳâra, and round about the Great Pyramid, where they are arranged symmetrically, the plan of their arrangement resembling the squares on a chess board; we have seen that in the earliest times the king's priestly, military and civil officials, as well as private noblemen, were buried in small side chambers of the royal tomb, but under the IIIrd and following Dynasties we find that the royal tomb forms the centre of a regular necropolis. The maştaba was built of stone or brick, and consisted of three parts: the chamber for offerings; the serdâb, or partially closed niche in the chamber for offerings wherein the statue of the deceased was placed; and the pit which was excavated in the solid rock, and down which the deceased in his coffin was lowered to the subterranean mummy-chamber into which the pit opened. The interior walls of the chamber for offerings were ornamented with scenes, either painted or sculptured, which are chiefly biographical, and which represent the daily occupation of the deceased, his amusements, and the routine work of the artisans and labourers who were maintained by him upon his estates. The texts which

accompany such scenes usually record the name and titles of the deceased at great length, and sometimes explain in a few simple words the meaning of the pictures; religious texts are, in the case of private persons, usually confined to the prayers to Osiris, *Âp-uat*, Anubis, etc., for the granting of a happy burial after a good old age, and a regular supply of funeral offerings to their tombs. These are usually cut in bold hieroglyphics over the entrances, and in other prominent places in the tombs.

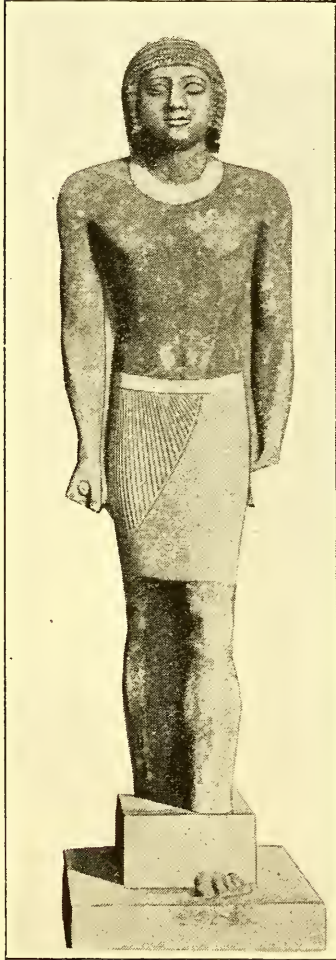
The statues which have been mentioned in connection with the *ser-dâb* have already in the IVth and Vth Dynasties reached the culminating point of Egyptian art, and in later dynasties no

sculptor ever produced any statue which could in any way rival such works of his predecessors as the famous



The Shêkh el-Balad.
(From a cast in the British Museum.)

“Shêkh al-Balad” in the Museum at Cairo, the “Scribe” of the Museum of the Louvre, and the statue of Ân-

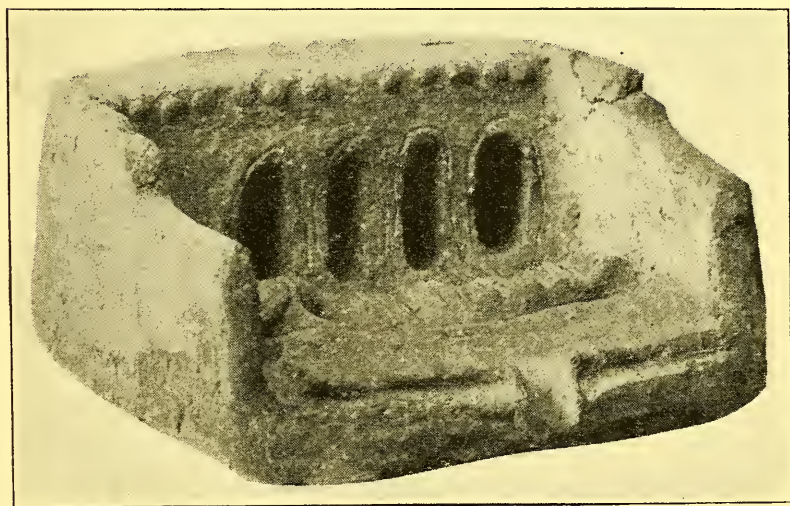


Statue of Ân-kheft-ka.
IVth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 1239.

kheft-ka in the British Museum. The sculptor of the IVth Dynasty endeavoured to reproduce the faces and figures of his sitters in fac-simile, and it is quite certain that he succeeded. The finest bas-reliefs and statues found in the maṣtabas belong to the end of the IVth and the beginning of the Vth Dynasty; at the end of the Vth Dynasty both design and workmanship are less good, and by the end of the VIth Dynasty the whole character of funeral buildings, and of the reliefs and paintings employed to ornament them, has undergone a decided change for the worse, a change which fore-

shadows the state of temporary degeneration into which Egyptian art fell during the period which elapsed between the Early and Middle Empires. The

chambers of the royal pyramids of the IVth Dynasty were neither inscribed with texts nor ornamented and painted with reliefs, but at the end of the Vth Dynasty it became the custom to ornament the walls of the corridors and chambers of the king's tomb with selections from a long series of spells, incantations, and prayers, which were designed to ensure the safe



Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,613.

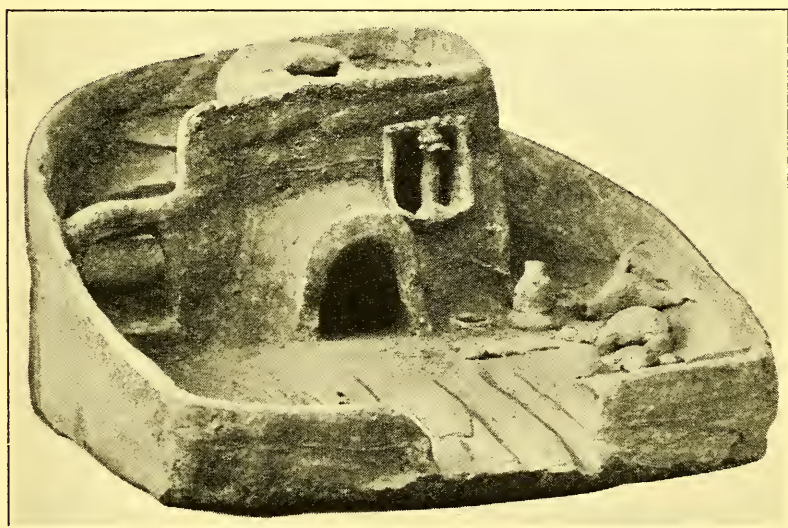
arrival of the deceased king in the realm of Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, and his reception as a powerful god by the gods, and by the spirits and souls of the righteous who were living in Amenti. These collections of magical texts are known generally as the "Pyramid Texts," and they represent the earliest form of the Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, which is

called "Heliopolitan." A perusal of these texts, however, shows that they were probably based on very early documents, no copies of which have come down to us; the Heliopolitan character of the texts is, of course, due to the influence of the priesthood of Heliopolis (Ānu, or On), which, during the period of the Vth Dynasty, had become dominant in the religious colleges of Egypt. The selections of magical and religious texts which are found in the pyramids of the Vth and VIth Dynasties constitute the whole of the religious literature of the best period of the Early Empire; towards the end of this period texts of this kind were divided into sections and classified, and their editors seem to have begun to arrange them in the form which is familiar to us from later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead*. As an example may be mentioned the texts on the sarcophagus of Beb, which was found at Denderah,¹ and which is now in the Museum at Cairo; here we have a selection of texts, many of which have titles and are identical with Chapters found in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.

The inscriptions and remains which belong to the whole period of the Egyptian Empire show that the gods and goddesses of Egypt were the same substantially in the earliest as in the latest days of its history, with the exception of the Theban triad of Āmen, Mut, and Khonsu, who, from occupying a very subordinate

See Petrie, *Denderah*, plate 37.

position among the lesser gods in the period of the Vth Dynasty, rose, with the rising fortunes of the kings of Thebes, until they practically usurped the position of the principal gods of ancient Egypt. None of the original temples of the period in which these gods were worshipped have come down to us, for they were all rebuilt under the XIIth and following dynasties; we



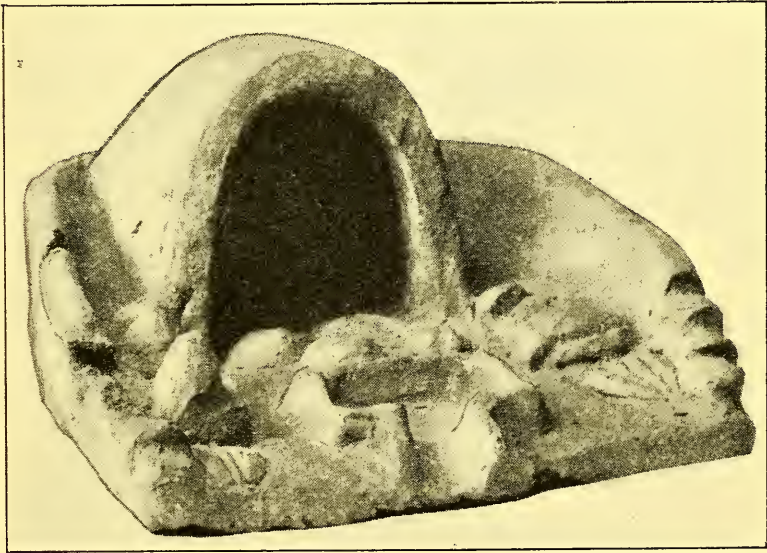
Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,610.

know, however, from isolated monuments which have been preserved in the existing temples that the greater number of them were founded at least as far back as the IVth Dynasty. Of a few temples, e.g., that of Hierakonpolis, it can be definitely stated that they were founded in the remote period of the Ist Dynasty. Sir Norman Lockyer has argued, and has produced

strong evidence based on astronomical data in support of his argument, that the oldest temples in Egypt were built upon sites which had been occupied by religious edifices from the remotest antiquity, and the general trend of the archaeological evidence which is now forthcoming entirely supports this view, in the writer's opinion.

We have already described the archaic character of hieroglyphic writing under the first three dynasties. In the period of the IVth Dynasty, although a few archaic signs are still retained, the writing, as a whole, had adopted its final hieroglyphic form, and had so far developed that in the time of Ássá, a king of the Vth Dynasty, a cursive form of it, which is now commonly known as "hieratic," had already come into use. The use of the reed pen and ink was known in the time of the Ist Dynasty, when flakes of stone and plaques of ivory, etc., formed the materials chiefly used for writing upon; at a later period, which cannot, however, be clearly indicated, the Egyptians discovered how to prepare the layers of the stem of the papyrus plant for writing upon. The oldest known example of a papyrus written upon with ink is said to be the papyrus of accounts in which the name of Ássá is mentioned; it is written in hieratic, and portions of it are now preserved in the Museum at Cairo. Of the literature of the period the best known examples are the "Precepts of Ptah-hetep," and the "Precepts of Kaķemna," which contain a remarkable collection of counsels, proverbs,

and aphorisms of a religious and moral character, and which illustrate the high morality the attainment of which was the ideal of every cultured Egyptian of the period. Now Ptaḥ-ḥetep was, we know, a contemporary of Ássá, a king of the Vth Dynasty, and Kaḳemna lived in the time of the VIth Dynasty, but we have no contemporary copies of their works; the oldest versions



Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,612.

known to us are contained in the famous Prisse Papyrus,¹ and cannot be older than the time of the XIIth Dynasty. That the form of the Precepts in which we now have them is substantially that in

¹ For the text see Prisse d'Avennes, *Fac-similé d'un Papyrus Égyptien*, Paris, 1847.

which they left their authors' hands there is little reason to doubt; their character is best illustrated by giving a few specimens of them: ¹—Ptaḥ-ḥetep saith, “(1) O god of the two crocodiles (i.e., Osiris), my lord, “mature age turneth into old age, infirmity cometh “upon man, and failing powers take the place of “vigorous youth. Some [additional] failing cometh “upon him each day, the eyes become dim and lose their “power, the ears become stopped, and decline in strength “advanceth upon him always. The mouth is silent, “speech faileth, the memory faileth, and he remembereth “not even [the matter of] yesterday. He hath pain in “all his body: that which was once pleasant to him is “now repulsive, for his palate hath lost the sense of “taste. Old age bringeth miseries of every kind upon “man; his nostrils become stopped, and by reason of his “failing strength he can hardly draw his breath.” Ptaḥ-ḥetep saith to his son, “(2) Be not puffed up because “of the knowledge which thou hast acquired, and hold “converse with the unlettered man as with the learned; “for there is no obstacle to knowledge, and no handi- “craftsman hath attained to the limit of the knowledge “of his art. (5) If thou art in command of a company “of men, deal with them after the best manner and in “such wise that thou thyself mayest not be reprehended. “Law (or, justice, or, right) is great, fixed and unchang-

¹ Renderings are given by Chabas in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1858 (Le plus ancien livre du monde, étude sur le Papyrus Prisse); and Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1887.

“ing, and it hath not been moved since the time of Osiris.
“ (6) Terrify not men, or God will terrify thee. (7) If
“thou art among a company of men and women in the
“abode of a man who is greater than thyself, take what-
“soever he giveth thee making obeisance gratefully.
“Speak not oftener than he requireth, for one knoweth
“not what may displease him; speak when he speaketh
“to thee, and thy words shall be pleasing unto him.
“ (8) If thou art charged with a message from one noble-
“man to another, deliver it exactly as thou hast received
“it. (9) If thou art an husbandman, harvest the crop
“of the field which the Great God hath given unto thee.
“A man becometh a god when he is at the head of a
“tribe which putteth its trust in him. (10) In doing
“homage before a greater man than thyself thou art
“doing what is most pleasing unto God. (11) Labour
“diligently whilst thou hast life, and do even more than
“thou hast been commanded to do: waste not thy
“vigorous prime, for he who maketh a bad use of his
“time is reprehensible. Neglect not to add to thy
“possessions daily, for diligence increaseth wealth, but
“without diligence riches disappear. (12) If thou art a
“perfect (or, wise) man, bring up thy son in a manner
“which is pleasing to God. (18) If thou wouldst be
“held in esteem in the house wherein thou enterest,
“whether it be that of a nobleman, or of a brother, or of
“a friend, or any other abode in which thou goest, touch
“not the women. It is not in any way a good thing [to
“do], nay, ’tis a senseless act, for a thousand men have

“destroyed themselves and gone to their deaths for the
“sake of the enjoyment of a pleasure which is as fleeting
“as the twinkling of an eye. (19) If thou wouldst
“behave well and be free from all evil, keep thy temper,
“for this is a vice which leadeth to strife, and an ill-
“tempered man cannot continue to live. It divideth
“fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and it
“maketh the husband and the wife to hate each other.
“(21) If thou wouldst be wise, rule thy house, and love
“thy wife wholly and constantly. Fill her stomach and
“clothe her body, for these are her personal necessities ;
“love her tenderly and fulfil all her desires as long as
“thou hast thy life, for she is an estate which conferreth
“great reward upon her lord. Be not harsh to her, for
“she will be more easily moved by persuasion than by
“force ; take thou heed to that which she wisheth, and
“to that to which her desire runneth, and to that upon
“which she fixeth her mind [and obtain it for her], for
“thereby shalt thou make her to stay in thy house. If
“thou resistest her will it is ruin [to thee] . . . speak
“to her heart and show her thy love. (30) If thou hast
“become a great man having once been of no account,
“and if thou hast become rich having once been poor,
“and hast become the governor of the city, take heed
“that thou dost not act haughtily because thou hast
“attained unto this high position. Harden not thy
“heart because thou hast become exalted, for thou art
“only the guardian of the goods which God hath given
“unto thee. Set not in the background thy neighbour

“who is as thou wast, but make thyself as if he were
“thine equal.”

The “Precepts” of Ptaḥ-ḥetep seem to have been written when their author was an old man. In his younger days he was, undoubtedly, like his successor Kaḥemna, one of the principal nobles of Pharaoh’s court. Ptaḥ-ḥetep held the dignities of “governor of the city,”



and chief minister,



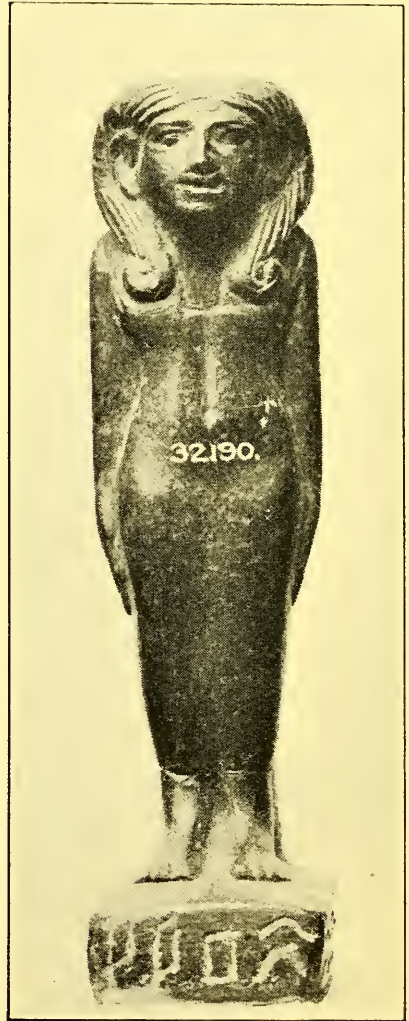
and from the fact that he calls himself “eldest royal son of his body,” he was probably of royal descent; his other title,

“erpā ḥā,”

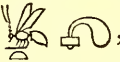

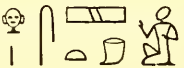


, i.e., “hereditary prince,” indicates that he was a prominent member of an important princely family. Kaḥemna, besides being *wazîr* and governor of



the city, held the office of “judge,”



Hard stone figure of an official called
Hâpi. Vith Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,190.


The highest rank which a man could hold under the king was that of "erpā ḥā," which originally made known that the man who held it was the "head" of an independent clan or tribe, and that he had become so by hereditary right; but under the powerful kings of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties the "erpā ḥā" became merely the title of the highest order of nobles. The old feudal chief came to court from time to time and tendered his homage to the king, but the later nobles who held this rank came to court and stayed there, and were buried near the pyramids of their Pharaohs. During the period between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties, the "erpā ḥā" resumed his old powers, and certain of them assumed the rank and dignity of a king; thus Antefā, who was "erpā ḥā" of Thebes, placed both his name and his title within a cartouche, and his successors, the Menthu-ḥetep kings of the XIth Dynasty, dropped their title "erpā ḥā," and proclaimed themselves kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. The next highest dignity was apparently that of "chancellor," , which was in existence as early as the time of the Ist Dynasty; after this came the "smer uāt," , a title which must mean something like "only friend," i.e., a confidential adviser of the king; another title which was often borne by the highest nobles and officials was "he who is set over the secrets," . A very ancient and

favourite title throughout all the early dynasties was

“suten rekh,”  , i.e.,


“one known to the king”; it seems that at first this title implied kinship to the king, but subsequently it meant little more than an honourable distinction. The above-mentioned titles are those of most frequent occurrence, but in addition there were in common use a considerable number of legal, military, priestly, and civil titles, for the enumeration of which there is no space here.

The pomp and dignity which surrounded the court of the king of Egypt greatly increased during the period of the IVth and Vth Dynasties. As early as the beginning of the IVth Dynasty he assumed the title of “the golden Horus,” or “the Horus of

gold,” ; and Assa seems to have been the first



Anpu, an official. VIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,187.

king to call himself "son of the Sun," ; under the VIth Dynasty the king was already held to be a semi-divine being, and it is clear that his rank and position were as exalted at that time as were those of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty at a later period. The king having during his lifetime arrogated to himself the attributes of a god, it was only natural that worship should be paid to him after death; hence as early as the IIIrd Dynasty we find that certain priestly officials were set apart to perform the rites which were due to the memory of deceased kings, e.g., Sherâ¹ at that time performed commemorative services in honour of Sent, a king of the IInd Dynasty.

Such priests were maintained out of the revenues with which the kings who built pyramids for themselves had endowed their funeral chapels, and out of the offerings which were made in them by the relatives of the dead and by devout folk. To the service of each of the larger pyramids several priests were attached, and there is evidence which shows that, in the case of many of the more important kings, their chapels were maintained, and services were regularly performed in them through all periods of Egyptian history until we reach the time of the Ptolemies. We must not, however, forget that the nobles of the king, and even the commonest person, became divine after

¹ Parts of his tomb are preserved in the Museum of Cairo, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and in the British Museum.


death, but as when he was upon earth the king was king of men, so in the world beyond the grave he was still king, only there his subjects had acquired a divine nature similar to his own; the king became Osiris, but so also did the meanest of his subjects. But the ordinary man was naturally unable to guarantee the perpetuity of the funeral services which he wished to have held in *his* chapel, for, whereas the king's priests were court officials, appointed in succession to carry on the tradition of his worship, the priest of the ordinary man, i.e., the "hen ka,"



The high-priest Ân-senf, and the lady Mersebes, 7]

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end, even if they had not ceased long before. The office of the "ḥen ka" is one of the oldest connected with the Egyptian religion, being the outcome of one of its fundamental dogmas.




An examination of the tombs and funeral monuments of the Egyptians of the Ancient Empire shows that the old systems of burying the dead in contracted positions, or in mutilated condition, which were in use among the primitive inhabitants of the Nile Valley, and which we have already described, continued in vogue, though no doubt chiefly among the lower orders of society, until well on in the IVth Dynasty. After this period, the custom of burying the body at full length and lying upon its back, which had apparently been introduced by the "Followers of Horus," became universal, and from this time onwards the art of mummifying the human body becomes more and more highly developed, and ceremonies connected with the depositing of the body in the tomb are seen to be more and more elaborate. The Pyramid Texts prove that in the case of kings the funeral ceremonies were long and elaborate, and that many of them were of a highly symbolic character; incense of several kinds was burnt, libations of wines and other liquids were poured out, sacrifices were offered, and suitable prayers and words of power were recited alternately by the "Setem" priest,  (later "Sem"), and by the "Kher-ḥeb" priest. In the case of persons of lesser rank the ceremonies were

probably shorter, and as time went on they were reduced to very simple forms.

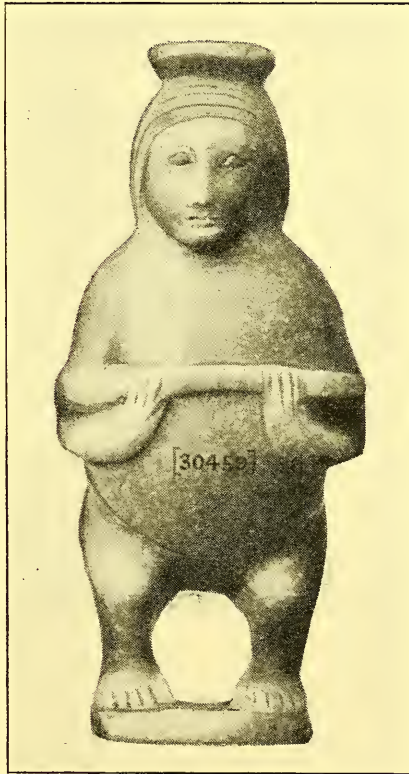
An examination of the monuments and other remains of the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties enables us to obtain a glimpse of the social condition of the country at that time. The king appears to have been regarded as an autocrat with a semi-divine nature, and his will was performed by a number of high officials, some of whom were his kinsmen, and all of whom regarded him as the fountain of honour, and the bestower of ranks, dignities, and positions. Many of the nobles who held various offices at court were not mere officials, but chiefs of great power and importance in their own nomes, and were in fact the ancestors of the great feudal princes with whom we become acquainted under the XIth Dynasty. A separate



Figure of an official in hard stone.
VIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,188.

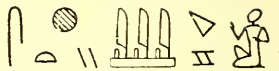
priesthood can hardly as yet be said to have existed; the male head of every family was the priest (*hen ka*, ) of his ancestors, and the "Sem" and "Kherheb" priests were certainly at this time kinsmen of the deceased. We have, it is true, vague indications of the existence of a college of priests of Rā-Temu at Heliopolis, under the headship of its chief official, who was known as the "Great Two Eyes," or the "Great Seer," "Ur-maa," , of Rā-Temu; this, however, must have been a very different institution from the powerful confraternities of later days, although its influence was sufficiently great to place upon the throne of Egypt a dynasty of kings who were devoted to its interests. We also find that there existed at Memphis the high priest of the god Ptah, whose official title was the "Great Chief of the Hammer," , Ur-kherp-*hem*; he must have controlled a considerable body of priests, but one which could not for a moment be compared with that of the priests of Rā even at this period. Commerce in the modern sense of the term can hardly have existed at this early time, for each of the great estates into which Egypt was divided was self-supporting, and each produced sufficient for its own needs. The common people lived on the estates on which they were born in a state of absolute dependence upon their lords, but they usually dwelt in their own towns and villages, which were situated within the boundaries of these estates. Under a strong central

Government the condition of such people was, on the whole, a happy one, and they appear to have been humanely treated by their lords, who were not divided from them by any differences of religion or class preju-



Alabaster vase. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 30,459.

dice; but when the central Government fell into decay and the Princes of Siut, the modern Asyût, warred against the Princes of Thebes, both families acknowledging the over-lordship of the kings at Herakleopolis,

the condition of the "sekhti," , i.e., "field man," or "fellah," became indeed deplorable. He was taken from his land, and sent to fight against his fellow countrymen with whom he, personally, had no quarrel, and meanwhile his house and farm were practically left to take care of themselves; if he came back unhurt it was often to find himself the prey of some unjust steward or extortionate bailiff like Meru-*tensa* in the story of the Peasant,¹ who took the opportunity of the lord's absence to play the petty tyrant. To the unique position held by women in Egypt in the earliest times we have already alluded, and the passage which has been quoted from the Precepts of Ptah-hetep shows that the estimate which the Egyptians had formed of the importance of a just and proper treatment of women was far in advance of that held by other nations of antiquity, and that it was little inferior to our own.

¹ See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xiv., June 14, 1892, p. 459 ff.

CHAPTER VI.



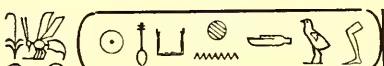

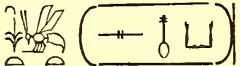
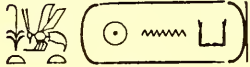
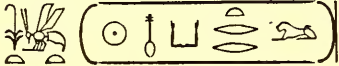

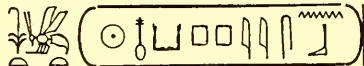
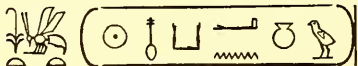
THE SEVENTH TO THE ELEVENTH DYNASTIES.



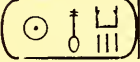







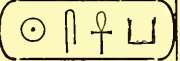
THE information of an accurate character which we possess concerning this period is exceedingly limited, and it is impossible to give any connected account of the succession and reigns of the kings. According to the version of Manetho by Julius Africanus, the years of the dynasties of this period are as follows :—







- VIIth Dyn. From Memphis ; 70 kings in 70 days.
- VIIIth Dyn. From Memphis ; 27 kings in 146 years.
- IXth Dyn. From Herakleopolis ; 19 kings in 409 years.
- Xth Dyn. From Herakleopolis ; 19 kings in 185 years.
- XIth Dyn. From Thebes ; 16 kings in 43 years.

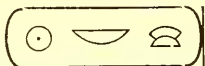

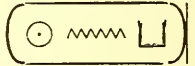

The versions of Manetho given by Eusebius and others differ so much from that of Julius Africanus that it is quite clear that as far as this period is concerned the figures have been garbled ; we are therefore driven to rely for information about the period of these dynasties almost entirely upon the few monuments which can with safety be assigned to it. We are not in any way helped in this difficulty by the King Lists which were compiled

by the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. The Tablets of Karnak and Şaḳḳâra are of very little use for the whole period of the Middle Empire, for in them the order of the kings is much confused, and as said above, the reason in no way concerning us here, they are manifestly incomplete. The Tablet of Abydos is of considerable value here, for it gives us the names of the following kings :—

1.  RĀ-NEFER-KA.
2.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-NEBI.
3.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-KHENṬU.
4.  MER-EN-ḤERU.
5.  SE-NEFER-KA.
6.  RĀ-EN-KA.
7.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-TERERL.
8.  ḤERU-NEFER-KA.
9.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-PEPI-SENB.
10.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-ĀNNU.

11.   RĀ- -KAU.
12.   RĀ-NEFER-KAU.
13.   HĒRU-NEFER-KAU.
14.   RĀ-NEFER-ĀRI-KA.
15.   RĀ-NEB-KHERU.
16.   RĀ-SEĀNKH-KA.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that these names do not represent the full number of kings who reigned during the period of the VIIth-XIth Dynasties, and that we have here only a selection from them. The Royal Papyrus of Turin does not help us to decide the difficulties, although here and there the indications which it gives are useful, e.g., it shows that Nitocris was not the last sovereign of the VIth Dynasty. At the end of the VIth Dynasty must probably be placed an isolated king called   I-EM-HĒTEP, whose name is found on the rocks in the Wādî Ḥammâmât, where it seems to have been inscribed by the “divine chancellor, the captain of the soldiers, KA-NEFER,”    . The two names RĀ-NEB-KHĀ

or NEB-KHĀ-RĀ, , and HĒRU-HĒN-NEFER, , or HĒN-NEFER-HĒRU, which are attributed to this period, are at present unplaceable; it is doubtful if the latter name is that of a king at all. Of the kings of the VIIth Dynasty the only inscribed remains known are scarabs of RĀ-EN-KA or EN-KA-RĀ, , and RĀ-NEFER-KA-NEBI or NEFER-KA-RĀ-NEBI; of the VIIIth Dynasty, the last which reigned at Memphis, no remains or monuments of any kind whatsoever have been identified. It seems very probable that during the weak rule of the kings of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, the princes of Herakleopolis, the Suten-henen, , or HĒnen-su of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, succeeded in gaining their independence, and that they were the founders of the IXth Dynasty, to which must belong Khati and others.

NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES.

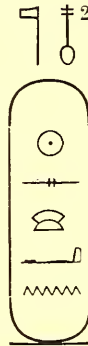
FROM HERAKLEOPOLIS.

 RĀ-ĀB-MERI,
son of the Sun, KHATI.

belonging to this period, represent them; but it must be borne in mind that the possibility exists that they may belong to the period which lies between the XIIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties. The following are the names to which we refer:—



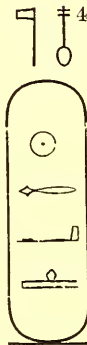
RĀ-MAĀ-AB.



RĀ-SEKHĀ-EN.



RĀ-NUB-TAUI(?).



RĀ-ĀA-HETEP.



RĀ-KHĀ-USER.

¹ British Museum, Nos. 30,510, 32,287, 32,363, 17,212.


² British Museum, Nos. 30,511, 28,201, 32,342.

³ British Museum, No. 30,512.


⁴ British Museum, No. 28,097.

⁵ British Museum, Nos. 32,331, 4140, 24,113.

It must be pointed out that each of these names is preceded by the title “*neter nefer*,” i.e., “beautiful god,” and if the scarabs on which these names occur really belong to the period of the IXth Dynasty, this is the earliest appearance of the title in question. It must not be forgotten that this title was a very favourite one in the XIIIth Dynasty, from which fact it might be argued that these scarabs and the kings whom they commemorate in reality date from a period subsequent to that of the XIIIth Dynasty. For the present, however, we may assume that they belong to the period of the IXth Dynasty; one of the chief reasons for this assumption is the striking resemblance of these scarabs to those of the kings of the VIth and VIIth Dynasties. Besides this, it has been pointed out that Eratosthenes mentions a king Meures, *Μευρης*,¹ immediately after Chouther, and it follows that if Āb-meri-Rā Khati be Chouther, Maā-āb-Rā may very well represent Meures.

The next name which meets us on contemporaneous monuments is that of  (⊙ □ ◁ □□) RĀ-KA-MERI, or KA-MERI-RĀ, of whose reign we have an exceedingly interesting monument in the tomb of Khati, son of Tefabā, a prince of Siut. We know the names of three of the princes of Siut at this period, i.e., Khati I., Tefabā, his successor, and Khati II., the son and successor of Tefabā, who flourished in the reign of Ka-meri-Rā. Khati I. was established as a prince by a

¹ See Bunsen, *op. cit.*, p. 705; and Petrie, *op. cit.*, 116.

king whose name is not mentioned, but who was probably one of the successors of Āb-meri-Rā, and some details of his life are afforded us by the inscriptions which he had placed in his tomb.¹ Stripped of the naïvely conceited phraseology of the Egyptian noble, his words tell us that he occupied himself with cutting canals and attending to the irrigation of his district, in the course of which work he made dams and embankments, by which he succeeded in raising the level of the waters of the Nile to that of the lands at the foot of the hills, which before his time had remained unwatered and therefore unproductive. He was rich in flocks and in herds, and his crops were abundant, and with his earthly goods he endowed the temple of his god. He was himself a mighty warrior and skilled in the use of the bow and the sword, and he raised a company of troops, which consisted of hundreds of picked men from the North and of thousands of bowmen from the South. He possessed boats in large numbers wherein the king was pleased to journey up and down the river. Khati I. received his appointment as ḥā, , prince, because he was a just man, and because he had taken no part in any rebellion against the king, and had remained consistently loyal to his lord. He ends his inscription with the words, "He (i.e., the king) set me at the head of his "nobles who were arrayed in royal apparel, and he made

¹ For the Egyptian texts see Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Rifeh*, London, 1889; and for translations see Griffith, *B. & O. Record*, vol. iii., and Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1889, p. 410 ff.

“me to learn to swim with the royal children. I return
 “thanks, and I have been free from rebellion against my
 “master who brought me up when I was a child. Siut
 “rejoices under my rule, Hēnen-su adareth me, and the
 “lands of the South and the North say, ‘Whatsoever the
 “‘prince commandeth, that is the command of Horus.’”
 The allusion which this prince makes to his picked men
 from the North and his archers from the South is of
 interest, for it shows that he was able to support his
 loyal words by loyal deeds, and his forces on land and
 his boats on the river made Khati I. a prince whose
 friendship was greatly to be desired. It is easy to
 understand from his reference to his own loyalty that
 the condition of the country must have been in a very
 unsettled state, and that dissension and strife prevailed
 in all parts of it. The feeble Memphite kings had
 allowed a number of petty chiefs to usurp gradually
 very considerable powers, and when the VIIIth Dynasty
 came to an end the tribes of the Delta asserted their
 independence, and a violent struggle for the crown of
 Egypt arose between the princes of Herakleopolis and
 those of Thebes. Khati I. seems to have taken no active
 part in any war against these princes of Thebes, but his
 sympathies were with the princes of Herakleopolis, and
 there is no doubt that his forces would have marched
 to battle with theirs, had the princes of Thebes attempted
 the invasion of the northern country on a large scale.

From the inscription in the tomb of Tefabā, the
 successor of Khati I., we are able to see how matters

developed in the reign of Ka-meri-Rā. Tefabā says that he was a benevolent man, and a man wise in counsel, and a man useful in his town, and one who always hearkened unto the cry of the afflicted, and who never defrauded the widow. He was beloved of his parents and their slaves, and he devoted himself to redressing the injuries which had been inflicted upon his people by soldiers or marauders. The condition of the country under Tefabā's rule was so safe that a man might lie down at night by the highway, and go to sleep with as little concern at the thought of danger as he would in his own house, and the flocks and herds were as secure in the fields as if they had been in their own sheds; the thief and the robber became abominable men, and they no longer had power to oppress any man. At length war broke out, and the people of the districts from Elephantine northwards came in a body to do battle against the princes of Herakleopolis; they were attacked by Tefabā's soldiers and utterly defeated. Whenever Tefabā attacked the town of an enemy he threw down its walls and took its governor captive, and when he had defeated every chief on the left bank of the river, he passed over to the right, and did the same there; he says that he was like a bull [on the day of battle], and that he conquered wheresoever he went. The boats of his adversary were dashed to pieces against the river banks, his soldiers became like bulls in the presence of a lion which is about to leap upon them, he surrounded the town from

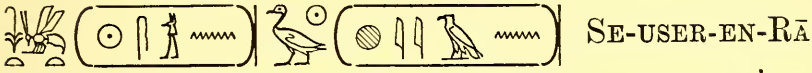
one side of it to the other, and he seized the enemy's possessions and cast them into the flames. He declares that he was able to effect all these things through the counsels and plans of Ápuat, the god of Thebes, and that he overthrew the happiness of every place which fought against the king; that his progress through the provinces of the South was like that of a flame of fire, and that there was no part of the desert which was too remote for the terror of him to penetrate. In his success and prosperity Tefabá did not forget the gods of his country, for he gave gifts to their temples and caused religious ceremonies to be performed in their honour.

The success which the princes of Herakleopolis enjoyed in the time of Tefabá was continued under his son and successor Khati II., who is declared to have sprung from the bodies of five princes, and to have been the son of a prince, and the son of a daughter of a prince, and the offspring of an ancient family which had been the ruling power in Siut from the earliest times. The inscription in his tomb states that he was greatly beloved by Ka-meri-Rā, that he had spread terror throughout all the land of Egypt, and that he had inflicted punishment upon the country of the South. It seems that the king had become unpopular with the chiefs and nobles of Herakleopolis, and that eventually he had to seek safety in flight to his friend Khati II., prince of Siut; this redoubtable man assembled his forces and collected his boats, and, having made the

king to take his seat in one of them, he escorted Ka-meri-Rā down the river to his capital city, and established him in the rule of his kingdom. When the rebels saw the forces which accompanied the king they trembled and were greatly afraid, and every town by which he passed gladly submitted and made peace with him; on his arrival in his city the whole population turned out to welcome him, women as well as men, and old men as well as children. The king thus owed his restoration to power entirely to the vigorous help of the prince of Siut, and this fact shows how great was the influence which Khati II. possessed in the land, and the prominent part which he took in arranging the government of his country. Had he been disaffected when Ka-meri-Rā was driven out of his capital, his troops and boats would probably have been placed at the disposal of the princes of Thebes, and the rule of the princes of Herakleopolis would have ended much sooner than it did.

We have already mentioned certain royal names which are found only upon scarabs that have been
 * thought to belong to the period of the IXth and Xth Dynasties because of the peculiar character of their workmanship, and in respect of the names already quoted there seems to be some reasonable ground for this assumption; but the same cannot be said of another small group of names which are found chiefly on scarabs that have also, on grounds of style and workmanship, been attributed to this period.

The latter group consists of three names, i.e., (1)



SE-USER-EN-RĀ

KHIAN, who took as his Horus name the title "ĀNQ
ĀTEBU"¹ "embracing lands," (2) ²

UATCHEṬ, and (3) ³ IPEQ-HERU. The

first of these names is known to us from a much-broken colossal statue of the king which was found at Bubastis by M. Naville; portions of a second statue were also found, but the name of Khian, which must have been inscribed upon it also, was erased, and an inscription of Osorkon II. was cut over the older inscription. These portions, including the head, which is probably to be regarded as a portrait of king Khian, are now in the British Museum;⁴ the portions of the first statue, which still bear the name of Khian, are preserved in the Museum of Cairo. Khian's name as "king of the South and North," i.e., SE-USER-EN-RĀ, occurs on a small rough basalt lion,⁵ which was obtained at Baghdad by the late Mr. George Smith, and the name of the king was found by Mr. A. J. Evans upon a jar lid which he discovered in the course of his excavations in the Mycenaean palace of Knossos (Kephala) in Crete. On inscribed seals and cylinders Khian is described as

¹ See Naville, *Bubastis*, 1891, plate 12.

² British Museum, No. 32,319.

³ British Museum, Nos. 32,441, 32,344.

⁴ British Museum, Nos. 1063, 1064.

⁵ British Museum,¹No. 987.

“*ḥeq semtu*,” $\int \triangle \overline{\text{---}} \text{---}$, i.e., “prince of the deserts”; this peculiar title, taken in connection with his remarkable Horus name mentioned above, the foreign type of



Se-user-en-Râ Khian, King of Egypt. British Museum, No. 1063.

the name Khian, and the un-Egyptian character of his portrait heads from Bubastis, as well as the fact that his chief monuments are all found in Lower Egypt,

have been usually regarded as proofs that this king belonged to the Hyksos Dynasty. In late years, however, it has been maintained, solely on the ground of arguments based upon the style of his scarabs, that he belongs to the period of the Xth Dynasty; but such arguments are inconclusive, for although these scarabs do in many respects resemble those of the VIth and VIIth Dynasties, and are very similar to those which we have tentatively ascribed to the IXth Dynasty, yet these resemblances are not strong enough to enable us to set aside the weighty evidence which we have duly set forth above, from which it may be assumed with some show of reason that Khian was a Hyksos king. This view receives very substantial confirmation from Mr. Evans' discovery of Khian's name at Knossos, for the oldest parts of the palace which he discovered there may well be as old as B.C. 1800, the date which may be roughly assigned to the Hyksos period. If the scarabs of Khian belong, in reality, to the time of the Hyksos, the scarabs of Maā-āb-Rā and other kings, whom we have provisionally assigned to the IXth Dynasty, may belong to a period subsequent to the XIIth Dynasty. The scarabs of Ipeq-Heru and Uatchet are identical in style with those of Khian, and their names are of the same foreign character; it follows therefore that if Khian was a Hyksos king, Ipeq-Heru and Uatchet were Hyksos kings, and they must have reigned about the same time, i.e., about B.C. 1800. We are, then, not justified in assuming


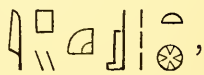


that an invasion of Egypt by Asiatic tribes, who entered the country by way of the Delta, took place in the period between the VIIIth and XIth Dynasties; the only invasion of the kind known to us was that of the Hyksos, which took place several hundreds of years later.




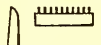

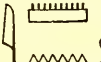

Another invasion which was formerly ascribed to this period, i.e., that of the "New Race," who were on insufficient grounds described as "Libyans," has now for several years past been recognized as never having taken place. The "New Race" were simply, as M. J. de Morgan has pointed out, the primitive Egyptians who lived in the period preceding the Ist Dynasty. The Xth Dynasty ends the Early Empire, the closing years of which were, as we have seen above, marked by strife and civil war, caused by the persistent attempts of the princes of Thebes, a city hitherto unknown in Egyptian history, to obtain the mastery of the Two Lands. The result is that the knowledge of this period which we possess is of the scantiest description, but the principal facts of which we can be certain, and the theories upon which most reliance can be placed, will be found to have been given above.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

WE have already mentioned that under the rule of the kings of the Xth Dynasty, i.e., Ka-meri-Rā and his predecessors, the princes of Siut formed a bulwark of the kings at Herakleopolis against the persistent attacks of the princes of Thebes. This city, which is generally alluded to in the inscriptions of the period as the "city of the south," now for the first time comes into prominence, and prepares to assume the predominant position which it occupied in Egyptian history for more than two thousand years. Ancient Thebes stood on both sides of the Nile, and was commonly called "Uast" ; that part of the city which was situated on the east bank, and which included the temples of Karnak and Luxor, appears to have been called *Āpet*, , whence, by the addition of the feminine article *Ta-*,  , comes the Greek form of the name, *Θῆβαι*, mentioned in the Iliad of Homer (ix. 381 ff.), a passage

which must date, at the latest, from the IXth century B.C. The Copts prefixed the feminine article to the name Apet, and called the city Tape, which is not a corruption of the Greek form, but is derived directly from the old Egyptian words Ta-âpet. The cuneiform inscriptions and the Hebrew Scriptures call it Ni' and "No" (Ezekiel xxx. 14), i.e., the Egyptian word "Nut," , "city," that is to say, "The City" *par excellence*;  |, and "No-Amon," i.e., the Egyptian "Nut-Âmen,"  |  , that is to say, "The City of the god Âmen"; the later Greek and Roman writers call it Diospolis, or Diospolis Magna, because of the identification of the god Zeus with Âmen, the king of the gods of Egypt. It is impossible to say when Thebes was founded. Diodorus says that it was the most ancient city in Egypt; some say that, like Memphis, it was founded by Menes, and others, that it was a colony from Memphis. So far, however, its name has never been found in any inscription anterior to the Xth Dynasty. The spot upon which ancient Thebes stood is admirably adapted for the site of a great city. The mountains on the east and west side of the river sweep away from it, and leave a broad plain on each bank of several square miles in extent. The great god of Thebes was called "Âmen,"  | , a name which is said to mean the "hidden god"; his name is mentioned in the religious texts of the VIth Dynasty, but only as an inferior deity, who occupied an unimportant position in

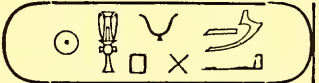
the theological conceptions of the priests of Heliopolis. Originally he was of far less importance in the country of the south than Min, or Ámsu, the ithyphallic god, and Menthu of Hermonthis, and Horus of Edfu. Under the XIth Dynasty, when the Theban princes first assumed the rank and titles of kings, he first acquired as the local god of their city a position of prominence, which was almost equal to that of the old local god of the Thebaïd, Menthu, whom the princes of the XIth Dynasty specially venerated. Under the XIIth Dynasty Ámen became the chief god of the Thebaïd, and the cult of Menthu declined, the chief attributes of this god being absorbed by Ámen, with whom Min, or Ámsu, was also gradually more or less identified. The kings of the XIIth Dynasty founded a shrine in honour of Ámen in a part of Thebes now called Karnak, and from this time down to the Ptolemaic period the Temple of Ámen became the centre of the religious life of all Egypt. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty Ámen usurped the position of the chief god of Egypt by entirely absorbing the god Rā, becoming henceforth Ámen-Rā, and taking over all his attributes and the whole of his cult; from now onwards his official title is "Ámen-Rā, king of the gods, lord of the thrones of the world." His wife Mut is often mentioned under the XIIth Dynasty, but the cult of their son Khonsu remained unimportant until the time of the XXth Dynasty.


The princes of Thebes who fought against the

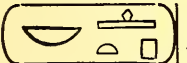
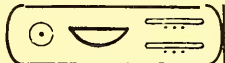
princes of Siut like them bore the title of “erpā ḥā,”
 or “hereditary chief.” One of these princes
 who is known to us, and who may very well have been
 a contemporary of the princes of Siut whose names
 have been mentioned above, bore the name of Āntefā,
. It is not known which of his successors
 was the first to assume the title of “King of the
 South and North,” but it is probable that he was one
 of the group of kings, of whom each bore the name of
 Menthu-ḥetep, whose reigns must be assigned to the
 XIth Dynasty. The authorities for the reconstruction
 of the history of this dynasty are few, and the King
 Lists drawn up in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties
 almost entirely fail us. For this period the Tablets of
 Karnak and Ṣaḳḳāra are useless, for though they supply
 the names of kings of the XIth, XIIth, and following
 Dynasties, these names are not given in any consecutive
 order, and to follow the guidance of the Lists here is to
 be misled. It has been generally held that a series of
 kings, each of whom bore the name of Āntef, ,
 which name was sometimes elaborated into Āntef-āa,
 , formed, together with the series of
 Menthu-ḥetep kings already mentioned, the kings of
 the XIth Dynasty ; but there seems now to be no doubt
 that this arrangement of the kings of that dynasty is
 erroneous. It is certain that the Menthu-ḥetep kings
 belong to the XIth Dynasty, but it is by no means

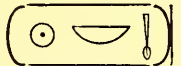
certain that the Antef kings do, for the following reasons. In the first place, the prenomens, or names which the Antefs bore as kings of the South and North,


e.g., SESHES-HER-HER-MAĀT-RĀ ),

and SESHES-ĀP-MAĀT-RĀ , and

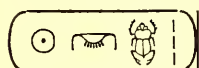
the Horus name of HERU-UAḤ-ĀNKH, , are entirely different in character from the simple prenomens of the Menthu-ḥeteps, such as NEB-ḤETEP

, and RĀ-NEB-TAUI , and

NEB-KHERU-RĀ ); and whereas the latter



are of the type of the names of the kings of the Early Empire, the prenomens of the Antefs strongly resemble those of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and are utterly unlike any name belonging to the Early Empire, or to the first years of the XIIth Dynasty. Further, some of the Antefs added to their names the epithet "āa," , "Great," which was an important element in the prenomens of the Hyksos monarchs, and was adopted by the "TAA" kings of the XVIIth Dynasty, and was not fashionable at any other period. Another reason for assigning the Antef kings to the period between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties may perhaps be deduced from the shape of their coffins. Under the Early and Middle Empires rectangular wooden coffins with flat wooden covers were in general

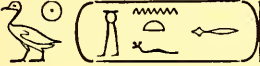
use for nobles and men of high rank, and no example of a coffin made in the shape of a mummy with a human face is known to belong to these early periods ; but the *Antef* kings were buried in coffins of this latter class and not in the old-fashioned rectangular chests. The coffin in mummy form is first found in general use at the beginning of the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it is somewhat difficult to assume that the coffins in which the *Antefs* were found do not belong to the period immediately preceding. It may further be noted that the style of the scarabs of the *Antefs*, e.g., of







Nub-kheperu-Rā, is much more elaborate than that of the scarabs of the Menthu-*heteps*, which resemble those of the Early Empire. Finally, there must be taken into consideration the fact that a decree dated in the 3rd year of Nub-kheperu-Rā *Antef* is cut on a doorway of Usertsen I., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, at Coptos, which proves that Nub-kheperu-Rā *Antef* reigned after Usertsen I. An attempt has been made to explain away this deduction by supposing that the existing inscription is a *copy* of the original decree cut in or after the time of Usertsen, but it is extremely improbable that such a copy would have been inscribed in such a place. The above reasons seem to us to be sufficient for placing the *Antef* kings at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but because general Egyptological tradition assigns them to the XIth Dynasty, we treat of their reigns here before we discuss the kings



who undoubtedly belong to the XIth Dynasty. The names of the kings which should be transferred to the XVIIth Dynasty are as follows :—

1.   RĀ-
SESHESH-HER-HER-MAĀT, son of the
Sun, ANTEF-ĀA (I).

2.  Son of the Sun, ANTEF-ĀA (II).

3.  
RĀ-SESHES-ĀP-MAĀT, son of the Sun,
ANTEF-ĀA (III).


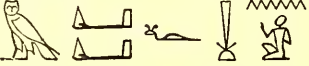
4.  Son of the Sun,
ANTEF-ĀA (IV.), with the Horus
name UAH-ĀNKH. 

5.  RĀ-NUB-
KHEPERU, son of the Sun, ANTEF,
with the Horus name NEFER-
KHEPERU. 

Of ANTEF-ĀA I. the only monument known is his coffin, which is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre; this coffin is made of wood, the face being painted black, and it is ornamented with feather work. Dr. Birch, who described it and translated ¹ the hieroglyphic

¹ *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 52.

texts inscribed upon it, thought that the cartouche and the royal name had been added at a period subsequent to the lines of inscription. The texts contain addresses to the deceased king in the character of Osiris.


Of ANTEF-ĀA II. also the only monument known is his coffin, which resembles that of his brother Antef-āa I. in shape and character, but differs from it in respect of ornamentation; instead of being covered with a design of coloured feather work it is gilded all over.¹ It also is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. The hieroglyphic inscription upon it contains a prayer to Anubis, lord of Sepa, , and mentions the fact that the coffin was provided for Antef-āa II. as a gift by his brother .² On it Isis and Nephthys address the deceased king, saying, "We place our arms as protectors of thee, O Osiris, king Antef-āa *maā-kheru*."³

Of ANTEF-ĀA III. the principal contemporaneous monument is his gilded coffin, which is preserved in the British Museum (No. 6652). The uraeus, or serpent, which originally surmounted the forehead is wanting.

¹ "Il est doré et décoré d'ailes qui enveloppent et protègent le corps du défunt." Pierret, *Recueil*, p. 86.

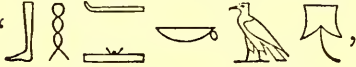
² Birch, *ibid.*, p. 52.

³ These words are always added after the names of the blessed dead. They mean the state of knowledge which will enable a man to utter commands, whatever they may be, in such a manner as will cause them to be carried out by those to whom they are addressed, whether gods or devils.

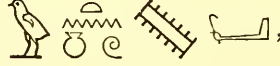
The face appears to be a portrait of the deceased; the eyes and eyelids are made of black, white, and blue obsidian, inlaid, and closely resemble those found in the limestone statues of the earliest dynasties. The feather work and star ornaments appear to be characteristic of the period of the coffins. The inscriptions are addresses to the king by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and read: "We bring thy hands to thee as we did for Osiris, and we grant unto thee a happy burial; thy heart is in thy body, say Isis and Nephthys." In the inscription at the foot the goddesses say, "We come, and we embrace thy bones for thee, O Antef-āa, thou king of the South and North." In the Abbott Papyrus (British Museum, No. 10,221) we have a reference to the tomb of this king, which was examined officially during the trial of the robbers of the royal tombs at Thebes to see what damage, if any, had been done to it by them, and in the document which records the examination is the following entry:—"The pyramid tomb (*mer* ) of the king of the South, Rā-seshes-em-āpu-Maāt (life, strength, health!), the son of the Sun, Antuf-āa (life, strength, health!), was found to have been actually broken into by the hand of the robbers at the place where the stele of the pyramid is placed. Having been examined on this day it was found to be intact, for the robbers did not know how to make a way into it." ¹ From this it

¹ See Maspero, *Enquête Judiciaire*, Paris, 1871, p. 17.

seems that the robbers tried to effect an entry by the side of the stele, and that they did some damage is evident from the use of the word *utennu*¹ in the inscription.

The name of ÂNTEF-ĀA IV. as king of the South and North is unknown to us. The tomb of this king is mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus, where we have the following entry:—"The tomb of the king of the South, " Ân[tef]āa (life, strength, health!), which is [situated] " to the north of the Temple of Âmen-ḥetep (life, strength, " health!), of the court-yard of the tomb. The tomb hath " been broken into at the place which faceth that wherein " the sepulchral stele hath been set up. The image of " the king on the stele is represented in a standing " position, and he hath his dog, which is called Beḥuka, " , between his legs. Having " been examined on this day, it was found to be intact."²

This king built for himself a brick tomb on the western bank of the Nile, at a place which is almost exactly opposite the modern village of Karnak, and not far from Dêr al-Baḥarî, and here it was discovered by the late Brugsch Pâsha in the year 1860; the modern name of the site is Draḥ abu'l-Neḳḳa. This tomb consisted of an unbaked brick pyramid, each side of which at the base did not measure more than about fifty feet. The

¹ , which means "to overthrow," "to ruin."


² Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

pyramid was built on the rock, and the chamber in which the mummy lay was hewn either out of the rock entirely, or partly out of the stone foundations of the pyramid and partly out of the rock. The tombs of this class and period which were made for the Antefs and their immediate successors consisted of unbaked brick buildings, which were either pyramids or had pointed roofs like pyramids. In a chamber in the building itself, or in a grave in the foundation or solid rock, lay the mummy; on one side of the building was the funeral chapel, which joined on to it, and at the end of this chapel, fixed in the tomb-building itself, was the sepulchral stele; in this chapel funeral offerings were made by the relatives and priests of the deceased king, and prayers were said. Sepulchral buildings of this kind were not oriented on any uniform plan, and they were rarely as much as thirty-five feet high, and stone was used but sparingly in their construction. The mummy-chamber was always carefully closed, and was usually approached by means of a square vertical or inclined shaft; in the mummy-chamber itself the objects of funeral furniture, i.e., vases, tools, weapons, wheat, bread, fruit, etc., were deposited, and such things have never been found in the upper or outer chamber of the building, which was reserved for the visitors who came to pray there on certain prescribed days.¹


The Stele of Antef-āa IV., to which reference is


¹ See Mariette, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv. p. 194.


made in the Abbott Papyrus, was found by Brugsch in the upper chamber of the tomb, and is of very considerable interest. The upper part of the stele was broken away, as well as parts of the seven vertical lines of inscription which were cut to the left of the figure of the king. In front of the left leg of the king are three dogs, and between his legs is another. The first dog is called Behukaa,


, which is clearly the dog referred

to in the Abbott Papyrus, although his name is misspelled by the XXth Dynasty scribe, and he does not occupy the position which is assigned to him in the legal report. He was probably the most famous of the dogs of Antef-āa IV., and by his name and peculiarity enabled the tomb to be at once recognized.¹ The second dog is

called Ābaqeru, ,² the third Pehetes,

, and the dog between the legs of the king Teqru

; behind the king stands the figure of a man

whose name seems to have been Tekenru, ,

and who probably held the office of master of the royal hounds. Three of the dogs have epithets applied to them on the stele which probably refer to their physical powers and characteristics; thus the first is said to be "Mahetch," the third "Qemu," and of the fourth it is said

¹ Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv. p. 174.

² M. Maspero compares this word with the Berber name for greyhound, "abaikour"; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. v. p. 127.

“*uhat neb khanfet*,”¹ but the meanings of these words are uncertain. In connection with the dogs of Antef-āa IV. we are reminded of the fact that fine terra-cotta models of Ashur-bani-pal's dogs were found with the inscribed tablets and fragments among the ruins of this king's palace at Kuyunjik, or Nineveh. On each dog is either a name or a title, e.g., “capturer of foes,”² “biter of foes,”³ “making the evil to go forth,”⁴ and thus it appears that the same views in respect of dogs of the chase were held by a king of Egypt and a king of Assyria. The inscription which accompanies the figure of the king is, as has been said, mutilated, but from what remains of it we learn that Antef-āa IV. had provided the temple of Amen at Thebes with libation vessels of great price, and had built up the divine houses of the gods, and raised their battlements, and established offerings in perpetuity, and had captured the city of Abydos, and entered into its secret places ; having done


¹ According to Dr. Birch, *Maḥetch* means “white antelope” ; *Qemu*, “black” ; *uhat neb khanfet*, “cutting off all under his breath,” and *Ābaqeru*, “pied Sphinx.” There is no proof that all these dogs have Libyan names.

² . The hieroglyphs consist of a lotus flower, a falcon, a seated man, and a seated man with a bow.

³ . The hieroglyphs consist of a lotus flower, a falcon, a seated man, a seated man with a bow, a seated man with a bow, and a seated man with a bow.

⁴ . The hieroglyphs consist of a lotus flower, a lotus flower, a seated man, a seated man with a bow, a seated man with a bow, a seated man with a bow, and a seated man with a bow. The names of


the other two dogs are and , i.e., *Epartallic-ebush-kaka*, and *Da-an-ri-gish-shu*.

great good to his city, he arranged that his son should succeed him, and the inscription declares that the tablet was set up in the fiftieth year of the king of the South and North, the son of the Sun, An-āa, i.e., Antef-āa.¹ Following the royal name is the title “nem mestu,” , i.e., “repeater of births,” the allusion being to the idea that the king was like the Sun-god Rā who was reborn daily; this title became a great favourite with the kings of the XIIth Dynasty.

Of ANTEF V., the last of the series of kings bearing this name, we also have mention in the Abbott Papyrus, where we find the following entry:—“The tomb of the king of the South, Nub-kheperu-Rā (life, strength, health!), son of the Sun, Antuf (life, strength, health!), was found to have been actually broken into by the hand of the robbers, who have made a breach in the outer covering thereof to a depth of two cubits and a half, and also an opening one cubit (in length or breadth) in the outer hall of the tomb of Aurei, the chief of the supply of offerings to the temple of Amen, which was destroyed. It (i.e., the mummy-chamber) was intact, the robbers not having known how to force an entrance therein.”² The tomb of this king was discovered by Mariette, who found in front of it two small obelisks, one of which was about eleven feet high, and the other a little higher, and who mentions that there

¹ A drawing of the stele is given by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 49.

² Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

was upon one of them an inscription which recorded their restoration by a later king, perhaps Rameses IX.¹ The remains of the obelisks were despatched by boat to the Bûlâk Museum in 1881, but, according to Mariette, were lost at Kamûla by the foundering of the boat which contained them, owing to the stupidity of the captain. From the inscriptions on these obelisks, which were published by Mariette,² we learn that the Horus name of Antef was Nefer-kheperu, and that he adopted the old title , and also called himself “beautiful god, lord of the two lands, the lord making things”³ (i.e., creation), and the “King of the South and North who resteth upon his throne.” On the side of one of the obelisks his names and titles were



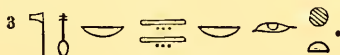
Names and titles of Antef.


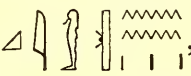

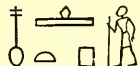
grouped, as shown by the accompanying block. The text of an interesting decree dated in the third year of the reign of this king Antef was cut, apparently during his lifetime, upon the side of a gateway of the temple which was dedicated to the god Min, or Amsu, at Coptos by Usertsen I., and from it we gain some interesting details of


a matter which took place concerning the Temple



¹ See Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² *Op. cit.*, plate 50.

³ 

of Āmsu in that city, and we may perhaps also gather from it an indication that Āntef reigned *after* Usertsen I., and not before, as has been commonly supposed. The decree is dated on the 25th day of the third month of the season Pert, and is described as a royal decree addressed to the chancellor and *hā* priest of Coptos Āmsu-em-*hāt*, , and to the royal son in command at Coptos Qā-enen , and to the chancellor Menkhet Āmsu , and to the scribe of the temple Nefer-*hetep-ur* , and to all the soldiers of Coptos, and to each and every man employed in the service of the temple of every rank and grade whatsoever. The text continues:—"This decree cometh unto "you to cause you to know that my Majesty (life, "strength, health!) hath made to come [unto you] the "scribe and divine chancellor of Āmen [called] Āmen-sā, "and the chief inspector Āmen-user to make an inspec- "tion of the temple of Āmsu. Now, inasmuch as an "officer of the temple of my father Āmsu came unto my "Majesty (life, strength, health!), saying, 'A wicked act¹ "hath been committed in the temple, that is to say, "'the man whose name is Tetā, the son of Āmsu-*hetep*, "'hath received an enemy [therein],' come, throw ye him "upon the ground in the temple of father Āmsu, turn ye

¹ Literally "evil speech" 

“ him out of the exalted position which he holdeth in the
 “ temple, and [his] son’s son, and his offspring’s offspring.
 “ Hurl ye them forth on the ground [outside the temple],
 “ let his allowance of bread be taken away from him, let
 “ his portion of meat from the holy offerings be cut off,
 “ and let his name be no more had in remembrance in
 “ this temple, even according to that which is done unto
 “ any man who is like unto him, and who rebelleth and
 “ becometh a foe of the god. Erase ye whatsoever he
 “ hath written in the temple of Āmsu and everything
 “ likewise which he hath written in the double white
 “ house (i.e., treasury). And any king or any noble who
 “ shall allow Tetā to be reconciled unto him shall never
 “ receive the White Crown , and shall never bear [on
 “ his head] the Red Crown , and he shall never take
 “ his seat upon the Horus throne of the divine ones who
 “ live; and the Vulture goddess (Nekhebet) and the
 “ Uraeus goddess (Uatchet) shall never be propitiated by
 “ him [or show him] their love. And every governor or
 “ hā prince who shall come to the Lord (life, strength,
 “ health!) to sue for peace on his behalf shall be com-
 “ pelled to make over his menservants and maidservants,
 “ and his goods and possessions, and his fields as a divine
 “ oblation to father Āmsu of Coptos, and during the
 “ lifetime of such a man none of the kinsfolk, either of
 “ his father or of his mother, shall occupy that exalted
 “ position. And, moreover, the dignity [which Tetā
 “ held] shall be transferred to the chancellor and over-

“seer of the palace, Ámsu-em-hât, and there shall be given unto him the bread and the meat of the holy offerings which appertain thereunto according to the regulations which stand written in the books of the temple of father Ámsu of Coptos, and unto [his] son’s son, and unto his offspring’s offspring.”¹ Whether the offence committed by the delinquent was connected with blasphemy or with rebellious conduct against the king cannot be said, but it seems much more likely that Tetà had made cause with a heretic than with a mere enemy of the king; expulsion from the service of the temple, with the consequent loss of rank, position, and emoluments accruing therefrom, was a meet punishment for blasphemy or heresy, and it seems most probable that the priest who uttered words of treason or the like against the divine majesty of the king of the South and North would have swiftly received the punishment of death and not a mere deprivation of priestly office. In connection with king Ántef may also be mentioned the poem of lamentation, or Manerôs’s Dirge,² which is said to have been [written] in front of the harper in the temple of the blessed king Ántef. The ideas set forth in this interesting composition are as follows:—“It is a fortunate lot for man that it hath been decreed that as one man hath passed away

¹ The slab bearing this decree is now in the Museum at Gîzeh, and the text is given by Petrie, *Koptos*, plate 8.

² See Herodotus II. 79. This dirge was said to have been called after Manerôs, a son of the first king of Egypt, who died in his early youth, and is analogous to the Cyprian Linos, or Ailinos dirge.

“ another hath taken his place. The gods who lived in
“ olden times and who now rest in their tombs, and the
“ saints and blessed dead who lie in their graves, built
“ houses, but they no longer exist, and what hath be-
“ come of them? The writer hath heard the words of
“ Ī-em-ḥetep¹ and Ḥerutāṭāf,² but what hath become of
“ their places? Their walls are overthrown, and their
“ places no longer exist, and they are as if they had
“ never been; and no one cometh [from the dead] to give
“ us information concerning them, or to speak of their
“ qualities, or to bring comfort to our heart and to lead
“ us unto the place whither they have gone. But let
“ thy heart be at rest, and let it forget these things, and
“ follow thou its desires as long as thou livest. Put
“ scented unguents upon thy head, and array thyself in
“ apparel of the finest byssus cloth which hath been
“ steeped in the choicest perfumes. Go on, and enjoy
“ thyself more than thou hast enjoyed thyself up to this
“ present, and let not thine appetite for enjoyments fail,
“ and according to the dictates of thine heart arrange
“ thine affairs upon this earth in such a way that thou
“ mayest follow after the wish of thine heart and the
“ gratification thereof. The day will come to thee when
“ thou wilt not hear the voice, and when he whose heart
“ is at rest shall not hear the voice of those who weep;
“ and lamentations avail not him that is in the tomb.

¹ A man of great learning who flourished during the period of the Early Empire.






² The son of Khufu or of Men-kau-Rā, the editor or author of certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead*.

“ Enjoy thyself, and be diligent in thine enjoyment, for
 “ no man can carry his possessions away with him ; and
 “ behold, none who goeth thither cometh back again.”¹
 The above ideas, expressed in different words, were
 great favourites with the Egyptians, and they are
 reproduced in the Song of the Harper and other
 similar compositions.²

The above four kings who bore the name of Antef-āa, and their successor Nub-kheperu-Rā Antef, form, as we have said before, a single group of kings, the date of whose reigns is to be assigned probably to the period which lies between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties. We have now to describe what is known of the reigns of the undoubted true kings of the XIth Dynasty. The founder of the Dynasty was, most probably, the local chief of the Thebaïd Antefā, whose titles were “ erpā hā,” or hereditary chief, “ great prince of the nome of “ the Thebaïd, the filler (i.e., the satisfier) of the heart of “ the king, the controller of the gates of the Cataract, “ the support of the South, making his two banks³ of

¹ See Goodwin, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 386 ; and Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, tom. i. fasc. 2, p. 178 ff. ; the latest edition of the Egyptian text and a German translation will be found in Müller, *Die Liebespöesie der alten Aegypter*, p. 29.

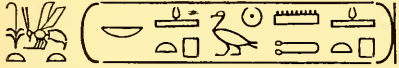
² A complete drawing of the stele will be found in Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 50.

³ The title “ neb tau,”   “ lord of the two lands,” always means the two banks of the Nile, and here the fact is emphasized by the determinative  ; the title should be distinguished from “ neb tau ”  , = “ lord of lands,” i.e., of the world.

“ the Nile to live, chief of the priests, and venerated in the
 “ presence of the great god,¹ the lord of heaven, Antefā.”

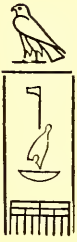


On his stele we see this prince seated in a shrine on a chair, beneath which is his favourite dog. One man standing before him is making offerings, another, who stands behind him, is fanning him, and a third, also behind him, is holding his staff and his sandals. Elsewhere on the stele we see servants slaughtering an animal and bringing offerings of all kinds to him.² Antefā seems to have ruled the Thebaïd under the Herakleopolite kings of the Xth Dynasty, and it was either he or one of his immediate descendants who assumed the title of king, although there seems to be no authority for putting his name in a cartouche. Antefā was succeeded in the rule of Upper Egypt and of the whole country by an independent king called :


1.  NEB-ḤETEP, son of the Sun, MENTH-ḤETEP.

¹ I.e., the god Osiris.

² For the enumeration of them see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 225.



NETER-ḤETCH,
the HORUS
name of
Menthu-Ḥetep
I.

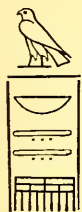
MENTHU-ḤETEP I. adopted the ancient title , which had been borne by his predecessors of the Early Empire, and for his Horus name he arrogated to himself the title "divine white crown," which he also placed before his title of King of the South and North. He carried on works in the quarries in the First Cataract and also

in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, for his names and titles are found at those places cut in the rocks. On the Island of Kunussaw in the First Cataract his cartouche is found inscribed above figures of the deities Khnemu, Âmsu, and Satet, and enough remains of the inscriptions to show that these gods promised to set all "foreign lands under his sandals." On the same island his cartouche is found with figures of the deities Menthu, Âmsu, and Net, or Neith, and beneath the feet of Âmsu are piled fifteen bows to indicate the various barbarian countries which these deities will make subject unto the king. In the Wâdî Ḥammâmât is a scene on a rock, in which the king is represented in the act of making an offering to the dual god Âmsu-Ḥeru of the double city of Coptos.¹ The working of the quarries by this king indicates that he must have built temples in honour of the gods.


¹ Copies of the three scenes are in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 150.

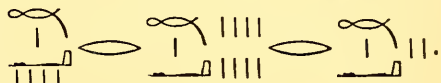
2.  RĀ-NEB-

TAUI, son of the Sun, MENTHU-ḤETEP.



NEB-TAUI, the
Horus name of
Menthu-ḥetep
II.

MENTHU-ḤETEP II. adopted the titles of the ancient kings, and for his Horus name he bestowed upon himself the title “lord of the two lands”; he was the first king known to us to call himself “gods of gold,” . Of the details of the

reign of this king nothing is known, and whether he fought with any of Egypt’s hereditary foes cannot be said; we know, however, that he carried on great works in the famous quarries in the Wādî Ḥam-mâmât, for no less than six important inscriptions concerning him were found there.¹ He sent a very high official called Amen-em-ḥât, whose titles are set forth at great length in an inscription dated on the 15th day of the second month of the season Shat in the second year of the king’s reign,² to this quarry to bring back for him a huge sarcophagus and blocks of stone to be worked into objects employed in temples and tombs; one block of stone which he got out of the quarry in a few days measured $4 \times 8 \times 2$ cubits, .

Of greater interest is the record preserved in another

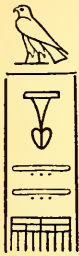
¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 149.

² *Ibid.*, inscription e.

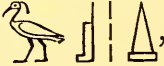
inscription¹ which tells how the king ordered his men to make a well ten cubits square, , so that the workmen and their beasts might not die of thirst. The year in which this useful piece of work was done is not mentioned, but it seems most likely that the work of cutting the well was superintended by the official *Āmen-em-ḥāt*, especially as he had with him several thousands of men, including three thousand carriers or boatmen. It is interesting to note that in the same inscription *Menthu-ḥetep II.* mentions that he was “born of the royal mother *Āmām*,” , a fact which, as *Wiedemann* pointed out in 1884, indicates that he succeeded to the throne by virtue of the royal rank of his mother. *Menthu-ḥetep* was a devoted worshipper of *Āmsu*, and in a rock scene in the same place he is represented in the act of making an offering of incense to this god, who is ithyphallic, and wears plumes like the god *Āmen*, and has his right hand raised; this took place in the second year of the king's reign when a *Seṭ* or thirty-years' festival was celebrated.

3. RĀ-NEB-KHERU,
son of the Sun, MENTHU-ḤETEP.

¹ *Lepsius, Denkmäler*, inscription *f*, lines 3 and 4.



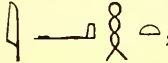
SAM-TAU, the
Horus name of
Menthu-hetep
III.

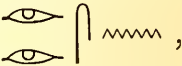
MENTHU-HETEP III., who adopted for his Horus name the title “Uniter of the two lands,” and, like his two predecessors, styled himself the lord of the cities of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, was the greatest of all the kings who bore his name; that his rule was a long one is evident from the fact that the Stele of Meru in Turin¹ is dated in the forty-sixth year of his reign. The names and titles of Menthu-hetep III. as king of all Egypt are found upon a rock at Aswân,² and as his prenomen is given on the Tablets of Abydos and Şakḳâra the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty must have considered him to be a great king. He was buried in a pyramid tomb, or in a tomb with a roof pointed like a pyramid, which was built in the Bibân al-Mulûk, or Tombs of the Kings, at Thebes, and in the Abbott Papyrus³ we have the following entry concerning it:—“The tomb of Râ-neb-khert (life, strength, health!), “the son of the Sun, Menthu-hetep (life, strength, “health!), which is in the funeral mountain called “Tchesert, was intact.” The name of the pyramid tomb of Menthu-hetep III. was “Khu-âst,” , a fact which we learn from the funeral stele of one Tetu, who was the “chief reader,” and “superintendent of the offerings,” and a scribe connected with the worship

¹ Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

² See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, p. 149b.

³ Maspero, *Enquête Judiciaire*, p. 21.

of the king which took place there; Tetu was buried at Abydos,¹ and in a short inscription in his tomb he asks every priest, and every reader, and every scribe of the temple to remember that he was a scribe in the temple there. In his later years Menthu-ḥetep III. carried on war against a number of tribes who lived in Nubia, and also in the Western Desert, and before his death his empire extended from the sea-coast on the north to a point some considerable distance to the south of Aswân. An interesting scene in which he is represented receiving the homage or adoration of a "son of the Sun, Antef," is found cut on a rock on the side of the road which leads inland from Ḥôsh Gebel Silsila on the Nile. Here we have a colossal standing figure of the king holding a club in the right hand, and a sceptre in the left; above his head are his Horus name and his name as king of the South and North. Before him stands the royal personage called Antef, who is followed by Khati, the chancellor, and overseer of the seal; and behind him is the divine mother Aâhet, , who holds a lotus flower in the right hand, and a staff in the left.²

To the reign of Menthu-ḥetep III. belongs the famous inscribed stele of Maati-sen, or Merti-sen, ,





¹ Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Mariette, *Catalogue*, No. 605, p. 135.

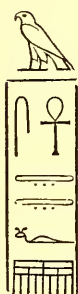
² First published by Eisenlohr from a drawing by Harris in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881, p. 100.

an artist and sculptor of great skill and repute in his day, if we may believe his own description of his artistic powers. The inscription has been published several times,¹ and is of considerable interest, for it shows that the kingdom of Egypt was sufficiently consolidated to admit of the employment of skilled artists and sculptors. Maati-sen says, "I know the "secret things of sacred literature, and the regu- "lations of the festivals, and every word of power with "which a man should be provided therefor; I have never "put them away from me. I am, moreover, a workman "skilled in his craft, who by reason of his knowledge "hath risen above [all others]. I have knowledge con- "cerning the water flood [of the Nile], and of the rising "of the scales in making reckoning by weighing, and "how to depict the motion of a limb when it is extended "and withdrawn to its place. I know [how to depict] the "gait of a man, and the way in which a woman beareth "herself, and the two arms of Horus, and the twelve "abodes of the Monster, and how to gaze with that un- "equalled eye which striketh terror into the fiends, and "how to balance the arm in such a way as to smite down "the hippopotamus, and [how to depict] the stride of him "that runneth. I know how to make the amulets which "will enable us to go unharmed through every fire what- "soever, and which will keep us from being washed away "by any water whatsoever. No man getteth skill in

¹ The text is given with an English version by Maspero in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. v. p. 555 ff.

“these matters except myself and the eldest son of my body, unto whom God hath decreed that he should advance in them. I have seen the productions of his two hands and his beautiful work in precious stones of every kind, and in gold, and in silver, and in ebony.”

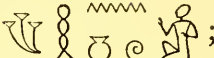




4.  ( |  | ) RĀ-SE-ĀNKH-KA.



SE-ĀNKH-TAUI-F,
the Horus name
of
Se-ānkh-ka-Rā.


The name of SEĀNKHKA-RĀ as “son of the Sun” is unknown, but it has been conjectured¹ that it was “Antef,” and, in fact, that this king is to be identified with the “son of the Sun” who is seen adoring Menthu-ḥetep III. at Ḥōsh Gebel Silsila as already described; but whether this be so or not, it is quite certain that he was monarch of all Egypt, and we know that he styled himself “lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet”; he also called himself the “Horus of gold.” In the Tablet of Abydos his cartouche precedes that of Amenemḥāt I., and he appears to have been the last king of the XIth Dynasty. Of the reign of this king we have very few details, for, like most of his immediate predecessors, he seems to have taken no special trouble to commemorate his exploits. One very important document, the text of which has come down to us, gives us an account of an

¹ Petrie, *History*, p. 141.

expedition to Punt, which was placed by the king under the direction of a general called Henu, ; this document is inscribed on a rock in the Wâdî Hammâmât,¹ and is dated on the third day of the season She in the eighth year of the reign of Seânkh-ka-Râ. According to the text, Henu was sent to take ships to Punt to bring back the *ânti* unguent, , or spice, which had been collected for the king of Egypt by the chiefs of the great tribes of the desert who lived in fear of him. He set out from the town of Coptos on the Nile, and his majesty ordered him to take with him armed men from the nome of the Thebaid, , and a number of skilled artificers, who were also to be armed in such a way that they would be able to meet and overcome the opposition of any organized force that might be encountered on the way. He started on his journey with three thousand men, and passed through Âtert-Teshert (Red Town) and Âat-en-Sekhet (House of the Wood), by which time he had presumably reached the desert road of Wâdî Hammâmât. He next made ready water-skins and yokes on which to carry them, and made a regulation whereby each man was to take his turn in carrying the water for the army. In a wood he dug a reservoir, and at Âtahet, , two reservoirs, one of which measured a *kh*et  by twenty

¹ Published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 150a.

cubits, and the other a *khet* by thirty cubits; at Áaheteb,

, he also dug a reservoir which measured

ten cubits by ten cubits. At these wells Henu's troops

drank, and so made their way to the coast of the Red

Sea near the modern Kuşêr (Kosseir),¹ where goats, and

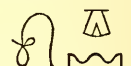
cows, and oxen were sacrificed as thanksgiving offerings

for their safe arrival. From this place Henu set out

for Punt in ships or boats which he built, and having

arrived in that country and laden his boats with products

of every kind, he sailed back to the port from which he

had started, and coming back by Uak, , and

Pe-henu, he brought with him blocks of fine stone suit-

able for making statues of the gods and of the king.

Henu tells us that such a thing had never been per-

formed since kings had existed, and that no one who

had been sent to these places, i.e., Punt and its

neighbourhood, had ever done the like since the time

of Râ, meaning that it was possible that the gods might

have performed such a feat when they were reigning

over Egypt, but that no man had ever done so. The

above facts are very important as showing that already

in the XIth Dynasty the Egyptians had commercial

relations with the country of Punt by sea, and that when it

was necessary they were able to provide for the transport

of a considerable number of men. It is probable that

¹ Chabas read the name of the place as SBA, and thought the place referred to was the Leukos-Limen of the classical writers; see *Voyage*, p. 58.

Hennu sent on companies of men in advance to make ready the reservoirs, i.e., to break up the stone in places where it was known by experience that water would be found beneath the surface, so that by the time when the main body of his army arrived water would have collected in them. A number of such reservoirs are to be found in many places in the Eastern Desert, especially in and near the Wâdî 'Ulâki, and along the desert routes leading into it from the north and south. There is reason to believe that the Egyptians always kept up friendly relations with Punt. It may have been by way of this land that in the earliest dawn of Egyptian history the victorious foreigners from the East approached the place on the western coast of the Red Sea, whence they entered the Wâdî Hammâmât and the Nile Valley. The *ānti* spice or unguent was so much prized in Egypt, that it probably was necessary for caravans to go once or twice a year to meet boats from Punt, and exchange and barter must have taken place between the Egyptians and the people of Punt from the earliest dynastic times. The expedition of Hennu was on a large scale, and this able official, no doubt, took care that his skilful conduct of the same should be recorded.

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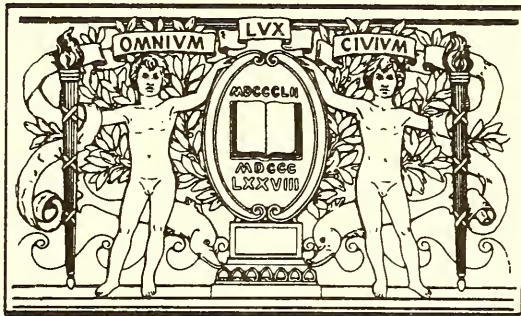


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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10s.

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

- Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.
,, III.—The Judgment of the Dead.
,, IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts
from the Pyramid Texts.
,, V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.
,, VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.
,, VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about
B.C. 1000 (English translation).
,, VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).
,, IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-âbt (English
translation).

2. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD
(pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the
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Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been
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Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE END OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO
THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII. B.C. 30

VOL. III.

EGYPT UNDER THE
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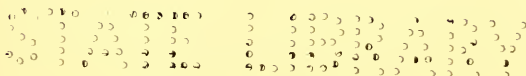
UNDER

THE AMENEMHĀTS AND HYKSOS

BY

Ernest Alfred Thompson
E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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P R E F A C E

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THE period of Egyptian history treated in the present volume has been continued from the end of the reign of Seānkh-ka-Rā, the last king of the XIth Dynasty, to the end of the reign of Thothmes II., i.e., from about 2500 to 1550 B.C. This period is one of the most important in the history of Egypt, for during its course the Egyptians founded their great colony in Nubia, and defeated the Hyksos, and began to extend their possessions into Western Asia. We see the capital of the country now definitely transferred from Memphis to Thebes, the result probably of the difficulty found in ruling the warlike tribes of the south from a city so far to the north as Memphis. The great kings of the XIIth Dynasty, the Amenemhāts and the Usertsens, having made firm their hold upon Nubia as far south as the head of the Third Cataract, turned their attention to increasing the material prosperity of the land, which they had re-organized, and which they were ruling with capable hands, by constructing systems of canals and other irrigation works, the greatest of which

was the famous Lake Mœris. Such works were, no doubt, carried out by forced labour, but few could complain of this, for they were of public utility, and benefited the community far more than the Pyramids, those mighty monuments of the great kings of the IVth and Vth Dynasties. The Pyramids, however, which were built by the greatest kings of the XIIth Dynasty, though smaller, prove that the hands of the architect and the master-mason had not lost their cunning. The extension into Nubia of the kingdom of Egypt brought with it serious responsibilities and wars with which the immediate successors of the Amenemhâts were unable to cope, and during the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties they had the greatest difficulty in maintaining the integrity of their kingdom against the attacks of the nomadic Semitic tribes on the East, of the Libyans on the West, and of the Nubians in the South. During the XVth and XVIth Dynasties we find that the "filthy" Hyksos took possession of the Delta, where they began the period of their rule by the wanton destruction of the temples and their gods, but where they finished by adopting Egyptian civilization, and by adding the greatest of their tribal gods, Sutekh, to the companies of the Egyptian gods. Subsequently the ambition of the Hyksos kings aimed at the sovereignty of the whole country from the sea to Nubia, but the attempt which they made to gain it was foiled by the intrepidity of the Theban kings, who defeated them in more than one decisive engagement,

and who eventually expelled them from the country. Their departure was the first and greatest Exodus from the Delta, and it became the historic fact around which, in later centuries, the Hebrews hung the traditions of their greatness in Egypt, and their expulsion therefrom. In fact, late writers like Josephus have entirely confused this great Exodus with that smaller Exodus during which the descendants of the Patriarch Jacob were obliged to flee to Palestine. The kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty understood the serious danger with which Egypt was threatened by the nomadic Semitic tribes of her north-east frontier, and took steps immediately to obtain possession of cities and towns in Southern Syria, from which they could control the movements of the restless and rebellious tribes in the neighbourhood. How they succeeded in effecting their purpose is briefly described in this and in the following volume. Chronologically, however, the period treated in the present section is full of difficulty, and in the present state of Egyptological knowledge no satisfactory account of it can be given. The compilers of the King Lists were themselves hopelessly perplexed, and it is evident that many parts of their chronological systems are entirely artificial. The Turin Papyrus would probably have helped us out of this difficulty, but no reliance can be placed upon it as an authority for constructing the chronology of Dynasties XII.—XVII. In spite of recent assertions to the contrary, the remarks by Rosellini, de Rougé, Birch,



and Wiedemann show that it is useless for critical purposes, first, because of the lacunae in it, and secondly, because the re-joining of many of the fragments by Seyffarth is hopelessly wrong. We can only hope that some fortunate "find" of papyri may give to Egyptologists an unbroken copy of the work.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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# EGYPT

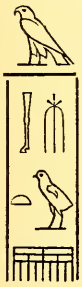
UNDER THE

## ÂMENEMHĀTS AND HYKSOS.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE TWELFTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

1.  RĀ-  
SEHETEP-ĀB, son of the Sun, ÂMEN-EM-HĀT, Ἀμμενέμης.



NEM-MESTU,  
the Horus name of  
Âmenemhât I.

ÂMENEMHĀT I., the first king of the XIIth Dynasty, is to be identified with Ammenemes, who, according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110), reigned sixteen years. He was, no doubt, one of the sixteen kings who are said to have reigned for forty-three years, and he was the first of the princes of Thebes who succeeded in making himself actually king of the Nile Valley from the Mediterranean Sea to Aswân. He adopted as his Horus name the words "Nem-mestu," i.e., "he who repeats births," the allusion being to

his character as the divine Horus of gold, i.e., the Sun-god, who is born anew daily. That he was of Theban origin is certain, and Brugsch thought that he was a descendant of the Ámen-em-ĥāt, the official who did such great works for Menthu-ĥetep II. ; but there is no proof forthcoming in support of this view. Seākh-ka-Rā, whom Ámenemĥāt I. succeeded, was a strong king, and he was certainly regarded as first of the kings of the Middle Empire, but it seems that when he died he left Egypt in a very unsettled condition, and we have no idea how Ámenemĥāt I. came to ascend the throne of Egypt as his successor. And when he had assumed the sovereignty of the country, his own immediate followers, in fact, the members of his own house, conspired against him, and from a document which has been preserved to us in two copies we know that he was well-nigh assassinated on one occasion. The king is made to narrate the story himself, and he tells us how in the night-season, when darkness reigned, he seized the opportunity of taking an hour's rest, which is good for the heart, and how he had gone to lie down on his bed in his own chamber. He was tired, and had hardly begun to compose himself when he fell fast asleep, but almost immediately he was awakened by the noise of the weapons of a number of men who had conspired together to kill him, and who had burst into his room to carry their purpose into effect. The king leaped from his couch and attacked his attackers to such good purpose that, one after the other, he put them to flight, and so

saved his own life.<sup>1</sup> When this conspiracy broke out, we are unfortunately not told, but some think that it immediately preceded the association of his son Usertsen I. with himself in the rule of the kingdom.

When Ámenemhāt became king he found that many things in Egypt needed setting in order, a fact which we learn from an inscription in the tomb of Khnemu-ḥetep at Beni Hasan, where we read that the maternal grandfather of this official, who also bore the name of Khnemu-ḥetep, had been appointed an *erpā hā* and a governor of the Eastern Desert in the town of Menāt-Khufu. The grandson who built the tomb now referred to speaks of Ámenemhāt I. as having come to do away evil, and as appearing in splendour even as the god Temu himself; he restored that which had been overthrown, and what one city had stolen from another he gave back, and he marked out the frontiers of each principality, and arranged that each city should know its own boundaries, and he re-established the old laws in respect of the supply of water for irrigation purposes to the various districts, according to what he found written on the subject in the ancient registers. This he did because of the greatness of his love for justice.<sup>2</sup> What he did at Menāt-Khufu is only an instance of what he did everywhere, and as far as we can tell he

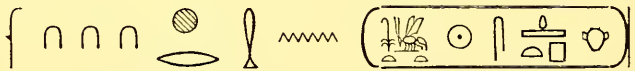
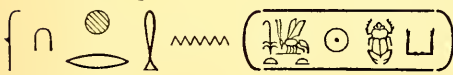
<sup>1</sup> See Dümichen, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 30; Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, p. 16; Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 70; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 9-16; *Les Origines*, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. i. p. 59.






In the twentieth year of his reign he associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom Usertsen I., who subsequently became a great and able king.<sup>1</sup> Amenemhāt wrote a number of "Instructions" or "Precepts" for his son, which were highly prized in Egypt and copied as classics by the scribes of the New Empire.<sup>2</sup> They are very hard to understand at times, but it seems that the king begins his instructions by warning his son against making too many friends among his people, and against laxity of rule. Guard thyself, is the king's motto, for friends are found to be wanting in the day of calamity. He gave to the poor and the needy, he treated the poor with the same consideration as the rich, but it was the very folk to whom he had done good who stirred up strife, and those who put on his apparel and used his spices were the first to curse him. His works are known of and seen among men, but they are not sufficiently heeded by the people, who seem to be like an ox who hath forgotten yesterday. Then follows an account of the conspiracy, which appears to have been caused by the dissatisfaction of the people because

<sup>1</sup> Compare    
; see Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 22.

<sup>2</sup> The texts are published by Birch (*Select Papyri*, Sallier II.) and Maspero, *Recueil*, II. p. 70 and plates; the most recent renderings are by Amélineau (*Recueil*, tom. x. pp 98-121) and by Griffith, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1896, pp. 35-51.

Āmenemhāt had not made his son to sit on the throne with him. Further on the king says, "I advanced to "Ābu (Elephantine) and I returned to the Papyrus "Swamps; I stood upon the ends of the earth and I saw "its bend over, and I advanced the confines by wonderful "deeds of strength." He made corn to be plentiful, and no man went hungry or thirsty in his time, and all people were satisfied with his rule. He hunted lions and crocodiles, he vanquished the tribes of Nubia, Uauaiu,

, and the Māchaiu,

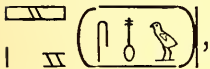
and he made the Asiatics, Sati  to

follow him like dogs. He built a palace ornamented with gold and lapis-lazuli, and furnished with bronze gates and bolts, and the walls thereof were built upon well laid foundations; and with some final remarks to Usertsen individually the "Instructions" come to an end.

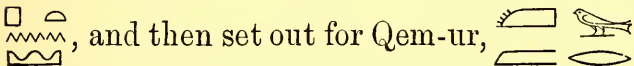
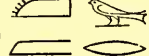
Belonging to this period, and of considerable value as illustrating the condition of Egypt in the reign of Āmenemhāt I., is the now famous Story of Sa-nehāt.<sup>1</sup> It seems that Sa-nehāt was the son of Āmenemhāt I., and that he was attached to the army which was under the command of Usertsen I., who was engaged in war against the Libyans; one day a messenger came to

<sup>1</sup> For the hieratic texts see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi. plates 104-107; for a hieroglyphic transcript and translations see Maspero, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, tom. iii. pp. 68-82; *Contes Égyptiens*, pp. 105-134; Goodwin, *Story of Saneha*, 1866; Chabas, *Les Papyrus de Berlin*, p. 37 ff.


announce to Usertsen I. the death of his father, and by chance Sa-nehath overheard the news, with the result that he was seized with a fit of terror, and fearing lest the new king of Egypt would kill him he betook himself to flight. He was at that time in the Delta, and when he ran away from his companions he directed his steps towards the south, that is to say, towards Memphis. He arrived at the Lake of Seneferu,


, and slept on the ground that night;

when the day came he set out on his way, and overtook a man who was afraid of him, and at sunset he arrived at a certain town or hamlet, and he crossed the Nile in a boat. He was now on the east bank of the river, and directing his steps towards the north he came to the line of fortified outposts on the north-east frontier of Egypt; he hid among the bushes by day, and he travelled by night. At daybreak he arrived at Peten,

, and then set out for Qem-ur, , where

he nearly died of thirst; when he was suffering agony for want of water he suddenly heard the sounds of cattle, and he saw a foreign man whom he begged to show him the road out of Egypt. The stranger gave him water, and heated some milk for him, and then took him to his tribe; but Sa-nehath had no desire to stay with him, and therefore escaped into Edom,

. When Sa-nehath had been there some time with the prince of the Tenu country,

reference was one day made to the death of Amenemhāt, whereupon Sa-nehat began to sing a song in honour of the new king Usertsen, wherein he ascribed all power and might and sovereignty to him. The prince of Tenu placed Sa-nehat among his own children and gave him his eldest daughter to wife, and gave him permission to choose for himself certain territory of the best which could be found in a neighbouring district called Áaa . There in that country were vines and fig trees, wine was more abundant than water, honey existed in large quantities, and the olive trees were very numerous, wheat and flour were extremely plentiful, and there all kinds of beasts and cattle flourished. The prince of Tenu was so pleased with Sa-nehat that he made him chief of a tribe, and he daily enjoyed bread, and wine, and roast meat, and fowls, and game, etc. ; in this state of luxury he lived for many years, and his children grew up and each became the chief of a tribe.

Meanwhile Sa-nehat's position gave him the opportunity of putting down highway robbers, and the prince of the country made him the general of his army; he marched where he liked, and did what he liked, and the power of life and death was in his hands. On one occasion a mighty man of the people of the country challenged Sa-nehat to combat, and a day was set apart for the duel, which was to be to the death. At dawn on the appointed day all the tribes flocked to see the fight, and every man and every



woman feared for Sa-nehah, for they thought him to be no match for the gigantic Tenu man, who was armed with a shield, a battle-axe, and a case of javelins. When the Tenu man had come forth and was about to hurl himself on Sa-nehah, this brave man shot an arrow from his bow which pierced the giant in the neck, and straightway he fell headlong on his face; Sa-nehah rushed forward and plucked his spear from him, and shouted his cry of victory from upon his back. As a reward for his bravery the prince of the country gave him everything which the dead man possessed. The text now makes the chief Sa-nehah to compare his position as head of a tribe with that in which he found himself when he entered the country, saying, "I was "wandering about dying of thirst, and now I am able "to give bread wheresoever I please. I left my country "naked, and now I am clothed with fine linen. Having "been a man who had taken to flight and who was with- "out servants, I now possess numerous slaves. My "house is a fine one, my territory is great, and memorials "of me are established in the temple of all the gods." In spite of all this, however, Sa-nehah was not satisfied, for he yearned to visit Egypt once more, and he seems to quote part of a letter which he wrote to the king of Egypt asking his permission to return to his native country, and "to see again in the body the place where "his heart had lived," and to lay his body down in the country in which it had been born. He refers to his failing strength, and says that his arms and his legs

refuse to fulfil their duties, and that what his eyes see makes no impression on his brain, and that the day is rapidly approaching when his heart must cease to beat, and when he will be taken to the everlasting habitations and become a follower of the god Osiris. Usertsen I. returned a favourable answer to his old comrade in arms, and sent him gifts, and Sa-nehah preserved in high honour the letter which he received from the king. After referring to his own exalted position, Usertsen I. bids Sa-nehah to leave behind him all his riches, and to come to Egypt and “see the palace, and when thou “shalt be in the palace bow down thyself with thy face “to the ground before Per-āa (literally, the ‘Great “House,’ Pharaoh). And thou shalt be the chief of “the nobles thereof, and behold, as thou growest old “day by day, and thou lovest thy powers, and thou “ponderest upon the day of the funeral, thou shalt arrive “at the state of happiness (i.e., death) when they shall “give thee, on the night when they anoint thee with the “oil of embalmment, the swathings by the hand of the “goddess Tait.<sup>1</sup> They shall follow thy funeral bier on “the day of thy burial, with thy gilded mummy-case “with its head painted blue, and a canopy made of the “wood of the acacia tree spread over thee. The oxen “shall draw thee along, and the mourners shall go before “thee uttering cries of lamentation for thee, and women “seated at the door of thy tomb shall address prayers


<sup>1</sup> This goddess is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, where she appears as the deity who provides bandages for the dead,

“unto thee. They shall offer up the animals for  
“sacrifice at the mouth of the corridor of thy tomb, and  
“funeral stelae made of white stone shall be set up  
“among those of the royal family. Thou shalt have no  
“equal, and no man shall rise to thy rank ; thou shalt  
“not be buried in a sheepskin [only], for all people shall  
“smite the earth and lament over thy body as thou goest  
“to the tomb.”

When Sa-nehath received this letter he was overcome with joy, and then and there, with the members of his tribe around him, he threw himself flat upon his stomach on the ground as a sign of his gladness. He then sat down and wrote a letter of thanks and homage to Usertsen I., in which he likened him to all the gods, and uttered the most extravagant compliments, such as, “The sun riseth at thy will, the waters  
“of the canal water where thou pleasest, and the wind  
“of heaven bloweth where thou wishest.” The letter despatched, Sa-nehath made a great feast in Áaa, at which he handed over all his possessions to his children ; his eldest son became the chief of his tribe, and to him he gave his goods, and his cattle, and his gardens, and his orchards. Accompanied by a number of the soldiers whom he had trained, he set out for the south, and in due time he arrived at the Egyptian frontier, and was received by the official in charge, Her-Heru. The arrival of Sa-nehath was announced to the king, who sent a boat laden with gifts for the soldiers who had brought him to the confines of Egypt

in safety. When he arrived at the palace he was received with the greatest respect by all, and every official hastened to do him honour and to perform his will. At length he found himself in the presence of the king, with whose kindness he was quite overwhelmed, for he lost all power of speech and his heart failed him. The king then brought him before the queen and the royal family, some of whom could not believe that the man before them was Sa-nehat; when, however, the king had assured them on this point, they took their collars, and staves, and sistra, and sang a song in honour of the king, and referred in it to the honours which should be paid to Sa-nehat. The royal children then led him into the private apartments of the palace, in which a habitation was set apart for him, and food, and raiment, and unguents, and scents, etc., were provided for him at the expense of the king, and henceforth the aged man had oils wherewith to anoint himself, and perfumes wherewith to scent himself, and fine linen wherewith to array himself, and a bed whereon to sleep, and his physical well-being was assured. The king next gave orders for a pyramid-tomb to be built for Sa-nehat, and the ablest and most skilful of the royal workmen were chosen to carry out the work; in course of time the building was finished, and everything was done to the satisfaction of this highly-favoured old man. What the end of Sa-nehat was we know not, but there is no reason for doubting that his funeral was carried out with all the pomp and ceremony

due to a man who, on his father's side at least, was of royal parentage. Attempts have been made by Brugsch and Chabas and others to identify the various places mentioned in the story of Sa-nehät, but without much success; that he was in some place in the Delta not far from Memphis is evident, and there is no doubt that he made his way into Edom by some well-known desert route. The narrative bears upon every part of it the stamp of truth, for had the tale been one of pure romance, numbers of miraculous events and incidents would have been introduced; as it stands, there is no statement in it which may not be readily admitted to be one of fact.

2.  RĀ-KHEPER-

KA, son of the Sun, USERTSEN, *Σεσόγχασις*.



ĀNKH-MESTU,  
the Horus name  
of Usertsen I.

USERTSEN I., the Sesonchosis of Manetho, was the son of Āmenemhät I., and as has been already said, he was associated with him in the rule of the kingdom in the twentieth year of his reign; Manetho says that he reigned forty-six years, and as we know that he undertook an expedition to the south in the forty-third year of his reign, this statement is probably correct. Prof. Wiedemann has noted <sup>1</sup> a number of monuments dated in the various

<sup>1</sup> *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 241.



years of his reign up to the forty-third, and these prove that his reign was one of great activity.

In the third year of his reign Usertsen re-built, or perhaps re-founded, the famous Temple of the Sun at Annu, the On of the Hebrews, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks. This shrine had been a very famous one for centuries, but it seems that during the prolonged struggle between the princes of Thebes and the kings of Herakleopolis the whole place fell into decay, and the worship of the Sun-god declined greatly. Usertsen I. decided to restore the "House of the Sun" to something like its former greatness, and he laid the foundation and set out with a cord the space for, apparently, a new edifice, which he dedicated to Horus-Rā, the rising sun, and to Temu, the god of the setting sun, who had become incarnate in the Mnevis bull. He was assisted in laying the foundations by the "Chief Reader" of the day, who read from a roll of papyrus the necessary instructions, and the ceremony took place in the presence of all the nobles and counsellors of Pharaoh.<sup>1</sup> Of this Temple of the Sun, the priests of which were for centuries renowned for their learning, everything has disappeared except one of the two granite obelisks which Usertsen I. set up in front of it; the city of Heliopolis was destroyed before the Christian era, but the temple was standing, and was in tolerably good

<sup>1</sup> This account is found on a leather roll, which was first translated and published by Stern in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 85 ff.

condition when Strabo visited Egypt. The pyramidia of both obelisks were provided with cases of copper, and, according to Abd al-Latif,<sup>1</sup> these were still *in situ* when he saw them, about A.D. 1200; one of the obelisks was wilfully thrown down by the Muḥammadans before the close of the XIIIth century. The remaining obelisk is sixty-six feet high, and the only legible line of inscriptions left records the names and titles of Usertsen I., and says that he set up the obelisk at a commemoration of a thirty-years' festival. At Begig in the Fayyûm Usertsen I. set up a remarkable granite obelisk, about forty-six feet high, the top of which was rounded, and from the marks which appear upon it the obelisk seems to have been provided with a pointed metal cap; it is now broken into two pieces and lies on the ground. The inscriptions are not strictly vertical, strange to say, and they contain nothing but the names and titles of the king, and the names of the gods Menthu and Ptah of the South Wall;<sup>2</sup> the scenes represent Usertsen I. in the act of adoring certain gods.

The king carried on great architectural works in the city of Tanis in the Delta, and at Abydos, and Karnak, as well as in many other cities. The works at Abydos seem to have been under the direction of the high official Menthu-ḥetep, who, in his stele which was found at Abydos,<sup>3</sup> tells us that he was royal architect and general

<sup>1</sup> De Sacy's translation, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> The obelisk is figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 119.


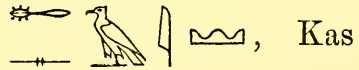

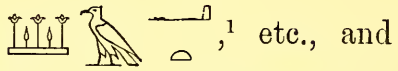
<sup>3</sup> See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 23.

surveyor of the district, that he succoured the needy, and protected the poor, and that he was a man both of wisdom and peace. He crushed the enemies of the king in Egypt, he subdued the Āamu and the Ḥeru-shā, he pacified those who dwelt in the Eastern Desert, and he made the people of the south to pay tax and tribute. At the end of the inscription he says that he was the overseer of works in the Temple of Abydos, that he built the house of the god Osiris, and that he dug a well by the command of the majesty of the god Horus. This, as Brugsch has pointed out, is no doubt the fountain to which Strabo refers<sup>1</sup> in his account of the Memnonium, wherein he says that the bottom of the well was reached by a vaulted passage which was roofed over with monolithic stones, and was spacious and well built. The buildings of the Temple of Abydos, which were erected for the king by Mentu-ḥetep, were restored in the XIIIth Dynasty by a governor of the Temple of Abydos called Āmeni-seneb, and in the stele of this official we are told that he cleaned the temple, both inside and outside, that he cleared the court-yards, and renewed the decorations of the building, and painted the inscriptions, and renewed everything which Usertsen I. had built.<sup>2</sup> At Karnak Usertsen I. continued the work which his father had begun, and remains of buildings to which he contributed are found at several

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ κρήνη ἐν βάθει κειμένη: xvii. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 142.

places between Thebes and the First Cataract. The stele which Champollion discovered at Wâdî Ḥalfa records the names of a number of Nubian tribes that were reduced to subjection by Usertsen I., e.g., Shemik

, Khasaa , Kas  
, and Shaāt ,<sup>1</sup> etc., and

the important inscription in the tomb of Amen-em-hāt Ameni at Beni Hasan gives us a good account of the expedition which the king sent to Nubia in the forty-third year of his reign. The quarries of the Wâdî Ḥammâmât were worked during the reign of Usertsen I., and the old turquoise mines at Wâdî Maghâra were re-opened, and new ones were worked at Sarbût al-Khâdîm in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Among other edifices the king built a pyramid tomb for himself, and the remains of it are to be found in the most southerly of the Pyramids at Lisht, about thirty miles to the south of Cairo; in the forty-second year of his reign Usertsen I. associated his son Amenemhāt with him in the rule of the kingdom.

One of the most important events in the reign of Usertsen I. was, undoubtedly, the expedition to Nubia, and, as the inscription of Ameni referred to above gives a good idea of the historical inscription of the period, a rendering of the most interesting passages in it is given

<sup>1</sup> See Champollion, *Monuments*, p. 693.

here.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is dated in the forty-third year of the king's reign, which equals the twenty-fifth year of the Nome of the Oryx in which Āmeni was governor. He says, "When my lord sailed up the river to overthrow his enemies in the foreign countries, I followed after him in the capacity of a *hā* prince and royal chancellor, and I was the commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the Nome of the Oryx, and I took the place of my aged father conformably to the favour and love of the king in his royal house and palace. I marched through Nubia and sailed southwards, and I removed the boundary [of Egypt] further to the south. I brought back the tribute of my lord, and I was held in the highest favour. His Majesty rose up and set out in peace, and he overthrew his foes in the accursed country of Nubia; I followed his Majesty back, and I was exceedingly skilful, and there was no loss whatsoever among my soldiers. I sailed up the river [again] to bring back gold for the majesty of the king of the South and the North, Usertsen I., the everliving. I sailed up with the *erpā hā* prince, the eldest son of the king, Āmeni (life, strength, health!). I sailed up with four hundred picked men of my army, and I came back in peace, and not a man was wanting; I brought back the gold which I was appointed to bring, and I was praised for it in the house of the king, and the son of the king praised

<sup>1</sup> The latest edition of the text, with a translation, will be found in Newberry's *Beni Hasan*, vol. i plate 7 ff.



“God for me. [Again] I sailed up the river to bring  
“back marvellous things to the city of Coptos, in  
“company with the prince and governor Usertsen (life,  
“strength, health!). I sailed up with six hundred  
“men, among whom were the bravest men of the Nome  
“of the Oryx. I returned in peace with my army in  
“good health, having performed all that I had been  
“commanded to do.”


From the above extracts it is clear that the Egyptians never attempted in the XIIth Dynasty to occupy the country of Kash, i.e., Nubia, as far south as the Fourth Cataract, and that the companies of soldiers which were sent with the officials on such expeditions were only intended to form a guard to protect whatsoever they might succeed in squeezing out of the Nubians as they were bringing their spoil down the river. Comparatively small bodies of men, such as those which Âmeni took with him into the country, would be no match for any stubborn resistance which the Nubians might make, and whatever Âmeni may say about the matter, it is clear that his expeditions were nothing but armed caravans, which made their way south from time to time for purely trading purposes. There must have been some appointed place where the merchants from the south could meet the Egyptians, and where the exchange of commodities was effected, just as in recent times the Dâr Fûr and Kordofân merchants brought their wares to Berber, where the merchants for the north awaited them, and closed their bargains with them.

3.  RĀ-NUB-

KAU, son of the Sun, AMENEMHĀT, Ἀμμανέμης.



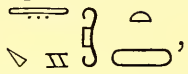

HEKEN-EM-MAĪT,  
the Horus name  
of Amenemhāt II.


AMENEMHĀT II. was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom two years before he became sole monarch of Egypt, and he is said by Manetho to have reigned thirty-eight years; Wiedemann has noted<sup>1</sup> a number of stelae and other monuments dated in various years of his reign up to the twenty-eighth, and the inscription published by Lepsius<sup>2</sup> proves that he reigned thirty-five years at least. The chief event in the reign of Amenemhāt was the working of the old turquoise mines in the Wâdi Maghâra, and the opening of the new ones at Sarbût al-Khâdîm; at this last-named place a strong settlement of Egyptians existed at this time, and a temple to the goddess Hathor was either built for the first time or refounded. Some attempt was certainly made to work the gold mines in Nubia during this reign, for in the text on the stele of Hathor-sa, , in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> (No. 5696), the deceased says, "When I was a young man I made (or,

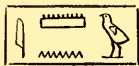
<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Auswahl*, pl. 10, No. 4. The 35th year of the reign of Amenemhāt II. was the 3rd year of the co-regency of Usertsen II.

<sup>3</sup> See Birch in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 111 ff.

“worked) a mine, and I made the great ones to wash  
 “gold, and I brought back [to Egypt] loads thereof.  
 “I penetrated as far as Ta-kenset, , the  
 “land of the Negroes, and I came there and reduced it  
 “to subjection by means of fear of the lord of the  
 “two lands. I journeyed, moreover, to the land of  
 “Ha,  , and I went round about the lakes (?)  
 “thereof, and passed through the regions thereof.”

Brugsch thought that the country here referred to was south of the Second Cataract, and he is probably right. The official Hathor-sa seems to have been employed in the capacity of governor of the south, for he tells us that he was always watching the frontier, and keeping an eye upon his lord's possessions; he was a great favourite with *Āmenemhāt II.*, who commissioned him to complete his partly finished, or, perhaps wrecked, pyramid-tomb, called “Kherp,” , which he did in an incredibly short space of time. This statement is based on the assumption that the king *Āmenu*,<sup>1</sup> whose pyramid is mentioned on the stele, is to be identified with *Āmenemhāt II.*; Brugsch thought that *Āmenu* was a king who reigned during the period which preceded the XIIth Dynasty, but this is very unlikely. In the great inscription in the tomb of prince *Khnemu-ḥetep* at Beni Hasan, the deceased tells us that *Āmenemhāt II.* in the nineteenth year of his reign made him a governor

1 

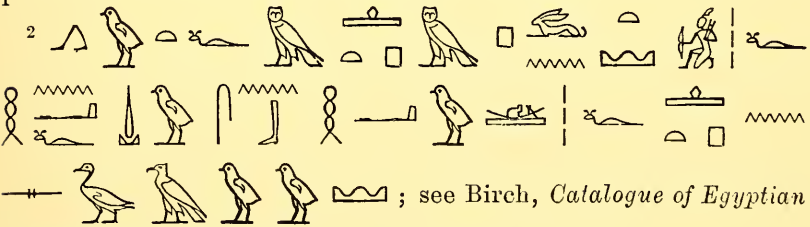
of the city of Menāt-Khufu, and that under the rule of this distinguished official the city prospered and waxed rich. Khnemu-ḥetep spared no pains in commemorating his father's memory, for he established a "ka-chapel," and appointed a priest of the ka, or "double," and richly endowed him with lands and servants. He arranged that a regular supply of offerings should be made at stated times throughout the year, and provided for their maintenance in perpetuity. The king conferred great favours not only upon him, but also upon his eldest son Nekht and his second son Khnemu-ḥetep; the former he made a governor of the Nome of the Jackal, and the latter was taken into high favour by his Majesty.

The prince of Menāt-Khufu built a tomb with a fine hall, wherein were columns and inscriptions, and before it he made a pool of water, in which flowers for the service of the tomb were to be grown; the architect or clerk of the works of the tomb was the overseer of the seal who was called Baqet.<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Ámenemḥāt flourished the high official Tehuti-nekht, who held the highest civil, military, and religious appointments known, and whose tomb at Al-Bersheh has supplied considerable information about the social condition of Egypt at the period in which he lived. The principal scene of interest in his tomb is that in which the hauling of a colossal statue from the quarries of Het-nub to the house of Tehuti-hetep is

<sup>1</sup> See Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

represented. The statue was a seated one, and was thirteen cubits high, and must have weighed about sixty tons; it was placed on a wooden sledge to which it was lashed by ropes that were made taut by means of short sticks twisted in them, and breakage of the sharp edges of the statue was prevented by the insertion of pieces of leather under the ropes. It was dragged over a road, specially prepared for this purpose, by about one hundred and sixty-eight men, who hauled at four ropes, forty-two men on each rope,<sup>1</sup> and it seems as if it must have been transported some distance down the river by raft. This scene is of peculiar interest, because it explains the method by which such huge masses of stone were transported from the quarries, and proves that the mechanical means employed for the purpose were extremely simple. In the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Amenemḥāt II., we learn from a stele that the *erpā ḥā* prince Khent-khat-ur, a royal chancellor and overseer of the palace, returned in good health with his soldiers from Punt, and anchored his vessels in safety in Sauu;<sup>2</sup> this fact shows that

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 134*a*, and for the inscription see Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. iii., p. 2, and Newberry, *El Bersheh*, i. p. 18.



; see Birch, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London, 1880, p. 268.



commercial intercourse was maintained between Punt and Egypt during the reign of Amenemhāt II., and as no mention is made of fighting it may be assumed that there was peace between the two countries. In the thirty-second year of his reign Amenemhāt II. associated his son Usertsen II. with him in the rule of the kingdom, and he died a few years later; according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110), he was slain by his eunuchs. From the facts given above it is clear that there were no great wars undertaken by the Egyptians in the time of this king, and that his reign was as uneventful as that of any of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty.


4.  RĀ-KHĀ-

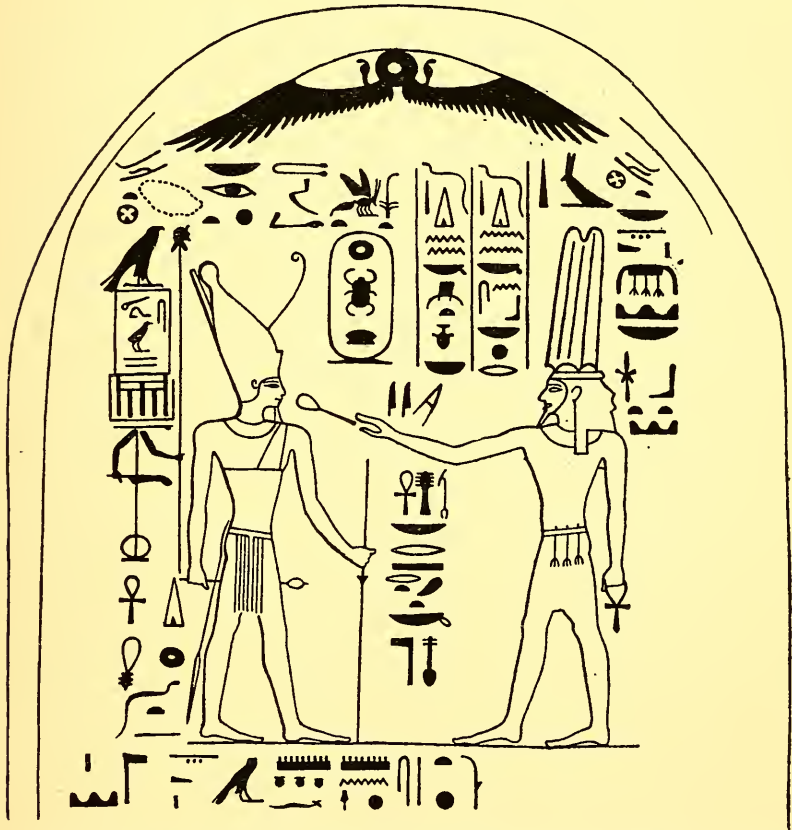
KHEPER, son of the Sun, USERTSEN, Σέσωστρις.



SEMUTAU,  
the Horus name  
of Usertsen II.

USERTSEN II., the Sesostris of Manetho, is said by this writer to have reigned for forty-eight years. "He conquered "all Asia in nine years, and Europe as "far as Thrace, everywhere erecting "monuments of the conquest of those "nations; among the people who had "acted bravely he set up cippi of a "phallic nature, but among the de- "generate, female emblems of a similar "description engraved upon pillars. By "the Egyptians he is supposed to be the first after

Osiris" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110). Usertsen adopted the title of "guide of the two lands" as his Horus name, and he also called himself "the Horus of gold, the repose of the gods," . On the stele of



Usertsen II. receiving the gift of "life" from the god Horus Sept, the lord of the Eastern Desert.

Khnemu-hetep,<sup>1</sup> which is dated in the first year of his reign, we see that the standard on which this name is

<sup>1</sup> See Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

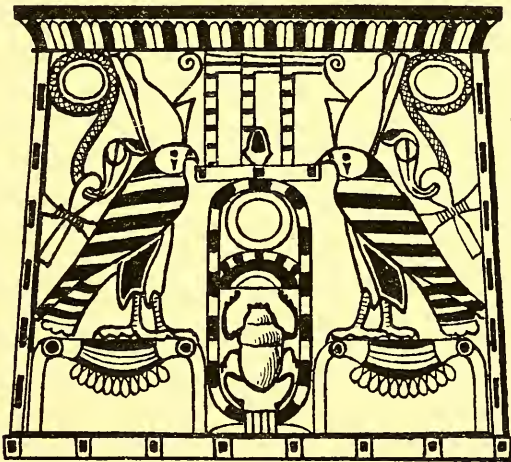
inscribed is provided with the human hands and arms of the *ka*; one hand holds a staff, which is surmounted by a figure of the head of the king, and the other the feather of Maât. The king is represented standing before Horus Sept, the Lord of the Eastern Desert, who is bestowing "life" upon him by touching his lips with the emblem of life. In connection with this stele it is important to note the statement that in the first year of the king's reign his monuments were established in Ta-Neter, i.e., the country which lay on each side of the Red Sea and extended to the south as far as Somaliland. The works in the quarries of the First Cataract were carried on during the reign of Usertsen II., and the attacks made by the local Nubians were successfully repulsed by the zealous *erpā hā* prince called Menthu-ḥetep, whose stele exists at Aswân.<sup>1</sup>

In this reign flourished also the famous general, or governor of Aswân and the First Cataract, called Sa-renput,<sup>2</sup> who was an "*erpā hā* prince, and chancellor, and an only friend, and overseer of the "priests of Satet, the lady of Elephantine, the general-in-chief of Ta-kens, and overseer of the desert lands;" Sa-renput was a member of a great and noble family, the heads of which seem to have been governors of the "gate of the South" from the earliest days of the

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 123d.

<sup>2</sup> See my account of the clearing of his tomb in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1887, p. 30 ff.

XIIIth Dynasty. It is not clear how far south the land of Ta-kens extended in those days, but it seems as if it might well reach nearly as far as the modern Korosko, and as we hear of no war being undertaken against the Nubians at this period, we may assume that Sa-renput and his forefathers were able governors, who made the Nubians to keep the peace.




Enamelled gold plaque with the names of Usertsen II. From Dahshûr. Above the king's prenomen ☉ ☽ ☪ is his title and on each side is the Horus of gold, wearing the crowns of the South and North. Behind each hawk is a serpent, from the neck of which hangs the symbol of "life."

One of the most interesting of the events which happened in the days of Usertsen II. is depicted on the north wall of the tomb of Khnemu-ḥetep II., at Beni Hasan. Here we see the deceased and his sons hunting in the desert with bows and arrows, accompanied by a scribe whose duty it was to keep an account of the bag made. Close by we have a colossal figure of Khnemu-

hetep, who is engaged in inspecting his cattle, etc. Before him are four rows of human beings, and of these the first row is the most important, for it illustrates a procession of foreign peoples who visited him in the capacity of governor of the town of Menāt-Khufu, and as prince of the Nome of the Oryx. The procession consists of thirty-seven members of the Āamu, a Semitic people or tribe. They are introduced by Nefer-hetep, a royal scribe, who holds in his hand a papyrus roll on which is inscribed, "Year six, under the Majesty of the "Horus, the guide of the world, the king of the South "and North, Rā-khā-kheper (i.e., Usertsen II.). List "of the Āamu, brought by the son of the *hā* prince "Khnemu-hetep, on account of the eye-paint, Āamu of "Shu; a list of thirty-seven [persons]." Behind the scribe stands the official Khati, and behind him the Āamu chief, or desert shêkh; these are followed by the other members of the foreign tribe. The men of the Āamu wear beards, and carry bows and arrows, and both men and women are dressed in garments of many colours. The home of these members of the Āamu was probably situated to the east of Egypt, and may have extended as far north as Palestine, but wheresoever they came from they were certainly men of some position in their own country. Their costume shows that they were not common inhabitants of the desert, and unless their apparel was ceremonial it seems to indicate that the country from which they came was visited by cold nights and days. In this scene some



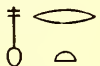


have identified a representation of the arrival of Jacob's sons in Egypt to buy corn, but there is no evidence in support of this theory; others have identified the Āamu with the Hyksos. The company here depicted are probably merchants, who brought eye-paint, *mestchemet*, , spices, and the like from their own country, and sold their wares to the rich officials of Egypt.

Usertsen II. built for his tomb the Pyramid of Illâhûn, which was opened by Mr. W. Fraser, and satisfactorily identified as the last resting-place of the king. The external construction of the pyramid is peculiar, and unlike any other.<sup>1</sup> It is partly composed of the living rock "which has been dressed into form "up to a height of forty feet," and upon this is erected a portion of the pyramid core, which was built with a framing of cross walls. The walls are of stone in the lower part, and of bricks above. The whole of the filling in of the pyramid bulk between the walls is of mud brick. The opening of the pyramid was attended with considerable trouble, and several months were spent in trying to find the entrance. On the south side, however, a shaft was at length found, and when Mr. Fraser had cleared it out to a depth of about forty feet, he found a doorway on the north side, which led up to the pyramid; the mouth of the shaft was wide and sloping, and was, moreover, much broken.

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Illahun*, 1889-90, p. 1.

From measurements made it appears that this shaft could not have been the main one, and that it was only used by the workmen to pass in and out of the "pyramid while the main shaft was blocked with "lowering the stonework;" the doorway at the bottom of Mr. Fraser's shaft is too narrow to have allowed the stone sarcophagus of the king to be taken to its chamber. Quite near to the bottom of the known shaft, on the pyramid side, is a well which was found to be full of very salt water; its use and object are unknown. But it is conjectured that it may have been made either to "catch any rain water running down "the shaft above, like the safety-wells in the tombs of "the kings; or it may have been a water well; or it "may lead to some other passages below." The passage into the pyramid slopes upward, and about half way along it is a chamber which is almost filled with pieces of broken stone. At the end of the passage is a chamber hewn out of the living rock and lined with slabs of limestone, and from this a short passage leads to the granite-lined chamber wherein stands the sarcophagus; from the sarcophagus chamber a passage has been cut, which, by following a series of almost right-angled turns, leads back to the short passage which joins the chamber at the end of the entrance passage with the granite-lined sarcophagus chamber. Its object is unknown, unless it was intended to lead astray those who sought to force a way into the tomb. The sarcophagus is made of red granite, and is provided with a

lip, which projects outwards; it is said to be a wonderfully fine piece of work, and, speaking roughly, measures 8 ft. 11 in.  $\times$  4 ft. 2 in.  $\times$  2 ft. Before the sarcophagus was the white limestone altar, upon which are inscribed the names and titles of Usertsen II., and invocatory inscriptions addressed to Osiris, lord of Tattu, and to Anubis upon his hill, for sepulchral offerings of cakes and ale, etc. At no great distance from the pyramid of the king stood the town Het-Hetep-Usertsen, wherein lived the workmen who built the pyramid; the modern name of the site is Kahûn, and a number of interesting objects have been recovered from the ruins here.<sup>1</sup> The wife of Usertsen II. was called Nefert, , and a statue of her was found at Tanis,<sup>2</sup> whereon many of her titles are inscribed.

It has already been pointed out that Usertsen II. is called "Sesostris" by Manetho, but it must be noted that many ancient writers apply this name to Rameses the Great, i.e., Rameses II., son of Seti I. In the version of Manetho by Eusebius, Sesostris is said to have been "four cubits, three palms, and two fingers in height" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 111), and it is, as Wiedemann has said, difficult not to think that this statement was borrowed from Herodotus, who, in speaking of Sesostris, king of Egypt, says (ii. 105):—"There are

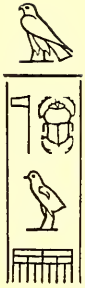
<sup>1</sup> See Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, and *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London, 1890, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 125.

“also in Ionia two images of this king, carved on rocks, “one on the way from Ephesia to Phocaea, the other “from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places a man is “carved, four cubits and a half high, holding a spear “in his right hand, and in his left a bow, and the “rest of his equipment in unison, for it is partly “Egyptian and partly Ethiopian.” As far as we know now, there is no monumental evidence to show that Usertsen . II. ever made any warlike expeditions into Syria, still less into Europe, and the general description of the exploits of Sesostris is more applicable to Rameses II. than to Usertsen II. In one particular, however, Usertsen II. seems to have justified the statement made by Herodotus about him. This writer says (ii. 102) that the priests told him that Sesostris was the first who, setting out in ships of war from the Arabian Gulf, subdued those nations that dwelt by the Red Sea, and of these words we may perhaps see a confirmation in the tablet of the official Khnemu-hetep, who says that in the first year of his reign, Usertsen II. set up monuments of himself in the “Land of god,” i.e., the country on both sides of the Red Sea and as far south as Somaliland.


5.    RĀ-KHĀ-  
KAU, son of the Sun, USERTSEN, *Δαχάρης*.



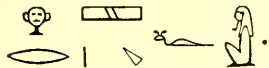


NETER-KHEPERU,  
the HORUS name  
of Usertsen III.

USERTSEN III. was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom for some years before he became sole king of Egypt, and the King List of Manetho is in error when it assigns to his reign a length of eight years only. The monuments show that, in addition to the ordinary royal titles, he adopted as his

Horus name the epithet of "divine of transformations" (or, becomings), and to the title "Horus of gold" he added the beetle, the emblem of the god Kheperà, . A rock inscription at


Aswân, dated in the tenth year of his reign, indicates that work went on in the quarries there, and another in the Wâdî Hammâmât, dated in the fourteenth year, mentions that the king sent there for stone to use in the building of the temple at Herakleopolis, which he dedicated to the great god of the city Her-shef,

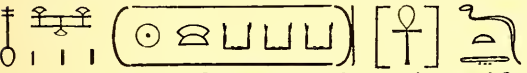


On the Island of Sâhel in the First Cataract<sup>1</sup> the king is represented in the act of receiving life from the goddess Ânqet, who promises to give him "life, stability, and health, like the sun, for ever."

A very important inscription, which was discovered by the late Mr. E. C. Wilbour on the same island, says that in the eighth year of Usertsen

<sup>1</sup> See the inscriptions of the reign of this king in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 136.

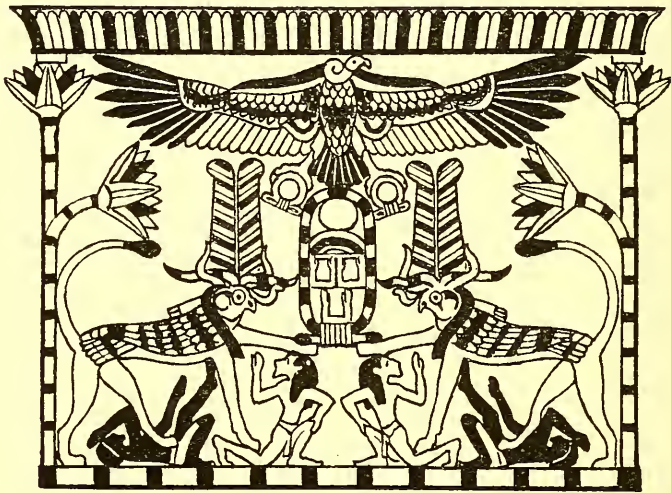
III., his majesty ordered a canal to be made anew,  
, and that he gave to it the name "Good  
 "are the paths of Usertsen [III., living] for ever,"

; this canal was  
 250 ft. 4 in. long, 34 ft. 7 in. wide, and 25 ft. 10 in.  
 deep. When this had been done, the king sailed up  
 the river to overthrow the abominable country of Kash  
 (Nubia). Two other inscriptions close at hand tell us  
 that Thothmes I. passed through this canal on the way  
 to Nubia to punish the natives in the third year of his  
 reign, and that Thothmes III., in the fiftieth year of  
 his reign, caused this same canal to be reopened after it  
 had become blocked; he gave it a new name, i.e.,  
 "Open the good path of Thothmes (III.) living for  
 ever," and made a law to the effect that the boatmen  
 of Elephantine were to clean out this canal every year.<sup>1</sup>  
 It seems that this canal must have been in existence  
 during the VIth Dynasty, and that it became stopped  
 up from time to time, for it is undoubtedly of some  
 work which he performed in connection with it that  
 Unâ boasts in his inscription, to which we have already  
 referred (see Vol. II. p. 103). No trace of this canal  
 has been found in recent days, nor of the works which  
 the high official Âmeni declares that he performed in  
 connection with the quay of Elephantine, when Usertsen  
 III. was on his way into Nubia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the texts see *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xiii. pp. 202, 203.

<sup>2</sup> See Birch, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 50.

This expedition must have been very successful, for the king pressed as far south as the foot of the Second Cataract, where a boundary stone or landmark was set. Allusion to this boundary stone is made on a stele<sup>1</sup> whereon it is said, "This is the "frontier of the south which was fixed in the eighth



Enamelled gold plaque with the prenomen of Usertsen III., ☉ ☽ UUUU. From Dahshûr. In the upper part is the vulture-goddess holding the symbol of eternity, O, in each claw. The king, in the form of two hawk-headed sphinxes, with horns, uraei, and plumes, is seen slaughtering his fair-skinned foes, whilst he tramples upon the Nubians with his feet. The roof of the shrine is supported by pillars with lotus capitals.

"year of Usertsen III., who liveth for ever and ever." It prohibited every negro from passing that spot, whether by sailing down the river or marching along its banks, as well as the passage of all oxen, and

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, ii. pl. 136.

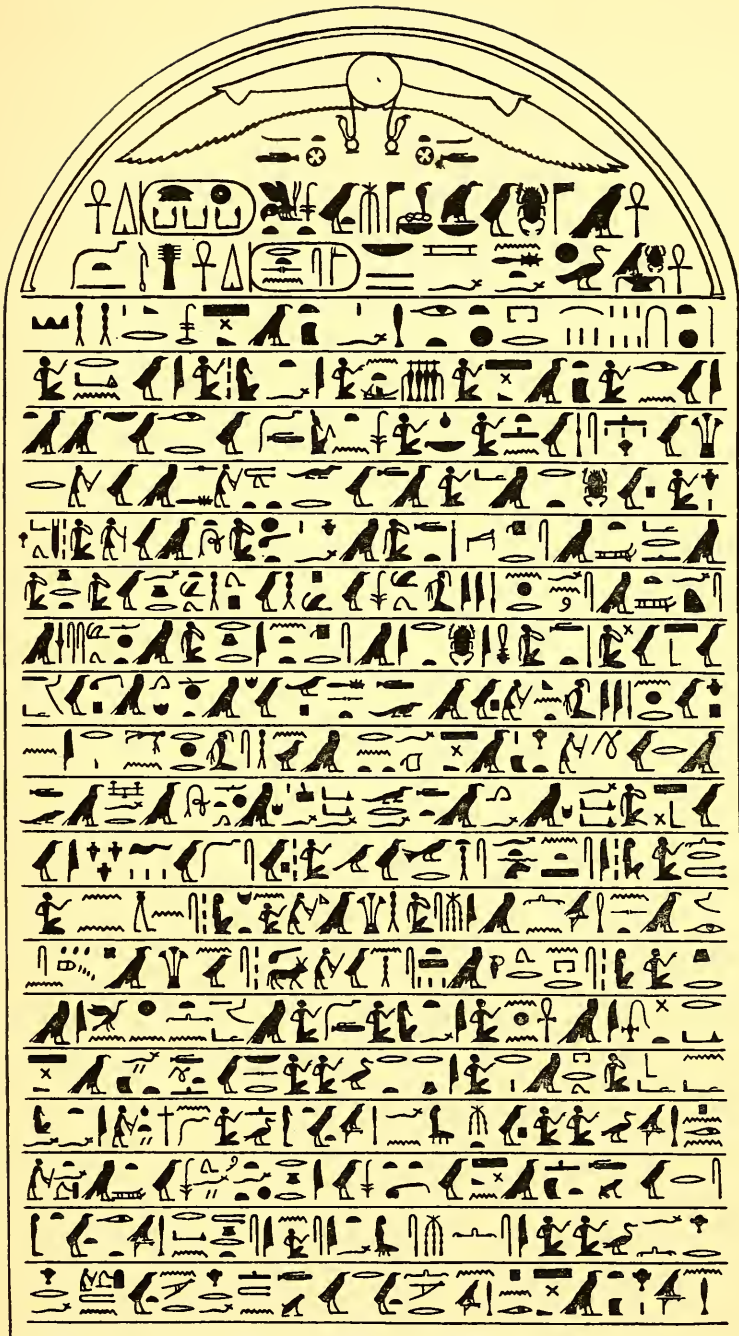
sheep, and goats, and asses, except all such as were engaged in the traffic in cattle, and such as had need to come to Egypt for the purposes of barter and of business generally. No boat of any kind whatsoever with negroes in it was allowed to pass that boundary stone.

In the sixteenth year of his reign Usertsen III. reduced the country of the Nubians to a most pitiable condition, and, on the boundary stone already referred to, he says, "Year 16, the third month of the season  
 "Pert. His Majesty fixed the boundary of the South  
 "at Heh. I made my boundary, I advanced [beyond]  
 "my fathers. I added much thereunto, and I passed  
 "the decree. I am a king, and what is said [by me] is  
 "done. What my heart conceived my hand brought to  
 "pass. [I am] a crocodile to seize, and [I] beat down  
 "mercilessly, and [I] never relinquish [my prey]. The  
 "words which are in his heart are applauded by the  
 "impotent who rely upon mercy [being shown to them],  
 "but he showeth none to the enemy. He attacketh  
 "him that cometh against him in attack; he is silent  
 "to him that is silent; and he returneth answer  
 "according to what hath happened in a matter. Now  
 "inaction (or, silence) after an attack giveth strength  
 "unto the heart of the enemy; vigorous must be the  
 "[counter] attack, for vile is he who turneth back and  
 "retreateth. The man who is beaten upon his own  
 "territory is a coward. Therefore the negro falleth  
 "down prostrate at the word which falleth from the  
 "mouth, and behold, a word in answer maketh him to

“turn back, and if he be attacked he giveth his back  
 “[to his attacker] even after he hath gone forth to  
 “attack. They are not men of boldness, but are poor  
 “and feeble, having nothing but buttocks for hearts.  
 “I the Majesty have looked upon them, and [what I  
 “say] is not a word [of falsehood]. I seized their  
 “women, I carried off their folk, I marched to their  
 “wells, I slew their cattle, and I destroyed their crops  
 “and burnt their corn. By my own life, and by that  
 “of my father, I swear that what I am saying is the  
 “truth, and what cometh forth from my mouth cannot  
 “be gainsaid. Whosoever among my sons shall pre-  
 “serve this boundary which my Majesty hath made  
 “shall be [called] my son and the son who is begotten  
 “by me, and the son who avengeth his father and  
 “preserveth the boundary which he hath set; but he  
 “who relaxeth it, and doeth not battle for it, shall not  
 “be [called] my son, nor one begotten of me. And  
 “behold, my Majesty hath caused a statue of my  
 “Majesty to be set up on this boundary, not only with  
 “the desire that ye should worship it, but that ye should  
 “do battle for it.”<sup>1</sup> The boundary stone, upon which is  
 inscribed the text rendered into English above, as well  
 as that containing the decree against the passage of the  
 negroes of Nubia, was set up near the famous forts at  
 Semneh and Kummeh which were built by Usertsen


<sup>1</sup> The text is in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 136; a German rendering of it will be found in Brugsch, *Geschichte*, p. 776, and an English version in *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 324.





Stele, dated in the 16th year of the reign of Usertsen III., recording the victory of this king over the Nubians.

III. about forty miles to the south of the modern town of Wâdî Ḥalfa. The fort of Semneh is on the west bank, and that of Kummeh on the east bank of the Nile; they formed two of a series of fortified outposts which Usertsen III. established at and along the Second Cataract as far north as Buhen, which faced the modern town of Wâdî Ḥalfa. The forts of Semneh and Kummeh occupied positions of extreme strategical importance, for they commanded a magnificent outlook both north and south, and beyond the river banks, as well as up and down the river itself. The stronger position was that of Kummeh, where the natural strength of the place rendered a well-built fort almost impregnable. At Semneh, which is called in the hieroglyphic texts "Semennu - kherp - Khā - kau - Rā,"

—  Usertsen III. built a temple which was restored by Thothmes III. and Amenophis III.; it consisted of a single chamber, which measured about 30 feet by 12 feet. At Kummeh are the ruins of a larger temple which, however, dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty. We have no means of knowing what was the strength of the garrison which the king kept at Semneh and Kummeh, but it need not have been very great, for the stream narrows considerably at this spot, and a comparatively small number of determined men could easily prevent the boats of the negroes from forcing a passage through any of the channels between the forts.

The wars carried on by Usertsen III. against the

Nubians did not prevent this king from building a temple in honour of the god Her-shef of Herakleopolis, and, according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 112), "he built the Labyrinth "in the Arsenoïte Nome "as a tomb for himself;" it is quite possible that Manetho is correct in this particular, but as the name of Amenemhāt III. is commonly associated with this marvelous building reference will be made to it in the section on the reign of that king. Usertsen III. repaired or rebuilt parts of the temples at Tanis, Bubastis, Abydos, and Elephantine, and his name is found upon parts of buildings in many other cities of Egypt. He is also thought to have built



Scene from the temple built at Semneh, in the Second Cataract, by Usertsen III., and restored by Thothmes III. Usertsen . III. giving "life" to Thothmes III.

for his tomb at Dahshûr the more northerly of the two brick pyramids, which are commonly called the "Black Pyramids"; this pyramid was once covered with stone and must have been a fine example of its class, but it has suffered much at the hands of the spoiler, and its ruins are now less than ninety feet in height. The excavations, which M. J. de Morgan carried on at Dahshûr in 1894 (March to June), resulted in the discovery of a number of tombs of royal ladies who were the wives and daughters of Usertsen, and it is only reasonable to assume that if these were buried round about the pyramid,<sup>1</sup> the king himself was buried in it. If Usertsen II. be identified with Sesostris, then his son Usertsen III., or Lachares, must be identified with the Nachares of the Christian chronographers in whose reign the patriarch Abraham is said to have come into Egypt; Usertsen III. may also be identified with the king Nencoreus, the son of Sesodes, or with Pheros, the son of Sesostris, each of whom is said to have dedicated obelisks one hundred cubits high at Heliopolis, but, as Wiedemann<sup>2</sup> has said, these identifications are not supported by any materials now available.



RĀ-EN-MAĀT, son of the Sun, ĀMEN-EM-ĤĀT, Ἀμειφῆς.

<sup>1</sup> See J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, Vienna, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 253; and Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 26.





Ā-BAIU, the  
Horus name of  
Amen-em-hāt III.

AMENEMHĀT III., the son and successor of Usertsen III., was the greatest of all the kings of the XIIth Dynasty; he is the Ameres of Manetho, who is clearly in error when he states the length of his reign to have been eight years only, for a stele at Sarbût al-Khâdîm in the Sinaitic Peninsula mentions his forty-fourth year, and there is

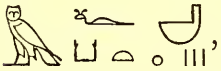
good reason for believing that his reign lasted nearer fifty than eight years. The mighty works which he carried out in Egypt show that he deserved the title, "Horus, mighty of will (or soul)," which he assumed as his Horus name, and his people, no doubt, when they considered what help he had given them by his great irrigation schemes, saw the appropriateness of another of his titles, "The Horus of gold, sweet life,"




The whole of the energies of this king appear to have been devoted to improving the irrigation system of his country, and as a natural result he had little leisure for carrying on wars against either the Nubians, or the warlike nomad Heru-shā of the Eastern Desert. His predecessor had effectually quieted the former people, and the latter had hardly recovered from the punishment which had been inflicted upon them by earlier kings. Amenemhāt III. found Egypt in a state of great prosperity when he ascended the throne, and as the land had rest during his long reign, he was able to leave his country in a most flourishing



condition at his death. Art, sculpture, and architecture flourished under his fostering care, and the remains of his buildings and inscribed monuments testify to the activity which must have prevailed among all classes of handicraftsmen during his reign. The mines in the Sinaitic Peninsula and in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât were diligently worked, and the quantity of stone removed from the quarries in the latter must have been prodigious. On a rock at Sarbût al-Khâdîm is cut a scene,<sup>1</sup> dated in the first year of the king's reign, in which we see "Hathor, the lady of turquoises," presenting "life" to him. A stele, dated in the second year, recording that an official had been sent there with seven hundred and thirty-four men to fetch turquoise ore,



is in the Wâdî Maghâra;<sup>2</sup> dated in the same year, a stele in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât mentions an expedition sent there by the king under the leadership of one Amen-em-hât, the son of Ábeb, who seems to have had some trouble with the natives. An inscription in the same place, dated in the nineteenth year, speaks of a mission undertaken to obtain stone for the Temple of Sebek, , at Crocodilopolis,<sup>3</sup> and says that a piece of stone suitable for a statue five cubits high had been obtained. The stone hewn in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât was intended for statues and large slabs for pylons, etc., whilst that which was used




<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 137a.







<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, c.



<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, plate 138c and e.

in the construction of the famous Labyrinth was obtained from the quarries of Tura; this fact is indicated by the partially erased stele which was set up there during the reign of Amenemhät III. by a high official.



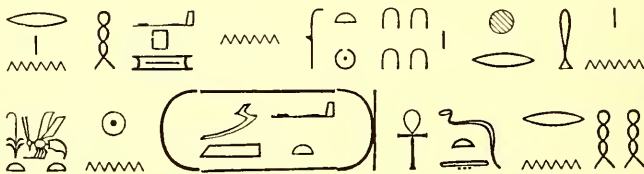
Enamelled gold plaque with prenomen and titles of Amen-em-hät III. From Dabshür. In the upper part is the vulture-goddess with outstretched wings, and above her are two axes. Below her are two cartouches, each containing the king's prenomen,   , and between them is his title,

“beautiful god, lord of all foreign lands,”      . The king

is represented in the act of smiting with a club his foes who kneel at his feet, and strength is given to his arms by the goddess who touches them with  , i.e., the emblems of “life” and “stability” which she holds in each claw. Behind each figure of the king is the sign for “life,” with human arms and hands, which grasp a fan and waft breaths of “life” to him.

Inscriptions are found in the above-mentioned quarries, which prove that the king's activity in building continued throughout the whole of his reign.



Most important, however, of all the rock inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king are those which are found on the rocks near the Forts of Usertsen III. at Semneh and Kummeh, and which record the height to which the Nile rose during a number of years which are duly specified. These inscriptions show that at that time the river level during the inundation was about twenty-six feet higher than it is at the present time, and they apparently indicate that they were hewn by the orders of Amenemhät III., who seems to have endeavoured to understand the effects upon the agriculture of Egypt caused by inundations of varying heights. It is possible that the inscriptions may have been connected in some way with the working of Lake Moeris, and with the regulating of the outflow of its waters; they are dated in years 3, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32, 37, 40, 41, and 43 of the king's reign, and the following example will illustrate the class:—



Inscription of the 41st year of Amenemhät III.<sup>1</sup>

“Mouth (i.e., level) of Hāp (the Nile) of the 41st  
 “year under the Majesty of the king of the South and  
 “North, Maät-en-Rā, living for ever and ever.” In a

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, plate 139.

few cases<sup>1</sup> the sign  has a line running through it thus , a fact which seems to show that the line represented the exact level which the water reached in the year mentioned. Various explanations have been put forward of the extraordinary change which appears



Head of a statue of Amen-em-hät III, in the possession of General Sir F. W. Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc.

to have taken place in the level of the Nile between the time of Amenemhät III. and our own, but none of them clears away all the difficulties in the matter.

The greatest and most useful of all the great works which were undertaken by Amenemhät was the making

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Nos. *i*, *k*, *l*.







Bahr Yusuf,<sup>1</sup> which, leaving the Nile a little to the north of Asyût, and passing through a narrow gap in the Libyan Mountains, enters the Fayyûm after a course of about 200 miles. The following are the descriptions of Lake Moeris given by some classical authors:—

“Although this labyrinth is such as I have described, “yet the lake named from Moeris, near which this “labyrinth is built, occasions greater wonder: its circumference measures 3600 stades, or sixty schoenes, “equal to the sea-coast of Egypt. The lake stretches “lengthways, north and south, being in depth in the “deepest part fifty orgyae. That it is made by hand “and dry, this circumstance proves, for about the “middle of the lake stand two pyramids, each rising “fifty orgyae above the surface of the water, and the “part built under water extends to an equal depth: on “each of these is placed a stone statue, seated on a “throne. Thus these pyramids are one hundred “orgyae in height; and a hundred orgyae are “equal to a stade of six plethra; the orgya measuring six feet, or four cubits; the foot being four “palms, and the cubit six palms. The water in this “lake does not spring from the soil, for these parts are “excessively dry, but it is conveyed through a channel

<sup>1</sup> Attempts have been made to prove that this canal was made by the patriarch Joseph, but no satisfactory evidence in favour of the theory is forthcoming; the Joseph here referred to is probably the Muḥammadan ruler who is mentioned in so many Arabic histories.

“from the Nile,<sup>1</sup> and for six months it flows into the  
“lake, and six months out again into the Nile. And  
“during the six months that it flows out it yields a  
“talent of silver every day to the king’s treasury from  
“the fish; but when the water is flowing into it,  
“twenty minae. The people of the country told me  
“that this lake discharges itself under ground into the  
“Syrtis of Libya, running westward towards the  
“interior by the mountain above Memphis.” (Herodotus, ii. 149.)

“The Lake Moeris, by its magnitude and depth, is  
“able to sustain the superabundance of water, which  
“flows into it at the time of the rise of the river, without overflowing the inhabited and cultivated parts of  
“the country. On the decrease of the water of the  
“river, it distributes the excess by the same canal at  
“each of the mouths; and both the lake and canal  
“preserve a remainder, which is used for irrigation.  
“These are the natural and independent properties of  
“the lake, but, in addition, on both mouths of the  
“canal are placed locks, by which the engineers store  
“up and distribute the water which enters or issues  
“from the canal.” (Strabo, xvii. 37.)

“Between Arsinoïtes and Memphites, a lake, 250  
“miles, or, according to what Mucianus says, 450 miles  
“in circumference and fifty paces deep, has been  
“formed by artificial means: after the king by whose

<sup>1</sup> This statement proves that the canal which fed Lake Moeris was already in existence in the time of Herodotus.

“orders it was made, it is called by the name of Moeris. The distance from thence to Memphis is nearly sixty-two miles.” (Pliny, v. 9.) “In the place where Lake Moeris was excavated, an immense artificial piece of water, cited by the Egyptians among their wondrous and memorable works.” (Pliny, xxxvi. 16.)

“After the death of this king [Uchoreus], and twelve descents, Meris came to the crown of Egypt, and built a portico in Memphis towards the north, more stately and magnificent than any of the rest. And, a little above the city, he cut a dyke for a pond, bringing it down in length from the city three hundred and twenty-five furlongs, whose use was admirable, and the greatness of the work incredible. They say it was in circuit three thousand and six hundred furlongs; and in many places three hundred feet in depth. For being that the Nile never kept to a certain and constant height in its inundation, and the fruitfulness of the country ever depended upon its just proportion, he dug this lake to receive such water as was superfluous, that it might neither immoderately overflow the land, and so cause fens and standing ponds, nor by flowing too little, prejudice the fruits of the earth for want of water. To this end he cut a trench along from the river into the lake, fourscore furlongs in length, and three hundred feet broad; into this he let the water of the river sometimes run, and at other times diverted it, and

“turned it over the fields of the husbandmen, at  
 “seasonable times, by means of sluices which he some-  
 “times opened, and at other times shut up, not without  
 “great labour and cost; for these sluices could not be  
 “opened or shut at a less charge than fifty talents.  
 “This lake continues to the benefit of the Egyptians  
 “for these purposes to our very days, and is called the  
 “lake of Myris or Meris to this day. The king left a  
 “place in the middle of the lake, where he built a  
 “sepulchre and two pyramids, one for himself, and  
 “another for his queen, a furlong in height; upon the  
 “top of which he placed two marble statues seated in a  
 “throne, designing, by these monuments, to perpetuate  
 “the fame and glory of his name to all succeeding  
 “generations. The revenue arising from the fish taken  
 “in this lake, he gave to his wife to buy her dresses,  
 “which amounted to a talent of silver every day. For  
 “there were in it two-and-twenty sorts of fish, and so  
 “vast a number were taken, that those who were  
 “employed continually to salt them up (though they  
 “were multitudes of people), could hardly perform it.”  
 (Diodorus Siculus, i. 4.)

The next great work of Amenemhāt III. was the famous Labyrinth, of which the following descriptions have been given by classical authors:—

“Now, they [i.e., the twelve kings] determined to  
 “leave in common a memorial of themselves; and  
 “having so determined, they built a LABYRINTH, a  
 “little above the Lake of Moeris, situated near that

“called the city of Crocodiles; this I have myself seen,  
“and found it greater than can be described. For if  
“any one should reckon up the buildings and public  
“works of the Grecians, they would be found to have  
“cost less labour and expense than this Labyrinth;  
“though the temple in Ephesus is deserving of men-  
“tion, and also that in Samos. The pyramids likewise  
“were beyond description, and each of them comparable  
“to many of the great Grecian structures. Yet the  
“labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids. For it has  
“twelve courts enclosed with walls, with doors opposite  
“each other, six facing the north, and six the south,  
“contiguous to one another, and the same exterior wall  
“encloses them. It contains two kinds of rooms, some  
“under ground and some above ground over them, to  
“the number of three thousand, fifteen hundred of each.  
“The rooms above ground I myself went through and  
“saw, and relate from personal inspection. But the  
“underground rooms I only know from report; for the  
“Egyptians who have charge of the building would, on  
“no account, show me them, saying, that there were  
“the sepulchres of the kings who originally built this  
“labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. I can there-  
“fore only relate what I have learnt by hearsay  
“concerning the lower rooms; but the upper ones,  
“which surpass all human works, I myself saw; for the  
“passages through the corridors, and the windings  
“through the courts, from their great variety, pre-  
“sented a thousand occasions of wonder, as I passed



“from a court to the rooms, and from the rooms to  
“halls, and to other corridors from the halls, and to  
“other courts from the rooms. The roofs of all these  
“are of stone, as are also the walls; but the walls are  
“full of sculptured figures. Each court is surrounded  
“with a colonnade of white stone, closely fitted. And  
“adjoining the extremity of the Labyrinth is a pyramid,  
“forty orgyae in height, on which large figures are  
“carved, and a way to it has been made under ground.”  
(Herodotus, ii. 148.)

“We have here also the Labyrinth, a work equal to  
“the Pyramids, and adjoining to it the tomb of the king  
“who constructed the Labyrinth. After proceeding  
“beyond the first entrance of the canal about thirty or  
“forty stadia, there is a table-shaped plain, with a  
“village and a large palace composed of as many  
“palaces as there were formerly nomes. There are an  
“equal number of aulae, surrounded by pillars, and  
“contiguous to one another, all in one line and forming  
“one building like a long wall having the aulae in  
“front of it. The entrances into the aulae are opposite  
“to the wall. In front of the entrances there are long  
“and numerous covered ways, with winding passages  
“communicating with each other, so that no stranger  
“could find his way into the aulae or out of them  
“without a guide. The (most) surprising circumstance  
“is that the roofs of these dwellings consist of a single  
“stone each, and that the covered ways through their  
“whole range were roofed in the same manner with

“single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, without  
“the intermixture of timber or of any other material.  
“On ascending the roof,—which is not of great height,  
“for it consists only of a single story,—there may be  
“seen a stone field, thus composed of stones. Descend-  
“ing again and looking into the *aulae*, these may be  
“seen in a line supported by twenty-seven pillars, each  
“consisting of a single stone. The walls also are  
“constructed of stones not inferior in size to these.”  
(Strabo, xvii. 37.)

“There is still in Egypt, in the Nome of Herakleo-  
“polites, a Labyrinth, which was the first constructed,  
“three thousand six hundred years ago, they say, by  
“King Petesuchis or Tithöes: although, according to  
“Herodotus, the entire work was the production of no  
“less than twelve kings, the last of whom was  
“Psammetichus. As to the purpose for which it was  
“built, there are various opinions: Demoteles says that  
“it was the palace of King Moteris, and Lyceas that it  
“was the tomb of Moeris, while many others assert  
“that it was a building consecrated to the Sun, an  
“opinion which mostly prevails. They [i.e., the Laby-  
“riths of Egypt, Crete, Lemnos, and Italy] are all of  
“them covered with arched roofs of polished stone; at  
“the entrance, too, of the Egyptian Labyrinth, a thing  
“that surprises me, the building is constructed of  
“Parian marble, while throughout the other parts of it  
“the columns are of syenites. With such solidity is  
“this huge mass constructed, that the lapse of ages has

“been totally unable to destroy it, seconded as it has  
“been by the people of Herakleopolites, who have  
“marvellously ravaged a work which they have always  
“held in abhorrence. To detail the position of this  
“work and the various portions of it is quite impossible,  
“it being subdivided into regions and praeфекtures,  
“which are styled nomes, thirty in number, with a  
“vast palace assigned to each. In addition to these, it  
“should contain temples of all the gods of Egypt, and  
“forty statues of Nemesis in as many sacred shrines ;  
“besides numerous pyramids, forty ells in height, and  
“covering six arurae at the base. Fatigued with  
“wandering to and fro, the visitor is sure to arrive at  
“some inextricable crossing or other of the galleries.  
“And then, too, there are banquetting rooms situate at  
“the summit of steep ascents ; porticos from which we  
“descend by flights of ninety steps ; columns in the  
“interior, made of porphyrites ; figures of gods ; statues  
“of kings ; and effigies of hideous monsters. Some of  
“the palaces are so peculiarly constructed, that the  
“moment the doors are opened a dreadful sound like  
“that of thunder reverberates within : the greater part,  
“too, of these edifices have to be traversed in total  
“darkness. One person, and only one, has made some  
“slight repairs to the Labyrinth ; Chaeremon, an  
“eunuch of king Necthebis, who lived five hundred  
“years before the time of Alexander the Great.  
“It is asserted, also, that while the arched roofs  
“of squared stone were being raised, he had them

“supported by beams of thorn boiled in oil.” (Pliny, xxxvi. 19.)

“After the death of this king [Actisanes], the Egyptians recovered their liberty, and set up a king of their own nation to rule over them, Mendes (whom some call Marus), who never undertook any warlike design, but made a sepulchre for himself called a Labyrinth, not to be admired so much for its greatness, as it was inimitable for its workmanship. For he that went in, could not easily come out again, without a very skilful guide.” (Diodorus Siculus, i. 5.)

The Labyrinth seems to have been neither more nor less than a large temple which was built by Amenemhāt to the south of his tomb-pyramid, which is perhaps best known by the name of the “Pyramid of Hawâra”; that it contained a very large number of comparatively small chambers is certain, and it is probable that one of these, or perhaps a group, represented a nome or division of Egypt, and that in the whole collection of chambers the whole of the gods of Egypt were represented. According to the ancient Egyptian map of Lake Moeris,<sup>1</sup> this body of water was supposed to be divided into sections, which were presided over by different deities, and it is possible that the Labyrinth was broken up into sections in the same manner. Many travellers have endeavoured to identify the site of the Labyrinth, and Lepsius believed that he had found the ruins of the building near Hawâra, in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 48, note 1.

remains of a large number of square chambers and granite slabs which were inscribed with the name of Amenemhāt. On the other hand, Prof. Petrie thinks that the ruins which Lepsius found were only the remains of the houses and tombs of the population that destroyed the Labyrinth,<sup>1</sup> and he thinks that this great building lay between the entrance to the Fayyûm and the capital Crocodilopolis. As all writers agree in placing the Labyrinth near a pyramid, and the only pyramid anywhere between the mouth of the canal and Crocodilopolis is that of Hawâra, this evidence seems conclusive. The extent of the area of the Labyrinth is probably marked by the immense bed of chips of fine white limestone which lies on the south of the pyramid, and on tracing this bed to its limits, it is found that they cover an area which measures 1000 by 800 feet. The principal part of the pavement to be seen is in the eastern half of the site, and some years ago it covered a tolerable space; but the builders of the railway into the Fayyûm discovered the place, and took the stones away to build the line; thus the last remains of the wonderful building disappeared under the process of "civilizing" Egypt. The building seems to have been square, with additional structures on the east; it had a great front wall, and a great cross wall along the middle; the level was uniform, except along the north edge and at the N.E. outbuildings; red granite columns were used, but probably only in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, p. 5.



northern part of the site ; and built pillars, rather than monolith columns, seem to belong to the part south of the cross wall.<sup>1</sup> The builder of the Labyrinth was, beyond doubt, Amenemḥāt III., who, in the nineteenth year of his reign, sent an expedition, consisting of two thousand men, to the Wâdî Ḥammâmât to fetch stone to be used in its construction ; it is, of course, possible that Usertsen III. had built a temple there previously ; if this be so, it would account for the statement of Manetho. The Labyrinth was dedicated to the god Sebek, to whom the crocodile was sacred, and for this reason the god is always represented with the head of this animal. Brugsch wished to derive the name Labyrinth from the Egyptian words "Erpa (or elpa) re ḥent," i.e. the "Temple at the mouth of the canal," but this derivation is not accepted,<sup>2</sup> and it seems that we must look for it in Greek and not in Egyptian.

Amenemḥāt III. seems to have been buried in the so-called Pyramid of Ḥawâra, although another view is that his tomb is represented by the southern brick pyramid at Dahshûr. The Pyramid of Ḥawâra was opened by Prof. Petrie<sup>3</sup> in 1889, and its plan of construction is of considerable interest. The building stands on a spur of the limestone plateau which forms one side of the entrance of the depression which leads into the Fayyûm. The greater part of the pyramid

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

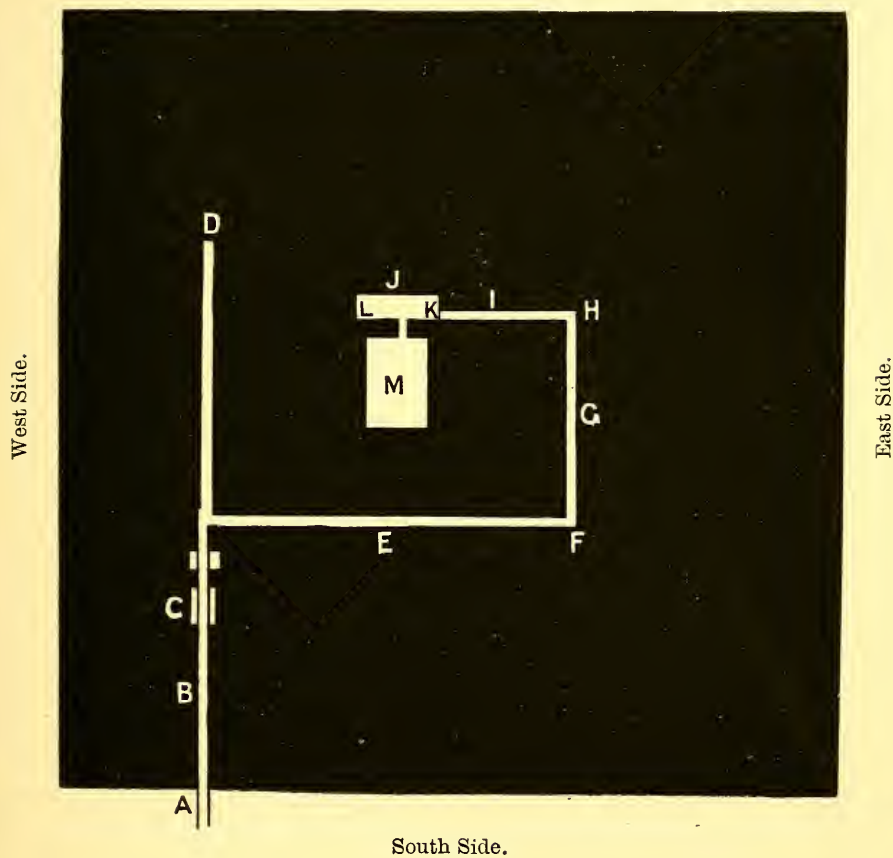
<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 260 ; Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 12.

consisted of mud bricks laid in clean yellow sand; outside this was a casing of fine limestone, every stone of which has disappeared. The entrance to the pyramid is on the south side. When the site where the pyramid was to stand had been cleared, a large hollow, which was intended to receive the sarcophagus chamber, was sunk in the sandstone rock, and trenches which were to form the passages leading to it were cut also. Into this hollow in the rock, a huge sandstone monolith, which was hewn out to form the sarcophagus chamber, was sunk, and the sarcophagus and two chests were next placed inside it; round the chamber was built up masonry, on which rested the sloping and horizontal slabs of stone which were to form the roof. Above all this a great brick arch was thrown over the whole of the masonry of the chamber, and the bricks of the pyramid were piled above it all. Passing along the entrance passage, which was on the south side and was provided with steps, an ante-chamber with a roof made of a slab which could be moved along, and so forming a sliding trap-door, is reached. A little beyond is another chamber, in which are openings which lead into two passages; one passage runs due north for a distance of about eighty-four feet, and leads nowhere, but the other runs eastwards, and is the true passage which eventually leads to the sarcophagus chamber. At the end of the true passage is another chamber, with a sliding trap-door roof, and the visitor must follow a passage which runs due north until

## PLAN OF THE PYRAMID OF ĀMEN-EM-HĀT III.

North Side.



- A Entrance (south side of pyramid).
- B Entrance passage, with steps
- C Ante-chamber, with sliding roof.
- D Blind passage, running north.
- E True passage to sarcophagus chamber.
- F, H Chambers with sliding roofs.
- G, I True passage to sarcophagus chamber.
- J Rectangular chamber.
- K, L False wells.
- M Sarcophagus chamber.

another chamber with a sliding trap-door roof is reached. The passage then runs from east to west for some distance, and ends in a rectangular chamber with two false wells in it; this chamber measures about 26 ft.  $\times$  7 ft. 6 in.  $\times$  7 ft. 7 in. In this chamber Prof. Petrie found an alabaster table of offerings made for Ptaḥ-neferu, the daughter of Amenemḥāt III., and the fragments of eight or nine large alabaster bowls. The entrance to the sarcophagus chamber was on the south side of the chamber with two false wells, and it had been effectually barred by means of a huge block of stone, which formed part of the roof, being dropped into it after the mummy had been laid in its last resting-place. The sarcophagus chamber, which is hewn out of a single stone, measures 22 ft. 4 in.  $\times$  7 ft. 10 in.  $\times$  6 ft. 2 in., and is a beautiful piece of work; it was roofed over with three slabs of hard sandstone, and the original entrance to it was closed by lowering one of these slabs into its place. Until the final closing of the chamber the slab was supported in an upper space or chamber, and when it was lowered into its place a narrow space was left above it by which a man could pass out over it into the chamber with the two wells. The sarcophagus is made of hard limestone and is un-inscribed. It has a sub-plinth, and is ornamented with the panel work which was so much liked in the VIth Dynasty; it measures 8 ft. 10 in.  $\times$  4 ft.  $\times$  2 ft. 7 in., and has a rounded lid of the same length and breadth, but measuring 1 ft. 2 in. in depth. Between the sarco-

phagus and the east wall another sarcophagus was improvised, and this was intended to be the resting-place of the princess Ptah-neferu, whose altar and bowls were found in the chamber with the two wells. Near the sarcophagi were the chests which once held the sepulchral vases; fragments of these were found to be inscribed with the prenomen of Amenemhât III., Maât-en-Râ, and thus we may assume that the king was here buried. Traces neither of bodies nor of coffins were found in the sarcophagi, and judging by the calcined fragments of stone which were lying on the floor, these objects had been wholly consumed by fire. All the details connected with the construction of the pyramid are of the greatest interest, for they show what elaborate precautions had to be taken to keep robbers from breaking into the royal tombs and plundering them. But in spite of chambers with sliding roofs which admitted the invader to hollows filled up with masses of stone, and so took him out of the right path, and passages which led nowhere, and wells which contained nothing and ended nowhere, the pyramid was entered, and the thieves managed to gain access to the royal sarcophagus chamber.

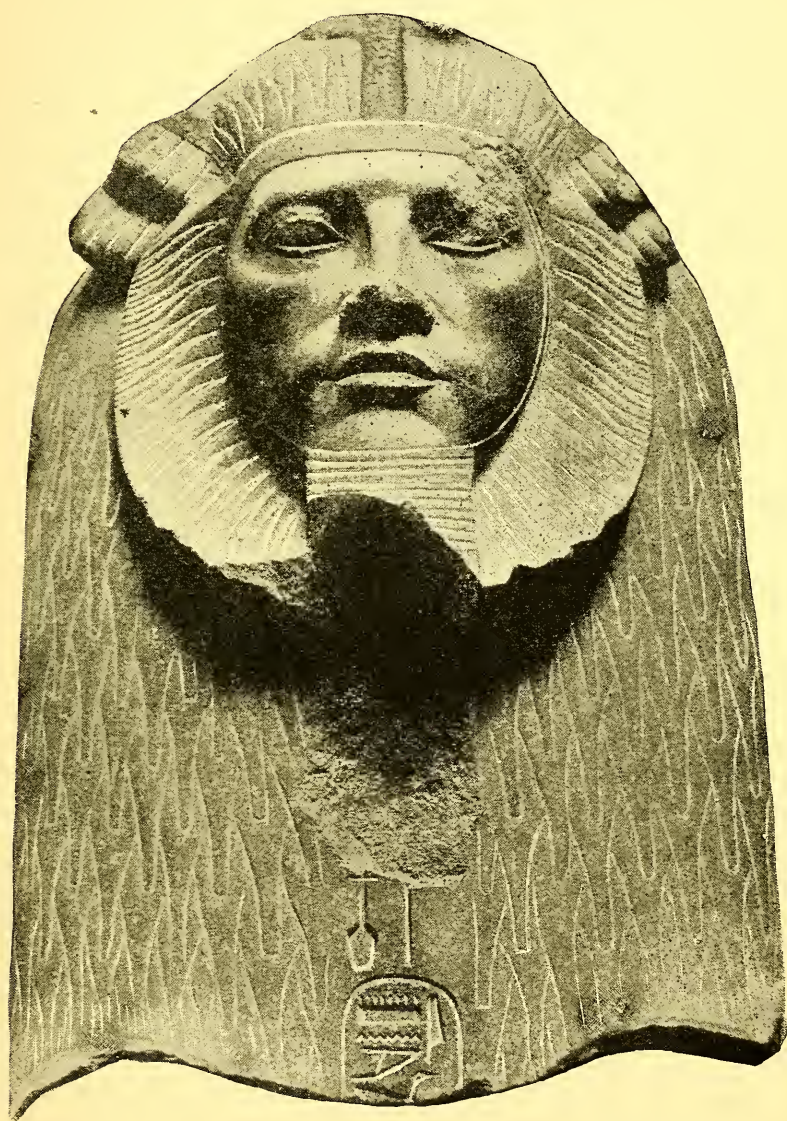
In the extract from the account of Lake Moeris given by Herodotus, quoted above, mention has been made of two pyramids, each of which rose fifty orgyae above the surface of the water and stood in the middle of the lake, and the historian declares that on each pyramid was a stone statue seated on a throne.



Recent investigations have identified with the two pyramids of Herodotus the ruins of two stone buildings which still stand near the modern village of Biahmu in the Fayyûm, and are called by the natives "Kirâsi Fîr'aun," or "Pharaoh's Chairs," and this identification is probably correct; the statues which stood upon them were made of very hard sandstone, and, according to Prof. Petrie, who declares that he found fragments of them, which have since been sent to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, were about thirty-five feet high. The bases on which they stood were four feet high, and the pedestals were twenty-one feet high, so that from the top of their heads to the ground was a distance of about sixty feet. Each statue stood in a courtyard with a surrounding wall, and was entered by a door on the north side.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to see what purpose was served by erecting these statues at this place, even though they did not actually stand in the middle of the lake as Herodotus thought; but it is clear that they formed suitable memorials of the great king who built the Labyrinth, or Temple of Lake Moeris, and who did the greater part of the work connected with the formation of the Lake, and who devised plans for making the best use of its waters.

In connection with the colossal statues of Âmenemhât III. in the Fayyûm mention must be made of the famous sphinxes, which were discovered at Şân or Tanis by Mariette in 1861. These remarkable

<sup>1</sup> See *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinöe*, p. 55.



Human-headed Sphinx of Amen-em-hät;III., usurped first by the Hyksos king Apepā, and secondly by Pasebkhānut. From Šān (Tanis).



monuments have excited considerable interest among Egyptologists and have formed the subjects of many earnest discussions. Their finder, judging from the fact that the name of the Hyksos king *Āpepā* was cut upon their right shoulders, and noticing that their features were quite unlike any which had been found in Egypt up to that time, declared that the sphinxes must have been hewn during the period of the Hyksos domination in Egypt, and regarded them as typical examples of the sculptures of the Hyksos. The first to question seriously the accuracy of these views was M. de Rougé, who argued<sup>1</sup> that the occurrence of the name of *Āpepā* upon the right shoulder must be considered as a proof that the cartouche of this king was not the first which had been found upon the sphinxes. Twenty years later M. Maspero examined one of these monuments with great care, and he proved satisfactorily that the surface of the breast had been chiselled away, or rubbed down, to receive the cartouches of *Pasebkhānut*, a king of the XXIst Dynasty, and it was clear that the cartouches of this king had been inserted in the places formerly occupied by those of the king who made the monument. The views of Mariette, however, were accepted on all sides, and his hypothesis was regarded as a fact. In 1893 the matter was again discussed by M. Golénischeff,<sup>2</sup> who proved that the results of M. Maspero's examina-

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 250 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xv. p. 131 ff.



tion of the Şân sphinx supported M. de Rougé's doubts, and showed with singular clearness that the maker of the sphinxes was Amenemhāt III. If, as he says, we may not consider the Hyksos king Apepa to be the maker of the monuments which he usurped, there is nothing left of Mariette's hypothesis except the foreign type of features which, he says, the sphinxes exhibit. Moreover, it is useless to urge the similarity of their features with those of the men who live in the north-east of the Delta and round about Lake Menzâleh at the present day, because men possessing such features have lived there from time immemorial, and when the Hyksos arrived in Egypt they naturally found such there. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of the Delta have always differed greatly in respect of physical characteristics from the dwellers in Upper Egypt. They have been and are of larger stature, their physical strength is greater, and the conditions under which they have lived for thousands of years have made them more accustomed to the practices of war than to the occupations of peace. Taking as a standard for comparison the black granite statue inscribed with the names and titles of Amenemhāt III., which is now preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg,<sup>1</sup> M. Golénischeff goes on to show that the features of this statue are identical with those which are found on the sphinxes from Şân, and on a statuette in his own possession. Moreover, an examination of the statue of

<sup>1</sup> Golénischeff, *Inventaire*, p. 84.



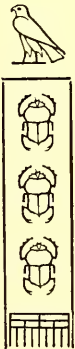
Āmenemḥāt III. at Berlin, which was usurped by Mer-en-Ptah, shows that certain features, e.g., the muscles at the corners of the mouth, were altered by hammering in order to make them to resemble those of the usurper.<sup>1</sup> In Upper Egypt M. Grébaut discovered at El-Ḳab the fragments of a sphinx in white calcareous stone in the foundations of a temple of Rameses II., and these showed that when it was complete the monument closely resembled in face and features the famous sphinxes of Ṣân; it is well nigh impossible that a sphinx of the Hyksos king Āpepā should be found so far south in Egypt, but for a sphinx of Āmenemḥāt III. to be discovered in this place seems to be only natural. Finally, M. Golénischeff argues with great justness that it is impossible to imagine Āmenemḥāt would leave the sanctuary at Ṣân or Tanis without statues of himself, especially as it contained, in his time, statues of his predecessors, Āmenemḥāt I., Usertsen I., Āmenemḥāt II., Usertsen II., etc. We may then with safety assign the Tanis sphinxes to the reign of Āmenemḥāt III., and in their features we probably see good representations of those of the maker of Lake Moeris and of one of the greatest kings who

<sup>1</sup> “En les examinant (i.e., les martelages) nous arrivons facilement à constater que les pommettes et les muscles aux coins de la bouche ont dû à l'origine être aussi plus ou moins saillants, car Merenptah, qui, plus tard, usurpa cette statue, fit marteler le visage justement aux pommettes et aux environs de la bouche, afin de rendre les traits du visage de la statue usurpée plus ressemblants aux siens. *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 135.

sat upon the throne of Egypt. In passing, reference may be made to a small, black basalt head here reproduced, in the collection of Sir Francis Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; it seems to have belonged to a portrait statue of Amenemhāt III., and is, in any case, a fine example of the sculptor's art of the period of the XIIth Dynasty. (See above, p. 47.) A theory has recently been propounded which makes the head of the Sphinx at Gîzeh to represent that of king Amenemhāt III., "by whom it may be supposed to have been erected;" but no evidence in support of it has yet been adduced, nor have the old views concerning the Sphinx yet been proved incorrect.



RĀ-MAĀ-KHERU, son of the Sun, AMEN-EM-HĀT IV.,  
*Αμενέμης.*



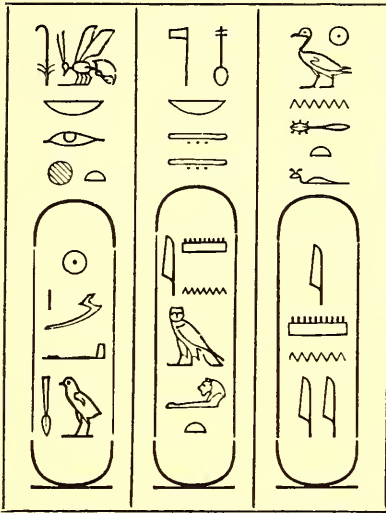
The Horus name  
of  
Amenemhāt IV.<sup>1</sup>

AMENEMHĀT IV., who was, strictly speaking, the last sovereign of the XIIth Dynasty, reigned for a period of nine years, but of his reign very few monuments have come down to us. His pre-nomen and Horus name are found inscribed on the rocks at Sarbût al-Khâdîm, and at the Wâdî Maghâra, in the Peninsula of Sinai, we have an inscription dated in the sixth year of his

<sup>1</sup> A variant makes the Horus name to contain *four* beetles. The



“body Āmeni.” Of the details of the reign of



Plaque of Āmenemhāt IV. in the British Museum, No. 22,879.

Āmenemhāt IV. nothing is known, but it is tolerably certain that it was unimportant, and that neither wars nor building operations of any magnitude were undertaken at that period. The tomb of the king was probably built at Thebes, but it has not as yet been discovered.

Āmenemhāt IV. was succeeded on the throne of

Egypt by his sister Sebek-neferu-Rā, whom some authorities consider to have been his wife.

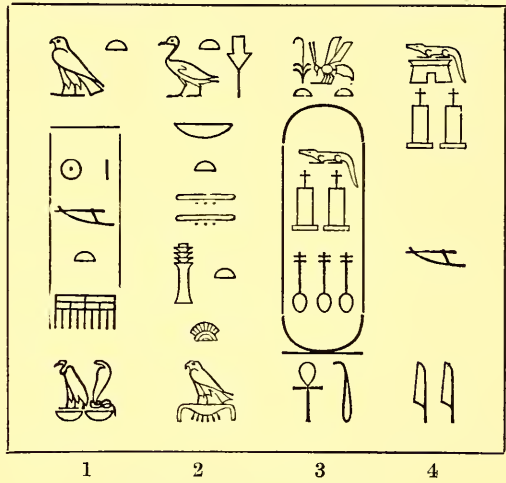
8.   RĀ - SEBEK - NEFERUT,

Σκεμίοφρις.

SEBEK-NEFERU-RĀ, or SEBEK-NEFERUT-RĀ, or SEBEK-NEFERU, the sister of Āmenemhāt IV., and the Skemiophris of Manetho, appears to have been associated with this king in the government of Egypt, either as co-regent or wife, and after his death she is said to have reigned alone for three years, ten months,

and eighteen days.<sup>1</sup> Of the reign of this queen very few inscriptions are known; the most important of them is undoubtedly that which was published by the late Dr. Birch as far back as 1872,<sup>2</sup> and is here reproduced. The

inscription is cut upon a steatite or talcose schist cylinder-seal which measures  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length, and the characters are filled with dark green glaze, which causes them to stand out prominently from the light green glazed background. The first line supplies the Horus name of the queen which reads, "the Horus, RĀ-MERT," or "Rā-loving," or "Rā-beloved Horus," and shows that she claimed the sovereignty over the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet; the second line gives her titles, "daughter<sup>3</sup> of pre-eminence, the lady of the




Cylinder of Sebek-neferu.  
British Museum, No. 16,581.


“two lands, the stablished one, who riseth [like] the

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 5, col. 7, l. 2; and Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. 1, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming the characters to be  *sat sekhem*.





“Horus of gold”; and the third and fourth lines read, “King of the South and North, Sebek-neferu, the “living one, beloved of Sebek.” The god Sebek, whose name forms part of that of the queen, is, of course, the form of the Sun-god which was worshipped in the city of Crocodilopolis, and in all the neighbourhood of Lake Moeris, or the modern Fayyûm. This god is depicted in the form of a man, or with the head of a crocodile set upon a man’s body; his solar character is proclaimed by the disk of the sun which he sometimes wears upon his head, and by the disk, horns, and plumes which form his crown. According to the CVIIIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, Sebek was the lord of Bakhau, , i.e., the “Mountain of the Sunrise,” which measured 30,000 cubits by 15,000 cubits, and his temple was situated on the land towards the east of the mountain.

Before the end of this chapter on the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, reference must be made to the king or prince whose existence has been made known to us by the excavations of M. de Morgan at Dahshûr,<sup>1</sup> and whose cartouches read:—

9.  |  |  RĀ-ĀU-ĀB,  
son of the Sun, HER.

The tomb of this royal personage was discovered at Dahshûr by M. de Morgan in 1894, and was excavated

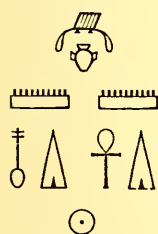
<sup>1</sup> See *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 87 ff.

by him in the same year; it lay near the southern brick pyramid to the west of the village of Menshûyya, and formed one of a row of interesting sepulchres. The inscriptions on the objects found therein show that ĀU-ĀB-RĀ adopted as his Horus name that of Ḥeru, which is written on the things dedicated to the KA in the form , i.e., with the hawk of Horus wearing the crowns of the South and North. Among the funeral furniture in the tomb worthy of special notice is the wooden statue of the KA or "double" of the king, which stood upright, as if in the act of walking, in a wooden shrine; this representation of the "double" of a dead man is unique. Above the head of the statue was fixed a wooden emblem of the KA, , and the eyebrows, the nails of the hands and feet, etc., were covered with thin leaves of gold; the proportions of this fine figure prove it to be the work of a master craftsman, and merit M. de Morgan's eulogy.<sup>1</sup> But interesting as this "find" may be archaeologically, it is not so important for historical considerations as the assignment to the king or prince, for whom the statue was made, of his correct place in the list of the kings of Egypt. M. de Morgan is of opinion that the tomb of Āu-āb-Rā is contemporary with the building of the pyramid near which it was built, and as the funeral furniture found in the

<sup>1</sup> "Le corps est parfait d'équilibre et de proportions et l'étude "de ses différentes parties décèle une connaissance approfondie de "la myologie dissimulée sous le jeu large du ciseau." *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 92.

tomb resembles that of many well-known tombs of the XIIIth Dynasty, he hesitates not to declare that this king or prince flourished at this period. He notices the important fact that the box which contained the Canopic vases was sealed with an earthen seal, on which was, apparently, stamped the cartouche of Āmenemḥāt III., and from it concludes that Āu-āb-Rā lived during the reign of this king, who himself attended the funeral, and that the seal must have been affixed by the king, and not by a priest or official who had obtained possession of the scarab or object by means of which it was made. It is well-known that the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty often associated their sons with them in the government of Egypt, e.g., Āmenemḥāt I. and Usertsen I. ruled together for ten years; Āmenemḥāt II. and Usertsen II. ruled together for a few years, as also did Āmenemḥāt III. and Āmenemḥāt IV.; from these facts it is argued that Āmenemḥāt III. associated Āu-āb-Rā with him in the rule of the kingdom about the fortieth year of his reign, and that, his co-regent dying soon after, he was obliged to set Āmenemḥāt IV. in his place. The tomb of Āu-āb-Rā is not a suitable resting-place for a great king, but it is a worthy sepulchre for a younger son or brother of the royal family; and, though it is possible that this prince lived at a period subsequent to that of the XIIIth Dynasty, and that he was buried in the tomb near the pyramid many years after the dynasty had come to an end, it is not likely. It will be remembered that in the groups

of the names of the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, collected by Wiedemann from the fragments of the King List at Turin, are two which read Āu-āb-Rā and Ātu-āb-Rā,<sup>1</sup> but, for the reasons given above, neither of these can rightly, it seems, represent the royal personage who was buried at Dahshûr. Besides the two scarabs bearing the name of Āu-āb-Rā, which are referred to by M. J. de Morgan,<sup>2</sup> a third example is worthy of mention. It is made of green glazed steatite,



and is inscribed, "Āu-āb-Rā, the stable  
"one, giver of life, the stable one, giver of  
"happiness."<sup>3</sup> This interesting object  
was found at Abydos; its style and work-  
manship prove it to belong to the Middle  
Empire, but whether it commemorates  
the name of either of the two kings

mentioned above, or that of the relative or friend of Āmenemhāt, cannot be said.

<sup>1</sup> (⊙   ), (⊙   ); see Wiedemann, *op.*

*cit.*, p. 266, No. 14, and p. 274, No. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Catalogue of the Lady Meux Collection*, London, 1896, p. 196, No. 376.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

CONCERNING the causes which brought the XIIth Dynasty of the kings of Egypt to an end we have no information whatsoever, and although Manetho makes it to end with Skemiophris, whom we have seen to be the Sebek-neferu, or Sebek-neferu-Rā, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is not absolutely certain that the dynasty ended with this queen. Manetho had, no doubt, good reasons for making the XIIth Dynasty to end with her, and it is pretty certain that his list represents in this respect the opinion which was current in the XVIIIth Dynasty among the authorities who wrote the works on which he based his King List; but it must not be forgotten that in the Tablet of Abydos the XIIth Dynasty ends with Amenemhāt IV. It is not likely that the sovereignty of this king's house was wrested from it by force, for there is no evidence forthcoming to indicate that the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty only ascended the throne after tumult and civil war and bloodshed. It may be that Sebek-neferu




herself married a member of a noble family, who thereupon arrogated to himself royal rank and position, or she may have died whilst she was the absolute ruler of the country, leaving no issue, whereupon the sceptre of Egypt passed from her to some one near of kin. It is generally admitted that the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were of Theban origin, and the monuments which they have left behind them differ very little in style and character from those of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, who were certainly Theban; still, the objects which can be shown with a tolerable degree of certainty to belong to the period of the successors of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty have characteristics, which once recognized, cannot be mistaken. The period of Egyptian history which begins with the XIIIth Dynasty and ends with the end of the XVIIth Dynasty is full of difficulty, and it is impossible in the present state of Egyptological knowledge to give a truly satisfactory account of it. The monuments supply the names of a considerable number of kings who ruled between the XIIth and XVIIth Dynasties, but they cannot be arranged in proper chronological order, and it is very probable that several other kings reigned whose names are unrecorded. We obtain no assistance from the Tablet of Abydos, for the prenomen of Amenemhät IV., the last king of the XIIth Dynasty, is followed by that of Amäsis I., the first king of the XVIIIth Dynasty; the Tablet of Karnak is useless for purposes of chronological arrangement of royal names,

and the Tablet of Şakḫâra does not help us very much. And it is, unfortunately, the fact that the one document in the world, i.e. the King List in the Museum of Turin, which would have rendered possible a chronological arrangement and grouping of the royal names now supplied by the monuments, is practically worthless for the history of the period. It has already been shown<sup>1</sup> how useless it is for critical purposes, first, because of the lacunae in it, and, secondly, because the fragments of it which remain to us were joined together by Seyffarth, whose knowledge of hieratic was of the most meagre character, and whose system of decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics has been shown to be hopelessly wrong; the remarks on the Turin Papyrus made by Rosellini, de Rougé, Birch, and Wiedemann, quoted above,<sup>2</sup> should not be forgotten in connexion with any assertion made about the chronology of the XIIIth Dynasty. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that a glance at the mutilated fragments of the Turin Papyrus would "convince the "reader that the five last columns of the once complete "work were consecrated to the memory of kings who "undoubtedly belonged to the preceding dynasties. "One may reckon their total number in this MS. at "5 × 30, i.e. 150, but it is evident that the genealogical "calculation could not be applied to fix approximately "the duration of their reign according to human calcu- "lations. The figures which have been preserved in

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I., p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I., p. 116 ff.

“the canon [i.e., Papyrus], and which served to indicate  
 “the years of the reign of each of the kings of whom  
 “we have spoken, rarely surpass the number of three  
 “or four. It is almost certain, therefore, that the  
 “history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made  
 “up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and  
 “murders and assassinations, by which the life and  
 “length of reign of the prince was not subjected to  
 “the ordinary conditions of human existence.”<sup>1</sup> Dr.  
 Brugsch, however, also held the view that “many  
 “kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and not only those  
 “who were first in order of time, enjoyed perfect quiet  
 “on the east side, and were occupied in erecting  
 “monuments, the remains of which have been preserved  
 “to our day, and whose size and kind do not point  
 “to their having been hastily constructed. In the  
 “days of their authors and their origin peaceful times  
 “must have prevailed, and nothing looks like a foreign  
 “occupation by the side of native kings.”<sup>2</sup>

According to Manetho, the kings of the XIIIth  
 Dynasty were sixty in number, and they reigned for a  
 period of 453 years; these kings came from Thebes.  
 The kings of the XIVth Dynasty were seventy-six in  
 number, and they reigned for a period of 184 or 484  
 (Eusebius) years; these kings came from Xoïs, a city  
 called Aat-Sekhau, , in the hiero-

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i., p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.


glyphic texts.<sup>1</sup> It has been thought that the names which were written in the last five columns of the King List of Turin, and which probably numbered from 130 to 150, may have been the names of the kings referred to by Manetho in his summary of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, and there is something to be said for this view. But if we divide the higher total of the years of the two dynasties, i.e. 937, by the number of the kings, i.e. 136, we obtain an average of rather less than 7 years for each reign, and if we take the lower total the average length of each reign is about  $4\frac{2}{3}$  years. Assuming these numbers to be only approximately correct, it seems pretty certain that a large number of kings reigned each for a very few years, and, although some of them may have been kings of the South and North *de facto*, we are justified in assuming that many were only local chieftains, or governors of towns and cities, who asserted their independence and magnified the extent of their dominions and the greatness of their powers whenever they had a chance of doing so. In any case it is certain that all the kings who reigned during the XIIIth, and XIVth, and three following dynasties were not kings in the sense of the word that the Usertsens and Amenemhâts were kings, for had they been so the Tablet of Abydos would never, in the writer's opinion, have passed over

<sup>1</sup> The city was called **ΣΕΟΥC** by the Copts, and is known to the Arabic historians under the name Sakhâ, سَخَا; it is situated in the province of Gharbiyeh, and is in the district of Kafr Al-shêkh.

in absolute silence the names of the kings of five whole dynasties. It is hard not to come to the conclusion that the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, whatever their number may have been, little by little lost their hold upon the country, and that, once having done so, Egypt was rent from one end to the other by internal dissensions, and that the controlling power of the Government at Thebes having disappeared, each petty governor or chieftain did what was right in his own eyes. The years assigned to the dynasty by Manetho must be too many, and the number of kings seems to be too high, for it is impossible that the lapse of four and a half centuries should be necessary before Egypt became a suitable prey for the invaders from the east, or Hyksos. The facts of Egyptian history prove that the enemies of the country, i.e., the Libyans on the west, the Nubians on the south, and the nomad tribes on the east, were ever on the look-out to invade her, and that none but the most active and mighty of the kings of Egypt ever kept them at bay. The terror inspired in them by the great kings of the XIIth Dynasty would disappear entirely in a few score years, and the result of the reigns of half-a-dozen feeble kings would be the refusal to pay tax and tribute on the part of vassal nations, if not open rebellion or invasion of Egyptian territory by them. As the power of the Government at Thebes declined, the Asiatics most probably made their way into the Delta, and experienced little or no opposition to their entrance,



and, if we accept Manetho's statements concerning the number of kings and the duration of the XIIIth Dynasty, there seems to be nothing left to do except admit either that the Hyksos had already established themselves in Egypt before the end of the XIIIth Dynasty, or that many of its kings were contemporaneous. The following are some of the names of the kings who are believed by Brugsch, Lieblein, Wiedemann, and others to have lived in the period of the XIIIth Dynasty.

1.  RĀ-KHU-TAUI.


RĀ-KHU-TAUI is the form of the name of the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty which has been adopted by Brugsch and Wiedemann, and it is found on the Tablet of Karnak; the former authority gives as his second name Sebek-ḥetep, but the latter declares there is no monumental evidence forthcoming which would justify his eminent colleague in so doing, and says that king Rā-sekhem-khu-taui, who is No. 16 in his list, was Sebek-ḥetep I. M. Maspero seems to have examined the King List of Turin specially with the view of clearing up the difficulty, and he says that if the papyrus be examined, it will be seen that there is a tear in it before the signs Rā-khu-taui which is not indicated in the fac-simile, and that this tear has not

only damaged the sign for the solar disk, ☉, but has carried away a sign almost entirely.<sup>1</sup> This being so, he concludes that the full name of the king which was written there was Rā-sekhem-khu-tauī, and that he was the founder of the XIIIth Dynasty; as the king of the same name who stands fifteenth in the list was called Sebek-ḥetep, he assumes that Rā-sekhem-khu-tauī I. was also called Sebek-ḥetep, and he thinks, therefore, that the queen Sebek-neferu was succeeded by a Sebek-ḥetep—"puis elle [i.e., Sovkounofriouri] céda la place "à un Sovkhotpou." Whatever may have been the true name of the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty, it is pretty certain that he was of Theban origin, and that he made Thebes the capital of his kingdom, just as the kings of the XIIth Dynasty had done, and that he ruled the country from that place; Thebes, then, as M. Maspero says, became the actual capital of Egypt, for the kings of the new dynasty began to build their funeral pyramids there, and the actual capital of a sovereign was less the place where he sat upon his throne when living than that where he rested when dead.

<sup>1</sup> "De plus, quand on examine le *Papyrus de Turin*, on s'aperçoit qu'il y a, en avant du groupe *Khoutooui* du premier cartouche, une déchirure qui n'est point indiquée sur le fac-simile, mais qui a endommagé légèrement le disque solaire initial et enlevé presque entièrement un signe. On est donc porté à croire qu'il y avait là un *Sakhemkhoutoouiri* au lieu d'un *Khoutoouiri*," etc. *Hist. Anc.*, p. 527.



Of the reign of RĀ-SEKHEM-KA no details are forthcoming, and the monumental evidence concerning him is scanty. The principal monument of his time is a fine large stone stele, having a rounded top, and measuring 3 ft. 10¼ in. by 2 ft. 2½ in., which was made to commemorate a royal personage who flourished at that period. This stele is an interesting object, for the winged disk at the top of it, and the Horus name and prenomens of the king, etc., are cut in low relief upon it; the general appearance of the hieroglyphics is bold and striking, and the monument forms one of the best examples known to us of the sepulchral stelae of the period. It is said to have been found among the ruins at Kôm al-Atrîb, an Arab village which marks the site of the ancient city of Athribis, the Het-ta-her-âbt,

, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> during the construction of the Cairo-Alexandria Railway which runs through the ruins of the ancient city; it was for some time in the possession of a gentleman at Benha, when Prof. Wiedemann<sup>2</sup> heard of it, but was afterwards taken to Alexandria, where the late Dr.

<sup>1</sup> J. de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, Paris, 1891, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 266.



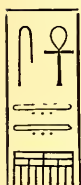



Stele of Sekhem-ka-Rä. British Museum, No. 1343.

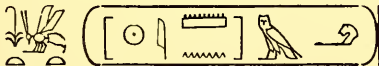




Brugsch copied it,<sup>1</sup> and it is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1343).




The scene depicted on the stele is of considerable interest. In the centre we have the Horus name of the king SE-ĀNKH-TAUI, i.e., "Vivifier of the two lands," and before it, on the right, is a seated figure of Hāpi, the god of the Nile, who wears a cluster of plants upon his head, and holds before him a table on which stand the two characteristic vases. From an object between these extend the symbols of "life," "stability," and "power," and as they reach towards the hawk of Horus, which stands above the king's Horus name, it seems as if the sculptor intended to represent that the Nile-god was making an offering of them to the king, who is here symbolized by his Horus name. On the left hand side are the king's prenomen and his usual titles. The interpretation of the inscription is not without difficulty, for the sculptor has made mistakes in cutting the inscription, but it seems to have reference to a "royal daughter" called Rā-Meri, , although the two first words *erpā hā* form the title of a man.




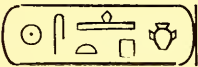





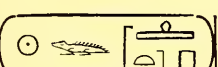

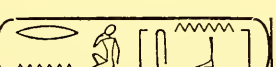



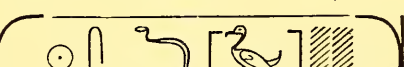
3.  RĀ-ĀMEN-EM-HĀT.

4.  RĀ-SEHETEP-ĀB I.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Thesaurus*, p. 1455, No. 84.

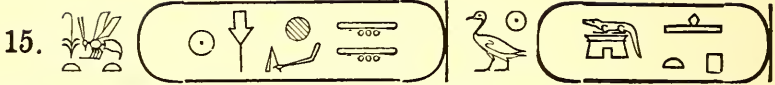


In the reign of the fanatical king *Âmen-ḥetep IV.* an attempt was made to cut or hammer out from the second cartouche of the king the name *Âmen*, , and the marks thereof are visible to this day.<sup>1</sup>

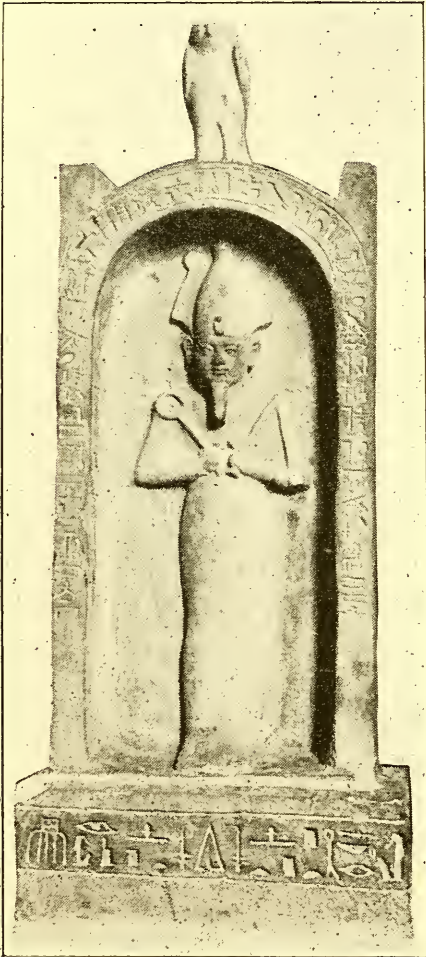
7.   | RĀ-SEMEN-KA.
8.   | RĀ-SEḤETEP-ĀB II.
9.   | .....KA.
10.   | RĀ-NETCHEM-ĀB.
11.   | RĀ-SEBEK-ḤETEP.<sup>2</sup>
12.   | REN-SEN-EB.
13.   | RĀ-ĀU-ĀB.
14.   | RĀ-SETCHEF-...

<sup>1</sup> "Ces tables, érigées à Karnak, y servaient, pendant les fêtes des morts, à célébrer les sacrifices institués par le défunt au compte de son double." Maspero, *Guide*, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, p. 266) mentions two scarabs of this king.



RĀ-SEKHEM-KHU-TAUI, son of the Sun, SEBEK-HETEP I.



Limestone shrine of Pa-suten with the figure of the god Osiris in relief. On the rounded portion, at the feet of the hawk by which the shrine is surmounted, is the prenomen of Amenemhät III. (British Museum, No. 1135.)

The rule of SEBEK-HETEP I. over Egypt seems to have been real, and, if we may judge by the few monuments and inscriptions of his time which have come down to us, it extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Second Cataract. In the course of his excavations at Bubastis,<sup>1</sup> M. Naville found portions of a massive red granite architrave inscribed with the prenomen of Sebek-hetep I., and the size of the hieroglyphics indicates that it must have rested upon pillars of very great dimensions, and it is

<sup>1</sup> See *Bubastis*, p. 15.

quite certain that he must have carried on building operations on this ancient site on a large scale. When the temple was restored at a later period the builders used the old blocks of granite and placed the inscriptions in such a way that they were hidden. On the rocks near the forts of Semneh and Kummeḥ in the Second Cataract is a series of hieroglyphic inscriptions which record the greatest height of the Nile during the first four years of the reign of Sebek-ḥetep I., and this seems to indicate that the power of the central government at Thebes was sufficiently stable to admit of the appointment of officials whose duty it was to inspect the irrigation of the country, and to record the levels attained by the waters of the Nile during the inundation. The governor of the Egyptian territories in Nubia at that time was called Ren-seneb, and his headquarters seem to have been the fort which Usertsen III. had built on their southern frontier. The name of Sebek-ḥetep appears on the Tablet of Karnak, and on several scarabs and other objects now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

16.   RĀ-USER-.....



17.    

RĀ-SEMENKH-KA, son of the Sun, MER-MASHĀU.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., 15,701, 16,752, 17,029, 24,134, 28,867, 32,478.



The principal monuments extant of the reign of the king MER-MASHĀU are two gray granite statues, which were brought to light in the course of the excavations made at Tanis (Şân) by Mariette; both statues were set up in the great temple of Ptaḥ in that city, and the names of the king who caused them to be made are "clearly legible" in the middle column of the inscription. The Hyksos king Āpepā had his name inscribed upon both of them, but only one was, by the insertion of his name, usurped by Rameses II. The king, as son of Rā, adopted as his name the title "Mer-mashāu," i.e., "general of soldiers," and it was thought at one time that this name indicated that the king lived in times of rebellion and trouble, but Brugsch pointed out<sup>1</sup> that "mer mashāu" was the official title of the high priest of Mendes, and that the king adopted it rather in his priestly than in his military capacity.

18.   RĀ-.....-KA.

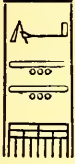
19.   [RĀ]-USUR-SET (?).

20.    

RĀ-SEKHEM-SE-UATCH-TAUI, son of the Sun, SEBEK-HETEP II.<sup>2</sup>

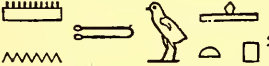


<sup>1</sup> *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 220; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> For scarabs of this king see *Brit. Mus.*, Nos. 3934, 30,506.



KHU-TAUTI,  
the Horus name of  
Sebek-ḥetep II.

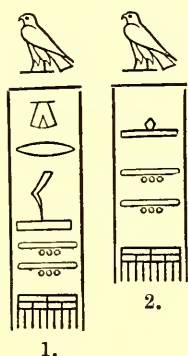
The name of SEBEK-ḤETEP II. is found on the Tablet of Karnak, and on scarabs, but we learn nearly all that is known of this king from two stelae, one of which is in the Louvre and has been published by Prisse d’Avennes;<sup>1</sup> the other is in Vienna and has been described by Bergmann.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of a man called Menthu-



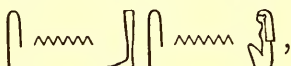
ḥetep, , who held the rank of “divine father,” and of the “royal mother” Āuḥet-abu, . The stele in the Louvre mentions two “royal daughters” called Āuḥet-abu (?) and Ānqet-tāṭṭā, who are said to have been the children of the “royal wife” Ānnā, , and both are represented as standing in adoration before the ithyphallic god Āmsu or Min. The stele in Vienna seems to commemorate a brother of Sebek-ḥetep II. called Seneb, for the names of the parents of each are Menthu-ḥetep and Āuḥet-abu, and Seneb’s children are called by the names of the grandparents, etc. Sebek-ḥetep II. seems to have succeeded to the throne of Egypt by reason of his wife’s royal descent.

<sup>1</sup> *Monuments*, plate 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vii. p. 188 (No. 10).

21.  RĀ-KHĀ-SESHESH,  
son of the Sun, NEFER-ĤETEP.<sup>1</sup>



NEFER-ĤETEP was, like his predecessor, the son of a “divine father” and of a “royal mother”; his father’s name was Ḥa-ānkh-f, , and that of his mother Kemā, . His wife’s name was Seneb - Sen, , and he had four

children, two of whom were called after the names of himself and his wife, and two bore the names of Sa-Hathor and Sebek-ĥetep. He adopted as Horus names the titles “possessor of the two lands” (No. 1), and “peace of the two lands” (No. 2); and in addition to the old titles “Horus of gold” and “lord of the cities of the vulture and uraeus,” he styled himself the “opener of the era (or, judge) of right,” and the “stablisher of love.” Nefer-ĥetep was a worshipper of the god Āmsu or Min of Coptos, and at various places in the First Cataract he is seen adoring the local gods and goddesses, i.e., Khnemu, Satet, and Ānuqet, but his chief interest seems to have been centred in the well-being of the old and famous shrine of Abydos.

<sup>1</sup> For scarabs of this king see Nos. 3932, 3933, Brit. Mus.

Here he set up a large stele,<sup>1</sup> on which he caused to be related an account of how he one day wished to see and read the books of the god Temu or Átmu (i.e., the form of Rā which is the type of the setting sun), that were preserved in the library of the temple. He obtained the permission of the god to do so, and when he had read the divine writings he decided to set the temple in order, and to restore whatsoever portions of it needed restoration. The authenticity of this document has been doubted because of the wording of certain parts of it, and an attempt made to prove from it that the seat of the government was not at Thebes but at Crocodilopolis; but if the text be the product of a later period, in other words, if the story be an invention of the priests of a later dynasty, the information which may be derived from it incidentally is not worth serious consideration, for it is in small matters that the literary forgers of antiquity have usually tripped. The name of Nefer-ḥetep is found among those given on the Tablet at Karnak, and a portrait of the king was published by Lepsius.<sup>2</sup> At some time during his reign he was associated in the rule of the kingdom with one of his successors, for on a slab of sandstone, which was found at Karnak by Mariette,<sup>3</sup> we find side by side with his cartouche that of Rā-khā-nefer Sebek-ḥetep.

<sup>1</sup> See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. pll. 28-30; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 291, Nos. 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> See *Karnak*, pl. 8.

22.   RĀ-ḤET-ḤERT-SA.


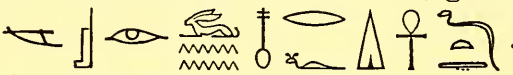
23.    RĀ-KHĀ-NEFER,  
son of the Sun, SEBEK-ḤETEP.

SEBEK-ḤETEP III.<sup>1</sup> was, like Nefer-ḥetep, the son of Ḥa-ānkh-f, and he appears to have been one of the greatest kings of the XIIIth Dynasty; his rule extended from the Mediterranean Sea on the north to the country which lies between the Third and Fourth Cataracts on the south. These facts are proved by the red granite colossal statues of the king found at Tanis and Bubastis in the Delta, which show that he either restored on a large scale the ancient temples existing at these places, or built certain new halls which he made to adjoin them, and by two gray granite statues of himself which are to be seen to this day lying on the Island of Argo (Arḳaw, or Argaw), a few miles to the south of Kerma, at the head of the Third Cataract. These statues are nearly twenty-four feet high, and they seem never to have been finished; one is broken, and the other has lost an arm. Lepsius assigned them to the period of the Hyksos, but the inscription on one of them settles the matter, and proves that they were set up by Sebek-ḥetep III., who styles himself,<sup>2</sup> “lord of the

<sup>1</sup> For scarabs of this king see Brit. Mus. Nos. 4225, 24,135, 24,136, 25,554, 29,992, 30,507, 30,508, 32,313, 32,434.

<sup>2</sup> The text is given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 151 c.




“cities of the vulture and uraeus, abundant in risings  
 “[like the sun],” , and describes  
 himself as “loving (or, loved of) Osiris Un-nefer, giver  
 “of life for ever,” .

From their position it appears that they were set up in front of the temple, the ruins of which lie close by, after the manner of the colossal statues of kings which were placed before the pylons of temples in Egypt. These remains also indicate that a colony of Egyptians of considerable size must have existed in that neighbourhood, for the temple was a large one, and the ruins in the neighbourhood suggest that that portion of the Eastern Sûdân was under tolerably effective Egyptian control in times of peace. When war broke out or a disturbance of any kind arose the Egyptian garrison, if one existed there, must have been reduced to sore straits, for the Egyptian line of communications could be cut easily at almost any point between Argo and Semneh by an active and determined foe, and reinforcements would find it extremely difficult, nay impossible, to relieve their countrymen, either by way of the Cataracts or the Baṭn-al-Ḥagar. The gray granite statues of Sebek-ḥetep III. were quarried in the Island of Tombos near Kerma, and some seventy years ago Mr. Hoskins, who travelled in the country nearly as far south as Khartûm, saw there a broken statue made of the same material. Professor Wiedemann<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

calls attention to the similarity of the prenomen of Sebek-ḥetep III., Khā-nefer-Rā, to the name of Chenephres, a king whose wife Merrhis, according to a legend, reared Moses, the great law-giver of Israel.

24.  RĀ-KHĀ-KA.

The name of this king was supplied by Brugsch, who derived it from the Tablet of Karnak.<sup>1</sup>

25.  RĀ-KHĀ-ĀNKH,  
son of the Sun, SEBEK-ḤETEP.

Of the reign of SEBEK-ḤETEP IV. nothing is known; the greater number of the monuments which record his names and titles are mentioned by Wiedemann.<sup>2</sup>

26.  RĀ-KHĀ-  
ḤETEP, son of the Sun, SEBEK-ḤETEP.


The name of SEBEK-ḤETEP V. is found in the Tablet of Karnak as well as in the King List of Turin, where we are told that he reigned 4 years, 8 months, and 29 days.

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i., p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 270; see also Dubois, J. J., *Description des Antiquités*, Paris, 1837, Nos. 197, 209, pp. 34 and 36.

27.  RĀ-  
 UAH-ĀB [son of the Sun], ĀĀ-ĀB.


According to the Turin Papyrus ĀĀ-ĀB reigned 10 years, 8 months, and 18 days.

28.  RĀ-MER-NEFER,  
 son of the Sun, ĀI.

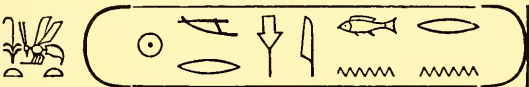
According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 13 years, 8 months, and 18 days.

29.  RĀ-MER-  
 HETEP, son of the Sun, ĀNĀ.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 2 years, 2 months, and 9 days.

30.  RĀ-SEĀNKH-NEFER-UTU.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 3 years, 2 months, and some days.

31.  RĀ - MER -  
 SEKHEM-AN-REN.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 3 years, 1 month, and some days.





44-46. [Names wanting].



47.   ..... MESU.


48.    

RĀ-NEB-MAĀT, son of the Sun, ĀBĀ.

49.   RĀ-.....-UBEN.

50-53. [Names wanting].

54.   [RĀ]-NEḤSI.

In the year 1860 the natives at Tell-Muḡdam in the Delta discovered among the ruins of an old house the base of a black granite, colossal, seated figure of a king, and when M. Mariette had studied the inscription, he decided that the monument had been made by a Hyksos king, and thought that he could identify in the cartouche the hieroglyphic for the god Sutekh, . Later, the cartouche was studied by Ebers, who by "restoring" certain characters wished to discover in it the hieroglyphic form of the Hyksos king called Salatis. Subsequently the cartouche was submitted to further examination by M. Naville, and as a result he has proved <sup>1</sup> that the cartouche is not that

<sup>1</sup> See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xv. p. 99; see also Naville, *Ahnas el-Medineh*, plates 4, B1, and B2.



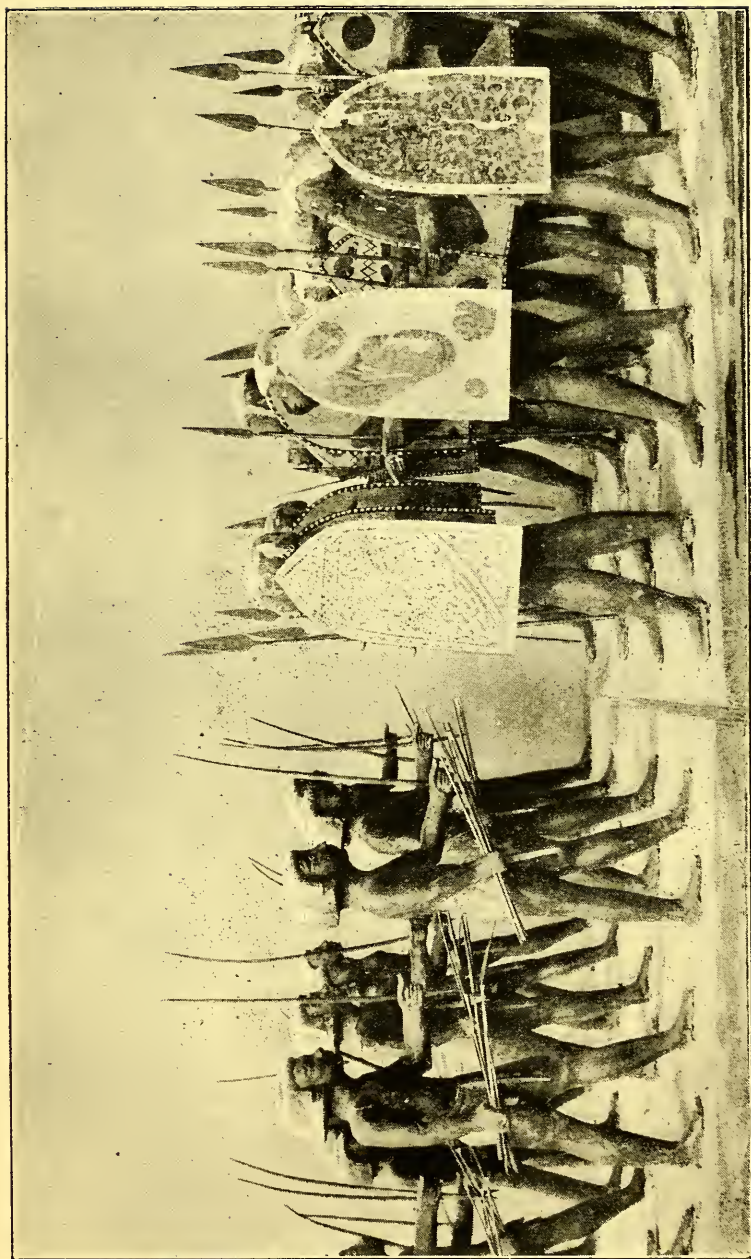




## CHAPTER III.

## EGYPT UNDER THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.—SUMMARY.

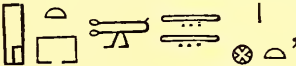
HAVING stated in the preceding pages the principal facts in connexion with the reigns of the kings of the XIth, XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, we may now attempt to describe in brief the main characteristics of this period of Egyptian history. All the evidence now available shows that these three dynasties were closely connected, and that they must be treated together. The principal event which distinguishes this period from the preceding is the transference of the seat of government from Memphis and Herakleopolis to Thebes, i.e., from the north to the south; this event took place when the family of the Mentu-heteps, who were originally princes of Hermonthis (the modern Erment, about eight miles to the south of Thebes), and who subsequently extended their authority over the whole of the Thebaïd, obtained complete control over the whole of the Nile Valley, and assumed the double crown of the South and the North as the kings of the XIth Dynasty. The kings of the XIIth Dynasty, who were purely of Theban origin, were evidently very closely related to the kings of the XIth Dynasty, and

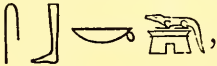


Wooden models of two companies of Egyptian soldiers armed with spears, shields, and bows and arrows.  
From a tomb in the mountain south of Asyût.





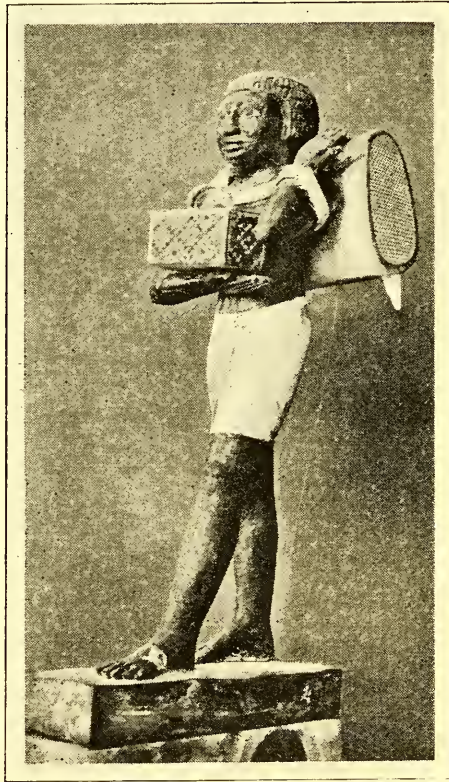
it is probable that Ámenemhāt I. was a blood relation of Seānkhka-Rā, the last king of the XIth Dynasty, and a king famous as the sender of a mission on a large scale to Punt. Although Ámenemhāt succeeded his kinsman without any long interregnum, there is no doubt that there was some distinction between the families of the two kings, otherwise Ámenemhāt would not have been reckoned the founder of a new dynasty; and the succession of this king to the throne seems to have been disputed, if we may judge from the hints which are given us in his "Instructions" to his son Usertsen.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that the later kings of the XIIth Dynasty built their private palaces not at Thebes, but at a place called "Het-Thet-Tauī," , which seems to have been situated at no great distance from the modern city of Minyeh.

Another interesting fact connected with the XIIth Dynasty is the predilection which its kings always showed for the province of the Fayyûm, of which the hieroglyphic inscriptions make no special mention until this period, when both it and its local crocodile-headed god Sebek,<sup>2</sup> , assume

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sebek is a local form of the Sun-god Rā, and is mentioned in texts of the Early Empire; he was a great favourite with the kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, but subsequently fell into a humble position, from which, however, he again emerged in Greek times, when under the name Σῶχος or Συχος he became one of the principal gods of Egypt.

very prominent positions. We have seen that the sister of *Āmenemḥāt IV.* was called *Sebek-neferu*, and several of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty bore the name *Sebek-ḥetep*, facts which prove how great was the honour in



Painted wooden figure of a servant of "*Pepi-en-ānkh, the Black*" carrying his master's luggage; front view. XIth or XIIth Dynasty. From Meir.

which the god was held. The common worship and veneration of the god *Sebek* obviously closely connects the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, and it seems that the

first kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were connected by marriage with the family of Amenemhät III.

Under the great kings of the XIIIth Dynasty Egypt attained to a position of power and greatness which she



Painted wooden figure of a servant of "Pepi-en-änkh, the Black" carrying his master's luggage; back view. XIth or XIIth Dynasty. From Meir.

had not enjoyed since the days of the VIth Dynasty, for the government was in the hands of strong and energetic monarchs, by whom the power of the local princes and

governors was curtailed or guided. With the cessation of private hostilities, which had existed between the local chiefs, the general prosperity of the country revived, and its wealth again became great, and the kings were thereby enabled to carry out the great engineering works in connexion with the irrigation of the country, which made their names famous in Egyptian history. Instead of building great tombs for themselves, as the kings of earlier dynasties had done, or erecting vast temples, as did their successors, they seem to have devoted their energies and the resources of the country to works of public utility, i.e., to the making of canals and reservoirs, and fortresses on the southern and north-eastern frontiers of their country, to protect it from the sudden inroads of the barbarians. Although Egypt as yet seems to have aspired to no actual rule over the surrounding nations, yet the kings of the XIIth Dynasty considerably extended her frontiers, especially in the south, where Usertsen III. built the frontier fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh at the foot of the Second Cataract; by this act he definitely annexed the whole country between the modern towns of Aswân and Wâdî Halfa, and this territory has practically remained a part of Egypt proper ever since. On the other hand, neither at this period, nor at any other in their history, do the Egyptians appear to have attempted to annex permanently any portion of Libya; we hear, under the XIIth Dynasty, of Egyptian raids upon the Libyan



tribes, made sometimes under the leadership of the heir-apparent, e.g., Usertsen I., who was absent on one of these expeditions when he heard of the death of his father, Amenemhât I. In Asia, Egypt possessed in the XIIth Dynasty, as in earlier times, only certain




Green diorite statue of an official. XIIth Dynasty.  
British Museum, No. 29,671.

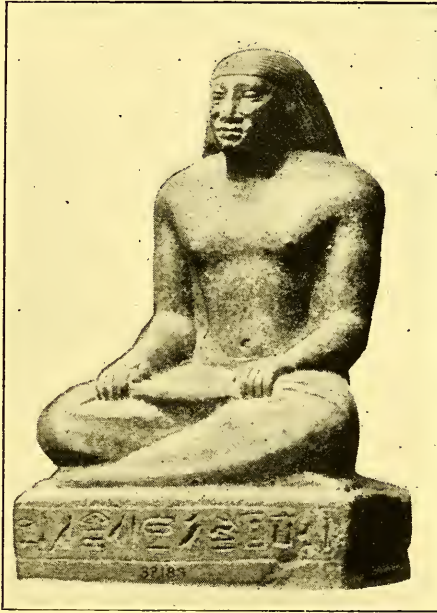
districts in the Peninsula of Sinai, e.g., Sarbût-al-Khâdîm, which, with the Wâdî Maghâra, already often mentioned, was held by the Egyptians on account of its valuable copper and turquoise mines; these mines were worked with great activity at this time, but in the XIIIth Dynasty they seem to have been temporarily



abandoned. But although the Egyptians exercised no direct domination over the tribes of Palestine and Syria, the tribes of Canaan maintained relations with the Egyptians which were certainly of a friendly character, and the kings of Egypt probably exercised considerable influence over them. Families of Canaanites often made their way into Egypt, where they seem to have been well received, and we hear nothing of any attacks or raids made by the Egyptians upon the peoples of Palestine and Syria at this period. The frontier on the north-east was protected from invasion by wandering desert tribes by a chain of fortresses extending across the swampy country which seems to have existed between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. The friendly relations which must have existed from very ancient times between Egypt and Punt, seem, if we may judge from the expedition of Henu in the reign of Seānkhka-Rā, to have been maintained, but under the kings of the XIIth Dynasty we find no special mention of voyages to Punt.

During the Middle Empire the strong and independent position which the nobles had attained after the collapse of the powerful rule of the kings of the VIth Dynasty was still maintained, though in a considerably modified form. The local ḥā, , princes were still all-powerful in their own nomes, but their private interests were made to yield to public policy, and in these respects the king seems to have ruled them with a heavy hand; towards the end of the

XIIIth Dynasty, when the royal power had fallen into weak hands, the princes and nobles regained their old position of independence, which naturally included the privilege of making war upon each other when and where they liked, a privilege which they had been



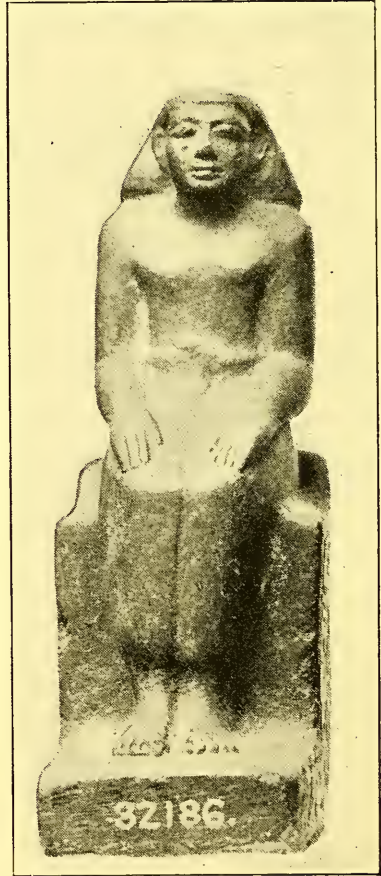
The official Ānkh-p-khrat. XIIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,183.

obliged to forego under the strong rule of the Āmen-  
emhāts and Usertsens. We are justified in assuming  
that a very large proportion of the royal names which  
have been assigned to the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties  
belonged to petty chiefs and nobles, who masqueraded  
as great kings. In the East a strong government has

always brought with it security of life and property, and in consequence material prosperity to the country and increased well-being to its inhabitants, and Egypt under the XIIth Dynasty afforded no exception to this rule; probably at no period of her existence were the masses of the population in better case than in the period of the XIIth Dynasty, a period which has, with great justice, been described as the "Golden Age" of Egyptian history.

We have already seen that in the Vth and VIth Dynasties the power of the priests had become very great, but under the Middle Empire their temporal power seems to have been considerably curtailed and their political influence not to have been very great, a fact probably due to the transfer of the temporal power of the country from the old priestly seats of Heliopolis and Memphis to the new capital Thebes, of which the local god, called *Āmen*, had, up to this period, been ministered to by a priesthood, poor and limited in number. We have abundant proofs that the cult of *Āmen* was increasing greatly in the XIIth Dynasty, but many centuries had to elapse before the confraternity of the priests of *Āmen* reached the height of power and influence which the Heliopolitan priests enjoyed at the period of the Vth Dynasty. In the Middle Empire *Āmen* was not identified with *Rā*, for the cult of Thebes had not yet absorbed that of Heliopolis; of the worship of *Sebek*, which was very considerable at this time, we have already spoken.

In the matter of funeral ceremonies there was a great revival, a fact proved by the numerous inscribed and painted coffins, "Canopic" jars, and boxes to hold the same, etc., which are such distinguishing characteristics of the tombs of the XI<sup>th</sup> and XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. It seems that the "Canopic" jars were first introduced at this period, when, instead of the covers of the jars being fashioned in the shapes of the heads of the genii of the dead in use in later periods, the cover of each jar was in the form of a human head, which eventually was appropriated to *Amset* or *Mesthâ*. In connection with the performance of funeral ceremonies we find that at this period the *Book of the Dead* was finally arranged in the form which was afterwards practically stereotyped by the sacred scribes and religious writers of Thebes in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.



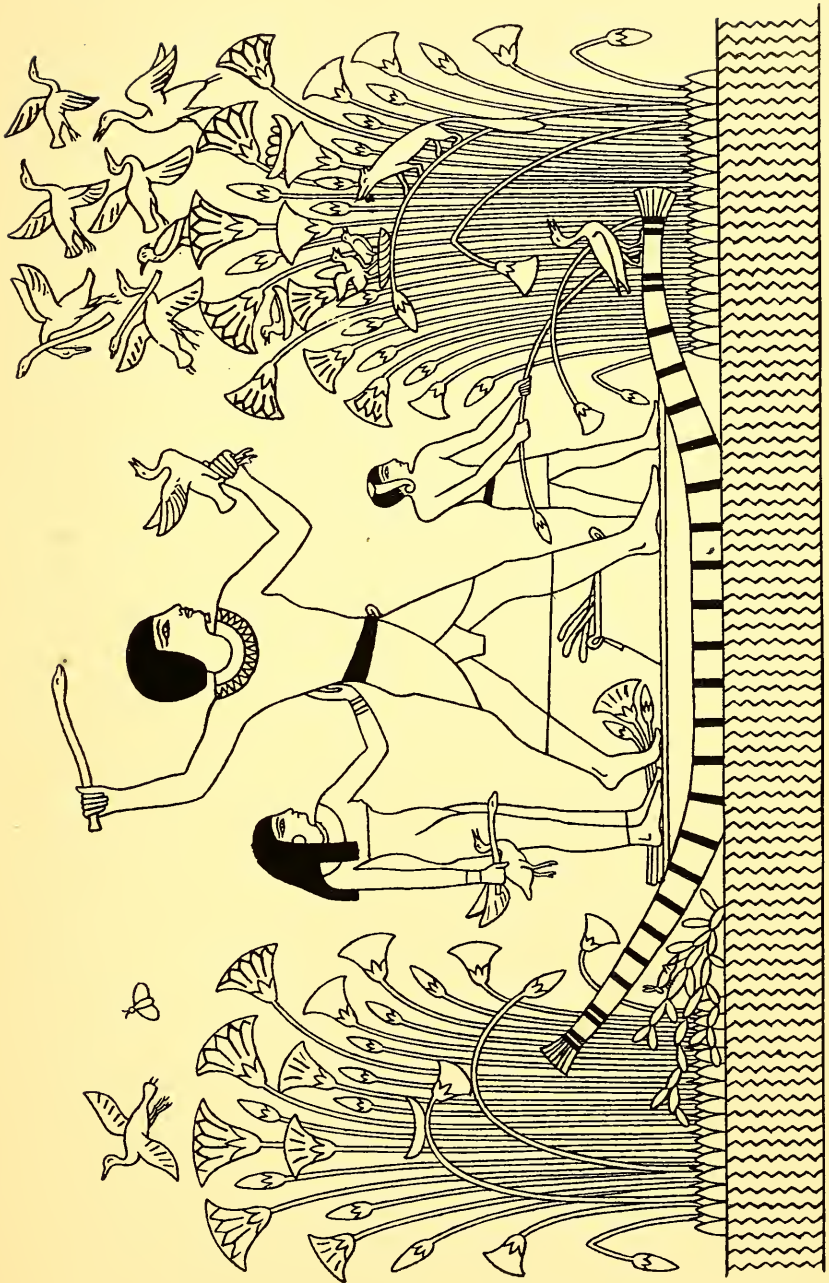
Black basalt figure of an official,  
XIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.  
British Museum, No. 32,186.

Of the secular literature of the period little can be said. The "Instructions of Amenemhāt I." were, no doubt, originally the work of the king himself, and the Story of Sa-nehāt, though known to us only from papyri of a later period, must have been composed about the end of the reign of Usertsen I.; the Story of the Shipwreck belongs, according to M. Maspero,<sup>1</sup> to about the same period, as well as some other stories which have only come down to us in a fragmentary condition. Under the heading of secular literature may also be mentioned the collection of wills and other legal documents, which were found at Kahûn by Professor Petrie;<sup>2</sup> these documents are of peculiar interest, inasmuch as they throw great light upon the domestic and family affairs of middle-class Egyptians at this period. Moreover, Kahûn itself is of great interest on account of the excavations which have been conducted both there and at Illahûn, and which have revealed to us the oldest towns that have hitherto been uncovered. The town of Illahûn was made specially for the workmen who were building the neighbouring pyramid of Usertsen II., and it seems that temporary towns of a similar character always sprang up wherever pyramids were being built. It will be noticed that the kings of the XIIth Dynasty continued to build pyramid tombs, as their ancestors in

<sup>1</sup> *Contes Populaires*, p. 135 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, London, 1899.





Fowling Scene. From a tomb of the XIIith Dynasty.

the Ancient Empire had done, but they were much smaller than the mighty pyramids of the IVth Dynasty.

The greatest engineering work of the Middle Empire was the construction of Lake Moeris, which was neither more nor less than a gigantic reservoir; part of this wonderful work is now represented by the Birket al-*Ḳarûn*, in the province of the *Fayyûm*, which, with the exception of the district known as *Sheṭ* in the hieroglyphic inscription, the site of the city *Crocodilopolis* or *Arsinoë*, the seat of the worship of *Sebek*, was almost entirely covered by the waters of Lake Moeris in ancient days. It is possible that a great swamp existed at this place from time immemorial, and many kings may have carried out in connection with it works of regulation and reclamation; but to *Amenemhāt III.* certainly belongs the credit of having finally fixed the extent of the Lake, and of building the works necessary for the provision of a regular and constant supply of water to the neighbouring country. To the same king is attributed the building of the Labyrinth, of which we have spoken at length.<sup>1</sup> The kings of the XIIth Dynasty were not great temple builders, and indeed, the temples did not receive any considerable support from them, a fact no doubt due to the weakness of the priesthood at this time. The old temple of *Amen* at *Karnak*, which must have been a very insignificant building, was, however, greatly enlarged and adorned by the first kings of the XIIth Dynasty, and we know

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 48 ff.































































that Usertsen I. added largely to the temple of the Sun-god at Heliopolis, and that he distinguished it by the erection of a pair of red granite obelisks of a height and size previously unknown. The art of the Middle Empire is developed directly out of that of the Ancient Empire, but one of the most prominent of its characteristics is an increased tendency towards realism, which is especially seen in the designs and workmanship of small objects. The scarabs of the XIIth Dynasty are particularly interesting and beautiful.

## CHAPTER IV.



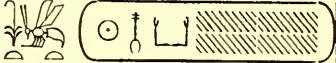
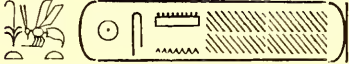
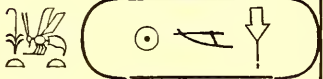
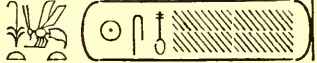
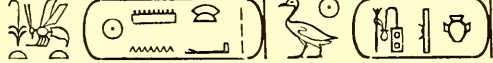
## THE FOURTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM XOÏS.

ACCORDING to Manetho the XIVth Dynasty comprised seventy-six kings, who reigned in all either 184 or 484 years; the King List of Turin supplies a number of names which may have been those of the kings of this dynasty; transcribed into hieroglyphics they read as follows:—

1.  RĀ-SEHEB.
2.  RĀ-MER-TCHEFA.
3.  RĀ-STA-KA.
4.  RĀ-NEB-TCHEFA.
5.  RĀ-UBEN (II.).
6.  RĀ-SENEFER.....

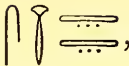
7.     | RĀ-.....-TCHEFA.
8.      | [RĀ]-UBEN (III.).
9.        | RĀ-ĀUT-ĀB.
10.      | RĀ-HER-ĀB.
11.      | RĀ-NEB-SENU.
12. [Name wanting.]
13.       | RĀ-SEUAḤ-EN.
14.       | RĀ-SEKHEPER-REN.
15.      | RĀ-ṬETṬ-KHERU.
16.       | RĀ-SEĀNKH-[KA].
17.     | [RĀ]-NEFER-TEM.
18.      | RĀ-SEKHEM-.....
19.     | RĀ-KA-.....



20.  RĀ-NEFER-ĀB.
21.  RĀ-Ā-.....
22.  RĀ-NEFER-KA-.....
23.  RĀ-SMEN-.....
24.  RĀ-MER-SEKHEM.
25. [Name wanting.]
26. [Name wanting.]
27.  RĀ-SENEFER-.....
28.  RĀ-MEN-KHĀU,  
son of the Sun, ĀNĀB.

A stele which was found by Mariette at Abydos<sup>1</sup> provides us with a relief in which this king is represented in the act of adoring Āmsu, or Min, of Coptos, and the accompanying text shows that he was adoring Osiris, Khent Āmenti, at the same time. The stele also gives the Horus name of the king, which is

<sup>1</sup> See *Abydos*, tom. ii. pl. 27.

SE-UATCH-TAUI , i.e., "He who maketh fertile the two lands."

29. [Name wanting.]

30. [Name wanting.]

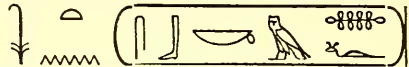
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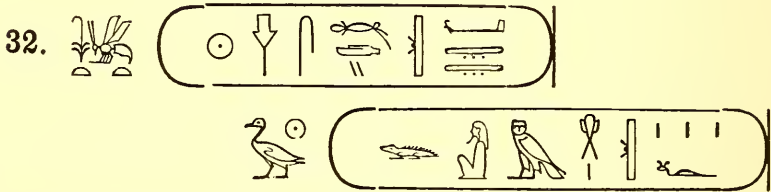
RĀ-SEKHEM-UATCH-KHĀU, son of the Sun, SEBEK-EM-SA-F.

The monuments which remain of this king, SEBEK-EM-SA-F, though few, are very interesting. On the rocks in the valley of Hammâmât are two scenes in which he is represented in the act of making offerings to the god Àmsu, or Min, of Coptos,<sup>1</sup> and this fact indicates that the quarries were worked there during his reign. A red granite standing statue of the king was found at Abydos, where, it would seem, he carried on some works; on it he is called "beautiful god, lord of the two lands, the lord, maker of created things." On the base of the statue is sculptured a figure of his son, who is called Sebek-em-sa-f.<sup>2</sup> As belonging to the period of this king may be mentioned the fine green basalt funereal scarab, set in a gold plinth, and inscribed with parts of the text of Chapters XXXB. and LXIV. of the *Book of the Dead*, which is

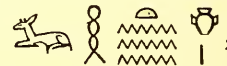
<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 151, *k* and *l*.

<sup>2</sup> For a drawing of it see Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. pl. 26.

now preserved in the British Museum (No. 7876). On the edge of the gold plinth are found the words, "King Sebek-em-sa-f," , and it is probable that this very interesting object, which was found at Kûrna, where it was bought by Mr. Salt, came from the king's tomb. Prof. Wiedemann mentions a small sepulchral box, inscribed with the name of Sebek-em-sa-f, which also probably belonged to the king; a small green basalt scarab set in a gold covering upon which are inscribed the king's name and titles is also known.<sup>1</sup>



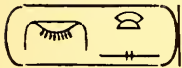
RĀ-SEKHEM-SHEṬI-TAUI, son of the Sun, SEBEK-EM-SAU-F.

The principal monument known to us of the reign of SEBEK-EM-SAU-F is the limestone cone which commemorates the scribe of the temple of Sebek called Sebek-ḥetep, and his wife Āuḥetāb , and which is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1163). We read in the Abbott Papyrus<sup>2</sup> that in the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> See Hilton Price, *Catalogue*, London, 1897, p. 27, No. 187.

<sup>2</sup> See Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 18.

year of the reign of Rameses IX. the tomb of Sebek-em-sau-f had been broken into by thieves, who had cut their way into it through the wall of the outer chamber of the superintendent of the granaries of king Thothmes III., which was close by. That part of the tomb in which the king had been buried was empty, as was also the other part of the tomb wherein the body of the "great royal wife Nub-khā-s"

 had been

laid, and it seems that the evildoers had completely wrecked the bodies. Robberies of royal tombs had at this period become very common, and the Government were driven eventually to appoint a Commission which should inquire into



Sepulchral conical stele of the scribe Sebek-hetep, who flourished in the reign of Sebek-em-sau-f. British Museum, No. 1163.

the matter, and report on the damage done by the thieves. The members of this Commission visited the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and it seems that they collected evidence on the spot; certain of the thieves turned king's witnesses, and others confessed their guilt, and by good fortune, among the papyri in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, is one which records the confession of one of the thieves who broke into the tombs of Sebek-em-sau-f and his wife, and wrecked their mummies. He says that the tomb of Queen Nub-khā-s was "surrounded by masonry, "closed up with stones, protected by rubble, covered "with slabs, but we penetrated them notwithstanding, "and covered over with *khesh-khesh*, and demolished it "with work, and we found it [i.e., the queen's mummy] "resting likewise. We opened their coffins and their "wrappings which were in them, and we found this "noble mummy of this king. It was found; there "were two swords and things many of amulets and "necklaces of gold on his neck, his head was covered "with gold upon it. The noble mummy of this king "was adorned with gold throughout. Its wrappings "were graven with gold and silver within and without "and covered with every precious stone. We tore off "the gold that we found on the noble mummy of this "god, together with his amulets and necklaces which "were on his neck, and the wrappings on which they "rested. We found the royal wife likewise. We tore "off all that which we found from it likewise and we



“set fire to their wrappings. We took their furniture  
 “which we found with them [consisting of] gold and  
 “silver and copper vases and we divided, and we made  
 “this gold which we found upon these two gods on  
 “their noble mummies and the amulets and the  
 “necklaces and the wrappings into eight pieces  
 “[i.e., lots].” It is pleasing to know that the eight  
 men who were concerned in the robbery of the tomb  
 “were examined with blows of the stick,” and that  
 “they were beaten upon their feet.”<sup>1</sup> The Museum of  
 the Louvre possesses a stele of Queen Nub-khā-s, which  
 M. E. de Rougé, as far back as 1876, attributed to the  
 XIIIth Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> and Prof. Wiedemann identified her  
 as the wife of Sebek-em-sa-f; thanks to the Abbott  
 Papyrus we now know that she was the wife of Sebek-  
 em-sau-f.

33.  RĀ-SESUSER-TAUI.



34.  RĀ-NEB-ĀTI-.....

35.  RĀ-NEB-ĀTEN-.....

36.  RĀ-SMEN-[RA].

<sup>1</sup> See Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, London, 1899, pp. 25, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens*, Paris, 1876, p. 47 (C. 13). The genealogy of this queen is given by Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, Paris, 1878, Liv. 8, pp. 5, 6.



37.   RĀ-SEUSERT-Ā.....

38.   RĀ-SEKHEM-UAST.

39. [Name wanting.]

40. [Name wanting.]

41. [Name wanting.]

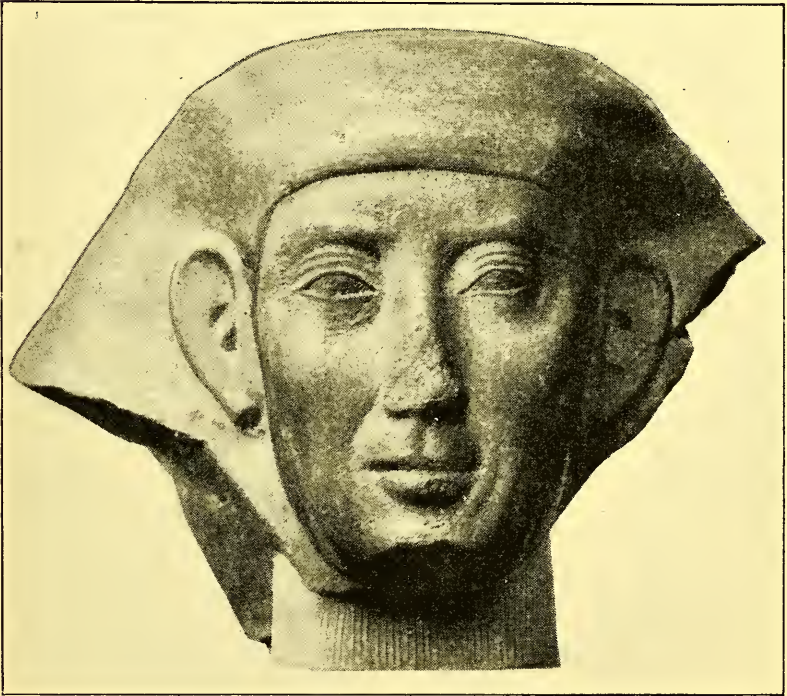
42.   RĀ-USER-.....

43.   RĀ-USER-.....<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of one or two of the kings whose names are given in the above list, e.g., Sebek-em-sa-f and Sebek-em-sau-f, who, however, probably lived in the period of the XIIIth Dynasty, none of the monarchs of the XIVth Dynasty can ever have possessed dominion over Egypt, south and north, and if they all actually reigned, some of their reigns must have been contemporaneous. Moreover, it is very probable,

<sup>1</sup> Parts of about thirty other royal names of the XIVth Dynasty will be seen in the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, but they are not worth recording here; they will be found duly set out in the *Aegyptische Geschichte* of Prof. Wiedemann, pp. 274, 275, where also is given a list of names derived from stelae, scarabs, and other monuments, which seem to belong to the period of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties (pp. 275-283).

as some have supposed, that the kings of the XIVth Dynasty ruled in the Delta and in the north of Egypt whilst the later kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were ruling in the Thebaïd. In any case, the almost total absence of monuments of the kings of the XIVth



Head of a portrait statue of an official. XIVth Dynasty.  
British Museum, No. 997.

Dynasty proves that their power in the land was very small, and that, in consequence, Egypt lay defenceless before any attack that might be made by Libyan, or Syrian, or Negro. The rich and fertile country of Egypt was coveted by her hereditary foes from time

immemorial, and she fell an easy prey before them under the failing power of the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. The Syrians and people belonging to the nomad tribes of the desert had been quietly settling in the Delta for centuries, and had been making themselves owners of lands and estates. For some reason which is unknown to us the immigration of the foreigners from the east increased largely, and their kinsmen, who were already in the country, making common cause with them, they seized the land and set up a king over them. The rulers of the people who did these things are called by Manetho "Hyksos," or "Shepherd-Kings."

## CHAPTER V.

## THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES.

## THE HYKSOS OR SHEPHERDS.

WE have already seen that at the end of the XIIIth Dynasty the government of Egypt had become so feeble that it could not set up one king sufficiently strong to prove himself master of the entire country, and we find that Egypt was soon after the end of the period of that dynasty taken possession of without war and strife, not by a nation but by a confederation of nomad tribes, which are known as the "Hyksos." Of the origin of these people little is known, and of the exact period when they made themselves masters of Egypt nothing is known, and all that has come down to us are a few statements concerning the Hyksos which the historian Josephus quotes from the lost Egyptian History of Manetho, not with the view of giving us information about them, but merely in support of his theory that the Hyksos kings of Egypt were ancestors of the Jewish nation. Many years ago a theory was put forward by Lepsius to the effect that




the Hyksos invasion of Egypt took place at the end of the XIIth Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> but this was soon proved by de Rougé<sup>2</sup> to be impossible, and the view expressed later by Lepsius that it took place early in the XIIIth Dynasty was soon seen to be equally impossible, for at that period the Egyptian kings were indeed masters of their own country.

The Egyptian monuments tell us nothing about the Hyksos, but we are certainly right in assuming that they were only a vast gathering of tribes from the Sinaitic Peninsula, the Eastern Desert, Palestine, and Syria, whole sections of which, from time to time, migrated into the Delta and settled down there; but before we consider these we may analyze the statements made by Manetho concerning the Hyksos.<sup>3</sup> He says that the people who invaded the country were of ignoble race, *ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι*, and that they conquered the country without a battle; this, M. Maspero thinks very possible, because the invaders were provided with chariots drawn by horses, which would enable them to move swiftly from one place to another at a pace unknown to the Egyptian soldiers. Having seized the local governors, they burnt

<sup>1</sup> See *Königsbuch*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Josephus against Apion, I. 14. Apion was a Greek grammarian who flourished in the first half of the first century of our era; he was a native of Oasis, and was the author of many works, one at least of which contained several attacks upon the Jews.

the Egyptian cities, destroyed the temples, and reduced the people to a state of slavery, but Josephus has here probably exaggerated the force of Manetho's words. The invaders set up a king called Salatis at Memphis, and he became lord of the South and North; he established garrisons (probably in Upper Egypt), but gave his chief attention to the guarding of the eastern frontier of the country, because he feared the growing power of the Assyrians. In this statement we seem to have a reflection of solid historical fact, for the Assyrians here referred to are, no doubt, those who were dwellers in Mesopotamia, and who were subjects of the viceroys of the kingdom afterwards called Assyria, which they ruled on behalf of their overlords, the kings of Babylon, i.e., Khammurabi and his immediate successors.<sup>1</sup> The dwellers in Syria and Palestine joined with the nomadic tribes of the Eastern Desert, and fled to Egypt for safety, and it needed little foresight to see that they might easily be pursued thither by the victorious armies of Assyria and Babylon. As a precautionary measure Salatis rebuilt the city of Avaris, i.e., the "Het-Uārt," , of the Egyptian inscriptions, which must have been close to Tanis, in the Sethroite nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, and he garrisoned it with a force of 250,000 men. A garrison

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Sumu-abu, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-Muballit, and Hammurabi; see King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. iii. p. lxvi. ff.

here must have been greatly needed, chiefly on account of the restless condition of the tribes of Western Asia at this period.







We know as a matter of history that the Babylonians had dispossessed the Sumerian, or non-Semitic, peoples of southern Babylonia and had occupied their cities, but soon after they had taken possession of the country and had begun to establish a strong government, they were in their turn exposed to the invasion of a race of people from the east, i.e., the Kassites. The Elamites had in times past attacked the kings of the cities of the plain of Babylonia, and they must have greatly harassed the early rulers of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon. Hammurabi finally broke the Elamite power in the 30th and 31st years of his reign,<sup>1</sup> but these bitter foes of Babylon were succeeded by the Kassites, who, in the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Khammurabi, first appear in Babylonia. Samsu-iluna defeated the Kassites<sup>2</sup> in the ninth year of his reign, but though driven off on this occasion, the Kassite raid was only the first of many,<sup>3</sup> and eventually the Kassites founded a dynasty at Babylon. The Elamite and Kassite pressure from the east caused an emigration from Babylonia and her dependencies westwards and southwards, and the people thus dispossessed drove before them the nomadic tribes on the north-east frontier of Egypt from their lands, and thrust them

<sup>1</sup> King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, p. 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxix.

into Egypt. It was to protect Egypt against such folk that Salatis built his fort, and if the number of 250,000 soldiers seems high, we must remember that we are dealing with oriental documents. The city of Avaris cannot have been founded by Salatis, as some have thought, for its name is mentioned in an inscription of king Nehsi,<sup>1</sup> and it is, in any case, far more likely that Salatis fortified an old city than that he built a new one.

The Hyksos kings, according to Manetho, were six in number, and their names were:—Salatis,<sup>2</sup> or Saïtes, who reigned 19 years; Bnon,<sup>3</sup> or Beon, who reigned 44 years; Pachnan,<sup>4</sup> who reigned 61 years; Staan,<sup>5</sup> who reigned 50 years; Archles,<sup>6</sup> who reigned 49 years; and Aphobis,<sup>7</sup> who reigned 61 years; i.e., 6 kings in 284 years. The meaning assigned to the name “Hyksos” by Manetho is “Shepherd-Kings,” and he says that the first syllable, *ύκ*, means “king,” and the second, *σως*, “shepherd.” Now, the syllable HYK is clearly the Egyptian word *HEQ*,  “king, prince, chief,” and the like, but as Manetho speaks of “kings” (in the plural) we must read *HEQU*, . The second syllable, *σως*, must represent the Egyptian word *SHASU*,    , i.e., “nomad, desert

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 98; Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Σάλιτις.


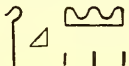

<sup>3</sup> Βνών.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀπαχνάς, or Παχναν.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀννάς, Σταάν, Ἰάννας.

<sup>6</sup> Or, Ἀσσις, Ἀσσηθ.

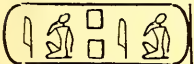
<sup>7</sup> Ἀφωφίς, Αφωβίς, Ἀπωφίς.

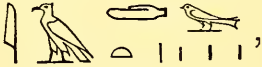
dwellers," or "keepers of flocks and herds," or, "shepherds." But we must remember that the word is not an old one, and that it is doubtful if it was in use in the time of the XVth Dynasty; in the XIXth Dynasty *shasu* means a "desert man," preferably a Syrian, and it was only in much later times that it came to mean "shepherd." The ancient names for the people who were in late times called "Shasu," are "Menti," "Sati," and Āamu." In the words "Ḥequ Shasu," , which have been corrupted into "Hyksos," we no doubt see the plural form of the equivalent of the title which the Hyksos king Khian adopted as his own, i.e., "Ḥeq semtu," , "Prince of the deserts," and therefore "Shepherd-Kings" is not an inaccurate rendering of them so long as we understand that the kings were desert folk. In the extract from Josephus given below a second meaning is given to the name "Hyksos," i.e., in another copy of the work it is said to mean "captive shepherds" and not "kings."<sup>1</sup> This question has been discussed by Krall,<sup>2</sup> who would in this case derive the first syllable of the name from the Egyptian word *ḥaq*, , "prisoner," so that "Ḥaq Shasu" would mean "prisoner (or, prisoners) of the nomad desert tribes" (*shasu*). Finally, Josephus

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ Βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἕκ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeg. Studien*, vol. ii. p. 69.



quoting Manetho says that the Hyksos kept possession of Egypt for 511 years, and Julius Africanus declares that the period was 518 years ; but it is impossible for the total of the reigns of the XVth Dynasty to amount to either of these numbers of years ; we must therefore assume that the period of 511, or 518 years, represents the whole of the time which the Hyksos spent in Egypt. The last king of the Hyksos Dynasty, who fought against the king of Thebes and was beaten by him, was called Aphobis, in whom we must see the king whose name in hieroglyphics is spelt  $\overline{\text{Apepa}}$ , , and we must therefore, as M. Naville has said, admit that "there is an inversion in the "statement of the chronographers, and we consider "the kings of whom they give a list as the XVIth "Dynasty."<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that two dynasties of Hyksos kings existed, but if they did, the names of one of them have not yet been found.

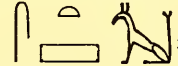

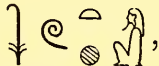
When the Hyksos arrived in Egypt it is very probable that the fiery sons of the desert committed sacrilege and a great number of appalling atrocities, and they no doubt deserved the abuse which was heaped upon them. By the Egyptians themselves the people who were certainly Hyksos were called "aaṭti," , a word which has been rendered "rebels," and "invaders," and "plague-bearers," and even "pestilence";

<sup>1</sup> *Bubastis*, 1891, p. 21.

but an attempt has been made recently to show that it means "men smitten with the fever *âat*," i.e., with malaria, and M. Maspero accepts the word as meaning "les 'Fiévreaux.'"<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say exactly what modern word would adequately express the feelings of hatred and contempt which the Egyptians felt for their invaders, but, judging by the context of the narrative in which the abusive epithet occurs, "fever-stricken" is not strong enough. When the Hyksos had been in Egypt some time they seem to have settled down to the life there comfortably, and to have enjoyed the fertility and comparative luxury of the country; in the early part of their occupation of the land they must have employed the natives to help to rule it, and to carry on the administrative machinery which produced taxes for the support of their conquerors by means of them, just as the English authorities are employing the Copts and other natives to perform similar services at the present day. Meanwhile, little by little, the invaders adopted the customs of the country, and they appear to have gained some respect for the religion of the people whom they ruled. As they grew to understand it better their persecution of the priesthood and their destruction of the property of the gods of Egypt ceased, and they began to be attracted by the stately worship and religious ceremonies of those who performed their will. Moreover, as the necessaries of life were provided

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 57, note 4.

for them and they had little need either to fight or work for their daily bread, they became tolerant, and before many generations had passed, the fierce hordes of the desert, who had lived by their spears and bows, became tolerably peaceful folk who had settled down to the enjoyment of the fertile country of the Delta, and who began to speak the Egyptian language. Almost unconsciously the Hyksos rulers began to desire the pomps and ceremonies which attended the old, legitimate kings of Egypt, and the people who had begun their existence in wretched tent encampments in the open desert, and had lived the life of hardship inseparable therefrom, ended by entirely adopting the religion, learning, and civilization of the nation which they had tried to destroy.

Excavations made in recent years prove that the Hyksos kings called themselves "sons of Rā," as did the old kings of Egypt, that they usurped the statues of their predecessors in the most approved Egyptian fashion, and although they, no doubt, adored the gods of their tribes, they also worshipped a god called SET, , or SUTI, , or SUTEKH, , and they found no difficulty in adoring the other deities of the country. The god Set is, of course, an Egyptian god, but, as many of his attributes resembled those of their own great god, possibly Baal, they adopted him as their principal deity; the god Sutekh is also generally regarded as the

equivalent of Baal, the addition *kh*<sup>1</sup> or *khw*, being an "emphatic termination" intended to express "greatness," or "majesty." The god Set is usually depicted with the body of a man and the head of a fabulous animal, which was thought to live in the Eastern Desert; he was originally a twin-brother of Horus, and took a very prominent part in assisting the deceased in the underworld, but in the New Empire, probably because he had been chosen chief of the gods of the Hyksos, he fell into disgrace, and his statues and images were broken or dashed to pieces. The temples which the Hyksos had built at Avaris and Tanis, and at other places in the Delta in honour of this god were overthrown, even though they contained the halls, etc., which had been built by the kings of the XIIth and earlier dynasties; but it is interesting to note in passing that Rameses the Great was not ashamed to usurp a colossal statue of Mermashāu, which had already been usurped by the Hyksos king Ápepā! Many of the statues erected by the Hyksos represent their peculiarities of countenance, and the un-Egyptian arrangement of the beard, and the remarkable head-dress which distinguished them from the Egyptians, but still there is in them everywhere apparent the signs of the influence of the old Egyptian art and its methods of representing the human form in stone. On the other hand, the Egyptians seem to have borrowed certain



<sup>1</sup> See Chabas, *Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 35.

designs and artistic forms from the Hyksos, and it is usually thought that the winged sphinx "may be reckoned a notable example of this new direction of art introduced from abroad."<sup>1</sup>

Before passing to the consideration and description of the actual monuments which the Hyksos kings have left us it will be well to give in full the narrative by Josephus of the invasion and expulsion of the Hyksos. The present writer believes that Josephus does not give us an accurate rendering of the words of Manetho, whom he professes to quote, and thinks that his version of them is misleading. He begins by referring to the Egyptian king Timaus, whose land was invaded by the Hyksos, whom he afterwards identifies as the "Shepherds," and then goes on to say that these Semites became kings of Egypt. Moreover, it is clear that he wishes to make his readers believe that the Hebrew nation occupied a most exalted position in the country from a very early period, i.e., that a Hebrew was king of Egypt about B.C. 2000. That Semites dwelt in the Delta at that period is certain, and that migration of companies of Semites into Egypt went on at that time, and much later, is also certain, but none of the available evidence supports the view which Josephus suggests to his readers. The Semitic invaders of the Delta at that time were called "Āamu," and "Menti," etc., and not "Shasu," and it is only in the

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 237.



latest period that the last-mentioned word came to mean "shepherd."<sup>1</sup> The word "shasu" means primarily "robber," and  is the "land of the robber," i.e., the nomad desert man, who plundered caravans whenever he had the opportunity. In process of time the word "shasu" came to mean the dweller in the desert generally, and a little later "shasu" (plur. ) meant "desert tribes."

The length which Josephus assigns to the duration of the Hyksos rule in Egypt is incredibly long, for there is no room for this period of 511 years in Egyptian chronology, unless he intends us to understand that he reckons the beginning of the period from the time when the Semites *first* began to settle in Egypt. In short, the narrative of the invasion of the Hyksos as given by Josephus can only be regarded as a poetic version of the simple historical facts that Semitic tribes settled in the Delta in very early times, and that in due course various members of them occupied positions of importance in the land, and that eventually their descendants became kings of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 29. Compare the Coptic  $\text{ϣωϥ}$ , and see de Cara, *Gli Hyksós o Re Pastori di Egitto*, Rome, 1889, p. 221 ff.; and Müller, *Asien und Europa nach Altaegyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 132, 133.

<sup>2</sup> The matter is well put by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, p. 287). "Diese und ähnliche Züge des Manethonischen Textes zeigen uns, dass wir in demselben keinen streng historischen Bericht wirklicher Ereignisse auf Grund zeitgenössischer Quellen suchen dürfen. Vielmehr giebt derselbe eine mit Zugrundele-

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION (i. 14).

THE HYKSOS.

“I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians ;  
 “not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian  
 “language, which it is impossible for me to do. But  
 “Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet  
 “had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as  
 “is very evident ; for he wrote the history of his own  
 “country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he  
 “saith himself, out of their sacred records : he also finds  
 “great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false  
 “relations of Egyptian affairs. Now, this Manetho,  
 “in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes  
 “concerning us in the following manner. I will set  
 “down his very words, as if I were to bring the very  
 “man himself into court for a witness :—There was a  
 “king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him  
 “it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse  
 “to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men  
 “of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had

“gung jedenfalls historischer Thatsachen poetisch ausgearbeitete  
 “Erzählung über den Hyksos-Einfall. Dabei hat er, was für die  
 “Treue der Überlieferung sehr bedenklich ist, versucht zu  
 “pragmatisieren und synchronistisch andere Völker in seinen  
 “Bericht herein zuziehen. Wir dürfen also in dieser Erzählung  
 “nur den Grundstock als streng historisch betrachten, alle  
 “Details aber müssen wir für eine spätere Ausschmückung  
 “dieser Grundthatsachen halten und auf ihre Benutzung zu  
 “geschichtlichen Zwecken verzeihen.”

"boldness enough to make an expedition into our  
 "country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet  
 "without our hazarding a battle with them. So when  
 "they had gotten those that governed us under their  
 "power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and  
 "demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the  
 "inhabitants after a most barbarous manner: nay,  
 "some they slew, and led their children and their  
 "wives into slavery. At length they made one of  
 "themselves king, whose name was SALATIS;<sup>1</sup> he also  
 "lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and  
 "lower regions<sup>2</sup> pay tribute, and left garrisons in  
 "places that were most proper for them. He chiefly  
 "aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that  
 "the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power,  
 "would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them;  
 "and as he found in the Saïte<sup>3</sup> Nomos a city very  
 "proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the  
 "Bubastite channel, but with regard to a certain  
 "theologic notion was called 'Avaris,'<sup>4</sup> this he rebuilt,  
 "and made very strong by the walls he built about it,  
 "and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and  
 "forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to  
 "keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer-time, partly

<sup>1</sup> This name seems the equivalent of the Hebrew word שְׁלִיט, "governor."

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Read Sethroïte; on the position of the Sethroïte nome see J. de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> This city lay close to Tanis.

“to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages,  
 “and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby  
 “to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned  
 “thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose  
 “name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him  
 “reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years  
 “and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-  
 “one years, and then Jonias fifty years and one month;  
 “after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two  
 “months. And these six were the first rulers among  
 “them, who were all along making war with the  
 “Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to  
 “destroy them to the very roots. The whole nation  
 “was styled Hycsos, that is ‘SHEPHERD-KINGS’; for  
 “the first syllable Hyc, according to the sacred dialect  
 “denotes a ‘king,’ as is sos, a ‘shepherd’—but this  
 “according to the ordinary dialect, and of these is  
 “compounded Hycsos; but some say that these people  
 “were Arabians. Now, in another copy, it is said:—  
 “That this word does not denote ‘kings,’ but on the  
 “contrary, denotes ‘captive shepherds,’ and this on  
 “account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the  
 “aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes  
 “‘shepherds,’ and that expressly also; and this to me  
 “seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable  
 “to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]:—  
 “These people, whom we have before named ‘kings,’  
 “and called ‘shepherds’ also, and their descendants,  
 “as he says:—kept possession of Egypt five hundred and

“eleven years. After these, he says:—That the kings  
“of Thebaïs and of the other parts of Egypt made an  
“insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a  
“terrible and long war was made between them. He  
“further says:—That under a king, whose name was  
“Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by  
“him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of  
“Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained  
“ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris.  
Manetho says:—That the shepherds built a wall round  
“all this place, which was a large and a strong wall,  
“and this in order to keep all their possessions and their  
“prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis,  
“the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made an attempt to  
“take them by force and by siege, with four hundred  
“and eighty thousand men to lie round about them;  
“but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that  
“siege, they came to a composition with them, that  
“they should leave Egypt, and go without any harm  
“to be done them whithersoever they would; and  
“that after this composition was made, they went away  
“with their whole families and effects, not fewer in  
“number than two hundred and forty thousand, and  
“took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness,  
“for Syria; but that, as they were in fear of the  
“Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia,  
“they built a city in that country which is now called  
“Judea, and that large enough to contain this great  
“number of men, and called it Jerusalem. Now



“Manetho, in another book of his, says :—That this nation, thus called ‘Shepherds,’ was also called ‘Captives,’ in their sacred books. And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called ‘Shepherds.’ Nor was it without reason that they were called ‘Captives’ by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterwards sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king’s permission.

“But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case, and thus he speaks :—When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Tethmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for

“thirty-six years and five months; then came his  
“daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month;  
“then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then  
“was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months;  
“then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and  
“three months; after him Armais, for four years and  
“one month; after him was Rameeses, for one year  
“and four months; after him came Armesses Miam-  
“moun, for sixty years and two months; after him  
“Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months;  
“after him came Sethosis and Ramesses, who had an  
“army of horse, and naval force. This king ap-  
“pointed his brother Armais, to be his deputy over  
“Egypt. He also gave him all the other authority of  
“a king, but with these only injunctions, that he  
“should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the  
“queen, the mother of his children, and that he should  
“not meddle with the other concubines of the king;  
“while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and  
“Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the  
“Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his  
“arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror  
“of his great army; and being puffed up by the great  
“successes he had had, he went on still the more  
“boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that  
“lay in the eastern parts; but after some considerable  
“time Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all these  
“very things, by way of opposition, which his brother  
“had forbidden him to do, without fear; for he used

“ violence to the queen, and continued to make use of  
 “ the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of  
 “ them ; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on  
 “ the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother ; but  
 “ then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt,  
 “ wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that  
 “ had happened, and how his brother had set up to  
 “ oppose him ; he therefore returned back to Pelusium  
 “ immediately, and recovered his kingdom again.  
 “ The country also was called from his name *Egypt*,  
 “ for Manetho says that Sethosis himself was called  
 “ Aegyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus.”  
 (Flavius Josephus against Apion, i. 14, Whiston’s  
 Translation.)

The Hyksos kings of whom we have remains are :—

1. 

RĀ-ĀA-USER, son of the Sun, APEPÀ.

One of the principal monuments which record the name of this king, APEPÀ I., was found at Bubastis by M. Naville in 1887-1889.<sup>2</sup> It consists of a red granite fragment of a door-post, on which we have the inscription, “ Son of the Sun, Apepà, giver of life,” and a mutilated statement to the effect that “ he [set up] “ pillars in great numbers, and doors in bronze to

<sup>1</sup> I.e., *ānkh neter nefer*, “ beautiful god, the living one.”

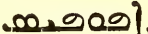

<sup>2</sup> See *Bubastis*, p. 22, and plates xxii. and xxxv.



last-named king must be Amenemhät III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, who reigned about B.C. 2300. The name of the scribe of the archetype, Aāhmes, however, suggests a period nearer the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1700, and palaeographical considerations indicate that the Rhind Papyrus was written at a still later period, and that the scribe simply copied everything which he found written in the archetype. Attention was first called to this valuable document by the late Dr. Birch in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1868, and since then its contents have been much discussed<sup>1</sup> by scholars; they deal with arithmetic and measurements of volume and area, and, though none of the examples or problems indicate that the Egyptians had any deep theoretical knowledge of arithmetic or geometry, all of them show that they were very ready in making practical calculations, such, for example, as those which they would need in the remeasurements of their lands after the annual inundations. Prof. Wiedemann has noted that some ancient writers state that the patriarch Joseph arrived in Egypt during the reign of a king called Apapus or Aphobis, who may, perhaps, be identified with Apepā I. or Apepā II.; the Christian writers

<sup>1</sup> See Eisenlohr, *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter übersetzt und erläutert*, Leipzig, 1877, Text und Kommentar; the text was also published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1898 under the title *Facsimile of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, folio, with a short Bibliography of the papyrus.




Dionysius of Tell Mahrê<sup>1</sup> and Bar Hebraeus<sup>2</sup> call him Apopis, , and Apapos, . Whether this be so or not cannot be said definitely, but it is very probable that Jacob's son went down into Egypt during the period of the XVth Dynasty, when the Hyksos had to all intents and purposes become Egyptians. The picture of the Egyptian court, given to us by the narrative in the Book of Genesis, makes it exceedingly improbable that his visit took place during the unsettled times of the XVth Dynasty, before the usurping Semites had settled down to enjoy the property of those whom they had dispossessed.

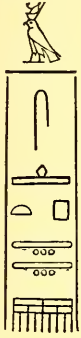
2.     RĀ-ĀA-  
QENEN, son of the Sun, ÁPEPÁ.

From the discoveries which were made at Tanis by the late Dr. H. Brugsch and others we learn that ÁPEPÁ II. inscribed his names and titles upon the right shoulders of two black granite statues of the king Mermashāu which were set up in the temple there; the king calls himself "Son of the Sun," and "giver of life," and "beloved [of Set]." On the sides and back of the statues Rameses II. added his name and titles, and made several alterations in the inscriptions on them; it

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Tullberg, Upsala, 1850, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Bruns, p. 14.

is a curious fact that he caused himself to be called  
 “beloved of Sutekh,” .<sup>1</sup>



SE-HETEP-TAUI,  
 the Horus name of  
 Apepà II.

A table of offerings dedicated to Set, on which we find the three principal names of Apepà II., was obtained by Mariette at Cairo,<sup>2</sup> and it has been supposed that it came from Memphis; if so, it would prove that the king made offerings in the great temple of Ptaḥ there.

The Museum of the Louvre possesses the base of a red granite statue on which were originally depicted figures of the representatives of thirty-six vanquished Nubian tribes, together with their names; an examination of this object has convinced some<sup>3</sup> that the cartouche of Amenophis III., now inscribed upon it, was added by the order of this king, who thus usurped a statue which, there is good reason to believe, was set up by Apepà II. In connection with Apepà II. must be mentioned here briefly the narrative of the beginning of the quarrel which arose in the XVIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1750, between the prince of Thebes, who was called Seqenen-Râ Tau-âa-qen,

<sup>1</sup> See E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Paris, 1877, plate 76, and Petrie, *Tanis*, plate 3, 17c.

<sup>2</sup> *Monuments*, pl. 38.

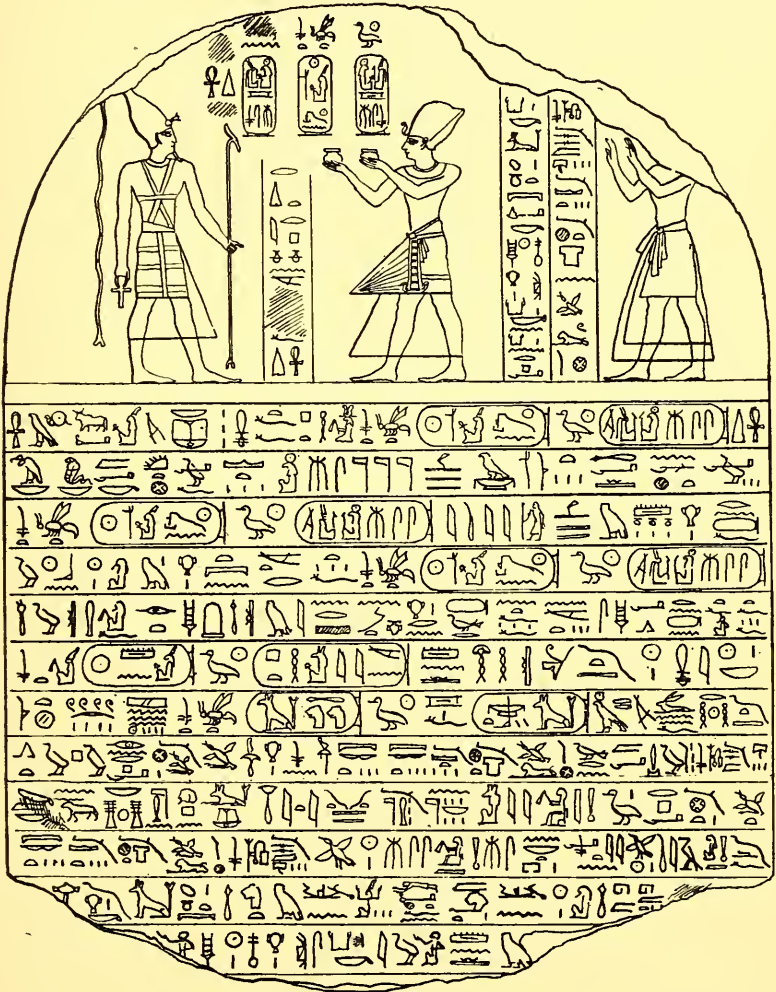
<sup>3</sup> “La légende d’Amenophis III., évidemment gravée en surcharge, et le caractère de ce morceau, le font attribuer aujourd’hui à un roi de la douzième ou de la treizième dynastie, auquel il faut par conséquent faire honneur des conquêtes inscrites sur le socle.”—Pierret, *Notice Sommaire*, p. 38.

and the Hyksos king his over-lord; the result of the quarrel was that war broke out, and after varying successes, a pitched battle was fought in which the Hyksos king was defeated, and the Theban prince lost his life. Eventually the Theban princes gained their independence. The Hyksos king is said to have been called *Āpepā*, but whether he was *Āpepā II.* or another king of the same name cannot be said. A description of the narrative as found in the First Sallier Papyrus, now preserved in the British Museum, will be given in the Chapter on the XVIIth Dynasty.

3.  SET-ĀA-  
PEḤPEḤ, son of the Sun, NUBTI.

The name of this king, NUBTI, is made known to us by the famous "Stele of Four Hundred Years," which was discovered at *Şân*, or *Tanis*, in a fragmentary condition, among the battered pieces of five or six sepulchral, or memorial stelae, all of which dated from the reign of *Rameses II.*; it was found in the eastern portion of the ruins of the great temple at *Tanis*, at the place where, judging by the general arrangement of the building, the shrine would have stood. In the upper part of the stele we see *Rameses II.* making an offering of two vases of wine to the god *Set*, who is depicted in the usual form and with the usual attributes of the gods of Egypt. The god is called in the

text, "Set of Rāmeses," but in the scene above it the name of the god Set has been chiselled out, a piece of



The Stele of Four Hundred Years.

vandalism which was done when the god had ceased to be popular. Behind the king is a figure of the official

who dedicated the stele, and close by him are two lines of text which read, “[Homage] to thy *ka* (or double), “O Set, thou son of Nut, grant thou a life of happiness, “and the following of thy double to the double of the “*erpā* prince, the royal scribe, the superintendent of “the horses, the inspector of the desert lands, and the “overseer of the fortress of Tchar” (i.e. Tanis). The inscription reads:—

(1) “May live Horus Rā, the mighty Bull, beloved “of Maāt, lord of festivals like his father Ptaḥ, King “of the South and North, (Uṣr-Maāt-Rā-setep-en-Rā), “son of the Sun, (Rā-meses-meri-Āmen), giver of life, “(2) lord of the shrines of the Vulture and Uraeus, “protector of Egypt, vanquisher of foreign (or moun- “tainous) lands, Rā, the begetter of the gods, over-lord “of the two lands, the Horus of gold, master of years, “mighty one of mighty ones, (3) King of the South “and North,<sup>1</sup> prince, over-lord of the two lands [by “reason of] the monuments of his name, (4) Rā who “riseth in the heights of heaven according to his will, “King of the South and North,<sup>1</sup> Rameses.

(5) “His Majesty commanded the making of a great “stele in granite to the great name of his fathers, “having the wish to establish the name of the “father of his fathers, (6) king Rā-men-Maāt, son of “the Sun, Seti-meri-en-Ptaḥ, permanently and in a

<sup>1</sup> Prenomen and nomen are repeated.



“flourishing condition for ever, like the Sun, every  
“day.”

(7) “Year 400, the fourth day of the fourth month  
“of the inundation (i.e., Mesore), of the King of the  
“South and North, (Set-āa-pehpeh), the son of the  
“Sun, loving him, (Nubti), beloved of Heru-khuti,  
“whose existence endureth for ever and for ever.  
“(8) [On this day there came to Tanis] the *erpā*, the  
“governor of the city, the bearer of the fan on the  
“king’s right hand, captain of the bowmen, inspector  
“of the desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis,  
“general of the Māchau (soldiery?), royal scribe,  
“superintendent of the horses, (9) priest of Ba-neb-  
“Tatṭu, the first prophet of Set, the chief reader of  
“the goddess Uatchet, the opener of the two lands,  
“the overseer of the prophets of all the gods, Seti,  
“triumphant, son of the *erpā* prince, the governor of  
“the city, (10) the captain of the bowmen, inspector of  
“desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis, the  
“royal scribe, superintendent of the horses, Pa-Rā-meses,  
“triumphant, born of the lady of the house, the sing-  
“ing woman of Rā, Thaa, triumphant! He saith,  
“(11) Homage to thee, O Set, thou son of Nut, thou  
“mighty one of strength in the Boat of Millions of  
“Years, thou overthrowest the enemy who is in the  
“front of the boat of Rā, the mighty one of roar-  
“ings . . .” The last signs left on the stele contain  
the prayer for a happy life which has already been

given above.<sup>1</sup> The above translation shows that the stele was set up by an official called Seti, the son of Pa-Rāmeses and Thaä, in honour of the god Set, and that he did so because Rameses II. gave him orders so to do. Instead, however, of being dated in the day and month and year of the reign of Rameses II., in which it was set up, it is dated in the 400th year of the Hyksos king Nubti, a most remarkable circumstance. M. Mariette wrote a learned disquisition on the Stele, and considered that “l’explication de la stèle est dans “la division de son texte en deux paragraphes indépendants.”

The first paragraph contains four lines and refers to Rameses II. only; the second paragraph relates to the governor of the city only, and, according to Mariette, to the celebration of the new year festival and of the festival of the Crocodile-god, the son of Set. He thought that four hundred years before that time the Hyksos king had established a year for his people, and that the Stele marked the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the first day of that year. The reasons he gave for these views seem to be a little fanciful, but there is little doubt that in the reign of Rameses II. some era was in common use, in the Delta at least, which had been inaugurated by the Hyksos. Or as

<sup>1</sup> For articles on the Stele of 400 Years see E. de Rougé, *Revue Archéologique*, tom. ix. 1864; Mariette, *ibid.*, tom. xi. p. 169; and Chabas, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 29 and 33, who have pointed out the mistakes which were made in the text by the mason.



Brugsch said, "In the town of Tanis, whose inhabitants for the most part belonged to the Semitic races, this mode of reckoning was in such general use that the person who raised the memorial stone thought it nothing extraordinary to employ it as a mode of reckoning time in the beautifully engraved inscription on granite which was exhibited before all eyes in a temple." <sup>1</sup> As soon as the Stele had been read and copied by Mariette he buried it carefully near the place where he had seen it, and as it was not found in the course of the explorations which were made at Tanis in 1883-84, we may conclude that it was well hidden. The reproduction of the inscription here given is taken from the plate which accompanied M. Mariette's paper in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, but it is much to be regretted that photographic facsimiles cannot be now obtained of the Stele itself.

4.  RĀ-

SEUSER-EN, son of the Sun, KHIAN.

In the Chapter on the period which lies between the Ancient and Middle Empires we have referred to the names of three kings which have been attributed by some to that time, but we shall probably be more correct in assigning them to the period of the Hyksos. Of first importance among these is king KHIAN, of whom

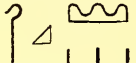

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 214.

M. Naville<sup>1</sup> discovered the lower part of a colossal statue at Bubastis in black granite. The throne and legs are in a good state of preservation, and, fortunately, the three principal names of the king are clearly legible. The Horus name of Khian was "Anq âtebui," i.e., "embracer of lands"; his Rā name (or prenomen) was at one time read Ian-Rā, by reading , instead of , but Khian is now generally believed to be the correct reading of the characters.<sup>2</sup> Another monument of the reign of Khian is the small stone lion which was acquired at Baghdad for the British Museum<sup>3</sup> by the late Mr. George Smith; its importance was recognized by Devéria, who rightly attributed it to the Hyksos period, but who misread the cartouche. Some think that the lion is not the work of an Egyptian sculptor, and that the object was made in Asia, and that the head, having been damaged and recut at some comparatively modern period, has lost its antique character. Be this as it may, the monument is of very considerable interest, and is unique; moreover, it is the largest object of a purely Egyptian character which has ever been obtained from the excavations that have been carried on in sites of ancient Babylonian cities near Baghdad. We may also conclude in respect of Khian that as his monu-


<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23, plate 35 A.

<sup>2</sup> See Daressy in *Recueil*, tom. xvi. p. 42 (No. lxxxviii.).

<sup>3</sup> Egyptian Gallery, No. 987.

ments have been found in places so widely separated as Bubastis in Egypt, Baghdad in Mesopotamia, and Knossos in Crete, it is pretty certain that he was a powerful monarch, whose rule was far-reaching, and whose influence, as stated in his Horus name, "embraced many lands." That he belonged to the Hyksos people is rendered probable from the fact that on his scarabs he is described as "ḥeq semtu" , i.e., "chief of the deserts," a title which has a meaning almost identical with that of "ḥeq Shasu" , i.e., "chief of the Shasu, or nomad tribes, which is probably the origin of the appellation Hyksos." A portrait head of this king is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

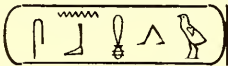
Of the kings Uatchet and Ipeq-Heru we know nothing, for their names occur only on scarabs, and we know not whether they reigned before or after Khian, and indeed the position of Khian himself in the Hyksos Dynasty is unknown; it is probable, however, that he reigned before Apep I., and there is reason to think that he was one of the first great Hyksos kings. The following are the forms in which the names of Uatchet and Ipeq-Heru are found on scarabs:—

5. 

6. 

Egyptian Gallery, No. 1063, and see Vol. II. of this work, p. 174.



About this period probably reigned the king called SENBMĀIU , whose name is found inscribed upon a calcareous stone fragment presented to the British Museum by Mr. G. Willoughby Fraser (No. 24,898); it was found by him at Gebelên.<sup>1</sup> To the time of the Hyksos also probably must be assigned the obelisk at Tanis<sup>2</sup> which bears the name and titles of the king RĀ-ĀA-SEḤ; the fragmentary inscriptions which remain on it describe him as the “beautiful “god, the lord of the two lands, the maker of created “things,” and say that “he made monuments to his mother.”

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xv. p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie, *Tanis*, plate 3, No. 20.

## CHAPTER VI.


## THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.

## FROM THEBES.

THE kings of the XVIIth Dynasty, who began the work of the expulsion of the Hyksos, reigned at Thebes, and as they assumed the old title of "King of the South and North," they were probably the descendants of the kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties. It is certain that for several generations these princes were vassals of the Hyksos, for remains of the Hyksos domination in the Upper Country have been found as far to the south as Gebelên. There must have been an interval of considerable length between the Theban kings of the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties, and during this period it seems that, for a time, the Theban power was transferred to Coptos, where a family of princes, who usually bore the name of Antef-āa, reigned in succession for at least a century and a half. These princes were, most probably, descendants of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and ancestors of those of the XVIIth Dynasty; their Rā names are of the same



5.  RĀ-NUB-KHEPERU,

son of the Sun, ANTEF (V.), with the Horus name  
 NEFER-KHEPERU.



According to Manetho's King List as given by Julius Africanus, the XVIIth Dynasty comprised forty-three kings of Thebes, whose total reigns amounted to 151 years, and forty-three Shepherd Kings, whose total reigns also amounted to 151 years, and it seems that the view held by the authorities from which he compiled his List was that these dynasties reigned contemporaneously. The fact, however, that each dynasty is made to contain exactly the same number of kings, and to last exactly the same number of years, suggests a chronological arrangement which is purely artificial. In the extract from Josephus already quoted we are told that the duration of the Hyksos rule over Egypt was 511<sup>1</sup> years, and that it was brought to an end by a native Egyptian king called Misphragmuthosis or Alisphragmuthosis, who smote the Hyksos and shut them up in a place called Avaris, which had an area of 10,000 acres. This place the Hyksos fortified strongly by means of a "vast and strong wall." But Thummosis, the son of

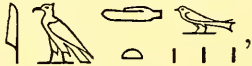

<sup>1</sup> M. Maspero adopts Erman's view that the XVth Dynasty reigned 284 years, the XVIth 234 years, and the XVIIth 143 years, in all, 661 years, and he places the invasion about B. C. 2346. *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 73.

Alisphragmuthosis, besieged Avaris with 480,000 men, and at the very moment when he despaired of reducing the city, the people inside it capitulated on the understanding that they were to leave Egypt, and to be permitted to go whithersoever they pleased. These terms were agreed to, and they departed from Egypt with all "their families and effects, in number not less than 240,000, and bent their way through the desert towards Syria." They were afraid of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, and they therefore built, in the country now called Judea, a city of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and they gave it the name of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The events here referred to, if they ever happened, must have taken place in the XVIIIth Dynasty, for the king called Thummosis must be one of those of the dynasty who bore the name of Thothmes, and therefore Josephus must be confusing, first, names, and, secondly, events. The huge numbers which he gives are, of course, incredible, and he is mistaken about the period of the building of Jerusalem, for the name of the city occurs in three of the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets,<sup>2</sup> from which we learn that the governor at that time had been appointed by the king of Egypt, and the context shows that the city was not a new one. The allusion to the departure of 240,000 people he calls the Exodus, but this subject will not be considered until later.

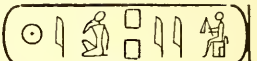



<sup>1</sup> Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> See Winckler, *Thontafeln*, plates 105, 108, 110.

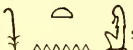


Side by side with the account of Josephus may be read the fragmentary narrative of the dispute between the governor of Thebes and the Hyksos king in the Delta, which resulted, first, in a great war, and secondly, in the restoration of the sovereignty of the country to the princes of Thebes. It must be said at the outset that the document is only a part of a historical romance, and that it must not be relied upon for matter-of-fact evidence ; its value, notwithstanding, is very great, for the copy, of which we possess a part in the First Sallier Papyrus<sup>1</sup> (Brit. Mus., No. 10,185), was written in the XIXth Dynasty, and it, no doubt, represented the views of many people at that time. Had the romance not been based upon some substratum of fact, or had what is narrated in it been wholly improbable, it would never have found a place among the compositions which are preserved in the First Sallier Papyrus. The narrative begins by stating that the land of Qemt, i.e., Egypt, belonged to the “people of filth,” , and there was neither king nor lord in the land ; and it came to pass that king Rā-seqenen,  held the position of governor ( ? Δ ? ) of the region of the South, and the “filthy” ones, i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> The hieratic text of the document was published by the late Dr. Birch in *Select Papyri*, pt. i. pl. 2. Translations are given in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. 4, p. 263 ff. ; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 238 ; Chabas, *Les Pasteurs*, p. 37 ff. ; Maspero, *Études*, tom. i. fasc. 2, p. 195 ff. ; etc.

the Semitic Hyksos of the city of Rā, were under the authority of the ruler, (Rā-Āpepi), , in the city of Het-Uārt, i.e., Avaris, , to whom the entire country paid tribute, and acknowledged his sovereignty by the giving of service, and of the products of the land and of good things of every kind which the country of Ta-meri, i.e., Egypt, yielded. Now king<sup>1</sup> Rā-Āpepi had made the god Sutekh, , his lord, and he served no other god in all the country except Sutekh, and he built a temple of the most beautiful and enduring work, close by the palace which he had built for himself, and he was wont to rise up regularly each morning and to offer up to Sutekh the sacrifices which were legally due to the god, and the chief officers of the governor, , used to take up their places there with garlands of flowers, just as they had been wont to do in the temple of Rā-Ĥeru-Khuti.

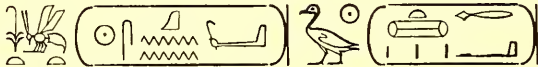
And it came to pass that king (Rā-Āpepi) had the intention of sending a despatch to king (Rā-seqenen), and having assembled his chiefs and nobles, and officers, he seems to have wished to obtain their help in drawing up the terms of it; they, however, failed to give him the assistance which he required, so he sent for his scribes and magicians, and bade them

<sup>1</sup> *Suten*, , is really the name for king of the South.

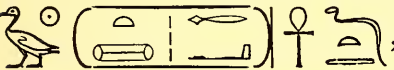

make for him some excuse for picking a quarrel with the king of the South. The broken context suggests that Rā-Āpepi wished to make Seqenen-Rā adopt the worship of Sutekh in his temple at Thebes. When the magicians had come into the king's presence, they suggested that the king should send to Seqenen-Rā a message to this effect:—King Rā-Āpepi commandeth thee, saying, “Let one hunt on the lake the hippopotamus which are on the lake of the city, so that they may let sleep come to me both by day and by night.”<sup>1</sup> For, said the magicians, he will not know how to answer this message, whether well or ill. And then thou shalt send a second envoy, saying:—King Rā-Āpepi commandeth thee, thus: “If the governor of the South doth not answer my message, let him no longer serve any other god besides Sutekh; but if he maketh answer thereto, and he doeth that which I tell him to do, I will take nothing whatsoever from him, and I will bow myself down never again before any other god in the whole earth besides Amen-Rā, the king of the gods.” The writer of the romance wishes to indicate that the hippopotamuses on the lake at Thebes made so much noise, both by day and by night, that Rā-Āpepi could get no sleep in Tanis, and we may readily agree with the magicians who composed the message that the king in the South would not know how to answer it, because he would probably think that Rā-Āpepi had lost his senses, for by no natural

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 75.

means known in those days could the king in the Delta be disturbed by hearing the plungings and splashings of hippopotamuses in swamps some six hundred miles away. What really happened as a result of Rā-Āpepi's message, or whether it was despatched or not, we shall probably never know, for the part of the papyrus which contains the end of the story is broken. Stripped, however, of all romance, we learn from the document that in the time of Āpepi II. the Hyksos king at Avaris was the over-lord of the governor or king of Thebes, and that all the country paid taxes to him, and also probably performed manual labour for him without payment. It is also clear that at some time or other there must have been a dispute about the supremacy of the god Sutekh, and that about the time of the reign of Seqenen-Rā strife broke out between the king of the North and the governor of the South. The Theban kings of the XVIIth Dynasty whose names are known from hieroglyphic sources are:—

1.  RĀ-SEQENEN,  
son of the Sun, TA-ĀĀ.

Of the details of the reign of TA-ĀĀ we know nothing, but when he died the country was in a sufficiently settled state to allow his family to build him a tomb in the famous Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and to bury him with something of the pomp which usually attended the funeral of an Egyptian

king. This king and his tomb are mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus, where we learn that on the 18th day of the 3rd month of the 16th year of the reign of Rameses IX. the tomb was examined by the masons, who were attached to the Commission which had been appointed to report upon the damage done to the royal tombs by the thieves, and was found to be intact.<sup>1</sup> The monuments belonging to this reign are very few, and consist chiefly of (1) a boomerang, which is inscribed on one side with the king's name, Ta-āā, , and on the other with that of his son Thuāu, ,<sup>2</sup> and which was found lying on the mummy of an official at Thebes, and (2) the palette of a scribe<sup>3</sup> on which the owner has cut with a knife the name and titles of his sovereign, thus: "Beautiful god, lord of the two "lands, maker of created things, Rā-seqenen, son of "the Sun, Ta-āā, giver of life for ever, beloved of "Āmen-Rā, beloved of Sesheta."



SEQENEN-RĀ, son of the Sun, TA-ĀA-ĀA.

Of the reign of TA-ĀA-ĀA also nothing is known, and the only notice concerning him which has come

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 20.

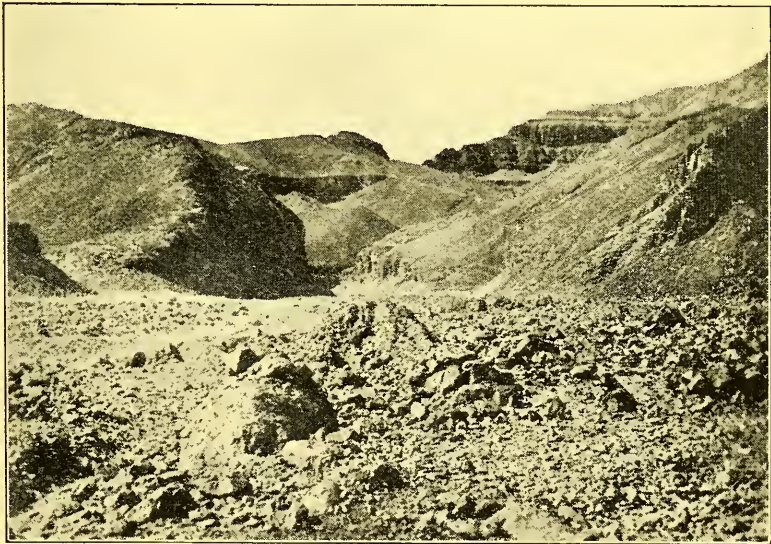
<sup>2</sup> See Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 51b, 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> Figured in Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 75.





the tombs of Amenophis I. and Amenophis II. For some reason or other the mummies of many of the greatest kings of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties were again moved, this time to a spot near the modern Dêr al-Baĥarî,<sup>1</sup> and there they lay carefully hidden until 1871, when they were discovered by a native of Shêkh ‘Abd al-Kûrna, who, together



The Entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.  
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

with his brothers, began to sell them. At length the Egyptian Government heard of the “find,” and Herr E. Brugsch Bey was sent to Thebes to bring the mummies

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, دِيرَ الْبَحْرِيِّ, i.e., the “monastery belonging to the river,” as opposed to the convent in the mountains; the *a* after *h* is inserted even by many natives to facilitate the pronunciation of the word; the second *i* is omitted in pronunciation.

and all their funeral furniture to Cairo, and this work was duly carried out by him. The principal mummies found at Dêr al-Baḥarî were those of:—Seqenen-Rā (Ta-āa-qen), Amāsis I., Āmen-ḥetep I., Thothmes I., Thothmes II., Thothmes III., Rameses I., Seti I., Rameses II., Rameses III., besides a number of princes and princesses, and members of the dynasty of priest-kings. In 1898, M. Loret found in the tomb of Āmen-ḥetep II. the mummy of that king, and the mummies of Thothmes IV., Āmen-ḥetep III., Āmen-ḥetep IV., Seti II., Sa-Ptaḥ, Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., and perhaps also of Seti-nekht.

But to return to Ta-āa-qen. The mummy of this king was unrolled by M. Maspero<sup>1</sup> on June 9, 1886, and when the swathings were removed, one after the other, it was seen that the king's head was turned round to the left, and that long matted tufts of hair hid a large wound in the side of the head in front of the ear. The lips were drawn back in such a way that the teeth and gums protruded through them, and the tongue was caught between the teeth when the king received the blow, and was bitten through, probably as a result of the shock. The left cheek was laid open, also by a blow from an axe or club, and the lower jawbone was broken, and another blow from an axe had split open the skull and made a long slit in it, through which the brains protruded; finally, a stab over the eye from a dagger probably

<sup>1</sup> See *Les Momies Royales de Dêr el-Bahari*, Paris, 1889, p. 527.

ended the brave man's life. He was about forty years old when he died, and his frame was strong and well-knit together; his head was small, and was covered with masses of black hair, the eyes were long, the nose straight and large at the base, the jawbone strong, the mouth of moderate size, and the teeth were sound and white. One ear had disappeared, but locks of his hair and beard were visible, and M. Maspero thinks that the king was shaved on the very morning of the battle. He is thought to have belonged to one of the Barabara races, but whether he did or not, the race to which he was akin was far less mixed than that to which Rameses II. belonged. Ta-āa-qen is, no doubt, the king who is referred to in the romance in the Sallier Papyrus which we have already described, and there is every reason for believing that the battle in which he fought so splendidly for his country was one in which the Hyksos lost heavily, and it may be that it was the first of the successes which restored the fortunes of the princes of Thebes.

4.  RĀ-UATCH-

KHEPER, son of the Sun, KA-MES.

Of the history of the reign of KA-MES nothing is known, but there is reason for believing that both he and his great successor, Amāsis I., were sons of Ta-āa-qen (Seqenen-Rā III.); he cannot have reigned many years, and when he died he was buried in a tomb







Aāh-ĥetep lived until she was well over eighty years of age, for she is mentioned on the stele of Kares



, her steward, as being alive in the tenth year of the reign of Āmen-ĥetep I. ;<sup>1</sup> and it seems as if she was still living in the reign of Thothmes I., for her name occurs on the stele of the official called Iuf,



.<sup>2</sup> The coffin of Aāh-ĥetep was discovered under very remarkable circumstances. Early in 1859 Mariette noticed at the entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes what appeared to be the ruins of a tomb, and set men to work to excavate them. During the course of the work the Arabs found close by, in the sand, a handsome gilded wooden coffin which much resembled the coffins of the Āntef princes ; when it was opened it was found to contain the mummy of the Queen, large quantities of jewellery, many pieces of which bore the name of Aāhmes, weapons made of gold also inscribed with the name of Aāhmes, some bronze weapons, already mentioned, inscribed with the name of Ka-mes, and two models of boats, one in gold and one in silver, provided with crews of rowers, etc. The gold boat was inscribed with the name of Ka-mes, and it is pretty clear that it had been buried with that king ; the silver boat was uninscribed.<sup>3</sup> The coffin and

<sup>1</sup> Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 94 (No. 74).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93 (No. 72).

<sup>3</sup> For facsimiles of many of these beautiful objects, see Birch, *Facsimiles of the Egyptian Relics*, London, 1863 ; and for descriptions see Maspero, *Guide*, p. 78 ff.


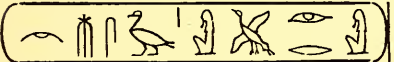
its contents were seized by the Mudîr of Kēna, and although Mariette laid his hands upon him as soon as possible, many of the most beautiful of the objects of jewellery had been sold and had disappeared. It is said that many fine gold objects were melted down by a native of Luxor who possessed the necessary melting-pot and furnace. Many theories have been put forward to explain the finding of the coffin in such a place, but M. Maspero's is the most reasonable; he thinks that it and its contents were taken from the royal tombs by thieves who had plundered them, and who, not being able to dispose of their booty, hid it in the sand until such time as they should be able to come back and take it away. This, however, they were unable to do, because they were probably put to death as a punishment for the robberies which they had committed, and so their secret perished with them; the Abbott Papyrus proves that several of the robbers of royal tombs were punished, and we can only hope that among them were the thieves who plundered the tombs of Āāḥ-ḥetep and her husband Ka-mes.

5.  RĀ-

SEKHENT-NEB, son of the Sun, RĀ-SENEKHT-EN.

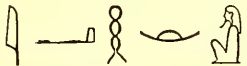
SENEKHT-EN-RĀ was probably the son of Ka-mes and Āāḥ-ḥetep, and though his exact position in the King List is unknown, from the fact that the cartouche

containing his name occurs on a white limestone altar preserved at Marseilles side by side with the names of Seqenen-Rā and Ka-mes, it is right to assume that he reigned about the same time as his father. The Marseilles altar has a peculiar value, for it was made for an official called Qenna, who was the scribe of the place of Maāt, that is to say he was attached in his capacity as scribe to the foundation which provided for the worship of all the kings whose names are given on the altar. The kings enumerated on the altar are sixteen in number, and the queens are two, i.e., Āāĥ-ĥetep and Āāĥmes-nefert-āri.<sup>1</sup> M. Daressy has given proof that Rā-sekhent-neb and Rā-senekht-en are one and the same person.<sup>2</sup>

To this period must probably be assigned the reign of the king () called Āāĥ-mes-sa-pa-ār () whose tomb, according to the Abbott Papyrus, was examined in the reign of Rameses IX. and found to be intact. We know that Ka-mes and Āāĥ-ĥetep had several children besides Senekhten-Rā and Amāsis I., and it is probable that after the death of Ka-mes the sons may have assisted their mother, one after the other, in governing the country, but we have no proof that such was the case. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the country

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, Paris, 1889, p. 3 (No. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 146.

was in a very unsettled condition, for, although Seqenen-Rā must have inflicted a severe defeat upon the Hyksos in the battle in which he met his death, their power was by no means broken, especially as they were still in possession of their stronghold Avaris. If then the princes of Thebes were determined to follow up the advantage which they had already gained, it was imperative for them not only to strike, but to strike quickly, and to strike hard, and we are no doubt right in assuming that the interval which existed between the death of Seqenen-Rā and the accession to the throne of Āāḥmes or Āmāsis I., the first king of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was very short. The examination of Seqenen-Rā's mummied remains shows that he was of Nubian or Berber origin and descent, and the facts of Egyptian history which have come down to us prove that it was the hot Sūdānî blood<sup>1</sup> which he transmitted to his descendants which made them fight and conquer their enemies wheresoever they met them, and which made their dynasty the greatest that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt. The origin of Āāḥ-ḥetep, the great ancestress of the dynasty, is not so clear, but judging from the name for the Moon-god Āāḥ, , which forms part of her name, she should be connected with some family who were settled in the town called Hermopolis by the Greeks and

<sup>1</sup> *Not negro blood.*

Khemennu,  $\int \int \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \otimes$ , by the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> In this city the god Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks, was worshipped under the form of the ibis, and the moon in the sky was both his dwelling-place and his symbol, and the Moon-god ĀāḤ and Thoth were one and the same being. But whatever her origin, ĀāḤ-Ḥetep was connected with the worshippers of the moon, who gave her the name ĀāḤ-Ḥetep, just as the worshippers of Rā called their children Rā-Ḥetep, and the worshippers of Āmen, Sebek, Menthu, and other gods called their children Āmen-Ḥetep, Sebek-Ḥetep, Menthu-Ḥetep, etc., respectively. It is a pity that no details of the life of this remarkable woman have come down to us, for in her we may recognize a woman equal in ability to the great Queen Ḥātšepset, but with less vanity, and in her we have, no doubt, the source of the wise counsels which resulted in the freeing of the kingdom of Thebes from subjection to the Hyksos, and in the rise to power of the glorious XVIIIth Dynasty.

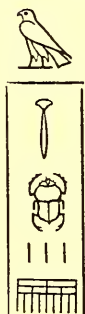
<sup>1</sup> The modern اشمونين. Among the ancient Copts was a legend to the effect that this city was visited by the Virgin Mary and Joseph and the Child Jesus, Who was worshipped by the acacia trees there; these trees remain in a bowed position "unto this day."



## CHAPTER VII.

## THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.


1.    RĀ-NEB-  
PEḤPEḤ, son of the Sun, ĀĀḤ-MES, "Amōsis.

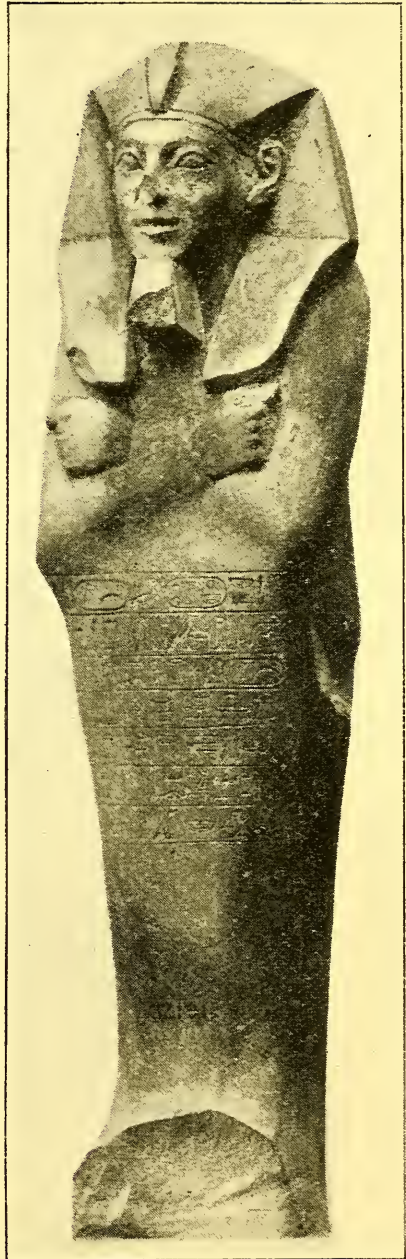


UATCH-KHEPERU,  
the Horus name of  
Amāsis I.

AMĀSIS I.,<sup>1</sup> the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was the son of Seqenen-Rā, and the brother of Ka-mes, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-five years; this last statement agrees tolerably well with the evidence of the monuments. He is famous as the king who finally delivered his country from the Hyksos, and we gain some valuable information concerning his expedition against this people from an inscription found in the tomb of one of his naval officers, called, like himself, Amāsis. This distinguished man was a member of one of the great families of the famous city of Nekheb, the seat of the shrine of the goddess Nekhebet, and the city which had almost from time immemorial marked the boundary of Egypt proper in the south, just as Per-Uatchet (Buto)

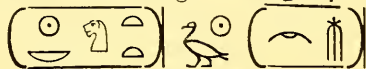
<sup>1</sup> His name seems to mean, "the Moon-god hath given birth [to him]."

had marked its limit in the north, and which had always been made sufficiently strong to resist any attack which might be made upon it. He is called the “chief of the sailors,” and claims in his inscription to be the son of Ābana, ; some think that Ābana was the name of his grandfather, and that his father’s name was Baba, but it is far more likely that Ābana and Baba are variant forms of one and the same name. As Amāsis served under four kings, and as his narrative must be given in connexion with the history of this dynasty, a rendering of the inscription is here given.<sup>1</sup> He




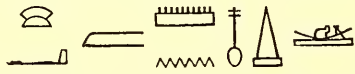


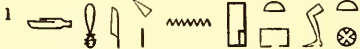
<sup>1</sup> For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 11.

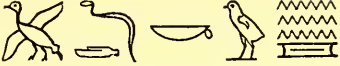


Limestone ushabti figure of king Āāhmes I.



British Museum, No. 32,191.

says :—" I speak unto you, O all men, and I would  
 " make you to understand the favours which have come  
 " upon me. I was decorated with gold on seven occa-  
 " sions in the sight of the whole country, and was  
 " given menservants and maidservants, together with  
 " what belonged to them. I acquired many large  
 " estates, and the fame of the brave deeds which I  
 " wrought shall never cease from this land. I came  
 " into being in the city of Nekheb, and my father, Baba,  
 " , the son of Re-ant, ,  
 " was one of the captains of king Seqenen-Rā. I  
 " succeeded him as captain of the ship called the 'Bull'  
 " (*Mas*, ) in the time of the lord of the  
 " two lands Amāsis I., at which period I was still  
 " young and unmarried, and was still sleeping in the  
 " apparel of little boys. But afterwards I got for myself  
 " a house, and I rose up and betook myself to the ship  
 " called the 'North,' that I might fight, and next it  
 " came upon me to follow on my feet after the Prince  
 " when he journeyed in his chariot. Now the king  
 " besieged the city of Avaris,<sup>1</sup> and it became my duty  
 " to fight upon my feet before his majesty. Next I was  
 " promoted to serve on the ship called 'Khā-em-Men-  
 " nefer,' , and whilst the king  
 " was fighting on the waters of the canal of Avaris


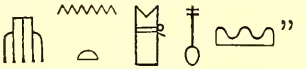



<sup>1</sup> 

“ called Patchetku, , I rose up,  
 “ and in fighting made a capture and I took a hand.  
 “ When this feat was mentioned to the king he gave  
 “ me a gift of gold for my bravery. And there was  
 “ war again in this place, and again I fought and made  
 “ a capture and took a hand; and again a gift of gold  
 “ for my bravery was given to me. Another time  
 “ war was going on in Ta-qemt, , to  
 “ the south of the city of Avaris. I captured a prisoner  
 “ alive, I rushed into the water, and dragged him with  
 “ me through it and then along the road to the city;  
 “ this feat having been announced to the king by the  
 “ herald, a gift of gold for my bravery was given to me  
 “ again. Finally the king captured the city of Avaris,  
 “ and I brought in as captives one man, and three  
 “ women, four persons in all, and his majesty gave  
 “ them to me for slaves. Then, in the fifth year of his  
 “ reign, his majesty besieged the city of Sharuhana,<sup>1</sup>  
 “ , and took it, and I made a  
 “ capture of two women and one hand; a gift of gold  
 “ was again given to me for my bravery, and the  
 “ captives were given to me for slaves.”

From the above we see that king Amāsis only succeeded  
 in capturing Avaris at the fourth attack, but once having  
 succeeded in doing this he was able to follow up his  
 victory the following year, the fifth of his reign, by

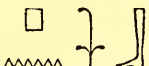
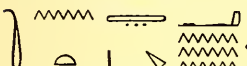

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Sharuhēn, שַׁרְהֵן, of Joshua xix. 6.

pursuing the Hyksos to the city of Sharuhen, whither they had fled for refuge, and its capture enabled him to exact submission from all the tribes in the desert to the north-east of Egypt. The narrative continues:—

“Now when his majesty had chastised sorely the  
 “Mentiu<sup>1</sup> of Asia,  he  
 “sailed up the Nile as far as Khent-ḥen-nefer,  
 “” (which was a district that lay on  
 the bank of the Nile to the east of that portion of it  
 which flows between Wâdî Ḥalfa and the fortresses of  
 Usertsen I. at Semneh), “in order that he might punish  
 “the Anti, , of Kenseti, , i.e.,  
 “Nubia; and his majesty made a great slaughter  
 “among them. I rose up and I brought in two  
 “prisoners alive and three hands, and the king again  
 “gave me a gift of gold and also two female slaves.  
 “Then his majesty sailed down the river with joy, his  
 “heart being elated with conquest and strength because  
 “he had conquered and obtained possession of the  
 “lands of the south and those of the north.” Thus we  
 see that Amāsis I. was now master both of the Delta  
 and of Upper Egypt and Nubia. Soon after this, how-  
 ever, we read that a serious revolt broke out in the  
 south, and the leader, who is called the “Filthy One,”  
 or “Scourge,” , came north-


<sup>1</sup> I.e., the tribes who lived in the desert from southern Syria as far south as Sinai.




wards quickly and defiled, or laid waste, the shrines of the gods of the south ; Amāsis I., with his two generals called Amāsis, son of Ābana, and Amāsis, surnamed Pen-nekheb, ,<sup>1</sup> brought him to bay in a place on or near the Nile, close to Egypt, called Thent-ta-ā, . Here his majesty took him and his men prisoners, and, says the general, “ I rose up and “ brought in two prisoners whom I had seized and “ dragged from the boat of the Scourge, and his “ majesty gave me five heads as my share and five *sta* “ of land in my native city. The same was done to all “ the sailors of the boat wherein I was. Then there rose “ up a vile one, whose name was Tetā-ān,  , “ and he gathered unto him a number of runagates and “ rebels, but his majesty smote him and his companions “ so sorely that they could never again rise up. On “ this occasion the king gave me three heads and five “ measures of land in my own city.” The general Amāsis concludes his inscription by describing how he conveyed his majesty Amenophis I. up the river when he went to enlarge the boundaries of Egypt, and how the king took captive many Nubians,<sup>2</sup> and also how

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 43 ; and Prisse d’Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Amāsis brought the king back from “ Khnemet heru,”

, i e., the “ upper desert well,” to Egypt in two days.

he conveyed his majesty Thothmes I. up the river when he was making an expedition against the disaffected tribes of Khent-hen-nefer.


It seems that when Amāsis I. had conquered his foes in the south and the north he settled down to administer his country, for no further military expeditions are mentioned; that this was much needed goes without saying, for the temples of the gods were in ruins, and everywhere the works which it was the duty of the Government to perform had been neglected. The Hyksos destroyed much, but what they left undestroyed the native Egyptians neglected; through these causes the condition of the country was lamentable. In the twenty-second year of his reign Amasis I. was able seriously to undertake the rebuilding of the temples of the gods, especially those of Ptah at Memphis and Amen in the Apts, and with this object in view he had the quarries of Tura reopened, in order that "good stone" might be hewed therein for the buildings.<sup>1</sup> The hewing of the stone was carried out by people called "Fenkhu," , who are commonly but erroneously supposed to be "Phoenicians," but the word "Fenkhu" does not represent *Φοίνικες*, for the simple reason that this Greek word was unknown to the Egyptians at that time. "Fenkhu" means, as Müller has shown,<sup>2</sup> "foreigners" in general,

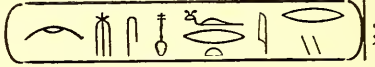
<sup>1</sup> See for the texts of the two tablets in the quarries at Tura which mention these facts, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Asien und Europa*, p. 210 ff.

but underlying this general term is the meaning "thieves" or "plunderers," i.e., "barbarian robbers." It is, however, possible that in later times the Fenkhu were identified with the Phoenicians. Under the larger tablet at Tura is a representation of three pair of oxen drawing a stone from the quarry on a sledge; their drivers carry sticks and wear short, pointed beards. Of the closing years of Amāsis I. and of his death we know nothing; his body was mummified, and the mummy was found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, whither it had been removed from his own tomb for safety. It was about 5 feet 5 inches in length, and was unrolled on June 9, 1886; the wrappings and swathings were of coarse linen, and of a yellowish colour, and well illustrated the skill which the embalmers of the XVIIIth Dynasty possessed. The head was small in proportion to the size of the body, but it gave the idea of a healthy and vigorous man who was at most fifty years of age. The hair was thick and wavy, like that of Seqenen-Rā, whom Amāsis resembled in a remarkable degree. The eyelids and part of the cartilage of the nose had been removed in days of old; the forehead was narrow, the cheek bones were prominent, the mouth delicate and filled with strong teeth, and the chin firm.<sup>1</sup> The wooden coffin of Amāsis I. is in the form of a human body, and has a beard; the hair, ornaments, etc., are painted in blue upon a yellow ground. The coffin is about 5 ft. 11 ins. long, and upon the breast

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, p. 534.

is inscribed . To the reign of Amāsis I. the departure of Moses from Egypt is attributed by Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

The wife of Amāsis I. was his sister, and was called AĀHMES-NEFERT-ĀRI ; she is described on the tablet at Tura as “divine wife, royal “wife, great lady, lady of the two lands; royal daughter, “royal sister, royal mother, mistress of all the two lands.” Of the details of her life we know nothing, but she must have been, like her sister-in-law, Aāh-ḥetep, the wife of Ka-mes, a woman of remarkable ability, for she was, down to very late times, venerated as a divine being, and her “image was placed as an equal among “the eternal inhabitants of the Egyptian heaven. In “the united assembly of the sainted kings of the New “Empire” she “sits enthroned at the head of all the “Pharaonic pairs, and before all the royal children of “their race, as the specially venerated ancestress and “founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty.”<sup>1</sup> On many monuments the queen is depicted with skin of a dark or blue colour, but we must not imagine because of this that she was descended from a black race into which Amāsis I. was obliged to marry in order to make valid his occupation of the throne of Egypt; on the contrary, there is every reason to think that she was of Egyptian descent, and the true explanation of the blue or dark

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 279.

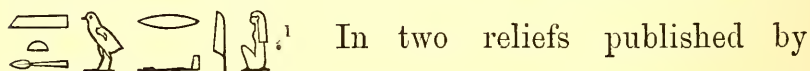
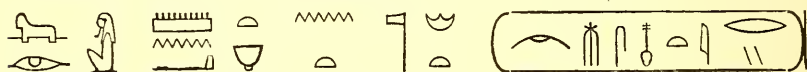
colour of her skin is that when she was represented so coloured she was intended to personify some mythological personage.<sup>1</sup> The mummy of the queen was moved from her tomb to Dêr al-Baharî, where it seems to have been found with her coffin. M. Maspero describes<sup>2</sup> the coffin as colossal, and says that it was made of layers of linen and plaster made of lime, and is different in shape from the ordinary coffin, inasmuch as the bust can be removed from it in one piece; just like the upper part of a needle-case. The head-dress, necklaces, etc., are painted in blue on a yellow ground, and the general form of the monument recalls that of the Osiris pillars which ornament the courtyard of Medînet Habu; the coffin is about 10 ft. 3 in. long, and contained a poor looking mummy, and a small coffin in which lay a very carefully prepared mummy. M. Maspero and all the officials believed that the poor looking mummy had been put in the coffin when it was being removed to the hiding-place, and that the other mummy was that of queen Nefert-âri; it was therefore placed in the store-room of the Bûlâk Museum, where it rotted so quickly and emitted such a terrible smell that it was necessary to get rid of it. In September, 1885, it was opened by E. Brugsch Bey, and when the body had been removed from the swathings with which it had been most carefully swathed, it became a mere mass of corruption and emitted a dark coloured liquid of a most foetid and insufferable odour. The remains were those of a

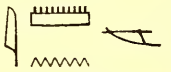

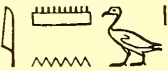

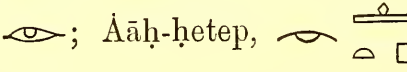
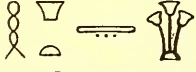
<sup>1</sup> Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 535.



woman of somewhat advanced age and of medium height, and she belonged to a fair-skinned race. There were no traces of writing on the swathings, but all the same the mummy was probably that of Aāhmes-*nefert-āri*, and it can only be regretted that her mortal remains were allowed to disappear in this fashion. It is interesting to note that the great queen took care to have her nurse Rāā mummified and buried with due honour. The coffin of this lady was found with those of the royal personages at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and it was ornamented with yellow bands painted on a green ground; her name is thus given, "Osiris, the nurse of the




In two reliefs published by Lepsius<sup>2</sup> we have depicted a number of the children of Amāsis I., and it is a remarkable fact that each name is given in a cartouche; among the names mentioned are Amen-merit, ; Amen-sat, ; Amen-sa, ; Sa-pa-ār, ; Aāh-ḥetep, ; Hent-ta-meht, , etc., but all these were not the children of the queen Aāhmes-*nefert-āri*.







<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 2.

2.  RĀ-TCHESER-  
KA, son of the Sun, AMEN-HETEP, "Αμενωφθίς.

Amāsis I., the great liberator of Egypt, was succeeded by his son AMEN-HETEP I., who, according to the principal version of the King List of Manetho, reigned for twenty-one years. The versions of Manetho's List given by Julius Africanus and Eusebius name a king Chebros or Chebron, *Χέβρων*, as the successor of Amāsis I., and say that he reigned for thirteen years, but the evidence of the monuments does not support this statement.<sup>1</sup> It seems that when Amāsis I. died his widow and their young son Amen-hetep I. ruled together, but during the period of the joint rule no military expeditions were undertaken by the Egyptians. Of the wars which Amen-hetep I. waged we obtain some information from the inscriptions in the tombs of Āāhmes, the son of Ābana, and Āāhmes surnamed Pennekheb, to whom we have already referred. Āāhmes, the naval officer, says, "I conveyed by boat the king of "the South and North, Amenophis I., when he sailed "up the Nile to Nubia (Kesh ) , to enlarge the "borders of Egypt. His majesty took captive the chief "of the Anti of Kenset among his soldiers, for they "were taken in ambush and could not escape, and they

<sup>1</sup> Chebron seems to be a corruption of the prenomen of Thothmes I., Āa-kheper-ka-Rā.

“ were scattered about and could offer no further resist-  
 “ ance. And behold, I was at the head of our soldiers,  
 “ and I fought with all my might and the king saw my  
 “ prowess. I brought in two hands and carried them  
 “ to his majesty, and the king went about in search of  
 “ his followers and their cattle. I captured one prisoner  
 “ alive, and I brought him to his majesty, and I brought  
 “ his majesty down from the Upper Pool (or Well) in  
 “ two days, and the king gave me a gift of gold.  
 “ Besides the prisoners whom I had already captured I  
 “ brought in to his majesty two female slaves, and then  
 “ I was promoted to the rank of ‘Āḥatiu-en-ḥeq,’ i.e.,  
 “ the Royal Guard.” Āāhmes, the namesake, and no  
 doubt a relative of the naval officer, for both came  
 from the city of Nekheb, says, “ I followed the king of  
 “ the South and North, Rā-tcheser-ka, triumphant, and I  
 “ captured in Nubia, , one prisoner alive. And on a  
 “ second occasion I was with him, and I captured in the  
 “ north among the Āmu-kehek,     ,  
 “ three hands.”<sup>1</sup> From the evidence of these officials it  
 is clear that the king waged war both in Nubia against  
 the tribes of the Eastern Sûdân, and in the country  
 which lay between Memphis and the Oasis of Jupiter  
 Ammon, to the north-west of the Nile Valley, where a  
 number of Libyan tribes lived. Neither war, however,  
 seems to have been long or serious, and we shall be  
 right if we regard each in the light of what would

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Maspero, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

to-day be called a "punitive expedition"; in any case, Amen-hetep only seems to have been anxious to protect his rights.

The king's building operations were wide-spread, for he added to the temples of Karnak and Dêr al-Baḥarî;<sup>1</sup> he built a shrine in honour of Satet, a goddess of the First Cataract and Elephantine, at Ibrîm (Primis); and an inscription at Silsila proves that he worked the quarries there. It will be remembered that the great queen Aâḥmes-nefert-âri is depicted on the monuments with a dark skin, and it must now be noted that the Theban artists gave a skin of the same colour to Amen-hetep I.; Nefert-âri was thus depicted because she was identified with the goddess Isis, and Amen-hetep because he was identified with the god Osiris. As a result, both the king and his mother were worshipped for centuries after their death, and the scenes on the monuments in which this worship is depicted are very numerous.<sup>2</sup> An examination of the beautifully painted coffins of the priests of Amen-Râ, which were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, shows that one of the most prominent of the figures of divine beings represented upon them is that of Amen-hetep I., and the cartouches of this king occur on the coffins in prominent places. These facts have been explained by

<sup>1</sup> Though he may have been the founder of the first temple which stood there.



<sup>2</sup> The greater number of these are given by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 319 ff.


suggesting that the king was looked upon as a protecting god, who possessed much the same powers as the great gods of the underworld, but it is to be considered whether the king does not owe his divine position to the fact that he was a great patron of the priests of Amen-Rā, and a munificent supporter of that famous confraternity, which obtained such remarkable influence and power in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Amen, the god who had given Seqenen-Rā III. the victory over the Hyksos, was exalted over all the old gods of Thebes at that period, and it is difficult not to think that gratitude on the part of the priesthood of the god had as much to do with the perpetuating of the figure and cartouches of the king on the coffins of the priests as purely religious sentiment. But, in either case, the king must have been a good and a religious man, for there must have been good reasons for the worship and reverence which were paid to him for several hundreds of years.<sup>1</sup>

Amen-hetep I. was buried in a rock-hewn tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, which

<sup>1</sup> Of his famous statue at Turin Maspero says, "Une de ses statues nous le représente assis sur son trône, dans la posture du roi qui accorde une audience à ses sujets, ou du dieu qui attend l'hommage de ses adorateurs. Le buste s'en modèle avec une souplesse qu'on s'étonne de rencontrer dans une œuvre si proche des temps barbares ; la tête est une merveille de délicatesse et de grâce naïve. On sent que le sculpteur s'est complu à ciseler amoureuxment les traits du maître, et à préciser l'expression de bienveillance un peu rêveuse qui les éclairait."—*Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 103.




fact we learn from the Abbott Papyrus, where we are told that on a given day the masons examined and found in good state "the eternal horizon of king "Tcheser-ka-Rā, the son of the Sun, Amen-hetep, which "is 120 cubits,  @ , deep from its sacrificial hall, "as well as the long corridor which is found to the "north of the temple of Amen-hetep and the garden "concerning which the hā prince, the governor of the "city, made his report to the superintendent of the "city, Khā-em-Uast, and to the royal inspector, Nessu- "Amen, and to the scribe of Pharaoh,<sup>1</sup> and to the "steward of the house of the Neter-tuat of Amen-Rā, "the king of the gods, and to the royal inspector, Nefer- "ka-Rā-em-per-Amen, and to the herald of Pharaoh, "and to the chief elders of the city, saying, 'the thieves<sup>2</sup> "have broken into it.'" The mummy and coffin of Amen-hetep I. were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The coffin is painted white, the head yellow, the headdress black, and the wooden uræus with which it is ornamented is painted in bright colours; one vertical line of hieroglyphics runs down the front, and it cuts, at right angles, three bands of inscription. The vertical line describes Amen-hetep as "Osiris, king, lord of the "two lands, Tcheser-ka-Rā, son of Amen, lord of "crowns, (or, risings), Amen-hetep-f-en-Qemt,<sup>3</sup> beloved

<sup>1</sup> In Egyptian, , *Aa-perti*, "the great double house."

<sup>2</sup> Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Amen maketh Egypt to be at peace.

“of Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār.”<sup>1</sup> On the breast are two inscriptions, one of which states that the king’s mummy was re-bandaged in the sixth year of the reign of Painetchem, and the other that the same process was performed in the sixteenth year of the reign of Masaharth, the son of Painetchem.<sup>2</sup> The mummy is about 5 ft. 5 in. long, and is draped in orange-coloured linen; it is covered from head to foot with garlands of flowers, red, blue, and yellow, and near these is the body of a wasp which was shut in the coffin by accident. Up to the time when M. Maspero<sup>3</sup> wrote his description of the mummy it had not been unrolled. Amen-ḥetep I. married his sister Āāḥ-ḥetep, whose coffin was found with that of her husband; it is of colossal size, and the headdress, the necklace, etc., are painted in blue upon a yellow ground. The titles painted upon it describe her as “royal daughter, royal sister, the great lady (i.e., chief wife), who is united to the crown, royal mother,” and the coffin much resembles that of her mother Āāḥmes-nefert-ari. In this coffin was found a mummy which was believed to be that of the queen, but when it was opened on June 27th, 1886, the

<sup>1</sup>  was the triune god of the resurrection.

<sup>2</sup> 



<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

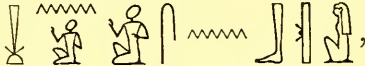
inscriptions which were found upon the bandages, etc., showed that it was the mummy of king Painetchem; the mummy of the queen has never been found.

3.  RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER-KA,


son of the Sun, TEHUTI-MES.



KA-NEKHT-MERI-  
MAĀT,  
the Horus name of  
Thothmes I.

TEHUTI-MES I.,<sup>1</sup> or THOTHMES I., was the son of Amen-hetep I. and the royal mother Sen-seneb, , and according to the King List of Manetho he reigned about twenty-two years; according to the monuments now known the length of his reign was much less. From the fact that the name of Sen-seneb, the mother of Thothmes I., is not enclosed in a cartouche, it has been considered that she

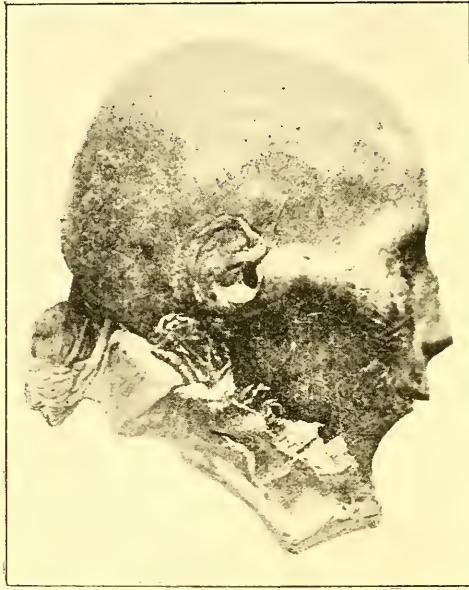
did not belong to a royal family, and that she was only a woman of the lower middle class, in fact, that she was a mere concubine; her son gave her the title of "royal mother," but she seems never to have enjoyed the rank, and dignity, and title of "royal wife,"

. From an inscription<sup>2</sup> found upon a limestone tablet preserved in the Cairo Museum, we gather that when a king succeeded to the throne he caused a

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "Thoth hath given birth."

<sup>2</sup> Erman, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1891, p. 116.

circular announcing the fact to be sent out to the principal nobles of the great cities of his kingdom; this tablet contains a copy of the circular which Thothmes I. sent out to announce his own succession. He ascended the throne on the 21st day of the third month of the season *Pert*, and he declares that his



Head of the mummy of Thothmes I. (?).

style and titles are:—"Horus, the mighty bull, beloved of Maāt, lord of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet, he who is diademed with the fiery uraeus, great one of double strength, the Horus of gold, beautiful of years, making hearts to live, King of the South and North, "Āa-kheper-ka-Rā, son of the Sun, [Teḥuti-mes,] living

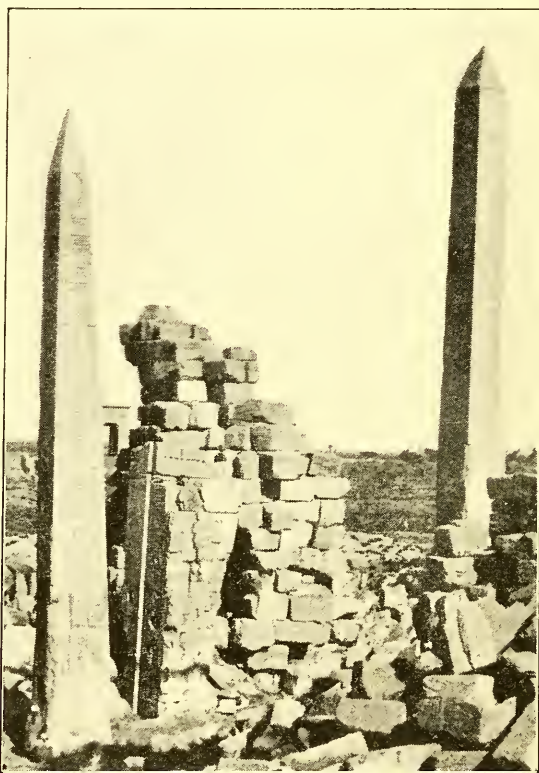
“for ever and for ever.”<sup>1</sup> Following this enumeration of titles the king commands that the offerings which are due to the gods of the south at Elephantine shall be offered with wishes for the happiness of himself, and he directs that the oath shall be taken in the name of his majesty, who was born of the royal mother Senseneb.

One of the first military expeditions undertaken by Thothmes I. was that directed against the Nubians, and his naval officer, Aāhmes, the son of Abana, tells us what took place. He says, “I conveyed the king of the South and North up the river when he sailed to Khent-ḥen-nefer to punish the disaffected ones among the inhabitants, and to prevent them from making inroads into Egypt. I fought side by side with the king in mid-stream, and as the boats met some of them (i.e., the enemy’s boats) overturned and drifted to the bank; they promoted me to be ‘Chief of the sailors.’ His majesty raged at them like a panther, and he hurled his javelin, which pierced the body of his foe, who fell down headlong before the king; the enemy suffered a great defeat, and large numbers of them were taken prisoners alive. Then





“his majesty sailed down the river, and all the people  
 “made submission unto him. And the dead body of  
 “the vile king of the Nubians was tied to the bows of  
 “the ship of his majesty, who returned to Thebes.”



Obelisks at Karnak.  
 From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

The namesake and relative of the naval officer, Āāhmes Pen-nekheb, also gives us a brief mention of his own prowess, for he says, “I followed the king of the South  
 “and North, Rā-āa-kheper-ka, triumphant, and I cap-

“tured in the country of Kesh two prisoners alive, “besides the living prisoners whom I gave away in the “country of Kesh, and whom I do not take into “account.”<sup>1</sup> The first Nubian war cannot, however, have been a very serious matter, and it cannot have lasted long, but it seems that the Egyptians had considerable power over Nubia, otherwise the appointment of a “Prince of Kesh” (Cush) would have been unnecessary.

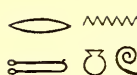
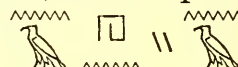

It is doubtful how far to the south the Egyptian rule extended, but if the Egyptians managed to hold the country of Nubia as far as Tombos,<sup>2</sup> where Thothmes I., in the second year of his reign, set up a memorial stele recording his victories over the Nubian tribes,<sup>3</sup> they certainly must have been able to control the country as far as Napata, or Jabal Barkal, a little below the foot of the Fourth Cataract. In the third year of his reign Thothmes I. again went to Nubia on a punitive expedition, and on the 22nd day of the ninth month he passed through the canal in the First Cataract which was made in the reign of king Mer-en-Rā, and which was repaired by Usertsen III., and cleared out by Thothmes III.<sup>4</sup> The next expedition of Thothmes I. was directed against the inhabitants of Rethennu,

<sup>1</sup> *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1883, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> The Island of Tombos is near Kerma, at the head of the Third Cataract, and is about 210 miles south of Wādī Ḥalfa: the cartouches of Thothmes I. are found much further south.

<sup>3</sup> For the text see Lepsius, iii. pl. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Wilbour, *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 203.


 , i.e., the land of Northern Syria, and of the region to the north-west of Mesopotamia. Here he fought many fights with the people who, we may assume, had rebelled against him, and he made many prisoners, and gained much spoil. The officer *Āāhmes Pen-nekheb* says in his inscription,<sup>1</sup> “Again I made an expedition with the king of the South and North *Āa-kheper-ka-Rā*, triumphant, and I captured for him “in the land of *Nahenina*,  , i.e., “Mesopotamia, twenty-one hands, one horse, one “chariot. And I followed the king and brought back “from the land of the *Shasu*,  , so many “prisoners alive that I do not here take them into account.” When *Thothmes I.* was in Mesopotamia he set up a stele, to mark the extent of the Egyptian Empire in that direction, which was still standing in the reign of *Thothmes III.*, and which was seen by that king.

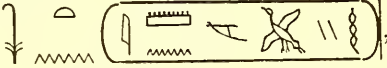
The battles of *Thothmes I.* were fought in the early years of his reign, and the king had leisure when they were concluded to devote his energies to the building or restoration of the shrines of the gods. He built a pylon and two granite obelisks at *Karnak*; one of these obelisks was usurped by *Thothmes III.*, and is now destroyed, and the other, which contains also inscriptions of *Rameses IV.* and *Rameses VI.*, is still standing. This

<sup>1</sup> *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

obelisk is about seventy-six feet high, and stands upon a pedestal about six feet square; in front of it is a large stone plinth, which was probably intended to support a statue of the king. The ancient text on the obelisk records the name and titles of Thothmes I., and says that it was set up in honour of the god Amen-Râ. In addition to the many buildings which he built at Karnak we find that he carried on great works in other parts of Thebes, e.g., Dêr al-Medîna, Shêkh 'Abd al-Ḳûrna, Medînet Habu, and he built a temple at Abydos, of which, however, no remains have been found. He worked the quarries at Silsila, and he hewed out a rock chapel at Ibrîm (Primis) in honour of Thoth and Satet, the local gods of Elephantine and Nubia, and remains of his buildings are found in the forts established in the Second Cataract by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty; the stele set up by him further to the south has been already mentioned.

The mummy and coffin of Thothmes I. were found with a number of royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḡarî. The wooden coffin of the king had been usurped by Painetchem, for whom it was covered with gold and enamel; this ornamentation was partly removed in ancient days, and the prenomen of Thothmes I. is visible in several places.<sup>1</sup> When the coffin was used for Painetchem it was practically re-made, but at the present time it is in a very poor condition. The mummy which was inside the coffin of Queen Ââḥ-ḥetep


<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, pp. 545, 570, and 581.

was opened on June 27, 1886, and the inscriptions on the bandages proved that it was the mummy of Paimetchem,  and not that of

the queen; it had been partly opened by the Arabs, but the lower half of the mummy was intact, and between the legs was a copy of the *Book of the Dead*. In the coffin of Thothmes I. was a mummy which had been plundered first by the Egyptian robbers in ancient days, and afterwards by the Arabs in recent times. The mummified body was, however, admirably preserved, and the small emaciated figure indicated the possession of uncommon vigour during its lifetime. The head is that of an old man and was shaved, and the features were delicate and cunning. The teeth were well worn, but were flat on the tops like those of all people who are in the habit of eating grain insufficiently ground, and who crush their corn in their mouths by setting the teeth of the upper jaw immediately above those of the lower jaw. As it was impossible, for want of inscribed bandages, to identify this mummy by the ordinary means, an attempt was made to do so by comparing its features with those of persons who have been satisfactorily identified; this plan was adopted by M. Maspero, who was soon struck with the resemblance which it presents to Thothmes II., although the forehead of Thothmes II. is much more retreating, and the face of his mummy has a less intelligent expression than that of Thothmes I. The





“Red Country to my daughter, the Queen of the South  
 “and North, Maāt-ka-Ra, living for ever, even as thou  
 “hast given them unto me.” In former days it was  
 customary for Egyptologists to say that Ḥātshepset  
 was the daughter of Thothmes I., and the wife of  
 Thothmes II., and the sister of Thothmes III., and the  
 great authorities Hincks, Birch, and Lepsius, basing  
 their opinion on a statement found on the statue of  
 Anebni in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> declared unhesitat-  
 ingly that Thothmes III. was the brother of Ḥātshepset.  
 Later it was believed that Ḥātshepset was the daughter  
 of Thothmes I. and of the queen Āāḥmes, that Thoth-  
 mes II. was the son of Thothmes I. and of a second wife  
 called Mut-nefert, and that Thothmes III. was the son  
 of Thothmes I. and of a third wife called Āset. Thanks,  
 however, to the discovery by M. Boussac of the stele of  
 the scribe Anen, , at Thebes,<sup>2</sup> we learn that  
 this official flourished under four kings, i.e., Amen-  
 hetep I., Thothmes I., Thothmes II., and Thothmes III.  
 Under Thothmes I. he served in many an exalted office,  
 and under Thothmes II. he attained to a position of the  
 highest trust and confidence before the king. The por-  
 tion of his stele, however, which concerns us most is  
 that which says, “When the king of the South and  
 “North, Āa-kheper-en-Rā (Thothmes II.) reigned over  
 “Qemt (i.e., the Black Land), and ruled the Red Land,

<sup>1</sup> Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 51a.

<sup>2</sup> See *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 106.

“and made himself master of the two lands in triumph,  
 “I was filling the heart of the king in every place of  
 “his, and what he did for me was greater than that  
 “which the kings before him had done, and I attained  
 “to the dignity of his most trusted friends, and I was  
 “among the favoured ones of his majesty every day.  
 “. . . . Then when he went forth <sup>1</sup> to heaven and was  
 “united unto the gods, his son stood upon his throne  
 “as king of the two lands, and he ruled upon the  
 “throne of him that begot him. And his sister, the  
 “divine wife Hätšhepset was made a ruler of the  
 “country, and the two lands were under her jurisdic-  
 “tion, and Qemt performed for her works of service  
 “with due submission.” From this passage we must  
 certainly conclude that Thothmes III. succeeded  
 Thothmes II., and that his father was Thothmes II.;  
 and we may also say that Hätšhepset was the daughter  
 of Thothmes I. and queen Äähmes; that Thothmes II.  
 was the son of Thothmes I. by another wife called

<sup>1</sup> The text runs:



Mut-nefert, and that Thothmes III. was the son of Thothmes II. by a wife called Åset.<sup>1</sup>




RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER-EN, son of the Sun, TEḤUTI-MES-NEFER-KHĀU.



KA-NEKHT-USER-  
PEḤPEḤ,  
the Horus name of  
Thothmes II.

TEḤUTI-MES II., or THOTHMES II., succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death, and there is no evidence in support of the view that another king reigned between the reigns of Thothmes I. and his son Thothmes II.; according to Manetho, his reign lasted twelve or thirteen years, and this statement is tolerably well supported by the monuments. In addition to the Horus and other names given above, he adopted the titles, "the Horus of gold, lord of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet, "[the king] with divine sovereignty," and he styled himself, "the son of Åmen, the emanation of Åmen, "the chosen one of Åmen, the beloved of Åmen, the "avenger of Rā, beautiful of risings, prince of Thebes, "and the power which maketh things to be." In his short reign Thothmes II. carried on no great wars, but

<sup>1</sup> The whole subject is discussed in detail by Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, London, 1894, p. 13; and by Maspero, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xiv. p. 170.

he undertook<sup>\*</sup> the chastisement of the nomad tribes on the north-east frontier of Egypt, as we learn from an inscription on the rocks at Aswân.<sup>1</sup> In this he speaks of the terrors with which he inspired the Ḥa-nebu, ,<sup>2</sup> i.e., the sea-coast dwellers of the Delta, etc., and how he set the Nine Bows, or barbarian desert




Head of the mummy of Thothmes II.

tribes, under his sandals; he attacked the nomad Asiatics, the Mentiu, the tribes of the eastern desert, and the dwellers in the swamps, and then gave his

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 16.


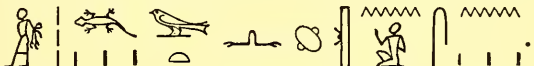
<sup>2</sup> See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 24 ff.; and Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, 158.



attention to the degraded country of Kesh,  (Cush). The foolish people of Nubia, on receipt of the news of the death of Thothmes I., began to revolt against their Egyptian masters, and to plunder their property, and to raid their cattle, even daring to invade Egyptian territory. This brought upon them the usual punitive expedition, and Thothmes II., or his general for him, swore that he would not leave a single man alive in the country. The Egyptian army marched into Nubia, killing people and laying waste the land, for the king is said to have been so angry that he was "like a panther"; every male is said to have been killed, "except one of the damned sons of the chief of Kesh, "and he was brought alive and bound like a prisoner, "together with his household, into the presence of his "majesty, and he was placed under the feet of the "beautiful god." The usual large number of prisoners were made and led before his majesty, and when gifts had been given by the Nubians, and due submission made, their chiefs sang the usual hymns of praise in honour of the Egyptian king who had broken their power for the time being, and then they retired to wait for the next opportunity of making a successful revolt.

Of the Nubian raid of Thothmes II. we have no record save the above, but *Āāḥmes Pen-nekheb*, who had served under three of his ancestors,<sup>1</sup> in the inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> *Āāḥmes I.*, *Āmen-ḥetep I.*, *Thothmes I.*; see Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4.

which he had inscribed on his statues<sup>1</sup> tells us that Thothmes II. gave him rich gifts, such as four bracelets (?) of gold, six collars of gold, vessels made of lapis-lazuli, and two silver axes; and we may be certain that these objects were intended as a reward for services rendered in the field. In another part of the inscription he says that he followed Thothmes II. against the Shasu, , and that he captured alive more prisoners than he could count. .

Thothmes II. was probably buried in a place near, or, perhaps, actually in a part of the famous temple of Dêr al-Baharî, but his mummy and coffin were removed from their resting place in troublous times, and they were found hidden in the shaft and chambers which are now so well known. The coffin is painted yellow and white, and much resembles that of Amen-hetep I. On the linen over the breast of the mummy was an inscription in hieratic which states that the mummy was re-bandaged in the sixth year of the reign of Pai-netchem, the son of the first prophet of Amen, Piânkhi. The mummy was decorated with garlands, and was about 5 ft. 11 in. long. It was unrolled on July 1, 1886, when it was found to have been opened in<sup>1</sup> ancient days, and to have been remade, as stated above, in the time of Pai-netchem. The body had suffered

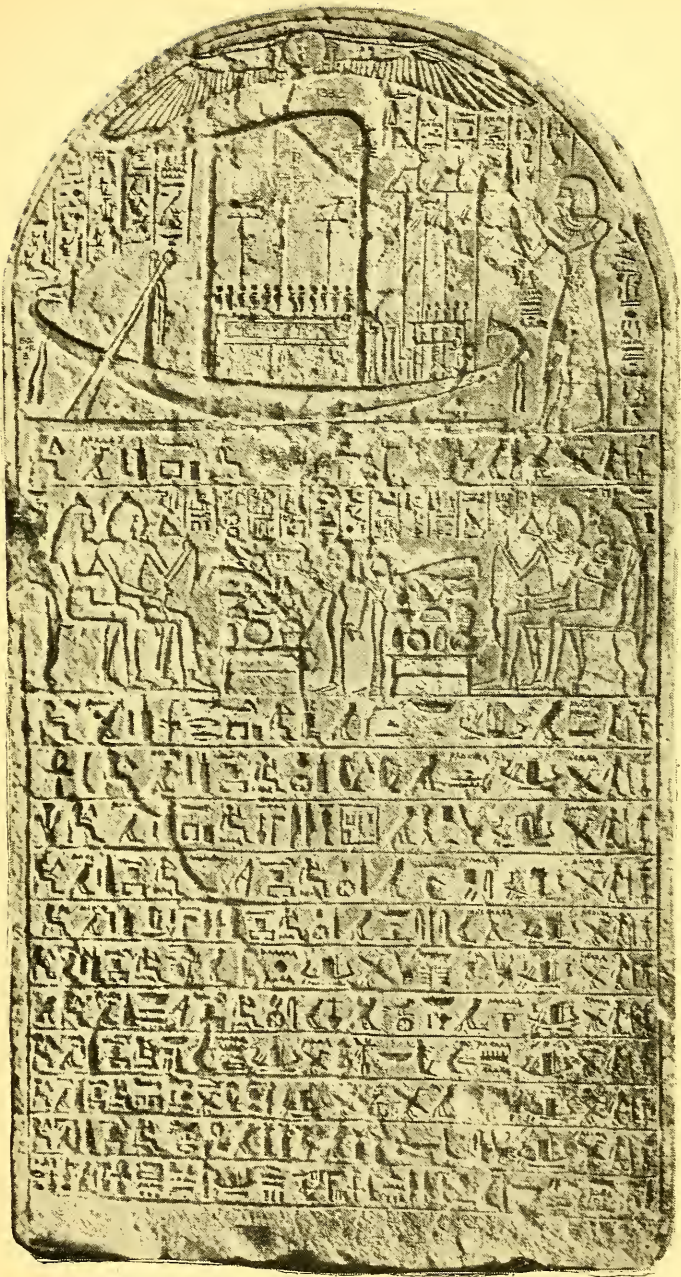
<sup>1</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

much at the hands of the spoilers, and its jewels and ornaments had been hacked off it with a knife or axe; the shoulders, and hips, and pelvis had been broken, and the breast-bone was staved in. To judge by the teeth the king could not have been more than thirty years of age when he died, and though the skin was white, it was covered with blotches, the result, probably, of the disease from which he suffered. The top of the head was almost bald, but the lower parts and the temples were covered with a crown of light chestnut coloured hair, moderately thick and slightly wavy. The head is small and long, the forehead is low and narrow, the nose is deformed, the mouth large, and the teeth are white and in good condition. Thothmes II. does not appear to have possessed much muscular strength, and he was never circumcised.<sup>1</sup> The building operations carried on by Thothmes II. were very considerable, if we take into account the shortness of his reign. He added to the great temple of Amen at Karnak, and built a small temple to Hathor at Al-Asasif, and decorated the temple of Medinet Habu with a number of reliefs. His name is found in many places in Egypt and Nubia,<sup>2</sup> and a historical stele bearing his prenomen was discovered by Prof. Ascherson near the Oasis of Al-'Ayûn, which is probably to be identified with the Oasis of Bahriyeh, or the *ῥασις μικρὰ* of Ptolemy,

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Mummies Royales*, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> For a list see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 330.




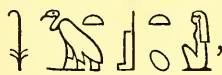


Limestone stela made for Anna, with scenes in which the deceased is represented making offerings to the boats of Temu, Ptah, and other gods. XVIIIth Dynasty. British Museum No. 1332.





and the Ta-āhet, , of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Thothmes II. married his sister Hātshepset, by whom he had two daughters, one called Rā-neferu, and the other Hātshepset, after her mother; his son Thothmes III. was borne to him by the "royal mother Aset," , a lady who was not of royal descent. In this fact M. Naville sees an explanation of the relations which existed between Hātshepset and her step-son and nephew Thothmes III. "The son of "Thothmes II., Thothmes III., was born of another "wife, who was perhaps a rival or a slave; and if "Hatshepsu shared her throne with the only heir of "Thothmes II., it was doubtless because she was con- "strained to do so either by circumstances or by custom, "and not from any affection which she bore to her "husband's son who was also her own nephew. The "relations between aunt and nephew were certainly not "characterised by attachment and mutual confidence, "for with Thothmes III. they left no trace of anything "but resentment, which he sought to appease by doing "his utmost to destroy everything recalling the reign "of Hatshepsu."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, p. 65; and *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 14.

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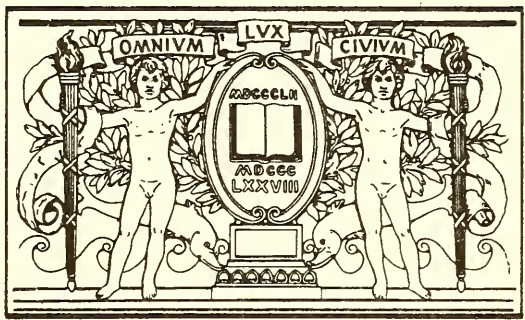




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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

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 „ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.  
 „ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts  
 from the Pyramid Texts.  
 „ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.  
 „ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.  
 „ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about  
 B.C. 1000 (English translation).  
 „ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).  
 „ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-âbt (English  
 translation).

2. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD  
 (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the  
 famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the  
 Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been  
 reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent  
 photo-lithographer.

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Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE END OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO  
THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII. B.C. 30

VOL. IV.

EGYPT AND HER ASIATIC EMPIRE









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P R E F A C E



THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume has been continued from the end of the reign of Thothmes II. to the end of the rule of the XVIIIth Dynasty, i.e., from about 1550 to 1400 B.C. This period, though comparatively short, is one of extreme interest, for in it the Egyptians succeeded in establishing their empire in Palestine and Syria, and extended their rule as far eastwards as the city of Nî, which cannot have been very far from the river Euphrates. In this period, moreover, are included the reigns of Thothmes III. and Amen-hetep III., whose energy and ability raised Egypt to an exalted position among the civilized nations of the world, and made her feared by Nubians, Libyans, and the Semitic tribes of the Eastern Desert, and of Sinai, and of Western Asia. Thothmes III. consolidated the Egyptian power in Nubia and Syria, and Amen-hetep III. administered the vast empire which his great ancestor had won by his sword. On the death of Amen-hetep III. Egypt may be said to have extended from the Atbara river in the Eastern Sûdân to the city of Aleppo in Northern Syria. Hand in hand with the growth of power went increase in the wealth of Egypt, and the buildings which the greatest kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty set up in their capital, Thebes, testify to the lavishness with which they spent the money that had been given to them by Amen-Râ, the king of the gods. The shrines of local gods which

had fallen into ruin were restored with a generous hand, and on a scale never before equalled and never surpassed. The endowments set apart for the maintenance of the sanctuary and priesthood of Amen-Rā were on a hitherto unknown scale, and the power which the priests enjoyed in consequence was little inferior to that of the reigning family. Painters, sculptors, architects, and engineers found abundant employment in the capital in connection with the temples of the gods, and the granite obelisks, and colossal statues, and fine bas-reliefs prove their skill and ability. In short, the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty included the Golden Age of Egypt, and though the kings of the succeeding dynasties were more boastful than those of the XVIIIth Dynasty, their works and merits were far inferior to theirs.

The most interesting, though certainly not the most important of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was Amen-hetep IV., the son of Amen-hetep III. by the Mitannian princess Thi. This remarkable woman appears to have been as intelligent as she was beautiful, and the influence which she exerted on the mind of her son during his boyhood produced some very unexpected results. He seems to have imbibed a strong hatred of the religion and worship which were inculcated by the powerful priesthood of Amen-Rā at Thebes, but whether this was the result of his mother's teaching or of his own wish is unknown. This hatred made itself apparent soon after his accession to the throne, and he lost no time in declaring himself to be a devout believer in the worship of that form of the Sun-

god which is now generally known as the heresy of the Disk. Among his titles he adopted that of high priest of Rā-Harmachis, but although he was tolerant of the worship of all the ancient forms of the Sun-god of Heliopolis he was very hostile to the cult of Āmen-Rā, the Sun-god of Thebes; he even went so far as to build a shrine in honour of Harmachis within the temple precincts at Thebes. At length an open rupture took place between the priests of Āmen and himself, and, as a result, he forsook the old capital and built himself a new one further to the north at a place near the modern Tell el-'Amarna. Here he founded a temple in honour of the Disk, and changed his name to Khu-en-Āten, i.e., Glory of the Disk, and gathered about him painters, sculptors, and handicraftsmen of every kind, who developed a new style of Egyptian art, which is characterized by great realism and freedom from conventionality. The king, his family, and his courtiers led a life of pleasure here for a few years, and he himself was perfectly content to neglect the affairs of his empire, provided he could play the part of a priest and bestow gifts upon his favourites. Meanwhile, the peoples who were subject to him in Asia were hard pressed by the Kheta and the allied nations, who had by this time become very powerful, and the tribute which had been paid for many years past by the great cities of Syria and Palestine to Egypt was now diverted from that country. The few governors of cities who were strong enough to remain loyal to Egypt sent numerous despatches to Āmen-ḥetep IV. to warn him of the growth of disaffection and revolt throughout

their territories, and asked that help might be speedily sent to enable them to maintain their authority and the interests of Egypt. But their appeals fell on deaf ears, and as no reinforcements came the possessions of Egypt in Western Asia fell, one after another, into the hands of the nomadic tribes who were strong enough to seize whatever territory they wished. A very strong light is thrown upon this phase of Egyptian history by the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets, from which we are able to trace the growth of the revolt from its beginning to the period when Egypt was compelled to abandon her Syrian dependencies. These letters are of such importance for Egyptian history that it has been thought well to give a tolerably complete summary of their contents; this will be found on pp. 184-241 of the present volume. The power of Egypt in Syria was much shaken during the regency of Hâtshepset, but she at least maintained the old traditions of the country, and supported the national priesthood by every means in her power, and spared no pains to make her capital great and splendid. Her descendant Amen-hetep IV., however, forsook his capital, reviled the national god, undermined as far as possible the power of the national priesthood, and, in addition to all this, succeeded in finally destroying the empire in Asia which the earlier Amen-hetep and Thothmes kings had built up with such great expenditure of labour and blood, for Egypt never again was really mistress of that Asiatic empire as she had been in the days of Thothmes III.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.



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# EGYPT

AND HER

## ASIATIC EMPIRE.

### CHAPTER I.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

5.  RĀ-  
MAĀT-KA, son of the Sun, Āmen-khnemet-ĤĀTSHEPSET.



USERT-KAU,  
the Horus name of  
ĤĀtshepset.

Queen ĤĀTSHEPSET, the widow of Thothmes II., though unmentioned in the Egyptian King Lists, as much deserves to be commemorated among the great monarchs of Egypt as any king or queen who ever sat upon its throne during the XVIIIth Dynasty, and for this reason she is here included, and the great events of her rule are considered in

separate paragraphs without reference to the narrative of the life and deeds of her nephew Thothmes III. The inscriptions which this great queen has left behind her show that she adopted the following series of

titles:—"Bestower of years, the Horus of gold, the goddess of risings [like the Sun], the conqueror of all lands, i.e., the world, beautiful goddess, lady of the two lands, the vivifier of hearts, the mighty one of *kau*, i.e., doubles," etc. One of her earliest titles was "Āmen khnemet-ḥāt," which means something like "the chief bride of Āmen," but later she called herself HĀt-shepset, i.e., "the first among the favourite women," and still later, apparently being wearied of what seemed to her an unworthy title, she gave herself the name of HĀt-shepsu, i.e., "the first among the great and honourable nobles of the kingdom."<sup>1</sup> HĀtshepset was associated with her father Thothmes I. in the rule of the kingdom shortly before his death, and at this time she appears to have been unmarried; but there is reason for thinking that, before his death, the old king married her to her half-brother Thothmes II., foreseeing the trouble in the matter of succession which would inevitably arise unless he did so. Thothmes II. was of royal descent only on his father's side, but HĀtshepset was of royal descent on her mother's side as well, a most important thing in such cases, and if she married her brother he would be able to succeed to the throne of Egypt without difficulty. As soon as Thothmes I. was dead, his daughter HĀt-shepset and his son Thothmes II. became the rulers of Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> This point was first made by M. Naville in *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 94; and see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 238.

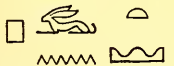



The Neter Tuat or high-priestess of Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, Maāt-ka-Rā, or Hātshepset.

It has been generally supposed that Thothmes II. was a man who was strong neither physically nor mentally, and that he was unable to emulate the exploits of his ancestors and personally conduct the military expeditions which, we know, were carried out during his reign; this being so, much of the government of the country fell into his queen's hands, and it is pretty certain that, though Thothmes II. gained the credit for whatsoever was done, HĀtshepset supplied the plan for it, and indicated the methods which were to be employed in carrying it out. The experience which she gained in the time of her father was of the greatest use to her, and her natural ability made her to profit by it to the utmost. After a comparatively short reign the king died, probably of the disease which has left so many marks on his body, and as Thothmes III., the son of her husband by another wife called Aset, was then a mere child, HĀtshepset naturally undertook the rule of Egypt, and we are quite justified in saying that the interests of the country suffered in no way through being in her hands. As far as is known, no really great military expedition was undertaken by HĀtshepset, and when she had made all arrangements for the succession of Thothmes III., and also for his marriage in future years with her own daughter, who also bore the name of HĀtshepset, she undertook the development of the natural resources of the country, and spent a great deal of her energy and ability in planning the erection of buildings and



obelisks, and in watching the carrying out of her ideas.

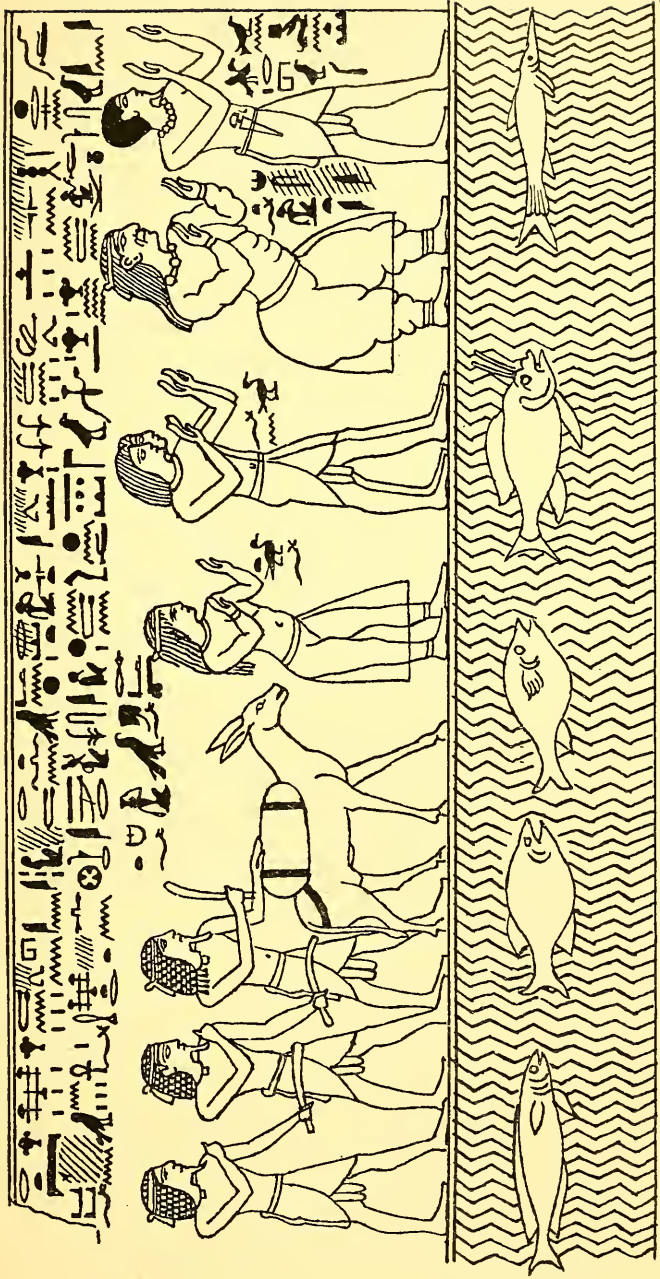
The most important event in the reign of the queen was the famous expedition to Punt, which was planned and carried out under her guidance; the principal incidents of this expedition are depicted on the walls of her temple at Dêr al-Baharî, which building will be described later. We have already referred in several places to the friendly relations which always seem to have existed between the Egyptians and the people of Punt, , and these were due partly to the fact that the entrance of the historical Egyptians into Egypt was connected with this country, and partly because the Egyptians obtained from it many of the gums and spices which were used in embalming the dead, and for making the incense which was burnt in the temples. The position of Punt has been much discussed, and many attempts have been made to fix an exact site for it, but, speaking generally, "Punt" seems to have been a name given by the Egyptians to a portion of the coast on each side of the southern part of the Red Sea, which they also called Ta-neter, , the "Divine Land." These names may also, and most probably did, include a portion of Somaliland, which, in fine weather, the Egyptian sailors would have had no difficulty in reaching. In any case we know that the Egyptians went to Punt for gums and spices, and it is pretty certain that they went to that

part of it which in later days supplied the port of Adanê in Arabia Felix, 'Αραβία ἐνδαίμων, with similar articles of commerce.

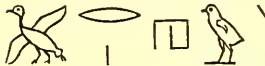

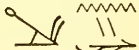
The expedition fitted out by Hâtshepset consisted of five ships, and having made their way down the Red Sea, their captains seem to have sailed up some river on the African coast, and to have gone a considerable distance inland.<sup>1</sup> This is indicated by the fact that the huts of the natives are represented quite near the water, and it is more than probable that the place of barter or market would be situated inland. According to some writers<sup>2</sup> the market was situated some distance up the Elephant River, which runs between Râs al-Fil and Cape Guardafui, where ebony trees grow in abundance, and where all the products which the Egyptians brought back from Punt are to be found. The men of Punt wore pointed beards, and were physically a fine, tall, well-made people; they lived side by side with black or dark-skinned men, who seem to have resembled some of the modern nations of Abyssinia. The captain of the expedition, having left his boat, marched with eight men armed with spears and bows, and advanced to the place where the gifts which were to be offered by him

<sup>1</sup> The most recent publication of the reliefs which illustrate the expedition to Punt are published by M. Naville; for these and his descriptions of them see his *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, 3 parts, folio, London, 1896-1898.

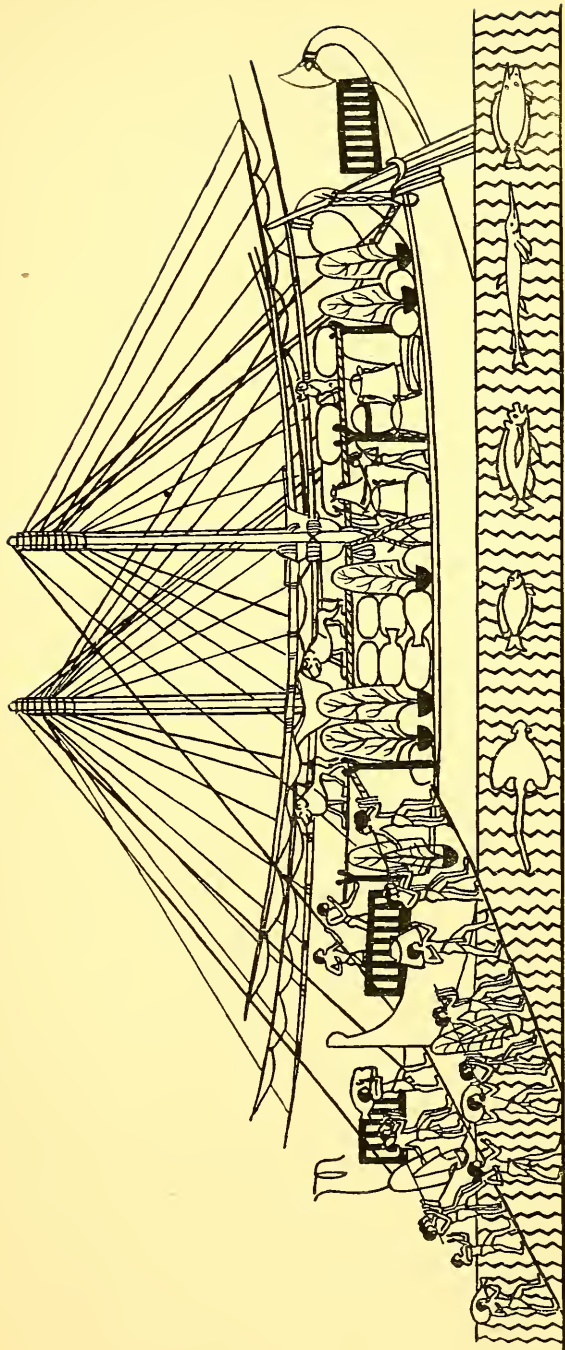
<sup>2</sup> Maspero, *De Quelques Navigations* (*Bibl. Égyptologique*, tom viii. p. 75 ff.); Brugsch, *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 305.



The King and Queen of Punt and their Sons and Daughter bringing gifts of the produce of the land to the envoy of Hatshepsut.


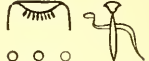


to the prince of Punt on behalf of Hātshepset were laid upon a table; these gifts consisted of an axe, a dagger, some necklaces, and some bracelets. He is met by the prince of Punt, who is called Parehu, , and who is followed by his wife and by their two sons and daughter, and by an ass laden with a bale of goods, and by some menservants. The prince carries a boomerang, and wears a dagger in his belt, and his wife wears a single yellow garment; the lady's figure must have appeared strange to the Egyptian officer, but it is said that certain tribes of East Africa consider a figure of the kind beautiful, and that the young women spare no pains in attaining to such. The prince of Punt then asks the Egyptian officer Neḥsi how he managed to arrive in the country. "Have ye come through the sky, or did ye sail on the "the sea to the land of Ta-neter whereunto Rā hath "brought you? Behold, there is no road which is "stopped before the king of Egypt, and we live by the "breath which he giveth us." A suitable answer having been returned, the envoy and the prince proceed to business; the prince of Punt produces a large number of gold rings, and boomerangs, and a great pile of *ānti*, , gum for incense, and whilst these things are being carried to his ships, the envoy Neḥsi entertains the prince and the nobles of Punt. In addition to these things, we are told that the Egyptian ships were loaded with *ānti* trees, ebony, , *hebni*,





The loading of Hâtshespet's ships in a harbour at Punt with the produce of Punt.



and ivory, , and green gold,<sup>1</sup> , of Amu, and precious woods, and incense, and eye-paint, and dog-headed apes, , and monkeys, , and panther (?) skins. Products of this kind come from the Sūdân, and must always have done so, and it is therefore clear that the place where the Egyptians went was a well-known market, wherefrom such things were usually exported. In due course the ships arrived at Thebes, where their crews were received with great joy. Of the valuable loads which they brought home, HĀtshepset dedicated large offerings to Āmen-Rā, and some of the incense trees were planted by her orders in the garden attached to the temple of that god; Thoth, the scribe of the gods, is depicted in the act of writing a list of the myriads of things which were dedicated by the queen to the great god of Thebes. We have no means of knowing in what year the expedition was sent to Punt, but there is reason to believe that the event took place before the joint reign of HĀtshepset and her nephew Thothmes III., and not many years after the death of her husband.

In the ninth year of her reign she gathered together her nobles and proclaimed before them all the great things which her father Āmen-Rā had suggested to her

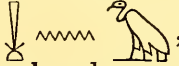
<sup>1</sup> I.e., "pure gold"; compare the Ethiopic ሐመልማለ : ወርቅ : "greenness of gold" in Psalm lxxvii. 14 (English version, Psalm lxxviii. 13).

to do, and showed them how she had performed them all to his entire satisfaction. The journey to and from Punt probably occupied two years, or more, and thus it is clear that the expedition must have been despatched in the early years of her reign. In the relief<sup>1</sup> which represents the queen declaring what she has done, she appears in the form of a man, and she wears male attire; she is sometimes depicted as a boy, but she never appears in the form of a woman except when she personifies a goddess. When seated in a shrine she always wears the headdress of a god, and to her chin a beard is attached. In the inscriptions masculine pronouns and verbal forms are used in speaking of her, and masculine attributes are ascribed to her. The benefits which accrued to Egypt through the expedition to Punt must have been of a purely commercial character, and there is little doubt that the material profit must have been very considerable; the giraffes, leopards, cheetas, and apes would serve for no useful purpose in Egypt, but the gold and precious stones, to say nothing of the *ānti* gum, would form very valuable assets. We have already said that no great military expedition was undertaken during her reign, and we must therefore regard the statement that "all countries, "and all desert lands, and the Ḥa-nebu [come] to the "feet of this beautiful goddess, and all rational beings "praise her who is their life," rather as an evidence that none of the hereditary foes of Egypt disputed her

authority than that she really conquered them. Still, it is a remarkable fact that during the whole of her comparatively long reign the Egyptians enjoyed a period of peace in which trade prospered and the arts progressed.


Though renowned through her expedition to Punt, Hātshepset is more famous as the builder of the Temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, the most beautiful and remarkable of all the funerary temples in Egypt. It was built by the great queen, partly according to plans which had been prepared during the reign of her father Thothmes I., and partly according to ideas of her own, to which a practical form was given by her distinguished architect Sen-Mut. Her object was to provide a place of burial for her father and herself, and those whom she loved, and a temple wherein on the appointed days offerings might be made to the double of herself and of her father. The site chosen was holy ground, for one of the kings of the XIth Dynasty had already built a temple there ; this temple is now in ruins. The whole temple was enclosed by a wall, and was approached by means of an avenue of sphinxes which led to the pylon at the entrance, where stood two obelisks. The building consisted of three platforms or terraces, lower, middle, and upper, which rose one above the other, according to the rise of the hill on the side of which the whole temple was built. The middle and upper platforms were approached by flights of steps, and the end of each platform rested upon a portico or colonnade ;

the wall which supports the upper platform was ornamented partly with a series of reliefs which illustrated the expedition to Punt, and partly with a series of texts and scenes which relate to the birth of Hâtshepset, and her enthronement by Thothmes I. On the floor of the upper platform are built a series of chambers, and the central one extends backwards into the mountain, and ends in a corridor and chamber, which was probably the shrine, and which is hewn out of the mountain itself. The total length of the building itself was about 800 feet.



The temple which Hâtshepset built with such pleasure, and on which she lavished such care, was doomed to suffer ill-treatment at the hands of many. Everywhere may be seen in it the erasures of her name by her nephew Thothmes III., who hated her with a deadly hatred; in many places may be seen the erasures of the name of the god Amen which were made by order of the heretic king Amenhetep IV.; and Rameses II., who attempted to repair this damage, took the opportunity of adding his own cartouches to the inscriptions in the temple of the great queen. It is doubtful if the temple was ever finished, but enough of it remains to show that it was one of the most graceful and artistic of all the buildings of Egypt. In connection with the temple of Hâtshepset mention must be made of her architect Sen-Mut, , who was both a master of his art and her loyal servant. It is impossible to say with

whom the idea of hewing a temple wholly or in part out of the solid rock originated, but there is no doubt that it was the practical ability which he possessed that enabled her to carry out her artistic conceptions and designs, and it says a great deal for the insight into character and for the good sense of the ablest woman who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, that she gave Sen-Mut the opportunity of building an edifice which has shed glory on the name both of the subject and of his great sovereign.

The late Dr. Lepsius published<sup>1</sup> the inscriptions which are found on a statue of Sen-Mut in the Berlin Museum, and from these we see that he held numbers of high offices in connection with the temple and estates of the god Amen, and in the queen's household. On one shoulder of the statue are the words "not were found in writing ancestors,"

 words which have

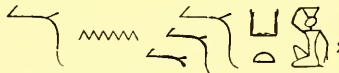
been supposed to indicate that Sen-Mut was a man of low birth and origin; but this is not necessarily their meaning, and they only imply that no account of his ancestors had been kept. As a matter of fact we know from his sepulchral stele that his mother was called

Hāt-nefer, , and his father Rā-mes, . The


queen, however, rewarded him well, for we see from the main inscription that he was an *erpā hū* prince, and a

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 25.

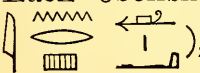



*smet* greatly “beloved, and the steward of the temple of “Amen.” Lower down he says, “I was a noble who “loved his lord (i.e., Hātshepset in her capacity as “king), and I entered into the favour of the lady of the “two lands. He magnified me before the two lands, “and he made me the upper door (i.e., entrance) of his “house, and the inspector of his lands like his . . . . “I was made chief of the chiefs, and the overseer of the “overseers of his works, , and I “was in this land under his orders . . . . and I was “alive in the reign of the lady of the two lands, the “king of the South and North, Maāt-ka-Rā, living for “ever!” Sen-Mut seems to have been the “father of “the chief nurse of the royal daughter, the mistress of “the two lands, the divine wife Rā-neferu.”

Among other works which Sen-Mut performed for the great queen must be mentioned the bringing of the “two great obelisks”<sup>1</sup> from the granite quarries of Aswān to Thebes, for it was certainly one of the most wonderful of all his achievements. They were set up at Karnak, behind the two obelisks of Thothmes I., and were dedicated by Hātshepset to the memory of her father Thothmes I.; one has fallen down, and only a portion of it still remains, but the other still stands, and is a true witness of the marvellous skill which was possessed by the engineers of the XVIIIth Dynasty

<sup>1</sup>  *teχenui urui*; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 25 q.


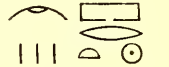
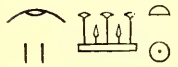
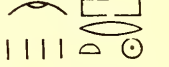
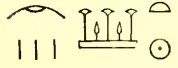
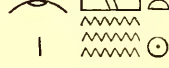

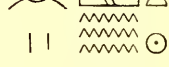
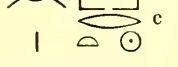
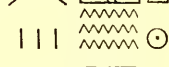
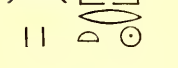
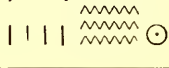
in the working of an intractable stone like granite. In connection with this statement it must be remembered that they had no elaborate mechanical appliances, and that all the means available to help them in moving such huge masses of stone consisted of ropes, wedges, levers, rollers, a knowledge of the use of the inclined plane, and human labour; they had neither cranes nor hydraulic jacks, and even if they were acquainted with the pulley it would help them little in the raising of an obelisk of granite. Originally there was a single vertical column of hieroglyphics running down each of the four sides of each obelisk, but afterwards scenes were added, in which HĀtshepset and her father and brother are depicted in the act of making offerings to Āmen-Rā; the name of this god was erased, and often his figure also, by Āmen-hetep IV., the heretic king, but it was re-cut wherever possible by the early kings of the XIXth Dynasty. On each of the four sides of the base of the standing obelisk are eight lines of inscription, which record the queen's names and titles and declare her object in setting up the obelisks. She says, "She (i.e., herself) hath made monuments to her father Āmen, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, the dweller in the Apts, and she hath made for him two great obelisks of granite of the south, and the summit of each is covered with copper and gold, the very best which can be obtained from the countries of the world. They shall be seen from untold distances, and they shall flood the two lands with their rays of

“light, and the Disk riseth up between them in the  
 “morning, even as he riseth from the horizon of  
 “heaven. I have done these things because of the  
 “loving heart which I possess towards my father  
 “Āmen. I have entered where he hath led, and I  
 “have done my utmost to act according to his august  
 “will, and from the very beginning I never hesitated to  
 “do so. I make these things known unto those who  
 “will come into being during the double *hent* period,<sup>1</sup>  
 “whose minds will consider this monument which I  
 “have made to my father, and whose words will form  
 “questions concerning it when they have looked upon  
 “it. I, as I sat in the palace, remembered who it was  
 “that made me, and my heart was moved to make for  
 “him two obelisks with copper and gold [on their  
 “summits], which should tower up among the pillars  
 “in this venerable hall which stands between the two  
 “great pylons of the king, the mighty bull, the king of  
 “the South and North, Āa-kheper-ka-Rā (Thothmes  
 “I), and should pierce the sky. I have [dedicated]  
 “these two great obelisks, which have been worked  
 “with copper and gold, to [my] father Āmen with the  
 “desire that my name should abide permanently in this  
 “temple, and endure there for ever and for ever.  
 “Each obelisk is a monolith (literally, ‘stone one,’  
 “) and has in it neither join nor division.

<sup>1</sup>  *henti*, literally, two periods of 60 years, i.e.,  
 120 years.

“My Majesty began to work on them on the first day  
 “of the second month of the season Pert, of the fifteenth  
 “year of my reign, and continued so to do until the  
 “last day of the fourth month of the season of Shemut,  
 “in the sixteenth year of my reign, that is to say, the  
 “work lasted seven months<sup>1</sup> from the time when it  
 “was begun in the mountain” [at Aswân]. The  
 height of the obelisk of HĀtshepset now standing is  
 about ninety-eight feet, and it has been estimated to  
 weigh over 3650 tons; these figures will give an idea  
 of the vast amount of skill and practice required to cut

<sup>1</sup> The following is the Egyptian calendar:—

|                                                                                     |   |                               |                                                                                     |   |                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
|    | = | MONTH.<br>Thoth. <sup>b</sup> |    | = | MONTH.<br>Phamenoth. |
|    | = | Paopi.                        |    | = | Pharmuthi.           |
|   | = | Hathor.                       |   | = | Pakhôn. <sup>d</sup> |
|  | = | Khoiak.                       |  | = | Paôni.               |
|  | = | Tôbi. <sup>c</sup>            |  | = | Epêp.                |
|  | = | Mekhir.                       |  | = | Mesôre. <sup>e</sup> |

a Season of sowing.

b The month of Thoth began on August 29.

c Season of growing.

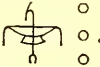
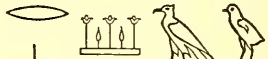




d Season of harvest and inundation.

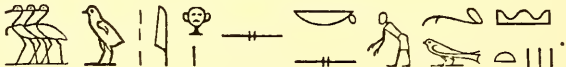
e The year consisted of 12 months, each containing 30 days, and of 5 epagomenal days.

the blocks out of their beds in the quarry, and to float them down the river, and to set them up without break or injury; and when we remember that the quarrying, and transport, and erection, and inscribing were all done in seven months the matter savours of the marvellous.

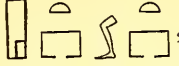

To carry on her great building operations Hâtshepset found it necessary to work the old quarries in Egypt, and the inscriptions in the Wâdi Maghâra and elsewhere in the Sinaitic Peninsula prove that the old mines there also were re-opened, and, judging from the queen's well attested practical ability, they were profitably worked under competent superintendence. The ruins of buildings in many parts of Egypt contain the name of Hâtshepset, and there is no doubt that the restorations which she carried out were both many in number and considerable in extent, but the fragmentary inscriptions which are found upon them teach us little. Of special interest, however, is the remarkable little temple which she built in honour of the goddess Pakht near the modern Arab village of Beni Hasan in Upper Egypt; the Greeks called it "Speos Artemidos," and the name by which it is known to the Arabs is "Ştabl 'Antar," i.e., the "Stable of 'Antar," a famous Arab hero who was endowed with all the strength, beauty, and ability which it is possible for mortal man to possess. In this temple M. Golénischeff copied in 1881 an inscription which throws considerable light upon the building policy of Hâtshepset, and shows




that she restored the shrines of many gods and goddesses, and re-established their worship in them, and it seems as if she presented them with images made of gold and copper, . She claims that “my will made foreign lands to submit,”<sup>1</sup> and that the foreign peoples Rushau, , and Iuu, , “did not hide themselves from before her Majesty.” She cleared out and rebuilt the temple of the goddess Hathor of Cusae, , whose shrine had become completely buried under the ruins of the building, and whose hall had become a playground for the children,<sup>2</sup> who danced about in it, and she repaired the shrines of the Khemenniu gods , and of Khnemu, and Heqet, and Renenet, and Meskhenet, and Nehemāuai, and Nehebkau. Most interesting of all, however, is the passage in which the queen says, “Hearken unto me then, O ye “people, whosoever ye may be: I have done these “things with a humble and a lowly heart. I have “made to flourish again that which was in ruins, and I “have raised up the buildings which were begun in olden “time, for there were the Āamu, , in “hordes in the middle of the country of the north and

<sup>1</sup> 


<sup>2</sup> 

“in Avaris, , and hordes of foreigners, “, of their peoples over-  
“threw the buildings, and they reigned having no  
“knowledge whatsoever of the god Rā.”<sup>1</sup> In the Āamu who are mentioned here we have a plain refer-  
ence to the Semitic hordes who are commonly called Hyksos, and the allusions to the destruction of build-  
ings which they wrought, and to their city Avaris, make it quite certain that Hātshepset is speaking of  
the older period of the occupation of the country when they destroyed the temples of the gods, and knew  
nothing about the god Rā and his worship. The inscrip-  
tion is of great value, as showing that the queen was  
wishful to care for the shrines of the old goddesses as  
well as for the comparatively new god Āmen-Rā, the  
king of the gods.

It has already been mentioned that one of Hātshepset's titles was “Khnemet Āmen,” i.e., “she who is closely related to Āmen,” and we know that it was a title of very rare occurrence, and in the case of Hātshepset it was believed to have a very special signification, for she thought that she was the offspring of the god Āmen, and bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. On the northern wall of the middle colonnade<sup>2</sup> of her temple at Dêr al-Baharî, which she called  “Tcheser-Tcheser,”

<sup>1</sup> See the paper and text by Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. iii. pp. 1—3; tom. vi. p. 20.

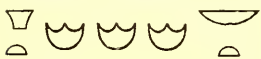
<sup>2</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, pt. 11, pl. 46 ff.

i.e., the “Holy of Holies” [of Āmen] are a number of scenes which are very important as showing the views which the queen held as to her origin. The god Āmen one day summoned the twelve great gods of Egypt to him, i.e., Menthu, Temu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Set, Horus, and Hathor, and told them that a great princess was to be born, and asked them to take her under their protection and to make her rich and prosperous, for, said he, “I am going to unite in “peace for her the two lands, and I am going to give “her all lands.” The gods, of course, agreed to do what Āmen asked them. This having been arranged, Thoth, the spirit of the creator, led the god Āmen into the place where was queen Āāḥmes, who became the mother of Hātshepset, and he caused Āmen to make her to inhale the breath of life. Next Āmen took upon himself the form of Thothmes I., the husband of queen Āāḥmes, and entered into a chamber and took his seat opposite to her; with his right hand he presented to her the symbol of “life,” , and with his left he held to her nostrils another symbol of “life,” wherefrom she inhaled the breath and attribute of “life.” The god and the queen sat upon a seat which was supported by the goddesses Neith and Selq; these goddesses sat upon a couch, the tops of the four legs of which were made in the form of the heads of lions. The queen received the caresses of the god with joy, and she inhaled from him the breath of life, and as Āmen was about to leave her he announced to her that she would give birth to a

daughter who would be his own child, and who would reign over the two lands of Egypt, and would become the sovereign of the whole world.

When the god left the queen he sent for Khnemu, the god who is said to have assisted in performing the behests of Thoth which resulted in the creation of the world, and to have fashioned the first man upon a potter's wheel, and asked him to fashion for him the body of his daughter, who was about to be born into this world of queen *Āāhmes*. In answer to *Āmen*'s request Khnemu replied, "I will fashion the body of thy daughter for thee, and her appearance shall be more glorious than that of the gods, since she is destined to the exalted rank of *King of the South and North*." Thereupon Khnemu fashioned two bodies exactly alike, and since *Hātshepset* decreed that she was to be represented in male form, the bodies were made to be those of two little boys; one was that of the future queen (*king*), and the other that of her *ka* or "double," which whether in life or in death was never to leave the body of the queen. When Khnemu had finished fashioning the bodies his work was done; but they were without life, and remained inanimate until the goddess *Heket*, the wife of Khnemu, who was represented in the form of a frogheaded woman, stepped forward, and having knelt down, held up to their nostrils the symbol of life, wherefrom they inhaled the breath of life, and so became living souls.

When Khnemu had created the bodies of the queen and


her *ka*, Thoth went to her mother *Āāhmes* and recited to her the titles and dignities which had been ordered to be conferred upon the daughter to whom she was about to give birth. At length, when her appointed time arrived, *Khnemu* and his wife *Heqet* led her into the chamber where she was to bring forth *Hātshepset*, and among the titles which were given to her was one which declared that she was to be the "sovereign of all women," . In due course the queen gave birth to her daughter *Hātshepset* in the presence of several goddesses, and of the spirits of the North, and South, and East, and West, and of the goddess *Meskhenet*, the genius of the birth chamber, and of the deities *Ta-urt* and *Bes*; the queen received her daughter in her arms, and a goddess standing behind her at the same time touched her on her head with the symbol of life. Shortly after this *Āmen* went to see his daughter *Hātshepset*, and she was shown to him by the goddess *Hathor*, and as soon as he saw her he addressed her as "daughter of "my body, *Maāt-ka-Rā*, emanation glorious, thou ex-  
 "alted issue of my loins, thou shalt sit upon the throne  
 "of *Horus* and have dominion over the two lands like  
 "Rā." *Āmen* then took his daughter into his arms, and embraced her and kissed her lovingly, and declared that she should be the sovereign of Egypt. *Hātshepset*, having been acknowledged by her father, was then handed over to the *Hathor* goddesses and the other deities who presided over the rearing and safety of children, and the fourteen *kau*, or "doubles," which


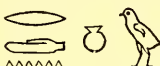


were attributed to her, were reared by the same means. In due course she was presented to each of the great gods of the Egyptians, and from each of them she received some gift which assisted in the development of her mind and body.

When a certain period in her childhood was reached she was taken, probably to the temple, by the gods Amen and Horus, and was then made to submit to a ceremony of purification which these gods performed upon her by pouring water over her head; this ceremony seems to be the equivalent of baptism among Christian nations. After the purification Amen showed the queen, who had male form, to the gods, and when they had looked upon her they said to him, "We bestow life and peace upon this thy daughter Hâtshepset; behold, she is thy daughter, and she is sprung from what came forth from thee, and thou didst beget her, and she is equipped with all thy qualities. Thou hast given unto her thy soul, and the homage which is paid to thee, and thy words of power, and thy great crown. Whilst she was yet in the womb of her mother all lands and countries were hers, yea, whatsoever is covered by the sky and surrounded by the sea. All these things thou makest to be her possessions, and thou knowest the *hen* <sup>1</sup> periods which thou wilt give her; and we will grant unto her a portion of life like unto that of Horus, and


Literally, *henti* periods; see above, p. 17.

“years equal unto those of the god Set, with power.” When the ceremony of purification was ended Hātshesepset set out with her human father, Thoṭmes I., to visit the shrines of the gods of Egypt, and she is at this time described as being “most beautiful, with the voice “of a god, and the form of a god,” and her soul was that of a god, and she acted in every way like a god; she was a “beautiful damsel,” and the goddess Uatch made her form and beauty to increase. She went to the shrines of Hathor, Uatchet, Amen, Temu, Menthu, Khnemu, and all the other gods of the South and North, and they accepted her, and took her under their protection; and they foretold what she would do when she came to reign. It is pretty clear from the wording of the inscription which relates these details that the young princess made a pilgrimage which extended as far as Per-Uatchet in the north and as Elephantine in the south; Heliopolis is mentioned among the cities which she visited, but not Abydos, the shrine of Osiris. On her way it is probable that certain repairs and restorations were carried out by her father and herself, for the texts speak of her as “restoring what was in “ruins, and setting up monuments in thy temples, and “providing the altars of the god who begot thee with “offerings in abundance.” The gods in their speech also refer to her great deeds, and say, “Thou makest thy “way through mountainous lands innumerable, and “makest thyself master of them; thou seizest the lands “of the Thehennu } ; thou smitest with thy

“ weapons the devilish Ānti , and cuttest off  
 “ the heads of their soldiers; thou art master of the  
 “ nobles of Retennu, , with slaughter-  
 “ ings after the manner of thy father; thou hast tribute  
 “ from the people and takest prisoners by hundreds of  
 “ thousands; thou makest them to be workmen on the  
 “ lands and estates of the temples, and thou bringest  
 “ sacrifices (or offerings) into the temple of the Apts  
 “ (i.e., Karnak) to the steps of the shrine of the king  
 “ Āmen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the two lands.”<sup>1</sup>

After Hātšepset had visited the shrines she was again presented to the god Āmen, who superintended the performance of another ceremony in which she was brought into a sacred chamber and was arrayed in the garb of the god Osiris, and was made to hold in her hands the whip (or, flail) and crook (or sceptre), with which this god is always represented, and the united crowns of the South and North were placed upon her head. The princess Hātšepset was then ready to be crowned ruler of all Egypt, and although her elevation to the throne seems to have been against the wishes of the greater number of the people of Egypt, her father, Thothmes I., determined to make her co-regent. To carry this into effect he caused a suitable tent to be prepared, and the princess, having donned the garb of a man, was led forth by her father, who said to the assembled nobles, “I hereby set my daughter Hātšepset

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 3, plate 57.

“in my place and seat her upon my throne, and from  
 “this time forward she shall sit on the holy throne with  
 “steps. She shall give her commands unto all the  
 “dwellers in the palace, and she shall be your leader,  
 “and ye shall hearken unto her words, and obey her  
 “commands. Whosoever shall ascribe praise unto her  
 “shall live, but he who speaketh evil against her  
 “Majesty shall die.” The nobles heard the words of  
 the king and forthwith they cast themselves down  
 before their new sovereign and did homage, and then  
 they rose up and danced for joy; when the king saw  
 that they accepted his daughter, though a maiden, as  
 their ruler he rejoiced, and ordered the chiefs of the  
 learned men to come into his presence and to draw up  
 the “great names” of the new queen, i.e., her Horus  
 name, and the other names which have already been  
 described at the beginning of this section. The names  
 having been decided upon, the new queen was led into  
 the “great house,” and the god Khas, , poured  
 water over her, and when this was done she went  
 into another part of the building, where the double  
 crown was placed upon her head by two priests, who  
 had dressed themselves to represent the gods Horus  
 and Set; the day on which this ceremony was performed  
 was made the first day of a new chronological era, and  
 the reign of the queen was reckoned from it. The above  
 is a brief account of the ceremonies which were per-  
 formed when Thothmes I. decided that the “daughter of  
 Amen” should become the queen of Egypt.

6.  RĀ-MEN-KHEPER,  
son of the Sun, TEHUTI-MES [III.].



KA-NEKHT-KHĀ-EM-UAST,  
the Horus name of  
Thothmes III.

TEHUTI-MES III., or THOTHMES III., the Mispfragmuthosis of Manetho, was the son of Thothmes II. by the queen Āset, and the nephew of the great queen Hātshepset, and the grandson of Thothmes I.; according to the versions of the King List of Manetho which have come down to us, he reigned twenty-six years, but the dated monuments prove that he claimed to have reigned more than double that time, and that he must have included in his reckoning the years which

he ruled as co-regent with his aunt. He ascended the throne on the third or fourth day of the first month of the season Shemut, i.e., the month Pakhôn, or Pakhons, when he was still a child, and the royal titles assigned to him were, "Mighty Bull, rising like the sun in Thebes," "Mighty Bull, crowned with truth," "the Lord, maker of created things," "Mighty Bull, exalted by truth," "the King, established like the sun in heaven," "the Horus of gold," "holy one of crowns," "Prince, doubly brave," and, of course, "lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet." Thothmes died on the last day of the third month of the season




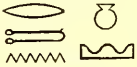




Pert, i.e., the month Phamenoth, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign, and he must therefore have reigned about fifty-three years, twenty-one years as co-regent with Hātshepset, and about thirty-two years alone. In the last year or two of his life he seems to have associated Amen-hetep II. with him in the rule of the kingdom.

As soon as Hātshepset died, Thothmes III. found himself compelled to undertake a series of warlike expeditions on a scale which the Egyptians had never before contemplated, for in every portion of the Egyptian empire the nations that had paid tribute to his aunt suddenly refused to continue to do this, and all the desert tribes in Western Asia and in Nubia threw off the Egyptian yoke, and proclaimed themselves independent. The punishments which Thothmes I. had inflicted upon them were entirely forgotten, and the new generations which had grown up during the reigns of Thothmes II. and Hātshepset seem never to have had any deep-seated fear of those sovereigns of Egypt, and leagues against Egypt were made by the allied tribes, each with the other, in a quick and alarming manner. The young king of Egypt, for he must have been under thirty years of age, soon found that the policy of Hātshepset had brought in its train serious trouble, and that almost every tribe and nation which had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of Egypt was in a state of hostility towards him. Hātshepset boasted that the people of Northern Syria paid tribute to her, but it is quite clear that even in her time Egypt

had well-nigh lost in that country the influence which her father had obtained there ; in fact, the Syrian, and the man of the desert, and the Negro were all waiting for her death, and all seem to have decided that when this event took place they would cease to carry their gifts to Egypt, where they were employed chiefly in building great temples in honour of gods who were strange to them. Of the private life and character of Thothmes III. we know nothing, but the inscriptions which he left behind on his buildings at Karnak prove that he was both a great soldier and a great builder. It may be urged that he displayed the possession of a small mind in hammering out the inscriptions and figures of queen HĀtshepset from the walls of her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî, but considering the strength of his hatred for his aunt, and his absolute power, the wonder is not that he destroyed so much, but that he did not destroy more. We can only be thankful that he did not overthrow the whole building.

The chief authorities for the military expeditions undertaken by Thothmes III. are the official Annals which are inscribed on a part of the Temple of Karnak,<sup>1</sup> and an inscription of Āmen-em-ḥeb, one of the generals of Thothmes III., who died in the reign of Āmen-ḥetep II. and was buried at Ḳûrna, on the

<sup>1</sup> For the texts see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. plates 31 and 32 ; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 5 ff. ; Maspéro, *Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 48 ff. ; Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III.*, London, 1853 (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 116-166).

western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes; from these the following facts have been compiled:—The Annals open with a statement to the effect that Thothmes III. gave the order that the narrative of the victories, and a list of the spoil which he had gained by them, should be inscribed upon the temple built by him in honour of the god Amen-Rā, who had made him to be victorious. On the 25th day of the fourth month of the season Pert (i.e., Pharnuthi), in the 22nd year of his reign, Thothmes III. was in the city of Tchalu, , in his first campaign to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt. The people of the country of the Rethennu, , had been in a disturbed state for some years past, and the only loyal cities that were left to Egypt were Sharuhen, , and Irteha, , and the villages as far as the swamps. On the third day of the first month of the season Shemut (i.e., Pakhôn), in the 23rd year of his reign, which was the anniversary of his accession day, Thothmes III. was at Gaza,  *Katchatu*, which he left two days later in order to set out on the expedition which Amen-Rā had ordered him to undertake. The next day, the 6th, he arrived at Ithem, , where he held a council of war, and learned that the peoples of Neherina, and the Shasu, and the Kharu, and the Qetshu had made a league together, and had assembled

all their horses and chariots in order to do battle with the king of Egypt; he discussed with his officers which route to follow in order to reach Megiddo quickly, for the rebellion had spread with great rapidity, and the whole country was in revolt.

Of the three roads which led to Megiddo, two were rejected by the generals as unsuitable, but the king decided to march there by one of them, and his officers were obliged to say that they would follow him whithersoever he went, and they prayed that his god Amen would guard him. Thereupon Thothmes III., having put himself at the head of his army, set out, and his troops advanced in single formation, and marched through the rocky valleys to the north of Carmel. After one day's rest he marched on again, and he succeeded in collecting all his forces at a place a little to the south of the city of Megiddo soon after noon; later in the day the king held a council of war, when he decided to give battle to the allied rebels in Megiddo on the following day, and the generals then returned to their companies and informed them of the positions which they were to occupy on the following day. In the evening rations were served out, and when sentries had been posted, the Egyptian host settled down for the night, with the exception of the king, who refused to lie down until he had trustworthy news that all was quiet. At day-break on the 21st the whole army marched out in single formation, its right wing resting on the river

and its left stretching out along the plain and reaching to Megiddo on its north-western side; the king standing upright in his bright metal chariot occupied the centre, and to his troops he appeared like the god Horus with his spear, or the god Menthu of Thebes. The allied hosts of the enemy, who did not expect to be attacked so early in the day, were struck with horror and dismay, and having left their chariots and horses they fled to the city for refuge, but the inhabitants of the city, seeing what had happened, and having no wish that the Egyptian soldiers should gain possession of the city as well as capture their enemies, promptly shut the gates and refused to open them. Some of the inhabitants of the city let down cords and drew up the leaders of the revolt by means of them over the walls; in this way the prince of Kadesh and the prince of Megiddo escaped from the Egyptians, but the fear of the king of Egypt had paralyzed them, and their limbs shook with terror at the sight of the slaughter which he had made.

Meanwhile the Egyptians returned to the stricken field, and gathered together the gold and silver plated chariots of their enemies, and the daggers and other weapons, and having cut off a hand from each corpse, and collected their prisoners, they brought all their spoil before the king, whom they greeted with shouts of joy. The king, however, was not as well pleased as they were, for had they pressed home their first attack and followed up their foes to the walls of Megiddo, instead



of turning aside to take spoil, the city would have been in his hands, and to have taken the city that day would have been equivalent to taking a thousand cities, because all the leaders of the revolt were shut up inside it. The only thing left for the king to do was to take the city, and with this object in view he made his arrangements. He stationed his soldiers round the city, and having provided shelters for them made of the wood of the trees which he cut down, he caused a ditch to be dug all round the city; he encircled the ditch with a wooden fence, behind which he placed his men, and to the east he built a sort of blockhouse which he called "Men-kheper-Rā-uah-Sati,"<sup>1</sup> and occupied it himself. The inhabitants of Megiddo soon found that they could not get out to obtain supplies, and that supplies could not be brought in to them, and when they further discovered that the Egyptian soldiers kept constant vigil they surrendered to Thothmes III., and marching out they brought gifts and laid them at his feet. The annalist says that a diary of the war was kept, and that all the mighty deeds which were performed by the king were written therein, and that a copy of it was made upon a leather roll which was laid up in the temple of Amen.


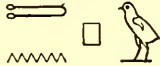

The spoil obtained from Megiddo was very great; and among other things enumerated in the list are 2041 mares, 340 prisoners, 191 young horses, 200 suits of armour,

<sup>1</sup> I. e., "Men-kheper-Rā who quieteth the Asiatics."



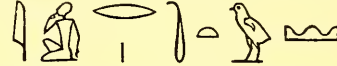
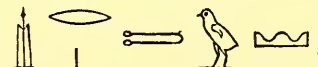

502 bows, 924 chariots, one chariot with a canopy plated with gold, the chariot of a chief which also was gold plated, the tent of the prince of Kadesh with its seven poles of choice wood inlaid with silver, 1949 oxen, 2000 goats, 296 bulls, 20,500 sheep. Among this booty were 83 hands, each of which had been cut off from a dead foe, and thus it seems that the actual loss of life in the battle was not very great. From the country of Syria generally the king also obtained much spoil and many prisoners, viz., 1796 men and women slaves, 103 starving captives of the enemy, 87 sons of chiefs and others, a large Syrian cup, a large number of vases and vessels of all shapes and sizes, 97 swords weighing 1784 pounds, gold and silver rings weighing 966 pounds, a silver statue with a head of gold, objects made of ivory, ebony, etc., inlaid with gold, thrones and footstools, ivory and cedar-wood tables inlaid with gold and precious stones, the sceptre of the chief of the enemy inlaid with gold, vessels of bronze, clothing, etc. By the orders of the king a list was made of all the corn lands which lay between Megiddo and the waste lands, and, the amount of the corn which they produced in one harvest having been calculated by the king's officer, the people of the district were compelled to give 208,000 measures of corn, and this did not include what the Egyptian troops had cut for their use meanwhile. With this great booty Thothmes III. returned to Egypt, and the inhabitants of the country appreciated highly the results of the expedition which

brought into their possession such vast quantities of valuable property.

In the 24th year of his reign Thothmes III. set out on his second expedition against the tribes of Palestine and Syria, and he brought back with him pieces of lapis-lazuli, vessels of gold, and silver, and precious stones, which had been brought to him by the governor of Assyria, and a king's daughter, and ornaments of gold and silver, lapis-lazuli, 65 slaves, 9 chariots plated with gold, bulls, oxen, sheep and goats, suits of bronze armour, 823 vessels of incense, 1718 vessels of wine, honey, ivory, and precious woods from the chiefs of the Rethennu. In the 25th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into Northern Syria, and occupied the whole of the country to the west of the city of Aleppo and in the neighbourhood of Karkēmish; in addition to the various gifts which were given to him by the tribes which may be described as his vassals, he brought back a number of plants or shrubs which were highly prized in Egypt, for he wished to introduce the cultivation of them into the country. These plants were so highly appreciated that representations of them were sculptured upon the walls of the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes. Thothmes III. sent expeditions into Syria in the 26th and 27th years of his reign, but no records of them have been preserved. It is probable that they were only undertaken to collect the annual tribute which the Egyptian king had imposed upon the tribes of the

country, for had there been any serious fighting we should probably have been told about it by some officer or general like Amen-em-heb. In the 28th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into Syria, with the intention of reducing the whole country in the neighbourhood of Aleppo; this done he marched to Karkēmish, and passing the "water of Neherna" he entered and took possession of the country of Mitanni,  *Māthena*, one of the chief cities of which was Tunip,  *Thenpu*, or  *Tunipa*; the spoil taken from the city comprised gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, vessels of copper, and some hundreds of captives, and the Egyptians seized a boat on one of the rivers near, which was laden with copper. On the return journey to Egypt Thothmes III. attacked the flourishing city of Arvad, apparently about the end of the time of harvest, for the corn was being threshed, and the grapes were being trodden in the wine-presses; the city was taken, and the trees cut down, and the land laid waste, and when the Egyptian soldiers had laden themselves with all they could carry they departed to their own country, fully satisfied with their booty. They took with them silver, copper, precious stones, incense, wine, grain, horses, sheep and cattle, etc.

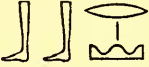
In the 30th year of his reign Thothmes III. set out once more to the country of the Rethennu, and wheresoever he went he cut down the trees and reaped the corn;


he took the cities of Kadesh, , and Simyra,  Tchamāru, and made another attack upon the city of Arvad,  *Aruthtu*, which was once more despoiled. It seems that the chiefs of the country had not yet decided to accept the rule of Egypt without a struggle, for in order to ensure their good behaviour Thothmes III. felt obliged to carry some of their sons and brothers off to Egypt and to hold them there as hostages. Among the spoil taken on this, the sixth expedition of the king, were nearly 200 prisoners, 188 mares, and 40 chariots. In the 31st year of his reign Thothmes III. took the city of *Ānruthu*, , which seems to have been situated on a river or lake in Northern Syria called Neserna, , and captured about 500 prisoners, together with a number of horses and chariots; on the same expedition the chiefs of the Rethennu paid him a very large tribute, which comprised the usual precious metals and stones, copper, sheep and cattle, etc. On his return to Egypt he found a company of people who had been sent from Nubia, and the country lying to the south of it, to present to him tribute, which consisted of gum, cattle, ivory, ebony, and black slaves; and the people of Uauat, a district in Nubia, sent a number of cattle.

Of the expedition in the 32nd year of the reign of Thothmes III. we know nothing, but in his 33rd year



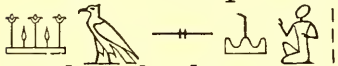


*Sankaru*, who probably had his capital in the Sinjâr Mountains, near the site of the modern city; he sent to Thothmes III. some genuine lapis-lazuli, and a quantity of the excellent imitation of the stone which was made in those days at Bebru, , a place that has been identified with Babylon. In this year the chiefs of the Ruthennu, and of the lands of the Khatti, and Punt, and Uauat, also sent gifts and tribute.

In the 34th year of his reign Thothmes III. again marched into Tchahi, and then on to the district of Anaukasa, , which was situated in the Lebanon mountains; here he took a number of the inhabitants prisoners, and the chiefs of the city gave him quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, woods, chariots, mares, asses, etc. In the same year the chiefs of the island of Asi (Cyprus?), sent to him large quantities of copper of two kinds, lead, ivory, thrones, etc.; and Kush and Uauat, two great districts of Nubia, sent slaves, male and female, ivory, ebony, cattle, and grain. The tribute of the chiefs of the Ruthennu was very great this year, and we may note that balks of timber were brought in boats to Egypt, for the building of the palace of the king. In the 35th year of the reign of Thothmes III. the king again marched to Tchahi (Phoenicia), and then went on and attacked the city of Areana, at or near which the king of Nehern (Western Babylonia) had collected

a number of horses and men in order to resist the advance of the Egyptian king. The result was the usual one, for the Egyptians defeated their foes, who were compelled to give them chariots inlaid with gold and silver, suits of armour, weapons of bronze, bows, etc., and to promise to pay tribute in future years. In the same year the people of Kush also sent the usual gifts of slaves, ivory, ebony, cattle, etc., besides a large quantity of grain.

The thirteenth expedition of Thothmes III. took place in the 38th year of his reign, and having marched into Phoenicia he directed his course towards the district of *Ānāukasa*; having laid waste one or more rebellious cities, the inhabitants came and brought to him gifts similar in many respects to those of the neighbouring nations. The kings of *Arurekh*, *Āsi* (Cyprus?), *Punt*, and *Uauat* also sent tribute. In the 39th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into the land of the *Rethennu*, and using this country as a base for operations, he made attacks upon the nomad desert tribes that lived in the country of Western Mesopotamia, and were called the *Shasu*,



We have no details of the result of these attacks, but it is probable that the great *shêkhs* who were owners of large flocks and herds, and who could not in consequence escape into the desert, gave gifts to the king of Egypt, which were duly enumerated among the tribute which was received during that year. But Thothmes III.

could never have possessed any real power over the purely desert tribes, for by retreating into the fastnesses of the desert, to which they were well accustomed, they were able to place themselves beyond the reach of their pursuers. Want of water has always been a serious obstacle to the passage of that "great and terrible desert," and the transport arrangements of the Egyptian army must, even under Thothmes III., have been of a most elementary character.

In the 40th and 41st years of his reign he received tribute from the kings of Cyprus, Rethennu, Kheta, and from the Nubian districts of Kush and Uauat. In the 42nd year of his reign he made his last expedition into Northern Syria, and on this occasion he laid waste the cities of Tunep, Arkata, and all the region round about the city of Kadesh, and part of the country of Nehern. His general, Amen-em-heb, tells us that one day whilst the forces, both chariots and soldiers, of Thothmes were drawn up ready to make an attack, the king of Kadesh turned out a mare and sent her towards the Egyptian stallions, which at once became very much excited and were on the point of breaking loose. The situation was, however, saved by Amen-em-heb, who ran after the mare and having ripped her open with his sword, cut off her tail, which he presented to the king.<sup>1</sup> The tribute collected by Thothmes III. on this expedition was very large, and it comprised about 700 prisoners, about 300 slaves, male

<sup>1</sup> See Borchardt, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. 31, 1893, p. 61.

and female, horses, mares, vessels of gold and silver, skins of beasts, lead, suits of armour, lapis-lazuli, copper, etc. In the same year the people of Uauat sent a large quantity of gold to the king, and the prince of another foreign land, probably near Uauat, sent him a vessel in silver, and three massive vessels in bronze. The Annals end with the account of the expedition undertaken in the 42nd year of the king's reign. It is impossible to think that no further expeditions were undertaken during the last twelve years of the reign of Thothmes III., for had this been the case few, if any, of the tribes and nations would have paid the tribute due from them; but it is extremely probable that the king no longer conducted them in person, and that he handed over the command of further expeditions to his son or to his generals.

In the 50th year of his reign it seems as if some military operations were conducted against the Nubians, for an inscription, which was discovered by the late Mr. Wilbour, on a rock on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract, mentions that on the 22nd day of the first month of the season Shemut, in the 50th year of the reign of Thothmes III., the king commanded that the old canal in the Cataract, which had become blocked up with stones, should be cleared out, and that this having been done he went on his way to the south with a joyful heart.<sup>1</sup>

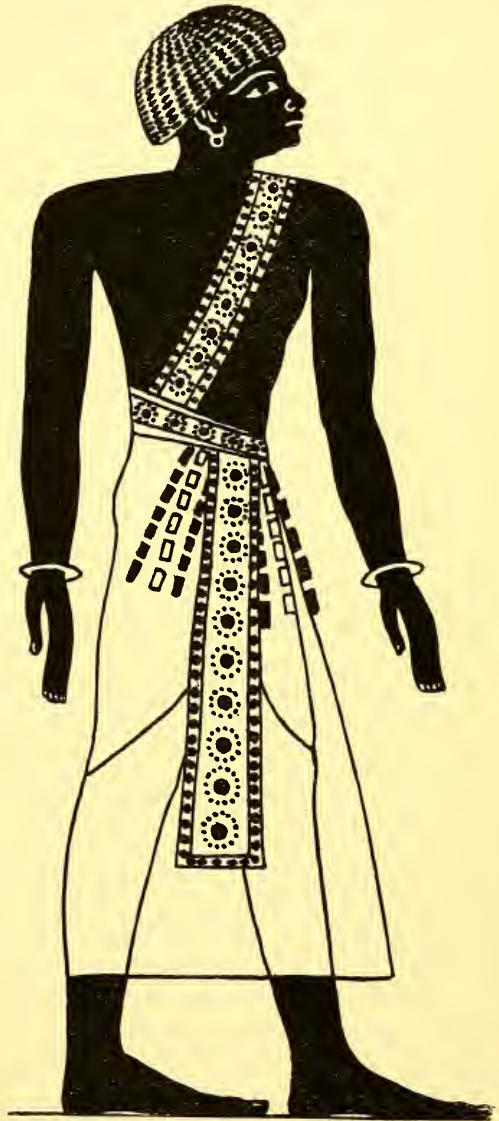
Four years later the king died, on the 30th day

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 203.



of the month Phamenoth, and was buried in a tomb which was specially prepared for him in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.

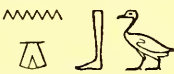
This tomb was discovered by M. Loret in the spring of 1898, and it lies at a short distance from the tomb of Rameses III. The walls of the chambers of the tomb are ornamented with figures of gods, and inscriptions, among others being a long list of gods, and a complete copy of the funeral work entitled, "Book of knowing what is in the underworld." On a column in the second chamber we see a figure of Thothmes, followed by those of his mother Aset, and his wives and daughter. The sarcophagus was, of course, found to be empty, for the king's mummy was removed




A Negro from Nubia.


from its tomb to the hiding-place at Dêr al-Baharî,




connexion with them; the first is the inscription<sup>1</sup> which is found on the walls of the tomb<sup>2</sup> of Amen-em-ḥeb at Shêkh 'Abd al-Ḳurna, and the second is the inscription on the stele of Thothmes III. preserved in the Cairo Museum, in which the god Amen addresses the king and gives a summary of all the great works which he made him to do. Amen-em-ḥeb tells us that he was the greatly trusted and intimate friend of the king of the South and North, and that he followed his lord to the lands of the North and South. He went to the land of Neḳeb , near Aleppo, and

captured three prisoners alive; when he went with the king to Nehern he captured another prisoner, and later, when he went to the country of Uân,


, to the west of Aleppo,

 *Kharebu*, he captured 13 prisoners of the Āamu, 70 asses, 13 bronze weapons, etc.

He next went with his king to Karkēmish,

, where he

captured more prisoners, and sailing over the "water of Nehern," he entered the region of Sentchar,

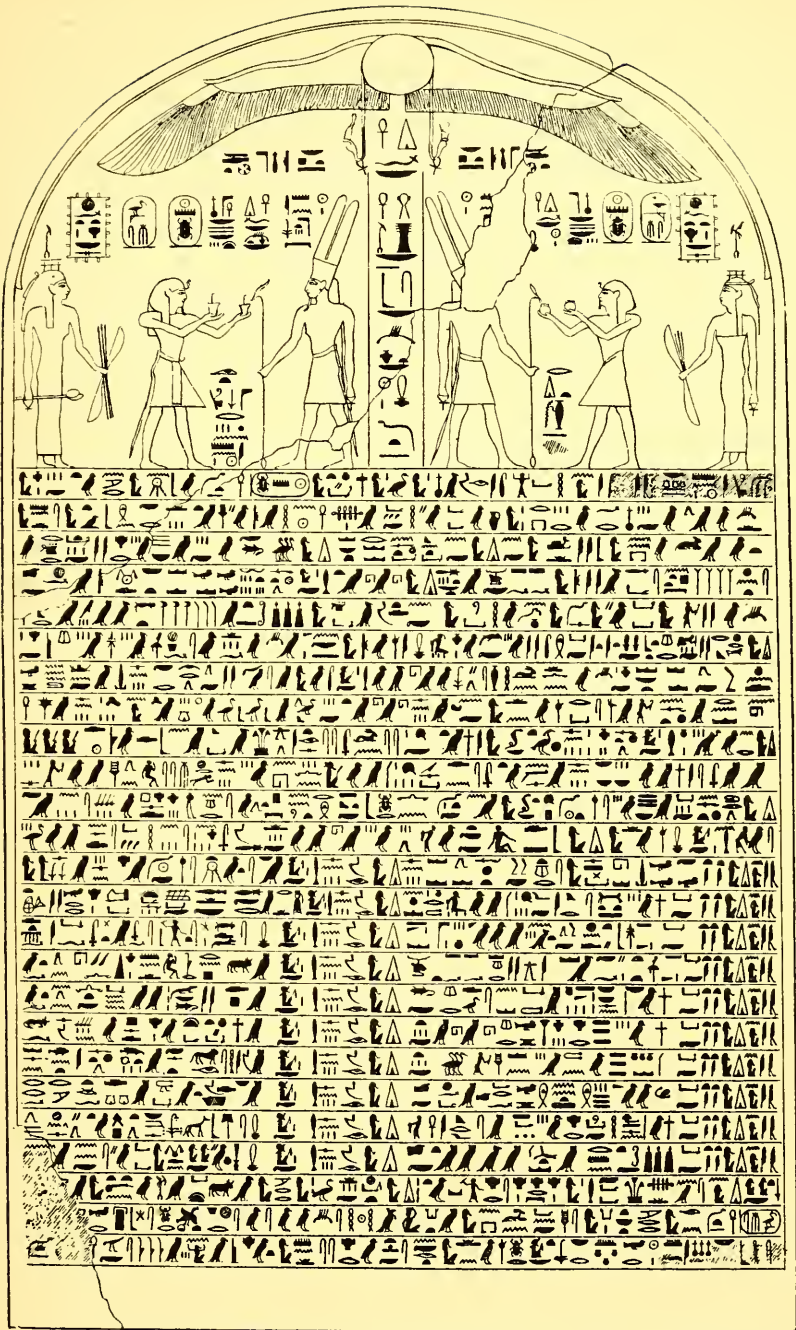
. He was present at the siege of

<sup>1</sup> See Ebers, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 1-9, 63, 64; Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. ii. pp. 279-306.

<sup>2</sup> It contains important scenes in which the Syrians and others are depicted bringing tribute to the king.







Stele inscribed with a summary of the conquests of Thothmes III.  
 Egyptian Museum at Cairo.



Thothmes III., but was probably too old to join him in the expeditions which he made.

The summary of the conquests of Thothmes III., which are attributed to the god Amen, is inscribed upon a large stone stele, and is of great interest; this stele was originally set up in the great temple of the Northern Apt at Karnak, and it is possible that the text upon it formed a song of victory, or hymn, which was sung by the priests of Amen on state occasions. On the upper, rounded portion of the stele we have two scenes; in the first Thothmes III. is "making a drink offering to Amen-Rā," in the second he is "making an offering of incense to Amen-Rā." Behind the king in the first scene stands the goddess of Thebes, holding bows in one hand and the symbol of life in the other, and in the second scene stands the same goddess, but with bows and arrows in one hand and a club in the other. Above both scenes is the winged disk of "Behuṭet, the great god, lord of heaven," with pendent uraei, wearing the crowns of the South and North respectively. The vertical line of text between the scenes declares that Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, will "give all life, and all protection, and life, and "stability, and power, and all health, and all joy of "heart, like Rā for ever," to Thothmes III. The inscription reads:—Saith Amen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the two lands: (1) "Come then unto me, "O my brave son Men-kheper-Rā, the everliving, and "make thyself to rejoice at the sight of my beautiful



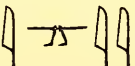
“form. I shine because of thy love [for me], and my  
“heart expandeth with joy (2) at thy fortunate visits  
“to my temple. I have laid both my hands upon the  
“limbs of thy body in giving thee the protection of  
“life, and doubly sweet is thy mighty presence unto  
“my divine, visible body. I have established thee (3)  
“in my dwelling-place, and I have made thee to be  
“a divine wonder [unto me]. I have given unto thee  
“might and victory over all foreign lands, and I have  
“made thy will (or, souls) and the fear of thee to be  
“in all the lands of the world, and mighty terror of  
“thee reacheth even unto the (4) four pillars of the  
“sky.<sup>1</sup> I have magnified thy irresistible might in [the  
“sight of] all bodies, and I have made the sound of  
“the roarings of thy Majesty to go round about among  
“the Nine Bow barbarians. The chiefs of all the  
“foreign lands are gathered together within thy grasp.  
“(5) I have stretched out my two hands and have tied  
“together for thee as with a rope the Anti tribes of  
“Nubia by tens of thousands and thousands, and I  
“have made thousands, and I have made prisoners for  
“thee of the peoples of the North by hundreds of  
“thousands. (6) I have made to fall down thine  
“opponents under thy sandals, and thou hast destroyed,  
“even according to the decree which I had made, the

<sup>1</sup> The allusion here is to the belief that the sky, which was made of a perfectly flat iron plate, rectangular in shape, was supported at each corner by a pillar; each pillar was guarded by a god, and the four pillars represented the four cardinal points.

“hosts of the rebellious ones throughout the length and  
 “breadth of the land, and the peoples of the West and  
 “the nations of the East are [set] beneath thy throne  
 “for thee. (7) Thou hast marched with a joyful  
 “heart over all foreign lands which had never been  
 “entered until the time of thy Majesty, and I myself  
 “was thy guide when thou didst go forth to attack  
 “them. Thou hast sailed over the waters of the Great  
 “Circle<sup>1</sup> of (8) Nehern (i.e., Western Mesopotamia)  
 “mightily and victoriously. I decreed for thee that  
 “the peoples thereof should hear the noise of thy  
 “roarings as thou didst enter into their caves, and  
 “I removed from their nostrils the breath of life.  
 “(9) I made the terror of thy Majesty to enter into  
 “their hearts. My uraeus crown is set upon thy  
 “brow, it hath burned them with the fire, and hath  
 “made thee to lead away into captivity the rebellious  
 “peoples of Qeṭ, i.e., the coast of Palestine. (10) It  
 “hath consumed with fire all those who were dwelling  
 “in their swampy places, and it cut off the chiefs of  
 “the Āamu,<sup>2</sup> and they were not able to escape, and it  
 “hath overthrown him that came within the reach of  
 “its power. (11) I have made thy valiant deeds to go  
 “round about through all the lands, and I have cast  
 “the light of my crown upon thy body. Within the  
 “whole circuit of the skies no enemy of thine existeth,

<sup>1</sup> The allusion here is to the rivers which enclose the Island of Mesopotamia.

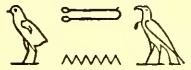
<sup>2</sup> I.e., the nomad Semitic tribes of the Eastern Desert.

“and they come bearing [their] offerings upon their  
 “backs with (12) homage to thy Majesty, even in  
 “accordance with the decree which I made. I made the  
 “rebels to put on chains when they came to thee, and  
 “their hearts burned and their limbs quaked. (13) I  
 “came, and I made thee to subdue the mighty chiefs of  
 “Tchah (Phoenicia), and I drove them under thy feet  
 “throughout their lands. I made thy Majesty to look  
 “upon them with rays of light, and thou didst shine  
 “upon their faces as my divine Image. (14) I came,  
 “and I made thee to smite those who were in Satet  
 “(Asia), and I made thee to lead into captivity the  
 “chiefs of the Āamu<sup>1</sup> of Rethennu. I made them to  
 “behold thy Majesty when thou wast equipped in thy  
 “panoply of war and wast grasping thy weapons and  
 “doing battle from [thy] chariot. (15) I came, and I  
 “made thee to smite the land of the East, and thou  
 “didst trample under foot those who were in the  
 “regions of Ta-neter.<sup>2</sup> I made them to look upon thy  
 “Majesty as one who revolveth like a star which  
 “shooteth out fire as it circleth and sendeth forth its  
 “dew. (16) I came, and I made thee to smite the  
 “land of the West, and the foreign land of Kefti,  
 “ ,<sup>3</sup> and Āsi,  (Cyprus?), are

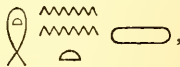
<sup>1</sup> I.e., the nomad Semitic tribes of Northern Syria.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the eastern and western shores of the southern half of the Red Sea, and perhaps part of Somaliland.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the countries of Asia Minor on the shore of the Mediterranean, including Crete.

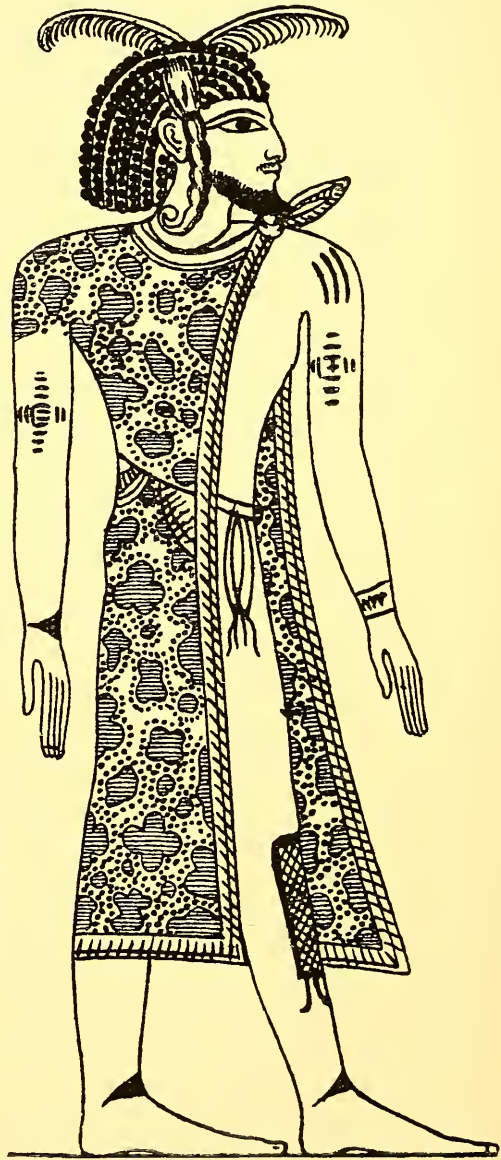
“under thy awesome power. I made them to look  
 “upon thy Majesty as a young and very vigorous bull  
 “which is equipped with horns and cannot be ap-  
 “proached. (17) I came, and I made thee to smite  
 “those who were dwelling in the swampy places of the  
 “land of Māthen (Mitanni), and they quaked through  
 “fear of thee. I made them to look upon thy Majesty  
 “as a most terrible crocodile of the waters which could  
 “not be approached. (18) I came, and I made thee to  
 “smite those who dwell in the isles in the midst of the  
 “Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean), by means of  
 “thy roarings, I made them to look upon thy Majesty  
 “as the slaughterer who putteth himself upon the back  
 “of the animal which he is about to offer up as a  
 “sacrifice. (19) I came, and I made thee to smite the  
 “Thehennu (Libyans), and the lands of Uthenti,  
 “ <sup>1</sup> are in the power of thy will (or  
 “souls). I made them to look upon thy Majesty as a  
 “raging lion, and thou didst make them to flee into  
 “their holes in the valley. (20) I came, and I made  
 “thee to smite the peoples who dwelt in the lands at  
 “the back of the countries of the Circles,<sup>2</sup> the Great

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the coast of Libya.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptians regarded Mesopotamia as an island which was surrounded by a river, and they considered the Tigris and Euphrates to spring from one source; “Circle,” , was the name given to this double river, and the description “Great Circle” is only added for emphasis. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 252.



" Circle, and they are gathered up within thy grasp. I  
 " made them to look upon  
 " thy Majesty as the  
 " hawk of Horus, the  
 " lord of pinions, which  
 " by means of the fierce  
 " glance of his eye  
 " carrieth off whatsoever  
 " he pleaseth. (21) I  
 " came, and I made thee  
 " to smite the people who  
 " dwelt in the foreparts  
 " of the lands, and thou  
 " didst take as living  
 " prisoners the Dwellers  
 " on the Sand (i.e., the  
 " nomad desert tribes).  
 " I made them to look  
 " upon thy Majesty as a  
 " jackal of the south  
 " which travelleth swiftly  
 " and disappeareth ra-  
 " pidly through the two  
 " lands. (22) I came,  
 " and I made thee to  
 " smite the Anti tribes  
 " of Nubia, [and their  
 " lands] as far as Kept,  
 "  $\text{L} \cup \text{L}$ , are in thy grasp. I made them to look



A Libyan.

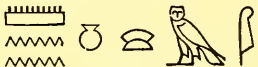
“upon thy Majesty as thy two divine brethren. I  
 “have gathered together their hands to thee . . . .  
 “(23) thy two sisters, and I have placed them at  
 “thy side to protect thee. The hands of my Majesty  
 “are in heaven above to drive away evil [from thee].  
 “I have made thee to be glorious, O my son, my be-  
 “loved one, thou mighty Bull who risest like the sun  
 “in Thebes, I have begotten thee with . . . . (24) O  
 “Thothmes, the everliving one, who hast performed every  
 “wish of mine. Thou hast created for me a dwelling  
 “place in work which shall endure for ever, and thou  
 “hast made it longer and wider than it ever was before,  
 “and [thou didst] make a great pylon. (25) Thou hast  
 “celebrated the festival of the beauties of Amen-Rā, and  
 “thy monuments are greater than those of any other  
 “king who hath ever existed. I commanded thee to  
 “make them, and thou hast been content to do so;  
 “therefore I have stablished thee upon the throne of  
 “Horus for millions of years, and thou shalt guide the  
 “living . . . .”

The above inscription indicates that Thothmes III. devoted a large portion of the spoil which he obtained from his vassal kings to enlarging the temples of the gods and to the support of the priesthood of Amen, and as we see this fact reflected also in the official inscriptions of his reign, so we find in the ruins of the ancient cities which have been excavated in recent years the remains of the temples which he founded or re-founded, and of the shrines which he

cleansed, and of the buildings which he repaired, and of the architectural works which he completed. His liberality seems to have been unbounded in this respect, but it must be remembered that the vast amount of tribute which he had been able to collect in the course of his fourteen or fifteen expeditions enabled him to undertake the building of temples and other sacred edifices on a scale which had before been impossible for want of funds. And besides, he made the prisoners whom he had brought to Egypt labour in the building of the temples, and there is every reason for thinking that they were employed upon public works in general. At Heliopolis he built a door,<sup>1</sup> and enclosed the temple with a wall; at Memphis he repaired the temple of Ptaḥ: he completed the Speos Artemidos which Ḥātshepset had begun; he built a temple at Abydos, all traces of which have, however, disappeared, and dedicated a colossal statue of the god Osiris to it; he restored and completed the temple of Dendera, which is said to have been founded by Khufu (Cheops), and repaired by Pepi Mer-en-Rā; he rebuilt the temple at Coptos; he added a granite portal and a door to the temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî, which Ḥātshepset never finished; he built and dedicated a small sandstone temple to Amen at Medînet Habu; and he must have carried on building operations on a very large scale at several places and shrines on the west

<sup>1</sup> The chief works of Thothmes III. are summarized by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 359 ff.

bank of the Nile opposite Thebes. But the greatest and best of his architectural works were reserved for the temple of Amen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the world, in the Southern Apt at Thebes. Here he built a large colonnade which measured about 150 feet by 50 feet, with a roof that rested on 40 granite columns and 32 rectangular pillars. The columns are of great interest, for they taper downwards, and their capitals, which are made in the forms of the cups of flowers, are inverted; the pillars and the walls supported a roof, upon which rose small pillars, with an architrave to the height of the central columns, and these in their turn supported one side of the roof over the central portion of the hall. Close to this colonnade was a series of rooms which were ornamented with reliefs whereon were represented in great detail the animals and plants which Thothmes III. brought back from the land of Rethennu on his return from his third expedition to that country, which took place in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Thothmes III. also built a pylon to the temple, and on the walls on each side of the granite doorway he inscribed the names of all the peoples, and tribes, and cities, and lands which he had brought into subjection. The famous Annals of Thothmes III. are inscribed on the walls of a passage near the shrine of the temple of Karnak, but the texts are much mutilated; the two granite pillars, one bearing the lotus of the South and the other the papyrus of the North, which were set up by Thothmes III., still stand in the court by

which entrance is gained to the shrine. Besides all this, the king built a small temple which was entered through a gateway built in the wall that joined the pylons erected by his aunt and himself respectively, and behind it he dug the sacred lake, whereon at stated intervals processions of sacred boats used to take place. At Hermonthis, Esna, El-kâb, Edfu, Silsila, Kom Ombo, he carried on building operations, and on the Island of Elephantine he built a temple in honour of the god Khnemu; this temple was standing in 1822, but it was soon after pulled down by the orders of Muḥammad Ali, who wished to build a palace with the blocks of stone from it at Aswân! At several places in Nubia he restored or founded small temples, and he was the founder of the large temple at Soleb, which marks the site of the ancient Egyptian settlement in the Third Cataract called Menen-en-khâ-em-Maât, ; this temple was greatly enlarged and beautified by Amen-hotep III. There are several places between Soleb and the foot of the Fourth Cataract (Gebel Barkal) where remains of XVIIIth Dynasty buildings are to be found, and it is very probable that many inscriptions of the reign of Thothmes III. would be found if the sites of old settlements were excavated. So able a king must have had his outposts held by Egyptians much further south than Soleb, otherwise he could never have maintained his hold upon the country; in any case his kingdom extended from the Euphrates at Nî on the north to Soleb on the south, and his buildings and inscriptions



in the Sinaitic peninsula prove that he was master of the Eastern Desert also.

The largest of the obelisks which Thothmes III. set up is commonly called the "Obelisk of St. John Lateran," and stands on the hill of the Lateran at Rome; it is 105 feet in height and contains inscriptions of Thothmes III., Thothmes IV.,<sup>1</sup> and Rameses II., who repaired it and re-erected it. Part of a second obelisk of Thothmes III. is in Constantinople, a third is in New York, and a fourth, "Cleopatra's Needle," has been set up on the Thames Embankment in London. The last two are supposed by some to be the two obelisks which "king Mesphres" is said to have made, and which are reported by Pliny<sup>2</sup> to have stood at the door of Caesar's temple in Alexandria. In an inscription found in the temple at Dêr al-Baharî it is said that the height of the obelisks which were set up in front of that temple was 108 cubits, i.e., each obelisk was more than 180 feet high. No remains of these obelisks have up to the present been found in Egypt, in spite of all the efforts which have been made to trace them. Recently a theory has been put forward<sup>3</sup> that the "obelisk" which now stands in the Hippodrome at Constantinople is only the upper part of an obelisk, and that it is in fact a portion

<sup>1</sup> The text on it says that there was an interval of thirty-five years between the reigns of Thothmes III. and Thothmes IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. xxxvi. 15, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *History*, vol. ii. p. 131 ff.

of one of the two obelisks which stood before Hâtshepset's temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The inscriptions upon it refer, however, to Thothmes III., but this is held to be no difficulty in the way of the identification, for the obelisks might well have been set up after the great queen's death by her nephew. It seems clear that the "obelisk" at Constantinople is only a portion of an obelisk, and as it is only about fifty feet high it appears to be too slender for its height, if we may judge from the proportions of the other obelisks of the reign of Thothmes III. which are known to us, always supposing that he set up those at the entrance to his aunt's temple. The height of the "obelisk" at Constantinople when it was first brought there is not known, but it was probably much higher than it is now, for it was thrown down by an earthquake and it lay upon the ground for a considerable time; and it is more than probable that some of the lower portion of it was broken off, and that not knowing how to join the pieces together the prefect Proclus, who re-erected it by the command of the Emperor Theodosius,<sup>1</sup> set up the largest portion. Curiously enough, in addition to the marble reliefs with which the base was ornamented by the Praetorian prefect, the top was surmounted by a large brass pine-

<sup>1</sup> The Latin inscription on the base of the obelisk reads :—

Difficilis quondam Dominis parere serenis  
Jussus et extinctis palmam portare tyrannis;  
Omnia Theodosio cedunt subolique perenni.  
Ter denis sic victus ego domitusque diebus,  
Judice sub Proclo superas elatus ad auras.

apple or fir-cone ; this, however, was thrown down by an earthquake, which fortunately left the portion of the obelisk standing where it now is.




Statue of Netchem, an official of  
Thothmes III.  
British Museum, No. 840.

For the carrying out of the great building operations planned by Thothmes III., the services of a very large number of workmen and officials of different ranks and grades must have been required, and the leaders of these must have been men of great ability, who possessed a good theoretical and practical knowledge of architecture. Among such was the official

Puâm, , and in

his tomb at Kûrna is a scene in which this official is represented seated on a chair, whilst six men stand before him with their left hands touching their right shoulders, and their right hands clasping their left

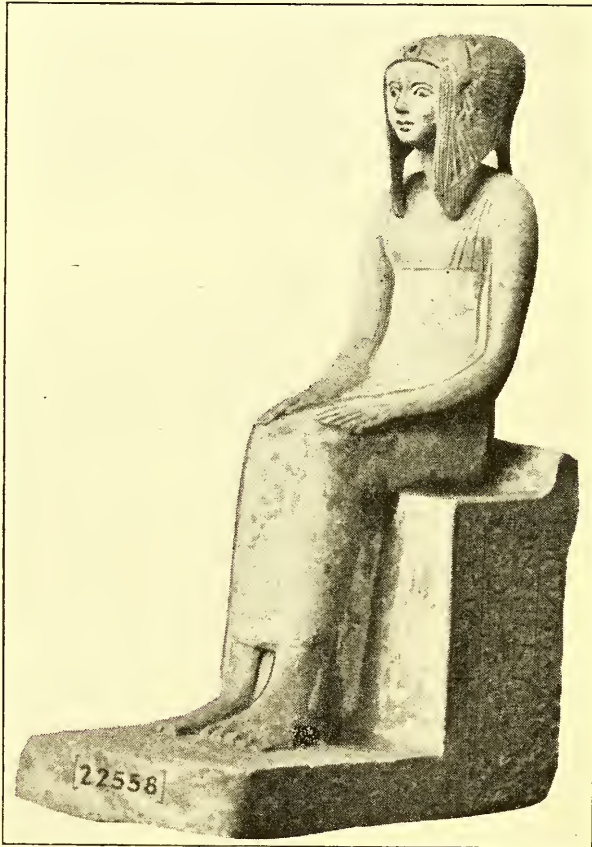
forearms ; they are all overseers, or superintendents, three of the works of the temple of Amen, and


three of the handicraftsmen.<sup>1</sup> As a part of the same scene in the tomb we see drawings of two obelisks, on which, when perfect, were inscribed the names and titles of Thothmes III., and we are quite justified in assuming that they were head men who planned and carried out the setting up of the great obelisks of Thothmes III. Another great official and trusted servant of the king was Rekh-mā-Rā, , i.e., "he who is as wise as Rā," whose ancestors had held high office under Thothmes I., Thothmes II., and queen Hātshepset; he himself was the prime minister of Thothmes III. from the 32nd year of this king's reign<sup>2</sup> until the early years of the reign of Āmen-ḥetep II. The tomb of Rekh-mā-Rā is at Kūrna, and it is one of the most interesting of the tombs of the period. The scenes on its walls represent the envoys of the peoples of Punt, Kefti, Nubia, Syria, and the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea (?) bringing tribute to his master; and the performance of the duties which devolved upon him in connexion with his duties as governor of the city, and judge, and steward of the temple of Āmen, and confidential adviser to the king; and the superintending of the work of the various artificers and handicraftsmen employed in his master's service and in his own; and there are some interesting pictures in it which show how this great man found

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*, London, 1900, p. 14.

relaxation and solace in listening to singing and musical instruments. To the famous general Amen-em-ḥeb we have often referred already, and it is certain that as a

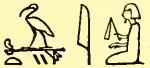



Limestone statue of the royal mother, Teta-khart, .  
British Museum, No. 22,558.

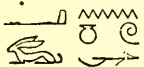
soldier and in all military matters he was as expert as Puam was as an architect, or Rekh-mā-Rā as a judge and administrator. The scenes in his tomb at Ḳurna are



representations of the Syrian tribes bringing tribute to him for his master; the details of their postures, and dress, and articles of tribute are very interesting, because the man for whom the scenes were painted was a witness of the events which they commemorated, and we may be sure that he followed the artist's work with a critical eye.

Among other important officials must be mentioned Tehuti-ā, , whom legend associated with the taking of the city of Joppa. This man was a *hā* prince, and a "divine father, loving God, and one "who filled the heart of the king in all the countries "and the islands which were in the Great Green "Sea," , by which we are probably to understand the Mediterranean Sea, he "filled the treasury "with gold, and lapis-lazuli, and silver," and he was "general of the bowmen," a royal scribe, an "overseer of countries," etc. For some reason or other the character of Tehuti-ā appealed to the imagination of some Egyptian writer, who straightway composed an account of the taking of the city of Joppa by him. At one time this account was regarded as a strictly historical document, and a scholar and Egyptologist of such eminence as Goodwin accepted it in this light unhesitatingly.<sup>1</sup> The text of the document is written in the hieratic character, and forms one of the compositions which are found in the Harris Papyrus, No.


<sup>1</sup> See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 340 ff.

500, now preserved in the British Museum; it is written in three columns on the back of the papyrus in a neat, careful hand of the XIXth Dynasty. As far as can be made out from the text, the writer wished to say that Teḥuti-ā was a very able soldier who was thoroughly well skilled in the art of war, that he had received many rewards for his bravery, and that he had accompanied his master Thothmes III. on his campaigns in several countries. One day a messenger came from Tchahi (Phoenicia), and reported that the miserable chief of Joppa had revolted, and that he had slain the soldiers and charioteers of the king, and that no man could resist him; as soon as Thothmes III. heard these words he swore by his god Amen that he would destroy the city of Joppa, and went about raging like a panther. Then he called together his chiefs and officers and told them what had happened, but they knew not how to answer him. At this moment Teḥuti-ā said to the king, "Give me the great staff, " āummu, of Thothmes III., and let valiant "soldiers and charioteers be sent with me, and I will "kill the wretched prince of Joppa and take his town;" the king was pleased with the proposal, and gave Teḥuti-ā all that he desired. Soon after this, when Teḥuti-ā was in the country of Phoenicia with his men, he made a leather sack large enough to hold a man, and forged some iron fetters for the hands and feet, and shackles and wooden yokes, and made four hundred large jars, etc.



held it before him, and said, "Look, O thou wretched "one, this is the staff of Thothmes III., the mighty "lion, the son of Sekhet, unto whom his father Amen "hath given strength." Then he stood up and smote the prince of Joppa with the staff on his head, and he fell down senseless; Tehuti-à brought forth his iron fetters for the hands and feet, and having fastened them on the prince of Joppa he placed him in the leather sack. This done, he called in two hundred of his soldiers and made them get into some of the large jars which he had made, and having sealed up the tops and fastened round them the cords by which they were to be carried; he loaded them upon the backs of strong men, whom he told to march into the city, and to break open the jars when they arrived there, and to let the soldiers out, and to seize and bind the inhabitants of the city without delay. In this way five hundred men would get into the city of Joppa. Tehuti-à then made some of the men of the prince of Joppa go to the master of the horse and tell him to proclaim to the queen that the god Sutekh had delivered the Egyptians into the hands of the men of Joppa, and as the result the master of the horse and his townsmen opened the gates to the men carrying the jars, and so admitted the enemy into the city. Once there, Tehuti-à's soldiers opened the jars and let out their companions, who straightway seized the inhabitants and bound them with ropes, and put on the fetters and wooden yokes which they had brought with them. Later,

when the army of Thothmes III. came and wished to take possession of the city Tehuti-à sent a message to his master, saying, "Rejoice, for thy father Àmen hath "given thee the wretched prince of Joppa, with all his "subjects and his city. Send thy servants to come "and take him prisoner. Mayest thou fill full the "house of thy father Àmen-Rā, the king of the gods, "with slaves who shall for ever and for ever bow "beneath thy feet."<sup>1</sup> Such is the story of the capture of Joppa, and it is clear that it is nothing more than a historical romance. It may be mentioned in passing that M. Chabas thought that the Āpure who are mentioned above were to be identified with the Hebrews, but though this alleged similarity of name was as good as any of the identifications which were put forward in the early days of Egyptology, it was not accepted by capable scholars, and is now regarded merely as an example of the effort which was made at that time to find Biblical names in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

7.  RĀ-ĀA-


KHEPERU, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-ĤETEP, god, prince of Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> The incidents of the story are placed in a connected form by M. Maspero in his *Contes Égyptiens*, p. 87.





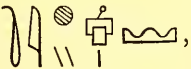
KA-NEKHT, UR  
PEH-PEH, the  
Horus name of  
Amen-ḥetep II.

AMEN-ḤETEP II., or Amenophis II., was the son of Thothmes III. by Ḥāt-shepset, who is styled the “royal wife; “greatly beloved of him (i.e., Thothmes “III.), the royal mother, Ḥātshepset “beloved of Rā” , and who was the daughter of the great queen, Ḥātshepset. He succeeded to the throne of Egypt on the day following that on which his father died, i.e., the 1st of

Pharmuthi, but we know that he had been associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom some years before. In addition to his Horus name, “Mighty Bull, mighty of two-fold valour,” he styled himself, “Lord of “the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, whose power is “wide-spread, and maketh [him] to rise in Thebes,”<sup>1</sup> and “Horus of gold, who conquereth by his might in all lands.”<sup>2</sup> Under his father’s experienced and faithful old general, Amen-em-ḥeb, he had already learned the art of war, and it was, apparently, necessary for him to begin at once to justify his position as successor of one of the greatest and most able of the kings who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, by setting out on an expedition to Western Asia. This expedition



must have taken place at the end of the first or in the second year of his reign, for, as M. Maspero points out,<sup>1</sup> in the stele at 'Amâda, which was set up by him in his third year, he describes how he sacrificed the prisoners whom he had taken in

Takhisa, ,

a country which lay to the north of Kadesh. An account of the expedition is found in a very mutilated state on a stele in the ruins of the great temple at Karnak.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> See Champollion, *Notices*, tom. ii. p. 185; Maspero, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 55 ff.; Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 373; and Erman, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1889, p. 39 ff.



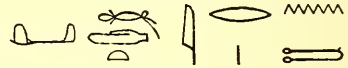
Gray diorite ushabti figure of king Amenhetep II., inscribed with a text of the VIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead. British Museum, No. 35,365.

From this we learn that Amen-ḥetep II. marched first of all to the country of Shemshu-ātu-mā,



where he fought like a "fierce lion," and defeated the enemy, and took many prisoners; the net result was the capture of 18 prisoners alive and 16 oxen. On the 26th day of the first month of the season Shemut, his majesty passed

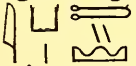
over the arm of the Orontes,



*māsḥetet Arenth*, and having led his army across, he began to march through the land with the valour of the god Menthu; as he was journeying along, probably well in advance of the main body of his troops, he perceived<sup>1</sup> at a distance a number of nomads, mounted on horses, who were coming to meet him, with the view of preventing any further advance on his part. His majesty then made ready his weapons of war, and charged into the body of nomads, and laid about him with such vigour that the court scribe, who drew up this account of the fight, declared he was as terrible as the god Set when in a fierce rage. As soon as his majesty cast one glance of his eyes upon them they fled, and he seized all their goods, and taking the nomad chief with him, he led him to the frontiers of . . . and disarmed him. Among the spoil which the

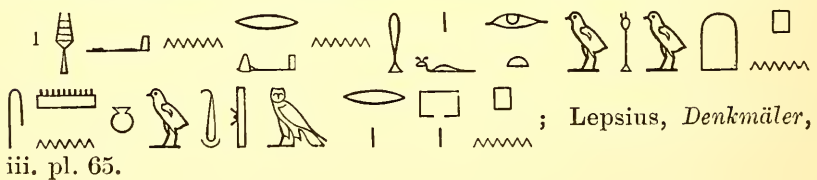
<sup>1</sup> Erman's suggestion that the king only descried this body of men by sweeping the horizon with his eyes shaded by his hand is probably correct; in any case it is what every traveller in the desert does to-day, and it has always been the custom of the natives to keep watch and look out in this way.

king took are mentioned 12 bows, a quiver full of arrows, and its leather straps, etc. Amen-ḥetep then returned to Thebes in peace, and celebrated a festival in honour of the god Amen, to whom he made a suitable offering. It is easy to see that the body of Asiatics that the king met belonged to a caravan, which they were escorting from one place to another, and that this encounter, which was thought to deserve commemoration on a granite stele in the temple of Amen, was nothing more than one of a series of attacks, similar to those which are perpetrated daily in the East by marauding Arabs, who live by attacking caravans.

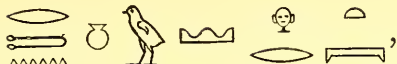


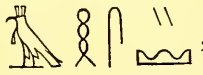
From the end of the inscription we learn that on the 10th day of the third month of the season Shemut, the king arrived at the city of Nî, which was very near or actually on the Euphrates, and the inhabitants, both male and female, took up their places on the walls and sang songs of praise to him. Finally a place called Akathi, , which until the coming of the king had been in a state of rebellion, became tranquil as he approached, and, no doubt, gave the customary gifts to him. The expedition of Amen-ḥetep into Syria and the neighbourhood cannot be regarded as a campaign, for there was no serious fighting to be done, because the inhabitants of the cities and the nomad tribes had not had time to prepare for revolt on a large scale, and the remembrance of the tribute which they had been compelled to pay by Thothmes III., and of the swift punishments which came upon them when they tried to



evade it, was too fresh in their memories for them to wish to fight just then. The results of the expedition were rather moral than material, and it served chiefly to prove to the Syrians and others that the new king of Egypt was willing and able to come to the country as quickly as his father had done ; on the other hand, the king obtained a large number of gifts from the governors of cities and the heads of tribes. Reference is made to this war in an inscription which the king ordered to be cut upon a stele in the temple of 'Amâda in Nubia, and from this we obtain some interesting details. This temple was founded in the reign of Usertsen II., but had fallen out of repair, and was in a state of ruin until Thothmes III. undertook its restoration. When Amen-hetep returned from Syria he went to 'Amâda, and celebrated the festival of the laying of the foundation stone on the 15th day of the third month of the season Shemut, in the third year of his reign, and he formally offered to the god of the temple the repairs which Thothmes III. had made, and the additions to it made by himself. These additions were very considerable, as we may see from the first fifteen lines of the stele. Following the description of these we have the statement that he made this stele<sup>1</sup> "after his majesty came from Upper





"Rethennu, , having over-  
 "thrown all his enemies and made broader the  
 "frontiers of Egypt in his first victorious campaign.  
 "His majesty came with a heart expanded with  
 "joy to father Amen, [for] he had slain seven  
 "chiefs with his own club when they were living in  
 "the country of Thekhsi, and he hung them up  
 "head downwards at the bows of his majesty's boat,  
 "which bore the name of 'Rā-āa-kheperu-smen-taui,'  
 ". Six of these he had  
 "stretched out high up on the walls which were opposite  
 "to the pylon of Thebes, together with their hands,  
 "and the other he placed in a boat and had conveyed  
 "to the rebel chief of Ta-kens, i.e., Nubia, and hung  
 "upon the walls of the city of Napata,<sup>1</sup> , so  
 "that all the folk there might understand the mighty  
 "acts and deeds [of the king] for ever and for ever in  
 "all the countries of the world, and in all the  
 "mountainous desert lands of the country of the  
 "Negroes, , and might know that he had  
 "grasped with his hands and conquered the Āamu (i.e.,  
 "the nomads of the eastern frontier), and the northern  
 "folk who lived away in the swamps in the most  
 "remote parts of the country." The countries over  
 which Amen-hetep claimed to have made himself

<sup>1</sup> A large Nubian city not far from Gebel Barkal.

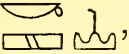

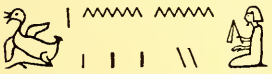
master are enumerated in a scene in a tomb at Kûrna, published by Lepsius,<sup>1</sup> and are as follows:—Retennu, Mennu, Kefti, Neherna, Menti, Anti of Kenset, Thehennu, Pat, Tares, Sekhet-Am, and Ta-meht, i.e., Nubia, the Eastern Desert, Libya, the Oases, the lands of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, Palestine, Syria, and Babylonia. The building operations of Amen-hetep do not seem to have been conducted on a very large scale, although his name is found in several of the ancient shrines throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. As he worked the quarries at Tura it would seem, as Wiedemann supposes, that he must have repaired some of the old buildings of Memphis, but no trace of such remains. At Karnak he built between two pylons of an old temple a small temple, which seems never to have been finished. This building consisted of a gallery with fourteen square pillars ornamented with reliefs, a hall, entered through a granite door, with a roof supported by sixteen square columns, and a series of small chambers which flank the hall. The bas-reliefs are good, and some of them are coloured. On one of the large pylons he had sculptured on each side of the gateway a scene in which he is depicted in the act of slaughtering his enemies. He repaired or added to the temples at Hermonthis, Elephantine, and at all the principal sites between the First and Second Cataracts, and he caused some works

to be carried out at Kummeh, where he is depicted in the act of pouring out libations to the god Khnemu, and of making offerings of various kinds. The mummy of Amen-hetep II. was discovered in his tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, by M. Loret, early in the year 1898. The tomb much resembled that of his father, Thothmes III., and its walls are ornamented with a large series of figures of the gods and with the text of the great funereal work entitled, "The Book of [knowing] that which is in the underworld." In the tomb were found three mummies, each with a large hole in the skull, and a gash in the breast; fragments of a pink leather cuirass worn by the king; a series of statues of Sekhet, Anubis, Osiris, Horus, Ptaḥ, etc.; a set of Canopic vases, and amulets of all kinds; a large series of alabaster vessels; and a collection of mummies of kings and royal personages, whose names have already been enumerated. The funeral chapel which Amen-hetep built for himself was near that of Thothmes III., and its remains may be seen close to the Ramesseum.



RĀ-MEN-KHEPERU, son of the Sun, TEḤUTI-MES-KHĀ-KHĀU.




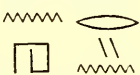
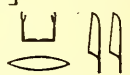
in the temple at 'Amâda in Nubia, Thothmes IV. is described as the "Beautiful god, the valiant one in "very truth, the conqueror (or destroyer) of Kesh "(Kush) , who maketh the frontiers thereof to "be as if they had never existed, the mighty king by "reason of his bravery like the god Menthu, firm of "heart among the multitudes, crusher of all foreign "lands";<sup>1</sup> and thus it seems as if the king made the raid which the Egyptian kings usually made into Nubia in the course of their reigns, whereby they obtained much spoil. In an inscription, dated in the ninth year of the king, published by M. de Morgan, mention is made how Thothmes IV. sailed into Nubia and conquered all the tribes there and also in all foreign countries, and how Râ made him to be feared like Sekhet.<sup>2</sup> That Thothmes IV. made an expedition into Tchahi, , or Phoenicia, is proved by the inscriptions on the tomb of the scribe Tchanni, , at Thebes,<sup>3</sup> wherein he says that he followed his master there, and that he registered the names of large numbers of soldiers [there], and that the king laid waste the gardens and orchards there, and compelled the nobles of the country to bring tribute to him. Another witness of the expedition into

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 69 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 66, 67.

<sup>3</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, p. 831; the most recent description of the tomb is by Scheil, *Miss. Arch. Française*, tom. v. p. 592.



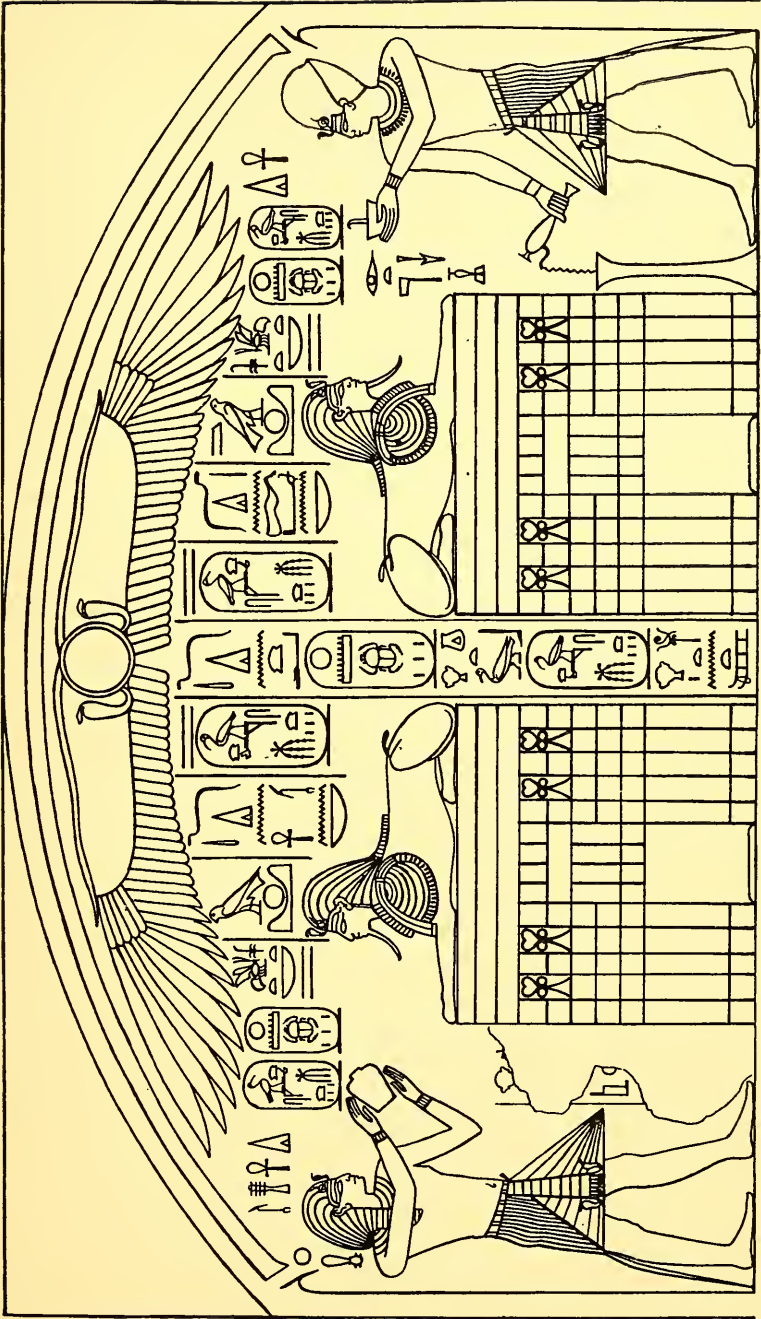
Syria is the stele of Amen-hetep, the high priest of the god An-her, , who says that he was a follower of his (i.e., Thothmes IV.) footsteps in the foreign lands "of the south and north [when] he went into "Nehezin, , and Kari, ,

the two countries which represented the limits of Egypt to the north and south respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Thothmes IV. is found on the walls of the temples at many places in Egypt and Nubia, but his contribution to the buildings of Karnak was comparatively small, consisting as it did of a part of the wall which encloses the obelisks that were set up by Hät-shepset, and the inscribing of a list of gifts which he made to the god Amen when he returned from one of his successful raids. In his short reign of nine years it was impossible for him to erect a large temple whereon to inscribe a record of his raids or expeditions into Nubia and Syria, and it is probable that he had no great wish to do so, inasmuch as he saw that both these countries had been subdued by his predecessors, and that he was reaping the benefits which accrued through their labours.

One of the works which he undertook will, however, keep his memory green for centuries, that is to say, the clearing away of the sand from the Sphinx at Gîzeh. We have already mentioned in connexion with the Pyramids at Gîzeh, that the early history of this remarkable object is unknown, and that




<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pl. 93, lines 5, 6.








Thothmes IV. making offerings to Heru-em-khut who is depicted in the form of the Sphinx.

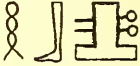

different views as to its age exist; the view held by those whom we should naturally expect to be the best judges is that the Sphinx dates from the period of the Early Empire, and that it is as old as the IVth Dynasty, or older, but a recent theory declares that it was made in the XIIth Dynasty by Ámenemhāt III. It is, of course, a curious thing that no mention is made of this monument in the early hieroglyphic inscriptions, but it is quite likely that it was wholly buried in sand, and that it was forgotten for centuries.

In 1817 Caviglia was carrying on excavations at the Pyramids, and at about this time turned his attention to the digging out of the Sphinx from the sand in which it was buried. In the course of his work he discovered a flight of steps leading up to the monument, and between the paws of the Sphinx a well-laid pavement; passing to the end of the pavement nearest its breast were the remains of what had once evidently been a small open temple. Between the paws of the Sphinx is an altar of red granite, and immediately in front of its breast is a huge red granite tablet, fourteen feet in height, upon which is inscribed the account of how Thothmes IV. dug the Sphinx out of the sand. On the upper portion of the tablet is a vaulted sky, beneath which is the winged disk of Hēru-Behūtet with pendent uraei. Beneath these are two scenes in which Thothmes IV. is seen making an offering of incense and pouring out a libation before two human-headed lions, or sphinxes, couchant upon

pedestals, who are the visible types of Ḥeru-em-khut,   , or Harmachis. Between these is a vertical line of hieroglyphics which reads, "I grant that "Rā-men-kheperu-Tehuti-mes-khā-khāu shall rise like "the sun upon the throne of the god Seb, and that he "shall attain to the rank of the god Tem;" one sphinx says, "I give victory to the lord of the two lands, "Thothmes, who riseth with risings like [those of] the "sun," and the other says, "I give life and power unto "the lord of the two lands, Thothmes, who riseth with "risings like [those] of the sun." Below these scenes are several lines of text,<sup>1</sup> from which the following facts are drawn:—

The tablet was set up on the 19th day of the third month of the season Shat in the first year of the king's reign, and after enumerating a number of high-flown titles which identify Thothmes IV. with several of the gods, e.g., "Beautiful god, the son of Tem, the "avenger of Ḥeru-khuti (Harmachis), the living sphinx, " , of Neb-er-tcher," the text goes on to say, "Behold, his Majesty was like a babe,   , like "Horus the Child among the papyrus swamps." And, "Behold, he made a hunt in order that he might give "his heart pleasure in the desert country round about "Memphis (literally, the White Wall), and along its

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 68; and for the text see Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 89.

“roads, which went south and north, in order that he  
 “might practise shooting at a target, , with  
 “[arrows tipped with] copper. And he hunted the lions  
 “and gazelle in the mountains, and he used to drive  
 “away in his chariot [which was drawn by] horses that  
 “were fleeter than the wind; and he would have with  
 “him two attendants, and no man was able to know  
 “where he went with them. And it came to pass that  
 “once when it was the hour for allowing his servants to  
 “rest, he wished to perform an act of worship to  
 “Harmachis at the shrine of Seker in the underworld,  
 “and to make an offering of cornflowers, and to pray to  
 “the goddess Isis, the lady of the North Wall and of  
 “the South Wall, and to Sekhet of Xoīs , and to Set.  
 “Now a great magical power <sup>1</sup> had existed in this place  
 “from the beginning of all time, and it extended over all  
 “the region as far as Kher-Āhaut wherefrom led the  
 “road of the gods unto the western border of heaven,  
 “Heliopolis. And at this time the Sphinx form of the  
 “most mighty god Kheperá came unto this place, and  
 “the greatest of the Souls, and the holiest of the holy  
 “ones rested therein, and the inhabitants of all the city  
 “of Memphis and in all the towns in his territory round  
 “about raised their hands in adoration unto him, and  
 “brought rich offerings unto his *ka* (or double).” One  
 day the king was hunting in this neighbourhood about

<sup>1</sup> I.e., a spell had been laid on the country.



the time of noon, and he halted to rest under the shadow of the Sphinx; whilst he was resting sleep overcame him, and he dreamed a dream just at the time when the sun reached his highest point in the heavens. He thought that the majesty of the venerable god came to him and began to speak to him face to face, even as a father speaketh to his son, saying, "Behold me, O my son Thothmes, I am thy father Heru-khuti-Khepera-Rā-Temu, and unto thee shall it be granted to sit upon my throne and to rule among the living, and thou shalt wear upon thy head the crowns of the South and of the North, and thou shalt sit upon the throne of Seb, the prince of the gods. Every country upon which the light of Neb-er-tcher, i.e., the god of the universe, falleth shall be thine throughout its length and breadth, and whatsoever is produced by the two lands shall be thine, together with tribute from the other countries of the world, and thou shalt live countless years of life. My face is turned towards thee, and my heart is set towards thee for good, and thou art indeed enveloped by my being. But the sand whereon I have my being hath closed me in on all sides; say unto me that thou wilt do for me all that I desire, and then I shall know that thou art indeed my son and he that will help me. Draw nigh unto me, and I will be with thee, and I will guide thee."

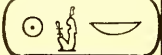
When the god had said these words Thothmes woke up, and took heed to the words of the god, and pondered on the meaning thereof. Then he rose

up and made offerings to the god, and determined to do what the god had asked him to do. The lower portion of the stele from which the above facts are derived is broken away, and the last few lines on the portion which remains are in a very fragmentary state, but the few legible words in line 14 tell us that the Sphinx was made by king Khāf-Rā, and that it was the image of the god Temu-Harmachis. This piece of information is very important, for it proves that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the priests of Memphis or Heliopolis, who advised the king to undertake the work of clearing away the sand from the Sphinx, believed that it was the image of Temu-Harmachis, and that it was fashioned by Khāf-Rā, the builder of the second pyramid at Gîzeh about two thousand years before that date. There is no reason for believing that the stele which we have been considering is not authentic, or that the text on it is not genuine, and there is nothing strange about the king's resolve to clear away the sand, except that it might be considered a comparatively trivial task for Thothmes to undertake. It was not, however, a trivial task, for even in the days when unlimited labour could be obtained for nothing the removal of hundreds of thousands of tons of sand was no small matter, and it must have entailed considerable expense; from many points of view, however, the inscription is of great interest, especially as we gather from it that Thothmes seems at one time to have been in doubt as to his succession to the throne of his

father Amen-hetep II. He was the son of Amen-hetep II. by a wife who was not of royal rank, and the text on the stele of the Sphinx seems to indicate that he would become king only on the condition that he cleared away the sand from the image of Temu-Harmachis, and so restored the worship of the god. From this it would also seem that the priests of Annu, or Heliopolis, promised to give Thothmes their assistance, provided he cleared out and restored the sanctuary of the form of the Sun-god which they worshipped, and when we consider that the king's ancestors had been firm and zealous worshippers of the god Amen or Amen-Rā, it is a remarkable fact that he performed this work, unless he received great assistance from them in obtaining the throne. It may be that Thothmes preferred the worship of the old Heliopolitan gods to that of Amen-Rā, and that the priests of Heliopolis, knowing this, persuaded him to help to restore the worship of one of the oldest gods of the northern kingdom. On the other hand, we know that the heresy of the Aten worshippers, which culminated in the reign of Amen-hetep IV., was akin in some respects to the old worship of Aten, and as this heresy was introduced into Egypt by the princesses from Mesopotamia who married kings of Egypt, it may be that Thothmes IV. supported the priests of Heliopolis because their cult resembled that of his chief wife, who came from Mitanni, or Western Babylonia.

Whether Thothmes IV. was the first of the kings of Egypt who entered into friendly relations with the kings of Babylonia (Karaduniyash) and Mitanni (Māthen) cannot be said, but we know that in his reign such relations existed, and that they continued during the reigns of two of his successors. Thus in the Tell el-'Amarna tablet, Berlin, No. 24,<sup>1</sup> Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, says in the third and fourth paragraphs of his epistle to Ámen-ḥetep IV., "Now, my brother, let "the friendship which existeth between me and thee be "ten times stronger than that which existed between "thy father Nimmuriya<sup>2</sup> and myself. In all the "dealings which he had with me he never caused me "sorrow by any word which he spake, and I never "caused him sorrow by any word which I spake; "whatsoever I asked him to do that he did on that "very day, and whatsoever he asked me to do that "I did on that very day. When the father of "Nimmuriya (i.e. Thothmes IV.) sent to Artatama my "grandfather and asked for his daughter to wife my "grandfather refused his request, and though he sent "the fifth time, and the sixth time, he would not give "her to him. It was only after he had sent [the "seventh time] that he gave her to him, being [com- "pelled for many reasons] to give her." Thus we have direct evidence that Thothmes IV. married a princess

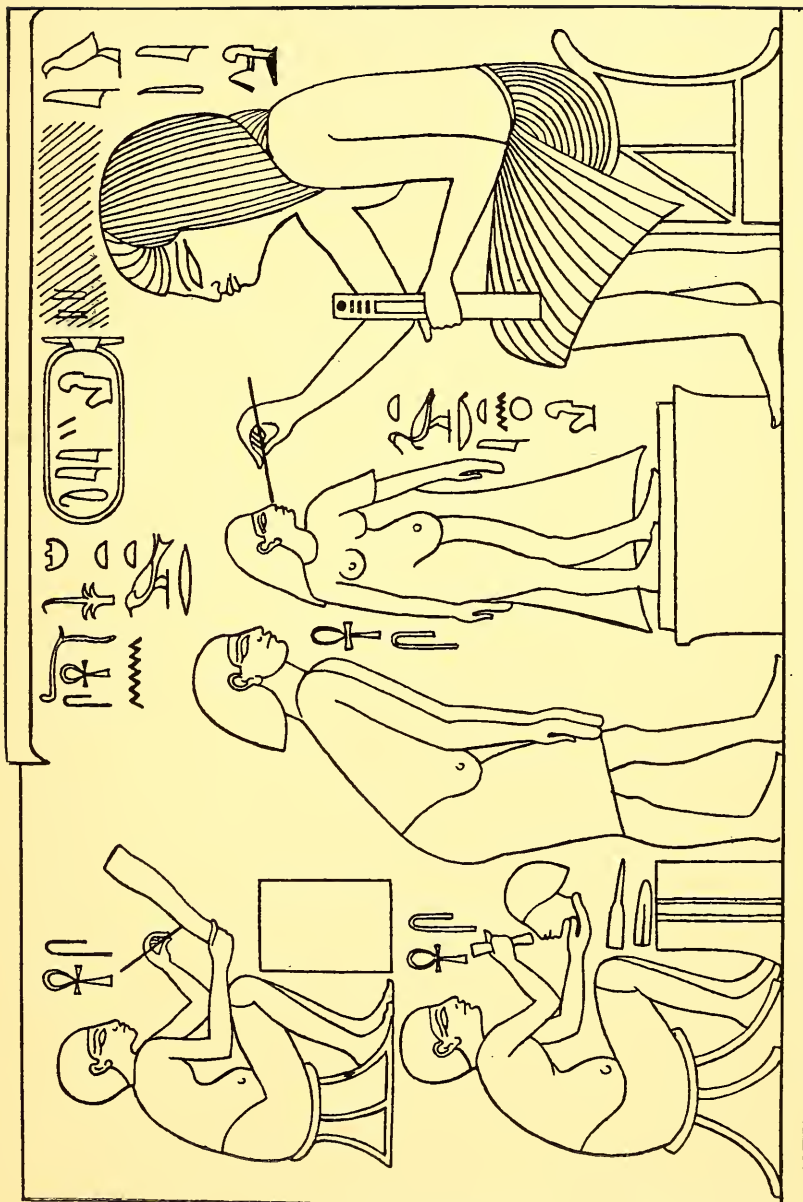
<sup>1</sup> Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> I.e.,  Neb-Maāt-Rā (Ámen-ḥetep III.).











The royal sculptor Autah putting the finishing touches to a statue of the princess Baket-Aten.

the form of risings [like the sun],”  ;

“Prince of all living *kaui*,”  ;

“Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet ;” “The

Horus of gold, stablisher of laws, subduer of the two lands, great one, smiter of the Asiatics ;” “Mighty one of monuments, unifier of the two lands, whose might extendeth from Heliopolis to Hermonthis, smiter of the Menti, subduer of the Libyans, subduer of the Pati, conqueror of the Anti of Nubia, king of kings, avenger of the gods, lord of Kenset, great god,” etc. Amen-hetep III. was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest of the kings of Egypt, and in his long reign the country attained to a state of prosperity and greatness the like of which had never before been seen therein. He consolidated the empire which his great ancestors had won, and although, with one exception, he carried on no great wars, his supremacy was recognized from the most southerly limit of Nubia known to the Egyptians to the northernmost parts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Vassal nations paid to him the appointed tribute unhesitatingly, because they knew that they had to deal with the representative of a power which in the past had smitten them swiftly, hard, and often, and because they believed that representative was prepared to smite them as swiftly and as hard again. Under the strong but peaceful rule of Amen-hetep trade between Egypt and her neighbours flourished, and king and subject mutually benefited by the wealth which was

poured into the country from her possessions in Asia.

During the first four years of the reign of Amen-hetep the peace of Egypt remained undisturbed, but in the fifth year a rebellion of some magnitude broke out in Nubia, and it was necessary for the king to go and inflict upon the tribes there the punishment which had to be inflicted by every new king of Egypt. The centre of the part of the country which had broken into rebellion was Abhat, a district which seems to have been situated in the Eastern Desert about thirty miles south of Behen, or the modern town of Wâdî Halfa. To this place the king marched, and, having joined his forces to those of Merimes, the "Prince of Kush," he did battle with the Nubians, and defeated them utterly; the sticks, staves, and clubs of the Nubian tribes could resist but weakly the metal weapons of the Egyptians, and the troops of Pharaoh were accustomed to conquer. The booty captured in this campaign was great, and among other things it included about 750 prisoners; the hands cut off were over three hundred, so we know that at least that number of rebels were killed. This raid must have been on a large scale, and the Egyptians were proud of their success, which they described in the usual way by cutting inscriptions on the rocks on the little Island of Konosso,<sup>1</sup> and at

<sup>1</sup> See J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, p. 67; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 82 a.

Aswân,<sup>1</sup> and on a large stele at Semneh, in the Second Cataract. To commemorate this success the king built a large temple, with two pylons, and two courts, and two hypostyle halls, at Menen-en-khā-em-Maāt, near the modern village of Soleb, and not far from the head of the Third Cataract; it was the largest Egyptian building ever erected in Nubia, and was over three hundred feet in length. Upon the pylons are sculptured scenes in which the king is represented in the act of smiting the heads of a group of his foes in the traditional manner, and a list of the names of the Nubian tribes that he had conquered. The ruins of the temple buildings are still very considerable, and are unquestionably the best preserved of all the Egyptian monuments in Nubia, a result which is due to the fact that the building lies some distance from native villages, and the people have found the task of carrying away the stones too heavy for them. The larger columns are nearly seven feet in diameter. The use of this temple was twofold; it served to remind the natives of their conqueror, and in time of need parts of it could easily be made into a fortress. The inhabitants of the country, seeing the large figures of the king on the pylons, would attach a superstitious importance to them, and the building, which would appear massive to natives who were accustomed to live in tents and huts made of palm branches and reeds, indicated the presence of a power in the land which


<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *op. cit.*, iii. pl. 81 h.

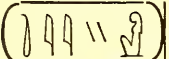



was to be permanent. This is the view taken by the natives of the Eastern Sûdân of the huge red brick palace which Lord Kitchener built at Khartûm, and it is more than probable that both Amen-ĥetep III. and his modern representative, the Sirdar, were as mindful of the moral effect which their buildings would have upon the natives as of the practical uses to which the edifices themselves could be put.

In Palestine, Syria, and Western Babylonia Amen-ĥetep III. had no need to make raids, for the tribute was regularly paid to Egypt by the vassal chiefs of these countries. The relations which he maintained with the great kings of Western Asia were of a very friendly character, and the Tell el-'Amarna tablets prove that Kallimma-Sin, or Kadashman-Bêl,<sup>1</sup> king of Karaduniyash (Babylonia), and Tushratta, king of Mitanni, were connexions of his by marriage. Thus Amen-ĥetep III. married a sister of Kallimma-Sin, and from the information given in the draft of his own letter to this king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,784) we know that Amen-ĥetep III. also married one, if not two, of the Babylonian king's daughters. He married, but apparently not with her father's full consent, a daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, and also a daughter of Tushratta, the son and successor of Shutarna; that Amen-ĥetep III.


<sup>1</sup> This is probably the correct reading of the king's name, but as the reading Kallimma-Sin is now well-known it has been used in this work.

married two princesses of Mitanni is proved by the fourth paragraph of Tushratta's letter to Amen-hetep IV. (Berlin, No. 21). Tushratta's sister was called Gilukhipa, and she is mentioned in the inscription on one of the sets of royal scarabs which Amen-hetep III. caused to be made, in these words:—"they brought to "his majesty the daughter of Satharna, the prince of "Neherna, the lady Gilukhipa, , and "her principal women, who were 317 in number." Tushratta's daughter was called Tatum-khipa, a fact which we learn from the last lines of the Berlin tablet, No. 296, wherein we have, following after the list of the things, this statement:—"This is a complete list "of all the wedding gifts which Tushratta, king of "Mitanni, gave to Nimmuriya (Amen-hetep III.) his "brother, his son-in-law; he gave these gifts when he "gave his daughter Tatum-khipa to Nimmuriya in "Egypt to wife." But of all the Mesopotamian or North Syrian women whom Amen-hetep married, the best beloved was the beautiful Thi, or Tiii, whose name appears in the Egyptian texts under the form

, and in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets as

. None of the other Asiatic wives was acknowledged to be "Queen of Egypt," this honour being reserved solely for the lady Thi. Her father's

name was Iuáa, , and her mother's




Thuáa, ; she seems not to have



“The royal wife, the great lady of the two lands, queen of the two lands Thi.”

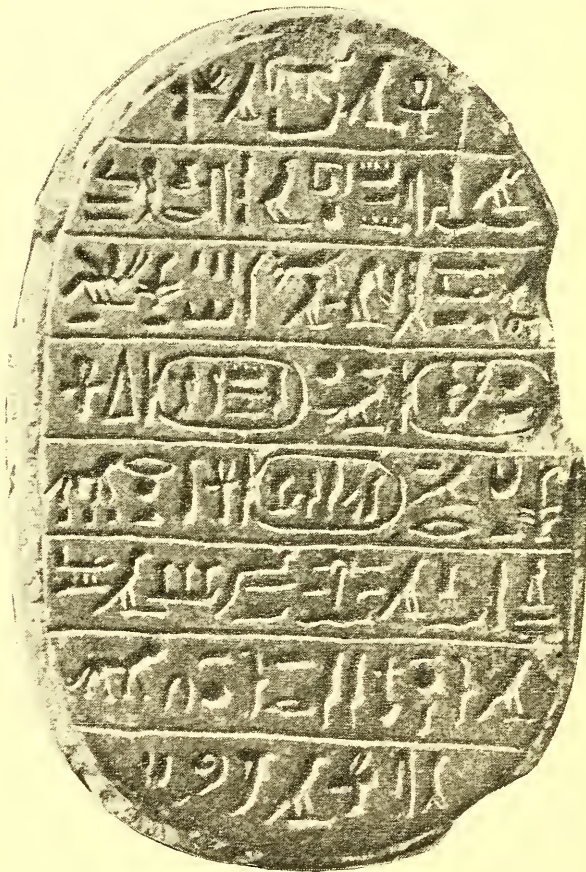
belonged to any royal house in Mesopotamia, but it is perfectly certain that she was accorded the highest rank and honour which a woman could obtain in Egypt, where she is described as "royal daughter, "royal sister, royal mother, royal wife, great lady, lady of the South and North." The lady with whom she is identified is represented as having a fair complexion and blue eyes, and she has all the physical characteristics of the women belonging to certain families who may be seen in north-eastern Syria to this day. Thi was the mother of Amen-hetep IV., and of his sister Amen-sat, and Amen-hetep III. gave her name prominence everywhere equal to that of his own. It has been commonly said that he married her in the tenth year of his reign, but there is no evidence for this statement, because the large scarabs which are quoted in proof say nothing of the kind. These scarabs are of four kinds; one kind is dated in the tenth, and one in the eleventh year of his reign, and two kinds are undated. The text on the first group of scarabs reads:—"Year tenth under the "majesty of Horus, the mighty bull, diademed (or "rising) with law, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and "Uatchet, establisher of laws, pacifier of the two lands, "the Horus of gold, mighty of valour, smiter of the "Asiatics, king of the South and North, the lord "maker of created things, Neb-Maāt-Rā, chosen of Rā, "son of the Sun, Amen-hetep, prince of Thebes, giver "of life; the royal wife, the mighty lady, Thi, the

“living one—the name of her father was Iuāa, the  
 “name of her mother was Thuāa. Wonders. They  
 “brought to his majesty, life, strength, and health,  
 “Kirḳipa (Gilukhipa), the daughter of Satharna, the  
 “prince of Neherna, and all her chief women, 317 in  
 “number.” Thus this scarab proves beyond a doubt  
 that Amen-hetep III. was in the tenth year of his  
 reign already married to Thi when Shutarna’s daughter  
 Gilukhipa was brought to him in Egypt. The group  
 of scarabs dated in the eleventh year of his reign gives  
 the names and titles of himself and Thi in the same  
 way and in the same order as the class dated in the  
 tenth year, and then we are told on them that “his  
 “majesty ordered the making of a lake for the royal  
 “wife, the great lady, Thi, in her city (?) of Tchārukha.  
 “Its length was 3600 cubits, and its breadth 600  
 “cubits. The festival of inauguration was performed  
 “by his majesty on the 16th day of the third month of  
 “the season Shat, when his majesty sailed over it in  
 “his boat called ‘Āten-neferu.’” The two undated  
 classes of scarabs repeat the names and titles of the  
 king and Thi in the same way and in the same order,  
 but one class records that in the first ten years of  
 his reign Amen-hetep III. shot with his own hand,

, one hundred and two fierce lions,  
 and the second that the frontiers of his kingdom  
 extended from Karei, , in the extreme  
 south of Nubia, to Neharina, ,



or Western Babylonia. Thus it is impossible to tell from the large scarabs the year of the reign of Amen-hetep III. in which he married Thi.



Scarab of Amen-hetep III., with text recording the slaughter of 102 lions by the king during the first ten years of his reign. British Museum, No. 24,169.

The building operations of Amen-hetep III. were many and of various kinds, and remains of them are to be found from one end of Egypt and Nubia to the

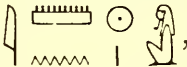
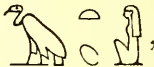

other. In the early years of his reign he re-opened the quarries of Ṭura to enable him to build the Apis chapels of the Serapeum at Şakḳâra, the oldest part of which dates from his reign, and the first Apis



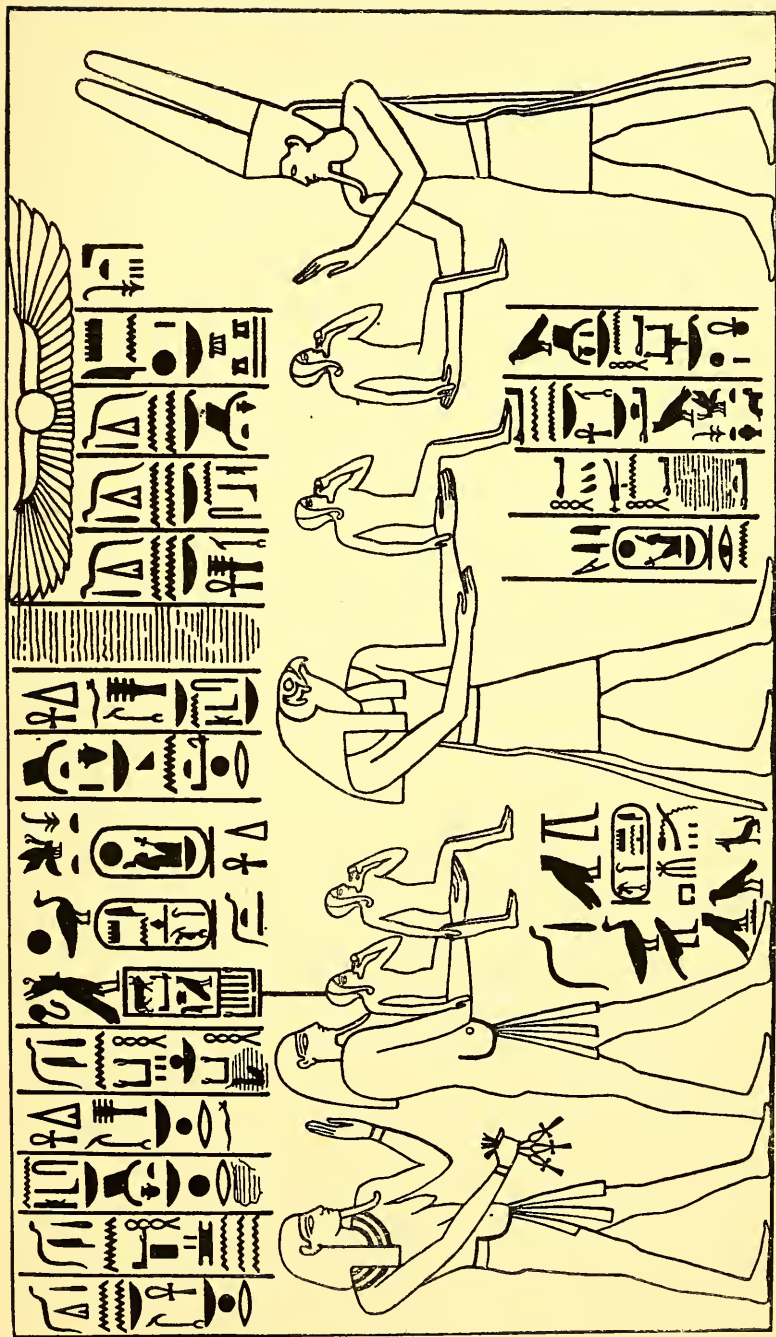
Scarab of Amen-hotep III., inscribed with a statement as to the limits of his kingdom. British Museum, No. 16,988.

Bull which was laid to rest there was deposited in its subterranean chamber during his reign.<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula prove that work was carried

<sup>1</sup> The Serapeum was excavated by Mariette in 1850.

on there for the king in the 36th year of his reign, and at Silsila and elsewhere the quarries were worked continuously, so that abundant supply of good stone might be forthcoming for his buildings at Thebes. At Karnak he built a large pylon, and completed certain works which had been begun in the reign or reigns of his predecessors, and he cut inscriptions and sculptured reliefs upon some of the walls of the great temple of Amen-Rā which enumerate the various gifts that he dedicated to the great god of Thebes, and illustrate the great boat of the Sun which was employed in the temple processions at that period. But the greatest of all the buildings which he set up on the east bank of the Nile at Thebes is the temple dedicated to the Theban Triad of Amen-Rā, , Mut, , and Khensu, , which was styled by its builder "The House of Amen in the Northern Apt," and is now known as the "Temple of Luxor." It was and still is a wonderful building, and must have been the handsomest temple at Thebes. It was nearly 500 feet long and about 180 feet wide; it was connected with Karnak by means of a paved way, on each side of which was arranged a row of rams with their faces turned towards its main axis. It was added to by Heru-em-heb, Seti I., Rameses II., and others, and it must have been considered a shrine of great sanctity for several hundreds of years. Amen-hetep's son, the heretic king Amen-hetep IV., ordered the name and





Heka holding the king Amen-hetep III. and his *ka*; above the child are his throne and Rá names, and above his *ka* is his Horus name.

Horus holding the *ka* of Amen-hetep III.

Amen-Rá acknowledging his son Amen-hetep III.

figure of Amen to be erased from the walls, and he built a shrine near the temple in honour of Aten; at his death, however, it was pulled down, and the stones which formed it were used in other parts of the building. The greatest injury to the temple was wrought by the early Christians, who smashed statues, disfigured bas-reliefs, and destroyed the shrines in it with characteristic savage and ignorant zeal; certain parts of it they altered and turned into "churches." In the sanctuary at the south end is a chamber in which are depicted scenes of the transformation of Amen, who under the form of Thothmes IV. becomes the father of Amen-hotep III., and the conception, birth, and rearing of the royal child. These scenes are, of course, copied from those on the walls of the temple of Dêr al-Bahârî, which describe the divine origin of the great queen Hâtshepset. At Thebes Amen-hotep III. built a temple in honour of the god Menthu, and another to the goddess Mut, which he provided with a large number of black basalt seated statues of the goddess Sekhet, sphinxes, etc.


On the west bank of the Nile he built a large temple, and in front of it he set up two colossal statues of himself, which are generally known throughout the world as the "Colossi of Memnon." These statues are made of quartzite sandstone, and when new were about 53 feet high, not, of course, including the crowns, which were several feet in height; the pedestals which support them are each a little over twelve feet high. The

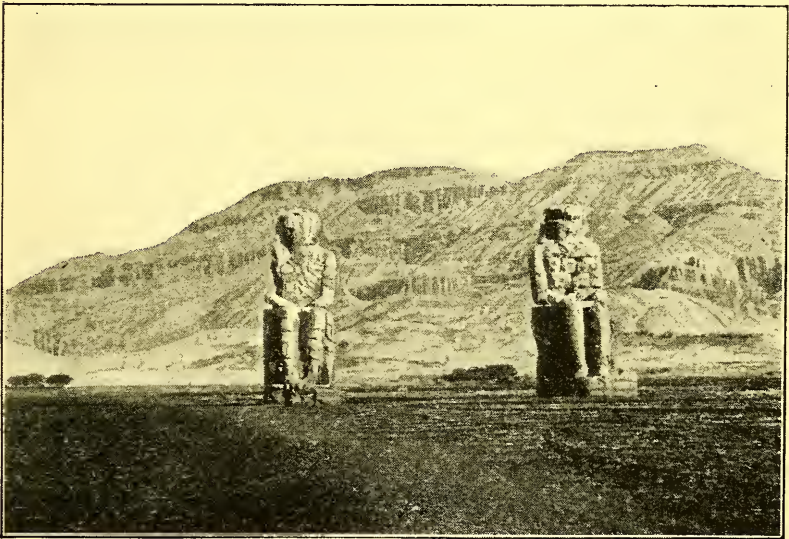


northern statue is the better preserved, and before it was repaired by Septimius Severus it was said to emit a sweet, sad note daily just after sunrise; for this reason the colossus became known as the vocal statue of Memnon, the son of Tithonus and Eos, and brother of Emathion. At a comparatively late period, when the Greeks became acquainted with this fact, they identified the statue with the son of Eos, although it was well known that the statue was one intended to represent Amen-hetep [III.]. The sound, which was heard by many in ancient days, is variously described as the ring of a piece of metal when struck, or a singing sound as of a human voice, or a low soft sound from a horn, etc. Many celebrated visitors to Egypt journeyed to Thebes expressly to hear Memnon's note, but sometimes they were disappointed; apparently those who heard showed their gratitude by inscribing verses of poetry on the statue, but it is a noteworthy fact that of all the inscriptions found on it only one is in the Egyptian language. The upper part of the statue was cracked and thrown down during an earthquake, B.C. 27, but an attempt to make the damage good was made by Septimius Severus, who built on the part of the statue *in situ* several layers of sandstone, after which the sounds at sunrise were no longer heard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A great deal has been written about the cause of the sound emitted by the statue of Memnon, but every one who has passed the night among the ruins of old stone buildings in the East is quite familiar with the singing noises which detached pillars, statues, and stones emit. I have heard such sounds come from the lime-



inspectors to patrol the roads which led into foreign lands, and to make the people dwell in their appointed places on the east and west banks of the Nile, and they were supposed to keep strict watch upon the nomads called Nemáushā,  he also made men to keep watch over the river ways



The Colossi of Amen-hotep III. at Thebes.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

into Egypt, and he was the captain of the company of men who manned the king's boats for this service. He divined what his master wished to do in respect of the people that were subject to him; and he was in charge of the prisoners taken by the king. In return for all these services the king made him overseer of works,



tained for all time out of the endowments provided for the temple of Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, and that the sons of the great architect should be the priests thereof for ever. The king then pronounced a series of awful curses, which in many respects resemble those found on Babylonian landmarks, upon any of his successors who should allow the temple to fall into ruin, or who should alienate any part of the income set aside for its up-keep, and enumerates the honours which shall come upon those who seek to carry out the terms of the decree.<sup>1</sup> In course of time the temple fell into decay, but in the time of the Ptolemies another was built in its place, and the builder of the original temple was worshipped in the new one as a god whose word never faileth. It was believed that Amen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāp, was possessed of magical knowledge, and that he wrote certain formulae which he had always used for his own protection; a copy of the words of power which he composed is extant in the papyrus of Ḥeter, now preserved in the Louvre at Paris,<sup>2</sup> and another is in a papyrus at Leyden.<sup>3</sup> In short Amen-ḥetep was included in the group of divine sages such as Ḥeru-tāṭā-f and I-em-ḥetep, or Imouthis, and to his

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this decree will be found in Birch, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. 29; see also Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 123 ff. The stele on which it is written is in the British Museum (No. 138).

<sup>2</sup> See Maspero, *Mémoires sur quelques papyrus*, pp. 23, 58.

<sup>3</sup> See Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires au Livre des Morts*, p. 71 ff.



words was attributed power of a most remarkable character. Curiously enough, a mention of Amen-hetep the sage occurs in the tract which Josephus wrote against Apion (i. 26), wherein it is said, "This king (Amenophis) was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futuries." In answer to the king's request Amen-hetep "told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people." Now the name given to Amen-hetep's father by Josephus, i.e., Papis, is nothing but the Egyptian name of his father, Hâp, with the article *pa*, "the," added thereto.<sup>1</sup>

In other parts of his kingdom Amen-hetep III. built largely. At El-kâb he completed the small temple which Thothmes IV. had begun to build in honour of the goddess Nekhebet, and at Elephantine he built a small but most interesting temple in honour of Khnemu, the Nubian god of the First Cataract. This building was comparatively small, and was approached by a short flight of steps, on each side of which, at the top, was a column with a lotus capital. On each side of the temple were seven square pillars, and a portico ran


<sup>1</sup> This was first pointed out by Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 147.

round the building, which consisted of one hall and a small shrine chamber leading out of it; the main portion of the edifice measured about 40 feet, by 30 feet, by 13 feet. This temple was still standing, and was in a good state of preservation when in 1799 the members of the great French Expedition made drawings of it, which they fortunately published later;<sup>1</sup> but in 1822 Muḥammad Ali wished to have a palace built for himself at Aswân, and the whole building was torn down, stone by stone, by the local governor, who burnt the slabs of calcareous stone to make lime for mortar, and employed the blocks of granite, etc., to make the foundations of the new palace. At several places in the First Cataract are inscriptions which refer to works of various kinds carried on by Amen-hetep III., and the remains of his buildings in Nubia testify to his care for the shrines of that country. The temple of Soleb has already been mentioned, but we may note in passing that the importance which it possessed in the opinion of its builder is testified by the fact that Amen-hetep III. specially visited Nubia to attend the inauguration ceremonies. At Sedênga, a little to the north of Soleb, he built a small temple in honour of his wife Thi, and here may be seen the cartouche of the queen side by side with those of her husband. To Amen-hetep III. is sometimes given the credit of having first discovered the suitability of the plain which lies between Gebel Barkal and the Nile for building purposes, and there is no doubt that he built a

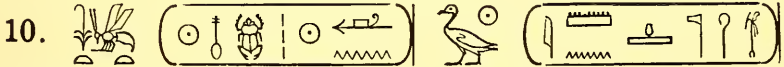
<sup>1</sup> *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. i. plates 34-37.

temple there, for otherwise the two granite lions in the British Museum, and the colossal ram in the Berlin Museum, all of which are inscribed with the king's names and titles, would not have been found there. The writer, however, saw many fragments of stelae and statues which had all the appearance of having belonged to monuments of the XIIth Dynasty, and it is impossible to believe that the Egyptian officers and generals, who visited Nubia long before the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, did not recognise the importance of such a station a few miles from the foot of the Fourth Cataract, whether for a fortress or a temple. The fine pair of lions referred to above, which were brought from the ruins of the temples at Gebel Barkal by Lord Prudhoe, are thought by some to have been taken there from the north by the king who usurped them, but that seems unlikely.<sup>1</sup>

Åmen-hetep hewed for himself a tomb out of the solid rock in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and he appears to have been the first king to make a sepulchre there. The walls of the corridors and chambers were ornamented with coloured representations of the king holding converse with the various great gods,

<sup>1</sup> The king whose name occurs with that of Åmen-hetep III. upon the lions is Tut-ånkh-Åmen, , and in the words "he restored the monuments of his father," M. Loret sees a proof that he was the son of Åmen-hetep III., and that he repaired the temples which that great king had built at Gebel Barkal. See *Recueil*, tom. xi. p. 212.

but nearly all these have disappeared. The tomb seems not to have been finished, for many of the scenes on the walls are incomplete, and many of the rooms are ornamented neither with texts nor inscriptions. When MM. Jollois and Devilliers discovered the tomb in 1799 they found in it the cover of a red granite sarcophagus, and several fragments of *ushabtiu* figures; on the walls of the second chamber were inscribed passages from the "Book of [knowing] what is in the underworld." The mummy of the king was found in the tomb of Amen-ḥetep II. by M. Loret, as has already been said.



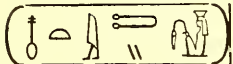
RĀ-NEFER-KHEPERU-UĀ-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, AMEN-ḤETEP-neter-heq-Uast.



QA-SHUTI,  
the Horus name  
of  
Amen-ḥetep IV.

AMEN-ḤETEP IV., or AMENOPHIS IV., the Ἔσρος of Manetho, was the son of Amen-ḥetep III., and his Mitannian wife Thi; of the circumstances which caused him to be selected from among the sons of Amen-ḥetep III. to be king of Egypt we have no knowledge whatsoever, but his accession to the throne was most probably arranged by Thi, the favourite wife of his father. Besides his Horus name Qa-shuti, or "Exalted one of the double plumes," he adopted as his titles, "Divine prince of Thebes," and "King of the South

“and North, high-priest of Rā-Ḥeru-khuti (Rā-Harma-  
 “chis), the exalted one in the horizon in his name of  
 “Shu who is in his disk,”<sup>1</sup> and “Mighty one in his  
 “duration of life.”<sup>2</sup> It appears that in the early years  
 of his reign his mother Thi took a prominent part in  
 the government of the country, and that she ordered  
 certain works to be carried out as if she were the  
 mistress of Egypt, but there is nothing to show that  
 she assumed a position similar to that held by  
 Ḥātshepset when Thothmes III. was a boy. When  
 Āmen-ḥetep IV. ascended the throne he must have  
 arrived at man’s estate, for he was married, and it is  
 thought that he married the wife who is called  
 in the texts, “Royal wife, great lady, Nefer-tith,”

), towards the end of his father’s reign.

We know from the Tell el-‘Amarna tablets that  
 Tushratta, king of Mitanni, gave his daughter  
 Tatumkhipa to Āmen-ḥetep III. to wife, for, in his  
 letter to the Egyptian king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,793),<sup>3</sup>  
 he says in the first paragraph, “To Nimmuriya, king of  
 “Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love, and  
 “who loveth me, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who



<sup>3</sup> See Bezdold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 10, p. 42.,

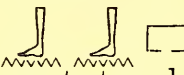



“loveth thee, thy father-in-law. With me it is well. “May it also be well with thee, and thy house, and “with my daughter Tatum-khipa, thy wife whom thou “lovest, and may it be well with thy wives, and with “thy sons, and with thy nobles, and with thy chariots, “and with thy horses, and thy warriors, and with thy “land, and with everything which is thine may it be “well indeed.” When Tushratta sent his daughter to Amen-hetep III. he sent with her a dowry suitable for a lady who was going to marry the great king of Egypt, but it is most unlikely that such a dowry would have been given to her had she been going to marry a mere prince, whose succession to the throne was not well assured. In any case, in view of such a definite statement as that contained in Tushratta’s letter it is impossible to speak of the Mitannian princess as the wife of Amen-hetep IV. only, as some have done, for we know that she became the wife of both father and son. An attempt has been made to prove that Nefer-tith, the wife of Amen-hetep IV., and Tatum-khipa are one and the same person, but it is, as M. Maspero says,<sup>1</sup> far more likely that Nefer-tith was an Egyptian lady and the daughter of some princess of royal blood, whom the son of Amen-hetep III. and Thi married in order to make good through her his right to the throne, which was, of course, seriously compromised by his descent from Thi, a foreign mother.


During the first few years of his reign Amen-hetep

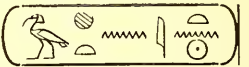
<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 317.

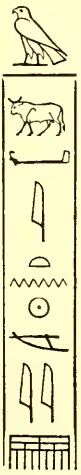
IV. appears to have been guided by his mother's counsels, and it is quite easy to see from one of the titles which he assumed on ascending the throne, that he had by nature, or had been taught to have, views on religion which were in some respects akin to those of the priests of Heliopolis. It will be remembered that his grandfather, Thothmes IV., had dug out from the sand the Sphinx, the symbol of Rā-Harmachis, who was a god of Heliopolis, and that his father, Amen-hetep III., had celebrated the festival of the opening of the lake, which he had made to please Thi, by sailing over it in a boat called the " Beauties of Aten," i.e., of another god who was worshipped at Heliopolis, the city where all the forms of the sun-god, e.g., Rā, Temu, Kheperā, Heru, Heru-khuti, Rā-Heru-khuti, Aten, etc., were adored. When Amen-hetep IV. came to the throne, he called himself the " high priest of " Rā-Harmachis, the exalted one in the horizon in his " name of Shu, who is in his disk;" thus it is clear that he was an adherent of the religion of Aten, and there is no reason for doubting that his mind had been led to take such theological views through the teachings of his mother, Thi. It may have been that these views were strengthened by the opposition which was offered by the priests of Amen to his succession to the throne, for it is clear that the deep hatred with which he regarded them and their god was not of sudden growth, but on this point the inscriptions are silent. In the early part of his reign, Amen-hetep IV. followed the

example of the earlier kings of his dynasty, and lived at Thebes, though at the same time he was carrying on building operations at Memphis and Heliopolis, and was working the quarries for stone to be used at these places. He was politic enough to pretend to please the ecclesiastical authorities at Thebes by building a massive Benben , i.e., a shrine which was part pylon and part temple, in honour of the god Heru-khuti, and all Egypt seems to have been laid under contribution to provide for the work. The priests of Amen must have regarded with strong disapproval the intrusion of another shrine among the temple buildings at Thebes, when they understood what views of the king it represented, for after his death it was taken down, and the stones were employed by Heru-em-heb in building operations at another place on the sacred site.

Whilst the Benben of Harmachis was being built at Thebes, Amen-hetep IV. was planning the foundation of a new capital for himself at some distance from Thebes, and definite form was given to his views on this subject by the growing hostility of the priests of Amen. The site which he chose for the new city lay on the east bank of the Nile, about two hundred miles south of Cairo, and it is marked to-day by the Arab villages of Haggi K̄andil and Tell el-'Amarna. The building of the city began in the fifth year of his reign, and it consisted of a temple for the god Aten, , a palace for the king,

and houses for those court officials who were bold enough to cut themselves off from the old traditions of Thebes; the neighbouring mountains would afford resting-places for the dead, and the king felt that when he had once taken up his abode in his new city he would be able to defy the rest of Egypt. Meanwhile, however, the relations between the king and the priests of Amen became strained, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that soon after his accession to the throne the king began to cut out the name of Amen as well as his figure from every building in Egypt. At length an open rupture took place, and the king found it desirable from every point of view to remove himself and his family to his new city, which he called "Khut Aten," , i.e., the "Horizon of the Disk."

About this time he discarded his name, Amen-hetep, because it contained the name of the hated god Amen, and gave himself the new name, "Khut-en-Aten," , i.e., the "Spirit, or Glory of Aten," or the Sun's Disk. At the same time he changed his Horus name from "Exalted One of the double plumes" to "Mighty Bull, beloved of Aten," and he styled himself "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet" "and Uatchet, mighty one of sovereignty" "in the city of the Horizon of the Sun," "the Horus of gold, who exalteth the



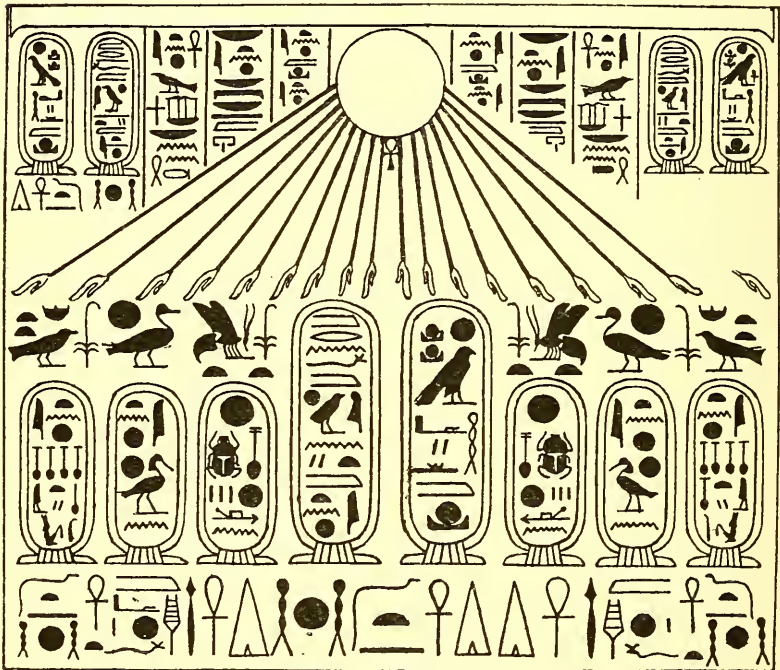
KA-NEKHT-ATEN-MERI, the Horus name of Khut-en-Aten.

“name of the Disk, the king of the South and North, “living in Maât, the lord of the two lands, the lord of “crowns.” The break was now complete, and Amenhetep IV. settled down to worship his god Âten in his own way in the city “Horizon of Âten.”

Much has been written about the worship and creed of Âten, but as the inscriptions do not give us any definite information on the subject, a great deal of theorizing is made to take the place of fact. The worship of Âten was a very old one in Egypt, and its original home was Heliopolis, but it had never provoked the enmity of the Egyptians, who tolerated it and were tolerated by its priests. The worship of Âten as understood by Amenhetep IV. was, however, a very different thing, for whereas the old Âten worship was tolerant, the new Âten worship was not, for had it been tolerant the king would have betaken himself to Heliopolis, where the priests would have received him gladly. It is clear from the reliefs which have been found at the city Khut-Âten, that the god Âten was regarded as the giver of life, and the source of all life on this earth, and that his symbol was the light, or fire, or both, of the Sun; Âten was the physical body of the Sun, and the creed of Âten ascribed to the god a monotheistic character or oneness of which it denied the existence in any other god. This being so, the new religion could not absorb or be absorbed by any other, and similarly, Âten could not absorb or be absorbed by the other gods of Egypt, because he had nothing in common with



them. Attempts have been made to prove that the Âten worship resembled that of the monotheistic worship of the Hebrews, and to show that Âten is only another form of the name Adôn, a Semitic word which is usually rendered "lord," but as far as can be seen now





The rays of Âten, which terminate in human hands, shining upon the cartouches of Âmen-Ëetep IV. and his wife Nefertith.

the worship of Âten was something like a glorified materialism, which had to be expounded by priests, who performed ceremonies similar to those which belonged to the old Heliopolitan sun-worship, without any connexion whatsoever with the worship of Yahweh,

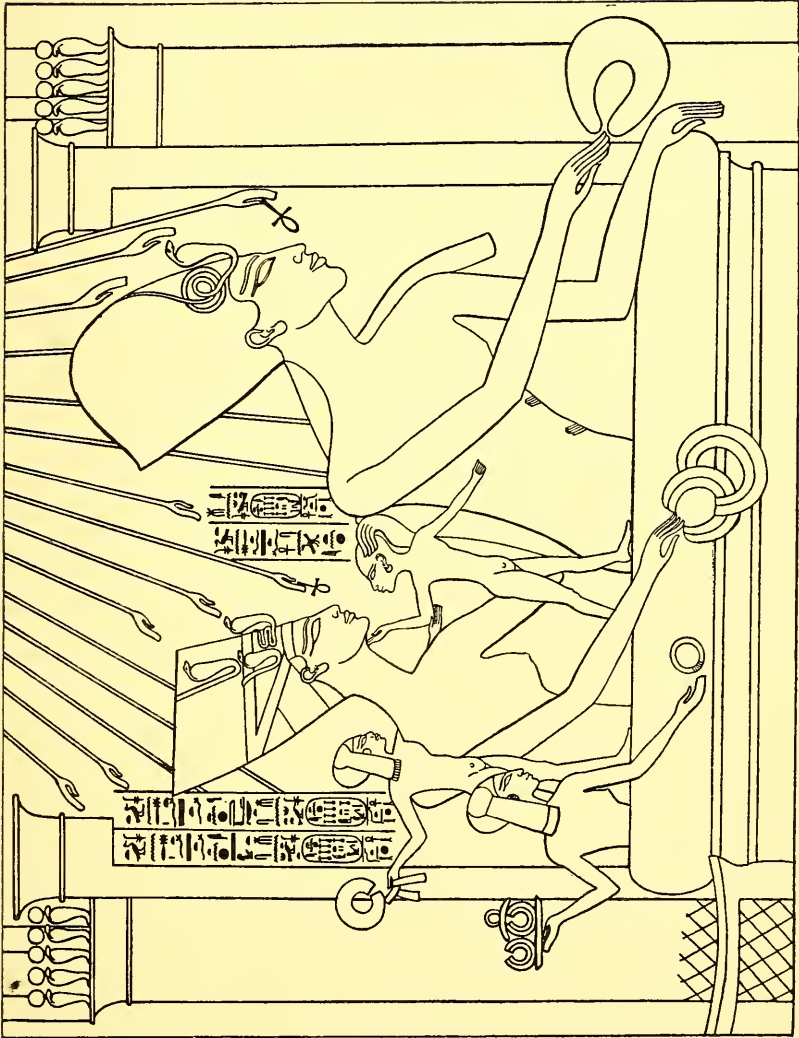
and a being of the character of the Semitic god Adón had no place in it anywhere. In so far as it rejected all other gods, the Áten religion was monotheistic, but to judge by the texts which describe the power



The rays of Áten bestowing "life"  and "sovereignty"  upon  
Amen-hotep IV.

and works of Áten, it contained no doctrines on the unity or oneness of Áten similar to those which are found in the hymns to Rā, and none of the beautiful ideas on the future life, with which we are familiar





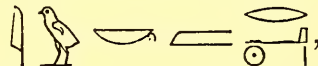

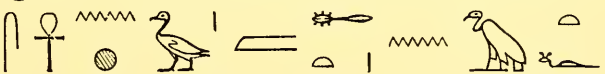
Amen-hotep IV, and his wife and daughters bestowing collars and rings upon favourite courtiers.

Meanwhile the new city Khut-Âten prospered and grew, and many wealthy people and nobles who had become terrified at the growth of the power of the priests of Amen left Thebes and took up their abode there; a number of court officials naturally followed their king, and as the new canon of art, which he proclaimed and patronized, gave abundant employment to sculptors and artists of every kind, to say nothing of the skilled workmen who were needed for the carrying out of his projects, the city soon became well populated. The houses were beautifully decorated, and many of them had plaster pavements, which were ornamented with unusually artistic designs and patterns;<sup>1</sup> large gardens full of choice plants and rare trees were laid out, not only in the grounds of the palace, but also in the houses of high officials, and the architect Bek and his workmen spared no pains in making the new city beautiful in every sense of the word. The artists threw off many of the old trammels and conventionalities of their profession, and indulged themselves in new designs, new forms, new colours, and new treatment of the subjects which they wished to represent. Indeed it is to the buildings of the city of Khut-Âten and their decorations that we owe many of the ideas of the possibilities of Egyptian art; the art of the period is characterized by a freedom and a naturalism which is never before or after met with in Egyptian history.

<sup>1</sup> A number of these were uncovered by Prof. Petrie in the course of his excavations at Tell el-'Amarna.



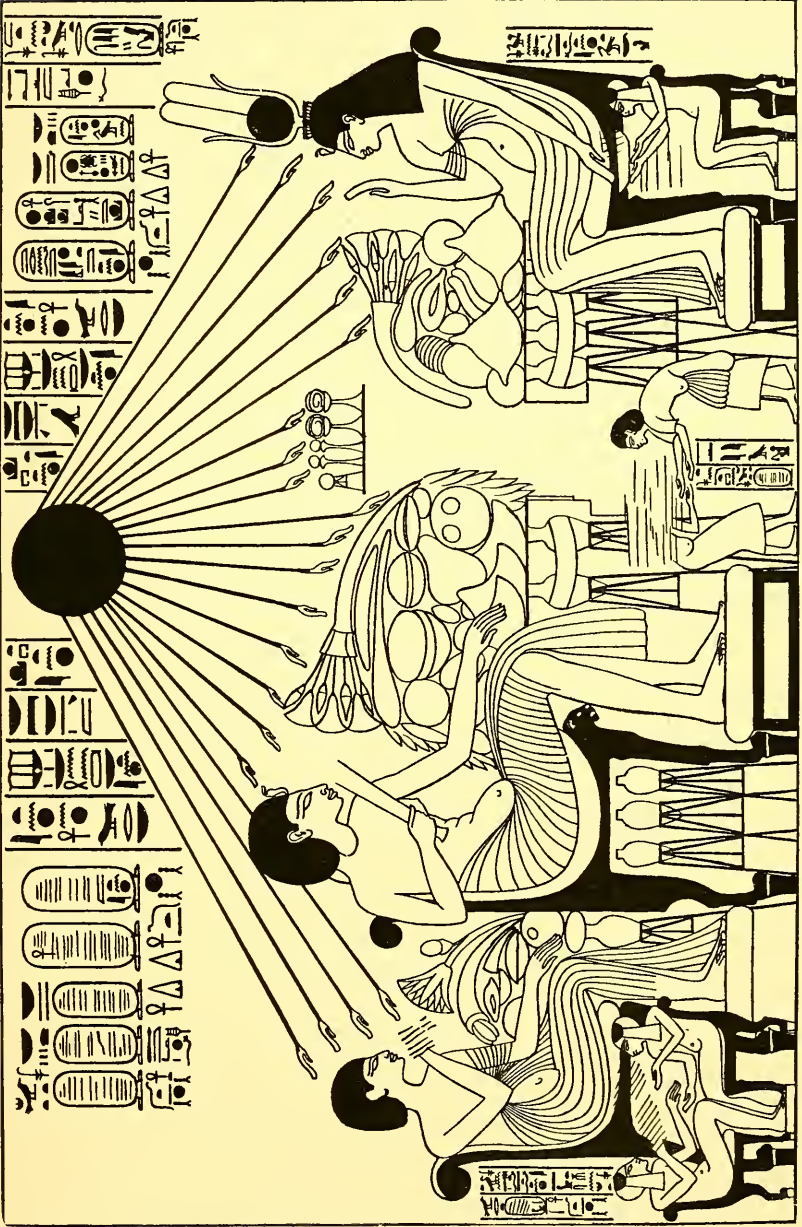
And as the king Khu-en-Āten adopted a style of art different from any which had been employed by his predecessors, so the texts which he inscribed upon the walls of his buildings were of a character different from those with which we are familiar from the monuments of an earlier period. The subject of most of his inscriptions is Āten, whose glory and power he was never tired of proclaiming, and a good illustration of the terms which he employed in his praises of the god will be found in a hymn which has been twice published in recent years.<sup>1</sup> In this we find that Āten is said to

exist in the form of Rā, , and that he is called the “living Āten, the beginning of life,” . When Āten resteth in the west the land is dark, men sleep in their houses, no eye can see, and the lions come forth from their dens, and the creeping things bite; these last statements find parallels in Psalm civ. 20. When Āten riseth men wake up, and wash, and dress, and praise him, and then “go forth to their labours;” all creatures rouse themselves joyfully. It is Āten who turneth the seed of man into men and women, and it is he who giveth life to the son in the body of his mother, , and

<sup>1</sup> First by Bouriant in *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. i. p. 2 ff., and later by Mr. Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV conceptis*, Berlin (no date).

who bringeth him forth a perfect being at the appointed time. Aten is the creator of all living things, and of all men of whatever language and colour, and of the Nile; in short, Aten, and Aten only, is praised as the creator of material things, and the sun is Aten, and all people were called upon to adore him.

We have seen that when Amen-hetep IV. finally declared himself in favour of Aten as opposed to Amen-Rā, he changed his name from Amen-hetep to Khu-en-Aten, and it must now be noted that the form and figure of the king as depicted in bas-reliefs also changed. In the earlier monuments of his reign he is represented as possessing the typical features of his father and others of his ancestors, but at Tell el-'Amarna his physical characteristics are entirely different. Here he is portrayed with a very high, narrow, and receding forehead, a large, sharp, aquiline nose, a thin, weak mouth, and a large projecting chin, and his head is set upon a long and extremely slender neck; his chest is rounded, his stomach inflated, and his thighs are large and broad, and in many respects his figure resembles that of a woman. It is impossible that such representations of the king would be permitted to appear in bas-reliefs in his city unless the king approved of them, and it is clear that he did approve, and that his officials understood that he approved of this treatment of his person at the hands of sculptors and artists, for some of the high officials were themselves represented in the same manner. Still, some of the drawings of



Amen-hotep IV. and his wife and daughters seated with the rays of Aten falling upon them.


the king must be regarded as caricatures, but whether intentional or otherwise cannot be said. Some have thought that the features given to the king by the artists were in some way supposed to be connected with the views held by the worshippers of Aten, and it has also been suggested that he was a eunuch,<sup>1</sup> but for neither suggestion is there any satisfactory ground.

During Khu-en-Aten's comparatively short reign of less than twenty years the whole of the king's energies seems to have been expended in superintending the building of his city, and in developing the worship of Aten. With the view of furthering the latter he built small temples at Heliopolis, and Memphis, and other ancient cities, but of these very few remains have been found. War seems to have been abhorred by him, for we do not hear even of the old familiar raids into Nubia, which nearly every Egyptian king was obliged to make as soon as he came to the throne; on the other hand, we learn from the tomb of Huia,<sup>2</sup>



the king's treasurer, that in the

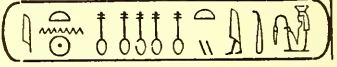

<sup>1</sup> "Est is vermutet worden, der König sei bei einem Feldzuge "entmannt worden, und habe so die charakteristischen Züge der "Eunuchen angenommen; dem widerspricht es jedoch dass "derselbe sieben Töchter besass und demzufolge die Entmannung "erst ein vorgeschrittenen alter hätte erfolgt sein können, wo "dieselbe auf die Aenderung der Physiognomie kaum mehr einen "Einfluss ausüben konnte." Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> This name is found in the Tell el-'Amarna letter, Berlin, No. 6, under the form .

twelfth year of his master's reign he brought tribute from Syria, and the Islands of the Great Green, i.e., the Mediterranean Sea, and Nubia. If we consider the amount of exact information concerning the condition of the rising in Syria at this time we shall see at once that Huia was an ambassador who spoke smooth words, for that Syria, or any other of the possessions of Egypt, paid during the reign of Khu-en-Āten tribute in the way in which the older kings understood the expression, it is impossible to believe.

The mummy of Āmen-ḥetep IV. was found in the tomb of Āmen-ḥetep II. at Dêr al-Baḥarî, whither it was removed in troublous times, although he had caused a tomb to be hewed out of the living rock in a mountainous valley which stretches towards the east, and lies between the two groups of tombs, one on the north and the other on the south; it is about eight or ten miles, according to the route followed, from the Nile. The tomb is approached by two flights of steps and a corridor, and a little beyond the small chamber at the end of the second flight is the hall or chapel wherein the sarcophagus once stood. The paintings are nearly all destroyed, and it is certain that the ornamentation of the tomb was never completed. Such scenes as remain represent people of every tribe and nation worshipping the Disk, or Āten, but many of them were painted, not for the king, but for one of his daughters who died before her father, and who was buried in his tomb.



In all the bas-reliefs at Tell el-'Amarna Khu-en-Áten is always accompanied by his wife Nefertith, to whom he gave the title Nefer-neferu-Áten, i.e., "the beauty of the beauties of Áten" , and with whom several writers have identified the wife of Ámen-ĥetep III., Tatum-khipa, , the daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni. Prof. Petrie says,<sup>1</sup> "Amenhotep III. was negotiating for his "son's marriage before his death; and from another "letter (9) we learn that Tadukhipa was the daughter "thus married to Akhenaten, and who [*sic*] was known "in Egypt as Nefertiti." M. Maspero takes the view<sup>2</sup> that when Tatum-khipa, who had left Mitanni on the understanding that she was going to marry Nimmuriya (i.e., Ámen-ĥetep III.), king of Egypt, arrived in Egypt she found that the old king was dead, and that his son Ámen-ĥetep IV. took his place and married her. In support of his statement Prof. Petrie merely refers to tablets Nos. 6 and 9, and passes on; but M. Maspero to prove his point quotes the British Museum letter No. 11, and the description of its contents drawn up by Prof. Bezold and the present writer. This letter is addressed to the "Queen of Egypt," and it is generally thought that the queen referred to is Thi, especially as mention is made in it of "Thy son Napkhuriya," or Ámen-ĥetep IV. The opening words contain greetings "to thyself, greetings to thy

<sup>1</sup> *History*, vol. ii. p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 329.

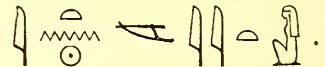
“son, greetings to Tatum-khipa [my daughter], thy “*Kállatu*,” i.e., thy bride or daughter-in-law. And in another letter<sup>1</sup> Tatum-khipa is directly referred to as the wife of Napkhuriya (Amen-ḥetep IV.). But she was not originally intended to be the wife of this king, for Amen-ḥetep III. had negotiated with Tushratta not, as Prof. Petrie says (*Hist.* p. 207), for his son’s marriage, but for *his own*, and Tushratta clearly describes him as his son-in-law, as he also describes Amen-ḥetep IV. later on. Prof. Maspero’s description of Amen-ḥetep III. as *époux prétendu*, i.e., as a husband to whom Tatum-khipa was never married, because he was either dead or dying when she reached Egypt, is disproved by letters from Tushratta to Amen-ḥetep III., which contain greetings to “Tatum-khipa, my daughter, thy wife.”<sup>2</sup> It is evident that Tatum-khipa was for some time before the death of Amen-ḥetep III. his co-wife with Thi, and that after his death she was taken over by his son Amen-ḥetep IV. That this view is shared by Dr. Winckler, the editor and translator of a large number of the Tell el-‘Amarna tablets, is shown by his translation of the words *kallati-k* by which Tatum-khipa is described in Tushratta’s letter to queen Thi, already mentioned above, not as “to thy daughter-in-law,” or even as “to thy bride,” as was done by Dr. Bezold and myself

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. vi. p. 302, line 8.

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, *Die Thontafeln*, pp. xii. 41 (No. 18), 49 (No. 20).


in 1892,<sup>1</sup> but as “deiner Mitfrau,” “to thy co-wife,” i.e., the co-wife with Thi, of Amen-hetep III. For Prof. Petrie’s identification of Tatum-khipa with Nefertith no good grounds can be discovered.


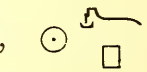
The family of Amen-hetep IV. consisted of daughters,



who were called:—1. Aten-merit, .

2. Māket-Āten, . 3. Ānkh-s-en-pa-

Āten, . 4. Nefer-neferu-

Āten-ta-sheṛā, . 5. Nefer-

neferu-Rā, . 6. Setep-en-Rā, .

. 7. Āten-Baket, . These

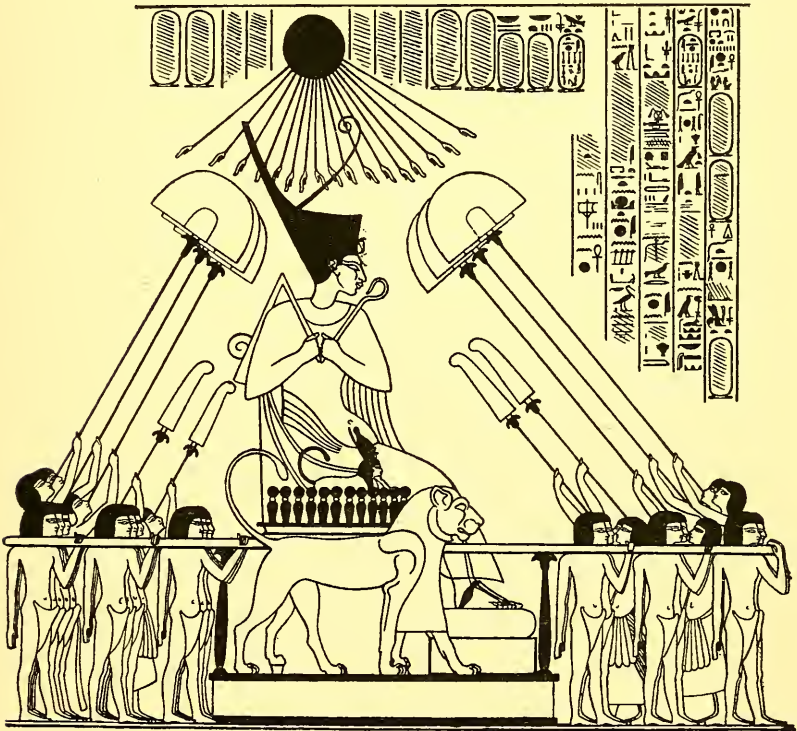
names mean, “Beloved of Āten,” “Virtue (or, protection) of Āten,” “Āten is her life,” “Beauty of the beauties of Āten the Less,”<sup>2</sup> “Beauty of the beauties of Rā,”

<sup>1</sup> The word *kallatum* means in the Semitic dialects “bride,” and also “daughter-in-law,” a fact proved by several passages in the Cuneiform inscriptions, e.g., the goddess Tashmetum is called *kallatum rābitum*, “great bride”; Night is called *kallatum kuttumtum*, “the veiled Bride”; and elsewhere we have, *Itti emeti kallati iprusu, itti kallati emeti iprusu*, “he hath set the mother-in-law at variance with the daughter-in-law, he hath set the “daughter-in-law at variance with the mother-in-law.” See *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, iv. pls. 49, obv. 2; 51, 1, 26, 27; 52, 41. Dr. Winckler obtains his translation *Mitfrau* from the meaning “bride.”

<sup>2</sup> The words “the Less” are added to distinguish her from her mother.

“Chosen one of Rā,” “Servant of Āten.” The eldest daughter died before her father, and some of her sisters married husbands who, in turn, succeeded to the throne.

One of the most interesting subjects for study in



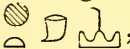
Āmen-hotep IV. seated upon his portable throne beneath the rays of Āten whilst attendants fan him.

connexion with the reign of Āmen-hotep IV., or Khu-en-Āten, is the correspondence which was carried on between him and the kings and governors of Western Asia, and which is revealed to us by the Tell el-'Amarna letters; it is, however, most unfortunate that we have not copies

of the despatches which were sent by the king of Egypt to his vassal princes and governors in Palestine and Syria, and to the kings of the independent kingdoms of Assyria, Babylonia, and Mitanni. In a separate chapter a brief sketch of the contents of the letters from Western Asia is given, but a few paragraphs must be devoted to a consideration of the state to which the possessions of Egypt in Palestine and Syria had been brought by the incapacity of Amen-hotep IV. His grandfather Thothmes IV. had married a wife from Western Babylonia, and his father Amen-hotep III. had married a sister and a daughter of Kallimma-Sin (Kadashman-Bêl), king of Karaduniyash, a daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, and a daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni; thus Amen-hotep IV. was connected with the greatest of the royal houses of Western Babylonia, and the heads of those houses were anxious to continue with him the friendly relations which they had enjoyed with his fathers. Besides this, Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, was quite prepared to do business with him, and clearly had no wish to become involved in war with Egypt; and as far as regards Syria and Palestine, its vassal kings and princes would have paid to the son the tribute which they had paid to the father, had the son taken the pains to journey into their lands and to show them that he was a capable successor to his father. This, however, Amen-hotep IV. did not do, for there is no mention in the inscriptions of a war or expedition of any kind having been undertaken during his reign; had he occupied his





mind after the manner of his fathers we should probably have heard little about the heresy of *Áten*, or of the worshipping of the Disk. It seems that *Ámen-hetep IV.* began to build his city *Khut-Áten* in the fourth year of his reign, and therefore the strife between the priests of *Ámen* and himself must have assumed large proportions earlier; in any case, from the fourth year of his reign to its end he had neither the time nor the opportunity of attending to the affairs of his empire.

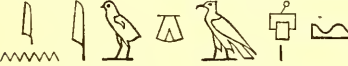
As soon as the peoples of Palestine and Syria learned how he was spending his time they became restless, especially as they found themselves in a difficult position. That they had no great love for the rule of Egypt is shown by the fact that they never lost an opportunity of rebelling against her king, but now they began to realize that she was not strong enough either to make them pay tribute as of old or to protect them against the growing power of the peoples of the *Kheta*, , who had forced their way towards the south and were threatening the independence of the tribes of Northern Syria. The Egyptian officials, who journeyed from place to place throughout the country and administered many parts of it for their master, also found themselves in a difficult position, for they soon perceived how weak his rule was becoming, and that they were powerless to enforce their commands. Before many years had passed nearly all the country of Palestine and Syria was in a state of revolt, for the

great princes attacked each other, and city after city fell into the hands of its enemies, the king's caravans were openly plundered on their way to Egypt, the mercenary soldiers of the Shirdana and the Kashi, who were in the service of the Egyptians, were slain, and the vassal princes of Egypt boldly made league with the Kheta and with the Khabiri. The Kheta, who are no doubt the people referred to by the Assyrians under the name of Khatti, have been identified with the Hittites of Holy Scripture, but on insufficient grounds, and similarly the Khabiri have been identified with the Hebrews. The first possessions which were lost to


Egypt were Simyra,  *Tchamāre*, Ullaza,

Nî, , and Tunip, , and Aziru,

the son of Abd-Ashratum, the governor of Amurri, in league with the Kheta, laid waste the whole of the district which was under the rule of the prince of Kaṭna; about the same time the country of Nukhashshi,

 *Anaukasa*, was captured by the Kheta on their own initiative. The governors of the cities on the coast were next attacked, and we find

that the Khabiri and the Kheta and their rebel allies captured Bêrût,

 *Barethà*, and besieged Tyre, and compelled the inhabitants of Ascalon,

and Gezer, and Lachish, etc., either to supply them with provisions, or to attempt to murder their governors.

The Tell el-'Amarna letters, written from Palestine and Syria, all tell the same story, and all contain the same piteous appeals for help from Egypt; they also show that in the majority of cases their writers received no answers to their petitions. Prominent for loyalty was Abdi-khiba, the governor of Jerusalem, who himself tells us that he received his appointment from the "strong arm" of the king, and that since he depended upon Egypt as his supporter it would be impossible for him to act disloyally to her king. In the seven letters which he sent to the king of Egypt he describes how the revolt is spreading, how city after city is throwing off its allegiance to the king, how the presence of a very few Egyptian troops would save not only his own city but the country round about, how Egyptian viceroys were being slain, and how within a year the whole land would be in the possession of the Khabiri unless help from Egypt were sent. In like manner Rib-Adda sent letter after letter to Amen-hotep IV. containing information of the progress of the disaffection and the rebellion, and though he promises to keep his hold upon his city Gebal, i.e., Byblos, as long as he has life, he shows that he knows how fruitless all his petitions and letters will be. At one time he pleads humbly for help, at another he taunts the king by mentioning the former greatness of the Egyptian power in Syria, and at another he writes in despair because every governor of every city round about him is hostile to him, and

because each month he sees more clearly what the end must be.

The position of Abi-Milki, governor of Tyre, was a serious one at this time, for he seems to have been driven from his abode on land and to have established himself on the two rocks of Tyre, which were some distance from the city on the mainland. The enemy had occupied the mainland, and had cut off his supplies of food, and water, and wood, with the view of starving him out, and their ships also prevented him from obtaining provisions by sea; it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to despatch a letter to the king. The following rendering of one of his letters will illustrate the troubles of this long-suffering servant:—"To the king, my sun, my gods. "Thus [saith] Abi-Milki thy servant, I fall down seven "times and seven times at the feet of my lord the "king, and I am the dust beneath the sandals of my "lord the king. Indeed I am keeping guard over the "fortress of the king which he placed in my hands. "My face is set towards going to see the face of my "lord the king, but I am unable to do so because of "the hand (i.e., action) of Zimrida of the city of "Sidon; for should he hear of my departure to the "palace he will perform acts of enmity unto me. Let "the king my lord give me twenty (?) men to guard "the fortress of the king my lord, and then let me "come before the king my lord, so that I may see his "happy face. I have set my face to perform the

“service of the king my lord, and let the king my lord  
 “ask his inspector if I had not before set my face [to  
 “go] into the presence of the king my lord. I have  
 “sent my envoy to the king my lord with his despatch,  
 “therefore let the king my lord send his envoy to me  
 “with his despatch, and I will depart straightway to  
 “the king my lord. . . . Let the king my lord turn  
 “his face [to me] and give me water to drink . . . .  
 “and wood for his servant [to burn] . . . . Let the  
 “king my lord know that we are cut off from the land,  
 “and that we have neither water [to drink] nor wood  
 “[to burn]. I have already sent my envoy to the king  
 “my lord, and I gave him five talents of copper, a  
 “wooden throne (?), etc. The king my lord wrote to  
 “me, saying :—‘Acquaint me by letter with whatso-  
 “ever news thou hearest in Canaan,’ [and I therefore  
 “say], The king of Danuna is dead, and his brother  
 “hath become king in his room, and his country is  
 “quiet. Let the king know that fire broke out in the  
 “city of Ugarit, and that one-half of the city hath  
 “been burnt, but the other half hath escaped. The  
 “Khatti have disappeared. Itakama hath conquered  
 “the city of Kadesh, and Aziru<sup>1</sup> hath made enmity  
 “with Namyawiza. I know the evil act which  
 “Zimrida<sup>2</sup> hath committed and how he has gathered  
 “together ships and men from the cities which are  
 “friendly to Aziru, [and that they will come] against

<sup>1</sup> The son of Abd-Ashratum.

<sup>2</sup> Governor of Sidon and Lachish.



“me. . . . Let the king turn his face to his servant,  
“and set out to come [to us].”<sup>1</sup>

The letters which were sent to Amen-hetep IV. by the independent kings of Western Asia also prove that the king was not maintaining with them the ancient friendship in the traditional manner, for Burraburiyash II., king of Karaduniyash, says in one despatch, “Your envoys have  
“come to me three times, but you have sent no rich  
“gift; therefore I have sent you nothing.”<sup>2</sup> In another he says, “The caravan of my messenger whom  
“I sent to you has been twice plundered in your  
“territory,”<sup>3</sup> a statement which proves how unsafe the country, presumably Syria, was in Amen-hetep’s time. Elsewhere the Babylonian king complains that his merchants have been killed and robbed, and demands satisfaction from the king of Egypt; <sup>4</sup> Tushratta, king of Mitanni, also complains of double-dealing on the part of Amen-hetep IV.,<sup>5</sup> and judging of the case as he presents it to us it would seem that trickery was devised in the city of Khut-Aten as well as in other cities of Egypt.

Opinions differ as to the character of Amen-hetep IV., but when all is said that can be said on his behalf the

<sup>1</sup> The text is published in Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. 64, and a summary will be found on page lxi. of the same work; another rendering will be found in Winckler’s *Die Thontafeln*, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Bezold-Budge, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

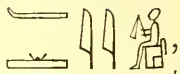
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57 ff.

fact still remains that he led a life of pleasure in his new city, surrounded by his wife and daughters, and enjoying to the full the dances, and processions, and feastings, and merry-makings of every kind, whilst the empire which his great ancestors had built up with such labour was crumbling away piecemeal. That he had insulted the priesthood of Amen, and put to shame an ancient god of Upper Egypt, who was identified with the liberation of his country from the Hyksos, and who was the great god of his ancestors and of most of the inhabitants of his country, concerned him little as long as he could act the high-priest to his own god, and declare that Aten was in his heart. That he was a fond husband and father is likely enough, but the spectacle of the king spending his time in heated disputes with the priests of Amen on a point of doctrine, and living in luxury among artistic surroundings of every kind, whilst his empire was falling to pieces, and his too loyal servant Abi-Milki was sitting shivering with cold and hunger upon the rocks of Tyre, or writing piteous appeals for help to protect his master's interests, is not edifying. That such a man ever sat upon the throne of the Amenemhâts and Usertsens is a fine example of the irony of fate.

11.   RĀ-  
 ĀNKH-KHEPERU, son of the Sun, RĀ-SE-ĀA-KA-TCHESER-  
 KHEPERU.



TUT-ANKH-ĀMEN was the son of Āmen-ḥetep III. by a wife who was not of royal rank; he married a daughter of Āmen-ḥetep IV. called Ānkh-s-en-pa-Āten, and thus obtained the right of succession to the throne of Egypt. He was not a follower of Āten, as his name proclaims, and it is a remarkable fact that his wife changed her name from Ānkh-s-en-pa-Āten, which she had used during her father's lifetime, into Ānkh-s-en-Āmen, thus proclaiming her devotion to Āmen-Rā. He adopted many of the titles of the old kings of Egypt, i.e., "Mighty Bull, the Horus of gold, beautiful god, lord of the two lands," etc., and also called himself "Prince of Ānnu of the South" i.e., Hermonthis. His nomen or Rā name has been explained to mean "the living image of Āmen." The chief event in the life of Tut-ānkh-Āmen was his removal of the court from the city of Khut-Āten back to Thebes, where he showed himself to be a loyal servant of the god Āmen, and set to work to repair or rebuild parts of the great temples of the god in the Northern and Southern Āpts. He caused a series of reliefs illustrating the chief scenes in the procession of the festival of "Opening of the year," i.e., New Year's Day, to be sculptured on the walls of the colonnade of the temple of Luxor, which had been built by his father, and he carried on certain works in the temple of Karnak; and everywhere possible he restored the name and figure of Āmen which his father-in-law had ordered to be cut out or mutilated. During his reign

the "royal son of Kush" was one Hui , and it is probable that through him Tut-ānkh-Āmen carried out the repairs to the temple of Āmen-Rā, which have been mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> From the tomb of this official at Kurnet-Murrai we learn that the tribes of Kush brought tribute to the king, but this is not to be wondered at, seeing that Nubia was ruled by a "royal son of Kush" who had not been affected by the heresy of the Disk worshippers. The scenes on the tomb represent the Nubian chiefs bringing gold rings, gold dust, skins of animals, ebony head-rests, precious stones, thrones, couches, oxen, etc.; elsewhere are pictures which are explained as the bringing of tribute by the chiefs of the people of the Ruthennu, or Syrians. With the evidence of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets before us it is difficult to believe that the northern Syrians paid tribute to Tut-ānkh-Āmen so soon after the collapse of the Egyptian power in Western Asia, therefore it is far more likely that the Syrians depicted on the walls of Hui's tomb are a company of merchants, who have come to barter with the Egyptians and not to bring them tribute. We must probably interpret many scenes of "the bringing of tribute" in the tombs of Egypt in this manner. Meanwhile, after the departure of the court from Khut-Āten to Thebes, the capital of the worshippers of the Disk declined rapidly, for the temple services languished, and as there was no one in the palace to

<sup>1</sup> See page 143.



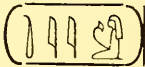
employ the artists and sculptors who had flocked to the city in the reign of Amen-ḥetep IV., all business ceased; those who settled there in order to be where the court was quickly left the place, and in less than twenty-five years after the death of the founder of the city Khut-Āten was quite deserted. Soon the buildings began to fall into ruin, and long before the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty there was little left besides the foundations to mark where the city had stood. The god Amen and his priests had conquered Aten, and Egyptian art once again put on its shackles of conventionality in obedience to their behests.



RĀ-KHEPERU-MAĀT-ĀRI, son of the Sun, NETER-TEF  
 ĀI NETER-ḤEQ-UAST.



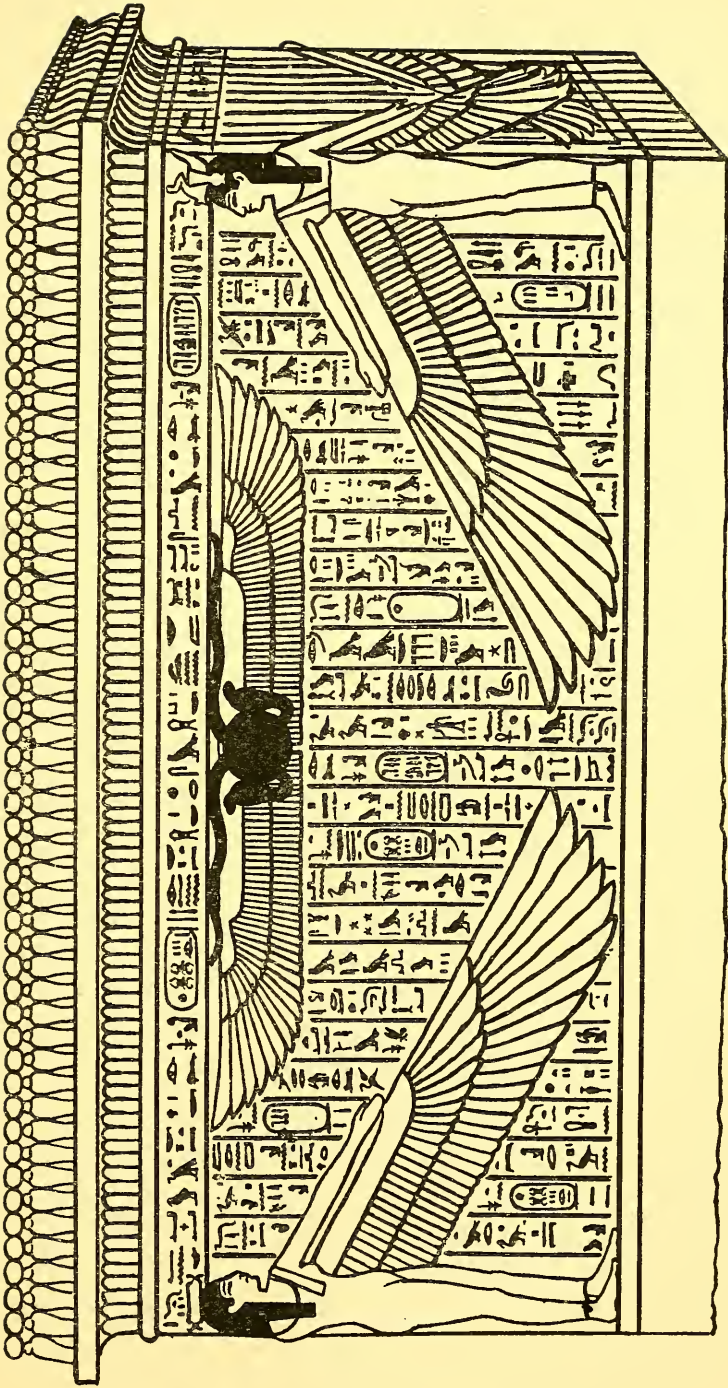
KA-NEKET-  
 THEHENT-KHĀU,  
 the Horus name of  
 Āi.

Tut-ānkh-Āmen was succeeded by Āi, who seems to have held some office in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, for he added to his second cartouche the title “divine father;” Āi was not a man of royal descent, but he obtained a claim to the throne by marrying the lady , who was related to the house of Amen-ḥetep IV., and who is described as “Royal wife, great lady, princess, great of favours, lady of the two lands.” Āi, in addition to his Horus

lady of the two lands.”

name, "Mighty Bull, of saffron-coloured risings," adopted as his titles, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet," "Power doubly strong, smiter of Asia, "the Horus of gold, the prince who keepeth Maât (i.e., "the law), the creator of the two lands," and "Divine governor of Thebes." The last mentioned title he had placed in his second cartouche. According to Brugsch, Ai was the "superintendent of the whole "stud of Pharaoh," and his wife Thi had been nurse of Amen-hetep IV., but whether this be so or not it is quite certain that both Ai and Thi were great favourites at the court of this king, for they appear in a scene in prayer with Amen-hetep and his wife, who are elsewhere represented as bestowing gifts upon them.<sup>1</sup> From this it is clear that Ai was a devotee of the god Aten, but whether a sincere one or not depends upon the identification with him of the king who built a tomb for himself in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The "divine father" Ai, who was beloved by Amen-hetep IV., certainly built a tomb, which was never finished, at Tell el-'Amarna, and a king Ai, who was also a "divine father" and had married a wife called Thi, hewed out a tomb for himself and his wife in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and there is every reason for thinking that both tombs were built by one and the same person, though at different periods of his life. The first may, as M. Maspero suggests,


<sup>1</sup> These scenes are in Ai's tomb at Tell el-'Amarna; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 103 ff., 111.



The sarcophagus of king Ai.

have been made at the time when Ai had no expectation of becoming king of Egypt, and the second when he was actually the king of Egypt; the second tomb itself proves that the man who made it was king of Egypt. This being so, there are no good grounds for not thinking that Ai the king built both tombs. But whatever may have been Ai's views about the supremacy of Aten in the days when he worshipped this god at Khut-Aten in company with Amen-hetep IV., it is quite clear that they underwent a very considerable modification when he was about to become king of Egypt, for he adopted names and titles in which the god Aten is not even mentioned, and he made a tomb for himself and his wife in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings near that of Amen-hetep III., thereby showing that he wished to be buried near the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty who had worshipped Amen and made Thebes their capital. In the new tomb he placed a beautiful, richly sculptured and inscribed red granite sarcophagus; at the four corners are figures of four goddesses, i.e., Isis, Nephthys, Nit and Serqet, or Selqet, with outspread wings, and on the front is the winged disk with uraei and outspread wings. The tomb is not very large when compared with the other royal tombs of the period. It is usually called the "Monkey Tomb" by the modern Arabs, because on the walls are pictures of several dog-headed apes. During the reign of Ai no military expeditions were undertaken, and it is pretty certain that nothing whatever was done to try to regain Egypt's



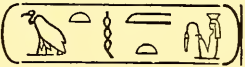
lost possessions in Palestine and Syria; we are therefore justified in assuming that no tribute was paid to Egypt by the tribes of these countries. With Nubia the case was different, for the viceroy Pa-ur, or Pa-ser, , the "royal son of Kush, the governor of the south," was living there, and could make the tributary tribes bring in their usual gifts to Egypt. The country there was sufficiently quiet to enable him to build the rock shrine at Addah, or Mashâkit, or Shataui, near Abû Simbel, wherein we see Ai and a high official making offerings to Amen, Ptah, Râ, Horus, Sebek, and the local goddesses Anuqet and Satet; with these are also worshipped Usertsen III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty who effectually conquered Nubia.

14.  RĀ-


TCHESER-KHEPERU-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, AMEN-MERI HERU-EM-HEB.



KA-NEKHT-SEPT-SEKHERU, the Horus name of Heru-em-heb.


HERU-EM-HEB, the *Aprius* of Manetho, succeeded to the throne of Egypt by right of his descent from the queen Mut-netchemet, , who appears to have been his mother, though some think she was his wife; Mut-netchemet was closely related to Amen-hetep III., or to his son Amen-hetep IV. According to one account Heru-em-heb himself was grandson of Thothmes III., but the




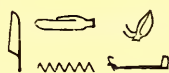
details of his genealogy are not known. On ascending the throne he adopted as his Horus name, "Mighty Bull, endowed with plans, or, counsels," and the most frequent of his other titles are, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty one of marvels in the Apt," "The Horus of gold, resting upon Maāt, making to be the two lands," "Mighty one of valour," etc. Of the life of Heru-em-heb we gain some interesting information from an inscription<sup>1</sup> found on the back of a double statue which is preserved in the Museum at Turin; here we have the king and the queen Mut-netchemet, the former holding the symbol of life and a sceptre to his breast, and the latter wearing the headdress of a royal lady, which was originally surmounted by plumes. The text is full of high-sounding phrases, and the breaks at the beginning of the first twenty lines make it difficult at times to form a connected sense, but the principal facts recorded are as follows:—He was begotten by Amen-Rā, who took upon himself the form of Heru-em-heb's earthly father, just as the god took upon himself the forms of the fathers of Hātshepset and Amen-hetep III. when they were begotten; he was born in the city of Het-suten, , the Alabastronopolis of the Greeks, and Horus, the god of the city, took him straightway under his protection, and bestowed upon him all manner of physical gifts and

<sup>1</sup> First published with an English translation by the late Dr. Birch in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 486 ff.

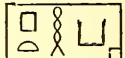


mental powers, and clothed him in the "skin of the god." He was held in great honour by gentle and simple, even as a child, and every one recognized that he was the offspring of the god and was destined to occupy a most exalted position in Egypt. In due time the god Horus brought him before the king in the palace,

, and he was at once made

Re-her, , or governor of the country. Later

he became the Aten, , or "deputy" of the

king in the two lands, a position which he occupied with great success for many years; the nobles of Egypt rendered homage to him, and "the chiefs of the foreign nations of the south and of the north stretched out their hands towards him, and made supplication to his face as unto a god." At length Horus of Het-Suten wished to establish his son upon his everlasting throne, and arranged that Heru-em-heb should go to Thebes and appear before Amen, in order that this great god might seat him upon the throne of Egypt. Horus himself took him to Thebes, and their journey through the country was hailed with delight by all men. When Heru-em-heb arrived in Thebes he went to the temple of Amen, and was received joyfully by the god, who led the young man to his mother Mut-netchemet, and she embraced him, and apparently resigned then and there on his behalf all her claims to the throne of Egypt; on this Nekhebet, Uatchet, Nit, Isis, Nephthys, Horus,

Set, and all the company of the gods raised a shout of joy. After an interval Amen led his son into the large hall of the temple, in order to “stablish his crown upon his head,” and the gods saluted him and besought the king of the gods to bestow upon the new king the years of a long life and thirty-year festivals, and to give him the power to augment the worship which was paid to the gods in Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, , Het-Ptah-ka. Thereupon the names and titles of the new king were decided upon, and the remainder of the coronation ceremony was duly performed. The coronation over, Heru-em-heb appears to have left Thebes and to have sailed down the river “in the form of the “god Harmachis, having taken possession of the country “according to the decree which had been passed concerning him from the time of Rā.” Next he “restored “(or rebuilt) the temples of the gods from the region of “the papyrus swamps in the Delta, , “to the land of Ta-kenset in Nubia, and he caused to be “sculptured images of the gods, , which were “larger and more beautiful than any that had ever “been made before. The Sun-god Rā rejoiced to see “his shrines which had been desolate for a long time “made to flourish again, and where formerly there had “been one statue there were now a hundred.” Having restored the buildings and set up the figures of the gods in them, he bestowed upon the temples lands and goods,


and appointed priests to minister in them, and servants to keep them clean, and he provided for their maintenance in perpetuity.

The above summary will show what are the general contents of the inscription on the statue at Turin, and it will be seen that it teaches us nothing about the events of the king's reign; in fact, all that it really tells us is that Heru-em-heb was descended from a family of worshippers of Amen, that he obtained the throne through the influence of the priests of Amen, who worked upon the queen Mut-netchemet, and made her to resign her rights to the throne on behalf of their nominee, and that the king performed during his reign the promises which he had made to support the authority of Amen, and to carry out the commands of the god as interpreted by his priests. The titles which the king assumed indicate that he was a man of some learning and wisdom, and unless the words of the earlier part of the inscription are not true, he must have been a tactful as well as a just man; to please the nobles of Egypt as well as the priests of Amen must have been by no means an easy task. Some interesting light is thrown upon the reign of Heru-em-heb by a stele, about sixteen feet high, which was discovered by M. Maspero in 1882,<sup>1</sup> when conducting excavations on the site of the pylon built by

<sup>1</sup> See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 134; Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. vi. pp. 41-56, where a copy of the text will be found; and *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1888, pp. 70-94, where a number of difficult passages in it have been explained by Müller.

Heru-em-heb at Karnak. The inscription upon it is unfortunately much mutilated, and large gaps occur in it, but enough of it is legible to show that it contains copies of the decrees passed by the king in council with his ministers for the suppression of frauds and crimes of various kinds. The king, it is said, watched both by day and by night to do good to Egypt, and he intended to put down with a strong hand the shameful irregularities which had grown up in connexion with the collection of taxes, etc. Then follows a list of the offences which had been brought before the notice of the king personally, and it seems that he punished the delinquents in the same manner in which Thothmes III. had punished men who were proved to have committed similar offences. We see that the tax-collectors seized, in the name of the king, whatsoever they pleased, declaring that they needed it for the execution of their duty, and having once taken the property of the poor in this way they refused to give it up again. The collectors were accompanied by scribes, who made false entries in the government registers, and both classes of officials expected to gain on every transaction which they carried out for their master. When a local Wâli of the day moved from one place to another, his servants seized, in the name of the government, the boats and beasts of burden belonging to any one who had such things, and made use of them without payment. What goes on to this day in Turkey went on then in Egypt, and the poor were plundered on all



hands ; on the slightest provocation the tax-collectors would swear that those who had paid taxes had not paid them, and the amount of the rate levied on the people often depended on the good will or good nature of the collector. Heru-em-heb found that it was useless to appoint inspectors, because they frequently became corrupted, and in turn they corrupted other officials who had the power to bring them to book ; as a result the king was robbed, and many of the people were brought to beggary. The decrees of Heru-em-heb were humane and just ; among others he ordered that the tools or means by which a man earned his living were not to be confiscated if he could not pay his taxes ; some slight offences he punished by beating, but an offender who committed an act of glaring injustice and cruelty was punished by having his nose split and by banishment to Tchar, , i.e., a district near the Sirbonian Lake of classical writers, and a notorious criminal settlement. On stated days Heru-em-heb sat in his palace to hear complaints and petitions, to adjust differences, and to pass sentence on those who had been charged in his court and found guilty ; and if the exercise of his powers in these respects was guided by a knowledge of human nature we may well believe that he did a vast amount of good. Many Eastern rulers have established courts of justice on this pattern, but they have usually degenerated into courts of injustice on the deaths of their founders, and done more harm than good.

We have already seen that H̄eru-em-h̄eb ascended the throne through the influence of the priests of Āmen, and it is time to refer to the great works which he did in honour of that god. His first act seems to have been to pull down the H̄et-Benben which Āmen-h̄etep IV., the misguided heretic, had set up in the very midst of the buildings of the temple of Āmen, in honour of the god Harmachis, in order to proclaim that he was a high priest of this rival of Āmen, and to insult the priests and people of Thebes. H̄eru-em-h̄eb destroyed this edifice with great thoroughness, and used up the stones of which it was built for the foundations of the two pylons, which he erected at the south end of the great temple of Āmen-Rā at Karnak. To carry on his building operations here and elsewhere<sup>1</sup> he worked the quarries of Silsila, and on the walls of the small temple which he hewed in the mountain there he caused to be painted scenes illustrating the principal events which took place during the expedition which he led into Nubia. This temple is entered by five doorways, and consists of a long, narrow, vaulted chamber, with an opening immediately opposite the middle doorway leading into a smaller room, which probably formed the sanctuary. On the wall at the southern end of the larger chamber is a relief in which the king is depicted seated on a throne borne by twelve soldiers wearing feathers, and he is followed by rows of

<sup>1</sup> For a list of his buildings and restorations see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 410.

Nubian princes bearing tribute, or gifts. This little temple was hewn by the king to commemorate his victory over the Nubians, and its walls formed excellent surfaces whereon kings and officials under the XIXth Dynasty loved to sculpture scenes illustrating their devotion to the gods, and to inscribe records of their prowess. Judging from the fragmentary lists of names and inscriptions on one of the walls of the temple of Amen at Karnak, it seems that Heru-em-heb undertook in person, or sent, an expedition into Palestine and Syria with the view of compelling the former vassal nations and tribes to pay tribute to him as they had done to his predecessors, and he claims to have made them do so. In the lists of the countries which he declares he has conquered we meet the names of Alashiya (Cyprus?) and Kheta, and those of cities in Northern Syria, but it is difficult to believe that the peoples there either acknowledged his sovereignty or paid him much tribute. The want of ships belonging entirely to Egypt would prevent him from landing an army in Cyprus, and any expedition which he made to that island must have concerned merchandise rather than conquest. The power of the peoples who formed the Kheta confederacy precludes any idea that they submitted to him, for during the years which had elapsed since they broke Egypt's power in Northern Syria they had made themselves masters of that country. Still, the Egyptians had become accustomed to objects of Syrian merchandise, and any gift made to

the Egyptian king, or even any bartering which was distinctly advantageous to him, was termed "tribute" by the court scribes, who had to draw up the descriptions of his expedition and the list of "conquered" cities, which were to be inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amen at Karnak.

Heru-em-heb sent ships to Punt to bring back loads of gum, and of other products of that country, and the people would also regard as "tribute" the results of these mercantile expeditions. Records of this kind, however, prove that Egypt was beginning to feel the desire to regain her former possessions, and that she possessed a ruler who wished to give effect to this desire. Before Heru-em-heb ascended the throne he seems to have begun to build a tomb at Şakḳâra, and from the inscriptions upon its walls we learn that he was a *ḥā* prince, and a *smr*, and that the offices which he held at court were those of fan-bearer and royal scribe, and commander-in-chief of the soldiers. It has been thought that this tomb was built for one Heru-em-heb who is not to be identified with the man who became king of Egypt, but there are many reasons for considering this view untenable. The inscriptions on the statues at Turin prove that the king was of noble though not necessarily royal, rank and birth, and indicate that he was held in high honour because of it. Unfortunately, they do not say what king it was who promoted him to the government of the country, but it may well have been Tut-ānkh-Āmen, who was glad to

find a capable man and soldier to set over the country of the North. The official who built the tomb at Şakḳâra is represented with the uraeus on the forehead; this proves that he was connected with the royal family of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and agrees very well with the inscription at Dêr al-Baharî, which says that king Heru-em-heb's grandfather was Thothmes III. Viewed in this light, the inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Âmen, describing conquests in Syria, may be interpreted in another way, for they may refer to events which took place during expeditions conducted when the king was a young man, i.e., about the time when Tut-ânkh-Âmen was reigning. At any rate, it is much more likely for the high official of Memphis to have been the nominee of the priests of Âmen than a comparatively unknown man, and for the queen Mut-netchemet to have resigned her claims to the throne in favour of a relative of the old royal house, than of a stranger. The length of the reign of Heru-em-heb is unknown, but according to an inscription published by the late Dr. Birch he reigned twenty-one years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. 14.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.—SUMMARY.

THE kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty were undoubtedly the greatest who ever occupied the throne of Egypt, and their rule marks a new era in the history of Egypt. With the advent to the throne of the early kings of this dynasty Egypt began her career of foreign conquest, culminating in the formation of an empire which covered the greater part of Western Asia, and which lasted in a more or less flourishing condition for a period of nearly three hundred years. Áāhmes I. completed the expulsion of the Hyksos, which was begun by Seqenen-Rā III., and pursued them into Palestine and captured their stronghold Sharuhen; his son Ámen-ḥetep I. was occupied in extending the southern rather than the northern frontier of the kingdom, but his successor Thothmes I. conceived and began to carry into execution the conquest of the whole of Palestine and Syria, and actually succeeded in reaching the city of Ni, which was probably situated near the Euphrates, and set up a memorial tablet

there. His conquests were, however, not permanent, and the consolidation of the Egyptian power in Western Asia did not take place until the reign of Thothmes III. Under Amen-hetep II. and his son Amen-hetep III. Egypt attained the zenith of her power, and the greatest height of her prosperity, for during the greater part of the reign of the later monarch the authority of the king of Egypt was undisputed from the Fourth Cataract on the Nile in the south to the mountains of Armenia in the north. But this vast empire was not held together by any internal power of its own, and its continued existence depended entirely upon the energy and personality of the reigning Pharaoh.

As soon as Amen-hetep III. became old and feeble the signs of decay of empire began to appear, and the whole imperial edifice temporarily collapsed in the reign of his successor Amen-hetep IV., who is better known perhaps as "Khu-en-Aten," the "Disk-worshipper." Whilst this weak and incapable monarch was engaged in the congenial occupations of disputing with the theologians at Thebes, and in subverting the historic canons of Egyptian art, the empire of Western Asia, which had been built up by his mighty ancestors, slipped from his grasp, and was not restored to Egypt until the reign of Seti I., about fifty years later. The frontiers of Egypt on the south were also extended by the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, especially by Amen-hetep I.; in the reign of Amen-hetep II. the

further submission of the Nubian tribes was brought about, and under Amen-hetep III. the whole of Nubia was effectively occupied, the Egyptian frontier having been pushed as far south as the city of Napata, or Gebel Barkal, at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Here the frontier remained until the secession of the Nubian kingdom from Egypt under the rule of the princes of the house of Piānkhi, some five or six hundred years later. The administration of Nubia was organized in the reign of Thothmes I., when a viceroy was appointed, whose official title, "Royal prince of Kesh" (Cush), appears for the first time in Egyptian history; at first the person selected to fill this post was a great noble or trusted military officer, but later the office became an appanage of one of the royal princes, who was, no doubt, usually an absentee.

The administration of Western Asia was a more serious matter, and could not be so easily provided for. Palestine and Syria were inhabited by a number of tribes which were usually at war with each other, but the people were not barbarians like the Nubians, for they were nearly as civilized as the Egyptians themselves, having for centuries been included in the sphere of influence of the ancient culture of Babylonia, which may well be older than that of Egypt itself. The language and writing of Babylonia had been long used throughout the country, and remained the medium of communication between all the nations on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. When Syria and Pales-

tine were actually under the rule of Egypt, and paid tribute to the Egyptians, the Babylonian language was the official speech of the country, and was used by the Egyptian conquerors in corresponding with their subjects as well as with the non-Semitic princes of Cyprus, Cilicia, and Armenia, who made Babylonian the language of diplomacy. The coast of Palestine was already in the XVIIIth Dynasty inhabited by the famous race of the Phoenicians, who had at that time attained the position of merchants, and carriers by sea, which they always afterwards retained. Many passages in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets show us that in the XVth century B.C. they already possessed fleets of merchant ships, and we know from a fresco in a Theban tomb<sup>1</sup> that the importers of objects of curiosity and value from the northern countries into Egypt were Phoenicians. This nation also used the cuneiform writing at this period, for the Phoenician script as we find it on the cup of Hiram I.<sup>2</sup> had not yet been developed by them. They were brought under the control of the Egyptians by Thothmes III., and during the revolt of the Canaanitish tribes in the reign of Amen-hetep IV. they proved themselves to be the most faithful of all the Asiatic subjects of Egypt. The Egyptians administered their Asiatic possessions chiefly by making use of the local chiefs, who were no doubt subsidized, and who ruled their tribes as the representatives of

<sup>1</sup> Daressy, *Revue Arch.*, 3ième sér., 1895, vol. xxvii. p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Inscrip. Semit.*, tom. i. pl. iv.

the Egyptian Government to which they had to send back tribute. To the courts of the more important chiefs Egyptian residents were appointed, much in the same way as British officials are appointed to reside at the courts of Indian Rajahs. Besides these, travelling commissioners<sup>1</sup> were despatched from time to time from Egypt to investigate matters and to adjust differences between the various tribes, and high Egyptian officials were often temporarily appointed governors of some disaffected region.

The well-being and fortunes of the Egyptian Empire in Western Asia were greatly affected by the presence on its frontiers of a series of powerful and highly civilized kingdoms, e.g., Karaduniyash, or Babylonia, Mitanni, i.e., the classical Matiene, or Southern Armenia, Kheta, or the Khatti of the Assyrians, Arşapi, or Cilicia, and Alashiya, or Cyprus. At this time Babylonia was under the rule of a dynasty<sup>2</sup> of foreign kings who belonged to an eastern race of uncertain origin, known to us as "Kassites." This dynasty was founded about B.C. 1725 by a king called Gandish, and its kings, who were contemporaneous with the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, will be found in the note below. Of these monarchs Kara-indash was a contemporary of Thothmes

<sup>1</sup> Compare the positions of Yankhamu and others whose existence is made known to us by the Tell el-'Amarna tablets.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Agum (B.C. 1600), Kara-indash, Kadashman-Bêl, Kadashman-Harbe, Kurigalzu I., Burraburiyash, Kara-Ihardash, Nazibugash, Kurigalzu II., Nazimaruttash, Kadashman-Turgu, and Shagashalti-buriyash (about B.C. 1300).




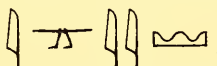
III., and was no doubt the first Babylonian king to enter into direct relations with Egypt. Karaduniyash, i.e., the name given to Babylonia by the Kassites, was at once recognized as a monarchy possessing a civilization as advanced as its own, and the sister and daughter of Ḳaḍashman-Bêl, or\*as the name has been commonly read, Kallimma-Sin, were given in marriage to Āmen-ḥetep III. The intimate relations which existed between the royal houses of Egypt and Babylonia will be found described in the chapter on the Tell el-'Amarna tablets. Āmen-ḥetep III. and Āmen-ḥetep IV. married respectively Gilukhipa and Tatumkhipa, the sister and daughter of Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, the rival power of Karaduniyash. The immediate predecessors of Tushratta on the throne of Mitanni were Artashumara and Artatama, who had entered into very friendly relations with Egypt. It must not be forgotten that Thi, the chief wife of Āmen-ḥetep III., and mother of Āmen-ḥetep IV., was of Mitannian origin, and thus it is possible that the Āten worship was modified by the influence of the Mitannian religion. The people of Mitanni spoke a non-Semitic language, but they adopted the Babylonian system of writing to express it; it has not as yet been satisfactorily deciphered.

Situated between the rival kingdoms of Babylonia and Mitanni was the territory which as early as B.C. 2100 was known by the name of Ashur, i.e., Assyria. This district had always been under the


direct influence of Babylonia, and had been generally ruled by the monarchs of that country. During the period of the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt a Semitic prince called Ishmi-Dagan ruled in a semi-independent fashion over Assyria, and in the time of Kara-indash, king of Babylonia, Ashur-bel-nishi-shu, the king of Assyria, was recognized as an independent monarch by the Kassites, who were compelled to agree to a treaty in which the boundaries of the two kingdoms were defined. At the same period, however, the kingdom of Assyria was regarded by the Egyptians as a tributary nation, a position which was never assigned to the kingdoms of Karaduniyash and Mitanni, and it remained tributary until the end of the reign of Amen-hotep III., when, simultaneously with the revolt of the Syrian tribes against Egypt, Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, not only threw off the Egyptian yoke, but at the same time attacked Babylonia, with the result that he ultimately obtained sufficient power to set a king—Kuri-galzu II.—upon the throne of Babylonia. Henceforth for some hundreds of years the Assyrian power eclipsed that of Babylonia. The kingdom of Mitanni seems to have collapsed soon after the reign of Tushratta, and the country was divided between the Assyrians and the powerful race of the Kheta, who must now be mentioned. The Egyptians first came in conflict with the Kheta in the reign of Thothmes III.; they seem to have been originally a mountain race of Armenian origin, and their home was probably



the high lands of Cappadocia. During the XVIIIth Dynasty their power increased towards the south, until in the time of Amen-hotep IV. we find them occupying the whole of the country round about Aleppo and Emesa. They were extremely warlike and no longer paid tribute to Egypt, indeed they were greatly feared by Babylonians, Mitannians, and Egyptians alike; the disturbances in Syria and Palestine at this period were chiefly due to their interference in the affairs of these countries. The kingdom of Khanigalbat, which is mentioned in the Tell el-'Amarna letters, must be placed in or near the territory of the Kheta.

The position of the land of Arşapi can be fixed with certainty, and it represents the later Cilicia; its language, at present undecipherable, is written in cuneiform characters, and judging from the name of the king Tarhundaraush it must have belonged to the non-Semitic and non-Aryan speech of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

The country of Alasa, , or Alashiya, with which the Egyptians at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty were in constant communication, must, it seems, be placed in Cyprus, of which it was probably a part, and in this island must also be placed the land of Asi, , which Thothmes III. rendered tributary. The Egyptian name for the whole island

<sup>1</sup> See Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 370 ff.; Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, p. 90 ff.

is Inthānai, ,<sup>1</sup> which is probably the hieroglyphic equivalent of Yatnana, the Assyrian name for Cyprus. The Egyptians imported from Alashiya large quantities of copper and precious woods, which seem to have come from the forests of Troodos.



The extension of the Egyptian Empire to the borders of Asia Minor, and the partial subjugation of the Island of Cyprus, brought the Egyptians more or less into contact with the nations of Western Asia, Asia Minor, Crete, etc.; the generic name of the lands wherein these nations dwelt is, in Egyptian, *Kefti*, , or *Keftiu*, , a term which, according to Brugsch, means nothing more nor less than "Hinterland." The old theory which regarded the Keftiu as Phoenicians must, therefore, be abandoned. The nations of the Keftiu were at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty included within the sphere of influence of the early European civilization which is called "Mycenaean," the chief seat of which appears to have been in the Island of Crete.<sup>2</sup> Ambassadors from a nation of Kefti were received at the court of Thothmes III., and representations of them and of the gifts which they brought with them are depicted in the tombs of Rekh-mā-Rā,<sup>3</sup> and Men-kheper-Rā-senb, two great

<sup>1</sup> This identification is due to Mr. Hall; see *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *Cretan Pictographs* (*passim*); and *Annual, British School at Athens*, vol. vi. (*passim*).

<sup>3</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. ii.; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 348, 349.

officials who flourished at Thebes during his reign. The dresses worn by the ambassadors are similar to those of the Mycenaeans depicted on the walls of the palace at Knossos, discovered by Mr. A. J. Evans in 1900.

Of the various nations whom the Egyptians included under the name of Keftiu in the XVIIIth Dynasty we know the names of two only, i.e., Sirdana and Danuna, which names occur in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets; the former are mentioned as mercenary soldiers, the latter as having established a settlement on the coast of Palestine.<sup>1</sup> These two nations are identical with the Shartina\* and the Tāanāu, or Tānauna, who are mentioned in texts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties; but of the other nations, e.g., Aquinasha, Tartenui, Masa, Maunna, Piṭasa, Qaleqisha, Thuirsha, Shakelesha, Tchakarui, and Uashasha, who were associated with them in later days, we have in the XVIIIth Dynasty no mention. The Lycians, who were known to the Egyptians as "Ruka," , and to the Babylonians as "Lu-uk-ki," , and who were no doubt also included under the generic name of "Kefti," were renowned in the XVIIIth Dynasty as pirates, and a correspondence was carried on between the governments of Alashiya and Egypt in the reign of Amen-hetep IV. in respect of their predatory

<sup>1</sup> See Winckler, *Die Thontafeln*, Berlin, 1896, p. 143; and *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1892, p. lxi.



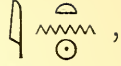
raids.<sup>1</sup> The nation of the Pursathā, which must be identified with the Philistines, is not mentioned in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and at this period it does not appear as yet to have settled on the coast of Palestine. The relations between Egypt and the above mentioned peoples of the Mediterranean at this time appear to have been, on the whole, friendly, and the discovery of Mycenaean objects with Egyptian remains of this date and the evidence of the great influence which Egyptian art exercised over that of the Mycenaean, prove that these relations were of a continuous and not intermittent character.

The history of the XVIIIth Dynasty shows that the power of the king was absolute as far as the dictation of the foreign policy of the government was concerned ; but though in theory he controlled the internal affairs of the country in the same way, we see that in practice he was checked by the necessity of consulting the wishes of the priests of Āmen-Rā at Thebes, who were now becoming very powerful, and by the impossibility of dominating the actions of the large army of officials, both civil and military, who had by this time taken the place of the old aristocratic and semi-independent governors of the nomes. The troubles which accompanied the Hyksos invasion, and the long wars of liberation carried on by the princes of the XVIIth Dynasty resulted in the disappearance of the old *erpā hā* princes, or chiefs of nomes, who in the XVIIIth

<sup>1</sup> Winckler, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 87.

Dynasty were replaced by royal officials, all the power of the government being centralized at Thebes. The ancient political capitals, Memphis and Herakleopolis, declined greatly in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the ancient religious capital, Heliopolis, sank into obscurity ; on the other hand Abydos revived, chiefly because it was the most ancient centre of Osiris worship, which at this time was far more prominent than under the kings of the Middle Empire. The temporary transfer of the court and government administration from Thebes to Khut-Âten (Tell el-'Amarna) in the reign of Âmen-hetep did not result in any permanent disorganization of the administrative machinery, but the religious upheaval which accompanied it was very considerable. It seems as if the king was obliged to quit Thebes, for the capital was as sincerely devoted to the worship of Âmen as he was to that of Âten ; his departure probably saved the country from rebellion and civil war. The episode of the retirement of the heretical king with his whole court to the new palace and city of the "Spirit of the Sun-Disk," which he built far away from the shrines of the ancient religion which he had repudiated, and the strange life of religious and artistic propaganda which he led there, utterly oblivious of the fate of the foreign possessions of his empire, is one of the most curious and interesting in the history of the world.

The history of the development of the Egyptian religion at this period is dominated by the transitory

episode of the Áten heresy. The word Áten, , means "Sun-Disk," and the veneration of it was extremely ancient in Egypt, or rather in those parts of the country where the influence of the priests of Heliopolis was paramount. The old veneration included no monotheistic conceptions, and the Áten was venerated solely as the disk of the Sun-god Rā; at base, then, the worship of the Áten was of Heliopolitan origin, but it only became a heresy when monotheistic ideas were imported into it, and the sun-disk was regarded as the sole deity of heaven and of earth, the source of all light and life. It seems that these new views were introduced into the worship of the Áten by the importation into Egypt of foreign religious ideas of a monotheistic character, which were brought from Mitanni by Thi, the Mitannian wife of Ámen-hetep III., and mother of his son Ámen-hetep IV. (Khu-en-Áten). The cause of the bitter dispute between Ámen-hetep IV. and the priests was the fact that the worship of the Áten as developed by him admitted of the existence of no other gods; all the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic gods of Egypt were to be abolished, and the sole deity to be worshipped was the actual, burning, and radiant disk of the Sun, who was no longer to be regarded as the god of the sky, but as God Himself, One and Alone. Such revolutionary ideas as these were, no doubt, exclusively confined to the king and court at Tell el-'Amarna, for all the priests and the bulk of the

people remained faithful to the old gods of Egypt, who were restored to their old positions within ten years after the death of Âmen-ḥetep IV., when the name of Âmen, which he had erased from the monuments wherever possible in order to insert in its place that of Âten, was restored by the orthodox king Ḥeru-em-ḥeb. The vigour of the opposition offered to the views of the heretics by the priests of Âmen is evident from the violence of the hatred displayed towards their god and his name, and it is interesting to note that the names of Rā and Ḥeru-ḳhuti, gods of Heliopolis, were left undisturbed by Khu-en-Âten.

Among the religious literature of the XVIIIth Dynasty the hymns to the Âten are characterized by loftiness of sentiment and beauty of expression. The *Book of the Dead* attained its fullest development at this period, when the Theban Recension was finally elaborated. Many of the most ancient chapters had long been unintelligible throughout, and many passages in it had been interpreted by means of glosses and commentaries from very ancient times. The greater portion of the book as it was constituted in the XVIIIth Dynasty consists of the original texts mixed with and overlaid by a number of explanatory notes and glosses, which it is often difficult to separate from the original texts. In connexion with this subject it must be noted that sepulchral stelae in the XVIIIth Dynasty differ greatly from those in use under the XIIth and earlier Dynasties. On the earlier stelae we see representations

of the making of offerings to the deceased by his wife and the various members of his family, from which it is clear that the veneration of ancestors was a sacred duty; in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, however, we see that the deceased himself is usually depicted in the act of making offerings to a god, who is generally Horus, and this remained the most striking characteristic of sepulchral stelae until the latest times. In the description of the remains of the dynasty of Antef kings given above reference has been made to the fashion which grew up in their time of making coffins in the shape of the mummified human body; under the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty this custom became universal, and the old rectangular coffins did not come into use again until the Roman Period. In the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty exalted personages were buried in two or three coffins, and a board, elaborately painted and decorated with a human face, was often laid upon the mummy; this board was, in later days, replaced by a *cartonnage* casing made of layers of linen and plaster, which fitted the body closely. In still later times *cartonnage* cases were made of old papyri, which were broken up and mixed with gum, and so formed a kind of cardboard.

The kings of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty were not buried in pyramids like their predecessors, but in large rock-hewn tombs, which contained corridors and galleries of great length, and several chambers which were used for commemorative festival services and for the making of offerings. Each king began to build his tomb as soon



as he ascended the throne, and its extension and the decoration of the walls, etc., continued until the time of his death; practically, the longer a king reigned the larger his tomb became. The earlier kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty were buried in the mountain near the temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, and their tombs could probably be approached from that building; the later kings built tombs for themselves in the rocky ravine, commonly called the "Valley of the Tombs of the Kings," in Arabic, Bibân-al-Mulûk. Of the latter group one of the oldest and most interesting is the tomb of Âmen-ḥetep II., which was discovered by M. Loret in 1898. In addition to the mummy of this king there were found in it the mummies of Thothmes IV., Âmen-ḥetep III., Âmen-ḥetep IV., Seti II., Sa-Ptah, Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., and Set-nekht. These mummies were probably removed from their tombs and placed for safety in the tomb of Âmen-ḥetep II. in the time of the XXIst Dynasty, when a number of mummies of other kings, including those of Seti I. and Rameses II., were removed for similar reasons to the famous hiding-place near Der al-Baḥarî, to which reference has already been made. In the tomb of Âmen-ḥetep II. were also found three mummies, each with a large hole in his skull and a gash in his breast. At the time of their discovery a theory was promulgated to the effect that these were slaves who had been sacrificed during the final funeral ceremonies which took place in the tomb, but further

examinations of these mummies seem to show that they owe their wounds to the violence of the robbers of the tomb in ancient times, who dragged them out of their coffins and mishandled them in search of treasure.

The tombs of private individuals retained a modification of the pyramidal form as far as their-entrances were concerned, and the walls were ornamented, especially in the case of great officials, with scenes in which the chief events of their own lives and of the times in which they lived were represented, a very favourite subject being the introduction and presentation at court of the ambassadors and bearers of tribute from foreign potentates and vassal nations. However faithful in point of costume and minute peculiarities such scenes may have been, their general design and treatment were strictly conventional, the old Egyptian canon of art being faithfully adhered to. In the reign of the heretical king, Khu-en-Āten, whose artistic predilections have already been referred to, art as well as religion became infected with the taint of heresy. Excellent illustrations of this fact will be found in the frescoes and pillar decorations of the king's palace at Tell el-'Amarna, where we find plant *motifs* especially treated with a freedom from conventionality and truth to nature which were hitherto unknown, and which are never found in later periods. It cannot be said that Khu-en-Āten's sculptors and painters obtained either greater or less success in the treatment of the human figure than their predecessors, but one great

step in advance, i.e., shading in painting, was made by them, though it was, unfortunately, retraced later; it was only during the reign of this king that the Egyptian artist ever showed that he understood the effects of light and shade in his work. With the cessation of religious heresy the artistic heresy ceased also. Some have thought that the artistic development which took place under Khu-en-Āten was due to the influence of the highly realistic and bizarre contemporaneous art of the Mycenaeans, but there is as yet no satisfactory evidence for this view, indeed it seems more probable that Egyptian art influenced that of the Mycenaeans than the reverse. It must never be forgotten that the Egyptian artist possessed a good deal of freedom in the treatment of designs intended for small objects, especially mirrors and other articles of the toilet, spoons, and the like; and in the treatment of animals he had more freedom allowed him than in the case of the human figure, or of trees, plants, etc. The extraordinary naturalistic development which took place in the reign of Khu-en-Āten was entirely of Egyptian origin, and, as far as can be seen now, owed little or nothing to foreign influence; on the other hand, one of the bases of Mycenaean art is of Egyptian origin, i.e., the conventional use of red colour in frescoes to denote the flesh of men, and yellow to denote the flesh of women. In one branch of Egyptian art, i.e., the making and inscribing of scarabs, a revolution seems to have taken place earlier in the

XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, when under Amen-hetep I. the old styles of scarab-engraving, which are so characteristic of the Middle Empire, and are distinguished by a profuse use of the spiral ornament and by deeply-cut inscriptions, gave way to lighter and more elegant fashions. At the same period the inscribed seal cylinder ceased to be used, and the style of the Egyptian hieratic writing underwent a very considerable change.

Of the houses in which the Egyptians lived at this period we know little, but it is certain that those of the wealthy had large gardens attached to them, and that the main building stood in the midst of a courtyard which was bounded by a high wall. Of the furniture which was used in such houses we know a great deal, thanks to the tombs at Thebes, from which have been recovered so many truly beautiful examples of tables, chairs, couches, etc., often inlaid with ebony, ivory, and cedar wood; and the fact should always be remembered that by far the greater number of the objects of this class which are found in the Museums of Europe are the product of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and belong to no later period.

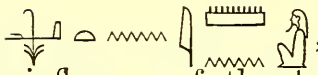
The hieroglyphic inscriptions which are found throughout Egypt and Nubia show that under the rule of the kings of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the shrines of all the gods of Egypt were restored, and most of their temples rebuilt, and a comparatively permanent provision seems to have been made for the maintenance of the






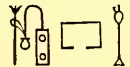
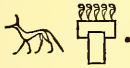
services and sacrifices of the gods, and for the support of those who ministered to them out of the gifts brought from foreign nations and the tribute paid by vassal tribes. Hātshepset tells in her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî and in the Speos Artemidos that she restored the shrines which the Āamu, i.e., Hyksos, had wrecked, and rebuilt the altars and the temples which were in ruins, but it must be noted that most of the temples which she built were those of goddesses. Early in the XVIIIth Dynasty the ancient shrine of Āmen in the Northern Āpt (Karnak) was restored, and beautified, and greatly enlarged, king vying with king in adding court to court, and building to building, in honour of the god of the city who had worked their deliverance from the Hyksos plague. Later, in the reign of Āmenhetep III., a new temple to Āmen-Rā was begun in the Southern Āpt (Luxor), and succeeding kings added largely to it. Both temples were under the high-priest



of Āmen, , and were served by the

whole body of the priests of Āmen in Thebes, who, although they did not yet control the political and military policy of the country, as in later days, were nevertheless fast becoming a very powerful corporation, the influence of which was already eclipsing that of the more ancient hierarchies of Heliopolis and Memphis. Many women of high rank in Thebes were appointed to offices connected with the worship in the temple, and received titles accordingly, e.g., "qemāt en



Āmen," , i.e., "singer of Āmen," and the influence of the brotherhood of Āmen was thereby greatly increased, and it acquired great wealth from the gifts of such devotees. Another source of great wealth to the brotherhood was the share which was always set apart exclusively for the god Āmen out of the booty captured from foreign nations, and we must not forget the profits which accrued to the priests of Āmen from the labours of the lower classes of the order who mummified the dead and carried out all the funeral arrangements in Thebes. We may note in passing that the position of the priest had undergone great modifications since ancient times, for under the XVIIIth Dynasty it could not any longer be said that the head of the family was *ipso facto* a priest, nor do we find that all great officials any longer held priestly offices as a matter of course. The priests now began to form an entirely distinct class of the population, and their position was of a most exalted character; but to enter the priesthood was open to every man, and the son of the peasant who owned an acre or two of land, having once entered the priesthood, might, as well as a son of a high official, aspire to the highest offices of the order, provided he possessed the necessary ability. Reference has already been made to the large class of officials, forming a sort of bureaucracy, who performed the functions of local government, which in the time of the earlier dynasties had been carried out by the local *hā* princes, and among such must be mentioned the

royal scribes, , of various kinds, who were scattered throughout the country; the local governor, , *tchat-mer nut*; the headman of the village, , *hā-na-temait*; the commander-in-chief of the police, , *hā-heru mātchairu*; the chief magistrates or town-council of Thebes, , *uru āaiu*; the treasury scribe, , *ān perui hetch*; the tax-collectors, and the officials connected with the administration of justice, the head of whom was the "chief judge," .

As the functions of the nobles in the early dynasties were now performed by paid officials, so the command of the soldiery of Egypt passed into the hands of professional officers, and a more or less centralized army, with a nucleus consisting of royal guards, , or "mighty men of valour," was formed, and had its headquarters at Thebes. This army was under the direction of a commander-in-chief, , *mer mashāu ur tep*, and seems to have been divided into more or less organized regiments, e.g., the "regiment of Amen," the "regiment



wealth and power this title will more justly be applied to the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which undoubtedly marks the highest point which Egyptian civilization and power ever reached. The reign of Amenhetep III. was the culminating point in Egyptian history, for never again, in spite of the efforts of the Ramessids, did Egypt occupy so exalted a place among the nations of the world as she had in his time. At his death a decline set in, the progress of which was not arrested, either by the energy and ability of Seti I. or by the fictitious glory of his pretentious son Rameses II., who in modern times has been commonly but erroneously called the "Great."

## CHAPTER III.

## THE TELL EL-'AMARNA TABLETS.

THE Tell el-'Amarna Tablets consist of a number of letters, despatches, etc., which were written to Amen-hetep III. and to his son Amen-hetep IV., kings of Egypt in the XVIIIth Dynasty, by kings and governors of certain countries, and districts, and cities, and towns in Western Asia. They are written in a cursive cuneiform character, chiefly in a Semitic dialect—Babylonian<sup>1</sup>—and a few of them contain docketts in the Egyptian hieratic character recording the names of the countries from which they came, and probably the dates when they were received. It would be hard to over-estimate the importance of the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets from a historical point of view, for they supply information of a character which exists in no other body of documents known to us. We learn, moreover, from them not only concerning the relations which existed between the

<sup>1</sup> A peculiar feature in these tablets is the frequent use of glosses, which explain certain Sumerian ideographs both by Babylonian and by Palestinian words. In some cases Babylonian words are explained by their Palestinian equivalents.



kings of the independent countries and the rulers of the vassal states of Western Asia and the kings of Egypt mentioned above, but also concerning certain of the alliances and friendships which had grown up between the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who had successfully invaded Syria and Palestine, and the native viceroys whom they appointed to rule over their newly gotten lands on their behalf. They also supply much information concerning offensive and defensive alliances between the kings of Egypt and of other countries, and concerning marriage customs, religious ceremonies, intrigues, etc., and they give us for the first time the names of Artatama, Artashumara, and Tushratta, kings of Mitanni. The philological and geographical information which may be derived from these documents is, in its peculiar way, almost as valuable as the historical facts which they supply, and for this reason summaries of the contents of the principal documents of the "find" are here given.

The Tell el-'Amarna Tablets were found about the end of the year 1887 in a chamber which was situated in the small building that lies to the east of the palace built by Ámen-ĥetep IV. in the city of Khut-Áten, the ruins of which have been called by the Arabs "Tell el-'Amarna." The finder was a woman, who was digging out dust from among the ruins to lay upon her land for "top-dressing," and who handed over her interest in the find to one of her friends for the sum of two shillings (10 piastres). The exact number of the

tablets which were originally deposited in the chamber will never be known, for several were broken accidentally and the pieces destroyed by the Arabs who dug them out of the chamber, and others were broken wilfully by them, either for the purpose of easy carriage on the persons of those who helped to dig them up and were concerned in the secret removal of antiquities from one place to another, or that the number of men who were to have a share in the profit derived from the sale of the tablets might be increased. Moreover, several fragments were lost or destroyed by certain natives who were sent to take them to the antiquity dealers in Cairo.<sup>1</sup> The British Museum acquired about 81 tablets, the Berlin Museum about 160 pieces, some of them being of considerable size, the Museum in Cairo about 60 tablets, and about a score of small tablets and several fragments fell into the hands of private collectors; judging by these figures it appears that the number of tablets which were preserved of the "find" was about three hundred. With the tablets were found a clay seal having two impressions of the prenomen of Amen-hotep IV.; five square alabaster plaques, inlaid with the prenomen and name of Amen-hotep III. in dark blue glazed faïence; a light blue glazed faïence plaque, rounded at the top, and

<sup>1</sup> I obtained these facts in December, 1887, from a gentleman in Egypt who was, I believe, the first European who saw the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets, and who had personal knowledge of the men who bought them from their finder.

inlaid in dark blue faience characters with the names and titles of Amen-hetep III. and his wife Thi in hieroglyphics; and a red stone jar cover carved to represent a lion and a bull fighting. The contents of the principal tablets of the "find" may be thus summarized:—

1. LETTER FROM AMENOPHIS<sup>1</sup> III. TO KALLIMMA-SIN, or as the name may also be read, Kadashman-Bêl, KING OF KARADUNIYASH. The letter opens with the words, "To Kallimma-Sin, King of Karaduniyash, my brother, "thus saith Amenophis, the Great King, the King of "Egypt, thy brother: 'I am well, may it be well with "thee, with thy government, with thy wives, with thy "children, with thy nobles, with thy horses, and with "thy chariots, and may there be great peace in thy "land; with me may it be well, with my government, "with my wives, with my children, with my nobles, "with my horses, with my chariots, and with my troops, "and may there be great peace in my land.'" Amenophis refers to the refusal of Kallimma-Sin to give him his daughter to wife on the ground that he did not know whether his own sister, whom Amenophis had married, was alive or dead, and tells him to send to the Egyptian court a messenger to see her and the happy conditions under which she lives. Kallimma-Sin

<sup>1</sup> Amenophis is called Nimmuriya, or Immuriya, or Mimmuriya, all of which forms represent the Egyptian prenomèn Neb-Maât-Râ,



appears to have done so, but neither the messenger nor any of his colleagues had known the lady personally, and they were therefore unable to identify her. In answer to the remark of Kallimma-Sin that he was accustomed to give his daughters in marriage to "kings of Karaduniyash," and to receive handsome gifts in return, Amenophis says that he will give in return for his daughter richer gifts than any Babylonian could give him, and that he will besides give him a gift on behalf of the sister concerning whom Kallimma-Sin was making inquiries; also that it is useless to refer to the old treaty between the king of Karaduniyash and Thothmes IV., for Amenophis has duly observed it, and fulfilled its conditions. In answer to the complaint made by Babylonian envoys to the court of Egypt both to Kallimma-Sin and to his father, to the effect that they had been ill-treated, Amenophis declares that all such statements are lies, for they had been treated with great respect; the king of Egypt also denies emphatically that he made any complaint whatsoever about the beauty of the woman whom Kallimma-Sin had sent him to wife, and calls the envoys liars. The text at the end of the tablet is incomplete, but the fragments which remain seem to refer to some dispute about chariots and horses, and the Babylonian king seems to accuse the king of Egypt of bad faith. (Brit. Mus.,<sup>1</sup> No. 29,784.)

<sup>1</sup> The numbers here given are those which appear in the British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London,

2. LETTER FROM KALLIMMA-SIN TO AMENOPHIS III. After salutations the Babylonian king reports that his maiden daughter, whom Amenophis wished to marry, is now grown up, and he asks the king of Egypt to send him word about her, so that she may be brought to him. He begs that his messenger may not be detained long in Egypt, and complains that his last envoy was kept there for six years, and that when he did return he only brought back 30 manehs of gold (B. 1).<sup>1</sup>

3. LETTER FROM KALLIMMA-SIN TO AMENOPHIS III. In one letter Kallimma-Sin asked the king of Egypt to send him an Egyptian princess to wife, and Amenophis replied, "The daughter of the king of the land of Egypt hath never been given to anybody" (i.e., a nobody). To this Kallimma-Sin replies, "Why not? Thou art king and canst act as thou pleasest; and if thou art willing to give her to me, who shall say a word against it?" In the present letter Kallimma-Sin says that there must be many beautiful women in Egypt, and asks that one of these may be sent to him,


1900, p. 154 ff., and the summaries are based upon those which were drawn up for the official publication, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 1892, by Dr. Bezold and myself in 1891.

<sup>1</sup> B = Berlin or Bûlâk, and the numbers which follow are those given to the texts in the publication of Messrs. Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1889, 1890, who included in the official publication of the Berlin Museum copies of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets at Bûlâk. Renderings of most of the tablets of the find, with transliterations of the cuneiform texts will be found in Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896.




for "who here could say that she is not a princess?" He adds, "to increase the closeness of the relations between us, thou didst write to me of marriage, and I, in order that we might become more nearly related, and that there might be brotherhood and friendship between us, did the same. If thou wilt not send me a wife I will not send thee one." . . . "And as concerning the gold about which I wrote to thee, saying, 'Send me much gold with thy envoy,' thou must send it during the season of harvest, either in the month of Tammuz or that of Ab, and if thou wilt do this I shall be able to finish the work which I have begun, and I will give thee my daughter. If the gold be not sent in one of the months mentioned I cannot complete the work which I have undertaken; and if thou sendest it later, when the work which I have undertaken is ended, of what use will it be to me? If thou sendest to me 3000 talents of gold then I shall not accept it, and I will not give thee my daughter to wife" (B. 3).

4. LETTER FROM KALLIMMA-SIN TO AMENOPHIS III. Kallimma-Sin acknowledges with thanks and hearty greetings the arrival of the lady whom the king of Egypt has sent him to wife, and he announced in return by the hands of Shuth, his envoy, the despatch of couches and thrones made of precious woods and gold, and other valuable objects as gifts for the king of Egypt. On this tablet is an impression of a scarab, on the base of which is inscribed the hawk of Horus

wearing the crowns of the South and North, , the disk of the sun, ☉, etc. The scarab must have been made in Egypt, judging by the impression, which shows that the characters were cut accurately upon it, and Kallimma-Sin seems to have had it impressed on this tablet as a compliment to the king of Egypt (Brit. Mus. No. 29,787, and B. 2).

5. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF MITANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III. He mentions the letter which he had sent to Amenophis to inform him that he had killed the murderers of his (i.e., Tushratta's) brother, Artashumara, and that he had slain Pirkhi, who usurped the throne of Mitanni after the death of Shutarna, his father, and refers to the friendly relations which existed between the kings of the countries of Mitanni and Egypt. He next reports that the king of Khatti invaded his land, and that the lord Tishub had given him into his hand, and that he had killed him and his forces to a man. Amenophis III. had married Gilukhipa,<sup>1</sup> a sister of Tushratta, and now Tushratta states that he is sending gifts of chariots and horses to the king of Egypt, and articles of jewellery for his sister; in conclusion he begs that his messengers, Giliya and Tunip-ipri, may be sent back speedily with a gift (Brit. Mus. No. 29,792).

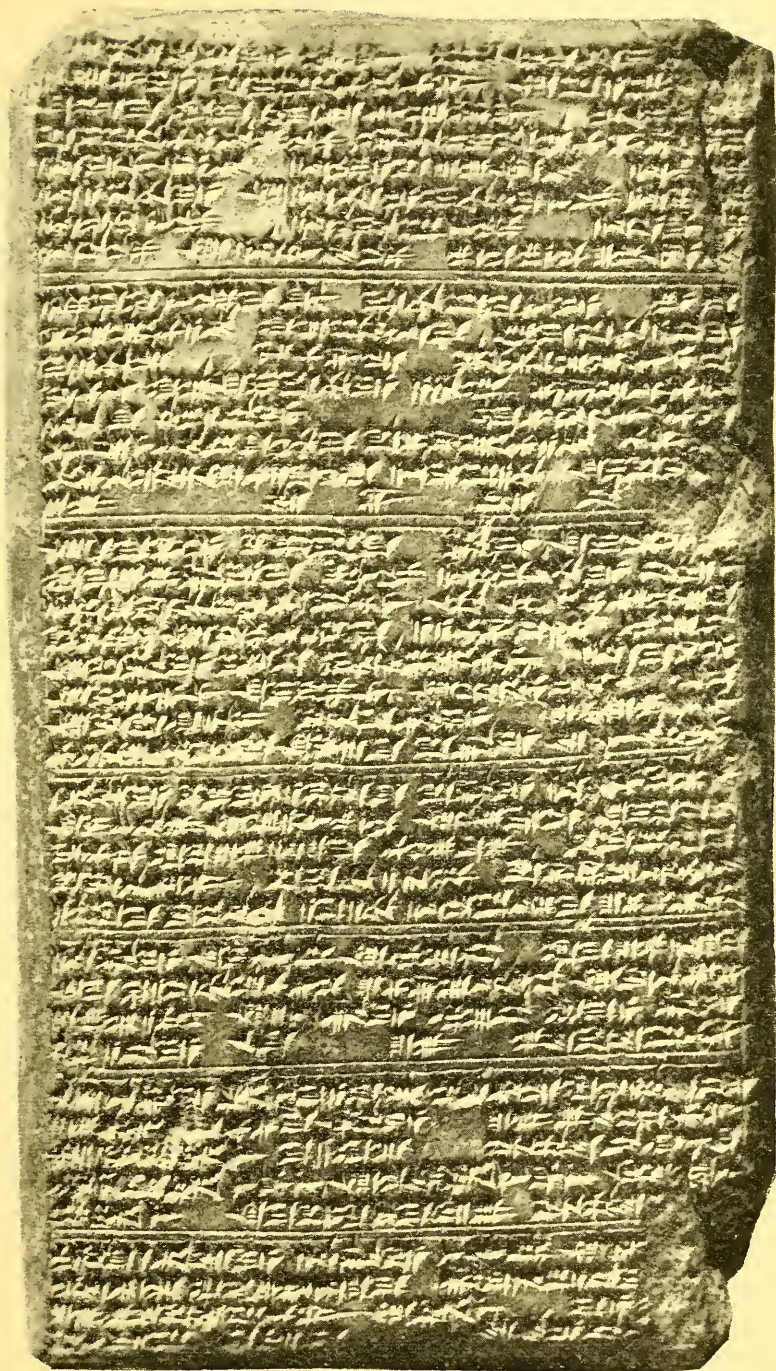
6. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS III. Tushratta refers to the great friendship which existed

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian form of the name is .

between his father Shutarna and Thothmes IV., the father of Amenophis, but says that the friendship which now exists between Amenophis and himself is ten times stronger than that which existed between their fathers, and he hopes that the god Tishub (= Rammanu = Rimmon) of Mitanni and Amen of Egypt will make their friendship to prosper. Tushratta then mentions that he has allowed the Egyptian envoy Mani to see his daughter, whom Amenophis wishes to marry, and he hopes that she may be as pleasing to Amenophis himself as she was to the envoy, and that the goddess Ishtar of Mitanni and Amen of Egypt may mould her to please the will of the king of Egypt. Tushratta then asks that a large quantity of gold may be sent to him, and says that he is making ready certain implements and weapons of war and the chase, which his grandfather had promised to send to Amenophis, but omitted to do so; he suggests that the gold which he expects to receive from the king of Egypt be regarded as payment for these objects, and as his daughter's dowry. He asks that the envoy Giliya may be sent back as quickly as possible, and states that he is sending gifts of lapis-lazuli, horses, chariots, precious stones, and thirty women (Brit. Mus. No. 29,791).

7. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS III.  
Referring to the arrival of the Egyptian envoy, Mani, whom Amenophis has sent to bring to Egypt another daughter of Tushratta, called Tatum-khipa, to be his





Letter from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, to Amen-hotep III., king of Egypt,  
about B.C. 1430.



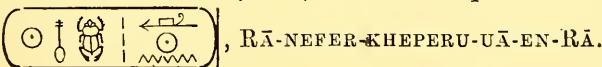


wife, Tushratta says that he is quite willing to send her to Egypt, only that her wedding apparel is not ready yet, and that she cannot start for six months. Meanwhile he sends a messenger of the king of Egypt called H̄aramashshi back to him with the present letter. It seems that Amenophis had despatched a quantity of gold to Tushratta, who had it examined, and found that it was either not pure gold or not gold at all. This being so he refuses to send his daughter Tatum-hipa to Amenophis, and he asks in the letter which H̄aramashshi took back to him that the objects which he had already sent him, and which belonged to his father Shutarna, may be returned to Mitanni (B. 22).

8. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS III. Tushratta announces the despatch of his daughter Tatum-hipa, in company with the Egyptian envoy Mani and the Egyptian interpreter H̄ani, and he prays that Shamash and Ishtar may go before her, and make her a delightful thing in the sight of the king of Egypt, and that she may bring to him both blessing and joy. He sends gifts to Amenophis, which he prays may be safely guarded for one hundred thousand years among the treasures of Amenophis (B. 21).

9. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH, KING OF KARADUNIYASH, TO AMENOPHIS<sup>1</sup> IV. Burraburiyash writes

<sup>1</sup> In the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets Amenophis IV. is called NAPKHURRIYA, which is intended to be the equivalent of NEFER-KHEPERU-RĀ, i.e., the first portion of the prenomen



to say that he hopes the friendship which existed between Amenophis III. and himself will be continued between himself and Amenophis IV.; whatsoever the king of Egypt wishes for from Karaduniyash shall be sent to him, and he hopes that the king of Egypt will send him anything he may wish to have from Egypt (B. 4).


10. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH TO AMENOPHIS IV. Burraburiyash says that because our fathers were friends they sent gifts to each other, and neither refused the request of the other, no matter how costly was the thing which was desired. He complains that Amenophis IV. has sent him only two manehs of gold, and begs that he will send to him as much gold as Amenophis III. sent; but if he cannot do that let him send at least half as much. Burraburiyash is in great need of money because he is building a temple, and he is very anxious to finish the work as soon as possible. In the time of Kurigalzu, the father of Burraburiyash, the Canaanites wrote to him and asked him to join them in making an attack upon the frontiers of Egypt, but Kurigalzu wrote and told them that he would not associate himself with them, and warned them that if they attempted to do an unfriendly act towards the king of Egypt, his "brother," he himself would march against them and plunder them, for the king of Egypt was an ally of his. Now the Assyrians under their king Ashur-uballit, who was a vassal of Burraburiyash, had made their way into Egypt, presumably with the

idea of making an alliance with Amenophis IV., and Burraburiyash having heard these things begs the king of Egypt to have nothing to do with them, just as his father Kurigalzu had nothing to do with the Canaanites. He sends as a gift to Amenophis three manehs of lapis-lazuli, and five chariots with the horses necessary for drawing them (Brit. Mus. No. 29,785).

11. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH TO AMENOPHIS IV. Burraburiyash refers to the friendly relations which have existed since the time of his grandfather Kara-indash between the royal houses of Egypt and Karaduniyash, and remarks that, although the friendly relations have been continued down to their own times, and the king of Egypt has sent three missions to his country, yet on no occasion have the Egyptian envoys brought him a gift. Moreover, he complains that the twenty manehs of gold ore which Amenophis IV. sent to him only yielded when melted five manehs of gold. The text contains an allusion to wild oxen and their skins, which Burraburiyash had already sent to Amenophis IV., who seems to have promised to send some chariots in return for them; if the skins already sent were spoiled on the journey, new ones would be sent under the charge of the Egyptian envoy who was to travel back in company with Shindishugab, the envoy of Burraburiyash. A gift of a lapis-lazuli object is sent for the king of Egypt, and also a necklace consisting of 1048 precious stones for the daughter of Amenophis IV., who had married a son of

Burraburiyash, but who was living at her father's court in Egypt. It is interesting to note that an Egyptian princess was allowed to marry a son of a Mesopotamian prince, especially as Amenophis III. had refused to allow his daughter to marry Kallimma-Sin. The name of the Mesopotamian prince has not yet been found (Brit. Mus. No. 29,786).

12. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH TO AMENOPHIS IV. Burraburiyash refers to the envoys whom he had sent to Amenophis III., saying that though he was unable to give him the daughter whom the Egyptian king wished to marry, he was prepared to send another; Amenophis sent back an answer, but before the Egyptian envoy could convey it to Burraburiyash, Amenophis died, and the daughter who had been promised him to wife died of the plague. The text is mutilated, but it seems that a Mesopotamian woman was sent to Egypt as a wife for Amenophis IV., only a difficulty arose because a sufficiently imposing escort could not be provided for her. The sister of Burraburiyash was sent to Egypt to become the wife of Amenophis III., and her escort consisted of 3000 men, but Burraburiyash can only manage to find five chariots for the escort. Burraburiyash asks Amenophis IV. to send him certain objects inlaid with floral designs in ivory, and sends as a gift to him and to the "mistress of his house"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian words *Bilti biti* are the exact equivalents of the Egyptian words , *nebt per*, "lady of the house," by which the wife is always described in the funeral texts.

pieces of lapis-lazuli. The lady's share is only twenty pieces of the stone, and his reason for sending her so little is because she showed Burraburiyash no sympathy when he was in some serious trouble, or affliction, or illness (B. 6).

13. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH TO AMENOPHIS IV. Burraburiyash reports that he has been ill, and that his sickness was so sore that he could not entertain the Egyptian envoy, who, in consequence, has neither eaten nor drunk with him; he was very ill and expected to die, and was very angry because Amenophis had not sent him letters of condolence. Eventually he spoke to the Egyptian envoy about it, and he pointed out that the distance between Karaduniyash and Egypt was so great that it was impossible for the king of Egypt to have heard anything about his sickness; when this view was also taken by the envoy of Burraburiyash he was satisfied, and he now writes to say that he will maintain his friendly relations with Amenophis. He reports the despatch to Egypt of the Egyptian envoy, and asks Amenophis to send back the Mesopotamian envoy; as the road is dangerous, and water is scarce, and the heat is great, he only sends a small gift now, but he hopes to send a second messenger to Egypt who will bring many pretty things to Amenophis. The gold which had been sent from Egypt had turned out to be full of alloy, and of inferior quality, and Burraburiyash begs that more may be sent to him, only he hopes that Amenophis will himself



inspect it, and make certain that it really is of the finest quality. Burraburiyash next complains that his envoy Salmu has been twice robbed on his road to Egypt, the first time by Biriama, and the second time by Pamaḥu; and inasmuch as the territory in which the robberies took place was under the rule of Egypt, he demands that his envoy shall be admitted into the king's presence, and that his loss shall be made good to him by the king of Egypt (B. 7).

14. LETTER FROM BURRABURIYASH TO AMENOPHIS IV. Burraburiyash refers to the treaty of peace which has been concluded between them, and then goes on to report that a number of his merchants, who were journeying with [his envoy] Aḥi-Ṭâbu, tarried for purposes of trade in the city of Kinaḥḥi; after Aḥi-Ṭâbu had gone on his way, Shumadda, the son of Balummi, and Shutatna, the son of Shurâtu, a native of Acco, sent their followers after the merchants, and having overtaken them in the city of Ḥinatôn they killed them and took possession of their goods. Burraburiyash at once sent his envoy to report the matter to the king of Egypt, and he advises Amenophis to question the man about it. He then calls upon Amenophis to make good the value of the property which has been stolen in his country, and to slay the men who slew the merchants, for unless he does so more merchants, and perhaps even government envoys, will be killed, and the trade between the two countries will be destroyed, and the influence of Amenophis

himself in the land will be diminished. Shumadda cut off the feet of one of the subjects of Burraburiyash and kept him with him, and Shutatna having healed another of his wounds kept him as a slave. Burraburiyash sends a gift and begs Amenophis to let his messenger return at once (B. 8).

15. LETTER FROM ĀSHUR-UBALLIṬ, KING OF ASSYRIA, TO AMENOPHIS IV. Ashur-uballiṭ enumerates the gifts which he is sending to the king of Egypt, and asks him to send back in return a quantity of gold, of which he has great need because he is building a new palace. When his father Ashur-nâdin-aḥî sent to Egypt for gold 20 talents of the precious metal were sent to him, and when the king<sup>1</sup> of Ḥanirabbat (or Ḥanigalbat) sent for gold the same amount was sent to him; therefore Ashur-uballiṭ expects 20 talents of gold. In return he is willing to give Amenophis whatsoever he wants. He explains that he did not send back the Egyptian envoys sooner, for had he done so, the Suti would have sent men after them, and they would have been killed to a certainty (B. 9).

16. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF MITANNI, TO AMENOPHIS IV. The writer addresses the king of Egypt as my son-in-law, "whom I love, and who loves me," and sends salutations to Thi, the mother of Amenophis IV., and to his own daughter Tatum-khipa. He refers to the extremely friendly relations which

<sup>1</sup> Probably Tushratta, for Ḥanirabbat was a nome, or part, of Mitanni.

had always existed between himself and Amenophis III., and bids Amenophis IV. ask his mother Thi about them. He then goes on to say that his grandfather, Artatama, was asked for his daughter six times in vain by Thothmes IV., and that he only consented to give her to him on the seventh application; Tushratta's father, Shutarna, was asked for his daughter five times in vain by Amenophis III., and it was only on the sixth application that he consented to give Gilukhipa, Tushratta's sister, to him. Amenophis III. next sent to Tushratta and asked for his daughter Tatum-khipa, and at length she went to Egypt to become a wife of the king; her dowry was paid to the Egyptian envoy Hamashshi within three months, and Amenophis was well pleased. He gave gifts to the envoys, but the gift which he sent to Tushratta was a poor one. He, however, promised to send to Tushratta certain gold statues, but they were never sent, for Amenophis died, and Tushratta assures Amenophis IV. that his grief was so sore when he heard the news that he lifted up his voice and wept; when he heard later that Amenophis IV. had succeeded him he was much comforted, for he knew that the friendly relations which existed between Mitanni and Egypt would be maintained. Tushratta next recalls the circumstances under which the promise to give the gold statues was made, and says that Amenophis IV. did on one occasion send statues to him by the hands of Giliya and Mani, but that the

statues were made of *wood*. Relying, however, upon the old friendship, he asks Amenophis IV. to fulfil his father's promise, and to send him the gold statues, for which he now makes a second request. The letter concludes with some remarks about some weapons of war which Tushratta had been meaning to despatch for some time past, but had not done so because Amenophis IV. had not sent the gold which he required, and some allusions to the delay which had occurred in sending back the envoys from Egypt (B. 24).

17. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO THI, QUEEN OF EGYPT. After salutations to the queen, and to her son, and to "thy daughter-in-law,"<sup>1</sup> Tatum-khipa, he refers to the ancient friendship between the royal houses of Mitanni and Egypt, and reminds her that she knows better than any one else how firm this friendship was. He recalls the message which she had sent to him by the hands of Giliya, the Egyptian envoy, begging him to be a friend to her son Amenophis IV., and asking him to send envoys with peaceful salutations as before. He then mentions her husband's promise to send him statues of gold, and complains that the two statues which her son had actually sent were made of *wood*, and asks Thi to bring the matter

<sup>1</sup> The words *kallati-ka* can have no other meaning, and it would therefore seem as if Tatum-khipa married Amenophis IV. and also Amenophis III., who seems to have died shortly after her arrival in Egypt.

under his notice. He hopes that Thi will send an envoy to his wife Iuni in company with the envoy of Amenophis IV. to himself, and promises that Iuni shall send an envoy in return to her; Tushratta sends Thi a gift of "good oil," etc. (Brit. Mus. No. 29,794).

18. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS IV. Tushratta acknowledges gratefully the receipt of the gifts which had been sent to him from Egypt, but he complains that the two gold statues which had been made and exhibited to his envoy Giliya had never been sent to him, and that two made of wood were all the statues which he had received. He is quite willing to maintain the old friendly relations with Egypt, but if he does the two statues of gold must be sent to him, in addition to the gold which he needs. He mentions the gifts which he is sending to Amenophis IV. and to the queen-mother Thi, and to Tatum-khipa his sister, and states that he is sending his letter by the hand of the envoy Perizzi; on the tablet is inscribed a hieratic note, which states that it was received in the first month of winter in the twelfth year [of the reign of Amenophis IV.] (B. 23.)


19. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS IV. Tushratta says that he has once before sent his envoys Perizzi and Bubri to Egypt, and begs that now he is sending them again Amenophis will let them return quickly with gifts from him; if he does, Mani, the Egyptian envoy, shall be sent back to Egypt quickly,



and there is, meanwhile, no need to be anxious about him. (In a private collection.)

20. A group of LETTERS written chiefly by the KING OF ALASHIYA<sup>1</sup> TO THE "KING OF EGYPT." (1) Letter announcing the despatch of 500 [talents of] copper, and saying that more would have been sent but for the fact that the hand of Nergal (i.e., the plague) had slain all the people; silver, oil, etc., are asked for in return. A citizen of Alashiya has died in Egypt, and the writer asks the king to send back his effects; the king is also begged to have nothing to do with the kings of Hatti and Shanhar (Brit. Mus. No. 29,788). (2) Letter announcing the despatch of five talents of copper, and five pairs of horses, and asking for silver in return, as well as the return of the envoys Pashtummi, Kunia, Itilluna, . . . gurumma, Ushbarra, and Bil-râm (Brit. Mus. No. 29,790). (3) Letter announcing the despatch of 100 talents of copper, and asking for certain gifts in return, and suggesting the making of an alliance (Brit. Mus. No. 29,789). (4) Letter disclaiming any connexion with the Lukki who have raided Egyptian territory, and saying that they have also plundered the city of Sihru in Alashiya (B. 11). (5) Letter asking that the Alashiyan envoy be sent back quickly, and

<sup>1</sup> This country has been identified with Cyprus because copper was exported from it to Egypt; the Egyptian form of the name is

Àlesa or Àlusa, . A group of notes on the country will be found in Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 163.

warning the king of Egypt not to let his officials interfere unduly with the Alashiyan merchants and their ship (B. 12). (6) Letter to Amenophis IV. (?), announcing despatch of 200 talents of copper, and asking for the envoy's return (B. 15). (7) Letter referring to a despatch of copper, and asking for something in exchange (B. 19). (8 and 9) Letters from the chief official of Alashiya to the chief official of Egypt announcing despatch of gifts, and pointing out that as the ship and its goods are royal property they must not be interfered with by the Egyptian officials (B. 13).

21. LETTER FROM ADAD-NIRARI, KING OF NU-ḤASHSHI,<sup>1</sup> mentioning that his grandfather was appointed governor of the district by Thothmes III.,<sup>2</sup> and reporting that the Ḥatti king is troubling him greatly (B. 30).

22. Three LETTERS FROM ABD-ASHRATUM, GOVERNOR OF AMURRI, reporting his fidelity, and asking for help, and saying that he is trying to keep his hold upon Şumur and Ullaza on behalf of the king of Egypt; Abd-Ashratum's chief was called Paḥanati (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,816 and 29,817; B. 97).

23. LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF TUNIP, near Aleppo, referring to the help which Thothmes III. gave their city during his reign, and saying that they feel they are being given over to the enemy; they have

<sup>1</sup> A district in Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> Manakhbirya =  $\left( \textcircled{\text{𐎗}} \text{𐎗𐎗𐎗} \text{𐎗} \right)$ , Men-kheper-Rā.

asked each year for twenty years, but in vain, that Iadi-Addu [their old governor] might be restored to them. The rebel Aziru has already robbed a caravan of the king of Egypt, and if help be not sent soon Tunip will fall, as the city Nî has already done, into the hands of Aziru, and if he succeeds in capturing Şumur all will indeed be lost (Brit. Mus. No. 29,824).

24. Group of eight LETTERS FROM AZIRU TO THE KING, assuring him of his fidelity and submission, and promising to send tribute, and saying that he would have obeyed the orders of Hai, the Egyptian general, and come to court with Hatib if he had not been prevented from doing so by the raid of the Hatti on Nuhashshi; he would have rebuilt Şumur but for the same reason. He denies the accusations made against him, and asks for troops to help him to protect the land on behalf of the king. He describes his fidelity in these words: "To my lord, the king, my god, my sun; Aziru thy servant. Seven times and seven times I prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my sun" (B. 31, 33, 34, 34a, 36, 37, 38, 40).

25. LETTER FROM THE KING TO AZIRU, complaining of his conduct in respect of Rib-Addu, his brother, the king of Gebal (Byblos). Aziru seems to have declined a bribe from his brother to bring him into his city, and the king hearing of this asks him how he can write to him declaring that he is a loyal servant of his whilst he is committing such an act. Moreover, when Rib-

Addu was in Sidon, Aziru did not help him to go to the king in Egypt, but placed him in the hands of the local kings, well knowing how hostile they were; therefore the king thinks that Aziru's words are not true, and in future he will feel compelled to put no faith in any statement he may make. But besides this, it has come to the ears of the king that Aziru has been on terms of friendship with the prince of Kadesh, the enemy of the king, and that he has been supplying him with meat and drink, and the king knows that the report which he has heard is true. It is clear that Aziru cannot in such a case be loyal both to the prince of Kadesh and to the king his lord, and cannot even be studying his own interests by behaving in such a way. At the present time "those whom thou didst try to burn are consuming thee, and they will destroy both thee and those whom thou lovest," says the king; "if thou wast loyal to thy lord the king there is nothing which he could not do for thee." Next the king warns him that unless he becomes loyal to him, and abstains from all foolish hostility he and his family shall surely die, but if he does as the king wishes he shall live, for the king has no desire to waste the country of Kinahhi. Finally the king says words to this effect: You have excused yourself from coming into my presence in Egypt, and have promised to come next year, and you say you have no son with you; very well, I excuse you this year, but if your son comes back send him to see me, by whom all the world liveth.

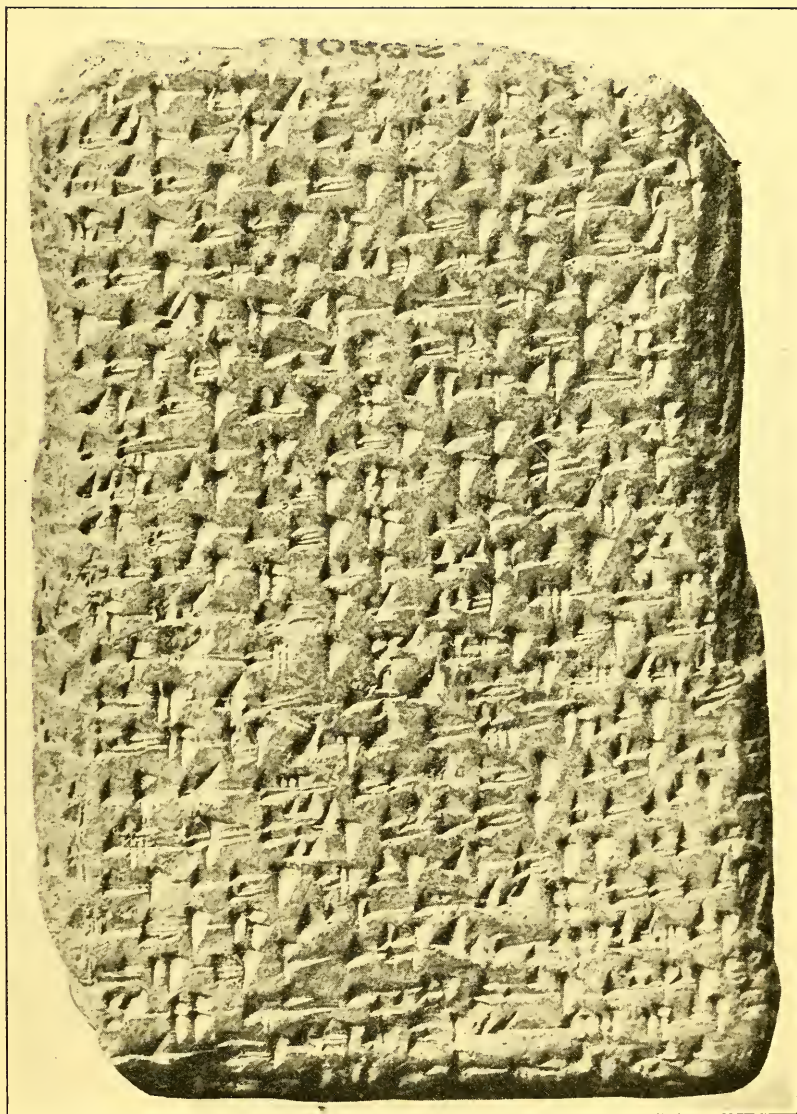
You wrote to me saying that you wanted me to send my ambassador Hanni a second time to you, promising that if I did so you would send me the rebels by his hands. Behold, my ambassador is coming according to your wish, therefore send the rebels to me and let not one of them escape, and that you may the more easily do this, I send you a list of their names, which are as follows: Sharru and his sons, Tuia, Liia and his sons, Yishiari and his sons, the son-in-law of Malia and his sons and his wives. I am very well, I the sun in the heavens, and my chariots and soldiers are exceedingly numerous, and from Upper Egypt even unto Lower Egypt, and from the place where the sun riseth even unto the place where he setteth, the whole country is in good case and content (B. 92).

26. LETTER FROM AZIRU TO THE KING in answer to the above. He declares that his enemies have slandered him to the king, and that he is, and always has been, the king's most loyal servant. With reference to the matter of the envoy Hani, Aziru was in Tunip when he arrived, and as soon as he heard of his arrival he set out to go to him, but could not overtake him. Aziru's brother, however, gave him cattle, sheep, goats, and meat and drink, and also provided him with horses and asses for his journey. In answer to the king's accusation that he tried to get out of Hani's way, Aziru appeals to the sun and to the other gods of Egypt to confirm his statement that he was in Tunip. Aziru says: The king ordered me to build Simyra, but



as the kings of Nuḥashshi are hostile to me, and led by Ḥatib the foe are taking my cities, how can I build it? I will, however, make haste to build it, only the king must know that half of the materials which the king gave me, and all the gold and silver, Ḥatib hath carried off. Of course I did receive the envoy of Ḥatti with due honour, and if the king will only send his envoy I will give to him everything I promised to give. Meanwhile let the king send ships, and chariots, and arms, etc. (Brit. Mus. No. 29,818).

27. LETTERS FROM RIB-ADDA, KING OF GEBAL, TO THE KING, in which he reports the following facts concerning the revolt in Palestine and Syria, and says: 1. Abd-Ashratum the "dog" has taken possession of Simyra, and the king must send an Egyptian officer to turn him out, and also a number of officials to carry on the business of the king in the city, otherwise he will seize the property of the gods of Egypt. Gebal and Hikubta belong to the king. Send back my servant Abd-Ninib, whom I sent with Buḥiya (B. 73). The city of Gebal is, and always has been loyal, but now the Ḥabiri are very powerful. We have had to give up everything to Yarimuta that we might have food to eat; my fields yield no harvest because we cannot sow corn; and all my cities, both those in the mountains and those on the shores, have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri. Abd-Ashratum has seized Shigata, and persuaded the people of Ammiya to kill their lord; and they have done so.



Letter from Rib-Adda to the king of Egypt, reporting the progress of the rebellion under Aziru. British Museum, No. 29,801.



He has now written to Bit-Ninib and told the people thereof to do the same. As for me, I am shut up like a bird in a cage, and I fear that there is none to deliver me. I wrote to the palace of the king, but no attention was paid to my letter; why will you not attend to the affairs of your land? Amanappa the Egyptian official is with you, question him therefore, for he knows how great is the trouble which has come upon me (Brit. Mus. No. 29,795). Abd-Ashratum is trying to take the last two of my cities, and that "dog," having collected a number of the Ḥabiri, has taken Shigata and Ambi, and I have nowhere to flee; Simyra also is in their hands. Send soldiers under an able officer, and regain your former hold upon the land. I beg the king not to neglect this matter (B. 74). Abd-Ashratum has heard that I have reported his dealings to the king, but it has had no effect upon him (B. 50). Since Amanappa's arrival all the Ḥabiri have been against me; the "dog" Abd-Ashratum is still trying to capture my two cities, and the king must send troops here to me, for I am shut up in Gebal like a bird in a cage with nothing to eat. If you cannot send soldiers, then the "dog" will gain possession of your lands (B. 75). Why has not an answer been sent to my application for men and horses? If I were to make friends with Abd-Ashratum, as Yapa-Adda and Zimrida did, I should be delivered. Yankhamu ought to send me food, and you should tell him that you will hold him responsible for my safety. If you will not do this

I must try to escape from the city with the friends whom I have left to me (Brit. Mus. No. 29,797). I am in Bêrût; send me help as fast as you can (B. 84). All the cities except Bêrût have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri, but even now, if you send troops, all will be well (B. 86). Abd-Ashratum is deceiving the people, and the Shirdana and the Suti, saying that he is their lord. I am still shut up in the city, no answers come to my letters, and in two months' time Abd-Ashratum will be master of the whole country (B. 89). I have written to the king and told him several times that the enemy are closing in round the city of Gebal, and the "dog" Abd-Ashratum has captured the city of Bêrût, and is coming against me. Behold, the city of Shuarbi is the gate of Gebal, and as soon as you march out he will depart therefrom; at present I cannot move outside my city. I beg you to hearken to me and send chariots as quickly as possible, and I will endeavour to hold this city until they come. If you will not hearken Gebal must fall, and the whole country as far as Egypt will be in the possession of the Ḥabiri; I am not strong enough to hold this city without help. Although Gebal has always been loyal the envoy of the king of Accho was more honourably received than was mine, and horses were given to him (Brit. Mus. 29,800). I have already told the king that for two years we have had no harvest, and now we have no grain to eat. I beg you to send me grain in ships to keep me and my city alive, and send me



400 men and 30 pairs of horses; let the grain which used to be sent to Simyra be sent to me. The king of Tana went against Simyra and intended to come against Gebal, but he had no water for his troops and therefore had to turn back. If only one king would join me I could drive Abd-Ashratum out of Amurri. Since the time when your father [i.e., Amen-hotep III.] left Sidon, the lands have fallen into the hands of the Habiri (B. 48). Behold, Tyre is in a state of rebellion, and if you doubt my words ask my brother Yamilki. I sent my possessions to Tyre for safety, but now the Tyrians have slain their general and also my sister and her sons. I sent my sister's daughters to Tyre fearing Abd-Ashirta (B. 49). My messenger has returned from Egypt and brought no soldiers with him, and now my brother, seeing this, will turn against me. I cannot come to Egypt, for I am old, and I am sick, very sick. The gods of Gebal are wroth with me, for I have sinned against them. I have sent a message to you by my son, do hearken unto him and send me soldiers; for on the very day on which soldiers came to Gebal the city would return to him. I am doing my utmost to hold the city, but my brother is stirring up the people to deliver it into the hands of the sons of Abd-Ashratum. Do not, do not forsake the city, for in it there are much gold and silver, and the temples are full of possessions, all of which will be theirs if they take the city. But do as you please in respect of me, only give me Buruzilim to live in; if Gebal falls then

I shall go to Ammunira. Since the sons of Abd-Ashratum are gaining the mastery over me, and no word (literally, breath) comes to me from the mouth of the king, I declare unto my lord that, indeed, Gebal will be their city. In ancient days when the king neglected this city our fathers did not pay tribute to him; do not you neglect it (B. 71). You say, "defend yourself," but how can I do it? You have sent me neither foot nor horse-soldiers; what will become of me? I will defend your city with my life, and do not hearken unto those who slander me; even if there be none to testify to my loyalty you know that it exists all the same (B. 44). The forces of Abd-Ashratum are joining the Habiri and are going to attack me; send troops (B. 59). If you send men and horses from Egypt and Miluha at once and with all speed I may live to serve the king again; I have no money to buy horses. If your heart has any care for the city and for my life, send soldiers. You wish that Haia should be taken to Simyra, and I say that he arrived there with his letter in the night time, and I gave 13 manehs of silver, etc., to the Habiri as a gift; I have nothing more to give (B. 57). I sent two messengers to Egypt, but they did not return; they carried a letter from me to you. You complain that I write evil tidings, but if you had paid heed to my words Aziru would have been captured. If I receive no help the Habiri will take the country, and if you will not send me soldiers then instruct Yankhamu and Biḥura to go forth and they can occupy

the country of Amurru in one day. I have a dispute with Yapa-Adda and Ḥatib; send someone to judge between us, and whatsoever shall be taken from them shall be the property of the king. Send soldiers and men from Miluḥa, for I have no means (B. 45). How and with what am I to defend myself and the city? Once there were soldiers here, and Yarimuta sent grain to feed them; now I have neither cattle nor provisions, because Aziru by his raids has carried off everything. Meanwhile the sons of Abd-Ashratum are "dogs," and they do whatsoever they like, and burn the king's cities with fire (Brit. Mus. No. 29,802). Biḥura has committed a shameful deed, the like of which has never been heard of: he hath sent the Suti who have killed the Shirdanu. Send me Abd-irama, Nathan-Adda, and Abd-milki, whom Biḥura sent to Egypt, that they may protect me; the sons of Abd-Ashratum have seized the land (Brit. Mus. No. 29,803). I am in Simyra, send me help as soon as possible, for the people are disaffected and will run away if you do not send me soldiers; Irḳata and Simyra are the only two places left to you in the land, for the sons of Abd-Ashratum have invaded Amurri (B. 77). I have sold my sons, and my daughters, and the wood from my houses for food to Yarimuta, and I have nothing left. The Ḥabiri have killed Aduna, king of Irḳata; the Ḥatti have taken all the *kutí* lands: and the kings of Mitanni and Naḥrina are hostile (B. 79). I repeat what I

have already said, listen to what I say; let Buribita remain in Simyra and keep Haib with you, and make him your inspector. Aziru, the son of Abd-Ashratum, is before Gebal, send therefore soldiers to capture him, for otherwise Simyra cannot hold out (B. 41). Aziru has captured twelve of my men, and demands as ransom 50 manehs of silver; he has captured in the city of Yibuliya the men I sent to Simyra; I am besieged by a fleet of ships from Simyra, Bêrût, and Sidon, and Yapa-Adda and Aziru have captured some of my ships, and they have put to sea to take others. If you cannot help me send me word so that I may know what to do; your enemies are very strong. I beg you to tell Yarimuta to send me food; indeed I am your loyal servant, take heed to me, for I love my lord the king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,796). You tell me to occupy Simyra, but I am not strong enough; and Ambi has now rebelled against me, and the governors of that city and its elders are in league with Abd-Ashratum's sons (Brit. Mus. 29,806). The sons of Abd-Ashratum have seized your horses and chariots. Although people write lies to you about me I am your loyal servant, and what I hear I will write to you. These men are "dogs" and do not fear your soldiers. The messages of other kings are attended to, but mine are not; send me 20 men from Egypt and 20 from Miluḥa (B. 42). Simyra is caught like a bird in a trap. Abd-Ashratum has seized Ullaza (B. 51). Simyra has fallen, and I

could not prevent it, because for five years past the people have been hostile to me (B. 43). Bumabula, the son of Abd-Ashratum, hath forced his way into Ullaza, and the cities of Ardata, Yihliya, Ambi, and Shigata are his; he and his brothers are in league with the king of Mitanni and the king of Kash. In old times you did not hesitate to act if enemies threatened to attack your cities, and now that they have expelled your viceroy and taken his cities why do you remain inactive? (B. 60). Abd-Ashratum's sons are the servants of the kings of Mitanni, and Kash, and Hatti (B. 61). We have received some provisions from Yarimuta through the intervention of Paḥamnata, the king's officer; the foe is mighty, do not neglect this city (B. 80). I am not in Bêrût, and if you order me to leave Gebal it will fall into Aziru's hands. I sent my son to you, but for three months he was not allowed to enter your presence. When I am dead my sons will write to you and ask you to bring them back into their city; why do you neglect me? (B. 58). Sidon and Bêrût are not loyal to you, therefore send an officer to occupy them; if the present inhabitants leave the city the Ḥabiri will walk into it (B. 54). You do not attend to what I write; if you neglect your cities the Ḥabiri will take them, for all the governors of cities are favourable to Abd-Ashratum (B. 53). Abd-Ashratum has been troubling me for a long time past, and I wrote to your father [Amen-ḥetep III.] asking



for troops. Ḥaib has handed over Simyra, and you must not be unmindful of the killing of your viceroy. If you delay in taking action Biḥura cannot remain in Kumidi, and all your chiefs will be killed (Brit. Mus. No. 29,801). My family urge me to join the son of Abd-Ashratum, but I heed them not; I have often written to you, but you do not answer my letters. I went to consult with Ammunira, but the house was closed to me. I await the arrival of your soldiers, and if you do not alter your mind I shall be a dead man. Two men and two women have been given to the rebel (Brit. Mus. No. 29,799). Simyra has fallen, and the people of Gebal who were in it have been killed; send now soldiers and chariots to protect the city, but if these do not arrive during the summer the enemy will take the city and slay me. Biuri, the king's officer, has been killed, and the Egyptian official Paḥamnata will not listen to me. If it be said there is no food here for troops, know that this is the case with every city (Brit. Mus. No. 29,807). Though the king announced the arrival of Iribayashshi, he has not come. If you want to save the city send troops, for when I am dead who will defend the city? (B. 46). I cannot defend the city because you do not keep a garrison here as your fathers did. Paḥura has sent men of the Shutu who have slain the Shirdani—a most shameful act; he also sent three men to Egypt, and since that time the city has been in revolt against

me (B. 47). Formerly the kings of Canaan fled at the sight of the king of Egypt, but now they do not do so, and the sons of Abd-Ashratum are in possession of the country. I am unable to take your envoy into Simyra, for all my cities are in the hands of the enemy, and their princes are my foes (B. 52). You must get what you want from the country of Zaluḥḥi and from the city of Ugariti, for I cannot send my ships there; formerly troops and money were sent here from Egypt, but now nothing comes. Aziru makes war on me, and the other princes help him; their ships sail wherever they please and they obtain everything they want. The men of the Hatti are plundering the people of Gebal (B. 76). I have no one to defend me, send ships to bring me and my gods to you (B. 87). Why cannot I send letters to you as other kings do? They are in possession of their cities, and enjoy rest. What have I done to deserve the treatment which Yapa-Adda has meted out to me; two of my ships have been seized, and my possessions carried off, and I ask you to send an officer to get them back for me (B. 63). The city Gebal, your handmaiden, and I your servant, are loyal to you. All the cities are going over to the sons of Abd-Ashratum, and they have revolted against me. Haib is with you, question him, and if it is your good pleasure send soldiers to protect your cities as speedily as you can. I have already written to you in these terms, but have received no answer from you (B. 66): "I have sent my son to my lord the king, my god, my

“sun, let my lord the king, my god, my sun, send  
 “chariots with my son to defend the cities of my lord  
 “the king, my god, my sun. Let my lord the king, my  
 “god, my sun, send chariots to bring me to my lord the  
 “king, my god, my sun, that I may go into the presence  
 “of my lord the king, my god, my sun, and tell him  
 “what I have done. Behold, I am the faithful servant  
 “of my lord the king, my god, [my sun], and behold, I  
 “have sent a messenger into the presence of my lord  
 “the king, my god, my sun” (B. 198).

28. LETTERS FROM RIB-ADDA TO AMANAPPA, asking him to use his influence at the Egyptian court to secure the despatch of soldiers, and to send him help which would enable him to regain possession of Bêrût, which had fallen into the hands of Abd-Ashratum since Rib-Adda had sent his envoy to Egypt (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,798, 29,804, 29,806, etc.).

29. LETTERS FROM RABIMUR TO THE KING. Rabimur was the brother of Rib-Adda, and seized the city during his brother's absence in Bêrût. He reports that Aziru has killed Aduna, king of Irkâta, and the king of Ammiya, and has occupied Amki, and is, no doubt, a member of the hostile confederacy which includes the king of Hatti and the king of Narima, i.e., Mesopotamia. The king must not believe the accusations which have been made against him, for they are absolutely false, as the Egyptian officials themselves can testify (Brit. Mus. No. 29,828; B. 91).

30. LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRKATA TO THE

KING, stating that the report made by the Egyptian official who had been sent to their city is false, and that they are loyal subjects of the king of Egypt. They had, it is true, fortified their city, but that was against Shanku, and they were waiting for help from Egypt (Brit. Mus. No. 29,825).

31. LETTERS FROM AMMUNIRA, GOVERNOR OF BÊRÛT, TO THE KING. He promises to do all that the king wishes, expresses his loyalty, and says that he will guard his city on the king's behalf, and will receive Rib-Adda when he comes, and will send forward the king's ships as soon as they arrive at Bêrût (Brit. Mus. 29,809, 29,810; B. 211).

32. LETTERS FROM AKIZZI, GOVERNOR OF KAṬNA, TO AMENOPHIS III. (1) Akizzi says that ever since his fathers became the vassals of the king of Egypt his land has been that of the king of Egypt, and that when the Egyptian troops came thereto they were supplied with meat, and drink, and cattle, and sheep, and oil, and honey; but since Kaṭna belongs to Egypt it must be protected by Egyptian troops and chariots, and unless they be sent soon Aziru and the Ḥatti will take the whole district of Nuḥashshi. As it is, Aziru has carried off some of his people, and, worse than that, the king of Ḥatti has carried off the statue of the Sun-god, whose worship the Egyptians had imposed upon the country, on which the Egyptian king had inscribed his name. The people of Akizzi now ask the king of Egypt to send money enough to ransom the

people who have been carried off, and to get back the statue of the Sun-god, in which case they ask the king to inscribe his name upon it, even as did his father (Brit. Mus. No. 29,819). (2) Akizzi reports that he is still alive, and declares that if he receives any letters from the king of Ḫatti he will send them on to Egypt; he goes on to say that Aidagamma is hostile to him, and that Tiuwatti of Lapana and Arzauni of Ruḫizi are in league with him, and that they are wasting the land with fire. On the other hand, the kings of Nuḫashshi, and Zinsar, and Nî, and Kinanat are, like himself, loyal to the king. The king of Egypt can, of course, do as he pleases, but if he will not come himself then let him send troops, and whatsoever gifts he needs from the people they will give him. If Kaṭna is thought anything at all of in the king's mind let him send troops and let them march [at once]. When once Arzauni and Tiuwatti are in the land of Ubi, and Dasha is in the land of Amma, then let the king understand that Ubi no longer belongs to him; these men send daily to Aidagamma and say to him, "Go, conquer all the land of Ubi." As Damascus in the land of Ubi stretcheth out her hand to the feet of the king, even so doth Kaṭna stretch out her hand (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,812, 29,820).

33. LETTER FROM NAMYAWIZA, GOVERNOR OF KUMIDI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT. Namyawiza reports that he is holding Kumidi for the king, and declares that it is not himself but Biridashwi who has seized



the cities of Innuamma and Ashtarti and has delivered them over to the Ḥabiri; moreover, the king of Buṣruna and the king of Ḥalunni are in league with him. Arṣawaya has occupied Gizza and Shaddu, and he has, moreover, joined in a conspiracy against the king with Aziru and Itakama, and he is also in league with Biridashwi to attack the country of Abitu. In another letter Namyawiza reports to the king concerning the raids which Biridashwi and Bawanamash have made into the royal territory (Brit. Mus. No. 92,826, B. 96,159).

34. LETTER FROM ITAKAMA, GOVERNOR OF KADESH, TO THE KING. Itakama reports that Namyawiza has seized certain lands and wasted them with fire, and declares that he is a loyal subject, a fact to which Puḥari will bear testimony; Namyawiza has delivered all the cities belonging to Egypt in the lands of Kadesh and Ubi into the hands of the Ḥabiri, but Itakama is determined to collect all his troops and chariots, and he will march against him and destroy him utterly, and he concludes with the words, "I am a servant of my lord the king for ever" (B. 142).

35. LETTER FROM ZIMRIDA OF SIDON TO THE KING. He reports that Sidon is prosperous and that he is ever ready to perform his lord's wishes; but the king must know that all the cities over which he had been appointed have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri, and he must have help from the Egyptian general before he can regain possession of them. He wishes the general

to give back the cities to him so that he may be able to serve his lord the king even as his fathers did in former times (B. 90,182).

36. GROUP OF LETTERS FROM ABI-MILKI OF TYRE TO THE KING. (1) He says that he is "the dust beneath the sandals of his lord the king, who is the sun which riseth over the lands each day." After some remarks as to the joy which he felt on the receipt of the king's words he expresses his devoted loyalty, and says that he is guarding Tyre for the king, and will continue to do so until the Egyptian troops come and give him water to drink and wood to burn to keep him warm. But the king must know that Aziru, the son of Abd-Ashratum, is in league with Zimrida of Sidon. (2) Abi-milki asks for troops to defend Tyre, and then he will go and see the face of the king. Aziru has been doing evil, and certain rebels have betrayed Simyra into his hands, and what is very serious, Zimrida of Sidon hath seized Ulzu. It is known from one of the Sallier Papyri<sup>1</sup> that Tyre was supplied with water by means of boats, and Ulzu was the name in the XVIIIth Dynasty of the place from which it was brought; this place was, no doubt, on the mainland. Abi-milki's position was desperate, for, as he says, he has neither wood, nor water, nor the materials for performing the last offices for the dead. Zimrida is in league with Aziru, and the people of Arvad have collected their ships and have gathered together their soldiers and chariots, meaning

<sup>1</sup> See *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. lvii.

to make an attack upon Tyre by sea and by land. Abi-milki entreats the king to send him a letter so that he may go and see the king, and he states that he is obliged to send this tablet to the king by the hand of a common soldier. (3) Abi-milki entreats the king to send twenty men to protect Tyre, and begs for wood and water, for all his communications with the mainland have been cut off, and since the enemy has blockaded him he has not been able to obtain either wood or water. In answer to the king's demand for information, he reports that the king of Danuna is dead, that his brother has succeeded him, and that the country is peaceful. Half of the city of Ugarit has been burnt with fire, Itakama has captured the city of Kadesh, Aziru has joined Namyawiza, and Zimrida has collected a number of ships; Abi-milki begs earnestly for help. (4) After salutations to the "everlasting Sun-god," i.e., the king, Abi-milki refers to the royal command which ordered him to provide Shalmayâti with corn and water, and reports that this has not been done, and suggests that the king must make his own arrangements for doing this. The king must know that in Tyre there is neither wood, nor water, nor anything which can be eaten. Abi-milki begs the king to defend "Shalmayâti's city," and he reports the arrival of the king of Sidon in a ship, and declares that he (Abi-milki) will depart with his ships from Tyre. (5) Abi-milki reports that he has sent a gift to the king, and asks him to cause the city of Usu, whence he obtained his

water supply, to be restored to him, and to send him food for himself, and ten companies (?) of soldiers to defend the city. The Egyptian general does not seem to be behaving loyally to Abi-milki, for he does not allow him to obtain supplies from the city of Usu on the mainland. The kings of Sidon and Haşôr have joined themselves to the Ḥabiri, and the king should take back from them the land which they now hold ; he can inquire on this matter of his officer who is in Kinahhi. (6) Abi-milki reports that now the Egyptian troops have left Tyre Zimrida will not allow him to go to the mainland for wood and water ; he has already slain some of Abi-milki's forces, and the king is entreated earnestly to protect his servant (Brit. Mus. Nos. 28-31, B. 98, 99, 162, 231).

37. LETTERS FROM SURATA OF ACCHO TO THE KING, reporting his fidelity, and describing himself as "the servant of the king, the dust of his feet, and the earth on which he walketh ;" he says, "At the feet of my lord the king, who is the sun in heaven, seven times and seven times with belly and back I prostrate myself." And in a verbose fashion he asks, "When the sun in the heavens speaketh, what king would not hearken and obey?" (B. 93).

38. LETTERS FROM ZATANA, KING OF ACCHO, TO THE KING, saying that Shuta, an Egyptian official, has ordered him to give up Zirdaiashda, who has taken refuge with him from before the anger of Namyawiza, but since Accho is like Migdol in Egypt, i.e., since

Accho being an Egyptian city is like one of the fortresses on the frontier of Egypt, he thinks that Zirdaiashda must not be given up to his foes (B. 32, 94, 95).

39. LETTER FROM ARTAMANYA, KING OF ZIR-BASHAN, TO THE KING, reporting loyalty (B. 132).

40. LETTERS FROM LAPAYA TO THE KING, explaining how the city was captured by the enemy, and denying the charge of rebellion which has been made against him; he says, "Indeed I am a loyal servant of the king, I have neither sinned against him nor made rebellion against him, and I am ready to pay the taxes which I am bound to pay, and to perform the commands of my chief. Indeed they have told falsehoods about me, but let not the king think that I have been rebellious." It is true that I did go into the city of Gezer, but that was in order to obtain soldiers; and the king may take everything which I have if only he will examine into the reports against me made by Milkili and decide concerning them. I do not know what has happened to Dummuya, or whether he has joined the Habiri or not. Moreover, if the king were to write to me for my wife I would not refuse to send her, and if he were to order me to stab myself with a bronze dagger and die I would certainly do so (B. 112).

41. LETTERS FROM SHUARDATA TO THE KING. (1) Shuardata has taken the city of Kilti, apparently against the wish of the king; Abdi-khiba tried to bribe



the people of Kilti, but failed. On the other hand Abdi-khiba has taken the city of Shuardata, whilst he, i.e., Shuardata, has not taken an ox, or an ass, or a man from him or his city. Lapaya who was in league with Abdi-khiba, and plundered our cities with him, is dead. (2) Shuardata is unable to go to Egypt, apparently because he has no money, moreover, as Yankhamu, the Egyptian official, is in Egypt he can tell the king whether Shuardata has any troops in his city or not. Thirty towns are in league against Shuardata, and his enemies are mighty, and he himself is only one; the king must help him. (3) The city of Kilti has fallen; let the king send troops and then he will be able to besiege the victors and to drive them out from the city (B. 100, 101, 107).

42. LETTERS FROM MILKILI TO THE KING. (1) Milkili reports the safety of his city, and the despatch of slaves, men and women. The enemy are exceedingly hostile, and he begs the king to rescue the country from the Habiri; the king can verify his statements by appealing to Yankhamu. Milkili went to Egypt to see the king, and probably as a result of the remarks which he made to him concerning Yankhamu this official went to Milkili's city, and carried off a large amount of money from his brother, and demanded that his wife and children should be produced that he might slay them. Milkili prays that the king will send chariots to take him and the oppressor to the presence of the king without delay. In another letter Milkili begs

that troops may be sent, and wishes the king to send him some object as a gift (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,845, 29,846, B. 107-110).

43. LETTER FROM A ROYAL LADY TO THE KING, reporting that strife has broken out in the land, and that the king's territory has passed into the hands of the Ḥabiri who have plundered Ayaluna (Ajalon) and Ṣarḥa; the two sons of Milkili are mentioned. The lady in her second letter reports that the city of Ṣapuna has been taken by the Ḥabiri (?) (B. 138).

44. LETTERS FROM ABDI-KHIBA, GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING. The first of these letters opens with a question in which the writer says, "What [offence] have I committed against my lord the king?" He continues, "Someone has lied concerning me in saying, 'Abdi-khiba has rebelled against his lord the king.' Behold, it was not my father and it was not my mother who stablished me in this position, but it was the mighty arm of the king himself who made me master of the lands and possessions of my father. Why then should I make rebellion against my lord the king? As the king liveth, they are all lying concerning me to the king because I said unto my lord the king's general (i.e., Yankhamu), 'Why dost thou show favour to the Ḥabiri (i.e., the king's enemies), and treat with roughness the heads of tribes of the country?' And because I say also that [if this policy be followed] the territories of my lord the king will be laid waste, they speak against me to

“the king. Let my lord the king know that the king  
“my lord had established an outpost [in this city], but  
“Yankhamu has removed it.” . . . . The king must  
take heed to his land if he wishes to keep it. The  
cities of the king of Egypt which were under the rule  
of Ilu-milki have rebelled, and if this sort of thing  
continues the whole of the king’s possessions in the  
country will be lost. Abdi-khiba is very anxious to go  
to Egypt that he may look upon the face of the king,  
but he cannot leave Jerusalem because his enemies are  
too mighty for him ; if the king will send a company of  
men to guard the city then he will go to Egypt and  
look upon the face of the king. He swears by the life  
of the king that he never ceases to warn every official  
that the territory of the king is slipping out of his  
hands, and if the king will not take heed to the warn-  
ing which he is now sending to him he will soon have  
no vassal princes left in the land. The king should  
take heed to his vassal princes, and he should send  
troops ; indeed, already the Ḥabiri have laid waste  
all the king’s lands, and he has nothing left. If the  
king will only send soldiers in the course of the present  
year his hold on the land may be maintained, but if he  
will not do so, then all his possessions will be lost.  
The last two lines contain this exhortation to the  
scribe who shall read this letter to the king of Egypt :  
“Speak clearly, and make the king my lord to under-  
stand the following words, ‘All the lands of my lord  
“the king are being destroyed utterly.’”

In his second letter Abdi-khiba begins by reporting some occurrence, but what, the mutilated state of the text prevents us from knowing exactly, and goes on to say that all the kings round about are conspiring against him, and that the king must look after his own land, and the people of Gezer, Ascalon, and Lachish have undertaken to provide their troops with meat and oil, and everything which they may require. All these things are happening through Milkili and the sons of Lapaya, who are bent on handing over the country of the king into the hands of the Habiri. If the king will only send troops this year the princes will remain loyal to Egypt, and the king will keep what is his own; but if they come not there will remain neither loyal princes nor lands to the king. Abdi-khiba repeats, "Behold this country of Jerusalem! Neither my father nor my mother gave it unto me, but it was the mighty arm of the king himself who gave it unto me." Abdi-khiba explains his reasons for treating the Kashi as he did, but if the king has any doubt about the propriety of his acts let him inquire of the Egyptian officials concerning the matter. Adaya revolted, but as soon as the Egyptian officer Paura went up to Jerusalem Adaya made peace with him. Abdi-khiba is unable to ensure a safe conduct for the transport, because the last convoy was robbed on the plain of Ajalon; nevertheless the king has set his name upon the city of Jerusalem for ever, and he cannot therefore leave the country round about it to its fate.

The last two paragraphs are addressed to the royal scribe in Egypt; in the first Abdi-khiba begs him to "speak clearly and make the king my lord to understand these words, 'I am a man in authority under the king,'" and in the second he appears to beg for the scribe's support in the affair of the Kashi. In his third letter Abdi-khiba says: Behold, the king hath stablished his name from the rising up of the sun even unto the going down of the same. They have told lie upon lie about me. Indeed (or lo!), I am no personage of rank, nay, I am but a humble servant of my lord the king; I am a man in authority under the king, and I bring tribute unto him. It was neither my father nor my mother who stablished me over the lands of my father, but it was the mighty arm of the king my lord himself. When Shûta and the other Egyptian officer came to me I gave each of them slaves and other things as gifts for the king. The kings of all the land between Shiri and Ginti-kirmil have rebelled, and they treat me as a foe. Whilst the king had ships upon the sea the mighty hand of the king was in possession of Naḥrima and Kash, but now the Ḥabiri hold these places, and the king has not one loyal prince left. Turbaşa was slain at the gate of Zilû, and yet the king does nothing! The servants of Zimrida are doing their utmost to capture and kill him, and still the king does nothing! Yapti-Addu has also been slain at the gate of Zilû, and still the king does nothing. The king must take heed to his land, and send troops, but



if he will not do this he must send one of his officials to rescue Abdi-khiba and his brethren, so that they may die with the king. Finally, the scribe of the king of Egypt is begged to speak clearly these words to the king. In his fourth letter Abdi-khiba reports that Milkili has revolted, and has joined himself to the sons of Lapaya and the sons of Arzaway, and asks why the king of Egypt has not punished him for so doing. Milkili and his father-in-law Tagi have taken the city of Rubutu, and none of the king's troops are left there. The official Puru is in Gaza, and the king should give him a company of soldiers; Abdi-khiba asks that Yankhamu be sent to look after the king's possessions. In his fifth letter Abdi-khiba reports that Milkili and Shuardata have gathered together the soldiers of Gazri, and Gimti, and Kilti, and have seized the district of Rubutu, which has thereby fallen into the hands of the Habiri, and is thus lost to the king of Egypt. Moreover, a city called Bit-Ninib, which is actually in the country belonging to Jerusalem, has been taken by the Kilti. Let the king hearken to his servant Abdi-khiba and send him troops that he may regain possession of the lands of the king, for unless he does so the whole country will fall into the hands of the Habiri. The other letters of Abdi-khiba contain frequent and earnest requests for help, and report the rebellious acts of Milkili, Tabi, the sons of Lapaya, etc. (B. Nos. 102-106, 149, 174, 199).

45. LETTERS FROM ADDU-MIHIR, assuring the king of his loyalty and fidelity (B. 167, 168).

46. LETTERS FROM TAGI, the father-in-law of Milkili. He reports that he is unable to send his letters and gifts to the king because he is now, unfortunately, sick; this fact the king can verify by consulting the Egyptian inspector of the district. He says, "Behold, our eyes are upon thee, for whether we go up into the heights of heaven, or descend into the depths of earth our head is still in thy hand." He is very anxious to send the gifts which are due to the king, and he will do his best to do so by the hands of a friend, who is also in the king's service. In his second letter Tagi says, "I look hither and I look thither, and there is no light whatsoever, but when I look upon the face of my lord the king there is light." He sends with his protestations of fidelity a gift. In his third letter he reports that someone has plundered his land and carried off men, silver, and sheep, and that now he no longer has any authority over the cities which the king entrusted to him. Tagi sends this letter through Paḥura, and begs that a company of soldiers with horses may be sent (B. Nos. 156, 169; Brit. Mus. No. 29,853).

47. LETTERS FROM BIRIDIYA OF MEGIDDO. (1) Reporting that the two sons of Lapaya are giving help to the Ḥabiri, and asking the king to take heed to his possessions. (2) Reporting that he is guarding the city of Makida both by day and by night on behalf of

the king, and that the Habiri are obtaining great power in the country. (3) Reporting some gift made to the king, and complaining of harsh treatment at the hands of the king's enemies. (4) Reporting that as soon as the Egyptian soldiers left the city Lapaya cut off the food supplies and would not allow him (i.e., Biridiya) to go outside the gate. Lapaya is doing his utmost to take the city, and Biridiya entreats the king to send two companies of soldiers to occupy and save it, for if Makida falls Lapaya will certainly cause him to die a horrible death (B. Nos. 111, 113-115).

48. LETTER FROM WYASHDATA, reporting that all the possessions which had been entrusted to him by the king have been seized by the people of Tada, and that a raid has been made upon his cattle and many of them were driven off; he also announces that he has made a league with Biridiya, who appears to have been the governor of Megiddo (Brit. Mus. No. 29,842).

49. LETTERS FROM SHUARDATA, the governor of the city. (1) Reporting that all his troops have fled, and that he is left alone; he makes the usual appeal for help, and accompanies it with a gift. (2) Reporting that he has been left alone, and begging for the despatch of a large body of troops to help him out of his difficulties. (3) Reporting that he will perform the command which "my lord the king, the sun-god in heaven," hath sent him. He abases himself seven times in homage to the king, and declares that he is the dust of his feet. (4) Reporting the continued

hostility of the governors round about him, and begging the king to send a body of troops to protect him and his city (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,850, 29,851, 29,852; B. No. 190).





50. LETTERS FROM ABDI-TIRSHI OF KHAŞÛR (Hazor). (1) Reporting that he will guard the city of Hazor until the arrival of the king's soldiers, and assuring the king that when his despatch reached him it was just as if the sun had risen upon him; the news that the king is about to come has filled him with joy. (2) Reporting that he is still guarding the city on behalf of the king, whose faithful servant he is, as well as all the towns which are round about; he trusts that the king will keep in remembrance what hath befallen the faithful and loyal city, and also himself, and what he has endured in keeping it (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,830, 29,831).

51. LETTERS FROM YAPAKHI, GOVERNOR OF GEZER. (1) Acknowledging the receipt of the king's instructions, which he well understands, and reporting his loyalty and fidelity to the interests of the king. His brother has made a league with the Ḥabiri, and has rebelled against him, and he and they are taking offensive measures against him. (2) Acknowledging the receipt of a further despatch, and saying that his condition has become extremely serious because of the attacks of the Suti people; but if only he could hear a bit of good news from the king his heart would be satisfied (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,832, 29,833).

## 52. LETTERS FROM WIDYA, GOVERNOR OF ASKELON.

(1) He reports to the king that he is defending the city on his behalf, and that he has provided cattle, sheep, honey, oil, and drink for the troops; he expresses his readiness to pay the accustomed tribute. (2) He again reports that he is defending the city according to the instructions which he has received from the "sun in the heavens." The king ordered him to pay as tribute a number of precious stones, and he sends part of them, for he cannot send all as his "lord "the king, the sun in the heavens, the son of the sun, "whom the sun loveth, commanded."<sup>1</sup> (3-6) Further reports, saying that he has furnished supplies to the king's troops, and that he is guarding his city on the king's behalf. (7) Report expressing his loyalty, but saying that he cannot protect the city any longer without help, and begging the king to send the Egyptian officer Rianapa to him (Brit. Mus. No. 29,835, 29,836, 29,837; B. Nos. 118, 119, 121, 122).

53. LETTER FROM YABITIRI, GOVERNOR OF GAZA AND JOPPA, expressing his loyalty, and saying that there is no light anywhere for him but with the king, and that though the tile in the pavement may become loose and move away from its place he will never move from his position under the feet of the king. If the

<sup>1</sup> Widya here cleverly applies to the king the titles to which he is accustomed in Egypt, i.e., Sa-Rā, , "son of the Sun," and Rā-meri,   , "lover of the Sun," or "loved of the Sun."



king has any doubt about this fact let him ask Yankhamu, who took him to Egypt as a young man, and who knows how faithfully he discharged his duties as governor of Gaza and Joppa. He is ready to march with the royal troops wherever they may go, and he says, "The yoke of the king my lord is upon my neck, and I will bear it" (Brit. Mus. No. 29,840).

54. LETTERS FROM DAGAN-TAKALA TO THE KING, reporting his loyalty, and saying that even as his father and grandfather were loyal to the king of Egypt so will he be; he begs that he may be rescued from the Habiri and the Suti, who have gained great power in the land (Brit. Mus. No. 29,857; B. No. 129).

55. LETTER FROM ZIMRIDA OF LACHISH, reporting his loyalty, and saying that he will perform the commands of the king which have been duly brought to him by the Egyptian messenger (B. No. 123).

56. LETTER FROM YABNI-ILU OF LACHISH, reporting his loyalty, and saying that he will perform the commands of the king which have been duly brought to him by the envoy Maia (B. No. 124).

57. Letter said to have been found at Tell al-Hesi, the supposed site of Lachish, reporting an alliance between Shipti-Addu<sup>1</sup> and Zimrida of Lachish; it is thought to have been captured by the servants of Zimrida of Lachish (Constantinople).

<sup>1</sup> See Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xiii., 1891, pp. 73, 74; *Revue des Religions*, March, 1891; *Journal Asiatique*, 8<sup>me</sup> série, tom. xvii. pp. 347-349.

58. Among the other writers of letters to Amenhetep IV. and his officials may be mentioned: Shamu-Adda of Shamhuna (B. 131), Shubandi (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,821-29,823, B. 116, 117, 120), Bayaya, Shutarna of Mushiuna, Pu-adda of Urza, Mut-Adda, Yama, Addu-dayan, Shipti-Addu, Dashru, Zitriyara, Shatiya, the governor of Gubbu, the governor of Kanû, Abi-milki of Shashimi, Amayashi, Yik-tasu, Baduza, Mutzu, Surashar, Hiziri, Rusmana, the prince of Taruna, Zishamini, the prince of Nazuna, Diyati, Tagi, Yahzibaya, Yamyuta, the prince of Gadashuna, Subayadi, Inbaruta, etc.

END OF VOL. IV.



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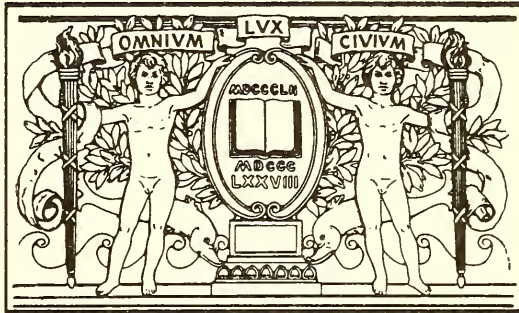


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## P R E F A C E

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THE period of Egyptian History treated of in the present volume begins with the reign of Rameses I., the first king of the XIXth Dynasty, and ends with that of Rameses XII., the last king of the XXth Dynasty, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt and the various portions of her Nubian and Asiatic Empire from about B.C. 1400 to B.C. 1130. This period is one of great interest, for in it are included the reigns of Seti I., and Rameses II., and Rameses III., and Menepthah, under which Egypt attained to a very high state of prosperity, and became the mistress of the trade of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean Sea. The country was not given up to the making of military expeditions and raids, as under the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it has been truly said that the general wealth of the country was greater during the reign of Rameses III. than during that of Thothmes III., although the hold of Egypt upon her Syrian, Libyan, and Nubian possessions was less strong and less secure. The additions

to the temple of Amen-Rā, the "king of the gods, the lord of the thrones of the two lands" (or, the world), which were made by Seti I. and his son Rameses II., and the lavish endowments and gifts made to the temples of Thebes, Abydos, and Heliopolis, prove that the wealth of these monarchs was exceedingly great, and the splendour of the capitals of the South and the North during their rule was never equalled either under the preceding or succeeding dynasties. The ruins of Thebes and Tanis testify alike to the magnificence of the temples, the munificence of the kings, and the prosperity of the country. The interest of modern investigators has centred chiefly in the reign of Rameses II., and in the exploits of this king, but a little consideration shows that his greatness was due more to the general condition of the country and to the great length of his reign than to the ability which he displayed in the rule of his kingdom. His generals and their armies were strong enough to guard Egypt against invasion, but they added nothing to the empire of Egypt, and, in spite of the boastful description of his victory over the Kheta which Rameses II. caused to be inscribed on the walls of his temples, and the high-flown utterances of the courtier scribe Pentaurt, it is clear that the king was unable completely to vanquish the league of nations and tribes which fought with the Kheta against him, and that it was only with difficulty that he succeeded in keeping his hold upon any part of Palestine and Syria. The famous treaty

of Rameses II. with the Kheta proves beyond doubt that the king of Egypt was obliged to acknowledge their independence, and to recognize the authority of their prince Kheta-sar, and to enter into obligations which would prevent him from invading their country in the future. When we consider the vast amount of spoil which the Egyptians took during their expeditions in Northern Syria under the XVIIIth Dynasty, it is tolerably certain that Rameses II. would not have made the treaty he did except under the strongest pressure. It is, of course, possible, though improbable, that he was led to act as he did because he wished to develop trade between the merchants of the rapidly growing cities of the Delta and those of Northern Syria. The Kheta wars were the chief military events of the reign of Rameses II., and the result of them, as far as Egypt was concerned, was a reduction of her dominions. On the other hand, the arts and sciences flourished, and the noble buildings of every kind which sprang up as if by magic in all the great centres of religious thought prove that the skill of the architect, and the artist, and the workman was as great as it had ever been; their style was not so good as that of the IVth and XIIth Dynasties, but this was due both to change of ideas and taste among the Egyptians, and to the influence which was exerted on the arts and crafts by foreign intercourse and trafficking. When Rameses II. died he left his country in a comparatively flourishing condition, but his empire was crumbling away, and

the events which took place under Menephthah prove that the nations around were only waiting for his death to invade Egyptian territory. Under Rameses III. the Libyans and the Syrians with their allies made a strong attack upon the Delta, and it says much for the ability of his generals and the administration of his forces that the Egyptians were victorious. This king appears to have been the first Pharaoh who constructed fleets of boats which could be used both for the purpose of war and of trade. Under the succeeding Rameses kings the power of Egypt declined rapidly, and the poverty-stricken condition of Thebes, the capital of the South, is well illustrated by the fact that the priests of Amen-Rā were obliged to make Rameses IX. authorize them to levy taxes on the people for the maintenance of the temple of their god. The papyri of the period tell us that the royal tombs of Thebes were plundered, and that the mummies of many of the great Pharaohs were stripped of everything of value, and we know from the "finds" at Dê el-Baharî that the sacrilegious thieves even broke the royal remains in pieces. The Governments of Rameses IX. and Rameses X. prosecuted the robbers and violators of the tombs, but the examination of the witnesses revealed the fact that the pillaging of the abodes of the dead was carried on in a systematic manner with the connivance of certain highly-placed officials, and, apparently, the wrecking of the royal mummies and plundering of their funeral furniture

continued. Meanwhile the priests, finding that the later Rameses kings were unable to support the great brotherhood of Amen-Rā, lost no opportunity of increasing their hold upon Thebes, and at length, on the death of Rameses XII., they boldly assumed the government of the country, and their high-priest, Her-Heru, usurped the throne.

In connexion with the reign of Menepthah a chapter has been added in the present volume on the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. In it an attempt has been made to consider the narrative of the Exodus given by Josephus in the light of recently ascertained facts, and the unhistorical character of many parts of it is made plain; that Manetho preserved in his History of Egypt an Egyptian tradition of a great exodus of foreigners from the Delta there is no reason to doubt, but until we have this writer's account of it in his own words no final opinion of its value historically can be arrived at. It is tolerably certain that the exodus of Semitic foreigners to which Josephus refers is that which is generally known as the "expulsion of the Hyksos," and that it is not that which is described in the Book of Exodus; the Exodus of the Israelites after the building of the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses must certainly have taken place during the reign of one of the successors of Rameses II., and more than one exodus of Semites must have taken place during the centuries which elapsed between the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta and the

reign of Rameses II. The narrative of the Book of Exodus appears to the writer to be based on historical facts, and the archaeological evidence contained in it proves that it is no historical romance, as some have endeavoured to show. Its form indicates that it was written a long time after the events happened which it describes, but the main fact that an exodus of Israelites took place as the result of the forced labour which they were compelled to perform is unassailable, and all the evidence goes to prove that a great body of Israelites left the Delta between the reigns of Rameses II. and Rameses III. If the exodus took place under Menepthah the popular view that the king of Egypt was drowned in the "Red Sea" must be abandoned, for his mummified body has been recently identified beyond doubt, and in connexion with this subject it must be remembered that it is nowhere said in the narrative of the Book of Exodus that the king was drowned, but only the host of Pharaoh.

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EGYPT

UNDER

RAMESES THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

1.  RĀ-MEN-PEH-PEH, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESSU [I.].



KA-NEKHT-UATCH-SUTENIU, the Horus name of Rameses I.

RĀMESSU I., or RAMESES I., the first king of the XIXth Dynasty, was apparently related to Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, but the degree of relationship cannot at present be defined, and its existence is doubted by some writers. There is certainly no evidence that he was of royal descent, and nothing is known of the circumstances under which he ascended the throne. There are grounds for thinking that he held, like Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, high offices under the government for


several years before he became king, and that

when he succeeded his colleague he was past middle age; it is more than probable that he exercised in the south of Egypt an authority similar to that which Heru-em-heb exercised in the north. Although the name of Amen does not occur in any of his names or titles he must have been a loyal servant of that god or he would never have been supported by his priests. His reign was very short, certainly less than ten years, and, but for one thing, of which there is no mention in the Egyptian inscriptions of the period, might have been termed uneventful. We have already mentioned the prominent part which the confederation of the Kheta tribes took in the breaking of the power of Egypt in Syria in the reign of Amen-hotep IV., and since that time Egypt had been able to do nothing to check their advance in Northern Syria. The disruption caused by the heresy of the Disk worshippers prevented the despatch of any army against them during the reigns of the three predecessors of Rameses I., and thus it happened that when this king ascended the throne of Egypt he discovered that he was powerless even to prevent their advance upon territory much nearer to Egypt, still less to regain the old Egyptian possessions near the Euphrates, and he, therefore, made a treaty of peace with Sapalul, the prince of the Kheta tribes. Reference is made to this treaty in the treaty which Sapalul's descendant made with Rameses II., and it is clear that in the reign of Rameses I. the Kheta were sufficiently powerful to make it worth the

while of the Egyptians to be at peace with them. The only military expedition undertaken by Rameses I. was against the Nubians, but whether this took place during the first two years of his reign, when he was sole monarch, or later, when his son Seti I. was co-regent, cannot be said. As a mark of his devotion to Amen he built the large pylon through which entrance is gained to the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of the god at Karnak, but of this very little now remains; on a wall near it he is represented in the act of adoring a number of gods. Rameses I. made a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and was presumably buried in it. It consists of a large hall, with a doorway at each end; through the further doorway admission is gained to a narrow chamber. The hall is approached by two corridors, which are not ornamented in any way, and the second forms a steep flight of steps which leads directly into the hall or mummy chamber. The walls of the hall are decorated with large figures of the gods Maāt, Ptah, Nefer-Temu, Anubis, Horus, Thoth, Kheperā, etc., and with inscriptions and scenes from the Book of the Underworld. The sarcophagus is made of red granite and is about five feet high; it is ornamented with figures of the gods painted in yellow on a red background, and is without a cover. The tomb was very difficult to enter, and its entrance has now been filled up.¹ Among the coffins and mummies from the great

¹ See Lefébure, *Hypogées Royaux*, Paris, 1890, p. 157 ff.


plundered by the people who were assisting in hiding it from the professional robbers of royal tombs.¹

2.  RĀ-MAĀT-

MEN, son of the Sun, PTAḤ-MERI-EN-SETI.



KA-NEKHT-KHĀ
EM-UĀST-SEĀNKH-
TAUI, the HORUS
name of Seti I.

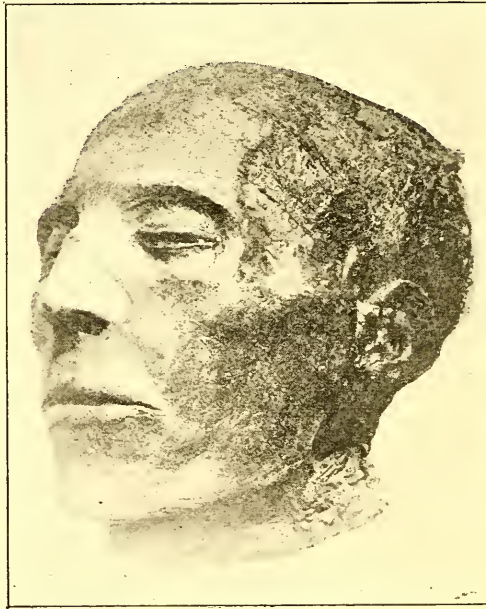
SETI I., or "SETI-MER-EN-PTAḤ" I., was the son of Rameses I.; he married queen Tuāa, , during the reign of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, and by her became the father of Rameses II. According to Manetho he reigned between fifty and fifty-five years, but there is no monumental evidence in support of this statement. The inscriptions prove that he adopted a large number of Horus names, among which may be mentioned:—

"Mighty Bull, rising in Thebes, vivifying the two lands," "Mighty Bull, image of Menthu," "Mighty Bull, son of Temu,"


¹ M. Maspero relates the following in proof of the excellent manner in which the body had been mummified. The workmen laid the naked mummy in the sun on the sand, and went away to have lunch and their mid-day rest; when they returned they found that one of the arms had moved from its position lengthwise down the body, and was bent at right angles to the breast in a manner which seemed to threaten them. Examination showed that the arm had become contracted through the heat of the sun. *Les Momies*, pp. 552, 553.

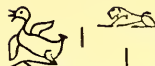



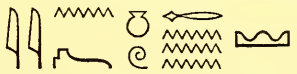
resting upon Maät," etc.; some of his titles were, "He who repeateth [his] births, mighty one of valour, destroyer of the Nine Bows, Mighty one of bows in all lands, subduer of the Menti, stablisher of monuments," etc.

As soon as Rameses I. was dead the nomad



Head of the mummy of Seti I., king of Egypt, B.C. 1370.

tribes and peoples who lived in the Eastern Desert and in Palestine revolted, and his son and successor Seti I. found himself obliged to take the field at once against a formidable confederation of hostile hosts. He set out from Egypt against the wretched "Shasu," , and marched

from the fortress of Tchare, , to Kanāna, , a place which has been thought to be to the south of Hebron; but Kanāna refers to the whole country and not to any one portion of it. The Shasu were defeated in the first battle, and large numbers of them were slain. He next attacked the rebels of Khare, , with the same result, and the king, who is described as the "Sun of Egypt and the moon of all other lands," swept all before him like the god Bāru, , wheresoever he went he slew men, and his soldiers following him up carried away much spoil. The chiefs of Rethennu, or Northern Syria, submitted peacefully, and sang praises to the king, and of the presents which they brought to him he made rich gifts to Amen-Rā. The city of Kadesh and the fortress of Innuāamu, , were also conquered, and the whole country of the Amorites. The tribes of the Kheta, however, refused to follow this example, and therefore Seti I. marched into their country; he slew their chiefs and passed through their soldiers like a flame of fire, and all that could fled before him.¹ From every part of Syria he obtained either gifts or tribute, and he then retraced his steps to Egypt, leaving the country through which he had

¹ For many of the inscriptions describing these events see Guieyesse in *Recueil*, tom. xi. p. 52 ff.; and for the scenes see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pll. 126-130.

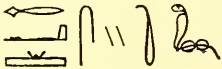
passed a place of desolation and misery. Among the spoil brought back was wood for making a boat for the god *Āmen-Rā*, and trunks of straight and lofty trees which were to be made into the masts intended to be set up in grooves in front of the main pylons of temples; the wood and the tree trunks came from the Lebanon mountains, famous then, as later, for their lofty cedars and other trees.

When Seti I. arrived at the frontiers of Egypt he was met by the priests and nobles of the country, who received him with shouts of joy, and with all the spoil which he had brought back he set out on the river to make a triumphant progress up the Nile to Thebes. The principal events of the campaign in Palestine and Syria were sculptured on the north and south walls of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and near each was added a full description in hieroglyphics for every man to see. The king was very proud of his achievements and caused lists of the countries, and cities, and villages which he had conquered to be inscribed upon the buildings and monuments which he set up in Egypt and Nubia. Thus on the north wall of the great hall at Thebes *Āmen* is depicted holding ropes to which are tied by their necks series of representatives of conquered places, each with his name enclosed in a "turreted cartouche"; the base of a sphinx in the temple of Seti I. at Kūrna also contains a long list of names of conquered places; and at Redêsîyeh or Radassîyeh, about forty miles to

the east of Edfu, and at Sesebi in the Third Cataract portions of lists and scenes of conquest have also been found. Seti I. seems to have claimed that he was master of the Libyans, Nubians, people of Punt, nomads of the Eastern Desert, Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, and of Western Asia generally as far eastwards as Neherna, but his court scribes must have exaggerated the size of his kingdom, for it is quite certain that the Kheta were not in any way subject to him at this time, and that their territory was under their own rule. That their power was very great at this period is proved by the fact that not very many years later Rameses II. was obliged, even after his fierce battle with them, to enter into an agreement which certainly did not restore to Egypt any of the possessions which had been hers in the reign of Thothmes III.

As soon as his wars were over Seti I. devoted himself to the building of new temples and the restoration of old ones, and the evidences of his great activity in such works are found throughout Egypt from the north of the Delta to the Third Cataract, and in the Sinaitic peninsula and in Wâdî Hammâmât. The quarries at Hammâmât were worked for stone for his buildings; the mines at Şarbût al-Khâdim were worked for copper and malachite; and it appears that he either worked regularly or carried on experimental works in all the great mines of the Eastern Desert in Nubia. The temple of Redêsîyeh, or Radassîyeh, mentioned above, stands on the old desert road which

ran from Edfu to the emerald mines of Mount Zâbără, near Berenice on the Red Sea, and it is pretty certain that Seti I. only built it because the mines were being worked for his benefit. As there was a water station, or well, close by, the traveller who had halted there would not only be able to obtain refreshment, but would also become acquainted with the scenes of the prowess of Seti I., which were sculptured inside the temple in the ninth year of his reign. Seti I. either bored, or re-bored a well here, and a small building seems to mark its site to this day; it is probable that he caused a series of water stations to be established from the Nile to Berenice.¹ The local mining agents seem to have made plans of the districts wherein gold or mines of precious stones were situated, and to have had them drawn and painted upon papyrus either for the benefit of new-comers or to supply information about the position of the mines to high officials in Egypt. A plan of this kind was published by Lepsius,² and on it we see indicated the footpaths running among the mountains, the position of the government building, which in this case was erected by Seti I., and the places where the workmen are boring into the hills; when viewed in comparison with modern maps it

¹ The whole route has been carefully described by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 75), who has given us the true reading of the name of the goddess Āāsith, , and other curious information.

Auswahl, pl. xxii.

appears to be a crude piece of work, but it must be remembered, as Wiedemann has said, that it is the oldest map in the world.


Among the buildings of Seti I. must be specially mentioned those which he carried out at Abydos and Thebes. At Abydos he built the famous temple called



Colonnade of the Temple of Seti I. at Abydos.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

after his own prenomen "Men-Maāt-Rā," but more commonly known from its description by Strabo as the "Memnonium." Abydos was the centre of Osiris worship in Upper Egypt, for there was supposed to be the tomb of the head of the god, and Egyptians loved to be buried there, first, that their bodies might be near the head of Osiris, and secondly, because there

was a widespread belief in the country that close to the city, in the mountains, was the "Gap," , or, "opening" through which disembodied souls made their way into Paradise. Seti's temple was built of fine white limestone, but when the king died it was not finished, and his son Rameses II. completed it. The walls and pillars are ornamented with religious scenes and figures of the gods, and the sculptures and reliefs are among the most beautiful of those to be found in Egypt; for design, proportion, excellence of work, and finish, the reliefs are unequalled under the New Empire. At the end of the temple are seven shrines or chapels, dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amen, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, and Seti I. respectively; behind these is the chief shrine of the god Osiris. One remarkable feature of the temple is the famous King List which Seti I. had inscribed upon the main wall of a corridor of the building at the side of the main edifice. Here we have a list of the names of seventy-six kings, the first being that of Menā or Menes, and the last being that of Seti I.; at one end stand Seti I., making an offering of incense, and his son Rameses II., and they pray that to each of the kings named the triune god Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsar will give 1000 cakes, 1000 vessels of ale, 1000 cattle, 1000 feathered fowl, etc. The royal names in this list represent the kings for whose spiritual welfare Seti I. prayed at certain seasons, and the list itself is of great importance, for the "Tablet of Abydos," as it is generally called, has

helped us to reconstruct the chronological order of some of the kings of Egypt. It omits many names, and even whole "dynasties," but its historical value is very great.



Hall of Columns at Karnak.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

At Karnak Seti I. carried out many important new works and restorations, but the greatest of them all was done in connexion with the Hypostyle Hall, or Hall of Columns. This marvellous building measured

about 340 feet by 168 feet, and contained 134 columns ; one of these was set up by Rameses I., 79 by Seti I., and 54 by Rameses II. Twelve columns are 68 feet high and 35 feet in circumference, and 122 are about 43 feet high and 27 feet in circumference. Besides all this Seti I. restored or rebuilt, in whole or in part, the temples of many of his ancestors in all the important cities of Egypt.¹ At Kûrna, on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes, he completed and adopted as his own the funeral chapel which had been begun by Rameses I., and formally dedicated it to the worship of himself and his father. This funeral temple was built in connexion with the wonderful tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and the king appears to have intended that services should be held in it instead of in the tomb, which was, comparatively, a long way from the river. The tomb is nearly 350 feet long, and consists of a large number of halls and corridors, and side chapels, all of which are hewn out of the solid rock ; the floor of the lowest room is about 100 feet below the level of the valley. It was discovered by Belzoni in 1817, and is commonly called "Belzoni's Tomb," or "No. 17." It is the most beautiful of all the royal tombs, and strikes the beholder with wonder at the vast amount of labour and the skill displayed in making it. The paintings on the walls, etc., suggest that the decoration, and probably every part

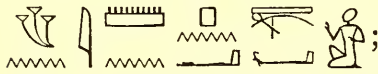
¹ Most of these are mentioned by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 421 ff.

of it, was carried out by the sculptors and artists who built Seti's temple to Osiris at Abydos. The inscriptions on the entrance staircase-corridor are selections from the "Book of the Praisings of Rā" and the "Book of [knowing] that which is in the Underworld." According to this last work the world beyond the grave was divided into sections, and the texts of this curious book enabled the deceased to make his way safely through them, even as did the Sun. In one of the chambers entered from the main hall with eight pillars is a remarkable text describing how mankind once on a time rebelled against the Sun-god Rā, and made a mock of him because the god had become old and feeble; they were, however, severely punished, for they were slaughtered by the goddess Sekhet, who "waded about in their blood," and many other calamities came upon them. The goddess Hathor at this time compassed the destruction of mankind.

The large and beautiful white alabaster sarcophagus of the king is preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where it was taken by Belzoni; it is said to have been sold to this institution for £2000. It is inscribed¹ with a long series of extracts and vignettes from the "Book of [knowing] what is in the Underworld," and the hieroglyphics were inlaid with blue

¹ For the texts see Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I.*, London, 1864; and for translations see *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 85-134; vol. xii. p. 1 ff.

paste, which was intended to represent lapis-lazuli. The coffin of Seti I. was found with his mummy at Dêr al-Baĥarî. The coffin is painted white, and has eyes inlaid with black and white enamel. Three hieratic inscriptions on it tell us that in the 6th year of the high priesthood of Ĥer-Ĥeru the mummy of Seti I. was re-bandaged and re-interred by Ĥen-Āmen-penā,



; that in the 16th year of the reign of Sa-Āmen it was removed to the tomb of the queen Ān-Ĥāpu; and that in the 10th year of Pai-netchem, who reigned about a century later, the mummy was again moved and taken to the “everlasting abode” of Āmen-ĥetep. The mummy of Seti I. was unrolled on June 9, 1886, when most of its swathings were found to be those originally used, but a few were newer and dated from the XXIst Dynasty. The nose is well-shaped and aquiline, the mouth is long, the lips are thin, the ears are small and round, and are pierced for earrings, the eye-brows are now blackened by bitumen, but were originally white, the head and chin are shaved, the only two teeth visible are well preserved, even as is the whole body. It is thought that Seti died when he was about sixty years of age, and, in view of his knotted fingers, that he suffered from arthritis. M. Maspero thinks that there is a striking resemblance between the features of Seti I. and those of his son Rameses II., only that they are finer and more intelligent; in fact that

the father is an idealized type of the son.¹ Everything that we know about the tomb and funeral furniture and mummy of Seti I. proves that the burial of the king must have been attended with the greatest pomp and ceremony, and it is interesting to note that the religious inscriptions on the walls of the tomb are extracts, not from the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," or the "Book of the Dead," but from works of an entirely different character.



Ushabti figure of king Seti I.
British Museum, No. 22,818.

¹ *Les Momies*, p. 554 ff. ; *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 180.

In the inscriptions of Rameses II. found on the temple built by Seti I. at Abydos, we are told that his father associated him with himself in the rule of the kingdom at a very early age, and that he was made the lord of the kingdom when he was a little boy. When as yet he was in the womb of his mother the nobles of the land saluted him and paid homage to him, and when he was still in the habit of sitting on his father's knee the king gave the order and had the child crowned. All this, however, is exaggeration on the part of Rameses II., or we may regard it as oriental hyperbole; in any case, he cannot have been crowned when he was still a little boy being brought up in the women's apartments, for he was not the eldest son of Seti. That Seti I. had a son older than Rameses II. we know from the reliefs which depict his battle scenes, for this prince's figure and titles are found in them. What happened to this prince we have no means of knowing, but he took part in Seti's great Syrian war, being at that time a mature man, and it is possible that he was slain in battle. It is a curious fact that in every case where his figure and titles occur his name has been cut out, and we are forced to come to the same conclusion as Wiedemann,¹ i.e., that the existence of an elder brother must have been disagreeable to Rameses II., and that "he who used with predilection "the monuments of his ancestors as material for his

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xii., 1890, p. 260; and see *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 419, 420.

“own, would try by all possible means to destroy his brother’s memory; the obliteration of the prince’s name will have been made at his instigation.”

The question which has now to be considered is, “Was Rameses II. ever co-regent with Seti I.?” When we consider that the reign of Seti I. was very short, probably not more than twelve or fifteen years,¹ and that extremely few texts exist which can be construed into referring to the co-regency, and that none are dated in it, it is morally certain that the words which Rameses II. allowed to be inscribed on the temple of Seti I. at Abydos are untrue. Moreover, we know that Rameses II., had he been co-regent with his father at the extremely early age which he indicates, would have been incapable of conducting the war against the Kheta, which he tells us he waged in the fifth year of his reign, and that he would not have been old enough to be the father of the grown-up sons who accompanied him on that memorable occasion. The late Dr. Brugsch stated at some length² his reasons for believing that Rameses II. was selected co-regent by his father at a very early age, and thought that Seti I. had good reasons for doing so. Seti I. married a lady called Tuâa, who was probably related or connected with the royal house of the Amen-hetep kings, and who had, therefore, in the eyes of the Egyptians, a claim to the throne; Seti himself was not of royal descent, and

¹ Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 387, note 5.

² *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 22.

could only assert a right to the throne through his wife. Dr. Brugsch argued that the priests of Amen and the Egyptians hated Tuâa because "her grandfather's blood flowed in her veins" (he assumes that she was the granddaughter of Khu-en-Âten, of which there is no proof); that Seti, who was himself named after the god Set, or Sutekh, was related to a stock that worshipped foreign gods, at the head of which was the "Canaanitish Baal-Sutekh," and that Seti I. felt himself obliged to "avoid an open breach, and to soothe the stubborn caste of the priests of Amen," even though they hated Rameses' ancestry, by electing the child as co-regent. In answer to this it must be stated that the priests of Amen, having regained their old position, would have no reason to fear any act of Seti I.; that the views about the name of the king have no foundation; and that, since Seti I. had acquired a claim to the throne through his wife, which was held to be a valid claim by the Egyptians, he could not be regarded as an usurper, as Rameses I. might well have been considered. Dr. Brugsch concludes, "While he "[Seti I.] actually ruled the land as king, Rameses, his "son, as legitimate sovereign, gave authority to all the "acts of his father."¹ It is, however, certain that Rameses II. counted the years of his reign from the year in which his father died, that the years of his life when he ascended the throne were many more in number than the years of his father's reign, that he


¹ *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 25.

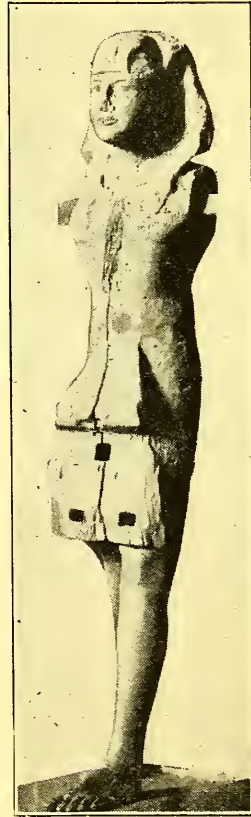
years of age when he was crowned. He adopted as his Horus name "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maät," and a very large number of epithets which we find applied to him in the inscriptions were regarded as Horus names and treated accordingly, being placed in rectangular enclosures within which the Horus,



Head of the mummy of Rameses II. Full face.

or *ka*, names were usually written. In addition to his titles, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and "Uatchet, master of Egypt, conqueror of foreign "countries, Horus of gold, mighty one of years, great "of strength," he is called "Exalter of Thebes, he who "rises in Thebes, vivifier of the two lands son of Set,

“son of Amen, son of Temu, son of Ptaḥ-Tanen,
 “son of Kheperà, son of Amen, mighty of two-fold
 “strength, firm of heart, power of two-fold strength,
 “valiant warrior, smiter of the
 “Asiatics, lord of festivals, be-
 “loved of the two lands, king
 “of kings, bull of princes, mighty
 “one of valour like his father Set
 “in Nubti, , upholder of
 “Maât, possessor of the two lands,”
 etc.¹ Although, as we have already
 seen, it is improbable that
 Rameses II. was crowned king of
 Egypt when he was still a little
 child living in the women’s
 quarters in the palace, we are
 right in thinking that he was
 trained with the soldiers and ac-
 customed to military command
 when he was ten or twelve years
 of age. Besides his military ap-
 pointments he held the offices of
 counsellor and overseer of certain
 lands, and Seti I. spared no pains
 to qualify him to become a wise
 and able prince. In the reign of Seti I. Rameses

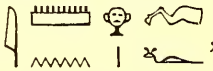


Wooden statue of
 Rameses II. from the
 king’s tomb.
 Brit. Mus., No. 882.

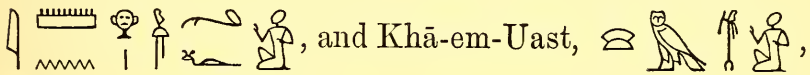
¹ The texts of these and of many other titles will be found in
Le Livre des Rois (ed. Brugsch and Bouriant), p. 65 ff.

took part in certain raids which were made upon the Libyans and other tribes living on the west and north-west frontiers of Egypt, and he was present at several fights with the Nubians in various parts of their country. He continued the wars in Nubia during the first two or three years of his reign, and they were waged with such fierceness that it seems as if some of the tribes of that country must have tried to shake off the yoke of Egypt, and to cease from the payment of tribute to the new king.

The principal memorial of his wars in Nubia, Libya, and Syria is the little rock-hewn temple at Bêt al-Walli near Kalâbshéh, where, on the two sides of the vestibule, are scenes depicting the principal events of these wars, the capture of prisoners, and the receipt of tribute. In the Libyan war the king was accompanied by his

son Âmen-her-khepesh-f, , who is represented as bringing prisoners before his father; Rameses was also accompanied by his favourite dog, which attacked the foe at the same time as his master. The Syrians, as usual, took refuge in their fortresses, but they availed them nought, for their entrances were forced by the Egyptian soldiers and, if we may trust the picture on the wall, the Syrians were put to the sword by the king whilst they were in the very act of tendering submission and pleading for mercy. The scenes which illustrate the Nubian campaigns are more interesting, for we see the king seated in state and

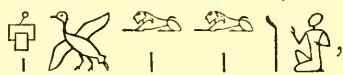
receiving the gifts brought to him by the natives. These gifts consisted of gold rings, leopard or panther skins, prisoners, apes, panthers, giraffes, oxen, gazelles, ostriches, ebony, bows, feathers, fans, chairs of state, tusks of elephants, a lion, an antelope, etc., and it is clear that they must, for the most part, have been brought from the country to the south of the Fourth Cataract. On his Nubian campaign Rameses was accompanied by his sons Amen-her-unami-f,



who are seen in their chariots charging the Nubians, and performing mighty deeds of valour. From the accounts given of the battles in Nubia it does not appear that Rameses did anything more than make certain tribes pay tribute; he does not seem to have made his way as far to the south as some of his predecessors had done, and he certainly added no new territory to the Egyptian possessions in Nubia.

In the fourth year of his reign Rameses was engaged in a military expedition in Syria, a fact proved by the memorial stele which he set up on the rocks overhanging the left or south bank of the Nahr al-Kalb, or "Dog River," near its mouth. Here the king is seen thrusting into the presence of the god Menthu a Syrian prisoner, who has his hands tied behind him, and whom he holds by a feather placed on the top of his head. At the Dog River there are three stelae of Rameses II., and one of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who set his

up on his return from the conquest of Egypt, to commemorate the capture of Memphis by him in the year B.C. 670. The inscriptions on all three stelae of Rameses are obliterated and the dates of two of the three; the third stele is perhaps dated in the fourth year of the king's reign, for it is probable that when Dr. Lepsius saw it the four strokes, which stand for the numeral "4," were distinctly legible after the word for "year" $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \ominus \\ \ominus \end{array} \right.$, but when the writer saw the stele in October, 1890, it was impossible to say what the exact number of the strokes had been.

We have already seen that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the Kheta formed an enemy of Egypt who was by no means to be despised, and that though the Egyptian kings of the latter part of the dynasty claimed to have subdued them and reduced them to the state of vassals, it is by no means certain that they really did so. Since the reign of Thothmes III. they had been gradually forcing their way into Syria, and by the time that Rameses II. had ascended the throne the authority of the prince of the Kheta reached as far as Kadesh. As a result of the arrangements which had been made between the Kheta princes and Heru-em-heb, Rameses I., and Seti I., the limit of Egypt's possessions in Syria was marked by the Dog River. The prince of the Kheta in the time of Heru-em-heb was called Saparuru, , and he seems to have made a treaty with Egypt; his son and successor








Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

Rameses II. in his chariot charging into the enemy on one side of the river Orontes whilst his charioteers attack them on the other. The pet lion of Rameses is seen in his chariot, and is about to spring on the foe.



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

The horses in the chariot of Rameses II. trampling on the foe, and the general attack by his troops.

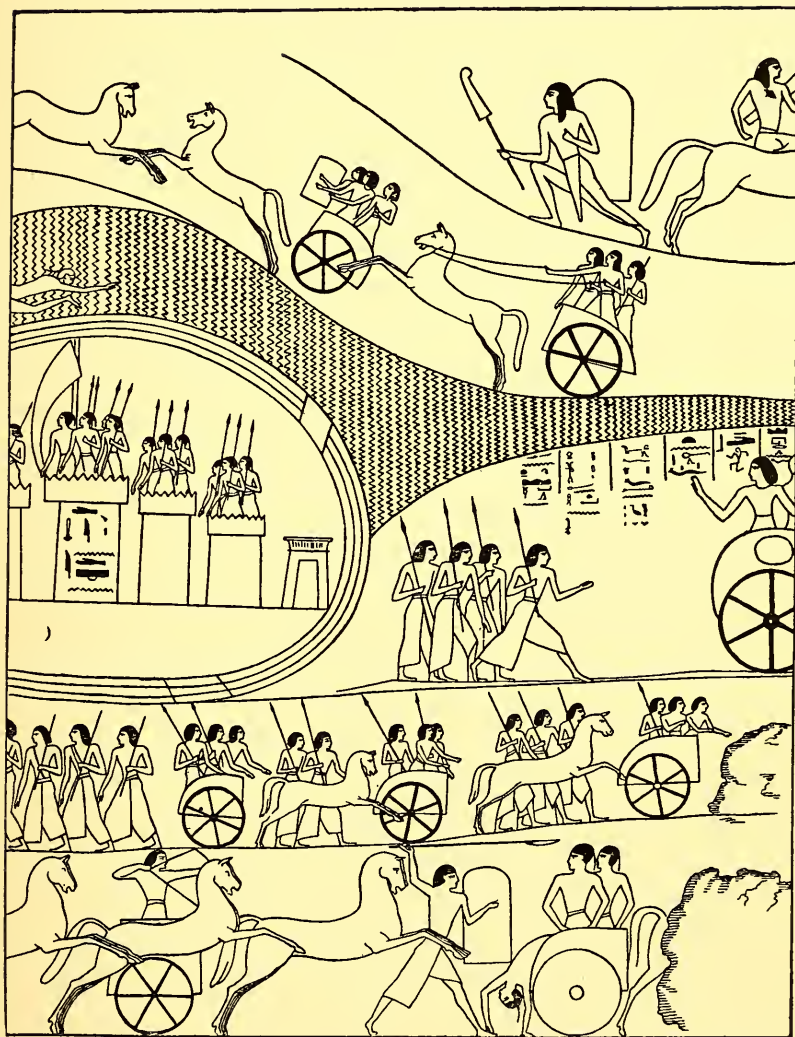
stele in the rock-hewn temple at Abû Simbel in Nubia, and as it is comparatively brief and to the point a rendering of it is here given:—"On the ninth day of "the third month of the season Shemut (i.e., the month "Epiphi), under the reign of his majesty of Horus, the "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maât, the king of the South "and North, Ra-user-Maât-setep-en-Râ, the sun of the "Sun, Râmessu, beloved of Âmen, the giver of life for "ever, behold, his majesty was in the country of "Tchah, , during his second expedition. A very "strict guard was being kept in the camp of his "majesty on the country to the south of the city of "Kadesh, . His majesty rose up like the god "Râ, and he arrayed himself in the glorious apparel "of his father Menthu; the lord continued to move "forward, and his majesty arrived at the south of the "town of Shabtun, . Then two "members of the Shasu came and said to him, 'Our "brethren who are chiefs of the tribes that are with "the wretched Kheta have made us come to your "majesty to inform you that we are prepared to become "servants of your majesty, and that we are not in any "way in league with the wretched Kheta. Now the "wretched Kheta have pitched their camp in the "country of Khirebu,  (i.e. Aleppo), "to the north of Tunep, , being afraid that





Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
The attack on the fortified city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

“ your majesty will go out to attack them.’ In this wise
 “ did the two Shasu speak, but they spake these words
 “ with foul intent, for the wretched Kheta had made
 “ them to go and spy out where his majesty was before
 “ he was able to arrange his troops in battle array, and
 “ to prepare for his attack; meanwhile the wretched
 “ Kheta had gathered themselves together, with the
 “ chiefs of all the neighbouring lands, and their
 “ soldiers, and their horsemen, whom they had collected
 “ in large numbers, and the whole force was drawn up,
 “ and lying in ambush behind the wretched city of
 “ Kadesh, and his majesty had no information whatever
 “ concerning their arrangements.

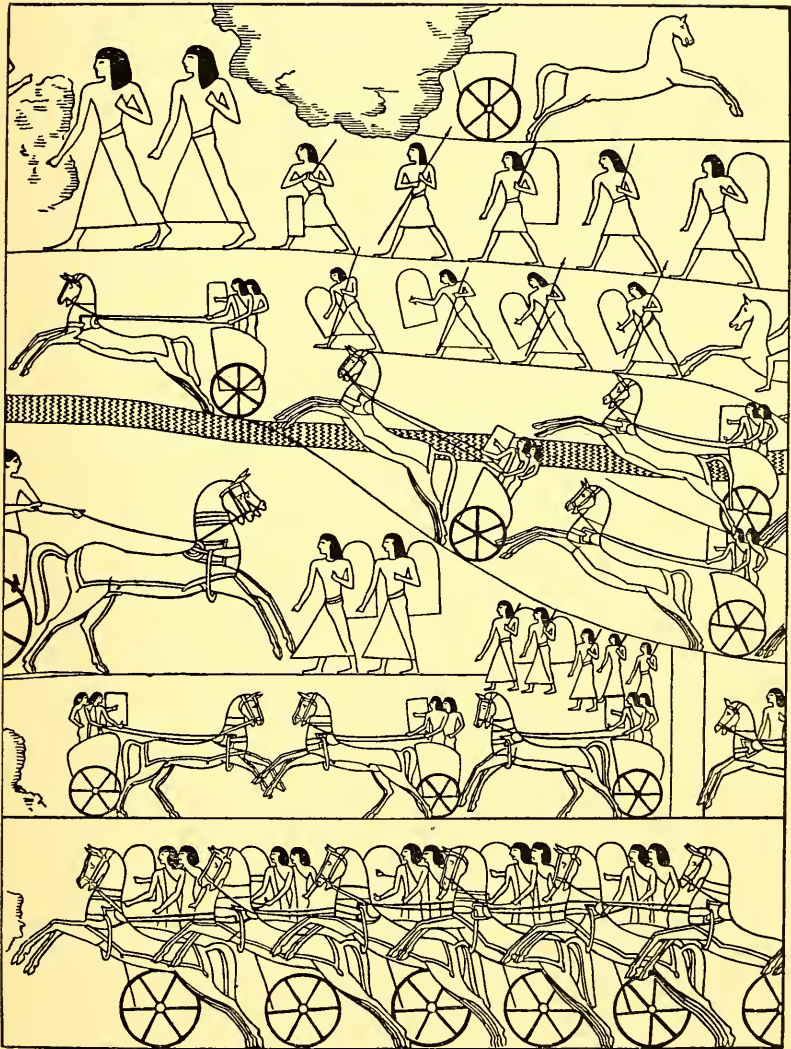
“ Then his majesty drew on to the north-west of the
 “ city of Kadesh, where his troops pitched their camp.
 “ When his majesty had seated himself upon his throne
 “ of gold, certain of his scouts came in bringing with
 “ them before him two spies belonging to the wretched
 “ Kheta. When these had been brought before his
 “ majesty, the king said to them, ‘ Who are ye?’ And
 “ they replied, ‘ We belong to the wretched Kheta chief
 “ who has made his servants to come and find out where
 “ your majesty is.’ And his majesty said unto them,
 “ ‘ Where is the wretched Kheta chief? I have heard
 “ it said that he is in the country of Khirebu’ (i.e.,
 “ Aleppo). And they said, ‘ Behold, the wretched
 “ Kheta chief is with the innumerable hosts of people
 “ which he has gathered together unto him, that is to
 “ say, all the nations belonging to the country of




Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
The attack on the fortified city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

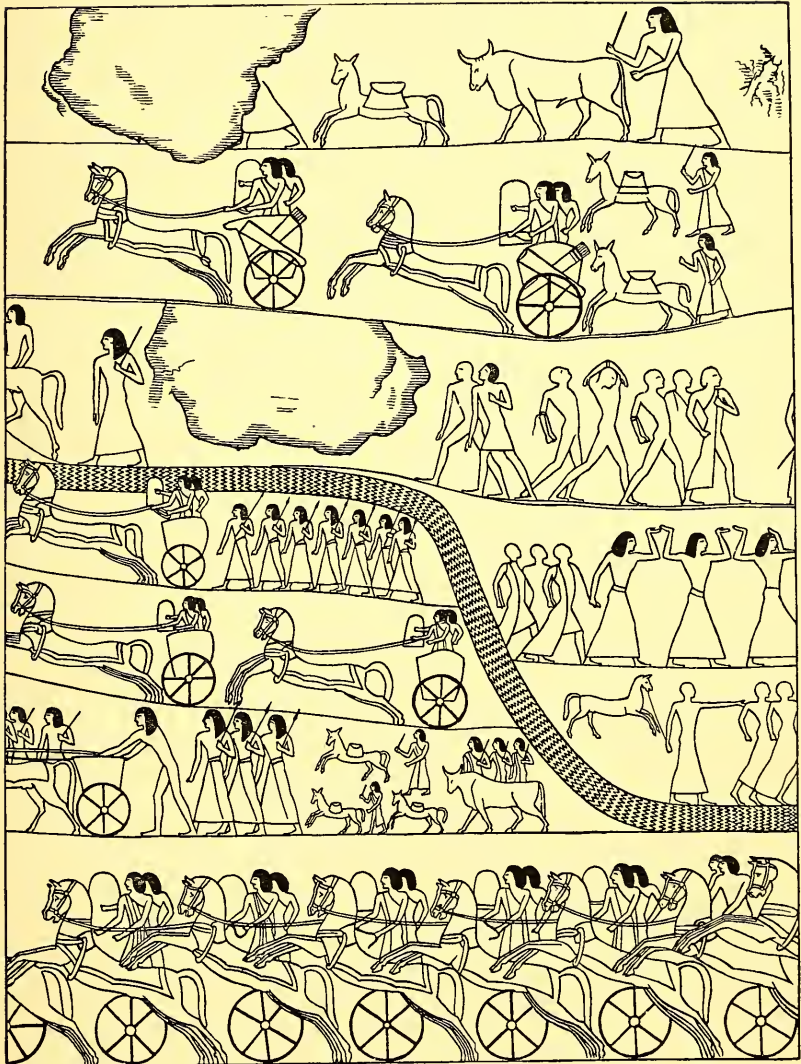
“Kheta, and to the country of Nehiren, 
 “(i.e., Western Babylonia), and to the country of Qeti,
 “ (i.e., Phoenicia), and he has soldiers and
 “men with horses that are for number even as the
 “sands on the sea-shore, and behold, they stand all
 “ready to do battle behind the wretched city of
 “Kadesh.’ Then his majesty called his officers into
 “his presence in order that he might inform them con-
 “cerning all the things which the two spies of the
 “Kheta had said unto him there. [And he said to
 “them] ‘Find out how it is that those who have been
 “in charge of the soldiers and of outpost duty in the
 “region where his majesty hath been, have reported
 “as certain that the wretched Kheta chief was in the
 “country of Khirebu, whither he had fled as soon as
 “he heard of him. It was their duty to report to his
 “majesty information which is correct. Ye see now
 “that which I have just made known unto you,
 “through the information received from the two spies
 “of the country of the Kheta, how that the chief of
 “that country hath arrived with followers innumerable,
 “and men and horses which are for number even as the
 “sand which is on the sea shore, and that he is now
 “behind the wretched city of Kadesh, and yet the
 “officers who are over the soldiers and outpost duty in
 “the regions where I am have had no knowledge
 “thereof!’

When these words had been said the generals

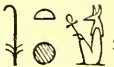



Battle of Rameses II, against the Kheta.

“ who had been called into his majesty’s presence
 “ admitted that a fault of the gravest kind had
 “ been committed by those who were in charge of the
 “ district, inasmuch as they had not informed his
 “ majesty where the wretched chief of the Kheta had
 “ taken up his position. And when the generals had
 “ spoken his majesty gave the command to hurry on
 “ the march of the soldiers who were to the south of
 “ the city of Shabtun, and to bring them to the place
 “ where he was as soon as possible. Now at that
 “ moment whilst his majesty was sitting in council with
 “ his officers, the wretched chief of the Kheta came
 “ with his soldiers, and his horsemen, and his allies
 “ who were gathered together unto him from every
 “ nation, and they crossed over the ditch which was at
 “ the south of Kadesh, and they made their way into
 “ the midst of the soldiers of his majesty as they were on
 “ the march, and they knew it not. Then the soldiers
 “ and horsemen of his majesty quailed before them, and
 “ ran to the place where his majesty was, and the
 “ warriors of the wretched Kheta prince hemmed in the
 “ bodyguard of his majesty. As soon as his majesty
 “ saw them he raged at them like his father Menthu,
 “ the lord of Thebes, and having girded on his panoply
 “ of war he seized his lance, and being like unto the
 “ god Bār, , in his hour, he mounted his
 “ chariot and charged the enemy rapidly. His majesty
 “ dashed into the midst of the mass of the enemy, and



The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

“like the most mighty god Sutekh, , he hewed
 “them down and slew them, and cast their dead
 “bodies headlong into the waters of the Orontes,
 “ *Arenuth*. ‘I was,’ said the king,
 “‘by myself, for my soldiers and my horsemen had
 “forsaken me, and not one of them had been sufficiently
 “bold to come to my assistance. I dedicate my love
 “to Rā, and my praise to my father Temu. What I
 “have just described that I myself performed in very
 “truth in the presence of my soldiers and my horse-
 “men.’”¹

The information to be derived from the above may, however, be supplemented by some important facts which are to be gleaned from the heroic poem usually attributed to the scribe Pen-ta-urt, and composed some little time after the official account which has been translated above. According to this document,² the Kheta hosts covered the mountains and filled the valleys like locusts, and every inhabitant of the country was dragged by the prince of Kheta to the fight. The Egyptian host was divided into four great armies, i.e., the army of Amen, which marched with the king, the army of Rā, which occupied the

¹ A good edition of the Egyptian text and a French translation of the inscription will be found in *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 126 ff.

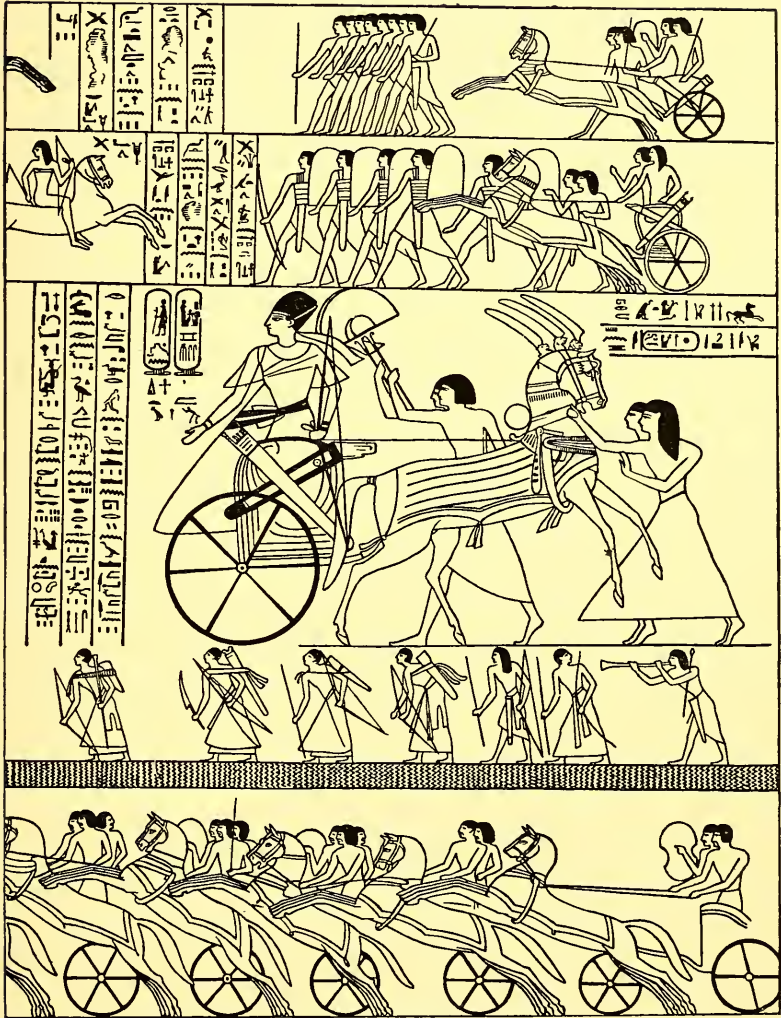
² For the hieratic text see *Select Papyri*, ed. Birch, vol. i. pll. xxiv.–xxxiv.; and see de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, Paris, 1856.

ditch on the west of the town of Shabtun, the army of Ptah, which occupied a middle position, and the army of Sutekh, which marched along the roads of the country. The enemy's host attacked the army of Rā, which retreated before the attack of the pick of the Kheta army, supported as it was by chariots, each containing three warriors; it was then that the king charged into the enemy at headlong speed, but he found soon afterwards that he was surrounded by "two thousand five hundred pairs of horses," and that his retreat was barred by the bravest of all the



Capture of Kheta soldiers and mutilation of the dead.

Kheta troops. In these straits Rameses cried out to Amen, and asked the god where he was, and why he did not come to his help, and he spake to the god, saying, "Have I for nought dedicated to thee temples, and filled them with prisoners, and given thee of all my substance, and made the whole country to pay tribute unto thee, and ten thousand oxen, besides sweet-smelling woods of every kind? I never stayed my hand from doing that which thou wishedst. I have built for thee pylons and other edifices in stones, I have raised up to thee pillars which will last for ever, and I have brought obelisks for thee from Ābu (i.e., Elephantine). I brought stone for thee, and I made ships to sail on the sea and bring back the products of foreign lands. . . . Behold, O Amen, I am in the midst of multitudes of men who have banded themselves together against me, and I am alone, and no one is with me, for all my soldiers and charioteers have forsaken me; I cried out unto them, but none hearkened unto me. But thou, O Amen, art more to me than millions of warriors, and hundreds of thousands of horses, and tens of thousands of brothers and sons, even if they were here all together; the acts of hosts of men are as nothing, and Amen is better than them all." The god Amen stretched out his hand to the king, and said, "I am with thee, I am thy father Rā. My power is with thee, and I am better than hundreds of thousands [of men] united." Then the king charged, and the five thousand horses

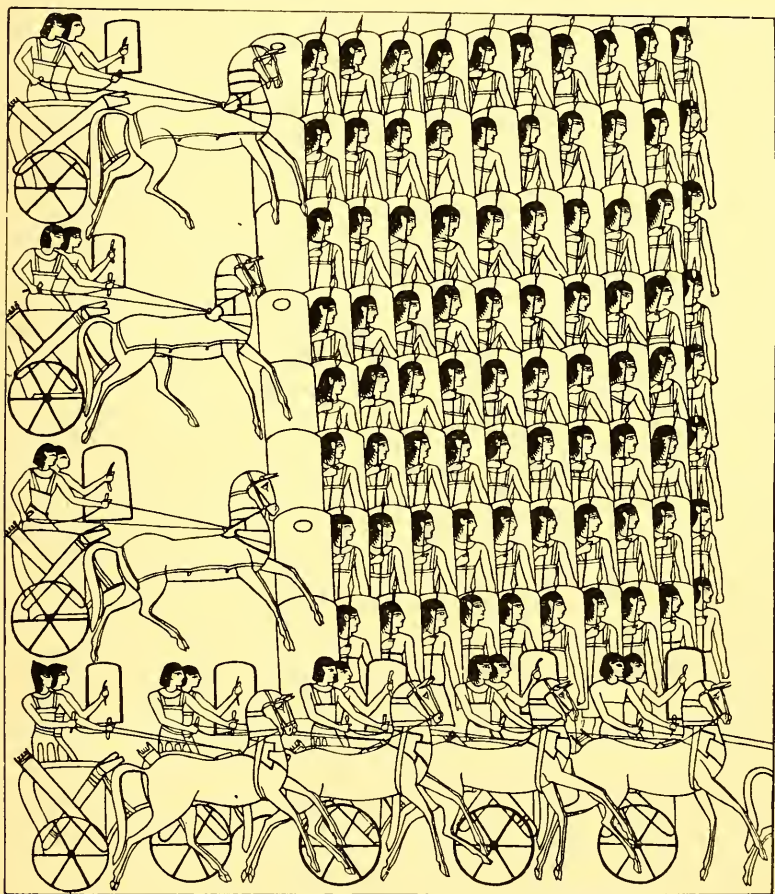


Battle of Rameses II, against the Kheta.

of the enemy were crushed before his horses, and no man lifted a hand to oppose his onset; the enemy fell dead beneath his blows, and when they had once fallen they never moved again.

When the prince of Kheta and the other princes saw what was happening they fled. But the king's charioteer, called Menna, became afraid, for he saw that the king's charge had carried him away from the main body of the Egyptian troops, and that they were surrounded by foes, and he begged Rameses to stop. The king laughed at his fears, and told him that he would slay his enemies and dash them down in the dust, and bidding him to be of good courage he charged the enemy for the sixth time. After this charge he reproached his charioteers for being cowards, and told them that they were worthless as friends in the day of adversity; he then enumerated to them the benefits which he had conferred upon Egypt, and roundly abused them for being craven-hearted men. No weapon wielded by the enemy touched the king, and on the morning following the second day's fight a man could scarcely find a place on the battle-field whereon to set his foot, because the whole plain was covered with corpses. After the battle was over Rameses thought with gratitude of his two noble horses called "Victory in Thebes," and "The goddess Mut is content," for it was they that had strengthened his hand and supported him when he was surrounded by that hostile multitude, and he decreed

that when he was in his palace again he would always have their fodder brought to them in his presence so that he might see them fed; and he did not forget to



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

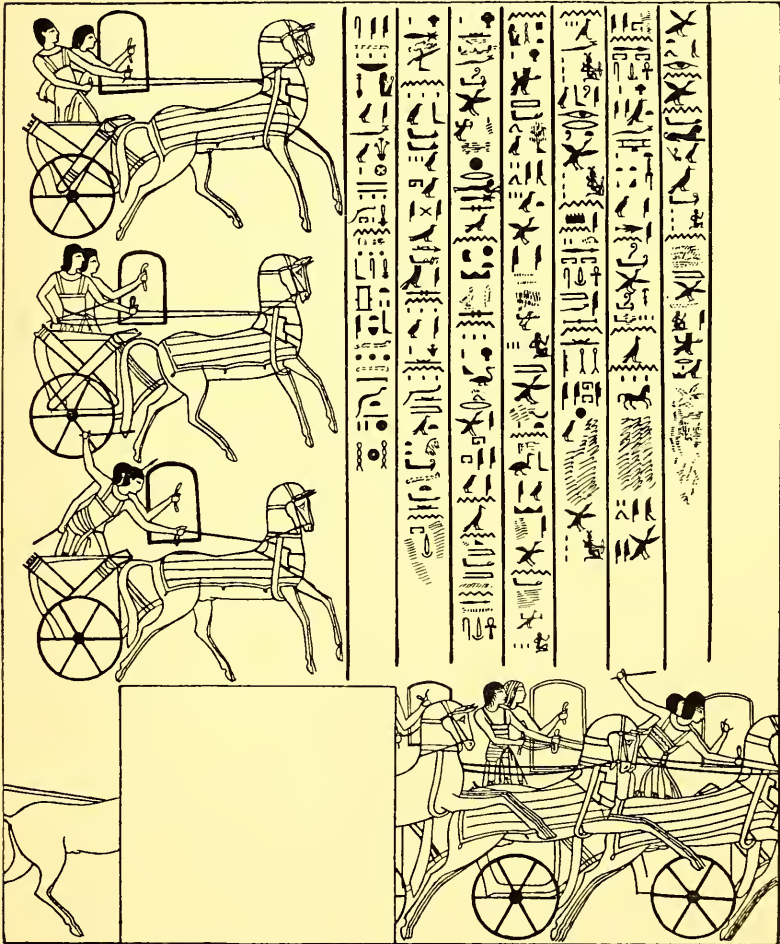
A company of Egyptian spearmen.

mention honourably the charioteer Menna, who alone out of all his band of trusted servants had remained

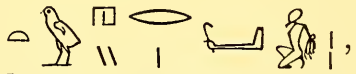
with him in his brave charge, and he named him the "captain of the horsemen." There is, unfortunately, no mention of the tame lion which accompanied Rameses in his chariot, and attacked the foe from time to time; it is, however, to be hoped that he was not slain by the Kheta.

When the prince of the Kheta saw how serious had been his defeat he sent a messenger to Rameses asking him to stay his hand, for he and his princes saw that the gods Sutekh and Bār were in the king, and that another day's battle would almost depopulate the country. Rameses hearkened to these representations, and decided to fight the Kheta no more, and to return to the land of Egypt. It is noteworthy that there is no mention either of the giving of gifts or of the payment of tribute by the peoples of the Kheta, and it is clear that both sides must have lost heavily. Rameses was, however, very proud of his achievements in the Kheta war, and he caused narratives of it to be inscribed upon the walls of the temples of Abydos and Thebes, and reliefs to be made near them to illustrate the principal events in it, such as the capture of the two spies of the Kheta, and the council of war, and the flight of the defeated to the city of Kadesh, and the siege of Kadesh, and the death of the prince of Aleppo, who was cast down headlong into the waters of the Orontes. The prince of the Kheta had collected an army eight or nine thousand strong, without reckoning the horsemen and charioteers, who seem to

have been in number about seven thousand five hundred ; the number of the Egyptian soldiers and charioteers is not mentioned. The prince of the Kheta kept in



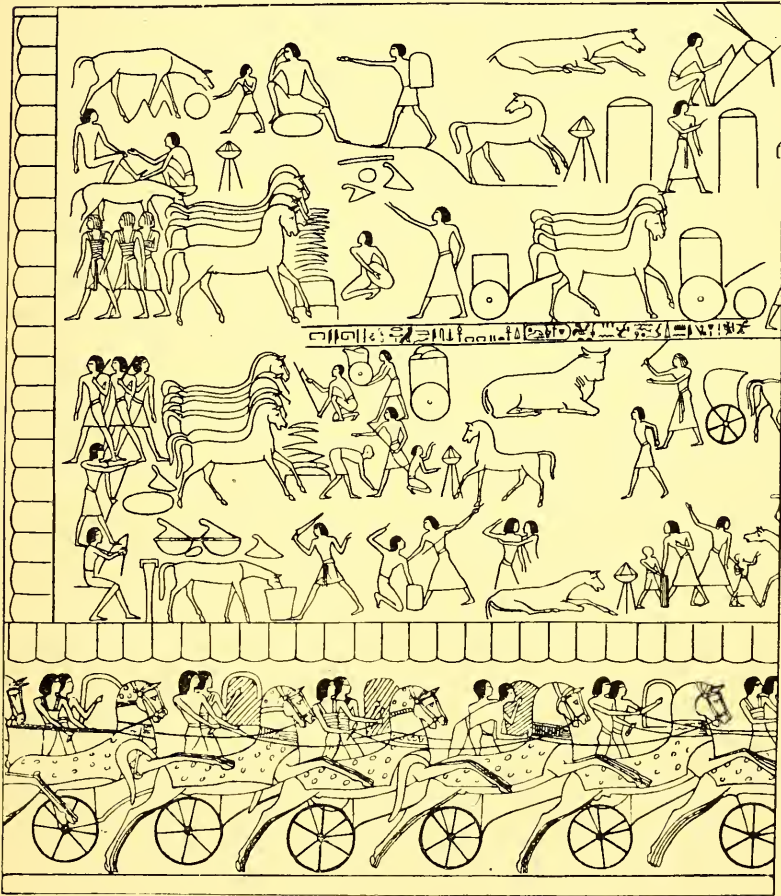
The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

reserve a force of the Tuhire, , but he had no opportunity of despatching them to the

assistance of their comrades who were routed on all sides. The Kheta allies evidently made a great effort to eject the Egyptians from Syria, and it is probable that they would have succeeded but for the incident of the capture of the two spies, who were beaten by the soldiers of Rameses and made to say where the Kheta army had taken up its position. That this incident was regarded by the king as of great importance is evident from the fact that he caused a scene to be sculptured on his temple walls, in which the beating of the spies with long sticks is represented; in fact the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Army was badly managed, and it is difficult not to think that disaster was only averted from Rameses by the fortunate discovery of the two spies. In the account of the battle ascribed to Pen-ta-urt we observe the same foolish exaggeration which is apparent in the texts relating to the early history of Rameses which are found at Abydos, and it must be hoped that the soldiers never read the texts on the temple walls in which the Egyptian Army is so roundly abused; moreover, the sculptures which Rameses himself caused to be made prove that he was not so utterly isolated on the field of battle as he represents. That the battle against the Kheta was a serious affair is quite clear, and it seems as if the Egyptians engaged an enemy numerically superior to themselves and held their own against him, but that is all that can be said for them, for Rameses acquired no new territory as the


result of the fight, and he regained none of Egypt's old possessions in Syria.

But the power of the Kheta had not been broken by



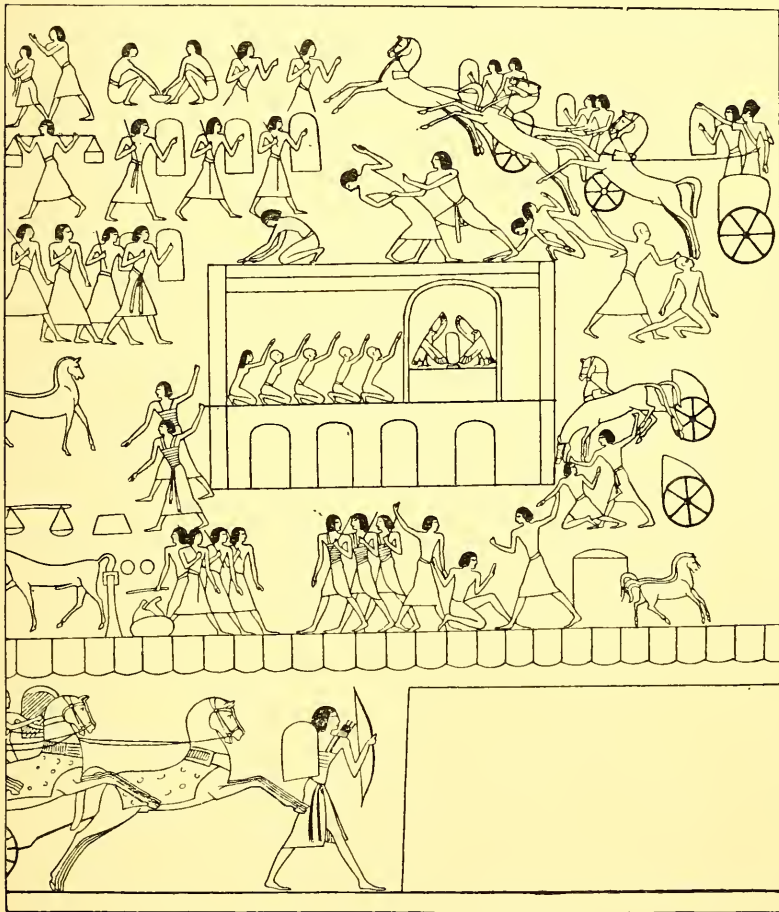
The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
Scene in the Egyptian camp.

the Egyptians, and as soon as Rameses had returned to Egypt the prince of the Kheta and his allies began

to collect their forces once more and to prepare to fight again with Rameses. In the eighth and three following years of his reign Rameses was obliged to march into Syria to put down revolts which had broken out in and about the old fortress city of Ascalon; but when this rising had been suppressed another broke out in the north at Tunep, the inhabitants of which never lost an opportunity of rebelling against the Egyptian rule. Rameses claims to have captured the city on the second assault which he delivered against it, and to have made himself master of the neighbouring country, but there is no proof of it, and it is improbable that he did so. Matters went on in this unsatisfactory manner for Egypt for some years, but at length an arrangement was made between the prince of the Kheta, who was called Kheta-sar, , and Rameses II., which was embodied in a definite treaty¹ between the two kings. The Egyptian version of the text of this treaty was inscribed upon the western face of the wall which leads from the south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak to the first pylon on the north, and also on the walls of the Ramesseum, and the composition was thought much of by Rameses; from this text we learn that the original document was inscribed upon a tablet of silver which was deposited

¹ For the hieroglyphic text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 146; Bouriant in *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 153 ff.; and for an English translation see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 25 ff.

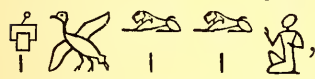
in the building in the Delta, part palace and part fortress, where the king of Egypt loved to live. The treaty is dated on the twenty-first day of the season



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

Pert, of the twenty-first year of the reign of Rameses II., and sets forth that at this time the king was in


he ascended the throne of Kheta and strove for peace. He and his sons will for evermore be at peace with Rameses and his sons; he will not invade Egypt, and Rameses must not invade Kheta, and he will observe the treaty which his great ancestor Saparere,

, and his brother made with the kings of Egypt.

If any foe shall invade Egypt he will bring troops and help Rameses to eject them, but he does not promise to command his troops in person, and Rameses must send troops to help him if his territory be invaded by any foe. Each king is, moreover, to restore to the other any subjects who for any reason may wish to escape from their own country.


All the terms of the treaty refer to the relations which Kheta-sar wished to exist between himself and Rameses, and he calls all the gods and goddesses of the land of Kheta and of the land of Egypt to be witnesses of his honourable intent. Among these are mentioned


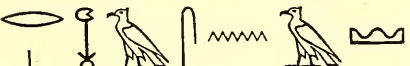

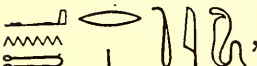
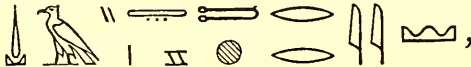


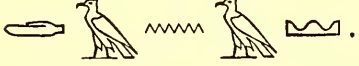
Sutekh, lord of heaven, Sutekh, lord of Kheta, Sutekh, lord of Arena, , Sutekh, lord of

Thapu-Arenuta, ,


Sutekh, lord of Paireqa, , Sutekh,

lord of Khisasapa, , Sutekh, lord of


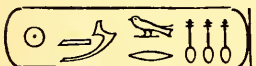
Saresu, , Sutekh, lord of Khirepa

(Aleppo), , Sutekh, lord of Rekhasna,
, Sutekh, lord of Mukhi-
 paina, , Anthrethà
, of Kheta, the god of Tchai-tath-
 khereri, , Shasakhire,
, "mistress of mountains," and the
 gods of the land of Qitchauaṭana, 
.

Then follow a blessing on those who shall observe this treaty and a curse upon those who shall not; the gods of Kheta and Egypt will punish everyone who treats it with contempt, but will give him that honoureth it a good reward, and a long life, and will preserve him and his family, and his servants and their families. Upon the silver tablet were impressed the seal, that is to say a picture, of the god Sutekh, the seal, or picture, of Rā, the lord of heaven, and of Rā, the lord of Arenena, and the seal of the king of Kheta, Kheta-sar, and of the queen of Kheta, whose name is given as Puukhipa,¹

, of the country of Qitchauaṭana.

¹ Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 160.

The latter part of the queen's name indicates that this lady was of Mitannian origin, and it at once calls to remembrance the names of Gilukhipa and Tatumkhipa, the sister and daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who married kings of Egypt. It seems that Khipa itself was a proper name as late as B.C. 710, for under the form , it occurs as the name of a female slave on a small tablet in the British Museum,¹ which was perhaps worn as a ticket of identification by the woman herself, who was probably a Mitannian slave. At the end of the text of the treaty as proposed by Kheta-sar follow a number of lines which seem to represent the additional clauses which Rameses felt bound to add to it on his own initiative, and which refer to the extradition of malefactors, and the sending back to their own country of those who seek to settle in Egypt from Kheta, or in Kheta from Egypt. The treaty proves that the king of Kheta regarded himself as the equal of the king of Egypt, and that Rameses was obliged to admit that he was; in any case, the treaty was one of friendly reciprocity, and precludes all possibility of the existence of Egyptian possessions in Syria. Thirteen years after the concluding of the treaty, i.e., in the 34th year of his reign, Rameses married Ur-maā-neferu-Rā, , the daughter of the prince of the Kheta, whom he raised to the rank of great queen of

¹ No. K. 3787; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 564.

Egypt. Her Kheta name is unknown, but on the stele at Abú Simbel ¹ she is arrayed like an Egyptian princess, though her father is represented wearing the characteristic conical hat of the Kheta and the long, coat-like garment. An allusion to this queen seems to be made in the speech of the god Ptaḥ, who, in describing the great things which he has done for Rameses, says that he has made the land of Kheta to be subject to his palace, that the inhabitants thereof bring offerings, that the possessions of their chiefs belong to the king of Egypt, and that at the head of them all is the eldest daughter of the prince of Kheta "who maketh to be at peace the heart of the lord of the two lands,"

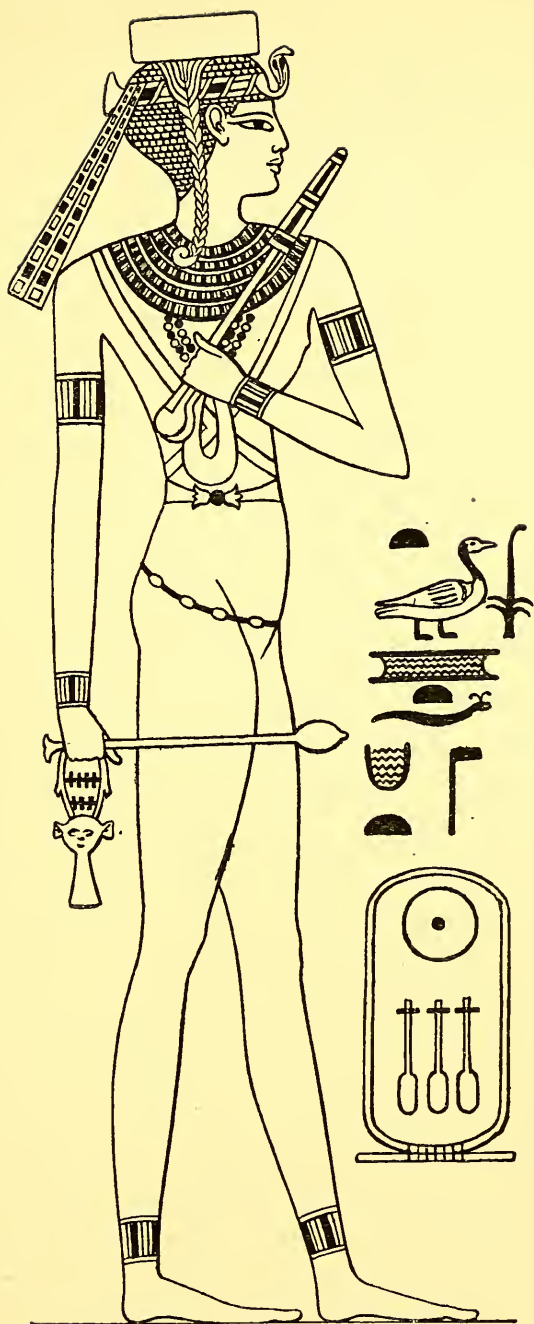


Soon after the marriage of his daughter to the king of Egypt the prince of Kheta and his friend the prince of Keti set out to visit the court of Rameses, and in due course they arrived at Thebes, where they saw the glory and state of the princess of Kheta in her new position as queen of Egypt.

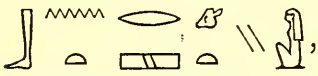

The remembrance of this marriage was preserved in a remarkable manner by the priests of Khensu, who set up a stele to commemorate the healing of the queen's sister by the might of their god. Soon after the king had married the Kheta lady Rā-mā-

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 196.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 194, l. 26.



The daughter of the Asiatic prince whom Rameses II. married, and to whom he gave the name Râ-neferu.

ur-neferu messengers came to him from her native country to say that her young sister Bent-reshet, , was very ill, and to ask that a physician might be sent to heal her. Rameses despatched the royal scribe Tehuti-emheb to Bekhten, but when he arrived there he found that the princess was possessed of a devil over which he had no power. The father of the princess, who is described as the Prince of Bekhten, sent to Egypt once more and asked Rameses to send a god to heal his daughter. Thereupon Rameses went into the temple and asked the god Khensu-Nefer-hetep, , if he would go to Bekhten and heal the princess, and the god nodded his head and consented to do so. After a journey of seventeen months Khensu arrived in Bekhten, and when he was taken to the place where the sick princess Bent-reshet was, he made use upon her of his marvellous saving power, and she was healed straightway. The devil that had possessed her came forth out of her and acknowledged the supremacy of the god of Egypt; the prince of Bekhten tried to keep the god in the country, but Khensu willed otherwise, and at length the prince sent him back with his priests, and boats, and cavalcade, and with rich gifts to Egypt, where he arrived in the 33rd year of the reign of Rameses II.¹ The version of

¹ Copies of the text will be found in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, tom. ii. pl. 48; and Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. 24.

the incident here described was drawn up long after the marriage of the king with the Kheta princess, and it seems that the priests made a mistake in supposing that their god went to Bekhten before the king's marriage which, judging from the stele at Abû Simbel, took place in the 34th year of his reign.

During the years which followed his campaigns in Palestine and Syria Rameses devoted himself to the completion of the buildings which his father Seti I. had begun, and to the erection of edifices which he adorned with statues of himself, and obelisks, etc., and to the repairs of old shrines in various parts of Egypt and Nubia. The monumental remains which are found from one end of Egypt to the other testify to the

The Horus name of Rameses II. surmounted by the vault of heaven, and supported on a standard with human arms and hands. The right hand grasps a standard on which is the "royal *ku*" of the king, and the left hand the feather of Mâât.



vastness of his building operations generally, but it is certain that Rameses was in the habit of usurping statues, sphinxes, etc., and that when he repaired a temple or sanctuary he caused his name to be inscribed upon walls, doorposts, lintels, etc., in such a way as to make the beholder think that the whole edifice had been erected by himself. He added columns of texts containing glorifications of himself to the obelisks set up by his ancestors, and it is wonderful how he contrived to find the means which resulted in his name being found in every temple and fortress, and sanctuary of any importance in Egypt. Besides this, he re-worked the monuments of his ancestors, with the result that the names of those who made them disappeared entirely.

The greatest of all the works of Rameses II. is the famous temple in Nubia, which is hewn out of the solid rock of a mountain on the left or west bank of the Nile at Abû Simbel. It is dedicated to Amen of Thebes, Rā-Ĥeru-khuti of Heliopolis, and Ptaḥ of Memphis, and in later times Rameses II. was himself worshipped there. Whether the credit for the whole building belongs to this king or not, whether he "re-worked," or modified, or completed what an earlier king had begun matters little to us, for it is certain that this temple is one of the most marvellous architectural works of the ancient Egyptians. The temple is approached by a flight of steps leading to a kind of court; here in front of the

temple, two on each side of the door, are four seated colossal statues of Rameses II., each sixty feet high, which have been hewn out of the living rock.

The front of the temple is about one hundred feet wide and is over ninety feet in height; above it is a cornice decorated with twenty-one dog-headed apes. The temple itself is about 185 feet long, and consists

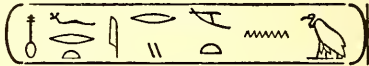


The temple of Rameses II. at Abû Simbel.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

of a large hall measuring about 60 feet by 25 feet, wherein are eight square pillars about 30 feet high, each with a colossal figure of Osiris 17 feet high standing against it, and of a small hall measuring about 35 feet by 25 feet, supported by four pillars; in this hall are the sanctuary and the altar. In connection

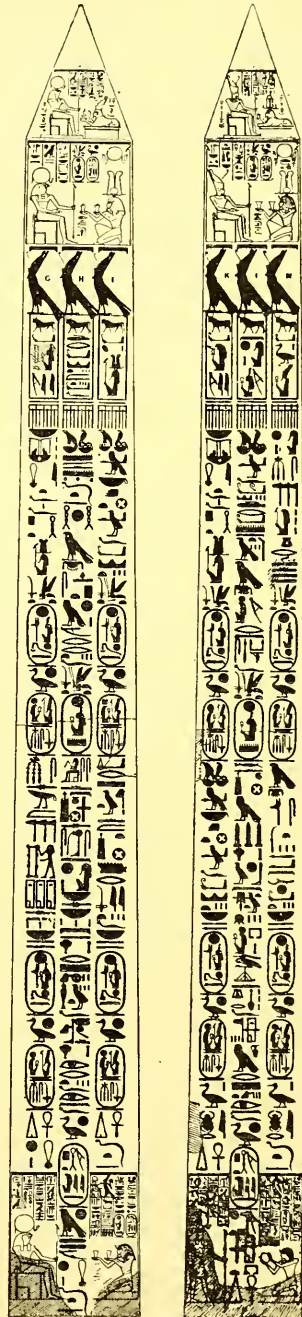
with this temple may be mentioned that dedicated to the goddess Hathor which lies to the north of it; here the front of the temple measures about 92 feet by 40 feet, and four of the six statues, which are over 30 feet in height, are of Rameses II., while the other two are of his

wife Nefert-ari-mert-en-Mut ().

Passing to the north of Egypt we find that Rameses II. practically rebuilt Tanis, which he made his capital and to which he gave an importance almost equal to that of Thebes or Memphis. It is a remarkable fact that few of the kings of the New Empire seemed to realize the great importance of possessing a capital near Syria; Thebes was too far away for the king, when there, to be able to control events effectively in the Delta, and it was impossible to strike quickly in Palestine from that distance. Tanis was a beautiful city in the reign of Rameses, and its temples and obelisks must have provoked the wonder and admiration of all the Semitic settlers in that part of the country; curiously enough, Rameses, who in Thebes was never tired of proclaiming his devotion to Amen and of boasting what great things he had done for the god, was in Tanis always paying honour to Sutekh, and Bār, and other deities, who were abominated by the Egyptians of Upper Egypt as being the gods of the Hyksos whom they so much detested. It may have been an act of political expedience on the part of Rameses II. to proclaim his worship of Semitic gods

in a country which was inhabited by Semitic peoples, but it is not an act which would have approved itself to the great warrior kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty; his toleration of the Semites is further proved by the "Stele of Four Hundred Years" (see vol. iii. p. 157), i.e., the stele so called because it is dated in the four hundredth year of the era which began with the year of the founding of the city of Tanis by Nubti, a Hyksos king. At Heliopolis and Memphis Rameses carried out some important architectural works, and at the former place, according to Pliny,¹ he set up four obelisks. At Abydos he completed the temple which his father Seti I. had begun to build, and he tells us in the inscriptions which

The Flaminian Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome. The centre column of text was inscribed by Seti I., and the outer column of text by Rameses II.



¹ Bk. xxxvi. chap. 14; Rameses is here called Sesosthes.

he placed on its walls he had ordered the works to be continued in the very year wherein his father died. Rameses also relates at length the great things which he did for the temple, and gives the texts of the prayers which he made to the god, and of the speeches which he made to his father, and of Seti's reply. At no great distance from the temple of Seti I., or the Memnonium as Strabo calls it, Rameses II. built a temple which he dedicated to the god Osiris; it was a solid and handsome edifice, as the ruins of it testify, and it is not easy to understand why so little of it has remained to us. The walls were ornamented with reliefs illustrating events in the Kheta war, and in one of its corridors was a King List (now in the British Museum), which was evidently a copy of that set up by his father in his temple.

At Thebes he began his building works in the early years of his long reign and, as far as can be seen, they were continued almost to the end of it. He completed the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and added to it fifty-four columns; his grandfather Rameses I. set up one of the pillars, and his father Seti I. seventy-nine. He built a pylon leading to it, and inscribed upon it a list of the cities and countries which he had conquered. He enclosed a great portion of the temple of Amen with a wall, and at the east end of the temple he erected a small temple and built a colonnade. He usurped the obelisk which

Thothmes I. had set up in front of the pylon which he had built, and it is more than probable that Rameses usurped some of the large statues on which his name appears. He added reliefs illustrating and texts re-




Obelisk and Pylon of Rameses II. at Luxor.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

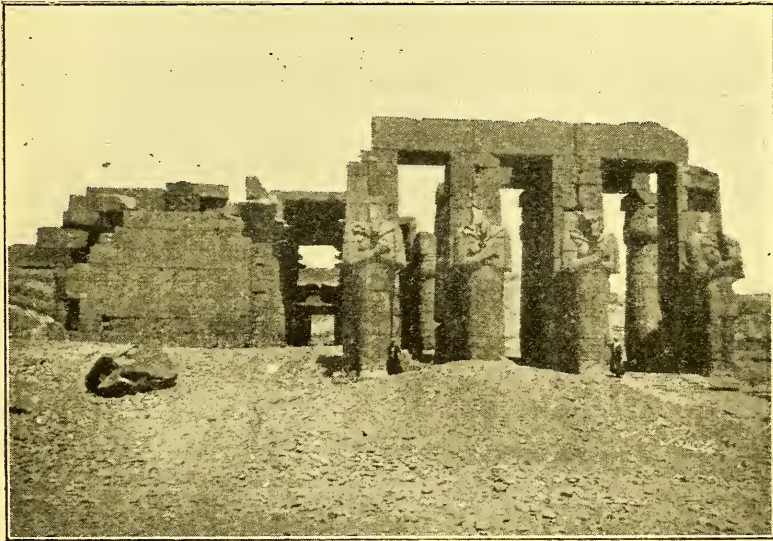
ording his conquests upon many of the walls of the temple-buildings, and among the latter is a copy of his treaty with the Kheta. The presence of this text upon

the walls of the great sanctuary of Amen which had been built by the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty with the tribute that they forced the Kheta and other Asiatic nations to pay is significant of the decline of the power of Egypt in the reign of Rameses II. To the temple of Amen-hotep III., which this king left unfinished at his death, Rameses II. added largely. He built the large front court with a colonnade, and a court with porticoes, and a huge pylon, before which he placed six colossal statues of himself, two seated and four standing, and he set up two huge red granite obelisks inscribed with his names and titles. One of these obelisks is in the Place de la Concorde in Paris, and the other remains *in situ*; each obelisk is about 80 feet high and is said to weigh about 250 tons.

Rameses II. completed the funeral temple which his father had begun to build at Kûrna, and he did some repairs to the temple of Hâtshepset in Dêr al-Baharî; it would seem that he also carried on works at other temples on the western banks of the Nile. The greatest of all the buildings of Rameses in Western Thebes was the Ramesseum, which was dedicated to Amen-Râ; it is probably the building to which Diodorus refers (Bk. i. 4) under the name of "Tomb of Osymandyas";¹ Strabo called it the "Memnonium." On the first pylon Rameses II. caused

¹ This name is said to represent the first part of the prenomens of Rameses II., U^sr-Maât-Râ, ☉ .

scenes in the Kheta war to be sculptured, and in front of the second pylon he set up a colossal statue of himself which is probably the largest statue known in Egypt; it was 60 feet in height, and cannot have weighed less than 885 tons. Of the statue Diodorus says, "The place is not only commendable for its greatness, but admirable for its cut and workman-




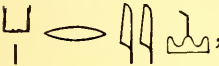
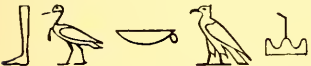
Façade of the Ramesseum.

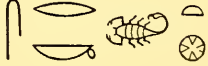
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.



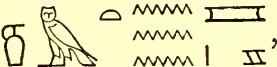
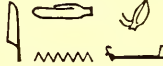

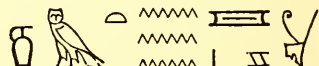

"ship, and the excellency of the stone. In so great
 "a work there is not to be discerned the least flaw,
 "or any other blemish. Upon it there is this
 "inscription:—I am Osymandyas, king of kings;
 "if any would know how great I am, and where I
 "lie, let him excel me in any of my works." The

existence of an inscription on the statue with this meaning, is, of course, wholly imaginary. At El-kâb Rameses built a temple in honour of the gods Thoth, Horus, and Nekhebet, and remains of works carried out by him are found at Gebel Silsila, Kom Ombo, and at various places in and about Aswân and on the Island of Elephantine. The temples at Bêt al-Wallî and Abû Simbel have been already referred to, and of the works which he carried out in Nubia may be specially mentioned:—1. The rock temple at Gerf Husên dedicated to Ptah, Hathor, Anuqet, and other gods; 2. the temple at Wâdî Sebu'â, part of which is hewn out of the rock, with its rows of sphinxes and its statues of the king; 3. the temple at Dêrr, which is hewn out of the rock.

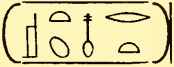
To carry on all these works must have entailed great expenditure of labour and money, and it is not easy to see whence the latter was obtained. Tribute from the kings of Palestine and Syria had ceased to flow into Egypt, and the products of the Sûdân could hardly supply all the needs of Rameses II. One great source of revenue were the famous gold mines which were situated in the Wâdî 'Ulâki, and which had been worked during the reign of Seti I.; there are no records to show that these mines were worked by the Egyptians at an earlier period, but it is most probable that they were, and we know that the supply of gold which could be obtained from them was sufficiently large to make them worth working in Roman and even

in Arab times. The portion of the Wâdî 'Ulâki worked by Seti I. was near the modern village of Kubbân, which marks the site of the Roman fortress called Contra Pselchis,¹ and is nearly opposite to the modern Dakkeh, and it was approached from the Nile at Kubbân. Near this place was found a large and important stele which is dated in the third year of the reign of Rameses II., and which throws considerable light on the working of the gold mines at that time, and describes how the difficulties which were experienced through want of water were overcome. After the first few lines which record the king's names and titles, and state that he is the conqueror of Kesh and of the land of the Negroes, , and that his territory extends to the south as far as Kari, , Rameses is made to say that gold appears in the mountains at the mere mention of his name, even as it does at the name of Horus of Baka,  (i.e., the modern Kubbân). We are then told that on a certain day Rameses II. sat in council with his nobles discussing the affairs of the gold-producing land, when reports were laid before him stating that the mines could not be worked because there was no water to be had on the road, and that both man and beast therefore died of thirst on the road to

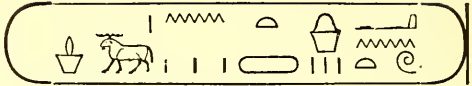
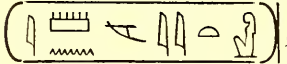
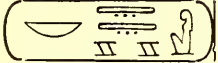
¹ This name is the equivalent of the Egyptian  *P-Serket*, "the city of the scorpion."


and from the mines. All agreed that there was much gold in the country of *Ákaita*, , but as there was no water on the way to it, except such as fell from the skies in rain, no more gold was forthcoming. The king then ordered that the overseers of the mines should be brought into his presence, and expressed his willingness to carry out their recommendations. When they had come in and praised his beautiful face, he described to them the configuration of the country, , and inquired of them as to the possibility of boring a well, , on the road; the overseers approved the suggestion joyfully, and praised the king for his wisdom and sense. They referred to the time when he was the deputy ruler, , of the country, and spoke of the great buildings which he had erected when he was the governor,  *Re-heri*, of the whole land, a position which he seems to have occupied for ten years. Then the governor of Nubia declared that there had never been any water in the country, and that when Seti I. worked the mines he dug a well 120 cubits in depth,  , at a certain place on the road to it, but no water appeared; finally he advised the king to speak to his father, the Nile-god *Hâpi*,

on the subject, for he was sure that he would send water into the waste and desert country if Rameses only asked him to do so. Rameses, however, determined to dig a well there, and despatched a royal scribe with workmen to carry out the royal commands; the borers set to work with a will, and at a depth of twelve cubits they found water, which welled up in such quantities that people were able to sail about on it in boats, like the inhabitants of the marshes in the Delta.¹ Equally useful to the country were the works which Rameses II. undertook in connexion with the canal which led from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and which he intended to lengthen until it reached the Red Sea. Some part of it seems to have existed in the time of Seti I., but neither he nor his son finished it; Rameses only seems to have widened or deepened it. Nekau, a king of XXVIth Dynasty, carried the work a step further, and the canal was finally taken to the Red Sea in the reign of Darius.

Rameses married his two sisters, Nefert-ari-meri-Maät and Äst-nefert, () by whom he had several children, both sons and daughters, and he married at least three of his own daughters, namely,

¹ The text was first translated by Dr. Birch in *Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.*, 1852; and see *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 75 ff.; the Egyptian text will be found in Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. 21. The stele itself is in the possession of the Comte St. Ferriol, and is preserved in his mansion at Uriage in France.

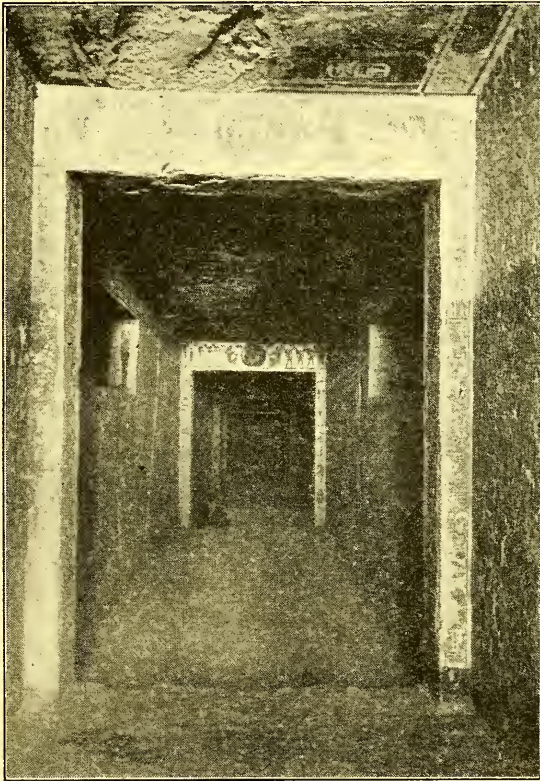
Banta-Āntu, , and
 Āmen-merit, , and Nebt-tai,
.

Besides these wives he had a large number of concubines, both foreign and native, by whom he became the father of, literally, scores of children; several lists of his children were made, e.g., at Abydos, Thebes, Wādî Sebu'â, and Abû Simbel, but as far as can be seen none of them was intended to be complete, and they contained the names of selections only of his sons and daughters! The longest list is at Wādî Sebu'â, where we find the names of one hundred and eleven sons and about fifty-one daughters.¹ Of his sons who are well known from their frequent mention in the texts may be noticed Āmen-her-khepesh-f, Rā-messu, Pa-Rā-her-unami-f, Āmen-her-unami-f, Āmen-Meri, and Seti. His son Khā-em-Uast, , the son of the queen Āst-Nefert, was a *Sem* priest of Ptaḥ, and he held several high ecclesiastical offices, and was the true founder of the Serapeum; he was a man of great learning, and was held in high repute as a magician, as we may see from the famous Romance of Setna.² He appears to have conducted the government of the

¹ For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 179.

² It was first translated by Brugsch in *Rev. Archéologique*. sér. ii. tom. xvi. p. 161 ff.

country for about twenty-five years before his death, which took place in the 55th year of the reign of Rameses II., and he was succeeded in this duty by his brother Mer-en-Ptah-hetep-her-Maāt, who is thirteenth




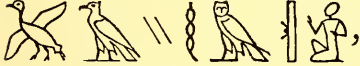
Entrance to the Tomb of Rameses II.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

in the list of the sons of Rameses II.; he had performed the duties of viceroy for about twelve years when his father died, in the 67th year of his reign, aged about one hundred years.

Rameses II. built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and we may assume that he was laid to rest therein with all due pomp and ceremony, and that the funeral furniture was of a character which befitted the rank of the man for whom it had been made. The tomb became the prey of a gang of professional tomb robbers towards the close of the XXth Dynasty, and probably everything that could be carried was stolen. In the time of the Ptolemies it was possible to visit the lower chambers, but it would seem that not many centuries later the whole of the corridors and chambers became filled with sand. Champollion and Rosellini forced their way into parts of the tomb, and in spite of the heat and want of air succeeded in obtaining some information as to its size, ornamentation, etc. Lepsius cleared out the sand sufficiently to enable him to make a useful plan of the corridors and chambers, but he found that the wall-decorations had been almost entirely destroyed by the mud and gravel which had flowed down the steep corridors into the sarcophagus chamber. It seems astonishing that none of the great architects and master builders who were in the employ of Rameses II. warned him of what, from the nature of its situation, must happen to his tomb when rain fell.

The mummy of Rameses II. was found at Dêr al-Bahârî in a wooden coffin, in which it seems to have been placed under the XXth Dynasty, for the decorations of the coffin, and the style of the writing found upon it, indicate that

as the period to which it belongs. The original coffin was either broken or had fallen to pieces, and the high priest of Ámen, Her-Ĥeru, , had a new one made for the mummy; in the troubled times of the XXth Dynasty the priests of Ámen took Rameses II. out of his tomb, and carried him to the tomb of Seti I. for safety, and subsequently he was again removed to the tomb of queen An-Ĥāpu, which was situated in that part of the Bibân al-Mulûk where Ámen-ĥetep III. had built his tomb. Nearly a century later the high-priest of Ámen, called Pai-netchem, , provided the mummy with new bandages.

The mummy of Rameses II. was unrolled by M. Maspero on June 1, 1886,¹ and when the swathing and coverings had been removed the mummified body was found to be about 5 ft. 6 in. in length. The head is small in comparison to the rest of the body, and is rather long; the hair, which was white at the time of death, has been stained a light yellow colour by the medicaments employed in the process of mummification. The forehead is low and narrow, the eyebrows are well arched, and the hair on them is white and bushy, the eyes are small, and lie close to the nose; the nose is long and thin, and somewhat hooked, the temples are hollow, and the cheekbones prominent; the ears are round, and have

¹ See *Les Momies*, p. 560 ff.

slits in them in which earrings must have hung before they were stolen by the tomb robbers, the jaws are firm and strong, the chin is prominent, the mouth is large, the lips are thick, and the teeth, though somewhat soft, are white, and were apparently well cared for. When Rameses died his bones were weak and fragile, and his muscles had become atrophied through senile decay. M. Maspero thinks¹ that at the time of death he must have been almost one hundred years old, and he describes the impression which he received, concerning the character of the king after he had unrolled his mummy, in these words:—"En résumé, le "masque de la momie donne très suffisamment l'idée "de ce qu'était le masque du roi vivant; une expres- "sion peu intelligente, peut-être légèrement bestiale, "mais de la fierté, de l'obstination, et un air de majesté "soveraine qui perce encore sous l'appareil grotesque "de l'embaumement." This summary agrees very well with the character of Rameses II. which we can deduce from his inscriptions and monuments. In his youth he was brave and active, and proved himself to be a capable though hard ruler; in his old age he devoted himself to a life of comparative inactivity, and indulged in the pleasures of his palace and the society of the *harîmât*, meanwhile retaining the nominal sovereignty of the whole country. He was vain and boastful, as his inscriptions show, and he allowed his court scribes to write concerning his life that which he must have

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 563.


known to be untrue, or perhaps Egyptologists have misunderstood their statements, because the facts are often buried under heaps of high-sounding words. And finally he was not justified in claiming the sovereignty



Head from a statue of Rameses II., King of Egypt, b.c. 1330.
British Museum, No. 30,448.

of Palestine and Western Asia, or of Nubia as far as Kari, for nothing can disguise the fact that under Rameses II. the decline of the power of Egypt set in, that she did not regain any of her old possessions, and

Prof. Sethe has said, to be Usertsen I., especially as his son's name "Nuncoreus" may very well represent the prenomen of Amen-em-hât II., Nub-kau-Râ,

, but history does not record that he

waged war like Rameses II., or built great temples, or that he did the things which Rameses II. is known to have done. On the other hand, many exploits are attributed to Sesostris of which no parallels can be found in the history of Rameses II., and we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the Sesostris of Greek legend is a hero round whose name the legends and traditions of many great kings and warriors have gathered, and he must be put in the category of such popular characters as Gilgamesh, the narrative of whose exploits delighted the Sumerians and Babylonians for thousands of years, and Nimrod, and Alexander the Great, to whom tradition has ascribed the wisdom and power and conquests of dozens of historical heroes, and whose history, having been translated into many languages, has charmed men of every nationality from Malayia in the East to England in the West.

The fullest account of the hero Sesostris is given by Diodorus Siculus, who not only repeats some of the matters which are related by Herodotus concerning him, but, what is far more interesting, adds a number of others which well illustrate the growth of the legends concerning his life and exploits after the death of Herodotus. The expedition of Rameses II. down the

Red Sea was, of course, nothing but an expedition to the country of Punt, and though it may have been larger than usual, it must not be regarded as a great expedition of conquest. There is no record of conquests of Rameses II. in Bactria and other remote Asiatic countries, but yet it seems that his name must have penetrated as far as those distant lands, for the prince of Bekhten sent to ask him first to send a physician, and the next time to send a god to heal his daughter; and as we are told that Bekhten was seventeen months' journey from Egypt it must have been far away. The facts of the reign of Rameses II. have been given above, but in order that the reader may be enabled easily to compare legend with fact extracts concerning Sesostris from the works of Herodotus and Diodorus are here appended. Herodotus says:—

“ . . . the¹ worthy Prynce Sesostris. Him the
 “ pryestes recounte firste of all the kings of Aegypt to
 “ have passed the narrow Seas of Arabia in longe Ships
 “ or Gallyes, and brought in subiection to the Crowne
 “ all those People that marche a longe the redde Sea.
 “ From whence retyringe backe againe the same way,
 “ hee came and gathered a greate power of men, and
 “ tooke his passage over the waters into the mayne
 “ lande, conquering and subduing all Countreyes
 “ whether so ever hee went. Such as he found
 “ valiaunte and hardye not refusinge to ieoparde their
 “ safety in the defence and maynetenaunce of their

¹ B.R.'s translation, fol. 95b f.

“liberty, after the victory obtayned, hee fixed in theyr
 “countrey certayne pyllers or Crosses of Stone, wherein
 “were ingrauen the names of the kinge and the
 “countrey, and how by his owne proper force and
 “puissaunce he had made them yelde. Contrarywyse,
 “such as without controuersie gave themselves into his
 “handes, or with litle stryfe and lesse bloudshed were
 “brought to relent: with them also, and in their region
 “he planted Pillers and builte up litle crosses, as
 “before, wherein were carued and importrayed the
 “secret partes of women, to signifie to the posterity the
 “base and effeminate courage of the people there
 “abyding. In this sorte he trauayled with his army
 “by and downe the mayne, passing out of Asia into
 “Europe, where he made conquest of the Scythians
 “and Thracians, which seemeth to have bene the
 “farthest poynt of his voyage: for so much as in their
 “land also his titles and marks are apparantly seene
 “and not beyonde. Herefro hee began to measure his
 “steps back agayne incamping his powre at the ryuer
 “Phasis: where, I am not able to discusse, whether king
 “Sesostris himselve planted any parte of his army in that
 “place ever after to possesse yt countrey: or whether
 “some of his souldiers wearyed with continuall peregrina-
 “tion and trauayle, toke up their mansion place and
 “rested there This¹ noble and victorious
 “prince Sesostris making his return to Aegypt, came
 “(by report of ye priests) to a place named Daphnae²

¹ B.R.'s translation, fol. 96b.

² The modern Tell Defenneh.

“ pelusiae, with an infinite trayne of forraine-people
“ out of al Nations by him subdued; where being
“ very curteously met and welcomed by his brother,
“ whom in his absence he had left for Viceroy
“ and protectour of the countrey, he was also by ye
“ same inuited to a princely banquet, himselfe,
“ his wife, and his children. The house whereinto
“ they were entered, being compassed about with dry
“ matter, was suddaynely by the treachery of his brother
“ set on fire, which he perceiving toke counsayle with
“ his wife then present, how to escape and auoide the
“ daunger. The woman either of a readier wit or riper
“ cruelty, advised him to cast two of his sixe children
“ into the fire, to make way for himselfe and the rest to
“ passe: time not suffering him to make any long stay,
“ he put his wyues counsayle in speedy practise, and
“ made a bridge through the fire of two of his children,
“ to preserve the rest aliue. Sesostris in this sorte
“ delivered from the cruell treason and malicious devise
“ of his brother, first of all tooke reuenge of his
“ trecherous villany and diuelish intent: in the next
“ place bethinking himselfe in what affayres to bestowe
“ the multitude which he had brought with him, whome
“ afterwards he diuersely employed: for by these
“ captures were certayne huge and monstrous stones
“ rolled and drawne to the Temple of Vulcane. Like-
“ wise, were many trenches cut out and deriued from
“ the riuier into most places of the countrey, whereby
“ the land being aforetime passable by cart and horse,

“ was thencefoorth bereaved of that commodity: for in
“ all the time ensuing, the countrey of Aegypt being
“ for the most parte playne and equall, is through the
“ creekes and windings of the ditches brought to that
“ passe, that neyther horsse nor wayne can have any
“ course or passage from one place to another. Howbeit,
“ Sesostris inuented this for the greater benefite and
“ commodity of the lande, to the ende that such townes
“ and cities as were farre remooued from the riuer,
“ might not at the fall of the flood be pinched with the
“ penury and want of water, which at all times they
“ haue deriued and brought to them in trenches. The
“ same King made an equall distribution of the whole
“ countrey to all his subjects, allotting to euery man
“ the lyke portion and quantitie of ground, drawne out
“ and limited by a fouresquare fourme. Heereof the
“ king himselfe helde yeerely reuenewes, every one
“ being rated at a certayne rent and pension, which
“ annually he payd to the crowne, and if at the rising
“ of the flood it fortun'd any man's portion to be
“ ouergone by the waters, the king thereof was aduer-
“ tised, who forthwyth sent certayne to survey ye
“ ground, and to measure ye harmes which the flood
“ had done him, and to leavy out the crowne rent
“ according to the residue of the land that remayned.
“ Heereof sprang the noble science of Geometry, and
“ from thence was translated into Greece. For as
“ touching the Pole and Gnomon (which is to say) the
“ rule, and the twelue partes of the day, the Graecians

“tooke them of the Babylonians. This King Sesostris
 “held the Empyre alone, leauing in Aethiopia¹ before
 “the temple of Vulcane² certayne monuments to the
 “posteritie, to wit, certayne images of stone, one for
 “hymselfe, another for his wife, beeyng eache of them
 “thirtie cubites: the foure images also of hys foure
 “sonnes, beeyng each of them twentie cubites apeece.
 “In processe of time when the image of King Darius
 “that gouerned Persia should have bene placed before
 “the picture of Sesostris, the priest of Vulcane which
 “serued in the temple woulde in no wise permit it to
 “bee done, denying that Darius had euer achieved the
 “like exploits that Sesostris had done. Who, besides
 “the conquering of sundrie other nations (not inferiour
 “in number to those which had been overcome by
 “Darius) had also brought in subiection the most
 “couragious and valiaunt people of Scythia: for
 “whyche cause, it were agaynst reason to preferre
 “hymselfe in place before him unto whome he was
 “inferiour in chialry, whiche bold aunswere of the
 “priest, King Darius tooke in good parte and brooked
 “welynough. Sesostris dying, the seate imperiall came
 “to his son Pheco.”

The history of Sesostris according to Diodorus is as follows:—

“Seven descents after (they say), Sesostris reigned,
 “who excelled all his ancestors in great and famous

¹ I. e., Nubia.

² The rock-hewn temple at Abû Simbel is here referred to.

“actions. But not only the Greek writers differ among
“themselves about the king, but likewise the Egyptian
“priests and poets relate various and different stories
“concerning him. We shall relate such as are most
“probable and agreeable to those signs and marks
“that are yet remaining in Egypt to confirm them.
“After his birth his father performed a noble act, and
“becoming a king, he caused all throughout Egypt,
“that were born the same day with his son, to be
“brought together; and together with his son to be
“bred up with the same education, and instructed in
“the same discipline and exercises, conceiving that,
“by being thus familiarly brought up together, and
“conversing with one another, they would be always
“loving and most faithful friends, and the best fellow-
“soldiers in all the wars. Providing, therefore, every-
“thing for the purpose, he caused the boys to be
“exercised daily in the schools with hard and difficult
“labours; as that none should eat until he had run
“a hundred and four-score furlongs; and by this
“means, when they came to be at men’s estate, they
“were fit either to be commanders, or to undertake
“any brave or noble action, both in respect of the
“vigour and strength of their bodies, and the excellent
“endowments of their minds. Sesostris in the first
“place being sent with an army into Arabia, by his
“father (with whom went his companions that were
“bred up with him), toiled and troubled himself with
“the hunting and killing of wild beasts; and then

“having at last overmastered all his fatigues and
“wants of water and provision, he conquered all that
“barbarous nation, which was never before that time
“subdued. Afterwards, being sent into the western
“parts, he conquered the greatest part of Libya, being
“as yet but a youth. Coming to the crown after
“the death of his father, encouraged by his former
“successes, he designed to subdue and conquer the
“whole world. Some report that he was stirred up
“by his daughter Athyrte to undertake the gaining
“of the empire of the world; for being a woman of
“an extraordinary understanding, she made it out to
“her father, that the conquest was easy; others en-
“couraged him by their divinations, foretelling his
“successes by the entrails of the sacrifices, by their
“dreams in the temples, and prodigies seen in the
“air. There are some also that write, that when
“Sesostris was born, Vulcan appeared to his father
“in his sleep, and told him that the child then born
“should be conqueror of the universe; and that that
“was the reason why his father assembled all of the
“like age, and bred them up together with his son,
“to make way for him with more ease to rise to that
“height of imperial dignity; and that when he was
“grown to man’s estate, fully believing what the god
“had foretold, he undertook at length this expedition.
“To this purpose he first made it his chief concern
“to gain the love and goodwill of all the Egyptians,
“judging it necessary in order to effect what he

“ designed, so far to engage his soldiers, as they should
 “ willingly and readily venture, nay, lose their lives for
 “ their generals, and that those whom he should leave
 “ behind him, should not contrive any rebellion in his
 “ absence ; to this end, therefore, he obliged everyone,
 “ to the utmost of his power, working upon some by
 “ money, others, by giving them lands, and many by
 “ free pardons, and upon all by fair words, and affable
 “ and courteous behaviour. He pardoned those that
 “ were condemned for high treason, and freed all that
 “ were in prison for debt, by paying what they owed,
 “ of whom there was a vast multitude in the gaols. He
 “ divided the whole country into thirty-six parts, which
 “ the Egyptians call Nomi, over every one of which he
 “ appointed a governor, who should take care of the
 “ king’s revenue, and manage all other affairs relating
 “ to their several and respective provinces. Out of
 “ these he chose the strongest and ablest men, and
 “ raised an army answerable to the greatness of his
 “ design, to the number of six hundred thousand foot,
 “ and twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven
 “ thousand chariots of war ; and over all the several
 “ regiments and battalions, he made those who had been
 “ brought up with him commanders, being such as had
 “ been used to martial exercises, and from their child-
 “ hood hot and zealous after that which was brave and
 “ virtuous, and who were knit together as brothers in
 “ love and affection, both to the king, and one to
 “ another, the number of whom were about seventeen

“hundred. Upon these companions of his he bestowed
“large estates in lands, in the richest parts of Egypt,
“that they might not be in the least want of anything,
“reserving only their attendance upon him in the war.
“Having therefore rendezvoused his army, he marched
“first against the Ethiopians inhabiting the south, and
“having conquered them, forced them to pay him
“tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants’ teeth. Then he
“sent forth a navy of four hundred sail into the Red
“Sea, and was the first Egyptian that built long ships.
“By the help of this fleet, he gained all the islands of
“this Sea, and subdued the bordering nations as far
“as to India. But he himself marching forward with
“his land army, conquered all Asia, for he not only
“invaded those nations which Alexander the Mace-
“donian afterwards subdued, but likewise those which
“he never set foot upon. For he both passed over the
“river Ganges, and likewise passed through all India
“to the main ocean. Then he subdued the Scythians
“as far as to the Tanais, which divides Europe
“from Asia; where they say he left some of his
“Egyptians at the lake Moetis, and gave origin
“to the nations of Colchis; and, to prove that they
“were originally Egyptians, they bring this argument,
“that they are circumcised after the manner of the
“Egyptians, which custom continued in this colony
“as it did amongst the Jews. In the same manner
“he brought into his subjection all the rest of
“Asia, and most of the islands of Cyclades. Thence

“passing over into Europe he was in danger of
 “losing his whole army, through the difficulty of the
 “passages, and want of provisions. And, therefore,
 “putting a stop to his expedition in Thrace, up and
 “down in all his conquests, he erected pillars, whereon
 “were inscribed, in Egyptian letters, called hiero-
 “glyphics, these words:—‘Sesostris, king of kings,
 “and lord of lords, subdued this country by his arms.’
 “Among those nations that were stout and warlike,
 “he carved upon those pillars the privy members of
 “a man: amongst them that were cowardly and faint-
 “hearted the secret parts of a woman; conceiving that
 “the chief and principal member of a man would
 “be a clear evidence to posterity of the courage of
 “every one of them. In some places he set up his
 “own statue, carved in stone, (armed with a bow and
 “a lance), above four cubits and four hands in height,
 “of which stature he himself was. Having now
 “spent nine years in this expedition, (carrying himself
 “courteously and familiarly towards all his subjects
 “in the meantime), he ordered the nations he had
 “conquered, to bring their presents and tributes every
 “year into Egypt, every one proportionable to their
 “several abilities and he himself, with the captives
 “and the rest of the spoils, (of which there were a
 “vast quantity), returned into Egypt, far surpassing
 “all the kings before him in the greatness of his actions
 “and achievements. He adorned all the temples of
 “Egypt with rich presents, and the spoils of his

“enemies. Then he rewarded his soldiers that had
“served him in the war, everyone according to their
“desert. It is most certain that the army not only
“returned loaded with riches, and received the glory
“and honour of their approved valour, but the whole
“country of Egypt reaped many advantages by this
“expedition. Sesostris having now disbanded his
“army, gave leave to his companions in arms, and
“fellow victors to take their ease, and enjoy the fruits
“of their conquest. But he himself, fired with an
“earnest desire of glory, and ambitious to leave behind
“him eternal monuments of his memory, made many
“fair and stately works, admirable both for their cost
“and contrivance, by which he both advanced his
“own immortal praise, and procured unspeakable ad-
“vantages to the Egyptians, with perfect peace and
“security for the time to come. For, beginning first
“with what concerned the gods, he built a temple in
“all the cities of Egypt, to that god whom every
“particular place most adored; and he employed none
“of the Egyptians in his works, but finished all by
“the labours of the captives; and therefore he caused
“an inscription to be made upon all the temples
“thus:—‘None of the natives were put to labour
“here.’ It is reported that some of the Babylonian
“captives, because they were not able to bear the
“fatigue of the work, rebelled against the king; and
“having possessed themselves of a fort near the river,
“they took up arms against the Egyptians, and wasted

“ the country thereabouts: but at length having got
“ a pardon, they chose a place for their habitation,
“ and called it after the name of that in their own
“ country, Babylon. Upon the like occasion, they
“ say, that Troy, situated near the river Nile was so
“ called; for Menelaus, when he returned from Ilium
“ with many prisoners, arrived in Egypt, where the
“ Trojans deserting the king, seized upon a certain
“ strong place, and took up arms against the Greeks,
“ till they had gained their liberty, and then built a
“ famous city after the name of their own. But I am
“ not ignorant how Ctesias the Cretan gives a far
“ different account of these cities, when he says, that
“ some of those that came with Semiramis into Egypt,
“ called the cities which they built after the names
“ of those in their own country. But it is no easy
“ matter to know the certain truth of these things:
“ yet it is necessary to observe the different opinions
“ concerning them, that the judicious reader may have
“ an occasion to inquire, in order to pick out the real
“ truth. Sesostris moreover raised many mounds and
“ banks of earth, to which he removed all the cities
“ that lay low in the plain, that both man and beast
“ might be safe and secure at the time of the
“ inundation of the river. He cut likewise many
“ deep dykes from the river, all along as far as
“ from Memphis to the sea, for the ready and quick
“ conveying of corn and other provisions and merchan-
“ dize, by short cuts thither, both for the support of

“trade and commerce, and maintenance of peace and
“plenty all over the country; and that which was of
“greatest moment and concern of all, was, that he
“fortified all parts of the country against incursions of
“enemies, and made it difficult of access; whereas,
“before, the greatest part of Egypt lay open and
“exposed either for chariots or horsemen to enter.
“But now, by reason of the multitude of canals drawn
“all along from the river the entrance was very
“difficult, and the country not so easily to be invaded.
“He defended, likewise, the east side of Egypt against
“the irruptions of the Syrians and Arabians, with a wall
“drawn from Pelusium through the deserts, as far as to
“Heliopolis, for the space of a thousand and five hundred
“furlongs. He caused likewise a ship to be made of
“cedar two hundred and fourscore cubits in length,
“gilded over with gold on the outside, and with silver
“within; and this he dedicated to the god that was
“most adored by the Thebans. He erected likewise
“two obelisks of polished marble, a hundred and
“twenty cubits high, on which were inscribed a
“description of the large extent of his empire, the
“great value of his revenue, and the number of the
“nations by him conquered. He placed likewise at
“Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan his and his wife’s
“statues, each of one entire stone, thirty cubits in
“height, and those of his sons, twenty cubits high, on
“this occasion. After his return from his great
“expedition into Egypt, being at Pelusium, his brother

“ at a feast having invited him, together with his wife
 “ and children, plotted against his life ; for being all
 “ overcome by wine, and gone to rest, he caused a great
 “ quantity of dry reeds (long before prepared for the
 “ purpose), to be placed round the king’s pavilion in
 “ the night, and set them all on fire ; upon which the
 “ flame suddenly mounted aloft ; and little assistance
 “ the king had either from his servants or lifeguard,
 “ who were all still overladen with wine ; upon which
 “ Sesostris with his hands lift up to heaven, calling
 “ upon the gods for help for his wife and children,
 “ rushed through the flames and escaped ; and being
 “ thus unexpectedly preserved, he made oblations as to
 “ other of the gods, (as is before said), so especially to
 “ Vulcan, as he by whose favour he was so remarkably
 “ delivered. Although Sesostris was eminent in many
 “ great and worthy actions, yet the most stately and
 “ magnificent of all, was that relating to the princes in
 “ his progresses. For those kings of the conquered
 “ nations, who, through his favour still held their
 “ kingdoms, and such as had received large principalities
 “ of his free gift and donation, came with their
 “ presents and tributes into Egypt, at the times
 “ appointed, whom he received with all the marks of
 “ honour and respect ; save that when he went into the
 “ temple or the city, his custom was to cause the
 “ horses to be unharnessed out of his chariot, and in
 “ their room four kings, and other princes to draw it ;
 “ hereby thinking to make it evident to all, that there

“was none comparable to him for valour, who had
“conquered the most potent and famous princes in the
“world. This king seems to have excelled all others,
“that ever were eminent for power and greatness, both
“as to his warlike achievements, the number of his
“gifts and oblations, and his wonderful works in
“Egypt. After he had reigned three-and-thirty years,
“he fell blind, and wilfully put an end to his own life ;
“for which he was admired not only by priests, but by
“all the rest of the Egyptians ; for that as he had
“before manifested the greatness of his mind by his
“actions, so now his end was agreeable (by a voluntary
“death), to the glory of his life.”

It is interesting to note that Diodorus does not seem to have realized that the tomb of Osymandyas was the funeral temple of Rameses II., many of whose wars and exploits he attributed to Sesostris in accordance with the form of the legend of Sesostris, which was current in his time.

Of the tomb of Osymandyas, i.e., User-Maāt-Rā, or Rameses II., Diodorus says:—

“There [i.e., Thebes], they say, are the wonderful
“sepulchres of the ancient kings, which for state and
“grandeur, far exceed all that posterity can attain unto
“at this day. The Egyptian priests say that, in their
“sacred registers, there are entered seven and forty of
“these sepulchres ; but in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus,
“there remained only seventeen, many of which were
“ruined and destroyed when I myself came into these

“ parts, which was in the 108th Olympiad. And these
 “ things are not only reported by the Egyptian priests,
 “ out of their sacred records, but many of the Grecians
 “ who travelled to Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Lagus,
 “ and wrote histories of Egypt, (among whom was
 “ Hecateus), agree with what we have related. Of the
 “ first sepulchres, (wherein they say the women of
 “ Jupiter were buried), that of king Osymandyas was
 “ ten furlongs in circuit; at the entrance of which they
 “ say, was a portico of various-coloured marble, in
 “ length 200 feet; and in height five and forty cubits;
 “ thence going forward, you come into a four-square
 “ stone gallery, every square being 400 feet, supported,
 “ instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire
 “ stone, 16 cubits high, carved after the antique
 “ manner. The roof was entirely of stone; each stone
 “ eight cubits broad, with an azure sky, bespangled
 “ with stars. Passing out of this peristylon, you enter
 “ into another portico, much like the former, but more
 “ curiously carved, and with more variety. At the
 “ entrance stand three statues, each of one entire stone,
 “ the workmanship of Memnon of Sienitas. One of
 “ these, made in a sitting posture, is the greatest in all
 “ Egypt, the measure of his foot exceeding seven cubits;
 “ the other two, much less than the former, reaching
 “ but to his knees; the one standing on the right, and
 “ the other on the left, being his daughter and mother.
 “ This piece is not only commendable for its greatness,
 “ but admirable for its cut and workmanship, and

“excellency of the stone. In so great a work there is
“not to be discerned the least flaw, or any other blemish.
“Upon it there is this inscription :—‘I am Osymandyas,
“king of kings ; if any would would know how great I
“am, and where I lie, let him excel me in any of my
“works.’ There was likewise at this second gate,
“another statue of his mother, by herself, of one
“stone, twenty cubits in height ; upon her head were
“placed three crowns, to denote she was both the
“daughter, wife, and mother of a king. Near to this
“portico, they say there was another gallery or Piazza,
“more remarkable than the former, in which were
“various sculptures, representing his wars with the
“Bactrians, who had revolted from him, against whom
“(it is said) he marched with 400,000 foot, and 20,000
“horse ; which army he divided into four bodies,¹
“and appointed his sons generals of the whole. In
“the first wall might be seen the king assaulting a
“bulwark, environed with the river,² and fighting at
“the head of his men against some that make up
“against him, assisted by a lion, in a terrible manner ;
“which some affirm, is to be taken for a true and real
“lion,³ which the king bred up tame, which went along
“with him in all his wars, and by his great strength
“ever put the enemy to flight. Others make this

¹ See above, p. 38.

² The city of Kadesh is here referred to.

³ He was a real lion, and his name was “Smam-khefti-f,” i.e.,
“Slayer of his foes” ; a picture of him is given on page 27.

“construction of it, that the king being a man of
“extraordinary courage and strength, he was willing to
“trumpet forth his own praises, setting forth the
“bravery of his own spirit, by the representation of a
“lion. In the second wall, was carved the captives
“dragged after the king, represented without hands
“and privy members; which was to signify, that they
“were of effeminate spirits, and had no hands when
“they came to fight. The third wall represented all
“sorts of sculptures, and curious images, in which were
“set forth the king’s sacrificing of oxen, and his
“triumphs in that war. In the middle of the peristy-
“lion, open to the air at the top, was reared an altar of
“shining marble, of excellent workmanship, and for
“largeness to be admired. In the last wall were two
“statues, each of one entire stone, 27 cubits high;
“near to which three passages opened out at the
“peristylon, into a stately room supported with pillars
“like to a theatre for music; every side of the theatre
“was 200 feet square. In this, there were many
“statues of wood, representing the pleaders and spec-
“tators, looking upon the judges that gave judgment.
“Of these, there were thirty carved upon one of the
“walls. In the middle sat the chief justice, with the
“image of truth hanging about his neck, with his eyes
“closed, having many books lying before him. This
“signified that a judge ought not to take any bribes,
“but ought only to regard the truth and merits of the
“cause. Next adjoining, was a gallery full of divers

“apartments, in which were all sorts of delicate meats, ready dressed up. Near hereunto, is represented the king himself, curiously carved, and painted in glorious colours, offering gold and silver to the gods; as much as he yearly received out of the gold and silver mines. The sum was there inscribed (according to the rate of silver) to amount unto 32,000,000 of minas. Next hereunto was the sacred library, whereon was inscribed these words, viz.: ‘The cure of the mind.’ Adjoining to this, were the images of all the gods of Egypt, to every one of whom the king was making offerings, peculiarly belonging to each of them, that Osiris, and all his associates, who were placed at his feet, might understand his piety towards the gods, and his righteousness towards men. Next to the library, was a stately room, wherein were twenty beds to eat upon, richly adorned; in this house were the images of Jupiter and Juno, together with the kings; and here it is supposed, the king’s body lies interred. Round the room are many apartments, wherein are to be seen in curious painting, all the beasts that are accounted sacred in Egypt. Thence are the ascents to the top of the whole monument of the sepulchre, which being mounted, appears a border of gold round the tomb, 365 cubits in compass, and a cubit thick; within the division of every cubit, were the several days of the year engraven, with the natural rising and setting of the stars, and their significations, according to the observations of the Egyptian astro-

“logers. This border, they say, was carried away by
 “Cambyses and the Persians, when he conquered
 “Egypt. In this manner they describe the sepulchre
 “of king Osymandyas, which seems far to exceed all
 “others, both for magnificence and curiosity of work-
 “manship.” (Booth’s Translation, p. 52 ff.)


4.  BA-RĀ-


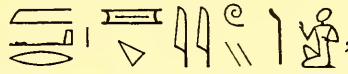
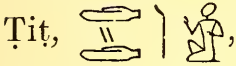
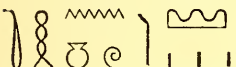

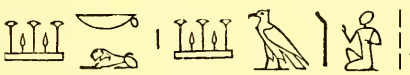



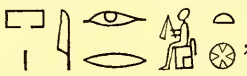

MER-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, MER-EN-PTAḤ ḤETEP-
 HER-MAĀT.

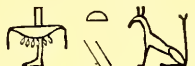


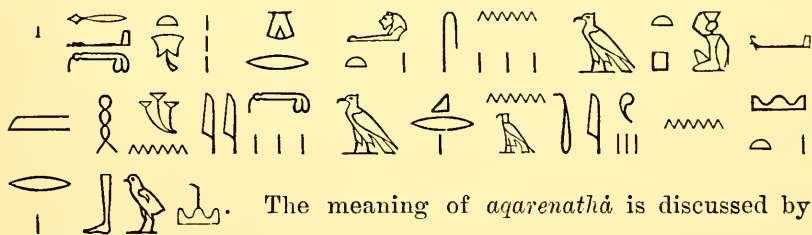
KA-NEKHT-ḤĀT-EM-
 MAĀT,
 the Horus name
 of Mer-en-PTAḤ.

MER-EN-PTAḤ or MENEPHTHAH, Ἄμ-
 μενεφθίς, was the thirteenth son of Rameses
 II., and his mother was Queen Āst-nefert ;
 he had been associated with his father in
 the rule of the kingdom for several years
 before he became the sole king of Egypt,
 and it is clear that he was a man well
 past middle age when he ascended the
 throne. Besides the Horus name, “Mighty
 Bull, rejoicing in Maāt,” he styled him-
 self the “Soul of Rā, beloved of Āmen, he
 who resteth on Maāt, lord of the shrines
 of Nekhebet and Uatchet, the Horus of
 gold, the lord of risings,” and he adopted

titles which refer to his adoration of the Sun-god Rā,
 and to his stablishing of good laws throughout the
 world,  . The prin-

course the "wretched king of Libya," ,
 called Māreiui, , the son of
 Tīṭ, , invaded the country of the Theḥennu,
, with his bowmen and his allies the
 Shaireṭen, , and the Sha-
 kelesha, , and the Qauasha,
, and the Reku,
, and the Turisha, ,
 and then made his way with his wife and children
 across the western frontier into the fields of the city of
 Pa-árt, or Per-árt, , which must not,
 according to Brugsch, be identified with Prosopis,
 but with some place to the east of the Delta. When
 Menephthah saw his foe "he roared like a lion," and
 made a long speech to his generals and officers, in
 which he reminded them that he was their king, and
 would be responsible for their safety, and then went
 on to upbraid them for being as timid as birds, and for
 their inactivity and helplessness. He pointed out that
 their lands were being laid waste, that those who
 chose passed over the frontier whensoever they pleased,
 that the invaders robbed the people and seized their
 lands, that the Oasis of Ta-âḥet,  (i.e.,

attacked with such vigour that the enemy was driven hither and thither, and by the help of the gods Amen-Rā and Nubti, , they were overthrown in thousands by the chariot charges of the Egyptians, and the dying and dead lay drenched with their own blood. For six hours the battle raged, and the Egyptians gave no quarter; finally the king of the Libyans, seeing that the field was covered with the corpses of his soldiers, took to flight, and in order to make good his escape, he threw away his bow and quiver, and sandals, and when he found he was being pursued he cast away even his clothes, and succeeded in saving nothing but his skin. His followers were not so fortunate, and hundreds of them were cut down by Pharaoh's horsemen. The wife and children of Māreiui, and his silver, and gold, and vessels of iron, and bows, and even the ornaments and apparel of his wife were captured by Menepthah, as well as large numbers of prisoners. The spoil was loaded upon asses, and the king ordered it to be driven to Egypt, together with the hands and other portions of the dead Libyans which they had cut off.¹ Among the




¹ The meaning of *aqarenathā* is discussed by Müller, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. x. p. 147 ff.

slain were six of the brothers and children of the Libyan king and 6359 officers and soldiers; all these were mutilated in the manner in which the Egyptians treated their uncircumcised foes. Of the Shakaresha 250 were killed, of the Turisha 790, but the numbers of the other allies who were killed are unknown; 9376 prisoners, including twelve women, were taken, and the loot consisted of 9111 swords of the Māsha tribe,


, 120,314 weapons

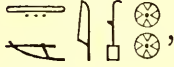
of various kinds which had been found with the Libyans, 126 horses, etc. Thus, fortunately for Egypt, ended the Libyan war, and Menephtah was, no doubt, very thankful that he was the victor, for Egypt was never so nearly being conquered from one end to the other as she was at this time.

When we consider that two generations of Egyptians had never seen or heard of war in their own time, it is little short of marvellous that this mighty confederation of Libyans and their allies was vanquished by Menephtah's army; his soldiers fought well because they realized that they were fighting a battle on the result of which depended their freedom, as the loss of it would entail a life of slavery with peoples whom they held to be abominable and unclean. There is small wonder that the whole land rejoiced madly, or that the Delta was filled with songs of gladness and thankfulness from east to west. Fortunately for Menephtah the Palestinian tribes

“Isiráare, or Isiráale, ,

“have been ravaged and their seed destroyed, Syria,


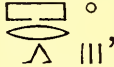
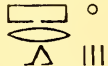
“, hath become the widow of Egypt,

“, and all the lands together are at

“peace.”






Judging from this passage it would seem that Mene-phthah had conducted some campaign in Palestine or Southern Syria, and that as a result the whole of the country of Libya had been laid waste, and several districts of Palestine reduced to want and misery, but there is no reference to any such campaign in the inscriptions except this. In the time of Rameses II., the treaty which he made with the king of Kheta allowed him to have full authority over Palestine as far north as the Dog River, and all the land which lay to the south of it was the property of Egypt. Why then boast of having reduced to misery towns like Ascalon, and Gezer, and Yamnia, etc.? M. Naville has discussed the passage in a careful article, and translates the last part of it thus¹:—“Kanaan est donc “réduit à l’impuissance, parce qu’ Askalon et Ghezer se “font la guerre: Iamnia est comme n’existant plus; “Israël est détruit, il n’a plus de postérité, et la Syrie “est comme les veuves d’Égypte.” The passage which M. Naville renders, “Israel is destroyed, and hath no posterity,” is translated “Israel ist verwüstet und seine

¹ *Recueil*, tom. xx. p. 36.

Saaten vernichtet," by Prof. Spiegelberg,¹ and "Israel ist verwüestet, ohne Feldfrucht," by Prof. Krall.² Thus all three scholars agree in rendering the hieroglyphic name  by "Israel," and are certain that in the inscription of Menephtah under consideration the Israel of the Bible is mentioned, but they differ in the meaning which they assign to the word *peru* , which M. Naville translates by "postérité," and Spiegelberg by "Saaten," i.e., "crops," and Krall by "Feldfrucht," or "fruit of the field." Some writers have seen in the Egyptian text a reference to the passage in Exodus i. 16, where we are told that the king of Egypt ordered the Hebrew midwives to destroy the male children of the Hebrews, and to keep alive the female children; but we are also told in the following verse that "the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive." So that if we accept the Bible narrative we must believe that the male children were not destroyed after all, and therefore the passage in the Egyptian text of Menephtah cannot refer to a destruction of the seed of Israel which never took place. There is no doubt that the word *peru*  does sometimes mean "progeny," "offspring," and the

¹ *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv., 1896, p. 14.

² *Grundriss*, p. 85.

like, but on the other hand the proofs adduced by Prof. Spiegelberg make it tolerably certain that his rendering "Israel hath been ravaged and his crops destroyed" is the correct one.¹ We must now consider the name Isiráare, or Isiráale, which is rendered "Israel." It is clear from the determinatives at the end of the word that we have to deal with the name of a people of foreign race, for the sign  means "alien" or "foreign," and the man  and the woman , and the plural sign  indicate a large number of men and women. The fact that all the other places mentioned with Isiráale have the determinative of foreign country  placed after each of them emphasizes its omission in the case of Isiráare or Isiráale, which has a group of determinatives meaning "foreign people" placed after it only; this may indicate that the Isiráare or Isiráale people had no country, and were nomads, but in that case how did they come to have crops which could be destroyed?

The question of the identification of this people with the children of Israel seems to depend on what view is taken as to the period in which the Exodus happened. If the Exodus took place in the reign of Amen-hotep III., a matter which will be referred to later on, the Children of Israel would by the time Menephthah began to reign have obtained some position among the tribes

¹ This view is also taken by Maspero, who translates the words, "Israëlou est rasé et n'a plus de graine." *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 436.

of Palestine and Canaan, and they may even have acquired land in sufficient quantity to justify the king of Egypt in mentioning their name with the names of countries like Thehennu, Kheta, etc. But if the Exodus took place in the reign of Menephthah the Isiráare, or Isiráale, cannot be, in the writer's opinion, identified with the children of Israel, because according to the Hebrew tradition as preserved in the Bible the latter wandered about in the desert for forty years, i. e., for a period which was longer than the whole of the reign of Menephthah, and they did not effect a settlement in Palestine until some time later. Moreover, to assign to the fugitives from Egypt a position among the nations which would make them to be worthy of mention side by side with those like the Kheta and the Thehennu is to give them an importance which they would never possess in the eyes even of the writer of a high-flown composition, such as that which appears on the stele usurped by Menephthah. The composition has no real historical importance, as we may see from the fact that the writer of the text, after declaring that the Libyans were destroyed, goes on to say that the "Kheta have been brought to a state of peace"; the reader of this statement who was ignorant of the true history of the period would imagine that Menephthah had reduced the Kheta, but we know that he did not, and that the peoples of the Kheta country had forced Rameses II. to be at peace with them. Among the last words on the stele we read, "Syria hath become

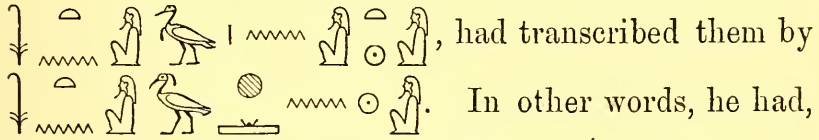
as the widows of Egypt," by which we should expect the writer to mean us to understand that Syria had been reduced to a state of misery of the most abject character, but when we notice that he is making a pun on the words *Khar*, "Syria," and *khart*, "widows," it is natural to doubt if the words have really that meaning at all. The pun is probably an old one, and dates from the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the writer was clearly more anxious to use it than to report a mere historical fact. Finally, all that can be said for the identification of the Isiráare, or Isiráale, with the children of Israel is the resemblance between the two names, and if it be accepted we must admit that the Israelites left Egypt *before* the reign of Menephtah, and were settled in Palestine at the time his inscription was written.

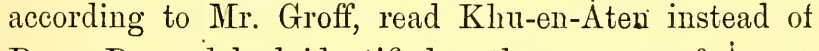
The building operations of Menephtah appear to have been considerable, especially in the Delta, where he repaired the old frontier fortresses and built new ones, no doubt with the idea of keeping strict watch upon the various peoples who went in and out from Egypt. He built largely at Tanis, where he usurped a number of XIIth Dynasty statues, and two so-called Hyksos sphinxes, etc., and he carried on repairs at Heliopolis, Memphis, and Abydos, and his name is found upon many buildings on both banks of the Nile at Thebes, where many works were carried out by his commands. He usurped some of the granite sphinxes, an obelisk, etc., which had been set up by Amen-hetep III. and Thothmes III., and as far as can

be made out his own buildings were few and of no great importance. Stelae, in which he is represented adoring the gods, are found at Gebel Silsila, and his name appears at Pselchis in Nubia, and in the old quarry works in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Menephtah built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the kings at Thebes, which is known to-day as "No. 8." It consists of three chambers and three corridors, the walls of which are decorated with extracts from the "Book of Praising Rā" and the "Book of the Underworld," or as Dr. Birch read the title some fifty years ago, "The Book of the Gate," and with scenes in which the deceased is represented in the act of adoring Harmachis and other gods, and that of the passage of the sun through certain hours of the night. The king's sarcophagus stands in the second room from the end of the corridors, but there is no mummy in it. Some years ago it was the fashion to explain the absence of the king's mummy by a reference to the Bible narrative (Exodus, chapters xiv. and xv.), and to assume that Menephtah was drowned, together with his captains, during his pursuit of the children of Israel through the waters of the Red Sea. But the tradition as given in Exodus only tells us, "Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. And the water returned, and covered the chariots,

“and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them” (vv. 27, 28). There is nothing in this passage to indicate that Pharaoh was pursuing the Israelites in person, or that he was drowned as a result. When the great haul of Royal mummies was made at Dêr al-Baḥarî in 1881, and the mummy of Menepthah was found not to be among them, the belief that he had been drowned with his six hundred chosen captains of chariots was confirmed in the opinion of many. It will be remembered that early in 1898 M. Loret reported the discovery of the tombs of Amen-ḥetep II. and Thothmes III. at Thebes, and that in the tomb of the former king a number of royal mummies were found. Later in the year M. Loret read a paper in Cairo at the Institut Égyptien on his discovery, and dealt with the identifications of the mummies which he had found; the mummies were declared by him to be those of Thothmes IV., Amen-ḥetep III., Seti II., Amen-ḥetep IV., Sa-Ptah, Rameses IV., Rameses V., and Rameses VI. The discovery was an important one, but it was a remarkable thing to find the mummy of the heretic king Khu-en-Āten carefully stowed away with the mummies of his orthodox father and grandfather and descendants, all of whom worshipped and adored the god Āmen, whom he scoffed at and abominated; in fact it was hardly credible that the priests of Āmen should have taken the pains to save the body of their old enemy from the

wreckers of mummies and the robbers of tombs. Soon after the reading of the paper an examination of the hieratic characters which were supposed to represent the name of Khu-en-Āten was made by Mr. W. Groff, and he became convinced that they had been misread by M. Loret, who, instead of transcribing them by

, had transcribed them by

. In other words, he had, according to Mr. Groff, read Khu-en-Āten instead of Ba-en-Rā, and had identified as the mummy of Āmen-ḥetep IV., or Khu-en-Āten, the mummy of Menephtah. The views of Mr. Groff provoked discussion, and on February 10, 1900, MM. Maspero, Daressy, and Brugsch Bey specially examined the writing on the wrappings of the mummy with the view of deciding so important a matter; later they were joined by MM. Lieblein, von Bissing, Lange, and others, and these savants came to the conclusion that the mummy was not that of Khu-en-Āten but of Ba-en-Rā, i.e., Menephtah, the son of Rameses II., and brother of the famous magician Khā-em-Uast, in fact, the king of Egypt who has been styled generally the "Pharaoh of the Exodus."¹ Thanks to the courtesy of Brugsch Bey the writer also was allowed in January, 1900, to examine the writing on the wrappings of the mummy, and he has no doubt that Mr. Groff is right and that M. Loret is wrong.

¹ See *Recueil*, tom. xx. p. 224; tom. xxii. p. 136.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT.

IN connexion with the reign of Menepthah must be mentioned the great Exodus of Israel from Egypt, because many of the greatest Egyptologists think that this remarkable event in the history of the Hebrews took place at this period. Of the Israelites and their Exodus from Egypt we have, besides the narrative in the Bible, several short accounts by various writers,¹ and a longer, more detailed statement on the subject by Josephus. According to this last writer a king of Egypt called Amenophis was desirous of beholding the gods,² as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had seen them. And he communicated his desire to a priest of the same name as himself, Amenophis, the son of Papis, who seemed to partake of the divine nature, both in his wisdom and knowledge of futurity; and Amenophis returned him answer, that it was in his power to behold the gods, if he would cleanse the

¹ They will be found collected in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 183.

² I quote from Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons that abounded in it. Well pleased with this information, the king gathered together out of Egypt all that laboured under any defect in body, to the amount of 80,000, and sent them to the quarries which are situated on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. And there were among them some learned priests who were affected with leprosy. And Amenophis, the wise man and prophet, fearful lest the vengeance of the gods should fall both on himself and on the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered them, added this also in a prophetic spirit: that certain people would come to the assistance of these unclean persons, and would subdue Egypt, and hold it in possession for thirteen years. These tidings, however, he dared not to communicate to the king, but left in writing an account of what should come to pass, and destroyed himself, at which the king was greatly distressed. When those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued for some time in that miserable state, the king was petitioned to set apart for their habitation and protection the city Avaris, which had been left vacant by the Shepherds; and he granted them their desire; now this city, according to the theology above, is a Typhonian city. But when they had taken possession of the city and found it well adapted for a revolt, they appointed for themselves a ruler from among the priests of Heliopolis, one whose

name was Osarsiph, and they bound themselves by oath that they would be obedient. Osarsiph then, in the first place, enacted this law, that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians hold in veneration, but sacrifice and slay them all; and that they should connect themselves with none but such as were of that confederacy.

When he had made such laws as these, and many others of a tendency directly in opposition to the custom of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should employ the multitudes of hands in rebuilding the walls about the city, and hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis the king. He then took into his counsels some others of the priests and unclean persons; and sent ambassadors to the city called Jerusalem, to those Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis; and he informed them of the position of their affairs, and requested them to come up unanimously to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised in the first place to reinstate them in their ancient city and country Avaris, and to provide a plentiful maintenance for their host, and fight for them as occasion might require, and assured them that he would easily reduce the country under their dominion. The Shepherds received this message with the greatest joy, and quickly mustered to the number of 200,000 men, and came up to Avaris. Now Amenophis the king of Egypt, when

he was informed of their invasion, was in great consternation, remembering the prophecy of Amenophis, the son of Papis. And he assembled the armies of the Egyptians, and having consulted with the leaders, he commanded the sacred animals to be brought to him, especially those which were held in more particular veneration in the temples, and he forthwith charged the priests to conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care. Moreover, he placed his son Sethos, who was also called Ramesses from his father Rampses, being then but five years old, under the protection of a faithful adherent; and marched with the rest of the Egyptians, being 300,000 warriors, against the enemy who advanced to meet him; but he did not attack them, thinking it would be to wage war against the gods, but returned, and came again to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals he had sent for, and retreated immediately into Ethiopia with all his army, and all the multitude of the Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under obligations to him. He was therefore kindly received by the king, who took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied what was necessary for their subsistence. He also allotted to him cities and villages during his exile, which was to continue from its beginning during the predestined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for an Ethiopian army upon the borders of Egypt as a protection to king Amenophis.

In the meantime, while such was the state of things in Ethiopia, the people of Jerusalem, who had come down with the unclean folk of the Egyptians, treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that those who witnessed their impieties believed that their joint sway was more execrable than that which the Shepherds had formerly exercised alone. For they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon those sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country. It is said also that the priest, who ordained their polity and laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph was derived from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called Moyses.¹

* The above story reported by Josephus has no historical value, for it is based upon an imperfect knowledge of the facts of Egyptian history. It represents that the famous architect and sage Amen-hotep, who is a historical personage, and who flourished in the reign of Amen-hotep III., told the king that if he wished to see the gods he must expel the "lepers" from the country; whether these men were actually lepers, or whether the word is employed to describe them as a term of abuse, cannot be said. The king

¹ Josephus, *Apion*, i. 26.

collected these "lepers," 80,000 in number, and sent them to work in the quarries [of Tura?], but later he gave them the city of Avaris to dwell in, for it had been evacuated by the Shepherds. There they made a priest of Heliopolis, who changed his name from Osarsiph to Moses, their ruler, and they next sent and invited the Shepherds who were living in Jerusalem to come and help them, promising to give them in return the city Avaris which they had formerly occupied. The Shepherds came, 200,000 in number, and though Amenophis collected an army of 300,000 men to fight them, he did not do so, but taking his gods from Memphis he retreated to Ethiopia, where he remained for thirteen years, whilst strangers ruled the country according to the words of the Egyptian sage. Now we know enough of the history of the reign of Amen-hotep III. to be able to assert that no invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, 200,000 strong, ever took place in his reign, and that this king did not retreat to Ethiopia for thirteen years, and that the city of Avaris had been in the hands of the Egyptians since the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. A copyist of Manetho, from whom Josephus says he takes the story, having very possibly access to some Egyptian tradition of the Exodus of the Israelites, which ascribed it to the reign of Menephthah, erroneously confused his name (A)menephtes with the better known Amen-hotep III. Thus the theory which would place the Exodus in the time of Amen-hotep III. falls to the ground. More-

over, the details of the story reported by Josephus do not agree with the details of the Bible narrative, and it is clear that Manetho is describing one event, while the writer of the Book of Exodus is describing another. Elsewhere Josephus himself connects the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Egyptians with the Exodus of the Israelites, but here also his remarks are equally without historical value, for he assumes that the Hyksos were the ancestors of the Hebrews, and with characteristic boastfulness attempts to make his readers believe that among the ancestors of the Hebrews were the Hyksos kings of Egypt who, according to the passage which he professes to quote verbatim from Manetho's history, reigned over that country for about five hundred and eleven years.


An examination of the facts derived from the Egyptian monuments shows that a vast number of people, probably Semites, were expelled from the Delta at the close of the XVIIth Dynasty, and that the process of the expulsion went on vigorously under the reigns of the first three or four kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty; thus there must have been on several occasions an exodus of Semites, or at least of Canaanites, from Egypt. Of this great series of forced emigrations traditions no doubt remained among the Canaanitish tribes of Palestine and, when the Hebrews had occupied the country, were very possibly, in the process of time, incorporated by the Hebrew annalists in their account of the emigration of their own ancestors from Egypt.




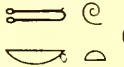
Of this earlier stratum of the Biblical narrative traces may yet be identified. This theory is rendered more probable by the fact that the Egyptians undoubtedly identified the Israelitish Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos; the Egyptian history of Manetho, when appealed to by Josephus for information from Egyptian sources concerning the Exodus of the Israelites, can only tell him of the Exodus of the Hyksos, confused with a later story of an exodus of foreigners which took place in the reign of Menephthah, who is identified with Amen-hetep III., under whom lived the great magician Amen-hetep, the son of Pa-Hāpu, who appears in the story. We thus see that the Egyptians, according to the version of Manetho as quoted by Josephus, confused the traditions of two distinct events; the Expulsion of the Hyksos, for which they had historical documents as proof, and which therefore seemed more important to them, and the Exodus of the Israelites, which was not mentioned on their monuments, and of which they, if we may trust the narrative of Josephus, possessed a confused legend. It is, therefore, very probable that similarly in the Exodus legend of the Hebrews we have a faint reminiscence of the expulsion of the Hyksos as well as a strange tradition of the events which accompanied their own Emigration from the land of Goshen.

The Egyptian version of the name of the legendary king, i.e., Amen-hetep III., whom Osarsiph drove into Ethiopia, under whom no such event as the

Exodus can have taken place, renders it very probable, as has been seen above, that the Israelitish emigration really took place under Menepthah, whose name was easily confused with Amen-hetep. The existence of an obscure Egyptian tradition that the Exodus took place under Menepthah is thus indicated. This supposition agrees with the views of the greater number of the Egyptologists who have discussed the subject, and Menepthah is very commonly considered to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which will thus have taken place about B.C. 1270, about four hundred years after the expulsion of the Hyksos. This view is entirely supported by the narrative of the Book of Exodus, as we shall see. From this we gather that the Israelites were pressed into the *corvée*, i.e., they were compelled to perform a certain amount of physical labour in connexion with the public works which the king of Egypt had ordered to be carried out. Curiously enough the work was not in connexion with the maintenance of the banks of the Nile during the period of the inundation of the river, but with the erection of some wall or building, for the gangs of Israelites were compelled to make so many bricks per day. The Egyptians made the lives of the Israelites "bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, "and in brick, and in all manner of service in the "field: all their service wherein they made them "serve, was with rigour (Exod. i. 14). Therefore "they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them

“with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh “treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses” (Exod. i. 11). Finally, “Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the “people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more “give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: “let them go and gather straw for themselves. And “the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish “ought thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, “saying, Let us go, and sacrifice to our God. Let “there more work be laid upon the men, that they “may labour therein: and let them not regard vain “words. . . . So the people were scattered abroad “throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble “instead of straw. And the taskmasters hastened them, “saying, Fulfil your works, your daily tasks, as when “there was straw. And the officers of the children of “Israel, which Pharaoh’s taskmasters had set over “them, were beaten, and demanded, Wherefore have “ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both “yesterday and to-day, as heretofore?” (Exod. v. 6-14).

We may note in passing that the only name by which the Hebrew writer calls the king who oppressed his countrymen so cruelly is “Pharaoh,” which is, of course, the Egyptian Per-āa  i.e., “Great House”; but this was a title which was borne by every king of Egypt, and it therefore does not enable us to identify the oppressor king. The custom

of employing foreign captives or aliens was inaugurated by Thothmes III., who employed them largely on the works connected with the great temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes; the example which he set was followed by his successors, so we cannot identify the oppressor king by his employment of captive or alien labour. We touch firm ground in the statement that the Israelites built "for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses," for the names of these cities are well known from the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and their sites have been identified by M. Naville¹ with considerable success. The name of Pithom is, of course, the Egyptian Pa- (or Per-) Âtemt, , or , i.e., the "house of the god Tem"; this was situated in the district called in the inscriptions Thuku or Thukut, , or , which lay at the eastern end of the Wâdî Tûmîlât, and is marked by the ruins called by the Arabs, "Tell al-Maskhûṭa." Here M. Naville found a number of strong chambers, well built of mud bricks, which he considers to have been used for storing grain and provisions for those who were about to make a journey into the Arabian desert, or as a stronghold wherein to keep the tribute which was brought from Syria and Palestine into Egypt until such time as it could be disposed of in the ordinary manner. As nothing older



¹ See *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1885.

than the time of Rameses II. has been found at Pithom we may reasonably assume that he was the builder of the city; it is, of course, possible that there was an older city on the site before his time, but even so it was Rameses II. who built the strong city which has been made known to us by its ruins. Thus, as we are told in the Bible that the Israelites built Pithom for the Pharaoh of the oppression, and as we know from the monuments discovered by M. Naville that Rameses built Pithom at the "mouth of the East," , i.e., the frontier city on the east of Goshen in which the Israelites had their abode, we get a tolerably clear idea that the Pharaoh who had the Israelites forced into the *corvée* was none other than Rameses II.

But the Bible also tells us that the Israelites built the treasure city of "Raamses," and this city can be no other than Tanis, the Zoan of the Bible, the Şân of Arabic writers, and the Sekhet Tchā, , or Sekhet Tchānt, , or Tchart, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. We may note in passing that the words "field of Zoan" in Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43, are the exact equivalent of the Egyptian name Sekhet Tchānet, i.e., "Field of Tchanet." That the Hebrews regarded Zoan as a very old city is proved by the fact that it is noted in Numbers xiii. 22, that "Hebron was built seven years

before Zoan in Egypt." The city of Tanis was an exceedingly old one, and the monuments of Pepi I. which have been found there prove that it was of considerable size and great importance in the VIth Dynasty, about B.C. 3233. The history of Tanis is a chequered one, but the great kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties built largely there, and many of them set up colossal statues of themselves in the famous temple; the Hyksos kings established themselves there, and usurped the sphinxes and other monuments of their predecessors which they found in the place. Seti I. was the first of the kings of the New Empire who seems to have perceived the great strategic importance of the city to the Egyptians if they wished to maintain their hold upon Palestine, and it was he who brought it into a state of comparative prosperity after a long period of neglect by the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who, associating it with the Hyksos kings, would do nothing whatsoever for it. Rameses II., following the example of his father Seti I., thought highly of the importance of Tanis, and did a great deal to restore the city. He repaired the old temples and rebuilt parts of them, he fortified the walls, and made every part of its defences strong, and he laid out gardens, and either founded or re-founded a temple there in honour of the gods Amen, Ptah, Harmachis, and Sutekh, and, in fact, made it his capital city. He usurped large numbers of statues and other monuments which had been set up by his predecessors, and by adding new ones of his own here,

there, and everywhere, he made the city almost a rival of Thebes. A certain Panbāsa who had visited Tanis, which he calls the "city of Rāmessu-meri-Āmen," i.e., the city of Rameses II., in writing home to a friend says that "there is nothing in the Thebaïd which can "be compared with it."¹ As Rameses II. was the great restorer of the city his name became attached to it, and when the Egyptian spoke of "Pa-Rāmessu," i.e., the palace or temple of Rameses, he as often referred to the whole city as to the king's private residence. It will be remembered that Rameses II. was at Tanis when he agreed to the treaty which the king of the Kheta proposed, and it was from this place that he watched the development of events in Palestine and Syria, and decided to rule his country. The "Treasure city Raamses" is, then, almost beyond doubt, none other than Tanis, or Pa-

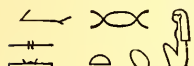
Rāmessu,  or .


Rameses II. was the builder king of Egypt *par excellence*, and the state of misery to which the Israelites were reduced, and which is so vividly described in the Bible, is exactly the condition to which an alien people in the Delta would be brought when turned into gangs for the *corvée* of the day.

It was Rameses II. who built the wall from Memphis to Pelusium to keep out of Egypt the hordes of nomad Semites, and he certainly carried out some works either of lengthening or deepening the canal which was intended

¹ See Goodwin in *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 11 ff.

which, owing to the dropping of the letters \dagger and r in quick pronunciation became Tche-pa-nete-âuf-ânhk. This name, however, is not found in the Egyptian inscriptions, though it is clearly imitated from names which are composed in this manner, e.g., Tchet-Ptaḥ-âuf-ânhk, "Ptaḥ spake and he came into life," Tchet-Âmen-âuf-ânhk, "Âmen spake and he came into life," etc. The name Asenath is probably the Egyptian

, "Nes-Net," i.e., "belonging to Neith,"

and Potipherah is undoubtedly ,

Pe-tā-pa-Rā, i.e., "the gift of Rā." But all these names belong to classes of names of the XXIInd and XXVIth Dynasties,¹ and are not found earlier in the inscriptions, and we must therefore assign the first few verses of the Book of Exodus and Genesis xli. 45 to a much later period than the story of the Exodus given in the Bible.

The date of Exodus and the line of the route which was followed by the Children of Israel on their departure from Egypt have given rise to endless discussions and theories, none of which, however, explain away the difficulties of the Bible narrative. We have already said that the Exodus took place about B.C. 1270, but other dates which have been proposed for it are B.C. 1314 and B.C. 1335, the former by Lepsius, and the latter by Dr. Mahler, who declares that it took place

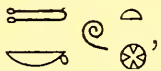
¹ See Steindorff, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxvii., 1889, pp. 41, 42.

on Thursday the 27th of March, B.C. 1335. Of Dr. Mahler's date, Prof. Marti says, "Mahler assigns the Exodus to the 27th March, 1335 B.C., which was a Thursday, because fourteen days before that day there occurred a central solar eclipse. This calculation rests on Talmudic data that assign the darkness mentioned in Ex. 10. 21, to the 1st of Nisan, and explain that that day, and therefore also the 15th of Nisan, was a Thursday. In Ex. 10. 22, indeed, we read of a darkness of three days; but Mahler argues that this note of duration really belongs not to v. 22, but to v. 23, and is meant simply to explain how 'intense and terrifying was the impression which the darkness produced on the inhabitants of Egypt . . . so that no one dared for three days to leave his house.' It is just as arbitrary to assume in Gen. 15. 5 ff. an eclipse enabling Abraham to count the stars before sunset, and then to use the eclipse for fixing the date of the covenant." ¹ The Israelites, we know, were living in Goshen, i.e., in a portion of the Delta and of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât which lies between Zaḡâzîḡ on the north, Belbês, probably the ancient Pharaethus, on the south, and the modern Tell al-Kebîr on the east, and we know that they set out on their way eastwards along the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât. Two ways were open to them, one went by way of Tanis and then led to the Mediterranean and thence to Syria, and the other going eastwards passed through the district of Rameses,

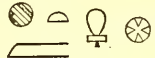
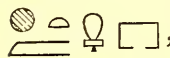
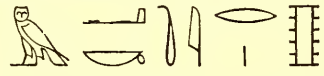
¹ Art. *Chronology*, in *Ency. Bibl.*, i. col. 785.

and so reached the northern end of the Red Sea, which it is supposed then extended nearly as far as the modern town of Isma'îliya.

Many Egyptologists and theologians think that having reached Succoth, which district has been by some identi-

fied with the Thukut, , of the hieroglyphic texts, and its capital city Pa-Temu, or Pithom, they went on into the desert of Etham, and then turned towards the south, whilst others are convinced that they must have gone to the north. The former view agrees with the Bible narrative which records the divine command given to Moses that the Children of Israel should "turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon" (Exod. xiv. 2). It is, however, impossible to identify the sites of these three places with certainty, although there is no doubt that at the time when the Bible narrative was written these frontier towns or fortresses were well known. Assuming that the Israelites turned towards the south they might have crossed over into the desert at a place to the south of the Bitter Lakes, or at a place more to the north and between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsâh; another view is that they crossed the Red Sea a little to the north of the modern town of Sûwêz or Suez.

The boldest theory ever put forward on the route of the Exodus is that of Brugsch who, making the Israelites start from Goshen, leads them by way of Tanis

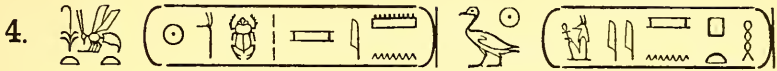
through the "field of Zoan" to a fortress, called in Egyptian Khetem, , which he identifies with Etham; they then journey past "Migdol," i.e., the Migdol near Pelusium, and make their way by some road near the great Sirbonian Bog past Pi-hahiroth, which Brugsch here regards as the equivalent of the "gulfs" or "pits" (*τὰ Βάραθρα*) of the Sirbonian Bog. The route here sketched is pretty well that which was in common use by travellers from Egypt to Syria and *vice versâ*, but the Israelites were specially commanded not to use that road, the obvious reason being that the fugitives would have marched straight into the line of fortresses which the Egyptians maintained along their eastern and north-eastern frontiers, which it was their object to avoid. Moreover, it does not follow that Etham is the equivalent of the Egyptian word , i.e., "fortress," and even if it did, we do not know *which* "fortress" is referred to; and in like manner with "Migdol," which also means "fortress" or "strong place," and which is the equivalent of the Egyptian  *mākhāre*, we know not *which* "Migdol" is indicated, for there was more than one Migdol both in Egypt and in Syria. Taken together, the known facts about the land of Goshen and the land of Rameses indicate that the passage of the "Red Sea" was not made either as far north as any portion of Lake Menzaleh or as far south as Suez, and that whatever water was crossed by them, be it lake or

be it sea, was situated at no great distance from the eastern part of the Wâdî Ṭûmilât. There is no evidence to show that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea were connected by means of a series of lakes, or swamps, or lagoons, when the Exodus took place, and it is far more reasonable to believe that the Israelites crossed over into the desert by means of a passage through some part of Lake TimsâḤ, which is relatively quite close to the eastern end of the Wâdî Ṭûmilât, than by a passage through the Red Sea itself. The narrative of the Book of Exodus calls the water which the Israelites crossed "Yam Sûph," i.e., the "sea of reeds," a name which they would never have given to the sea in general; and there is no doubt that they called the water by that name because it was of great extent, and because it contained reeds. This fact points to Lake TimsâḤ as the "sea of reeds," because being fed from the Nile reeds would grow in it in abundance. The application of the name "sea of reeds" to the Red Sea was a blunder made by later writers who, knowing nothing about the geography of the Isthmus of Suez, as soon as they heard or read that the Israelites had passed over a vast stretch of water, assumed that that water was the Red Sea because they knew not of the existence of any other in that part of the world.

Of the theories put forward in recent years on the Exodus a few are new, but many are either modifications of old ones, or the old ones themselves resuscitated; both new and old are, however, usually put forward by men who have no competent knowledge either of the district

which they are attempting to discuss or describe, or of the conditions under which the events related took place. It is also futile to argue that the Miṣraim out of which Israel came is not Egypt, but some country to the east or north-east of it, for all the evidence of an archaeological character which has been collected during the last few years points to the fact that Miṣraim in the Exodus narrative means Egypt and Egypt only. The views on the subject of Goshen¹ and the route of the Exodus which M. Naville has enunciated during the last few years are worthy of careful attention, for they are based on the first-hand knowledge derived from the results of the excavations which he made in the Wâdî Tûmilât, where he was so fortunate as to discover the store-city of Pithom. He has treated the subject of the Exodus and the identifications of the cities mentioned in the Bible narrative with common sense and moderation, and he has not overstated the facts from which he has drawn his deductions. In the present state of Egyptological knowledge it is impossible to "settle" the difficulties which beset the Exodus question, but the present writer, who has gone over the routes proposed both by M. Naville and Sir William Dawson, thinks that, if the matter is to be considered from a practical standpoint, the only possible way for the Israelites to escape quickly into the Etham desert was by a passage across Lake Timsâḥ; on their route after they had crossed he offers no opinion.

¹ *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1885; *Goshen*, London, 1887.



RĀ-USR-KHEPERU-MERI-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, SETI-MER-EN-PTAḤ.



KA-NEKHT-MERI-RĀ,
the Horus name of
Seti II.

The immediate successor of Mene-phthah appears to have been SETI II., MER-EN-PTAḤ, and he is regarded as such by the greater number of Egyptologists, though definite proofs of it are not forthcoming; M. E. de Rougé considered that Āmen-meses and Sa-PtaḤ preceded Seti II. in the rule of the kingdom. Seti II. adopted as his Horus name "Mighty Bull, beloved of Rā," and the inscriptions apply to

him several of the titles which had been borne by his predecessors; he appears to have lived usually at Tanis, and to have kept watch over the unruly tribes on the north-east frontier, but although he kept the Egyptian border fortresses in a state of efficiency, he does not seem to have engaged in any wars with the peoples whom they were intended to keep out of Egypt. As a builder, however, he exhibited considerable activity. He carried on certain works at Heliopolis for his prenomen, wherein, by the way, he is called "beloved of Set," is inscribed on a large granite block, which was found near Maṭarîyeh;¹ he also usurped the two granite obelisks which stood in that city, and are

¹ Maspero, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1881, vol. xix. p. 116.

commonly called "Cleopatra's Needles." At Karnak he built a small sandstone temple in the north-east angle of the court between the First and Second Pylons; it contained three sanctuaries, which were dedicated to Ámen-Rā, Mut, and Khensu respectively. On the walls are scenes in which the king is represented worshipping these gods. He appears to have made




The Temple at Luxor. View from the South-west.




From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

some of the sphinxes which were placed before the great temple of Ámen-ḥetep III. at Luxor, but it is very doubtful if he built or repaired all the temple buildings on which he caused his name to be inscribed. His name occurs on monuments as far south as Abû Simbel, where it is found on one of the four colossal statues in front of the temple of Rameses II. Seti II.

built for himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes, wherein, presumably, he was buried, but as his mummy was found in the tomb of Amen-ḥetep II. in 1898, it must have been removed there for safety in the troubled times which came upon Egypt at the end of the XXth Dynasty. The tomb consists of three long corridors, two rectangular chambers, the second having in it four square pillars, and a sanctuary. The walls of the corridors and chambers are decorated with scenes and texts from the "Book of the Praises of Rā," and the "Book of the ʿTuat," and with scenes representing the king worshipping the gods and holding converse with them. At the end of the tomb are two large fragments of the sarcophagus of Seti II. ; the cover was in the form of a cartouche.¹

In the reign of Seti II. the scribe Anna or Annana, , either made a copy² or composed the famous "Tale of the Two Brothers,"³ which has formed the subject of many discussions and comments. The first part of the story deals with two brothers, the one married, and the other not, who live

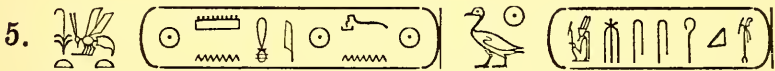
¹ For a full description of the tomb see Champollion, *Notices*, tom. i. pp. 459-463, and 808.

² The other scribes mentioned in the colophon to the papyrus are  Qa-ḳebut,  Heru-ā, and  Mer-em-āpt.

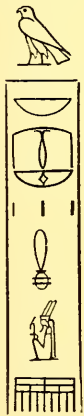
³ For the literature see Maspero, *Contes*, pp. 3, 4. The tale was first translated by E. de Rougé.

in the same house, and are engaged in the same occupation, i.e., farming. The wife of the elder brother attempts to seduce the younger brother when he returns alone one day to the homestead to obtain a fresh supply of corn, but he resists her and goes back to his work. Meanwhile the wife makes herself ill, and when her husband comes home in the evening he finds no fire lit, no supper ready, and his wife lying sick and prostrate. The husband rushes out to slay his brother, who has been accused by the wife of making a violent attack upon her, but the younger brother, being warned of his brother's coming by one of the cows, takes to flight, and is pursued by the furious husband who wishes to slay him. When the younger brother is almost caught the Sun-god causes a river to come into being between the pursuer and the pursued, and the younger man succeeds in making the elder believe that he is innocent, and mutilates himself. The elder brother now becomes furious with his wife, and having gone back to his house seizes her and cuts her in pieces, which he throws to the dogs. The second part of the story is in reality quite independent of the first, and we need not concern ourselves about it here. It has often been stated that the story of the younger brother Batau and the wicked wife is nothing more than the story of Joseph and the wicked wife of Potiphar, but beyond the fact that the two women appear to have made use of much the same words, there is probably no more

connexion between the narrative of the Book of Genesis and the Egyptian story in a late XIXth Dynasty papyrus, than there is between it and the stories of the dozens of unfaithful women which could be collected from the various literatures of the world. If, however, there was any borrowing at all it was on the part of the Hebrew writer or copyist, for, as we have already seen, part of the Biblical narrative of Joseph is not older than the XXIIInd, or even XXVIth Dynasty.



RĀ-MEN-MĀ-RĀ-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, AMEN-MESESES-HEQ-UAST.



NEB-HEBU-MĀ-ĀMEN,
the Horus name of
Amen-meses.

Of the circumstances which led to the occupation of the throne of Egypt by AMENMESESES nothing is known, and the details of his life and reign that have come down to us are very few. He adopted as his Horus name, “Lord of festivals, like Amen,” or “Mighty bull, great one of two-fold strength, “stablished like [Rā],”¹ and he gave himself the titles “Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt, stablisher of the two “lands, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet “and Uatchet, mighty one of wonders in the Apts”

¹ 

correct one, that these words are not intended to be taken in a literal but in a mythological sense, and that they indicate that the king was not intended from his birth to ascend the throne, in other words, that he was not of royal descent. A somewhat similar thing is said of Thothmes III., who in an inscription¹ relates the great gifts which the gods had bestowed upon him, and goes on to say that he was "emanation of An-mut-f, and was like the child Horus in Khebit,"

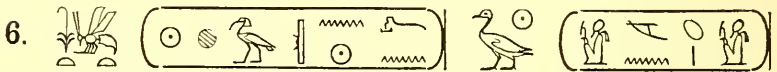


Dr. Brugsch argued from these words that the king "had been banished to the marshy country, difficult of access, so as to remove him from the sight of his faithful subjects and to destroy all remembrance of him."² But they meant nothing of the kind, and were merely intended to convey to the reader the fact that the king identified himself with Horus, whose powers and attributes he assumed in consequence. Amen-meses carried out some repairs on the temple at Medînet Habu, where his name is found with those of Seti I. and H̄eru-em-heb as a "restorer of monuments"; in some places at Thebes he seems to have usurped buildings, and his name appears where it has no right to be. He built a tomb at Thebes in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (No. 10), and he and his mother and wife were buried in it; the tomb consists

¹ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 16.

² *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 383.

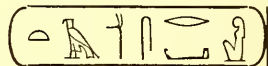
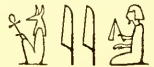
of three corridors, the first of which has a small chamber opening out of it, and two chambers, the second having in it four square pillars. The first chamber contains scenes in which his mother is making offerings to the gods, and the second scenes in which his wife is making adoration to various deities. Some of the pictures on the walls are also found among the series of vignettes which illustrate the text of the XVIIth Chapter of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.

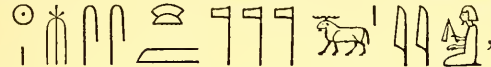



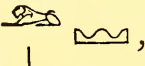

RĀ-KHU-EN-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SA-PTAH-MER-EN-PTAH.



KHĀ-EM-KHEBIT,
the Horus name of
Sa-Ptah.

SA-PTAH, who was undoubtedly the successor of Amen-meses, appears to have owed his claim to the throne of Egypt to the fact of his marriage with the lady Ta-user, or Ta-usert, . In an inscription at Sâhal dated in the first year of the king's reign we see the Prince of Kush called Seti, , kneeling in adoration before cartouches of the king, and a scene at Aswân represents the king seated upon his throne with this same Seti, who is described as a "royal scribe, fanbearer on the right hand of the


king, steward of the palace," etc., standing before him. Behind him is the chancellor Rā-meses-khā-em-neteru-Bai, , who declares


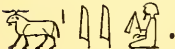
that he "set the king upon the throne of his father," and from this statement some have argued that this official was the chief instrument that raised Sa-Ptah to the throne of Egypt.² The Horus name of Sa-Ptah is of interest, and we must read it "Horus rising in Khebit," i.e., the north land, which proves that the allusion is to the god Horus whom his mother Isis reared among the papyrus swamps round the city of Per-Uatchet, or Buto, in the Delta, and not to the actual birthplace of the king. We thus see that Sa-Ptah reproduces as his Horus name the words which Thothmes III. applied to himself some hundreds of years before. The exact length of the reign of Sa-Ptah is unknown. An inscription, found by Major Lyons in the temple of Thothmes III. at Wādī Ḥalfa in 1893, mentions his sixth year, and another in the same place mentions a "royal envoy" or "king's messenger" to Syria,  and Nubia, , ,³ from which we may perhaps assume that communication was kept up between the kings of Syria, and the shêkhs of Nubia, but that Sa-Ptah assumed any right of rule over these countries is extremely











¹ See *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 202 b and c.
² E. de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
³ Sayce in *Recueil*, tom. xvii. p. 161.

doubtful. The "royal son of Kush" as a permanent official in Nubia could make the Nubian tribes bring gifts, but that is all. Sa-Ptah seems to have added nothing to the great temples of Egypt, and though he is depicted in reliefs at Silsila and at other places adoring the gods Amen, Ptah, Sekhet, and Nefer-Temu, such scenes are probably only commemorative of small repairs which he carried out. The king does not seem to have built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and we must assume that his mummy was buried in the tomb of his wife Ta-usert; but it was removed during the disturbed times of the XXth Dynasty for safety to the tomb of Amen-hotep II., for it was found there early in 1898. The tomb of Queen Ta-usert (No. 14) was made on the plan usually adopted by royal personages, and consisted of three or four corridors and a number of rectangular chambers, the largest of which contained eight square pillars. The walls of the chambers were decorated with scenes representing the queen in adoration before various gods, and with texts from Chapters cxlv., clvi., clvii., clviii., etc., of the *Book of the Dead*. The tomb was usurped by Set-nekht, who plastered over most of the portraits of the queen which were on the walls, and who caused his own portrait to be drawn on the new plaster, together with his cartouches, titles, etc. The remains of the funeral temples of Ta-usert and Sa-Ptah were excavated by Professor Petrie in 1896,¹ and


¹ *Six Temples at Thebes*, London, 1897, p. 13 ff., plate 22.

the evidence which he obtained by deduction from the foundation deposits apparently supports that which had been long ago obtained from the inscription of Rā-meses-khā-em-neteru-Bai¹ at Aswân. The temple of Ta-usert was situated between those of Mer-en-Ptaḥ and Thothmes IV. ; the temple of Sa-Ptaḥ lies to the north of the temple of Āmen-ḥetep II. Many of the foundation deposits and sandstone blocks are inscribed with the names and titles of the king, and many with those of the great chancellor who "put an end to iniquity," and raised Sa-Ptaḥ to the throne of Egypt. With the death of Sa-Ptaḥ the XIXth Dynasty came to an end, and there seemed to be no man who had the power to take in his hands the sceptre of Egypt, which was once more falling into a state of lawlessness and anarchy. About this time a Syrian called Ārsu, , of whom more will be said later, succeeded in making himself master of a portion of Syria and Egypt, and he compelled several local chieftains to acknowledge his authority and to pay him tribute ; but for how long he continued to exercise his illegal authority cannot be said.

¹ His name was shortened to Bai ; compare 
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dating from his period we are unable to say what other titles he bestowed upon himself. Our knowledge of the condition of the country when he ascended the throne is derived from the great papyrus written by order of Rameses III., wherein we read¹:—"The land
 "of Qemt,    (i.e., Egypt), had fallen into a
 "state of ruin, and every man did that which it seemed
 "right for him to do, and for very many years the
 "people had no chief governor (literally, 'upper mouth,'
 "   ) who was able to maintain dominion
 "over the others. The land of Egypt was in the
 "hands of the governors of the nomes, and among the
 "nobles and lords of the land one killed the other [as
 "he pleased]. There came a period after that of years of
 "want and great misery, and Arsus,     ,
 "the Syrian made himself prince over them. He
 "placed the whole country under tribute to him, and
 "each man gathered whatsoever he could for himself,
 "and plundered the property of others, and they
 "treated the gods in this manner likewise as well as
 "men, and the sacrifices which ought to have been
 "made to the gods in the temples according to law
 "were never offered up at all. Then the gods over-
 "threw these men and brought peace into the country,

¹ See Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of Rameses III.*, London, 1875, pl. 75; a translation of the whole papyrus will be found in *Records of the Past*, O.S., vol. vi. pp. 23-70; vol. viii. pp. 5-52.

“and they made the country to be what it ought to be,
 “and fashioned it according to what was right. And
 “they stablished their son who had proceeded from
 “their members to be the Prince (Life, Strength,
 “Health!) of every land which was under their throne,
 “Rā-usr-khāu-setep-en-Rā-meri-Āmen, son of the Sun,
 “Set-nekht-merer-Rā-merer-Āmen. And he became like
 “Kheperā-Set when he burneth with wrath and rageth,
 “and he provided with all things the land which was
 “in a condition of revolt and misery, he slew all those
 “who were disloyal in the Land of the Inundation,
 “ (i.e., Egypt), and he purified the great
 “throne of Egypt. He became the sovereign Prince
 “of the two lands upon the throne of the god Tem.
 “He gave himself to the reconstruction of the things
 “which had fallen into a state of decay, and at length
 “every man regarded as his brethren those who had
 “been divided from him as by a wall. He stablished
 “the temples, and provided them with divine offerings,
 “and men made the offerings which they ought to
 “make unto the company of the gods according to
 “their ordinances.”

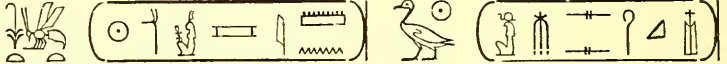

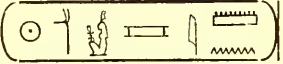

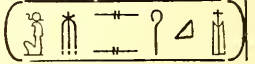
As soon as Set-nekht, or Nekht-Set, had established himself on the throne he appears to have associated his son Rameses III. with him in the rule of the country. A proof of this is supplied by a scene at Medinet Habu,¹ where over a door are seen figures of two kings kneeling, one on each side of the sun's

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 206.

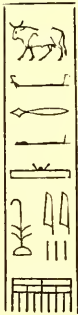
disk resting on the horizon, ☉; the cartouches on one side are those of Set-nekht, and the cartouches on the other are those of Rameses III. Of the building operations of Set-nekht we know nothing, but it is probable that he carried out a few pressing repairs,¹ for his name has been found at Memphis and Karnak. The king was mummified, and was probably buried in the tomb of the queen Ta-usert, which he usurped, but if M. Loret is to be relied upon, his mummy must have been removed from it in the unsettled times of the XXth Dynasty to the tomb of Amen-hetep II., which was found by him early in 1898. Some think that the tomb of Rameses III. in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes was begun by Set-nekht, for the name of this king can be distinctly traced in several places in the first three chambers. When Set-nekht died his own tomb was not finished, and his relatives seized the tomb of Ta-usert, and enlarged it by adding a corridor, and a large chamber with eight square pillars, and four small side chambers, and a sanctuary or niche for his statue at the end of it. The portraits of the queen in the entrance rooms were plastered over and the king's portrait put in their places, but the whole work was so hastily executed that those who carried it out had not the time to make the necessary alterations in the grammatical construction, etc., in the hieroglyphic texts which were rendered imperative by making them apply to a man instead

¹ They are tabulated by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

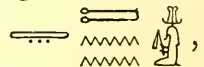
of a woman. We may note, before passing to the consideration of the reign of Set-nekht's great son Rameses III., that Prof. Wiedemann thinks¹ the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt is far more likely to have taken place in the period which followed the rule of Seti II. than under Menephthah, because the condition of the country, with its lack of a central government and with uprisings on every side, was far more favourable to the flight of the children of Israel immediately after the death of Seti II. than earlier.

2.  2.  ()  ()

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-MER-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESES-HEQ-ĀN.





KA-NEKHT-ĀĀ-SUTENIU, the Horus name of Rameses III.

RĀ-MESSU III. or RAMESES III., the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, was the son of Set-nekht, with whom, for a short period, he had been associated in the government of the country. His Horus names were, "Mighty Bull, great one of kings," and "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt, stablsher of the lands";² and he styled himself, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty one of festivals, like Ta-Thenen, 


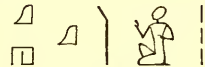


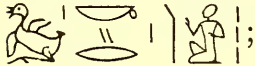
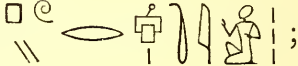
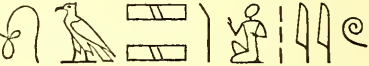
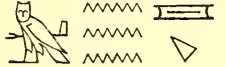





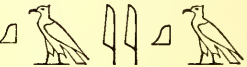


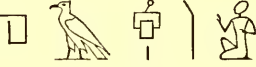
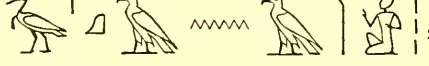
the Horus of gold, mighty one of years, prince,

¹ *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 491 ff.

² Or, Ka-nekht-meri-Maāt-smen-taiu, .

protector of Egypt, vanquisher of foreign lands, victor over the Sati (Asiatics), subduer of the Libyans, enlarger of Egypt," etc. The youth of Rameses III. must have been passed amid scenes of revolt and bloodshed, for in the summary of his reign given by him in the great Harris Papyrus, the few lines of text which describe his accession are followed at once by a summary of two or three of his great wars which he waged against the Libyan tribes and their allies. Of himself he says, "He (i.e., his father Set-nekht) appointed me to be the *erpāt* (or, hereditary chief) on the throne of Seb, and I became the great chief mouth, , of the lands of Qemt, and ruler of the whole country, everywhere alike. . . . Father Amen, the lord of the gods, and Rā, and Tem, and Ptaḥ of the Beautiful Face made me to rise up as lord of the two lands upon the seat of my begetter, and I received the rank of my father with cries of joy, and the whole country was content thereat, and it was pleased, and rejoiced and was glad to see me the Ruler of the two lands even as Horus ruleth the two lands from the throne of Osiris. I was crowned with the Atef crown and the uraei. I fastened upon myself the crown with the double plumes like Ta-tenen, and I seated myself upon the throne of Heru-khuti, being arrayed in the decorated apparel of royalty like Tem."¹

¹ Harris Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9900, plate 76.

In the lines which follow these words among hostile peoples are enumerated :— Shairețana,¹
; the Qe-
 haqu,² ; the Taānaunau,³ 
 from their islands; the Tchakireu,⁴
; the Puirathau,⁵ ;
 the Uashesu of the sea,⁶ 
; the Saāaireu,⁷ ;
 the Shasu,⁸ ; the Rebu, or Lebu-
 mer,⁹ ; the Māshuaashau,¹⁰
; the Sabatau,
; the Qaiqashau, 
; the Shaiu, ;
 the Hasau, ; the Bakanau,
, and other Libyan tribes.

¹ I.e., Sardians (?).

² Libyans.

³ Danaans (?) from Crete or Asia Minor.

⁴ Teukrians (?) from Crete.

⁵ Philistines.

⁶ Axians from Crete.

⁷ People from Seir.

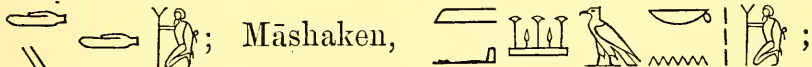
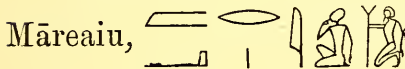

⁸ Nomad Semites.

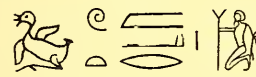
⁹ Libyans of the sea.

¹⁰ Maxyes.

The tribes here mentioned and their allies seem to have been preparing for war for some years before they ventured to make a great attack upon Egypt, and it appears that Rameses III. made no attempt to check their preparations, whilst he was himself making ready an army of sufficient size and strength to make the victory of the Egyptians certain. The enemy, however, was strong, and had the practical sympathy not only of the tribes which were akin to him, but also of the dwellers in the Delta, and in the land which lay between Egypt and Syria.

In the fifth year of Rameses III. the allied forces attacked Egypt under the leadership of Tit,

; Māshaken, ; Tchamāre, 

or ; but their hosts were defeated, and they had the mortification of seeing about twelve thousand of their dead warriors mutilated.¹ Large numbers of prisoners were taken, and Rameses III. tells us that he made many of them enter his service, and that when he had done so he garrisoned some of the larger cities of Egypt with them.

Three years later, i.e., in the eighth year of his reign, an invasion of Egypt on its north-east frontier was threatened by the allied armies of a

¹ For the Egyptian text see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. 46.

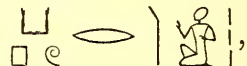
number of nations and tribes, among whom were the Puirathà or Philistines, and peoples from Crete and Cyprus and from the northern shores of the Mediterranean, who arranged their plan of attack in such a way that the invaders of Egyptian territory by sea might be assisted by their allies on land. Among the allies on land were many nations which had formerly been numbered with the Kheta, but which, owing either to the weakness of the central government in Northern Syria or to its entire overthrow, had been drawn into the league of the Mediterranean sea-robbers, and so once again appeared as the foes of Egypt. Rameses III. collected his ships and his soldiers, and when all was ready he left Egypt, and passing through the famous frontier fortress of Tchar, made his way into Palestine; we may assume that his soldiers who were in the ships were never very far from his soldiers on land, and that their movements were always carefully regulated. At length the combatants met, and a fierce fight took place between them; the site of the battle-field is unknown, but it cannot have been situated many days' march from the fortress Tchar, and it is most probable that the battle was actually fought in Palestine. The Egyptians, thanks to the mercenaries, were victorious, and though the enemy appear to have fought with great bravery, they yielded by degrees and at length took to flight, and tried to reach their vessels, which seem to have been drawn up on the sea shore. They were followed

by the Egyptians, who pursued them with vigour, and when the foe arrived at the coast and attempted to escape in their ships they found their course blocked by the ships of the Egyptian navy, and they were thus caught between two fires; the allies dwelling on the Mediterranean coasts and the robbers on the high seas were completely defeated, and large numbers of them were killed or taken prisoners.

The Egyptian annalist naturally magnifies this sea-fight in which his countrymen were so signally victorious, and rightly so, because the victory was all-important to the Egyptians; had the enemy escaped in the ships of their allies they would have been free to repeat the exploits of their predecessors in the reign of Amen-hetep IV., which resulted in the downfall of the Egyptian power in Syria. Rameses III. having thus disposed of the enemy in Palestine marched up into Syria, and passing through the provinces which had once been in the possession of Egypt, attempted to make the people acknowledge his sovereignty, and also to pay him tribute as their ancestors had paid tribute to the kings of Egypt in the days of old. His attempt was not, apparently, very successful, if we may judge by the destruction which he wrought in the country, for he cut down the fruit trees, and set fire to the standing corn, and laid waste whole villages, and looted and plundered in true Oriental fashion. When Rameses III. returned to Egypt laden with spoil, the people probably thought that there was

to be a revival of the annual campaigns which had formed such a prominent feature of the reigns of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but if they did they were mistaken, for both in the sea-fight and in the raid which followed it, the Egyptians knew well that they had only saved themselves by the greatest good fortune, and that henceforth Egypt would have to guard herself with the utmost diligence if she intended to keep even the line of frontier fortresses in her own possession.

Rameses III., having returned to Egypt, devoted himself to the work of building a palace and other edifices at Thebes, but before they were finished the peace of Egypt was again disturbed by the Libyans, who made a second attack upon the country

under the leadership of Kapur,¹ , and

his son Māshashare, ,



chiefs of the Māshauasha tribe. Rameses III. marched out to meet his foes, who had assembled in very large numbers, and if we may believe the Egyptian annalist it was the individual acts of bravery on the part of the king which won him the day. The gods Bār and Menthu seemed to have taken up their abode in the body of the king—for he was as terrible as they in battle, and the enemy believed that they had a supernatural being to contend with. The Libyans “were

¹ For the text see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. xiii. ff.

“surrounded by fire and their bones were burned to
“powder in their flesh; they marched on the land as
“if they had been marching to the place of slaughter;
“their hosts were massacred where they were, their
“mouths were shut for ever, and they fell down at a
“blow. Their captains who marched in front of them
“were tied together like birds before the hawk which
“darts upon them from his hiding-place within the
“wood. The soul of the enemy said for the second
“time that they would pass their lives on the frontiers
“of Egypt, and that they would till the valleys and
“plains thereof as their own possessions. But death
“came upon them in Egypt, and on their own feet they
“entered into the furnace which burneth up filth, and
“into the fire of the bravery of the king who raged
“at them like Bār from the heights of heaven. All his
“limbs were endowed with the might of victory; with
“his right hand he seized the multitudes, and his left
“stretched itself out over those who were in front of
“him and was like arrows against them to destroy
“them; his sword cut like that of his father Menthu.
“Kapure, who had come to receive the adoration [of
“the king], was like a blind man, and cast his weapons
“down upon the ground, and his army did likewise; he
“uttered a cry for mercy which went up to the heights
“of heaven, and his son stopped his foot and his hand.
“... His Majesty fell upon their heads like a
“granite mountain, and he crushed them utterly, and
“mixed the earth with their blood which ran down

“like water. The soldiers were slaughtered, and their
“warriors slain; [others] were captured and beaten, and
“their arms were tied together like the wings of geese
“on a boat beneath the feet of his Majesty. The king
“was like unto the god Menthu, and his victorious feet
“rested upon the head of the enemy, whose chiefs were
“smitten and held fast within his hand. . . . The
“enemy fell at the feet of his Majesty, and his captains,
“and his allies, and his soldiers were lost. His eyes
“were smitten as if he had looked upon the form of
“the Sun, and his warriors came quickly leading their
“children and carrying gifts in their hands to make
“themselves the prisoners of his Majesty. . . . The
“lord of Egypt was [as] the fire of the goddess Sekhet
“among them, and he destroyed their hearts, and their
“bones were burned to powder in their bodies. All the
“country rejoiced to see the valour of Rameses [III].
“The enemy said, ‘We have heard of the plans of the
“fathers of our fathers, and the breaking of our backs
“by Egypt hath arisen through them; we put our-
“selves in revolt, and we imagined that we could do
“what we pleased, and we ran at our own instigation
“to seek the flame. The Libyans have troubled us
“even as they troubled themselves; we have listened
“to their thoughts and the fire hath burned us up; we
“have sinned, and we have been punished for all
“eternity. Their offence was to see the frontiers of
“Egypt, and Menthu with the victorious arms who
“delighteth in battle, Rameses [III.] hath made them

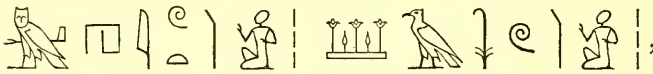
“to enter into the underworld.’ The country of the “Māshauasha hath been smitten down at a blow, and “their friends the Libyans have been slaughtered, and “they shall never reap again.”

Setting aside all these high-flown descriptions of the prowess of Rameses III., it is clear that the Egyptians gained what they well believed to be a great victory, and that they took great booty from the vanquished. They captured 342 women, 65 young women, 151,  |, girls, the commander-in-chief of the Māshauasha, 5 generals, 1205 men, 152 petty officers, and 131 young men; and 2175 of the Māshauasha were slain by his Majesty. Among the spoil carried off by the Egyptians were 115 swords five cubits long, 124 swords three cubits long, 603 bows, 93 chariots, 2310 quivers, 92 spear-heads, 183 horses and asses, and large numbers of cattle.¹ Rameses III. was now master of the countries on both sides of the Delta, and he was able to resume his building operations, and to carry out at his leisure various schemes in connexion with the development of trade between Egypt and the neighbouring nations, for the only other expedition which he undertook after the defeat of the Libyans was directed against the people called Sāaire,² . The Sāaire

¹ See Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. 26; and Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, Paris, 1873, p. 238 ff.

² See Brit. Mus., Papyrus No. 9900, sheet 176, line 9.


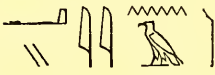
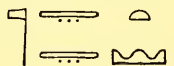
are described as belonging to the "tribes of the Shasu,"



and are thought to have lived on and about Mount Seir, and to be identical with the **בְּנֵי שֵׁעִיר** of Genesis xxxvi. 20;¹ they may well have been Edomites. Some have thought that, because Rameses III. included the names of certain Nubian countries in the lists of conquered lands which were inscribed upon his temples, he waged wars in Nubia, but this does not follow, for many of his lists are palpable copies of those of his ancestors, and there is very good reason for doubting the historical character of many parts of them. If it be remembered that, according to the Egyptian evidence, fewer than 2500 Libyans were killed in the great battle of Rameses III. against the Libyans and their allies, and that fewer than 2500 were taken prisoners, we shall be able to estimate at their true worth the boastful rejoicings, which, when translated into words, he allowed to be inscribed on the walls of his temples. The punishment which Mer-en-Ptah inflicted upon the Libyans was much more severe, and there is little doubt that Rameses III. wished fervently that his predecessor had followed up his advantage and pursued the Libyan king until he had caught him and killed him.

The last few pages of the great Papyrus of Rameses III. supply us with some valuable information con-


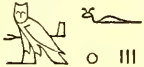
¹ Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 136.

cerning the works which were carried on by the king, both architectural and mining, and we find that for purposes of trade he built a large well, , in the country of Āāina, , i.e., a district between Mount Casius and Raphia on the road from Egypt to Syria, which he surrounded with a strong building twenty cubits square (?) and thirty cubits high. The object of this fortified well was, of course, that the royal caravans which passed that way from Syria into Egypt might be certain of always finding water for their camels there. Rameses III. next built a fleet of large boats,¹ which he provided with crews, among whom were numbers of bowmen, and he directed them to trade on the Phoenician coast;² it seems, too, that the same fleet, or at any rate a part of it, went to the land of Punt, to the south of the Red Sea, for the king declares that his ships returned laden with all the marvellous products of the country or region called Neter-tauī, , and that they unloaded at the mountain of Qebti, or Coptos, i.e., at some port near Kuşêr. We may then conclude that one fleet was kept in Mediterranean waters and another in the Red Sea.

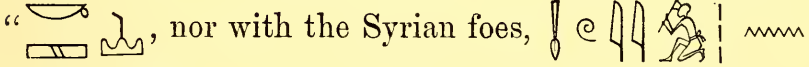
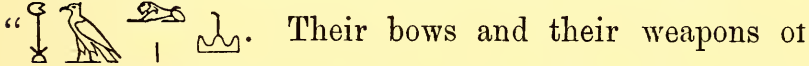
¹ 

² Literally, "in the great sea of the water of Qet,"



The copper industry of the Sinaitic Peninsula was, apparently, re-started by Rameses III., and envoys were sent from Egypt to work the copper mines of Āathāka, , i.e., the Gebel. 'Atāka of the Arab authors, and the metal in ingots was brought in ships to the port for Egypt in the Red Sea, and then loaded on asses and so carried by way of the Wādī Hammâmât into Upper Egypt. Other officers were sent to work the turquoise mines in the Sinaitic Peninsula,  *Māfek*, and large numbers of fine genuine stones were carried to the king in Egypt. The greatest efforts were made by Rameses III. to ensure the success of his trading expeditions, and all his care seems to have been devoted to the development of new markets and the maintenance of the old ones. The mercenaries who were scattered throughout Egypt maintained peace, and as long as their wages were paid, and they were allowed to lead a life of comparative ease they were faithful enough; their presence was now all-important to the Egyptians because it prevented the Shasu and the Rebu, or Libyans, from renewing their attacks on the country.

The latter part of the reign of Rameses III. was an era of peace and plenty, and of great mercantile success, and the merchant princes of Punt and Syria feared not to come to Egypt with their wares because they knew that Egypt was no longer a sovereign country bent on conquest, but a land ruled by a king whose aim was

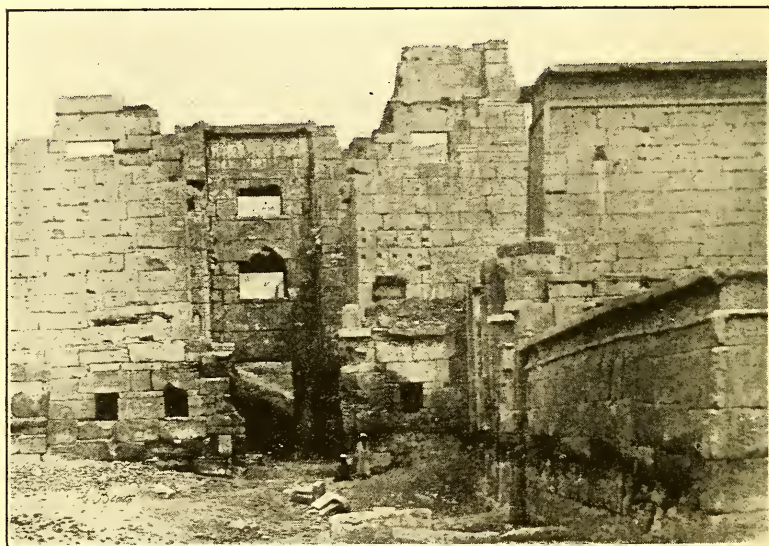
the prosecution of successful commercial enterprise. The king says, "I made the whole country to be covered with blossom-bearing trees, and I made all the people to sit down (or, dwell) beneath their shade. I made it possible for an Egyptian woman to walk with a bold and free step whithersoever she pleased, and no man or woman among the people of the land would molest her. In my time I made the cavalry and the bowmen of the Shaireṭana and Qehaq to dwell in their towns, and to lie down stretched out at full length on their backs, and they were not afraid, because there was no fighting with Kush, , nor with the Syrian foes, . Their bows and their weapons of war were laid up inside their guard-houses, and they were filled with meat and drink which they partook of with rejoicings, and their wives and their children were with them, and they looked not behind them because their hearts were glad."¹ And in conclusion the king says that he gave entire freedom to gentle and simple, and to rich and poor, that he pardoned the malefactor and relieved the oppressed, and that he did that which was good both to gods and to men.²

¹ Brit. Mus., Papyrus No. 9900, plate 78, ll. 9-12.



The facts of the history of the reign of Rameses III. bear out the general accuracy of the above description of the state of the country, and it is easy to understand the rapidity with which Egypt lost her position of power among the nations after the death of Rameses III.

Among the numerous buildings of Rameses III. must be specially mentioned the so-called "Pavilion of

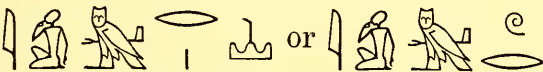



The Temple-Fortress of Rameses III. at Medinet Habu.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.


Rameses III." and the Great Temple which he erected at Medînet Habu. The pavilion represents an attempt to reproduce in Egypt a small fort or strong city similar to the forts in use among the people of Northern Syria. It consisted of two rectangular towers about 72 feet high and 26 feet wide; the walls behind them open out

and form a small court, but they soon contract, and come close together until finally the two wings of the building unite. On the south tower are sculptures in which the king is represented clubbing his enemies, i.e., the Ethiopians and the Libyans who live on the west bank of the Nile, and the chiefs of the Tulsha, or Tursha, and Māshauasha. Some of the chiefs here represented have the features of negroes, but the chief of the Māshauasha somewhat resembles a Semite. On the north tower are represented the chiefs of Asiatic and Mediterranean peoples, among them being the "vile prince of Kheta, the vile prince of Āmāre," or

Āmāur,  or , and

the chiefs of the tribes of the Tchakaire, of the Shaire-tana of the sea, of the Shakalasha, of the Thuirsha of the sea, and of the Pulasthā, or Philistines. In the space between the two towers are scenes in which the king is depicted in the act of worshipping the gods

Ānher-Shu, , Tefnut, Temu, Iusāaset,

, Ptah, Sekhet, Thoth, and other

gods. The walls of the upper rooms, which are entered by a staircase in the south tower, are decorated with reliefs in which the king is surrounded by a number of women who fan him or play the tambourine, and who bring him flowers and fruit and drink, etc.; in some reliefs the king is seated and is playing draughts with a naked woman who stands on the

other side of the table which supports the draught-board.

The meaning of these scenes has been much discussed, and many writers have thought it proved by them that this portion of the building was used as a palace by the king, but as M. Daressy has said,¹ the rooms are far too small ever to have been employed as a dwelling-place by Rameses III. and his train. The palace of Amen-hotep III. at Birket Habu and of his son Amen-hotep IV. at Khut-Aten, or Tell el-'Amarna, prove that the palaces of Egyptian kings consisted of large one-storied buildings, made of unbaked brick, which contained a great number of rooms wherein the only luxury apparent was in the decorations which adorned the walls. As there are no inscriptions with the reliefs we cannot say who the ladies with the king are, but some of them appear to be of royal rank, although the queen is not among them. M. Daressy is inclined to think that this portion of the building was used as a place where the king's daughters were educated under the care of priestesses, but, on the other hand, it may have been the abode of the servants of the god Amen, to which the king only, as the incarnation of the god Amen on earth, had access. The Great Temple of Rameses III. was built by the king to commemorate himself, and it is, perhaps, the most interesting of all the funerary chapels on the Nile at Thebes; it

¹ *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, Cairo, 1897, p. 57.

measures 500 feet by 160 feet, and its walls were ornamented with scenes, and reliefs, and texts illustrating the campaigns of the king. On the lower parts of the towers of the first pylon the reliefs represent the king clubbing a number of representatives of vanquished peoples, and near these are 86 captives, arranged in two rows, with their names enclosed within ovals on



The first Court of the Temple at Medinet Habu.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

their bodies. The types of features of these captives are Semitic, Northern Syrian, and Negro, but it is clear that the arrangement of the faces is an artificial one, and it does not follow that the features of any captive necessarily represent those which are suggested by the name on his body. The list of names is made up of portions of

the lists of nations conquered by Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses II., and is of little value for purely historical purposes. The peoples represented are from Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Libya, Kush, etc., and the accompanying text describes in boastful language the king's victory over the Libyans.

In the first court are reliefs which describe his battle with the Libyans in the eleventh year of his reign, and texts which describe the chief events in it and give the amount of spoil taken ; in this court are seven rectangular pillars, in the front of each of which was a statue of the god Osiris, about twenty feet high. In the second court are reliefs which depict the defeat of the Mediterranean peoples and of their allies from Northern Syria. A great deal of damage was done to the temple by the earthquake which took place B.C. 27, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that the foundations of the temple are only six feet deep, and that they rest upon a bed of sand. At Karnak Rameses III. built a temple in honour of the god Khensu, the third member of the Theban triad, but the greater part of its decoration was completed by Rameses IV. and by others of his successors ; he also built a small temple near the great temple of the goddess Mut.

At Tell el-Yahudiyeh, i.e., the Mound of the Jewess, Rameses III. built a small palace which contained a chamber lined with beautifully glazed tiles ornamented with floral designs, and figures

of birds, and animals, and representatives of foreign conquered tribes and nations; a large number of the finest examples of these tiles were acquired by the British Museum through the exertions of the late Rev. Greville J. Chester, B.A., and they form one of the most interesting groups of the objects in *faïence* exhibited in that institution.¹ That Tell el-Yahudîyeh represents the site of the temple which Onias, the high-priest of the Jews, built at Onion in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor I. seems clear enough, but it is not so evident what ancient Egyptian city once stood there. Some have thought that the site is that of the city of Heliopolis, but this seems hardly possible; there may, however, have been a northern and a southern part of the city which were called "Ännu Meht" and "Ännu Resu" respectively, especially as we learn from the great Papyrus of Rameses III. that he built "the palace of Rameses [III.], prince of Ännu, "in the House of the Sun to the north of Ännu,"² and that he called this palace "the palace of millions of "years of Rameses [III.], prince of Ännu."³ The

¹ See Brugsch Bey, *On et Onion in Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 1 ff.; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 177 f.

² (plate xxix. 8).


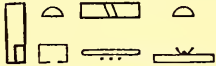

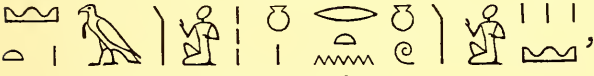
³ (plate xxix. 8).

(plate xxix. 8).

“palace of millions of years” was dedicated to Rā-Harmachis, and this suggests at least that the site of the palace of Rameses III. was in or near Heliopolis.¹ Many of the ancient temples of Egypt were either rebuilt or repaired by Rameses III., and his name is found upon their remains in many places between the Mediterranean Sea and Wâdi Ḥalfa. The temples, however, which he most favoured were those of Āmen-Rā at Thebes, Temu at Heliopolis, and Ptaḥ at Memphis, and the enumeration of the offerings which he made to the gods and of the gifts of gold, silver, copper, scented woods, precious stones, linen, perfumes, oil, incense, wine, bread, cakes, oxen, sheep, feathered fowl, fish, fruit, flowers, garden-herbs, statues, etc., fills dozens of large sheets of papyrus. An idea of the magnitude of his gifts may be gathered from the following figures:—To the three gods he gave, besides other things, 2756 images, 113,433 men, 490,386 oxen and cattle of various kinds, 1,071,780 *aruras* of land, 514 vineyards and orchards, 88 boats, 160 towns of Egypt, 9 towns of Syria, 324,750 bundles of fodder, 71,000 bundles of flax, 426,965 water-fowl, 1,075,635 rings, scarabs, etc., 2,382,650 sacks of fruit, 353,919 fat geese, 355,084 blocks of salt and natron, 6,272,431 loaves of bread, 490,000 fish, 19,130,032 measures of

¹ Tell el-Yahudīyeh was excavated by the late Dr. H. Brugsch and Mariette, and later by E. Brugsch Bey and Mr. F. Ll. Griffith; the work of Mr. Griffith is described by himself in the *Antiquities of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh*.


vegetables, 1,933,766 jars of honey, oil, etc., 48,236 images of Hāpi, and 5,279,552 bushels of corn, etc.

In Syria,  *Tcha*, Rameses III. built a "hidden temple, , like unto the "horizon of the heaven above" in the region called Pa-Kanāna, , which some identify with a city in Galilee,¹ and others with the country of Canaan.² This temple was dedicated to the Sun-god, and the Asiatics of Retennu, , hastened to bring their offerings to it.

Rameses III. built a magnificent tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and though not as fine a piece of work as the tomb of Rameses II., it is certainly one of the largest and most interesting of all the royal tombs at Thebes. It is commonly known as the "Tomb of the Harper," or, "Bruce's Tomb"; the first name is given to it because it contains two famous scenes in which harpers are depicted playing harps before the gods An-her, Shu, and Temu, and the second because it was discovered by the great traveller James Bruce (born December 14th, 1730; died 1794). The tomb was begun by Set-nekht, the father of Rameses III., who hewed out the first three chambers, and in places

¹ Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 475.

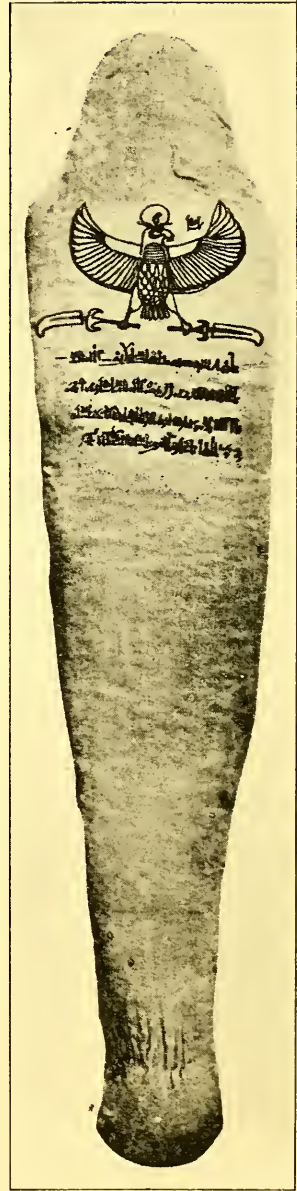
² Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 205.

where the plaster has fallen away his name may yet be read. It is about four hundred feet in length, and is remarkable for the side chambers which open off the corridors, two from the first and eight from the second. The walls of the chambers, etc., are ornamented with scenes in which the king is represented worshipping the gods, and with texts extracted from the "Book of praising Rā," and from the "Book of that which is in the Underworld," etc. The red granite monolithic sarcophagus of the king was found in the large hall with eight square pillars at the end of the tomb, and is in the form of a cartouche, ; it is covered inside and outside with scenes and inscriptions from the "Book of that which is in the Underworld," and is now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris. Its cover was brought to England by G. Belzoni (died at Gato in Benin, December 3rd, 1823), and was presented to the University of Cambridge in 1823; it was for many years allowed to lie exposed to the ill effects of the weather on the top of the steps of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but it is now inside the building itself.¹ The mummy of the king was found among the royal mummies brought from Dêr al-Baharî, and is now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. It had, in ancient times, been deposited in the coffin of Queen Nefert-âri, and

¹ See Birch, *Antiquarian Communications*, vol. iii. pp. 371-378; and my *Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1893, p. 1 ff.

was for some time regarded as her mummy; but when it was unrolled on June 1st, 1886, it was seen from the hieratic writing on the bandages that it was certainly the mummy of Rameses III., and that new linen bandages had been provided for it in the 9th year of the high-priest of Amen-Rā, Painetchem I., about B.C. 1100. According to M. Maspero,¹ the features of Rameses III. resemble those of his great ancestor Rameses II., but are somewhat softer, and finer, and more intelligent; his figure, however, is less straight, the shoulders are narrower, and there is less vigour in it.

If Rameses III. did not become one of the most powerful of the Theban heroes of Egypt, it was not due to any want of energy or ability on his part, but to the feebleness of the century in which he was born



Mummy of
King Rameses III.

¹ *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 481; *Les Momies Royales*, p. 563 ff.

which prevented him from giving full play to his genius. To him, however, some credit is due, for when he ascended the throne of Egypt the country was impoverished, and was without soldiers and ships and money; on the west the Libyans had seized some of her possessions, and on the north-east her allied enemies were threatening an attack by sea. During the thirty-two years of his reign he built a fleet of war and merchant ships, and formed an army of natives and mercenaries, and re-established the commerce of Egypt on broad lines.

Towards the close of his reign a conspiracy was hatched by a number of the ladies of the court, who were helped by certain high officials, the object of which was to kill or depose the king and set in his place upon the throne of Egypt one Pen-ta-urt, the son of the royal concubine (?) Thi,¹ who wished that her son should reign instead of one of the sons of the "royal wife, the great lady, the lady of the two lands, Ást," whom she probably hated. Thi was joined by several ladies of the court, and she and they succeeded in corrupting Paibakakamen the steward, Mest-su-Rā the chancellor, Paanauk the inspector, Pen-tuauu the scribe, and the officials Panifuentámen, Karpusa, Khā-em-Ápt, Khā-em-maā-en-re, Seti-em-pa-Tehuti, Seti-em-pa-Ámen, Uarma, Ash-hebs-heb,

¹ No mention of Thi as a wife of Rameses III. occurs in the texts, and it is possible that Pen-ta-urt may have been the brother and not the son of the king.

Paka-Rā, and Rebu-inini; beside these a number of other officials were also implicated in the conspiracy. The lady Thi and her friends selected Paibakakamen the steward for their chief confidant, because his high position at court made him practically above suspicion, and he was free to go where he pleased and do what he liked without question. It was he who carried the details of the plot from Thi to the mothers and brothers of her sympathizers, and it was he who advised the officials who were his subordinates how to act. The downfall or death of the king was to be brought about by inciting the Egyptian troops stationed in Nubia to revolt and to attack Egypt, and by stirring up the people of Egypt themselves to rise at the moment of revolt, and to join the rebels in working the ruin of the existing government. The commander of the troops in Nubia was favourable to the plot, for his sister was one of the court malcontents, and she had won him over to the cause of Thi and her son Pen-ta-urt. Not content with the means here described, the conspirators took into their service a certain cattle inspector called Hui, who had the reputation of being a great magician, and having obtained for him from the Royal Library at Thebes a book of magic, they directed him to do such things as would result in the death of the king and his friends. Hui made figures of men in wax and amulets which were inscribed with words of magical power, and these he introduced into the palace by means of a man whom

he bewitched by his magic. The amulets were intended for the ladies in the conspiracy, who by means of them hoped to make themselves irresistible to the officials whom they wanted to win over to their side, but the wax figures seem to have been designed to work evil on the king. But in an evil hour for the conspirators the plot was revealed to the king, with the result that the ringleaders were at once arrested. Rameses appointed a commission of inquiry, and having told the members thereof to investigate the matter quickly and thoroughly, he ordered that those who were found guilty of death should commit suicide, and that those who were condemned to suffer punishments of a less serious nature should undergo them without his knowing anything about it. The king would give the members of the commission none of the information which had been communicated to him by the man who revealed the plot to him, for he wished the matter to be threshed out by the usual legal—or illegal—means employed in such cases.

The commission consisted of eleven judges, six of whom tried the officials who were connected with the court or *harīm*, and whose offences were not considered to be sufficiently grave to warrant the sentence of death being passed upon them; the punishments inflicted by the court of six judges were probably beating with sticks on the back or feet, and slitting of the nose and ears. The court of five judges tried Pen-ta-urt, the son of Thi, and his friends the

general of the bowmen in Ethiopia, certain scribes of the "Double House of Life," a high-priest of the goddess Sekhet, Paibakakamen the steward, and others, and found them guilty of carrying out the plans of the lady Thi, and of inciting the soldiery and people to rebellion, and of having full knowledge of the conspiracy and of making no report on the same to the king. The commander-in-chief of Nubia seems to have escaped death, probably because his sister was a lady in the *harím*, but all the ringleaders were sentenced to death, which they were compelled to suffer by their own hands; and forty men and six women seem to have been executed. Concerning the would-be king, Pen-ta-urt, it is said, "Pen-ta-urt, who is also known "by another name, was brought before the court and "charged with complicity in the conspiracy which his "mother Thi made with the women of the *harím*, and "with acting in a manner hostile to his lord the king; "having been examined by the officers of the court the "judges found him guilty, and they sent him away to "his house where he took his own life." Towards the end of the case against the ordinary officials of the *harím*, it was found that three of the six judges who were trying them had been concerned in the plot, and they were degraded and tried forthwith and eventually sentenced to death.¹ It is interesting to note that

¹ For the texts and translations see Devéria, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin*, Paris, 1868; and Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 164.


certain of the criminals who were of high rank, and who were probably nearly related to the king, were allowed to commit suicide, or at least choose their own manner of death, in their own houses, in order that their families might be spared the disgrace which would necessarily attach itself to death at the hands of the common executioner.

By what manner of death Pen-ta-urt died cannot be said, but it was probably by poison. Among the mummies which M. Maspero found at Dêr al-Baḥarî was one which may well be that of Pen-ta-urt; it was enclosed in a simple, uninscribed coffin painted white, and it is evident that the body was not prepared in any way before it was turned into a mummy, for it was laid in a thick layer of linen and then swathed. The hands and the feet are tied together with strong bandages, the hands being clenched and the feet drawn up as if under the influence of some terrible pain; the abdomen has collapsed, the chest and stomach are thrust forward, the head is thrown back, and the lips are drawn tightly away from the teeth. M. Maspero is of opinion that the deceased was bandaged alive,¹ but the appearance of the body rather suggests that he died in great agony from the result of some strong irritant poison, and that the bandaging was done after *rigor mortis* had set in. But whatever the cause of death, the man must have

¹ La conviction presque s'impose que l'homme fut revêtu vivant du maillot. *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii, p. 480.


been of royal rank, otherwise he would not have been found with the other royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḥarî.

From the great papyrus of Rameses III. we learn that this king assembled the nobles of his kingdom in solemn conclave in the thirty-second year of his reign, and associated his son with him in the rule of the kingdom; it seems that the joint rule of father and son lasted for four years.¹ The chief wife of Rameses III. was called Âst, but it appears that she had also another name;² her father's name was Ḥu-bunu-

re-tchanth . The

sons of Rameses III. were called after the names of the sons of Rameses II., e.g., Pa-Râ-ḥer-unami-f, Mentu-ḥer-khepesh-f, Meri-Tem, Khâ-em-Uast, Âmen-ḥer-khepesh-f, Râ-meses-meri-Âmen, etc.³ As might be expected, tradition as preserved by Greek writers busied itself with the name and deeds of Rameses III., and it is interesting to note how the common facts of his history became distorted in the hands of authors who repeated popular accounts of him, and who added to or altered them to suit their individual views and fancies. According to Herodotus (ii. 121), Rameses III., or as he calls him Rhampsinitus, *Ῥαμψίνιτος*, was the son of Proteus, the successor of Pheron,

¹ Maspero, *ibid.*, p. 481.

² Brugsch and Bouriant give ; *Livre des Rois*, p. 83.

³ See Erman in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 61.

the successor of Sesostris, and of him he relates the following:—

“After the deceasse of Protheus, Rampsinitus¹ tooke
 “uppon hym the rule of the countrey, who in memorie
 “of himselfe, lefte behynde hym certayne porches of
 “stone,² planted westward agaynst the temple of
 “Vulcane,³ right ouer agaynst the whych, stode two
 “images fyue and twentye cubites in length. One of
 “the which standyng northerly, they call sommer, and
 “the other lying to the west, they tearme winter,
 “contrary to all reason and order. This King in
 “aboundance of wealth, and plenty of coyne,⁴ so farre
 “excelled all those that came after hym, that none
 “coulede go beyonde him, no not approach neere unto
 “hym in that kynde: wherefore desirous to possesse
 “hys goodes in safetie, hee builte hym a treasure or
 “jewell-house of stone,⁵ one of the walles whereof
 “bounded upon the outsyde of hys courte. In framing
 “whereof, the workeman had wrought thys subtile
 “conueyance, one stone in the wall hee layde in that
 “forte, that a man might easily at pleasure plucke it in
 “or out, which notwithstanding serued so fittingly to
 “place, that nothing coulede be discerned. When the
 “building was finished, the King caused his treasure to

¹ The printed text of B.R. actually has Kampsinitus (Fol. 101a).

² Gr., τὰ προπυλαια.

³ I.e., the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis.

⁴ Compare the extract from Diodorus on p. 185.

⁵ Some chamber in the “Pavilion” of Rameses III. at Medînet Habu is here referred to.

“be brought into it, minding henceforth to be secure
“and to lay aside all feare of misfortune. In processe of
“time, this cunning artificer lying at the poynt to
“dye, called unto him his two sonnes, and disclosed
“unto them in what manner he had prouided for theyr
“good estate, in leauing a secret and most priuy
“passage into the King’s treasurie, whereby theyr
“whole lyfe might be lead in most happy and blessed
“condition. In briefe, he shewed them all that was
“done by hym, delyuering them the just measures of
“the stone, that they mighte not bee deceyued in laying
“it agayne, whych the two young youthes well marking,
“thought from that tyme forwarde to be of the Kings
“counsayle, if not of hys court, and to become the
“priuy surueyers of hys jewell-house. Theyr father
“beeing dead, they made no long delay to put in
“execution theyr determinate purpose, but repayring
“to the court by night, they found the stone, which
“with small force remoouing it from the place, they
“sped themselues wyth plentie of coyne, and so departed.
“In shorte space after the King entering hys treasurie,
“and fyndyng the vessels wherein hys money lay to be
“somewhat decreased, was exceedingly amazed, not
“knowing whome to accuse, seeyng both hys seales
“whyche he had set on the dore, untouched, and the
“dore fast locked at hys commyng thyther. Howbeit,
“repayring sundrie tymes to beholde hys wealth, and
“euermore perceyuing that it grewe lesse and lesse,
“deuised with hymselfe to beset the place where hys

“money lay with certayne greens or snares to entrappe
“the theefe in. These subtil merchaunts accordyng
“to theyr former wont approching the spring head
“where they had dronke so oft before, one of them
“went in, and groaping for the money, was so fast
“intangled in a snare, that for hys lyfe hee wist not
“how to shifte, but seeyng hymselfe in these braakes,
“hee called hys brother, to whome he disclosed his euill
“happe, willing hym in any wise to cut off hys head,
“least beeyng knowne who hee was, they both myght
“bee serued with the same sauce. His brother hearing
“hys counsaile to be good, did as he bade hym, and
“fitly placing the stone as hee founde it, departed
“home, bearyng with hym the head of hys slayne
“brother. The nexte day the King opening hys jewell-
“house, and espyng an headlesse theefe surprized in a
“ginne, was wonderfully astonied, seeing euery place
“safe, and no way in the world to come in or out at.
“In this quandary, uncertaine what to thynke of so
“straunge an euent, he deuised yet to go another way
“to the wood, causing the body of the theefe to be
“hanged out upon the walles in open view to all that
“passed by, appoynting certayne to attend in that
“place, with straight charge, that if they hearde
“any making moane or lamentation at the sighte
“thereof, they shoulde foorthwyth attache them,
“and bryng them to the Kyng. The Mother of
“these two Brethren not able wyth patiente eyes to
“beholde the wretched carkasse of her pitifull sonne,

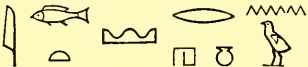

“called the other brother unto her, aduising him by
“some meanes or other, to take awaye his brothers
“body and burie it, threatening moreouer, that in case
“he neglected to accomplishe it wyth speede, shee
“woulde open all hys thefte and treacherie to the
“Kyng. Whome her sonne endeououring wyth many
“woordes to persuade, and nought auayling (so tender
“was her affection towards her childe) hee set hys
“wittes abroache to the framing of some subtile
“concepte, to beguyle and inueigle the Kyngs watche-
“men. Pannelling sertayne Asses whyche hee loaded
“wyth bottels of sweete wyne, hee proceeded forwarde
“wyth hys carryage, tyll suche tyme as hee came
“agaynste the place where the watche laye, where
“priuily unstopping one or two of hys bottles, the wyne
“flowed out in greate aboundance, whereat, fayning as
“though hee had beene besydes hymselfe, hee piteously
“cryed out, tearing hys hayre add (*sic*) stampyng as
“one bitterlye ignoraunte whyche to remedye fyrste.
“The keepers seeyng the wyne gushe out so fast, ranne
“hastely wyth pottes and cannes to receyue it least all
“should bee lost, but the dryer (who had alreadye
“cast hys plotte) seemed heereat mucche more enraged
“than before, tauntyng and raylyng at them wyth most
“bitter and reuiling woordes. Contraryly, the watch-
“men geuing him very fayre and gentle language, hee
“seemed better contented, leadyng asyde hys Asses
“out of the way to newe girde them, and place his
“carriage in better order. Manye woordes grewe

“betweene them whyles he was addressing hys Asses
“to proceede on theyr waye, till that one of them
“bolting foorth a merry iest, caused hym to laugh
“hartily, so that lyke a good fellowe, he bestowed
“amongst them a bottle of wyne, which courtesie they
“all tooke in very good parte, requesting hym to sitte
“wyth them for companye, and drinke parte of hys
“owne cost. Whereto hee willingly consenting, they
“dranke a carouse, every man hys cannikin, tyll the
“wyne began to runne of the lyes, whyche thys
“coapesmate perceyuing, set abroach another bottle,
“and began to quaffe afreshe, whyche set my keepers
“in such a tantarra, that beeyng well wetted, they set
“more by three drammes of sleepe, than syxe ounces of
“witte. When all was hushe, and the watchmen fast
“asleepe, hee tooke the bodye of hys brother, and in
“mockage, shauing off the hayre of theyr right cheekes,
“he returned home, beyng right gladly enterteined of
“hys mother. The Kyng seeyng hys deuises no better
“to proceede, but for ought he coulde imagine the
“theefe still beguyled hym, waxed woonderous wrath :
“howbeit, determining to leave nothing unattempted,
“rather then to let such a villayne escape scot free, he
“built yet another trappe to catch the foxe in. He
“had at that time abiding in hys courte a goodly
“gentlewoman, his onely daughter, whome he tenderly
“loued from her childhood. This Lady he made of his
“counsaile, willing her by the duety of a chylde, to
“abandon chastity for the time, making hirselle a

“common stalant for all that would come, on condition
“they shoulde sweare to tell her the subtilest and the
“sinfullest prancke that ever they had played in all
“theyr lyfe tyme, and who so confessed the facts lately
“atchieued in imbesileing the Kings treasure, and
“stealing away the theefe, him to lay hold on, and not
“suffer to depart. The gentlewoman obeying her
“fathers will, kepte open house, having a greate repayre
“unto her out of all partes of the countrey. Now the
“theefe whyche knewe full well to what intente the
“Kyng had done thys, desirous to bee at oast wyth
“hys daughter for a nighte, and fearing the daunger
“that myghte ensue, beeyng of a verie pregraunt and
“readie witte, deuised yet another shifte wherewythall
“to delude the Kyng: he strake off the hande of hys
“brother that was dead, and closely carying it under
“his cloake, he repayed to the place where the Kings
“daughter lay, who demaunding hym the question as
“she had done the rest, receyued of him this aunswere,
“that the sinfullest acte that ever he committed, was to
“cut off his brothers head, being inueigled in a snare
“in the Kings treasurie, but the subtilest in that he had
“deceyued a fort of dronken asses, whome the King had
“appoynted to watch the body. The Lady that had
“listned to his tale, hearing the newes she longed for,
“stretched out her hand to lay hold on him, who sub-
“tilly presenting her with the hand of his brother
“(which beeing darke, she fast gripped instead of his
“owne), he conueyed himselfe from her and was no more


“seene. The King heereof aduertised, was stricken with
“so great admiration as well of his wit in deuising, as
“his boldnesse in aduenturing, that forthwith he caused
“notice to be geuen throughout all partes of his gouerne-
“ment, that in case the party whiche had done these
“thinges woulde disclose himselfe, and stand to his
“mercy, he woulde not only yeeld him free pardon, but
“also indue and honour him with so princely rewards
“as were fit for a person of such excellent wisdomes.
“My yonker yeelding credite to the Kings promise, came
“foorth in presence, and described himselfe, with
“whome Rampsinitus ioyning his daughter in marriage,
“did him the greatest honour he could deuise, esteeming
“him for the wisest man that liued upon the earth,
“holding it for certayne, that the Egyptians excelled
“all others in wisdom, amongst whome he judged none
“comparable to hym. The same King (say they) whiles
“he was yet liuing, trauelled so far under the ground,
“till he came to the place which the Graecians call the
“seates infernall, where he played at dyce with the god-
“desse Ceres, and sometimes winning, sometimes losing,
“he returned againe at length, being rewarded by her
“with a mantle of gold. In the meane space while
“Rampsinitus undertooke this voyage to hell, the
“Aegyptians kept holyday, prolonging the celebration
“till such time as he retyred backe againe, which
“solemne obseruance, since our memory hath been
“duely celebrated. But whether this be the cause of
“that sacred festiuall, I dare not auowe, howbeit, the

“priests shewed me a certayne cloake, wouen in the
“space of one daye, wherewith once a yeare they attyre
“some one of theyr petie vicares, blinding moreouer
“hys eyes wyth a myter. Beeing in thys sorte attyred,
“they conduct hym to the hyghway that leadeth to
“the temple of the goddesse Ceres, whereafter they
“haue placed hym, they leaue hym grabling in that
“place, and departe their waye. To whome incontinently
“resorte two wolues, conducting the priest to the temple
“aforesayde, whyche is distaunte from the city twentie
“furlongs, where hauing accomplished certayne rytes,
“the wolues leade hym backe agayne to the same place.
“All these thynge they doubt not to reporte for certayne
“true, which we leaue to euery mans lyking to iudge of
“them as they deserue. For myne owne parte I haue
“thought it meete to make relation of such things as
“I heard amongst them, going no farther in many
“thynge than hearesay.” According to Diodorus (i. 62)
when Proteus died, “his son Remphis succeeded him,
“who spent all his time in filling his coffers, and
“heaping up wealth. The poorness of his spirit, and
“his sordid covetousness was such, that they would not
“suffer him to part with anything, either for the
“worship of the gods, or the good of mankind; and
“therefore, more like a good steward than a king,
“instead of a name for valour and noble acts, he left
“vast heaps of treasure behind him, greater than any
“of the kings that ever were before him: for it is said
“he had a treasure of four hundred thousand talents of

his reign as sole king of Egypt only lasted six or seven years. On a stele published by Lepsius,¹ it is stated that the Retennu, or people of Northern Syria, brought much tribute to him, but this must be the statement of a scribe who was also a courtier and who, perhaps unconsciously, exaggerated an affair of trade and barter into the payment of tribute. Rameses IV. continued to work the mines in the Sinaitic Peninsula, hoping, no doubt, to draw therefrom as great revenues as those which his father obtained from them. The great event of his reign was an expedition into the Valley of Ḥammâmât, i.e., , Ant Rehennu, which seems to have been undertaken in the first instance for the purpose either of crushing a revolt among the quarrymen who worked at Bekhen, , where the quarries were situated, or of driving out some nomad peoples from the valley. He could not have wished to work the quarries there, for not being engaged in great building operations he had no use for large quantities of stone. An inscription at Ḥammâmât dated in his third year, states that he ordered a road to be built through the valley from the Nile to the Red Sea, so that caravans might make their way through it with greater speed and safety; he also commanded that a temple to the goddess Isis should be built in a suitable part of it. The expedition consisted of a number of skilled mining engineers, with

¹ *Denkmäler*, iii., pl. 223c.

130 quarrymen and masons, 5000 soldiers with their officers, 2000 of Pharaoh's workmen, 50 Māchaiu or police, a large number of scribes and other officials, and

800 of the Āperiu, , who belonged

to the tribes of the neighbourhood. The total number of men engaged in the expedition was 8368 men, and 900 men died of hard work, or disease, or wounds, between the time of its leaving Egypt and the time of its return. Provisions for the expedition were taken from Egypt in ten carts or waggons, each of which was drawn by twelve oxen, and by large numbers of men who brought loads of bread, fish, and garden produce; the work which the expedition was sent to perform was inaugurated or finished by a solemn feast, at which oxen and calves were sacrificed, and incense burned, and libations of wine poured out, and songs of praise sung.

Rameses IV. carried out certain small repairs at Memphis, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, Abydos, and Karnak, his name being found on several buildings at this last-named place; as his prenomen was so much like that of Rameses II. he was able to usurp the buildings of his great ancestor without much trouble. Rameses IV. built a large tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes on a somewhat unusual plan. It is entered by a staircase with an inclined plane in the centre, made, probably, to enable the stone sarcophagus to be lowered easily

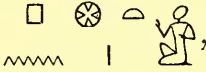
into the tomb, and consists of three main corridors, six side chambers, and the large hall which contains the granite sarcophagus. The walls are, for the most part, ornamented with scenes and texts of chapters from the "Book of the Gates," and with large figures of various gods who are occupied in preventing the king from being hindered by the fiends and demons who would obstruct his passage in the underworld; on some of the walls are scenes and extracts relating to the passage of the sun through the hours of the night in the underworld. The mummy of the king was, presumably, buried in this tomb, but as it was found in the tomb of Amen-hetep II. in 1898, it must have been removed from its original resting-place to that tomb during the period towards the close of the XXth Dynasty, when so many of the royal sepulchres in that neighbourhood were broken into and plundered by professional robbers of tombs.



RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SEKHEPER-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun,
RĀ-MES-F-SU-ĀMEN-MERI-ĀMEN.

RAMESES V. is thought to have been the brother of Rameses III. by some, and the son of Rameses III. by others;¹ he reigned about four years, and adopted


¹ See Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Aegyptens*, p. 59; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 482; and Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 178.


near the village of Anibeh, which is situated near Ibrîm in Nubia, we learn that the "Royal son of Kesh," called Pennut,  dedicated the revenues from a piece of land for ever to the maintenance of the service which was connected with the worship of the statue of the king. The inscriptions give the length and breadth and superficies of this parcel of land, which contained an area of 320,000 square cubits. Pennut was a trusted official of the king, and was overseer of the districts in Nubia, and Uauat, and Akita, wherein the gold mines were situated, and he was governor of the neighbouring town. The tomb proves that the office of "Royal son of Kesh" was still in existence, but it is doubtful if it indicates that Rameses VI. possessed any real authority in Nubia, as some would have us believe.

The occurrence of his name on buildings at Karnak seems to show that he carried out certain small repairs in Thebes, but it is certain that he did not undertake building operations on any large scale. The greatest of all the buildings of his time was the tomb which he usurped and added to in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. It was made originally for Rameses V., but it is clear from the various inscriptions which were placed there by visitors in the Greek and Roman Periods that it was believed to be the Tomb of Memnon; it seems that this belief arose because a portion of the prenomen of

the king, Neb-Maät-Ra, is identical with the whole of the prenomen of Amen-hotep III. The tomb was originally known as the "Tomb of the Metempsychosis," and Lepsius called it "No. 9"; it consists of three corridors which lead into two rectangular chambers of unequal size, and from these two further corridors lead into two rectangular chambers of unequal size, one of which held the sarcophagus, which is now broken. The first three corridors and the two chambers into which they lead probably represent the tomb of Rameses V., for it is clear that the second chamber, which contains four rectangular pillars, was intended to receive the sarcophagus of that king. When Rameses VI. usurped the tomb he penetrated further into the mountain, and added the last two corridors and the two chambers into which they lead.¹ The scenes and the inscriptions which relate to them are of interest, and consist for the most part of extracts from the religious works which were popular at that period, i.e., the "Book of the Gates of the Underworld," and the "Book of what is in the Underworld," etc. The most valuable of all are the astronomical representations which are found on the vaulted ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber; the tables of stars which are found on the walls were declared by M. Biot to have been drawn up about B.C. 1240, but later investigators make them about forty-six years later. Near the star tables is a scene in

¹ For the plan of the tomb see *Mission Archéologique*, tom. iii. plate 54.

which the Boat of the Sun is passing over the back of the double human-headed god Aker, ,¹ who was the personification of the passage through or under the earth into which the sun entered in the evening, and from which he emerged in the morning. From a papyrus preserved at Liverpool² it appears that the tomb of Rameses VI. was broken into and robbed in the reign of Rameses IX., and it was probably at this period that the king's sarcophagus was smashed to pieces; the mummy of Rameses VI. was removed for safety to the tomb of Amen-hotep II., wherein it was found early in 1898.

6. 

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-ĀMEN-MERI-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESSES-TĀ-ĀMEN-NETER-HEQ-ĀNNU.

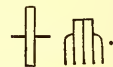
RAMESES VII., "the emanation of Amen, the divine prince of Annu," was probably the son of Rameses III., and his reign, like the reigns of most of his brothers, was very short, probably not exceeding five or six years. Of the events of his reign nothing is known, and it seems that he neither built temples nor repaired them; the few buildings upon which his name occurs appear to have been usurped by him. The Horus name of

¹ For the plan of the tomb see *Mission Archéologique*, tom. iii. plate 50.

² See Goodwin, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 62.

the king was "Mighty Bull, the gracious (?) king,"



and we find that this insignificant monarch styled himself "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, protector of Egypt, subduer of the Nine Bows, the Horus of gold, mighty of years like Rā, prince, mighty one of festivals like unto Amen-Rā, the king of the gods." These facts prove that the titles, which under the XVIIIth Dynasty represented valour and deeds of prowess on the part of the king, were adopted by the successors of Rameses III. as a matter of form. Rameses VII. built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it was not as large as many of those of his predecessors and successors. It consisted of a hall and a corridor, the walls of the latter being ornamented with texts from the religious books of the period, and scenes in which the king is burning incense and pouring out a libation before the god Ptah-Seker-Āsar,¹ and the king, dressed in a garb of Osiris, is undergoing the ceremony of purification, which is performed by the priestly official whose title is *im-khent*, . On the walls of the hall are figures of the goddesses Urt-ḥekau and Sekhet-Bast-urt-ḥekau, and on the ceiling are tables of the risings of stars, and scenes in which are a number of celestial personages and animals, e.g., lion, crocodile, hippopotamus, ram (or cow), etc. The sarcophagus is ornamented with a double line of inscription

¹ Or Rā-Iḥeru-khuti Temu Kheperā.

year of his reign was the first of that of his successor it is clear that Rameses X. must have been associated with him in the rule of the kingdom before his death. Rameses IX. was neither a warrior nor a builder, but his name will be always remembered in connexion with the great prosecution of the robbers of tombs which was carried out by the government of his day; our knowledge of the prosecution is derived from the Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum, and from papyri in the collections of Lord Amherst and in the Museum at Liverpool.¹ From these documents we may gather that there existed at Thebes, and no doubt in other parts of the country also, a well organized gang of expert thieves who lived by breaking into the tombs and carrying off the small and valuable objects which they found in them, as well as the ornaments and jewellery with which the mummies of well-to-do people were always decked. A certain amount of plundering of tombs must always have gone on in Egypt, for the large quantities of funeral furniture which was invariably deposited in fine tombs must have proved an irresistible temptation to many a poverty-stricken thief, whether professional or not. We know that Rameses III. was a wealthy man, for otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have made such great gifts to the temples of Heliopolis,

¹ See Birch, *Select Papyri*, vol. ii, plates 1-8; Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. ii. (3rd series); Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, p. 24; and Maspero, *Une Enquête Judiciaire à Thèbes*, Paris, 1871.


Memphis, and Thebes, and that he must have left behind him great wealth which his sons inherited. These sons devoted themselves to leading lives of pleasure or indolence, for they neither led their soldiers to war nor built temples in honour of the gods like their ancestors; on the other hand, most of them built large and costly tombs for themselves, and it is pretty certain that they were buried with great pomp and ceremony, and that many costly ornaments and much valuable jewellery were buried with them.

Under the lax rule of Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., Rameses VII., and Rameses VIII., the power of the government had become weak, and the work of the state was carried out in a very perfunctory manner; the overseers and inspectors neglected their duties, and the subordinate officials took advantage of their remissness and neglected theirs also, and as a result the workmen who were under them scamped their work. We know that the royal tombs were at one time well cared for, and that the priests and officials in charge of them kept them in good order; offerings were offered up at the appointed seasons, and sacrifices were made, and when any portion of the tombs needed repair it was carried out at once. But under the late Rameses the robbers of tombs, seeing the weakness of the central government, turned their attention from the tombs of high officials and wealthy commoners to the sepulchres of the kings, which formed one of the principal features of interest at Thebes. Little by

little they corrupted the master-masons and workmen who were attached to the great royal Theban necropolis, and eventually a number of scribes and other officials who performed certain duties in connexion with it joined them, and the plundering of the tombs of the kings then began on a large scale. As to the manner in which the thieves worked we obtain a very good idea from the confession of one of the thieves which is preserved in one of Lord Amherst's papyri; he says that he and his companions effected an entry into the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f where the mummies of the king and queen Nub-khā-s were buried, and that the tomb itself was protected by masonry, and that its entrance was filled up with broken stones, which were covered over with slabs of stones. "These we demolished "entirely, and we found the [queen] lying there. We "opened their coffins and their inner cases which were "in them, and we found the venerable mummy of the "king. There were two daggers (or, swords) there, "and many amulets and necklaces of gold on his neck; "his head was covered with gold, and the venerable "mummy of the king was decorated with gold through- "out. The inner case [of his coffin] was decorated "with gold and with silver, both within and without, "and was covered with precious stones of every kind. "We tore off the gold which we found on the vener- "able mummy of the god, and the amulets and the "necklaces which were on his neck, and the materials "on which they rested. And having found the royal

“wife also we tore off all that we found on it likewise
 “and then we burnt their swathings. We carried off
 “the funeral furniture which we found with the
 “mummies, and which [consisted of] gold, and silver,
 “and copper vases, and we divided the gold which we
 “found upon the venerable mummies of these two gods,
 “and the amulets, and the necklaces, and the cases
 “into eight parts.”

The names of some of the eight thieves were

Hāpu, ; Aāru-en-Āmen,
; Nesi-Āmen, 
; Amen-em-heb,
 Ka-em-Uast, ; and Nefer, 

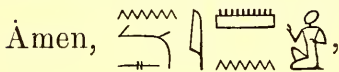
the eight thieves were beaten with a stick upon their feet and hands, and it was by these means that the man who turned “king’s evidence” was made to speak and say what he and his friends had done. It is quite clear that the thieves could not have broken into the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f if a proper watch had been kept, and that some of the officials of the necropolis must have helped them to dispose of the stolen property. The priests who took over the stolen goods could sell the funeral furniture to the relatives of people who had died recently, and thus it was to the interest of both priest and thief to plunder the tombs of the wealthy; many an object made under one

dynasty has been re-used under another, and as the space in the mountains and elsewhere in Egypt available for sepulchres has always been very limited, many a tomb was used over and over again. This fact has not been sufficiently taken into consideration in dating Egyptian antiquities, and it has given rise to considerable discussion among archæologists concerning the age of many objects of an important character. A tomb was maintained in good order as long as the relatives and descendants of the deceased provided an endowment sufficient for the purpose; when this came to an end the tomb was abandoned, and it was either plundered by the professional robber, or its occupier was quietly removed by the priest of the necropolis and his furniture used for a new burial.

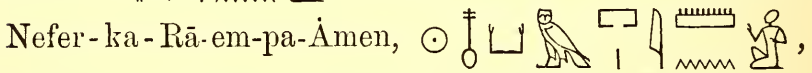
The prosecution of the thieves undertaken by Rameses IX. began on the eighteenth day of the third month of the season Shat, in the 14th year of his reign, and the court of inquiry was formed by Khā-em-Uast,



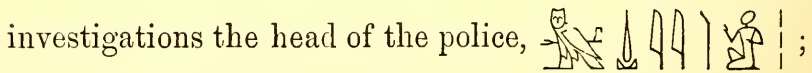
the governor of Thebes, the trustee of the property of the priestesses of Amen-Rā called Nes-



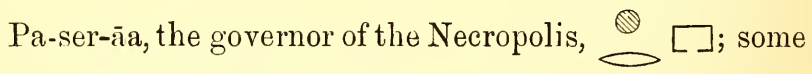
Āmen, and the herald of Pharaoh called




and these officials employed to help them in their




investigations the head of the police,

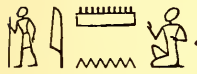


Pa-ser-āa, the governor of the Necropolis, some

officers of police; Paibâuk, ,
 the scribe of the governor of the city; Paiâ-neferu,

, the chief scribe of the
 governor of the treasury; and two priests called Pa-ân-


khâu, , and Ur-Âmen,

. This body of high officials went through

the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes and inspected the tombs there; the first tomb which they examined, that of Âmen-ĥetep I., which had been reported to the governor Khâ-em-Uast by the sub-

governor Pa-ser, , possibly on untrust-

worthy evidence, to have been broken into, was found to be uninjured. They examined the tomb of Ântef, and though the building itself was in ruins, they found that the stele which represented the king

with his dog Beĥuka, , between

his legs, was still standing; and when they came to the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f they found that the thieves had got into the chamber and had wrecked the mummies of the king and queen. Of ten tombs which the commission examined they only found one which had really been broken into, though they discovered among the other nine damage made by the attempts which the thieves had made to break through the walls.


A number of tombs of private persons had been entered

by the thieves, who had torn to pieces the mummies of several priestesses of Amen in their search for gold ornaments, jewellery, etc.; it seems as if the men who had committed this act of sacrilege were well known, for they were at once arrested.

We have already seen that the eight men who plundered the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f were brought before the commission and that one of them confessed, but we are not told what punishment was inflicted upon them eventually. While the commission was still inquiring into the robberies a certain


man called Pai-kharei, ,


the son of Khareui, , and of the

woman called "Little Cat," ,

who had declared three years before that he had been in the tomb of Queen Ast, the wife of Rameses III., and had stolen some things therefrom and had destroyed them, was arrested by order of the court, and having been blindfolded was taken to the necropolis. When he had arrived there his eyes were uncovered and he was ordered to make his way to the tomb from which he said he had stolen certain things, but he went into the tomb of one of the children of Rameses II. and to the house of one of the officials of the necropolis, and declared that these were the places to which he referred in his evidence. The commission, of course, disbelieved him, but though they beat him upon his

hands and feet they could not make him admit that he knew of any other place, and he told them that even if they were to cut off his nose and ears, or to flay him alive, they could obtain no further information from him. The commission had been appointed as the result of the information concerning the robbery of royal tombs which had been supplied by Pa-ser, the sub-governor of Thebes, to the governor Khā-em-Uast, but it seemed as if the court of inquiry which the commission had appointed had been treated with contempt, for the tomb of Amen-ḥetep had not been broken into, as Pa-ser had declared, and Pai-kharei had himself proved that the evidence which he had given three years before was false. Either Pa-ser had himself been deceived, or he had made a serious accusa-

tion against Pa-ser-āa, , the governor of the royal necropolis, with the view of doing him a grievous injury in the eyes of the governor Khā-em-Uast. There is every reason to believe that Pa-ser was correct, but that the court of inquiry made its examination of the royal tombs in a very perfunctory manner, and that it did not, in consequence, examine into matters so closely as it should have done. It is interesting to note that the tomb of Nub-kheper-Rā Antuf, which the court of inquiry pronounced to be in "sound condition,"

, is stated by its own report to have had a hole in it two and a half cubits long, which had been made by the thieves, who could have made their

way through it into the tomb whenever they had an opportunity of returning to their nefarious work. The fact that the court of inquiry could regard a tomb which had suffered such damage to be in "sound condition" proves that they took a very optimistic view of the matter. Pa-ser was extremely dissatisfied with the result of the work of the commission, and he told the governor Khā-em-Uast so in an angry letter, wherein he threatened to write and report the whole matter to the king. How the affair ended we know not, but it seems that the governor found some means of shutting the mouth of Pa-ser, and that the matter was never brought before the king at all. What happened was what has happened always, and what always will happen in a purely oriental court of inquiry; the man who brings the charge is proved by the false-swearing of hired witnesses to be either misinformed or a liar, a number of people are wrongfully accused and punished, and the guilty man pours into the bosoms of the judges and other officials the gifts which blind the eyes.

The chief building operations which were undertaken in the reign of Rameses IX. were carried on by Amen-hetep, the high priest of Amen-Rā, who under this king enjoyed such influence and power as were never possessed by any of his predecessors. This official says, in an inscription which is dated in the tenth year of the king's reign, that he took in hand the restoration of certain buildings which were first set up


in the time of Usertsen I., and that he rebuilt the walls, and repaired the columns, and provided new doors of acacia wood, and made the whole edifice beautiful to look upon. It is curious enough to find the high priest of Ámen recording the restoration of the building by himself, instead of by the king, but it is more remarkable still to find him going on to say that he built himself a new house with fine wooden doors furnished with copper bolts, and that he made and set up a statue in honour of each of the high priests of Ámen in a courtyard which he planted with trees. Hitherto it had been the proud boast of every great king that he had repaired, or beautified, or added to the great temple of Ámen-Rā, the king of the gods, and that he had made such and such gifts towards the maintenance of the service of the god and of the exalted position of his priests. It was a fatal day for Egypt when the high priest of Ámen was allowed by Rameses IX. to usurp the proper functions of the king, but, on the other hand, small blame must be attached to the high priest for usurping royal powers, for unless he and his immediate predecessors had done so the brotherhood of the priests of Ámen would have been ruined. None of the sons of Rameses III. had contributed by foreign conquests to the coffers of the priesthood, and this fact in itself was sufficient to make the priests of Ámen anxious about ways and means, for without the tribute of vassal nations or the money derived from successful trading, the buildings and service of the great god of

Thebes could not be maintained. In another place in the inscription already mentioned we are told that Rameses IX., with the gods Menthu, Amen-Rā, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, and Thoth as witnesses, and in the presence of Nes-Amen, a high official in the priesthood of Amen, and Nefer-ka-Rā-em-pa-Amen, the royal herald, solemnly gave to the high priest of Amen, Amen-ḥetep, the son of Rāmessu-nekht, the power to levy taxes on the people for the support of the temple and priesthood of Amen-Rā.¹ Thus Rameses IX. by solemn decree gave the greatest power which the king of Egypt possessed, i.e., the right to levy taxes on the people and to raise money, into the hands of the high priest, who built a house of almost royal magnificence for himself, and dedicated statues of his predecessors in the courtyard thereof. Four years after this decree was promulgated the prosecution of the robbers of the royal tombs began; whether it was due to the initiative of the high-priest Amen-ḥetep or to that of the governor of the city cannot be said, but we may assign the abortive nature of the results obtained by the court of inquiry to the influence of the high priest of Amen, who had discovered that a large number of scribes and subordinate members of the priesthood of Amen were implicated in the robberies.

Rameses IX. built himself a large tomb² in the

¹ For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 237e; and for a translation see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 186 ff.

² No. 6 according to Lepsius, No. 12 according to Champollion.

[like Rā] in Thebes," . He adopted as a matter of form the old title "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet," and also styled himself, "mighty of valour, vivifier of the two lands, "the Horus of gold, mighty of years like Ptaḥ-Tanen, "mighty prince of kings, destroyer of the Nine Bows." Rameses X. built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it is relatively small and it seems not to have been completed; the scenes and inscriptions are of little interest, and the workmanship is poor. In many ways the tomb indicates the increasing poverty of the kings of Egypt, and it seems as though the priests of Amen either would not or could not afford to provide a large and richly ornamented tomb like the sepulchres of his predecessors; moreover, both priests and king probably felt that it was useless to provide expensive funeral furniture, etc., which the thieves might steal and burn, or the subordinate officials of the necropolis carry off and sell for other burials. The prosecutions of the tomb robbers which had taken place in the 14th and 16th years of the reign of Rameses IX. had resulted in the beating with sticks of a number of the robbers who belonged to the lower classes, but they did not stop the plundering of the tombs. In the first year of the reign of Rameses X. about sixty people were arrested, presumably by order of "the high priest of Amen-Rā, "the king of the gods, Amen-ḥetep, the son of the high "priest of Amen in the Apts (i.e., Karnak and Luxor),

“Rāmeses-nekht,” and were charged with plundering the royal tombs. The tombs of the kings of the Middle Empire had been probably cleared out by the thieves by this time, for we learn that the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses II. were now attacked by them. The ringleaders appear to have been priests and scribes who were attached to the service of the temples of Amen and other gods, and they succeeded in stealing and selling large quantities of the funeral furniture which had been deposited in the chambers near the entrances of the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses II.; a number of women were implicated in the thefts, and it is probable that these disposed in the daytime of the objects which their husbands and brothers had stolen during the night. In fact the more the document¹ which records the arrest of the sixty suspected persons is considered, the more clear it becomes that large numbers of the officials and others who lived on the western bank at Thebes were connected with and interested in the robberies. The thieves must have been introduced into the tombs by the masons and workmen who had helped to construct them, and they were told what to seek and where to look by those who had planned the tombs and who had probably assisted at the burial ceremonies. All who remember how, some thirty years ago, whole villages on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes lived ostensibly by farming,

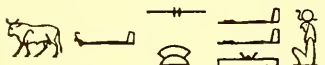
¹ See Goodwin in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 39; 1874, p. 61 ff.

but actually by plundering ancient tombs and selling what they found to travellers and others, will understand exactly the condition of things which must have existed in the days of the later Rameses kings. The modern thieves ransacked the tombs by night, often with the knowledge and help of the government officials who were paid to prevent them from doing so, and those men were the most successful who were lucky enough to find the shafts and tunnels which the thieves had sunk and driven in ancient days into the rock-hewn tombs of the great Theban necropolis. The thieves of old cared chiefly for amulets made of gold and precious stones and for jewellery in general, and when they had stripped the mummies of such things they left the papyri and articles of funeral furniture strewn on the floors of the tombs; some of the greatest treasures of European Museums consist of objects which were tossed aside by them as worthless.

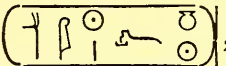
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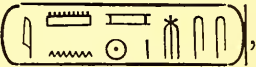
RĀ-KHEPER-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESSU[-MERI]-ĀMEN.

RAMESES XI. adopted as his Horus name the title "Mighty Bull, whom Rā hath made to rise,"

; of his reign, which must have

been a very short one, nothing is known.¹ Whether this king built a tomb for himself cannot be said, but neither a tomb nor mummy inscribed with his name has yet been discovered.

Formerly in Egyptological books which dealt with history and chronology it was customary to insert after Rameses XI. a king whose prenomen was Usr-Maāt-Rā-setep-nu- (or, en) Rā ), and whose

nomen was Rā-meses meri Amen ), and


he was usually called Rameses XII. This king is made known to us by the famous stele which records the story of the "Possessed Princess of Bekhten," of which the following brief summary must be given. The king Rameses, beloved of Amen, was according to his wont in Western Mesopotamia, and the chiefs of all the lands came to pay homage to him and to offer him gifts; each chief brought according to his power, some gold, others lapis-lazuli, and others turquoise, but the prince of Bekhten added to his gifts his eldest daughter, who was a beautiful girl. Rameses was pleased with her, and when she came to Egypt with him he made her a royal wife. In the 15th year of the reign of Rameses an envoy came from the prince of Bekhten and asked the king of Egypt to send a skilled physician



¹ The two vases from the Serapeum which are inscribed with his name are figured in Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1857, plate 22, Nos. 6 and 7.

to his country to heal the prince's daughter Bent-reshet, the younger sister of the royal wife to whom the name of Rā-neferu had been given in Egypt. Thereupon Rameses summoned all the sages of his court to his presence, and asked them to choose from among themselves a skilled physician to go to Bekhten, and their choice fell upon the royal scribe Tehuti-em-ḥeb. When the Egyptian physician arrived in Bekhten he found that Bent-reshet was possessed of a devil which he could not cast out, therefore the prince of Bekhten sent a second time to Egypt for help, and besought the king to send a god to heal his daughter. Rameses then went into the temple and asked the god Khensu-nefer-ḥetep if he would go to Bekhten to deliver the princess from the power of the demon, and the god agreed to do so. The figure of the god was placed in a boat, and escorted by a large number of horses and chariots arrived in Bekhten after a journey of seventeen months.

The prince of Bekhten welcomed the god with great ceremony, and as soon as his daughter was brought into the presence of the god his saving power healed her straightway. The devil who was driven out of the princess said to Khensu, "Grateful and welcome
 "is thy coming unto us, O great god, the vanquisher
 "of the hosts of darkness; Bekhten is thy city, the
 "inhabitants thereof are thy slaves, and I am thy
 "servant; and I will depart unto the place whence I
 "came that I may gratify thee, for unto this end hast

“thou come hither.” At the devil’s request the prince of Bekhten made a feast in his honour, and when it was over Khensu gave the command, and the devil departed to the country which he loved. As soon as the devil was gone the prince of Bekhten determined to keep the Egyptian god in his city always, but at the end of three years, four months, and five days Khensu left the country in the form of a hawk of gold and flew away to Egypt. When the prince of Bekhten knew that the god had departed to Egypt he sent back his image with many gifts and with a large escort of soldiers and horses to Egypt, wherein it arrived in the 33rd year of the reign of Rameses. Now there are several points in the narrative, to say nothing of the peculiarities of grammar and spelling, which prove that we are dealing with a version of a piece of legendary history, and not with a record of actual facts. In the first place Rameses XII., as he was styled, was never in Western Mesopotamia, and he neither received gifts from the chiefs of that country nor married the daughter of one of them; but Rameses II. did all these things, and the titles of “Mighty Bull, the form of risings,” the “stablished one [among] kings like Temu,” etc., in reality apply to him and to no other Rameses. We must therefore regard the story as having reference to Rameses II., and this “Rameses XII.” must disappear from the list of the kings of the XXth Dynasty. The text of the story which has come down to us belongs to

“mighty one of strength, vivifier of the two lands,
 “Prince, life, strength, and health! resting upon Maāt,
 “making to be at peace the two lands.” He reigned
 twenty-seven years, a fact which is made known to us
 by the stele of the scribe Ḥeru-ā, , which


bears the date ,
,¹ but so far as is known he did not

undertake any war or military expedition, and was, to all appearances, content to lead the indolent life of his brothers or kinsmen. In the temple of Khensu at Thebes he decorated the walls of the larger outer chambers which had been left unornamented by Rameses III., and he added a number of decorative scenes on the walls and columns with cup-shaped capitals, in the hypostyle hall of the same building, wherein he is represented making offerings to various gods. The name of Rameses XII. appears in a few places in the great temple of Amen-Rā at Karnak, but it is doubtful if he carried out there any restorations or repairs. A few objects inscribed with his name have been found at Abydos, and it has been argued that he carried on certain works there, but if he did, all traces of them have disappeared. He built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but the decoration of the walls and ceilings of its two corridors and three rectangular chambers was never finished;

¹ See Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 62.

in the last chamber is a shaft which seems to indicate that the tomb builders of that time resorted to the old form of the tomb with a deep pit leading to the mummy chamber as a means of preventing thieves from plundering the tomb.

We have already seen how Amen-hetep, the high priest of Amen, had obtained from Rameses IX. the right to levy taxes from the people, and how he succeeded not only in preserving the privileges and power which his father Rā-meses-nekht had acquired, but also in adding to them, and we have now to notice that Her-Heru, the high priest of Amen who succeeded him, was able to make himself at least the equal of the king in power. On some of the reliefs found on the walls of the temple of Khensu at Karnak we see Her-


Heru, , with the uraeus, the symbol


of royalty, on his brow, and we learn from the texts which accompany the scenes that he styled himself the commander-in-chief of the army, and the "governor of the South and North"; these reliefs were sculptured whilst Rameses XII. was still alive, and so we must understand that before his death there were living in Thebes two kings of Egypt, the one *de jure* and the other *de facto*. Her-Heru was astute enough to make himself chief of the army, and, as his predecessor had obtained the mastery over the treasury of the country, his authority over the material and spiritual resources of the country was complete. Of the circumstances


which attended the death of Rameses XII. we know nothing, and whether Her-Heru waited for him to die before he ascended the throne of Egypt as the first king of the XXIst (Theban) Dynasty, or whether he compelled him to abdicate and retire and eat the "bread of banishment" in the Great Oasis, as Brugsch thought,¹ cannot be said. But whilst the high priest of Amen was devoting all his energies to the attainment of the crown and throne of Egypt and of the office of "royal prince of Kesh," he steadily neglected the affairs of the Delta, and took no steps to protect it from invasion or to safeguard its interests. If he had been doing his best to break up the union between the kingdoms of the South and North, which had cost the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty so much trouble to make, he could hardly have acted otherwise. There may, of course, have been good reasons for his acting as he did in the matter, especially when we remember that there must have existed in all parts of Egypt at that time many male descendants of Rameses II. and Rameses III., each of whom would consider that he had more right to the throne of Egypt than the high priest of Amen. In Upper Egypt, however, no claimant of this kind to the throne would have had the smallest chance of success, because during the period of the rule of Rameses IV. to that of Rameses XII. the high priests of Amen had succeeded in winning over to their side

¹ *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 201.

the principal members of the official class which had sprung into being in Egypt, and in laying their hands upon the endowments, both private and public, of the principal sanctuaries of the country of the South and of Nubia. As the god Amen had been made to usurp the attributes of all the older gods of Egypt, and had even been forced into the position of Osiris as god and judge of the dead, so his priests had made themselves the representatives of all the old nobility of Egypt, and the equal of the king. Their influence over the priests and people of Memphis, Heliopolis, Tanis, and other large cities of the North was not so great, and thus it became possible for a man whose name was Nes-su-Ba-

neb-Tet , who was possibly a descendant of Rameses II., to proclaim himself king of Egypt and to establish himself king at Tanis, the city of his great ancestor and the "House of Rameses" *par excellence*. But the high priest of Amen,

Her-Heru, who called himself Sa-Amen, , "Son of Amen," was, we know, lord of the South, and Thebes was his capital: it follows then that Egypt was once more divided into two kingdoms, the one ruled by a descendant of the legitimate line of kings, and the other by the high priest of Amen, who attempted to legalize the power which he had usurped by means of his marriage with the lady

Netchemet ). Her-Heru was the founder of the dynasty of priest-kings at Thebes, while at Tanis

a rival dynasty was founded by Nessu-Ba-neb-Tet, whose name was Graecized by Manetho under the form of Smendes; we must therefore divide the XXIst Dynasty of the kings of Egypt into two parts—I. Kings of Thebes, and II. Kings of Tanis.

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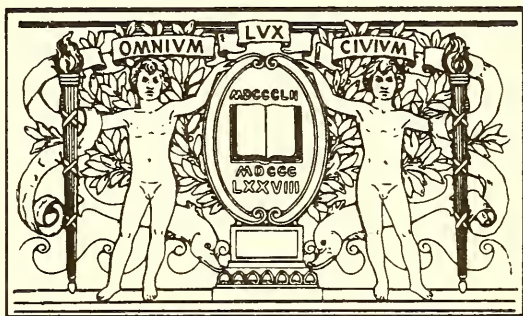


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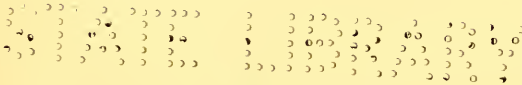
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EGYPT

UNDER THE

PRIEST-KINGS, TANITES, AND NUBIANS

Ernest Thompson BY
ER A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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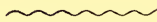
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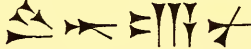


THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume begins with the reign of Nes-ba-Ṭetṭet, the first king of the XXIst Dynasty from Tanis, and ends with that of Psammetichus II., the third king of the XXVIth Dynasty, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt and the various portions of her Empire from about B.C. 1100 to B.C. 600. It includes the reigns of a number of kings under whose rule the power of Egypt declined and her Empire shrank, and in whose time the various hereditary foes of Egypt succeeded in obtaining their independence. In spite of this, however, we find that the Northern kingdom of Egypt made itself very powerful, and it is interesting to note how this came to pass, viz., by the aid of foreign soldiers and sailors. With the close of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire came to an end, and the period of Egyptian Renaissance began. Under Shashanq I. the feeble kingdoms of the South and North were once more united, and a Libyan monarch occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. The cult of

Bast increased and flourished whilst that of Amen-Rā declined, and the priests of Amen were compelled to seek asylum at Napata in Nubia. Stirred up by these the Nubians provoked the wrath of the great kings of Assyria, and Egypt found herself involved in war with an enemy who was far more terrible than any with whom she had ever come in contact. Sargon and his son Sennacherib turned Syria and Palestine into provinces of Assyria, but it was reserved for Esarhaddon and his son Ashur-bani-pal to enter Egypt and to make the king of Assyria her over-lord. The last-named king sacked Thebes and gave the Egyptians an example of the manner in which the Assyrians were accustomed to treat the inhabitants of a conquered country; but the recuperative power of Egypt was so great that in the country generally the traces of the destruction wrought by "the great king, the king of Assyria," and his host were soon obliterated. As soon as the Nubian pretenders to the throne of Egypt saw that Thebes had fallen and that Amen-Rā was powerless to protect his city, their opposition to the inevitable ceased, and Egypt rested in tolerable peace under the rule of the twenty governors who were appointed by Esarhaddon, and who were restored to their positions by Ashur-bani-pal after the revolt of the Nubian Tirhâkâh.

In the period of history treated in this volume there is little besides the political facts to interest the historian, and its art and archaeology afford little instruction to the student. Art of every kind had fallen

into a state of apathy and lack of originality, and artists followed the models of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties with servile conventionality. The Egyptian language began to decay in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in the period under consideration decay of the writing also set in; in the tenth century before Christ the hieratic script was supplemented by demotic, and a few centuries later was almost unknown. With the end of the rule of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire comes to an end.

In connexion with the question of the identification of So or Sib'e with Shabaka I have taken the view that the Muşuri of which he is stated to have been Commander-in-chief,  TAR-TAN-NU (var. TUR-DAN-NU) was Egypt, and not a country in Northern Arabia, as has been maintained by Dr. Winckler and by his followers, Prof. T. K. Cheyne and others. I am well aware that it is a serious matter to disagree with the *dicta* of such a distinguished critic as Prof. Cheyne, but in this particular case he has relied upon the statements of a professed exponent of Assyriology, of which science Prof. Cheyne has, admittedly, no knowledge at first hand. Dr. Winckler's theory has received but little support in Germany itself, and it would ere now have passed into the limbo of forgotten theories but for its adoption and advocacy by Prof. Cheyne in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, where it is made to support his own extraordinary theory of the existence of a "Jerahmeelite" kingdom in Southern

Palestine. These views are so revolutionary that they naturally call for careful examination, and I now propose to discuss the evidence on which Dr. Winckler bases his theory of the existence of an Arabian Muşri or Muşuri.

Briefly stated his theory is as follows:—It is agreed by all Assyriologists that there were certainly two countries which bore the name of Muşri: 1. Egypt, and 2. a land in Northern Syria. Dr. Winckler, however, asserts that all the supposed mentions of the Egyptian Muşri which are to be found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III., and of Sargon, and of his son Sennacherib, are to be taken as referring not to Egypt, but to another country of the same name alleged to be situated in Northern Arabia. The supposed evidence on which he bases this assertion I will now discuss in detail.

1. In Dr. Winckler's first exposition of his views,¹ he made the assumption on which was based the whole fabric of his theory with regard to his new kingdoms of Muşri and Meluhha and to their identity with certain portions of Dr. Glaser's hypothetical "Minaean Empire," and to the age of the Minaean Inscriptions, and on which Prof. Cheyne's "Jerahmeelite" theory partly rests. This assumption can, however, be shown to be without foundation. Dr. Winckler says that the Muşri mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III. cannot be Egypt and must be in Arabia because IDIBI'ILU, who was

¹ See *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i., Leipzig, 1893, p. 24 ff.

invited to join the Philistines, Jews, Edomites, and Moabites in a conspiracy against Assyrian authority in Palestine,¹ but, Sargon adds, "he could not save them." He (Pi-ir-') is again mentioned in conjunction with Sam-si, queen of Aribbi, and It'amra, of the land of Saba', who are described as "kings of the side of the sea and of the desert." Now Dr. Winckler maintains that the fact of Pir'u being mentioned side by side with Arabian rulers proves that he was an Arabian himself, but this, of course, does not follow, for Arab chieftains might well be grouped with the king of Egypt as bringing tribute to the king of Assyria. Dr. Winckler's further argument that because the title Pharaoh, with which word Pir'u has, naturally, been identified, was not used elsewhere by the Assyrians to designate the king of Egypt, therefore it cannot be employed in this sense by Sargon, begs the question. On the analogy of the use of the title Pharaoh as a proper name for every king of Egypt in passages of the Old Testament which are usually regarded as based upon or containing traditions of early contact between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, it would seem likely that Sargon, one of the earliest of the later kings of Assyria to come into contact with Egypt, might speak in precisely the same way of Pharaoh (Pir'u) king of Egypt. Philologically Pir'u is, like the Hebrew פִּרְעָה, a perfect transcription of the Egyptian Per-āa,

¹ Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Bd. i. p. 20, 21, l. 97; see also pp. 100, 101, l. 27.

□. Thus we can find no proof that the Muşri or Muşuri, of which Pir'u was king, was in Northern Arabia, or was in fact any other country than Egypt, and as this is so, Sib'e,¹ the Tartan of Muşri, the So (Sêwê) of the Bible (see *infra*, p. 124) who was defeated at Rapihi by Sargon, must, since he was an officer of Pir'u, have been the Egyptian Commander-in-chief.

3. Dr. Winckler asserts that the princes of Muşur who fought against Sennacherib at the Battle of Eltekeh, B.C. 701, were, in reality, Arab *shêkhs*, and that the chariots and archers of the king of Meluhha, which were sent to help the princes of Muşur, were actually sent by a king of Yaman, and not, as has hitherto been supposed, by an Ethiopian or Egyptian monarch. The assertion that the princes of Muşur were Arab *shêkhs* rests on the assumption which we have criticised in Nos. 1 and 2; no further arguments are adduced to show that the Muşur here mentioned is not Egypt, except an assertion that Meluhha is to be identified with Sinai and Midian,² which is apparently regarded as an assumption in favour of this Muşur being a part of Arabia. Neglecting for the moment the question of the actual position of Meluhha, and assuming that Dr. Winckler's view is correct, we still have no proof that this Muşur was in Arabia, for it

¹ Winckler, *Sargon*, vol. i., pp. 7 and 101.

² Winckler, *Alt. Forsch.*, i., p. 27. As we shall see later, Dr. Winckler has modified his view as to the position of Meluhha, and he now thinks it is in Yaman—which is far less probable.

does not follow that, because Meluḥḥa may have been Sinai and Midian, therefore the Muṣur mentioned in connexion with it was not Egypt but a part of Arabia. This is another example of Dr. Winckler's tendency to regard a patent *non sequitur* as a valid argument.

4. In connexion with this argument Dr. Winckler quotes the fact that Yamani, the leader of the revolt at Ashdod in Sargon's time, is stated by the Assyrians to have fled before the advance of the royal army, *ana ite (mātu)Muṣuri ša paṭ (mātu)Meluḥḥa*; these Assyrian words Dr. Winckler translates, "nach dem gebiete von Muṣur, welches zum bereiche von Meluḥḥa gehört." This rendering suggests that the Muṣur here mentioned was in some way politically dependent upon Meluḥḥa, and therefore cannot be Egypt, but the Assyrian expression "*ša paṭ (mātu)Meluḥḥa*" is purely geographical in meaning, and conveys no political idea. In this case also there is no reason to suppose that, because Meluḥḥa is Sinai and Midian, therefore Muṣur cannot be Egypt, but must be in Arabia. Moreover, if we consider Yamani's position for a moment we shall see that he was flying before a hostile army which was advancing from the north, and it is obvious to anyone who has travelled over the country that a fugitive from Ashdod would make the best of his way direct to Egypt, and not straight across the enemy's front, where he would be daily in danger either of capture or starvation.

Thus in all the Assyrian passages referred to above

we have not found a vestige of support for Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence of a third Muşur, or Muşri, in Northern Arabia. In every case the Muşur or Muşri mentioned is Egypt, and Egypt alone.

We have now to note that all these conflicts between the Assyrians and the peoples of Muşri and Meluḥḥa took place on the borders of Egypt and Palestine, and not on the borders of Arabia and Palestine. Rapiḥi, where Sib'e was defeated by Sargon, is Raphia, where Ptolemy Philopator defeated Antiochus the Great; Altakû, or Eltekeh, where Sennacherib's battle took place B.C. 701, is in the neighbourhood. This piece of country has always been the natural battle-ground of Egypt and her Asiatic neighbours. As in Ptolemaic days Egyptian and Asiatic armies fought here, so also did their predecessors fight here in the days of the Assyrian Empire.

Dr. Winckler presumably perceives that the fact of these battles having been fought in Philistia on the borders of Egypt is difficult to reconcile with his view that the Muşur or Muşri which we are discussing was not Egypt, but was situated in Northern Arabia. He, however, seeks to explain away this difficulty by the enunciation of a very far-reaching hypothesis in his later pamphlet *Muşri, Meluḥḥa, Ma'in*, Berlin, 1898. He holds that his North Arabian Muşri was simply the northern part of Meluḥḥa, which was not Sinai and Midian, as he previously, with much probability, maintained, but a great and powerful kingdom with its

centre in Yaman, which before the VIIIth Century B.C. had extended its influence beyond the borders of "Muşri" (which is regarded as directly abutting upon South Palestine) to the shores of the Mediterranean, thus including Southern Judaea and the Philistine cities in this hypothetical empire of Muşri-Meluḥḥa. Pir'u was thus, according to Dr. Winckler, a prince of Muşri, who came to the help of his tributary Ḥanunu of Gaza, and Sib'e was the Muşrite Tartan; the object of the interference of these Arabians with Philistia being the maintenance of the "Muşrite-Meluḥḥan" supremacy in Southern Palestine which was threatened by Assyria. This is, according to Dr. Winckler, why these battles were fought in Philistia.

The great objection to this theory is that we have no proof of the existence of any such Arabian Empire in the VIIIth Century B.C. Dr. Winckler, however, evades this difficulty by bringing to bear Dr. Glaser's unproven theory of the existence of a "Minaean Empire" in Yaman in the VIIIth and earlier centuries B.C.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the general question of the antiquity of the Minaean dominion in Southern Arabia, but we must note in passing that the majority of the reasons given by Dr. Glaser for his belief in the great antiquity of Ma'in and its pre-Sabaeen character seem to us wholly insufficient. One piece of the evidence on which he relies, however, directly concerns us here, and it consists of the well-known Himyaritic

inscription Glaser 1155 (Halévy 535). In this inscription mention is made of 'ASHR אַשׁוּר, and MŞR מֶשֶׂר, and MDY מֶדַי, and 'EBRNHRN עֲבֵרְנֵהֲרֵן, and these names were first explained as being those of Ashur (Assyria), Egypt, Media, and "the other side of the River," i.e., Mesopotamia; it may be added that the inscription was thought to belong to the Persian Period. Recently, however, Prof. Hommel took the view¹ that the inscription was contemporaneous with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1600, and that the *Mdy* mentioned were the ancient Egyptian police force the *Matchaiu* (Maḏoy). The absurdity of this theory has been exposed by Herr M. Hartmann (*Zeitschrift für Ass.* 1895, x. p. 32). Dr. Glaser naturally adopted this theory because it seemed to support his own belief in the great age of the Minaean inscriptions, but the next theory on the subject, which was put forward by Dr. Winckler, was not calculated to find favour in Dr. Glaser's sight because it reduced the age of the inscription by nearly *one thousand* years! In the MŞR or MŞRN (= Al-Mşr) of the inscription referred to, Dr. Winckler preferred to see his hypothetical North Arabian Muşri, rather than Egypt, which we should naturally take it to be, and his vague language on the subject leads his readers to think that he sees in the text an actual allusion to wars between his north Arabian Muşri and Ashur, i.e., the struggle between the "Minaean Empire" with its northern dependency

¹ *Aufs. und Abh.*, i. 7 f.

Muṣri and Assyria in the VIIIth Century B.C.¹ Pir'u and Sib'e are to him nothing more than Minaean leaders, and because in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 certain officials in MṢR are called "kbry," i.e., "great men," he goes so far as to translate "So, king of Miṣraim" = "Sib'e, tartan of Muṣri" into Minaean as סבא כבר מצר, i.e., "Sib'e *kbr* (i.e., great man) of Mṣr"! This rendering into Minaean betrays a naïve confidence in the infallibility of his own theory, and is on general grounds quite incomprehensible.

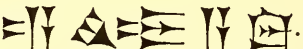
With the view of still further supporting his theory Dr. Winckler compared the phrase 'EBR-NHRN in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 with the expression EBIR NĀRI, which is found in the Assyrian tablet K. 3500 of the British Museum collection. This tablet has been assigned by Prof. Hommel to the reign of Ashurbêl-kala (?), B.C. 1080, but, as Dr. Winckler is aware (*Muṣri*, p. 52), it in reality belongs to the reign of Esarhaddon, B.C. 681-668, whose name, now that the fragment has been joined to two others (K. 4444 and K. 10,235), is found to occur twice upon it. Thus Prof. Hommel's date, which was calculated to support Dr. Glaser's belief in the great antiquity of the inscriptions which he had acquired, is shown to have been based upon a mere guess at the reading of an Assyrian name, and this guess was, unfortunately, wrong by 400 years! The real date of the tablet K. 3500, etc.,

¹ *Muṣri*, p. 35.

does not, however, invalidate its importance for Dr. Winckler's purposes, as he is arguing that the inscription Glaser No. 1155 dates from the VIIIth Century, i.e., not many years before the reign of Esarhaddon. The point he tries to make is that the 'EBR-NHRN of the Minaean inscription and the EBIR NÂRI of the Assyrian tablet both refer to the same thing at the same time, i.e., to Northern Arabia and Syria in the VIIIth and VIIth Centuries B.C. (*Mušri*, p. 51 ff.). The country referred to by the words *ebir nâri* "beyond the river" is certainly Syria, and when we consider that the writer of the tablet was in Assyria we see that it is quite natural for him to refer to Syria in these words. On the other hand it would not be at all natural for an Arab of Yaman to refer to Syria as 'EBR NHRN. The Hebrews used the same phrase under the form עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר *'ébher hannâhâr*, not as Dr. Winckler writes, *'éber ha-nahar* (*Mušri*, p. 20), and meant by it Mesopotamia, because Mesopotamia was, to them, on the other side of the river, as Syria was to the Assyrians. It is then evident that to an Arab of Yaman 'EBR NHRN would mean not Syria, or even Northern Arabia, but Southern Mesopotamia and Persia. This explanation supports the usually accepted view as to the meaning of the inscription, which, in Hartmann's opinion, directly refers to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses; whether this be so or not it must be pointed out that no idea of contemporaneousness can be deduced from the Semitic words for "across the

river"!¹ But in the inscription No. 1155 there also occurs the mention of the land MDY, which has been usually identified with Media, though Prof. Hommel erroneously saw in this name a reference to the Egyptian *Māṭchaiu*. In his description of the contents of the text Dr. Winckler wholly ignores the mention of this name, giving no explanation of it whatsoever. The view of Hartmann and Mordtmann that MDY is Madai, i.e., Media, is the only one which makes sense of the inscription, and agrees with the obvious meaning of *'ebr nhrn*. Passing for a moment over the question of the identification of the land 'Ashr, we have then in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 mention of Media, Persia, and MŞR, and we naturally assume that MŞR is Egypt, and not Dr. Winckler's Muşri, the existence of which, as we have shown, rests on no convincing evidence. The contents of the inscription supply nothing which would lead us to suppose that any country in Arabia, or in fact, any other country than Egypt, is intended by the name MŞR.

The date of the inscription No. 1155 is evident from its contents, according to which 'Am-Şdk, son of Khm'tht of Yfan, and Sa'd, son of Wlg of Dhfgn, the two great men of Mşr, and the Minaeans of Mşr, who lived in (?) Mşr, and who travelled as merchants

¹ In Assyrian . It must be distinctly understood that *ebir nāri* is not the name of any country in particular, but of any land which lay beyond the Euphrates on the side opposite to that on which the writer lived.

between the two lands of Mṣr and 'Ashr and the other side of the River in the first wazîrate of . . . of Rd'a, founded, and built and dedicated to the god 'Athtar עֲתָתַר of Kḅdh a tower called Tn'a out of the offerings to the god. The text goes on to say that the god, with his fellow deities Wd[d] וַד and Nkrkh נַכְרַח, showed their gratitude to their devotees for the building of the tower by protecting their camel caravans from the attacks made by the men of Sba שְׁבָא and Khwln חוּלַן, and by saving them, and their goods, and their camels in the war between Ma'in מַעֲיַן, and Rgmt רַגְמַת, and in the war which took place between the lord of the South and the lord of the North. Further, the gods are thanked in the text for having saved the merchants and their goods out of the midst of Mṣr in the war which took place between Mdy and Mṣr, and for having preserved them safe and sound even unto the borders of their city Kṛnw קְרַנּוּ. From the above facts there is nothing which can be deduced to prove the existence of an Arabian Mṣr, and there is nothing which need prevent us from regarding the Mṣr there mentioned as Egypt. Whether 'Ashr is to be identified with Assyria, as Dr. Winckler and others have thought, is doubtful, since there are districts in Arabia and Palestine, the names of which could be equally well represented by the letters אַאֲשַׁר. We must then agree, with Hartmann, that the war between Mdy and Mṣr was a war between Media and Egypt, which can be nothing but the war between Cambyses


and Psammetichus III. This is all that can be found in the inscription which Dr. Winckler chooses to regard as a chronicle of the wars between Meluhha-Ma'in and its northern dependency, the third Muşri, and Assyria under Sargon.¹ With the correct dating of the Minaean inscriptions the theory of the great antiquity of the "Minaean Empire" falls to the ground. There is, of course, no proof that Ma'in ever existed as a conquering power at all. Chiefs of Ma'in, no doubt, existed in the VIIIth Century B.C., but we must always remember that Ma'in was situated in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, some hundreds of miles away from the vague and shadowy *locus* assigned by Dr. Winckler to his Muşri, and from Philistia.

We now see that since the Minaean kingdom cannot be shown to be any older than the VIth Century B.C., and since the "Minaean Empire" probably never existed, the reason given by Dr. Winckler for the struggles between the people of Muşri and the Assyrians having taken place in Philistia will not stand the test of criticism; no confirmation of the existence of his third Muşri can be obtained from Arabian sources, and since we have shown that his supposed Assyrian evidence fails him, we have no option but to



¹ The identification of the place called Ghazzat, mentioned in the inscription No. 1083, with Gaza in Palestine, may be correct, but it does not support Dr. Winckler's dating in any special way, since caravans have passed from Egypt to the East through Gaza from time immemorial.

regard the Mušri of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III. and Sargon and Sennacherib as Egypt, and Egypt only.

Could it be shown, however, that two distinct countries of the name Mšr, one of which was undoubtedly Egypt, were mentioned in close juxtaposition in the same Assyrian text, we should have, despite the arguments which we have brought against it, a direct presumption in favour of the correctness of Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence at no very great distance from the eastern frontier of Egypt of another country of the same name, i.e., Mšr. Now Dr. Winckler has attempted to show that we do possess evidence of this kind. In *Mušri*, p. 2, he publishes a copy of a small fragment of an Assyrian tablet¹ (83-1-18, 836) in which he declares he has found mention of Mušri side by side with Miš[ri], i.e., Egypt; this is said to occur in line 4, which Dr. Winckler transcribes as



 (mātu) Mu - uš - ri u (mātu) Mi - iṣ-[ri].

Now it is evident from this transcription that his proof is based upon his reading of the last character  as iṣ; if this be wrong his argument falls to the ground. And as a matter of fact it is wrong, for the wedges, , which actually remain on the fragment, are in

¹ As it mentions the name of Esarhaddon it cannot be much older than the reign of this king.

reality part of the well-known sign *luh* \supseteq Υ Υ Υ Υ , and the name is therefore not Mi-iṣ-[ri] but Mi-luḥ-[ḥa]. Every Assyriologist knows that Muṣri and Miluḥḥa are constantly mentioned together; we have already seen that there is no proof that any country called Muṣri existed in Arabia, and, whether Miluḥḥa be in Arabia or not, we can be quite certain that the Muṣri which is so often mentioned in connexion with it is Egypt and Egypt only. We may note in passing that in this small fragment containing portions of six broken lines Dr. Winckler's copy contains one serious blunder (pa-na for [DINGIR].ALAD, see Brünnow, *List*, No. 6230), and one serious omission, viz., of the determinative prefix Υ before the proper name in line 5. There are on the fragment also in line 1 traces of \blacktriangleright Υ before Esarhaddon's name, which are omitted by Dr. Winckler, and after *ša* in line 3 we must read \blacktriangleright \triangleleft Υ Υ Υ \supseteq *ina lib-bi* instead of the confused fragments of characters which are given by Dr. Winckler. We see then that there is no evidence whatsoever for the existence of a third country of the name Muṣri in Northern Arabia. Dr. Winckler's belief in it arose from the totally unwarranted deduction which he made from the episode of Idibi'ilu, and he was misled by the groundless assumptions of Dr. Glaser in respect of the age of the Minaean inscriptions; finally he was betrayed into a serious blunder by his own inexperience in the reading and copying of Assyrian texts.

Dr. Winckler is obliged to admit that in the time

of Esarhaddon Mušri does occasionally mean Egypt, although he discovers that his Arabian Mušri is mentioned several times in inscriptions of Esarhaddon; but if the arguments adduced above be correct the southern Mušri referred to by Esarhaddon is, as in the previous cases, Egypt and Egypt only.

Dr. Winckler's further supposition¹ that, because Arabians are mentioned in 2 Chronicles xxi. 16 as being "at the side of the Cushites," על יד־כּוּשִׁים, therefore these Cushites must have been Arabians, is unnecessary. The phrase is one which might well be used as a vague topographical indication by a chronicler not necessarily well acquainted with minute points of geography; starting from the north he speaks of the Arabs as being next to the Philistines, and of Ethiopia as being at the side of Arabia, which is a perfectly natural though vague description. In connexion with this it must also be said that there is no proof that the Cushites who followed Zerah (2 Chronicles xiv. 9) were, as Dr. Winckler says, Arabs, or anything else than Ethiopians whom they have always been considered to be. Again, Dr. Winckler quotes² the fragment of a tablet (Rm. 284) in which Esarhaddon refers to Kûsi (Cush) in a connexion which is uncertain. The broken text seems to mean that Esarhaddon sent messengers to the "city," 𐎠𐎵𐎲, of Kûsi, and he appears to say that none of his ancestors had

¹ Winckler, *Mušri*, pp. 46, 47.

² *Altorientalische Forschungen II.*, Bd. i., Heft i., p. 18.

ever done the like before on account of the distance or difficulty of the way. There is no reason for assuming that the Kûsi here mentioned is not Ethiopia. The use of the prefix 𐎠𐎵𐎶 , which reads *alu*¹ and means literally "city," may indicate that Esarhaddon's ambassadors were sent to the capital city of Kûsi, probably Napata, or 𐎠𐎵𐎶 may have been employed in a loose manner by the Assyrian scribe. Dr. Winckler's argument that Kûsi cannot be "the land of Taharḳa," because that king was himself in Egypt at the time, and so would receive ambassadors at Memphis, and not at Napata, is of no weight, because Tirhâḳâh may have temporarily returned to his southern capital and the Assyrian ambassadors may have followed him thither. All that this broken text indicates is well known from other sources, viz., that no Assyrian king ever sent an embassy to Ethiopia before Esarhaddon's time, or ever came into contact with the Ethiopians in their own country. The fragment Rm. 284 therefore in no way supports Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence of an Arabian Cush, and Prof. Cheyne is not justified in assuming² that it does. Prof. Cheyne's remark to the effect that "this is illustrated by the description which Esarhaddon gives in a fragment of his Annals" of the desert which lies between Egypt and Meluḥḥa, and

¹ I transcribe 𐎠𐎵𐎶 by *alu* advisedly; Dr. Winckler transcribes the sign as "mḥz," but without sufficient authority.

² *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. Art. *Mizraim*, col. 3165.

which he assumes to be in Arabia, is not justified, as this description, as well as that given in Isaiah xxx. 6, 7, which according to Prof. Cheyne "really refers to the flight of Ḥanunu of Gaza to Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muṣri," may equally well refer to the desert between Egypt and Palestine. The final argument for the existence of an Arabian Cush which is given by Prof. Cheyne from Dr. Winckler's *Muṣri* (ii. 2), viz., that the phrase in Esarhaddon's account of his tenth campaign, "I caused my face to take (the road) to the "country of . . . which (is called) in the language "of the men of the land of Kûsi and of the land of "Muṣur"¹ can "hardly refer . . . to Ethiopia and "Egypt" because "the order of the names would have "been the reverse," is valueless, for there is no reason for expecting the scribe to mention the countries referred to in any particular geographical order. Thus the theory of the existence of an Arabian Cush appears less probable than that of the existence of an Arabian Muṣri.

The reader has now before him a specimen of the way in which archaeological theories are formed by a certain class of German critics, and how they are adopted by scholars of the great reputation of Prof. Cheyne; in the instance cited Prof. Cheyne has not, unfortunately, verified the grounds on which the theory is said to be based, and he has not compared Dr. Winckler's results with the original Assyrian texts

¹ See my *Esarhaddon*, p. 117.

from which they are declared ultimately to be derived. In the above paragraphs we have not called attention to Dr. Winckler's mistakes in any carping spirit, for every Assyriologist knows how easy it is to make mistakes in copying and collating texts; but in the case of an Assyriologist whose work is accepted without question by one of the foremost of English Biblical critics, and is used as a base for the construction of an utterly revolutionary general theory as to the early history of Palestine and Arabia, which also carries with it an entirely new conception of the real contents of the greater number of the books of the Old Testament, his false assumptions, illogical deductions, and direct mistakes in copying Assyrian texts, assume a gravity which they would not otherwise possess. Whether Dr. Winckler merits the encomium which Prof. Cheyne bestows upon his work in general in his extraordinary article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1902 (pp. 60-70), is a matter of opinion, but in the light of the facts discussed above it seems absolutely necessary to use Dr. Winckler's Assyrian work with extreme caution. This Prof. Cheyne and others have not done. Whatever may be the value of Dr. Winckler's Hebrew scholarship the fact remains that the whole of the Muşri-Cush edifice of theory in reality rests upon Assyrian sources; but for the alleged Assyrian evidence Dr. Winckler and Prof. Cheyne would never have seen the "frequent confusion in the Massoretic text of the "Old Testament between Misraim or Egypt, and Misrim

“or Musri in North Arabia,”¹ which, inasmuch as we have shown that “Misrim or Musri” is an imaginary country, cannot be regarded as having any real existence. Since then the Muṣri-Cush theory is based upon Assyriological evidence, it should not have been assumed to be correct without the verification of this evidence.

Assyriologists have done a great deal of good work in connexion with Bible exegesis in the past, and Prof. E. B. Schrader has shown how useful an ally Assyriology can become when interpreted by a competent critic. Prof. Cheyne is therefore well advised in seeking to use as fully as possible the latest results of Assyriological research, but in every progressive study new theories need careful sifting and testing, and should not be blindly accepted merely because they are new, or startling, or calculated to offend the susceptibilities of scholars possessing less revolutionary views. Much, too, has been done in clearing away many of the difficulties and obscurities of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament by advanced critics like Prof. Cheyne himself, but the value of textual criticism also has its limits, and it is self-evident that its usefulness ceases when it casts to the winds all consideration of historical and geographical probabilities, and suspects the existence of universal corruption in the Hebrew text. Dr. Winckler's wild theories have already brought discredit upon Assyriology, a fact which is to be deplored, and

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1902, p. 69.

their adoption and promulgation by Prof. Cheyne cannot but increase the number of those who already view with distrust the really good work which has been done by the ablest of the "higher critics," and who doubt the genuine progress which they have made. The effect upon the lay mind of wild theories thus put forward by irresponsible critics is not hard to foresee, and it is certain that they will not tend to advance the true interests either of Assyriology or of the "higher criticism" of the Old Testament.

The curious reader, who is anxious to see the views of other writers upon the work and methods of Dr. Winckler and the adoption of his results by Prof. Cheyne, may consult a review of the third volume of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* in *Nature* for June 26th, 1902, and a review of two other Biblical works signed R. C. T[hompson] in a number of the same periodical a few weeks later.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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ERRATA.

Page 152, l. 4, *for* Misroch *read* Nisroch.

Page 178, l. 3, *delete* ~~✶~~ *and* nu.

EGYPT UNDER THE PRIEST-KINGS AND TANITES AND NUBIANS.

CHAPTER I.

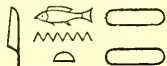
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.


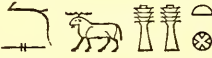
I. KINGS OF TANIS.



Beautiful god,
lord of the two lands, RĀ-HETCH-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-RĀ,
son of the Sun, ĀMEN-MER-NES-BA TET̄TET̄TET̄.

NES-BA-TET̄TET̄, or NES-BA-NEB-TET̄, the first of the Tanite kings of the XXIst Dynasty, was possibly a descendant of Rameses II., who had, with the help of the nobles of the Delta, succeeded in establishing himself as king of Egypt at the time when Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Āmen, was struggling for royal power at Thebes; he is to be identified with the Smendes, Σμέτιδος, of the King List of Manetho and, according

to this writer, reigned twenty-nine years.¹ The Smendes of Manetho was formerly identified with Her-Heru the high priest of Amen, because it was thought that this name was the Greek equivalent of the Egyptian "Sa Amen," i.e., "son of Amen," which was one of Her-Heru's titles, but this view is now proved to be wrong. The only monument of the reign of this king is a stele which was discovered by M. G. Daressy in 1888 at Dahabîyeh, opposite to Gebelên, the , Ant, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, in Upper Egypt, from which we obtain some very interesting information. From the text of the stele,² which is sadly mutilated, we learn that the lake which Thothmes III. excavated at Thebes, and the canal from the Nile which fed it, had by some means become emptied, and that the water, which ought to have remained in these places, had run out and spread itself about one of the main buildings at Thebes, and had soaked into the ground to such a degree that the edifice was in imminent danger of falling down. The building threatened in this manner was a portion of the temple of Luxor, which was built by Amen-hotep III. As soon as the king, who was living in Memphis at the

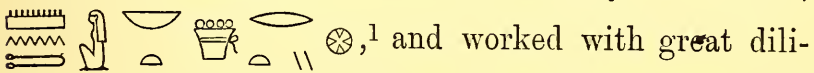
¹ Ba-Tet, , we know = the Greek *Μενδης*, and Nes-ba-Tet,  = *Σμενδης*.

² See *Les Carrières de Gébélén et le roi Smendès* in the *Recueil*, tom. x. p. 133 ff.

time, in order to perform certain ceremonies in connexion with the worship of Ptah, and Sekhet, and Menthu, and the other gods, heard of the accident, he sent an order to the south that masons should be gathered together, and that they should go with 3000 of his own men ("3000 of the chosen servants of his majesty"),







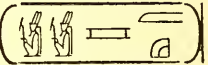
to the great quarry opposite Gebelên, and quarry stone there to repair the damage which the water had done to the temple of Thebes. The text states that the quarry had not been worked for a very long time, and from the fact that the only other inscription there dates from the time of Seti I. it would seem that the quarry had remained unworked for a period of about three hundred and fifty years. The workmen repaired the chapel of the goddess Menth, the lady of Tcherti,



and worked with great diligence in the quarry, for the king's command was urgent; apparently they were divided into gangs, each of which worked for a month, turn and turn about, a system which reminds us of the *corvée* of modern times. When the work was done it seems that the king himself, like the god Thoth, came and gave gifts to those who had been employed upon it, in return for their diligent labour. The inscription which supplies these details is, unfortunately, undated, and it does not tell

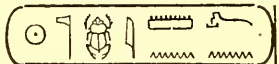

ⁱ The modern site of the town is Taud, a few miles south of Luxor.

prevented the sculptor from producing a striking monument. The peculiar style of the figures induced Mariette to assign them to the period of the Hyksos kings, but this cannot be, and M. Maspero is probably right when he says¹ that the sculptor was influenced by the monuments of the time of Amenemhät III., which he saw round about him, and that the firm mouths and high cheek-bones, and the peculiar treatment of the hair and beard, are due to this fact. Pasebkhänut I. was, according to Manetho, succeeded by a king called *Νεφελχερής*² who reigned four years; his name has not yet, however, been identified in the hieroglyphic texts. It has been thought that the Greek name may be a form of the Egyptian Nefer-ka-Rä,³ which occurs in the nomen assigned by some to the king whose prenomen was .

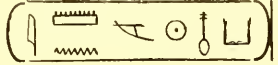
3.    

King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, RÄ-USR-MAÄT-SETEP-EN-ÄMEN, son of the Sun, lord of risings, ÄMEN-EM-APT-MERI-ÄMEN.

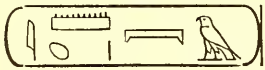
¹ *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 764.

² Prof. Petrie thinks we ought to read Neter-kheper-Rä, and equates this king with  

RÄ-NETER-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ÄMEN, son of the Sun, SA-ÄMEN-MERI-RÄ. See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1896, p. 58.

³ .

The next Tanite king of the XXIst Dynasty of whose existence we have monumental evidence is "SA-ÂMEN, the beloved of Âmen," of whom a number of remains are known; he reigned sixteen years. He has been wrongly identified with H̄er-H̄eru, the high priest of Âmen and first priest-king of the Theban XXIst Dynasty, who in addition to his name H̄er-H̄eru included in his second cartouche the title "Sa-Âmen,"

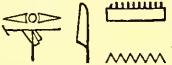
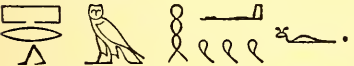


Prof. Petrie also identified him¹ with Nefercheres, the third Tanite king of the XXIst Dynasty, but this identification must be abandoned, for the monumental name of this king is not yet known to us, and Rā-neter-kheper must be a later king of the dynasty. In the course of his excavations at Tanis Mariette found under the floor of the sanctuary, in the sand, a number of small gold and porcelain tablets inscribed with the name Sa-Âmen and the prenomens, etc., of this king;² a fact which proves that this king carried out the restoration of some parts of the temple built by Rameses II. in that city. He added his name in small characters to the two obelisks which were taken from Heliopolis to Alexandria, and which were sent later, the one to London and the other to New York,³ and thus it would seem that Sa-Âmen exercised some authority in the ancient city of Ânnu or Heliopolis.

¹ See above, p. 6.

² *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 205 (Nos. 551, 552).

³ Lepsius, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 104.

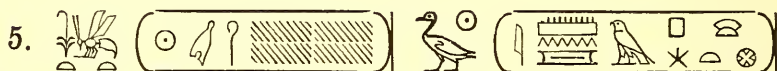
As his name has also been found on remains at Memphis it is pretty certain that he carried out some repairs in connexion with some portion of the temple of Ptah. Among the small objects inscribed with his name may be mentioned the bronze sphinx from Tanis, now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, whereon are inlaid in gold the prenomen and nomen of Sa-Āmen.¹ At Tanis² Prof. Petrie found several blocks of stone inscribed with the cartouches of Sa-Āmen; of special interest is one in which the king is represented in the act of adoring the ithyphallic god Āmsu-Amen, or Min-Āmen, , who declares that he will give him the "Nine Bows" (No. 149). From another block (No. 146) we learn that the king's Horus name was "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt," and that he proclaimed himself to be the issue of the god, . The greatest of the architectural works of Sa-Āmen was the restoration, or rather rebuilding, of the pylons of the temple of Rameses II. at Tanis, and he rebuilt part of the sanctuary and its colonnade, and repaired the court, which had been allowed to fall into a serious state of decay.³ The large wall of unbaked mud bricks which surrounded the temple seems to have been the work of Sa-Āmen and of his predecessor Pasebkhānut, though no bricks inscribed with the name of the former have as yet

¹ See Pierret, *Dict. d'Archéologie*, p. 516.

² *Tanis*, vol. ii. plate 8.

³ Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 674.

been found. Sa-Āmen followed the example of Pasebkhānut, and had his name inscribed on several of the buildings, monuments, etc., which he repaired or restored, and, like him, he usurped certain striking ornaments of the temple, e.g., the granite sphinx which M. Naville saw¹ near its entrance.



RĀ-ḤETCH-ḤEQ-....., son of the Sun, ĀMEN-MERI-ḤERU-PA-SEB-KHĀ-NUT.

PASEBKHĀNUT II. was the last king of the Tanite XXIst Dynasty, and reigned about twelve years; he distinguished himself from Pasebkhānut I. by adding Ḥeru to his name. According to Wiedemann, he is to be regarded² as the Pharaoh whose daughter was married and taken by king Solomon “into the city of “David, until he had made an end of building his own “house, and the house of the Lord” (1 Kings iii. 1), and who went up and took Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city and gave the city “for a present unto his daughter, Solomon’s wife” (1 Kings ix. 16). Maāt-ka-Rā, the daughter of Pasebkhānut II., married Osorkon I., the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty.

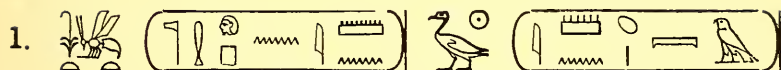
¹ See *Inscription Historique de Pinodjem III.*, Paris, 1883, p. 16.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 541; and see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 764.

CHAPTER II.

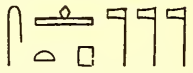

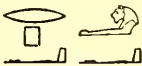

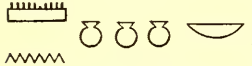

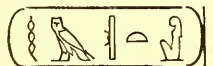
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

II. KINGS OF THEBES.

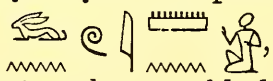


King of the South and North, high-priest of Amen, son of the Sun, SA-AMEN-HER-HERU.

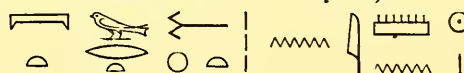
HER-HERU was the third of the great high priests of Amen who had directed the affairs of Upper Egypt during the reigns of the last kings of the XXth Dynasty, and he was the first member of the brotherhood of Amen who assumed royal rank and position. From the reliefs which are found in the temple of Khensu at Thebes we learn that he assumed royal rank during the lifetime of Rameses XII., and that he was appointed "royal prince of Kesh" in Nubia; he wears the uraeus on his forehead as if he had been the descendant of kings, and his apparel resembles that of his royal master. In the texts which accompany these reliefs are enumerated a number of his titles and


offices, and we see that as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he called himself "he who maketh the gods to be content," ; that as the Horus of gold his name was "Glorious in the Æpt," ; and that his Horus name was "Mighty Bull, son of Amen." He adopted as king of the South and North the title "first priest of Amen," which he enclosed in a cartouche, and as son of Rā he styled himself "Her-Heru Sa-Amen." A common title of his was "Living, beautiful god, son of Amen, lord of the two lands, lord of diadems." The king created him an "hereditary prince," , and he was the architect-in-chief of all the works in connexion with the buildings and monuments,  , of Thebes, and he was commander-in-chief of the soldiers, . His father, Amen-hetep, as we have already said, obtained for the priests of Amen the power to levy taxes on the people, and now that Her-Heru added to this the command of the soldiers, we see that all real power was in the hands of the high priest of Amen, and that for some time before his death Rameses was only king in name. Her-Heru married a princess of the royal line called Netchemet, ). She was believed by Champollion, Lepsius, and de Rougé to have been his wife and the mother of his children, but in 1878 M. Naville enunciated

the proposition that Netchemet was not the wife but the mother of Her-Heru;¹ subsequently, however, MM. Maspero and Wiedemann have shown satisfactory proofs of the correctness of the older view.² Her-Heru was a contemporary of Nes-ba-Ṭet, or Nes-ba-neb-Ṭet, the Smendes of Manetho, but we do not know how far their reigns overlapped; Her-Heru reigned sixteen years, and we know that he must have been on comparatively friendly terms with Nes-ba-Ṭet, for this king gave one of the officers of the king of the South considerable help in a mission on which he had been sent.

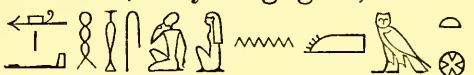

From an extremely interesting papyrus in the collection of M. W. Golénischeff,³ we learn that in the fifth year of his reign, on the sixteenth day of the third month of the inundation, Her-Heru despatched the priest official Unu-Âmen, , to Syria to fetch wood for the "great and venerable boat of Âmen-Râ, the king of the gods." Unu-Âmen set out

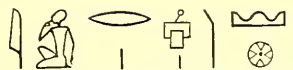

¹ *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1878, p. 29 f.

² See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 648 ff. and p. 677 ff. The mummy of this queen and her coffins were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî; in the inscriptions she is called 



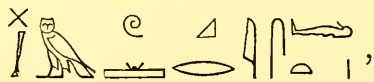

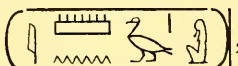
³ See Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 88; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 395; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 582; Erman, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 1 ff.; a transcript of the hieratic text with a French translation, both by Golénischeff, will be found in *Recueil*, vol. xxi. p. 74 ff.

to Tchakare-Bār he wept, and to console Unu-Āmen he sent him two vessels of wine, a young goat, and an Egyptian dancing girl, , called Thent-Nut, , whom he kept by him "to sing him songs so that his heart might not be "sad, and that he might not weary himself overmuch "with the cares and troubles of state." With these gifts the king sent a message, saying, "Eat and drink, "and let not thy heart be wearied with cares, for thou "shalt hear in the morning what I am going to do "to-morrow." On the following day he assembled the men of Tchakaru and asked them what they wanted, and they told him that they had come for the ships which he was about to send to Egypt manned by their miserable companions, and that they wanted him to arrest Unu-Āmen. Tchakare-Bār straightway told them that he had no power to detain the envoy of Āmen in his country and that he would not do so, and then went on to say in characteristic Oriental fashion that they must let him despatch Unu-Āmen to Egypt by ship, and that when the envoy of Āmen had embarked and set sail they might if they liked pursue him and capture him on the high seas. In this fashion he appeased their wrath and got himself out of a serious difficulty. What happened among the Tchakaru sailors after Unu-Āmen had sailed we know not, but a storm seems to have arisen, which drove the ship wherein was the Egyptian envoy to the Island of Cyprus (?),


 . When Unu-Åmen landed the people of Cyprus came out and wanted to kill him, but they at length took him to their queen Hãthãba,
 , whom they met as she was going from one house to another. Unu-Åmen saluted the queen and asked those who were about him if there was any one present who knew the language of Egypt, and when one replied that he did Unu-Åmen told him to tell the queen that he had heard a saying everywhere, even as far away from Cyprus as the city of Åmen (i.e., Thebes), to the effect that injustice was done in every country, and that only in Cyprus was justice done, but that injustice was being wrought that day in Cyprus. He then appealed to the queen and told her that it was the fury of the winds and waves which had driven him to her island, and he besought her not to allow her people to seize him and kill him, because he was an envoy of Åmen; he also pointed out that if the crew of his ship from Byblos were killed by the people of Cyprus, the king of Byblos would certainly kill any man of Cyprus whom he might happen to find in his territory. On hearing this the queen gave her people orders not to kill Unu-Åmen, but as the papyrus breaks off here we know nothing of his further adventures.

The principal interest of the above narrative consists in the light which it throws upon the relations existing between Her-Heru and Nes-ba-Tet, and

upon the general condition of Syria, from which country we see that all remains of the power of Egypt had now disappeared. It is clear either that Her-Heru had not realized this fact or that he was very unbusinesslike, otherwise he would never have sent a priestly official with a considerable sum of money about him to buy trunks of cedar trees from the king of Byblos, who was necessarily in league with all the maritime peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean.

One of the chief works of the reign of Her-Heru was carried out in connexion with the repair and removal of the royal mummies of the kings of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties from their tombs into the place of safety called in modern times Dêr al-Baharî. He found that it was hopeless to attempt to restrain the robbers of the dead from their unholy work, and that the only way in which the destruction of the mummies could be prevented was to remove them from their tombs. In the sixth¹ year of his reign he caused the mummies of Seti I. and Rameses II. to be rebandaged, , and there is no doubt many other mummies were repaired and provided with new coffins about the same time. Ten years later Her-Heru, , who styled himself Sa-Amen, , removed

¹ { ☉ IIII ⤴ IIII ☉ IIII }.

the mummies of Rameses I., Seti I., and Rameses II. to the tomb of queen Ān-Ḥāpu from the tomb of Seti I., which proves that Rameses I. and Rameses II. must have been taken from their own tombs and laid for safety in the tomb of Seti I. at some earlier period. The mummy of Seti I. was again repaired in the seventh year of the reign of Men-Kheper-Rā, the high priest of Āmen, and three years later both it and the mummy of Rameses II. were removed from the tomb of Ān-Ḥāpu to that of Āmen-ḥetep I.¹ Curiously enough, the mummy of Ḥer-Ḥeru himself has never been found. Ḥer-Ḥeru carried out some building operations in connexion with the temple of Khensu at Karnak, many of the walls of which he covered with inscriptions of a purely religious character; he built a court and provided the pylon with eight flag-staffs. On one of the walls of the court are representations of the sons and daughters of his large family.²

The successor of Ḥer-Ḥeru as high priest of Āmen-Rā, the king of the gods, was—

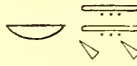


2.  PAI-ĀNKH,

of the details of whose life nothing is known; he was, however, chief steward of Āmen, and he was priest of the goddess Mut and of her son Khensu before he became high priest of Āmen. M. Maspero believes³

¹ The texts which are the authorities for these statements are published by Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 551 ff.


² See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pll. 247, 248.

³ *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 760.

been actually king of the South but only acted as viceroy during the absence of his father H̄er-H̄eru from his capital. Pai-netchem I., who reigned about twenty-one years, styled himself at first "governor of the city, commander-in-chief of the army of the "South and the North," and later he called himself the "lord of the two lands," , and "king of the South and North," . His Horus name seems to have been "he who satisfieth the gods, he who performeth glorious things for their doubles," . There is no doubt that Pai-netchem I. was the successor of his father Pai-ānk̄h, notwithstanding the fact that the Tanite king Pasebkhānut I. included the title "high priest of Amen" in one of his cartouches.¹ In the temple of Khensu at Thebes we see Pai-netchem I. represented in two distinct characters; in one he is the high priest of Amen, and nothing more, and most of his titles already enumerated belong to him as high priest, governor of Thebes, etc., but in the other he is both high priest and king, and we learn from the texts which accompany his figures that he adopted new titles, etc. Thus in his last dual capacity his Horus name was "Mighty Bull, beloved of Amen," and the cartouches which he employed read as follows:—

¹ . See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 587; and Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 679.


process of mummification to preserve the aspect which the features wore during life. The skin of the face had been painted with ochre, touches of red paint had been placed on the cheeks, the lips had been coloured red, and even the eyes had been treated with some kind of eye-paint. The head rested in a much becurled wig, and the furrows made in the face by the process of mummification were filled up with paste.¹ Pai-netchem I. was mummified and was presumably buried in a grave which had been specially made for him, but his mummy was found in the famous hiding-place at Dêr al-Baharî, where it must have been removed for safety. It had been opened by the Arabs as far down as the breast, and several amulets, etc., had been carried away by them; but the lower part was intact, and his *Book of the Dead* was found rolled up between his legs.² Pai-netchem undertook the repairs of several of the royal mummies, e.g., Âmen-hetep I., Thothmes II., Rameses II., Rameses III., and he provided places of safety for the mummies of Ââhmes I., and Sa-Âmen, and other royal persons, having taken them out of their tombs.

4.  MASATHERTH.

MASATHERTH was the son of the high priest and king Pai-netchem I., and he succeeded his father as high

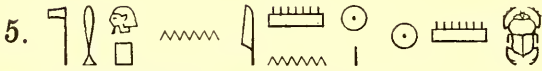
¹ See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 577.

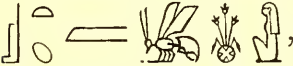

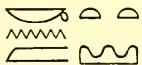
² *Ibid.*, p. 570.

priest of Amen, but not as king; the inscriptions on his coffin describe him as "commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the lands of the South and North," and "commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the whole land," but he seems to have possessed neither Horus name nor any other title. How long he held the office of high priest of Amen is unknown, but it cannot have been for any great length of time, for he was superseded by his brother Men-kheper-Rā, who had, by virtue of his mother's royal descent, a greater claim to the offices of high priest of Amen and king of the South. The mummy of Masaherth was found at Dêr al-Baharî, and was unrolled on June 30th, 1886, when it was discovered that it had already been opened by the Arabs, who had torn the bandages into shreds, and stolen the amulets, etc., and carried off the papyrus. From the description of the physical characteristics of the man given by M. Maspero¹ he seems to have resembled his father in no way. On a wall in the temple of Amen-hetep II. at Thebes is sculptured a scene in which Masaherth is represented adoring the god Amen, and on a yellowish stone colossal hawk preserved at Brussels he is described as "prince, guide of the two lands," , and is said to be "beloved of Khensu."² He caused the mummy of Amen-hetep I. to be re-bandaged and repaired.

¹ *Les Momies*, p. 571.

² See Maspero, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, p. 133.


5.  High priest of
 Amen-Rā, MEN-KHEPER-RĀ.

MEN-KHEPER-RĀ was the son of Pai-netchem I., and he superseded his brother Masaherth as high priest of Amen; he married the lady Ast-em-khebit, , and by her became the father of the high priest of Amen, Pai-netchem II., Hent-taii, and other children. It seems that Men-kheper-Rā never exercised the functions of a king; the period during which he held the office of high priest of Amen is unknown. The principal event in his life is narrated in a text on a stele, now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, which was first translated by Brugsch.¹ From this stele, which is dated in the 21st or 25th year of Pai-netchem I., we learn that a revolt of a serious character broke out in Thebes some time during his reign, and that a number of the ringleaders and others were banished straightway to the Great Oasis, i.e., the "Oasis of the South," , or the Kenemtet, , of the Egyptian inscriptions;² this act put an end to the revolt for a short time, but it in no way removed the cause of it. The rule of the later Rameses kings was bad enough, but that of the



¹ *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 84 ff.














² The most recent description of this Oasis is by Mr. J. Ball, and is published with maps, plans, etc., in *Kharga Oasis*, Cairo, 1900.





priest-kings was worse for the people, because the servants of Amen neither waged wars which brought booty and tribute into the country, nor carried on trade on a large scale, as did Rameses III., whereby the people became rich; Amen and his priests had absorbed everything in the country. If all the facts were known, we should probably find that the royal tombs were robbed simply because the poor people of Thebes had no other means of obtaining money to buy bread.

We have already seen how zealous was Pai-netchem in repairing and re-bandaging the royal mummies of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and he seems to have decided that the only way to prevent the destruction of the tombs and their occupants was to deport to the Great Oasis the thieves and malcontents, and the poor who sympathized with them. Towards the end of the reign of Pai-netchem a further revolt broke out, and he despatched his son to the "south" with a strong force, and ordered him to put down the rising with a firm hand, and to restore peace to the distracted country, . When Men-

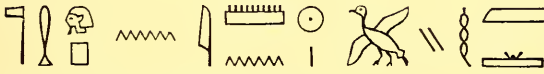
kheper-Rā arrived in Thebes the people welcomed him gladly, and the priests at once proceeded to induct him into the office of high priest of Amen. The statue of the god was brought out from the temple, and a solemn procession was formed, and Men-kheper-Rā was proclaimed high priest of Amen and commander-in-chief


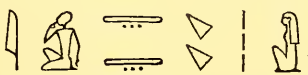
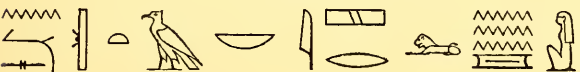
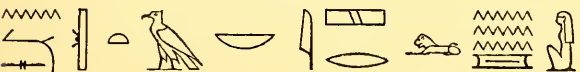
of the soldiers. A short time afterwards, when the festival days of Isis and Amen-Rā fell on New Year's Day, a solemn festival was kept, and the high priest offered up gifts before his god, and besought the god to permit the "hundreds of thousands,"  |, of men who were in the Oasis, , to be allowed to return to Egypt. The god granted his petition, and a decree was promulgated at once in the name of the god, which set forth not only that those who had been banished might return to Egypt, but that no man should in future be banished to the Oasis.¹ There can be no doubt that Men-kheper-Rā was compelled by force of circumstances to recall the banished folk from the Oasis, and that the publication of the decree and the description of the grant of consent by Amen was only ordered to "save the face" of the harassed high priest of Amen, who well knew that unless some measure of the kind was carried out at once the mob would rise and kill the priests and take the city of Thebes. Although we must regard the statement that there were "hundreds of thousands" of banished men in the Oasis as an exaggeration, yet these words indicate that the number of the banished was very large, and this fact forms an interesting comment on the rule of the priests of Amen.

¹          | | |  |  |  |  |


    ; for the text see Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, plate 22, line 17.

The mighty warriors of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties did not find it necessary to banish men to the Oasis by thousands, for they took them with them to war, and when they were not fighting they set the people to build public buildings. The priests of Amen were men who eschewed war and loved peace, and yet they found it necessary to pass sentences on the people such as were never passed by the Amen-heteps or the Thohtmes. In the sixth and seventh years of his rule Men-kheper-Rā was occupied with the repair of certain of the royal mummies, and from two inscribed bandages,¹ which were found on the mummy of Seti I., we learn that at this time the old bandages were replaced by new ones, which appear to have been specially woven for the purpose.

6.  High priest
of Amen-Rā, PAI-NETCHEM.

PAI-NETCHEM II. was the son of Men-kheper-Rā and Ast-em-khebit; he married Nes-su-Khensu, , and was by her the father of Atauī, ; Nes-taneb-Āsher, ; Masahairethā, 

¹ See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 555.


 and Tchauri-nefer,

He held the office of high priest for a few years at Thebes, and also that of commander-in-chief of the soldiers; but he seems not to have enjoyed the authority of king. His coffin and mummy were found at Dêr al-Baharî in 1881, and in 1886 both were opened and carefully examined;¹ on the coffin by the side of the legs is a thin plate of copper on which was stamped an inscription recording the high priest's name and titles. The bandaging of the mummy resembled that of Rameses III., and the linen of the swathings, as we learn from the inscriptions on them, was woven in the first, third, seventh, and ninth year of his rule. On the body were found two beautiful gold bracelets, inlaid with carnelian and lapis-lazuli, with gold fastenings made in the form of flowers. Round the neck were a number of amulets in *faïence*, carnelian, mother-of-emerald, lapis-lazuli, gold, etc., all of the finest and most beautiful workmanship. Beneath these were a large hard stone scarab and a golden hawk with outstretched wings. A papyrus, a little over seven feet in length and inscribed with several decrees of the god Amen, was folded in two over the chest and body, and a *Book of the Dead*, rolled up, was laid between his legs. Of the events of the life of Pai-netchem II. nothing is known,

¹ See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 571.

and it was probably uneventful. He had, like his predecessors, the high priests, no desire to make war, but he had no means whereby to fill the fast emptying coffers of his god Amen, or even to pay for the necessary repairs of the huge mass of temple buildings which extended from Luxor to Karnak. There must have been some understanding arrived at by Her-Heru, the Theban high priest, and Nes-ba-Tet, the Tanite king, by which the powers and the limit of the jurisdiction of each were defined, but it is quite clear that as the power of the high priests waned, that of the Tanite kings grew, and that the latter regarded the former as rulers only in name. Neither the Tanite kings nor the Theban priests did much for the country, and the little energy which both groups of rulers possessed seems to have been absorbed in repairing or beautifying the shrines of the gods whom they worshipped.

The high priests of Amen left behind them a large number of most interesting funeral remains, and their papyri form a highly important class of literature; moreover, it must not be forgotten that it is to the devotion which they showed to the mummies of the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties that we owe the power to look upon the actual features of some of Egypt's mightiest warriors.

CHAPTER III.

THE NINETEENTH, TWENTIETH,
AND TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTIES.—SUMMARY.

OWING to a number of misconceptions on the part of the Egyptologists who flourished in the first half of the XIXth century, it has been generally supposed that the period of the Ramessids marked the culminating point of Egyptian civilization, power, and influence, but this was not the case, for, as we have seen, Egypt reached the zenith of her power under the truly great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Thothmes III. and Amen-hetep III. deserve the title "great" far more than Rameses II. The XIXth Dynasty marks the beginning of the decline of the power of Egypt, and the decline continued without break until the end of the period of the XXIst Dynasty, by which time Egypt had become like the "bruised reed"¹ to which she was compared in Holy Scriptures; this period of

¹ "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, *even* upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, unto all that trust on him."—2 Kings xviii. 21.


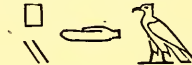
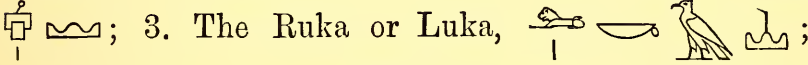
decline lasted about three hundred years. Several causes contributed to the downfall of Egypt; among these the most important were the general corruption which resulted from the great wealth and luxury of the country; the persistent attacks upon Egyptian possessions in Palestine and the Delta by hostile foreigners, who were not slow to perceive the increasing impotence of Egypt; and most of all the blighting and benumbing effect of the influence of the priests of Amen, which during this period gradually invaded and pervaded every part of the body politic, until at length the astute head of that wealthy and all-powerful confraternity seated himself upon the throne of Egypt as king. Whilst the people of Egypt were submitting to the never-ending claims of the priests of Amen, and the king was demoralized by the excessive adulation of his court, the brave governors on the frontiers of the Empire could obtain no help from Egypt, and so, little by little, the conquests of the Thothmes and Amenheteps were lost. In the XXIst Dynasty not only do we find Egypt confined to the Valley of the Nile, but even divided into two separate kingdoms of the South and North, as in the days of the Hyksos seven hundred years before.


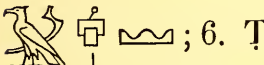
The most formidable foe of the Egyptians at the time of the XIXth Dynasty was the confederation of the Kheta tribes, which were known to the Assyrians as Khatti. Reference has already been made to the fact that these peoples had under the XVIIIth Dynasty

forced their way from Cappadocia in a southerly direction to the neighbourhood of Aleppo and Emesa, and by the time of Seti I. they had advanced still further south, and had reached a point so remote from their original home as the Valley of the Orontes and Litany, where the ancient Canaanitish city of Kadesh was occupied by them and turned into a base for further invasions. The result of the war between the Kheta and the Egyptians under Rameses II. was by no means favourable for the latter, for of the countries which had been annexed by Thothmes III. practically only Palestine remained to Egypt. The Kheta had absorbed the kingdom of Mitanni, the old Egyptian possessions of Neherna (Northern Mesopotamia), and Syria, and meanwhile Assyria, profiting by the wars between the Egyptians and the Kheta, and taking advantage of the weakness of Babylonia under the Kassite kings, was rapidly making her way to a position of absolute independence and great power. In passing it must be stated that the commonly accepted identification of the Kheta with the Hittites of the Bible is as yet unproved, since it rests only on the similarity between the Hebrew name Hêth, and the Egyptian name Kheta; on the other hand it may be readily conceded that the people who built the fortress temples of Baghaz-Köi and Eyuk belonged to the same race, if they were not actually the same people, as the Kheta depicted on the Egyptian monuments. The reasons for this view are based upon the identity of features and costume of the people

depicted on the reliefs of Eyuk with the Kheta of the Egyptian reliefs. The hieroglyphic inscriptions of the race to which the Kheta belonged, which have been called "Hittite," and which are declared to have been "read" and "translated" have not as yet been deciphered, and all deductions based upon such "readings" and "translations" are worthless for archaeological purposes.

Allied with the Kheta in their wars against Rameses II. were warriors belonging to several warlike tribes that lived on the southern coast of Asia Minor, and among such must be noted: 1. The Qarqisha, or Qalqisha,

; 2. The Piṭasa, 


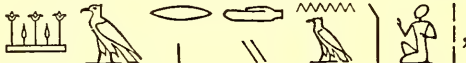
3. The Ruka or Luka, ; 4. The Maunna, 

5. The Masa, 

The first of these tribes, the Qalqisha, seems to be undoubtedly the Cilicians, the termination *sha* representing the nominal termination in Lycian, the typical language of the ancient races of Asia Minor.¹ The Piṭasa are the Pisidians, the Ruka or Luka are the Lycians, as already mentioned, and it is probable that the Maunna, Masa, and Tarteni were the representatives, at that time, of the races known in later days as Maconians, Mysians, and Dardanians. The tribes

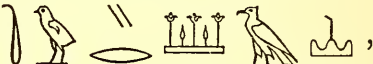
¹ The fact was first pointed out and discussed by Mr. H. R. Hall in his *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, page 178 f.

above mentioned, as well as many others from the same part of the world, were, however, not land warriors only, but also sea rovers, and the rich lands of the Egyptian Delta offered them a tempting prey. Accordingly we find that in the reign of Mer-en-Ptah (Menephthah), i.e., about B.C. 1250, the Delta was attacked and overrun by a powerful confederacy of these tribes, who went there by sea, in alliance with hordes of Libyans who were temporarily united under the leadership of the warlike tribe of the Māshauasha. Among the "peoples of the sea" are enumerated the

Shareṭina, , whom we

have already met with as mercenary soldiers in the reign of Amen-ḥetep III., and who are probably to be identified with the Sardians of Lydia rather than with the Sardinians, as de Rougé somewhat wildly supposed ;


the Shakelesha, , who

have been rightly identified by M. Maspero with the Sagalassians ; the Thuirsha, ,

a tribe which came into close contact with the Egyptians in the XIXth Dynasty, and seems to have possessed settlements in Egypt,¹ but whose racial identity cannot be determined ; and the Āqaiuasha,

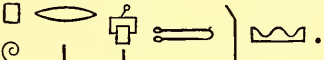
, who were probably the representatives at that time of the race of


¹ The XIXth Dynasty foreign settlement at Gurob may well have been founded by this people.

the Achaians, though from what part of the Aegean they came cannot, of course, be stated. Other Mediterranean tribes not previously mentioned took part in the great expedition of the northerners against Egypt, which was defeated by Rameses III., about B.C. 1200, off the coast of Palestine, and among them may be mentioned the Tchakarei, 




and the Ṭaánáu,  or

Ṭanáuna,  and the

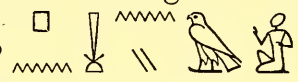
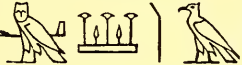
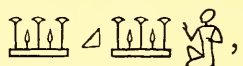
Pulsath, . The Tchakarei and

the Ṭaánáu have been provisionally identified with the Teucrians and Danaans of the Aegean Sea, and the Pulsath are undoubtedly the Philistines, whose settlement on the coast of Palestine seems to have taken place in the period of the XIXth Dynasty. A very ancient and general tradition has always regarded this people as of Cretan origin, and this tradition finds considerable support in the results derived from modern archaeological investigations. The Ṭaánau or Ṭanáuna, as has already been seen, possessed at least one settlement on the coast of Palestine as early as the reign of Khu-en-Āten, and the Tchakarei are found to be in possession of the city of Dor, , in Palestine (see Joshua xi. 2) as late as the reign of Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Āmen and the first king of the XXIst Dynasty, about B.C. 1050, at which time

they seem to have been nothing more or less than a tribe of sea-robbers, with their head-quarters at Dor. It is probable that the Tchakarei and the Ṭanauna, like the Pulsath, originally came from Crete.¹

The northern tribes which attacked Egypt in the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ were in league with a confederacy of Libyans headed by the powerful tribe of the Māshauasha, which at that time was under the leadership of Mārmaiui, , the son of Ṭit, ; taken as a whole these tribes were known to the Egyptians by the name of Āamu-Kehak. The Egyptian king claimed, naturally, to have totally defeated the confederate army, but the fact remains that from his time forward the Libyan population in the Delta increased considerably, and we know that the Māshauasha tribe in particular succeeded in establishing itself upon Egyptian territory. Officials and generals of Māshauasha origin are often mentioned in the texts, and eventually a Māshauasha called Shashanq, the descendant of a Libyan named Buiuuaua, , ascended the throne of Egypt and founded the XXIInd Dynasty; the Psammetici of the XXVIth Dynasty were also of Libyan origin, and very probably were connected with the family of the Shashanq kings. A proof that the Māshauasha intermarried with the Egyptians is afforded

¹ See Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, p. 177.

by a coffin in the British Museum (No. 24,906), from which we learn that a man bearing the Egyptian name of Pen-sen-sen-Heru, , was a Māshauasha, ,¹ and that he was the son of a Libyan called Shaqsha, , and an Egyptian woman called Amen-hetep. With the Nubians the Egyptians were more successful than with the Libyans, for during the whole of the period under discussion they managed to maintain their hold over the Nubian tribes; punitive expeditions had, of course, to be undertaken, and several of these took place in the reign of Seti I.

Returning to the north-east frontier of Egypt we see that during the XIXth and the early part of the XXth Dynasty, Palestine remained a possession of Egypt. The tribes of the Kheta League who had interfered, with such disastrous results to the Egyptian power, in its affairs as early as the days of Khu-en-Āten, seem after the conclusion of their treaty with Rameses II. to have advanced no further south than Syria which, with Mesopotamia, had been finally surrendered to them by the Egyptians. The reason of this inactivity is not far to seek, for it was due to the steady

¹ The actual name of the tribe is Māsha, and they are, no doubt, the Maxyes of the Greeks; the termination *sha* or *uasha* is gentilic, and is thought to have been added to the name by the Egyptians under a misconception, the name of this tribe being confused with those of the northern tribes. See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

rise of the Assyrian power, which as early as the time of Shalmaneser I. and his son Tukulti-Ninib (about B.C. 1300) had already conquered the northern and western parts of Mesopotamia, and the country as far north as the Subnat, a river to the north of the modern city of Diâr-Bekâr, thus depriving the Kheta of the lands which they had recently acquired in Neheren or Naharaina (Mesopotamia). About B.C. 1120 Tiglath-Pileser I., a descendant of Shalmaneser I., finally overthrew the power of the Kheta, or Khatti, and conquered the whole country of Kummuh, i.e., Kommagene, and Shubarti, where in one battle he defeated 4000 warriors of the Khatti, and captured 120 chariots. The land of Mitanni had also by this time been taken away from the Khatti, and that the natural conditions of the country had not changed greatly for about 400 years is evident from the fact that Tiglath-Pileser I. killed 10 elephants, 4 wild oxen, 120 lions on foot, and 800 lions with spears, thus emulating the hunting exploits in the same country of Thothmes III., whose general relates that his master slew 120 elephants there, and of Amen-hetep III., who boasts on his scarabs that in the first ten years of his reign he slew 102 lions on the plains of Mesopotamia.

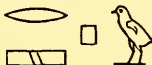


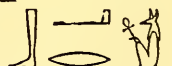
But whilst the might and influence of Assyria were increasing in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., the power of Egypt, which Rameses III. had succeeded in temporarily resuscitating after the decline which marks the latter years of the reign of Rameses II. and the reign of

Mer-en-Ptah, again fell into a condition of weakness and apathy under his incapable successors; and it was not long before Palestine itself was lost to Egypt, owing to the rise to power in that country of a native kingdom with its capital at Jerusalem, the fortress-city of the Hebrew tribe of Judah. The Israelitish tribes seem to have been in possession of central Palestine before the reign of Mer-en-Ptah, when they are first mentioned in a hieroglyphic inscription. During the greater part of the period of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties they were governed by their chiefs, or judges, and seem to have occupied themselves largely with internecine warfare. The country was still Egyptian territory, and Pharaoh continued to be their overlord until towards the end of the twelfth century B.C., when a warrior called Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, succeeded in uniting the various tribes of the country into a confederacy over which he presided. As the kings of the latter part of the XXth Dynasty were absolutely incapable of maintaining the authority of Egypt in a rebellious province, Palestine was finally lost, and the Israelitish kingdom which had been inaugurated by Saul aspired to dominate not only Palestine, but also Syria and the other neighbouring provinces which had formerly been in the possession of Egypt, and which had since formed a bone of contention between the Khatti and the Assyrians. The Philistines were first attacked, but it was not until the reign of David, the successor of Saul,

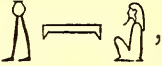
that they were finally subdued. David succeeded in carrying the arms of Israel as far as the northernmost bounds of Syria, and it is a noteworthy fact that the rise of the Hebrew kingdom and its great extension northwards under David and Solomon synchronize exactly with the temporary decline of the Assyrian power, which began about B.C. 1050 under the weak successors of Tiglath-Pileser I., and ended with the accession of Rammân-nirari II., or Addu-nirari II., B.C. 911.

For about a century, under the rule of the energetic monarchs David and Solomon, the Hebrew kingdom was the most important power of Western Asia, and Solomon was considered worthy to marry a daughter of Pharaoh; but the newly-founded kingdom did not last long, and we may note that its collapse and its division into two mutually hostile principalities, the one under Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and the other under Rehoboam, the legitimate successor of Solomon, synchronize with the end of the weak rule of the priest-kings and of the rival princes of Tanis in Egypt, and the accession of the more energetic kings of the XXIInd or Bubastite Dynasty, the first of whom promptly attacked the divided Hebrew kingdom and sacked Jerusalem, about B.C. 930.

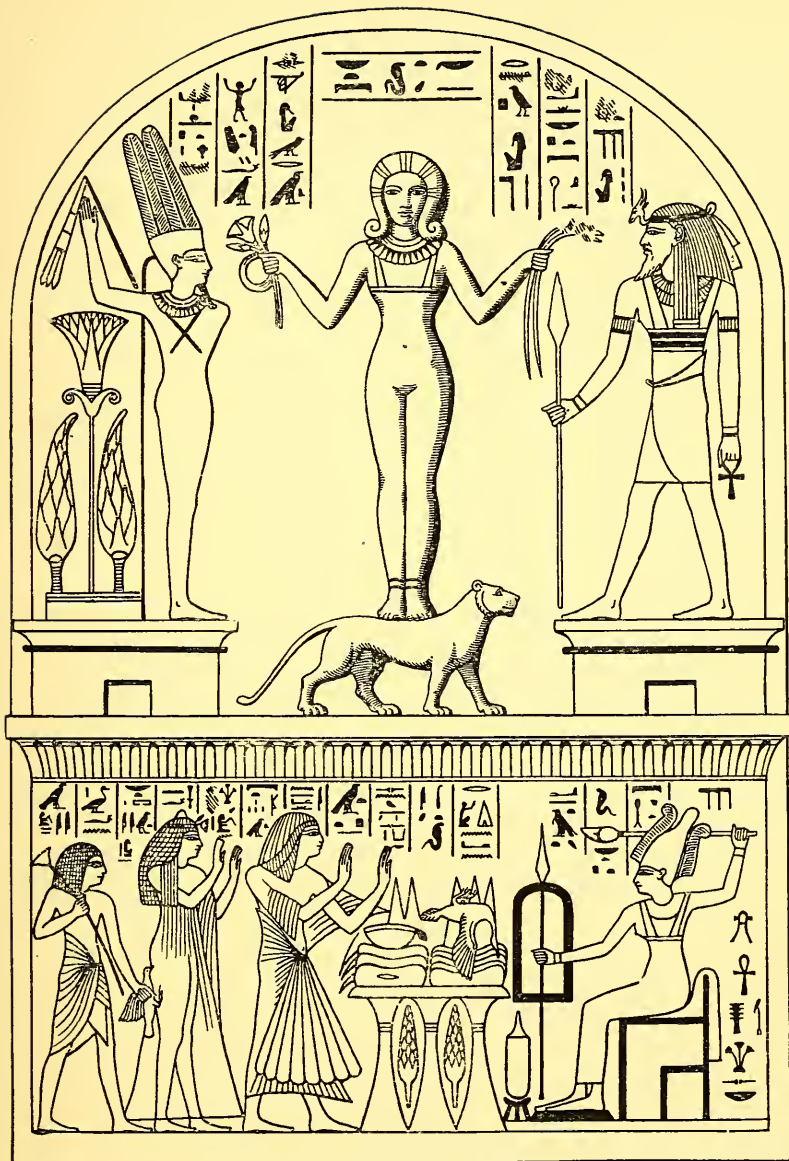
It will be remembered that when the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty made their successful campaigns in Palestine, Syria, Mitanni, and Neheren (Mesopotamia), they obtained great spoil, and therewith large

numbers of Semitic prisoners, whom they brought back to Egypt and employed in building temples and other public works, and many were distributed as rewards to nobles and priests, and others. As these campaigns, which were begun about B.C. 1600 were continued until about B.C. 1200, it follows that a very large number of Semites from Western Asia must, in this manner, have been introduced into Egypt, to say nothing of the Phoenician traders and other voluntary settlers in the country. There must also be taken into consideration the fact that during the whole of this period there was uninterrupted communication between the Egyptians and the Semites, with the natural result that the two systems of civilization influenced one another reciprocally. The influence exercised by the Semites on Egyptian culture was, however, greater than that exercised by the Egyptians on Semitic civilization, and owing no doubt in part to the introduction of large companies of Semitic courtiers and nobles in the trains of the foreign queens whom the Egyptian kings admitted to their *harîms*, it became in the XIXth Dynasty quite fashionable, not only to imitate Semitic customs and to adopt Semitic names, but even to make use of Semitic words and turns of expression in speaking and in writing the Egyptian language. Semitic gods were introduced, e.g., Reshpu, ; Qetesh, ; Anthât, , and Bâr, ; Reshpu is the Phoenician fire-god Resheph, Qetesh is

probably a form of Ashtoreth, or Ishtar, *Ānthāt*, who is often depicted with the weapons of Reshpu, is the war-goddess Anait, or Anaitis, and *Bār* is, of course, the great god Baal, i.e., the "Lord," *κατ' ἐξόχην*. The god Reshpu was soon identified with the native

Egyptian war-god *Ān-her*, , but curiously enough, to the Egyptian god Bes a considerable number of Semitic attributes were assigned, and in some cases he was actually identified with the god *Bār* or Baal. Intermarriage between Egyptians and Semites became common, with the result that under the XIXth and following dynasties, it is possible to trace an increase in the number of statues and paintings of persons whose features have marked Semitic peculiarities, Rameses II. himself being a prominent example of this fact.

The reigns of Seti I. and Rameses II. are distinguished particularly by the magnitude of the building operations which they carried on. The new temple at Abydos and the magnificent hypostyle hall at Karnak, both built by Seti, are for grandeur of conception and beauty of work unrivalled among the triumphs of ancient Egyptian architecture; the great works of Rameses II., such as the Ramesseum, or Tomb of Osymandyas as it is called by Diodorus, and the rock-hewn temple of *Abû Simbel*, while of more massive design and workmanship than those of his father, are much coarser and inferior in execution. Rameses II. was a great



Sepulchral Stele with figures of foreign deities in relief.

Upper Register:—The goddess *ΚΕΤΕΣΗΕΤ* standing on a lion; on her right stands “*ĀMSU* (or *Min*) great god, whose plumes are lofty,” and on her left “*RESHPU* the great god.”

Lower Register:—The deceased with his sister (i.e., wife) and his son adoring the goddess *ĀNTHĀT*. British Museum, No. 191.

builder, but the quantity of his buildings considerably outweighs the quality of them; and besides this he had the dishonest habit of appropriating to himself the credit due to his ancestors by erasing their names from their monuments and by substituting his own, thus giving the impression that he built more buildings than was actually the case. The habit of usurping monuments appears to have originated with the Hyksos kings, who appropriated the sphinxes of Amenemhät III. in the Delta, and it continued to be common long after the time of Rameses II., whose monuments were by the irony of fate often usurped by the Libyan kings of the XXIInd Dynasty. The custom of erecting lofty obelisks in front of the pylons of temples was begun by Usertsen I., who set up a pair before the temple of the Sun-god at Heliopolis; this custom was revived some hundreds of years later by Thothmes I., Hät-shepset, and Thothmes III., who set up obelisks at Karnak and Dêr al-Bahari. To many of these XVIIIth Dynasty obelisks Rameses II. added inscriptions which recorded his own name and titles, and he set up two very fine ones of his own before that portion of the temple of Luxor which he added to the fine building of Amen-hetep III. The building operations of Rameses III. are best illustrated by the remarkable edifice at Medînet Habû, which is part palace, part fortress, and part temple, and one portion at least of which seems to have been copied from an Asiatic fortified building.


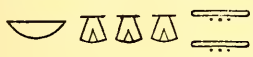
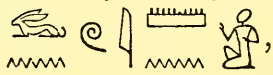
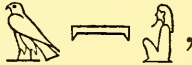
One of the chief characteristics of the development of Egyptian religion under the XXth Dynasty was the unwonted worship which was paid to Khensu, the third member of the Theban triad of gods, the son of Amen-Rā and Mut, who was identified with the Moon-god; up to the period of the XXth Dynasty he had received no special honours, nor was he regarded with any great veneration after the rule of the XXIst Dynasty had come to an end. But during the period when his worship was in its most flourishing state, a fine temple was built in his honour at Karnak which is oriented in quite a different direction from that of the great temple of Amen, and which certainly formed no part of the original design for the group of temples there. It was no doubt due more to want of money than to lack of zeal that the priest-kings were unable to add more than they did to the buildings at Thebes. The private houses of this period differed in no way in plan from those which were built in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and their furniture and other contents exhibit few variations from the standard of that time, albeit a falling off in taste may be noticed, and the workmanship is not so fine. Objects and designs of Asiatic origin or appearance are more common, vases of strange shapes were used, and the foreign idea of the winged sphinx was introduced into Egyptian patterns and ornamentations. Typical of the ornamentation of the walls of an Egyptian palace of Rameses III. are the inlaid porcelain tiles from Tell

el-Yahûdiyeh,¹ the site of the ancient city of Leontopolis near Shibîn al-Kanaṭîr in the Delta, which exhibit an interesting mixture of Egyptian art motives and ornamental designs borrowed from more Eastern peoples. An artistic peculiarity of the period under discussion is the way in which the *ushabtiu* figures were treated. These figures appear to have come into general use in the XVIIIth Dynasty, when they were made of painted limestone, or of hard stone, steatite, wood, etc.; at the end of the dynasty they began to be made of porcelain, and were glazed with the colours, i.e., mauve, yellow, chocolate, blue, etc., which were characteristic of that time. In the XIXth Dynasty pale blue became the universal colour, and a new fashion was introduced of representing the *ushabti* figure not in the form of a mummy, but in that of a man or woman wearing the apparel of everyday life. This modification continued in use throughout the XXth Dynasty, and is found sporadically under the XXIIInd. Under the XXIst Dynasty there was a return to the old fashion of making the *ushabti* figure in the form of a mummy, and *ushabtiu* of this time may always be recognized by the brilliant blue of their glaze, on which the inscription is painted in an equally brilliant black.

In the period under discussion considerable changes took place in the method employed in writing and illustrating the great national religious work, the


¹ I.e., the "hill of the Jewess," or the "Jewish hill."

Book of the Dead, and other cognate compositions. In the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty the vignettes were sometimes coloured and sometimes plain; under the XIXth and following dynasties they were always coloured, but the work of the artist and scribe is not so delicate as that displayed in the papyri of the earlier period. Later the vignettes became very numerous, and were inserted without any regard to proportion or to the requirements of the text. Gradually, too, we find that in the XXth Dynasty selections from the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," or the *Book of the Dead*, began to be no longer written upon funeral papyri, and that the ancient prayers and vignettes were set aside for quite modern compositions and pictures, which had reference entirely to the supremacy of Amen-Rā and the tenets of the creed of the priests of Amen, which now represented the national religion of the country. In the old funeral works the name of Amen hardly ever appears, but by the time that the XXIst Dynasty began to rule this god had not only absorbed the attributes of Rā and of Min, or Amsu, but seems to have become more or less identified with Osiris himself, a view which, though fostered by the priesthood of Amen, could hardly have commended itself to the priesthood of the old shrine of Osiris at Abydos. In many parts of Egypt the name of the local god was joined to that of Amen, or Rā, who was now, and always afterwards, considered to be the same god as Amen. The great god of Thebes is

called by the name of , i.e., *Amen-Rā suten neteru*, "Amen-Rā, king of the gods," a name which was preserved by the Greeks under the form *Ἀμουργασόνθηρ*, and his proudest title was , "lord of the thrones of the two lands;" it is clear that his priests wished to proclaim that he was the head of all gods, both old and new, and that Thebes was the true centre of the religion of Egypt. In the XXth Dynasty this pretension was admitted throughout Egypt, and that the prestige of Amen had not only penetrated into foreign lands, but had succeeded in overshadowing even local deities, is proved by the reference made to him by the Syrians in the report which Unu-Amen, , the envoy of the first priest-king Her-Heru , made to his master on the adventurous journey which he undertook to Byblos and Alashiya (Cyprus?), in search of wood for building the festival bark of the god Amen, about B.C. 1050.¹ Closely connected with the worship of Amen was that of his son Khensu, which was fashionable under the XXth and XXIst Dynasties, and to which sufficient reference has already been made.

The literature of the Middle Empire, as well as that

¹ See the text transcribed and translated by Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. xxi. p. 76 ff.; also Erman in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxviii., 1900, p. 19 ff.



of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, is known to us chiefly from editions of old works and copies of new ones executed at the time of the XIXth Dynasty, to which date also most of the copies of texts made by schoolboys on papyrus and slabs of calcareous stone must be assigned. Among the historical romances and fairy tales which were popular at this period may be mentioned the "Taking of Joppa by Tehuti-â," "The Story of Apepâ and Seqenen-Râ," "The Tale of the Two Brothers," "The Story of the Predestined Prince;" the adulatory composition of Pen-ta-urt, , the





Egyptian Poet Laureate of the day, in honour of the doughty deeds ascribed to Rameses II. in his war against the Kheta, which was inscribed on the pylons at Karnak, may almost be included under the heading of historical romances. It is a fine specimen of the inflated style in fashion at the period, and is linguistically of considerable importance, for it well illustrates the changes which the Egyptian language was undergoing at this period. The speech of an Egyptian of the XIXth Dynasty, differed considerably from that of his grandfather, if the latter happened to have lived under the XVIIIth Dynasty, for during the greater part of the period of that dynasty the language differed but little from that in use in the classical period of the XIIth Dynasty. The language of the XXth Dynasty differs as much from that of the XIIth as the English of to-day differs from that of the time of Chaucer.

Narratives of travel had always been popular among the Egyptians, for in the XIIth Dynasty we find extant the "Story of Sa-Nehat," and the "Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor," and similarly under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties the narrative of the tour which an intelligence officer¹ made in Palestine, and of the mischances which befell him there appears to have been so widely read that copies of it were compiled in such a way that they could be used to teach geography. The narrative of Unu-Àmen referred to above is, seemingly, not a work of the same character as the "Travels of an Egyptian," but a genuine official report of the Egyptian envoy to his superior officers. The "Story of the Possessed Princess of Bekhten," written in the XIXth Dynasty, combines a narrative of travel and of what may well have been a historical event with a very manifest advertisement of the superior magical powers of the god Khensu.

Under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties an unprecedented interest was taken in the ancient history of the country. The court scribes of Thothmes III. drew up a list of the names of sixty-one of his royal predecessors, whom he is represented adoring on the Tablet of Karnak, but the order and arrangement of the cartouches indicate the improbability that any attempt was made to place the names in proper chronological sequence. Seti I., however, was more careful in this respect, and his list of seventy-five names of

¹ Commonly known as the "Travels of an Egyptian."

his royal predecessors, which is known as the Tablet of Abydos, in spite of the omissions of a large number of names, has been a document of the greatest value to Egyptian chronographers. The private list of forty-seven kings, found in the tomb of Thunrei, an official who lived in the reign of Rameses II., shows that definite attempts were made at this time to secure accuracy of sequence and not only mere collections of names. The great King List which is preserved in the Royal Museum at Turin was written in the period of the XIXth Dynasty, and no doubt represented the official view of that time on the subject of the names and sequence of the kings, the lengths of their reigns, etc., which had been arrived at after long and careful inquiry; it is therefore the more deplorable that its fragments, owing to their manipulation by the misguided Seyffarth, are useless for the purpose of reconstruction of Egyptian chronology. It is interesting to note from our standpoint of wider knowledge the misconceptions and mistakes of the earliest Egyptian historians. This is especially noticeable in the case of the royal names of the Archaic Period, which seem to have been much more incomprehensible to the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties than they are to us, and with regard to which they made very curious mistakes. For example, the name Senti, , was read by , Hesepti, and this error was still current in the time of Manetho, who calls this king "Usaphais."

Another name, that of , Sen, the last king of the Ist Dynasty, was curiously enough read , Qebh, and in one list this mistaken reading is unpardonably insisted on by being spelt out \triangle  . The reason of these mistakes is not far to seek: the scribes had before them not the actual monuments of the Archaic Period which we possess (at that time buried deeply beneath the sand at Abydos), but their names as given in annals written in the hieratic character of the time of the Middle Empire; which were no doubt often erroneous, and often misread by the scribes of the New Empire. It is chiefly on the work of these later scribes, with all their mistakes, that the work of Manetho is based; some of his names, however, seem to be derived from the works of authorities older than the XIXth Dynasty, which are now no longer extant. He appears to have done the best he could with the materials available, and we can only wonder that his King List agrees with the evidence derived from the monuments as well as it does.

More important from a general than from a literary point of view are two series of documents, which give us a good insight into certain phases of the social life of the Egyptians in the period of the XXth Dynasty; these are,—1. the reports of the trial of a number of members of the famous conspiracy hatched and fomented in the *harîm* of Rameses III., and, 2. the reports of the proceedings taken against certain robbers of the

Royal Tombs at Thebes in the reign of Rameses IX. The conspirators against Rameses included in their number many high officials, several of whom were connected with the management of the *harím*, and at least six women; they appear to have planned the death of the king, but so many persons were mixed up in the business that the plot soon leaked out, and the king appointed a commission to try them. We learn, however, that of the commissioners at least three were discovered to be themselves implicated in the plot! The criminals of high rank were allowed to commit suicide, whilst those of lower rank suffered either death or mutilation at the hands of the public executioners. Incidentally it is seen that one of the conspirators tried to injure the health of the king by magical means, for he had borrowed a book of magic from the royal library, and, in accordance with the directions contained in it, had made a number of wax figures, and had recited incantations over them, hoping thereby to cause pain and eventually death to the persons who were represented by the wax figures.

The report of the proceedings taken by the government against the robbers of Royal Tombs affords us a very good idea of the complicated character of the police arrangements in the time of Rameses IX., as well as of the growing lawlessness which was tolerated under the weak government of the later kings of the XXth Dynasty. The fact that the

tombs of ancient kings, who were officially regarded as gods, and were worshipped as such, were as fair a prey to the tomb robber as the tombs of private persons, proves that the criminal of the lower classes had very little respect either for his kings or his god. We need not be surprised to find that in Egypt, as in every eastern country, the use of the stick was regarded as a legitimate means to employ for compelling unwilling witnesses and culprits to bear testimony when required to do so; the convicted felons in this case were either mutilated or put to death. The official titles of the police officers of the time do not differ greatly from those in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and have already been referred to in the place where the official classes under the New Empire are briefly described. The police of Thebes at this time were known by the

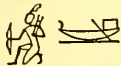
name "Māchāiu," , and it seems

pretty certain that they were descendants of a foreign tribe of African origin which had been brought by the Egyptians to Egypt in captivity. An important characteristic of the period is the employment by the Egyptians of foreign mercenaries and slaves, both to keep order in the country and to wage war without. The tribe most frequently met with in this capacity is that of the Māsha, or Māshauasha, which has already been mentioned. Next come the Shartīna of Asia Minor, who served as mercenaries in Syria as early as the time of Amen-ḥetep IV., and were afterwards

employed in Egypt as royal guards; they are depicted on the monuments wearing the most elaborate uniforms, but carrying their own native weapons and armour, e.g., a closely-fitting helmet with a crest in the shape of a crescent and ball, and a huge broadsword of European type, which must have appeared very strange in the sight of the Egyptians. Members of the tribe of the Shartina took part in an attack made upon Egypt by the northern tribes in the reign of Mer-en-Ptah, but on the occasion of the great battle with these same northern tribes in the reign of Rameses III., about fifty years later, we find the "heroes" of the Shartina, as they are called by the Egyptians, forming the mainstay of the Egyptian forces. In the same battle a number of Thuirsha also fought on the Egyptian side, but in the time of Mer-en-Ptah this tribe had formed part of the invading host. The employment of mercenaries distinguishes the army of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties from that of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but in other respects there was no great difference between them; an account of the various classes of soldiers employed, charioteers, infantry, etc., has already been given in the description of the war of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

The defeat of the attack of the northern tribes upon Egypt in the reign of Rameses III. has already been described, but we must note here that the fight took place partly on land and partly on shipboard off the coast of Palestine, most probably at the mouth of the

Nahr al-Kalb, or Dog River, in Phoenicia, where on the rocks close by Rameses II. had in times past sculptured slabs to commemorate his victories. The ships of the foreigners and of the Egyptians are very carefully indicated in the bas-reliefs on the great temple of Medînet Habû, wherein the chief events of the battle were depicted for the benefit of posterity. The ships of the foreigners are of light build and draught, and the lofty, vertical bows and sterns terminate in the heads of large birds; like all ships of that period they only possessed one bank of oars. The Egyptian ships are of a stronger build, and are not so high out of the water; their bows terminate in the heads of animals, etc., but their sterns are quite plain. The kings of Egypt had maintained ships of war for use on the Nile from the period of the VIth Dynasty, when we find the first mention of the "soldier boat,"

~~~~~  *nemāshā*.

In the war between the Thebans and the Hyksos, about fourteen hundred years later, the royal war-ships took a prominent part in the capture of Avaris, and from the inscriptions which describe this event we learn that the war-ships had special names given to them, e.g., "Khā-em-Men-nefer," i.e., "Sunrise in Memphis," wherein we may probably see an allusion to the driving away of the Hyksos darkness from Lower Egypt by the sun of Upper Egypt. Sea-going boats appear in Egyptian annals in the time of Se-ānkh-ka-Rā, a king of the XIth Dynasty,


who despatched an expedition to Punt viâ the Red Sea. The same route was traversed a thousand years later by the fleet of five heavy merchant ships, which were sent to Punt by the great queen Hâtshepset to bring back gum, frankincense, gold, copper, skins, apes, etc., to Egypt. Mediterranean ships are first depicted in an Egyptian tomb built in the reign of Amen-hetep III. ; the ship in question is a Phoenician merchant ship, and similar vessels are mentioned in the Annals of Thothmes III., and in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets, etc. Egyptian war-ships do not, however, appear in Mediterranean waters until the time of Rameses III., when vessels which, on account of their low freeboard, seem to have been originally built for use on the Nile, were navigated along the Palestinian coast to fight and defeat the sea-going ships of the enemy. The campaign of Rameses III. was the last energetic effort which Egypt put forth to maintain her empire intact, but it was unavailing to check the process of disintegration which had set in as early as the reign of Rameses II., and which continued until Egypt lost all her foreign possessions, and was herself rent by the dissensions of two rival royal houses.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY  
FROM BUBASTIS.

IN some respects the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty has formed among Egyptologists as momentous a subject for discussion as the XXI<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, but it is satisfactory to know that most of the difficulties which have arisen in connexion with it have been removed, and that the origin and order of the kings in the dynasty have been satisfactorily ascertained. Among the names of the kings of this dynasty are four which are characteristic, i.e., Shashanq, Uasarken, Thekeleth, and Nemareth; from these attempts were made by the early Egyptologists to assign an origin to the dynasty. Dr. Birch in 1880<sup>1</sup> thought that the family of Shashanq, its first king, was "of Libyan or Semitic origin, that it "was descended from Psusennes" (Pasebkhānut), and that "the names of his descendants identify them with "the great Chaldean families which reigned over "Assyria and Babylonia"; at an earlier period he had

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt* (edition of 1880), p. 155 f.

no doubt that these kings were wholly of Semitic origin. Dr. Brugsch shared this view, and asserted in an unqualified manner that the names "*Takeloth, Usarkon, Nemaroth*, represent in the Egyptian form and writing "the names *Tiglath, Sargon, and Nimrod*, so well known "in Assyria."<sup>1</sup> It was, however, soon seen that none of these three names was Semitic, and the argument that the dynasty was Semitic, because the names were supposed to be Semitic, therefore fell to the ground. In the cuneiform inscriptions the work "Tukulti," from which the Hebrews made "Tiglath," never stands alone, but always forms *part* of a name, e.g. Tukulti-Ninib, Tukulti-pal-e-sharra; the name Nimrod is only known to us from Genesis x. 8, 9, and from Arabic legends, and has not as yet been identified in the cuneiform inscriptions;<sup>2</sup> and the first character, *ua*, , in the name Uasarken, is sufficient to show that we are dealing with a non-Semitic name. All doubt as to the origin of the XXIIInd Dynasty may now be set aside, for we know that its first king was a descendant of a Libyan family, and that his family belonged to the famous Māshauasha tribe of the Libyans.

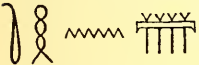




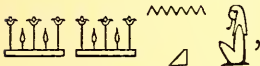


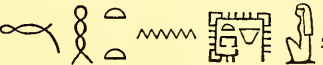
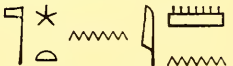
From the stele of a priest,<sup>3</sup> called Ḥeru-pa-sen, who officiated at the interment of an Apis Bull in the

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 75.

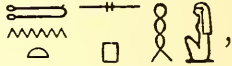
<sup>3</sup> See Mariette, *Le Serapéum de Memphis*, plate 31; Mariette, *Bulletin de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, p. 94 ff.; Lepsius, *Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad.* (Phil. Hist. Classe, p. 259), 1856.



thirty-seventh year of the reign of Shashanq IV., we learn that the founder of the family was a Libyan,  *Thehen*,<sup>1</sup> called Buiu-uaua, or Buiuuu-Buiuuu, , who must have flourished towards the end of the XXth or the beginning of the XXIst Dynasty; his son was called Mauuasan, , his grandson Nebensha, , his great-grandson Pa-thut, , his great-great-grandson Shashanq, , and his great-great-great-grandson, Namareth, ; all these men bore the title *sar āa*, , i.e. "great chief," which shows that they were the head of the tribe to which they belonged, and probably also that their tribe was the dominant one in the country. Shashanq, the great-great-grandson of Buiu-uaua, married a lady called Mehtet-en-usekht, , who had the title of "Neter tuat en Amen," , i.e., "morning star of Amen,"<sup>2</sup> and as she belonged to the royal family of Egypt he obtained by his marriage

<sup>1</sup> The word means "light-coloured" and "fair" when applied to the complexion.

<sup>2</sup> Or "divine adorer."

with her a claim to the throne. Their son Namareth married the "divine lady" Thent-sepeh, , and the claim of Buiu-uaua's descendants to the throne was further strengthened. Namareth, having married the Egyptian lady Thent-sepeh, seems to have settled down in Egypt, and he was at all events buried at Abydos, and certain endowments were provided for the maintenance of his tomb and the performance of the sacrifices and the celebration of festivals at certain seasons in his honour. According to the late Dr. Brugsch the mother of Namareth, Mehtet-en-usekht, was a daughter of one of the last of the kings called Rameses, and she may well have been so, but there is no evidence forthcoming in support of his statement that Namareth was associated with his father Shashanq in the rule of Egypt, and it is wholly wrong to call him "the great king of Assyria."<sup>1</sup> He may have advanced into Egypt with the view of conquering the country and have been overtaken by death at Abydos, but there is no evidence that he did so to help the Ramessids.

The proof of all this is derived from the lower half of a granite stele<sup>2</sup> found at Abydos, which was set up by Shashanq I., the son of Namareth, and the founder of the XXIIInd Dynasty. From this we

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> For the text see Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pll. 36, 37; translations will be found, by Brugsch, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 208 ff., and by Birch, *Records of the Past*, vol. xii. p. 93.

learn that Shashanq I. visited Abydos, where his father was buried, and discovered that his father's tomb had been shamefully neglected, and that the revenues of the estates, presumably at Abydos, which had been set aside for its maintenance had been misappropriated; the field and garden produce and the cattle which were intended for the funeral sacrifices had been stolen, and the servants of the tomb and the labourers on the estates had been withdrawn from their proper duties and made to work for certain officials whose titles are duly given. The officials who had neglected the tomb and stolen its revenues were put to death forthwith, and Shashanq took steps to repair the tomb and to re-establish the proper funeral services, and appointed a number of men and women to do what was necessary in connexion with them. All these things he says he carried out with the approval of the god Amen-Rā, who promised him a long life on earth, and an everlasting posterity. Shashanq I. next caused an upright statue of his father to be made, and when finished he had it brought up to Abydos accompanied by a large number of ships and men. In due course it was brought into the sanctuary of Osiris in the great temple of Abydos, where it no doubt remained until it was to the interest of some king to have it removed or broken. Dr. Brugsch identified with this statue a porphyry statue of the prince which is preserved in the Egyptian Collection at Florence,<sup>1</sup> but he overlooked the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 544.



two wide gold bracelets, inlaid with paste and ornamented with figures of Harpocrates, uraei, etc., in relief, which are inscribed with the name of Namareth; inscriptions of this prince other than those on his seated statue at Florence are unknown.



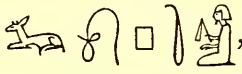
RĀ-HETCH-KHEPER SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun,  
SHASHANQ-MERI-ĀMEN.

SHASHANQ I., the *Σεσώγχις* of Manetho, and the Shishak of 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii. 5, 7, 9, was the son of Namareth, and the grandson of Shashanq, the "great prince of the Māshauasha," and of the Egyptian princess Mehtet-en-usekht; he was the founder of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, and began to reign a few years before the death of Pasebkhānut II., the last of the kings of the XXI<sup>st</sup> Tanite Dynasty. According to the monuments and Manetho Shashanq I. reigned twenty-one years. His Horus name was "Mighty Bull, "beloved of Rā, [who] made him to rise in the "sovereignty of the two lands"; his name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet was "Rising with "the double crown of the South and North like Horus, "the son of Isis, making to be content the gods with "Maāt"; and as the Horus of gold he styled himself, "Prince doubly mighty, subduer of the Nine Bows,

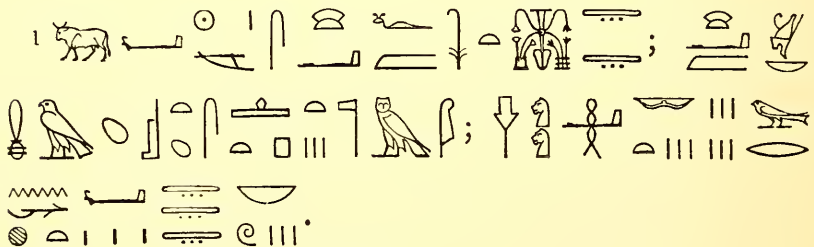


“greatest of the mighty ones of all lands.”<sup>1</sup> He married a “morning star” of Āmen called Karāmā,

beloved of Mut, , the

daughter of the Tanite king Pasebkhānut II., and thus obtained a legal claim to the throne of Egypt through his wife, and mother, and grandmother. He caused his son Āuupeth, , to be appointed high priest of Āmen, and commander-in-chief of the soldiers of Egypt, and by so doing he succeeded in getting into his own hands complete control of all Egypt and Nubia.

According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. 7, 8) Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, having become puffed up by reason of the words of the prophet Ahijah, of the city of Shilo, persuaded the people to forsake Solomon and make himself the king. When Solomon heard of this he tried to catch Jeroboam and kill him, but he escaped to Shishak, i.e., Shashanq I., the king of Egypt, and abode in that country until Solomon died, aged ninety-four years.<sup>2</sup> In the Septuagint the king



<sup>2</sup> Compare 1 Kings xi. 26-40.

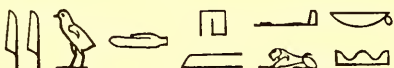
of Egypt is called "Susakim" (III. Kings, xi. 40), a form of the name of Shashanq which seems to have been copied by Cedrenus,<sup>1</sup> who gives Σουσακείμ, and adds the information that Jeroboam took to wife a daughter of the king of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> On the death of Solomon Jeroboam returned to Palestine and became king of the ten tribes whilst Rehoboam maintained his kingship over two tribes. According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. 10, 1 ff.), Rehoboam built the cities of Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, Bethzur, Shoco, Adullam, Ipan, Maresha, Ziph, Adoriam, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron, and having fortified them strongly he placed garrisons in them with supplies of corn, wine, and oil, etc., and he laid up in them shields and spears for many times ten thousand men. He married eighteen wives, and had thirty concubines, and a family of twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. In the fifth year of his reign (1 Kings, xiv. 25) Shashanq I. (Shishak) made an expedition against him and invaded his country with tens of thousands of men, and 1200 chariots, and 60,000 horsemen, and 400,000 footmen, among whom were Libyans and Ethiopians. Shashanq took all his strong cities without opposition, and then besieged Rehoboam in Jerusalem; by the advice of Shemaiah the Hebrew king surrendered, and then Shashanq spoiled the Temple, and carried off large quantities of gold and silver. He took away the gold

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1838, tom. i. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐλαβε δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Σουσακείμ ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα.

bucklers and shields of Solomon, and also the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah and had dedicated to God, and then he returned to Egypt. Thus Shashanq, having succeeded in splitting up into two parts the kingdom founded by David, renewed the hold upon Palestine which Egypt had possessed in one form or another since the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty; he followed the example of the Tanite king who gave a daughter in marriage to Solomon, and gave a daughter to Jeroboam to wife, and so strengthened his authority at the court of the Hebrew king.

The only record of this great campaign in the Egyptian monuments are the reliefs which are found on the outside of the south tower of the second pylon of the great temple at Karnak, wherein we see Shashanq I. clubbing a number of Semitic prisoners in the presence of Amen-Rā and the goddess of Thebes; close by the king is seen grasping a sword in his right hand and holding in his left a cord by which are tied together in five rows representatives of 133 conquered districts and cities in Palestine, each with his name enclosed within an oval turreted wall. Among these names, Rabbath, Taanach, Shunem, Rehob, Hapharaïm, Mahanaïm, Gibeon, Beth-Horon, Kedemoth, Ajalon, Megiddo, Shoco, Edom, etc., seem to have been satisfactorily identified. Among the other names on the list is








one, , which has formed the

subject of much discussion, and has been regarded with universal interest. The hieroglyphics read IUTĤMĀLK, the last sign of all being the determinative for mountainous country; these have, since the days of Champollion, been supposed to represent the Hebrew words *Yud-hammelekh*, for *Yehûd-hammelekh*,<sup>1</sup> i.e., the "king of Judah," and the figure of the man, with a pointed beard and hands tied together behind his back, on whose body they are inscribed within an oval castellated wall, has been considered to be a portrait of the foolish king Rehoboam.<sup>2</sup> This interpretation, which was due to Champollion, was generally accepted for many years, but it has always been evident that it was an impossible one; the figure on which the name occurs is a purely conventional representation of a Semitic prisoner, and was never intended by Shashanq I. to be a portrait of the king of Judah, and the spelling of the first part of the name forbids all possibility of its being a transcription of the Hebrew name Judah. In recent years a theory has been advanced<sup>3</sup> that the name *Iutĥmālk*, or *Iutĥmārk*, is to be connected with the Hebrew words *Yadh hammelekh*, and that it means "hand of the king," i.e., Fortress (or Power), of the king. It is true that the Hebrew word *yadh* יַד means, as may be seen from the passages quoted by Gesenius,

<sup>1</sup> יהוּד־הַמֶּלֶךְ for יוּד־הַמֶּלֶךְ.

<sup>2</sup> See Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1868, 8vo., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 167.

“place, spot, a memorial slab or pillar, a sign, a mark, “the point of a rock, a prop, a stay,” but on the other hand *yadh* hardly seems to be a likely original for the Egyptian *Iuṯ*. But for the undue importance given to the name Iuṯmālk by Champollion’s theory it would never have attracted any special attention on the part of Egyptologists, and all except the enthusiast would have regarded it as the name of a place in Judaea which Shashanq claimed to have conquered, and which had no more importance than any other place mentioned in his list. There is no evidence that Iuṯmālk, or Iuṯmār̄k, means either “King of Judah,” or “Hand of Judah,” and all that is known of the construction of the Egyptian language seems to make either meaning impossible. At any rate, if the original name of the place had either meaning in Hebrew the Egyptian scribe did not recognize it, for had he done so and intended to translate the meaning into Egyptian, he would have written the name in a different way. The presence of the character  ā, in the word   is conclusive evidence against any identification of it with the Semitic word for king, מלך, which an Egyptian scribe would have represented by  (or ) , with the determinative for man, , following it. It is better to regard Iuṯmālk as a place in Judah, or as Judah, a town of the tribe of Dan, as Brugsch<sup>1</sup> and Maspero<sup>2</sup> have done, and we

<sup>1</sup> *Geog. Inschriften*, vol. ii. p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, tom. liii. p. 774.



must, of course, reject wholly the view that the figure of the captive on which it occurs is a portrait of Rehoboam, king of Judah.

The expedition against Judaea was the chief event in the reign of Shashanq I., and there is no doubt that he regarded his victory with great satisfaction; the exact date at which it took place is not known, but it is probable that it was near the end of his reign. Before he could have any account of it inscribed on the walls of the great temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes it was necessary to repair that portion of the building where there was space for it. In order to do this he sent his son Auuapeth to the quarries at Silsila<sup>1</sup> for stone, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and he seems to have not only repaired or rebuilt a part of the second pylon of the temple, but also to have carried out repairs in other parts of the building; the most important of these works was, naturally, that on which his list<sup>2</sup> of tributary districts or cities and towns was inscribed. In the temple of Mut at Karnak Shashanq I. carried out a number of repairs, and he followed the example of Amen-hetep III. by setting up there a number of statues of the goddess Sekhet. At Memphis he built a small chapel in honour of the god Apis, at Tell

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the stele at Silsila see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 254c.; for translations see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 219; and Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 731 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the text of the list see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pll. 252, 253; and see Maspero in *Recueil*, tom. vii. p. 100, and in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 44.

al-Maskhuta M. Naville found that he carried out some repairs,<sup>1</sup> and Professor Petrie found that he usurped two great granite sphinxes at Tanis,<sup>2</sup> and that he caused inscriptions recording his names and titles to be cut upon their bases. A number of small objects inscribed with his name are preserved in various collections in Europe,<sup>3</sup> including several scarabs, among which of special interest is one where, according to Wiedemann, his name appears side by side with that of Seti II.<sup>4</sup> From the inscriptions at Silsila it is clear that Āuuapeth, the son of Shashanq I., occupied a position of considerable importance in the south of Egypt, where he seems to have acted as viceroy. In connexion with his work at Thebes must be mentioned the active part which he took in the preservation of the royal mummies of the kings of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and of the high priests of Āmen who ruled over Thebes under the XXIst Dynasty.

The punishments which had been inflicted upon the robbers of the royal tombs did not stop the progress of their depredations, and Āuuapeth found that inroads were being made by them even into the tomb of Āmen-ḥetep I., where many of the mummies had been deposited. In fact, Āuuapeth was powerless to

<sup>1</sup> See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1893, p. 43.

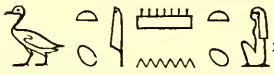
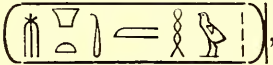
<sup>2</sup> One is at Tanis and one in the Louvre; Petrie, *Tanis*, i. p. 7 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 550 f.

<sup>4</sup> British Museum.

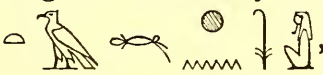
prevent the robberies<sup>1</sup> which were, of course, connived at by the priests and servants of Amen, whose special duty it was to protect the tombs, and he determined to place the mummies and their funeral furniture once and for all in a place of safety. With this object in view he seems to have examined the tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings with care, and at length decided that the sepulchre of Ast-em-khebit, the wife of Men-kheper-Rā, the high priest of Amen, would form an excellent hiding-place for them. This tomb consisted of a pit or shaft about forty-five feet deep, and a corridor nearly two hundred feet long, opening out of it at right angles and terminating in a rough-hewn chamber without either paintings or decorations. To this place Auupeth brought all the royal mummies and high priests of Amen from the tomb of Amen-hotep I. and other places, together with all their funeral furniture, and deposited them in it; when this had been done he had the pit or shaft filled up with stones, sand, etc., after having walled up the entrance to the tomb at the bottom of it. The hiding-place was so carefully concealed that it remained unknown until the year 1872, when it was discovered accidentally by the Arabs. The exhaustive examination of the mummies made by M. Maspero proves that a great deal of damage had been done to many of them by the robbers, who not only despoiled the kings of their

<sup>1</sup> The condition of affairs at Thebes which led to the robberies is well described by Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 771.

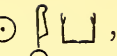
ornaments and amulets, but wrecked their bodies in their mad search for treasure. The mummies of Sat-Āmen, , and Mes-ḥent-themeḥu, , were entirely destroyed,<sup>1</sup> and false mummies, one being made of the head of a child and a mass of palm-sticks and leaves, were substituted. In the hurry and confusion of removal many mummies, e.g., Rameses I., Rameses II., and Thothmes I. were placed in the coffins originally intended for other people, and it follows as a matter of course that during the removal of the funeral furniture to the hiding-place at Dêr al-Baḥarî many objects were "lost." The services which Ānuapeth unintentionally rendered to the science of Egyptology by removing the royal mummies to this hiding-place were very great, and should be regarded with gratitude.

2. 

RĀ-KHERP-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, ĀMEN-MERI-UASARKEN.


UASARKEN I., or OSORKON I., or 'Οσορθών, was the son of Shashanq I., and according to Manetho he reigned fifteen years; he married Ta-shet-Khensu, , who bore him Thekeleth, who

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Les Momies*, pp. 538, 544.

succeeded him; he also married Maāt-ka-Rā, , the daughter of Heru-Pasebkhānut, the last king of the Tanite XXIst Dynasty; she bore him a son called Shashanq, who was appointed high priest of Amen, and commander-in-chief of the bowmen of all Egypt. Of the life and reign of this king nothing is made known to us by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and as no monument which can be attributed to him is known, we are justified in assuming that he was neither a warrior nor a builder.<sup>1</sup> About the time of this king, according to 2 Chronicles xiv. 9 ff., Zerah the Ethiopian invaded Judaea with "an host of a thousand thousand, and "three hundred chariots; and came unto Maresshah. "Then Asa went out against him, and they set the "battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mare-shah. And Asa cried unto the Lord and . . . the "Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before "Judah; and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa and the "people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar: "and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could "not recover themselves; for they were destroyed "before the Lord, and before his host." Champollion identified Osorkon I. with "Zerah the Ethiopian," but there are no grounds whatsoever for this identification, and there is no evidence that Osorkon I. made any

He appears on a relief in the "Portico of the Bubastides" in the Great Court at Bubastis, where he is depicted receiving from Amen a sword and the emblem of "long life," and from Khnemu the symbol of "life," and from Hathor milk.



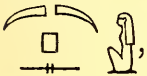

expedition into Judah. In 2 Chron. xvi. 8, the host which Asa is said to have conquered is described as consisting of "Ethiopians and Lubims," i.e., Libyans, but an invasion in which one million men are said to have taken part must have left some record of itself behind, and yet we have none except the mention in Chronicles, which must be of a legendary character. Some years before his death, Osorkon I. appears to have associated his son Shashanq with him in the rule of the kingdom, but this son did not succeed his father on the throne of Egypt, notwithstanding the fact that his name appears in a cartouche on the limestone statue (now in the British Museum, Northern Gallery, No. 8), which he dedicated to Hāpi, the god of the Nile. The texts on this statue give the names and titles of Shashanq, and state that he made it in honour of "his lord Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, dweller in the Āpts;" one line of hieroglyphics contains a speech of the Nile god in which the "father of the gods" describes the riches and agricultural abundance which he will bestow upon the country, and the overflowing granaries which he will give to the high priest of Amen-Rā, Shashanq, beloved of Amen.<sup>1</sup> Shashanq, the son of Osorkon I., married Nesta-utchat-khut, , who bore him a son called Uasarken.


The texts are given by Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xv. a-h.

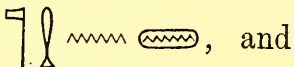
3.  

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, ĀMEN-MERI-SA-ĀST-THEKELETH.

THEKELETH I. was the son of Osorkon I. and the lady Ta-shet-Khensu, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-three years; he married Shepes,

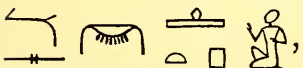
, the daughter of Neter-mer-Ĥeru, ,

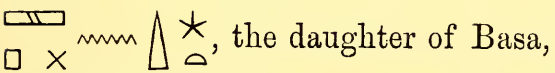

who bore him two sons, Nemareth, ,

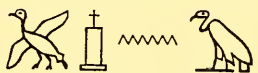
who became a priest of Āmen, , and

Osorkon, who succeeded him. The monuments supply no information concerning Thekeleth I., and very few inscriptions can be attributed to his reign. One, which is found on a stele discovered by M. A. Barsanti at Shûnat az-Zebîb, near Abydos,<sup>1</sup> is a funereal text commemorative of a high official, called Nesi-ur-ĥeka,

, the son of Nes-nub-ĥetep,

, and his wife Shep-en-Sept,

, the daughter of Basa, , the superintendent of the granaries of the South and North,

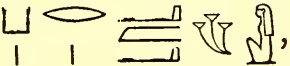
and the son of Pa-ân-en-Mut, , who held a similar office. In the upper part of the stele is a

<sup>1</sup> For the text see *Recueil*, tom. xv. 173.


figure of a king who is called the "lord of the two lands, the lord maker of creation, Usr-Maāt-Rā, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Thekeleth, triumphant." <sup>1</sup> In a note following M. Barsanti's communication M. Daressy calls attention to a stele at Florence (No. 1806) wherein a king with the prenomen USR-MAĀT-RĀ-SETEP-EN-RĀ is mentioned, and as this is clearly the fuller form of the prenomen of the king who is represented on the stele found by M. Barsanti at Abydos, and as both are different from the prenomen of Thekeleth II., which is well known, it is pretty certain that the name on both stelae is that of one and the same king, and that that king is Thekeleth I.

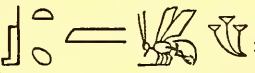
4.  4. 


RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, MERI-ĀMEN-SA-BAST-UASAĀRKEN.

UASARKEN II., or OSORKON II., was the son of Thekeleth I. and Shepes, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-nine years; he adopted as his Horus name the title "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt." He married (1) Kareāmā, , who bore him a son called

<sup>1</sup> 


Shashanq; (2) Mut-ḥetch-ānkh-s, , who bore him a son called Nemareth, who held the offices of "high priest of Amen-Rā, commander of the "bowmen of Suten-ḥenen, prince, governor of the "South, overseer of the prophets in Suten-ḥenen";

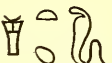



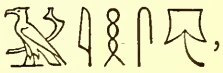
(3) Āst-em-khebit, , the daughter of the princess Thes-Bast-peru, who bore him a daughter to whom she gave the name of Thes-Bast-peru,

 Osorkon II. waged no wars either in the East or the West, but like his namesake Osorkon I. he devoted the greater part of his energies to the rebuilding and decoration of the great temple which was founded at Bubastis by Rameses II. The sculptures of Osorkon I. occur chiefly in the first hall and they are characterized by great beauty of workmanship. M. Naville, to whose excavations<sup>1</sup> at Bubastis in 1887, 1888, and 1889 we owe our knowledge of the history of the temple, accounts for this by the fact that in the XXIIInd Dynasty the centre of political life tended to go more and more to the Delta, for there the king made his abode, chiefly because of the wars with which he was constantly threatened by the Asiatics or the Libyans.

The temple of Bubastis<sup>2</sup> was dedicated by Osorkon I.

<sup>1</sup> See *Bubastis*, London, 1891, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Bubastis = Pa-Bast, , the Pibeseth of Ezekiel xxx. 17.

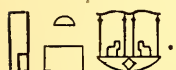
to the goddess Bast, , a sister form of the goddess Sekhet, , who is described as the "mistress of the gods, the lady of Pa-Bast" (Bubastis); she is called the "mistress of the mysteries of Temu," and her son is called Heru-hekenu, , Nefer-Tem, , or Maḥes, , according to his aspects. Under the Early Empire the goddess Bast was an obscure local goddess to whom no special adoration was paid, but as soon as she was adopted as the tutelary deity of the Bubastite kings, who called their capital after her name, she rose to a position of the highest importance among the gods of the Delta, and her worship became universal. When Osorkon I. ascended the throne he found the temple of Bubastis in a ruined condition, and he rebuilt, either wholly or partly, the first hall; he did not finish the construction of the main part of the building, still less did he decorate any part of it except the first hall. Osorkon II. took up the work where Osorkon I. left it, and he continued it as far as possible, taking pains to concentrate, however, his energies on the second hall, or "Festival Hall" as he called it. This hall measured 80 feet by 120 feet,<sup>1</sup> and was built upon the site of the sanctuary of the old temple which existed there in the time of Pepi I., and which was repaired and

<sup>1</sup> See Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892.



enlarged by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The deity to whom the old temple was dedicated in the VIth and XIth Dynasties is unknown, but it is certain that in the reign of the Hyksos kings the god Set was worshipped in it in great honour. When Rameses II. came to the throne the old temple was in ruins, and to him belongs the credit of having rebuilt it thoroughly; he erased the name of nearly every king which he found on the blocks and slabs among the ruins, and had his desire been carried out as fully as he intended we might have supposed that he was the actual founder of the temple.

After the death of Rameses II. the temple was wrecked either by an earthquake or by foes, and as the Tanite kings and Theban high priests of the XXIst Dynasty made no attempt to repair it, far less to rebuild it, it continued in a state of ruin until Osorkon I. began his good work. Osorkon II. called the Hall which he built the "House of the Set Festival,"



The great festival which he celebrated in this Hall was in connexion with the god Amen, and it took place on the first day of the fourth month of the season Shat (Khoiak), in the twenty-second year of his reign; the Set Festival was an extremely ancient institution, and was celebrated at the end of a period which has been supposed to contain thirty years. In the scenes and inscriptions which were cut on the entrance of the hall are carefully depicted and described


the various ceremonies which were performed during the celebration of the Set Festival by Osorkon II. High officials and priests from all the great sanctuaries of Egypt were present at the performance of the ceremonies connected with the exaltation and deification of the king, all the great gods and goddesses of Egypt were supposed to be present and to speak comfortable words to him, and the texts declare that Osorkon II. had trodden under his feet the countries of Northern and Southern Syria, and that the Anti tribes of Nubia were represented by twelve men who "smelt the earth," i.e., paid homage to the king, on behalf of their tribes. Want of space makes it impossible to describe the details of the symbolic ceremonies, which are of considerable interest, and for further information concerning them reference must be made to M. Naville's special memoir on the subject.

Osorkon II. carried out building operations at other places in the Delta, e.g., at Tanis<sup>1</sup> and Tell el-Maskhuta,<sup>2</sup> and it seems that he repaired portions of the temple of Amen at Karnak, for his name is found there. From the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria from B.C. 860 to 825, we learn that in the sixth year of his reign, i.e., in 854, he made a great expedition against the Khatti and their allies, and that having crossed the

<sup>1</sup> See *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. ix. pp. 71, 72; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Naville, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 43.

Euphrates at Kar-Shalmaneser he received tribute from the great chiefs of the country round about. He offered up sacrifices to the god Rammānu of Khalman, or Aleppo, and then pursued his way through Hamath and at length arrived at a place called *Ḳarkar*,<sup>1</sup> near which he found the hosts of the enemy ready to do battle with him. Among them were Hadadezer of Damascus, Irkhulini, king of Hamath, Ahab, king of Israel, who contributed 2000 chariots and 10,000 men, and the allied forces that were opposed to the Assyrian king consisted of about 4000 chariots, 2000 horsemen, and 160,000 men. Among the troops assembled was the Arab *shēkh* Gindibu, who came with 1000 camels, and among the contingents which appear to have come from outlying districts or countries was one of 1000 men of the "Muṣrai."<sup>2</sup> Now the "Muṣrai" have been thought by many to be people of Miṣrayim or Egypt, and some have seen in the mention of "1000 Muṣrai," a proof that Osorkon II. sent an army into Palestine and Syria, and have therefore concluded that he must be identified with Zerah, זֶרַח, the Ethiopian who was defeated by the Jewish king Asa, and that the narrative of 2 Chronicles xiv. 8 is a description of his supposed

<sup>1</sup> *Ḳarkar* has been identified with *Ḳal'at al-Mudik*, which stands on the site of the classical Apamaea; the Assyrian form of the name is *Ḳar-ka-ra*  (W. A. I., iii. pl. 8, line 90).

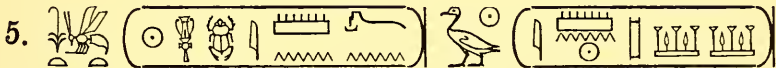
<sup>2</sup>  (W. A. I., iii. pl. 8, line 92).

expedition. The "Muşrai," however, had nothing whatever to do with Egypt, and were natives of an entirely different country, for they came from a district which must be looked for near the Taurus mountains.

All the evidence known to us indicates that Osorkon II., whether from choice or necessity cannot be said, was a man of peace, and we know that his hold on Palestine and Southern Syria was not very strong; it is impossible to think seriously that he would venture to send a contingent of 1000 men as far north into Syria as Apamaea, for he had no interest or purpose to serve in so doing, and it must have been evident to him that, after the rise of the new Assyrian Empire under Ashur-naşir-pal (B.C. 885-860), the Assyrians would very soon become masters of the country then occupied by the Khatti and their allies. Shashanq I., it is true, made an expedition into Palestine and captured Jerusalem, but he did not do so until he saw that the kingdom of David was rent in twain and that the dissensions between Rehoboam and Jeroboam were of such a character as to prevent their taking action in common against Egypt. But even he did not march into Northern Syria, and, although the name of Megiddo is seen in his list of tributary or vanquished cities on the tower of the second pylon at Karnak, it must be remembered that the list is a copy of one made for an earlier king, and that it contains the names of a number of districts, cities, and towns in Palestine and Syria which Shashanq I. never saw. The successors

of Shashanq I. knew that their ancestor had carried off from Jerusalem everything of value that he could find, and that that city and the country round about were not as yet worth a further campaign. These considerations make it impossible that Osorkon II. sent 1000 men to help the Khatti against the Assyrians.

In 1896 M. Daressy discovered an inscription<sup>1</sup> of fifty-one lines on a wall at the north-west corner of the hypostyle hall of Amen-hetep III. at Luxor, which records that in the third year of the reign of Osorkon II. a terrible flood came, and that the priests could only enter the temples by wading through water several feet deep. An inscription on the wall of the quay of the temple of Amen at Thebes marks the height of the inundation of the third year of Osorkon II., and from it we learn that it was the highest rise of the Nile ever known.



RĀ-SESHESH-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Son,  
SHASHA[NQ]-MERI-ĀMEN-RĀ.

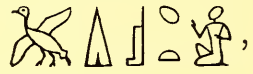
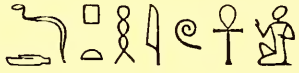

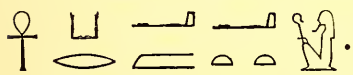
SHASHANQ II. was the son of Osorkon II., and succeeded him as king of Egypt; a few small objects inscribed with his name are known in European collections, as well as one or two inscriptions which

See *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 181 ff.





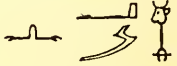
māmā is described as a “princess, great lady,” and “mistress of the country of the South,” and as she was descended from one of the royal families of Thebes, and was connected with the priest-kings of that city, it would account for her husband’s wish to propitiate the Thebans. Thekeleth’s family consisted of at least four children besides Uasarken, i.e., two sons


and two daughters, namely, Patā-Ast, ,  
 Tchet-Ptah-āuf-ānhk, , Thes-batet-  
 peru, , and Ānhk-ka-rāmātet,  
.

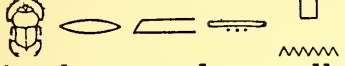
From one inscription of Thekeleth II. at Thebes,<sup>1</sup> dated in the eleventh year of his reign, it appears that this king overcame the opposition of certain enemies with great success, but whether they were foreigners or his own subjects the mutilated state of the text does not allow us to decide. In another inscription in the same place,<sup>2</sup> dated in the fifteenth year of his reign, there are further allusions to the opposition of enemies, both in the South and in the North, which was, however, again successfully overcome. The text is much broken, and the phrasing of the inscription is, perhaps purposely, vague, but it seems as if the opposition came from within, and not

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 257a.  
<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *op. cit.*, iii. pl. 256a.

from without. Thekeleth II., partly in accordance with his wife's wishes and partly as an act of policy, went and lived for a time at Thebes, hoping thereby to make the priests of Amen and the people regard him with favour, so that when the occasion should arise they might take up arms against the Nubians, who, even then, were only waiting their opportunity to attack Egypt. The people of Bubastis naturally looked with disfavour upon this proceeding, for they expected a Bubastite king to stay in his own capital and keep watch on the Libyans on the West, and on the nomad tribes, and Philistines, and Syrians on the East. But the coming of Thekeleth II. to Thebes was not regarded with great favour either by the priests of Amen or by the people, for the king was to all intents and purposes a foreigner, and of Libyan descent, and the chief deity of his capital was not Amen but the goddess Bast; moreover, he came empty-handed, and had no spoil wrested from Asiatic foes to give them, and it was one of his ancestors who had put an end to the possibility of further robberies from the royal tombs, by removing the mummies and their funeral furniture to an unknown hiding-place, and to the memorial services which had been formerly celebrated in the tombs. The last inscription referred to above states that on the 25th day of the fourth month of the season

Shemu "heaven did not eat the moon," , and that, in consequence, "great

“misfortune happened in this land,” 

 .<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Brugsch saw in these words an allusion to an eclipse, and Edward Hincks believed that it referred either to the eclipse of the moon which took place on April 4, B.C. 945, or to the eclipse of the sun which took place on April 1, B.C. 927, and attempted to systematize the chronology of the XXIIInd Dynasty by means of it. The correctness of Brugsch’s interpretation was entirely denied by Chabas, who, in an article entitled “*Une Éclipse sous le règne du père de Tiklat II,*”<sup>2</sup> showed that, although some celestial phenomenon is here referred to, that phenomenon was not an eclipse of the moon. The historical and chronological conclusions which were based on the assumption that the words quoted above mentioned an eclipse fell, of course, to the ground. Accompanying this inscription at Thebes are two reliefs in which Thekeleth II. is seen making offerings of bread, etc., to the god Amen.



RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SHA-SHA[N]Q-SA-BAST-MERI-ĀMEN.

<sup>1</sup> I follow Goodwin’s text, which was based upon that of Sir G. Wilkinson and Mr. E. Smith, given in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mélanges*, Série 2, No. IV. pp. 73-107, Chalons-sur-Saone, 1864.


SHASHANQ III., the successor of Thekeleth II., reigned about fifty-two years; his Horus name is unknown, but he adopted the prenomen of Rameses II., and called himself "son of Bast, divine prince of Annu" (Heliopolis). He seems to have carried out some repairs in connexion with the temple of Amen at Thebes, and in an inscription on one of its walls he describes the great gifts which he offered to the god Amen in the 11th, 22nd, 25th, and other years of his reign. At Memphis Shashanq III. worshipped the Apis Bull, and both this city and Heliopolis seem to have been wholly subject to him. At Tanis he built a pylon, of which some slabs inscribed with his cartouches were found by Professor Petrie in the course of his excavations.<sup>1</sup> At Bubastis Shashanq III. did nothing, in fact, the successors of Osorkon II., the builder of the Hall of the Set Festival, neglected their capital, and allowed its temples to fall into ruin. It is not easy to see why they did so, but it, probably, resulted from want of money caused by the application of the funds at the disposal of the king to the maintenance of the temple and priesthood of Amen at Thebes, instead of to the needs of the Bubastite capital. The later kings of Bubastis brought their dynasty to an end chiefly by the attempt to conquer the Thebaid by peaceful means; they can have known little of the past history of their country if they imagined that such a thing was possible. The monuments belonging to


<sup>1</sup> *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 29.






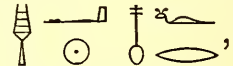
his Majesty Shashanq III. then deceased. They, i.e., the priests and people, "had been seeking for his "beauties in every place in the country of the North," and at last they found him in the city of H̄et-shetābet,

, and after they had led him about through all the places and islands of the Delta<sup>1</sup> for three months, they took him to Memphis,

, and he was led into the temple of Ptaḥ of the Southern Wall by the high priest of Memphis,

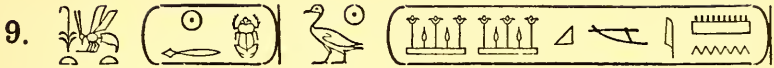
whose title was "ur kherp ḥem," , and who

also officiated as a Sam (or, Setem) priest, the great chief of the tribe of the Māshauasha, Paṭā-Āstet, the son of Thekeleth and Thes-batet-peru, on the first day of the second month of the season Shat (Paophi) of the 28th year of the reign of Shashanq III. When this


Apis was buried "his happy life," , had been twenty-six years,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \triangle \cap \text{III} \\ \odot \cap \text{III} \end{array} \right.$ . This last statement

is of peculiar interest, for if the bull was born in the 28th year of the reign of Shashanq III., and died in the second year of the reign of Pamaï the successor of Shashanq III., aged twenty-six years, it follows that Shashanq III. reigned many more years than was usually supposed.





RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER, son of the Sun, SHASHA[N]Q-MERI-  
ĀMEN.

SHASHANQ IV., or SHISHĀK IV., was the son of Pamai, and as on one of the stelae found in the Serapeum it is stated that an Apis (the third<sup>1</sup>) died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, it is certain that he ruled over Egypt for thirty-seven years at least. The prenomen of this king, surmounted by a disk with plumes, , is found twice on the rocks on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract,<sup>2</sup> and in the few words of text which accompany one of them (No. 103) it seems as if Shashanq IV. had made some expedition into Nubia to subdue the "vile Nubians," but no inscription of a historical character which supports this view has as yet been found. The monuments of the reign of Shashanq IV. are few, and consist chiefly of small objects such as scarabs,<sup>3</sup> and rings<sup>4</sup>; it is noteworthy that no inscriptions of this king have been found either in the South or North of Egypt, notwithstanding the fact that he reigned nearly forty years.

<sup>1</sup> The first died in his fourth year, and the second in his eleventh year; see Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and part iii. pl. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 70, Nos. 8 and 10; J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 90 and 91 (Nos. 87 and 103).


<sup>3</sup> See Brit. Mus., Nos. 4361, 18,520, 24,230, 24,254, 27,280, 32,307.

<sup>4</sup> See Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY. FROM TANIS.

1.  RĀ-SE-  
HER-ĀB, son of the Sun, PEṬĀ-SA-BAST.

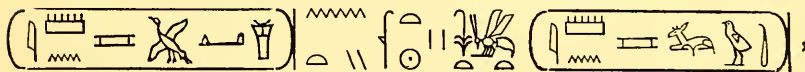
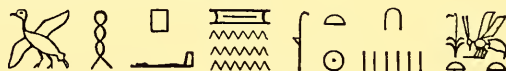
PEṬĀ-BAST, i.e., "The gift of Bast," the Πετουβαστις of Manetho, who says that he reigned forty (variant, twenty-five) years, and that in his time the Olympiads began (see Cory, *Anc. Fragments*, p. 124), appears to have been connected with the royal family of Bubastis, or with one of the royal priestly families of Thebes. Whether he reigned twenty-five or forty years it is a remarkable fact that the monuments of his reign are so rare, for besides the few objects enumerated by Wiedemann,<sup>1</sup> i.e., a small shrine at Paris, a wooden flat statue of Isis, and a bronze torso of the king inlaid with gold, to which may also be added the scarab in the British Museum (No. 17,269, inscribed ) , scarcely any other monument of Peṭā-Bast is known. His capital was Bubastis, but his authority was

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 561.

respected at Thebes, a fact proved by the inscriptions which M. G. Legrain<sup>1</sup> discovered on the front of the stone quay at Thebes, which was built with special care in order to protect the temple of Amen at Karnak from the inundations of the Nile which, even in those remote days, threatened to undermine the building and make it fall. Here we have forty-five inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in the sixth year of Shashanq I., and the latest in the nineteenth year of Psammetichus I.; among these are inscriptions which mark the highest point reached by the waters of the Nile in the 16th, 19th, and 23rd years of the reign of Peṭā-Bast. Side by side, however, with the inscription dated in the 16th year of his reign we find one which indicates that the 16th year of that king was equivalent to the second year of a king of the South and North called Āuuth-meri-Āmen.<sup>2</sup> Of the history of this "king" Āuuth we know nothing, but we may safely assume that he was the high priest of Amen-Rā at Thebes, and that at some period unknown to us he arrogated to himself the title "King of the South and North," just as so many of his predecessors had done. His rule must have lasted but a few years, for in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv. p. 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads :



Legrain, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv., 1896, p. 114, No. 26.



19th year of the reign of Peṭā-Bast we find that the name of another high priest of Āmen stands side by side with that of this king. Peṭā-Bast is also mentioned in a historical romance found in Demotic in which he and his kinsfolk, among whom is specially mentioned the governor of the nome of Mendes, are parties in a great dispute with Pamāi the Less of Heliopolis, and Paqrur, the governor of the East, concerning a suit of armour which was stolen.<sup>1</sup> Many of the statements in this document appear to be based on historical facts.




RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, ĀMEN-RĀ-MERI-UASARKENĀ.

The existence of UASARKEN III., or Osorkon III., was thought to be made known to us by a leather tablet in the British Museum (No. 7871e) on which the king is represented in the act of worshipping Āmen, who is depicted in the form of the ithyphallic god Āmsu, or Min; but an examination of this object and the others of the class proves that they all belong to Osorkon I.<sup>2</sup> In a gold aegis of the goddess Sekhet,

<sup>1</sup> See Krall, *Ein neuer historischer Roman* (in Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung, Erz. Rainer, vi. 19 f.)

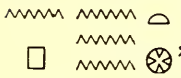

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Nos. 7871, 7872, and 15,581-15,588.

now preserved in the Louvre,<sup>1</sup> she is represented with the head of a lioness, and on each side of her head is a hawk; on the breast-plate are engraved rows of papyrus and lotus flowers arranged in semicircles, and inscribed on the back are the words, "Royal mother, royal wife, Taṭā-Bast, ,

"son of the Sun, Uasark[en], living for ever." Thus we obtain the name of the queen mother, and probably that of Osorkon III. Of the acts and deeds of Osorkon III. we know nothing, but it is tolerably certain that he is to be identified with Osorkon, the king of Bubastis, who is mentioned in the stele of Piānkhi, and that it was in his reign that Egypt was invaded and overrun by the Ethiopians. It will be remembered that when Shashanq I. and his successors became kings of Egypt the priest-kings of Thebes lost the great power which they had enjoyed under the Tanite kings of the XXIst Dynasty, and that nothing but poverty and ruin stared them in the face. In these straits, probably soon after the removal of the royal mummies to their hiding-place in Dêr al-Baḥarî by Shashanq's son Āuuapeth, the high priest and his followers fled from Thebes, and from the misery and want which they had brought upon the Thebans by a rule which drained the resources of the Thebaid for the benefit of a body of arrogant

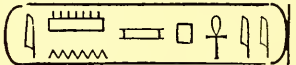

<sup>1</sup> One metal cast of this beautiful object is in the British Museum (No. 34,939), and another is in the collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price; see his *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities*, London, 1897, No. 2520.

priests, who were regardless of the ruin into which they were leading their country, and took refuge at Nept,

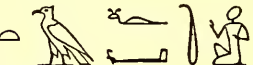

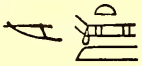



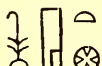


, or Nepita, , the Napata

of classical writers. Here they were well received by the Nubians, or "Ethiopians" as they are sometimes called, and here they settled down and prepared to spread abroad the cult of Amen-Rā, "the king of the gods."

It is usually said that Amen-hetep III. set up here, just under the mountain called Gebel Barkal, a building which was part temple and part fortress, but there is no evidence that he did so, for the lions, inscribed with his name and that of Tut-ānkh-Amēn, which were found there were probably brought to that site from the temple at Soleb. It is quite possible that there was a fortified Egyptian outpost at Gebel Barkal as far back as the XIIth Dynasty, and also again under the XVIIIth Dynasty, during which latter period the dominant worship among the Egyptian garrisons in Nubia would be that of Amen-Rā; but it is very doubtful if the worship of Amen was at all general among the Nubians until the arrival of the fugitive priests at Napata. As soon as they were settled in that city they began to meddle in the politics of the country, and gradually to egg on the Nubian kings to make an attack upon Egypt. They saw plainly that under the Tanite and Bubastite Dynasties the country was slowly but surely splitting up into a

number of principalities, each of which was ruled by a chief who, either through the connexion or relationship of his wife with one or other of the old royal houses of Egypt, or through the strength of his arm, declared himself to be the "king" of the country. The priest-kings, of course, regarded the Thebaïd as their kingdom by right, and lost no time in persuading the native rulers of Nubia to go down the river and seize it, intending to re-establish themselves and the worship of the Nubian Amen once more in Thebes. For some time nothing was done, but under the rule of Pi-ānkhi, "beloved of Amen," , who was probably a descendant of some "royal son of Kush," the Nubians made an expedition into Egypt; this Nubian invasion took place in the first month of the season Shat, which corresponds roughly with September, in the 21st year of his reign, i.e., about B.C. 750. When Pi-ānkhi had conquered Egypt and returned to his capital at Gebel Barkal he caused a record of the fact to be inscribed in hieroglyphic characters upon a huge stele which was set up in the temple which he built at Gebel Barkal, the "Holy Mountain," , of the Egyptian texts. In 1863 a paper "squeeze" of the inscription was sent to M. E. de Rougé by Mariette, who subsequently with great difficulty succeeded in having the monument itself brought to Cairo, and the following facts concerning Piānkhi's great expedition are derived from


the official account of it which he caused to be set up in his temple.<sup>1</sup>

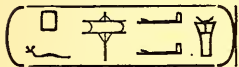
Piānkhi was at Napata when news was brought to him that Taf-nekhteth,  (who has been identified by some with "Tnephachthus, the father of Bocchoris"),<sup>2</sup> the "chief of the West" and governor of the city of Netert, , had seized a number of important cities in the western part of the Delta, and that he had sailed up the Nile to the south, where he had succeeded in taking possession of the country; he had reduced the native princes thoroughly, and they became to him "as dogs following at his heels." The cities of Mer-Tem, , Crocodiopolis, , Oxyrhynchus, , and other great cities received him gladly, and when all the towns on the west bank of the Nile had opened their gates to him he turned his attention to those on the eastern bank. Here Aphroditopolis, , Suten-het, , Taiutehait, , and Heliopolis, , opened their gates to

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 1-6; E. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, fasc. iv.; for translations in English see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 240; and *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Τνέφαχθον τὸν Βοκχόριδος τοῦ σοφοῦ πατέρα. Diodorus, i. 45 (ed. Didot, p. 37).



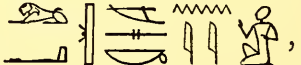
him, and the first serious opposition which he met with was at Suten-ḥenen,  (Herakleopolis), a city which at that time was ruled by a chief called Pef-tchau-āā-Bast, whose name is placed in a cartouche,




Tafnekhteth besieged Suten-ḥenen, and as it is said that he placed it in the position of "having its tail in its mouth," and that no one could either go in or come out, it is tolerably certain that it was soon in very evil case; meanwhile a number of chiefs of cities fled to the south, and placed themselves under the protection of the Nubian king at Napata.

As soon as Pi-ānkhi heard what Tafnekhteth had done, and how he would soon be in possession of the Thebaïd and of its chief city Thebes, the sanctuary of the god Amen, whom the Nubians now regarded as their great god, he sent orders to his generals Puaarma,


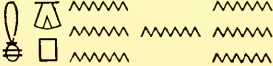
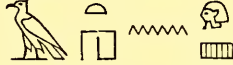


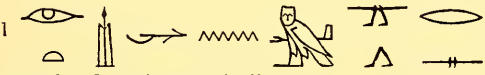
and Lāmersekni, , to capture all men, and animals, and boats of the enemy, and not to allow the husbandmen to go out to work in the fields, and to besiege the district of

Hermopolis, , and to make daily attacks upon

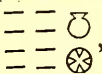
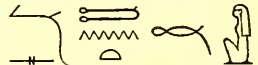
it; these orders, it seems, were strictly carried out. Meanwhile the king himself was not idle, for he collected all his soldiers, and having given them a number of instructions as to their behaviour and method of attack, he sent them down the Nile into



and fled to Pa-peḳ, , a town lying considerably to the north of Oxyrhynchus. The battle was renewed on the following day, and though the Nubians killed large numbers of men and horses, a great many of the enemy succeeded in effecting their escape to the north. What happened after these events is unknown, but the stele goes on to say that Nemareth made his way back into his own city Hermopolis, which the Nubians at once began to besiege. Meanwhile a report of the engagement had been sent to Piānkhi, who became as "furious as a panther" when he read it; he swore a terrible oath by his "father Amen" as to what he would do to his officers unless they utterly destroyed the enemy, and promised that he would make the foe "taste his fingers" after he had celebrated at Thebes the great festival on the second day of the third month of the season Shat. His generals in Egypt carried on the war with great vigour, and they took Oxyrhynchus by assault "like a water-flood," , and they captured Ta-Tehen, , after having breached its walls by means of a battering ram<sup>1</sup>; at this last place the slaughter was terrible, and among the slain was the son of Tafnekhteth. Flushed with victory they marched on to the north and attacked


<sup>1</sup> , "one made a wooden tower for hurling at it,"

Het-Bennu, or Hipponon, but as the city opened its gates to them there was no fighting. Reports of all these successes were sent to the king, but he was not satisfied with them.


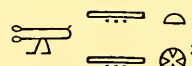
On the ninth day of the month Thoth Piānkhi arrived in Thebes, and having performed certain religious ceremonies there, set out to join his troops who were besieging Tafnekhteth in Hermopolis. On his arrival he pitched his tent to the south-west of Hermopolis, <sup>1</sup> and began to press the siege with vigour. He raised up mounds round about the walls and built up towers from which the archers could pour flights of arrows into the town continually, and the slingers could cast stones with their leather slings. On the third day Hermopolis capitulated, and Nemareth sent his wife Nes-thent-meh, , accompanied by abundant gifts, to entreat Piānkhi's wives to beseech their lord to have mercy upon him. The Nubian ladies received the queen kindly, and finally Nemareth himself came to Piānkhi leading "a horse with his right hand and holding a sistrum made of gold and lapis-lazuli in his left," and bringing great gifts. Piānkhi pardoned him, and then went into the temple of the Eight Gods, and sacrificed oxen, calves, and geese in honour of Thoth, whilst the priests proclaimed that Horus himself in the person of Piānkhi had come to rest in his city! After Piānkhi had paid

<sup>1</sup> Khemennu, or Khemenu, the city of the "Eight Gods."

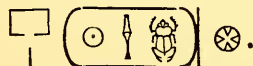
a visit to the palace of Nemareth he inspected his grounds, and cattle and stables, taking at the same time the opportunity to scold the grooms for having put the horses on too short rations during the siege; and the ladies of Nemareth's *harîm* came and prostrated themselves before him, but the text assures us that the Nubian king "did not turn his face towards them."<sup>1</sup> Soon after this Pef-tchau-āā-Bast, the king of Herakleopolis, came, tendering his submission and offering gifts to Piānkhi, who forgave him; Piānkhi, having set apart for the god Amen a generous share of the booty which he had obtained, turned his face towards the north, and sailed down the Nile to Le-ḥent,

 (i.e., Illahûn), which was situated at the head of the canal that led into the Fayyûm.

Soon after his arrival there the fortress Pa-kherp (or sekhem)-kheper-Rā<sup>2</sup> capitulated, but Piānkhi allowed Tafnekhteth and his soldiers to march out before his own troops occupied it.

As Piānkhi advanced towards Memphis, city after city opened its gates to him, e.g., Mer-tem, , or Mêdûm, and Thet-tauit, , a place which seems to have been situated about fifty miles south of Memphis. At length Piānkhi arrived at

<sup>1</sup>  (line 63).


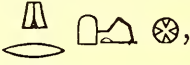
<sup>2</sup> .






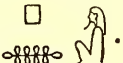



all the chiefs of the Delta brought in their gifts to him. On the following day Piānkhi crossed the Nile and performed a purification ceremony of the god Tem,


 in Kher-āḥa,  a town

which was situated about eight miles to the south of the modern Cairo, and offered up sacrifices to the company of the gods in the temple of the gods of Āmḥet,


, and he made his way into Heliopolis

over the mountain of Kher-āḥa, by the path of the god Sep, .

Piānkhi then went to the camp, , on the north-west of the town of Āāti,

, where “he performed the ceremony of

“purification, and he purified himself in the heart of “the land of coolness; he washed his face in the milk “of Nut, wherein Rā washeth his face [daily]. He

“went to Shāi-qa-em-Ānnu, ,

“and at sunrise he made a great offering therein of

“white oxen, milk, *ānti* incense, incense, and sweet-

“smelling woods. He went into the temple of Rā, and

“he entered therein with adoration. The *kher heb*

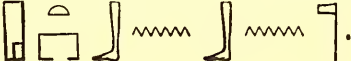
“priest recited a prayer for driving away devils from

“the king, who performed the ceremony of the gate,

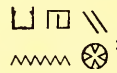


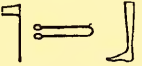
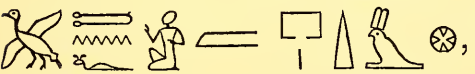

“and having censured himself and made himself cere-

“monially pure, he poured out a libation, and brought

“flowers and perfume to [the shrine of Rā] Het-Benben,

“. He ascended the steps of


“the great sanctuary that he might see Rā in H̄et-  
 “Benben. He was entirely alone, he drew back the  
 “bolt, he opened the doors [of the shrine], he saw his  
 “father Rā in H̄et-Benben, he moved (?) the Māt<sup>1</sup>  
 “boat of Rā and the Sektet<sup>2</sup> boat of Temu. He shut  
 “the doors and set on them a seal sealed with the  
 “seal of the king, and he gave orders to the priests,  
 “saying, ‘I have set the seal; let no other king  
 “approach thereto.’”



While Piānkhi was at Heliopolis Osorkon III. came and tendered his submission, and when he had gone further north to Kaheni, , all the chiefs of the neighbourhood came and submitted to him, including Peṭā-Āstet; from him Piānkhi received large gifts, among them being a number of fine horses. The other great chiefs who submitted to him were Āuuapeth of Thentremu,<sup>3</sup> , and Taān, , Tchet-Āmen-āuf-ānkḥ of Mendes, and his son Ānkḥ-H̄eru, Ākanesh, prince of Sebennytus, , Pathenef of Pa-Sept, , Pa-Ma, , the Libyan chief of Busiris, Nesnaqeti the Libyan chief of Ka-ḥeseb, Nekht-H̄eru-na-shennu, and a number of priests and others, viz., Pentḥ-bekhent,

<sup>1</sup> The boat of the rising sun.      <sup>2</sup> The boat of the setting sun.

<sup>3</sup> A city in the east of the Delta, probably near Tanis.

Peṭā-Ḥeru-sam-tauī, Ḥurebasa, Tchetchkiâu, and Pabas. Meanwhile Tafnekhteth, the prince of Saïs and Memphis, the originator of the confederacy, had hidden himself in the Delta, but Piānkhi's soldiers obtained news of him, and discovered that he had set fire to his palace, and had entrenched himself in a fortified place called


Mest, , with such followers as were left to him. The Nubians ran him down, however, and Peṭā-Āstet, who led them, declared that they had killed every man they had found there. Tafnekhteth then sent to Piānkhi a messenger who sued for pardon for his master, and promised on his behalf that if the king would forgive Tafnekhteth his offences, he would go to the temple of Neith and swear an oath of fidelity to Piānkhi. This Piānkhi agreed to do, and having sent the chief *kher heb* priest, Peṭā-Āmen-neb-nest-tauī, and his general Puarma to Tafnekhteth, the former rebel went to the temple and swore a solemn oath that he would never transgress the king's commands, nor depart from his words; when this had been done Piānkhi accepted the person of Tafnekhteth. About this time news reached Piānkhi that the cities of Cynopolis,

, and Aphroditopolis, , had opened their gates, and that all the nomes of the south, and north, and west, and east, had submitted to his Majesty, and they brought their gifts to him. The inscription concludes with a statement that Piānkhi invited the two kings of the North, and the two kings



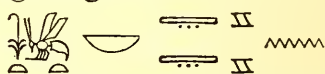
of the South, and all the princes of the Delta, to a solemn meeting before his return to Nubia, but only Nemareth was allowed to enter the royal abode, for he was neither impure<sup>1</sup> nor an eater of fish;<sup>2</sup> what happened during the meeting is not stated, but soon after it had taken place the royal boats were laden with the products of Khar (Syria) and Neter-tauī (Punt), and with gold, silver, copper, and apparel, etc., and Piānkhi sailed up the river on his road to Napata.



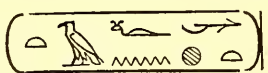

Such in brief are the contents of one of the most interesting historical inscriptions which have come down to us, and it throws an extremely important light upon the relations which existed between Nubia and Egypt before Piānkhi's invasion. It will be noted that the Nubian king already had generals and troops in the Thebaïd, which seems to indicate that Upper Egypt was regarded as a part of Nubia before Piānkhi's time. The whole tenor of the inscription shows that Nubia had become at that time a veritable counterpart of Egypt, and that the Nubians had adopted the civilization of Egypt as far as possible. Piānkhi was no barbarian invading Egypt for the mere sake of conquest and spoil, but a man who was seeking to guard his own interests and country, as he understood

1  *āmā.*

2  *ām remu (line 151).*

them; he worshipped the gods of Egypt, he spared their temples, and though when he struck he struck hard and swiftly, he was on the whole a merciful conqueror. There were no doubt many political reasons why he did not insist on the vanquished king Tafnekhteth making his submission in person, but still we know that this king of Saïs and Memphis had actually reigned eight years, and it was a generous act on the part of the Nubian conqueror to spare him such a terrible humiliation in the sight of his former allies in the Delta and Middle Egypt.

The information that Tafnekhteth, or Tafnekht, reigned eight years is supplied by a stele published by M. Mallet in *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 4 ff., of which an illustration is given by M. Maspero in his *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 181. The line giving the date shows that Tafnekht styled himself  and that, in fact, he assumed the titles and rank of the ancient kings of Egypt.

According to M. Mallet his prenomen was , which M. Naville, however, reads , Rā-shepses; the form of his name as son of Rā given on the stele is , Tafnekht. On the rounded part of the stele is a winged disk, and below are two scenes; in one of these the king is making an offering of a field, , to a god wearing the crowns of the



these we learn that the prenomem of a king called Piānkhi was U<sup>s</sup>r-Maāt-Rā, and that his wife was called Kennesat, but whether he is to be identified with Piānkhi-meri-Āmen, the Nubian conqueror of Egypt, is hard to say. On a mummy bandage in the British Museum (No. 6640) a Piānkhi is mentioned, and he is called "the lord, the maker of things, lord of the two lands, "Senefer-f-Rā, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Piānkhi,"



but it is clear that he cannot be the same king as the Piānkhi whose prenomem was U<sup>s</sup>r-Maāt-Rā. On this same bandage we find the mutilated date  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \triangle \cap \\ \odot \cap \end{array} \right\} \text{|||||} \triangle$ .

In the King List of Manetho the XXIIIrd Dynasty is brought to an end by two kings called Psammus (*Ψαμμοῦς*), and Zet (*Ζήτ*), who are said to have reigned ten and thirty-one years respectively. Some think that Psammus was the son of Osorkon III., and this is very probable, but proof for this view is wanting, for up to the present no monuments either of Psammus or Zet have been discovered. Concerning Zet four theoretical identifications have been put forward. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that he was to be identified with Tafnekhteth, king of Saïs and Memphis, the great opponent of Piānkhi-meri-Āmen of Napata, i.e., with Tnephakhthos the father of Bocchoris (Diodorus i. 45); Lepsius sought to identify him with Sethon, the priest of Hephaistos (Herodotus ii. 141), and to place him in the XXIVth Dynasty after Bocchoris; and Wiedemann

thinks<sup>1</sup> it just possible that he is to be identified with the blind king Anysis (Herodotus ii. 137-140), of the city of Anysis, who reigned over Egypt for fifty years. According to the legend, Anysis fled to the fens when Egypt was invaded by the Ethiopians under Sabacon (Shabaka), and when he left the country this king resumed the government of Egypt. He lived on an island formed of ashes and earth, and refused to allow any evil-doer, no matter what the crime was of which he had been convicted, to be put to death. Finally, Lauth wished to identify Zet with Kashta, the Ethiopian. These different views, however, only indicate the difficulties which are met with in Egyptian history when the monuments fail us, and illustrate the difference in the opinions which it is possible for scholars to hold about the same subject when theory takes the place of fact.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 577.



## CHAPTER VI.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY. FROM SAÏS.


 RĀ-UAḤ-KA,  
 son of the Sun, BAKENRENEF.

BAKENRENEF, according to Manetho, was the only king of the XXIVth Dynasty, and he reigned six years; this statement is supported by the evidence of a stele found in the Serapeum at Şakḫâra, whereon it is said that on the fifth day of the month Thoth of the sixth year of his reign an Apis bull died, and was buried in the same chamber as the one which had died in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Shashanq IV.<sup>1</sup> The information to be derived from the monuments concerning this king is scanty, and nearly all that is known of him is derived from Greek tradition. According to Diodorus (i. 34) he was the son of Tnepkhthos,<sup>2</sup> in Egyptian Tafnekhteth, the king of Saïs, whose

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Sérapeum*, part iii. pl. 34.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diodorus (i. 45), "When this king was leading an army in Arabia, through many barren and desert places, his provision failed, so that for the space of one day he was forced

acts have already been described. The same writer (i. 94) enumerates six great lawgivers in Egypt, among whom comes Bocchoris,<sup>1</sup> who is described as a "wise and prudent man; he established everything that concerned the kings, and prescribed exact rules and laws for the making of contracts. He was so wise, and of so piercing a judgment in his decisions, that many of his sentences, for their excellency, are kept in memory to this very day. He was, they say, of a very weak constitution of body,<sup>2</sup> and extraordinary covetous." Elsewhere it is said (i. 79) that he made a law that "if a man borrowed money, and the lender had no writing to show for it, and the other denied it upon oath, he should be quit of the debt; to that end, therefore, in the first place, they were to sacrifice to the gods, as men making conscience, and tender

"to take up with such mean food as the common people, among whom he happened then to be, could supply him with, which he ate so heartily, and relished with so much delight, as for the future he forbade all excess and luxury, and cursed that king who first brought in that sumptuous and luxurious way of living; and this change and alteration of meat, and drink, and bedding, was so delightful to him, that he ordered the curse before mentioned to be entered in the sacred records in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; which was the chief reason why the fame and reputation of Menis became to be clouded in future generations."—(Booth's Translation, p. 51).

<sup>1</sup> The other five were Mnevis, Sasyches, Sesostris, Amāsis, and Darius, father of Xerxes.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus (i. 65), "Bocchoris, a very little man for body, and of a mean and contemptible presence; but as to his wisdom and prudence, far excelling all the kings that ever were before him in Egypt."

“and scrupulous in taking of an oath.” Several other Greek writers<sup>1</sup> extol the simplicity of the life of Bocchoris and praise his judicial acumen and justice, and centuries after his death wealthy noblemen in Italy decorated the walls of their houses with scenes in which the Egyptian king was depicted giving his decisions in the cases of the two women who both claimed to be the mother of a child, and of the two beggars, each of whom swore that a certain cloak was his property, and of the three beggars, each of whom declared that he was the rightful owner of a basket of food.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Aelian<sup>3</sup> takes the view that Bocchoris did not deserve the reputation which he had acquired for judicial acumen and for a well-balanced and even mind and disposition, but that his nature was exactly the opposite, and goes on to say that he was once so irreligious as to make a savage bull fight with the sacred Mnevis Bull, and that Mnevis was grievously wounded in the side by the horns of the other bull, and died in consequence. By this act Bocchoris fell into shame and disgrace, and the Egyptians hated him ever after. The same writer (xii. 3, ed. Didot, p. 202) tells a story, in which, however, he has no belief, to the effect that in the days of Bocchoris a lamb was born which had eight legs, two tails, two heads, and four horns, and

They are enumerated by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 578, 579.

<sup>2</sup> For the authorities see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 246 note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *De Nat. Animalium*, xi. 11 (ed. Didot, p. 191).

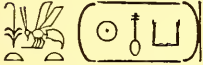



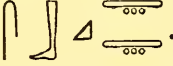
us. Whilst this event was taking place at Napata, the kingdom of the South in Egypt was being ruled from Thebes by an Ethiopian, who is called simply "king of the South, KASHTA,"  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{☉} \\ \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right. \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right)$ , and when Piānkhi died Kashta assumed the sovereignty over the Thebaid and Middle Egypt. What claim he had to the throne is unknown, but it is possible that he was a son of Piānkhi, who had been acting as viceroy for his father at Thebes. He must have had some claim to it, either through his father, who had been solemnly acknowledged as king of all Egypt by all her great gods, or through his mother, who was probably connected with some family descended from the priest-kings at Thebes. Kashta married a wife called Shep-en-āpt,  $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right) \times \text{⏟} \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right)$ , who was a priestess of Āmen of the rank of "neter tuat,"  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right. *$ , i.e., "divine adorer," or "morning star," and who is said to have been a daughter of Osorkon III., whom we know already from the stele of Piānkhi. The issue of this marriage were Shabaka, who afterwards became king, and Āmenārtās,  $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{⌋} \\ \text{⏟} \end{array} \right)$ , who became a priestess of the rank of "neter tuat."




## CHAPTER VII.

## THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY. FROM NUBIA.

1.   RĀ-NEFER-KA,  
son of the Sun, SHA-BA-KA.

SHABAKA, *Σαβάκων*, the son of Kashta, the Nubian king of Thebes, by his wife Shep-en-apt, was the first of three kings of the Nubian Dynasty of Egypt, and reigned about twelve years; the number of years assigned to his reign by Manetho is eight, but a rock inscription in the Wâdî Hammâmât, wherein both he and his sister Amenârtās are mentioned, is dated in his twelfth year. He adopted a prenomen, and called himself "king of the South and North," and "son of the Sun," like the ancient kings of Egypt, but he only had one name to distinguish him in his three capacities of the representative of Horus, and lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, and the Horus of gold, i.e., "Seqeb-taui," . Of the circumstances which attended the accession of Shabaka to the throne of Egypt we know nothing, but it is quite certain that he

discovered how impossible it was to rule Egypt from Napata, which was over 750 miles from Thebes, and that he took possession of Egypt, meaning to live there and to make his rule effective, both in the Thebaïd and in the Delta. In the course of his journey through Egypt to the north he appears to have become enraged with Bocchoris, for according to one tradition he burnt him alive, and according to another he flayed him alive. Of his wars the hieroglyphic inscriptions tell us nothing, but we seem to have allusions to one of them in the cuneiform inscriptions and in the Bible. In 2 Kings xvii. 4 it is said that "the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison."

Many scholars take the view that So, שׂוֹ, of the Book of Kings (LXX. Σωά, Σουά, Σωβά, Vulgate Sua), and the Shabaka of the Egyptian texts are one and the same person, but others think they are not, and they have good reason for their opinion, for it is not by any means certain that "So" is the transcription of the name Shabaka. In the time of Ashurbani-pal (B.C. 668-626) the Assyrians were acquainted with the Egyptian name Shabaka, for under the form Sha-ba-ku-u, , it occurs in the Annals of that king;<sup>1</sup> but it is not certain that they were in

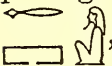
<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. pl. 2, l. 22.

the time of Sargon (B.C. 721-705). That Sargon made war on a confederacy of kings of Syria and Palestine, among whom was Ḥanunu, | 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠, of Gaza, is quite certain, and we know from his inscriptions that one of the allies of Ḥanunu was an Egyptian officer of high position called Sib', | 𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠, or Sib'e, | 𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠,<sup>1</sup> and that he was, in fact, the "commander-in-chief (tur-dan-nu) of Egypt," 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠. Now the Assyrian name Sib', or Sib'e, not Shabi, or Shabe, as some write the name, confounding 𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 *shab* with 𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 *sib*, may very well be the equivalent of the name "So,"<sup>2</sup> or *vice versâ*, but it does not follow that either form is a transliteration of the Egyptian, or Nubian, name Shabaka. Moreover, Sargon's annalist seems to have drawn a distinction between Sib'e, the "tartan of Egypt," and the king of Egypt, for, while he tells us that it was Sib'e who came to help Hanno, or Ḥanunu, of Gaza, and that he escaped by himself "like unto a shepherd<sup>3</sup> whose sheep have been stolen," he says in a line or two lower down that it was "Pharaoh, | 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠, Pi-ir-'-u, of Egypt," who paid tribute to his master. From this

<sup>1</sup> See Sargon's Annals (ed. Winckler), line 27.

<sup>2</sup> Especially if we vocalize the Hebrew name שׁוֹן, or שׁוֹן, or שׁוֹן.

<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian text | 𐎲𐎠𐎥𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎲𐎠 seems to indicate that the scribe made a pun on the tartan's name,

passage we see that the title Pharaoh, the Egyptian , Per-āa, "Great house," was regarded by the Assyrians as a proper name. It is possible that the receipt of tribute from "Pharaoh of Egypt" took place long after the battle of Rapihu, from which Sib'e ran away, and that there was an interval of some years between the two events, but it is hardly likely, and there is no evidence that Sargon's victorious arms reached the borders of Egypt on two occasions.

The identification of Sib'e with Shabaka is due to Dr. Oppert, who read the word used in the cuneiform text for "commander-in-chief" *shiltannu* instead of *turdannu*, and, so instead of translating it "Sib'e, tartan of Egypt," he was obliged to translate it "Sib'e, governor of Egypt." On the whole, it seems correct to identify Sib'e with So, and to regard these two kings as being one and the same person; but whether that person be Shabaka, the Nubian king of Egypt, or not, there is at present no evidence to show. Sir Henry Rawlinson weighed all the Assyrian evidence on the subject, and the utmost that he would admit was that if So and Shabaka were one and the same person, So must have been his name before he became king of Egypt, and the results of modern researches into the Egyptian evidence have produced nothing which would have caused Rawlinson to modify his view. When we consider the number of the "kings" who were reigning in different parts of Egypt at the time of Piānkhī's invasion, and also after his death,

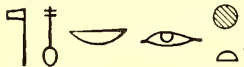
the opinion of some scholars that So or Sib'e was one of these and not the king of all Egypt has considerable weight.


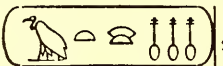
From the fact that Shabaka's name is found on several parts of the temple of Amen at Karnak and Luxor, and also in the temple at Medînet Habu we may assume that he carried out some repairs on these buildings, but they cannot have been very considerable; at the first-named place he is represented in the act of clubbing a number of chiefs of conquered nations, but the relief has no historical importance, for it is clearly copied from one which was made for some other king. At Memphis and Heliopolis he carried out repairs and made some additions to the temple buildings, and, according to Herodotus, his works in connexion with the walls of the city of Bubastis were very important.<sup>1</sup> Of these works, however, M. Naville found no trace in the course of the excavations which he made at Bubastis in 1887, 1888, and 1889.


Shabaka was a contemporary of the Assyrian kings Sargon and Sennacherib, but he appears to have died a year or two after the latter ascended the throne of Assyria, B.C. 705, at any rate, he was probably dead before Sennacherib set out to invade Egypt in the course of his third campaign. What his relations with Sargon were cannot be said, but it is clear that some correspondence must have passed between him and the

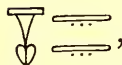

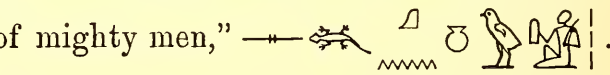
<sup>1</sup> Shabaka's architectural works are summarised by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 582.



Egyptian king, because two seals inscribed with the prenomen of Shabaka were found among the tablets of the Royal Library at Nineveh.<sup>1</sup> The king is called on them “Beautiful god, the lord, maker of things,” , and he is represented in the act of clubbing a number of enemies; the impressions on the clay were probably made by means of a large scarab, and these clay seals (?) appear to have been attached to some object which Shabaka sent from Egypt to Sargon.

In connexion with Shabaka a brief mention must be made of his sister, Āmenārtâs, , the “neter tuat” of Āmen, who adopted as her prenomen MUT-KHĀ-NEFERU, , and styled herself “royal daughter, royal sister, royal wife.” She married a Nubian prince whose cartouches are—

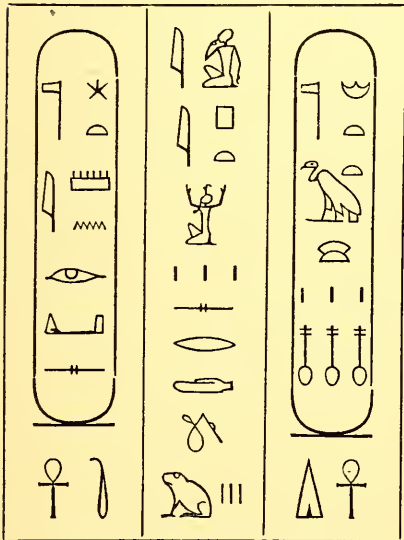
 RĀ-MEN-KHEPER,  
son of the Sun, P-ĀNKHI.

The Horus name of this king was “Sam tauī,” , i.e., “uniter of the two lands”; his name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet was “Mes hem,” ; and as the Horus of gold he styled himself “Multiplier of mighty men,” .

<sup>1</sup> Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1867, pp. 173, 174. The registration Nos. are 51-9-2, 43 (see Brit. Mus. Nineveh Gallery, Table-Case I. No. 32), and 81-2-4, 352 (see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1784).

Amenartās and Piānkhi had issue the princess Shep-en-apt, who married Psammetichus I., the first king of the XXVIth Dynasty. The name of Amenartās is found on large numbers of monuments, and she was undoubtedly a zealous restorer of the ancient temples, on which she must have carried out substantial repairs. She added chambers and small sanctuaries to the temples at Karnak, and in the ruins of one of these a beautiful limestone statue of the princess was found; at Medīnet Habu her repairs and additions were numerous. Many small objects, e.g., scarabs, inscribed

with her names and titles have been found, and most of them come from the neighbourhood of Medīnet Habu. Within the last few years the British Museum has acquired a remarkable glazed steatite object, upon which in large, deeply cut, handsome hieroglyphics are found her cartouches and a short prayer. At one end



Inscription on a steatite roll.  
Brit. Mus., No. 29,212.

is a perforated projection by which it was probably suspended, and on the flat surface of the other is inscribed the sign  $\Omega$ ; the object seems to be unique, and its use unknown.

Both Herodotus and Diodorus have preserved some interesting traditions about Shabaka which are worth quoting in full. Herodotus says (B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108*a* and *b*):—"After whome, [i.e., Asychis] the "scepter was held by one Anysis a blynde man, inhabiting in a city called after his owne name Anysis. "In time of whose raigne, Sabbacus King of Aethyopia "invaded Aegypt with a mightie power. Whereat the "poore blinde king greatly affrighted, crope priuily away, "and gayned a priuie couert in the marrishe places of "the countrey, leauyng the gouernement to Sabbacus his "emie, whiche ruled the same 50. years, whose actes "are mentioned to haue beene these. If any of the "Aegyptians made a trespasse, he neuer used to do any "man to death for his offence, but according to ye "quantity of his fault, to enioyne him to arrere and make "higher by forreine supply of earth and stone, some parte "of the city wherein he dwelt, for which cause, the cities "became uery high and eminent, being much more loftely "situated than before. For first of all in time of Sesos- "tris such earth as was cast out of the trenches (which "were made to geve the water a course to the cities that "were farre off) was employed to the eleuation and "aduancing of the lowe townes, and now agayne under "this Aethyopian they had increase of fresh earth, "and grew to be uery high and lofty.<sup>1</sup> . . . ."

<sup>1</sup> Here follows the description of the temple of Diana (Bast ?) at Bubastis, which is reproduced in the summary at the end of this chapter.

“Likewise they make mention in what maner they  
“shifted their hands of ye Aethiopian prince, who  
“admonished in his sleepe by a uision, hastned his  
“flight to depart ye countrey. There seemed unto him  
“one standing by his bedside, willing him in any wise  
“to assemble together ye priests of Aegypt, and to cut  
“them all asunder by ye waste; which the king pon-  
“dering in his mind, said thus, I wel perceiue that ye  
“gods would picke a quarrel agaynst me, that by the  
“doing of some uillany or other, I might either incur  
“their hatred, or the displeasure of men, but since the  
“time of my rule in Aegypt, which by ye oracle was  
“prefined, is nowe exspired, I will kindle no moe coales  
“than I may well quench, wherewith departing ye  
“countrey, he left the gouernmente to ye seed of the  
“Aegyptians, and retired himself into his owne lande.  
“For abiding before time in Aethiopia the oracles  
“which the Aethiopians use, gaue out to the king, that  
“he shoulde beare rule 50. years in Aegypt, which time  
“being finished, Sabbacus foretroubled with ye strange  
“sight of his dreame of his own proper wil departed the  
“listes of the countrey. Insuing whose flight ye blinde  
“king forsaking his nest in the fennes, came out, and  
“shewed his head again, exercising gouernment as he  
“had done before, hauing wonderfully enlarged the  
“Iland where he lay, with addition of ashes and fresh  
“earth. For whosoeuer of the Aegyptians came unto  
“him either with grayne or other prouision, his manner  
“was to giue him in charge, that onwitting to the

“Aethiopian prince (who then withheld from him the  
“right of his kingdome) he should present him with a  
“loade or two of ashes. The Ile before ye time of  
“Amyrtaeus was unknowne to any man, named in  
“the Aegyptian language Elbo, being in bignes. 10  
“furlongs.”

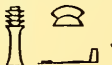
The good deeds of Shabaka are praised by Diodorus (Booth's Translation, p. 68), who says:—“A long time  
“after him [i.e., Bocchoris], one Sabach, an Ethiopian,  
“came to the throne, going beyond all his predecessors  
“in his worship of the gods, and kindness to his  
“subjects. Any man may judge, and have a clear  
“evidence of his gentle disposition in this, that when  
“the laws pronounced the severest judgment, (I mean  
“sentence of death), he changed the punishment, and  
“made an edict, that the condemned persons should be  
“kept to work in the towns in chains, by whose labour  
“he raised many mounts, and made many commodious  
“canals, conceiving by this means, he should not only  
“moderate the severity of the punishment, but instead  
“of that which was unprofitable, advance the public  
“good, by the service and labours of the condemned.  
“A man may likewise judge of his extraordinary piety,  
“from his dream, and his abdication of the government;  
“for the tutelar god of Thebes seemed to speak to him  
“in his sleep, and told him, that he could not long  
“reign happily and prosperously in Egypt, unless he  
“cut all the priests to pieces, when he passed through  
“the midst of them with his guards and servants;



“which advice being often repeated, he at length sent  
 “for the priests from all parts and told them that if he  
 “staid in Egypt any longer he found that he should  
 “displease God, who never at any time before, by  
 “dreams or visions, commanded any such thing. And  
 “that he would rather be gone and lose his life, being  
 “pure and innocent, than displease God, or enjoy the  
 “crown of Egypt, by staining his life with the horrid  
 “murder of the innocent. And so at length, giving up  
 “the kingdom into the hands of the people, he returned  
 “unto Ethiopia.”

2.    RĀ-

ṬEṬ-KAU, son of the Sun, SHA-BA-TA-KA.

SHABATAKA, the second king of the XXVth Dynasty, and the Σεβιχῶς of Manetho, was the son of Shabaka, and is said by this author to have reigned fourteen years. It is probable that he was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom some years before he became sole king; support is given to this view by the stele at Turin referred to by Wiedemann,<sup>1</sup> in which we see represented Shep-en-âpt, with her mother Amenârtās, her husband Piānkhī, and Shabataka, a grouping which proves that all four were contemporaries. The Horus name of Shabataka was “Ṭeṭ khā,” .

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 585.



possessions fell into Sennacherib's hands, and the Assyrian king captured seventy-five large, strong cities of Kaldu, and 420 smaller ones in the country round about, and large quantities of gold, and silver, and rich apparel, and all the officials, and palace servants, and women, and slaves of all kinds. On his way back to Assyria he attacked the nomad Arab tribes generically known by the name Aramu, and of them he conquered the Tu'muna, the Rikhikhu, the Yaduḳḳu, the Ubulu, the Kiprî, the Malakhu, the Gurumu, the Ubulum, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Khindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puḳudu, the Khamranu, the Khagaranu, the Nabatu, and the Li'ta, and captured from them 208,000 men, women, and children, together with immense quantities of horses, sheep, camels, mules, and cattle. He also seated Bel-ibni, who had been reared in the palace of Nineveh, on the throne of Babylon, in the place of Merodach-Baladan.<sup>1</sup>

In his second campaign Sennacherib attacked the Kashshi, and the Yasubigallai, who lived in districts where his chariots could not go, and having captured Bit-Kilamzakh, Khardishpi, Bit Kubatti, and much spoil, he returned to Nineveh and prepared to go to Syria and Palestine to assert his authority in those lands, and to punish Hezekiah, king of Judah, who

<sup>1</sup> The text is given on the Taylor Cylinder in the British Museum; it was first edited by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. plate 37 ff.; and full transcription and translation by Prof. Bezold will be found in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* vol. i. p. 81 ff.

had joined a league of rebels and who had invoked the assistance of the king of Egypt, who was, presumably, Shabataka. The narrative of the Assyrian annalist makes Sennacherib tell the story thus:—"In my third  
 "campaign I went to the land of Khatti; the fear of  
 "the splendour of my sovereignty overcame Lulî,  
 "(Elulæus),<sup>1</sup> the king of the city of Sidon, and he fled  
 "to the sea, and I took his territory. Greater Sidon,  
 "and Lesser Sidon, and Bit-Zith, and Şariptu (Sarepta),  
 "and Makhalliba, and Ushû, and Akzibi (Ekdippa),  
 "and Akkû (Accho), his strong cities, and his fortresses,  
 "his storehouses of food, and drink, and strongholds,  
 "were vanquished by the might of the arms of Ashur  
 "my lord, and I placed them in subjection at my feet.  
 "I set Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) upon the throne of sove-  
 "reignty over them, and laid upon him a fixed amount  
 "of tribute which was to be paid yearly to my lordship.  
 "Menahem of Samaria, Tuba'lu of Sidon, Abdili'ti of  
 "Ara'ad, Urumilki of Gebal (Byblos), Mitinti of Ashdod,  
 "Budiulu of Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadab of Moab,  
 "Malikrammu of Edom, [and] all kings of the country  
 "of Martu, brought unto me rich gifts and heavy loads  
 "of their possessions, and they kissed my feet. And as  
 "for Şidkâi, the king of Ascalon, who had not bowed  
 "down beneath my yoke, the gods of his father's house,  
 "himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brethren,  
 "and the offspring of his father's house I seized and

<sup>1</sup> |  Lu-li-i.

“carried off to Assyria. I appointed to the sovereignty  
 “of the people of Ascalon their former king Sharrulu-  
 “dari, the son of Rukibti, and I received from him the  
 “gift of the tribute of my lordship and he became my  
 “subject. In the course of my expedition I besieged  
 “Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banaibarka, Azuru, which were  
 “towns of Šidka that had not speedily set themselves at  
 “my feet; I plundered and carried off their spoil. And  
 “the hearts of the nobles, and the high officials, and  
 “the other inhabitants of Amḡarruna, who had bound  
 “in iron chains Padî,<sup>1</sup> who was by right and law and  
 “oath their king, and had with evil intent delivered  
 “him over to Hezekiah, who had shut him up in  
 “prison, were afraid. And the kings of the land of  
 “Egypt gathered together a countless host of bowmen,  
 “and chariots, and horses of the king of Milukhkhi,  
 “and came to help them, and they set their battle in  
 “array before the city of Altaḡû,<sup>2</sup> and put their weapons  
 “in action aḡainst me.

“Having confidence in Ashur my lord, I fought  
 “against them, and defeated them. The prince of  
 “the chariots and the sons of the king of Egypt,  
 “and the prince of the chariots of the king of  
 “Milukhkhi I captured with mine own hands alive in  
 “the strife of battle; I besieged Altaḡû and Tamna

<sup>1</sup> | 𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 *Pa-di-i.*

<sup>2</sup> 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 *Al-ta-ḡu-u* (col. ii.  
 line 76), the Eltekeh of Joshua xix. 44.



“ (Timnath), and I took them and spoiled them. I drew  
 “ nigh to Ekron, and I slew the governors and princes  
 “ who had transgressed, and I hung upon poles round  
 “ about the city their dead bodies; the people of the  
 “ city who had done wickedly and had committed  
 “ offences I counted as spoil, but those who had not  
 “ done these things and who were not taken in iniquity  
 “ I pardoned. I brought their king Padî forth from  
 “ Jerusalem and I established him upon the throne of  
 “ dominion over them, and I laid tribute upon him.  
 “ I then besieged Hezekiah (𐤇 𐤆𐤏 𐤆 𐤇𐤏 𐤆 𐤇𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇  
 “ Kha-za-ki-a-u) of the Jews who had not submitted to  
 “ my yoke and I captured forty-six of his strong cities  
 “ and fortresses, and innumerable small cities which were  
 “ round about them, with the battering of rams and  
 “ the assault of engines, and the attack of foot soldiers,  
 “ and by mines and breaches (made in the walls). I  
 “ brought out therefrom 200,150 people, both small and  
 “ great, and male and female, and horses, and mules,  
 “ and asses, and camels, and oxen, and innumerable  
 “ sheep I counted as spoil. [Hezekiah] himself like a  
 “ caged bird I shut up within Jerusalem his royal  
 “ city. I threw up mounds against him, and I took  
 “ vengeance upon any man who came forth from his  
 “ city. His cities which I had captured I took from  
 “ him and gave to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, and Padî,  
 “ king of Ekron, and Silli-Bêl, king of Gaza, and I  
 “ reduced his land. I added to their former yearly  
 “ tribute, and increased the gifts which they paid unto

“ me. The fear of the majesty of my sovereignty over-  
“ whelmed Hezekiah, and the *urbi* and his trusty  
“ warriors, whom he had brought into his royal city of  
“ Jerusalem to protect it, deserted. And he despatched  
“ after me his messenger to my royal city Nineveh to  
“ pay tribute and to make submission with thirty  
“ talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones,  
“ eye-paint, . . . . ivory couches and thrones, hides  
“ and tusks, precious woods, and divers objects, a heavy  
“ treasure, together with his daughters, and the women  
“ of his palace, and male and female musicians.”

The information given in the above extract is of great importance for the study of Egyptian history of that period, because it is the only contemporaneous evidence concerning it which we possess. Hezekiah appealed, and appealed successfully, to the king of Egypt for assistance, and thus it is clear that the king of Judah had drawn him into a political intrigue, the object of which was to depose Padi, who had been made king of Ekron by Sargon. The king of Egypt brought with him the king of Milukhki, and both collected all the bowmen and chariots and horses that they possibly could, but it is difficult to think that they made such extraordinary exertions for the sake of Hezekiah only. It mattered little to Shabataka and Egypt what happened to Jerusalem as long as the Assyrians did not invade Egypt, but he must have seen that Jerusalem once taken, and Hezekiah and his allies beaten, there would be nothing whatsoever to prevent Sennacherib



from marching on and entering Egypt. Hezekiah and Shabataka were naturally anxious to get rid of Padî of Ekron, the nominee of Assyria, because his presence must always have reminded them of the power of the Assyrian king in former days.

At the battle of Altaxû the Egyptians and the other allies of Hezekiah were defeated, and Sennacherib captured the sons of the king of Egypt; it would be interesting to know their names and their fate. The battle over, Sennacherib turned his attention to the siege of Jerusalem, and under the systematic attack with rams, etc., the fall of the city was a foregone conclusion; after a short time Hezekiah surrendered his city, and agreed to all the demands which the Assyrian king made upon him. We must note that the Assyrian annalist tells us that Hezekiah despatched his tribute under the care of his envoy to the city of Nineveh after Sennacherib had departed for that city. Now this is an important statement, for it proves that after the capture of Jerusalem the Assyrian king departed to his own land, where his presence was greatly needed on account of the revolts which were threatened in various parts of the country. Many writers have thought that as soon as Jerusalem had fallen Sennacherib pressed on to invade Egypt, and that it was during the course of the latter part of his third campaign that he suffered the miraculous loss of the greater part of his army. This, however, cannot have been the case, for no king possessing the military

skill which Sennacherib displayed would attempt the conquest of a country like Egypt at the end of what must have been an arduous campaign. The reports of the physical characteristics of the country would convince him that the Delta was not as easily traversed as Palestine, and that it would take him almost as long to march to Thebes from Pelusium as it would to march from Pelusium to Nineveh. Moreover, though he defeated the allies at Altakû it is certain that large numbers of the Egyptians saved themselves by flight in chariots and on foot, and that these and their allies from Milukhkha would re-form and would succeed in offering considerable resistance to the advance of an army already tired out by a march which must have lasted some months, and by severe fighting.

It is instructive to note that Sargon, who was a far more able warrior than Sennacherib, and who was as thoroughly convinced of the complicity of the Egyptian king in the revolt against him as was Sennacherib, did not undertake the conquest of Egypt with an army exhausted by much marching and fighting. There is little doubt that Sargon intended to return and punish Egypt, but he never had the opportunity; Sennacherib likewise intended to punish Egypt, and set out with a large army to carry out his intention, but there is every reason for believing that he did not do so, and he could not have done it during his third campaign. There must have been another invasion of Palestine by the Assyrians under Sennacherib

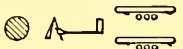
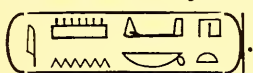
later in his reign, and another attack upon Jerusalem, which would, of course, be made for the purpose of obtaining money to carry on the war; but there is certainly no proof that Sennacherib made any attempt whatsoever to invade Egypt during the reign of Shabataka. Of the circumstances which attended the death of Shabataka we know nothing, but it is quite possible that after the defeat of his troops at Altakû he appealed for assistance to Tirhâkâh, who was undoubtedly viceroy of Nubia and the Thebaïd at the time, and that he came to the north of Egypt, and finding that Shabataka had lost many men and horses and chariots, he deposed him and, as the tradition already mentioned says, cast him in prison and then killed him.

3. ), or  
, RĀ-NEFER-TEM-KHU, son of the  
 Sun, TAHERQ, or TAHARQA.

TAHERQ, or TAHARQA, the Tirhâkâh of the Bible, and the *Tάρκος* of Manetho, was the last king of the XXVth Dynasty, and reigned probably about twenty-five years, although in the King List of Manetho the years of his reign are given as eighteen. His Horus name was QA-KHĀN,<sup>1</sup> and he also adopted this name

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 361.



in his capacity of lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet; as the Horus of gold he styled himself "Khu-tau," ; he married the princess, the "chief wife, the royal sister, the royal wife, Amen-tāk-het," . The name of his mother is, unfortunately, mutilated in the inscriptions, but it is said to have been "Akalouka";<sup>1</sup> she appears to have been connected with some branch of one of the families of the priest-kings, and Tirhâkâh, no doubt, based his claim to the throne of Egypt on her descent. Whether he was called by Shabataka to help him or not matters little, but it seems that when he was about twenty years of age he was proclaimed king at Napata, and that he at once set out for Egypt to depose Shabataka, leaving behind him his mother, who had, no doubt, brought about her son's rise to power, after the news of the defeat of Shabataka reached Napata. Of the early life of Tirhâkâh we obtain a few glimpses from the portions of a stele,<sup>2</sup> set up by the king at Tanis, which tell us that he was a younger son, and that he farmed an estate with his father; his father took the live stock as his share, and Tirhâkâh took the wheat and *dhura*, or millet. He was, however, his father's favourite son, and in due course he succeeded him,

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> See E. de Rougé in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, tom. i. p. 21 f.; and Birch, *Monuments of the reign of Tirhakah*, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 194 ff.; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 29, plate 9, No. 163.

and the god Amen gave him dominion over all the lands of Egypt, both in the North and in the South. At length Tirhâkâh determined to be crowned according to the custom of the ancient Egyptian kings, and he made arrangements for the coronation festival to be celebrated both at Thebes and Tanis. He sent to Napata for his mother, that she might come and take part in the ceremonies, and that as the earthly mother of the son of Amen who had become king of Egypt she might present him to the god whose seed he was. When she had come to Egypt she found that the young man, who at the age of twenty had left her to go forth on the hazardous undertaking of claiming the crown of the two Egypts, had indeed become the lord of the country, and she looked upon him with the same pride which Isis felt as she gazed upon her son Horus, who was born in the papyrus swamps of the Delta. Tirhâkâh bestowed upon his mother the high honours which befitted the spouse of Amen and the mother of Amen's son on earth, and when the coronation ceremonies were over he was declared to be the son of Isis, who had inherited the throne of Seb. It is probable that Takhet-Amen, the wife of Tirhâkâh, who is thought by some to have been the widow of Shabaka, the first king of the XXVth Dynasty, received a number of titles of high rank at the same time.

As far as can be seen Tirhâkâh ascended the throne some time between B.C. 693 and B.C. 691, and he at once set to work to rule the country after the manner

of the great kings of Egypt. During the first few years of his reign he had little to fear from Sennacherib, for this mighty warrior was busily engaged in reducing the Babylonians, and Elamites, and other nations to the east and north-east of Assyria to subjection, and he had therefore time to devote to development of the trade of the country and to the restoration of her ancient sanctuaries. At Gebel Barkal<sup>1</sup> he built a temple, the sanctuary of which was hewn out of the solid rock of the mountain; the total length of the building was about 120 feet. A porch with four pillars stood before the pylon, which was 63 feet wide and 11 feet deep; the court measured 59 by 50 feet, and contained sixteen columns, eight round and eight square. The height of the columns was 18 feet, and their diameter was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. A small hypostyle hall with 8 columns led into the sanctuary wherein was the shrine of Ámen-Râ, Mut, Khensu, and other deities, and the chambers on each side were decorated with reliefs, many of them painted in bright colours, in which Tirhâkâh is seen to be worshipping the gods of the "Holy Mountain," as Gebel Barkal was called in those days. In the temple was a fine, massive granite altar, which has now disappeared. The most remarkable characteristics of the temple are the two colossal statues of the god Bes, which decorate the pillars one on each side of the

<sup>1</sup> Much misconception has existed about the height of this hill; it was measured by Colonel the Hon. A. G. Talbot, R.E., in 1897, and he found it to be 302 feet high, and five-eighths of a mile long.

doorway of the hypostyle hall that leads into the sanctuary. Since the time of Hoskins, from whose work the above measurements are taken, and of Lepsius, a huge mass of rock from the overhanging mountain has crashed down and wrecked the greater part of the most interesting portion of the temple, and it is now impossible to follow out the plans published by either investigator. Tirhâḳâh repaired a temple which existed at the corner of the mountain near his own, and also a temple built further to the north by Piānkhi, the conqueror of Egypt.

Tirhâḳâh's town was across the river, and stood near the modern village of Şanam abû-Dôm, as excavations made there in 1897 have proved. Two or three large temples stood in the neighbourhood, and the portions of their columns which were found indicated that those buildings were similar in construction to the temple of Piānkhi at Gebel Barkal. The necropolis of this city appears to have been situated at one period near the Holy Mountain, for the temples there were probably funeral chapels only. The ruins at Gebel Barkal are of great interest, chiefly because they show how thoroughly the civilization of Egypt had been adopted in Nubia, and how completely the priests of Amen, who had fled to Napata for refuge, had introduced not only their god into the country, but had also succeeded in making the people adopt the art, and sculpture, and religion, and funeral customs in all their essential characteristics. The materials were not so good in

their temples, the work was not so fine, the hieroglyphics were not so well shaped, and the costumes of the figures and the offerings depicted were not so elaborate, but there is no doubt that to all intents and purposes Napata might be regarded as a second Thebes, only poorer. But if Tirhâkâh cared much for Napata he cared more for Thebes, and the architectural works which he carried on in this city were of an important character. Several portions of the temple of Mut were restored by the priest Menthu-em-hât, presumably under Tirhâkâh's direction, and the sanctuary was provided with new furniture and libation bowls. In the court in front of the pylon of Rameses I. in the temple of Âmen-Râ at Karnak Tirhâkâh set up several huge columns, but what he intended to build there in connexion with them is unknown. Near the great temple he built a small temple in honour of Osiris-Ptah, and the reliefs with which it was decorated by him and his successor Ta-nut-Âmen are still in a comparatively good state of preservation; and from the fact that his name is found at many places on the temple buildings on the east bank of the Nile we may assume that his repairs were tolerably numerous. On the west bank he built a second pylon to the small temple at Medînet Habû, and on the bank of it are reliefs in which the king is seen grasping a number of enemies by the hair of their heads and clubbing them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the buildings of Tirhâkâh generally see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 595 ff.



Thus we may see that the only cities in the south which Tirhâkâh cared greatly about were Napata and Thebes; at Tanis, in the Delta, he set up the stele to which reference has already been made, and he appears to have constructed the building<sup>1</sup> at the north-east corner of the temple enclosure, of which the pavement only now remains, close to the great girdle wall of Pasebkhānut I.

All this architectural work indicates that Egypt was at peace with her neighbours, and that Tirhâkâh was strong enough to make the people supply him with money for building purposes; it also indicates that the early part of his reign was not only peaceful but prosperous. His relations with the petty kings of Palestine were friendly, because during the first eight or ten years of Tirhâkâh's reign Sennacherib was occupied in wars against the Babylonians (B.C. 693), and against Elam (692), and against Elam and Babylon (691, 690), and with the siege of Babylon (689). When Babylon capitulated Sennacherib set it on fire, and threw down its walls, and razed its temples to the ground, and to complete its destruction he cut the dams and opened the sluices of the river Euphrates and of the canals, and turned the mighty city into a swamp. For eight years Babylon had no king, and while that city was going to ruin Sennacherib devoted himself to fortifying Nineveh, and building, or re-building, the temple dedicated to Ashur and the great gods of

<sup>1</sup> See Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. i. p. 21; and the plan following plate 16.

Assyria. As soon as Sennacherib returned to Nineveh he heard of a further league made amongst the kings of Palestine, Philistia, and Egypt, and he set out on an expedition against Egypt intending to attack the Khatti on the way.<sup>1</sup> In due course he arrived in Palestine and, for the second time, besieged Jerusalem with a section of his army which was led by the Turtânu ("Tartan") and Rabshakú, whilst the rest of his army he took with him and marched against Egypt. The writer of the Book of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 4 ff.) seems to have confused the events connected with the second siege of Jerusalem, i.e., the coming of the army of Tirhâkâh to fight against Sennacherib, with those that belong to the first; the king of Egypt at the time of the first siege was Shabataka, at the time of the second siege he was Tirhâkâh. But be this as it may, Sennacherib never invaded Egypt, for he was prevented from doing so by a catastrophe of such a serious character that he found it necessary to return to Nineveh. According to the Books of Kings,<sup>2</sup> and Isaiah<sup>3</sup> the "angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 4, 5) says that Sennacherib besieged Pelusium for a long time and, having raised huge banks against its walls, was about to

<sup>1</sup> See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xxxvii. 36.

make an attack upon it, when he heard of the coming of Tirhâkâh with a large force of Ethiopians, and at once left Pelusium and "returned back without success." Berossus (according to Josephus) makes Sennacherib find on his return from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem that God had "sent a pestilential distemper upon his army," and that on the first night of the siege 185,000 generals, and captains, and men of the Assyrian army were destroyed. An Egyptian legend of the catastrophe which befell Sennacherib is preserved by Herodotus (ii. 141), who says that Sennacherib "king of the Arabians and Assyrians," marched upon Egypt in the time of Sethon, a priest of Hephaistos, who was in great terror. A god appeared to Sethon in a vision of the night, and told him that he would assist him, and when the priest awoke he made such preparations to meet the enemy as were possible, without fear. But one night a number of field mice ate up the bows, and quivers, and the leather handles of their shields, and the next morning when the Assyrian host was in full flight many of them fell. This story is evidently a romance which was composed to glorify the power of the priests of the god Ptah at Memphis, and is a distorted version of the Hebrew narrative of Sennacherib's defeat. There is little doubt that Herodotus wrote down correctly enough the story which was told him, but its absurdity is evident from the last sentence, in which we are told that a stone statue of the king Sethon, with a mouse

in his hand, stands in the temple of Ptah, and that on it is an inscription to the following effect:—"Who-soever looketh upon me, let him revere the gods."<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians never placed inscriptions of this kind on their statues, and the description of the statue of the king with a mouse in his hand shows that it was not of Egyptian origin but of foreign. The king and priest of Ptah called Sethon has not as yet been satisfactorily identified, though attempts have been made to show that he was the Zêt of Manetho's King List (XXIIIrd Dynasty), or a son of Rameses II., or Tirhâkâh himself who, to gratify the people of Memphis, chose to perform the functions of high priest of Ptah, and was in consequence celebrated by local tradition "as a 'Sethon' when commemorating a "victory or success gained by him against the "Assyrians" (!)<sup>2</sup> There is no proof that Tirhâkâh ever assumed the functions of a priest of Ptah; a priest of Ptah may, however, have helped Tirhâkâh in collecting an army.<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian inscriptions, naturally, contain no mention of the catastrophe described in the Bible, but none of the circumstances attending the attempted invasion of Egypt given by Josephus or Berosus suits the end of Sennacherib's third campaign, when he certainly reduced Jerusalem and made Hezekiah pay heavy tribute. All authorities agree that after its

<sup>1</sup> Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὀρέων, εὐσεβῆς ἔστω.

<sup>2</sup> Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 502.

failure Sennacherib returned almost as a fugitive to his own land, where a short time after he was murdered by his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, as he was worshipping in the house of Misroch his god, on the 20th day of the month Têbhêth in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, B.C. 681.

The withdrawal of Sennacherib to his own country must have been regarded by Tirhâkâh with unfeigned joy, for he knew that in all probability he would remain unmolested by Esarhaddon, the new Assyrian king, for a few years at least. The annals and chronicles prove that Esarhaddon was crowned B.C. 680 at Nineveh, and that he spent the first years of his reign in quelling revolts in Babylonia, and in re-building the city of Babylon. In B.C. 676 he marched against Abdi-Milkutti of Sidon and his allies, and destroyed his city; he built a new city on the site and peopled it with foreigners. Abdi-Milkutti and his ally Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sisû, were taken prisoners in the following year, and their heads were cut off and sent to Nineveh. But though Esarhaddon was so near Egypt in this campaign he did not advance to Egypt. In B.C. 670 he besieged Baal, king of Tyre, and cut off his water supply in the same manner that the rebels cut off the water supply of Abi-Milki, king of Tyre, in the reign of Amen-hetep IV. He marched from Aphek to Raphia in fifteen days, and by the end of the summer of the same year he had fought four battles against the Egyptians and their allies, and was master of Memphis,



which was plundered by the Assyrians in their characteristic manner. Tirhâkâh escaped, and fled to Thebes or to Napata. Esarhaddon received the submission of all the princes of the country, and appointed twenty governors to rule, each from his own city, the various provinces of his new empire. He then returned to Assyria, where he stayed for one year; he set out on a third expedition against Egypt B.C. 668, but he died on the way.

As soon as Tirhâkâh knew that Esarhaddon was dead he returned to Egypt, and having driven from their places the governors of cities appointed by Esarhaddon, he advanced to Memphis, where he boldly declared himself to be the king of Egypt, and celebrated with great and solemn ceremonies the deposit of an Apis Bull in the Serapeum at Şakḫâra in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. News of this event seems to have been quickly reported to Ashur-bani-pal, who had succeeded Esarhaddon on the throne of Assyria, and in the great baked clay cylinder inscribed with his annals<sup>1</sup> he records the following facts:—He was walking about in Nineveh when a messenger came and reported that Tirhâkâh (𐎲 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵, Tar-ḫu-u), who was formerly king of Egypt and Kush, and who had been overthrown by Esarhaddon, had

<sup>1</sup> See Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v plates 1-10; and for translations see G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 1871; and Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1889 p. 153 ff.



ai-ma (Pamäi), king of Bi-in-di-di (Pa Ba-neb-Ṭet, or Mendes). 11. Su-si-in-ku (Shashanq), king of Busi-ru (Busiris). 12. Tab-na-aḥ-ti (Tafnekht), king of Bu-nu-bu (Pa-nub). 13. Bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-'-pi (Bak-en-nifi), king of Aḥ-ni (Henit?). 14. Ip-ti-ḥar-di-e-shu (Ptaḥ-ertā-su), king of Pi-ḥa-at-ti-ḥu-ru-un-pi-ki (Pa Het-ḥert nebt Ṭep-āḥet, or Aphroditopolis). 15. Na-aḥ-ti-ḥu-ru an-si-ni (Nekht-Ḥeru-na-shennu), king of Pi-shab-ti-'-a (Pa-Sept). 16. Bu-kur-<sup>1</sup>ni-ni-ip (Bak-en-renf), king of Pa-aḥ-nu-ti (Pa-khent?). 17. Ši-ḥa-ä (Tchet-ḥrā), king of Shi-ya-a-u-tu (Siut). 18. La-mi-in-tu (Nemareth), king of Ḥi-mu-ni (Khemennu, or Hermopolis). 19. Ish-pi-ma-a-tu (Pesa-Mut), king of Ta-ai-ni (Teni, or Thisis). 20. Ma-an-ti-mi-an-ḥi-e (Menthu-em-ānkḥ), king of Ni-' (Nut, i.e., Thebes).<sup>2</sup> A list of the governors and their cities with their names in cuneiform and their Egyptian originals will be found at the end of the section on Tirhâḳâḥ.

When Ashur-bani-pal had re-appointed the twenty governors he departed to Assyria with great spoil. As soon, however, as he had left the country these same governors conspired together, and sent letters to Tirhâḳâḥ proposing an alliance between them, and a

<sup>1</sup> Bukur-Ninip cannot be an Assyrian name, as some have suggested, because no Assyrian called himself the "first-born" of Ninip. We must remember too that the correctness of the reading of "Ninip" as the name of a god is not yet proved.

<sup>2</sup> On the identifications of these names of governors and cities see Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 48 ff.; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 29 ff.; and 1883, pp. 85-88; the most recent discussion of the subject is by Steindorff in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 595 ff.

course of action which would entail the destruction of the Assyrian army in Egypt, but the Assyrian chiefs managed to intercept their despatches, and the conspiracy was discovered. The ringleaders of the revolt were Sharru-ludari, the king of Tanis; Paḫrer, king of Pa-Sept (the modern Şaft al-Henna); and Nikau of Saïs; the revolt was put down with a strong hand by a second army which Ashur-bani-pal despatched to Egypt, and whilst large numbers of rebels were slain, two of the above-mentioned kings, Nekau and Sharru-ludari, were sent alive to Nineveh, and the latter seems to have been put to death there. Nekau, however, was pardoned by Ashur-bani-pal, who sent him back with rich gifts to his city in Egypt, and appointed his son to be the governor of Athribis. An Assyrian name, Nabû-shezib-ani (𐎢𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶), was given to Nekau's son, and many presents at the same time. About this time, so the Assyrian annalist tells us, "Tirhâḫâh fled to Kush; the terror of the soldiers of Ashur my lord overwhelmed him, and he went to his dark doom."

From the inscriptions found upon certain reliefs at Medînet-Habû ("Pylon of the Ethiopians") we learn that Tirhâḫâh claimed to have conquered Egypt, Teshher, and Tēpa,<sup>1</sup> and from a list of conquered countries given on the base of a statue discovered by Mariette at Karnak, it is clear that he claimed sovereignty over Western Mesopotamia, the land of the

<sup>1</sup> G. Daressy, *Médinet Habou*, p. 9.

Kheta, Assyria, Libya, and the eastern deserts. This is a signal example of the worthlessness, historically, of such lists, and proves that cartouches containing the names of countries and peoples were added to statues, etc., purely for ornamental purposes, and without any regard to truth or probability; the list here referred to has been shown by Mariette to have been copied directly from the base of a colossal statue of Rameses II.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, Tirhâkâh obtained the reputation of being a great traveller and conqueror, and Strabo,<sup>2</sup> under the name of "Tearko the Ethiopian," mentions him with Madys the Scythian, Cobus of Trerus, and Sesostris and Psammetichus the Egyptians, as one whose expeditions were not generally known. In another place<sup>3</sup> he quotes Megasthenes,<sup>4</sup> who says that Sesostris the Egyptian and Tearko the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe, and that Nebuchadnezzar, who was more celebrated among the Chaldeans than Hercules among the Greeks, penetrated even as far as the Pillars, which Tearko also reached. But whatever Pillars are here referred to they cannot be the Pillars of Hercules in Europe, for neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Tirhâkâh ever reached them. The circumstances which attended the death of Tirhâkâh, as well as the time and place of it, are unknown.

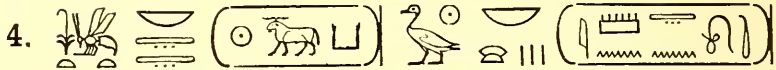
<sup>1</sup> See also Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 594; Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 67, pl. 18.

<sup>2</sup> I. 3, 21.


<sup>3</sup> XV. 1, 6.

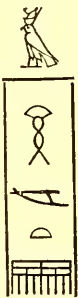
<sup>4</sup> He flourished between B.C. 350 and B.C. 300.





RĀ-BA-KA, son of the Sun, lord of risings, ÂMEN-TANUATH.

During the last years of his life Tirhâkâh associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom a fellow-countryman who was called TANUATH-ÂMEN, or TANUT-ÂMEN; this fact is proved by the reliefs<sup>1</sup> on the walls of the small sanctuary which Tirhâkâh and Tanut-Âmen built in honour of Osiris-Ptah at Thebes. In the first of these we see Tirhâkâh in converse with the various deities of Egypt, and in those which follow the youthful king Tanut-Âmen is represented in converse with Âmen-Râ and other gods. He sometimes wears the White Crown, , and sometimes the Red Crown, and at others the uraei of the South and the North are fastened over his brow. In one relief<sup>2</sup>

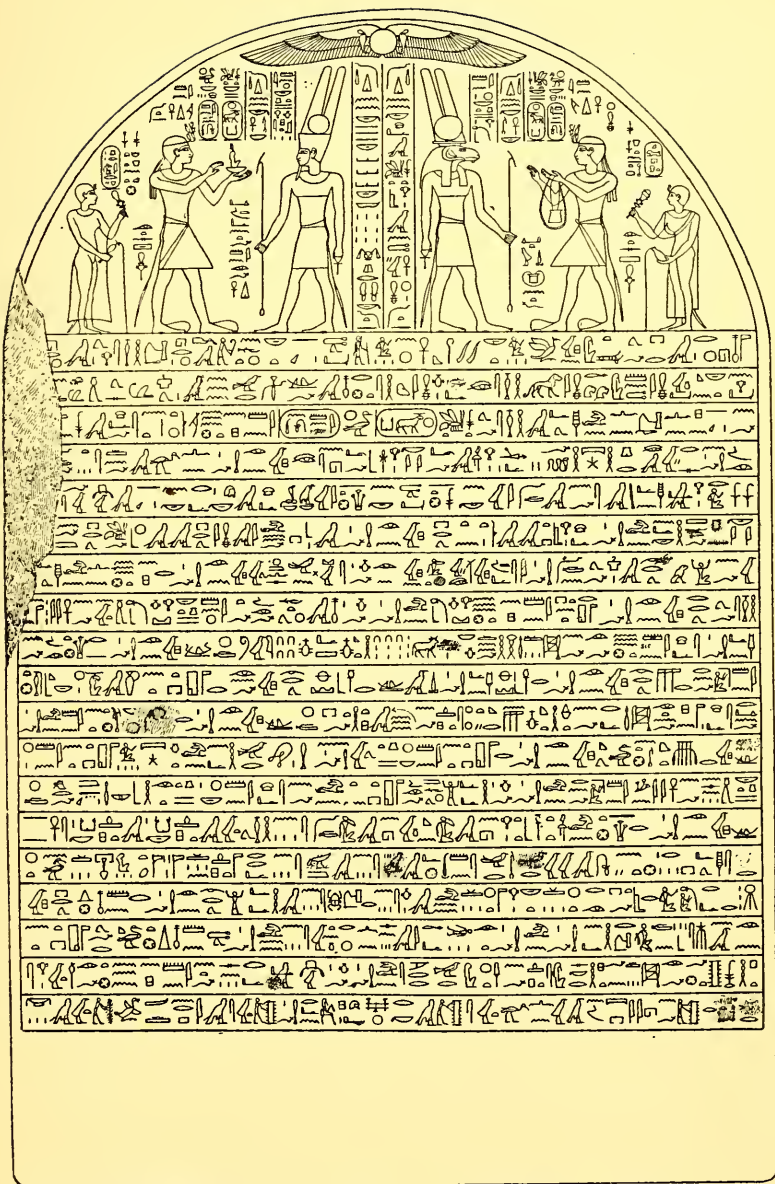


UAḤ-MERT,  
the Horus name of  
Tanut-Âmen.

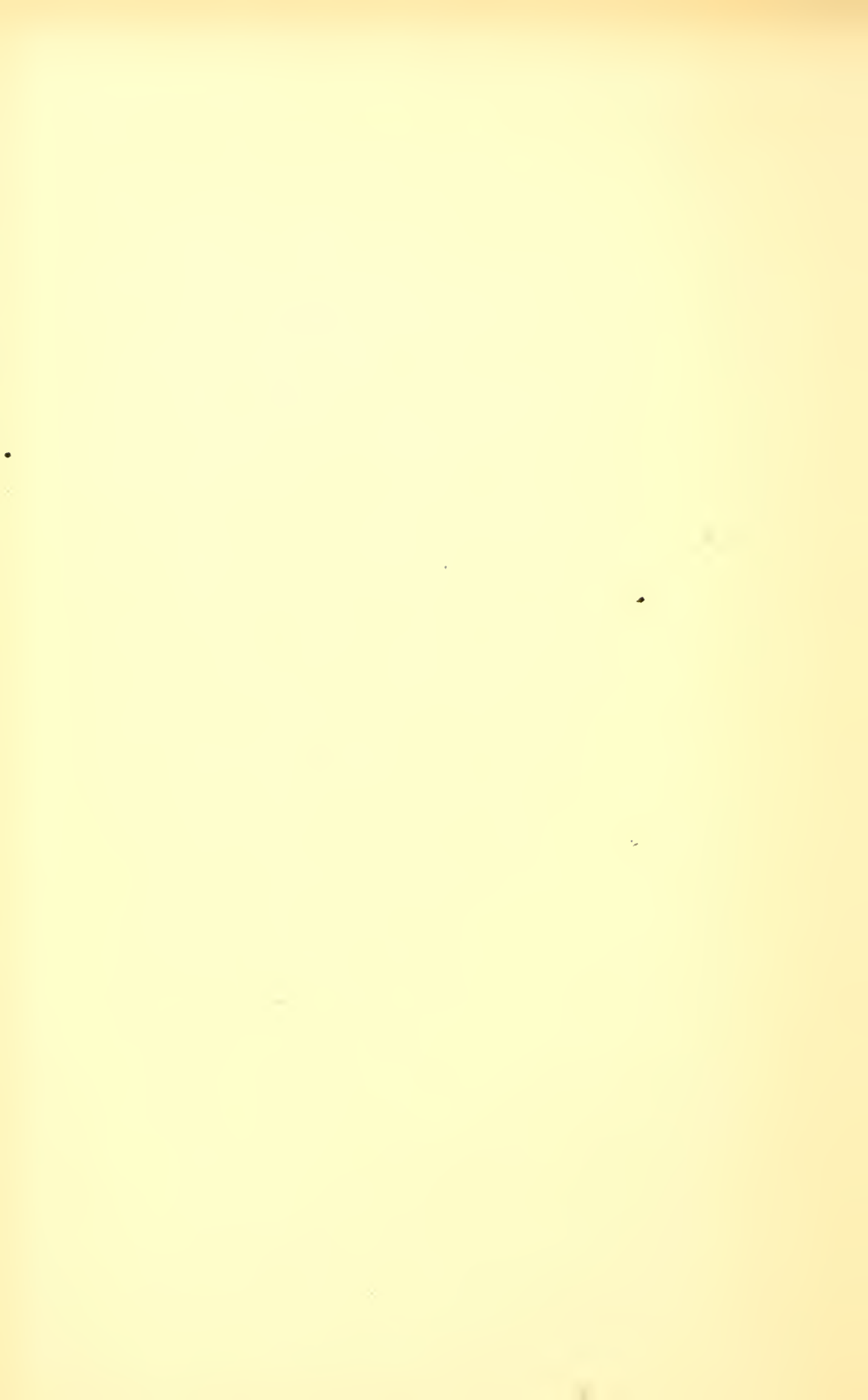
we see both Tirhâkâh and Tanut-Âmen making offerings, the former of incense and the latter of a libation to Osiris. A curious inscription found at Thebes and published by Champollion<sup>3</sup> mentions a ceremony which was performed in the third year of the reign of Tanut-Âmen, in connexion with the entrance of a priest called Peṭā-Khensu into the temple of Âmen-Râ at Thebes; this priest enumerates the names of a

<sup>1</sup> See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 79 ff.

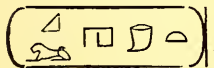
<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *op. cit.*, pl. 87. *Monuments*, tom. iv. plate 349.




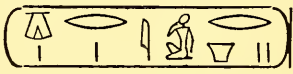
Stele of Tanuath-Amen. Found at Napata (Gebel Barkal).



number of priests of Ámen, Mut, Khensu, and Menthu, arranged in genealogical order, and it commemorates his priestly ancestors for seventeen generations. The most important monument of the reign of Tanut-Ámen is a fine stele which was found among the ruins of the temple of Ámen-Rā at Gebel Barkal, or Napata, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.<sup>1</sup> On the upper, rounded portion of it are two scenes. In one we have the king, who appears to be quite young, making an offering of a necklace and pectoral to his father Ámen, who is here represented with the head of a ram surmounted by a disk and plumes. Behind him stands his sister Qelhetat


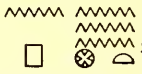
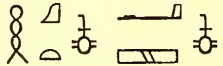

, who is pouring out a libation and

shaking a sistrum. The god says to the king, "I give unto thee to rise as king of the South and North upon the throne of Horus the living one, like Rā, for ever." In the other scene the king is making an offering of Maāt, , to Ámen-Rā, who says to the king, "I give unto thee all lands, all desert and mountainous countries, and all the Nine Bows together beneath thy sandals for ever." Behind the

king stands his wife Kereārḥenti, ; the two ladies have their feet bare, but the king wears sandals, or shoes of an unusual shape.




The stele is dated in the king's accession year, and

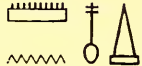
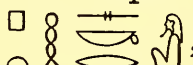

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Mariette, *op. cit.*, pl. 7 and 8.

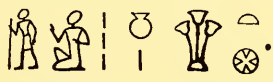
among the titles which it applies to the king is "Neb ābui,"<sup>1</sup> i.e., "lord of the two horns," a title which in later days was also borne by Alexander the Great, and which is, no doubt, the original of the Arabic name "Dhu'l Kārṇên" for the conqueror. In the second line mention is made of a journey which he made to the "Great Green," i.e., the Mediterranean Sea, and it seems as if he had been there with Tirhâḳâh in the early part of that king's reign. The text proper relates that Tanut-Āmen had a dream one night wherein he saw two snakes, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, and that when he awoke they had disappeared. When he asked [his magicians] to interpret the dream they told him that the two serpents represented the lands of the South and North of which he was to become the king, and that he should bind the uraei of sovereignty of both countries on his brow. As a result of this he went forth and was proclaimed king by 1,100,000 men, , and then he departed to the temple of Āmen of Napata, , and made an offering of 36 oxen, and forty measures of a beer called *āsh*, , and 100 ostrich feathers, . This done, he set out for the North, and when he arrived at Ābu (Elephantine) he made offerings to Khnemu-Rā and Ḥāpi; at Thebes he was received



<sup>1</sup> 





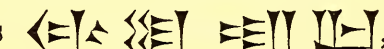

by the Senṭ-ur priest, , and by his colleagues who brought to him *ānkhi* flowers, , of "him whose name is hidden," .

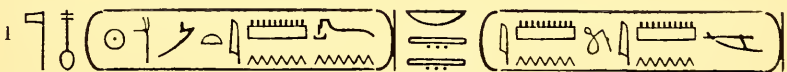
In due course he reached Men Nefer, , i.e., Memphis, and certain of the inhabitants who had intended to fight against him changed their minds and greeted his arrival with joy; but others of them resisted him, and "the children of revolt did battle with his majesty, "who made a slaughter among them so great that it "could not be computed." When Tanut-Ámen had taken the city he went to the temple of Ptaḥ and made offerings to Ptaḥ-Seker, , and Sekhet, . The "children of revolt" here mentioned must be the governors of the cities who had been re-appointed by Ashur-bani-pal, and probably a number of soldiers and mercenaries whom he had left to protect the interests of Assyria in Egypt. As soon as Tanut-Ámen had propitiated Ptaḥ of Memphis, he set out again in his boats to do battle with the "governors of the North,"<sup>1</sup> who straightway withdrew into their garrison cities, and became unassailable. Having spent "many days" waiting for them to come out to fight, he at length returned to Memphis, and sat down in his palace and took counsel with himself as to the best

<sup>1</sup> 

means to adopt to enable his bowmen to make an attack. After some delay the governors of the eastern side of the Delta appeared at Memphis under the leadership of Paqrer, , the governor of Pa-Sept, , or Phacusa, and they came to some sort of agreement with him. Tanut-Âmen entertained the chiefs of the deputation and gave them bread, and beer, and "all good things," and when, after a few days, they had come to terms, they asked permission to depart to their towns that they might fetch the gifts which they had evidently agreed to give him. At length the gifts were given, and in return, we may assume, the king found it prudent to retire to his own country.








The above inscription clearly contains a description of the occupation of Egypt by the Nubian king, and of his victory over those who resisted him at Memphis and in the Delta, and there is no doubt that the conquest of Memphis which is mentioned by Tanut-Âmen is also referred to in the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal (col. ii. l. 21 ff). The Assyrian king, after stating that Tirhâkâh had been swept away by the terrible splendour of his majesty, goes on to say that immediately afterwards a man called  set himself upon the throne of Egypt and continued the war. Now this name was read by the late Mr. G. Smith as Ur-da-ma-ni-e, and was at once by many regarded as the Assyrian form of the name of the











Egyptian king called RUT-ÂMEN-meri-Âmen,<sup>1</sup> whose place in Egyptian history is, however, uncertain. But it was well known from the Egyptian monuments that the successor of Tîrhâkâh was called Tanut-Âmen, and it seemed impossible that the Assyrian name Urdamanie could represent the Egyptian Tanut-Âmen. The question at once arose as to the accuracy of the transliteration of the Assyrian characters, and attention was fixed upon the first sign , which Mr. G. Smith, and others following him, read *ur*; now this sign has many values, e.g., *lik*, *lik*, *tas*, *tash*, *das*, *dash*, *tish*, *tiz*, and *tis*. In an inscription of Sennacherib<sup>2</sup> Mr. Smith found the words , which he read “ul-tu ši-tan,” and translated “from the beginning,” and thus gave to the sign  the additional value *tan*. This value does not appear in the second edition of Prof. Delitzsch’s *Lesestücke*, which was published in 1878, so clearly he cannot have known of its existence; it appears (p. 35) in parenthesis, in the third edition, published in 1885, and in the fourth edition (p. 38), published in 1899. This value *tan* is given by Brünnow in his admirable *Classified List* on the authority of Delitzsch, and the interesting variant




RĀ-USR-MA[Ā]T-ÂMEN-SETEP-EN, lord of the two lands, ÂMEN-RUT-MERI-ÂMEN.

<sup>2</sup> Smith-Sayce, *History of Sennacherib*, London, 1878, p. 161.

*ta-an* is given in the *Wörterbuch* of this scholar, p. 239. We may then take it for granted that the sign  has the value *tan*, and if we apply this to the first sign in the name       we obtain the reading Tan-da-ma-ni-e, which represents with tolerable accuracy the name of Tirhâkâh's successor, the Tanut-Âmen<sup>1</sup> of the Egyptian inscriptions. We must, then, cease to regard Urdamanie, or rather Tandamanie, and Ruṭ-Âmen as one and the same person, and we may now consider Ashur-bani-pal's account of his war against Tandamanie.




According to the Assyrian texts Tandamanie was either the "son of Shabakû,"      , or the "son of his sister,"    ,<sup>2</sup> but if the latter reading<sup>3</sup> be the correct one he must have been the nephew of Tirhâkâh, for this king is clearly the person to whom *shu* refers. Those who have made Tandamanie the nephew of Shabaka<sup>4</sup> appear not to have realized that the words "son of his sister" in the one text take the place of the words "son of Shabakû" in the other; as in the former text Tirhâkâh is the last person mentioned, the words "son of his sister" must mean the son of Tirhâkâh's sister.


<sup>1</sup> Steindorff in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 356 ff.

<sup>2</sup>  appears to mean "sister" here, but its usual meaning is "lady."

<sup>3</sup> See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> See the texts in Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. v. plate 2, line 22.

But to return to our text. As soon as Tirhâkâh had gone to his "dark doom" Tandamanie seated himself upon the throne of Egypt, and fortified the city of Ni', and according to one text, the city of U-nu, , i.e., Annu, , or Heliopolis, and collected his troops, and then set out to besiege the Assyrian forces in Memphis; the siege was well maintained, and he succeeded in preventing anyone from leaving the city. Whilst he was carrying out these works a messenger sent by someone departed in hot haste to Nineveh and told Ashur-bani-pal what had happened, and straightway the Assyrian king set out on his "second expedition to Egypt and Kush." As soon as Tandamanie heard that Ashur-bani-pal had arrived in Egypt he left Memphis and fled to Thebes, and immediately he had gone the prefects and governors who, not knowing whether they would obtain help from Assyria, had given him gifts, and had tried to be on good terms with him, advanced to Ashur-bani-pal and tendered their submission and kissed his feet. The Assyrian host left Memphis and followed Tandamanie, or Tanut-Amen, to Thebes, and as soon as the fugitive king knew this he fled to the city of Kîpkip, , Kî-ip kî-pi;<sup>1</sup> thus Thebes fell into the hands of Ashur-bani-pal, who

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian  Qepqepa; see Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 611.



plundered it in the usual Assyrian fashion, and carried off from it gold, silver, precious stones, rich apparel, costly furniture, fine horses, men, women, children, and two large wooden pillars which were of great weight, and were covered with plates of gold.

Ashur-bani-pal seems to have been content with the sacking of Thebes, for he returned, as he says, "with a full hand" in peace to his capital Nineveh, having established his power and authority in Egypt and Kush. These events took place about B.C. 661, and the capture and sacking of Thebes were the greatest calamity which had ever befallen the city. The Nubians had nearly a century before occupied it under Piānkhi, but their occupation took place in a peaceful manner, and seeing what close relations had existed between the Thebans and Nubians for centuries, the latter would not be regarded by the former as strangers or foreigners. But never before had the city of Thebes seen a foreign host in her streets, and fierce soldiers going about in the courts of the temple of Amen, desecrating the famous sanctuary and pillaging the chambers where the symbols of the great gods of Egypt had their abode. The provocation which the Egyptians, led by the Nubian kings Tirhâkâh and Tanut-Amen, had given must have been of a most serious character, otherwise Ashur-bani-pal would never have undertaken such a laborious work as an expedition to Thebes. He and his father must have been fully aware that it was impossible for them to make their authority

effective in a strip of country like Egypt, the capital of which was seventy days' journey from the sea-coast, and it is probable that the object of their invasion was rather to maintain their authority in Syria and Palestine than to conquer Egypt. Sargon, mighty warrior that he was, clearly shirked the invasion of a country which seemed to have no end, and his son Sennacherib lost the greater part of a fine army before ever setting foot on Egyptian soil, and Esarhaddon, the wise and politic grandson of Sargon, was content with the occupation of the Delta and the capture of the northern capital Memphis. It was reserved for the fiery Ashur-bani-pal to take and sack Thebes, but we may be quite sure that he knew it would be impossible to rule Egypt from Nineveh, and that he felt that it would be impossible for him ever to return to the country, especially when he remembered the trouble which was brewing for him in Babylonia and Elam.

The invasion of Egypt and the sack of Thebes were the result of the arrogance and ignorance of the priests of Amen. Having ruined Egypt and reduced Thebes to poverty, in the XXIst Dynasty they retired to Napata, and became propagandists of the cult of Amen and of the theory that the high priest of that god had the right to rule Egypt; the native Nubian princes married women of the families of the priests of Amen, and adopted with their wives the belief that they inherited that right. The

four kings of the Nubian Dynasty occupied Thebes without much difficulty, but they showed themselves incapable of meeting a strong foe like the Assyrians in the battle-field. They might have ruled the Thebaïd and Nubia in peace had they not attempted to resist the power of Assyria in Syria and Palestine, but they foolishly thought that they might with impunity depose the governors appointed by Esarhaddon, and slay the Assyrian garrison left in Memphis by Ashur-bani-pal, not realizing the greatness of the power of the foe whom they opposed. When the Assyrians turned upon their enemy the Nubians were always beaten, and when the Assyrians followed them they ran away. Sib'e the "Tartan" of Egypt ran away from Sargon, Tirhâkâh ran away from Esarhaddon and from Ashur-bani-pal, and Tanut-Âmen ran away from Ashur-bani-pal. Tanut-Âmen did more harm to Egypt than his three predecessors, for he defied the Assyrian king, slew his soldiers, and then escaped himself, leaving the wretched country at the mercy of the victorious and infuriated king of the Assyrians, whose annals show beyond a doubt that they were past masters in the art of burning and destroying the cities which they had sacked, and of laying waste countries, and of torturing and slaying their captives.

The action of the Nubian kings seems to have been due to the foolish belief, which was inculcated in them by the priests of Amen, that they ought to follow the example of the priest-kings of the Theban XXIst Dynasty

of Egypt, and copy the exploits of the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, but they possessed neither the ability of the priests, nor the bravery of the kings of old. For nearly two thousand years the city of Thebes maintained its proud position, not only as the capital of Upper Egypt, but as the seat of the government of the country and of the priesthood, and whether the Egyptians gained victories or suffered defeats in the wars which they waged during that long period, the "city of Amen" maintained its supremacy among the cities of Egypt, and the foot of the Asiatic conqueror never trod her streets. It was reserved for the Nubian converts of the priests of Amen to bring upon her a destruction which her inhabitants could not have believed possible, and a state of ruin so awful that it was held up by the prophet Nahum as an example of the misfortune and calamity which he prophesied against the people of Nineveh.

## LIST OF GOVERNORS OF CITIES

## ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

1. |  Ni-ku-u =
2. |  Shārru-lu-da-ri
3. |  Pi-sha-an-khu-ru =
4. |  Pa-ak-ru-ru =
5. |  =  
Bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-'-pi
6. |  Na-akh-ki-e =
7. |  Pu-ṭu-bish-ti =
8. |  U-na-mu-nu =
9. |  Khar-si-ya-e-shu =
10. |  Pu-u-ai-ma =
11. |  Su-si-in-ḳu =
12. |  Tab-na-akh-ti =

<sup>1</sup> According to Steindorff (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i.


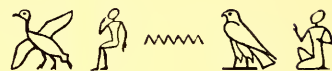


APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON.


EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

 NEKAU.

(An Assyrian name.)

 PA-SEN-HERU, or   
PA-SHERE-EN-HERU.

 PAQRER, or  PAQRER.

 BAK-EN-NIFI.

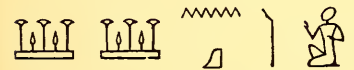
 NEKHT-KA-I.

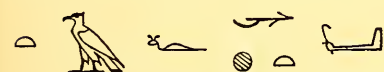
 PE-TĀ-BAST.


 UNU-ĀMEN.

 HERU-SA-ĀST.

 PA-MĀ-I.<sup>1</sup>



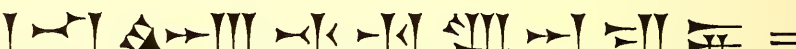

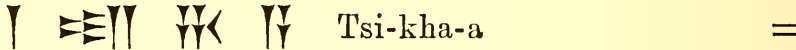



 SHASHANQ.


 TAF-NEKHT.



p. 351) the Assyrian form = Eg. .

## LIST OF GOVERNORS OF CITIES

## ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

13.  =
14.  Ip-ti-khar-di-e-shu =
15.  =  
Na-akh-ti-khu-ru-an-si-ni
16.  <sup>1</sup> Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip =
17.  Tsi-kha-a =
18.  La-me-in-tu =
19.  Ish-pi-ma-a-tu =
20.  =  
Ma-an-ti-me-an-khi-e


<sup>1</sup> This name cannot be the Assyrian "Bukur-Ninib," i.e., "firstborn of Ninib," for the god's name is never spelt in this way, and the determinative  is wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Because no official or king called Menthu-em-ānkh is known to us from the Egyptian inscriptions of this period, while a governor of Thebes called Menthu-em-ḥā, , is known, an attempt has been made to show that the governor whom the Assyrian scribe called Ma-an-ti-mi-an-hi-e must be identified with this Menthu-em-ḥā. In order to arrive at this result the second sign *an*, , is arbitrarily regarded as a mistake of the scribe, who is supposed by this theory to

APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON—*continued.*


EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

(As No. 5.)

 PTAḤ-ERTĀ-SU.

 NEKHT-ḤERU-NA-SHENNU.




 BAK-EN-REN-F.

 TCHET-ḤRĀ (= Tcheḥo = *Tεώς*).

 NEMARETH.



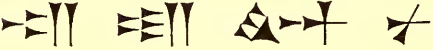






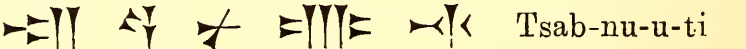
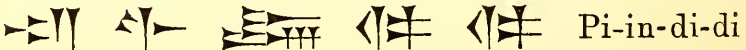
 P-SA-MUT.

 MENTHU-EM-ĀNKH.<sup>2</sup>

have mistaken the following sign *hi*, , for the ideogram of the name of the god Ashur, , and therefore to have placed before it the determinative for god, . The idea is ingenious but most improbable, and the argument, as is generally the case in emendations of this kind, is so complicated that it fails to carry conviction with it. As the name stands before us in the cuneiform characters we have neither reason nor right to assume any such blunder on the part of the scribe, or to read the name in any other way than Ma-an-ti-mi-an-khi-e, which is obviously Menthu-em-ānkh, and must be the name of a person entirely distinct from Menthu-em-ḥā. See Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, vol. iii. p. 378; Steindorff, *Beiträge*, vol. i. p. 354.


## LIST OF CITIES OVER WHICH GOVERNORS

## ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.


1.  Me-im-pi =  
 Sa-ai =
2.  Tsi-'-nu =
3.  Na-at-khu-u =
4.  Pi-sap-tu =
5.  Kha-at-khi-ri-bi =
6.  Khi-ni-in-shi =
7.  Tsa-'-nu =
8.  Na-at-khu-u =
9.  Tsab-nu-u-ti =
10.  Pi-in-di-di =

WERE APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON.

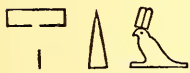
EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

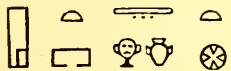
 MEN-NEFER.


 SAAUT.


 TCHĀNT.

 NA-ĀṬḤU, "the Swamps."

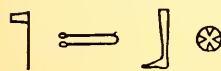
 PER-SEPT (PA-SEPT).


 HET-TA-HER-ĀBT (ATHRIBIS).

 HENEN-SUTEN (HERAKLEOPOLIS MAGNA).

 TCHĀNT (?).

 NA-ĀṬḤU.


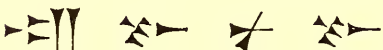

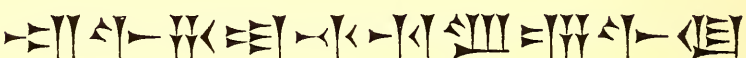
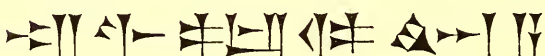




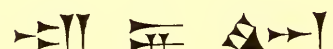
 THEB-NETER (SEBENNYTUS).

 PA-BA-NEB-ṬETET (MENDES).



## LIST OF CITIES OVER WHICH GOVERNORS

## ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

11.  Pu-nu-shi-ru =
12.  Pu-nu-bu =
13.  Akh-ni =
14.  =  
Pi-kha-at-ti-khu-ru-un-pi-ki
15.  Pi-sab-di-'-a =
16.  Pa-akh-nu-ti =
17.  Shi-ya-a-u-tu =
18.  Khi-mu-ni =
19.  Ta-ai-ni =
20.  Ni- =



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE TWENTY-SECOND TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY.—SUMMARY.

WITH the close of this period the New Empire comes to an end, and we are on the threshold of the Renaissance of the Egyptian kingdom with all its ancient arts and sciences brought into connexion with the Greece of the seventh century before Christ. The beginning of this period is marked by a slight revival of Egyptian power under the energetic king Shashanq, who put an end to the two rival but weak dynasties of Tanis and Thebes, and united the kingdoms of the South and North under his sceptre. With the end of the dynasty of priest-kings Thebes ceased to be the capital of Egypt, and its glory, which had lasted for two thousand years, departed from it. The progress of its decay was materially hastened by its sack in the year 661 B.C., by the Assyrians in the reign of Ashurbani-pal, and by the time of the rule of the Ptolemies the great city was, comparatively speaking, in ruins. Shashanq, the first king of the XXIIInd Dynasty, fixed

the seat of his power at Bubastis, in the eastern part of the Delta, a city which had up to that time occupied a purely subordinate position.

The successors of Shashanq vied with each other in their devotion to the Cat or Lioness-goddess Bast, and they considerably enlarged and beautified her temple at Bubastis, the greatest of the works in connexion therewith being executed by Osorkon II., the fourth king of the dynasty, who erected a magnificent festival hall in honour of the goddess.<sup>1</sup> Of this city Herodotus says,<sup>2</sup>—“Amongst the rest, the noble city “of Bubastis seemeth to be verry haughty and highly “planted, in which city is a temple of excellent memory “dedicate to the goddess Bubastis, called in our speach “Diana, then the which, albeit there be other churches “both bigger and more richly furnished, yet for the “sightly grace and seemelynesse of building, there is “none comparable unto it. Besides, the verry entrance “and way that leadeth unto the city, the rest is in forme “of an Ilande, inclosed round about with two sundry “streames of the river Nilus, which runne to either side “of the path way, and leauing as it were a lane or “causey betweene them, without meeting, take their “course another way. These armes of the floud are “eache of them an hundred foote broade, beset on both “sides the banckes with fayre braunched trees, over- “shadowing ye waters with a coole and pleasant shade.

<sup>1</sup> See Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 137, 138. B.R.'s translation, Fol. 108 f.

“The gate of entry of the city is in height 10. paces,  
 “having in the front a beautiful image, 6. cubites in  
 “measure. The temple it selfe situate in the midst  
 “of ye city, is euermore in sight to those yt passe to and  
 “fro. For although ye city by addition of earth was  
 “arrered and made higher, yet ye temple standing as it  
 “did in ye beginning, and never mooued, is in manner  
 “of a lofty and stately tower, in open and cleare uiewe  
 “to euery parte of ye city. Round about the which  
 “goeth a wall ingrauen with figures and portraitures of  
 “sundry beasts.

“The inner temple is enuironed with a high groue  
 “of trees, set and planted by the hande and industrie  
 “of men; in the whiche temple is standing an  
 “image. The length of the temple is in euery way a  
 “furlong. From the entrance of the temple Eastward,  
 “there is a fayre large causey leading to the house of  
 “Mercury, in length, three furlongs, and four acres  
 “broade, all of faire stone, and hemmed in on each  
 “side with a course of goodly tall trees planted by the  
 “hands of men, and thus as touching the description  
 “of ye temple.” Describing the various great festivals  
 of the Egyptians, Herodotus says<sup>1</sup> of the feast of Diana  
 which was celebrated at Bubastis,—“Moreover, such of  
 “this people as with entyre and affectionate zeale most  
 “religiously obserue the feast at Bubastis, behaue and  
 “beare themselues on this maner. Certayne shippes  
 “being addressed, wherein infinite numbers of men and

<sup>1</sup> B.R.'s translation, Fol. 86.



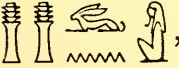
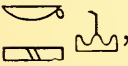
“ women sayle towards the city, in the meane season  
 “ whiles they be in voiage on ye water, certaine of the  
 “ women play upon drums and tabers, making a great  
 “ sound and noyse, ye men on pipes. Such as want  
 “ these implements, clap their hands and straine their  
 “ voice in singing to ye highest degree. At what city  
 “ soever they arrive, happely some of the women con-  
 “ tinue their mirthe and disport on ye timbrels, some  
 “ others raile, reuile and scold at the dames of ye city  
 “ beyond measure; many trauisse and daunce minionly :  
 “ others cast by their clothes, and openly discover and  
 “ bewray their shame, doing this in all those cities that  
 “ are neere adioyning to the rivers side. Being as-  
 “ sembled and gathered together at Bubastis, they  
 “ honour the feast day with principall solemnity, making  
 “ large offerings to Diana, wherein is greater expence  
 “ and effusion of grape wine than all the yeare besides.  
 “ To this place by the uoice of ye country are wont to  
 “ repayre 7000. men and women, besides children, and  
 “ thus they passe the time at Bubastis.”

The temple of Bast is at least as old as the time of Khufu, for this king's Horus name was found on a granite block which evidently formed part of the original building; the names of Pepi I., as well as the names of several kings of the Middle Empire, were also found on slabs of stone; thus it is certain that in the early ages of Egyptian history the temple of Bubastis was of great importance. But under the New Empire we hear little of it until the period of the XXIInd Dynasty, when Bast

suddenly becomes one of the most important deities of Egypt. Amen-Rā was still worshipped as king of the gods throughout Egypt, but after the XXIIInd Dynasty the ruin and decay into which his sanctuary and city had fallen greatly diminished his prestige, and men began to turn more and more to the worship of the universally venerated deity Osiris, his consort Isis, and the other gods of his train. In this company the goddesses Sekhet, Bast, Hathor, etc., took their places, and became first confused with Isis and then identified with her.

The first four kings of the XXIIInd Dynasty were energetic monarchs, but they were incapable of restoring to Egypt any of her former territories in Palestine. The attack of Shashanq I. on the kingdom of Judah can only be regarded as a raid which produced no lasting results, and it was not followed up in any way by his successors. Under the later kings of this dynasty, and those of the Tanite XXIIIrd Dynasty, Egypt sank once more into a state of complete apathy, in which she remained until the time of the Psammetici, about a century and a half later; during this period Egypt became the battle ground of the contending armies of Ethiopia and Assyria. Egypt was without a legitimate royal house, for the descendants of the Shashanqs and Osorkons no longer ruled the land from Bubastis or Tanis, but were scattered about the country as princes of the nomes, which, in the absence of a central authority, had, as ever, become independent of each other, and

which warred with each other; the prince of each nome wearing the royal uraeus as if he alone were the lawful Pharaoh. There existed, however, a claimant to the throne of the Two Lands who considered his rights far stronger than those of the descendants of the Māsha chief Shashanq; this was the descendant of the priest-king who was ruling in Ethiopia. By the country of Ethiopia we mean, not the modern country of Abyssinia, but that portion of the Nile Valley which extends from the southern end of the First Cataract to the Island of Meroë, i.e., the country bounded on the north by the Atbara river, and on the south by the Blue Nile. The territory as far south as the foot of the Fourth Cataract had remained in the uninterrupted and comparatively peaceful possession of the Egyptians from the time of Thothmes I. until the end of the XXIst Dynasty, a period of about six hundred years.

At the end of this period the inhabitants had naturally become imbued with the culture of Egypt, and in religion, whilst still worshipping their native deities, e.g., Ṭetun, , they also adopted officially the religious system of Egypt; as the result of this the god Ṭetun was identified with Ptaḥ, and so on. By race the people of this country, called by the Egyptians Kesh, , which name is the original of the Hebrew Kûsh, belonged, as they still do for the most part, to the Barabara stock; the Barabara, though often called Berbers, must not be confused with the great Berber or

Libyan stock of North Africa, to which the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt had belonged. The ethnic affinities of the Nubian Barabara are unknown, and their language, which is still spoken, has not been satisfactorily assigned to any known group of tongues; it is no way connected with either the Berber (Hamitic) or Semitic idioms. The Cushites over whom the Egyptians ruled were, beyond doubt, Barabara, and there is no evidence to show that in Pharaonic times the Semitic race of Abyssinia had reached the Nile Valley, even if it had already crossed over from Arabia into Africa, which is doubtful. The capital city of Kesh


or Kush was established at Nepita, , or Napata, a name which evidently had in the native

language of the country some meaning connected with water, such as "river-land"; this city was situated about twelve or fifteen miles south of Gebel Barkal, and is mentioned as early as the time of Amen-hotep II., who tells us in his stele at 'Amâda in Northern Nubia that of the seven kings whom he slew with his own hand at Thakhisa in Syria, he hung the bodies of six upon the walls at Thebes, and sent the seventh to be exhibited at Napata as a warning to the Nubians of the fate which would befall rebels against the king's authority. Amen-hotep III. built a temple at Gebel Barkal in honour of Amen-Râ, and of this temple the two fine granite lions now in the British Museum are relics.

The natural consequence of the fact that Nubia

was only really absorbed into the kingdom of Egypt at this late period was that the worship of Amen-Rā dominated the religion of the country, and the priests of Amen seem to have founded a priestly colony at Napata and Gebel Barkal probably as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty; this colony served as a powerful means of binding Ethiopia to Egypt. The country so far south as Semneh and Kummeh had been an Egyptian possession since the time of the XIIth Dynasty, and under the XIIIth Dynasty Egyptian authority had been established, at least temporarily, so far south as the Island of Argo, near Dongola, but the important district of Napata was annexed for the first time under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it was necessary to adopt an effectual means for securing its allegiance. The result of the establishment of the priests of Amen at Napata was that the whole population became fanatically devoted to the worship of that god and faithful to the persons of his priests, who, as we have seen, under the XXIst Dynasty ruled Egypt as her kings. It was therefore natural that, when Shashanq overthrew the Dynasty of Tanis and advanced southwards to reduce Egypt to obedience, the family of the priest-kings should retire to Napata, where they continued to reign as kings, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Henceforward Ethiopia was independent of Egypt, and the kings of the XXIInd Dynasty never attempted to make their authority felt to the south of the First Cataract.



On the other hand, the Nubian monarchs never relinquished their claim to the Egyptian throne, and as soon as an opportunity appeared, by reason of the anarchy which prevailed in Egypt after the end of the XXIIInd Dynasty, Piānkhi-meri-Āmen,  the reigning priest-king of Napata, invaded and re-conquered Egypt, and was crowned at Thebes with great pomp and ceremony. The Egyptians seem never to have accepted the rule of the Nubians contentedly, especially since these kings preferred to reside at Napata rather than in Egypt, and the petty princes of Lower Egypt were continually intriguing against their rulers, going so far as to league themselves with the Assyrians against the descendants of the princes of Thebes.

After the temporary eclipse of the Assyrian Empire, which synchronized with the rise of the kingdom of Judah, the Assyrians once again rose to power under Rammānu-Nirari II., B.C. 911, and under his son and grandson Tukulti-Ninip II., B.C. 890, and Ashur-natsir-pal, B.C. 885. The last-named king re-conquered Kummukh and Northern Syria, and received the submission of Sangara, the last king of the Khatti, at Karkēmîsh. His son and successor, Shalmaneser II., B.C. 860, came into hostile contact with Ben-hadad, "the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus,"<sup>1</sup> who

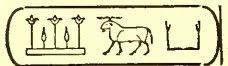
<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xv. 18.

was in league with Ahab, king of Israel, and he defeated them in the battle of Karkar, B.C. 854. Rammānu-Nirari III., B.C. 811, overran the whole of Palestine, and completely subjugated Phoenicia. Under Tiglath-Pileser III., B.C. 745, began the intimate connexion between Assyria and Palestine, which lasted until the end of the Second Assyrian Empire, about one hundred and fifty years later.

From the time of Shalmaneser IV., 727-722, the successor of Tiglath-Pileser III., the whole of Palestine was regarded as part of the Assyrian Empire. Tribute was expected to be paid regularly by the vassal kings of Syria, Israel, and Judah, and by the chiefs of the Phoenician and Philistine cities, and when it was not forthcoming, the annual campaign "at the time of the year when kings go forth to battle," which was considered necessary both for the replenishing of the king's treasury and for the maintaining of the efficiency of the army, was carried out in their countries. The Assyrians were hard masters, and revolts against their authority were common, but were usually put down with a barbarous cruelty which the Syrian and Palestinian had never experienced at the hands of the milder-mannered Egyptians. It was therefore natural that in their desire to free themselves from the tyranny of the Assyrians, the princes of Syria should turn for help to their old masters in the Nile Valley; but Egypt was now the broken reed, and the day of her power had

departed never to return, and it was quite hopeless for her armies, composed as they were of a miscellaneous gathering of chariots, and horses, and bowmen, hastily gathered together from Nubia, Egypt, Libya, and Philistia, without any organization or cohesion, and led by a number of chiefs all independent and jealous of each other, owing also but a shadowy allegiance to a Nubian Pharaoh, to contend with the ordered and disciplined hosts of Assyria.

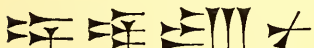
The first appeal from Palestine to Egypt was made by Hoshea, who "had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king shut him up, and bound him in prison."<sup>1</sup> In "So king of Egypt," whose name would perhaps be more correctly spelt *Seve*, some would see the Nubian Shabaka



), who at that time was, however, not yet king, but who may well have occupied the position of commander-in-chief of the army under king Kashta, a position which was actually occupied by Sib'e, the "Tartan" of Egypt. The king of Assyria who is mentioned is Shalmaneser IV. In the reign of the next Assyrian king, Sargon (722-705), the Israelites were carried into captivity, B.C. 722, and in the official Annals under the year which corresponds to B.C. 715, we find a mention of the sending of tribute by Pir'u, | ⤴ |—| IIII | ⬠ |—| (Pharaoh), of Egypt; but the fact

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 4.

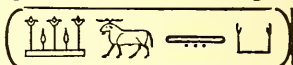
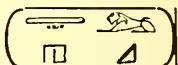
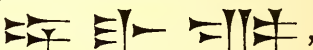
that this so-called tribute is mentioned side by side with "tribute" from It'amra, king of Sâba in Yaman, or Southern Arabia, and from a nomad Arab queen named Samsi, makes it very doubtful if anything more than complimentary gifts is referred to in this statement.

In the year 711 the Philistines revolted against Assyria with the help of Shabaka, the king of Egypt, and the city of Ashdod became the centre of the revolt under the leadership of a foreigner who is called Yatnan, i.e., the "Cypriote." The Assyrian commander-in-chief, whose official title was "Turtanu," , the "Tartan" of the Bible,<sup>1</sup> came, in the words of Isaiah, "unto Ashdod (when "Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought "against Ashdod, and took it." The king of Egypt could give no real help to the rebels; their leader the Yatnan fled to Egypt, and was eventually handed over to the Assyrian king by the Egyptians. For the second time Assyria found Egypt to be in league with her subjects who had revolted, and it became evident the time was not far distant when Assyria would undertake the conquest of Egypt herself.

In the year 701, Sennacherib, king of Assyria from 705 to 681, advanced upon Egypt, and was confronted at Altaḫû, or Eltekeh,<sup>2</sup> near Ekron, by the "kings of Egypt, the bowmen, the chariots,

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A city mentioned in Joshua xix. 44.

and the horses of the king of Ethiopia,"<sup>1</sup> who were overthrown with great slaughter. The "kings of Egypt" here, of course, are the petty princes of the Delta who called themselves kings, and the king of Ethiopia is, apparently, Shabataka () , the son and successor of Shabaka. Sennacherib, however, did not follow up his victory, but returned to complete the subjection of Judah, whose king Hezekiah had joined Padi, king of Ekron, who by calling on the Egyptians to assist him in a revolt had brought about the battle of Altakû. Nearly twenty years later, i.e., about 682, Sennacherib, who had in the interval completely subdued Babylonia and destroyed Babylon (689), advanced once again into Syria, on an expedition concerning which the official Assyrian Annals are silent. Jerusalem was again besieged, but this time without result, and Tirhâkâh, or Taherq, () , who had succeeded Shabataka upon the throne of Egypt, set out to help Hezekiah, who, in spite of the well-founded warning<sup>2</sup> of the "Rabshakeh," , against the untrustworthiness of Egypt, had made a league with the king thereof. The hostile forces

<sup>1</sup> By "Ethiopia" we must understand Nubia as far south as the Fourth Cataract.

<sup>2</sup> "Now, on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, *even* upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him."—2 Kings xviii. 20, 21.










of the Egyptians and Assyrians did not join battle. Sennacherib, hearing of the advance of Tirhâkâh, determined to march on the Delta, and it was during this march that an epidemic broke out among his troops, and destroyed nearly all of them; Sennacherib then appears to have returned hastily to Nineveh without having either defeated Tirhâkâh or performed upon Hezekiah the vengeance which he had threatened.

Of this catastrophe we have two entirely independent traditions, the one Hebrew and the other Egyptian, which agree as to the main fact of the destruction of Sennacherib's army. The Hebrew tradition as recorded in Isaiah (chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii.) represents Hezekiah as being in a state of terror and despair by reason of the blasphemous words and threats of the Rabshakeh, but when he had prayed to God he received a message of consolation from Isaiah the Prophet, and "Then the  
"angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp  
"of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five  
"thousand: and when they arose early in the morning,  
"behold, they *were* all dead corpses" (Isaiah xxxvii. 36). The Egyptian tradition is given by Herodotus (ii. 141) when speaking of the successor of Sabakos, whom he calls Sethôn, and describes as having been a priest of Hephaistos, "by whom the souldyers of Aegypt  
"were abused and had in contempt as men unfit, and  
"not seruing for his purpose. Wherefore beside other  
"slanderous tauntes and reuiling words, whereby he  
"sought at all times to greeue them, he bereaued them

“also of such lands and reuenues as had bene graunted  
“unto them by the former kings: for which cause,  
“after that Sennackerib king of the Arabians and  
“Assyrians had inuaded Aegypt with a mighty power,  
“they refused to yeeld him ayd and assistance in his  
“warres. The priest driven to this sudden blanke,  
“not knowing howe to shift, withdrewe himselfe into a  
“close parlour, where complayning himselfe before his  
“god, he shewed what great and imminent perils were  
“like to befall him. As he was in this sort powring  
“out his teares and pittifal complaints before his  
“image, he fell asleepe, when there seemed to appeare  
“unto him the straunge forme of his god, willing him  
“to be of good comfort, and meete his enemies in the  
“field not fearing the euent of battayle, forsomuch  
“as he would send him sufficient aide to assist and  
“succour him. Maister parson taking hart of grace by  
“this blessed uision, tooke with him such of the  
“Aegyptians as were willing to follow him, and in-  
“camped in Pelusia, on which side only Aegypt lieth  
“open, and may be inuaded by forreine power, in  
“whose cause not one of the souldiers would mooue a  
“foote to followe him out of dores, but pedlers, tinkers,  
“and common gadders that strayed here and there  
“about the countrey. Being arriued at the place before  
“named, in ye night season, there came into the tents  
“of their aduersaries an huge multitude of field mice,  
“which gnawed their quivers, bit in sunder their  
“bowstrings, and the braces of their shields, yt in ye



“morning being disfurnished of their armour, they  
 “betooke themselves to flight, not without the loss of  
 “many souldiers. Herehence is it yt the picture of ye  
 “same prince grauen of stone, is seene standing in ye  
 “temple of Vulcane with this title and inscription,  
 “Learn by me to feare God.”<sup>1</sup>

The annihilation of Sennacherib’s army entirely destroyed his prestige, and soon after he returned stricken to Ninèveh he was murdered in the house of Nisroch, his god, by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer, who fled to Ararat in Armenia. The murdered king was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon, B.C. 681 to 668; who, whilst as energetic as his predecessors, was a man of greater toleration and humanity. Having ascended the throne of Assyria he at once began to rebuild the city of Babylon, and it was some years before he was at leisure to occupy himself with the affairs of Egypt. In the year B.C. 670 he marched by way of Aphek, in the plain of Sharon, and Raphia, by the brook of Egypt. On the 12th day of the month of Tammuz Memphis was taken by him, but he advanced no further into the country; the local princes and chiefs, however, seem to have done homage to him, for on a stone tablet in the British Museum he styles himself “king of the kings of Egypt, and of Paturisi” (i.e.,      *Pa-ta-resu*, the country of the south), and Kûsi (i.e.,   *Kesh*

<sup>1</sup> B.R.’s translation, fol. 108b, 109a.

or Nubia). On his way back to Nineveh he caused a tablet commemorating his conquest of Egypt to be set up at Nahr-al-Kalb, as it were in derision of the older monuments which recorded the triumphs of Rameses II. over the Semites. Two years later it became necessary for Esarhaddon to reassert his authority in Egypt, and he set out to do so, but died on the way; he was immediately succeeded by his son Ashur-bani-pal, who reigned from B.C. 668 to 626.

In the second year of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal the Ethiopian (i.e., Nubian) king, Tirhâkâh, marched into Egypt and regained possession of Memphis, which was, however, recaptured for the Assyrian king by the turtânu, or commander-in-chief, who led his army. Tirhâkâh retreated to Ethiopia, and soon afterwards died there; he was succeeded by his kinsman Tandamanie, as the Assyrians called him, i.e., Tanut-Âmen. The Assyrian army pressed on as far as Thebes, but was soon afterwards recalled owing to a revolt which had broken out among the princes of the Delta; and Tanut-Âmen, the Ethiopian king, followed their retreat as far as Memphis, where he succeeded in getting himself crowned as king of Egypt. For a few years his authority was precariously maintained, but at length Ashur-bani-pal determined to eject him, and in B.C. 661 took the field in person against him; he chased him from Memphis to Thebes, and thence to Kîpkip, in Ethiopia. The city of Thebes was taken and sacked by the Assyrians, who, no doubt perpe-

trated in it the atrocities which they were wont to commit in captured cities; their booty was great, and included gold, silver, horses, apparel, etc. Specially mentioned by Ashur-bani-pal's annalists are two objects which he describes<sup>1</sup> as “(iṣu) *dimme šrúti pitik zakhlé ibbi*,” and which are said by him to have weighed “2500 talents.” The objects have usually been called “obelisks,” but it is evident from the determinative (iṣu, i.e., wood) which is placed before the word “dimmi” that these “dimmi” cannot have been obelisks, but were wooden pillars, and therefore a more exact rendering of the Assyrian words will be, “two huge wooden pillars overlaid with shining metal,” probably *smu* metal,  , electrum, of which the Egyptians were very fond. Ashur-bani-pal returned to Assyria with his loot, and never went back to Egypt, which remained loyal to the governors whom the Assyrian king had appointed for a few years, for Tanut-Ámen never attempted to reassert Ethiopian authority after the destruction of Thebes, the city of Ámen, his god. The reunification of Egypt under the energetic rule of Psamethék, the son of Nekau, prince of Saïs, finally put an end to Ashur-bani-pal's hope and intention that Egypt should become eventually a province of Assyria.

The above summary of the relations of Egypt with

<sup>1</sup> . Cylinder inscription (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. v.), col. ii. l. 41 f.



Ethiopia and Assyria between B.C. 1000 and 600 will, it is hoped, give a clearer idea of the successive events of this period than could be derived from the fuller treatment of the subject which is dealt with under the various reigns of the Egyptian kings concerned. Beyond the facts of the political history of the time there is little to interest the historian in this, the period of Egypt's greatest weakness, and the student of Egyptian art and archaeology will find little to instruct him in the monuments and relics of this age. Art had fallen into a state of complete apathy and want of originality; sculptors were content to follow without variation the models of the XIXth Dynasty, and painters remained bound in the fetters of a rigid conventionality. Much of the spirit of the old art had, undoubtedly, been lost owing to the fact that the hieroglyphic script had now become as it were an official and sacred mode of writing, used only for religious texts and funeral prayers, official records, historical inscriptions, grants to temples, etc. In the preceding period, i.e., the XIXth, XXth, and XXIst Dynasties, this had certainly not been the case; the hieroglyphics must have been then well understood even by the inferior orders of scribes, otherwise they would not have been able to write the hieratic script, which is the cursive form of the hieroglyphic characters, so well and so accurately as they did. The decay of the written language, which began as early as the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was followed after the lapse

of two or three centuries by the decay of the writing, which grew more and more cursive, conventional, and abbreviated, until finally, in the tenth century before Christ, the hieratic was supplemented by the newly developed script which is now known by the names Enchorial (Gr. ἐγχώριος) and Demotic (Gr. δημοτικός), i.e., the writing which belongs to the country or the people. The knowledge of the older hieratic disappeared entirely, and we find that Herodotus, about B.C. 450, is only acquainted with two styles of Egyptian writing, i.e., hieroglyphic and demotic. A typical historical inscription which well illustrates the language and phraseology of the time is that of Pi-ānkhī-meri-Āmen, recording his conquest of Egypt.

The end of the period under consideration marks the end of the long epoch of Egyptian history which has, rather inaptly, been called the New Empire; this period is, however, well defined and entirely distinct from the simpler epochs which preceded it, and from the time of archaistic renaissance and foreign domination which followed it. The chief characteristic of the whole period is the high development of material civilization, which carried with it the seeds of weakness and decay; the old Egypt of the period before the New Empire, simpler in its tastes and less ambitious in its projects, had gone on with little change from century to century. But the sudden brilliance of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with its high development of the arts and letters, and its far-reaching exploration

and conquests of foreign lands, its great wealth and luxury, was followed by an equally striking period of reaction and decadence, from which it emerged for a brief period under the rule of the Saïte kings, in whose time it was no longer sought ineffectually and tawdrily to imitate the unattainable splendours of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but a most remarkable and successful attempt was made to seek inspiration from the works, and the manners and customs, of the simplest, yet still in many ways the most highly developed period of Egyptian culture, i.e., the time of the great pyramid builders of the IVth Dynasty, more than three thousand years before. The accession to power of the XXVIth Dynasty marks therefore the beginning of a distinct epoch of Egyptian history which will be dealt with in the following chapter. In costume as well as in art the Egyptian of the later dynasties of the New Empire imitated the fashions of the XVIIIth Dynasty, while the Egyptian of the Saïte period imitated those of the IVth and XIIth Dynasties. The costumes of the XVIIIth Dynasty were much more elaborate and luxurious than those of former ages, which were marked by a severe simplicity that commended itself to the Egyptian of the XXVIth Dynasty.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.—FROM SAÏS.

WE have already mentioned that, according to Herodotus, after the reign of Sethon, the high priest of Ptah, who is said by some to have brought about the destruction of Sennacherib's army, the country of Egypt was for a time ruled by the Twelve Kings. Herodotus says (ii. 147) :—"The last king (being as before was mentioned the priest of Vulcane) leaving the seat imperiall void by his death, y<sup>e</sup> Aegyptians being now at liberty, and yet unable to liue without the aid of gouernment, chose unto themselues 12. princes, deviding ye whole land into so many partes. These 12. ioyning betweene themselues mutual kindred and affinity, exercised the authority and office of kings, establishing mutuall league and couenauntes, that none should inroch or gather upon another, but holding himselfe satisfied with an equall portion, should liue in friendship and amity with the rest, which their league and agreement by so much the more diligence and warines to



“confirme and strengthen, for that in y<sup>e</sup> first entrance  
 “to their kingdomes a prophecie was giuen out, that  
 “who so dranke of a brasen mazer in the temple of  
 “Vulcane, should be king alone over the whole land.  
 “When the sacred rites and ceremonies obserued in  
 “striking of league and making couenant were duly  
 “accomplished, it liked them all to leaue some common  
 “monument or worke behinde them to the continuance  
 “of their memories, which they did, making a labyrinth  
 “or maze somewhat aboute the poole called Maeris,  
 “toward the city, much more greater and famous than  
 “y<sup>e</sup> brute goeth.” [Here follows a description of the  
 Labyrinth].


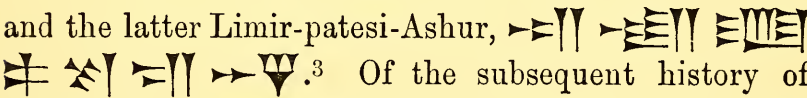
Of the Dodekarchy here mentioned it need hardly  
 be said that there is no trace of its existence in  
 the hieroglyphic texts, and it may as well be said at  
 the same time that no monuments have been found of  
 the first four kings of the XXVIth Dynasty as it is  
 given in the versions of the King List of Manetho,  
 who attributes to it nine kings, and says that the total  
 number of the years of their reigns is either  $150\frac{1}{2}$   
 or 167. The name of the first king “Ammerês the  
 Ethiopian,” Ἀμμερῆς Αἰθίοψ, who reigned forty-eight  
 years, is only found in the version of Eusebius, but  
 the others, i.e., Stephinates, Nekhepsôs<sup>1</sup> and Nekhaô,  
 who reigned seven, six, and eight (var. six) years

<sup>1</sup> On the identification of this king, and on his work in fourteen  
 Books which he wrote with Petosiris, see the authorities quoted by  
 Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 600.



respectively, are found in both lists. The last of the four, Nekhaô, is clearly to be identified with the king called in the inscription of Ashur-bani-pal<sup>1</sup> Ni-ku-u,

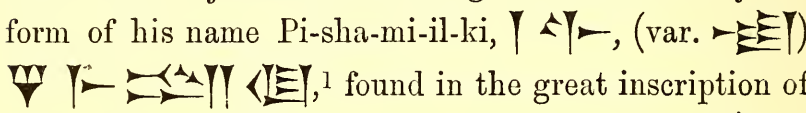
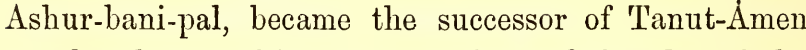
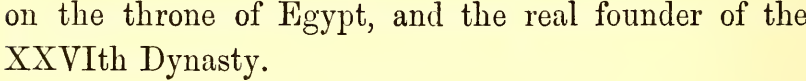
 i.e.,  Nekau, the governor

of Saïs and Memphis. This Nekau was one of the leaders of the revolt which broke out in Egypt after Ashur-bani-pal's first campaign in the country, and he escaped the fate of many of the rebels, who were either slain and their bodies hung upon stakes, or impaled or flayed alive,<sup>2</sup> for he was sent alive to Nineveh with one or two others. When he arrived there, for some reason or other, Ashur-bani-pal forgave him, and arrayed him in fine apparel, and put gold rings on his fingers, and gave him an iron dagger inlaid with gold and inscribed with the Assyrian king's name; after a time he reinstated him in his city of Saïs, whither he sent him with horses, and chariots, and an escort suitable to the position of the viceroy of Ashur-bani-pal in Egypt. His son Psammetichus was appointed king of Athribis, and, as has been said above, an Assyrian name was bestowed upon him; to the two cities of Saïs and Athribis were also given Assyrian names, to the former Kar-Bel-matati, , and the latter Limir-patesi-Ashur, .<sup>3</sup> Of the subsequent history of Nekau we know nothing, but it is certain that he was

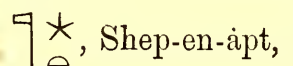
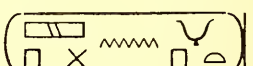
Col. i., line 90.

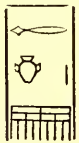
<sup>2</sup> Col. ii., lines 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 46 f.

not put to death as Herodotus says (ii. 152); his son, whom we are justified in calling Psammetichus by the form of his name Pi-sha-mi-il-ki,  (var. ) ,<sup>1</sup> found in the great inscription of Ashur-bani-pal, became the successor of Tanut-Āmen on the throne of Egypt, and the real founder of the XXVIth Dynasty.

1.  RĀ-UAḤ-ĀB, son of the Sun, PSEMTHEK.

PSEMTHEK I., or PSAMMETICHUS I., the *Ψαμμήτιχος* of Manetho, according to Julius Africanus and Herodotus, whose evidence is supported by that of the monuments, reigned fifty-four years. As lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself “Neb ā,” “lord of strength,” and as the Horus of gold “Qen,” i.e., the “Mighty One”; he married the “neter tuat,” , Shep-en-apt, , the daughter of Āmenārtās I. (who was the daughter of Kashta), and the king Piānkhi. Of the circumstances under which Psammetichus came to the throne we know



ĀA-ĀB,  
the Horus name of  
Psammetichus I.


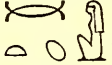
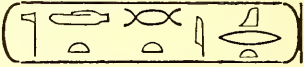
<sup>1</sup> On the relations of Gyges, king of Lydia, with Psammetichus I. and Ashur-bani-pal see the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal, col. ii. line 114 ff.

nothing; it seems that he must have fought for years against some of the most powerful of the governors whom Esarhaddon had appointed in the Delta, but as nothing is said about such wars in the Egyptian inscriptions we must accept the statements of Herodotus and Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> which say that he finally overcame his adversaries by the help of the Ionians and Carians. The soldiers belonging to these nations were, of course, better armed and better trained than the Egyptians, and their success was assured from the first. The new king of Egypt determined to establish his capital in the Delta, and he chose for the purpose the city of Saïs, the metropolis of the Fifth Nome of Lower Egypt. Saïs

<sup>1</sup> See the extracts from these authors on pp. 211-217.



Glazed Porcelain Ushabti figure of  
King Psammetichus I.  
British Museum, No. 21,922.

is the city called Saut, , in the hieroglyphic texts, and it contained the sanctuary of the goddess Nit, or Neith, , who was one of the oldest deities of Egypt. It has already been said that Psammetichus I. married a granddaughter of Kashta called Shep-en-āpt II., and that she was a priestess of the grade "neter tuat," and it is clear that he did so because he wished to legalize his claim to the kingdom of the Thebaïd. By this wife he had a daughter called Nit-āqert, , or Nitocris, and we know from a very interesting stele discovered by M. Legrain at Karnak<sup>1</sup> that he caused her to be adopted by the lady Shep-en-āpt, the sister of Tirhâkâh, who had inherited property from her father and mother, and had already adopted a daughter of Tirhâkâh called Amenârtās (II.). The stele, which is dated in the ninth year of the reign of Psammetichus I., proves that Tirhâkâh's sister was ruling in Thebes as a priestess of Amen whilst Psammetichus I. was reigning at Saïs and that when Nit-āqert had been adopted by her the daughter of the king of Saïs (Nit-āqert) took her name also. The stele was set up to commemorate her journey to Thebes, where she was received with the greatest joy as the heiress of Tirhâkâh's sister, and where she, no doubt, not only received her property but also the rank and position of her whose name she took, Shep-en-āpt,

<sup>1</sup> See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv., 1897, p. 12 ff.



the daughter of Piānkhi and Amenārtās I., and granddaughter of Kashta and Shep-en-āpt I., the last-named lady being a daughter of Osorkon.<sup>1</sup>

The narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus quoted below show plainly that Psammetichus I., having gained the kingdom by the help of foreign mercenaries, perceived that it was better to try and keep it by means of them than to rely like his predecessors upon Egyptian and Nubian troops. He adopted the military system, such as it was, which was employed by them, and attempted to develop, with considerable success, the methods of trading which they followed. He protected his country by garrisons, which he stationed, one at Elephantine against the Nubians, another at Pelusium Daphnae<sup>2</sup> against the Arabians and Syrians, and another at Marea against Libya, and Herodotus says (ii. 30) that even in his time garrisons of Persians were stationed in the same places as the mercenaries were in the time of Psammetichus. He further says that 240,000 of these soldiers, who had been on duty for three years and had not been relieved at their posts, revolted from Psammetichus and made their way into Ethiopia. The king pursued and overtook them, and entreated them with many arguments not to forsake the gods of their fathers, and their children, and their wives, but they replied with words to the effect that

<sup>1</sup> See the genealogical table in Erman's article in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv., 1897, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie, *Defenneh*, p. 47 (in *Tanis*, vol. ii.).



men could always find wives and children wherever they were. But this story is not historical and, as Wiedemann says, was only invented to account for the introduction of Egyptian civilization into Nubia.

When Psammetichus I. had taken possession of the country he devoted himself to the development of its trade, and a portion of the profits which he derived from his commercial enterprises he devoted to the service of the temples of his goddess Neith and of the god Amen. A considerable number of inscriptions are dated in various years of his reign, e.g., in his 3rd, 4th, 12th, 14th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 30th, 45th, 51st and 52nd years,<sup>1</sup> but these do not indicate that he carried out any very extensive works or building operations in any part of Egypt. His greatest undertaking was the large gallery with side chambers which he added to the Serapeum at Şakḫâra; it is not known how many chambers he caused to be made, for several which now exist in his gallery were made under the Ptolemies. The stelae belonging to his reign which Mariette found here are of the greatest chronological importance, and from one of them<sup>2</sup> we learn that Psammetichus I. immediately followed Tirhâḫâh on the throne of Egypt. An Apis Bull died in the twentieth year of the reign of Psammetichus, aged 21 years, and as it is stated that the Bull was born in the twenty-sixth year of the reign

<sup>1</sup> See them enumerated in Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 618, 619.

<sup>2</sup> For the text see Mariette, *Sérapéum*, iii. pl. 36.

of Tirhâkâh it follows that the interval between the two kings cannot have been longer than a few months. We may also notice that the reign of Tanut-Āmen, which lasted about three years, is not taken into consideration, a fact which indicates that he and Psammetichus reigned jointly, or that he was king of the Thebaïd and Nubia, whilst Psammetichus was king of the Northern Kingdom, which he ruled from Saïs. The name of Psammetichus I. is found once at Karnak, although he did not repair or add to the temple of Āmen-Rā at Thebes, and several times at Memphis, a fact which proves him to have been a worshipper of Ptah.

An interesting black basalt "Intercolumnal Slab" in the British Museum (No. 20), shows us the king making an offering to the gods, who in the usual stereotyped phrases promise to give him dominion over all lands; attempts were made many years ago to prove from the figure of the king cut upon it, which is undoubtedly intended to be a portrait, that Psammetichus I. was of Nubian or Ethiopian origin, but some think that it proves him to have been a Libyan. The largest known monument<sup>1</sup> of his reign is the obelisk inscribed with his name which was brought from Egypt by the Emperor Augustus, and set up in the Circus Maximus at Rome; it appears to be the

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent list of the monuments of priests and officials who lived in the reign of Psammetichus I. see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 622 ff., and Supplement, p. 68.

obelisk referred to by Pliny (xxxvi. 14),<sup>1</sup> who says that it was quarried by order of a king (whose name is spelt in some sixteen different ways in the Latin MSS.) who was reigning in Egypt when Pythagoras visited that country. A tradition is preserved by Strabo (i. 3, 21) which says that Psammetichus I. was, like Tirhâkâh and Sesostris, a great traveller, and suggests that he conducted expeditions into foreign countries, but there is no evidence to be deduced from the inscriptions which will support this view. The only campaign which he carried on outside Egypt was that which he undertook against Ashdod in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and it is probable that it was not conducted in person; we may therefore conclude that the great expeditions of some earlier king have become associated with his name. Psammetichus I. died after a reign of fifty-four years which was characterized by peace and prosperity, by a great revival of art and sculpture which imitated the best examples of the Early Empire, and by the settlement of Greeks and other foreigners in Egypt. He was buried in the funeral chapel at Saïs, wherein his successors were also laid, and Herodotus tells us (ii. 170) that it was adorned with columns having palm-leaf capitals, and with other ornaments, and it is also mentioned by Strabo (xvii. 1, 18). It was

<sup>1</sup> This obelisk stood in old days near the site of the present church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and was used as the indicator of a sundial; its height, including the globe and pedestal, is 84 feet. Baedeker, *Rome*, p. 206.

situated near the temple of Neith and the tomb of Osiris, and in the enclosure hard by were stone obelisks and a lake with stone sides, whereon at certain periods of the year the priests performed the "mysteries" connected with the traditional history of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Osiris.

The accounts of the reign of Psammetichus I. given by Herodotus and Diodorus are of such interest that they are here reproduced in full. Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says, . . . "Now when the 12. kings of Egypt had practised equity "euery one within his owne territory, they drew together "at a certaine time to do sacrifice in Vulcans temple, "where (as y<sup>e</sup> maner was) y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> festiuall, "the priest ministred wine unto them in certaine "chalices of gold, reserued for the same use, where "happily missing of his number, hauing but xi "cups for xii princes, Psammitichus standing last, "tooke from his head a brasen costlet, and for want "of a cup, dranke therein. In lyke maner fel it out "with the rest of the princes, that euery one was "there presente in his head peece of brasse. In thus "doyng, it was deemed that Psammitichus meante no "crafte or legerdemayne, but had a playne and simple "meaning. Howbeit, it could not sinke with the rest "but that he did it of purpose, and comming in mind "of the oracle that was geuen them, that whosoeuer "dranke of a brasen chalice, should usurpe the whole "empyre alone: weying his facte, and finding that it

<sup>1</sup> B. R.'s translation, fol. 112a ff.

“was committed by error, they thought it not meete  
 “to put him to death, but depriuing him of the greatest  
 “parte of his dominion, banished him into the marrish  
 “countrey, with especiall threates, that he should not  
 “meddle with any part of the countrey besides. Not-  
 “withstanding, Psammitichus hauing put to flight  
 “Sabbacus the king of the Aethyopians, and chased  
 “him into Syria, after this conquest was acquit of hys  
 “exile, and restored agayne by those Aegyptians which  
 “are of the tribe of Sais, wherefore, once agayne using  
 “gouernment wyth the rest of hys confederates, for the  
 “olde grudge of the brazen helmet, they forced him to  
 “take the fennes agayne.

“Recounting therefore with himselfe y<sup>e</sup> great despight  
 “they had wrought him, determined eftsoones to reuenge  
 “his cause upon those yt had pursued him, and speeding  
 “a messenger to the oracle of Latona in the cite of  
 “Butis, which of all the seates of southsaying is of  
 “greatest truth, aunswere was giuen him to be of good  
 “courage, he shoulde haue helpe inough by brasen  
 “men that shoulde arise from the sea. Which prophecie  
 “for the straungenesse thereof could hardly sincke into  
 “his braines, to make him hope for the helpe of brasen  
 “souldyers. Not long after, certayne pyrates of  
 “Ionia and Caria proling amongst the seacoastes for  
 “their pray, were by constraynte of weather driven  
 “upon the shores of Aegypt, where going on lande all  
 “in armour of brasse, a certayne Aegyptian ranne  
 “to Psammitichus in the fennes, and for that he had



“neuer before seene any in the like array, he tolde  
“him that certayne brasen men were sproong out of  
“the sea to waste and despoyle the countrey. Psammi-  
“tichus reknowledging the truth of the prophecie,  
“foorthwith ioyned himselfe in amitie with the rouers,  
“inducing them by great and large promises, to abide  
“with him, which being by him in like sorte obteyned,  
“with this fresh supply of forreyne ayde, and the helpe  
“of such Aegyptians as faouored his cause, he pro-  
“uided against the rest of the princes. Hauing the  
“whole gouernemente alone, he made in the city of  
“Memphis certayne porches sacred to the god Vulcane,  
“lying upon the South winde, and ouer against the  
“porches a fayre large haule dedicated to Apis,  
“wherein the god Apis at suche time as he appeared,  
“was releued and nourished. This place was beset  
“round with stately pillers, and ingrauen with sundrie  
“similitudes and imbossements of beastes, foules, and  
“fishes. Wherein also in place of some pillers are  
“planted diuers fayre images of no lesse than twelue  
“cubites in bignesse.

“To these forreiners of Caria and Ionia, by whome  
“he was holpen in his warres, Psammitichus gave  
“certayne manner of places to dwell in, lying on  
“each side of the riuer Nilus, called the Tentés,  
“whereof beeing possessed, he performed all such  
“promises besides that were couenaunted betweene  
“them. Moreouer, he put onto them certayne yong  
“impes of the Aegyptians to be instructed in the

“Greek language, from whome, by discent of issue  
 “came those which are now interpreters in Aegypte,  
 “and use the Greeke tongue. A long time did the  
 “people of Ionia and Caria inhabite those places lying  
 “against the sea, somewhat about the city of Bubastis,  
 “situate at the mouth of Nilus, which is called  
 “Pelusiacum, from whence, they were afterwards trans-  
 “lated by King Amasis into the city Memphis to gard  
 “him against the Aegyptians. After the Greeks were  
 “thus settled in Aegypt, the people of Greece had  
 “traffique thither, by which meanes, such affayres as  
 “were atchieued in that countrey from Psammitichus  
 “following, are certaynely knowne of us without any  
 “error. These were the first that inhabited Aegypt,  
 “being of a diuers language from the homelings. In  
 “like manner, from whence they fleded thither, the  
 “reliques of their ships wherein they came, the olde  
 “postes and groundreels of their houses were shewed  
 “me. And these were the meanes whereby Psam-  
 “mitichus obteyned the dominion of Aegypt. Psam-  
 “mitichus gouerned in Aegypt 54. yeares, 29. of the  
 “which he spent in the asseige of the great city of  
 “Syria, which at length he subdued. This city is  
 “called Azotus, which of all the cities that euer wee  
 “hearde of, susteyned the longest assaulte.” The above  
 extract well illustrates the general policy of Psam-  
 metichus I. in respect of foreigners, and the statements  
 in it are confirmed by the results obtained from the  
 excavations which have been made in the Delta by

Brugsch, Mariette, Naville, Petrie, and others between 1860 and 1895.

The narrative of Diodorus is as follows:—

“Psammeticus Saites, one of the kings, whose province was upon the sea coast, trafficked with all sorts of merchants, and especially with the Phoenicians and Grecians; by this means, enriching his province, by vending his own commodities, and the importation of those that came from Greece, he not only grew very wealthy, but gained an interest in the nations and princes abroad; upon which account, he was envied by the rest of the kings, who for that reason made war upon him. Some antient historians tell a story, that these princes were told by the oracle, that which of them should first pour wine out of a brazen phial, to the god adored at Memphis, should be sole lord of all Egypt. Whereupon Psammeticus, when the priest brought out of the temple twelve golden phials, plucked off his helmet, and poured out a wine-offering from thence; which when his colleagues took notice of, they forebore putting him to death, but deposed him and banished him into the fens, bordering upon the sea coast. Whether, therefore, it were this, or envy, as it is said before, that gave birth to this dissension and difference amongst them, it is certain Psammeticus hired soldiers out of Arabia, Caria, and Ionia, and in a field fight near the city Momemphis, he got the day. Some of the kings of the other side were slain, and the rest fled

“into Africa, and were not able further to contend for  
“the kingdom. Psammeticus having now gained  
“possession of the whole, built a portico to the east  
“gate of the temple at Memphis, in honour of that  
“god, and encompassed the temple with a wall, sup-  
“porting it with Colossuses of twelve cubits high, in  
“the room of pillars. He bestowed likewise upon his  
“mercenary soldiers many large rewards over and  
“above their pay promised them. He gave them also  
“a place called Stratopedon to inhabit, and divided  
“amongst them by lot a large piece of land, a little  
“above the mouth of Pelusium, whom Amasis (who  
“reigned many years after), transplanted to Memphis.  
“Being therefore that he had gained the kingdom by  
“the help of his stipendiary soldiers, he intrusted  
“them chiefly in the concerns of the government, and  
“entertained great numbers of strangers and foreigners.  
“Afterwards undertaking an expedition into Syria  
“(to honour the foreigners), he placed them in the  
“right wing of his army; but out of sight and  
“disregard to the natural Egyptians, he drew  
“them up in the left; with which affront the  
“Egyptians were so incensed, that above two hundred  
“thousand of them revolted, and marched away  
“towards Ethiopia, there to settle themselves in new  
“habitations.

“At first the king sent some of his captives after them,  
“to make an apology for the dishonour done them; but  
“these not being hearkened unto, the king himself, with

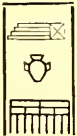
“some of his nobility, followed them by water. But  
“they marched on, and entered Egypt, near the river  
“Nile, where he earnestly entreated them to alter their  
“purpose, and to remember their gods, their country,  
“wives, and children: they all cried out, (beating  
“upon their shields, and shaking their spears), that  
“as long as they had arms in their hands, they  
“could easily gain another country; and . . . they  
“should never want wives or children. Possessed  
“by this resolution and magnanimity of mind, they  
“despised every thing that by all others are highly  
“prized and valued, and settled themselves in a rich  
“and fruitful soil in Ethiopia, dividing the land  
“among themselves by lot. Psammeticus laid this  
“greatly to heart, and made it his business to settle  
“the affairs of Egypt, and to increase his revenues,  
“and entered into league with the Athenians and  
“other Grecians, and was very kind and liberal to all  
“strangers that came into Egypt. He was so taken  
“with the Grecians, that he caused his son to be  
“instructed in the Grecian learning. He was certainly  
“the first of all the kings of Egypt that encouraged  
“foreigners to traffic in his country, giving safe con-  
“duct to all strangers that sailed hither. For the  
“former kings allowed no strangers to come into Egypt,  
“and if any did arrive, they either put them to death,  
“or made them slaves: and it was the churlishness of  
“this nation, which caused all that noise among the  
“Greeks, concerning the cruelty and wickedness of




“Busiris, though all was not true as it was related, “but the extraordinary severity of the country gave “occasion to the raising of those fables.”—(Booth’s Translation, vol. i. p. 69 ff.)

2.  RĀ-UHEM-ĀB,  
son of the Sun, NEKAU.

NEKAU II., or NECHO II., the son of Psammetichus I., the *Nεχάω* of Manetho, the *Νεκώς* of Herodotus, and the נכה or נכו of 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jeremiah xlvi. 2, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, xxxvi. 4, reigned, according to Manetho, six years, but according to the monuments, at least fifteen years. This fact is proved by the stele dated in the sixteenth year of the reign of Necho II. which was found by Mariette in the Serapeum,<sup>1</sup> and



SA-ĀB,  
the Horus name of  
Nekau II.

which records the burial of an Apis Bull at the age of 16 years, 7 months, and 17 days, which was born in the 53rd year of Psammetichus I.<sup>1</sup> Necho II. as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet styled himself “Maā-kheru,” i.e., “he whose word is right,” and as the Horus of gold, he was “Neteru mer,” , i.e., “beloved of the gods.” He followed the example set by his father

<sup>1</sup> See Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 28 (vol. with plates).

Psammetichus I., and maintained a powerful army, which he recruited from the Greeks and other foreign peoples, and their influence became exceedingly strong in the Delta during his reign. He became the patron of trading enterprise, and seeing what great advantage his new friends, and soldiers, and allies derived from the possession of fleets of ships, he gave orders for fleets of triremes to be built for him, both in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. In order to give these vessels the opportunity of being employed upon both seas, he conceived the idea of connecting them by means of a canal, which he intended to join the old canal that was already in existence in the days of Rameses II. This old canal seems to have been made from Pelusium to the modern Lake Timsah, and it was, no doubt, as useful as a means of defence as for transporting merchandise from the Mediterranean to the east of the Delta. The Arabic name "Kantara," i.e., "Bridge," given to a station on the modern Suez Canal, seems to indicate that a ford existed near there in very ancient times. Necho II. wished to take his canal from Lake Timsah to the head of the Gulf of Suez, and thus he would have been able to sail his ships from Suez to Memphis, passing by way of the Wâdî Tûmîlât into the Nile near Bubastis, or from Suez to Pelusium. Necho II. employed 120,000 men in his work, but he never finished his canal; it is said that an oracle having declared that he was only toiling for the foreigner he

relinquished the undertaking.<sup>1</sup> When Necho II. began to dig the canal is unknown, but it is probable that he undertook the work in connexion with the building of his fleets of triremes early in his reign, and before he led his soldiers into Syria.

According to Herodotus (ii. 41), Necho II. proved that Libya was surrounded by water by sending certain Phoenicians to sail round it. They set out from the Red Sea and sailed over the southern sea; when autumn came, they went ashore, and sowed the land, and waited for harvest, and when they had reaped the corn they put to sea again. This they did for two years, and in the third they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and arrived in Egypt again, reporting, what Herodotus does not believe, that as they sailed round Libya they had the sun on their right hand. Necho II. may have carried out works of this kind during his father's lifetime, and if so, this fact would account for the statement of Strabo to the effect that Psammetichus I. was a great traveller and explorer.

The greatest event in the life of Necho II. was his campaign in Syria, which, although it began well, ended in the destruction of his army and in his own ignominious flight to Egypt. He seems to have

<sup>1</sup> It was finished by Darius I. (B.C. 521 to 486). Trajan either repaired or re-dug the canal early in the second century A.D., and it was again repaired or re-dug by 'Amr ibn al-Âṣ about A.D. 640.

ascended the throne about B.C. 611, and one of his earliest plans appears to have been to prepare to invade Syria, and to march into the north to reclaim on behalf of Egypt the countries which had once been the vassal states of his ancestors, but which were now paying tribute to the king of Assyria. Whether he intended his fleets to play a part in this bold scheme cannot be said, but it is certain that he had heard of the serious difficulties in which the kingdom of Assyria found itself, and he determined to seize the opportunity to benefit himself and his country. Having collected an army of Egyptians, Libyans, and other mercenaries, he set out for the Euphrates, meaning to establish himself at Karkēmîsh and to do battle there with the army of the king of Assyria.<sup>1</sup> On his road Josiah, king of Judah, went out against him, and Necho "sent "ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with "thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee "this day, but against the house wherewith I have "war; for God commanded me to make haste: forbear "thou from meddling with God, who is with me, that "he destroy thee not." To this message Josiah paid no heed, but having disguised himself he went out to do battle with the Egyptians, in the Valley of Megiddo; in the course of the fight the archers of the Egyptians shot at him with their arrows, and he was mortally wounded and died, and his body was taken to Jerusalem



and buried there.<sup>1</sup> Necho certainly had no quarrel with Josiah, and the only possible explanation of his conduct is that he regarded the whole of Northern Syria and the country eastwards as far as the Euphrates as a part of his own kingdom; in fact, that he also was reclaiming the territory which tradition told him was formerly the possession of his ancestors.

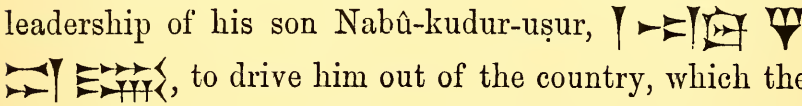
After the death of Josiah Necho appears to have continued his march to the Euphrates, but as he found no Assyrian army there he came back towards Egypt. In the course of his journey he found that the people of Judah had made Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah and Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah, their king, and when he had reigned three months Necho put him in chains in Riblah of Hamath, and made the people pay 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold. Necho then appointed another son of Josiah called Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim, to be king, and he took Jehoahaz to Egypt, where he died.<sup>2</sup> But whilst Necho was thus occupied in Syria and was waiting his opportunity to fight the Assyrians, Nineveh was, according to some authorities, besieged by the Medes under Cyaxares, and by the Babylonians under Nabû-pal-

<sup>1</sup> Josiah was deeply mourned by his people, who remembered him as the king who had abolished the worship of idols, and had slain their priests, and had restored the worship of Yahweh. In his reign Hilkiah the priest "found" the Book of the Law in the house of the Lord (2 Kings xxii. 8).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 31 ff.



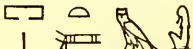
uṣur,  (B.C. 626-605), and after a period, which is said to have been three years, the Babylonians and Medes became masters of the city. This result seems to have been brought about partly by the waters of the Tigris, which during some extraordinarily high rise of the river undermined the walls, and so caused a portion of them, several hundred yards in length, to fall, thus enabling the enemy to attack the palaces and temples without difficulty. Cyaxares and Nabû-pal-uṣur looted the palaces and temples, and laid utterly waste Nineveh; whether Sin-shar-ishkun,  the last king of Assyria, was burnt to death or slain by the sword is unknown. Nineveh was destroyed about B.C. 607 or 606.

Necho II. having then become the master of Syria and Palestine, Nabû-pal-uṣur sent an army under the leadership of his son Nabû-kudur-uṣur, , to drive him out of the country, which the Babylonians now regarded as their own. The opposing armies met at Karkēmīsh, and a fierce battle took place, in which the Egyptians, Libyans, and Nubians were routed with great slaughter, and Necho II. was obliged to seek safety in flight. Nabû-kudur-uṣur (Nebuchadnezzar) advanced towards Egypt, and on his way received tribute from Jehoiakim, king of Judah, who "became his servant three years" (2 Kings xxiv. 1). Shortly after this Nebuchadnezzar received the news of

his father's death and, putting off the chastisement of Egypt until a more convenient opportunity, he returned to Babylon. Meanwhile Necho II. had succeeded in reaching his own country, where a year or two after his defeat he died; he was buried at Saïs with his father. We have no record of his wars in the hieroglyphic texts, and the monuments of his reign are few, and consist chiefly of small objects like scarabs, vases,<sup>1</sup> etc. He seems to have carried out some building operations in his own city and at Memphis in connexion with the temple of Ptaḥ, but it is quite clear that he took no care to rebuild or maintain the old sanctuaries of Egypt.

This account of his works is given by Herodotus (ii. 159):—"Insuing the raigne of Psammitichus, the "gouernmente of the countrey fell to Necus hys sonne; "by whome, first of all was the channell digged that "leadeth to the red sea, whych afterwards was cast "afreshe, and made deeper by Darius the Persian. The "length of the course was four dayes sayling, the breadth "such, as two reasonable vessels of three oares apeece "might well sayle in it together. The water which is "derived from Nilus into this channell floweth into it a "little aboute the city Bubastis, against a towne of "Arabia named Patumon,<sup>2</sup> and so continueth hys course "unto the red Sea. They beganne first to digge from the

<sup>1</sup> See Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

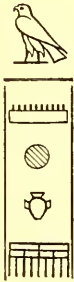
<sup>2</sup> I.e., , Pa-Tem, a city in the Eastern Delta.

“ playne of Aegypt towards Arabia, for all the countrey  
“ about the playne is filled and occupied wyth a course  
“ of greate mountaynes neere unto the citie Memphis,  
“ wherein are many pittes and quarries of stone, where-  
“ fore from the roote of thys mountayne is the channell  
“ deriued, continuing a long course towards the East,  
“ untill it come to the place where the hyll parteth in  
“ twayne, whyche distaunce and separation betweene the  
“ mountaynes openeth to the South regions, and leadeth  
“ to the narrow seas of Arabia. In the digging of thys  
“ course there perished an hundred and twentye thou-  
“ sande of the people of Aegypt. When thys enterprise  
“ was halfe done, Necus brake off and lefte it unfinished,  
“ being discouraged by a prophecie that tolde hym that  
“ hee toyled for the profite and behoofe of a Barbarian.<sup>1</sup>  
“ The Aegyptians tearme them all Barbarians which  
“ are of a sundry language. Necus therefore leauing  
“ hys worke unfinished, applyed hys studie to the pro-  
“ vision of warre, gathering souldyers, and preparing a  
“ fleete of warring Shippes, some of which were builte  
“ at the North Seas, others in the strayghtes of Arabia  
“ at the red Sea, some tokens whereof are yet to  
“ be seene in the same places. Thys Fleete he em-  
“ ployed in hys affayres continuallie so long as it fitted  
“ hym to the use of warre. Forsaking afterwards the Sea,  
“ and giuing himselfe to battailes by the land, where,


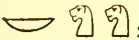
<sup>1</sup> Diodorus tells us that he left off digging because he was told that if he cut through the Isthmus all Egypt would be drowned, because the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt (i. 33, §9).

“in a conflict with the Syrians at a place named “Magdolos, he wanne the renowne of the felde, and “after the battyle was ended, took the greate city “Caditis. And beeyng very neate and fine in hys “apparrell, he sent a siute of hys brauest array to “Apollo in Branchidae, a certayne field of the Mi- “lesians. In the ende, after he had held the kingdome “seauenteene yeares, hee then died, leauing the title of “his soueraignety to Psammis his sonne.”

3.  RĀ-NEFER-ĀB,  
son of the Sun, PSEMTHEK.



MENK-ĀB,  
the Horus name of  
Psammetichus II.


PSEMTHEK II., or PSAMMETICHUS II., the Psammuthis of Manetho, and the Psammis of Herodotus (ii. 161), was the son of Necho II., and reigned six years. As lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself “User-ā,” i.e., “Mighty of Strength,” and as the Horus of gold he was “Senefer tauī,”  , “Beautifier of the two lands.” In the cartouche containing his name as “son of the Sun” in the Wādī Hammâmât, the title “lord of two-fold strength,”  , is prefixed to his name Psemthek. According to M. Maspero<sup>1</sup> Psammetichus II. was quite a

<sup>1</sup> *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 26.

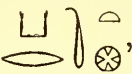
child when he came to the throne; he bases this view upon the size of the sarcophagus of the king which was found at Damanhûr, whither it must have been brought from Sa al-Ḥaggar, which marks the site of the ancient city of Saïs. The place hollowed out for the mummy was only 4 feet 7 in. long, and if the king was actually buried in it he must have died before he became a man; the workmanship is very rough and the sarcophagus was never finished. According to Herodotus (ii. 161), he led an expedition against the Ethiopians, or Nubians, and died soon afterwards. According to many authorities<sup>1</sup> the famous Greek inscription on the broken colossal granite statue of Rameses II. in front of the temple of Abû Simbel in Nubia refers to this expedition, although it has usually been regarded as belonging to the reign of Psammetichus I., the grandfather of Psammetichus II. The Greek text is to the effect that when king Psammetichos came to Elephantine, Archon son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos, son of Oudamos, who came with Psammetichos, son of Theokles, [further than Elephantine] and went by way of Kerkîs as far as the river permitted them to go, wrote the inscription. The foreigners were led by Potasimto,<sup>2</sup> and the Egyptians by Amasis. It has

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, pp. 631, 632; Wiedemann, *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xxxv. pp. 367-372; Krall, *Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 165; Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Krall has shown (*Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 164f.) that

Potasimto = Pe-ṭā-Ḥeru-sam-tai, 



been suggested that for Kerkîs we should read Kortis, i.e., Karthat, , the modern Arabic Kûrta or Korti, a place south of Dakkeh on the west bank of the Nile in Nubia, but it is better to regard Kerkîs as the correct reading, and to consider with Ebers and Maspero<sup>1</sup> that it is the name of some place nearer Wâdî Halfa. It is impossible at present to say which king called Psammetichus is referred to in the Greek inscription, but it is in any case interesting to note that the Egyptians and Nubians were again fighting each other in the XXVIth Dynasty, and the numerous inscriptions at Abû Simbel in Carian, Phoenician, and other languages show that the troops employed by the Egyptians were chiefly foreigners.

During the short reign of Psammetichus II. building operations appear to have been carried on in a number of the sanctuaries of Egypt. His name is found in the quarries at Silsila, Wâdî Hammâmât, and Tûra, a fact which proves that stone for building purposes was required in considerable quantities. His cartouches are found on a huge double rock on the Island of Biggeh, and at Elephantine, and at other places in the First Cataract,<sup>2</sup> and their appearance here seems to indicate that he did come to Elephantine, and that he is the king Psammetichus referred to in the Greek inscription at Abû Simbel. At Karnak, Memphis, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, vol. iii. p. 538.

<sup>2</sup> See J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 and 114.

Heliopolis he carried out repairs, and dedicated certain monuments to the gods of those cities; but it is evident that at Thebes he usurped blocks and slabs which had been hewn for his predecessors.

Fragments of statues of the king are found in many collections,<sup>1</sup> and many small objects inscribed with his name are known. According to Herodotus (ii. 161) in the reign of Psammis, “ a certain people called Helus<sup>2</sup> “ sent messengers abroad into all regions, to give them “ to understand how by them was devised a game in “ Olympus of greater admiration and equitie, than by “ any that euer had used that place, supposing that “ the Aegyptians (who had the prayse of wisdome “ above all nations) could not better or more iustly “ dispose of these matters, then themselves. When “ they were come into Aegypt, and had told the cause “ of their arriuall thither, the king assembled such of “ the Aegyptians as were most excellent for graue and “ sage aduice above the rest. To whome, when the “ Helians had made discourse of all those things which “ they had ordeyned in the setting forth of this noble “ combate, and had asked the Aegyptians if they could “ devise anything better, after deliberation had of “ the matter, they asked the Helians whether they “ had inacted that citizens should mayntayne the “ controuersie against strangers, or otherwise, who “ answered, that it was indifferently lawfull for all

<sup>1</sup> For a list see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 634.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Elians.

“to striue of what countrey soever he were; wherto  
 “the Aegyptians replied, that it coulde no wise stande  
 “wyth iustice, forsomuch as one citizen would shew  
 “fauour to another, and by that meanes of partial  
 “dealing do injurie to those y<sup>t</sup> came from farre, so that  
 “in case they would order y<sup>e</sup> matter with more equity,  
 “and for that cause had arrived in Aegypt, it were  
 “better to make the game for strangers alone, not  
 “suffering any of the Helians to striue. These things  
 “the Aegyptians put into theyr heads and sent them  
 “packing.”

END OF VOL. VI.









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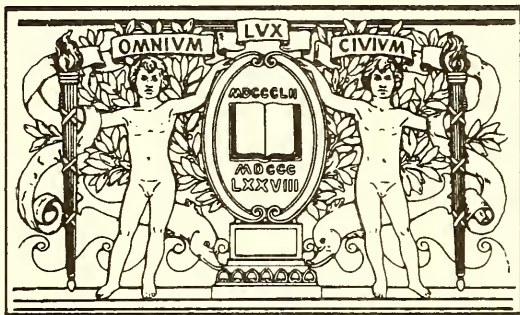


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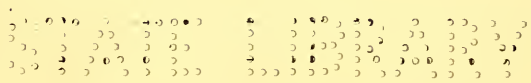
UNDER THE

SAÏTES, PERSIANS, AND PTOLEMIES

BY

*Ernest Alfred Thompson*  
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KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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## P R E F A C E



THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume begins with the reign of UAH-AB-RĀ, the Apries of Greek writers, and the Hophra of the Bible, a king of the XXVIth Dynasty, and ends with that of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt from about B.C. 591 to B.C. 205. During this period we find Egypt in a state of great national prosperity, but it was impossible for her kings to rival, or even successfully imitate those of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the matter of Asiatic conquests. She had never before to contend against so mighty a conqueror as Nebuchadnezzar II. in Asia, and never before had she to resist the attacks of nations, younger and more vigorous than herself, which had grown up about her in the West; she was able to preserve her independence and much of her power, but it was only at

the price of submission to the rule of foreign dynasties. Under the XXVIth Dynasty an extraordinary archaistic revival took place, and we find that officials were called by titles which had been out of use for nearly two thousand years, and gods who had been forgotten for many centuries again became favourite objects of worship. The religion of the XXVIth and following Dynasties was profoundly modified by the fact that Thebes had been brought very low, and her god Ámen-Râ had returned to the comparatively unimportant position as a local god which he had held under the XIIth Dynasty. The kings and governors of the period under consideration caused the works of the Early Empire to be imitated as closely as possible, but at the same time the productions of the XXVIth Dynasty possess distinguishing characteristics which make them, artistically, of far greater interest than the formal and uninspired copies of the Ptolemaic Period.

It is interesting to note that the conquest of Egypt by the Persians had very little influence in modifying the archaistic revival which began under the Saïtes, but this need not be wondered at when we remember the first excesses and barbarities of Cambyses. It is clear that although the Egyptians submitted quietly to the wise and just rule of Darius I. they never abandoned the hope of seeing their country ruled by a native king, and whenever they found an opportunity they always revolted against the Persians. In spite of this, however, certain facts in the history of the period

seem to suggest that although "Egypt for the Egyptians" was a popular cry, the great mass of the people cared in reality very little who ruled over them provided that they could enjoy their religious processions, and assist at the elaborate ceremonies which were performed in connexion with the worship of their gods. As a matter of fact the Egyptians had little to complain of under the rule of the Persians, and many of the revolts which took place before the coming of Alexander the Great were caused partly by the naturally restless disposition of the warlike Libyan tribes which had settled in the Delta, and partly by the machinations of the rebellious Greek subjects of Persia in neighbouring countries. The presence of Greek settlers in various parts of the Delta would not, of course, tend to contentment on the part of the Egyptians, who, when Alexander the Great marched into their country, were prepared to acclaim him as their deliverer from the Persians. With the advent of the Macedonians Egypt really lost her independence, for she was never again ruled by men of her own blood.

The history of Egypt under the Ptolemies is a deeply interesting study, for we are able to watch the working of the Greek and Hebrew influences which brought about the decay of the cult of Osiris, i.e., the indigenous religion of the country, and which made the Egyptians tolerably contented subjects of kings of alien blood, and which, whilst making the country



prosperous materially, slowly undermined the exclusiveness and conservativeness of the dwellers in the Nile Valley, and prepared the way for the triumph of the Roman arms and the advent of Christianity.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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# EGYPT

UNDER THE




SAÏTES, PERSIANS, AND PTOLEMIES.



## CHAPTER I.

4.   RĀ-HĀĀ-ĀB,

son of the Sun, RĀ-UAH-ĀB.

UAH-ĀB-RĀ, the *Oῦαφρις* of Manetho, the Ἄπριης of the Greek writers generally, and the Pharaoh Hophra of the Bible,<sup>1</sup> reigned, according to Eusebius, twenty-five years, and according to Julius Africanus, nineteen years; the latter estimate is supported by the evidence of the monuments and is probably correct. The Horus name of Apries was UAH-ĀB, ; as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "Neb khepesh," , "lord of valour," and as the Horus of gold "Seuatch tau," , "making prosperous the two lands." Concerning the events of the reign of Apries or Hophra the Egyptian inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> פִּרְעוֹה הַפְּרִיעִי, Jeremiah xlv. 30.



tell us very little, and our knowledge of them is derived chiefly from classical writers. According to Herodotus (ii. 161) he marched into Syria and fought with the Sidonians on land, with the Tyrians on the sea, and according to Diodorus (i. 69) he conquered the Phoenicians of Sidon and other cities which he attacked by sea, and also made himself master of Cyprus, which his fleet captured.

At a comparatively early period in his reign war broke out between Adikran, the king of the Libyans, and the people of Cyrene under Battus, and Apries sent an army, consisting for the most part of Egyptian troops, to assist the Libyans, who had placed themselves under his protection. A battle took place at Irasa, near the fountain called Thestis, and the Egyptians were routed with great loss, and the rumour was noised abroad that the slaughter of the Egyptians had been premeditated by Apries, and in consequence many of the survivors rebelled. To put down the rebellion he sent a general called Amasis, who was proclaimed king by the troops, and who then set out to do battle with his former lord. The rest of the narrative of Herodotus concerning Apries is given below (see pp. 4-9). Some authorities take the view that Apries and his former general Amasis ruled Egypt jointly for a period of about seven years, but the evidence which is brought forward in support of it is not convincing. It has also been stated definitely that the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar II. took

place during this alleged joint reign, but as there is good reason for believing that Apries died B.C. 571, and Nebuchadnezzar's great campaign did not take place until 568, we shall refer to this again in the section on Amasis II.

During the reign of Apries Egypt enjoyed a period of great prosperity, and the peoples of the Delta readily perceived that this was in a great measure due to the trading undertakings which they found themselves able to embark in without let or hindrance. The name of Apries is found inscribed on rocks and buildings in many parts of Egypt, without, in some cases, any apparent reason. Thus we find it on the islands in the First Cataract, where it was placed probably by some officer who was on duty at Elephantine or at the southern end of the Cataract, for there is nothing to show that Apries carried out there any building operations of an extensive character. At Thebes and Abydos he neither built nor repaired anything, but at Memphis he devoted much money to the maintenance of the great temple of Ptah; he took this temple, so to speak, under his protection, and he endowed it with meat and drink offerings, and oxen, geese, etc., and set up a stele there inscribed with a decree in which he promised to perform all public works in connexion with the temple, and to punish severely any man who should injure it.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have repaired or rebuilt certain parts of the temple

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

at Heliopolis, for the two beautiful little obelisks which once stood before the temple of Isis in Rome must have come from this place; one of these is now in Urbino<sup>1</sup> and the other in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Monuments inscribed with the name of the king are very numerous, as may be seen from the list published by Wiedemann, and some of them are distinguished by the beauty and excellence of their workmanship. The hieroglyphics of the inscriptions are beautiful and most clearly cut, and though it is evident that they are imitated from the inscriptions of the Early Empire, they have a peculiar style and finish which is quite *sui generis*. The best examples of the bronze work of the reign are also very beautiful, and are in no way inferior to the metal figures of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and the workers in metal attained great skill in inlaying with designs and inscriptions in gold. The narratives of Herodotus (ii. 161) and Diodorus (i. 69) concerning the reign of Apries and the accession to the throne of Amasis are of considerable interest, even though some of their statements belong rather to legend than to history. Herodotus says:—

“After whome, succeeded his sonne Apryes the most fortunatest of all the princes that had ruled before

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

<sup>2</sup> See Marucchi, *Gli obelischi egiziani di Roma*, p. 119. The obelisk in Rome was found in the Campo Marzio in 1665, and in 1667 Pope Alexander VII. mounted it on the back of an elephant designed by Bernini, and set it up in the Piazza della Minerva, where it now is.

“him, except Psammitichus his great grandsire, govern-  
“ing the country 25. yeares. During which time, he  
“warred upon Sydon, and fought with the people of  
“Tyrus by Sea. Howbeit, fortune owing him a  
“despight she payde him home at length, the cause  
“whereof, we will briefly touch at this present, de-  
“ferring a more ample discourse of the same, till we  
“come to speake of the affayres of the Punickes. When  
“as therefore undertaking a iourney against the  
“Cyrenians he had suffered great losse of his men :  
“the Aegyptians continuing hatred against him, denied  
“their allegeaunce and rebelled, supposing y<sup>t</sup> he had  
“betrayed their liues on purpose, to the end that with  
“more security he might gouerne those y<sup>t</sup> remained.  
“For which cause in great disdayne, as well such as  
“forsooke him and returned home, as also the friends  
“of these y<sup>t</sup> had died in the battell, stood at defiance  
“with the king, renounceing all duties of subiection :  
“who, when he came and in many words had rebuked  
“their disloyalty, one of the Aegyptians standing be-  
“hinde him clapt a Costlet on his head, saying hee  
“had done it to make him king. Amasis nothing  
“discontent herewith, was no soner proclaymed King  
“by the rebels, but forthwith he put himselfe in a  
“readiness to encounter with Apryes.

“Apryes understanding this, sent one of the Aegypt-  
“tians named Patarbemes a man of approued uertue,  
“with especiall charge to bring to him Amasis alyue.  
“Who arryuing speedely at the place where hee was ;

“tolde him the Kinges pleasure. Amasis sittinge on  
 “horse backe and incouraginge those that were aboue  
 “him, commanded Patarbemes to bring Apryes unto  
 “him : Patarbemes once agayne willing him to make  
 “speede to the King, who had sente for him ; hee an-  
 “swered that hee woulde come with all speede possible,  
 “sayinge, that the Kinge shoulde haue no cause to  
 “complayne of his slacknesse, for hee purposed, god  
 “willing, to be with him shortely, and bringe him  
 “more company. Patarbemes perceiuinge by his maner  
 “of speache and dealinges what hee was mynded to  
 “doe, thought with as much speede as he coule to  
 “geue notice to the Kinge: and being returned,  
 “Apryes in a great rage, for that hee had lefte Amasis  
 “behinde him, without any woordes, by and by com-  
 “maunded his Nose and Eares to be cut of. The rest  
 “of the Aegyptians that followed the Kinges partes  
 “seeing this, that so worthy and renowned a man  
 “should without cause suffer so great shame and  
 “reproche amongst them, without any delay fled over  
 “to the rebelles and came to Amasis. Apryes increas-  
 “ing his fury, put in armour all such as of foyrayne  
 “countries were hyrelinges in his haste, (which hee  
 “had of Ionia and Caria, aboute thirty thowsande men)  
 “and marched agaynst the Aegyptians. Hee had in  
 “the City Saïs a uery great and gorgeous Pallace.  
 “The armyes therefore of bothe parties, incamped  
 “agaynst other at the City Memphis, there to abide  
 “the lot and euent of the battayle . . . . .



“ When as therefore Apryes on the one side with his  
“ stipendaries, and on the other side Amasis with an huge  
“ army of the Aegyptians were come into the city Mem-  
“ phis, they closed battaile : where the hyred souldiers of  
“ Apryes acquitted them selues uery ualiauntly, till at  
“ the length (being fewer in number) they were put to  
“ flight. Apryes was perswaded that neither god nor  
“ the diuell coulde haue ioynted his nose of the  
“ Empyre, hee seemed so surely to have strengthened  
“ it to him selfe. Neuerthelesse, in this fight hee was  
“ foyled, taken aliue, and caried to his owne courte in  
“ Saïs : where Amasis kept him more like a Prynce  
“ than a prysoner, for the time that hee lyued. At  
“ length the Aegyptians murmuring against him, that  
“ hee did not well to reserue aliue a mortall enemy  
“ both to himselfe and the whole country, he delyuered  
“ up Apryes into their handes. Whom they imme-  
“ diatly toke and strangled, and buried him in the  
“ sepulcher of his father in the temple of Minerua,  
“ neere unto a certayne Oratory, at the left hand as  
“ you enter in. Being the use with the people of Saïs  
“ to burie all such, as out of their tribe haue attayned  
“ to the kingdome within the temple. For the tounge,  
“ of Amasis is placed upon the other side of the  
“ Oratory, contrary to the Sepulcher of Apryes and his  
“ Progenitours. Likewise, in one place of this Temple  
“ is a fayre Chamber builte of stone, beautified with  
“ sundry Pyllers ingraued like unto Palme-trees, being  
“ otherwyse very sumptuously and royally garnished.






“In the midst of the Chamber are two mayne Posts,  
“betwene the which standeth a Cophine. There is  
“also a tounge in the same, the name whereof I may  
“not descry without breache of Religion.” Diodorus  
says :—“After Psammeticus and four generations past,  
“Apries reigned twenty-two years. He invaded, with  
“mighty force, Cyprus and Phoenicia, and took Sidon  
“by storm; and through fear and terror of him,  
“brought other cities of Phoenicia into subjection.  
“And having routed the Cyprians and Phoenicians in a  
“great sea fight, he returned into Egypt, loaden with  
“the spoils of his enemies. But afterwards sending  
“an army into Cyrene and Barca he lost most of them;  
“at which those that escaped, were extraordinarily  
“enraged; and suspecting that he employed them in  
“this expedition on purpose to have them all cut off,  
“that he might reign the more securely over the rest,  
“they all revolted. For Amasis, a nobleman of  
“Egypt, being sent against them by the king, not  
“only slighted the king’s commands in endeavouring  
“to make all whole again, but, on the contrary,  
“incited the rebels to a higher degree of rage and  
“indignation against him, and turned rebel himself,  
“and was created king. And not long after, when  
“the rest of the people all went over to him, the  
“king, not knowing what to do, was forced to fly  
“for aid to the stipendiary soldiers, who were about  
“thirty thousand; but being routed in a field-fight,  
“near to a town called Marius, he was there taken



and Aven (On or Heliopolis), and Pi-beseth (Bubastis), and Tehaphnehes were to suffer in one form or another. The reason of such adverse prophecies is not far to seek, and it may be formulated in the words that both Necho II. and Apries egged on the kings of Judah and the other members of their league to defy the power of Nebuchadnezzar II., by means of promises of help which they never redeemed. Necho II. fought for his own interests, but having been beaten near Carchemish by the Babylonians he "came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt." (2 Kings xxiv. 7). But although Jehoiakim, king of Judah, became Nebuchadnezzar's servant for three years, neither he nor his friends ever gave up the hope that Egypt would help them to fight their foe. What steps he took to provoke Nebuchadnezzar we know not, but the Babylonians marched against Jerusalem in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and when they arrived they found that Jehoiakim was dead, and that he had been succeeded by Jehoiachin. Jerusalem was besieged and captured by the Babylonians, and the king and all his family, and the mighty men of valour, and ten thousand captives, among whom were all the artificers, and handicraftsmen, and mechanics of every kind (and all the treasures of the palace and of the Temple), were carried off to Babylon, and established in a settlement on the canal called

Kēbhâr.<sup>1</sup> Over the wretched inhabitants left behind in Jerusalem the king of Babylon appointed to be king Mattaniah, whose name he changed to Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 17).

In the ninth year of his reign he also rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar II., and it appears that he had been persuaded to adopt this mad policy by envoys from the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, who in turn were urged to do this by the nobles of Egypt who dictated the policy of Psammetichus II. When Apries became king of Egypt, about B.C. 590, the rebellion of Zedekiah assumed such serious proportions that Nebuchadnezzar again marched against Jerusalem and besieged it, and the Babylonians became masters of the whole country with the exception of Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem. About this time Apries appears to have set out on his expedition to Syria, which resulted in the capture of Tyre and Sidon, and Zedekiah hoped that the Egyptian army would come to help him to defend Jerusalem. For some reason or other, probably the rumour of the advance of Apries into Syria, Nebuchadnezzar delayed somewhat in the prosecution of the siege of Jerusalem, and the main portion of his army seems to have been withdrawn to Riblah. Apries, however, had no wish to encounter the

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Nāru Kabari, i.e., "Great Canal,"     , of Babylon; see the list of canals in Hilprecht and Clay, *Babylonian Expedition*, vol. ix. p. 76, and see plate 50, tablet No. 84, line 2.




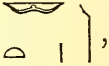

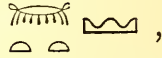
Babylonian army, and he not only sent Zedekiah no help, but turned aside from the road to Jerusalem and devoted himself by sea and by land to the conquest of Phoenicia and Cyprus. It is pretty clear that Nebuchadnezzar had no desire to engage the army of Apries, formed as it was of well-armed mercenaries drawn from sea-coast dwellers of the Eastern Mediterranean, but as soon as he found that the king of Egypt was engaged elsewhere he renewed the siege of Jerusalem with great vigour. He built forts round about it and reduced the city to a state of starvation, and one night Zedekiah and a party of warriors made their escape "by the way of the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden" (2 Kings xxv. 4); this the Babylonians perceived, and having pursued after him they captured him in the plains of Jericho, and then took him to Riblah; here his sons were slain before his eyes, and then his eyes were put out, and he was carried in fetters to Babylon. Jerusalem was looted and the Temple plundered and burnt, and everything which could be removed was taken to Riblah, and eventually a large part of the population was carried off to Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Over the few people left in Jerusalem Nebuchadnezzar made Gedaliah governor (2 Kings xxv. 22), but he and all his followers were treacherously slain at Mizpah by Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, who was a member of the Hebrew royal family.

<sup>1</sup> The number of people taken to Babylon is given by Jeremiah (lil. 30) at 4600.

After this Jeremiah and a number of fugitives fled to Egypt and came to Tahpanhes (Jeremiah xliii. 7), in the Eastern Delta, where there was a settlement of foreigners which had been established by Psammetichus I. But in all this distress the Hebrews received no help from the Egyptians, and it is not to be wondered at that Jeremiah denounced Hophra, or Apries. But the threatened destruction did not come upon Egypt during the reign of Apries, for Nebuchadnezzar found himself obliged to reduce Tyre before it was safe for him to advance towards Egypt. Authorities differ as to the year of his reign in which he began the siege, but it seems to have lasted about thirteen years, and the Tyrians must, if the siege was prosecuted with vigour, have been reduced to sore straits. Unless Nebuchadnezzar had a fleet to second by sea his efforts by land, the capture of Tyre must have formed an enterprise of great difficulty. We should, however, bear in mind that Nebuchadnezzar may have been, whilst besieging Tyre, in reality only waiting for an opportunity to attack Egypt, but it would seem that he did not find one until Amasis became king.


5.    RĀ-  
KHNEM-ĀB, son of the Sun, ĀĀḤ-MES-SA-NIT.

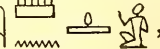
ĀĀḤMES II., or AMASIS II., the *Ἀμωσις* of Manetho, was, as we have already seen from the extract from

Herodotus, the general of Apries who had been sent to quell the revolt that had broken out among the Egyptians who had fought in the battle between Adikran and Battus. He did not behave as did the old general of Apries called Nes-Ḥeru,<sup>1</sup> , who put down a revolt at Elephantine which had broken out among the mercenaries of the Pet, , and the Ḥa-nebu, , and the Asiatics, , who were stationed in Upper Egypt, and who were trying to force their way into Nubia; Nes-Ḥeru drove the rebels back into their own places, and made them go to the place where his majesty was that they might be slain by him, but Amasis succeeded in making himself king as the result of his mission. Amasis II. reigned forty-four years, the evidence of the monuments entirely supporting that of Manetho's King List. He was a man of humble origin, and is said to have been born near Saïs; and the Greek writers describe him as one who was affable towards his fellows, good-natured, and a lover of good eating and good drinking; there is, however, no doubt that he was a capable soldier, and a generous one, or he would not have shown such consideration, as we now know that he did, to his former lord, whose kingdom he had obtained.



Egypt by an official marriage with the lady whom Nitocris had chosen as her heiress.<sup>1</sup>

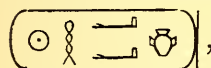
From Herodotus (ii. 163) we learn that when Apries discovered that Amasis had been proclaimed king, he took 30,000 Carian and Ionian auxiliaries and marched against the rebels under Amasis; the two armies met at Momemphis, and the Carians and Ionians were defeated, and Apries was taken prisoner to Saïs. An inscription discovered by M. Daressy, in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, throws considerable light upon this portion of the narrative of Herodotus, and proves that his account is substantially correct. The inscription<sup>2</sup> is found on a granite stele which at one time was made to serve as a doorstep in the palace where General Kléber lived, near Ezbekîyyeh in Cairo, and is dated in the third year of the reign of Amasis II., who, in addition to his other titles, is here called "beloved of Khnemu, lord of Elephantine, and of Hathor dwelling within Tchamut,"  (a part of Thebes). His majesty, it goes on to say, was in his council

<sup>1</sup> The stone sarcophagus of Ānkh-nes-nefer-āb-Rā is preserved in the British Museum (No. 32), and a line of text round the upper edges shows that some centuries after it was placed in the tomb it was usurped by a royal scribe called Āmen-ḥetep, , who was descended from a priest called [Men]-ka-Rā and Ta-shert-pi-Menthu. See my *Sarcophagus of Anchnesrāneferāb*, London, 1885, p. xxi.; and *Inscription of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep* (in *Études dédiées à M. Leemans*, pp. 43, 44).


<sup>2</sup> See *Recueil*, tom. xxii. p. 1.

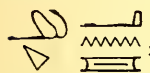


chamber occupied with the affairs of the Two Lands, when a messenger came and reported that Ḥāā-āb-Rā,




), had set off in a boat and had joined a number of boats which had already sailed. The

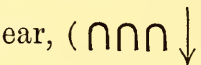
Ḥa-nebu,  (Greeks), in numbers which cannot be told are going about throughout the North (i.e., the Delta) as if the country had no master; he (i.e., Apries) hath called them and they are coming to him. He hath given them a place to live in in Peḥ-ān,

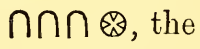


,<sup>1</sup> they have filled all Egypt, and they occupy

the country as far as Sekhet-Mafek, ,<sup>2</sup> and everything which belongs to his majesty hath departed. Amasis II. on receiving this news at once assembled his counsellors and officials and told them

what had been reported to him, and having made a speech to them, to which they replied suitably, they all made ready to do battle with Apries. Amasis II.

had his chariots, and horses, and soldiers, drawn up before him, and taking his bow and his spear, (  ↓

*māb*), in his hand, he went up into his chariot, and then the Egyptian army went forth to meet the foe, who had advanced as far as Andropolis, , the site of which appears to be marked by the modern

<sup>1</sup> M. Daressy thinks that Peḥ-Ān is Naucratis.

<sup>2</sup> Its site seems to be marked by the modern village of At-Tarrāneh, الطرانه.

village of Kharbatâ.<sup>1</sup> The soldiers of Amasis II. were glad of heart, and as a result of the words which the king had addressed to their officers they were eager to meet the foe. The armies joined battle, and the Egyptians used their daggers with great effect, slaying the enemy in large numbers; as for the king himself, he fought like a lion and slew men innumerable. The boats of the enemy were capsized and sank, and their sailors were thrown into the water into which they sank, and so went down, and "they saw the depths "of the water as do the fishes."<sup>2</sup> The fury of Amasis II. was like a flame and swept over everything, and he enjoyed the fighting as he enjoyed a feast; wheresoever he came he cleared a road for himself, and like the god who was the protector of the Delta he drove the rebels before him as he marched along. The result of the fight was that Amasis II. took much spoil, and that the enemy lost large numbers of men.

About six months later, i.e., on the 8th day of the third month of the season Shat, the officers who had been conducting the war came to the king and told him that they must put an end to the trouble caused by Apries and his Greeks, for they filled every road and were robbing the country in every direction; it is true, said they, that the Greek sailors are afraid, but the war is not ended yet. There-

<sup>1</sup> الخربتا.

<sup>2</sup> 

upon Amasis II. addressed his troops once more, and told them that the fight must go on, and that the Greek ships must be engaged daily, and his army then went forth and swept through the land like a whirlwind, and destroyed the enemy and their ships, which they appear to have left temporarily in order to fight against Amasis II. on land. Apries apparently had taken refuge in his boat one day when the soldiers of Amasis fell upon him, and they slew him as he "was sitting in his boat," in the presence, it seems, of Amasis who was on the river bank, and was watching the attack which Apries had been foolish enough to make upon some Egyptian village. The text concludes with the statement that Amasis caused his former friend to be buried, no doubt with the pomp and ceremony due to a king. From the above summary of the inscription of Amasis II. it is quite clear that he allowed his former master to live and to enjoy much of his old position, and probably power also, and that after a period of two or three years Apries made an attempt to regain his crown. The Egyptians were content to let him live as long as he remained quiet, but as soon as he collected mercenaries who began to raid the country, they made up their minds that their limit of endurance had been reached. They fought one battle with the mercenaries of Apries, but it seems not to have been sufficiently decisive to break his power utterly, for bands of mercenaries still went about raiding the country after it was over. On one occasion Apries

himself may have been directing a raid from his boat, when the soldiers of Amasis II., or perhaps the natives of the district, got into the boat and slew him as he sat. The whole inscription contains a wonderful proof of the accuracy of the statements of Herodotus concerning Apries and Amasis II.

The rumour of the prolonged fight between Apries and Amasis II. soon reached the ears of Nebuchadnezzar II., and he made up his mind that the time had come for him to attack and conquer Egypt. The prophet Jeremiah, speaking (xliiii. 10) in the name of the Lord God, said, "Behold, I will send and take "Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, "and will set his throne upon these stones that I have "hid;" (i.e., the stones which God told Jeremiah to hide in the brick wall at the entrance to Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes) "and he shall spread his royal "pavilion over them." That Nebuchadnezzar advanced as far as this frontier city on the east of the Delta, there is no reason whatsoever to doubt, but there is also no reason whatsoever for believing that he entered Egypt proper, or even that he conquered any part of it. It has been stated, on the authority of a small fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle preserved in the British Museum (No. 33,041), that Nebuchadnezzar conquered all Egypt, and plundered the country, but the text<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was incorrectly published in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 218ff., with a faulty and misleading translation; and correctly published by the Rev. Dr. Strassmaier in *Babyl. Texte*, vol. vi. No. 329.

on the fragment does not in any way bear out this comprehensive conclusion. The only definite fact that can be established from the fragment is that in the "Thirty-seventh year; Nebuchadnezzar, king "of [Babylon to] Egypt to make war we[nt]." In the next line the first complete sign is  $\Xi\Upsilon$ , which was arbitrarily read *su* by Mr. Pinches, and then, wishing to prove that the invasion of Egypt took place in the reign of Amasis II., he supplied the letters *Ama*, and boldly translated the line "[his army Amā]sis king "of Miṣir collected and . . . ." But the missing word before  $\Xi\Upsilon$  must be a common *noun*, and not the name of a king, and there is no room on the fragment for a noun *and* the name of a king. Thus there is no proof that Amasis II. was king when Nebuchadnezzar set out to attack Egypt, and his name occurs nowhere on the fragment. In the next line the city Pu-ṭu-ia-a-..... is mentioned, and it is said in the following line to be a "district remote which [is] in the midst of the sea;" the name of its king ended in *ku-u*,  $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , which signs Mr. Pinches regarded as part of the verbal form *illiku*, and he translated the line "[his soldiers we]nt, they spread abroad. As for me (?)" instead of ".....ku, of the city of Pu-tu-ia-a-....." The rest of the inscription is too mutilated to make any connected sense of, and only a few words here and there can be safely translated. The fragment can, in no case, be used as a proof either that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt, or that he invaded



it and marched up into the country as did Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal; all that it proves is that the compiler of the Chronicle believed that Nebuchadnezzar collected his forces and went to Egypt in the 37th year of his reign.

In the course of his long reign Amasis II. carried out a number of building operations throughout the country, and his name is found at all the important sanctuaries of Egypt. We find that in all the great quarries at Elephantine, and Tûra, and Hammâmât works were reopened, which shows that the repairs to the temples were on a large scale. He restored certain parts of the great temple at Karnak, and built two small chambers there, and at Abydos he repaired the temples and cleaned out the canals, and planted a vineyard, and endeavoured to make the old sanctuary of the god Osiris a worthy abode for one of the oldest gods of Egypt. The tombs of Abydos, though not as well worth plundering as those of Thebes, must have contained much that was valuable, and as a result they were pillaged time after time and ransacked by robbers of the dead; when Amasis II. came to Abydos he found that the old cemeteries were in ruins. For some reason or other he took special care to restore the sanctuary of Osiris,<sup>1</sup> and to provide for its re-endowment,

<sup>1</sup> The stele of Peftchauāā-Nit in the Louvre gives some very interesting particulars about the works of restoration at Abydos; for the text see Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 39 ff.; and for a translation see Piehl in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxii. p. 118.

and there is every reason to believe that the monument which M. Amélineau found in the "Tomb of Osiris" (see Vol. I., p. 16 ff.), was either made or "restored" by the orders of Amasis II. He built largely at Memphis, and set up there the colossal granite statues which Herodotus mentions; he showed also his devotion to Apis by the pomp and ceremony with which he buried the Bull in the Serapeum in the twenty-third year of his reign. His buildings in the Delta were on a large scale, for he rebuilt a temple at Bubastis; he dedicated a shrine, now in the Louvre, to Osiris at Athribis, and at Thmuis<sup>1</sup> he dedicated another shrine about twenty-three feet high. At Saïs, his capital, he added a court, statues, and sphinxes to the temple of Neith, and here he placed the monolithic granite shrine which struck wonder into Herodotus, for it measured 30 feet in height, 11 feet in width, and 24 feet in length, and is said to have taken 2000 men three years to bring from the quarry at Syene to Saïs.

Under the fostering care of Amasis II. many of the old sanctuaries of Egypt sprang into renewed importance, a fact which says much for the tolerance of the king and for the prosperity of the country. He was a good friend to the Greek settlers in the country, and a tradition which was current in the time of Herodotus says that it was he who gave

<sup>1</sup> The site of this place seems to be marked by the modern Temai al-Amdid, تمى الامديد.

them the city of Naucratis to dwell in; it is certain, however, that there were Greeks settled in Naucratis many years before the reign of Amasis II., and all this statement implies is that he bestowed upon the Greeks there new privileges, and a new grant of land.<sup>1</sup> Amasis II. spared no pains to preserve friendly relations with the various foreigners who lived in his country, for he not only married a Cyrenaean lady of royal or high rank, but he also made offerings to their gods. He gave to the people of Delphi a thousand talents of alum, the proceeds of the sale of which were to be devoted to rebuilding the temple of their god; he dedicated a statue of Athene in her temple at Cyrene, and two statues and a fine linen corslet to Athene of Lindos in Rhodes. One of these statues was afterwards taken to Constantinople, where it was destroyed in the fire at the Lauseion, A.D. 476,<sup>2</sup> and the linen corslet was still in existence in the days of Pliny, who tells us (xix. 2) that each thread was composed of 365 other threads. Mucianus, who was three times consul, saw what was left of it, but says that very little remained "in consequence of the injury it had experienced at the

<sup>1</sup> On the date of the founding of Naucratis see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 653; Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 179; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 497; for the excavations made at Naucratis by Prof. Petrie see his *Naucratis*, parts i. and ii.; and for an excellent grouping of the facts to be deduced from them see Mallet, *Les premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, p. 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 613.

“hands of various persons who had tried to verify the “fact.” Amasis II. also dedicated to the temple of Hera at Samos two wooden statues of himself, which Herodotus saw there behind the doors. Amasis II. died in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Saïs.

The account of the reign of Amasis II. by Herodotus (ii. 172-182) in B. R.’s Translation is as follows:—

“Apryes being dead Amasis raygned in his steede  
 “being of y<sup>e</sup> Tribe of Saïs, and trayned up in a City  
 “called Suph. In the first entraunce of his raygne the  
 “Aegyptians set lyght by<sup>\*</sup> him, and had him in greate  
 “contempte, being spronge of no Noble house, but  
 “arysinge of the common troupe of the popular sorte.  
 “Whose goodwill Amasis soughte to reconcile rather  
 “by pollicy then severity. Being therefore infinitely  
 “riche, he had amongst other his treasure, a Bason of  
 “cleane Golde wherein both him selfe and his Guestes  
 “were wont to washe their feete. This Bason hee  
 “caused to bee beaten into the forme and Image of a  
 “god, and set it up in a fit place of the city. The  
 “Aegyptians repayringe to the place, bowed themselues  
 “in great reuerence unto the Image: which Amasis  
 “having learned by his friendes, assemblinge the  
 “people, tolde them that of the same Bason wherein  
 “him selfe, and many other of the Aegyptians had bene  
 “wonte to vomite, ....., washe their feete, and all such  
 “base exercises, was framed the god that they so  
 “greatly honoured: saying, that his owne present

“estate was not much unlyke unto that Bason: for  
“albeit, before time he had bene one of the basest  
“degree of the people, yet now being their Kinge hee  
“ought of ryghte to bee had in honour. Whereby the  
“Aegyptians weare so allured that they thoughte it  
“meete afterwards to obeye their Prynce, who after-  
“wards obserued this custome in dealinge with the  
“affayres of the realme: from the morninge, untill the  
“places of assembly and common meeting were filled,  
“hee sat uppon all matters, that were brought before  
“him: spending the rest of the day amongst his com-  
“panyons in swilling, drinking, and such broade and  
“unseemly iesting, as if hee had bene some common  
“rybauld or Uyce of a playe. Whereat his friends  
“aggrieuinge, rebuked him in these or such like termes.  
“Most worthy Prince, it is a great blemish to your  
“name to liue so wickedly, more meete it were for you  
“to sit in a Throne of maiesty and decide the causes of  
“your subiects, whereby the Aegyptians might knowe  
“themselues to bee gouerned by a worthy Prince, and  
“your fame bee increased throughout all the lande.  
“To whom hee answered. They that owe the Bowe  
“knowe best when to bend it, which being alway bent  
“becommeth so weake, that it is altogether unfit for  
“those that shoulde use it; euen so it fareth with  
“those that tyreing themselues with continuall paynes,  
“geuing no intermission to their cares, they are sodenly  
“bereaued either of their right minde, or their perfit  
“members.



“This king, while hee lyued without honour, was  
“geuen to bibbing and scoffing without measure, neuer  
“greatly minding his affayres; and as ofte as hee  
“wanted to serue his turne, and to yeelde supply to  
“his pleasures, he sought mayntenance by filching and  
“stealing, whereof if happily hee were at any time  
“attached, his maner was to stand stoutly in deniall of  
“the thing and defiance of y<sup>e</sup> person: for which cause,  
“being many times brought to the Oracles and places  
“of southsaying: hee was sometime conuicted by them,  
“and at other times acquitted. Wherefore, having  
“attayned to the kingdome, which of the gods soever  
“had acquitted him of theft, he had no regard to their  
“temples, did no honour to them, gaue no gyftes,  
“offered no sacrifice, esteeming them unworthy of any  
“reuerence, hauing geuen out a false verditte. And  
“such as had pronounced him guilty, to these as to the  
“most true gods, whose Oracles were agreeable to  
“iustice, hee perfourmed the greatest honour hee  
“could deuise. Besides, in the City of Saïs hee made  
“a porche to the temple of Minerua, a worke of greate  
“admiration, and farre passing the rest both in heights  
“and bignesse, so great is the quantity of the stones  
“that were employed in the building. Hee erected  
“besides in the same place, diuerse Images of a  
“wonderfull size, and the pictures of many noysome  
“and pestilent Serpents. Hee layde there also many  
“huge stones, to the repayring of the temple, parte of  
“the which were digged out of the stone quarryes by

“Memphis: other of great quantity brought from  
 “the city of Elephantina, which is distant from Saïs  
 “20. dayes sayling. Moreover, that which is not the  
 “least wonder, but in my minde to bee reckoned  
 “amongst the chiefest: hee brought from Elephantina  
 “an house framed of one stone: in the cariage whereof  
 “2000. choyse men of the Mariners of Aegypt consumed  
 “three yeares. The roufe hereof on the outside is 21.  
 “cubyts longe, 14. cubits broad, and eight cubites  
 “highe; being on the inside 22. cubytes in length,  
 “and in height 5. This house is set at the entering  
 “into the temple; geving this reason why it was not  
 “brought into the church, for that the chiefe Mariner,  
 “when he had gotten it to that place, as wearie wyth  
 “hys dayes worke, tooke respite and breathed him  
 “selfe, whereat the king being uery much mooued, bad  
 “him leaue of work, not permitting him to labour any  
 “longer. Some say that one of those, which were  
 “busied in heaving of the stone with leavers, to have  
 “bene bruised to death by it, and that this was the  
 “cause why it stode without the Pallace.

“By the same King were erected sundry temples, built  
 “by arte very exquisitely and cunningly, whereof one hee  
 “made sacred to Vulcane: before which lyeth a great  
 “Image with the face upwarde, in length seüenty five  
 “feete, being spread along uppon a pauement of stone: in  
 “the selfe same place on eache side this Image, stand two  
 “carued monuments of stone, twenty foote in quantity.  
 “Like unto this is another stone in Saïs, lying in the

"selfe same maner. In like sorte the great temple in  
 "Memphis, so gorgeous and beautifull to the sight of  
 "all that behold it, was the handiwork also of y<sup>e</sup> same  
 "king Amasis. In the time of this Kinges govern-  
 "mente Aegypt floryshed in all wealth, being greatly  
 "increased, as well by the ryches which the ryuer  
 "yieldeth, as in other reuenewes which the people  
 "receyue by the countrey, which at the same time  
 "was so populous that there were then inhabited  
 "20,000 cityes. Likewise, by this Kinge it was  
 "enacted, that euerye one should yearely render  
 "accounte to the chiefe president of the countrey,  
 "howe, and by what maner of trade he gayned his  
 "lyuinge: being alwayes prouyding that such as  
 "refused to doe it at all, or beeing called to a reckon-  
 "inge, coulde shewe no lawfull meanes, how they spent  
 "their tymes: should for the same cause bee adjudged  
 "to dye. Whyche lawe Solon borrowing of the  
 "Aegyptians, did publish it in Athens, and is by them,  
 "for the profite thereof, most religiously obserued.

"Amasis uppon good affection hee bare to the  
 "Grecians, besides other benefittes franckly bestowed  
 "on them, made it lawefull, for all such as traуayled  
 "into Aegypte, to inhabyte the City Naucrates. And  
 "such as would not abyde in that place, hauinge more  
 "mynde to seafaring for the use of Marchaundize, to  
 "those hee gaue lybertye to plant aulters and builde  
 "churches. So that the greatest and most famous  
 "Temple in all the land is called the Grecian temple.

“The Cityes of the Greekes by whose charge and  
 “expençe this temple was builte in Aegypte, were  
 “these: of the country of Ionia, Chius, Teus, Phocoea,  
 “Clazomene; amongst the Dorians four Cities: Rhodus,  
 “Cnydus, Halicarnassus, Phaselus; one city of the  
 “people of Aeolia, namely, Mitylene. To these Cityes  
 “of Greece is the Temple belonginge, by whom also are  
 “founde and mayntayned certayne Priests to serve in  
 “the same. There are other townes besides in Greece  
 “that haue some righte to the Temple, as hauing con-  
 “tributed somethinge to the use of the same. Howbeit  
 “the Temple of Jupiter, the people of Aeginà built of  
 “their owne proper cost. No City toke part with  
 “Samos in setting up the Pallace of Juno: the Mile-  
 “sians alone tooke upon them to erect the Temple  
 “of Apollo. Besides these there are no other monu-  
 “ments built by the Grecians which remayne extant in  
 “Aegypte. And if by fortune any of the Greeks passe  
 “into Nylus by any other way then that which serueth  
 “to lande by Greece, hee is fayne to sweare that hee  
 “was constrayned agaynst his will, byndinge him selfe  
 “by oath that in the same shippe hee will speede him  
 “selfe into Canobicus, another Channell of the Ryuer so  
 “called: and if by contrarye wyndes hee bee hindered  
 “from arryuinge there; hee must hyre caryage by water,  
 “and so ferry the nexte way to Naucrates. In such sorte  
 “were the Grecians tyed to that city, beinge by reason of  
 “their trafique thyther, had in principall honoure. Nowe  
 “whereas the Pallace of Amphiction whiche is nowe at

“Delphos, beeing straungely pearyshed by fyre, was  
“gone in hande with afreshe uppon price of three  
“hundred tallentes: the people of Delphos which were  
“leauyed at the fourth parte of the charges, straying  
“aboute all countryes, gathered very much, being  
“chiefly assysted by the Aegyptians. Amasis the  
“Kinge bestowinge on them a thowsande tallentes of  
“Alume, and the Grecians that were abyding in Aegypt  
“twenty pounds.

“Moreover, with the Cyrenaeans Prynce Amasis  
“entred friendship, and strooke a league of fellow-  
“ship with the same, insomuch, that he thought  
“meete to enter allyaunce with them, taking a wife  
“of that countrey, eyther for affection he bare to  
“the women of Greece, or in respecte of hys love to  
“the Cyrenaeans. His wife, as some say, was the  
“daughter of Battus sonne of Arcesilaus, as others  
“reporte, of Critobulus a man of chiefe credite and  
“regarde amongst those with whome he dwelt. His  
“Ladies name was Ladyce, a woman of surpassing  
“beautie. . . . Ladyce remembering her uowe she had  
“made to Uenus, thought good to performe it,  
“and framing a most beautifull and curious image,  
“she sente it to the city Cyrenae, which stood  
“imperished unto our dayes, being placed by the  
“citizens without the towne. The same Ladyce,  
“Cambyses King of Persia uanquishing Egypt under-  
“standing what she was, sent her without any manner  
“[of] shame or uiolence into her owne countrey.



“ By this King Amasis were many giftes distributed  
 “ of singulare price and ualue. To Cyrenae he sent the  
 “ image of Minerua, garnished all over with gilt, and  
 “ his owne personage most curiously shadowed by a  
 “ Paynter. Likewise to the city Lindus he gaue two  
 “ images of the goddesse Minerua wrought in stone,  
 “ with a linnen stomacher most excellently imbrodered  
 “ by arte. Moreover, to the goddesse Juno in Samus,  
 “ two pictures expressing her diuine beautie, of most  
 “ exquisite workmanship. Which bountie he exercised  
 “ towards the Samians for the great friendship he bare  
 “ to their king Polycrates the sonne of Aeaces. But to  
 “ the city Lyndus, why he should shewe hymselfe so  
 “ franke and liberall, no other reason serued, sauing  
 “ that the fame wente that the great temple of Minerua  
 “ in Lindus was builded by y<sup>e</sup> daughters of Danaus  
 “ after they were knowne, and had escaped the daungers  
 “ intended against them by the sonnes of Aegyptus.  
 “ These and many other excellente giftes were dispersed  
 “ and giuen abroade by King Amasis. By whome also  
 “ the city of Cyprus which was deemed of all men inuin-  
 “ cible, and had neuer before beene uanquished by any,  
 “ was conquered, taken, and brought under tribute.”

6.   ĀNKH-KA-  
 EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, PSEMTHEK.

PSEMTHEK III., or PSAMMETICHUS III., was the son  
 of Amasis II., and reigned for a period of six months

only; for this reason some chronographers do not include his name among those of the kings of the XXVIth Dynasty. Monuments inscribed with his name are very few, and the two reliefs at Karnak, in which he is seen standing in the presence of Amen and of "Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris," are the only sculptures known of his reign.<sup>1</sup> These reliefs are found in a small temple which appears to have been built near the small temple of Amāsis II. and Nit-āqert (Nitocris) by Psammetichus III. and by Ankh-nes-nefer-āb-Rā, for close by the reliefs of Psammetichus III. are some in which this princess is seen adoring certain gods. Of the events of the reign of Psammetichus III. the Egyptian inscriptions tell us nothing, and recourse must be had to the history of the invasion and conquest of Egypt by the Persians as told by Herodotus (iii. 1 ff.). It seems that long before his death Amāsis II. had incurred the enmity of the king of Persia, and that one of the reasons why he allied himself so closely to the Greeks and other foreign nations was that he might have friends who would help him in the war which he probably foresaw must come sooner or later. The cause of the enmity between the two kings is not known from the inscriptions, but Herodotus supplies us with both the Persian and the Egyptian reason for the dispute. According to the Persians, Cambyses sent an ambassador to Egypt and asked Amasis II. for

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 275, *f*, *g*; and Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 661.

his daughter to be sent to him. Cambyses had been urged to make this demand by an Egyptian physician, whom Amasis II. had sent as a gift to the Persians when Cyrus asked him to send him the best oculist in Egypt. It was no doubt a great honour for the physician, but as he was torn from his wife and children in Egypt to go to a remote country, he was furious against Amasis II., and made the suggestion that Cambyses should ask for the daughter of Amasis II. out of spite, well knowing that if the princess were sent to Persia it would cause Amasis II. to grieve sorely, and that, if she were not, it would stir up the wrath of Cambyses to such a degree that it might lead to an outbreak of war between the two countries. When the Persian ambassador arrived and Amasis II. heard his request, he was greatly perplexed and knew not what to do; he was afraid of Cambyses and of his mighty army, and therefore did not wish to refuse, but on the other hand he felt that Cambyses did not want to marry the Egyptian princess, but only to include her among the ladies of his *harim*. In this difficulty he remembered that his former master Apries had left behind him an only child, a daughter, who was both tall and beautiful, and whose name was Nitetis; her Amasis took, and having arrayed her in cloth-of-gold sent her to Persia as if she had been his own daughter. When she arrived in Persia and Cambyses saluted her in her supposed father's name Apries' daughter told him that he had been imposed upon by

Amasis, who had sent her to him as his own daughter, whereas, in solemn truth, she was the daughter of Apries, who, though he had been the master of Amasis, was put to death by him after the revolt of the Egyptians, which the murderer had stirred up.

As a result Cambyses was greatly enraged, and the invasion of Egypt by the Persians was thus brought about by the fraud which Amasis II. had practised on their king. On the other hand, the Egyptians say that Cambyses was their kinsman, and that he was the son of the daughter of Apries, for it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, who was stirred up by the physician to send to Amasis II. for his daughter. But Herodotus doubted this explanation and he points out, first, that it is not customary with the Persians for a natural son to reign when there is a legitimate son living, and secondly, that Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, one of the Achaemenidae, and not of the Egyptian woman. Another story told about the matter is to the effect that a certain Persian lady visited the women of Cyrus, and, when she saw the children of Cassandane, beautiful and tall, standing by her, praised them highly, being exceedingly struck with them; but Cassandane, the wife of Cyrus, said, "Though I am the mother of such children, Cyrus holds me in disdain, and honours her whom he has obtained from Egypt." This she said through envy of Nitetis, and her eldest son Cambyses said, "Therefore, mother, when I am a man, I will turn all Egypt upside down." He said

this when he was about ten years of age, and he bore it in mind till he grew up and was possessed of the kingdom, and then he invaded Egypt.

One of the most active helpers of Cambyses was Phanes, the Halicarnassian, who was a wise man and a skilled warrior; for some reason or other he quarrelled with Amasis II., and escaped in a ship from Egypt, and made his way to the court of Cambyses. Amasis had sent eunuchs in pursuit of him, and he was caught in Lycia, but they failed to bring him back to Egypt, for having made his guards drunk he managed to make good his escape to the army of the Persians. Phanes reported to Cambyses the state of affairs in Egypt, and advised him to ask the king of the Arabs to grant him a safe passage through his waterless territory into Egypt. This Cambyses did, and when he and the king of the Arabs had made a treaty, the Persians marched on to Egypt, being supplied with water by the king of the Arabs. As to the manner in which the supply of water was provided there are two traditions. According to one, the king of the Arabs filled skins of camels with water and loaded them on to the backs of camels, and then drove them into certain places in the desert to await the arrival of the Persians; according to the other, water was conveyed to reservoirs in three different places in the desert in pipes made of ox-skins which were fed from the Corys, a river that discharged itself into the Red Sea. The former method was, no doubt, employed, only the water must have




been placed in sheep-skins, four of which hung on a camel, two on each side, form a good load. A camel-skin filled with water would be too heavy for one camel to carry, and could only be lifted on to a camel's back with difficulty; small bags made of camel-skin might, of course, have been used, but from time immemorial the skins of sheep and goats have been used for water transport on a large scale by the Arabs.




The Egyptians awaited the attack of the Persians near or at Pelusium, and whilst they were waiting a most extraordinary thing happened, according to Herodotus (iii. 10), i.e., rain fell in drops at Thebes in Upper Egypt, which the Thebans told the historian had never happened before or since.<sup>1</sup> At length


<sup>1</sup> A great many misleading statements have been made, even in recent years, about the total absence of rain at Thebes and in Upper Egypt. The fact is that rain has been known to fall every year or two at Thebes, in showers of short duration, for very many years past, but as the great storms usually spend themselves on and about the mountains in the desert and along the Nile, the land near the river only receives the rain which falls from the broken clouds that form the edge of the storm area. At the present time rain storms are well known in Upper Egypt. During the winter of 1900-01 a heavy storm passed over the Nile Valley between Luxor and Aswân, and those who were living at the time in the former place say that heavy rain fell there for thirty hours. The downpour was so heavy that the 3 ft. 6 in. railway between Luxor and Aswân was washed away in several places, and it is said that many passengers, whose journey was perforce arrested, and who were without food, were rescued from a somewhat trying position by British officials, who received them on a Government steamer and took them to Luxor. In January, 1887, the rain fell with tropical violence at Aswân for fourteen hours at one time,

Cambyzes appeared at Pelusium, whereupon the Greek mercenaries who were with the Egyptians seized the sons of their comrade Phanes, who had led this foreign army against Egypt, and slew them over a bowl in the sight of their father and of the Persians, one after the other. Into the bowl which had caught their blood they poured wine and water, and the mixture was passed round for the mercenaries to drink of it; when they had done so the battle began. Both sides fought with great bravery, but at length the Egyptians were beaten, and they fled in serious disorder to Memphis, which they fortified as well as they could, and then waited to see what would happen. A few days later a Persian ambassador sailed up the river in a Mitylenean boat, and proposed terms of surrender to the rebels in Memphis; but when they saw the boat coming along a

and on the following day the only building in the town which had a whole roof was that of the office of the P.M.O.; such large quantities of rain fell that in the modern Muḥammadan cemetery many bodies were washed bare. The writer remembers other occasions when rain fell at Kalâbshi and Wâdî Iḥalfa, in Nubia, and saw it rain heavily for some hours while journeying from the south towards Bêni Sawwêf in Upper Egypt. That heavy rains and storms were known to the ancient Egyptians is proved by the

existence of the hieroglyphic determinative , which indicates water pouring from the sky; compare its use in the words

  *akep*, a "rain flood,"  *shenā*, "storm of

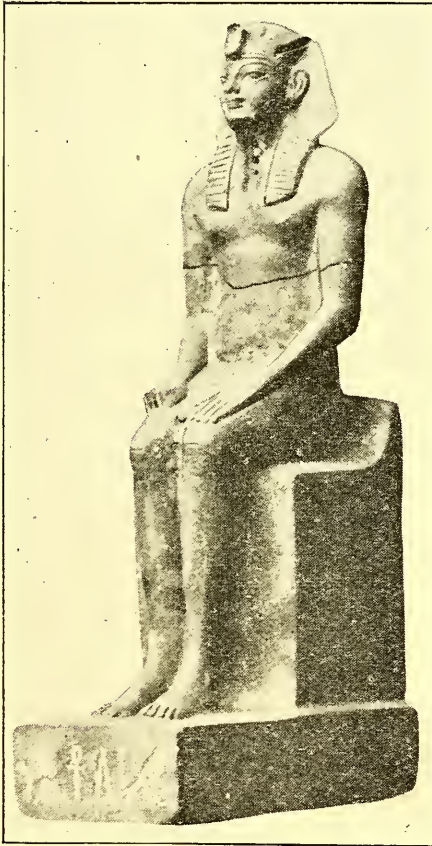
rain,"  *ḥatui*, "rain." The last word

survives in **ꜣꜣꜣ** the Coptic word for rain.

canal into the city the Egyptians attacked it, and broke it in pieces, and having torn the crew limb from limb they carried the pieces into the city. This foolish act brought the Persian army up to Memphis, and the city of course was obliged to surrender. The Libyans promptly sent gifts to Cambyses, and promised to pay tribute to him, as did also the peoples of Cyrene and Barca; the men of Cyrene only sent 500 minae of silver, which Cambyses at once distributed among his soldiers.

Ten days after the fall of Memphis, Cambyses seated Psammetichus III. at the entrance to the city, and made his daughter and a number of Egyptian virgins of high rank to dress as slaves, and to take pitchers and to go down to the river to fetch water, and to pass by the king and his nobles as they went; when the Egyptian nobles saw their daughters thus humiliated they wept bitterly, and uttered loud cries of lamentation, but Psammetichus made neither sound nor motion which showed that he was grieved, and having seen and known what was going on he sat still with his eyes bent to the ground. But Cambyses put his fortitude to a still greater test. The royal judges had decided that, in atonement for the murder of the crew of the boat on which the Persian ambassador sailed to Memphis, ten Egyptians should be put to death for each Persian who had been slain. Two thousand Egyptians, presumably the sons of noble or wealthy parents, were chosen, and halters having been put round their

necks and bridles in their mouths they were taken out to suffer death at the hands of the executioners, and with them the son of Psammetichus also marched out



Gray basalt figure of a king.  
XXVth Dynasty.

British Museum, No. 18,193.

to die. The wretched company was made to pass before the king and the other parents, and though they wept and made loud lamentation Psammetichus, who saw them passing, and knew that his son was going forth to die with them, remained on his seat motionless and silent. After the men had passed by there came along a man of very mature age who had once been an intimate friend of Psammetichus, but he had fallen upon evil times and had lost everything of which

he was possessed, and was reduced to poverty, and obliged to beg alms of the soldiers; as soon as the king saw him he wept bitterly, and smote his head, and cried out to his old companion by name. When

this was reported by his spies to Cambyses he marvelled, and sent a messenger to ask Psammetichus how it was that he was so unconcerned about the servitude of his daughter and the death of his son, but was moved to tears at the sight of a beggar who was no relation to him? To this question Psammetichus replied, "Son of Cyrus, the calamities of my family are too great to be expressed by lamentation; but the griefs of my friend were so worthy of tears, who, having fallen from abundance and prosperity, has come to beggary on the threshold of old age." When this answer was brought to Cambyses he was touched with pity, and straightway gave orders that the son of Psammetichus should not be slain, and should be brought into his presence, but when the prince was sought for it was found that he had already suffered death. Psammetichus was taken to the palace of Cambyses, and lived with him for some time in comfort, and had he refrained from meddling with the government of the country it is probable that Cambyses would have made him a satrap of his kingdom and governor of Egypt. But like Apries he became discontented with his position, and it having been discovered that he was conspiring against the authority of the Persians, Cambyses compelled him "to drink the blood of a bull, and he died immediately afterwards;" the blood of the bull, we may assume, was poisoned. Thus perished the last king of the XXVIth Dynasty, and Egypt became, like Babylonia and Assyria, a province of the Persian Empire.



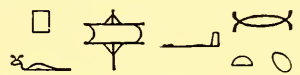



𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁, Babylonian forms of which are 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁, or 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁, KAM-BU-ZI-IA.

Of the early years of Cambyses nothing is known, and authorities are not agreed as to the reason of his attack upon Egypt, but as the Persians under Cyrus had captured Babylon (B.C. 538), and had made themselves masters of all the outlying countries, including Assyria, it is only natural that Cambyses should wish to prove his sovereignty over Egypt, because he regarded Egypt as a province of the Babylonian Empire which his father had conquered. Besides this, Croesus king of Lydia had made an alliance (Herodotus i. 77) with Amasis II. king of Egypt, and as Croesus was the foe of the Persians Amasis II. must be also.

As soon as Cambyses had taken Memphis and had slain 2000 Egyptians that he might be avenged on the country for the murder of the crew of the boat, 200 in number, with whom his ambassador had sailed up to Memphis to offer terms of peace to the besieged, he moved on to the capital of the Saïte kings, i.e., Saïs in the Western Delta. Herodotus tells us (iii. 16) that he entered the palace of Amasis II., whom he expected to find alive when he reached Pelusium, and soon afterwards ordered the people to bring his dead body from the tomb, and that when this had been done he gave orders to scourge it, to pull off the hair, to prick it and abuse it in every possible manner. The Persians,



phorus of the Vatican.”<sup>1</sup> The priest Utcha-Her-resenet was the son of Pef-tchauā-Net, , by his wife Tem-āri-tās, , and he held some high office in connexion with the Egyptian fleet under Amasis II. and his son Psammetichus III. It is possible that his father Pef-tchauā-Net is to be identified with the official of the same name who flourished under Apries, i.e., Hophra, and whose statue, with a shrine in front of it, is preserved in the British Museum (No. 83, Egyptian Gallery). According to the text on this interesting figure Cambyses came to Egypt with a multitude of people from every land, and he ruled the whole country as king, taking as his official name “Mesthu-Rā” (i.e., born of Rā), and the people who were with him settled in Egypt. In due course he came to Saïs, and the former servant of the Saïte kings came to salute his new lord, and to conduct him about the city. Utcha-Her-resenet explained to him the great antiquity of the city, and told him that the goddess of the city, Neith, was the mother of Rā, the Sun-god, the first-born of the gods, and that Saïs had been her dwelling-place from time immemorial, and that the city was the counterpart

<sup>1</sup> For the literature see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 667; an English translation of the Egyptian text on the Pastophorus will be found in Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 293 ff. An excellent photograph of the figure is published by Sig. Romualdo Moscioni of Rome.

of heaven above. In it also were the abodes of the gods Rā and Temu and of the other members of their cycle. The Persian king must have listened sympathetically, for the priest then went on to complain that the foreigners who had come into the city had taken possession of the temple, and that they had built themselves small abodes in its halls and courts, and he asked the king to have them driven out. This the king did, and the temple was purified, its priests were reinstated, its revenues were restored, and his majesty decreed that the appointed festivals and ceremonies should be duly celebrated and performed as in the days of old.

When the cleansing of the temple was finished Cambyses went into it in person, and he performed an act of worship after the manner of the old kings of Egypt, and poured out a libation to the goddess Neith, and made gifts to her temple. With the management of the revenues of the temple Utcha-Ḥer-resenet now busied himself, and these he devoted to the maintenance of the services which had to be performed in honour of the goddess, and in keeping her statues, etc., in a proper state of repair. He was also good to the poor and needy, and he “protected the people under the very heavy misfortune which had befallen the whole land, such as this country had never experienced before.” He protected the weak against the strong, he was a friend to those who honoured him, he revered his father and did the




will of his mother, and was gracious to his brethren ; for the man who was too poor to buy a coffin he provided one, and he took care of the children. When Cambyses was dead the fame of Utcha-Her-resenet reached his successor in the kingdom, and Darius sent for the priest of Saïs and commanded him to establish a college in which boys should be educated to the profession of the scribe ; this he did, and as he tells us that the teachers in it applauded his actions and presented him with gifts of gold we may assume that his rule of the college was popular. Thus the story told by the above facts is directly contrary to that repeated by Herodotus.

As soon as Cambyses had made himself master of Egypt he planned three expeditions, one against the Carthaginians, one against the dwellers in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, and one against the Ethiopians. The Carthaginians he intended to attack by sea, and the dwellers in the Oasis and the Ethiopians by land. He sent to Elephantine for a number of the Ichthyophagi who understood the Ethiopian (i.e., Nubian) language, and whilst they were on their way he commanded the naval forces to sail against Carthage ; but the Phœnician sailors naturally would not fight against their own kinsmen in Carthage, and as the rest of the forces were helpless without them the Carthaginians were left in peace. When the Ichthyophagi came to Cambyses he gave them a number of gifts, which consisted of a purple cloak, a gold necklace, bracelets, an alabaster

box of ointment, and a barrel of palm wine, and despatched them to Ethiopia. When the Ichthyophagi arrived in Ethiopia, the king of the country made light of their gifts, and giving them a bow he sent back to Cambyses a message to the effect that the Persians had better not attempt to make war on the long-lived Ethiopians until they could draw a bow like the one he was sending, and had more numerous forces; meanwhile let him thank the gods that the Ethiopians were not inspired with the desire of adding another land to their own. When the envoys returned to Cambyses they reported that most of the Ethiopians attained to the age of 120 years, and some of them to even more; that they fed on boiled flesh and drank milk; that they washed in water from which they came forth as if they had been bathed in oil scented with violets; that the common prisoners in the gaol were fettered with chains of gold, brass being very rare and precious; that the bodies of the dead were kept in crystal cylinders; and that Cambyses already knew that they had the reputation for being the tallest and handsomest of men, and that they chose as king the man who had the greatest strength coupled with the largest stature.

When Cambyses received this report he was furious, and straightway ordered his army to set out on the march against the Ethiopians, but made no provision for giving them meat and drink. When the army reached Thebes he ordered a detachment of 50,000 to

march to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon,<sup>1</sup> and to burn down the temple and to reduce the people to slavery. This detachment set out with guides, and in seven days reached the city of Oasis which was situated in a country called by the Greeks the "Island of the Blessed"; but after they started again upon their journey they were never more heard of. It was said that the whole detachment was overwhelmed by sand, which was driven over them by a hurricane from the south as they were eating their dinner. This may or may not have been the case, but calamities of the kind do occur in the desert, for a caravan of nearly 700 camels was lost in this way in the desert between Korosko and Abû Ḥamad only a few years ago, and only two men escaped to tell the tale. Meanwhile the Persian army advanced to Nubia, and when they had gone a fifth of the way they had eaten up all their provisions and killed their transport animals. The army struggled on, notwithstanding, and the soldiers lived upon the herbs which could be found on their journey; when, however, they reached the sands, i.e., the desert, they were reduced to cannibalism. Then, and not till then, did Cambyses realize the hopelessness of his task, and he turned back and marched down the

<sup>1</sup> This Oasis is usually reached by travelling westwards from Alexandria for ten days, and then going to the south a journey of six days; the Egyptians called it Sekhet Amt, , and the Arabs know it by the name of "Siwah."

Nile to Memphis. From the narrative of Herodotus it is difficult to make out exactly the route of Cambyses. If he wished to reach Gebel Barkal, or Napata, which was the capital of the Nubian kingdom at that time, he could only do so by marching up the Nile. The distances are as follows:—Memphis to Syene about 600 miles; Syene to Behen (Wādī Ḥalfa) 210 miles; Behen to the head of the Third Cataract, i.e., Kerma, 201 miles; Kerma to Old Dongola, 155 miles; Old Dongola to Gebel Barkal (Napata), 70 miles, i.e., the distance by river from Memphis to Napata is about 1236 miles. The distance from Memphis to Meroë by river is about 1630 miles, but if the desert route be followed between Wādī Ḥalfa and Abû Ḥamad, the distance between Memphis and Meroë is only about 1300 miles. Now Cambyses must have followed the Nile to Syene—if he got as far—and he could there either have taken an old caravan road, which would have led him to Abû Ḥamad in from seventy to ninety days, or have gone by the Nile to Korosko, and then struck the old road to the same place. But whether Cambyses set out for Napata or Meroë, one-fifth of the distance from Memphis to either place would not take him out of Egypt. It is difficult to make the narrative of Herodotus agree with well-ascertained facts, and all we can safely deduce from it is that Cambyses set out to cross the desert without adequate transport and supplies, and that the greater part of his army perished through hunger and thirst. Moreover, some-

one has confused the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon with the Oasis of Kharga, which is about seven days' journey from Thebes; the nearest way to the former Oasis from Memphis is to travel in a westerly direction, and not to go to Thebes, as any camel man could have told Cambyses.

According to some ancient writers, Cambyses succeeded in making his way as far south as the city of Meroë, and Strabo says (xvii. 1, § 5) that he gave this name both to the island and the city, because his sister, or, according to some writers, his wife Meroë died there; Diodorus, however, says (i. 33) that Cambyses built the city and called it after his mother.

When Cambyses returned to Memphis, he found the Egyptians celebrating a great festival because a new Apis Bull had appeared, and he, imagining that they were rejoicing because his expeditions had failed, became very angry; he sent for some of the chief men of Memphis, and having asked for an explanation of the festival, and receiving from them a reply which was in his opinion unsatisfactory, he called them liars, and had them put to death. He next sent for the priests, and when they told him the same story, he had the Apis Bull<sup>1</sup> led before him. Being seized with a fit of temporary insanity, he burst out into a peal of

<sup>1</sup> The Apis Bull was distinguished by being black with a white spot on the forehead; on the back was the figure of an eagle, on the tongue the figure of a beetle, and he had double hairs in his tail.



laughter at the Egyptians for worshipping a creature of flesh and blood, and aimed a blow at the Bull, but missing the spot he aimed at he smote him on the thigh instead of in the belly. Apis languished in the temple for some time and then died, and was buried without the king's knowledge. Whilst he was staying at Memphis Cambyses committed many sacrilegious acts, which seem to prove that he must have been half mad at times. Thus he had a number of tombs opened and the mummies drawn out for him to look at; he made a mock of the figure of the god Ptah in his temple, and having forced his way into some specially sacred portion of the temple into which it was lawful for the priests only to enter, he looked upon certain wooden statues of the gods, and then had them burnt. In Strabo's time the city of Memphis was entirely deserted, and he says (xvii. 1, § 27) that the temple there exhibited many proofs of the madness and sacrilegious acts of Cambyses, who did very great injury to the temples, partly by fire and partly by violence. When he took the city many parts of it seem to have been set on fire, but he was struck with such admiration for one obelisk there that, Pliny says (xxxvi. 14), he ordered the flames to be extinguished even when they had reached to the very base of the monument.

At Thebes also Cambyses is said to have done great damage to the temples, for Strabo relates (xvii. 1, § 46) that many of them were mutilated by him. Diodorus says (i. 46) that he carried off to Persia from the



for no cause that could be discovered by his friends; and once he tried to slay Croesus because he had offended him. Croesus escaped by the help of some of the servants, who knew that Cambyses would be sorry afterwards if he had killed him, and though he was pleased that Croesus was forthcoming when he asked for him he took care to put to death the servants who had saved him from their master's anger. The punishments inflicted by Cambyses were of an extraordinary character, e.g., he caused a judge called Sisamnes to be slain and flayed because he had taken a bribe and passed an unjust sentence, and he caused the skin of the judge to be fastened over the seat on which the judge used to sit when pronouncing judgment. Cambyses appointed Otanes, the son of Sisamnes, in his father's place, and admonished him to remember on what seat he sat and to judge justly (Herodotus v. 25).

When Cambyses left Persia for Egypt he appointed a Magian called Patizeithes to be the governor of his palace, but this man, knowing that Cambyses had murdered his brother Bardiya (Bardes, i.e., Smerdis), determined to turn his knowledge of the fact, of which the Persians generally were ignorant, to his own account. He persuaded his brother, who bore the name of Bardiya,<sup>1</sup> to join him in the revolt, and he

<sup>1</sup> The Behistun Inscription (col. i. line 36) says he was called Gaumāta, a name which in the hands of classical writers has become Gomates, or Gometes.

made him to be proclaimed throughout Persia as Bardiya, the brother of Cambyses, and son of Cyrus, and king of the country in the room of Cambyses. The rebels next sent heralds into the provinces of Persia to proclaim the news, and one of them, he who had been despatched to Egypt, actually announced his message to Cambyses himself, whom he found with his army at Ecbatana, in Syria. Hearing this Cambyses leaped upon his horse, wishing to set out at once for Susa, but as he was doing so a portion of the scabbard of the sword fell off, and the blade being bare wounded him in the thigh, it is said in the part where he had smitten the god Apis (Herodotus iii. 64). Twenty days later he collected his chiefs, and confessed that he had caused Bardiya to be slain, and having urged them never to allow the Medes to have power over the country, he soon after died from the effects of the sword wound, which had made the limb to mortify and had affected the bone. Herodotus says that he reigned seven years and five months. It is difficult to distinguish in the above statements what is history and what is romance, and we must therefore have recourse to the great inscription of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who narrates the matter in these words<sup>1</sup>:—"A man of our

<sup>1</sup> For the text see Rawlinson, *Jnl. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x., plate, line 27 ff. ; a later edition of the Persian text will be found in Weissbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig, 1893, page 14 ff. For an English translation see Rawlinson in *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 111 ff.







Gobryas chose Megabyzus, and Aspathines chose Hydarnes. The six men added to their number a seventh, one Darius, who had arrived at Susa from Persia. When the seven had met and exchanged opinions Darius declared boldly that he knew that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was dead and that a Magian of the same name was reigning, and that he had come there on purpose to bring about the death of the Magian, and he advised that the impostor should be killed that very day. After some delay they forced their way into the palace, and the seven, having slain all who resisted them, succeeded in reaching the room where Smerdis was; Darius and Gobryas rushed in, and whilst Gobryas was grappling with Smerdis, Darius stabbed the impostor with his dagger. This done they cut off the heads of the Magians whom they had slain and took them out and showed them to the people, and thereupon began a massacre of the Magians by the mob. Soon after this the conspirators, who had been reduced to six by the withdrawal of Otanes from their number, agreed that he whose horse should neigh first at sunrise when they were mounted should have the kingdom, and Oebares, the groom of Darius, having managed to make his master's horse neigh first on a certain day at sunrise when the six were mounted, Darius was hailed by his companions as king.

The account given by Darius is as follows:<sup>1</sup>—"The


<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, Text, col. i., line 48 ff.

“sovereignty which Gaumāta had wrested from Cambyses  
 “had belonged to our family from times of old.  
 “Gaumāta, the Magian, having taken away from  
 “Cambyses both Persia and Media, and the other  
 “provinces, did as he pleased and became king. There  
 “was no man, neither Persian, nor Median, nor any  
 “one of our race who was a match for that Gaumāta,  
 “the Magian, who had usurped the sovereignty. The  
 “people feared him exceedingly, and he made an end  
 “of many people who had known Bardiya in times  
 “past, and he slew them [he said] ‘that they may not  
 “recognize me and know that I am not Bardiya,  
 “the son of Cyrus.’ No man dared to gainsay  
 “Gaumāta until I came. I prayed unto Auramazda,  
 “𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂, and he  
 “brought me help. It was on the 10th day of the  
 “month Bāgayādish, that I and a few men slew  
 “Gaumāta the Magian, and those who were his intimate  
 “friends. I slew him in the fort called Sikayauvatish,  
 “in the province of Nisāya in Media, and I wrested  
 “the sovereignty from him. By the will of Auramazda I  
 “became king, and Auramazda gave me the sovereignty.  
 “The sovereignty which had been wrested from our  
 “family I brought back, and set it in its right place,  
 “and I made it to be as it was of old. The temples  
 “which Gaumāta, the Magian, had destroyed, I rebuilt,  
 “and I gave back to the people the flocks and herds . . .  
 “of which Gaumāta, the Median, had robbed them.  
 “I restored the people to their places, Persia, Media,

“and the other countries. What had been carried off  
“I restored and made even as it was before. I did  
“this according to the will of Auramazda. I toiled  
“until our house had been restored to its place.”

When Cambyses left Egypt for Persia he appointed as satrap, or viceroy, of Egypt a certain man called Aryandes, who appears to have been a capable governor. During his rule a dispute broke out between Arcesilaus, the son of the lame Battus and Pheretime (Herodotus iv. 162 ff.), and Demonax, the man who had been appointed arbitrator of Cyrene by the command of the Pythia at Delphi, and in the end Arcesilaus had to flee to Samos and his mother Pheretime to Salamis in Cyprus. In accordance with the answer of the Pythia Arcesilaus returned to Cyrene, but forgetting to carry out the instructions which he had received from the oracle, he and his father-in-law Alazir were slain at Barce; when his mother Pheretime heard this she fled to Egypt, for Arcesilaus had performed some services for Cambyses. Cambyses had given Cyrene to Arcesilaus, and had made him a tributary to the king of Egypt. Aryandes hearkened to her complaints and demands for revenge, and gave Pheretime the use of the army and navy of Egypt; over the army he set Amasis, a Maraphian, and over the fleet Badres of Pasargadae. These forces set out from Egypt and in due course arrived at Barce, which was captured after a long and obstinate resistance; Pheretime impaled the men whom the Persians brought to her, and set them out

round the walls, and she had the breasts of their wives cut off and hung upon the walls. The Barceans were made slaves and large numbers of them were transported first to Egypt, and then to Bactria, where Darius set apart a place for them to live in. Soon after Pheretime returned to Egypt she died of a terrible and loathsome disease. The immediate cause of the invasion of Egypt by Darius is not quite clear, but it seems as if it was caused by some action of Aryandes, who was put to death "for attempting to "make himself equal with Darius." Darius coined money made of the finest gold, and Aryandes imitating him coined money in silver; when Darius heard of this he regarded it as an attempt on the part of his viceroy to make himself king, and treated the act as one of rebellion, and put him to death.

When Darius arrived in Egypt, about B.C. 517, he adopted the rank and style of the Egyptian kings of old, and chose for himself as king of the South and North the name RĀ-SETTU, and placed his name Darius, transcribed into hieroglyphic characters, within a cartouche as "son of the Sun." In the great Behistun Inscription, which was first deciphered and translated by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, Darius calls<sup>1</sup> himself "the great "king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the "king of the lands." He was the son of Hystaspes ( B-sh-ta-a-s-p), the grandson

<sup>1</sup> Col. 1, l. 1 ff.





he was tolerant in religious matters, and that he wished to eradicate the bad impression which the Egyptians had obtained of the Persians through the sacrilegious behaviour of Cambyses.


His greatest work of practical utility in the country was the completion of the digging of the canal to join the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been begun by Necho II. According to Herodotus (ii. 158), it took four days to make the passage along this canal, and it was sufficiently wide for two triremes to be rowed abreast. The water entered it from the Nile near Bubastis, and the canal ran through the modern Wâdî Ṭûmilât, and passing Pa-Tem, i.e., the city Pithom, reached the Red Sea. From the mouth of the Wâdî Ṭûmilât the course of the canal of Darius may still be traced by the remains of the large stelae which he set up at various places to commemorate the completion of his work; these stelae were inscribed in hieroglyphics on one side, and in three kinds of cuneiform writing on the other, the languages represented by these last being Persian, Elamitic (or, Susian), and Babylonian.<sup>1</sup> Remains of some of these stelae have been found near Tell al-Maskhûta, near the Serapeum, near Shalûf, and a little to the north of Suez. On each stele was a figure of Darius with the titles "great king, king of kings, king of the lands of all peoples, king of this great earth, the son of Hystaspes the Akhaemenian." Below this, as we learn

<sup>1</sup> For the literature see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 680.

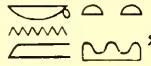
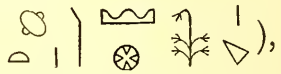
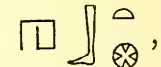
from the stele near Suez, was the inscription, "A great god is Auramazda who hath created this earth, who hath created yonder heaven, who hath created man, who hath given unto man the blessing of happiness, who hath made Darius king, and who hath confided unto king Darius sovereignty, the great man, who is rich both in horses and in men." After a repetition of his titles the text continued, "Thus spake king Darius, I am a Persian, and by the help of the Persians I captured Egypt. I ordered this canal to be dug from the river Nile (Pirāva) which floweth in Egypt to the sea which goeth forth from Persia. This canal was dug even as I ordered it."

The rest of the inscription is mutilated, but according to Dr. Oppert, who restored it by the help of the Egyptian version, it contained a statement to the effect that Darius ordered one half of the canal, i.e., from Bira to the sea, to be destroyed, and Dr. Oppert thinks that he gave this order because the Persian engineers told him that on account of the difference between the level of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea, Egypt would be flooded<sup>1</sup> if the canal were completed. It will be remembered that exactly the same argument was used when the present Suez Canal was contemplated. But whether the canal was ever opened or not, the working

<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. pp. 80, 81; Weissbach and Bang, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Maspero in *Recueil*, tom. vii. pp. 1-8; Menant in *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 331 f.; Daressy in *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 160 f.; and Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 99 f.

on it would show the Egyptians that Darius was anxious for the welfare of the country, and we know from Diodorus (i. 95) that he was regarded as the sixth of the law-givers of Egypt. According to this writer, he hated and abhorred the impiety of Cambyses and the profanation of the temples of Egypt, and made it his business to honour the gods reverently and to be kind to men. He held converse often with the priests of Egypt, and learned their theology, and made himself acquainted with the things which were written in their books, and he emulated the ancient kings of Egypt in showing kindness to the people. At length he was so highly honoured among them that whilst he was alive he gained the title of god, which none of the other Persian kings ever did, and when he was dead the people paid him the honours which were wont to be paid to the ancient kings of Egypt. Egypt, with Libya and Cyrene and Barce, formed the sixth of the twenty divisions into which Darius divided his kingdom, and he received from it 700 talents; and the revenue arising from the sale of the fish in Lake Moeris, i.e., a talent per day when the water was flowing out, and 20 minae when it was flowing in (Herodotus ii. 149); and 120,000 measures of corn for the Persians who occupied the garrison at White Fort, i.e., , or Memphis (Herodotus iii. 91); and there were other privileges enjoyed by the royal family of Persia in Egypt, for the city of Anthylla was expected to

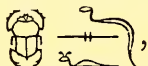
provide shoes, or some other article of wearing apparel, for the wife of the reigning king of Egypt (Herodotus ii. 98).

Darius showed his reverence for the gods by making offerings in their temples, and by giving gifts to the priests. He carried out some repairs connected with the temple of Ptah at Memphis, but his greatest architectural work was the building of the temple in the Oasis at Khârga in honour of the god Âmen. The Oasis Al-Khârga (the Kenemet, , of the ancient Egyptians, or "Oasis of the South," , commonly known as the "Great Oasis," lies at a distance of about five days' journey<sup>1</sup> from the Nile to the west of the modern town of Esneh; the latitude of the village of Khârga is 25° 26' 26", and the longitude east of Greenwich 30° 40' 15". The temple built by Darius in this Oasis is known to-day as the Temple of Hibis, this name being derived from Hebt, , the old Egyptian name of the city; it lies about three miles to the north of Khârga village, and is a most striking object in the desert, both as regards its preservation and position. According to the recent measurements of Mr. J. Ball, the main building is about 44 metres long and 18 metres broad, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. Ball estimates the distance of the Oasis from Esneh at 229 kilometres, which his survey party took 69 hours to travel over.

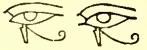



oriented almost exactly due east; in front of it are a court about 9 metres wide and of uncertain length, and three pylons, which are situated at distances of 34 metres, 96 metres, and 117 metres respectively from the front of the main block. The whole building is of sandstone. The third pylon is intact, and is covered with hieroglyphic decorations; the other two are in a state of ruin. The walls of the sanctuary and the two rooms to the east are covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and it may be noted that the finest reliefs are found in the sanctuary, and that the quality of the workmanship is inferior in the figures of the reliefs and in the hieroglyphics of other parts of the building.<sup>1</sup>

On the south-west wall of the second chamber in the temple is a most remarkable hymn of fifty lines; it is addressed to the god Amen-Rā, who is regarded as the One God, of whom all the other gods are considered to be forms or phases. It follows the figures of eight frog-headed gods, who are called Nu, Nut, Hehu, Hehut, Kekiu, Kekiut, Kerh, Kerhet.<sup>2</sup> The god is said to be self-produced, , his bones are of

<sup>1</sup> See J. Ball, *Kharga Oasis: its Topography and Geology*, Cairo, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> 

silver, his skin is of gold, his forehead is of lapis-lazuli, and his limbs are of emerald. The earth was fashioned at the beginning according to his plans. He becometh old, but he reneweth himself, and becometh young again; heaven resteth upon his head. When he entereth the ʿTuat (i.e., underworld) the eight primeval gods sing praises to him. He dwelleth in the Sun's disk, and he hideth in the pupil of his eye, he shineth through his Utechats,  (i.e., the Sun and Moon). His being is hidden and mysterious, and cannot be comprehended. He giveth life both to the living and the dead. He was not produced in a womb, but he sprang from primeval matter. His form is hidden, no god begot him, what god is like unto him? He is the chief of the gods, etc.

The hymn is placed in the mouths of the eight great primeval gods who formed the company of Khemennu,  ⊗, i.e., Hermopolis, the city of the god Thoth, and who were regarded as the principal forms of the Sun-god, Amen-Rā. Many of the attributes ascribed to the god, as well as many of the ideas expressed, are found in hymns preserved in manuscripts of the *Book of the Dead* which date from the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it is a very remarkable thing to find such a hymn inscribed on the wall of a chamber in the temple built by Darius in honour of the Egyptian Sun-god, Amen-Rā. The explanation of the fact is, probably, that Darius found that so

many of the attributes of Āmen-Rā were identical with those which he associated with the god Auramazda that he felt when he caused the hymn to be inscribed that he was honouring both gods at the same time. If this view be incorrect the existence of such a hymn in a temple built at his expense is an interesting proof of the extent to which he carried his toleration of the gods and of the religious views of the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> The monuments of the reign of Darius are very few, and there is no evidence that he carried out building operations in any of the old sanctuaries of Egypt, except in Memphis, and perhaps in Edfû. Darius appears to have made no attempt to visit Nubia or the southern provinces of Egypt, although according to Herodotus (iv. 44) he was interested in the exploration of countries. Wishing to know into

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphic text of the hymn was first published in 1876 by Dr. Birch (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. v. p. 293 (2 plates)-302) from a copy made by Mr. R. Hay of Linplum between the years 1828 and 1832, and he gave an English rendering of it; it was again published, but far more correctly, by Dr. H. Brugsch, in his *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el Khargeh*, Leipzig, 1878, plates xxv.-xxvii., who added an excellent German translation of it on p. 27 ff. The principal works to be consulted for information on the Oasis of Al-Khârga are:—Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, 1821; Edmonstone, *A Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt*, 1822; Hoskins, *Visit to the Great Oasis*, 1837; Schweinfurth, *Notizen zur Kenntniss der Oase El Khargeh* (Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1875, Heft x.); Rohlf's, *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste*, 1875; Brugsch, *Reise*, 1878; Zittel, *Geologie der libyschen Wüste*, 1883; Major Lyons, R.E., *On the Stratigraphy of the Libyan Desert* (*Jnl. Geol. Soc.*, Nov. 1894); and Ball, *Kharga Oasis*, 1900.

what ocean the Indus discharged itself he sent Scylax of Caryanda and others to try and find out. They set out from Caspatyrus, in the country of Pactyice, and having sailed down the river towards the east to the sea, they sailed westward on the sea until they arrived in the thirtieth month at the place whence Necho II. despatched the Phoenicians to sail round Libya.

In the Behistun Inscription<sup>1</sup> Darius calls himself master of twenty-three countries, i.e., Persia, Uvaja, Babel, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the Isles of the Sea, Lydia, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Arîa, Khorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, and Mekran. He says that he fought nineteen battles against the kings who revolted against him, and that he took nine kings captive, i.e., Gaumāta (Gomates), Âtrina (Atrines), Nidintu-Bel, Martiya (Martes), Fravartish (Phraontes), Citratakama (Sitratachmes), Frâda (Phraates), Vahyazdâta (Veîsdates), and Arakha (Aracus). Gaumāta claimed to be Bardiya, son of Cyrus; Âtrina claimed to be king of Susa; Nidintu-Bel claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus; Martiya claimed to be Ummannish (Imanes), king of Susa; Fravartish claimed to be Khshathrita (Xathrites) of the family of Uvakhshtra (Cyaxares); Citratakama said he belonged to the same family,

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, col. 1, line 14 ff. (*Jnl. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. x. 1847).


and claimed to be king of Sagartia; Frâda claimed to be king of Margiana; Vahyazdâta claimed to be Bardiya, son of Cyrus; and Arakha claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.<sup>1</sup> Darius married a daughter of Gobryas, and had by her Artabazanes and two others; and Atossa, by whom he had Xerxes, Hystaspes, Akhaemenes, and Masistes; and Artystone, by whom he had Arsames and Gobryas; and Parmys, by whom he had Ariomardas; and Phrataguna, by whom he had Abrocome and Hyperanthe. Four years after the battle of Marathon the Egyptians under the leadership of Khabbesha revolted against the Persians; as soon as Darius heard of the rebellion he made preparations to return to Egypt to suppress it, but died before they were completed, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign,<sup>2</sup> and was succeeded by Xerxes, his son by Atossa, about B.C. 485. Under the strong rule of Darius Egypt enjoyed both peace and prosperity, but it is quite clear that there were not wanting descendants of the old royal houses of Bubastis and Saïs, who were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to claim the throne. As soon as the Egyptians found that Persia was in difficulties with the Greeks they at once began to stir and to make preparations to regain their independence. The Thebaïd was quite content to be ruled by a foreigner, but the restless and

<sup>1</sup> For the text see col. iv., l. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription in the Wâdî Hammâmât is dated in the 36th year of his reign; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, pl. 283 m.



turbulent people of the Delta were not so satisfied as the dwellers in the south, and they gave effect to their discontent as soon as possible.

3.  KHS<sub>H</sub>AI-

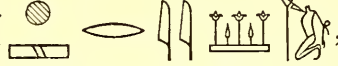
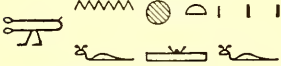
ARSHA PA AĀ, *Ξέρξης ὁ μέγας.*

XERXES the Great succeeded his father Darius I. about B.C. 486 or 485, and his first work of importance was the suppression of the revolt of the Egyptians, which had broken out under the leadership of KHABBESHA, who appears to have maintained his precarious authority for a little more or a little less than a year. Of this man nothing whatsoever is known, but he appears to have taken advantage of the war which had broken out between the Persians and Greeks, and which probably necessitated the temporary withdrawal of nearly all the Persian soldiers in Egypt, and to have proclaimed himself king. It is probable that he was the descendant of some Saïte or Bubastite prince, and he may have held some official post as governor or administrator under Darius; on the other hand, he has been declared by various scholars to have been a foreigner, but no two seem to agree about his supposed nationality. His prenominal or throne name reads

SENEN-PTAH-SETEP-TANEN ,



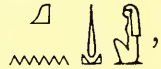
and his name as "son of the Sun" is thus given:—



Xerxes (, Khsherisha), who is said to have behaved in a shameful manner towards the city and to have plundered its possessions, . Of the fate of Khabbesha we are ignorant, but it is probable that he was caught by the Persians, and put to death after a short reign.

During the first year of his reign Xerxes took no steps to put down the revolt of the Egyptians, and it was not until the second year after the death of Darius that he moved against them; he appears to have met with but small resistance, and Herodotus tells us that (vii. 7) he subdued and reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was in under Darius. Xerxes appointed his brother Akhaemenes over the country, and he appears to have revived, but in a much more severe form, the strict rule of his father Darius; Akhaemenes was subsequently slain by Inarôs, the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan (Herodotus iii. 12; vii. 7). Xerxes did nothing for the temples of Egypt, and if we may judge by the statement on the Stele of Alexander II. concerning the sanctuary of Uatchet, he robbed them of their possessions; of the manner in which the country was administered we know nothing, but it is probable that native Egyptian nobles were appointed as governors under the strict supervision of the brother of Xerxes, the satrap of the country. From Herodotus (vii. 89) we learn that the Egyptians contributed 200 ships to the navy of Xerxes, and that the men who

manned them wore plaited helmets, and carried hollow shields, with large rims, and pikes fit for a sea-fight, and large hatchets. The greater part of them had breastplates, and carried large swords. Among the forces of Xerxes the Egyptians signalized themselves, for among other great deeds they captured five Greek ships with their crews (Herodotus viii. 17).



Monuments, or even small objects, inscribed with the name of Xerxes are rarely found in Egypt, and the latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the 13th; this occurs in a text<sup>1</sup> cut on a rock by a Persian official called Athiuhi, , son of Arthames, , and Qentcha, , in the Wâdî Hammâmât, but it does not indicate that Xerxes carried on works in the quarries of that famous valley, it merely shows that the road through it from the Nile to the Red Sea, and *vice versâ*, was greatly used by merchants and others during the Persian occupation of Egypt. Of the small monuments of the reign of Xerxes may be mentioned: the stele<sup>2</sup> dated in

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 283 *i-o*, where a number of short texts dated in the years of Persian kings will be found; and Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 686.


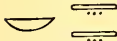
<sup>2</sup> This stele is preserved in the Berlin Museum (No. 7707). On the upper part is a scene in which the deceased, followed by his son, is standing with both hands raised in adoration before the god Osiris, who is seated on a throne and arrayed in the usual manner. Behind the god stand Isis and Nephthys. Beneath are scenes in which are seen the god Anubis standing by the side of



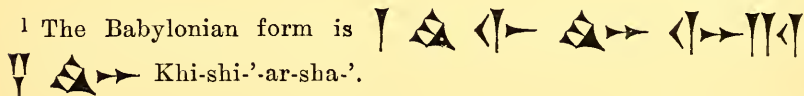


 is a transcription of the Persian Khshyārsha, <sup>1</sup>. According to Herodotus (ix. 108) Xerxes was a tall, handsome man, but he was both tyrannical and cruel. Of his private life but little good is said. He fell in love with the wife of his brother Masistes, and in order to gain her affections he caused her daughter Artaynte to marry his son Darius, and then, his love for her mother having grown cold, sought to seduce her and succeeded. On one occasion he gave Artaynte a beautiful mantle which his wife Amestris had woven for him with her own hands. When Amestris heard of

The Egyptian form of the name is given in a cartouche enclosed within a rectangle thus:—


It will be noticed that the Egyptian inscription comes last in order, and that the cartouche is not preceded by the usual symbols of royalty, , and . A duplicate of this vase is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and fragments of five others were found by Mr. W. K. Loftus (*Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857, p. 411 ff.) in the course of his excavations at Susa. They are now exhibited in the Babylonian Room in the British Museum, Nos. 91,453-91,456, and 91,459.

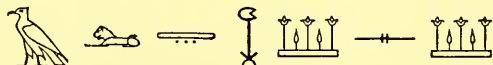


<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian form is  Khi-shi-'ar-sba-'.



and his rule of Egypt, for, except in the few rock inscriptions<sup>1</sup> in the Wâdî Hammâmât and on the alabaster vase<sup>2</sup> inscribed in the Egyptian, Persian, Median, and Babylonian languages, his name is found nowhere in Egypt. From the brief inscriptions in the Wâdî Hammâmât we learn that he adopted the old Egyptian titles of "King of the South and North," and "lord of the two lands," and curiously enough, he styles himself "Pharaoh the Great," but he adopted no prenomen or throne name after the manner of the kings of old in Egypt, for he had only one cartouche, which contained nothing but a bald transcript of his Persian name:—

PERSIAN.   
 A - r - ta - kha - sh - tr - a

EGYPTIAN.   
 A - r - ta-kha-sha - s - sha

Like his father Xerxes he built nothing whatsoever in Egypt, and he neither repaired nor added to any temple or sanctuary throughout the country, and there is no evidence that he made any offerings to the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis, or even that he in any way assisted in the maintenance of the temple in the Oasis of

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 283.

<sup>2</sup> This vase is preserved in the Treasury of Saint Mark, Venice.

<sup>3</sup> The Babylonian form is  Ar-tak-shat-su.



Persian rulers, and when they knew that a revolt against them had broken out in Bactria they seized the opportunity to drive the Persian officials out of Egypt. They then set up as king a man called Inarôs, the son of Psammetichus, who was a Libyan and probably a descendant of some member of the royal house of Saïs of the XXVIth Dynasty. He first expelled the Persian revenue receivers, and then formed an army to enable him to fight against the Persians the battle which he knew must come. He sent to Athens and made a league with the Athenians, and they, seeing what an important thing it would be for them to have Egypt on their side, agreed to send some 300 ships to help Inarôs; these ships subsequently sailed to Egypt and went up the Nile, and besieged the Persians and their supporters who had taken refuge near Memphis. When the news of the revolt of the Egyptians reached Artaxerxes he ordered Akhaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, and the governor of Egypt, to march against the rebels, and he did so with, it is said, considerably more than a quarter of a million of men. A battle took place at Papremis, in which the Persians, who were attacked by both Egyptians and Athenians, lost heavily, Akhaemenes was slain, and the remnant of the Persian army fled to Memphis, where they were followed by the Athenians. The body of Akhaemenes was sent to Artaxerxes with the news of the Persian defeat, and he at once formed for the conquest of Egypt a second army, which



consisted of 300,000 cavalry and infantry, and which was placed under the command of Artabazus and Megabyzus. When they entered Cilicia and Phoenicia they made the Cyprians, Phoenicians, and Cilicians supply 300 triremes properly equipped and manned, and a year was spent in putting the Persians through naval tactics and military exercises.

About B.C. 460 the Persians advanced to Egypt, which they attacked by land and sea at the same time; the Egyptians were vanquished in the first battle, and the Athenians who were besieging Memphis had to withdraw in their ships to the island in the Nile called Prosopitis, and the siege was raised. The Persians by turning aside an arm of the river caused the waterways of the island to become dry, and the Athenians, finding that they could not use their ships, burnt them; the Persians then tried various means for destroying their enemies, but at length they were obliged to allow them to escape, and those soldiers among them who were Libyans made their way back to their own country. The leader of the revolt, Inarôs, seeing that the Persians were masters of Egypt, withdrew to Byblos, by which we are probably to understand a part of the Delta, but he gave himself up on the understanding that his life should be spared. Megabyzus took him to Persia, where he lived for five years, but at the end of that time Amestris, the mother of Akhaemenes, urged Artaxerxes to avenge her son, and Inarôs was impaled



one of the seventeen illegitimate sons of Artaxerxes I. ; he married Parysatis, the daughter of Xerxes I., and was the satrap of Hyrcania. After Sogdianus had murdered his brother he sent for Ochus, who although he promised to go to him did not, but raised an army with which he intended to fight his brother ; at length Ochus declared war, but three of the great generals of Sogdianus, i.e., Artoxares, Arxames, and Arbarius, deserted their master, and having come over to Ochus, they crowned him king, B.C. 423, and he soon after put Sogdianus to death. In the early part of his reign his brother Arsites revolted against him, and was joined in his rebellion by Artyphius, the son of Megabyzus, the old general who had served Artaxerxes so well ; they were, however, captured and burnt to death, and their troops were won over to the side of Darius II. by means of gifts of money. It was more by luck than by skill that he succeeded in crushing the other revolts which took place in the first eight or nine years of his reign, and it was not until the revolt of the Egyptians under Amyrtaeus that his incapacity was generally recognized ; of this revolt mention will be made later. Darius II. reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by Artaxerxes II. The principal building or monument in Egypt on which the name of Darius II. is mentioned is the temple built by Darius I., in the town of Hebt,<sup>1</sup> in the Oasis of Al-Khârga. Here in

<sup>1</sup> On his work at Edfu see Dümichen in Meyer's *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, Berlin, 1887, p. 45.

several places on the walls will be found the two cartouches which stand at the head of this paragraph, and from these we learn that he styled himself "Beloved of Amen-Rā," and "Beloved of Amen-Rā, lord of Hebt, mighty one of strength;" he also adopted the titles of "Beautiful god, lord of the two lands." This is the last of the Persian kings of Egypt who has left any memorial of himself in the country.

The greatest of the Persians who reigned over Egypt was undoubtedly Darius I., who appears to have tried earnestly to make his rule acceptable both to the priesthood and the people. His administrative ability was of a high order, and he never allowed his love of conquest to let him forget that when he had conquered a country his next duty was to pacify the people in it, and to show them that he was interested in the development of their trading interests, and in the prosperity of themselves and their institutions. Above all, he made friends among the priesthood, and tried to understand their religious views and beliefs, and discuss with sympathy and toleration their opinions on all matters. It says much for the sound judgment, and good sense, and tact of Darius that he, a warrior from his youth up, and a man of different race and religion, should conquer Egypt, and then endear himself so much to the people that they regarded him as great, and good, and as one of their six lawgivers. He had, moreover, to counteract the evil impression which the acts of his

predecessor, Cambyses, had made upon the nation, and this was no slight one. But Darius I. was naturally a "maker of empire," whilst his successors were only the inheritors, and, it may be added, the losers, of the empire which he had made, and he realized in a way which his successors never did the enormous wealth and fertility of Egypt, and the inexhaustible powers of labour which those who tilled the land possessed. He was as tolerant of the gods of Egypt as was Cyrus, his great predecessor on the throne of Persia, of the gods of Babylon, and as a result both kings were regarded with devotion by the peoples they had conquered. The reason why Darius I. built the temple in the Oasis will probably never be known, but the hymn, part monotheistic and part pantheistic, which he caused to be inscribed upon its walls seems to suggest that it was not placed there merely as a hymn of praise, but as a proof that he wished the Egyptians to understand that the views which were expressed in it concerning their god Ámen-Rā were identical with those which he held about his own solar deity, Auramazda. Be this as it may, the temple is a lasting proof of the wisdom and judgment of one of the greatest kings of Egypt.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY.

## FROM SAÏS.

ACCORDING to the King List of Manetho the XXVIIIth Dynasty contained one king, who according to Julius Africanus and the Syncellus reigned six years; his name is given as AMYRTÆUS, Ἀμυρταῖος, and he is said to have come from Saïs. We have already seen that in the reign of Artaxerxes a great rebellion broke out against the Persians, which was led by Inarôs, the son of Psammetichus, from Saïs, and we know from classical writers that he was greatly helped in his resistance to their authority, not only by the Greeks, but by his own friend, who was also a native of his own city, called Amyrtaeus. Inarôs was a Libyan, but Amyrtaeus was probably an Egyptian, and he was no doubt descended from some member of the royal house of Saïs; as he is mentioned with Inarôs as a leader of the revolt, we may assume that, like Inarôs, he was the king or governor of some district or city in the Eastern Delta. When Inarôs was defeated by the

Persians, his friend Amyrtaeus fled to an island called Elbo, by which we must understand some place among the papyrus swamps to the north of the Delta. According to Herodotus (ii. 140), the blind king Anysis retired to this island before the advance of Shabaka, king of Nubia, and he is said to have lived there for fifty years, during which time he made solid the island with ashes and earth. When any Egyptian came and brought him provisions, he asked them to bring him ashes also, and thus he formed a settlement in the fens of Egypt, which measured "ten stades in each direction." The exact position of this island is unknown, but it is quite clear that a considerable amount of banking up of earth had to be done in order to render it habitable; its position was also unknown to the Egyptians generally, for Herodotus says that "no one before Amyrtaeus was able to discover this island; but for more than seven hundred years, the kings who preceded Amyrtaeus were unable to find it out."

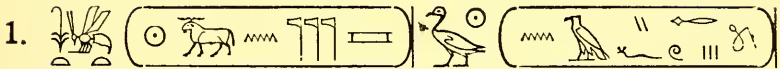
Amyrtaeus lived in the island of Elbo for some time, apparently unmolested by the Persians, who, however, as we learn from Herodotus (iii. 15), appointed his son Pausiris to rule over his district or city in his stead. From his hiding-place in the marshes he watched the progress of events, and at length, when the Persians were occupied in crushing a rebellion in some neighbouring country, Amyrtaeus collected an army and, probably with the help of the



But here again the forms of the prenomen and nomen of this king appear to belong to a period considerably anterior to the end of the Persian rule in Egypt, and indicate that he who bore them was a devotee of Amen rather than of Neith of Saïs and Ptah of Memphis, as we should expect a king of the late Persian period to be. A comparison of the prenomen of this king Amen-rut with the prenomens of the kings of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty will show that it certainly belongs to this class and to their period. Amyrtaeus may very well be a form of the name Amen-rut, but if it be, the Amyrtaeus who rebelled in the reign of Artaxerxes I., and who succeeded in making himself king of Egypt about the time of the reign of Darius II., must be a monarch of whom we have no record in the hieroglyphic texts. The presence of the name of Amen in both cartouches would, we should expect, indicate that he who adopted them was a descendant of the royal house of Thebes. In any case many Egyptians must have borne the name of Amen-rut.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amen-rut was formerly identified with the Nubian king whom Ashur-bani-pal's annalist called by a name which was once read *Ur-da-ma-ni-e*, but the correct reading of which is now known to be *Tan-da-ma-ni-e*; see above, vol. vi. p. 164 ff.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY.  
FROM MENDES.


RĀ-BA-EN-MERI-NETERU, son of the Sun, NAIF-ĀAIU-RUṬ.

NAIF-ĀAIU-RUṬ, the *Νεφερίτης* of Manetho, was the first king of the XXIXth Dynasty, and, according to all the versions of the King List of Manetho, reigned six years; he adopted the Horus name "USER-.....," and as the Horus of gold he styled himself ".....-setep-neteru." The circumstances under which Nephertites ascended the throne are unknown, and it is difficult to understand why Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, who had done so much to make the Egyptians once more independent, was not allowed to succeed his father as the second king of the dynasty which he had founded. The principal monuments which refer to Naif-āaiu-ruṭ have been summarized by Wiedemann,<sup>1</sup> and consist of



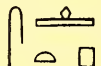

<sup>1</sup> *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 695 f.



an Apis stele mentioning his second year, a mummy swathing of his fourth year, an *ushabti* figure, a man-headed sphinx from Memphis, and some stone blocks and a stele from Karnak inscribed with his name. From Diodorus (xiv. 79, § 4) we learn that Naif-āaiu-rut, who is called Nephreus by this writer, was mixed up in the war between Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and the Persians. Agesilaus collected 6000 men and marched to Ephesus, where he raised 4000 more and 400 horse soldiers; at the head of these he marched through the plain of the Caystrians and laid waste the country as far as Cuma, and having spent a summer in ravaging Phrygia he returned laden with spoil to Ephesus. The Lacedaemonians sent for help to Nephreus, who despatched 100 ships and 500,000 bushels of wheat. These ships sailed for Rhodes, but before they arrived there the Rhodians revolted against the Lacedaemonians, and allowed the Persian admiral Conon to bring his navy into their harbour. In due course the Egyptian ships sailed into Rhodes, their captains knowing nothing of what had happened, and they were straightway seized by Conon, who brought them into port and used the corn for victualling the city. Thus Nephreus, or Nephrites, unwittingly helped the Persians. He is said to have associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom his son Nekht-neb-f, who afterwards became the founder of the XXXth Dynasty.

2.  RĀ-MAĀT-

KHNEM, son of the Sun, HAḲER.


Naif-āaiu-ruḡ, or Nephertites, was, according to the versions of the King List of Manetho, succeeded by a king called Akhōris, Ἀχωρίς, who reigned thirteen years. This king is clearly to be identified with the HaḲer<sup>1</sup> of the Egyptian texts, who, as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, styled himself “Qen,” , i.e., “Mighty one,” and as the Horus of gold, “Setep neteru,” , i.e., “Chosen of the gods,” and “Seḥetep neteru,”  , i.e., “He who pacifieth the gods.”



ĀA-ĀB-MERI-TAUT,  
the Horus name of  
HaḲer.

In February, 1884, M. Maspero discovered at Karnak the remains of a small temple

built by Psammuthis, and in the mutilated inscription addressed to Āmen-Rā which follows the cartouches of this king are found the remains of a cartouche,

, which can be that of no king except

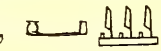
HaḲer.<sup>2</sup> In a recent edition of his *Histoire Ancienne*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Variants, , , and .

Wiedemann makes Akhōris the fourth king of the dynasty, and places him after Muthes and Psammuthis.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, tom. vi. p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. iii. p. 755, note 3.

M. Maspero says that in the inscription Psammuthis speaks of Haḳer as his *predecessor*, and thus the order of these two kings is certain. Haḳer appears to have carried out repairs on many of the temples at Thebes, and his name is found at Karnak, and at Medinet Habu, and in the temple of Mut; an inscription at Medinet Habu mentions that "he restored the monuments of his father Amen," and a relief at the same place represents him in the act of making an offering to this god.<sup>1</sup> A stele described by M. Maspero<sup>2</sup> records the gift of a field, , to the goddess Nekhebet, the "lady of heaven and mistress of the two lands," and so proves that Haḳer specially honoured the goddess of Eileithyiaopolis; and he dedicated certain monuments to Seker and Tenen, or Tanen, gods of Memphis. In one variant of his prenomen he styles himself the "chosen one" of the latter god. His name is found several times in the quarries of Tûra and Ma'sara, which seems to show that his building operations were carried out on a tolerably extensive scale. We learn something of his foreign policy from Diodorus<sup>3</sup> (xv. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 29, 41, 42). During his reign Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon, undertook a great expedition against Evagoras, king of Cyprus, and set out to attack him with an army of 300,000 horse

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 284 *h* and *i*; and see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

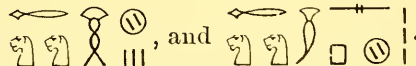
<sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, tom. iv. p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> The events briefly referred to in the following lines happened probably in the reign of Nectanebus I.

and foot soldiers, and some three hundred triremes. As soon as Evagoras heard of this he entered into a league with Haker, king of Egypt, who supplied him with corn by the shipload, and everything that was required for fitting out his triremes. When the war between Evagoras and the Persians was ended, the Persians determined to punish Haker for having rendered such important assistance to Evagoras, and they made ready a large army to invade Egypt. Haker employed a number of Greek and other mercenaries, and placed the chief command of them in the hands of Chabrias, who succeeded Iphicrates in the command of the Athenian forces at Corinth. The Persian general Pharnabazus objected strongly to this appointment, and succeeded in making the Athenians withdraw him from Egypt. In due course the Persians once more marched into Egypt, but when they arrived they found that Haker was dead.

3.  RĀ-USER-PTAH-SETEP-EN, son of the Sun, P-SA-MUT.

PSA-MUT, or PSAMMUTHIS, the *Ψάμμουθις* of the King List of Manetho, is said to have reigned one year;<sup>1</sup> monuments of this king, whether large or small,

<sup>1</sup> His Horus name is given as . The latter form means something like "Mighty one of two-fold strength and three-fold graciousness."

are very rare. On a slab at Berlin,<sup>1</sup> which came from Karnak, we see the king making an offering of a loaf of bread,  $\Delta$ , to the gods Amen and Khensu-Nefer-hētep, a fact which indicates that he carried out some repairs at Karnak, probably on the little temple of Haḳer, to which reference has already been made. With Psammuthis must be identified the king of Egypt called Psammetichus by Diodorus (xiv. 19-35), who curiously enough states that he was descended from the ancient Psammetichus. During the great struggle between Artaxerxes II., Mnemon, and his brother Cyrus for the kingdom of Persia, some countries and states sided with the elder and some with the younger brother. After the defeat of Cyrus Artaxerxes sent Tissaphernes to take over all the governments on the sea-coast, whereupon all the kings and governors who had sided with Cyrus were terrified lest they should be punished for treason against the king. Everyone sought to curry favour with Tissaphernes except Tamos, who was one of the chief generals and allies of Cyrus, and governor of Ionia. Taking with him his money and his children he embarked in a ship and fled to Egypt for protection, for he had performed several good offices for Psammuthis, and he expected to find safety and shelter with him. Psammuthis, however, forgot all his friend's kindness to him, and coveting both his money and his ships, he laid hands upon Tamos and his children, and cut the throats of them all. He seems to have wanted

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 249 a and b.



the money and the ships to help him to fight the Persians, but they profited him nothing, for he died shortly after. He was followed in rapid succession by MUTHES, the *Μοῦθις* of the version of Manetho's King List by Eusebius, who reigned one year, and by NEPHERITES II., who reigned four months. No monuments of either of these kings are known.

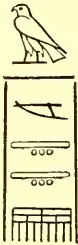
## CHAPTER V.

## THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY.

## FROM SEBENNYTUS.



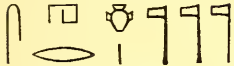

RĀ-SENETCHEM-ĀB-SETEP-EN-ĀMEN, son of the Sun,  
ĀMEN-MERI-NEKHT-HERU-HEBT.



MER-TAUI,  
the Horus name of  
Nectanebus I.

NEKHT-HERU-HEBT, commonly known as NECTANEBUS I., the *Νεκτανέβης* of the King List of Manetho, was the first king of the XXXth Dynasty, and reigned, according to the testimony both of Julius Africanus and the monuments, eighteen years. With the accession of Nectanebus I. to the throne a brief period of independence once again returned to Egypt, and this Sebennykite king proved himself a capable soldier and administrator. He was probably either the son of a native prince of Sebennytus or a prince himself when he came to the throne, and he revived somewhat the pomp and ceremony which the old Pharaohs

had adopted. As lord of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "Seher-âb-neteru"

, i.e., "making to be at rest the heart of the gods," and as the Horus of gold he called himself "Smen hepu," , "Stab-lisher of laws."

From the monumental remains of Nectanebus I. it is clear that he was on good terms with the priests, and that he was anxious to restore wherever possible the old sanctuaries of Egypt, and the worship of the principal gods to whom they were dedicated. The excavations of Messrs. Naville<sup>1</sup> and Petrie<sup>2</sup> have shown that he carried on works at Bubastis and Tell al-Maskhûta in the Delta, and that he dedicated monuments to the gods in these places, and near the modern village of Behbit al-Hajâra, a few miles from Manşûra in the Delta, he built a temple in honour of Horus of Hebt,



, whose name he incorporated in his own. At Abydos M. Mariette found the shrine which Nectanebus dedicated in the small temple, and he also dedicated to Horus the fine granite shrine which stands to this day in the sanctuary of the temple of Edfû. At Karnak he carried out a number of repairs in the temple of Amen; in the temple of Khensu he repaired a gateway and added a number of bas-reliefs

<sup>1</sup> *Bubastis*, plate 44 E.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanis*, pt. i. p. 28.

to the building; he built a small chapel near the temple of Karnak, and repaired in several places a building near the temple of Mut. In the Oasis of Khârga his cartouches appear a few times on the walls of the temple built in honour of Âmen-Râ by Darius I., and he seems to have carried out repairs here on a large scale. At Memphis he built a small temple near the Serapeum, and from the fact that his name is found in the quarries of Tûra on the eastern bank of the river we may assume that he rebuilt certain edifices which were connected with the temple of Ptah. Nectanebus I. also revived the custom of setting up obelisks. Two of these are preserved in the British Museum (Nos. 523, 524), but they are relatively small. According to Pliny (xxxvi. 14, 9) he had one made which was eighty cubits high, but it was never inscribed, and apparently was not taken out of the quarry until the reign of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, who set it up at Alexandria. A canal was dug from the Nile to the quarry, and a raft was floated under the obelisk, and when the weight had been transferred to the raft, it was brought down the Nile under the direction of the architect Satyrus, or Phoenix.

One of the most interesting monuments of the king is the massive stone sarcophagus which he caused to be made for himself. It is covered inside and out with scenes and texts from the "Book of what is in the Underworld," and, considering the period at which it was made, the workmanship is extremely good; this

interesting object is in the British Museum (No. 10). The greater number of the contemporaneous monuments of Nectanebus I. have been summarized by Wiedemann,<sup>1</sup> and among them must be specially mentioned the famous Cippus of Horus which is generally known by the name of the "Metternichstele." It was found during the building of a fountain in a Franciscan monastery in Alexandria, and was given to Prince Metternich by Muḥammad 'Ali in 1828. It is inscribed with a number of magical texts<sup>2</sup> and scenes, which were intended to keep away evil spirits and their baleful influences, and noxious reptiles, from the house or place in which it was set up.

From the Egyptian inscriptions we learn nothing about the history of Egypt during the reign of Nectanebus I., and it is to classical authorities, especially Diodorus, to whom we must look for information concerning the progress of the war between the Greeks and Persians, and the part which Egypt played in it. The evidence of these shows that Nectanebus I. fought against the Persians, and defeated them, but he undertook no campaign outside of Egypt, and so the list of countries which he is supposed to have conquered must not be regarded as an authentic document.<sup>3</sup> When the Persians had conquered Evagoras and his

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 706 f.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimiles of these, with translations and notes, will be found in Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 701.



generals they marched against Egypt, and when they arrived there they found that Haker (Acoris, or Akhoris) was dead, and that Nectanebus I., a king belonging to another dynasty, was on the throne. The Persian forces consisted of 200,000 barbarians under Pharnabazus, and 20,000 Greeks under Iphicrates; their navy consisted of 300 triremes, 200 thirty-oar galleys, and a large number of transport ships. Nectanebus I. blocked the passages in all the seven mouths of the Nile, and at each mouth he built forts on each side of the stream; he fortified Pelusium very strongly, and dug a trench round the city, and he destroyed all the fords, and walled up any opening through which a ship might force a way. Pharnabazus, thinking it hopeless to take Pelusium when he saw the fortifications, put to sea again, and sailed for the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, which he entered, and having landed 3000 men attacked the fort; the Egyptians defended it with great bravery, and a fierce fight took place, but in the end the Persians captured it, and destroyed it, and took many prisoners. Iphicrates then wished to march on Memphis, but Pharnabazus objected, and whilst the generals were quarrelling the Egyptians fortified Memphis strongly; at the same time they attacked the Persians daily, and in each fight slew many of them, and at length, growing bolder with their successes, they managed to drive their enemies out of Egypt. The remainder of the Persian army withdrew to Asia, and thus for the time the expedition against Egypt



repaired portions of the building in the finest sandstone. His name has been found in the quarries at Tûra, and this probably indicates that he carried on building operations at Memphis. From Diodorus (xv. 90 ff.) we learn that towards the end of the reign of Artaxerxes II. a number of governors of provinces and cities revolted against him, and among these was Tche-hra, whom Diodorus calls Tachôs. He declared war against the Persians, and built ships, and collected soldiers, and hired the Spartans and other mercenaries to help him, and there were arrayed against Artaxerxes, Ariobarzanes of Phrygia, Mausolus of Caria, Orontes of Mysia, Autophradates of Lydia, and a multitude of nations including the Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians, Syrians, and Phoenicians. Orontes was made general of the army of the rebels, but he betrayed his confederates in a base manner; Rheomithres, having obtained 500 talents from Tachos and 50 ships, returned to Leuce in Asia, and then betrayed to Artaxerxes many of those who had revolted. Tachos prepared a fleet of 200 ships, and an army of 20,000 Greek mercenaries, and 80,000 Egyptian soldiers. The Lacedaemonians sent Agesilaus to Egypt with 1000 men to help the Egyptians, and Chabrias would have been the admiral of the fleet if Tachos had not kept the supreme command in his own hands. The Egyptian army moved on to Syria, and whilst it was there the deputy-governor of Egypt revolted and sent to Nectanebus, the king's son according to Diodorus, to take upon

himself the rule of Egypt; Nectanebus connived at the conspiracy, and gained over the generals of the army by giving them large gifts, and the soldiers also by bribes and presents.

When Tachos discovered that Egypt was in the hands of rebels, he lost his head, and fled by way of Arabia to Persia, where he sued for pardon and was forgiven by Artaxerxes II., who made him general of the army which he had raised to fight the Egyptians. According to some authorities Tachos died in Persia, but Diodorus says that he returned to Agesilaus from Persia, and that Nectanebus led an army of 100,000 men against him, and dared him to try his title to the kingdom by the sword. Agesilaus encouraged Tachos with comforting words, but he was timid, and at length took refuge in a city where he was besieged by the Egyptians; the enemy built a wall and dug a trench round the city, and when provisions failed Tachos and Agesilaus broke through the guard one night with a number of men and escaped, though the Egyptians cut up many of their rearguard. Soon after this Agesilaus drew up his forces in a convenient spot and ambushed the Egyptians, and routed them with great slaughter; as a result Tachos was restored to his kingdom. Subsequently he loaded Agesilaus with gifts and started him upon his homeward way with great honour; this faithful friend, however, fell sick at Cyrene and died there, and his body having been embalmed in honey was taken back

to Sparta, where it was interred with royal pomp and ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, however, seems to be incorrect in stating that Tachos was reinstated by the help of Agesilaus, and he has confounded Nectanebus II. with Tachos, just as he confounded Nectanebus I. with Haker (Acoris, or Akhoris).


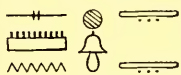
3.  RĀ-KHEPER-KA,

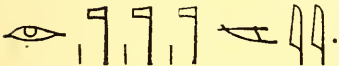
son of the Sun, NEKHT-NEB-F.

NEKHT-NEB-F, or NECTANEBUS II., the *Νεκτανεβός* of the King List of Manetho, is said by Julius Africanus and Eusebius to have reigned eighteen years, and as there is monumental evidence to show that he reigned seventeen years, we may assume that the versions of Manetho are generally correct in this particular. He was a relative of Tche-hrà or Tachos, and there is a tradition that he was a son of Nectanebus I., who had in some way incurred the displeasure of the gods, by which we may assume that the displeasure of the priests is referred to. His accession to the throne was opposed, naturally, by Tachos, but with the help of Agesilaus he succeeded in defeating the Egyptians in the following of Tachos,

<sup>1</sup> See among other authorities, Diodorus xv. 92, 93; Xenophon, *Ages.*, ii. 28-31; Plutarch, *Ages.*, 36-40; Cornelius Nepos, *Chabriás*, 2, 3; *Ages.*, chap. 8; Aelian, V. H. 5, 1; Theopompos, Fragment 120; Polyænus, iii. 5-14.



and the Greeks routed them with such terrible slaughter that those who were fortunate enough to escape gave him no further trouble. When he ascended the throne he adopted as his Horus name ṬEMAĀ, , a word which means something like "destroyer;" as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he called himself "Semenkh tauī," , i.e., "Restorer of the two lands," and as the Horus of gold, "Āri-neteru-meri,"



Nectanebus II. was a great warrior, like his namesake Nectanebus I., but he was a greater builder than he, and numerous remains of his architectural works are found in nearly all the principal sanctuaries of Egypt. Beginning from the south we see that he built a beautiful little vestibule at the south end of the Island of Philae, which was probably part of a temple, but the temple is supposed to have been swept away soon after it was built. The vestibule contained fourteen columns with floral capitals, with heads of Hathor above them, and the whole building was dedicated to Isis, goddess of Philae. This vestibule now forms the oldest remains on the Island, but it is certain that temples existed there long before the IVth century B.C. M. Maspero calls attention <sup>1</sup> to the fact that during an inspection of the Island made by him in 1882, he found the remains of fortifications and of a temple

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii, p. 641.

of the time of Amasis II. (XXVIth Dynasty). The narrative of the exhaustive researches made on a portion of Philae<sup>1</sup> by Colonel H. G. Lyons contains no mention of any building older than the reign of Nectanebus II., but this is no proof that older remains do not exist there, because for various reasons the whole of the island was not explored. To the temple at Edfû Nectanebus made many gifts quite early in his reign, and these he dedicated in perpetuity. At Thebes, i.e., at Karnak and Medînet Habu, he carried out repairs, and made additions to the temples, and remains of his works are seen at Coptos, in the Wâdî Hammâmât, at Abydos and Crocodilopolis, and at Heliopolis and Memphis many restorations were made by him. The old sanctuaries of the Delta were not by any means forgotten by Nectanebus II., as recent excavations have proved, and in the native city of his dynasty (Sebennytus), as the result of a dream which he had at Memphis in the sixteenth year of his reign, he caused an official called Pe-tā-Āst to restore and ornament the temple.<sup>2</sup> To provide stone for all these works he caused a new quarry to be opened at Tûra, a fact which proves that his building operations must have been on a large scale. Several statues of the king are known, and they show that the stone-cutters

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Island and Temples of Philae*, by Captain H. G. Lyons, R.E., with an Introductory Note by W. E. Garstin, C.M.G. Cairo, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 717 f.

and sculptors of that period were as skilled in their art as their predecessors of the earlier dynasties, for their work is beautiful and delicate. It is wonderful to think how much was accomplished by Nectanebus II. in his reign of eighteen years, especially when we consider that the Persian foe was continually attacking the frontiers of Egypt, and it seems as if the great bulk of the population were more interested in their religion and temples and tombs than in the dynasty which ruled the country. The Egyptians, especially in the Delta, were ever ready to revolt, but this was only to be expected at a time when so many petty rulers claimed descent from the great Pharaohs, and in consequence also the right to reign over the whole country.

As soon as Artaxerxes II. was dead, his son Artaxerxes III., Ochus, who had attempted to lead an army into Egypt during his father's lifetime, began to prepare a new expedition against Egypt, and Nectanebus II. found himself called upon to oppose the Persian hosts. The Phoenicians and the kings of Cyprus had also rebelled against the Persians, and the forces which Ochus collected to subdue them consisted of 300,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 300 triremes, and 600 transport ships. The headquarters of the Phoenician revolt was Sidon, from which Tennes, the king, with the help of 4000 mercenaries whom he had obtained from the Egyptians, and of their general called Mentor the Rhodian, had succeeded in expelling

the Persians. When, however, the Sidonians learned that the king of Persia had left Babylon, and was on his way to Phoenicia, Tennes (or Mentor) sent a messenger called Thessalion to him, and promised to betray Sidon to him, and also to help him to conquer Egypt, of the entrances to which he had special knowledge. Artaxerxes II. was rejoiced, and promised to reward Tennes abundantly; after narrowly escaping death by beheading, because he suggested that the Persian king should ratify his words by extending his right hand to him, Thessalion returned to Tennes and reported what had taken place. Meanwhile the Persian army advanced on Phoenicia, and the Thebans sent to help the inhabitants 1000 men under the command of Lacrates, and the Argives sent 3000 men under Nicostratus, who had been appointed to their command by the king; this man was of great physical strength, and imitated Hercules by carrying a club and a lion's skin into every battle. Besides these, the Greek dwellers on the sea-coast sent 6000 men, and thus the Greek contingent numbered 10,000.

But before they could all arrive Ochus had besieged Sidon, and owing to the treachery of Tennes he was able to put to death some six hundred of the nobles of the city, and to take it without striking a blow. When the Sidonians saw what had happened, they first burnt all their shipping, and then, having shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, they set their property on

fire, and so perished all together, to the number of about forty thousand. Artaxerxes slew Tennes when he had no further use for him, and thus the revolt collapsed; about the time of the rebellion the Persians obtained possession of Cyprus with the help of 8000 soldiers and forty triremes sent by Idrieus, king of Caria, and thus Artaxerxes was free to attack Egypt. He set out from Sidon with his mercenaries, and all went well until they arrived at the Great Lake, i.e., Lake Sirbonis, where at the places called Bárathra<sup>1</sup> he lost a considerable portion of his army. The Bárathra, or "Gulfs," formed the Sirbonian Bog, which was very narrow, very deep, and about twenty miles long (200 stadia); it was a most dangerous place for the unwary traveller, because the marshes became covered with a thin layer of sand, and as soon as he put his foot upon it he sank into the swamp, wherein he could neither walk, nor swim, nor move, and at length he was engulfed.<sup>2</sup> Having passed the Bárathra Artaxerxes marched on to Pelusium, where there were strong fortifications and a garrison of 5000 Egyptians under Philophron; the Greeks encamped near the city, but the Persians remained forty furlongs away. The Thebans attempted to carry the fort by assault, but they failed, and a sharp fight which lasted the

<sup>1</sup> Καταντήσας δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην λίμνην, καθ' ἣν ἐστὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάραθρα: Diodorus, xvi. 46, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> A vivid description of its dangers is given by Diodorus, i. 30, § 4 ff.



whole day took place, but it was indecisive. The next day the Greeks were divided into three brigades, each of which was placed under one Greek and one Persian general; the first brigade was under Lacrates and Rhosakes; the second was under Nicostratus and Aristazanes, and the third was under Mentor, who betrayed Sidon, and Bagoas.




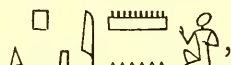
Meanwhile the army of Nectanebus II. consisted of 20,000 Greeks, 20,000 Libyans, 60,000 Egyptians, and he possessed vast numbers of river boats, but he lacked the able commanders Diophantus the Athenian, and Lanius the Spartan, whose skill and courage had enabled him to defeat the Persians in a former war. At the sight of his vast forces he became conceited, and would allow no one to be in command except himself, and it was this conceit and arrogance which eventually brought about his defeat. Nicostratus, led by certain Egyptians, whose wives and children he had seized, made his way through some of the canals of Pelusium, and landed a number of men at no great distance from the city. When the Egyptians knew of it, a general called Kleinios of Cos marched against their enemies with 7000 men, and in the fierce fight which followed Kleinios and 5000 of his men were killed. Nectanebus II. was terror-stricken at the result, and, thinking that all the Persians could easily cross the river, he took his army and marched away to Memphis, which he believed the Persians would attack in full strength. For a few

days after he had gone the troops that were left defended Pelusium bravely, but when they knew that he had gone to Memphis they surrendered to the Persians; their example was promptly followed by the people of Bubastis, who surrendered to Mentor, the betrayer of Sidon, and soon after the other cities of the Delta opened their gates to the Persians. Meanwhile Nectanebus, watching from Memphis the movements of the Persian army, lost all courage, and felt afraid to venture on another battle with his foes; he therefore quietly abdicated his kingdom and, having packed up a great deal of treasure, fled into Ethiopia. Artaxerxes thereupon seized Egypt, and threw down the walls and defences of the great cities thereof, and carried off vast quantities of gold and silver from the temples, together with the records and writings which he found in them; the latter objects were, a short time afterwards, redeemed at great cost by the priests with the consent of Bagoas. Artaxerxes rewarded the Greeks munificently, and sent them back to their own country; he then appointed Pherendates viceroy of Egypt, and returned with his army to Babylon laden with spoil.<sup>1</sup>

Thus came to an end the reign of the last native king of Egypt, and the country was ordained to be the possession of the foreigner from that time even until now. Of the fate of Nectanebus II. nothing whatever is known, but it has been thought<sup>2</sup> that,

<sup>1</sup> See the narrative of Diodorus, xvi. 43-51.

<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

because an *ushabti* figure bearing his cartouches and the text of the VIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*<sup>1</sup> was found at Memphis, he must have been buried there. His sister Mert-hāp, , married a hā prince called Nes-Ba-Tet, , and her daughter Thekhabes, , married Pe-tā-Āmen, , and by him became the mother of a son called Nekht-neb-f, after his great relative.

<sup>1</sup> The text on the figure is given by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 32.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH TO THE THIRTIETH  
DYNASTY.—SUMMARY.

FROM the observations made at the end of the summary of the previous period it will be clear that the accession of the XXVIth Dynasty marks the beginning of an entirely new era of Egyptian history. The New Empire, which began with the expulsion of the Hyksos and the accession of the XVIIIth Dynasty, has come to an end, and with it also has come to an end the whole mass of traditions and characteristics which had descended from the mighty and conquering Egypt of the XVIth century before Christ. The epoch which begins with the XXVIth Dynasty lasted until the final extinction of Egypt as an independent power by the Romans ; it is perhaps well described by the appellation of the "Lower Empire." The Lower Empire, like the New Empire before it, was inaugurated by a national triumph, i.e., the expulsion of foreign conquerors, and, as in the former case, so now there followed a period

of great national prosperity which was characterized by an attempt, unsuccessful indeed, to rival the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the matter of Asiatic conquests. The older Pharaohs, however, never had so redoubtable an enemy as Nebuchadnezzar to deal with, and it was impossible even for an energetic monarch like Nekau (Necho) to emulate the exploits of Thothmes III.; moreover, other great civilized nations had come into being since the time of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and Egypt could never hope again to be the mistress of the world. Indeed it was apparent that she would soon be compelled to devote all her energies to the task of maintaining her independence against the attacks of the younger and more vigorous nations which had grown up around her, and though she did succeed in preserving her independence, and even much of her power until the end of the Lower Empire, it was only at the price of submission to the rule of foreign kings. A career of conquest was, besides, unpalatable to the Egyptian of the XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, for he modelled his life upon the example of his remote ancestors of the Ancient and Middle Empires, when Egypt consisted merely of the kingdoms of the South and North and concerned herself in no way with the acquisition of possessions in remote foreign countries. This archaistic mood is the distinguishing feature of the XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and it found expression in divers ways. The names and titles held by officers of state under the IV<sup>th</sup> and XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasties were revived, and



the appellations which had been in use during the period between the XIIth and XXVIth Dynasties went out of fashion. Deities who had been greatly honoured under the ancient dynasties, but who had sunk into obscurity during the period of the pre-eminence of Amen of Thebes, came once more into popular favour, while the mighty "king of the gods and lord of the thrones of the world" was hardly any longer venerated, except by a remnant amid the ruins of his once proud sanctuaries at Thebes.

It seems probable that an impulse to the development of this curious archaistic feeling was given by some discovery or investigation made in the ancient tomb fields of Gîzeh and Şakḡâra, which no doubt excited great interest and curiosity at the time, and the influence of which is immediately observable upon the tomb architecture of the XXVIth Dynasty. The bas-reliefs so characteristic of the tombs of the IVth Dynasty, which illustrate the daily life of the deceased, and depict his home, his fields, his slaves, his flocks and herds, and everything that is his, were directly imitated by the sculptors of the XXVIth Dynasty, and the tomb of a magnate of this period was made as like that of his ancestor of three thousand years earlier as was possible. An extraordinary example of a tomb of this period is that of Peṭā-Amén-Āpt,



a Theban of high rank, at Assasîf, on the western bank of the Nile opposite

Karnak. This tomb is larger than any of the tombs of the kings at Bibân al-Mulûk, and contains many more chambers; it is nearly nine hundred feet in length. It is provided with every characteristic feature of the tombs of the Early Empire, and PetĀ-Āmen-Āpt seems to have determined to have his tomb decorated after the manner of ancient kings. The walls are covered with texts which form practically a new edition of the Pyramid Texts of the kings of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, and the arrangement of the chambers, side-chapels, etc., was such that the ceremonies which formed the suitable accompaniment to these texts could be performed, even to their minutest detail, in accordance with the prescriptions of the most ancient times.<sup>1</sup> Archaism carried to this extent would have been quite incomprehensible under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, when the works of the ancient masters found small favour and were never imitated.

But though the main feeling of art under the XXVIth Dynasty was archaistic it was by no means always slavishly imitative of the works of the Early Period, and enough of the traditions of the XVIIIth Dynasty remained to infuse into the archaistic imitations a certain spirit of lightness and grace which makes Saïte works of art of far greater interest than are mere formal and uninspired copies, such as the Ptolemaïc imitations of the sculptures of the New Empire. It

<sup>1</sup> For the texts, etc., see Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1884 ff.

must be remembered that, in the seventh century before Christ, there is as yet no question of any Greek influence upon Egyptian art; the archaic Greek art<sup>1</sup> of the time of Psammetichus seems to have been too strange and foreign to the ideas of the Egyptians to have found favour in their eyes. A century later, i.e., in the time of the philhellenic king Amāsis, we find the Greek settlers at Naucratis<sup>2</sup> often adapting and imitating Egyptian models; and it was not until Greek art of the classical period attained its full development in the fifth century before Christ that we can trace any marked Greek influence on the art of Egypt. So far from the Egyptian artists of the Saïte period having borrowed from their Greek contemporaries, it seems, judging from the unanimous voice of tradition, that Greek artists often journeyed to Egypt in order to learn from the Egyptians.

The discussion of the question of Greek influence upon Saïte art naturally leads to the consideration of one of the most important events in the history of Egypt under the XXVIth Dynasty, i.e., the actual settlement of Greek colonists upon Egyptian soil. The earliest Greek settlement in Egypt, that of the Milesians at Milesiôn-Teichos, was probably founded during the period of civil war and weakness in Egypt

<sup>1</sup> A full discussion of early Greek art will be found in Mr. A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, and *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*.

<sup>2</sup> The results of the excavations made on this site are described by Messrs. Petrie and Gardner in *Naucratis*, 2 vols., London, 1888.

about B.C. 700, when no effective opposition could be made by the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> The Milesians seem to have possessed a monopoly of Egyptian trade for some time, probably until the Rhodians, Samians, and Aeginetans began to compete with them for the Egyptian market; it was then that, under the fostering care of the Egyptian kings, who by no means shared the prejudices of their subjects against the Greeks, whom they found to be good soldiers as well as good merchants, the Greek factories were united into one settlement at Naucratis, i.e., about the end of the reign of Psammetichus I.

The founding of Naucratis opened a door into Egypt to the Greeks, through which not only artists but also philosophers and historiographers flocked to examine the wonders of the Nile Valley. Greek soldiers were systematically employed by the kings of the XXVth Dynasty, and were settled in one great camp at a place on the eastern border at no great distance from the famous *gare* on the Suez Canal called Al-Ḳanṭara (i.e., the "Bridge"). The old Egyptian name of this place is unknown, but the Hebrews called it Tahapanes (Jeremiah ii. 16) or Tehaphnehes (Ezekiel xxx. 18), both of which names seem to be derived from the Greek "Daphnae," which is also the base of the Arabic name Tell Defenneh. After the destruction of Daphnae, which probably took place at the hands of

<sup>1</sup> The whole question of the date when this settlement was made is discussed by H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 271.

Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 567, the Greek mercenaries were settled by Amāsis at Memphis (Herodotus ii. 154), where they remained until the conquest of Egypt by the Persians.




The Greeks, having once obtained a foothold in Egypt, could no longer be denied further access to the country, and the partial abandonment of Naucratis at a later date, owing to the anti-foreign feeling of the Egyptians after the death of Amāsis and the ravages of Cambyses, resulted not in the withdrawal of the Greeks but in their spreading themselves over the whole country. Under the rule of the Persians, who were always tolerant towards foreigners, and who indeed regarded the Asiatic Hellenes as more or less their own subjects, Egypt was made free to every Greek visitor; it was during this period that Herodotus visited Egypt. He travelled up the Nile, probably as far as Elephantine, noting for himself the characteristic features of the country; unfortunately, no description of Thebes by him has come down to us, but this fact is no proof that he did not write one, far less that he never went to Thebes at all. The Second Book of his History, entitled "Euterpe," which treats of Egypt, is of the highest value to Egyptologists as containing a thoroughly reliable account of the country<sup>1</sup> as it presented itself to the mind of an intelligent Greek observer in the fifth century before Christ.

<sup>1</sup> How generally trustworthy he is will be readily seen by a perusal of Wiedemann's *Herodots Zweites Buch*, Leipzig, 1890.



When he tries, however, to sketch its history his work ceases to be authoritative, for the stories which he tells us about the kings are pure romances, and the order in which he gives the few royal names which he mentions is entirely erroneous.

To the Egyptians the rule of Persia, which after the first excesses and barbarities of Cambyses, was distinguished by mildness and justice, was distinctly unpalatable, and their discontent made itself manifest in several revolts, in which they were sometimes helped by the Athenians as rebellious subjects of their enemy, Persia. The restoration of the native kingdom in the fourth century before Christ led to a still further influx of Greeks; these were chiefly mercenaries, and among them the most distinguished was Agesilaus, the king of Sparta, who came to help the Pharaoh Tachos against the Persians, who were always trying to reassert their authority in the country, usually by means of other Greek mercenaries who were in their service. Thus by the middle of the fourth century before Christ the Greek had become a familiar figure upon Egyptian soil, and no resistance was offered to Alexander the Great by the population of Egypt, who, in fact, regarded him as their deliverer from the Persians, who had, a short time previously, once more made themselves masters of the land. On the death of Alexander the Great the country made no attempt to free itself from the rule of Ptolemy Soter, and from that time forward, Egypt, though retaining all its ancient characteristics, was a Hellenistic state.

The religion of this period, like its art, is marked by archaistic characteristics. The goddess Neith, who was worshipped at a period as remote as the Ist Dynasty, but who is rarely mentioned under the New Empire, was once again regarded as one of the chief deities of Egypt because she was the tutelary goddess of the city of Sau, Sat, or Sait, — , — , or — , i.e., Saïs, the modern Şâ al-Hagar, "Sa the Stony," which is situated in the Western Delta about half-way between Cairo and Alexandria. This city was the ancestral home of the Psametek family, and when they came to the throne Saïs became the capital of Egypt, just as Bubastis had become the capital under the rule of the Bubastite kings of the XXIIInd Dynasty; it was of great extent, and was regarded by Herodotus, who no doubt lived in it for some time, as possessing considerable magnificence. The ruins of the city derive their Arabic name from the fact that they are only heaps of stones which lie in inextricable confusion, from which no coherent plan can be evolved, and which offer little attraction to the explorer. It has already been noticed that the religious texts of the Early Empire were largely recopied and used at this period, but it does not seem that this archaistic revival greatly affected the collection of religious texts which are commonly described as the *Book of the Dead*. With the rise of the kings of the XXVIth Dynasty to power the *Book of the Dead* enters

upon a new lease of life. The priests saw that the work needed re-editing and re-arranging, and as the result of their labours we find that in papyri containing the Saïte Recension the chapters always follow a certain order, and that although the papyri vary in length, the selection of chapters being not so full in some of them as in others, that order is usually followed. The Saïte Recension includes four chapters which have no counterparts in the papyri of the older period, and which are remarkable for containing a large number of foreign names and words, thought to be of Nubian origin; these, no doubt, crept into the work through the influence of the priests of Amen at Napata.

About the period of the XXVIth Dynasty a great change becomes manifest in the forms and decorations of sarcophagi, coffins, *ushabtiu* figures, and other articles of funeral furniture, but it must be noted that this change is not of an archaistic character. The sarcophagi become very much larger, and are decorated with scenes and texts from comparatively modern religious works; the decoration of the coffins is more elaborate, and certain of the colours, which were rarely used before, now become common; the *ushabtiu* figures are more delicately and carefully made than in former times, and more importance seems to have been attached to their use. The *ushabti* figure of the type most characteristic of this period is made of Egyptian porcelain and was cast in a mould; the glaze is of a light bluish-green colour which, in the Persian period,

becomes a rough dark green. The inscriptions, instead of being painted on the figure before it was glazed as in former days, are now incuse, and their contents are stereotyped, being always the late version of the VIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*. *Ushabtiu* of this type can at once be identified by the existence of the pedestal beneath the feet, and the plinth which supports the back; under the XXXth Dynasty the inscriptions are no longer incuse but are glazed in dark blue upon the light blue ground of the figure. Another article of funeral furniture characteristic of this period is the painted wooden figure of the triune god, Ptah-Seker-Asar,<sup>1</sup> which was placed upon a hollow pedestal, containing either a roll of papyrus inscribed with extracts from the *Book of the Dead*, or a portion of the body mummified.

The government of the country at this time was reconstituted by Psammetichus I. on the lines handed down from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the only alteration being the revival of a great many antique honorific names and titles of the period of the Early Empire. With the end of the XXXth Dynasty the complete independence of Egypt may be said to have come to an end, for, though she occupied politically an independent position under the Ptolemies, and once more in later days under the Fâtimate Khalîfas, it was her fate never to be ruled again by men of her own blood.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Mummy*, p. 215.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE THIRTY-FIRST DYNASTY. FROM PERSIA.

ACCORDING to the King List of Manetho the XXXIst Dynasty of Egypt contained three kings, who were called Ochus, "Ωχος, Arses, "Αρσῆς, and Darius, Δαρείος, who reigned six, three, and four years respectively.

ARTAXERXES III., commonly known as Ochus, began his reign with a massacre, and, having ascended the throne by treason and murder, he slew most of the male members of his family to prevent the possibility of any successful claim to the throne being made by them, and also several of the men whom he had employed as tools to raise himself. He was a man of no military ability, and the successes of the Persians were due entirely to the bravery and skill of the able Greek generals whom he was clever enough to employ. Having through the cowardice of Nectanebus II. become master of Egypt, he emulated the deeds of Cambyses, and, according to Diodorus (xvi. 51), destroyed the walls of the cities, plundered the temples,



and slew both the Apis Bull of Memphis and the sacred Ram of Mendes; the former animal he and his friends ate, and he established an ass at Memphis in his place.<sup>1</sup> He was "hated by all for his ill-nature "and cruelty towards his subjects. Bagoas therefore, "a colonel in the army, and an eunuch, but a wicked "and beastly fellow, poisoned the king by the help of "his physician, and placed the king's youngest son "Arses upon the throne. He likewise murdered the "new king's brothers (who were yet very young), that "being thus bereft of his relations, he might be more "observant to himself."<sup>2</sup> A legend preserved by Aelian<sup>3</sup> says that Bagoas was an Egyptian who, in common with many of his countrymen, was enraged at the shameful act of sacrilege which Ochus, like Cambyses, had committed, and that when he had killed his king he cast his dead body to the cats to eat.<sup>4</sup>

ARSES was placed upon the throne of Persia by Bagoas, who, as soon as he saw that the new king appeared to be meditating the taking of vengeance upon his father's murderer, took steps to remove his master in the third year of his reign, and succeeded in killing him and all his children, with the exception of Bisthanes, who by some means seems to have escaped.

Aelian, *Variarum Historiarum*, iv. 8 (ed. Didot, p. 340).

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, Booth's Translation, vol. ii. p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, vi. 8 (ed. Didot, p. 352).

*ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ κατακοπέντα τοῖς αἰλούροις παραβληθῆναι.*

Bagoas now found himself in a difficulty, for having killed all the princes who had a right to succeed to the throne except one, he was compelled to choose a king from among his friends. His choice fell upon Darius, surnamed Codomannus, who was the son of Arsames, the son of Ostances, a brother of Artaxerxes II., and of Sisygambis, the daughter of Artaxerxes. DARIUS CODOMANNUS succeeded to the throne as DARIUS III., and he is said (Diodorus xvii. 5, § 6) to have brought about the death of Bagoas by poison. Bagoas, it seems, resolved to poison Darius III., but the king discovering this fact sent for him, and, when he had come into his presence, spoke to him in a most friendly manner, and then handing a cup of poison to him forced him to drink it. The reigns of the three kings of the XXXIst Dynasty amounted in all to only thirteen years, and of this period no traces remain in Egypt, either in the form of monuments or inscriptions.

Darius III. no doubt intended to march into Egypt, and to draw a revenue therefrom as his predecessors had done, but a new power had risen among the Greeks in the person of Alexander the Great, who determined to carry on the work which his father Philip II. of Macedon was doing when he was stabbed by Pausanias during the celebration at Aegae of the marriage festival of his daughter and Alexander of Epirus, about B.C. 336. Philip II. had prepared to make a great expedition into Asia, and had already sent forces there under

Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, to make clear the way for his own coming, for he soon perceived that it was impossible for him to maintain his authority over the outlying Greek states as long as the Persians possessed such power as they displayed. After his father's death Alexander continued the preparations which his father had begun, and in a marvellous manner succeeded in putting down, one after another, the various states and individuals who sought to contest his right to the throne. Attalus thought he had a right to the throne because his daughter Cleopatra had married Philip II., but Alexander had him seized and put to death. Thebes, which had once submitted to him without a struggle, on a report of his death revolted, but as soon as he heard of it he marched against the city so swiftly that he appeared before its gates as if by magic. He took the city by assault, and the Thebans who were not killed in the massacre which followed were sold into slavery, and their houses were razed to the ground; the rest of the cities of Greece took warning by the fate of Thebes, and accepted the rule of Alexander without a murmur.

Alexander's forces consisted, according to Diodorus (xvii. 17), of 25,000 Macedonians and others under Parmenio, 5000 Odrysae, or Thracians, and Triballians, and Illyrians, and 1000 Agrianes, 1800 Macedonian cavalry under Philotas, and 1800 Thracian cavalry under Callas, 600 cavalry under Erigyus, and a vanguard of 900 cavalry under Cassander. The Persian army was led by

Memnon, who recommended the policy of retiring before the advance of Alexander, and of laying waste the country as they went so that he might not find supplies for his troops when he arrived, but the Persians would not agree to this, and therefore a pitched battle was decided upon. Memnon drew up the Persian forces, about 40,000 in number in Phrygia, on one side of the Granicus, intending to prevent Alexander from passing over by falling upon the Greeks whilst they were crossing, but Alexander made the passage at daybreak without opposition, and set his men in battle array. In the fight which ensued Alexander performed mighty deeds of valour and slew Spithrobates, the son-in-law of Darius, after a prolonged struggle, and the great Persian generals Artyaxes, and Pharnaces, and Mithrobarzanes were killed; the Persians' loss was 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry killed, and 20,000 infantry were taken prisoners. Memnon and the rest of the Persian army fled to Miletus, but the city fell soon after Alexander attacked it; Memnon then withdrew to Halicarnassus, where he and his host were promptly besieged by Alexander. The Persians and their auxiliaries defended the city with great bravery for some time, but it was taken eventually by Alexander, after Memnon and a large following had escaped to Cos, and was razed to the ground; Alexander then devoted himself to reducing all the cities on the sea-coast as far as Cilicia, and all the country as far as Greater Phrygia fell into his hands. On the other hand,

Memnon gave all his energies to collecting a large fleet of three hundred ships, and lost no opportunity of attacking the Greeks. He sailed to Lesbos, and captured Antissa, Methymna, Pyrrha, and Erissa; he also took Mitylenē, and, it is said, intended to invade Euboea. But in the midst of these very successful operations he fell sick, and soon after died; by the death of Memnon Darius lost his greatest general, and Alexander the Great his greatest foe. Darius had extreme difficulty in finding a qualified leader of his army against Alexander, and at length having summoned all his forces to Babylon he gave appointments to such of his relatives and friends as appeared most fitted for the work, and then with 400,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry he marched towards Cilicia, taking with him his mother, and wife, and a son and two daughters.

Meanwhile Alexander had been greatly relieved by the news of the death of Memnon, and had continued his march into Asia. At length he heard that Darius had left Babylon and was only a few days' march distant, whereupon he sent forward Parmenio with the army to occupy the passes and the Gates, as they were called.<sup>1</sup> Darius on hearing this imagined that Alexander was afraid to fight in the plains, and hurried on with all speed, and that he might move as fast as possible he left all his heavy baggage at Damascus in Syria; the inhabitants of the country through which he passed

<sup>1</sup> τὰς παρόδους καὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Πύλας (Diodorus, xviii. 32, § 2); the "Gates" were the famous "Gates of Syria."



were terrified at the Persians, and supplied the army with all they needed. Meanwhile Alexander had gained possession of Issus, a city of Cilicia, which was situated on the Gulf of Issus, or Gulf of Myriandros, i.e., the modern Gulf of Scanderun, and learning from his scouts that Darius was only a few miles off, he drew up his army in battle array. He placed his cavalry in front of the infantry, and took up his position in the right wing; the Thessalian cavalry were posted in the left wing. The Persians opened the battle with a flight of arrows which, however, did little harm, and soon afterwards the battle became general. Diodorus says that Alexander singled out Darius, and attacked him with great fury, and that as the Persians defended their master's chariot with great bravery, the heaps of dead rose up about it. Alexander was wounded in the thigh, and several Persian generals, including Antixyes, and Rheomithres, and Tasiakes<sup>1</sup> the governor of Egypt, were killed.

Arrian says (ii. 11) that as soon as Darius saw that his left wing was broken, and that a portion of his army was in full flight, he drove out of the battle, and escaped with a few of his nobles in a chariot. As long as the roads were good escape was easy, but when they reached the mountains Darius had to continue his flight on horseback and to leave the chariot behind with his bow, and shield, and cloak in

<sup>1</sup> Arrian gives, "Arsames, Rheomithres, and Atizyes, who had been captains of horse in the fight at the river Granicus."

it. Alexander followed hard after him, but was only able to bring back the chariot, with the bow, and shield, and cloak in it, and thanks to the darkness of the night Darius escaped. The slaughter of the Persians was great, and large numbers of them rode each other down or were crushed to death in their terrified flight. Authorities differ as to the numbers of the slain: Diodorus says that 120,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry fell; Arrian puts the Persian loss at 90,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; Justin, 61,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 prisoners; Orosius, 80,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, and 40,000 prisoners; and Plutarch gives 110,000 as the total loss. It is interesting to note that among the nobles who were slain was the governor of Egypt, whom Arrian calls "Sabakes,"<sup>1</sup> and from this we may perhaps assume that a contingent of Egyptians was present at the battle of Issus.

Among other spoils which fell into the hands of Alexander was the tent of Darius and all its rich furniture, and the family of the Persian king; Alexander ordered Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, to be dressed in her royal robes, and decreed that the honours which accorded with her rank and dignity should be paid to her. He further promised to take great care of the wife of Darius, and to give the princesses to good husbands, and he showed great kindness to the

<sup>1</sup> This name, of course, represents the Egyptian name Sha-ba-ka, or "Sabaco."

little son of Darius, aged six, whom he called to him and kissed. Meanwhile Darius, who had escaped by night, marched by long journeys as fast as he could to the Euphrates, in order to have that river between himself and Alexander, and in due course he arrived at Babylon, where he gathered together the remains of the vast army which had fought with him at Issus. From Babylon Darius wrote letters of good advice and counsel to Alexander, and offered to ransom at a great price his mother, wife, and family, and promised to surrender a large part of Asia to him. From the answers which Darius received he appears to have believed that Alexander was indisposed to make terms with him, and he began to prepare for war once more. He re-armed the old soldiers who had been at Issus, and recruited large numbers of new ones, to whom he taught the tactics of war; he also sent messengers to bring those whom he had left behind in his flight, and, according to Diodorus (xvii. 39), he was able to put in the field in a very short time 800,000 infantry, 200,000 cavalry, and a vast multitude of chariots.

As soon as Alexander had made arrangements for the disposal of the Persian queens and princesses, he set out to march upon Egypt; every city to which he came in Phoenicia received him gladly, and he acknowledged their submission graciously. The only city which stood out and refused to admit him within her gates was Tyre, and the Tyrians, apparently having no knowledge of the real state of the case, and trusting

in the strength of their island, and in the stores of provisions which they had accumulated, and in the help which they expected to obtain from the Carthaginians, to whom they were related, refused to let the conqueror of Darius enter their city to worship the god Herakles of Tyre. Alexander straightway determined to reduce the city, and having pulled down Old Tyre, he caused the stones of which it was built to be carried out by thousands of men and laid in the sea, so that they might form a passage, 200 feet broad, to the rock of Tyre, which was entirely separated from the mainland by the sea. At first the inhabitants smiled, but when they saw the mole growing towards them, they tried to escape with their families to Carthage; being foiled in their attempt by the workers on the mole they returned to the city, and awaited what might happen. As the mole approached the rock the Tyrians vexed the workmen by shooting arrows and darts at them, but the work went on and was nearly completed when a storm washed away a large portion of it, and Alexander was in despair. The breach was, however, repaired, and at length, after much stubborn fighting on both sides, Alexander himself succeeded in getting on to the walls of the city, from which he called to his Macedonians to follow him, and a breach being made in the walls he and his men trooped in and so captured the city. The Tyrians resisted to the last, and 7000 of them were cut to pieces by the Greeks in forcing their way through the

city; the women and children were sold as slaves, and 2000 young men are said to have been hanged.

The siege of Tyre lasted seven months, and the siege of Gaza, which followed soon after, two months; Alexander undermined the walls of the latter city, and when they fell down the Macedonians entered and slaughtered 10,000 Persians and Arabs. The way was now clear to Egypt, and Alexander determined to march on that country without delay, and to defer further fighting with Darius until a more convenient season. We may, however, note that Darius was finally beaten B.C. 331, in a great battle which was fought on the plains of Gaugamela,<sup>1</sup> on the eastern side of the Tigris, about forty miles from the city of Arbela, and that ninety thousand of his infantry and cavalry were estimated to have been killed (Diodorus xvii. 61, § 3).

<sup>1</sup> Gaugamela is probably the جومل *Gawmal* of Yâkût (ed. Wüstenfeld). The town of Arbela is seventy miles east of Mōsul (Nineveh), and is a very old settlement, for its name occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions.



## CHAPTER VIII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT<sup>1</sup> AND THE PTOLEMAÏC PERIOD.

ALEXANDER III. of Macedon, and I. of Egypt, who is universally known as ALEXANDER THE GREAT, was the son of Philip II. of Macedon, and of Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus I., king of Epirus, through whom she traced her descent back to Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. He was born B.C. 356; his father made him viceroy of Macedonia in 340, and he ascended the throne immediately after the murder of his father in 336; he defeated Darius III., king of Persia, at the Battle of the Granicus in 334, and at the Battle of Issus in 333, and captured Tyre and Gaza in 332, after an obstinate siege of each city. He marched into Egypt in the same year, and founded Alexandria B.C. 331; in the same year he utterly defeated Darius III. at the Battle of Arbela. He conquered Persia and Media and buried Darius III., who had been murdered by Bessus, in 330; conquered Bactria in 329; and Sogdiana in 328; he invaded India in 327 and vanquished Porus the

<sup>1</sup> See Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, London, 1897.

king; he returned to Persepolis and Susa in 326; and to Ecbatana in 325; and in 324 to Babylon, where he died after a few days' illness at the age of 32 years, having reigned 12 years and eight months.

The battle of the Granicus, the battle of Issus, and the final defeat of Darius at the battle of Gaugamela have already been referred to, and the only events in the life of Alexander the Great which concern us here are his march to Egypt, his reception by the Egyptians, his journey through the country, his visit to the Oasis of Sîwa, where he worshipped in the temple of Amen, the arrangements which he made for the administration of the country of Egypt, and his founding of the city of Alexandria. For his conquests subsequent to the battle of Gaugamela and for his physical characteristics and personal qualities and character, the reader will refer to the standard ancient authorities;<sup>1</sup> but before Alexander's visit to Egypt is considered reference must be made to a very old legend which seems to have some connexion with the warm and friendly reception which he met with at the hands of the Egyptians. We have already seen that when the Persians were besieging Pelusium Nectanebus II. took fright and fled to

<sup>1</sup> Arrian's *Anabasis* and *Indica* (ed. Dübner); Quintus Curtius, *Life of Alexander*; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*; Diodorus Siculus, Bk. xvii.; and the *Fabulous History of Alexander* by Pseudo-Callisthenes (ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1877). With Müller's edition of the last-named author the important ancient Greek text edited by Meusel should be consulted (*Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1871. Reprinted from *Jahrbücher für Clas. Phil.*, t. v. suppl. iv.).

Memphis, and that when the Persians began to march on Memphis he fled to Ethiopia. Now from the various versions of the work of the Pseudo-Callisthenes we obtain an account of the circumstances under which Nectanebus II. is supposed to have fled, and of the principal events of his life subsequently.

According to this writer Nectanebus was a great magician, and by means of his magic he had succeeded in gaining the victory over his foes; he worked his magic with the help of a bowl of water, an ebony rod, and a quantity of wax, which he fashioned into divers shapes of men, and animals, and objects, according to his needs, and to these he was enabled to give motion by uttering certain magical names and formulae with which he was well acquainted. One day a scout came and reported that vast numbers of foes had allied themselves for a common object, and that that object was the conquest of his country; among these foes were Indians, Euonymites, Oxydrakians, Iberians, Kaukones, Aellopodes, Bosphorians, Bastarnians, Azanians, and Chalybians. Having dismissed the scout with a few encouraging words, he went into his palace, and having modelled figures in wax of his various enemies he placed them in ships of wax and set them on the water in the bowl. He then took his rod in his hand, and having uttered the words of power which he knew, he looked into the bowl and saw that the gods of Egypt were steering and piloting the little wax ships which represented the fleet of the enemy, and he understood

at once that they had forsaken him, and that the end of his sovereignty was at hand. He then went and shaved his head and beard, and arrayed himself in poor apparel, and taking with him all the money he could carry, he fled to Pelusium and thence to Pella in Macedonia, where he established himself as a physician, and a soothsayer, and a reader of the stars. Nectanebus soon gained such fame in Pella that Olympias, the wife of Philip II. of Macedon, came by night to consult him about her future, and to know if Philip was going to put her away when he returned from the war, and take another wife. Nectanebus cast the nativities of herself and her husband, and declared that Philip did intend to put her away, but that he was able to make him to do otherwise; he went on to say that it was decreed in her fate that a god who lived on the earth should pass a night with her, and that she should bear a son by him who would avenge her cause on Philip. In answer to her questions he told her further that the god was Amen of Libya, and that he had a golden beard and hair, that he had horns of gold on his forehead, and that he was of "middle age," and he promised her that she should see the god in a dream. In due course by means of his magic Nectanebus sent a dream to Olympias, in which she thought that the god was embracing her, and that he promised to give her a son who would avenge her; when the queen awoke she was pleased with the dream, and she went and begged the magician Nectanebus to bring it to pass.

Soon after this Nectanebus dressed himself in the skin of a white ram with the horns attached, and in white raiment, and wrapping about him a cloak which had the appearance of being a serpent, with an ebony staff in his hand, he went to the chamber of Olympias, who thought that the god Amen of Libya had come to her. Nectanebus passed the night in the queen's chamber, and Olympias became with child by him. When Philip returned and found his wife with child he rebuked her severely, but Nectanebus caused him to see some wonders by means of his magic, and Philip became reconciled to the idea that Amen of Libya was the god of the child who was about to be born. In due course the days of the queen were fulfilled, and Nectanebus stood by her couch and consulted the heavens so that she might give birth to her child in a lucky hour; at length the propitious moment arrived, and with a very loud cry Olympias brought forth a fine male child, whilst the earth quaked, and lightnings flashed, and thunders roared. Philip was convinced by these signs that the child was of divine origin, and ordered him to be reared carefully and to be called Alexander; the hair of the child was like a lion's mane, his right eye was black and his left was blue, his teeth were pointed like the fangs of a serpent, and he was as bold as a lion. When Alexander was twelve years old he went one evening for a walk with Nectanebus, and whilst his father was pointing out to him the various stars, he pushed him into a pit, whereby Nectanebus



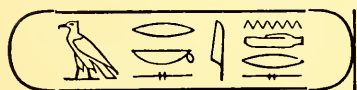
received a severe wound in the chest, and having declared to Alexander their relationship, he died, and was subsequently buried by the orders of Olympias with great honour.

A few years after Alexander had succeeded his father Philip he fought several battles with Darius and defeated him, and thus Egypt, which had been for nearly 150 years a satrapy of the Persian Empire, fell into the hands of the Greeks. When Nectanebus fled before the Persians the Egyptians did not know where he had gone, and they went into their temple and asked the gods what had become of their king; in answer the gods spake through their prophet, saying "the king of Egypt who hath fled shall return to Egypt, not as an old man, but in the strength of youth, and he shall bring into subjection our enemies the Persians" (Pseudo-Call. i. 3). When Alexander appeared at the head of a large army about twenty-five years later, and was about to enter Egypt, the people appealed for help to their god, who told them to "remember the old prophecy" (Pseudo-Call. ii. 26); this they did, and when they had considered the matter a little they came to the conclusion that Alexander was the son of Nectanebus, and therefore a true Egyptian king by descent, and they welcomed him to their country gladly. The legend or romance described above is very old, and many parts of it show that the original writer was well acquainted with the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, and it is difficult not to think

that it was the work of a priest, or priests, whose object was to prove to the Egyptians that Alexander was not a foreigner, but one of their own countrymen.

When Alexander arrived at Pelusium the Egyptians turned out to welcome him in great numbers,<sup>1</sup> for they were weary of the Persian revenue officers, and of the cruelty of the satraps, and they hated the Persians because of the insults which Cambyses, and Xerxes, and Ochus had heaped upon their gods, and because they had slain the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes, which animals typified Ptaḥ and Osiris. Alexander did not, however, land at Pelusium, but sending an army there marched on to Memphis, where the satrap Mazakes hastened to tender his submission, and to lay at his feet rich gifts having a total value of 800 talents. He stayed some time at Memphis, where he probably assumed the rank and titles which were adopted by Egyptian kings in days of old; thus we find that he styled himself—


1. 

 King of the South and North,

lord of the two lands, SETEP-EN-ĀMEN-MERI-RĀ, son of the Sun, lord of risings, ARKSĀNTRES.

It is pretty certain, even as the Pseudo-Callisthenes says (i. 34), that some sort of coronation ceremonies were

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, iii. 1, 3; Q. Curtius, iv. 7, 1, 2; Diodorus, xvii. 49.

performed, for we read that as soon as he came to Memphis, the Egyptians set him upon the throne of Hephaistos, i.e. Ptah, as king of Egypt. In the temple there he saw a black stone statue with an inscription on the base, and when he learned that it was the statue of Nectanebus II., his father according to the romance, he sprang up upon it and embraced it. In any case, Arrian tells us (iii. 1) that he offered up sacrifices to Apis and the other gods, and that he provided entertainments for the people with athletic sports and music, and that the finest musicians and actors who had come from Greece helped to amuse the people. Tactful toleration of the Egyptian gods was worth more than an army to Alexander, and when he gave them theatrical and musical displays he showed that he had quickly recognized the love of fun, and music, and mimicry which has ever been one of the most interesting characteristics of the Egyptians, both ancient and modern. According to some authorities Alexander went from Memphis up the river, and according to others down the Canopic arm of the Nile to Canopus in order that he might be able to look at the Island of Pharos, which is mentioned in Homer (*Odyssey* iv. 355), and the Lake Mareotis. From Canopus he determined to go to visit the temple of Amen-Rā in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, that is, the Oasis now called SiWA, but known to the Egyptians by the name SEKHET-AMT, , i.e., "Field of Trees"; this visit was craftily suggested to Alexander

by the priests, whom it is clear he had treated with tact and sympathy. They perceived that Alexander was beginning to think that he was of divine origin, and they flattered him to the top of his bent by assuring him that he was in very truth the son of their great god Ámen-Rā.

It was no unusual thing in Egypt for kings to imagine that this god was their true father, and in the XVIIIth Dynasty it was the fashion for them to cause reliefs to be sculptured in which they represented that Ámen-Rā had taken upon himself flesh in the form of their earthly fathers, and had been the actual husband of their mothers when they conceived their children. The hieroglyphic texts which accompany such reliefs leave no doubt that such was the case, and they prove that sovereigns like Queen Hātshepset and Ámen-ḥetep III. believed either naturally, or through persuasion on the part of the priests, that they were in very truth the issue of Ámen-Rā who had become incarnate in their fathers.<sup>1</sup> The belief that kings were the actual sons of divine

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Maspero, when once Alexander had entered Egypt he could not escape the necessity of having a divine father and of being proclaimed son of Ámen. Egypt had had so many masters, that she was obliged to adapt her theory of solar royalty to the reality of her history. He entered Egypt as a simple mortal, the son of Philip, but when he left it he had become the son of Ámen, whether he wished it or not. See *Comment Alexandre devint Dieu en Égypte* (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Annuaire 1897), p. 30.

fathers is so old in Egypt that we find traces of it in the dynasties of the Early Empire. It is difficult to understand why the priests did not take Alexander to the oldest and greatest shrine of Amen-Rā at Thebes, but it is probable that the temples of that city were, in Alexander's time, since the Ptolemaic restorations had not yet been begun, nearly all in ruins. There was besides, no doubt, some political reason for Alexander's journey to the Oasis of Siwa, but whether it was undertaken partly from religious motives, or as the result of a settled policy, or of mere vanity, as Grote thought,<sup>1</sup> it was a remarkable achievement.

On his way through the desert he was met by envoys from the Cyrenaeans, who brought him gifts and with whom he made a treaty. On the fourth day of their march<sup>2</sup> the water failed, and the expedition was in great distress, but a storm arose in a most remarkable manner, and rain fell in such torrents that the water-skins could be refilled with another four days' supply. The way was indicated to the king by crows which flew along on the right side of the army, and having passed the Bitter Lakes and the cities of Ammon, another day's journey brought him to the grove of the god. The first temple which Alexander found was

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, vol. 10, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> The shortest way to the Oasis is to go to 'Aḡabat al-Kebīr (Catabathmus Major), which is about five days west of Alexandria, and then to travel southwards, when the Oasis will be reached after five days more; the route followed by Alexander was five days longer.



situated among trees, many of which were fruit-bearing, and pools of water; close by was a castle with a triple wall, wherein lived the chief of the Oasis, and at no great distance was another temple of Amen, which was likewise situated in a grove. Here was the famous Fountain of the Sun, the waters of which were warm at sunrise, very cold at noon, and boiling hot at midnight.<sup>1</sup> Our information about the ancient buildings at Sîwa and the inscriptions which are known to exist there is very limited, notwithstanding the fact that the Oasis has been visited by many Europeans during the last hundred years,<sup>2</sup> but it seems that the

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the water of this spring has a uniform temperature of  $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit.


<sup>2</sup> See Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroë*, Paris, 1823 ff.; Minutoli, *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, Berlin, 1824; Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa*, London, 1856; Parthey, *Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon*, Berlin, 1862; Rohlfs, *Von Tripoli nach Alexandrien*, Bremen, 1871; and Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste*, Cassel, 1875. Mr. Silva White is the most recent European traveller who has visited Sîwa, and he has published an account of his journey in *From Sphinx to Oracle*, London, 1899. According to him the Oasis is not more than six miles long, and its width varies from a few hundred yards to four or five miles (p. 139). The hills Jebel Amelal and Jebel Jari are over 300 feet in height, and are of limestone; on these hills rest the town and cemetery of Sîwa. The oldest inhabited place is Aghormi (Akermi). The Oasis contains hot springs and a sulphur mine, and lies considerably lower than the Mediterranean; some say 80 feet, others 108 feet, and Rohlfs says 170 feet. It contains 150 springs. The population is about 3000, and the people are of Berber stock, and their language is a Berber dialect, or Tamasirt; they have curly hair, full lips, flat noses, yellow skin, high cheek bones, and are exclusive and suspicious towards strangers, intractable, proud, fierce, fanatical, and

sanctuary which Alexander visited is represented by the ruins of Egyptian gateways and inscribed walls, which were discovered by the traveller James Hamilton in 1853. In 1869 Rohlfs found that the courts of the temple and the sanctuary itself were filled with modern houses, and the castle with triple walls mentioned by Diodorus is probably represented by the modern Akermi.

The form of the god Âmen worshipped at Sîwa was a ram which was inlaid with emeralds and other precious stones, and which was carried about in a boat; it directed the priests and made known its wishes by

superstitious. When they fight drums are beaten, and the combatants form up facing each other; when compliments have been passed each man fires one shot from his gun—which he holds at arm's length—and then retires, and the women take up positions at the rear of their men with baskets of stones, and devote their energies to throwing stones at the cowards and encouraging their men. The Oasis contains 300,000 olive and palm trees, which yield a tax of £1700; 1500 tons of dates are exported annually. The Fountain of the Sun is 18 feet deep, and its uniform temperature is 85° Fahr. (*sic*). Mr. White made an examination of Gebel Mûta, or the Hill of the Dead, and found it full of tombs. An old man showed him the way to a tomb which contained an empty sarcophagus chamber, on the south wall of which were hieroglyphic inscriptions in red paint, and scenes and vignettes. The copies which Mr. White made proved that these were of the usual funereal character, but they were not sufficiently exact to enable M. Daressy to read the name of the deceased, who was a priest and royal scribe. The inscription which Mr. White showed me appeared to belong to the XXVIth Dynasty. It is much to be hoped that the Egyptian Government will soon cause a survey of Sîwa to be made, and that Major Lyons will give us a work on the Oasis similar to that which Mr. Ball has produced on Al-Khârga.

movements of its head. When Alexander approached the shrine the high priest saluted him and told him that the god Amen called him his son, and Alexander replied to the effect that if the god would make him lord of the whole world he would accept the title "son," and keep it for ever. At this moment the priests raised the figure of the god in its shrine and, apparently in accordance with a motion which the ram made with its head, the high priest declared that the god would certainly grant the king his desire. Alexander then said, "I entreat thee, O God, that thou wouldst let me know what I have yet to inquire, and that is, whether I have executed justice upon all my father's murderers, or whether any have escaped?" Whereupon the oracle cried out, "Express thyself better, for no mortal can kill thy father, but all the murderers of Philip have suffered just punishment"; and then went on to say that the divine birth of the king was proved by his great achievements and successes, and that as he had never yet been overcome by any, so in times to come he should always be victorious. Alexander was greatly pleased with these words, and having made rich gifts to the sanctuary he returned to Egypt, and according to Diodorus, prepared to found his great city of Alexandria. The Pseudo-Callisthenes tells us (i. 30) that when Alexander was at the temple of Amen he asked the god to give him a proof that he really was his son, and Amen assured him that he had sprung from his seed.

The site chosen by Alexander for his new city was close to the old Egyptian town called Rāqetī, <sup>1</sup> and was opposite the Island of Pharos and was situated between Lake Mareotis and the Mediterranean Sea. Alexander's object in building a city on this site is clear: he intended it to be easy of access for the Mediterranean merchant-ships, and to make it the central sea-port of his empire, and there was no other site anywhere in the Delta which was so suitable for this purpose. According to Diodorus, Alexander measured out the ground on which the city was to stand, and marked out the streets, and called it Alexandria after his own name. He built a wall all round it, and it was easily defended by a small guard, for it had the sea on one side and a lake on the other. It was in the form of a soldier's coat, and had one large and well-built street running almost through the middle of the town; it was about forty furlongs in length (five miles), and one hundred feet wide. The ancient authorities differ as to whether Alexander founded the city before he went to the Oasis or after; Diodorus, Q. Curtius, and Justin take the latter view, whilst Arrian and Plutarch take the former, the Pseudo-Callisthenes (i. 30) makes the founding of the city to follow his visit to the Oasis, and repeats the words which the Oracle spoke to the king; he therefore sides with Diodorus, Q. Curtius, and Justin. Arrian and

<sup>1</sup> Hence the Coptic name **PAKOT**, *Rakoti*.

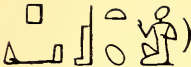
the Pseudo-Callisthenes both say that when Alexander wished to mark out the site of the foundations he used a quantity of meal or grain for the purpose because he had no other material at hand ; the latter writer (l. 32) adds that the birds came and ate up the grain and flew away, from which it was augured that the city would feed the whole world. The architect of the city was Deinocrates, and his plans were carried out by Cleomenes of Naucratis, who was assisted by Heron (a Libyan), Krateros, Hyponomos, and others. As Alexander only spent five months in Egypt, he cannot have seen more than the mere foundations of Alexandria's walls and houses, and it is extremely doubtful if he could have realized the importance to which his city was to attain. The Pseudo-Callisthenes says (i. 31) that he made the people who lived within a distance of thirty miles to come and live in the new city, and that he called them Alexandrians.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic writer Mas'ûdî (Chap. xxxii.) records the following very curious legends about the founding of Alexandria. When the king came to where he wished to build his city he found the remains of a large building with marble columns, among which was one with an inscription in the ancient character of Himyar that stated the building there had been erected by Shaddâd, the son of 'Âd, and that described the views of that king, and contained remarks about the nothingness of all worldly things. Alexander meditated on the words to his advantage. Then he collected workmen from all countries, and traced out the foundations, which were measured by miles (أميال) in length and breadth! He collected marble and brought all kinds of stone from Sicily, Africa, Crete, and Rhodes. Wishing to lay the foundations of the city in an auspicious hour, and all of them at the same time, he set up a marble column, with



When Alexander returned from the Oasis to Memphis he found that Antipater had sent him from Greece 400 mercenaries under Menetas, and 500 Thracian cavalry under Asclepiodorus; he provided entertainments and athletic sports for the soldiers, and offered up sacrifices to the gods, and thus pleased both priests and people. He next devoted himself to making arrangements for the government of Egypt, and made the following appointments:—Doloaspis and Petisis (i.e., Peṭā-Āst,

a loud-sounding bell on the top, before his tent. At intervals along the site for the walls he drove into the ground pegs, to each of which he attached a bell, and every bell could be rung by a cord which ran from it to the marble column. Whilst he was waiting for the auspicious hour he fell asleep, and a raven came, and alighting on the bell on the top of the column made it ring, and at the same time, by means of mechanism which Alexander had constructed, set all the other bells ringing. The workmen hearing the bells ring immediately began to lay the foundations, and to pray, and the king waking up was surprised to find what had happened. As soon as the foundations had been laid, and the walls had begun to rise above the ground, each evening beasts came up out of the sea and destroyed the work which had been done in the day. To counteract their efforts he made a large box, ten cubits long by five cubits wide, and inserted in it glass windows, and covered all the wood with pitch; into this box he and two of his men entered and shut themselves in, then two ships towed the box out to sea, and, having been weighted with iron, lead, and stones, it was lowered to the bed of the sea. Looking through the glass Alexander was able to watch the monsters of the deep, and to note their forms, and he found that they resembled men and held hatchets, saws, and hammers in their hands; he made careful and exact drawings of these monsters, and then caused his box to be pulled up to the surface of the sea. As soon as he had returned to Alexandria he made figures of the demons of the sea in iron, copper, and stone, according to his drawings, and having placed


 were to be over the whole country, but as Petisis declined his charge Doloaspis became viceroy; he appointed Pantaleon, of Pydna, to be over the garrison of Memphis; and Polemon, the son of Megacles, of Pella, over the garrison of Pelusium; Lycidas, of Aetolia, became commander of the mercenaries; Eugnostas became the secretary of the mercenaries; and Aeschylus and Ehippus were to be their generals; Apollonius, the son of Carinus, became governor of

them on the blocks of stone which lay along the sea coast, he continued the building of his city. The sea monsters came again by night, but as soon as they saw figures of themselves on the stone blocks they fled to the sea and never more appeared. When the city was built Alexander set up an inscription in which he gave thanks to Almighty God for His help and favour. The city was built in terraces (or steps), beneath which were chambers with vaulted roofs high enough for a horseman to march under; these were lit and ventilated by openings in the walls. The city was lit at night not by torches, but by the effulgence of the marble of which it was built. The streets and alleys and markets were roofed over and sheltered the passengers from rain; the city was protected by seven walls, and between each was a ditch. As soon as the city was inhabited another class of sea monsters appeared by night and carried off people, but Alexander succeeded in vanquishing them by means of talismans which he fixed upon columns; each column was in the form of an arrow, and was eighty cubits high, and rested on a pedestal of brass. According to Mas'ûdi the Pharos was built by Alexander at the same time as Alexandria, and was said to rest upon a glass pedestal, which in its turn rested upon a crab that lived at the bottom of the sea. On the top of the Pharos were three bronze statues: one indicated by movements of the hand the course of the sun, the second emitted a sound which could be heard for two or three miles whenever an enemy was approaching by sea, and the third marked each hour of the day and night by uttering sweet sounds which varied every hour.

Hither Libya; Cleomenes, of Naucratis, became governor of that part of Arabia which was near Heroöpolis; and Doloaspis commanded that the chief men of his province should live according to their ancient laws, and enjoy their liberties, and he should only take care to collect the tribute which Alexander commanded them to pay into his hands. Peucestas and Balacrus were in command of all the army which Alexander left in Egypt, and the fleet was under Polemon, the son of Theramenes. Arrian, who gives us the above details, adds that Alexander placed the country under so many rulers because he felt it unsafe to commit the whole government into the hands of any one man. It is interesting to note that the viceroy, Doloaspis, was a Persian, and we may probably see in his appointment a proof of Alexander's administrative skill. This man, no doubt, held office under the last Persian kings, and as he was thoroughly familiar with extraordinary as well as ordinary methods of raising revenue, his appointment was, under the circumstances, expedient and politic.

When Alexander had made these arrangements for the protection and government of the country, he set out on the march to Phoenicia, and never returned to Egypt again until he was carried there from Babylon a dead man. Alexander died in June, 323, and as soon as he was dead a dispute broke out among the Persians and Macedonians (Pseudo-Callisthenes iii. 34) as to the possession of his body;

the former wished to have it, and to worship Alexander as Mithras, and the Macedonians wished to take it to Macedonia. In this difficulty Ptolemy suggested that they should consult the oracle of the Babylonian Zeus, and when they had done so the god replied that the dead king should be taken to Memphis in Egypt, and set upon a throne there. Thereupon Perdiccas embalmed the body and placed it in a lead sarcophagus, which Ptolemy set upon a waggon and took to Memphis. As soon as the inhabitants of Memphis heard of its arrival they went out and brought the dead king into the city, but the high-priest of Ptaḥ said, "Set him not down here, but in the town which he hath founded at Rhakotis. For wheresoever his body is there will there be disturbances, and the city wherein it lieth will be set in a commotion because of wars and strifes." So Ptolemy took the body to Alexandria, and in that part of the city which was called "Body of Alexander," he made a tomb and buried him. According to the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes,<sup>1</sup> Alexander ordered that his body was to be laid in a fine gold coffin,<sup>2</sup> 250 talents (in weight), and that this coffin was to be filled with "white honey which hath not been melted." The coffin was to be laid on a

<sup>1</sup> See my *History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that Ptolemy Alexander stole this gold coffin and put a glass (?) one in its place; see Strabo, xvii. 1, § 8. When Caesar Augustus was at Alexandria he viewed the remains of Alexander, and scattered flowers on the body and offered a golden crown. Suetonius, *Caesar*, 18.

chariot, and drawn to Egypt by sixteen docile mules, and to be escorted by Ptolemy and the army of Macedonians; <sup>1</sup> 1000 talents of gold were to be supplied

<sup>1</sup> The following account of Alexander's funeral chariot by Diodorus (xviii. 26-28, trans. Booth) is of interest:—

“When Philocles was chief magistrate at Athens, and Caius Sulpitius and Quintus Aulius were created Roman consuls, Aridaeus, to whom was committed the care of conveying Alexander's body to his sepulchre, having now the chariot ready upon which it was to be carried, prepared himself for the journey. But, forasmuch as the whole business and concern was managed as became the majesty of Alexander, and upon that account did not only exceed all others in point of expense, state, and pomp (for the charges amounted to many talents), but also in respect of curiosity and workmanship, we think it fit to recommend something to posterity in writing concerning it. And first, a coffin of beaten gold was provided, so wrought by the hammer, as to answer to the proportion of the body; it was half filled with aromatic spices, which served as well to delight the sense, as to prevent the body from putrefaction. Over the coffin was a cover of gold, so exactly fitted, as to answer the higher part every way. Over this was thrown a curious purple coat embroidered with gold, near to which were placed the arms of the deceased, that the whole might represent the acts of his life. Then was provided the chariot, in which the body was to be conveyed; upon the top of which was raised a triumphant arch of gold, set thick and studded over with precious stones, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in length. Under this roof was placed a throne of gold, joined to the whole work, four square, on which were carved the heads of Goatharts; and to these were fastened golden rings of two handsbreadth in diameter; at which hung, for show and pomp, little coronets of various colours, which, like so many flowers, afforded a pleasant prospect to the eye. Upon the top of the arch, was a fringe of network, to which were hung large bells, to the intent that the sound of them might be heard at a great distance. On both sides [of] the arch, at the corners, stood an image of Victory in



from the revenues of the kingdom for the expenses of the journey, and 1600 talents for the expenses of the mules. The Arabic writer Mas'ûdî says that Alexander's

“gold, bearing a trophy. A peristylum of gold supported the  
“archwork, the chapiters of whose pillars were of Ionian work-  
“manship. Within the peristylum, by a network of gold of a  
“finger's thickness in the workmanship, hung four tables, one by  
“another, equal to the dimensions of the wall, whereupon were  
“pourtrayed all sorts of living creatures. The first table repre-  
“sented a chariot curiously wrought, wherein Alexander sat with  
“a royal sceptre in his hand. About the king stood his life-  
“guards complete in their arms; the Macedonians on the one side,  
“and the Persians, who bore battle-axes, on the other; and before  
“them stood the armour-bearers. In the second, elephants  
“adorned in their warlike habiliments followed them of the  
“guard, on which sat Indians before, and Macedonians behind,  
“armed according to the manner of their respective countries.  
“In the third might be seen squadrons of horse drawn up in  
“regular battalia. In the fourth appeared a fleet ordered in a  
“line of battle. At the entrance of the arch stood lions of gold,  
“with their faces towards the entrance.—From the middle of  
“every pillar an acanthus of gold sprouted up, in branches spiring  
“in slender threads to the very chapiters. Over the arch, about  
“the middle of the roof on the outside, was spread a purple carpet  
“in the open air, on which was placed a vast golden crown, in the  
“form of an olive coronet, which, by the reflection of the sun-  
“beams, darted such an amazing splendor and brightness, that at  
“a distance it appeared as a flash of lightning. Under the seats  
“or bottom of the whole work, ran two axletrees, about which  
“moved four Persian wheels, whose spokes and naves were over-  
“laid with gold, but the fellows were shod with iron. The ends  
“and out-parts of the axles were of gold, representing the heads  
“of lions, each holding a dart in his mouth. In every centre of  
“the arch, about the midway in the length, was artificially fixed a  
“pole, upon which the whole might turn, as on a hinge; by the  
“help whereof the arch might, in rough places, where it was apt  
“to be shaken, be preserved from being overturned. There were

remains were first coated with bitumen and then laid in a marble sarcophagus, التابوت المرمر, because his mother feared that a gold sarcophagus would be an inducement to kings far distant to come and carry it off. The marble sarcophagus was raised upon a platform made of stones and of blocks of white and coloured marbles laid one above the other. The writer goes on to say that this platform was to be seen at Alexandria in the year of the Flight 332, and that it was known by the name of "Tomb of Alexander."<sup>1</sup>

When the news of the death of Alexander the Great became generally known throughout Babylon strife and dissensions at once broke out among the various generals of his army, each of whom wished and tried to gain as large a portion of the Macedonian Empire as was possible for himself. Alexander left no offspring except a child called Herakles, of whom he was the

"four draft-trees, to every one of which were fixed four courses of yokes, and to every course were bound four mules, so that the mules were sixty-four in number, the most choice for strength and bigness that could be got. Every mule was adorned with a crown of gold, and bells of gold on either side of their heads; and on their necks were fitted rich collars, set and beautified with precious stones. And in this manner was the chariot set forth, the sight of which was more stately and pompous than the report: so that the fame of it brought together multitudes of spectators: for the people out of every city wherever it was coming, met it, and ran back again before it, never satisfied with the delight they took in vewing and gazing. And, suitable to so stately a show, a vast quantity of workmen and pioneers, who levelled and smoothed the ways for its passage, attended."

<sup>1</sup> B. de Maynard, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tom. ii. 1863, p. 259.

father by Barsinê. His wife Roxana was pregnant, and as she was anxious to avoid all possibility of the succession of the child whom she was about to bear being disputed by Statira, the last wife whom Alexander had married, she sent her a forged letter, which purported to come from Alexander, asking her to come to him. Statira came, accompanied by her sister, and Roxana had them both killed and their bodies thrown down a well, after which the well was filled up with earth.<sup>1</sup> Her accomplice in this crime was Perdicas, who, after Alexander's death, became a very powerful official, and to all intents and purposes the king of Macedonia. It was, of course, necessary that a successor to Alexander should be appointed as soon as possible, and whilst some were in favour of waiting until Roxana's child should be born, the majority wished to raise Arrhidaeus to the throne. This man was the son of Philip II. of Macedon, "by a low and "disreputable woman called Philinna, and was half- "witted in consequence of some bodily disorder with "which he was afflicted. This disease was not "congenital nor produced by natural causes, for he "had been a fine boy, and showed considerable "ability, but Olympias endeavoured to poison him, and "destroyed his intellect by her drugs."<sup>2</sup> Besides these, however, one party was in favour of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, another in favour of his sister Cleopatra, and a third in favour of another sister,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, § 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Kynanê, the widow of his cousin Amyntas, whom he had put to death. Finally, after scenes of great violence and disorder, Arrhidaeus was appointed to succeed Alexander, and he became king of Macedonia under the title of Philip III.; his chief minister of state was Perdicas, one of Alexander's intimate friends, to whom he had given his ring shortly before his death. The various provinces of the empire were divided among Alexander's generals as follows:—Egypt and Libya were assigned to Ptolemy, Syria to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philôtas, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Greater Phrygia to Antigonus, Caria to Asander, Lydia to Menander, Hellespontine Phrygia to Leonatus, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to Eumenes, Media to Peithon, and the provinces of the East to those who were their rulers at the time of Alexander's death.<sup>1</sup>



Lord of the two lands, SETEP-EN-RĀ-MERI-ĀMEN, SON OF THE SUN, PHIULIUPUAS.

WE have already said that when Arrhidaeus, the son of Philip II. of Macedon and of Philinna, was elected as the successor of Alexander the Great, he succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. x. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Var. .

as Philip III. of Macedon, and that Ptolemy, Alexander's general and friend, received Egypt and Libya as his share of the kingdom. But the hieroglyphic inscriptions show that Ptolemy did not assume the sovereignty of Egypt, and that he only, at first, ruled the country on behalf of Philip III. of Macedon, who became PHILIP I. of Egypt. Philip Arrhidaeus married Eurydice, who was the daughter of Kynanê and Amyntas, the first cousin of Alexander the Great, and who had been brought to Asia by her mother. Olympias, Alexander's mother, and Perdiccas tried to prevent the marriage, and actually caused Kynanê to be put to death,<sup>1</sup> but the soldiers showed such indignation at the deed that they were compelled to allow the marriage to take place. Philip Arrhidaeus was co-regent of Macedonia with Alexander IV. of Macedon, the son of Alexander the Great and his wife Roxana, who was born soon after the death of his father, and matters went smoothly enough until the death of Perdiccas, B.C. 321. Philip and his wife Eurydice went to Macedonia in the following year, and soon afterwards they succeeded in forming such a powerful faction that Roxana took her son Alexander IV. and departed to Epirus, where the boy's grandmother Olympias lived. In 317, Aeakides, the king of Epirus, made representations to Polyperchon, who had received the charge of affairs in Macedon

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, xviii. 23.



from Antipater, and together they succeeded in restoring Alexander IV. in Macedon in the same year. Instigated by Olympias Alexander IV. gave orders that Philip Arrhidaeus was to die, and he was stabbed to



Amen-Rā laying his hand on the shoulder of Philip Arrhidaeus, and addressing him thus: "I establish thy rising as king of the South and North upon the throne of thy father before Rā." The goddess Ament, who is seen suckling the young king in the form of Horus says, "I suckle thee with my milk."

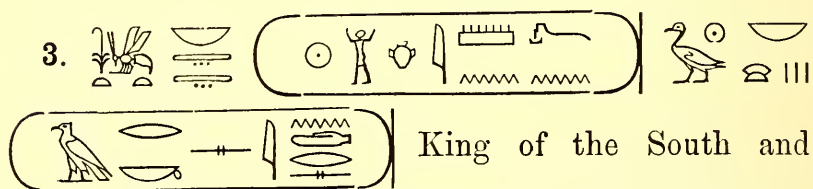
death by some Thracians after a reign of six years and four months. Not satisfied with the death of Philip, Olympias next sent to his wretched wife Eurydice a

sword, a bow-string, and some hemlock, and told her to choose her death; Eurydice, having called upon the gods to punish Olympias in a similar manner, and having wiped her husband's wounds, hanged herself with her girdle and never shed a tear or showed in any way that she was dismayed by the calamity which had befallen her (Diodorus xix. 11).

It is extremely doubtful if Philip Arrhidaeus visited Egypt, but if he did he can have taken no active part in Ptolemy's administration of the country, although remains bearing his name have been found in a few places.<sup>1</sup> Near Eshmunên, a town which marks the site of the ancient city of Hermopolis in Upper Egypt, the French Expedition found a portico of the Ptolemaic Period with two rows of six pillars, each pillar being fifty feet high, and on one of these pillars were the cartouches of Philip Arrhidaeus. We know that Ptolemy carried out a great many works in Egypt on behalf of the co-regents, and it is possible that he began the portico and caused the name of Philip to be inscribed on one of its columns. At Karnak there was built in the name of Philip a red granite sanctuary with two chambers and a roof which was ornamented with yellow stars painted on a blue ground. The walls, both inside and outside, were covered with reliefs, in which the king is seen making offerings to Amen, and to the goddess Ament, who gives him milk; both the scenes and the descriptive

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 2.

texts which accompany them were ornamented with bright colours, traces of which still remain. It is interesting to note that the sanctuary of Philip was built in the oldest part of the temple of *Āmen-Rā* at Karnak, and that it is surrounded by the buildings of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. We may be sure that this site was carefully selected, and it appears as if in the days of Philip an attempt was made to prove that the Macedonian was the rightful successor of the Pharaohs of old, and that as such he built a sanctuary in the heart of the oldest sanctuary of the god who addressed Alexander the Great as his son. In any case, the presence of the shrine at Karnak proves that he who was responsible for its erection adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the class of men who had always held the greatest power in Egypt—the priests.



North, lord of the two lands, RĀ-HĀĀ-ĀB-ĀMEN-SETEP-EN, son of the Sun, lord of risings, ARKSĀNTRES.

ALEXANDER IV. of Macedon, or ALEXANDER II. of Egypt, was the son of Alexander the Great and Roxana, and was born shortly after his father's death; he was co-regent with Philip Arrhidaeus, and went with

him and Roxana his mother to Macedonia B.C. 320. He was taken to Epirus by Roxana when she saw that Philip and his wife were gaining too much power, but was restored to his rightful position in Macedonia B.C. 317, when his co-regent was murdered, probably at the instigation of Olympias. A short time afterwards Cassander, whose brother Nicanor was put to death by Olympias, succeeded in bringing an accusation against her at one of the general assemblies of the Macedonians, and she was condemned to death. Cassander gave her the opportunity to escape death by flight, but Olympias declared that she was ready to take her trial before Macedonian judges, and fearing the effect upon her hearers of any statement she might make he sent two hundred soldiers to kill her at once. These men returned without having fulfilled their mission, being awestruck by her dignity of bearing, but she was at length strangled by the parents of those whose children she had put to death. Olympias being removed, the only obstacles to Cassander's becoming king of Macedonia were Alexander IV. and his mother Roxana, and he therefore determined to kill mother and son; he was, however, afraid to carry his plan into effect just then, and he therefore sent them to the fortress at Amphipolis, where they were treated as prisoners until B.C. 311, when Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus



HEQ-QEN,  
the Horus name of  
Alexander IV.

made peace with Antigonus. One of the conditions of the peace was that Cassander should be commander-in-chief of the Macedonian army until Alexander IV. was of age, but hearing soon afterwards that people were beginning to say that it was time Alexander should succeed his father, Cassander ordered Glaukias, the governor of the fortress at Amphipolis, to strangle both mother and son, and the command was promptly carried out in 311 (Diodorus xix. 105).

Whether the murder of the lawful heir to the throne






Alexander Aegus, son of Alexander the Great.

afforded Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, any relief cannot be said, but it certainly enabled him to make himself king of the country whensoever he should feel disposed to do so. As Ptolemy had caused buildings to be undertaken in Egypt in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus, who was probably never in the country, so also he carried out works on which he placed the name of Alexander IV., who was taken to Macedonia when he was a child six years old, and was only twelve or thirteen years old when he was murdered. At Karnak the rebuilding of





Alexander II. of Egypt, "the lord who riseth on the seat of Horus," making offerings to his father Amen-Rä; above him is the Vulture goddess Nekhebet.

a part of the great temple of Amen-Rā was begun in his name,<sup>1</sup> and the reliefs prove that Ptolemy wished the boy-king to appear as a faithful worshipper of the god, and a generous benefactor of his sanctuary. From Karnak came the red granite statue of Alexander IV., which is about nine feet high and is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo,<sup>2</sup> and it is probable that it occupied a place of honour in the buildings of the young king, perhaps even in the sanctuary itself. The pose of the statue is Egyptian, but the features and the arrangement of the headdress are Greek; the general effect is, as M. Maspero says, "mou et sans vigueur,"<sup>3</sup> and will not bear comparison with the beautiful works of the Theban dynasties. In a rock-hewn chamber at Beni-Ḥasan are a number of reliefs in which Alexander IV. is making offerings to the gods, and outside it are the cartouches of the king. On the Island of Elephantine are the remains of a granite doorway, on which are sculptured several reliefs which depict the king in the act of making offerings of incense, , cake, , and Maāt, , to the gods of the First Cataract, i.e., to Khnemu, Satet, Anqet, and Amen-Rā. The style and solidity of this doorway

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pll. 1, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Maspero, *Guide*, p. 380; Virey, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh*, Paris, 1897, p. 97, No. 308.


<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Mr. Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 38) thinks that "the gentle and melancholy expression would well suit "the tragic fortunes of the ill-starred boy, a martyr to his "greatness."

suggest that it formed part of a comparatively large temple, and as an altar, with an inscription upon it showing that it was dedicated to Ámen-Rā, was found close by, it is pretty certain that the whole edifice was dedicated to Ámen-Rā.

Thus we see that Ptolemy caused works to be carried out at Elephantine and Karnak, two of the most important sites in Upper Egypt, and from a very valuable inscription set up by him we learn that he carried out a great work of temple restoration in the ancient cities of Pe and Tep in the Delta. This inscription is cut upon a black granite stele measuring about 6 feet by 3 feet 6 inches, which was found in 1870 by Muḥammad Effendi Kūrshíd in one of the mosques of Cairo,<sup>1</sup> and which is dated in the first month of the season *Shat* in the seventh year (i.e. about B.C. 312) of “the majesty  
 “of the young Horus, who is mighty in two-fold  
 “strength, the lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and  
 “Uatchet, the beloved of the gods, to whom have  
 “been given the dignity and rank of his father,  
 “the golden Horus, the strong one in all the land, the  
 “King of the South and North, the lord of the two  
 “lands, (Hāā-āb-Rā-setep-en-Ámen), son of the Sun,  
 (Arksāntres), living for ever, beloved of the gods of

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *Guide*, p. 55; for the hieroglyphic text see Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 14.



“ Great Green Sea of the H̄au-nebu, ,

“ and which was formerly called Rāqet̄et. He collected

“ many H̄au-nebu and (line 5) horses, and ships with

“ their fighting crews, and he made an expedition with

“ his bowmen to the land of Syria, the people of which

“ were at war with him. He entered into their country,

“ his heart was mighty, and he was like a large bird of


“ prey among the little birds. He conquered them

“ forthwith, he led away their chiefs, and their (line 6)

“ horses, and their boats, and all marvellous possessions

“ to Egypt.

“ After these things he made an expedition to the

“ border of ,<sup>1</sup> and he conquered them

“ forthwith; he led back their soldiers, and men, and

“ women, and their gods (?), in return for what they

“ had done to Egypt. Having returned to Egypt his

“ heart was glad by reason of these things which he

“ had done, and he celebrated a festival, for this Great

“ Chief (i.e., Ptolemy) sought to do gracious acts

“ towards the gods of the South and North. Then he

“ who was with him (i.e., with Ptolemy) and the aged

“ men of the North Land told him that the marshes

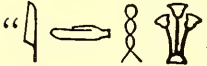
“ of the land of Uatchet had been given by Khabbesha,<sup>2</sup>

“ the everliving, to the gods of Pe and Tep after his

<sup>1</sup> See an article on these people by Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 84.

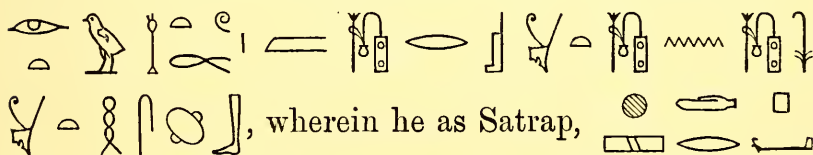
<sup>2</sup> I omit the full names and titles of this king, as they have been given above (pp. 72, 73).



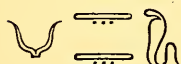
“majesty had departed to Pe and Ṭep to go round about  
 “through the marsh lands which were in its (line 8)  
 “territory, and had passed through the swamps,  
 “, to inspect the arms of the Nile which  
 “flowed into the Great Green Sea, in order to keep  
 “away from Egypt the fleet of the Asiatics. Then his  
 “majesty said to him that was with him, ‘Instruct  
 “me in the matter of this marsh land,’ and they told  
 “him that it was called the marsh land of the land of  
 “Uatchet (i.e., Buto) and that it had belonged to the  
 “gods of Pe and Ṭep from the earliest times, but that  
 “the (line 9) enemy Xerxes had seized upon it and  
 “had never given anything in return for it to the gods  
 “of Pe and Ṭep. Then his majesty commanded them  
 “to bring the priests and governors of Pe and Ṭep into  
 “his presence, and when they had brought them in  
 “haste he said unto them, ‘I would know what the  
 “spirits (or, souls) of the gods of Pe and Ṭep did unto  
 “the enemy (line 10) because of the foul deed which  
 “he had done unto them.’ And they said, ‘The  
 “enemy Xerxes did an evil thing to Pe and Ṭep when  
 “he carried off their possessions.’ And they spake  
 “before his majesty, [saying], ‘O Prince, our Lord,  
 “Horus, the son of Isis and the son of Osiris, the prince  
 “of princes, and the king of kings, the lord of lords, the  
 “avenger of his father, the lord of Pe and Ṭep, the  
 “chief of the gods, made it to happen that (line 11)  
 “there was no king to succeed him, and he dis-

“missed the enemy Xerxes from his palace and his  
 “eldest son, and [this] was known on this day in the  
 “city of Saïs of Neith by the divine mother.’”

The exact meaning of the words in which the king replies is not clear, but they seem to indicate that the king swears he will act according to the wishes of this great and mighty god among the gods. Thereupon the priests and nobles of Pe and Tep ask Ptolemy to restore to them the territory of the gods already mentioned, together with the meat and drink offerings of every kind, and to renew the grant of property to the gods in his name in return for the good fortune which they have bestowed upon him. Ptolemy assented, and ordered a decree to be drawn up in writing in the chancery of the royal scribe who was over the revenue,

 wherein he as Satrap,

*khshetrep*, of the country restored to the god Horus of Pe and Tep the properties which had been his afore-time. The boundaries of the land were specified with great care, and the original grant made by Khabbesha was renewed; Ptolemy prays that strength and victory and gladness of heart may be given him, and the text concludes with a curse upon any one who shall attempt to alienate the property of the gods of Pe and Tep from its lawful uses. He also invokes the goddess Ap-tai,

, to blast him with her fire on the day of her



has been suggested that it would be useful to have them all together in some place in the volume, and they are given here accordingly. Among classical writers come Diodorus Siculus (xvii. 48, etc.), Q. Curtius (iv. 7 ff.), Arrian (ii.), Plutarch's  *Lives*  of Alexander, Demetrius, Cleomenes, Caesar, and Antony; the  *Histories*  of Polybius (Shuckburgh's translation); Appian,  *Bell. Civ.* , Caesar,  *De Bell. Civ.* , Dion Cassius (xlvii.), and Justin (xi.). Many side lights on the histories of the Ptolemies are afforded by Josephus in his  *Wars*  and  *Antiquities*  of the Jews, but his evidence must be received with caution, especially when it deals with events of history in which the Jewish nation was mixed up; much of interest for the period will be found in III. Maccabees. The legendary life of Alexander the Great by the Pseudo-Callisthenes is an important composition, because it is manifestly based on the works of writers who flourished before Christ, and on native Egyptian traditions which were widely accepted; the best edition of the text is that of C. Müller in Didot's series, but the text of the Leyden MS., edited by Meusel, represents a much older Recension of the Alexander-Story, and merits the careful study of those who deal with the legendary history of Alexander as contained in Greek. On the Oriental versions of the Alexander-Story Zacher's  *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* , Halle, 1867, should be consulted, and the authorities for them are enumerated in my  *History of Alexander* , Cambridge, 1889, and  *The Life and Exploits*

of *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1890. For the general history of the Ptolemaïc Period, see Grote, *History of Greece*, chap. xciii.; Droysen, J. G., *Geschichte der Hellenismus*, Hamburg, 1836-43; and Droysen, H., *Untersuchungen über Alexander des Grossen Heerwesen und Kriegsführung*, Freiburg, 1885; Droysen, J. G., *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, Hamburg, 1833. Strack's *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Berlin, 1897, is a very useful book, and discusses many problems connected with the Ptolemies in the light of much recently acquired evidence; his collection of Greek inscriptions of the Ptolemaïc Period is both handy and useful. Mr. D. G. Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, London, 1897, is a careful and suggestive monograph on the subjects of which it treats, and Prof. Mahaffy has discussed the history of the Ptolemies in his *Empire of the Ptolemies*, London, 1895, and in *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1899. For the military administration of the Ptolemies, see Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1900; and Schubart, *Quaestiones de rebus militaribus quales fuerunt in regno Lagidarum*, 1900. A large amount of information concerning the internal affairs of the country of Egypt has been supplied by the Greek papyri which have been found in Egypt in recent years, and for this the reader is referred to Mr. F. G. Kenyon's *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 2 vols., London, 1893, 1898; Grenfell and Mahaffy, *Laws of Ptolemy*



*Philadelphus*, Oxford, 1896; Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Dublin, 1891, 1893, and *Appendix* in 1894; Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, I. and II., Oxford, 1896, 1897. For older works on Greek Papyri, see Peyron, *Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii*, Turin, 1826; Brunet de Presle, *Notices et Textes des Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, tom. xviii. (in *Notices et Extraits*), Paris, 1865; and Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, Leyden, 1843, 1885. For references to the minor literature of the subject, see Mr. F. G. Kenyon's annual account of progress in the *Archaeological Report*, published by the *Egypt Exploration Fund*. On the bilingual inscriptions of Rosetta and Canopus, see Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana hieroglyphica*, 1851; Lepsius, *Das Bilingue-Dekret von Canopus*, Berlin, 1866; Reinisch und Rösler, *Die zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, Wien, 1866; Pierret, *Le Décret Trilingue de Canope*, Paris, 1881; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, vi. 1891, p. xiv.; Groff, *Le Décret de Canope*, in *Revue Archéologique*, tom. vi., pp. 13-21; Chabas, *L'Inscription hiéroglyphique de Rosette*, Paris, 1867; Sharpe, *The Rosetta Stone*, London, 1871; Revillout, *Chrestomathie Démotique*, pp. 177-209; Birch, in *Records of the Past*, Old Series, vol. iv. p. 71 ff.; and Bouriant, in *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vi. 1885, pp. 1-20. A great deal of light has been thrown upon the internal condition of Egypt under the Ptolemies by the labours of M. E.

Revillout, who has devoted himself to the publication of Demotic and Coptic documents. Among his works may be mentioned:—*Actes et Contrats des Musées Égyptiens de Boulaq et du Louvre*, Paris, 1876, 4to; *Actions publiques et privées*, Paris, 1897, 4to; *Apocryphes Coptes du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1876, 4to; *Chrestomathie Démotique*, fasc. i.-iv., Paris, 1880, etc.; *Notice des Papyrus Démotiques archaïques et autres textes juridiques ou historiques . . . du règne de Bocchoris jusqu'au règne de Ptolémée Soter*, etc., Paris, 1896, 4to; *Papyrus démotiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1885-1892, text and plates; *Le procès d'Hermius d'après les sources démotiques et grecques*, Paris, 1884, 4to; *Rituel funéraire de Pamouth en démotique*, Paris, 1880, 4to; *Le Roman de Setna*, Paris, 1877, 8vo; *Second Mémoire sur les Blemmyes*, Paris, 1877, 4to. Besides these M. Revillout has published a series of valuable articles in his *Revue Égyptologique*, 9 vols. Paris, 1880-1900, and he deserves the thanks of all students of the later period of Egyptian history for the material with which he has provided them, and for his pioneer researches.]

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PTOLEMIES.



King of the South and North, SETEP-EN-RĀ-MERI-ĀMEN, son of the Sun, PṬULMIS.

PTOLEMY I., commonly known as PTOLEMY LAGUS, and PTOLEMY SOTER, was said to have been the son of Lagus, a man of humble ancestry and birth, by Arsinoë, one of the concubines of Philip II. of Macedon, who was said to have been pregnant at the time of her marriage; for this reason it was commonly reported that Ptolemy I. was the son of Philip. He seems to have been born about B.C. 367, but of his early youth nothing is known; it is clear, however, that he cannot have been the child of obscure parents, for at a very early age he was well known at the Macedonian court as one of the principal friends of Alexander the Great. He was banished by Philip II., but was recalled in 336, when Alexander succeeded his father as king of Macedon. He accompanied Alexander to Asia, and

was deputed by him to capture Bessus, the satrap of Bactria under Darius Codomannus, who first conspired with Nabarzanes against his master and then helped to murder him ; Ptolemy succeeded in his mission and brought his captive before Alexander, and the rebel was eventually put to death by Oxathres. From 326 to 324 he was constantly employed by Alexander on work which required both bravery and judgment, and it is clear from numerous passages that he was one of the king's most intimate friends during that period,



Coin of Ptolemy I. Soter.

as also during his youth. When Alexander died (B.C. 323) and his great empire was divided among his generals, Ptolemy was able to secure for himself the satrapy of Egypt, and he appears to have lost no time in going to his province.

According to Diodorus (xviii. 14) he “possessed  
“himself of the country without any difficulty, and  
“carried himself with great mildness and winning  
“behaviour towards the people ; and having a  
“treasure of 8000 talents, raised an army of mer-  
“cenaries ; and many out of love flocked to him

“upon the account of the goodness of his disposition. He entered into a league with Antipater, when he was assured that Perdiccas designed to dispossess him of Egypt.” Soon after he arrived in Egypt he found that Cleomenes, the satrap of the country under Alexander, had made himself very rich by taking the fullest advantage of all the opportunities of making money which came in his way, and had also made himself unpopular with the priests of Egypt, therefore to please them and to remove an ally of Perdiccas and one who might become an active enemy of himself, Ptolemy put him to death. Two years later (321) an open rupture occurred between Ptolemy and Perdiccas. Arrhidaeus, or Arrhibaeus, had in the interval made ready all things, and had succeeded in bringing the body of Alexander in its golden coffin to Syria, and was, presumably, about to carry it to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, or Sîwa, according to the decision which had been arrived at in Babylon. Ptolemy marched out to meet the body of his dead-king, and, finding that Perdiccas had commanded that it should be taken to Aegae in Macedonia, persuaded Arrhidaeus to allow it to go to Egypt instead. Arrhidaeus seems to have had no desire to take the body to Aegae, and if he had it would have been difficult for him to withstand Ptolemy, who was no doubt accompanied by his army; the body of Alexander was then brought to Memphis and thence to Alexandria, where its presence must have been of the greatest importance to Ptolemy. The result of this



victory was to stir up the wrath of Perdiccas, who straightway determined to invade Egypt. He marched to Pelusium, where he encamped, but a sudden rise of the Nile drowned out his trenches, etc., and upset all his plans, and at the same time many of his men deserted to Ptolemy.

In due course the opposing armies joined battle, but although Perdiccas employed elephants among his forces they availed him little, for in one attack he lost large numbers of men, and in trying to cross the river about two thousand more were drowned and one thousand were eaten by crocodiles, and his soldiers lost all confidence in him. Finally Peithon and one hundred chief men deserted him, and a body of horsemen went to his tent and murdered him. Thereupon the Macedonians wished Ptolemy to succeed him, but he refused, and bestowed the chief command of the army upon Peithon and Arrhidaeus, who had brought Alexander's body to Memphis as Ptolemy wished. As a result of the victory over Perdiccas a new re-arrangement of the empire was made, and at Triparadeisus in Coele Syria, Antipater, the successor of Peithon and Arrhidaeus, who had resigned, gave to Ptolemy as his share the African portion of Alexander's empire. In 319 Antipater died, and Ptolemy made alliances first with Cassander and Antigonus, and then with Cassander and Lysimachus. In 315 Antigonus invaded Syria, and took all the territory which Ptolemy had seized in 320, and besieged Tyre,

which fell after an investment lasting fifteen months (B.C. 314).

In the same year Ptolemy re-conquered Cyprus, and put down a revolt in Cyrene, which he had annexed in 322, and in 312 Ptolemy and Seleucus, who had fled to Egypt for protection in 316, defeated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, in a pitched battle at Gaza. Shortly afterwards Demetrius gained a victory over Ptolemy's general, and as Antigonus himself marched into Syria, Ptolemy returned to Egypt, whither, however, Antigonus did not follow him. In 311 Alexander IV., the son of Alexander the Great and Roxana, was strangled, but Ptolemy took no steps to make himself king of Egypt; indeed, it says much for the kind heart and good nature of this brave old warrior that he caused restorations of temples to be carried out in the name of the little king, the son of his old friend and master, during the years which the child was imprisoned with his mother in the fortress of Amphipolis. We know that shortly before he died, or perhaps in that very year, Ptolemy made a new grant of certain lands to the temple of Horus at Pe and Tep, i.e., Buto, in the Delta, after he returned from two campaigns, and that though he was absolute master of Egypt he allowed the official stele which recorded his generosity to the priests to be dated in the seventh year of the sole reign of his little master, Alexander IV., and in it he is described only as the "satrap of Egypt." Thus, as has been already said, Ptolemy carried on

building operations in the names of both successors of Alexander the Great.

In 308 Ptolemy recaptured Cyrene and sent Magas to govern it, but two years later he lost Cyprus, which was taken by Demetrius, and Ptolemy's fleet of nearly 150 ships was destroyed at Salamis. Antigonus was so much elated at his success that he planned a new invasion of Egypt, and according to Diodorus (xx. 73) he recalled Demetrius from Cyprus and made him the admiral of the fleet. He himself, with an army consisting of 80,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 83 elephants, passed through Coele Syria, whilst his son, whom he told to sail near the shore, had with him 150 warships and 100 more "of burthen, wherein was "an infinite store of arms of all sorts." At Gaza the whole force was victualled for ten days, and Antigonus sent 130,000 bushels of wheat, and much hay, and stores, etc., on the backs of camels through the desert. Demetrius left Gaza and was becalmed for several days, and when the north wind came it drove his ships ashore at Raphia. Meanwhile Antigonus marched on and arrived at the mouths of the Nile, but he found them well defended, and, as his ships had no ports to put into, and the crews were short of provisions, and numbers of his mercenaries, bribed by Ptolemy with a higher rate of pay, deserted to the side of the enemy, he found it impossible to attack the Egyptians effectively, and so sailed back to his own country. Thus it was once more proved that the mouths of the

Nile and the swamps about them were as effectual defenders of Egypt as the greatest army.

In 305 Ptolemy is said to have assumed the title of king of Egypt and also of "Soter"; and Antigonus began to besiege Rhodes because the Rhodians had refused to help him against Egypt. Demetrius was despatched with 40,000 troops and 370 warships and transports to reduce the Island, but as Ptolemy and others sent the Rhodians help in the shape of food and men, Demetrius failed in his mission and was obliged to raise the siege; that this result was mainly brought about by Ptolemy's help is evident from the fact that the Rhodians, after consulting the oracle of Amen, worshipped Ptolemy as a god, and built a shrine in his honour which was called the Ptolemaion. In 301 the Battle of Ipsus was fought, and Ptolemy's old foe Antigonus was not only defeated, but lost his life; in 295 Ptolemy regained possession of Cyprus, in a city of which (Salamis) Demetrius had established his wife Phila. From this period to the end of his reign Ptolemy was actively employed in consolidating his power, but he undertook no more campaigns or expeditions of importance. He associated his son Ptolemy with him in the rule of his kingdom in 285, and he died two years later, aged eighty-four years.

Ptolemy married (1) Artakama, daughter of Artabazus, the satrap of Bactria, by whom he appears to have had no issue; (2) the hetaira Thais; (3) Eurydice,

the daughter of Antipater, by whom he had several children; and (4) Berenice, a relative of Antipater, and the mother of the Ptolemy who succeeded him. We have already seen that Ptolemy carried on various building operations in Egypt in the names of Philip Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV., but it is doubtful if he restored any temples after the death of the latter, though we may assume that he allowed the priests to repair or rebuild their temples as they pleased. A mass of ruins near Kôm al-Aḥmar in Upper Egypt is supposed to mark the site of a temple built by Ptolemy, and he founded the city of Ptolemaïs Hermiu, near the modern town of Manshîyah, which became the Ptolemaic capital of Upper Egypt, and was, of course, provided with an Egyptian temple; he also founded a city in the Delta which he called after the name of his brother Menelaus. His chief interest was in the development of the city of Alexandria, where among other great works he founded the Museum and the famous Alexandrian Library. He brought a number of Jews to Alexandria, and made them settle there, and, according to Josephus (*Antiquities*, xii. 1), "not a few other Jews, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy."

In the reign of Ptolemy the worship of the god Serapis was established, and either he or the priests introduced Hades, the Greek god of the underworld, into the native worship, and as to this god were



ascribed the attributes of both the Egyptian gods *Ásár* (Osiris) and *Hāpi* (Apis), Hades became known as *Osiris-Apis*,<sup>1</sup> or *Serapis*, who was worshipped under the form of a bull wearing a disk and uraeus, with all the ceremonies and services which were attached to the old *Osiris* worship. He had nothing to do with *Bes*, as some have thought. The identification of the greatest Greek god of the underworld with the god *Osiris* and with his soul *Apis*, who was a form of *Ptaḥ* of *Memphis*, was a masterpiece of statecraft, and reconciled the Egyptians to being ruled by a dynasty of *Macedonian* kings more quickly and more surely than anything else would have done. Under the strong but wise and tactful government of *Ptolemy* *Egypt* prospered and flourished, and the Egyptians who knew anything of their past history might have thought that a thorough revival of their ancient power and glory was about to take place, for *Syria* and *Palestine* were theirs, and *Cyprus*, and *Libya*, and *Cyrene*, and many places in the *Mediterranean*, which the old *Pharaohs* had never possessed, and some of which were actually occupied by *Egyptian* garrisons. But *Ptolemy* did not devote himself wholly to increasing the material prosperity of the country, for it is clear from the works of his biographers that he was a generous patron of the arts and sciences of the day, and a personal friend of many of the greatest thinkers and literary men





to 283, and he reigned as sole king from 283 to 247, when he died. Ptolemy II. was the son of Ptolemy I.,

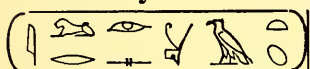


HUNNU QEN,  
the Horus name of  
Ptolemy II.

by his fourth wife, and there must have been strong reasons why his father should have set aside the claims of Ptolemy Keraunos and Meleager, his sons by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, in favour of his youngest son. Ptolemy I. does not appear to have been a man who would allow his emotions to sway his judgment in the choice of a successor, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary it must be assumed that he chose the son he thought best fitted to rule Egypt. When, in 285, Eurydice found that neither of her sons was to

reign, she left Egypt with her family.

Ptolemy II. first married Arsinoë, in Egyptian,



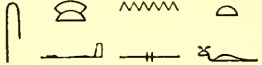
Ārsenat, the daughter of Lysimachus, king of Thrace, who had married the sister of

Ptolemy II., also called Arsinoë; this lady was banished to Upper Egypt on a charge of conspiracy, and then Ptolemy II., her husband Lysimachus having in the meantime died, married his own sister Arsinoë. When

he became king he adopted a Horus name like the Pharaohs of old; and as lord of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "Mighty one of two-fold valour,"



, and as the Horus of gold

“Sekhā-nes-tef,” .<sup>1</sup> One of his brothers, called Argaeus, was put to death by him because he was thought to be conspiring against him, and according to some authorities another shared the same fate. Ptolemy, remembering that his father's old friend Demetrius the Phalerian had counselled him not to alter the succession in favour of his youngest son, banished him to the south, where he died. His first serious quarrel seems to have been with Magas, a son of Eurydice, the second wife of Ptolemy I., who had been appointed governor of Cyrene; on the death of Ptolemy I.



Ptolemy II. and his wife Arsinoë II., and his father Ptolemy I.  
and his wife Berenice I.

Magas asserted his independence, and a short time afterwards, with the help of Seleucus, king of Babylon, to whom Ptolemy Keraunos had fled from Thrace for protection, he threatened to attack Egypt. The attack was never made, for other more pressing matters occupied the attention of Magas. A few years later, he made a second attempt to invade Egypt, and was, it seems, partially successful, but Ptolemy II. found

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 7 g.

some means of bringing Antiochus II., the ally of Magas, round to his side, and again Magas failed to carry out his plans. Subsequently an understanding was arrived at by Ptolemy and Magas, and Berenice, the daughter of the latter, was betrothed to Ptolemy III., the son of the former.

It is generally admitted that there is not sufficient information available for constructing a connected account of the events of the reign of Ptolemy II., and as the Greek historians fail here, recourse must be had to the few facts and details which may be derived



Arsinoë II. Philadelphus, wife of Ptolemy II.

from the works of classical writers who only refer to Ptolemy II. and his times incidentally. It is clear that no great wars or expeditions were undertaken during his reign, and, though he seems to have meddled frequently in the affairs of the Greek cities and other states, he took good care never to let his interference bring down upon him the necessity of fighting. He was shrewd enough to appreciate the importance of the growth of the Roman power, and to maintain peaceful relations with the Romans. He possessed neither the



strength of character, nor the ability of his father, and he appears to have loved a life of ease and luxury ; his luxury was, however, tempered by a deep interest in literature and in the arts and sciences as then understood, and he carried on diligently the great work which Ptolemy Soter began in connexion with the Museum and Library of Alexandria. These buildings were connected by marble colonnades, and one appears to have been a complement of the other ; a staff of scholars, among whom were grammarians, philosophers, mathematicians, etc., was attached to the Museum, and its members were paid by the State. The number of the works preserved in the Library in the time of Ptolemy II. is said by one authority to have been 400,000, and by another 700,000, whilst in Julius Caesar's time it had risen to 900,000. The first "Principal Librarian" of the Library of Alexandria was Zenodotus of Ephesus, who had been the tutor of Ptolemy II., and he was succeeded by Callimachus the poet, who is said to have classified and arranged and labelled the vast collection of papyri which was under his charge. During the reign of Ptolemy II. the famous lighthouse ("Pharos") was erected on the eastern end of the Island of Pharos by Sostratus the Cnidian. It was a marvellous building, and although it can hardly have been 400 cubits high, i.e., nearly 200 feet higher than the cross on the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, it must have been of considerable height, and very substantially built, for remains of the

tower are said to have been visible as late as A.D. 1350. Ptolemy finished the tomb of Alexander the Great and the building which contained it, and he added to it tombs for his father and mother, Ptolemy I. and Berenice.

To carry on these great works at Alexandria, and the building of temples to Greek and Egyptian gods in the various cities which he founded, must have required large sums of money, and it is clear that the total amount of the taxes and tribute paid to Egypt by Libya, Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, parts of Arabia and Cyprus, must have been



Arsinoë II. Philadelphus, wife of Ptolemy II.

very large, and that the united revenue of Egypt and her dependencies brought the country into a most flourishing condition. Ptolemy's soldiers, who are said to have numbered nearly a quarter of a million, and his fleet, to say nothing of his garrisons out of Egypt, and his chariots, and horses, and elephants, must have absorbed a large share of his income, but sufficient was left to enable him to gratify his architectural taste, which appears to have been of no mean

order, and to found several cities, in various parts of his dominions. The works which he undertook in connexion with clearing out the canal between the Nile and the city which he founded near the modern Suez, as well as those in connexion with Lake Moeris were, no doubt, carried out by *corvée*, and the gain that accrued to the country from them commercially was very considerable.

The development of trade in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy II. was of a remarkable character, and it was probably due to the privileges which seem to have been enjoyed not only by the Jews in Alexandria, but by the owners of merchant caravans throughout the Empire. A great trade grew up between Egypt and the ports on the Red Sea coast and the country as far south as the most southerly limits of the land of Punt, and ships from Suez sailed to Aden in Arabia, and to various places on the mainland of Africa, and brought back commodities which found a ready market. The old trade route from Upper Egypt by way of the Wâdî Hammâmât to the Red Sea was opened out, and made more safe for trading caravans, and the products of Nubia and the Eastern Sûdân made their way down the Nile as in olden times. Commerce between Egypt and Greek and other settlements on the Mediterranean sea-coast was both brisk and profitable, for the material condition of the country being flourishing the merchants and bankers of the period had no hesitation in investing their

capital in concerns which were safe and lucrative, especially when there was no war to shake the public confidence, and when the interests of the country were protected by a powerful army and a fleet of warships. The advisers of the king, and perhaps even the king himself, were shrewd enough to see that the conquests of foreign countries effected by merchants and their caravans were far cheaper than those obtained by military expeditions, and it was probably for this



Arsinoë II, Philadelphus, wife of Ptolemy II.

reason that Egyptian ships journeyed to foreign countries, even, it is said, to India.

Before passing to the consideration of the remains of temples, etc., built by Ptolemy II. in Egypt, mention must be made of two literary enterprises with which his name is associated, i.e., the compilation of the Egyptian History of Manetho, and the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. Manetho was a priest of Sebennythus in the Delta, and in obedience to the desire expressed by Ptolemy II. he compiled a

history of Egypt from the native documents to which, we may assume, he had free access, and of the contents of which he must have had much knowledge. The work was written in Greek, and is, alas, lost, with the exception of the List of Kings, which he compiled for it, of which we have corrupt and incomplete copies preserved in the works of Julius Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and George the Syncellus. We have already described the King List (see Vol. i. p. 130 ff.), and all that need be said here is that, allowing for blunders by scribes and copyists, the work correctly describes the views which were held in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties as to the order and succession of the kings of Egypt. We know now that the scribes of that period only gave *selections* of kings in their lists, and that of the correct reading of the names of some of the earliest kings in their selections they were ignorant. The mistakes made by them were naturally copied by Manetho, who was unable to check his readings by the monuments of early kings whose remains and tombs lay at that time far below the surface of the ground in Upper Egypt.

From the work of Josephus (*Antiquities*, xii. 1) we know that Ptolemy Soter brought many Jews to Egypt, and that many more settled there during his reign of their own free will; under the rule of Ptolemy II. the number of Jewish settlers increased largely, and we may be sure that in their dealings with Greek merchants and others they would learn to speak, and afterwards,



probably, to read and to write Greek. That there were Jewish colonies in Egypt before the time of Ptolemy I., or even of Alexander the Great, is tolerably certain, but in any case the settlers ceased to use their native language except for the purposes of religion, and adopted the vernacular of Alexandria, i.e., Greek. In the natural course of events the Alexandrian Jews lost their Hebrew more and more, and many of them wished that their sacred writings could be turned into Greek. When we consider their wealth and influence it is easy to see that they could cause a wish of this kind to be brought before the king under the most favourable circumstances, but on the other hand it is difficult to understand why they should have need to consult the king in the matter of a Greek translation of their Scriptures.


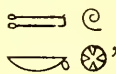

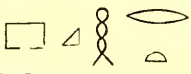
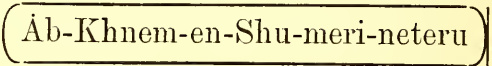

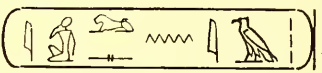
Certain Christian Fathers tell us that the Greek translation of the Books of the Law and Prophets, etc., of the Jews was made at the request of Ptolemy II., and that seventy elders were sent from Jerusalem to Egypt to carry out the king's wish, and that when they arrived the king shut each man up in a cell by himself, and that after a stated time the whole seventy brought their translations before Ptolemy, when every word and sentence in each man's translation from the beginning to the end were found to agree exactly. Another view is that there were thirty-six couples of translators, one of each couple knowing Greek and the other Hebrew, and that each

couple was shut up in a cell, and that thirty-six translations were made, each of which agreed with all the others as already said. These statements were intended to prove that the SEPTUAGINT, as the Greek version is called, was inspired. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 2, § 1), Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, caused "the Law to be interpreted, and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in "slavery there, who were 120,000." The occasion on which this was done was this : Demetrius the Phalerian, the Keeper of the king's Library, was trying to collect books in every language on the earth, and was buying books everywhere in order to carry out the king's most earnest wish. One day Ptolemy asked him how many books he had collected, and he replied, "Twenty times ten thousand," and added that in a short time he should have "fifty times ten thousand." He then went on to say that the Jews possessed many books which ought to be translated into Greek, and suggested that translations, when made, should be placed in the great Library. The king thought that Demetrius had made a most proper suggestion, and thereupon he wrote to Eleazar, the high priest at Jerusalem, on the subject. Demetrius suggested that six men should be sent from each of the Twelve Tribes, to translate the Law, and that each man should be skilled in the knowledge and exposition of the Hebrew laws.

In the letter which the king sent to the high priest he adopted the suggestion, and informed Eleazar that


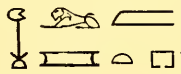
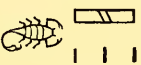

he had set free over 100,000 Jews, and was sending to him with Andreas and Aristeus, the captains of his guard, 100 talents to be expended in sacrifices, etc., in the Temple. Eleazar received Ptolemy's ambassadors with great honour, and offered up sacrifices for the welfare of the king, and of Arsinoë, and of his family, and all the congregation prayed for the peace of the king of Egypt and his kingdom. Eleazar then chose out from each Tribe six learned elders, and giving them a copy of the Law, sent them on their way, and in his letter to the king he says, "It will be thy part, "out of thy piety and justice, to send back the Law "when it hath been translated; and to return those "to us who bring it in safety." At the end of the high priest's epistle were the names of the seventy-two elders, but alas, Josephus thought it unnecessary to set them down in his work. Whether the above statements represent the exact facts of the case or not matters little, for it is quite certain that the Septuagint was made in Alexandria and that part of it was made not later than the middle of the third century B.C. The five books attributed to Moses, i.e., the Law, were first translated, but the order in which the other books were turned into Greek is not known. It is very probable that Ptolemy II. with his love of literature was truly anxious to know the contents of the sacred books of the Hebrews, and also to have copies of them in his great Library, and it is most unlikely that his wish could be gratified by the Alexandrian Jews, who

possessed neither ancient manuscripts nor learned men knowing both Hebrew and Greek. The king's powerful aid was called in to make Eleazar supply the ancient manuscript, as well as the elders who could read it and interpret it, and the value of the codex is indicated by Eleazar's appeal to the "piety and justice" of Ptolemy to have it returned to him.

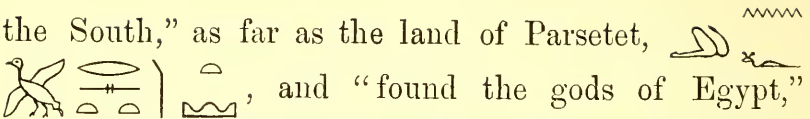
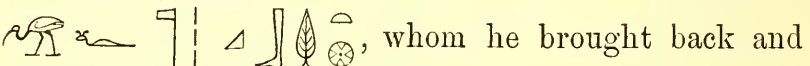
Of the Egyptian monuments built or made by Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, one of the most important is the famous "Stone of Pithom," which was discovered by M. Naville at Tell al-Maskhûta in 1884.<sup>1</sup> On the upper part of the Stele, which measures 4 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 2 in., we see depicted:—1. Ptolemy offering  to Temu, the great god of Thuku, , and to Osiris, lord of Re-âbt, , the dweller in Pa-qeheret , and to Horus and Hathor. Behind these deities stands "the royal daughter, royal sister, the great wife of the lord of the two lands, (Äb-Khnem-en-Shu-meri-neteru)"  " (Ärsenâau)"  " (Isis-Hathor)" , who is styled "Isis-Hathor," and she wears upon her



<sup>1</sup> See Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1885; another transcript of the text, by Dr. H. Brugsch, will be found in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxii: 1894, p. 74.

head the crowns characteristic of these goddesses.  
 2. Ptolemy making an offering of vases of milk to Temu, behind whom stand Isis and Arsinoë.  
 3. Ptolemy offering an *utchat* to a god, who wears a triple crown, and must be Ptolemy I. Soter. The inscriptions are speeches put into the mouths of the gods, who promise that they will give Ptolemy II. dominion, and power, and a long reign, and we may note that both Arsinoë and Ptolemy Soter also promise to give him gifts; this shows that they were worshipped as gods when the Stele was made.


The first portion of the inscription of twenty-eight lines which comes below these scenes enumerates the names and titles of Ptolemy II. after the manner of documents of the class made in ancient Egyptian times, but with line 7 begins a paragraph which says that the king dedicated a temple to the god Temu of Thukut in the sixth year of his reign, and that this temple was situated at Pa-qeheret, which has been identified with the Pihahiroth of the Bible. The same paragraph mentions that the inhabitants of Ta-neter brought him horses; and the clearing out of the sand, , from the canal which is on the east of the Khalmet, or Kharmet, , on the eastern side of the Lake of the Scorpion, , i.e., the canal which joined the Nile and the Red Sea. It is also stated that he went to Teshit, , "to the end of

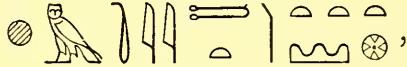




the South," as far as the land of Parsetet, , and "found the gods of Egypt," , whom he brought back and re-established at Thukut. It has been said that Parsetet is Persia, but it can only be that portion of it which is near the Shatt al-'Arab.

In the second paragraph of the inscription we are told (l. 15) that Ptolemy again visited Pithom in the twelfth year of his reign, and that on this occasion Arsinoë was with him. In the sixteenth year of his reign, in order to gratify his god Temu, he dug a canal, , which began at the north of Heliopolis and ended in the Lake of the Scorpions. During this visit he settled what endowment the temple of Pithom was to have, and we have in lines 17 ff. a detailed statement of the oil, wine, fruit, etc., which were set apart for it, and the amounts thereof, and a certain quantity of silver is ordered to be paid to the temple. When this had been arranged "his Majesty went to Qem-urt,"<sup>1</sup> , and he laid the foundations of a large city there in honour of his sister, and he called it after the great name of the daughter of Ptolemy; the text unfortunately does not say *which* daughter, and so the city may have been called Arsinoë or Philotera.<sup>2</sup> A sanctuary to Temu

<sup>1</sup> The "Great Black Sea."

<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian .













was built in the new city, and statues of the "brother gods" were set up in it, and the priests and libationers performed the services proper to the dedication of a temple. Next, the king collected a large number of great ships, which he manned with troops, and filled with all manner of good things, and having been placed under the command of the "first general of his majesty,"<sup>1</sup> they sailed over the sea of Qem-urt and as far south as Khemthithet, , and the confines of the Negro-land, , and in due course brought back the things which were beloved of the king and the royal wife Arsinoë.

The founding of the city of Ptolemaïs Epithêras next occupied the king's attention, and having fixed upon the site, which was not far from the modern Sawâkin (سَوَاكِين),<sup>2</sup> he settled there a number of soldiers and artisans of all classes, and he made them plough the fields which under his direction had been called into being. In the neighbourhood of the district in which this city Ptolemaïs was situated Ptolemy's soldiers and others captured large numbers of elephants, ,<sup>3</sup> which were taken to Egypt in ships, and, as the inscription says, "the like of this was

<sup>1</sup> Probably Eumêdês.

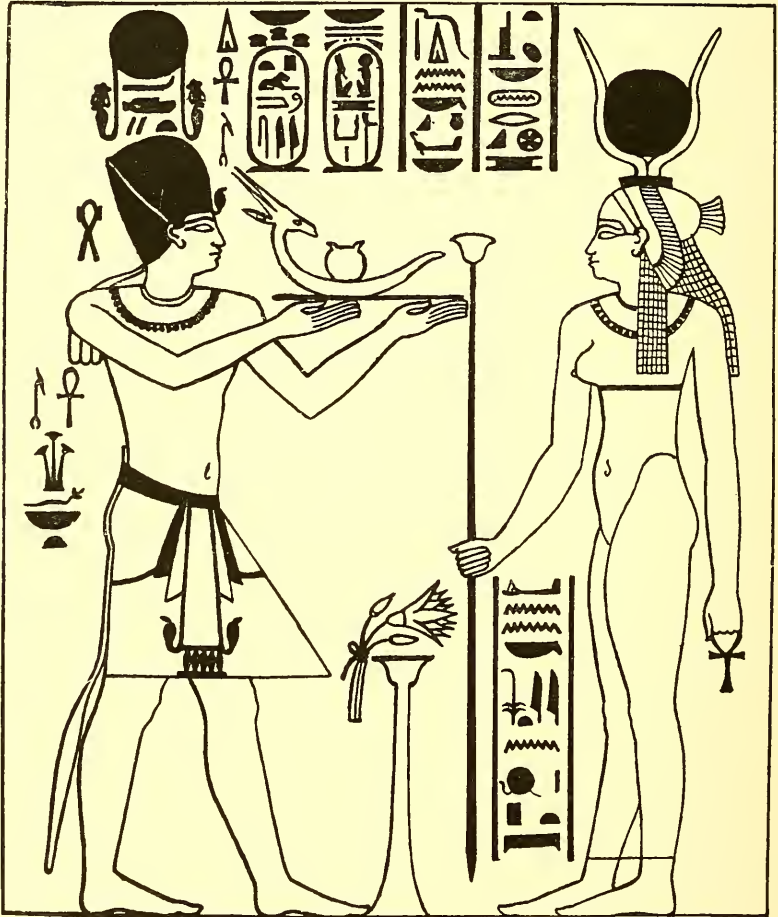
<sup>2</sup> This is the form given by Yâkût (iii. p. 182); the place is now commonly called by Europeans "Suakim."

<sup>3</sup> On the elephant hunts undertaken for the Ptolemies see H. R. Hall in the *Classical Review*, vol. xii. 1898, pp. 274-282.

“never before done for any king in all the earth.” The ships bearing freights of “things from the East” sailed over the “Great Green,” , i.e., the [Red] Sea, and made their way to the Nile by the canal which, beginning near the Lake of Scorpions, entered the Nile to the north of Heliopolis. In addition to all the gifts which Ptolemy made to the temples of Temu, he provided an endowment for the Apis Bull,  , and the Mnevis Bull,   , and for another sacred Bull, the like of which had never before been done by any king in the land. The last few lines of the inscription state that the donations which Ptolemy II. made yearly to the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt amounted to ten million and fifty thousand pieces of silver,      ; besides this income they could draw as a tax on the houses 90,000 pounds (*uten*) of silver, and from the inhabitants 660,000 pieces of silver. The endowment of the temple of Pa-qerehet consisted of 950 pieces of silver, which had to be raised from a tax on the houses and on the people. All these things were arranged in the fourth month of the season Pert in the twenty-first year of the king's reign. The Stele of Pithom was set up to commemorate the great benefits which Ptolemy II. had conferred upon the temples of Egypt, and the text concludes with a prayer that he may keep Egypt in his grasp, and that all foreign lands may bow down to him in homage, and




end of 1870, at a place in the Delta called "Tamai al-Amdîd" تمى الامديد ; now this Arabic name is composed of the names of two ancient cities, the older

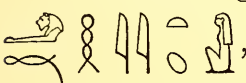



Ptolemy II. Philadelphus making an offering to Isis, lady of Philae, who says "I give to thee all strength, I give to thee sovereignty [like unto that of] Râ in heaven."

city being represented by Amdîd, and the younger by Tamai. The Arabic form "Amdîd" is a corruption of



the Greek name Mendes, which represents the old Egyptian name of the city Ba-neb-Tet, , where a sacred ram was worshipped; the Arabic form "Tamai" is a corruption of the name of the Greek city *Θμούις*, which was close by, and which grew in importance as Mendes declined. At Mendes a temple in honour of the sacred Ram existed from very early times, and as a centre of an important phase of Osiris worship the city occupied a prominent place among the sanctuaries of the Delta.

On the upper part of the Stele is a scene in which Ptolemy II., and his wife Arsinoë, and another Ptolemy are making offerings to the Ram, and to a ram-headed god, and to the goddess Hāmehit, , and to the dead queen Arsinoë, who is assumed to have taken her place among the gods. The Stele was set up to commemorate the benefits which the king had conferred upon the temple of Mendes, and the text relates that he had always been its patron. In the early part of his reign he visited Mendes and assisted at the enthronement of a Ram, and ordered a suitable habitation of durable materials to be built for the sacred animal; he also ordered that the temple of the god should be rebuilt. In the twenty-first year of his reign it was reported to the king that the temple was finished, and his majesty was asked to assist at the enthronement of another ram; Ptolemy II. consented, and during the ceremony he

took the opportunity of inaugurating the worship of his sister and wife as a goddess among the deities of the city. The image of the queen Arsinoë, who had died a few years before, was placed near the Ram in the procession, and both were led through the streets of Mendes by their priests, and were followed by the chief men of the city and by huge crowds who rejoiced greatly. Mendes had a new lease of life given to it by the festival, and Ānep, , a district of Mendes, shared in the rejoicings. Before passing from the works of the king in the Delta mention must be made of the temple of Isis at<sup>1</sup> Ḥebet, which was begun by Nectanebus I. and finished by Ptolemy II.

Besides the cities bearing the name of Arsinoë which Ptolemy II. founded on his eastern trade route and elsewhere, he established a Greek city quite close to the old Egyptian town of Shetet, in the Fayyûm, where the crocodile-headed god Sebek had been worshipped from very ancient times; the city was for this reason called by the Greeks Crocodilopolis. Here, on a large quantity of land which appears to have been reclaimed from Lake Moeris, the king settled great numbers of men, and built temples in honour of Greek gods there, and thus did his utmost to form a centre for Greek life, and thought, and language in Upper Egypt; to this settlement he gave the name Arsinoë, and in a

<sup>1</sup> The modern Behbît; the ruins there are called "Ḥagar al-Gâmûs," i.e., "Buffalo stones."

very few years it became well populated and prosperous. At Karnak Ptolemy II. built a granite gateway in the wall to the north of the temple of Mut, but although the Ptolemies often admitted the name of the god Amen into their prenomens, none of them did much for his ancient sanctuary at Thebes, if we may judge by the remains of their buildings. At Philae Ptolemy II. began to build a large temple in honour of the goddess Isis and her son Harpocrates, and its sanctuary with its vestibules and chambers, which are decorated with reliefs and inscriptions of its founder, is still visible; this temple was left unfinished at the king's death. At Philae is a small but interesting inscription<sup>1</sup> which enumerates his titles as follows:—

1. “Beautiful god, divine hawk, protector of Egypt, son of the Sun, (Ptolemy), of Khnemu, Lord of Senmut,<sup>2</sup> beloved.
2. “Beautiful god, emanation of Atem himself, king of the South and North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Amen), of Horus, son of Isis, beloved.
3. “Beautiful god, heir of Rā, mighty lord like the son of Isis, son of the Sun, (Ptolemy), of Isis beloved.

<sup>1</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 7 b.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the Island of Biggeh, close to Philae.

4. "Beautiful god, lord of *tchefau* food, (Ptolemy), of Hathor, Lady of Senmut, beloved.
5. "Beautiful god, heaven of gold, bright metal of every foreign land, king of the South and North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Āmen), of Khnemu, Lord of Senmut, beloved.
6. "Beautiful god, chosen of Rā to be made king of the Black and the Red Lands, king of the South and North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Āmen), of Isis beloved.
7. "Beautiful god, Sun of Egypt, Moon of foreign lands, son of the Sun, (Ptolemy), of Horus, son of Isis, beloved.
8. "Beautiful god, mighty governor, making his boundary at Āp-ta, king of the South and North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Āmen), of Osiris Un-nefer beloved.
9. "Beautiful god, son whom Āmen hath chosen, type of a hundred thousand years, son of the Sun, (Ptolemy), of Isis beloved.
10. "Beautiful god, the Hāpi (Nile) of Egypt, the goddess Remt of every face, king of the South

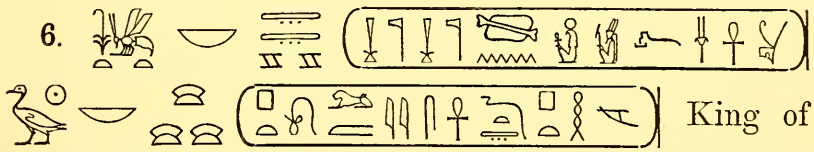
and North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Āmen), of Osiris  
Un-nefer beloved.

11. "Beautiful god, who hath grasped the bow and  
hath turned men into women, son of the Sun,  
(Ptolemy), of Horus, the Avenger of his  
Father, beloved.

12. "Beautiful god, who hast multitudes of ships and  
boats on the waters, king of the South and  
North, (Usr-ka-Rā-meri-Āmen), of Isis, the  
giver of life, beloved.

13. "Beautiful god, who possesseth countless hosts of  
horses, son of the Sun, (Ptolemy), of Isis,  
lady of Philae, beloved."

14. [The last line is mutilated].

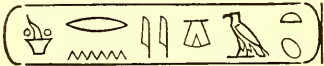
6.  King of  
the North and South, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-  
SENUI - ĀĀ-EN - RĀ - SETEP - ĀMEN - SEKHEM - ĀNKH - EN,<sup>1</sup>  
son of the Sun, lord of diadems, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH  
TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "Of the two brother gods the heir, chosen of Rā, living form of Āmen."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. : "Ptolemaios, living for ever, of Ptaḥ beloved."



PTOLEMY III., EUERGETES I., was the eldest son of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, who seems to have associated him with himself in the rule of the kingdom several years before his death. Ptolemy III. was born about B.C. 282-81, and succeeded his father as sole monarch of Egypt in 247; he reigned about twenty-five years, and died in 222. Soon after he became king of Egypt he married Berenice, the daughter of Magas, to whom he had been betrothed when a boy or very young man, and by this marriage he added Cyrene to his other dominions; his queen, whose name

is transcribed  *Barenikat*, is

frequently depicted with him in the reliefs on the gateway which he built to the temple of Khensu-Nefer-hetep at Thebes, and she usually wears the headdress of Isis-Hathor, a dual goddess whom the Ptolemies were especially pleased to honour. Shortly before his death Ptolemy II. had given his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus II., Theos, king of Syria, on the understanding that he should put away his wife Laodice, and should declare her children illegitimate, and should not allow any of them to succeed him on the throne. Antiochus II. observed his agreement until the death of his new

wife's father B.C. 247, when he at once recalled Laodice



The Horus name  
of Ptolemy III.

and her children. Laodice returned, and for some unknown reason, for it cannot be decided whether her act was prompted by fear or revenge, almost immediately destroyed her husband by poison; she then caused her son Seleucus II., Callinicus, to be set upon his father's throne, and this done, she began to work the destruction of Berenice and her infant son, and of those who were suspected of being favourable towards them. Laodice did not wait long for her revenge on her former rival, for by her orders Berenice and her son were attacked by her hirelings and were put to death



Berenice II., wife of Ptolemy III. Euergetes.

in the grove at Daphne, whither they had fled for protection when, or shortly after, Antiochus was poisoned. It is uncertain whether the news of the poisoning of Antiochus reached Ptolemy III. long before his sister's murder, but as soon as he heard of the latter, he at once set his forces in motion and invaded Syria with a large army, while his fleet of war-ships sailed up the Syrian coast in order to support by attacks on towns on the sea-coast his operations by land. The king of Egypt received much support

from several Syrian cities, for large numbers of the inhabitants had sympathies with Egypt, and viewed with horror the murder of Berenice and of her son.

In a very short time Ptolemy III. reached Antioch, and it seems that none could or would oppose his progress; once having gained possession of Antioch any resistance on the part of the people was out of the question. Curiously enough, he did not follow up by pursuing Seleucus the advantage which he had gained, but passed over the Euphrates and, it is said, marched to Babylon and Susa, the Shushan of the Bible, and the Shushter of to-day. This information is obtained principally from an inscription which was cut upon a marble throne for Ptolemy III. at Adule, *Ἀδούλη*, a settlement on the African coast of the Red Sea in the country of Troglodytica, which was founded during his reign. This settlement seems to have been situated a mile or two inland, and was probably founded upon the site of an ancient market town to which the natives from the Eastern Súdân brought down ivory, skins, slaves, apes of various kinds, tortoise-shell, gold, ebony, and other products of Central Africa. Ptolemy III. continued the policy of developing the trade of Egypt with the East, and having settled a number of troops at Adule was able to keep up the supply of elephants for his army. Adule was visited by an Egyptian monk called Cosmas, though generally known as Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the first half of the VIth century (520?) of our era,

and during the course of his visit he saw a marble monument in the form of a bench or throne, on which was a Greek inscription describing the conquests of Ptolemy III.; fortunately he copied the inscription and inserted it in his great work.<sup>1</sup> In the concluding lines it is definitely stated that Ptolemy III. conquered "Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, and Susiana, and Persia, and Media, and the rest of the country as far as Bactriana," and having searched out all the things belonging to the gods which the Persians had carried away from Egypt, he took them back with other treasure to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the Greek inscription on the marble throne has nothing whatever to do with Ptolemy III., as Henry Salt proved many years ago,<sup>3</sup> and we must regard it as the work of a king of Aksum.<sup>4</sup>


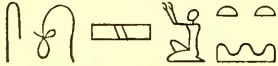

It seems incredible that Ptolemy III. should have been able to march as far as Susiana and Bactriana, and at first sight it is difficult not to imagine that we are dealing with statements resembling those made by Egyptian scribes, who, in the inscriptions which they drew up in praise of their masters, attributed to them the conquest of countries which they had never visited. But it seems that there is some truth in the claim of

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the entire work see Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1706, vol. ii. p. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A transcript of the inscription will be found in Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Berlin, 1897, No. 39, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1814, p. 411 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, Vienna, 1894, p. 3.

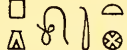
the conquest of Persia and Media, etc., made on behalf of Ptolemy III., for on the walls of a small sanctuary built at Esneh by this king, Champollion<sup>1</sup> found and copied a series of names of conquered countries, and among them were those now under discussion; the sanctuary measured about 90 feet by 60 feet, but is now destroyed. Among the eleven names copied by Champollion are:—1. Persutet, , Persia; 2. Suashtet, ; and 3. Āremātet, , Mesopotamia. St. Jerome in his commentary on the XIth Chapter of the Book of Daniel says that Ptolemy III. carried away as spoil 40,000 talents of silver, and 2500 images of the gods, among which were those which Cambyses had taken to Persia from Egypt. When the king returned to Egypt with the images the priests gave to him the name “Euergetes.” The Asiatic expedition of Ptolemy III. occupied the greater part of the first three years of his reign, and it would probably have lasted longer but for the fact that the internal affairs of Egypt made it necessary for him to return. The expedition was extremely popular with the Egyptians, because of the spoil which the army had taken, and because of its successful recapture of the images of the old gods of the country; but it can hardly be regarded as more than a huge raid, because Ptolemy III. could not

<sup>1</sup> See Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, tom. i. p. 185.



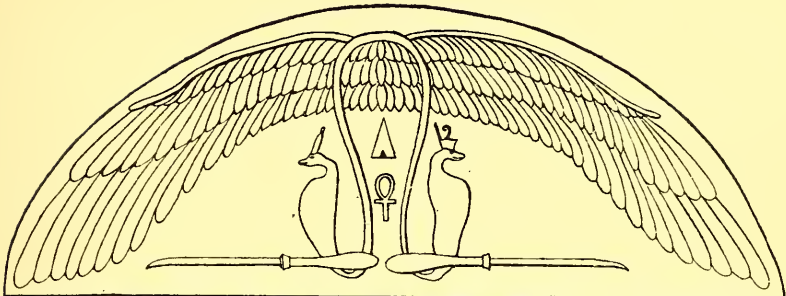
occupy the countries which he marched through, still less could he administer them and make his rule effective, and as soon as he had returned to Egypt Babylonia and the other countries again came under the rule of Seleucus. All that Egypt really gained by it, besides the spoil and the images of the gods, was a little firmer hold upon Syria, and "bold advertisement."

When the war was over, B.C. 245, Ptolemy III. appears to have devoted his energies entirely to the development of the country, and with the exception of a sea fight a year or so later, in which he defeated Antigonus Gonatas, he took no further part in any war. Much of the work with which he now occupied himself was in connexion with the rebuilding and repairs of temples and sanctuaries, and this he must have carried on with great zeal, for in the ninth year of his reign, B.C. 238, the priesthood convened a solemn assembly of their order at Canopus, when it was decreed that special honours should be awarded to the king and his wife Berenice II. Very fortunately, copies of the decrees which were passed on that occasion have come down to us written in Egyptian, both in the demotic and hieroglyphic characters, and in Greek, and we know exactly what took place at the assembly. The principal authority for the decrees is the famous stele of Canopus,<sup>1</sup> which was discovered at Tanis in 1866, and which is preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo;

<sup>1</sup> This city was called in Egyptian  PEK̄UATHET.

it measures about 7 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., and is made of limestone. The hieroglyphic (37 lines) and Greek (76 lines) texts occupy the front of the stele, and the demotic text (74 lines) is on the lefthand side; above the former, on the rounded part of the stele, is a winged disk with two pendent uraei, symbolic of Egypt South and North.<sup>1</sup> The texts set forth that on the 17th day of the first month of the season Pert, of the ninth year of the reign of Ptolemy III., when Apollonides, the son of Moschion, was the priest of Alexander, and of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë, and of Ptolemy III. and Berenice, and when Menecrateia, daughter of Philammon, was Canephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphus, priests of all kinds and grades were assembled at Canopus from all parts of the country to celebrate the festivals of the birth and accession of the king to the throne. The priests are aware that Ptolemy III. and Berenice are always conferring benefits on the temples; that they strive to increase the honour paid to the gods; that they provide for the

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphic and Greek texts were first published by Lepsius in *Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus*, Berlin, 1866; see also P. Pierret, *Le Décret Trilingue de Canope*, Paris, 1881, 4to; Reinisch and Rösler, *Die zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, Vienna, 1866; an interlinear edition of the demotic and hieroglyphic text is given by Brugsch in his *Thesaurus*, p. 1554ff.; and for the demotic version see Revillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, p. lxxxvi. pp. 125-176 and pp. 435-472; and W. Groff, *Le Décret de Canope* in *Revue Égyptologique*, tom. vi. p. 13 ff. A second stele inscribed with the decrees as before was discovered in 1881; for the Greek text and a translation see Miller in *Journal des Savants*, April, 1883, pp. 214-229.



Hieroglyphic text from the Stele of Canopus, consisting of approximately 25 horizontal lines of characters. The text is arranged in a regular grid and represents the ancient Egyptian inscription found on the stele.

The hieroglyphic text from the Stele of Canopus.

Bulls Apis and Mnevis; that the king has made an expedition to Persia and brought back the statues of the gods which had been carried away; that he has maintained peace in the land, and that he governs rightly and justly; that during a period of scarcity owing to the failure of the Nile inundation he cared both for the people and their temples; and that he remitted taxes and purchased corn at high rates from Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus, in order to save life. Therefore additional divine honours shall be paid to Ptolemy III. and his wife Berenice, and these are duly enumerated.

The priests next decreed, in order to prevent the feasts which should be celebrated in the winter being celebrated in the summer, and *vice versâ*, that in addition to the five epagomenal<sup>1</sup> days which at that time were added each year to the 360 days of which the year consisted, one day more should be added every fourth year, i.e., that every fourth year should in future consist of 366 days, but that the day so added every fourth year must be kept as a festival in honour of the king and queen. But whilst the priests were assembled at Canopus the princess Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy III. and Berenice, died, and the priesthood mourned for her, and when the mourning was over, they decreed that she should

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the "five days over the year,"  $\odot \overline{\text{|||||}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \triangle \\ \ominus \end{array} \right. \text{|||} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \triangle \\ | \end{array} \right.$ , or, *ἐπαγόμηναι ἡμέραι πέντε*, which are called by the Copts "the little month"; see Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 361.



be specially honoured in all the temples throughout the land. A special procession of boats lasting four days was to be established; a gold statue of the princess, inlaid with precious stones, was to be placed in the shrine of every temple of the first and second class in the land, and was to be carried forth in the arms of a priest and worshipped as "Berenice, the queen of the virgins." When the time of harvest came ears of corn were to be offered to her, and men and women were to sing hymns of praise written by the priests, and an allowance of corn was to be made for the daughters of her priests out of the temple revenues, and the loaves of bread which were distributed among the wives of the priests were to be of a special shape, and to be called the "Bread of Berenice." Finally the priests ordered that a copy of their decrees, both in Egyptian and Greek, should be inscribed on a stone stele or bronze tablet and set up in the most public place in all the temples of the first, second, and third classes, so that all the priests everywhere in Egypt might show how they honour Ptolemy III. and his wife Berenice and their offspring.<sup>1</sup>

The language in which the decrees were first drawn up has formed a subject of discussion among scholars, some holding the view that it was Greek, and others Egyptian. The late Dr. Birch<sup>2</sup> and M. Revillout both maintained

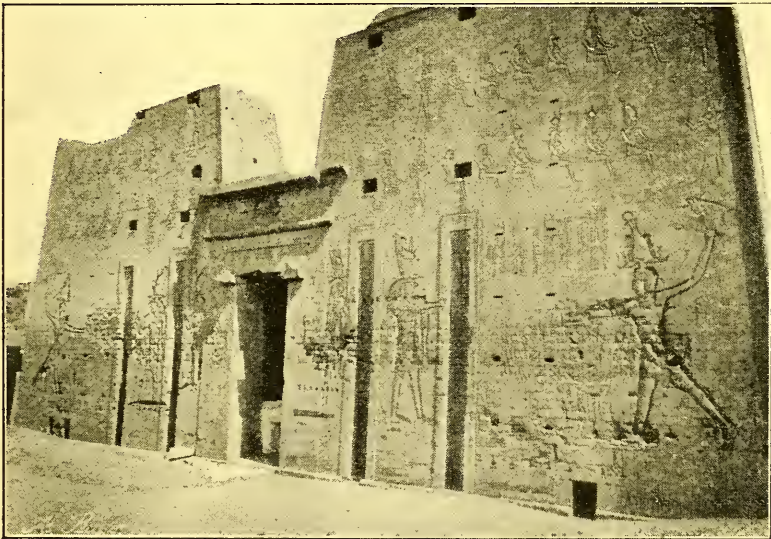
<sup>1</sup> A transcript of the Greek text is given by Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, No. 38, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 82.



that the original decrees were written in Greek, and that the "hieroglyphic and demotic versions were paraphrastic translations," made from it, but this view has not found favour with all scholars. The authority of M. Revillout on all demotic matters is, of course, very great, whilst Dr. Birch's great knowledge of Egyptian texts makes his opinion of peculiar value; still it is difficult not to think that the priests had at least their own version drawn up in their own language, and in their own fashion, by some of their number who would naturally write it in demotic. A perusal of the hieroglyphic text will convince an impartial inquirer possessing a knowledge of Egyptian that it was not wholly a spontaneous composition, and that some parts of it are so laboured as to suggest modifications of a draft, and that the writers were composing in a language with which they were imperfectly acquainted; in other words, it lacks the flow and ready expression of scribes who were accustomed to write in hieroglyphics. That the hieroglyphic text was based on the demotic seems tolerably certain, and the subject matter proves that its authors were Egyptians who were thoroughly acquainted with the minutiae of temple ritual; but at that period, when no one could write an inscription in hieroglyphics without great difficulty, the authors of the hieroglyphic version would find it just as difficult to translate the demotic as the Greek. The clumsiness of expression in the hieroglyphic version suggests also that its writers some-

times found themselves unable to express adequately the ideas or words which they had before them, whether they were demotic or Greek. Finally, there is no reason why each version should not represent an independent composition which was altered or modified in order to make its contents agree substantially with



The entrance to the Temple at Edfû.

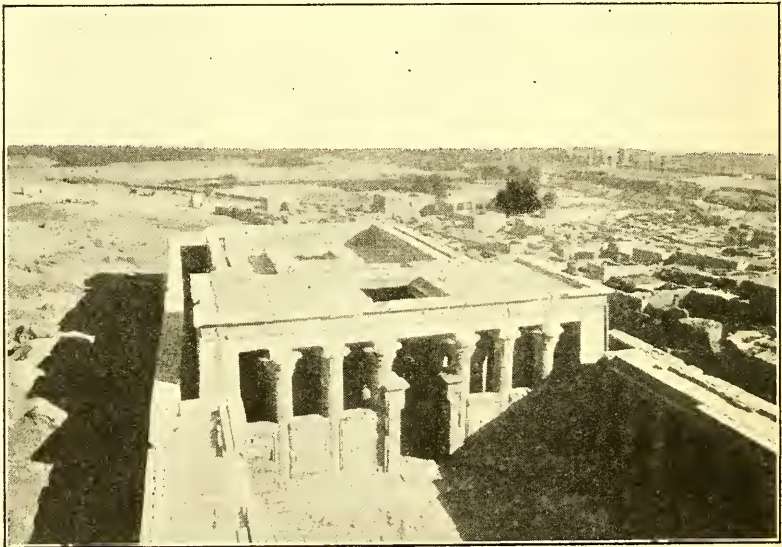
From a photograph by A. Beato.

those of the other two. According to Lepsius<sup>1</sup> the day on which the Stele is dated is equivalent to March 7, B.C. 238, but Prof. Mahler<sup>2</sup> makes it to be December 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Das bilingue Dekret*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *Transactions of IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1893, vol. ii. pp. 319-330.

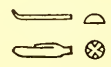
We may now briefly consider the building operations which Ptolemy III. carried out in Egypt. We have already mentioned the small sanctuary at Esneh, on which Champollion found the names of several conquered nations; this was probably built by the king soon after he returned from his expedition into Asia.



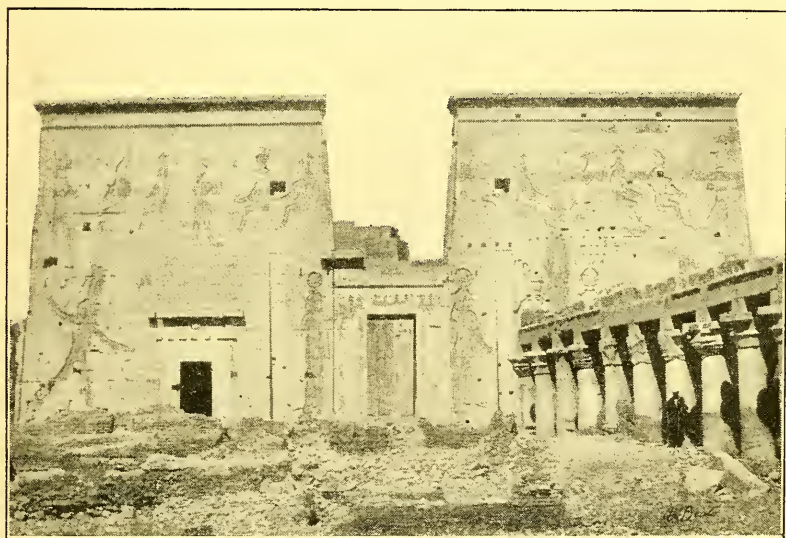
View of the Temple of Edfû taken from the Pylon.

From a photograph by A. Beato.

But in addition to this he began to build at Edfû,<sup>1</sup> the city which was so famous in Egyptian mythology as the place where Horus, its patron god, defeated his brother Set, a temple which is one of the most striking

<sup>1</sup> Called in Egyptian "Beḥuṭet," ; the modern name is derived from the Coptic ΑΤΒΩ.

examples of Ptolemaïc architecture. The building is to this day in an almost perfect state of preservation, which is chiefly due to the fact that until it was cleared out between 1860 and 1870 by M. Mariette, the whole of the inside, and the outside nearly to the tops of the pillars, were covered up with the ruins of the mud houses which the Arabs had built in and about it



Pylon and colonnade at Philae.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

for centuries. This marvellous building should be examined frequently by competent engineers, so that any further settlement of the walls, or any cracks in them, may not be allowed to endanger the structure.

The temple at Edfû was built on the site of an ancient Egyptian temple and, as it stands, is the work of a



number of Ptolemies, i.e., it was begun by Ptolemy III., B.C. 237, and was finished by Ptolemy XI., B.C. 57, thus practically taking 180 years to build. An idea of the size of the building will be gained from the following measurements :—The walls enclose a site 450 feet long by 120 feet wide ; the front of the propylon is from side to side 252 feet, and the towers are 112 feet high. In the sanctuary is a handsome granite shrine, intended to hold a figure of the god Horus of Behutet, which was made by Nectanebus I., the first king of the XXXth Dynasty. At Karnak Ptolemy III. made some additions and repairs, especially in connexion with the temples of Mut and Khensu, and on the eastern bank of the Nile opposite to the northern end of the Island of Elephantine he built a temple in honour of the goddess Isis. At Philae he added largely to the great temple of Isis begun by Ptolemy II., and he and the queen Berenice dedicated to the goddess the pedestal in the sanctuary on which stood the sacred boat that held the figure of Isis ; it is most probable that he repaired old temples or built new ones at many other places, e.g., Esneh and Canopus, but time and the fanaticism of the early Christians have caused them to disappear. The building of Egyptian temples did not cause him to neglect the interests of the great Alexandrian Library, for we know that he added very largely to the great number of manuscripts already preserved in it. He appointed as “Principal Librarian” Eratosthenes, the famous mathematician of Cyrene



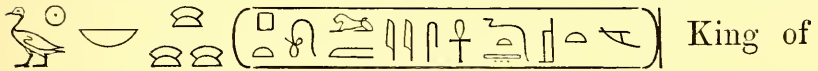
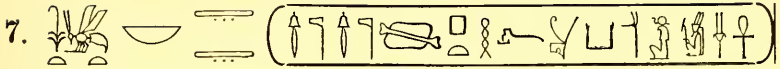
(born B.C. 276; died 196), and it is said succeeded in obtaining for the Library the original MSS. of the works of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles.

It is evident from what has been said above that Ptolemy III. was a great supporter of native Egyptian institutions, and that throughout his reign he was an attentive listener to the counsels of the Egyptian priesthood, in fact he seems to have had much sympathy with the old religion of the country. He was a patron of the arts and of literature and, like his father, lived on intimate terms with the Greek philosophers and literary men who were in his capital at Alexandria. The resources of the country were not spent on wars during his reign, and the only campaign which he undertook brought in large profits, which, since the greater part of them went into the treasury of the royal family, must have relieved the demands of the king upon the purses of his subjects. He spent large sums of money in gifts to the states which were hostile to the growth of the power of Macedonia, and he supported Aratus<sup>1</sup> of Sicyon in his endeavour to make the Greek states unite against that country, and also the Achaean league. Subsequently Aratus changed his policy and allied himself with the Macedonians, whereupon Ptolemy III. transferred his help and money to Cleomenes, king of Sparta. Cleomenes, however, failed to carry out his plans eventually, and was defeated at the

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Cleinias, and was born B.C. 271.

battle of Sellasia, from the stricken field of which he fled to Egypt, where he was graciously received by the king. Of all the good deeds of Ptolemy III. the greatest was, perhaps, the bestowal of sympathy and pecuniary help upon the Rhodians, when they were well nigh ruined by the earthquake which took place in 224, and which threw down the Colossus and destroyed the greater part of their walls and dockyards. To relieve their distress Ptolemy gave them "300 talents of silver; "1,000,000 medimni of corn (1 medimnus = 300 lbs.); "ship timber for 10 quinqueremes and ten triremes, "consisting of 40,000 cubits of squared pine planking; "1000 talents of bronze coinage; 3000 talents of tow; "3000 pieces of sail cloth; 3000 talents for the repair "of the Colossus; 100 master builders with 350 work- "men, and 14 talents yearly to pay their wages. "Besides this he gave 12,000 medimni of corn for their "public games and sacrifices; and 20,000 medimni for "victualling 10 triremes. The greater part of these "goods were delivered at once, as well as a third of the "whole of the money named."<sup>1</sup> According to Polybius, Ptolemy III. died a natural death, but Justin reports a rumour that he was poisoned by his son; he left three children—Ptolemy, his successor; Magas, who was put to death by his brother; and Arsinoë, who married her brother Ptolemy.


<sup>1</sup> Polybius (Shuckburgh's translation, London, 1889, vol. i. p. 438), Bk. v. § 88.



the South and North, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-MENKHUI - ĀĀ - PTAḤ - SETEP - EN - USR - KA - RĀ - ĀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH,<sup>1</sup> son of the Sun, lord of diadems, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-ĀST-MER.<sup>2</sup>




HUNNU QEN,  
the Horus name of  
Ptolemy IV.

PTOLEMY IV., surnamed PHILOPATOR, succeeded his father on the throne of Egypt B.C. 222, and he died in 205. He married his sister Arsinoë about 212, and their son Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, was born about two years later; the name of the queen, , has been found on slabs of stone at Thebes, side by side with that of her husband, and on these the two royal personages are described as “the two father-loving gods, beloved of Āmen-Rā, “king of the gods.”” From the inscriptions which are found on the monuments of his reign we see that he adopted a Horus name like the

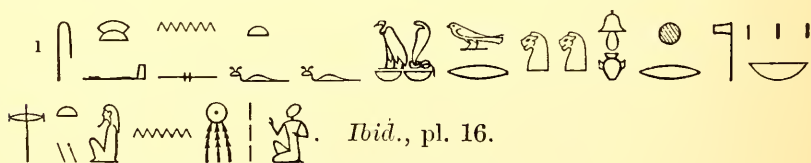
<sup>1</sup> I.e., “Heir of the gods, who did good deeds, chosen of Ptaḥ, “strength of the double of Rā, living form (or, power) of Amen.”

<sup>2</sup> I.e., “Ptolemaios, living for ever, beloved of Isis.”

<sup>3</sup> ; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv.

ancient kings of Egypt, and also a number of ancient titles,<sup>1</sup> but they do not, alas, supply us with any historical facts, and we have to fall back chiefly upon the histories of Polybius for the little general information which we possess about his reign.

According to this author<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy IV., immediately after his father's death, put his brother Magas and his partisans to death, and, as Antigonus Dason of Macedon and Seleucus were dead, he thought that he had nothing to fear from their sons Philip and Antiochus III. "He therefore felt secure of his position and began conducting his reign as though it were a perpetual festival. He would attend to no business, and would hardly grant an interview to the officials about the court, or at the head of the administrative departments in Egypt." His predecessors had taken more interest in foreign affairs than in those of Egypt, but he was equally indifferent and careless about both. And when "Philopator, absorbed in unworthy intrigues, and senseless and continuous drunkenness, treated these several branches of government with equal indifference, it was naturally not long before more than one was found to lay plots against his life as well as his power; of whom the first was Cleomenes, the



<sup>2</sup> Shuckburgh's translation, vol. i. p. 388.

“Spartan.” Ptolemy IV. was aided and abetted in his evil ways and deeds by Sosibius, who by some means acquired the greatest influence over the king, and who is said to have been the instrument which brought about the murder not only of Magas, the king’s own brother, but also of the king’s uncle, Lysimachus, and of his mother Berenice, and finally of his sister and wife Arsinoë. To this list of victims must be added Cleomenes the Spartan, for although, as Polybius says (v. 39), he and his fellow Spartans killed themselves when their attempt to escape failed, it was the



Ptolemy IV. Philopator.

diabolical intrigue of Sosibius which caused him to be arrested, and brought him to despair. The power of Sosibius grew in proportion as the king gave himself up to a life of sloth and self-indulgence and sensuality of the grossest kind, and it must be confessed that on several occasions he displayed considerable readiness and ability in helping his master out of his difficulties.

The first to use seriously the opportunity which the king’s indolence afforded was Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, whose advisers showed him that Egypt was



ruled by a king whose only care was to gratify his passions, and that the country was without an army. In 220 he set out to attack Egypt, but hearing that the Egyptian forces had massed at Pelusium and were fortifying the city, he relinquished the idea of marching on Egypt, and began to seize various towns and cities in Northern Syria. According to Polybius (v. 40), the war was caused by the action of Theodotus, the governor of Coele Syria, who conspired to put all his province into the hands of Antiochus. He was led to take this step partly because of his contempt for Ptolemy's shameful debauchery and general conduct, and partly because he had received neither reward nor thanks for the great services which he had rendered to him. Antiochus received the governor's advances joyfully, and the campaign into Syria was the result. In 219 Antiochus III. was encamped at Apamea, and, acting on the advice of Apollophanes of Seleucia, who suggested that it was folly to talk of conquering Coele Syria whilst the city of Seleucia on the Orontes was held by an Egyptian garrison, and had been so held since the time that Ptolemy III. had invaded Coele Syria to avenge the murder of his sister Berenice, set out to capture Seleucia. Diognetus commanded the fleet, and the king marched with his army to within five miles of the town. The city was taken partly by assault and partly by treachery, and then Antiochus was free to move forward and take possession of Ptolemaïs and Tyre, which were offered him by Theodotus.


At this juncture it seems that Ptolemy IV. began to realize the fact that Seleucia on the Orontes was lost to Egypt, and that an invasion of his country was imminent, and he was at length induced to fortify Pelusium, and to cut the dykes, and to stop up the wells. Sosibius, and Agathocles, the brother of Agathocleia, the infamous mistress of Ptolemy IV., seeing the danger in which the country was in, sent ambassadors to deceive Antiochus by assuring him that Ptolemy would not fight, and that they would try to induce him to evacuate Coele Syria as the result of



Ptolemy IV. Philopator.

negotiations, and they also sent messengers to Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, and the Aetolians, inviting them to send commissioners to discuss the terms of a treaty. By this means Sosibius obtained both delay and time to prepare for war. He and Agathocles lived at Memphis, and whilst pretending to do all they could to arrange matters by diplomatic means, they were diligently manufacturing arms, and training soldiers, and preparing the munitions of war. They were fortunate enough to secure the services of officers who had served with Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doseon, and

among these were Andromachus of Spendus, and Polycrates of Argos. The forces consisted of 3000 men of the Guard; 2000 light-armed troops under Socrates of Boeotia; 33,000 mercenaries and others; 3000 cavalry; 3000 Cretans, 3000 Libyans, 20,000 Egyptians, and 6000 Thracians and Gauls, etc. In 218 they sent out an army under Nicolaus against Antiochus, and a fleet of 30 ships and 40,000 transports under Perigenes (Polybius v. 68). Nicolaus was beaten at the pass of Porphyriion, and lost 2000 men killed and 2000 taken prisoners, and when Perigenes saw what had happened he withdrew his fleet to Sidon, whither the fugitives from the army also fled.

After this battle Antiochus again advanced, and he captured Philoteria, Scythopolis, Atabyrium, Pella, Abila, Gadara, and Rabba Tamana, and wintered in Ptolemaïs. In 217 Ptolemy set out from Egypt with 70,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 73 elephants (Polybius v. 79), and the army which he had to fight consisted of 62,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 102 elephants. On the fifth day after leaving Egypt Ptolemy reached his destination and pitched his camp at a distance of 50 stades from Raphia (in Egyptian Re-peh, .

Antiochus advanced, and creeping on little by little, at length encamped within five stadia of the Egyptians. Whilst the camps were in this position Theodotus, Ptolemy's former governor of Coele Syria, walked into the tent of the king and would certainly have killed

him had he been there, but as Ptolemy was sleeping elsewhere he only succeeded in killing Andreas, his physician, and wounding two men. Polybius (v. 84 f.) vividly describes the battle, which opened with a charge of elephants; in the end Ptolemy defeated Antiochus, who, however, comforted himself "with the belief that "as far as he was personally concerned, he had won a "victory, but had been defeated in the whole battle by "the want of spirit and courage shown by the rest." The loss of Antiochus amounted to 10,000 infantry and 300 cavalry killed, and 4000 taken prisoners, three



Ptolemy IV. Philopator.

elephants killed, and two which died of their wounds afterwards. Ptolemy's loss was 1500 infantry, 700 cavalry, and 16 elephants killed, and nearly all his other elephants were captured by Antiochus.

Ptolemy never thought of following up his victory and of making a further advance, and was "by no means inclined to peace," being "influenced in that direction "by the habitual effeminacy and corruption of his "manner of life." He therefore agreed to make a treaty with Antiochus and sent Sosibius to ratify it, whilst

he, having appointed Andromachus as governor of the district, returned with his sister and friends to Alexandria. The Alexandrians were greatly surprised at the result of the war and at the way in which he had behaved on the day of the battle when they considered the manner in which he spent the rest of his life. After the conclusion of the war Ptolemy "abandoned "all noble pursuits and gave himself up to the life of "debauchery," and Polybius says (xiv. 12) that "late in "life he was compelled by circumstances to engage in "the war I have mentioned, which, over and above the "mutual cruelty and lawlessness with which it was "conducted, witnessed neither pitched battle, sea-fight, "siege, or anything else worth recording." The war here referred to is probably that described by the same writer, who tells us (v. 107) that after the battle of Raphia Ptolemy's Egyptian servants were so elated that they refused to receive orders from the king, and looked out for a leader to represent them, on the ground that they were quite able to maintain their independence; the year in which this revolt took place has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

In spite, however, of the life of sloth and indulgence which Ptolemy IV. led whenever possible, he never ceased to take an interest in the Alexandrian Library and in the building of the Egyptian temples which his father had begun; indeed he took care to honour both the gods of Egypt and those of Greece with temples. Like his father and grandfather he lived on terms of friendship



with the leading literary men of the day, and he showed his devotion to Homer by dedicating a temple to him.<sup>1</sup> Of the Egyptian temples which he built or added to the most interesting is the beautiful little



Scene from the wall of the Temple at Edfû. The goddesses of the South and North crowning Ptolemy king.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

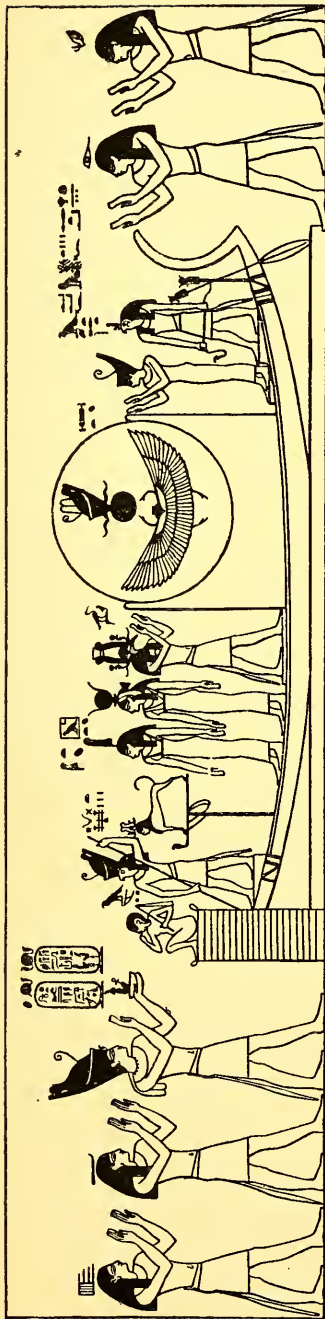
temple at Thebes called to-day "Dêr al-Medîneh." This temple stands close under the mountain and is













<sup>1</sup> Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, xiii. 22 (Didot's edition), p. 408.

built of fine sandstone, and is surrounded by a brick wall; it was dedicated to Hathor, the great goddess of the underworld, and appropriately enough, some of the reliefs on the walls are of a funereal character. Some of the columns were ornamented with Hathor-headed capitals, and over the entrance to the central chamber are seven heads of Hathor. On a wall in one of the chambers is sculptured the famous Judgment Scene with which we are familiar from the vignettes in the *Book of the Dead*, and the gods Horus and Anubis are seen weighing the heart of the deceased in the presence of the god Osiris, whilst Thoth is writing down the result to report to Osiris. In the upper register the deceased is seen praying to the forty-two judges of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Altogether it is remarkable to find such a scene in a temple built by Ptolemy IV. Elsewhere on the walls are reliefs in which the king is seen making offerings to Isis, Osiris, Anubis, Àmsu, or Min, and other deities. At Edfû he finished the building proper which his father had begun (B.C. 212), and then for four years<sup>2</sup> his workmen were occupied in sculpturing reliefs and inscriptions on the walls, after which the work ceased for a number of years. The king appears in various reliefs, one of the most interesting being that in which the gods of the Four Senses, i.e., Sight, Hearing, Taste, and Reason, are represented; elsewhere he

<sup>1</sup> The scene is reproduced by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 16.

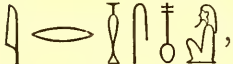
<sup>2</sup> These facts are obtained from Dümichen's paper in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 1-13.



Ptolemy IV. making an offering of Maät to the company of the gods in a boat. On the prow is Harpocrates, who is followed by Heru-merti , Ap-uat , Maät , Hathor , Thoth , Rā in his disk on the horizon , and wearing the crowns of the South and North with horns , Net , and Horus. On the right-hand side of the boat are the gods of Sight  and Hearing , and on the left the gods of Taste  and Reason .

is seen performing a religious ceremony, and opening the shrine of Horus, and offering incense to his deified father and mother, Ptolemy III. and Berenice.

At Aswân he continued the building of the temple of Isis which his father had begun, and he built a small temple on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract. During the course of the survey made at Philae by Major Lyons, R.E., excavations were made at the south end of the Island near a wall which bears the cartouches of the Emperor Tiberius, and M. A. Barsanti recognized the traces of a temple which had been built upon the site before that of which the remains were then being cleared away.<sup>1</sup> The granite slabs found here were seen to be inscribed with the cartouches of Ptolemy IV. and of his sister and wife Arsinoë, and it was clear from the mention of the god Ār-Ḥes-nefer,

, that the temple was dedicated to him ;

close by the feet of a diorite statue of Arsinoë were found. The discovery of other inscribed blocks showed that the temple of Ptolemy IV. had been repaired by Ptolemy V., by Ergamenes, king of Nubia or Ethiopia, and by the emperor Tiberius. This discovery was of considerable importance, especially when viewed in the light of the fact, which has been well known for many years past, that Ptolemy IV. added a hall to the temple which Ergamenes built at Dakkeh, about seventy miles

<sup>1</sup> Lyons and Garstin, *A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae*, Cairo, 1896, p. 23.



to the south of the Island of Philae. According to Diodorus (iii. 6, § 3) Ergamenes was a contemporary of Ptolemy II., but the evidence of the Egyptian monuments hardly supports this statement; on the contrary, it indicates the possibility that the king of Egypt who was contemporaneous with Ergamenes was Ptolemy IV. We may, of course, assume the



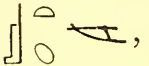
The Temples on the Island of Philae.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

existence of an immediate predecessor of the builder of the temple of Dakkeh, who was also called Ergamenes, but of whom no remains have been found, but, on the other hand, Ergamenes may quite well have lived through the last few years of the life of Ptolemy II., and the whole of the reigns of Ptolemy III.



and Ptolemy IV., and still have been at the time of the death of Ptolemy IV. under seventy years of age.

Mr. Mahaffy has pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the "cartouches" assumed by Ergamenes . . . have the peculiar hieroglyphic signs added to the fourth Ptolemy's name to "distinguish him from his father and grandfather," and in a later work<sup>2</sup> he asserts definitively that "Ergamen" was a contemporary, not of Philadelphus, but of "Philopator." The peculiar hieroglyphic signs to which he refers constitute the title "beloved of Isis," , but as the great temple of Isis at Philae, which was, strictly speaking, in the country of Ergamenes, was founded by Ptolemy II., there seems to be nothing remarkable in the fact that Ergamenes should, when he decided upon his royal titles, have styled himself "beloved of Isis." It is unlikely that he copied the title from the second cartouche of Ptolemy IV., because Ergamenes must have been king of Nubia before that king ascended the throne of Egypt, and his titles were fixed at his accession. The remains of the temple of Ptolemy IV. at Philae, and the temple at Dakkeh do, however, prove that the king of Egypt was obliged to treat Ergamenes as a friend and equal. The prenomen and nomen of Ergamenes as found at Dakkeh are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 140.



ĀMEN-ṬET-ĀNKH-TĀA-RĀ, son of the Sun, ĀRQ-ĀMEN-  
ĀNKH-TCHETTA-MER-ĀST,

and we must note that he styles himself “King of the South and North,” and “Son of the Sun,” i.e., that he claimed the titles which the old kings of Nubia (who formed the XXVth Dynasty of Egypt) had assumed after their conquest of Egypt, and which the Ptolemies who were his contemporaries were using at the same time as himself. He also calls himself “Hand of Āmen,” and “Emanation of Rā,” and we can only conclude from the titles that he claimed to be descended from the old royal stock of Egypt, and that he had established himself firmly upon the throne of Nubia in consequence. In other words, under Ārq-Āmen (Ergamenes) Nubia had sufficient power to assert her independence of Egypt, and her kings began to remember that the Thebaïd had once formed part of their kingdom. The temple which Ārq-Āmen built at Dakkeh<sup>1</sup> consisted of a comparatively small chamber; in front of this Ptolemy IV. built a hall and a fine doorway; in front of the hall Ptolemy IX. built a

<sup>1</sup> Dakkeh marks the site of the old Egyptian city called P-Selket

□ || ☉ ☽, i.e., the “House of Selket,” or Serket, called by the Greeks Pselchis; on the opposite side of the river was Contra Pselchis, the modern Kubbân, from which a route led to the gold mines in the Wâdî ‘Ulâki. Egyptian temples existed at both places in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

vestibule, and behind the chamber built by *Árq-Ámen* a chamber was added in the Roman Period. We thus see that the name of Ptolemy IV. is found further south than that of any of his ancestors, but it must not be assumed that this came to pass as a result of any conquest made by him in Nubia.

Of the last years of the reign of Ptolemy IV. nothing is known, but they seem to have been inglorious, and after the murder of his sister and wife *Arsinoë* he appears to have abandoned himself wholly to a life of debauchery. The affairs of state were managed entirely by his mistress *Agathocleia*, by *Agathocles*, and by *Sosibius*, and under their evil rule the power of Egypt declined, and the country began to enjoy less influence among the nations. Ptolemy IV., like his father, maintained friendly relations with the Greeks and Romans, and as *Antiochus III.* was occupied in the countries east of *Babylonia* Ptolemy had no reason to fear another invasion of *Coele Syria*; externally Egypt appeared to be in a flourishing condition, and to be as powerful as in the days of Ptolemy III.<sup>1</sup> But we know that the Egyptian soldiers in the Delta had revolted, and that the Jews in *Alexandria* hated Ptolemy IV. because of the policy of persecution which he carried on against them, and that the people

<sup>1</sup> From the inscription of *Charimortos* and *Lichas* we know that during the last few years of his reign these generals were still hunting elephants in *Nubia* and *Ethiopia* for the king's army; see *Hall, Greek Inscriptions from Egypt* (*Classical Review*, vol. xii. 1898, p. 274).

1207

ΥΠΕΡΡΑΣΙΝΕΩΣΤΤΩΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΑ  
 ΣΙΑΙΣΖΗΣΑΡΣΙΝΟΥΗΣΚΑΙΤΤΩΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΘΕΩΝΦΙΛΟΤΕΑΤΟΡΩΝΤΩΝ  
 ΕΚΤΕΤΩΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΕΡΕΙΝΙΚΗΣΘΕ  
 ΣΗΝΕΥΕΙΤΕΤΩΝΑΡΧΗΝΙΚΗΦΩΣΗΕΠΙΤΡΑ  
 ΠΕΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΙΝΔΑΙΟΥΟΡΩΜΗΕΥΣ  
 ΟΣΥΝΑΝΤΟΣΤΑΝΕΙΣΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ  
 ΧΑΡΜΙΝΟΡΤΩΤΩΣΤΡΑΤΗΡΩΝΕΣΤΙ  
 ΤΗΝΘΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΑΕΦΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΙ  
 ΑΤΩΣΣΙΣΜΙΟΡΒΑΝΟΥΕΤΕΝΝΕΥΣ  
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 ΤΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ

Greek inscription commemorating the hunting of elephants for Ptolemy IV. by the generals  
 of the hunt, Charimortos and Lichas. (British Museum, No. 1207.)







generally were furious at the murder of Arsinoë (B.C. 210), which either Sosibius or Agathocles, or both, had been allowed to carry out by the king.

Ancient writers generally agree in denouncing the life and conduct of Ptolemy IV., and they describe him as a sot, a sensualist, and a debauchee, and Strabo goes so far as to class him with Ptolemy VII. Eupator, and Ptolemy XIII. Auletes (xvii. 1, § 11), whose evil lives are notorious. On the other hand, the man who could dedicate to Homer a temple wherein the poet was worshipped as a god, and lead his phalanx into battle as he did on the day of Raphia, and appreciate the Egyptian religion to such an extent as to cause the "Judgment Scene" of the *Book of the Dead* to be sculptured on the wall of his temple at Dêr al-Medîneh, does not deserve wholly the evil reputation with which he has been accredited. A thoroughly vicious king would not have spent money on the building of Greek and Egyptian temples, still less would he have maintained the Alexandrian Library. A great many of the reports of the king's wickedness seem to have been due to the Jews of Alexandria. According to the Third Book of Maccabees, as soon as the Jews of Jerusalem heard of his victory at Raphia they sent messengers to offer him their congratulations; after this he visited Jerusalem and was greatly impressed with the dignity and beauty of the temple, and offered up sacrifices therein. He next expressed a wish to go into the Holy of Holies, and when the high priest

refused to gratify his curiosity he attempted to force his way in; the high priest, however, prayed to God, and just as the king was about to enter the most holy place, he was seized with paralysis and thus prevented from defiling the sanctuary of the God of the Hebrews. Ptolemy Philopator returned to Egypt filled with fury against the Jews because of the rebuff which he had suffered at Jerusalem, and began a series of persecutions of the most cruel character. He taxed them heavily, and interfered with their religious freedom, and at length gave the order to have large numbers of them taken to a place outside the city, where they were to be trodden to death by elephants inflamed with wine and anger. These sagacious beasts, however, refused to do such a wicked thing, and instead of killing the Jews charged into the king's servants and did some injury to them.<sup>1</sup>

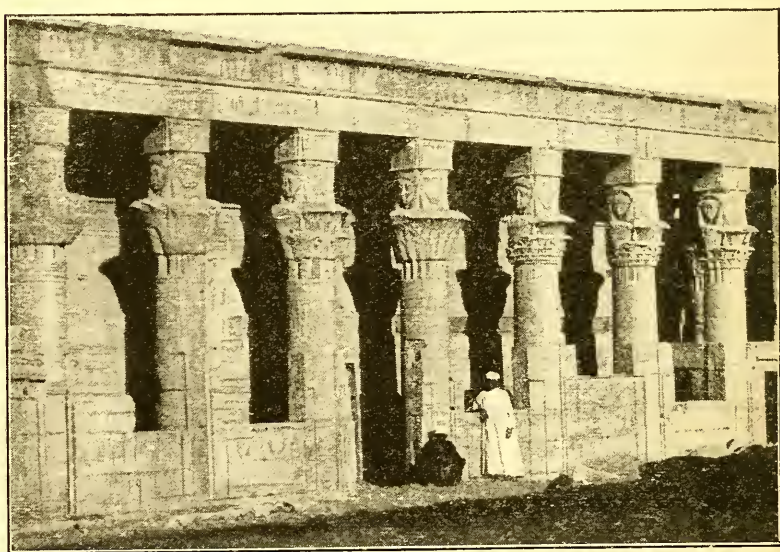
<sup>1</sup> "Then after he had sent for Hermon master of hys Elephantes  
 "beyng full of great and unpleasable anger so commaunded yt  
 "the next daye there shoulde be gyven to hys elephantes great  
 "quanytye of fragrant scence with much wine to drinck that  
 "when the(y) hadde myghtely drounken they myghte be broughte  
 "in starcke madde to kyll the Jewes. And when he had com-  
 "maunded thees thynges, callynge to gethe hys friends and ye  
 "cheife of hys armye which were cruelly minded agaynste the  
 "Jewes, he gat hym to hys feast. But Hermon the master of his  
 "elephantes did his commaundementes handsomly, and his ser-  
 "vauntes came about euening and bound the sely foules handes,  
 "and dyd all thynges that was to be done amongst them,  
 "thynckynge aboute twilyghte to kyll all the whole nacyon. Nowe  
 "the Jewes seemed to the Gentiles to be destytude of souccoure  
 "bycause they were so hard bound wyth banndes, but all they

The general unhistorical character of all the seven chapters of this "Book of Maccabees" has been pointed out by many writers, and it is clear that the few historical facts which underlie its crudities, absurdities, and

" wyth one voyce wyth teares called upon the omnipotent Lord,  
 " and there mercifull God and father which was aboue al powre.  
 " Desyryng hym to tourne awaye thys wycked deuyse taken  
 " against them, and that by hys royall commyng, he would take  
 " there fete out of thys desteuye. And thus they prayed toward  
 " heauen continewaliye. But Hermon whyche hadde filled thoos  
 " cruel elephantes with drincke ynough and frankenscense, came  
 " early in the mornynge to the court to tell ye king of it. But  
 " that goodly worckmanshyps of day and nyght, made from the  
 " begynnyng of the worlde, and whych is sent of him, that gyveth  
 " lardgly unto al that he wyll, was partly sent unto the kyng, for  
 " he was fast in slepe and was much deceaued of hys cruell  
 " purpose, and frustrat of his angry judgment. So the Jewes when  
 " they had passed the tyme, that was appoynted, they prayesed  
 " there holy God, and prayed unto him agayne that he woulde  
 " shewe unto the prowde Gentyles, the strengt of hys myghtye  
 " hand. Now when it was halfe an howre almost past tenne of  
 " the clocke, hys servaunt seing that many ware come that he had  
 " sent for, he came and waked the kyng, and thold him, the  
 " slepe yet scant out of hys eyes, that dynner tyme passed awaye,  
 " and thold him of the men yt were come."

Ptolemy then gathered together all his friends, and told his keeper of the elephants to make ready his beasts to kill the Jews on the morrow, and he did so. When the Jews saw what was being done they prayed to God, and one old man called Eleazar made a long prayer to God. In answer to this God sent down two of his angels, and they " bounde them with such fetters that they  
 " might not stirre. Then trembled the kinges body, and began to  
 " forgette his prefull boldeness, the beastes also tourned against  
 " the men that were in harnes and trode them undere the fete and  
 " kylled them. So the kyng turned his anger unto pitie, and to  
 " bewaile those thinges that he had done before." See *The Thyrde Boke of Machabees*, London, 1550.

exaggerations, are distorted after the manner common with the writers of such compositions. The author wished to prove that his nation was under the special care of Divine Providence, and his statements are as un-historical as those of the writer of the Book of Daniel, who declared that Nebuchadnezzar II. dwelt among wild asses, and was fed with grass like oxen, and that



A gallery of the Temple at Philae.  
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

his hairs grew like eagles' [feathers], and his nails like birds' [claws]. Now we know from Babylonian mythology that Eabani, an early mythical hero, lived with the beasts of the fields, and the representations of him which are found on seal-cylinders suit exactly the description of Nebuchadnezzar II. in the Book of Daniel ;



the writer of this work heard of Eabani in Babylon, and applied the description of the fabulous creature of early Sumerian times to the Babylonian king whom he wished to decry. Similarly, Ptolemy IV. had incurred the enmity of the Jewish colony at Alexandria, and no wickedness or folly was too great to attribute to him in consequence.

During the last three or four years of his life Ptolemy IV. associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom his son Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, but the child was only two years old when he was made co-regent, and therefore could have no real power, whilst his father appears then to have lost all that he once possessed. About the period of the co-regency a revolt broke out in Upper Egypt, and the Nubians endeavoured to include the Thebaïd in their kingdom as in the days of Piānkhi I. and his successors; this rising was not quelled when Ptolemy IV. died, and the Nubians carried on their revolt into the reign of his son. They realized, like the other nations of the world, that the power of Egypt was declining, and that in a few years' time the Empire would fall to pieces.

END OF VOL. VII.







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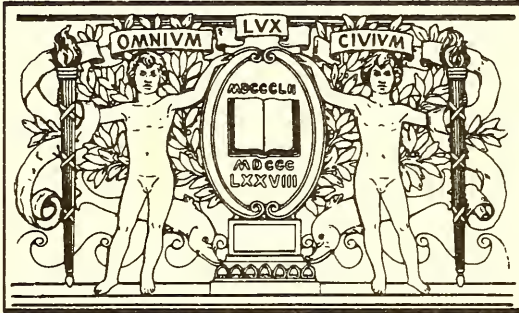




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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE END OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO  
THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII. B.C. 30

VOL. VIII.

EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES AND  
CLEOPATRA VII.





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## P R E F A C E

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IN the present volume the History of Egypt has been continued from the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV. to the death of Cleopatra VII. Tryphaena, i.e., from about B.C. 210 to B.C. 30, and a brief sketch of Nubian history from the end of the XXVIth Dynasty to the establishment of a native Negro Dynasty at Meroë has been added. The Ptolemaic Period is to the Egyptologist more interesting than important, especially those aspects of it which illustrate the transformation of Egypt into a Hellenized state, and the gradual growth of Greek influence in the country. On the other hand, it must never be forgotten that, although the Ptolemaic kings and the court and army were Greeks and spoke Greek, the religion of the country continued to be purely Egyptian, and the language of the priesthood and of the people was Egyptian. Publicly the Ptolemies were Egyptians, and many of them were crowned with all the ancient rites and ceremonies at Memphis; and they worshipped the ancient gods and offered up sacrifices to them, and they even followed the example

of the Pharaohs of old in marrying their own sisters and nieces, a course which must have been extremely repugnant to the ideas of their Greek subjects, and which could only have been followed for political purposes. With great tact the Ptolemies carried out the wishes of the Egyptian priesthood, but they took care not to allow the priests to take any important part in the administration of the country, which was carried on by Greek officials and ministers. So much has been said about the evil lives of the Ptolemies, that it is sometimes forgotten that they were not a series of weak and wholly disreputable rulers, but a group of powerful monarchs under whose sway Egypt was as great and as rich as she was even under the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The development of the Egyptian army and fleet under the first four Ptolemies was little short of marvellous, and trade and commerce sprang up wheresoever the ships of Egypt went, and even under the weakest Ptolemies the Egyptian Empire was almost as great as it was under the greatest of the Pharaohs. In a way the Ptolemies cared greatly for the country which a strange fate had called upon them to rule, and for the various peoples who formed its inhabitants; this showed itself in several ways, but it is sufficient to refer to the Egyptian History of Manetho, which was compiled by order of Philadelphus, and to the translation of certain Books of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and to the toleration which the Greeks displayed towards Egyptian gods. The private vices

of the Ptolemies in no way concerned the people whom they ruled, for they did not interfere with the administration of the country, which was carried on with great benefit to Egypt and the Egyptians; the intelligent interest which the Ptolemies took in literature and art, and the love which they displayed for learning of every kind, prove that they cannot have been the wholly abandoned profligates which writers like Josephus and the author of the Third Book of Maccabees would have us believe.

Concerning the history of that remarkable personality Cleopatra VII. the hieroglyphic inscriptions afford us scant information, but there is abundant proof forthcoming to show that she took every step in her power to make the Egyptians believe that she was a legitimate descendant of the old Pharaohs, and that the blood of Amen-Rā ran in her veins. By the bas-reliefs which she caused to be sculptured in the temple at Hermonthis she told all beholders that her son by Caesar (Ptolemy XVI.) was in reality the offspring of the god Amen-Rā, who had taken the form of Caesar and had visited her, and she was, clearly, very anxious that every one should regard her son Caesarion as the son of Amen-Rā. Cleopatra's wit and ability were as great and as subtle as those of Queen Aāh-hetep and Hātsheset the Great, and she seems to have been their superior in the art of governing; she was by far the cleverest of all the descendants of the Ptolemies, and to the love of literature which she inherited from

her father Ptolemy XIII. she added a good practical knowledge of several languages, which enabled her to converse with people of many nationalities. She possessed shrewd business qualities, and, according to Herod, was capable of driving a good bargain, and her sweet voice and charm of manner and conversation secured her many friends and disarmed many foes. Arrogant, reckless, extravagant, and vicious, are epithets which have been applied to her freely and with much show of reason, but when all is said that can be said on the subject, the love of power appears to have been her ruling passion, and it must be admitted, that although she squandered money she squandered it in a way which proved that she understood the value of pomp and ceremony in the ruling of Eastern peoples.

I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Grueber, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for selecting a number of coins of the Ptolemaic Period for illustration, and to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for the names of a number of valuable works by authorities on the Ptolemaic Period. Finally, my thanks are due to Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington, and especially to Mr. G. E. Hay and to Mr. F. Rainer, of their staff, for the care and attention which they have taken in printing the volumes of this work.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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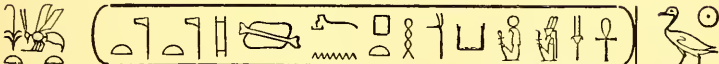
EGYPT

UNDER THE

PTOLEMIES AND CLEOPATRA VII.

CHAPTER I.

THE PTOLEMAÏC PERIOD.

8. 

 King of the South and

North, NETERUI-MERUI-[A]TUI-ĀĀ-SETEP-EN-PTAḤ-
USR-KA-RĀ-ĀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH,¹ son of the Sun,
PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

PTOLEMY V., surnamed EPIPHANES, was the son of Ptolemy IV., by his sister and wife Arsinoë. He was born B.C. 210, and was made co-regent the following year; he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 205, and died by poison administered by one of his officials in 182. The hieroglyphic inscriptions

¹ I.e., "Of the gods lovers of the father the heir, chosen of Ptaḥ, "the strength of the ka (or, double) of Rā, living form (or, power) "of Āmen."

of Ptolemy V. give us no information about the circumstances under which he came to the throne, and for these and other important matters concerning his reign we have to rely upon the works of classical writers. According to Polybius (xv. 25, Shuckburgh's Translation) three or four days after the death of Ptolemy Philopator Agathocles and Sosibius caused a platform to be erected, and summoned a meeting of the foot-guards and the household, as well as of the officers of the infantry and cavalry. Mounting the platform



Ptolemy V. Epiphanes.

they announced the deaths of the king and queen, and proclaimed the customary period of mourning for the people. They next placed a diadem upon the head of the child Ptolemy Epiphanes, and proclaimed him king, and read a forged will, in which the late king nominated Agathocles and Sosibius guardians of his son, and they exhorted the officers to be loyal to the boy. They next brought in two silver urns, one of which they declared contained the ashes of the king—which was true—and the other those of Arsinoë—which was not true.

When the people learned that Arsinoë was dead there was great excitement among them, and her miserable death "excited such a passion of pity and sorrow that the city was filled with sighs, tears, and irrepressible lamen-



Ptolemy V. making offerings to Khnemu, lord of Qebhet and Senmut.

"tation." When Agathocles had deposited the urns in the royal mortuary, and had given orders for the laying aside of mourning, he gave the army two months' pay, and made them take the oath customary at the

proclamation of a new king. He made Philammon, who had been the actual murderer of Arsinoë, governor of Cyrene, and he placed the boy-king under the care of his own mother, Oeanthe, and of the infamous Agathocleia; Pelops, the son of Pelops, he sent to Antiochus in Asia, to ask him to maintain friendly relations with Alexandria; and Ptolemy, the son of Sosibius, he sent to Philip of Macedon, to arrange a marriage between the royal families of the two countries. Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, he sent to Rome, and Scopas, the Aetolian, he sent to Greece to find recruits, his object being to send the soldiers already in the city to garrison duty in various parts of the country, and to employ the new recruits about the palace and in Alexandria. Agathocles then gave himself up to a life of debauchery, and “he devoted the
“chief part of the day and night to drunkenness and
“all the excesses which accompany drunkenness, sparing
“neither matron nor bride, nor virgin, and doing all
“this with the most offensive ostentation. The result
“was a widespread outburst of discontent; and when
“there appeared no prospect of reforming this state of
“things, or of obtaining protection against the violence,
“insolence, and debauchery of the court, which on the
“contrary grew daily more outrageous, their old hatred
“blazed up once more in the hearts of the common
“people, and all began to recall the misfortunes which
“the kingdom already owed to these very men. But
“the absence of anyone fit to take the lead, and by

“whose means they could vent their wrath upon
“Agathocles and Agathocleia, kept them quiet. Their
“one remaining hope rested upon Tlepolemus, and on
“this they fixed their confidence.”

As long as Ptolemy IV. was alive Tlepolemus remained in retirement, but upon his death he again assumed the governorship of Pelusium. When he saw that Agathocles was monopolizing the supreme power, being afraid of the evil which might come upon him he began to collect both troops and money, and to shape his actions in such a way that the guardianship of the young king might devolve upon him. At the banquets which he gave frequently he purposely abused Agathocles and his sister, and when Agathocles learned these things he began to trump up charges of treason against him, and to declare that he was inviting Antiochus to come and seize the government. The object of Agathocles was to inflame the common people against Tlepolemus, but he failed utterly, for the populace had long fixed their hopes on Tlepolemus, and were only too delighted to see the quarrel growing hot between them. At length Agathocles summoned a meeting of the Macedonian guards, and taking his own sister and the young king, he went in before them and stood up to address them. “At first he feigned not to be able to say what he
“wished for tears; but after again and again wiping
“his eyes with his chlamys he at length mastered his
“emotion, and taking the young king in his arms,

“spoke as follows: ‘Take this boy, whom his father
“on his death-bed placed in this lady’s arms’ (point-
“ing to his sister), ‘and confided to your loyalty, men
“of Macedonia. That lady’s affection has but little
“influence in securing the child’s safety; it is on you
“that that safety now depends; his fortunes are in
“your hands. It has long been evident to those who
“had eyes to see, that Tlepolemus was aiming at
“something higher than his natural rank; but now he
“has named the day and hour on which he intends to
“assume the crown. Do not let your belief of this
“depend upon my words; refer to those who know the
“real truth and have but just come from the very
“scene of his treason.’”

With these words he brought forward Critolaus, who deposed that he had seen with his own eyes the altars being decked, and the victims being “got ready by the common soldiers for the ceremony of a coronation.” When the Macedonian guards heard this they hooted Agathocles out of the building, which he left amid sounds of contempt and derision, hardly knowing how he did so. Agathocles then foolishly took Danae, the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus, from the temple of Demeter, and had her dragged unveiled through the city, and threw her into prison; but this act only enraged the people more. He also caused one of the bodyguard called Moeragenes, who was suspected of being in communication with Tlepolemus, to be arrested, and he would have been

examined with torture but for some unforeseen matter which made it necessary for Nicostratus, the secretary of Agathocles, to leave the torture chamber, whereupon the torturers and the scourgers slipped out after him, and eventually Moeragenes himself escaped. Moeragenes fled half-naked into a tent of Macedonian guards, and he besought them with tears in his eyes to seize that moment and to wreak vengeance upon Agathocles without delay. The passions of the Macedonians having been roused, they went and discussed the matter with the men of their own and of other regiments, and in less than four hours every soldier had agreed that the moment had come for action.

Meanwhile an intercepted letter informed Agathocles that Tlepolemus would be at Alexandria shortly, and the spies said that he had already arrived; Agathocles, distracted at the news, went to his wine at the usual hour, and kept up the carouse, whilst his mother Oenanthe went in great distress to the temple of Demeter and Persephone, and begged these goddesses, with bowings of the knee and strange incantations, to help her. The ladies of the family of Polycrates tried to console her, but she abused them, and ordered her female attendants to drive them away, and to strike them with their staves if they refused to go. When night fell the whole city was filled with tumult, torches; and hurrying feet, and the open spaces round the palace, the stadium, and the street were filled with a motley crowd, as well as the area in front of the

Dionysian Theatre. When Agathocles was informed of what was happening he roused himself, and accompanied by his family, went to the king, and taking him by the hand, he proceeded to the covered walk which ran between the Maeander garden and the Palaestra. By this time the crowd had collected in such numbers that every foot of ground was occupied, and every roof and doorstep filled with human beings. As day began to break the mob began to call for the king. The Macedonian guards seized a part of the palace, and as soon as they learned where the king had gone they went to the covered walk and burst open the doors, and cried out with loud voices that the king must be brought to them. Agathocles begged his guards to go and tell the Macedonians that he resigned the guardianship of the king, and all the offices, honours, and emoluments which he held; everyone refused to do this except Aristomenes, who went and gave the message, and was nearly stabbed to death for his pains. The Macedonians eventually sent him back to fetch the king, or else to come no more himself.

When Agathocles saw that they were determined on a course of action he thrust his hands through the latticed door, while Agathocleia did the same with her breasts, which she said had suckled the king, and begged for their lives, but finding that his long and piteous appeals produced no effect, he sent out the king with the bodyguards. The Macedonians set the king on a horse, and his appearance was greeted

with shouts and hand clappings; he was then led to the stadium and seated in the royal stall. The crowd delighted in the sight of the child, but they also wanted vengeance, and Sosibius, a son of the elder Sosibius, asked him if he would "surrender to the populace those who had injured him or his mother." The young king having nodded assent, Sosibius told some of the bodyguard to announce the king's decision, and then took the child home to his own house which was close by, for the child was frightened at the unaccustomed faces and the uproar of the crowd, and needed attention and nourishment. The king's message was received with cheers and clapping of hands, and the soldiers went to search for Agathocles and his sister. In due course Agathocles was dragged along bound hand and foot, and he was at once killed; next came Nikon his relative, and after him Agathocleia stripped naked with her two sisters; and following them the rest of the family. Last of all, men brought Oenanthe, whom they had torn from the temple of Demeter and Persephone, riding naked upon a horse. "They were all given up to the populace, who bit, and stabbed them, and knocked out their eyes, and, as soon as anyone of them fell, tore him limb from limb, until they had utterly annihilated them all: for the savagery of the Egyptians when their passions are roused is indeed terrible. At the same time some young girls who had been brought up with Arsinoë, having learnt that Philammon, the

“chief agent in the murder of that Queen, had arrived
“three days before from Cyrene, rushed to his house ;
“forced their way in ; killed Philammon with stones
“and sticks ; strangled his infant son ; and, not
“content with this, dragged his wife naked into the
“street and put her to death.”

Tlepolemus now became prime minister of Egypt, and in some ways he was a capable man. He was young, and according to Polybius (xvi. 21), aspiring and ambitious, and possessed great ability as a general, and high natural courage, and he knew how to get on with soldiers ; he lacked diligence and sobriety, and was a poor financier. He was fond of amusements, and squandered money recklessly, and bestowed extravagant gifts upon the officers and soldiers of the palace guard. “He was utterly incapable of saying
“no, and bestowed anything there was at hand on any
“one who said anything to please him.” The result of this was that the supreme power in the state came into the hands of Aristomenes, who “was an Acarnanian,
“and though far advanced in life when he obtained
“supreme power, he is thought to have made a most
“excellent and blameless guardian of the king and
“kingdom” (Polybius xv. 31). As soon as Ptolemy IV. was dead Antiochus the Great and Philip V. of Macedon thought that a favourable moment had come for them to enlarge their dominions at the expense of Egypt, and that no one about the boy-king would be able to defend his interests against their attack. Philip at

once seized upon the Cyclades and a number of places which had always been regarded as Egyptian possessions (Polybius iii. 2), but somehow failed to keep the promise he had made to Antiochus III. to support by his fleet at sea the efforts of the Syrian army by land. Meanwhile Antiochus had seized upon Palestine and Coele Syria, and in order to stop his progress Tlepolemus and Aristomenes were glad to send an army against him under the leadership of Scopas the Aetolian, who is described by Polybius (xiii. 2) as having disgusted his paymasters by his cupidity, and who is said to have drawn from the king of Egypt 10 minae per day in addition to his military pay as commander-in-chief. In due course Scopas marched into Syria against Antiochus; he at first gained some small successes, chiefly against the Jewish nation (Polybius xvi. 39), but in the end he was beaten by his opponent, who forthwith took Batanaea, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara, and soon afterwards the city of Jerusalem surrendered to him (B.C. 198). Thus Egypt lost her possessions of Palestine and Coele Syria, and would, no doubt, have lost much more had it not been that the advisers of the boy-king Ptolemy V. thought it well to appeal to Rome for help against Philip V. and Antiochus III. Some writers¹ take the view that the Romans sent M. A. Lepidus to Egypt in response to this appeal, and say that he became the king's guardian and tutor, but no satisfactory evidence can

¹ Compare Justin, xxx. 2, 3; xxxi. 1.

be brought forward in support of this view. The Romans did, however, send ambassadors to Antiochus to warn him not to attack further any of the possessions of Egypt, but meanwhile the king of Syria had made a treaty with Ptolemy,¹ and had agreed to give him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and to restore to Egypt Coele Syria, Samaria, Judaea, and Phoenicia.

During the years which immediately followed Egypt was ruled by Aristomenes, and under his wise direction the prosperity of the country began to return, and the authority of a central government made itself felt throughout the country. But this state of affairs was not pleasing to everyone, and among the malcontents was Scopas, the money-loving general who had been sent against Antiochus. This man had endeavoured to make the Alexandrians revolt against the authority of Aristomenes, but he was arrested and taken to the council chamber by Ptolemy, the son of Eumenes, and charges of conspiracy and sedition were read against him by the king, and by Polycrates, and by Aristomenes; he was condemned not only by the council, but by the envoys of the foreign nations who were present. Scopas vainly attempted to make the council listen to the pleas which he put forth in his defence, but, "owing to the senseless nature of his proceedings he was taken along with his friends to prison. There after nightfall Aristomenes caused Scopas and his family to be put to death by poison. As in the lifetime of

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. 4, § 1; Polybius, xviii. 51.

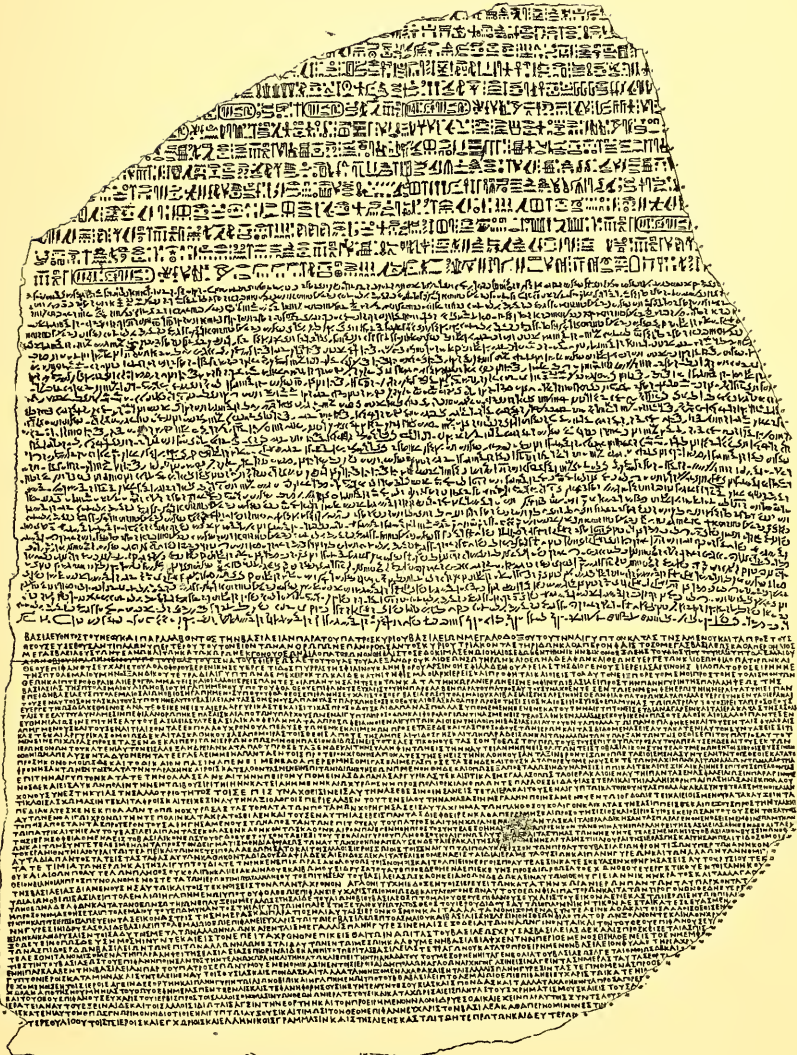
“Scopas his love of money had been notorious, for his
“avarice did in fact surpass that of any man in the
“world, so after his death was it made still more
“conspicuous by the enormous amount of gold and
“other property found in his house; for by the as-
“sistance of the coarse manners and drunken habits of
“Charimortus¹ he had absolutely pillaged the kingdom”
(Polybius xviii. 55).

The attempt of Scopas to overthrow the government seems to have convinced the advisers of Ptolemy V. that the time had come when the king should be established in his kingdom, and though according to precedent he was not sufficiently old, they decided in their minds that “the kingdom would gain a certain degree of
“firmness, and a fresh impulse towards prosperity, if
“it were known that the king had assumed the
“independent direction of the government” (Polybius xviii. 56). They therefore made all ready for the *Ἀνακλητήρια*, i.e., the “festival of proclaiming a sovereign,” and the ceremony was performed with the greatest splendour and success (B.C. 196); to this result the ability of Ptolemy largely contributed. In the very year in which the king took the rule of the country into his own hands, the decree, which was inscribed in the hieroglyphic and demotic characters

¹ From a Greek inscription published by Mr. H. R. Hall (*Classical Review*, 1898, p. 276), which must belong to the year B.C. 207, we learn that this same Charimortus was the strategos of the elephant hunts which were conducted on the African coast of the Red Sea for Ptolemy IV.

and in Greek upon the famous "Rosetta Stone," was promulgated. This monument is of the greatest importance, for it has not only given us valuable information concerning the condition of Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy V., but has afforded the clue to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.¹ The inscription is dated on the 18th day of the second month of the season Pert, of the ninth year of Ptolemy V., when Aetos, the son of Aetos, was priest of Alexander and other deified Macedonians; and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinos, was Athlophoros of Berenice; and Areia, daughter of Diogenes, was Canephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphus; and Eirene, daughter of Ptolemy, was priestess of Arsinoë Philopator. It sets forth that the whole of the priesthood throughout the country had assembled at Memphis to celebrate the festival of the "receiving of the sovereignty" by Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes Eucharistus;

¹ The first facsimile of the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone, which is now preserved in the British Museum, was published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1802. See Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana*, Berlin, 1851; Brugsch, *Die Inschrift von Rosette*, Berlin, 1850; Chabas, *L'Inscription hiéroglyphique de Rosette*, Paris, 1867; Revillout, *Chrestomathie Démotique*; a handy transcript of the Greek text is given by Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 240, No. 69; and English renderings will be found in Sharpe, *The Rosetta Stone*, London, 1871; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 71 ff.; and Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 152 ff. A short form of the hieroglyphic text is given by Bouriant in *Recueil*, tom. vi. p. 1 ff., from a limestone stele, which was found at Au-Nûbârîyeh, النوبارية, near Damanhûr, and which is now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.



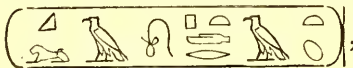
The Rosetta Stone. British Museum, No. 32.

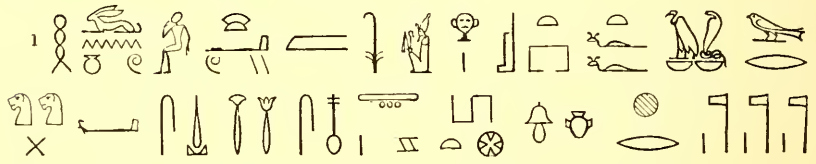
that inasmuch as the king was well disposed towards the gods, and had offered revenues to the temples; and had remitted wholly some taxes and had lightened others; and had released prisoners; and had granted amnesty to those who rebelled; and had provided ships and an army to protect the country and its temples; and had taken by assault the city of Lycopolis, which had fallen into the hands of rebels, and had punished the ringleaders; and had remitted certain taxes on the temple property and had lightened others; and had given gifts to the shrines of the Apis and Mnevis Bulls, and made arrangements for their burials; and had restored the temples and sanctuaries of the gods throughout the country—because the king had done all these things they determined to increase the honours paid to him and his ancestors, and to set up a statue of Ptolemy in every temple.

The latter part of the inscription describes how these statues are to be dressed, and adored, and carried about in procession, and decrees that the king's birthday and day of coronation shall be observed as festivals, etc., and concludes with an order that the decree shall be inscribed upon a stele in hieroglyphics, demotic, and Greek, and that a copy of it, also on stone, shall be set up in every temple of the first, second, and third class throughout the land. What the Egyptian titles chosen by the king on his accession were cannot be said, but from the inscriptions on his monuments it appears that his Horus name was, "The Boy who riseth like the

king of the South upon the throne of his father;” and that as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, and the Horus of gold he called himself “Mighty “one of two-fold strength, making strong the two “lands, making beautiful Ta-mert (Egypt), beneficent “of heart before the gods,” and (2) “Giver of life to “men, lord of thirty-year festivals.”¹ On one relief he is styled “Beautiful, living god, emanation of Rā, son “of the lords of Khemennu”² (Hermopolis), and on another, “son of the White Crown, child of the Red Crown, nursling of the goddess Ur-ḥekat.”³

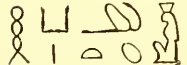
About three years after his coronation at Memphis (B.C. 193), which seems to have been conducted on the lines laid down in ancient times, and which proves that Ptolemy V. submitted to the custom of the country, he went to Raphia to meet the Syrian princess Cleopatra,

() the daughter of Antiochus,

¹  ; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, tom. iv. pl. 18.

² . *Ibid.*

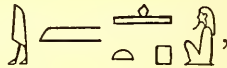
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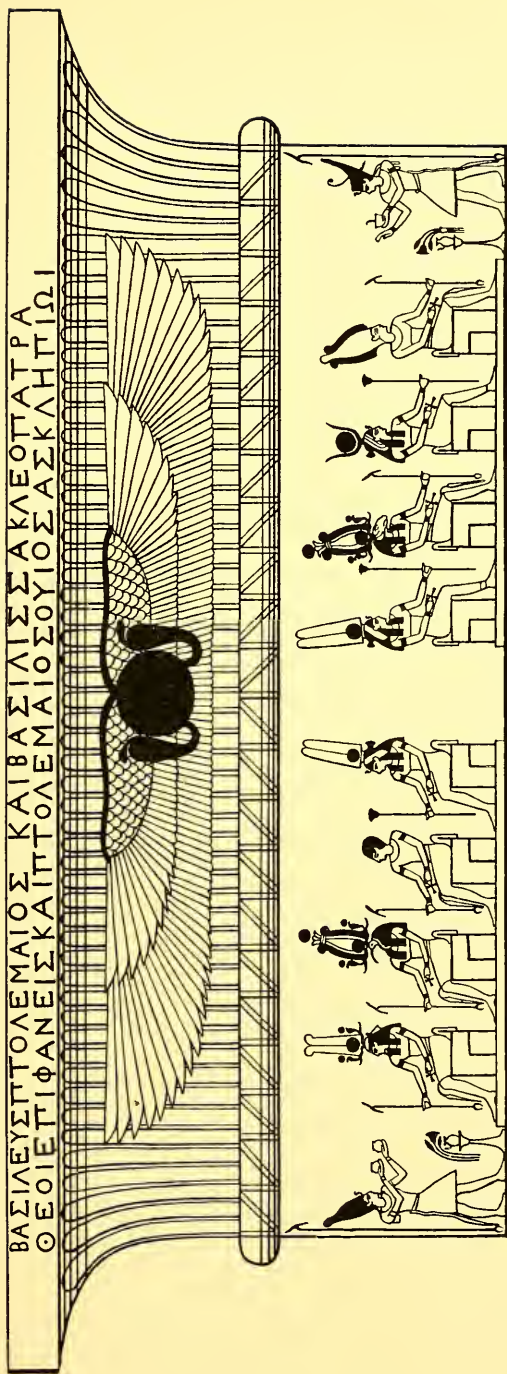
. *Ibid.*



Ptolemy arrayed in priestly apparel burning incense.

king of Syria, and married her there. Coele Syria and Palestine were given to her as her dowry, but her father garrisoned them with his own troops, and these provinces were practically lost to Egypt; moreover, though Ptolemy V. took the greatest care to maintain friendly relations with the Romans, who pretended that they were fighting Antiochus on behalf of the king of Egypt, they helped him in no way to recover any of the possessions which he had lost by sea and by land. In the latter part of his reign the king shook himself free from the wise influence of Aristomenes, and surrounded himself with sycophants, and finally, being unable to endure the presence of this faithful servant, he caused him to commit suicide. Ptolemy then allowed Polycrates to aid him in his vices, and it is said that this man took the greatest care to prevent him from giving any attention to the army and public affairs.

The remains of the buildings of Ptolemy V. in Egypt are not numerous, and consist chiefly of restorations at Philae, where he added to the temple of *Ār-ḥes-nefer*, built by his father and *Ārq-Āmen*, king of Nubia, and finished the temple of *I-em-ḥetep*, , the Asclepius of the Greeks. At Philae also is found a duplicate of the famous decree of the 9th year of Ptolemy V. as found on the Rosetta Stone, but it lacks the Greek version. The scarcity of monuments in this reign is probably due to the fact that the rebellion in Upper Egypt against the rule of the Ptolemies which



Scene from a doorway at Philae.

Ptolemy V. Epiphanes making offerings to the company of the great gods.

broke out in the sixteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy IV. was not put down until the nineteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy V., and we are justified in assuming that the Nubian king Ārq-Āmen, or a successor, was master of the country for about twenty-eight years. Into this period would fit very well the time of the rule of the two native kings at Thebes who, according to M. E. Revillout, were called Ĥeru-khuti and Ānkh-em-khu, and who reigned altogether twenty years.¹

Of the personal life and character of the king less is known than of many of the Ptolemies, but he seems to have been morally weak, indolent, and vicious, and an example quoted by Polybius (xxii. 7) shows that his word was not to be trusted, and that he was cruel. The nobles who had revolted at Lycopolis (B.C. 186) surrendered at discretion, but were treated in the most cruel manner, and when Polycrates suppressed another revolt the same thing took place. Pledges had been given to Athinis, and Pausiris, and Chesuphus, and Irobastus, but when they appeared at Saïs Ptolemy, regardless of all pledges, had them tied to carts and dragged off, and then put to death with torture. According to Polybius he took no actual part in the war, but this writer attributes the fact to the "dishonest advice" of Polycrates. Be this as it may, the rule of Epiphanes became very unpopular, and the loss of Coele Syria and Palestine, and of many of the

¹ See *Revue Égyptologique*, tom. ii. p. 145.

PTOLEMY VII., surnamed PHILOMETOR, was the son of Ptolemy V. and the Syrian princess Cleopatra; at the time of his father's death in 182 he was a mere child, and his mother ruled the country during his minority. She must have been a woman of great ability, for she managed to preserve friendly relations between Egypt and the kings of the neighbouring nations, and the well-being and prosperity of the country suffered in no way during her rule. In 175 Seleucus Philopator succeeded in releasing his brother Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, who in 188 had been given as a hostage to the Romans, by sending Demetrius, his son, in his place, and whilst the former hostage was on his way to Syria, Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, who seized the throne. The rebel did not, however, occupy the throne long, for Antiochus gained the mastery over him in that same year, and became king of Syria. Two years later Cleopatra seems to have thought the boy-king old enough to be crowned, and the coronation ceremonies were performed, either just before or just after her death, B.C. 173. As soon as Cleopatra was dead, the inevitable quarrel arose about the revenues of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, which had formed her dowry; her son naturally wished to retain them, and Antiochus IV. as naturally wished them to come to him. The advisers of the young king, Eulaeus and Lenaeus, whose sympathies were with the Egyptians, are said to have urged Ptolemy VII. to go to war about the matter, and he prepared to do so, but

whilst he was getting his forces together Antiochus seized the provinces in dispute, and in the battle which



Ptolemy VII. offering a crown, and Queen Cleopatra presenting sistra to the gods.

took place near Pelusium the Egyptians were routed with great loss, and their king only saved himself by flight.

Soon afterwards Antiochus took Pelusium and marched quickly up to Memphis, which he seized, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt; about this time Ptolemy VII. fell into his hands, and though he treated him honourably the young man was to all intents and purposes a prisoner. Meanwhile there was a younger brother of Ptolemy VII. at Alexandria, who was also called Ptolemy, who was living with their sister; this very young man, hearing that his brother was a prisoner at Memphis, collected an army, and prepared defences in and about Alexandria, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. When Antiochus IV. came and attacked the city, this Ptolemy succeeded in beating him off, and thus the capital of the country was saved. Antiochus next appointed Ptolemy VII. viceroy of Memphis, and having stationed a garrison of Syrians in Pelusium, retreated to Syria. But when Ptolemy at Alexandria took upon himself to defend Alexandria, he proclaimed himself king of Egypt, and so it fell out that there were two kings of Egypt called Ptolemy reigning at the same time. The younger Ptolemy was called by the Alexandrians "Physcon," because of his unwieldy appearance, and it is he who became known later as PTOLEMY IX., Euergetes II.

As soon as Antiochus had withdrawn from Egypt the two brothers came to terms, and made an arrangement which satisfied themselves and their sister. When Antiochus heard what had happened he attacked Egypt once more, and would, no doubt,

have made himself master of the country had not M. Popillius Laenas ordered him back to Syria. In 170 the brothers agreed to reign jointly, but in 163 a quarrel broke out between them, and Ptolemy IX. drove his brother out of Alexandria. Ptolemy VII. fled to Rome for protection, and the Senate sent him back to Egypt with envoys who had full power to re-establish him on his throne, and to appoint Ptolemy IX. to the kingdom of Cyrene. But after a very short time Ptolemy IX. left his new kingdom and went to Rome, and succeeded in persuading the Senate to make him master of Cyprus as well as of Cyrene; he was not, however, permitted to go to Cyprus directly, but was sent back to Cyrene to wait for the Roman envoys who had been sent to obtain the consent of his brother the King of Egypt. Whilst he was waiting he collected a large number of troops apparently with the idea of invading Egypt, but he was obliged to use them in putting down a rebellion in his own country, Cyrene. Later he again visited Rome, and the Senate sent envoys to establish him in Cyprus, but when they arrived in the Island they found Ptolemy of Egypt in possession, with a large army; Ptolemy of Cyrene was besieged straightway in Lapethus, and was soon obliged to surrender, when his brother sent him back to Cyrene, telling him to be content with that kingdom (B.C. 155).

Whilst the dispute over Cyprus was proceeding, Demetrius Soter of Syria tried to get possession

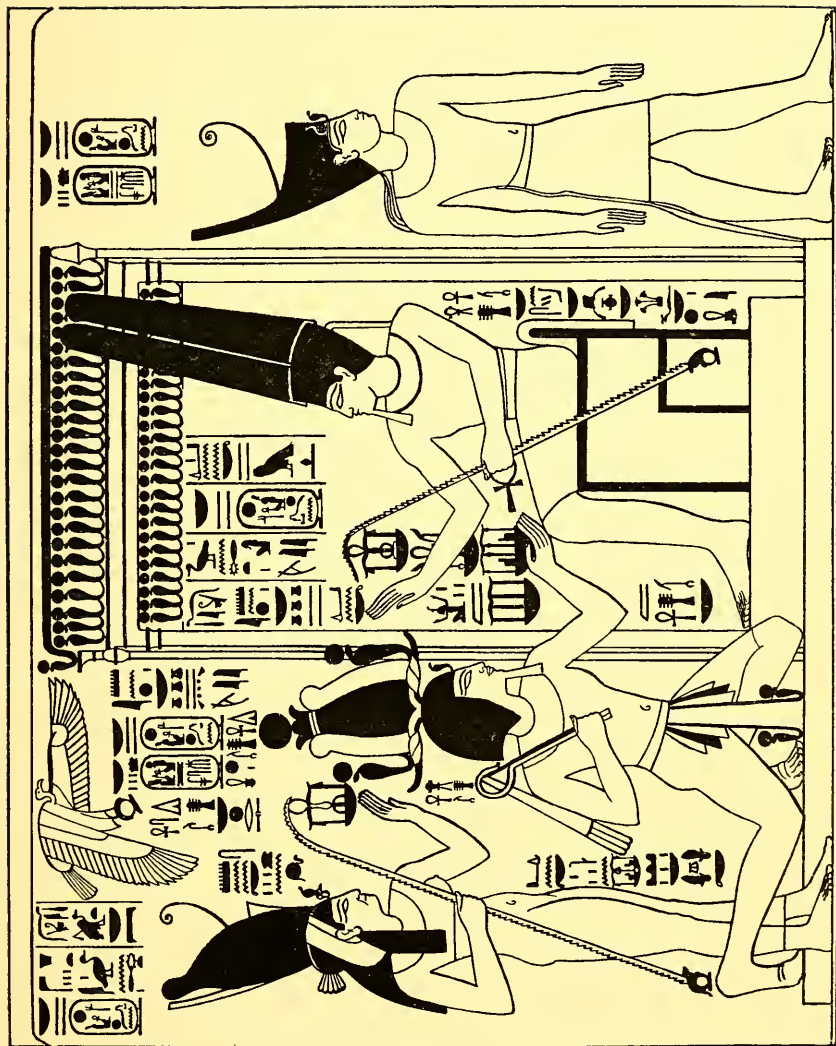
of the Islands; to punish him Ptolemy VII. gave his support to Alexander Balas and, when this man had made himself master of Syria, gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife (B.C. 150). When he heard that Demetrius was coming with an army to depose Alexander Balas, Ptolemy VII. collected an army and marched to the help of his son-in-law, but when he arrived at Ptolemaïs an attack was made upon his life by one Ammonius, an intimate friend of Alexander Balas. Ptolemy was convinced that the attack was made with the knowledge of his son-in-law, and became quite certain of it when Alexander refused to punish his friend; he thereupon transferred his help to Demetrius and gave him his daughter Cleopatra, whom he had taken away from Alexander. Ptolemy marched to Antioch, where he was received with gladness and proclaimed king of Syria; he, however, established Demetrius on the throne. Shortly afterwards Alexander Balas appeared with an army, and Ptolemy VII. and his new son-in-law went out to do battle with him; the allied kings were victorious, but Ptolemy VII. was thrown from his horse, and his skull was so badly fractured that he died a few days after (B.C. 146). Polybius describing his character (xxxix. 18) says, "If any king before him ever was, he was mild and benevolent; a very strong proof of which is that he never put any of his own friends to death on any charge whatever; and I believe that not a single man at Alexandria either owed his death to him. How-

“ever, in the course of a series of successes and
“prosperity his mind became corrupted; and he fell a
“prey to the dissoluteness and effeminacy characteristic
“of the Egyptians; and these vices brought him into
“serious disasters.”

In connexion with the reign of Ptolemy VII. must be mentioned the persecution of the Jews, which was begun by Antiochus IV. on his way back from Egypt; it, no doubt, resulted in the settlement in Egypt of a large number of Jews who would otherwise have remained in Jerusalem. Having seized the city, he slew many of those in it who were in favour of Egyptian rule, and when he had taken from it a large sum of money he went on to Antioch. Two years later he returned, and having obtained possession of the city by treachery he broke the covenant which he had made with the Jews, and stripped the Temple of everything of value. He took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar of incense, and the table for shew-bread, and the altar of burnt offering, and even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He forbade the sacrifices, and slew men and women, and carried into captivity 10,000 people; he burnt down the finest buildings, and having thrown down the city walls he built in the lower part of the city a citadel, which he fortified with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. He then set up an idol upon Yahweh's altar, and slew swine upon it, and made the people build altars and sacrifice swine upon

them also. He forbade circumcision and other rites, and those who observed the laws of their religion were beaten with rods, and their bodies torn to pieces, and many were crucified; the mothers who had their children circumcised were hung upon crosses with their children about their necks. Every copy of the Book of the Law was destroyed, and those with whom sacred writings were found perished miserably (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. v.).

Allowing for exaggeration, it is certain that the Jews suffered greatly at the hands of Antiochus, and there is small wonder that many of the inhabitants of Palestine went down to live in Egypt. Among those who fled was a young man called Onias, the son of Onias, a high priest, and nephew of Onias, who also had been high priest, and who had been put to death by Antiochus at the instigation of Lysias his general; when Antiochus had slain the high priest he appointed to the office a man called Alkimos, or Iakamos, who did not belong to the family of the high priest. Onias was kindly received by Ptolemy VII., and he told the king that if he would let him build a temple somewhere in Egypt where the Jews could worship God according to their own customs, they would fight against Antiochus more readily, and that he would bring most of the Jews over to his side. Josephus says that Onias made his request in writing (*Antiq.* xiii. 3 § 1), and purports to give a copy of Ptolemy's answer, which is as follows:—"King Ptolemy



Scene from a bas-relief of Rameses II, reproduced at Philae by the order of Ptolemy VII.

“and Queen Cleopatra to Onias send greeting. We
“have read the petition, wherein thou desirest leave
“to be given to thee to purge that temple which is
“fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Helio-
“polis, and which is named from the country Bubastis ;
“on which account we cannot but wonder that it should
“be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place
“so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since
“thou sayest that Isaiah¹ the prophet foretold this
“long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be
“done according to your law, and so that we may not
“appear to have at all offended God herein.” There-
upon Onias built a “fortress and a temple, not like to
that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower”; the
building was 60 cubits high, and had a girdle wall of
burnt brick with gates of stone. The altar was like
that at Jerusalem, and, among other things, had upon it
a lamp, which was hammered out of a piece of gold, and
suspended by a gold chain. This place was called Onion,
and was, according to Josephus (*Wars*, vii. 10, § 3),
180 furlongs from Memphis.

It seems pretty clear that Ptolemy's object in
allowing this temple to be built was political, and
that he recognized the great importance to his
interests of drawing away the Jews from Palestine
is evident. Onion was a flourishing place and an

¹ “In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst
of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the
Lord.”—Isaiah xix. 19.


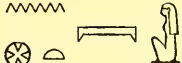

Of his activity as a builder Ptolemy VII. left many evidences in Upper Egypt. He carried out repairs at Karnak on one of the pylons, and we have there reliefs in which he is seen making offerings to Hēḥu




Ptolemaic Pylon at Karnak.


From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

 , Hēḥet
  , Kek
  , Keket
 , Amen
 , Ament
 ,

Nn, , and Nut, ; and in company with his wife Cleopatra he makes offerings to the goddess Sesheta , and to the god Osiris.¹ Else-

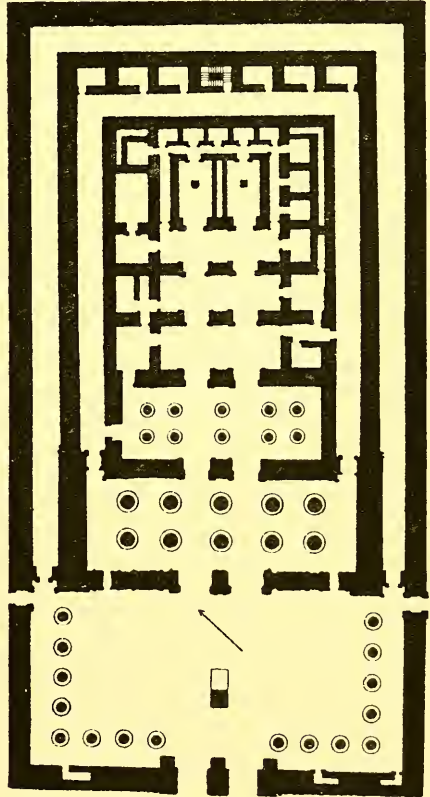
where he is seen dedicating a figure of Maät and a palette to Ptaḥ and the goddess Maät. At Esneh he is seen offering incense and pouring out libations to Osiris, and he is usually accompanied by his wife; on a relief he is seen presenting a jar of unguent to

Nit (Neith) ,

and to Ka-hrä .

At Edfû he continued the work which had been begun by Ptolemy III., and which seems to have been at a

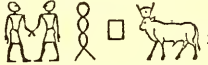
standstill from the 16th year of the reign of Ptolemy IV. until that of Ptolemy VII. At Kom Ombo are a few reliefs in which Ptolemy VII. is seen making offerings to the



Plan of the Temple at Kom Ombo. (After J. de Morgan.)

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 21.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 23 b.

gods Heru-ur (Aroëris) and Khensu,¹ and at Philae he built largely. But before the buildings on the latter place are mentioned the king's works at Dêr al-Medîneh in Western Thebes must be referred to. The beautiful little temple Dêr al-Medîneh was founded by Ptolemy IV., but its decoration remained unfinished. The work was continued by Ptolemy VII., apparently during the period of the joint reign of Ptolemy VII. and Ptolemy IX., i.e., between 170 and 163, for we see on one of the walls a relief in which are represented the two brothers and their sister, who are offering up offerings. All three are worshipping Âmen-Râ, Hathor, and the eight gods whose names are given in hieroglyphics above. In the hieroglyphic inscription which is above the scene we find that Ptolemy VII. is called the "twin" or "kinsman of Apis," , and that Cleopatra is called the "wife of the twin (or, kinsman, *heter*) of Apis;" now it appears that both brothers used this title, and we cannot consider it as indicating that the man who bore it was born on the same day as the Apis Bull. We may also note in passing that the inscription supplies us with the names and titles of the king as Horus,² as lord of the shrines

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 23 c and d.

² 

of Nekhebet and Uatchet,¹ and as the Horus of gold.²

At Philae he founded the temple of Hathor, which was completed by his brother, Ptolemy IX., and he added largely to the temple of Isis which had been founded by Ptolemy II. The right tower of the second pylon of this temple is built over a huge




Ptolemy VII, dedicating certain lands to Osiris and Isis of Philae.

mass of the living granite rock upon which are inscribed six lines of the hieroglyphic text of a



decree, dated on the first day of the third month of the season Shemu, of the 24th year of the reign of Ptolemy VII., recording the gift to the temple of a large quantity of land which was situated between Philae and Aswân on the east bank of the river. Above the inscription is a figure of the king, followed by that of his wife, making an offering of a field,



, to Osiris and Isis of Philae, and an offering of incense to Isis and her son Horus.¹ At Dâbûd, a place on the west bank of the Nile about thirteen miles south of Philae, Ptolemy VII. restored or added to a temple which was built near the town called Ta-ḥet, , in the Egyptian inscriptions, by the Nubian king who was named

(TAA - EN - RĀ - SETEP - EN - NETERU), son of the Sun,

(ĀTCHAKHAR-ĀMEN, living for ever, beloved of Isis)




Over the second pylon of the temple is a Greek inscription² of Ptolemy VII. Dâbûd marks the site of the ancient city of Parembolē, which was a kind of border fortress between Egypt and Nubia. It is difficult to explain the presence of work by Ptolemy VII. at Dâbûd, but we must not assume that he conquered the country, as some have done.

¹ For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 27.

² See Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 249.

PTOLEMY VIII., surnamed according to some EUPATOR II., and NEOS PHILOPATOR according to others, was the son of Ptolemy VII. by his wife and sister Cleopatra, and when his father died he was a young child (B.C. 146). Notwithstanding this fact Cleopatra boldly proclaimed her son king of Egypt, and began to govern the country in his name. When Ptolemy IX. heard what had been done, he collected an army and marched upon Alexandria, but no fighting took place, for Roman envoys intervened and adjudged the throne of Egypt to Ptolemy IX., and decreed that he should marry his brother's widow. To this he agreed, and it is said that on the day in which the marriage was solemnized Ptolemy VIII., Eupator or Neos Philopator, was murdered by his uncle. Thus it fell out that Ptolemy VIII. was only king nominally, and the period of his shadowy rule cannot have exceeded a few months; no Egyptian inscriptions of this king are known, but Strack attributes¹ two in Greek to his time.

10.  King of
the South and North, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-

¹ See *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253, where the boy-king is called Ptolemy VII.

ĀĀ-EN-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ĀRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ĀMEN-SEKHEM-
 ĀNKH, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or, risings),
 PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

In accordance with the directions of the Roman envoys, and the wish of a considerable party in Alexandria, PTOLEMY IX., surnamed EUERGETES, ascended the throne of Egypt as sole monarch of the country in 146. We have already referred to the principal events of the earlier portion of his life, and how on two occasions he owed his life and his position to his brother's extremely forgiving nature, and how finally he seems to have accepted the inevitable and to have lived in peace, outwardly at least, in the kingdom of Cyrene, which his brother, with the concurrence of the Roman Senate, had set apart for him. When his brother died the same influence removed the difficulty which arose through Cleopatra's having proclaimed her son king of Egypt, and set Ptolemy IX. safely on his brother's throne, and gave him the widow to wife. The marriage appears to have been a purely formal affair, and is to be compared with the marriages which were brought about by the priests in ancient times between those who had obtained the supreme power by conquest and the ladies of the royal houses of Thebes and the priestesses of Amen, in order to produce a reason for the occupation of the throne by those who, in the opinion of the legitimate heirs, had no right thereto. Many of the Nubian, and Libyan, and Saïte kings of

Egypt had made official marriages in this way, and they had for many centuries been recognized throughout all Egypt as being strictly in accordance with the views both of the priesthood and the people.

As soon as Ptolemy IX. Euergetes became sole king of Egypt he proceeded to take vengeance upon all those who had sided against him before he came to the throne. Large numbers of prominent and wealthy citizens were seized and put to death, and their property was confiscated, and the mercenary troops were allowed to roam through the city and to plunder almost when and where they wished. The king himself was cruel and vindictive, and the outrages of every sort which he and his troops perpetrated were so numerous that at length large numbers of the inhabitants of Alexandria fled from the city in alarm. At the same time he devoted himself to a life of pleasure, and, if we may trust the statements of writers like Justin, made himself thoroughly hated and feared by all classes of the community. A year or two after his marriage with Cleopatra, the widow of Ptolemy VII., he married his niece, who was also called Cleopatra, and who was the daughter of his official wife Cleopatra by her former husband. He is said to have divorced his official wife Cleopatra, and to have given great offence to his subjects by the act, but it is difficult to accept this statement, especially in the face of the evidence of some of the inscriptions, on which he mentions

both Cleopatra his *sister* and Cleopatra his *wife*.¹ It is impossible to assign a date to such inscriptions because we have no evidence on the subject in the texts, but they belong presumably to the early years of the reign of Ptolemy IX. as sole king, and, at all events, to the period which preceded his quarrel with his sister.

As years went on the acts of violence and of cruelty on the part of the king and his mercenaries did not diminish, and at length the discontent of the populace of Alexandria broke out in the form of a revolt (about B.C. 130), during which his palace was burnt down, and he had to seek safety in flight; he managed to escape to Cyprus with his son Memphites, and there he had the mortification of learning that the Alexandrians had made his sister Cleopatra queen of Egypt. To revenge himself upon her he murdered the boy Memphites, and having cut off his head and his hands he packed them in a box and sent them to his sister-wife in Alexandria, and timed their arrival so that they might reach her on her birthday. The partisans of the queen were, of course, enraged beyond measure at this act, and they made preparations for war, but the queen's arms did not prosper, and about two years later Ptolemy IX. was back again in Alexandria, and resumed the rule of the country. Cleopatra his sister meanwhile fled to the court of Demetrius II., king of

¹ Compare βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ; Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253, No. 103.

Syria, to whom she appealed for help. The sympathy of Demetrius took the form of sending an army to Pelusium, but for some reason or other, probably treachery, the expedition was a failure, and the army returned whence it came. Ptolemy IX. retorted by lending his support to the claims of a son of Alexander Balas, called Alexander Zabinas, who was a pretender to the Syrian throne, and as a result Zabinas succeeded in ousting Demetrius II. and became king of Syria under the title of Alexander II. A short time afterwards he incurred the displeasure of his patron, and, strange to relate, Ptolemy IX. became reconciled to his sister, who at once returned to Egypt and took up her old position, and Ptolemy transferred his favour and support from Alexander II. to Antiochus Grypus, the son of Demetrius II., to whom he gave his daughter Tryphaena. By means of the army with which Ptolemy IX. provided him Antiochus Grypus took possession of the throne of Syria, B.C. 127, and thus a daughter of the king of Egypt became queen of Syria. The last years of the life of Ptolemy IX. appear to have been spent in comparative peace, and except the petty revolts which seem to have taken place all over Egypt there was little to trouble him. He died in 117, according to some documents, in the 54th year of his reign, which was dated by their writers from the year when he was first declared king at Alexandria, B.C. 170, and he left a family consisting of two sons and three daughters.

The repairs and restorations of Egyptian temples by Ptolemy IX. may now be mentioned. On the west side of the temple of Khensu at Karnak he set up a small building now known as the Temple of *Āpet*, i.e., of the



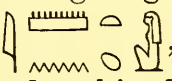
Ptolemy IX. piercing a foe in the presence of *Ĥeru-Behuṭet*, lord of Philae.


great hippopotamus goddess *Āpet*, $\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \text{Q} \\ \Delta \end{array}$, who is described as the “mother of the gods, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands, the august goddess dwelling in Thebes.” The walls of the chambers are ornamented

with a series of reliefs in which we see the king and his wife Cleopatra adoring Apet, Amen-Rā, and a large number of other gods, and making offerings to them. One of the most important of these is the god Osiris-¹

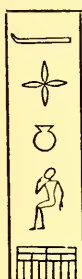


Ptolemy IX. and the god Osiris spearing a foe.

Unnefer, who is depicted in the act of giving a crown to the king; the goddess Ament, , stands behind the king and rests her hand on his shoulder,

¹ In these texts this god's name is often spelt  UASĀR.

and that as the Horus of gold he called himself, "Mighty



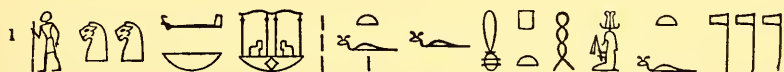
HUNNU,
the Horus name of
Ptolemy IX.

one of two-fold strength, lord of thirty-year festivals like his father Ptaḥ-Tanen, the father of the gods, prince like unto Râ."¹

A little to the north-west of the large temple of Medînet Habu is a small temple, now called Kaṣr al-'Agûz,² which Ptolemy IX. built to commemorate his ancestors, and on the reliefs we see the king adoring two of them, one a Ptolemy, and the other an Arsinoë. At Dêr

al-Baḥarî we find his name and that of his wife Cleopatra; and at El-Kâb he caused a temple to be hewn out of the living rock, but the inscriptions of Ptolemy X. indicate that in his time certain repairs were necessary.

At Edfû Ptolemy IX. brought to an end successfully the building of the temple which had been begun by Ptolemy III. From an inscription on the west wall of the temple we learn that the foundations of the temple were laid in the tenth year of Ptolemy III., i.e., in 237; the walls of the temple proper took about 25 years to build, i.e., they were not finished until the tenth year of Ptolemy IV., B.C. 212.

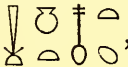




² I.e., "the Castle of the Old Woman."

The decorations of the walls took six years to complete, and by 207 the great door had been fixed in its place. From that year until the nineteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy V. nothing was done to the building, for the simple reason that the whole of Upper Egypt was in the hands of rebels. Under Ptolemy VII. the work was pressed forward, and in the twenty-eighth¹ year of Ptolemy IX. (B.C. 142) the ornamentation of the temple was declared to be complete. Thus the building of the temple proper of Edfû went on under five reigns, and occupied about ninety-five years, but subsequent Ptolemies added chambers to it, and carried out repairs, and continued the ornamentation of its doors and walls; the last additions made were two brass mounted leaves of the door, which were dedicated by Ptolemy XIII. and his wife Cleopatra V. Tryphaena in the twenty-fifth year of the king's reign, i.e., about B.C. 57. Thus from first to last, the temple and its outer chambers, wall, etc., were not completed under less than 180 years. At the festival of the dedication by Ptolemy IX. the figure of the god Horus, to whom the temple was dedicated, was carried round about in a solemn procession, and was shown all the magnificent works which the Ptolemies had carried out to please him, and according to the inscriptions on the walls, the god was stupefied at the beauty of his dwelling.

¹ All these dates are derived from the paper by Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu*, in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 1-13.

The texts very cleverly point out that the temple of the Ptolemies at Edfû occupied the site of an older one, which had been dedicated to the god in primeval times. The first temple, which was built far away back in the time when the gods lived on the earth, was constructed according to a plan that had been made in heaven and then dropped down to earth near the city of Memphis; the master craftsman was I-em-hetep, the son of Ptah, the great god of Memphis, and father and son united their powers, and produced the first temple at Edfû in one of the earliest periods of Egyptian history. All this indicates that the site at Edfû was holy ground, probably as far back as the time when the Followers of Horus arrived there and drove out the people who were living in its neighbourhood.

At Kom Ombo Ptolemy IX. rebuilt a wall in the large hall of the temple, and in the reliefs which he added we see him accompanied by his sister-wife Cleopatra, and his wife Cleopatra, making offerings¹ to Sebek, Heru-ur (Aroëris), Sent-nefert, , and P-neb-tau, the wife and son of Sebek, respectively, , Hathor, Maät, Tefnut, Seb, "prince of the gods," , Isis, Nephthys, Khensu, and other gods. In the small hall with columns he carried out repairs and added reliefs and ornamentations to the walls, and the Greek inscription which is found in it says that the hall was

¹ See J. de Morgan, *Kom Ombo*, p. 195 ff.

dedicated to Aroëris (Heru-ur), and Apollo, and the other gods of that sanctuary by the king and queen, and the cavalry and infantry that were stationed in the district of Ombos.



Columns at Philae.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

At Philae the king appears as a devotee of the goddess Isis, "lady of Abaton and mistress of the Island of Philae," where he restored and decorated the temple of Isis on a large scale. In the reign of

Ptolemy IX. the temple of Isis was a very popular shrine, and large numbers not only of worshippers but of officials and others broke their journey there, and demanded from the priests hospitality, which they received but never paid for. Monasteries and religious institutions in the East have from time immemorial been liable to this infliction, and the Egyptian sanctuaries formed no exceptions to the rule. At Philae the matter became so serious that at length the priests made representations to the king, and pointed out that the expense of entertaining such officials and others was large, and that the revenues of the temple at Philae were becoming exhausted. Ptolemy IX. caused a reply to be sent to the priests saying that he granted their petition, and then promulgated a decree in which the strategos was ordered to prevent the abuse of hospitality by visitors to Philae in future. Copies of the epistle of the priests, and the king's favourable reply, and his decree¹ were inscribed on the rectangular pedestal of one of the two obelisks which stood one on each side of the entrance to the fore-court of the temple of Isis at Philae. The obelisk belonging to this pedestal was thrown down on the ground at some unknown period, and it was found lying among the ruins, fortunately unbroken, by Mr. J. W. Bankes in 1815. By his suggestion and at his expense the obelisk and pedestal, which are both of red granite, were removed

¹ Convenient transcripts of these will be found in Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253.

from their site under the supervision of G. Belzoni, and brought to England and set up on Mr. Bankes' estate at Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire. Some claim was laid to the obelisk by M. Drovetti, but as Muḥammad 'Ali gave leave for it to be removed to England the claim was not valid.¹ The obelisk is of special interest, because it is inscribed on each of its



The First Cataract (Little Gate) at the time of the Inundation.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.


four sides with a column of hieroglyphics, and it was at first thought that these were the equivalent of the Greek inscription on the pedestal, which is, however,

¹ A "geometrical elevation" of the obelisk and pedestal and copies of the inscriptions were published by John Murray for Mr. J. W. Bankes in 1821; a copy of this work will be found in the British Museum (Press-mark, 654-i-4).

not the case; the monument was of great value to Champollion, who succeeded in deducing from it the phonetic values of a number of characters which were until that time unknown, and this assisted him in his work of decipherment.

Proceeding southwards, we find that Ptolemy IX. dedicated a granite shrine in the Egyptian temple which stood near the modern village of Dâbûd, and he built the hall in front of that which Ptolemy IV. added to the little temple of Ârq-Âmen at Dakkeh, in Nubia. We thus see that Ptolemy IX. carried on extensive building operations all over Upper Egypt and a short distance south of Philae. For the sanctuary of Âmen-Râ at Thebes he appears to have had no regard, and there is no evidence that he was at any pains or expense to restore the ancient sanctuaries in the Delta. If we judge by the remains of his buildings and the inscriptions on them we must come to the conclusion that he was a friend of the native Egyptians and of their religion, and it is interesting to note how actively the cult of Osiris and of the gods of his train was revived during the reign of this king. Moreover, special care seems to have been taken by him to bring into prominence the old gods of every place where he built or restored a temple.

About the true character of Ptolemy IX. it is extremely difficult to arrive at a just conclusion, and the same may be said of his home and foreign policies. He was careful to keep on good terms with the Roman

Senate, and he must have had powerful friends among the members of that body, or he would never have obtained the help of Rome in his quarrels with his brother. Polybius takes the view (xxxi. 18) that the Romans with profound policy availed themselves of the mistakes of others to augment and strengthen their own empire, under the guise of granting favours and benefiting those who committed the mistakes, and that they acted in this manner when they interfered in the quarrel of the two brothers. With the king of Syria the relations of the king of Egypt must frequently have been strained, for Ptolemy IX. would never forget that Palestine and Syria had been the possessions of Egypt for centuries, and such a remembrance could not make for peace. He waged no war of any importance, and he made no great conquest, and therefore when the inscriptions speak of him as the "chief of the nine foreign nations of the bow," 

and the gods are made to promise him the sovereignty over all foreign lands, and to declare that they will set all his enemies beneath his feet, we must remember that phrases of the kind are merely copied from ancient texts and that they are not literally true.

Enough has been said above about buildings to show that Ptolemy IX. was animated with friendly feelings towards the priesthood, and his architectural undertakings were so numerous that he must have been favourably impressed with the religion

of Egypt; but why he should have omitted to restore the ancient temples of the Delta, and of Heliopolis, Abydos, and Thebes it is impossible to say. In common with his ancestors he possessed a love for learning, and he maintained the great Alexandrian Library in a worthy manner; when we remember that Aristarchus of Samothrace, the grammarian and critic, was his tutor, it would be strange indeed if the king had not acquired some respect for learning. Indeed, he himself possessed some literary ability, and wrote a collection of Memoirs in twenty-four books. At one time it is said that he frightened away the greater number of the professors and scholars from Alexandria by means of his atrocious acts, but in spite of this the Library increased and flourished; he seems at all times to have been on good terms with literary men, and in the latter years of his reign a considerable number of them must have lived in his capital.

According to Strabo and Justin, Ptolemy IX. was a very wicked man, and his cruelties made him an object of intense hatred and fear. Polybius tells us (xxx. 18) that when the dispute between the two Ptolemy brothers was being discussed at Rome Canuleius and Quintus supported Menyllus, the ambassador of the elder Ptolemy, by protesting that "the younger Ptolemy owed his possession of Cyrene and his very life to them, so deep was the anger and hatred of the common people to him." His excesses earned for

him the contempt of all classes, and it is more than probable that, during the fits of debauchery in which he at one time indulged frequently, he really did the atrocious things and ordered the perpetration of the acts of wanton cruelty with which he is charged by the Greek writers. According to Polybius (xxxiv. 14), he had almost exterminated the native Alexandrians, for, being troubled with seditions, he frequently exposed the common people to the fury of the soldiery and caused their destruction. This class of people the writer describes as a "mongrel race," yet, he adds, "they were originally Greek, and have retained some recollections of Greek principles." The other two classes into which he divides the Alexandrians are:— 1. native Egyptians, and 2. mercenary soldiers. The former he considered "an acute and civilized race," and the latter he regarded as men "who have learnt to rule rather than obey owing to the feeble character of the kings."

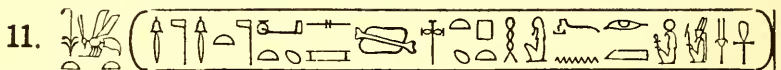
It is impossible to acquit Ptolemy IX. of many of his crimes,¹ but in passing judgment upon him

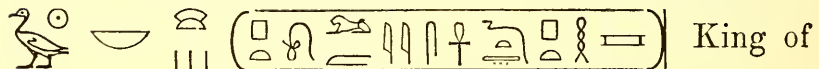
¹ "Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Philometor, began his reign most wickedly; for charging many with plots against his life, he put them all to death, with most cruel torments, others for pretended crimes invented by himself he banished, and confiscated their estates: by which cruelties, in a short time, his subjects were so enraged, that they all hated him mortally; however, he reigned fifteen years. But in Egypt, king Ptolemy for his cruelty, was hated by all his subjects: for his manners were not to be compared with his brother Philometor's; for he was of a mild and gentle nature, but the other fierce and cruel; and

at this late period of the world's history we must remember that his critics were Greeks who had not as much sympathy with the Egyptians as he had, and who did not understand the Egyptians as well as he did, and that many of his deeds which were abhorred by the Greeks were not regarded with detestation by the Egyptians. When he was called to the throne by the Alexandrians in 171 the descendants of Lagus

“therefore the people longed for a change, and earnestly waited for a fit opportunity to revolt. At the time when Ptolemy, (after the solemn manner of the Aegyptians), was enthroned at Memphis, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son, at which he exceedingly rejoiced, and called him Memphites, because he was born in the city of Memphis, at the time of his solemn inauguration. But while he was celebrating his son's birthday, he forgot not his usual cruelty, for he ordered some of Cyrene, (who had brought him into Ægypt), to be put to death, because they rebuked him something too freely, upon the account of the strumpet Irene. Ptolemy, for his cruelty, murders, filthy lusts, and deformed body, (whence he was called Physco), was hated by all. But Hierax his general being an expert soldier, and popular in all general assemblies, and a man of a great spirit, took upon him the government: for when Ptolemy wanted money, and the soldiers for want of pay were ready to revolt to Galaestes, he put a stop to their mutiny by paying off their arrears out of his own purse. The Aegyptians altogether condemned Ptolemy when they saw him so childish in his speeches, drowned in filthy lusts, and his body emasculated by intemperance” (Diodorus, *Extracts*, Bk. xxvi., Nos. 98, 102, 103, 109, 110). On the other hand, we read, “When Marsyas was brought before the king, and all concluded that he would forthwith put him to some cruel death, Ptolemy pardoned him, beyond all men's expectation: for now he began to repent of his former cruelties, and endeavoured to regain the people's love and favour by acts of clemency” (*Idem.*, Bk. xxxiv., No. 17).

had occupied the throne of Egypt for about 140 years, and whilst their followers had remained Greeks they themselves had with each generation become more and more like the Egyptians. We see from the inscriptions of the reign of Ptolemy IX. that the gods of Greece were assimilated with those of Egypt, and that the temples which he built or restored were erected in honour not of Greek but of Egyptian gods. His individual acts may have been cruel, and his life one series of debaucheries, but there was at least no invasion of Egypt proper during his reign; and the nation must have been prosperous, otherwise the works connected with the building and restoration of temples could not have gone on in Upper Egypt. On the whole, his reign was successful and peaceful, and the country did not again enjoy so long a period of comparative repose until it had become a province of the Roman Empire.

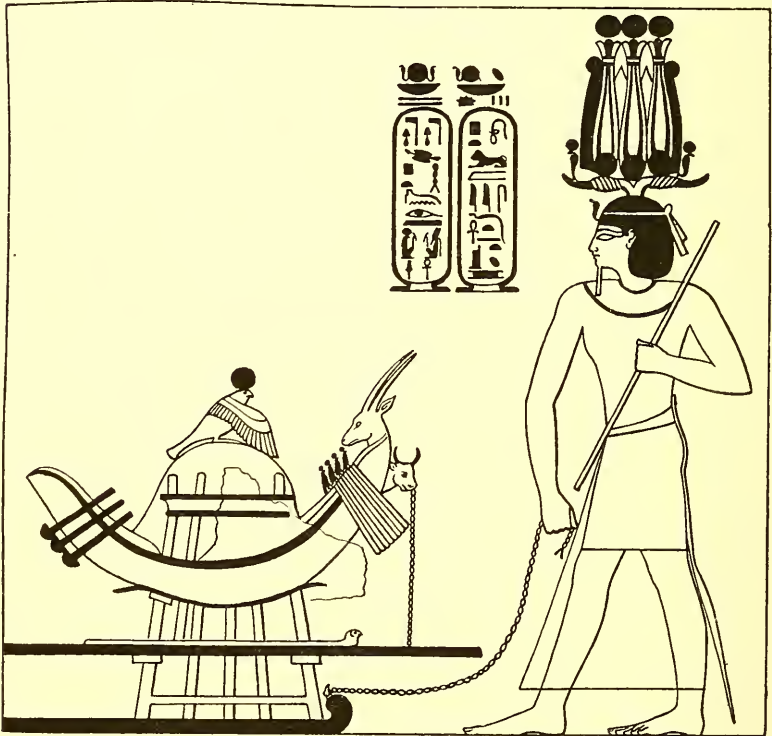
11. 

 King of the South and North, NETER-MENKH-NETER-MENKHET-MĀT-S-MERI-ĀĀ-NETCH-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ĀRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ĀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH, son of the Sun, lord of risings, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

PTOLEMY X., SOTER II., surnamed LATHYRUS, was the son of Ptolemy IX. by his wife and niece Cleopatra;

his exact age at the time when he ascended the throne (B.C. 117) is unknown, but he cannot have been a very young man when his father died. According to Justin (xxxix. 3) and Pausanias (i. 9), Cleopatra, surnamed COCCE, made an arrangement with her husband whereby she was to rule Egypt after his death, and in virtue of this, and with the consent of the people of Alexandria, the queen became sole mistress of the country after the death of Ptolemy IX. Cleopatra wished to associate with herself in the rule of the kingdom her youngest son Ptolemy XI., Alexander I., but this the people would not permit, and she was obliged to relinquish her project, and to elect his brother Ptolemy X., Soter II., as her co-regent. Ptolemy X. had married his sister Cleopatra some years before his co-regency, but for some reason his mother insisted on his putting her away and taking his younger sister SELENE to wife in her place. At the same time she sent her son Ptolemy XI. to Cyprus (B.C. 114) and gave him the rank of king, and apparently permission to consider the Island as his own kingdom absolutely. For some years Cleopatra and her eldest son governed Egypt in harmony, but the above-mentioned writers and Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 10, 2, 4) tell us that they eventually quarrelled seriously over the policy which was to be followed in respect of the Jews. Cleopatra had made two Jews called Chelcias and Ananias commanders in the army of Egypt, and she took no action in military matters without consulting them, and it was not likely

therefore that she would support her son's attempt to send help to Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was at that time engaged in fighting the Jews in Syria. Chelcias and Ananias were the sons of Onias, "who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like that at



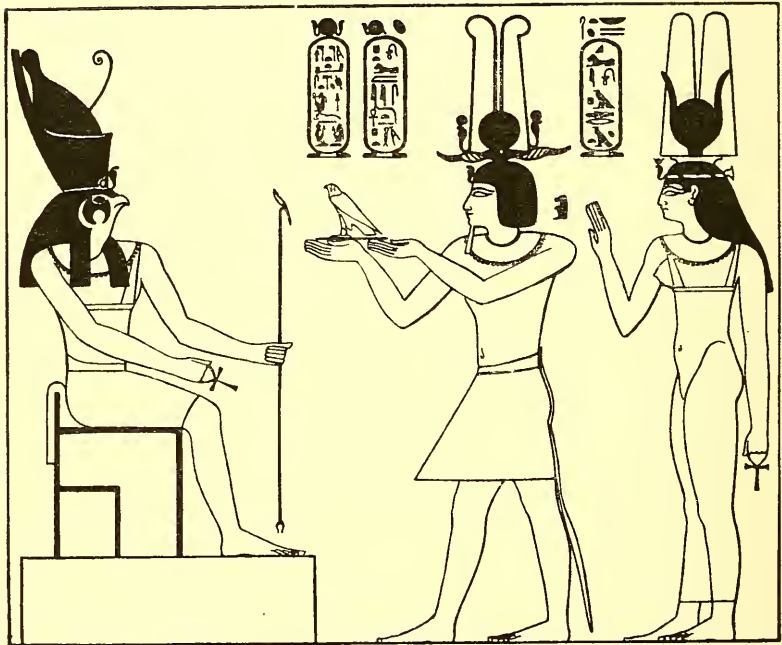
Ptolemy X. performing a ceremony in connexion with drawing the Henu Boat of the god Seker round the Sanctuary.

"Jerusalem," and were supported by a rich and powerful party, which, naturally, took the part of the queen against her son. The breach between the co-regents widened, and at length Cleopatra succeeded in persuading the Alexandrians that her life was in danger

through a conspiracy on the part of her son, and Ptolemy X. had to leave Egypt and take up his abode in Cyprus. Cleopatra then summoned her younger son, Ptolemy XI., to Egypt and appointed him co-regent, whereupon Ptolemy X. made himself master of Cyprus, and succeeded in maintaining a firm hold upon the Island for many years, in spite of his mother's attempts to dethrone him.

Whilst Ptolemy X. was in Cyprus the inhabitants of the city of Ptolemaïs sent and asked him to help them against Alexander Iannaëus, the king of the Jews, who was besieging them with a large army; it was useless to appeal either to Antiochus Philometor or to Antiochus Cyzicenus, for each was fighting the other for the crown of Syria. Ptolemy, being persuaded that he would be helped by the people of Gaza and by Zoilus, who was master of Strato's Tower and Dora, got his fleet ready, and sailed for Syria, where he landed his army 30,000 strong at Sycamine. Meanwhile, however, the people of Ptolemaïs had been induced by one Demetrius to change their opinions, and they would have nothing to do with Ptolemy. But notwithstanding this Alexander Iannaëus raised the siege and withdrew his army, and set to work to destroy Ptolemy's army by fraud, as he could not do it by force. He wrote to Cleopatra secretly and invited her to march against her son, but at the same time he induced Ptolemy by a promise of 400 talents of silver to drive away Zoilus and to give his

territory to the Jews. At length, however, the double-dealing of Iannaeus became known to Ptolemy, and he straightway attacked him, and besieged Ptolemaïs, and set out to lay waste Judea. Iannaeus collected an army of 50,000 or 80,000 men, and went to meet Ptolemy with them. Ptolemy first took Asochis, a city of



Ptolemy X. and his wife Cleopatra making offerings to the god Horus.

Galilee, and captured 10,000 slaves and much spoil, and then attacked Sepphoris, but lost many men in the attack. The armies of Ptolemy and Iannaeus next fought a pitched battle at Saphoth, near the Jordan, (B.C. 103); the soldiers on both sides fought with great bravery, but at length the Jews yielded and fled,

and they were pursued and killed until the arms of their pursuers were wearied and their iron weapons blunted. Some say that Iannaëus lost 30,000 killed, and others 50,000, but in any case the slaughter was great. Ptolemy then laid waste the country and took Ptolemaïs, and Josephus says (*Antiq.* xiii. 12) that when he came to villages filled with women and children he had them strangled, and cut up in pieces, and boiled, and devoured as sacrifices, so that the people might imagine that his soldiers were cannibals and be the more afraid of them. This is probably an utterly mendacious statement.

At this juncture Cleopatra became afraid lest her son should invade Egypt, and she therefore sent an army to besiege Ptolemaïs. Meanwhile Ptolemy made an attack on Egypt, but failed, and so retreated first to Gaza and finally to Cyprus. The troubles in Syria were, however, not at an end, and Cleopatra and her son Ptolemy X. still found themselves at variance, the former supporting Antiochus Grypus, who had married the Egyptian princess Tryphaena, and the latter aiding Antiochus Cyzicenus.

About B.C. 101 Cleopatra was murdered by her son Ptolemy XI., whom, it is said, she was planning to kill. Soon after this murder a great riot or rebellion broke out in Alexandria for some unknown cause, and the matricide was obliged to fly with his wife and daughter first to Lycia and secondly to Cyprus, but he was pursued by troops from Egypt, and was

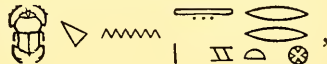
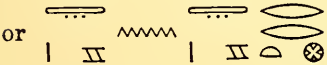
either killed in a fight by land or sea, or murdered by Chaereas (B.C. 88). As soon as the death of Ptolemy XI. became known the Alexandrians recalled Ptolemy X. from Cyprus, where he had reigned in comparative peace from 107 to 89 (or 88), or for a period of about eighteen years. His reign as sole king of Egypt lasted for seven and a half years, i.e., until B.C. 81, and during this period the only serious disturbance which took place was in connexion with the revolt of the Thebaïd. The causes which brought about this revolt are unknown, but the rising, no doubt, took place in connexion with the growing power of the Nubian kingdom, of which two of the kings, Àrq-Àmen and Àtchakhar-Àmen, had styled themselves kings of the South and North, and had applied to themselves the titles which at that time belonged to the Ptolemies alone. Preparations seem to have been made for the rebellion some time before it took place, for the city of Thebes resisted the forces of Ptolemy X. for two whole years, and it was not until the third year of the revolt that it was put down. When the city fell it seems to have been given over to pillage and destruction, and its people were well nigh blotted off the earth; the temples were, of course, pillaged, and it seems that Ptolemy's troops took vengeance of a most terrible character upon them. To all intents and purposes the city as such ceased to exist.

About one year after Ptolemy returned from Cyprus to rule Egypt Lucullus was sent, or at all events came,

to the country with the view of obtaining the help of the Egyptian fleet, but although he was received by the king with great respect and ceremony he did not succeed in persuading him to take any part in the Mithradatic war (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, § 2 and 3). Ptolemy remained on terms of friendship with the Athenians, who, according to Pausanias (i. 9), set up bronze statues of himself and his daughter Berenice as a mark of their appreciation of the kindnesses which he had shown them.

The descriptions of the character of Ptolemy X. given by ancient writers do not agree; some regard his life and acts as good when compared with those of his mother and brother, whilst others consider that theirs have been considerably misrepresented and blackened in order that his may appear in a more favourable light. It is quite clear that he was not one of the worst of the Ptolemies, and if we were to judge only by his temple-buildings in Egypt, it would be difficult not to describe him as a good and gracious king.

The building operations undertaken by him were limited to Upper Egypt. At the temple of Denderah,¹ which was dedicated to the goddess Hathor, his name appears in connexion with some of the crypts; at

¹ The Arab name Denderah, like the Coptic **TENTOPE**, is derived from the old Egyptian name ,
or  TA-EN-TA-RERT.

Madamût, near Thebes, he made some additions to the temple, wherein, among other deities, the goddess Âpet was worshipped; at Medînet Habu he restored the temple and a pylon built by Tirhâkâh, a Nubian king of the XXVth Dynasty, and added inscriptions thereto;¹ he restored and added new inscriptions to the rock temple built by Ptolemy IX. at El-Kâb; and



The Temple at Denderah.

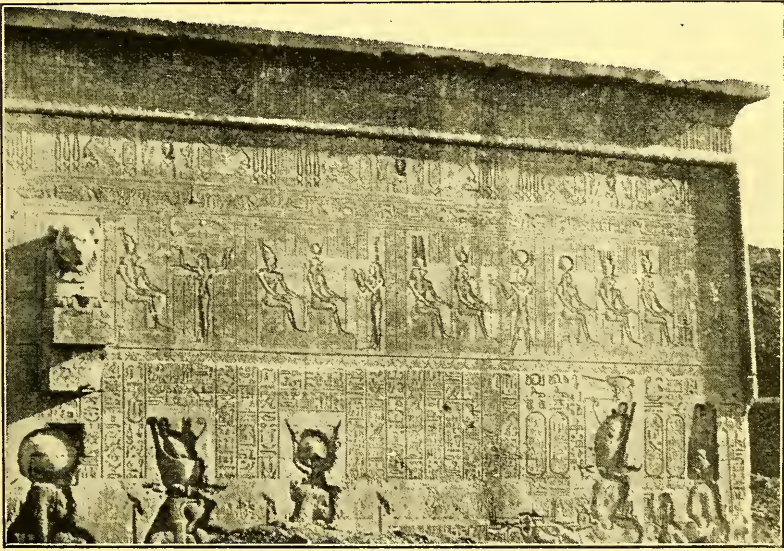
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

at Edfû he carried out works on a large scale. On the reliefs on the walls here we see him, accompanied by the “queen, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra,”

𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 (𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑 𓂏𓂑), making offerings to Horus of Beḥuṭet, to Horus, the great one on

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 40.

his pedestal, to Khensu, and to the lioness-headed goddess Seqebet, $\int \Delta \int \circ \int$. On the first pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae is a relief in which the king is seen to be making an offering to the goddess Isis of a field, $\int \int \int$, i.e., an estate for the endowment of the temple, and he is there accompanied by Cleopatra

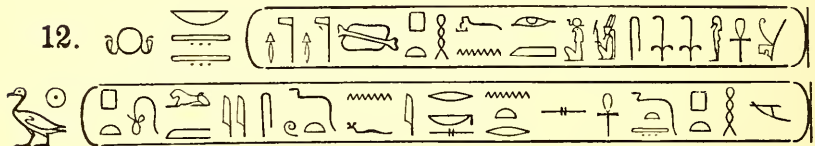


Part of the outside wall of the Temple of Denderah.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

his mother and Cleopatra his wife. At Kalâbshah figures of the king appear in the reliefs of a small temple, which he appears to have built, near the great temple, and a number of broken, inscribed slabs lying in several places prove that his repairs on the large temple were not inconsiderable. At the Oasis of

Khârga are the remains of a small temple, now known as *Ḳaşr al-Gehda*,¹ which was built by Ptolemy III., but on the fragments of the walls which remain may still be seen the cartouches of Ptolemy IV. and of Ptolemy X. The repairs and additions made to the temples mentioned above were probably all carried out during the period of Ptolemy Xth's joint rule with his mother Cleopatra, i.e., between B.C. 117 and 106, for it is most unlikely that after his return to Egypt in 88 he would carry out such works in Upper Egypt, especially as he was for more than two years engaged in crushing a rebellion at Thebes.



King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-MENKHUI-ĀĀ-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ĀRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ĀMEN-SENEN-ĀNKH-EN,² son of the Sun, PTUALMIS-TCHETU-NEF-ĀRK-SENTERES-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.³

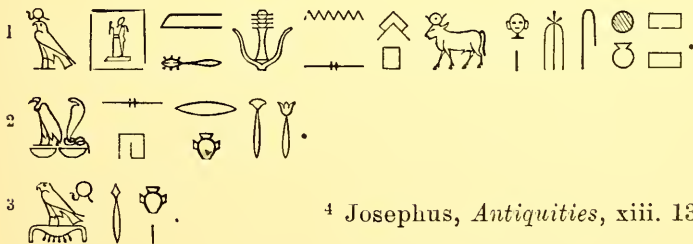
PTOLEMY XI., surnamed ALEXANDER I., was the younger son of Ptolemy IX., Euergetes II., by his wife

¹ See Ball, *Kharga Oasis*, p. 68.

² I.e., "Of the two well-doing gods the heir, chosen one of Ptaḥ, doer of the law of Rā, living image of Āmen."

³ I.e., "Ptolemy, who is called Alexander, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ."

Cleopatra. After his father's death his mother wished to associate him with her in the rule of the kingdom, but the Alexandrians would not allow her to carry out her plan, and she was obliged to make his brother Ptolemy X. co-regent. Ptolemy XI. was sent to Cyprus in 117, and in 114 he began to call himself king of Cyprus, presumably with the consent and approval of his mother. About B.C. 106 his brother, having been accused of plotting against his mother's life, had to flee from Egypt, whereupon Ptolemy XI. was promptly recalled, and made co-regent in his brother's stead. About this time he adopted a Horus name and titles in which he incorporated the names of the gods Ptaḥ and Apis,¹ and styled himself the "pacifier of the heart of the two lands,"² and the "great-hearted one."³ In 103 his brother overran Judea, and Cleopatra, fearing that he would invade Egypt, placed Ptolemy XI. in command of the Egyptian fleet and ordered him to go and attack Phoenicia by sea, whilst she despatched an army against her eldest son to overthrow him by land. The queen must have been anxious about the result of her expedition, for she took care to despatch "the "greater part of her riches,⁴ her grandchildren, and her



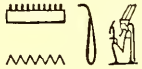

⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 13, § 1.

“testament to the people of Cos” before she set out on it. A year or two later dissension broke out between Cleopatra and Ptolemy XI., as formerly it had broken out between her and his elder brother, and he thought it wise to leave Egypt; Cleopatra being, it seems, afraid that her two sons would join forces and depose her, sent to her younger son a messenger, who succeeded in inducing him to return to Egypt. The relations between mother and son did not improve on his return, and it is said that Ptolemy XI. was afraid of being put to death by his mother, and therefore planned and caused to be carried out her murder, which took place about B.C. 101. It appears that the news of the murder of Cleopatra did not become generally known for some time, but when it was ascertained by the Alexandrians that the queen was really dead and that the younger son and his wife were ruling in her stead there was great discontent among them. Cleopatra was, it is true, an unscrupulous and a masterful woman, but she possessed at the same time great ability, and was popular with the army, and at length the soldiery, voicing the general dissatisfaction of the people, declared that they would not have Ptolemy XI. as king, and he had to fly from Alexandria. After an unsuccessful attempt to regain his position in Egypt by force, the troops which he had raised for the purpose were defeated in a fight at sea, and he himself was obliged to fly to Lycia. When his brother was recalled from Cyprus to rule over Egypt, Ptolemy



Menthu, the great god, the dweller within Behuṭet, presenting "life" to Ptolemy XI.

XI. tried to invade the Island with a number of fresh troops, but they were defeated and he was either killed in the fight at sea or put to death by Chaereas, about B.C. 89. It is impossible to arrive at any just estimate of the character of Ptolemy XI. because we have no exact knowledge of the part which he took in the rule of the kingdom when he was co-regent with his mother, and because ancient writers have not furnished any account of his acts when he was sole king. It is, however, tolerably certain that he played a subordinate part as co-regent, and that he was obliged to concur in the policy of his mother, whether he approved or not; all that can be said of him is that if he was less wicked than his predecessors he certainly did less good.

The building operations which were carried out by him were practically limited to the temple of Edfû, where he completed one of the courts and added reliefs to it, and built a portion of the great girdle wall which measured 240 cubits, by 90 cubits, by 20 cubits, by 5 cubits at the foundations, i.e., the wall measured about 410 feet by 85 feet, by 31 feet, and it was about 6 feet thick at the foundations. In the reliefs we see the god Menthu, , hawk-headed, touching the lips of the king with the symbol of life, and Thoth bearing a tablet for him; elsewhere he kneels before Râ-Harmachis and Isis, whilst Nekhebet and Uatchet bring him the crowns of the South and North respectively, and the goddess Sesheta, , decrees for him

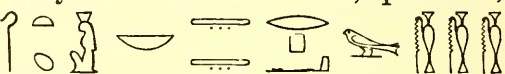
countless festival periods.¹ When we consider the large number of the years of the co-regency of Ptolemy XI. it is remarkable that his architectural works are so few. It is, of course, possible that a number of buildings carried out for him have been destroyed, but it is unlikely, especially when we remember how much of the work of Ptolemy XIII. has been preserved. We can therefore only conclude that, for some reason or other, the works on the temples, which usually went on almost automatically under the Ptolemies in Upper Egypt, were suspended at Philae and other sacred sites during the reign of Ptolemy XI.

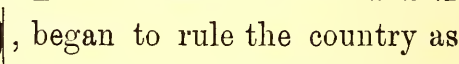
During the reign of Ptolemy XI., Ptolemy Apion, the natural son of Ptolemy IX., surnamed Physcon, died, and bequeathed the kingdom of Cyrene, to which his father had appointed him, to the Romans. His death is said to have taken place about B.C. 97. As far as can be seen the successors of his father allowed their right to the country to lapse, and the Romans took no steps to profit by the generosity of the Egyptian prince.

The next occupant of the throne of Egypt was PTOLEMY XII., who was surnamed ALEXANDER II.; he was born about 105, and was the son of Ptolemy XI. Alexander I. by an unknown mother. When quite a child, i.e., between 103 and 101, he was sent away from Alexandria to the Island of Cos by his grandmother Cleopatra III., who feared an attack on Egypt by her son Ptolemy X.; with the child she sent most of her

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 45.

treasure, thinking that Cos would be a safer place for both than Egypt. Here the boy remained until about B.C. 88, and when the island was captured by Mithradates the Great he became the prisoner of that famous man, who treated him honourably and kindly. Shortly afterwards, he managed to make his escape from Mithradates, and fled to Sulla for protection, and he lived in Rome with him until the death of Ptolemy X. Lathyrus. As soon as this event took place Cleopatra-Berenice III., the daughter of Ptolemy X., who is known as "Queen, lady of the two lands, princess, great of favour,"






began to rule the country as sole monarch, but the Alexandrians were dissatisfied at this state of affairs, and it is said that an influential party among them sent representations to Rome and asked that Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. might be sent to rule over them. Meanwhile Ptolemy XII. had made himself a great favourite with Sulla, and as soon as the request was made it was granted, but in order to soothe the feelings of Cleopatra-Berenice III. an arrangement was made whereby the new king was to marry his stepmother. When Ptolemy XII. arrived in Egypt he did what was expected of him, and married his stepmother; but when the king and his wife had reigned jointly for nineteen days the queen was murdered by her husband, and the soldiers were so greatly enraged at this cruel act that they rose up against Ptolemy XII., and,

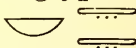
having dragged him through the town, they put him to death without mercy.

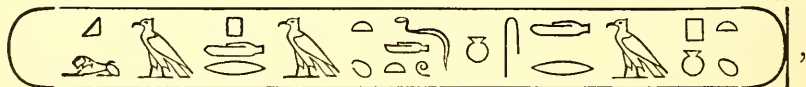
With the death of Ptolemy XII. the legitimate line of the Ptolemies came to an end. Certain ancient writers¹ have preserved a tradition to the effect that an Alexander, who was king of Egypt, bequeathed by will his country and its possessions to Rome, but modern historians are divided in their opinions as to which Alexander is the testator referred to, some believing him to be Ptolemy XI. Alexander I., and others Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. The eminent authority Strack² is evidently in favour of regarding Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. as the testator, and until proof to the contrary is forthcoming this view must be accepted. After the murder of Ptolemy by the Alexandrian soldiery the Romans made no attempt to enter into the inheritance of the kingdom of Egypt, which is said to have been left to them, probably because they were uncertain as to the validity of the testament, and because they felt that Egypt must fall into their hands at no distant date. Meanwhile the shameful murder of Cleopatra-Berenice III. by Ptolemy XII., and the murder of himself by the soldiery had put an end to all legitimate claimants to the throne of Egypt, and the next successor to the kingdom was Ptolemy XIII., who is commonly known as Auletes.

¹ See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 392

² *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

13.  King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, P-NETER-ENTI-ĀĀ-EN-NEHEM-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ĀRI-MAĀT-EN-RĀ-ĀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH,¹ son of the Sun, lord of crowns, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-ĀST-MERI.²

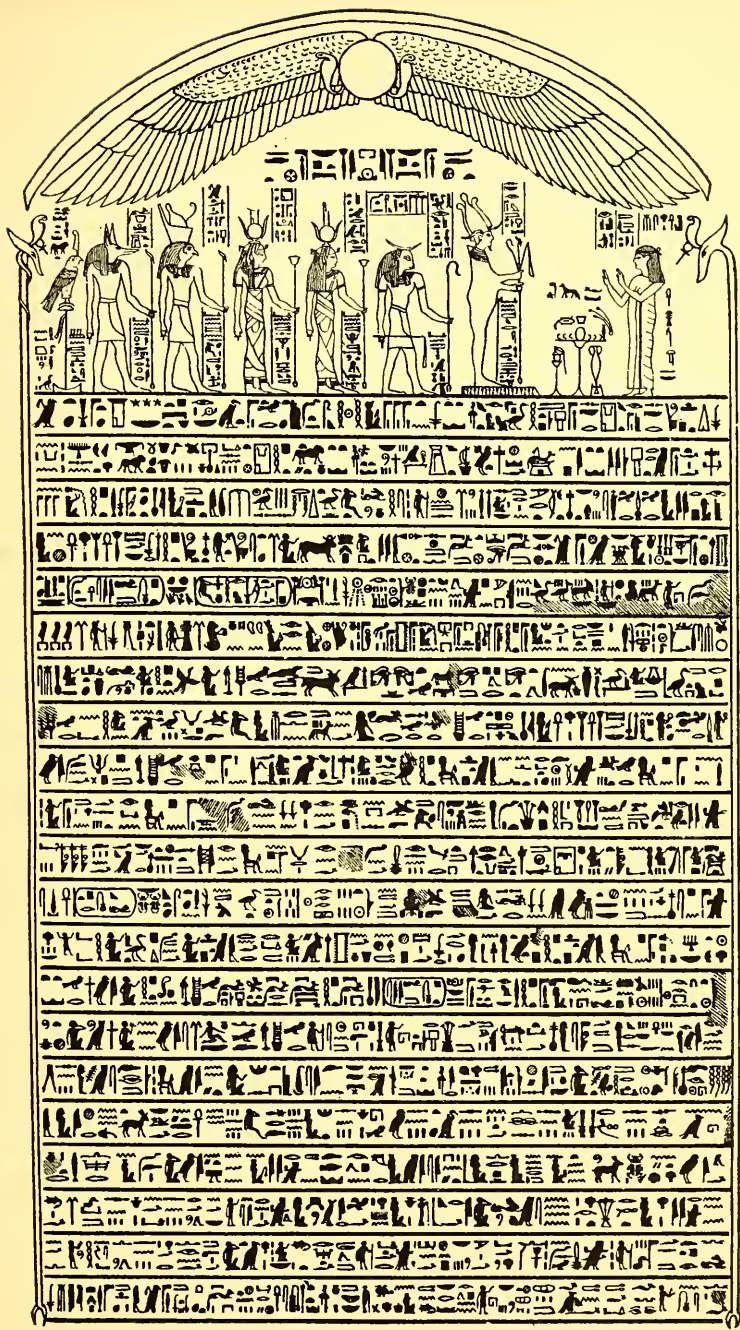
PTOLEMY XIII., who was surnamed PHILOPATOR PHILADELPHUS, and called himself NEOS DIONYSOS, and was nicknamed by the people AULETES or the "piper," was a natural son of Ptolemy X. His claims to the throne of Egypt, like those of his brother³ Ptolemy, who was also a natural son of Ptolemy X., were considered unimportant as long as a legitimate heir could be found, but after the murder of Ptolemy XII. a sufficiently powerful party formed itself at Alexandria, and succeeded in causing the people generally to acknowledge Ptolemy XIII. as king. He was born about 95, he became king of Egypt in 80, and died in 51. He married two wives, the first being his sister (?) Cleopatra V., surnamed Tryphaena, who is described in the hieroglyphic inscriptions as "lady of the two lands," 



¹ I. e., "Heir of the god who delivereth, the chosen one of Ptaḥ, performer of the Law of Rā, living image of Āmen."

² I. e., "Ptolemy, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ and Isis."

³ He was made king of Cyprus in 80, and died in 58.



Sepulchral stele of the lady Th-I-em-hetep, the sister and wife of Pi-shere-en-Ptah, and high priestess of Memphis, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy XIII. Philapator III, Philadelphus II. Neos Dionysos. The deceased is seen adoring Seker-Osiris, Apis-Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Heru-netch-tef-f, Anubis, etc.

and the second being a lady of unknown name and antecedents. He appears to have married Cleopatra V. Tryphaena in 78, and she probably died about 69 or 68; by her he had two daughters, namely, Cleopatra VI. Tryphaena, and Berenice IV. By his second wife he had four children, namely, Arsinoë IV., who was born between 68 and 65, and was murdered in 41; Ptolemy XIV., who was born in 61 and who married his sister Cleopatra VII.; Ptolemy XV., who was born two years later, and who also married his sister Cleopatra VII.; and Cleopatra VII., who was born in 69, and who married her two brothers Ptolemy XIV. and Ptolemy XV. in 51 and 47 respectively, and who also was the mistress of Julius Caesar and of Mark Antony.¹

As soon as Ptolemy XIII. ascended the throne he took

steps to put himself in a favourable light before the Roman Senate in order to secure the recognition, if not confirmation, of his position by that body; but the matter was a difficult one, for the Romans appear to have regarded Egypt as a country which they could claim when they pleased, and they were in no hurry to ratify the appointment of a king who had been placed upon the throne by the soldiery of Alexandria. In 59 he succeeded in gaining recognition from Julius Caesar. According to Dion Cassius



HUNNU-NEFER,
the Horus name of
Ptolemy XIII.

¹ Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, pp. 69 and 70.

(xxxix. 12), he gave large bribes to various Romans in power, but in order to obtain money for this purpose he was obliged to resort to violence, and to compel the Egyptians to pay additional taxes. This caused him to be hated in his own country, and he had many enemies in Rome because he would not yield up Cyprus to the Romans. At length the strife between the king and his people became so serious that he fled to Rome (B.C. 58), where he told the Senate that he had been expelled from his country. Meanwhile the Alexandrians thought he was dead, and as his queen Cleopatra V. Tryphaena died during his absence, they made his daughter Berenice IV. their queen, and when they learned the truth they sent one hundred envoys to Rome to represent their case, and to tell the Senate how cruel and unjust their king had been to them.

When Ptolemy heard of the coming of the envoys, he plotted their destruction, and caused numbers of the deputies to be killed on the road, and many to be assassinated in Rome itself, and he so terrified the remainder that they did not carry out the object of their mission. The report of what Ptolemy had done became noised abroad, however, and a party in the Senate, headed by M. Favonius, tried to bring the guilty agents to justice, but Ptolemy bribed right and left, and though a great outcry was made the number of people condemned was very small. Ptolemy had been received into the house of Pompey, and was greatly helped thereby. When he first arrived in

Rome he was fortunate enough to gain the support of Cicero, and it was chiefly through the speech which the famous orator made on his behalf that the Senate passed a decree ordering his restoration, which was to be carried out by P. L. Spinther, governor of Cilicia. But when the murders of the envoys became known, the Romans consulted the Sibylline Books as to the course which they should follow, and the answer they gave was to the effect that friendship was not to be denied to the king of Egypt if he asked for it, but they were not to give him troops to help him, otherwise they would have to endure fatigues and dangers.¹ On this the Romans became divided in their opinions, and some wanted Spinther to take Ptolemy back without an army, and others to send him back with two lictors, under the charge of Pompey, which the king himself had asked for as soon as he learned what the Sibylline Books had answered. To neither of these propositions did the Senate agree, and at length Ptolemy left Rome and went to Ephesus, where he lived in the temple of Diana. Now whilst he was in Rome his daughter Berenice had been made queen in the room of her mother, and the Alexandrians had obtained for her two husbands (B.C. 56), the first being Seleucus Kybiosaktes, and the second Archelaus, the son of the general of Mithradates. Berenice sent away Seleucus after a very

¹ Ἄν ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς βοθηθείας τινὸς δεόμενος ἔλθῃ, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθε, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσητε. Εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔξετε. (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 15.)

few days, but she approved of Archelaus and reigned with him for a few months.

About this time Ptolemy XIII. made friends with A. Gabinius, the governor of Syria, and being supported by the warm recommendations of Pompey, succeeded in obtaining his help. Pompey, in spite of the decree of the Senate, and of the words of the Sibylline Books, wrote and told Gabinius to reinstate Ptolemy in Egypt, whereupon Gabinius set aside his projected expedition against the Parthians, and began to march upon Egypt (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 57 ff.). Gabinius reached Pelusium without difficulty, and soon after defeated the Egyptians of the Delta in two battles on land and one at sea. In due course the soldiery of Alexandria was beaten, and Archelaus, the husband of Berenice, was slain; Gabinius thus became conqueror of Egypt, and he used his right of conquest to restore Ptolemy XIII. to the throne. Service of this sort had to be heavily paid for, and it is said that Gabinius was rewarded for his help and friendship with a gift of 6000 or 10,000 talents. The restoration of Ptolemy XIII. took place early in 55, and the first use he made of his power was to slay his daughter Berenice and a considerable number of the wealthiest citizens of Alexandria, partly to gratify his lust for revenge, and partly to obtain money wherewith to reward Gabinius and others who had helped him. He lived for about three and a half years after his restoration, and during this period riots were of frequent occurrence in the country; they were,

however, promptly put down by the Roman soldiers, and Ptolemy XIII. was able to live, comparatively, in peace.

The character given to this king by ancient writers is a very bad one, and there seems to be no doubt that, as Strabo says (xvii. 1. § 11), he was one of the three worst of the Ptolemies. He was addicted to every kind of vice and debauchery, and in fits of drunken passion he seems to have perpetrated some terrible crimes. He is said to have called himself Neos Dionysos as an excuse for his drunkenness, and the people nick-named him "Auletes" or "Piper," on account of his love for playing upon the flute. He must have been a skilled performer on the instrument, for at the concerts which he established he competed with professionals for the prize; actions of this kind may have been very entertaining to the spectators, but they hardly contributed to the maintenance of the dignity of the occupant of the throne of the Pharaohs of old. He can be best described as a clumsy prototype of Nero.

During the reign of Ptolemy XIII. the repair and decoration of several temples was carried out. At Denderah he was connected with the ornamentation of some of the crypts, and the bas-reliefs and sculptures which belong to his reign are of considerable interest; at Coptos he dedicated a large black basalt altar to the god of the city, Ámsu, or Min, and his name was found upon a number of blocks¹ there in the temple,

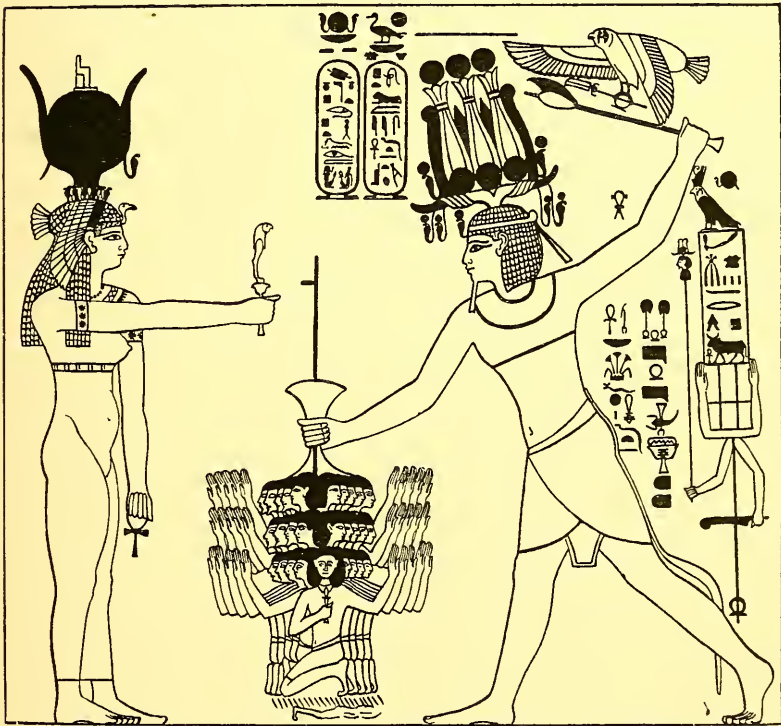
¹ See Petrie, *Coptos*, p. 22.

for which his ancestor, Ptolemy II., had done so much. His name is found on the walls of the temple at Karnak, and on those of the temple of Madamût, and also on the remains of the temple of Ápet, built by Ptolemy IX. and Ptolemy X. An inscription on the pylon and colonnade of the fore-court of the temple at Edfû relates that the copper-plated doors were hung on the first day of the fourth month of the season Shat, in the 25th year of the reign of Ptolemy XIII., and of his wife Cleopatra V. Tryphaena, i.e., B.C. 57. This inscription is of very great interest, for it shows that, as has been said before, the work on the temples went on almost automatically, and almost without reference to the king. At the time when this inscription was cut Ptolemy XIII. was in Rome, whither he had been obliged to fly from the fury of the Alexandrians,¹ and he therefore knew nothing about the erection of the doors, and was certainly not present at the dedication ceremony, if one was performed. On one of the pylons are scenes in which the king is seen slaying his foes in the presence of Horus of Behûtet and Hathor, and hauling with chains into position two pillars and two obelisks.

At Kôm Ombo the king added a "hypostyle

¹ "Having thus conciliated popular favour, he endeavoured, through his interest with some of the tribunes, to get Egypt assigned to him as a province, by an act of the people. The pretext . . . was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled their king, whom the Senate had complimented with the title of "ally and friend of the Roman people." Suetonius, *Caesar*, xi.


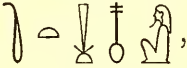
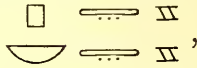
pronaos," wherein was a number of columns about 6½ feet in diameter; as the name of Cleopatra V. Tryphaena occurs often in the inscription it is clear that this portion of the temple must have been built before her death, which took place



Ptolemy XIII. Auletas slaying his foes in the presence of Isis, who holds in her right hand a papyrus sceptre surmounted by a figure of Horus.



B.C. 69. In the bas-reliefs here the king is seen offering a bow and two arrows to the goddess Sept, $\triangle \uparrow$,¹ while the local gods Heru-ur (Aroëris), and $\star \triangle \uparrow$,

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. (Ptolemy XIII.).

Nekhebet-Uatchet, who is represented by a snake-headed vulture, and Hōrus-Sept, , and Thet-sennefer, , and Pe-neb-taui, , promise in the text to give him sovereignty and the gifts which are usually given to kings by the gods. In the bas-reliefs which the king added to the pylon and other portions of the temple of Isis at Philae he stands in an attitude of adoration before Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, Hēru-netch-tef-f, Horus of Behūtet, and Khnemu, and in one large scene he is clubbing his foes in the presence of Isis, Horus, and Hathor in the most orthodox Egyptian manner. Behind the



TCHESER-MES-KHĀU-
HE[T]ER-HĀP,
a Hōrus name of
Ptolemy XIII.

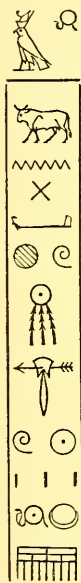
king is one of his Hōrus names inscribed on a standard supported by his *ka*, , or double, and resting upon a pair of hands and arms, in one of which he holds a sceptre and in the other the feather of Maāt, . His club is furnished with a semi-circular axe-head, and the goddess Isis presents to him a small hawk-headed figure mounted upon a papyrus sceptre. Some of the figures which appear on the walls at Philae in honour of Ptolemy XIII. were sculptured over

inscriptions that date from the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes; the priests who permitted such an act of vandalism must have been very jealous for the honour

of their king! The cartouches of Ptolemy XIII. have been found at several places in the neighbourhood, but there is no evidence that his representatives did anything to any temple except add bas-reliefs in which figures of himself and his cartouches were the most prominent characteristics.

When he died (B.C. 51) he left his kingdom by will to his daughter Cleopatra VII., and to his elder son PTOLEMY XIV., surnamed Dionysos, who was to marry his sister; three years later (B.C. 48) a violent dispute broke out between the brother and sister, who had reigned jointly until that time, and Cleopatra was obliged to leave Egypt. In 47 Caesar sent troops to support her claims, and as a result her brother's forces were defeated with great slaughter. Ptolemy XIV. was accidentally drowned in crossing a river whilst trying to escape. The same year Cleopatra married her second brother, who was at that time a boy of about eleven years of age; he reigned jointly with her as PTOLEMY XV. for about two years, when he was murdered by Cleopatra, who wished to make way for her son PTOLEMY XVI., who was surnamed CAESAR, and who is also known as CAESARION. The details of these events, which are only briefly noticed in this paragraph, are described more fully in the following chapter.

his heirs, and for the more effectual performance of his intention in the same will he conjured the Roman people by all the gods, and by the league which he had entered into at Rome, to see his will executed. One of the copies of his will was conveyed to Rome by his ambassadors to be deposited in the treasury, but since the public troubles prevented this, it was lodged with Pompey; another was left sealed up and kept at Alexandria.¹ Thus at the age of seventeen Cleopatra became co-regent with her brother Ptolemy XIV., whom she married, and she seems at once to have followed the example of the great Ptolemaic queens, and to have made herself virtually sole monarch of Egypt.



KA-NEKHT-KHU-
SATU-RA-ĀĀH,
the Horus name of
Ptolemy XVI.

As she began, so she went on, for although she always had a man associated with her nominally in the rule of the country, his views were only allowed to assume a practical form when they agreed with hers, and she was the real master of the country. On account of the youth of Ptolemy XIV., who was eight years younger than his sister, he had been placed under the care of Achilles, who was to educate him, and of the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his financial affairs.² When the brother and

¹ Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. chap. 108.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 84.

sister had reigned jointly for two or three years, a dispute broke out, it is said, between Cleopatra and the eunuch Pothinus; Ptolemy XIV. supported his chancellor against his sister, and in the end Cleopatra had to fly from Egypt. She went to Syria, where she seems to have had friends, and in a very short time she collected an army, at the head of which she intended to march to Egypt in order to bring her brother to reason. The ease with which the Ptolemaic queens and princesses raised armies suggests that they always had a large supply of ready money at hand.

Meanwhile Ptolemy XIV. gathered together a large army, and pitched his camp near Mount Casius on the Egyptian border, where he waited for his sister to attack him. He had in his army a large number of Pompey's soldiers¹ whom Gabinius had brought over from Syria to Egypt, and left in Alexandria as a guard for the young king's father, and it was, no doubt, owing to the presence of these that Ptolemy XIII. enjoyed comparative peace in his capital during the last three and a half years of his reign. Whilst Ptolemy XIV. was encamped here Pompey, having been defeated at the Battle of Pharsalia, decided to fly with his wife Cornelia to Egypt for help, for its "sovereigns, although children, were "allied to Pompey by their father's friendship."² He sailed for Pelusium³ with 2000 armed men, and sent

¹ Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 103.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 83.

³ Dion Cassius, xlii. 3.

before him messengers asking Ptolemy XIV. to allow him to take refuge in Alexandria. The messengers were interviewed by the king's ministers, who sent back to Pompey an invitation to come to Egypt, but meanwhile hatched a plot to kill him on his arrival. Achilles, the king's tutor, and Lucius Septimius,¹ who had at one time commanded a company under Pompey, were sent out in a small, mean-looking coast boat to meet Pompey and to bring him to shore, and though wondering that he had not been met with more ceremony, he entered the boat, which was rowed towards the shore. Having addressed the remark, "Do I not know thee, comrade?" to his late officer, Septimius stabbed him, and his companions finished the murder.² This foul deed was done on the advice of Theodotus, an orator of Samos, who intended to curry favour thereby. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Caesar, but when Caesar's soldiers came Pothinus and Achilles were put to death; whether Caesar killed them because they had murdered Pompey or for some private reason is not clear.³ Theodotus the orator was put to death with torture by Brutus in Asia.

Meanwhile Cleopatra had pitched her camp at no great distance from that of her brother, but the hostile

¹ Appian calls him Sempronius (ii. 85); see Dion Cassius, xlii. 4.

² He was murdered before he landed, ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν, πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι; Dion Cassius, xlii. 4.

³ See Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 112; Appian, *op. cit.*, ii. 90; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 80; and Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

armies seem never to have fought a decisive battle, and in the following year she received support from Julius Caesar, who landed in Alexandria with 3200 men. As the fasces were carried before him the Alexandrians thought that he had come to claim the country on behalf of Rome, and stirred up riots for some days successively, in which many of his men were killed. To protect himself he had other legions brought from Asia, and when these arrived he set to work to restore peace in the country, first, because the dispute between Cleopatra and her brother belonged to the jurisdiction of the Roman people, and of him as Consul, and secondly, because a league had been made with Ptolemy, the late king, under sanction both of a law, and a decree of the Senate.¹ There was, of course, another reason, and that a private one, for his interference, viz., Caesar had lent to Ptolemy XIII. some 17,500,000 sesterces; of this large sum he had remitted to the king's sons 7,500,000 sesterces, but he determined to be paid the remaining 10,000,000.² When Pothinus knew Caesar's intention, he sent to Pelusium for the army and appointed Achilles commander-in-chief and stirred up revolt generally;³ in due course the army arrived at Alexandria, and it was found to consist of some 20,000 men, besides a "collection of highwaymen," freebooters, convicts, and runaway slaves, and 2000 cavalry.

¹ Caesar, *op. cit.*, 107.

² Plutarch, *Caesar*, 48.

³ Dion Cassius, xlii. 36.

Achillas seized Alexandria, except that part of the city where Caesar was, and straightway fierce fighting took place in the city in many places at the same time; in the end Caesar gained the day and set fire to the twenty-two decked vessels which formed the guard ships of the port, and to the fifty triremes and quinqueremes. Caesar next seized the island of Pharos, because it would give him the power to prevent ships from entering the port, and to obtain men and supplies.¹ About this time, whilst fights were taking place at Alexandria on land and sea, and whilst many buildings were set on fire wilfully, a quantity of wheat and, according to Dion Cassius (xlii. 38) many valuable books² were burnt. The course of events was, however, practically determined by Cleopatra herself, for having heard that Caesar was extremely susceptible to the attractions of women, she determined to obtain an interview with him, although according to Plutarch (*Caesar*, 48) it was Caesar who sent for Cleopatra. To carry out her purpose she took Apollodorus, the Sicilian, with her, and entering a small boat she went to the palace in the late evening, and as it was impossible for her to escape notice in any other way, she got into a bed sack and laid herself out at full length, and Apollodorus, tying the sack together with

¹ Caesar, *op. cit.*, 112.

² Καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων (πλείστον δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων ἕς φασί) γενομένων καυθῆναι; see also Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

a cord, carried her through the doors.¹ Caesar, it is said, was much delighted with the daring nature of the escapade, and listened willingly to the beautiful woman who pleaded her cause “with words that charmed and in a low seductive voice” until dawn; by this time he had become Cleopatra’s slave, and thus Caesar, who had attempted in the name of the Roman people to judge righteously between the claims of the brother and sister, became the advocate and partizan of Cleopatra.²

As soon as Ptolemy XIV. realized that Caesar was his sister’s lover he became furious, and snatching his crown from his head he cried out that he had been betrayed; the Egyptians rose in a body, and attacking Caesar in the place where he was from all sides they all but overcame his troops, and he was, according to Dion Cassius, in such a state of bodily fear that he promised to give them what they wanted. Soon afterwards he called together a public meeting, and having read the will of their father to the four children of Ptolemy XIII., he gave Cyprus to Arsinoë and her brother Ptolemy XV. This, however, did not settle the trouble, for the eunuch Ganymedes took Arsinoë to the Egyptians, who proclaimed her queen, and new disturbances began. At the instigation of

¹ Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

² Dion Cassius, xlii. 35, Ἡς γὰρ δικαστῆς πρότερον ἡξιούτο εἶναι, τότε ταυτῇ συνεδίκει.

Ganymedes Achilles was slain,¹ and Ganymedes himself took command of the Egyptian forces; thereupon fierce fights broke out everywhere in the city and on the shore. In one of these Caesar and several of his men fell or were driven into the sea, and he only escaped the infuriated Egyptians by swimming away from the shore; he was wearing his purple cloak and carrying papers when he fell into the sea, but he managed to cast away the cloak, and grasping the papers in his left hand he swam with his right and so saved his life. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy.² For some months Caesar was hard pressed, for the reconciliation which he had brought about between brother and sister had broken down, and the young king went over to the party that was opposed to Cleopatra and Caesar. Finally, however, a decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Nile, and Caesar all but annihilated the Egyptians; a few of these made their escape, among them being the king, but he was drowned in crossing an arm of the river.

Caesar spent nine months in this strife, and at the end of it he made a journey up the Nile with Cleopatra, escorted by 400 ships, and they explored the country together.³ At this time he gave Egypt to Cleopatra,

¹ Dion Cassius, xlii. 39 ff.

² Appian, ii. 90.

³ According to Suetonius (*Caesar*, 51), he would have gone with her in dalliance as far as Ethiopia in her luxurious boat, had not the army refused to follow him.

and made her contract a nominal marriage with her younger brother Ptolemy XV., and thus whilst ostensibly living with her brother-husband and reigning jointly with him, she was actually sole ruler of the country, and was in close and frequent intercourse with Caesar.¹ When Caesar went to Rome he invited her to follow him and she did so, together with her nominal husband and her son by Caesar, who is known as Ptolemy XVI., and was surnamed Caesarion, and is said to have resembled Caesar both in person and in gait. Doubts have been thrown on the paternity of Caesarion, but Mark Antony declared in the Senate that Caesar had acknowledged the child to be his, and that several of Caesar's friends, among them Caius Oppius and Caius Matias, knew that it was so.²

Cleopatra stayed with Caesar in Rome until he was murdered, and then she returned to Egypt with her nominal husband and son, and devoted herself to assisting Dolabella with ships and men. About B.C. 41 Mark Antony sent messengers to her, ordering her into his presence that she might give an explanation of her acts in the matter of the war, but many summonses were sent to her before she condescended to obey. When she did at length appear she "sailed up the

¹ The situation is neatly summed up by Dion Cassius (xlii. 44), "Ὡστε πρόσχημα μὲν, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ κοινὸν αὐτῷ ἔχουσα, ἐπέκτητο· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς, μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητάτο.

² Suetonius, *Caesar*, 52.

“Cydnus in a vessel with a gilded stern, with purple
“sails spread, and rowers working with silver oars to
“the sound of the flute in harmony with pipes and
“lutes. Cleopatra reclined under an awning spangled
“with gold, dressed as Aphrodite is painted, and
“youths representing the Cupids in pictures stood on
“each side fanning her. In like manner the hand-
“somest of her female slaves, in the dress of Nereids
“and Graces, were stationed some at the rudders and
“others at the ropes. And odours of wondrous kind
“from much incense filled the banks.”¹ Antony sent
and invited her to supper, but she replied that he
should come to her, and, wishing to display good nature
and kindness, he went, and was astonished at the
splendour of the entertainment which she provided for
him, and also at the number and combinations of the
lights. On the next day Cleopatra went and feasted
with him, and he felt that his entertainment was coarse
and rustic in the extreme beside hers. She, however,
finding that her host’s conversation and manner
savoured more of the camp than of the palace, adapted
her speech readily to his, and as a result, though
Antony’s wife Fulvia was carrying on a war against
Caesar at Rome on behalf of her husband, and the
Parthians were about to invade Syria, he allowed him-
self to be carried off to Alexandria. Whilst there he
lived a life of pleasure and luxury with Cleopatra as if
he had nothing else in the world to do, and he became

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Antonius*, 26.

her slave so absolutely that Octavianus Caesar was justified in saying of him, "I well believe¹ that he has been bewitched by that accursed woman."

Cleopatra ruled Antony completely, and she never left him either by day or by night. She played at dice with him, and hunted with him, and was a spectator when he was exercising arms, and when he went about at night in the streets laughing and joking with the common people she accompanied him disguised as a slave. The Alexandrians enjoyed his ribald remarks, and abused him as freely as he abused them, but they liked the man, and declared that he put on the tragic mask to the Romans, but the comic mask to them. Antony was completely besotted about Cleopatra, and without raising a single objection he allowed all laws, both human and divine, to be broken by her. At her instigation he caused her sister Arsinoë to be murdered in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Magnesia, and at her command were put to death Serapion, prefect of Cyprus, who had assisted Cassius, and a man who pretended to be her brother who was drowned (Ptolemy XIV.), and her brother-husband Ptolemy XV., by one means or another.² In short, Antony lost all interest in everything but Cleopatra, and he occupied himself wholly with his love for her;³ whatsoever Cleopatra ordered was done. At length news reached him that his wife

¹ ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι ὑπ' ἐκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάγευται. Dion Cassius, l. 26.

² Appian, v. 9.

³ Dion Cassius, xlvi. 24.

Fulvia had been obliged to fly from Rome, and that the Parthians had invaded Syria, and "with difficulty, like a man roused from sleep and a drunken debauch," he set out to oppose the enemy; and being met by letters from Fulvia he sailed for Italy with 200 ships. Fulvia, however, died at Sikyon, and it fell out that a reconciliation took place between Octavianus Caesar and himself, and they divided the empire between them.¹

Soon afterwards Antony married Caesar's sister Octavia, the widow of Caius Marcellus, for Cleopatra was not regarded as his wife; and Plutarch tells us (§ 31) that he did not admit that he had her as a wife, and that he was still struggling in his judgment on this point against his love for the Egyptian. Antony lived with Octavia for some time, but after grand entertainments given by Octavianus Caesar and himself, he gave his children, both those whom he had by Fulvia and those by Octavia, into the care of Octavian, and sailed for Asia. But "that great evil, the passion for Cleopatra, which had long slept, and appeared to be at rest, and to have been tranquillized by better considerations, blazed forth again and recovered strength as Antony approached Syria, and he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra to Syria."² On her arrival he gave her Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, a part of Cilicia, the part of Judaea which produces balsam, and a part of Arabia Nabathaea. According to Josephus³ the balsam country was near

¹ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 30.

² *Ibid.*, 36.

³ *Antiquities*, xv. 4.

Jericho, and Herod, king of the Jews, rented it from Cleopatra, and it was whilst she was there that "she endeavoured to have criminal conversation" with him; Josephus seems to be doubtful whether Cleopatra wished to lead Herod into a snare, or whether she loved him, but is on the whole inclined to think that "she seemed overcome with love for him." He goes on to say that Herod thought of putting her to death, especially if her attempt upon him proceeded from lust, and naïvely adds that Herod, having been straitly admonished by his councillors not to bring ruin upon himself, "treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt." The story is an absurd one and incredible on the face of it, for Herod, with the memory of the death which Antony had meted out to Antigonus,¹ his predecessor, would never have dared to lay a finger on Cleopatra; but Josephus here, as elsewhere in his works, shows that he could never resist the temptation to magnify the power and attractions of his own countrymen and countrywomen.

When Antony had vanquished the Parthians he returned to Syria and waited on the sea-coast between Bêrût and Sidon, at a place called the "White Village," for Cleopatra; as she did not appear so soon as he expected her he gave himself up to drinking, and was very restless until she arrived with clothes and supplies for the soldiers. Soon after

¹ He was first tied to a stake and whipped, and then beheaded.

this Antony was about to start on an expedition through Armenia, but he delayed his departure for this reason: Octavian in Rome had given Antony's wife Octavia permission to join her husband, chiefly with the idea that if she were greatly insulted and neglected he might have a pretext for making war on Antony; but when she reached Athens she received letters from Antony telling her to stop there.¹ As soon as Cleopatra heard of the coming of Octavia she began to be afraid that her influence over Antony would depart, and she therefore pretended to be desperately in love with him, and to waste her body by spare diet; whenever he came near her she appeared to be moved with strong passion for him, and she allowed sorrow and depression to come upon her as he went away from her. She was often found in tears, which she pretended to wipe away and conceal. Her friends too pointed out to Antony that he was acting in a hard and heartless fashion to a woman who was devoted to him alone; Cleopatra, said they, was a queen of many people, yet she only enjoyed the name beloved of Antony, and not that of wife of Antony, but she was quite content with this as long as she could live with him and see him. If he drove her away she would certainly die. The result was that Antony was vanquished, and he put off his expedition, and, having betrothed one of his sons by Cleopatra to the daughter of the king of Parthia, went back to Egypt with Cleopatra. He lived at

¹ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 53.

Alexandria as a private person, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe; he spent his time wholly with Greeks in deference to Cleopatra, and he went only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the learned.¹ Soon after Antony's return from Armenia he gave a banquet, during which he caused two golden thrones to be placed on a tribunal, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and his children were provided with lower thrones. He declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, with Caesarion, the son of Julius Caesar, co-regent; to her he gave the title "queen of kings," to each of his sons by her he gave the title "king of kings," and to Alexander Armenia, Media, and Parthia, and to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia.² At this time Cleopatra used to dress as the goddess Isis, and was called the "new Isis," she also made Antony dress in the characters of Osiris and Dionysos, and acted in a most extravagant manner. Withal, she had absolute power in Egypt, and as Dion Cassius says (l. 5), "she bewitched everybody."

Meanwhile Octavia returned to Rome, and Octavian was furious at the insult which his sister had received at the hands of her husband, who showed openly that he cared for nothing in the whole world

¹ Appian, v. 11.

² Plutarch, *Antonius*, 54; Dion Cassius, xlix. 41.

except Cleopatra. Caesar brought the matter before the Senate, and stirred up the army to such good purpose by his abuse of Antony's folly and Cleopatra's iniquity¹ that at length war was declared against Cleopatra. Antony accepted the challenge, and went to Ephesus, where he collected 800 ships, and Cleopatra, who craftily contrived to go with him, contributed 220,000 talents and supplies for the army. At Samos they made a great feast, and for several days nothing but music was heard on the island; the theatres were thronged, and the petty kings vied with each other in the extravagance of their gifts and entertainments. At Athens also Antony gave himself up to pleasure and theatre-going, and from there he sent men to Rome to eject Octavia from his house. As Octavia left it the people pitied not her, but Antony, especially those who had seen Cleopatra, "a woman who had not the advantage over Octavia either in beauty or in youth."² At length Antony devoted himself to making preparations for war, as also did Caesar, and in the great battle which followed at Actium in 31 Antony had quite as good a chance of winning as his opponent. But when as yet the battle was undecided, the sixty ships which Cleopatra had sent to the fight were seen to be hoisting their sails and making ready to withdraw from the battle. As

¹ Compare the words of Dion Cassius, *εἰ αἰσθαινοτο ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρου γυναικὶ ὑποπεπτωκότας* (l. 24).

² Plutarch, *Antonius*, 57.

soon as Antony saw her ship sailing away, "forgetting
"everything, and deserting and skulking away from
"those who were fighting and dying in his cause, he
"got into a five-oared galley with only Alexas the
"Syrian and Skellios to attend him, and followed after
"her who had already ruined him, and was destined
"to complete his ruin."¹ As soon as Cleopatra recog-
nized Antony's vessel she raised a signal, and when
it came up alongside of her own she took him on board;
thus Antony, when he had still nineteen legions of
unvanquished soldiers and 12,000 horsemen, ran away
from the battle. When Antony reached the coast of
Libya, he sent Cleopatra on to Egypt from Parae-
tonium, and staying behind he tried to kill himself,
but was prevented, and sent to Alexandria by his
friends.

As soon as Cleopatra arrived in Egypt she made
a plan to escape by the Red Sea, in ships which
she had dragged across the Isthmus of Suez, but as
the Arabs of Petra burnt those which were first
brought over, she gave up the plan and began to
fortify Egypt against attack by Caesar. She went so
far as to behead Artavasdes, the king of Armenia,
whom Antony had brought to Egypt, and she sent his
head to the king of Media, with whom Artavasdes had
been at war, in order to obtain help from him. Shortly
afterwards Antony was received into the palace at
Alexandria by Cleopatra, and then began a revival of

¹ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 66.

the drinkings and feastings, and waste of money with which the Alexandrians were familiar. Meanwhile Cleopatra collected deadly poisons of all kinds and tried them on those who were in prison under sentence of death, and next she made trial of animals which were set on each other daily in her presence; as a result she found that the bite of the asp was the most efficacious and the least painful way of causing death.

About this time Cleopatra sent envoys to treat with Octavian, and she asked that her children might have Egypt, and Antony be allowed to live as a private person at Athens; in answer Caesar said that she should have anything in reason if she would kill Antony, and sent Thyrsus the orator to persuade her to do what he wished. Antony, being jealous of the interviews which this man had with Cleopatra, whipped him and sent him back to Caesar.

At length Caesar came by way of Syria to Egypt, and Cleopatra made Seleucus the governor of Pelusium betray the city to him,¹ but she gave up the wife and children of Seleucus to be put to death. Cleopatra next gathered together all her treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, etc., and a large quantity of firewood and tow in a magnificent tomb which she had built near the temple of Isis, and Caesar feared that she would destroy herself and all this wealth at the same time. When Caesar had taken up his position near

¹ Dion Cassius, li. 9; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 74.

the hippodrome Antony⁴ sallied out and put all his cavalry to flight, and then he challenged Caesar to single combat, whereupon he replied that Antony had many ways of dying. On this Antony determined to do battle with Caesar on land and sea at the same time, but having collected his sailors and soldiers, through the treachery of Cleopatra¹ they all deserted to the enemy, about August 1, B.C. 30; when Antony saw this he cried out that he had been betrayed, and Cleopatra fearing his wrath fled to her tomb, and having let down the doors she bolted them and sent men to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony went into his chamber and called upon his faithful slave Erôs to kill him, but he, having drawn his sword and pretended to be about to smite his master, suddenly turned away his face and killed himself; seeing this Antony ran his sword through his own body and cast himself on the bed, but the wound was not fatal at once, and he called upon the bystanders to finish him, because he was writhing in pain. This, however, no man would do, and almost immediately Diomedes, the secretary of Cleopatra, came with orders to take Antony to the tomb. When Antony knew that she was alive he ordered his servants to take him to her, and they did so; but she would not open the doors, and having let down cords from a window the servants fastened him to them, and she herself and two women drew him up. When she

¹ Dion Cassius, li. 10.

had brought him into the chamber and laid him down she tore her garments and beat her breasts and scratched them with her hands, and at the same time smearing her face with his blood she called him master, and husband, and Imperator. Antony asked for wine, and when he had drunk it he gave her certain advice and died.

When Octavian heard of his death he retired within his tent and wept, and then he sent Procleius to secure Cleopatra alive, both for the sake of the money and because he wished to lead her in his triumphal procession at Rome. By stratagem Procleius obtained admission to the tomb, and was just in time to prevent her from stabbing herself; he took away her dagger and shook her dress to see that there was no poison concealed in it. Caesar allowed Cleopatra to bury Antony's body in a sumptuous and royal manner, and then she fell ill of a fever, and abstained from food, wishing to end her life without hindrance. A few days later Caesar went to visit her, and according to Dion Cassius (li. 12) he found her in a loose mourning garb, which greatly enhanced her beauty, sitting on a bed with portraits of the father of her son scattered about her and all his letters to her. She wept over and kissed the letters, and addressing them asked what good they were to her, and why she had not been permitted to die before their writer. Meanwhile Caesar stood silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, and all he said was, "Be of good courage, O woman, and be of

“good cheer, for thou shalt suffer no harm.” When Cleopatra saw that he did not look at her, and had uttered to her no words either about the kingdom or love, she cast herself down at his feet and cried out that she did not wish to live, and that she wanted to die with Antony; still Caesar said nothing, but kept his eyes on the ground, and when he left her he caused her to be carefully watched by his freedman Epaphroditus lest she should destroy herself.

Shortly afterwards she changed her manner, and made people think that she wished and intended to live, and Caesar himself was deceived. By his permission she went and poured out libations at Antony’s tomb, and embraced the coffin, and addressed to its occupant a pathetic speech. When she arrived at home she ordered a bath, and having bathed, enjoyed a splendid banquet. After the banquet a man from the country brought in a basket of figs, among which was coiled an asp covered over with leaves. Taking a tablet which had already been written upon by her, Cleopatra sealed it and sent it to Caesar, and then turned everyone out of the room except her two women Eiras and Charmion. What exactly happened then no one knows, but certain it is that Cleopatra either caused herself to be bitten by an asp in the arm or on the breast, or took poison. Some say the asp was in the basket of figs, others that it was in a water pitcher, and that Cleopatra drew it out with a golden distaff and irritated the reptile until it sprang upon her arm and drove its fangs into

it. Caesar believed that the asp fastened upon her arm, for two small indistinct punctures were seen in it, and the figure of Cleopatra which was carried in his triumph had an asp clinging to it. Others say that the poison was in a hairpin or a hollow comb. When Octavian had read the tablet, which contained a petition by Cleopatra to be buried with Antony, he sent men quickly to inquire about her, and as the guards knew nothing of what was happening, they made their way into the tomb, and found Cleopatra lying dead¹ on a golden couch in royal attire. Charmion was staggering about and trying to arrange the diadem on Cleopatra's forehead, and Eiras was dying at her feet; the latter said, "A good deed this, Charmion!" and she replied, "Yes, most goodly, and befitting the descendant of so many kings." Caesar caused Cleopatra to be buried with Antony in a splendid and royal style, and her women received honourable interment.

Cleopatra died aged thirty-nine years, having been queen twenty-two years. Antony first saw Cleopatra when she was a girl and when he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius in Alexandria,² and she seems to have made a great impression upon him; he next saw her at Tarsus when he was forty years old, and his subjection to her was instantaneous and

¹ According to Dion Cassius (li. 14) Caesar sent for the *Psylli*, or serpent charmers, to suck the poison out of her body, but she was already dead when Caesar saw her.

² Appian, v. 8.

complete. When he died he was either fifty-three or fifty-six years of age, and he had governed with Cleopatra fourteen years. Caesar put to death her son Caesarion, and also Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, but he spared all the children whom Cleopatra had by Antony, and caused them to be brought up in a manner suitable to their rank, and as if they had been his relations.¹

It is not easy to formulate a just view of the character of Cleopatra, because ancient writers who describe her physical and mental characteristics do not agree in their estimate of her. That she was a most beautiful woman there seems little reason to doubt, and Dion Cassius says (xli. 34) that at the time when Antony saw her at Tarsus she was a most lovely woman, that she was then in the prime of life and beauty, that her charm of speech was such that she won all who listened to her views, that she was splendid to hear and to see, and that she was capable of conquering the hearts which had resisted most obstinately the influence of love, and those which had been frozen by age.² On the other hand, Plutarch says (*Antonius*, 27) that "her beauty was not in itself altogether

¹ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 87; Suetonius, *Caesar Augustus*, 17.

² Ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ πολὺ διέπρεπε. Τό τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον εἶχε, καὶ προσομιλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἠπίστατον· ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖον καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι οὐδα, καὶ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρόπον τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ πάντα ἐν τῷ καλλεῖ τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο.



Cleopatra VII., Queen of Egypt.



“incomparable nor such as to strike those who saw her; but familiarity with her had an irresistible charm, and her form, combined with her persuasive speech and with the peculiar character which in a manner was diffused about her behaviour, produced a certain piquancy. There was a sweetness also in the sound of her voice when she spoke; and as she could easily turn her tongue, like a many stringed instrument, to any language that she pleased, she had very seldom need of an interpreter for her communication with barbarians, but she answered most by herself, as Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. She is said to have learned the language of many other peoples, though the kings her predecessors had not even taken the pains to learn the Egyptian language, and some of them had not even given up the Macedonian dialect.”

The picture of Cleopatra's character drawn by Josephus is a very dark one.¹ He says that she was covetous, that she stopped at no wickedness, that to get money she would violate both temples and sepulchres, that no place was too holy or too infamous so long as she could get gain from it, that she was a slave to her lusts, that she wanted everything she thought of, and did her utmost to get it, and that by some means or other she had bewitched Antony and could make him do anything, including murder. It is true that she loved money, but so did all the Ptolemies, and so did their

¹ *Antiquities*, xv. 14, § 1.

wives and daughters. Cleopatra was, however, no mere greedy money grabber, as Josephus would have us believe, for she spent her money in so lavish a fashion that she astonished the world by her extravagance. She loved magnificent pageants of every kind, and to outdo others would spare no expense, a fact proved by the famous story of Pliny (ix. 58) which tells how she melted in vinegar a pearl worth about £76,000 (?), and swallowed it in order to win her wager against Antony, who declared that it was impossible for her to spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet.

That she was cruel and arrogant on occasions, and allowed nothing to stand in the way of gratifying her ambition is well known. Thus though Seleucus the governor of Syria had delivered up Pelusium at her bidding it did not prevent her from handing over his wife and children to be put to death; in her ambition to gain power over Octavian she betrayed Antony, though there is no doubt that she loved him dearly; when Cicero, who had made a telling speech before the Senate in favour of her father Auletes, paid her a visit in Rome she treated him in an arrogant fashion; and Pliny tells us that she was "inflated with vanity and disdainful arrogance," and affected to treat all the vast and costly entertainments which Antony prepared to please her with the greatest contempt. Dion Cassius, in a remarkable passage (li. 14) intended to sum up her character, says that no

wealth could satisfy her, and that her passions were insatiable; she was intensely ambitious and most jealous lest sufficient honour should not be paid to her.¹ It is doubtful if her beauty was as great as has been popularly supposed, especially as Plutarch tells us that she was not "incomparably beautiful," and that Antony's wife Octavia was more beautiful than she; but whether this be so or not matters little. Cleopatra undoubtedly employed such beauty as she possessed to serve her ambitious ends, but it was not this alone that enabled her to vanquish two of the greatest Roman warriors and generals.

All writers agree in their descriptions of the charm of her conversation, and refer to the subtle and seductive effect of her sweet, soft voice upon her hearers; but the ready wit of her words was as enticing as their persuasiveness, and while her grace of manner was irresistible, her charming audacity led captive all who had the opportunity of becoming well acquainted with her. Her knowledge of languages seems to indicate that she, like most of the Ptolemies, possessed a love of literature, and her interest in learning is shown by the fact that she made Antony give her the library of Pergamum, and then deposited in Alexandria the 200,000 single books which it contained² in place of that of the Brucheion

¹ Ἄπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης, ἄπληστος δὲ χρημάτων γενομένη καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμία φιλοδόξῳ.

² Plutarch, *Antoniŭs*, 58.

which was burnt during the fights between Caesar and the Alexandrians. Of the person of the last queen of Egypt ancient writers have unfortunately left us no description, and all that we have to guide us in forming an idea of her appearance are a few statues, and the reliefs which were sculptured during her reign on the walls of the Egyptian temples and on coins. The figures of her on the reliefs in the temples are useless as portraits, for they are merely conventional representations of the queen-goddess of the period. The reliefs on the coins are more valuable, and it is clear that they give some idea of her profile at one period of her life; they do not, however, suggest that she was a strikingly lovely woman, but bear out Plutarch's statement that she was not "incomparably beautiful."

The descriptions of her character and acquirements supplied by Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and others indicate that she was not of pure Macedonian origin, and she certainly possessed far greater ability than any Arsinoë, or Berenice, or other Cleopatra, who is known to have ruled Egypt. Her father, as we know, was not a full-blooded descendant of the Ptolemies; of her mother we know nothing, but it is probable that she had Semitic blood in her veins, and that Cleopatra derived her facility in learning and speaking languages, her ready wit and ability, and many of her mental and physical characteristics from her. Her love of splendid ceremonies and royal pageants, and her lavish and reckless expenditure on occasions also point to this

conclusion; moreover, the portrait head of Cleopatra



Ptolemy XVI, burning incense before the gods.


in the British Museum gives her a refined Semitic




cast of features. There is no foundation whatsoever for the popular view that Cleopatra was a dark woman, with the complexion of the native woman of the Nile Valley and long black hair, and it is far more likely that she had the fair complexion and yellow or even red hair, which is often found with the descendants of Europeans and Semites in Egypt and Syria. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that she was a beautiful, fascinating, clever, and in many respects able woman, with boundless ambition, to gratify which she was ready to squander untold riches, and to sacrifice her person; and in spite of her cruelty and other defects it is impossible not to feel that when she killed herself a great and brave woman left the world.

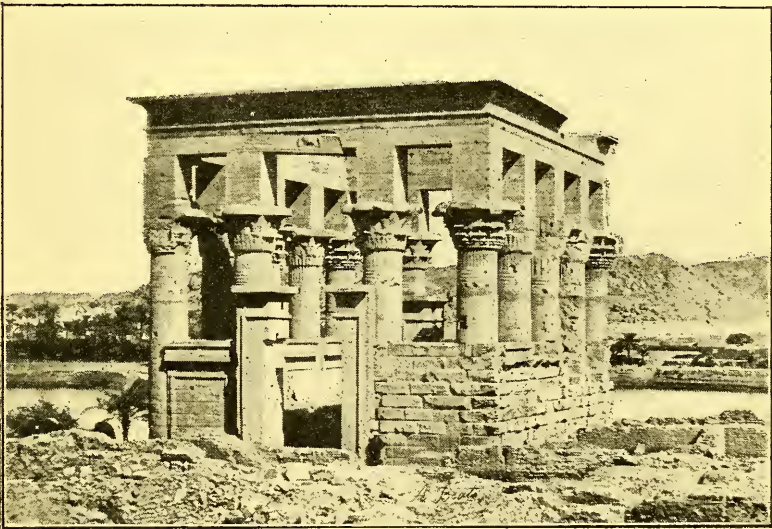
When Cleopatra and her son Caesarion were appointed co-regents by Julius Caesar in 47, it seems that a number of architectural works were at once undertaken in their joint names. At Denderah there are numbers of reliefs in which the young king and his mother appear, and it seems as though some of the representations of the queen were intended to be portraits; it is not easy to see exactly how much of the fabric of this temple was built in Cleopatra's reign, but it is clear that she caused works of some magnitude to be carried out there. Caesarion is here represented offering incense to Isis, and to Heru-sam-tau-i-pa-khrat,



the son of Hathor, and he is followed by Cleopatra, who wears the headdresses of Isis and

Hathor, and holds in her hands a sistrum and a *menät*, , the emblem of joy and festivity.

At Erment, a town about eight miles south of Thebes, which stands near the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Annu Qemā,   , the Hermonthis of the Greeks, there existed some years ago a small temple and a Mammeisi which were built during the joint reign of



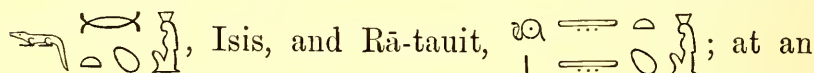
“Pharaoh’s Bed” on the Island of Philae.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

Cleopatra and Caesarion, and, thanks to the drawings published by Lepsius,¹ we may gain some idea of the character of the reliefs with which the smaller building was ornamented. They were intended to represent the conception, birth, and rearing of the child Ptolemy

¹ *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 39 ff.

XVI., or Caesarion, and were evidently copied from the reliefs of the XVIIIth Dynasty which were made for the great queen Hātshepset or Hātshepsut, Āmen-ḥetep III., and other royal personages. The remaining reliefs show that Isis, in the form of Cleopatra, was visited by Āmen-Rā in the form of an earthly father, and that a child was conceived and brought forth by the queen. Several of the ancient gods and goddesses assisted at the birth, among them being Nit, Nekhebet, and Āmen-Rā, and the spirits of at least fourteen of the great cities of Egypt were present. The child was suckled by the divine cow-goddesses, and was nursed by the great goddesses in turn, including Sebek-Nit,

; at an

early age the Hathors took him under their protection, and in due course Osiris, Āmen-Rā, and the various Horus gods conferred upon him sovereignty, dominion, untold years of life, and the other gifts which the gods were supposed to give to the kings of Egypt in Pharaonic times.

Thus we see that, aided by the priesthood, Cleopatra made an attempt to prove that her son by Caesar was the seed of the old royal and divine house of Egypt, and that he was the legal heir to the throne as well as the actual master of the country. It is interesting to note the persistence of the belief that the kings of Egypt must be of the seed of Āmen-Rā, and the tact with which Cleopatra adopted it, and used it

as a means of furthering her own ambitious ends, whereby Caesarion was to be regarded as the rightful lord of the South and of the North. The Egyptian priesthood must have found it difficult enough to affiliate Alexander the Macedonian to Amen-Rā, but how much harder must it have been to prove that the son of a Roman general by a woman of Greek descent on the father's side and of unknown descent on the mother's, was the offspring of the god Amen-Rā? But Cleopatra, like Alexander the Great, was ready to meet the priesthood half way, and to welcome any arrangement with them which tended to strengthen her hold on the country. With Cleopatra and Caesarion the long and mighty line of the Ancient Pharaohs of Egypt comes to an end; the Roman Emperors masqueraded as Pharaohs upon the walls of the temples, it is true, but they were not kings of Egypt living in Egypt; the land of the Amenemhāts and of the Amen-heteps now finally ceased to be an independent kingdom, and became a province of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE PTOLEMAÏC PERIOD.—SUMMARY.

FROM what has been said in the preceding pages it is clear that the feature which differentiated this, the last period of the history of the Egyptians as an independent nation, from the periods which had gone before is the introduction of the Greek element as a permanent factor in Egyptian life. When once a Greek king had ascended the throne of the Pharaohs Egypt became included in the circle of Greek culture, and the Egyptian kingdom became a Hellenized state, even as did also Syria and the other eastern countries conquered by Alexander the Great. The king and his court and his army were Greeks and spoke Greek, but the religion of the country continued to be purely Egyptian, and the language of the priesthood and of the people was Egyptian. As time passed the Greek element in the country grew stronger, until at length, in Roman times, Greek became the official language of the country, and the Egyptian language was only used officially for religious purposes.

The Greeks who had settled in the country worshipped the Egyptian gods, and the god Serapis, who is generally declared to have been a foreign importation from Sinope, is in reality nothing but the union of two forms of the god Osiris, i.e., Āsar and Ĥāpi, or Osiris and Apis. This deity Āsar-Ĥāpi, whose name was Graecized as Serapis, was, however, represented not in Egyptian, but in Greek form, his type being naturally that of the Greek god of the Underworld, Hades. It is probable that in the reign of Ptolemy Soter some well-known image of Hades was brought to Egypt from Sinope, and was there worshipped as an image of Āsar-Ĥāpi. On the other hand, such a god as Soknopaios, who was worshipped by the Greeks of Crocodilopolis, was Sebek, a purely Egyptian deity, whom it was impossible to identify with any Hellenic divinity. The Ptolemaic kings offered up sacrifices to and worshipped the ancient gods of the country, and rebuilt and endowed many of their temples. In private life they were Greeks, and as far as their administrative work was concerned they were Greeks, for all their ministers and high executive officers were Greeks also, but in the eyes of the Egyptian nation they were Egyptian Pharaohs, and they always appeared before the people in the guise of the heirs of the great kings of the New Empire. Many were crowned with all the ancient rites and ceremonies at Memphis, and they are represented as conforming to ancient usage by

consulting the old gods of Egypt through their priests concerning the welfare of the kingdom. They even followed the example of the Pharaohs of old, in marrying their own sisters and nieces; in the first instance they must have done this in order to please the priesthood, for such marriages were most repugnant to the ideas of their Greek subjects.

To gratify the people and to satisfy the national sentiment, as well as to please the priests, Ptolemy III. Euergetes I. aspired not only to rival, but even to outstrip the conquests of Thothmes III.; he penetrated further east than any Egyptian conqueror before him, and brought back from Persia and Mesopotamia large numbers of images of Egyptian gods, made presumably of gold and silver, which had been carried off centuries before by Cambyses, and by the Assyrian conquerors before him. Popular religious sentiment was also gratified by the large grants of land which the Ptolemies made to the gods, and the estates which were set apart by them for the maintenance of the priesthood and temples were greater in extent than they had ever been since the time of the XXth Dynasty.

But this favouring of the priesthood in order to gratify the native Egyptians did not lead in any way to priestly interference in the government of the country, which was carried on by Greek ministers as in other Hellenistic states. The leading men among the native Egyptians had no effective voice in deciding the policy of the country, and it was

probably the discovery by the priests of their real powerlessness that led to the anti-Greek revolts, which took place from time to time in Upper Egypt. But no outburst of national feeling could ever affect the fact that Egypt had finally entered the comity of nations the directing force of which was Greek, especially when, as in Egypt, all the forms and traditions of the Ancient Empire were perpetuated in the actual administration of the country, and in the pomp and ceremony which accompanied the kings. And the fact that these kings were, in reality, very powerful monarchs, and by no means the weak and disreputable *fainéants* that they are usually considered to have been, no doubt made their rule acceptable to the Egyptian layman, although the priest must often have chafed under his inability to interfere in the business of the government.

The power of Egypt under the rule of the first four Ptolemies was no sham, for she was in their days as great, as rich, and as prosperous as ever she had been before, even in the times of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Under Philadelphus she was the wealthiest country in the world, and the court of Alexandria was the most luxurious and the most splendid known to the ancients until the days of Nero and his Golden House. Under Euergetes I., as we have already mentioned, the glories of the ancient conquering Pharaohs were revived, and the power of Egypt was carried into regions in which it had never before

been seen. That the armies of Euergetes consisted chiefly of mercenaries from Greece and Asia Minor must not be regarded as making his conquests Greek and not Egyptian, for the ancient Pharaohs had also employed mercenaries, the greater number of whom came from Asia Minor, and were as a matter of fact the ancestors of the warriors who fought for the Ptolemies; besides, there were, no doubt, considerable numbers of native Egyptians in the Ptolemaic armies, and the generals of Euergetes were everywhere regarded as the generals of an Egyptian Pharaoh and the representatives of the ancient might of Egypt. The Greek cities which were in league with Ptolemy Soter and which admitted Egyptian garrisons into their citadels can, however, scarcely be regarded as forming a part of the Ptolemaic Empire, for their allegiance was paid rather to the Greek king Ptolemy, the successor of Alexander, than to the "king of the South and North, the son of the Sun, Ptolemy." The extent of the Ptolemaic Empire varied from reign to reign, but Cyrene, Cyprus, Coele Syria, and Palestine remained more or less subject to them, that is to say, even under the weakest Ptolemies Egypt controlled as large an extent of territory as she had ever possessed under the greatest of the ancient Pharaohs.

This was due to the binding force of the Greek element which had now leavened all the countries of the Nearer East. In Egypt this element does not come so much to the fore as in the other

Hellenistic lands, because of the dominating force still possessed by the ancient civilization of the country, which Greek culture could, and did modify to some extent, but could never radically alter, far less subdue. Greek cities retaining the purely Greek form of state government were not founded so frequently in Egypt as in the other countries conquered by Alexander, in fact, we only know of one certain example of a regular Greek *πόλις* with a Hellenic polity in Egypt, namely, Ptolemaïs, which was founded as a capital for the Thebaïd in place of ruined Thebes. It has been thought that the city of Crocodilopolis in the Fayyûm also possessed Greek political privileges, but this is doubtful. Alexandria, it is certain, never possessed them, and was never an autonomous Greek city. Alexandria was founded as a Greek centre of government to ensure Greek control over the land, but this control was to be exercised, not by a council and assembly of Greek citizens, electing their magistrates, but by an autocratic satrap after the Persian model. The magistrates of a Greek city-state could never have controlled the whole of Egypt, but a Greek satrap could make his power felt everywhere. Alexandria was, therefore, of set purpose not organized as a Greek autonomous city, but was intended to be the capital of a partially Hellenized country, a city dominated by Greek influence and the residence of the Greek ruler of the land. When this ruler ceased to be the vicegerent of the Macedonian successor of the "Great King," and

set himself up as an Egyptian Pharaoh, Alexandria became still less fitted for a Greek autonomous polity, and developed into the city in which the Greek king of Egypt resided, and in which Greek and Egyptian lived together on terms of equality. The inhabitants of the capital possessed, however, certain peculiar privileges. In the first place it would appear that the Alexandrians were exempted from the *λαογραφία*, or poll tax,¹ and later, other persons residing in Egypt who possessed Alexandrian rights were also exempt from this tax; in Roman times the possession of Alexandrian rights was necessary to a native Egyptian before he could proceed to the acquisition of the Roman citizenship.

The freedom of the Alexandrians soon attracted settlers from all parts of the Mediterranean countries and Western Asia, and among others the Jews came in large numbers to the city, where they formed a wealthy and important section of the community-states. Their oppression by the Seleucid kings, no doubt, induced them to abandon Syria for Egypt, where special privileges were given them by the earlier Ptolemies, whose interest it was to befriend the enemies of the Seleucids. Their power in Egypt gradually increased, and they spread from Alexandria into the provinces, and we find Jewish settlements not only in the Fayyûm but even in the Thebaid. The lucrative business of tax-farming fell largely into the hands of the Jews, and the success of the commercial enterprises of the

¹ See Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten*, vol. i. p. 240.

Egyptians at this time was due largely to Jewish money and Jewish brains. The Jewish community in Egypt prospered and flourished, until at length it became the centre of Judaism, not only from a commercial, but also from a religious point of view. This is shown by the fact that they were sufficiently influential to induce Ptolemy II. Philadelphus to send an embassy to the high-priest at Jerusalem to borrow a copy of the Book of the Law, as well as the services of seventy-two pious and learned men, six from each tribe, to translate it correctly from Hebrew into Greek. This fact also shows how far Hellenism had progressed among the wealthier and more cultured Alexandrian Jews, since it had become necessary to translate their Scriptures into Greek before they could understand them. The increase of their power naturally gave rise in Egypt, as in all other countries, to an anti-Semitic feeling, and Greeks and Egyptians were drawn together in their common hatred for the Jew. The wilful isolation of the Jew kept him aloof from the rest of the population, whilst the Greeks and Macedonians mingled more and more with the native Egyptians, until intermarriage became common among them, and in the documents of the period we find Greek, and Macedonian, and Egyptian names, occurring indiscriminately in a single family. The popular dislike of the Jews often found expression in the sanguinary riots which occurred from time to time in Alexandria, but in some of these the Jews themselves were the aggressors. The frequent

riots in Alexandria were, however, not always due to anti-Semitic feeling, and eventually the citizens gained the reputation of being the most turbulent in the world, a reputation which remained with them until the Arab conquest.

We have already noted that the Jews were largely engaged in the business of tax-farming, and have seen that the Alexandrians were exempt from the poll-tax. The system of taxation employed in Egypt under the Ptolemies was extremely complicated, and this complicated character was, no doubt, an inheritance from older Pharaonic days. It differed, however, considerably from the old Egyptian system, since it was modified by the use of coined money in making certain payments. The taxes were regulated by decrees made by the king himself after consultation with his ministers, and the king decided whether the collecting of certain taxes should be entrusted to his own officials, or should be offered for sale to the highest bidder, who would, of course, sublet it to smaller tax-farmers. The number of the taxes, their incidence, and the method by which they were collected, were revised yearly. The chief taxes were the *ἐπιγραφὴ*, or land-tax, which was paid either in money or in kind; the *λαογραφία*, or poll-tax, which has already been mentioned; the *χειρωνάξιον*, or tax on the produce of skilled labour of all kinds; the taxes on salt, natron, wine, and palm-trees; the *τέλος ταφῶν*, or tax on funerals, which in Egypt must have been very productive; and the

ἀπομοίρα, which was originally a tax paid by the possessors of vineyards and gardens for the support of the temples of the gods. The benefit of this last tax was, however, taken away from the priests by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was appropriated to the use of the queen Arsinoë, who being a goddess on earth was regarded as having a perfectly legitimate right to it. Innumerable other taxes were levied on various classes of the population, but many of them corresponded to our local rates and were spent in the maintenance of police and of local public works.¹

Viewed from the standpoint of modern nations the burden of taxation in Egypt was undoubtedly severe, for, in addition to the main taxes which fell upon almost every profession and commodity, local *octroi* duties were also enforced. The wealth of the Ptolemaic court was the result of a merciless "squeezing" of the people, but the *fellahín* were well used to this, for they had lived under much the same conditions for thousands of years. The position of the lower classes in general was not appreciably different from that in which they had lived under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, when the whole land had been as prosperous and wealthy as it was under the earlier Ptolemies, the only difference being that the place of the Phoenician pedlar and trader who frequented Egypt in

¹ A full treatment of the taxation of Egypt under both Ptolemies and Romans will be found in Wileken's important work, *Griechische Ostraka*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1899.

the days of the Ramessides was now taken by the ubiquitous Greek, who, like his modern descendant, had already settled not only in Alexandria and in the town set apart specially for him—Ptolemais—but in nearly every native town and village throughout the kingdom. With the Greek trader there came the Jewish money-lender; as we have seen, the Egyptian preferred the Greek to the Jew.

Since in private life king, court, ministry, and army were Greek, it follows as a matter of course that Hellenic literature and art invaded Egypt in full force in the Ptolemaic Period; Greek ideas on these subjects were, however, as yet confined to the people of Greek descent. The Egyptians had daily before their eyes temples and other buildings erected in the Greek style, and became accustomed to the sight of the leaves of their native papyrus being written upon in Greek characters with the masterpieces of Greek literature; but it cannot be said that the majority of the people had begun to understand and appreciate these things until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, at which time also intermarriages between Greeks and Egyptians began to be frequent. The mixed styles of art known as "Graeco-Egyptian" hardly belong to the Ptolemaic Period at all; they date, generally speaking, from the early Roman Period. Under the Ptolemies a hard and fast line still separated Greek from Egyptian art, and when a temple was erected by the Greek king in honour of his Egyptian gods, its style and ornamenta-

tion were purely Egyptian. One of the rare instances of Greek interference with Egyptian convention in the matter of temple decoration is here illustrated. Over the cornice of the entrance to the temple of the god I-em-hetep at Philae is cut a Greek inscription of two lines recording the dedication by Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, and his queen, and his son, of the building to the Greek god Asklepios. This is an interesting example of the identification of Egyptian with Greek gods which was effected whenever possible.

The principal temple buildings of the Ptolemies were those at Philae and Edfû, and each king contributed in his turn to the building, repairs, enlargement, and decoration of these remarkable edifices. The worship of Horus of Behutet at Edfû was extremely old, in fact, the original temple there must have been one of the most ancient in Egypt, and it is probably a result of the archaistic revival which took place under the XXVIth Dynasty that we find the Ptolemaïc monarchs engaged in the rebuilding and restoration of the oldest temples in the country. It is true that the Ptolemies did not wholly neglect the shrines of the gods of Thebes, for Philadelphus built a granite doorway for the Temple of Menthu, and Euergetes I. erected the well-known gateway at the end of the avenue of sphinxes which leads to the Temple of Khensu; but, in spite of the attempt to revive it under the Greek designation of Diospolis, Thebes was, more or less, in a state of ruin during the Ptolemaïc Period, and its god Amen, having become

merged with Osiris-Āmsu (or Osiris-Min), was no longer regarded with any special veneration by the Egyptians. It is an interesting fact that at this period the Greeks paid more reverence to "Āmen-Rā, king of the gods," than the Egyptians, for the devotion of Alexander to Ammon as his divine father drew the attention of the Greek settlers generally to this deity, whom it was easy to identify with Zeus, the father of gods and men. On the other hand, the Egyptians seem, as we have said, to have already begun to confuse Āmen with Osiris.

The Egyptian literature of the Ptolemaic Period, like its art, was in no way influenced by Greek models, and Greek influence does not appear to any great extent in either until Roman times. The native literature consisted chiefly of popular tales which were based upon ancient originals, and were written down in the Demotic character; a good example of such tales is the story of Setnau Khā-em-Uast, of which two portions are extant.¹ Copies of the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, in whole or in part, continued to be made for funereal purposes, but at this time the copy was often written in Demotic, and when linear hieroglyphs are employed they always have the peculiarly ungraceful appearance characteristic of this period, when the scribes seem to have comprehended

¹ Brugsch, *Le Roman de Setnau*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd Series, vol. xvi. p. 161 f.; and Hess, *Der demotische Roman von Stne Ĥa-m-us*, 1888; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900.

hardly a word of what they were writing. It is a moot point how far the common people ever really understood the hieroglyphic texts which were inscribed on the walls of the temples, and on stelae, and other public monuments, but it is more than probable that they could not read them. In the Ptolemaic period it is quite certain that no one could read the hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the exception of a few priests and scribes who were interested in antiquarian studies. The better classes of the people generally used the Demotic character, and this was understood and used by nearly everyone, just as under the New Empire the foremen of the temple artisans could read and write the hieratic character. The result of the study of the hieroglyphic script becoming confined to a small company of learned men was that the writing was modified by pedantic ideas and by erroneous theories, the natural effect being that by the time the Roman Period is reached the use and signification of many signs were so much altered that an Egyptian of the Ramessid period would have had great difficulty in understanding the parody which passed for hieroglyphic writing under the Ptolemies and Romans. We may also note in passing that at this period the hieroglyphics on the walls of temples, etc., are always in relief instead of being incuse, or sunk relief, a change due to the archaizing spirit in art which grew up under the XXVIth Dynasty, for hieroglyphics were often cut in full relief under the earliest dynasties.

Here may be mentioned the curious fact that the scarab was now no longer used as a seal, and its disappearance, as a seal, seems to date from the end of the XXVIth Dynasty. Under the restored native kingdom of the Nectanebids it seems not to have been used in this way, but as a funereal amulet the large "heart scarab" inscribed with Chapter XXXB. of the *Book of the Dead* was used down to and in Ptolemaïc times. The glazed earthenware *ushabti* figure, the style of which, as we have already seen, underwent considerable change in the time of the XXVIth Dynasty, continued in use until the beginning of the Ptolemaïc period, after which time it is rarely found.

Speaking generally, Ptolemaïc monumental art is marked by a considerable alteration from the style in vogue under the Nectanebid kings, which itself was an ultra-refinement of the style of the XXVIth Dynasty. In Ptolemaïc reliefs the extreme carefulness and attention to detail which marked the work of the XXXth Dynasty have developed into a strained and unmeaning formalism; the finely cut and delicate forms of the earlier period have given way under the Ptolemies to harsh and often clumsy forms which look as though they had been turned out by a machine, and which are repeated everywhere *ad infinitum* without modification or change. Under the earlier Ptolemies the half archaistic art of the Saïtes, which had attained its greatest refinement under the Nectanebids, degenerated and died out. The splendour of Philadelphus and the conquests of

Euergetes I. turned men's minds once again from the simplicity of the Early Empire, which had been so attractive to the Saïtes, to the pomps and glories of the great Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and just as Rameses III. imitated the vain-glorious sculptures of Rameses II., so we find the artists who executed the reliefs on the temples ornamented by the later Ptolemies turning to the work of the New Empire for their inspiration. The result is that under Ptolemy VII. we find imitations¹ of the reliefs of Rameses II. so slavish that the name of the earlier king is actually copied by mistake, and appears above the head of Ptolemy!

Under Ptolemy XIII. similar imitations occur, and the climax of absurdity is reached when Ptolemy the "Piper" is represented in the act of slaying a group of enemies, whom he grasps by the hair² in the style of a Thothmes or a Rameses!

The history of the country which fate had called them to rule was by no means ignored by the Ptolemies, as is shown by the fact that Ptolemy II. Philadelphus commissioned the Sebennyitic priest Manetho to compile the annals of the ancient kings, the extant fragments of which form the ground-work of our present knowledge of the history of Egypt. Manetho wrote his work in Greek for the information of the king, his ministers, and other Greek readers, and it was

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 22.

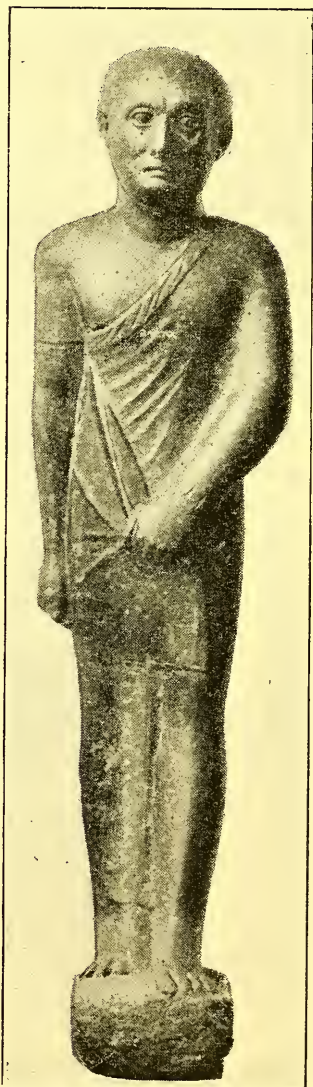
² *Ibid.*, pl. 51.

intended in the first place to be a gift to the lately founded Library of the Museum at Alexandria. The Museum was founded by Ptolemy I. Soter, the predecessor of Philadelphus, as a centre of Greek culture and learning, not for Alexandria only, or even for Egypt, but for the whole Hellenistic East. Attached to this Museum, which in many respects closely resembled a modern university, were two libraries, viz., the Library of the Brucheion and the Library of the Serapeum, the former being the older of the two. In these libraries were deposited copies of all the works of all known Greek writers, and many stories are told of the devices by which priceless holograph copies were obtained for them,¹ and it was natural that among their treasures should have been included histories of the kingdom of Egypt under the Pharaohs. The number of the manuscript rolls contained in the older Library was added to by each successive king, until at the end of the Ptolemaic Period it probably contained several hundred thousand manuscripts. The greatest interest was always taken by the kings in the care and development of the Museum and Libraries, and it must be said in favour of the descendants of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, that they always took an intelligent interest in, and extended a really efficient patronage to, literature and the arts. They themselves were sometimes authors, though probably of mediocre ability.

¹ See Parthey, *Alex. Mus.*, p. 88.

Thus Ptolemy IV. wrote a play called "Adonis," in imitation of Euripides, and the corrupt and vicious Physcon was so bold as to write his own "Memoirs" in twenty-four books, and even posed as a critic of the Homeric text.

Ancient writers show very little admiration for the personal characters of the Ptolemies, and it must be admitted that their strictures on the lives of Philopator, Physcon, and Auletes are amply justified. But even these dissolute and cruel tyrants were softened by their love of literature and learning, by their intercourse with the learned men who flocked to Alexandria, and by their good taste and appreciation of the arts. Even the greater Ptolemies, such as Philadelphus and Euergetes, were regarded with some dislike by Greeks who were ignorant of Egyptian customs, and are nowadays often regarded as licentious monarchs because they



Black granite statue of an official. Late Ptolemaic Period. British Museum, No. 34,270.



contracted marriages with their own sisters and nieces.¹ These marriages however, seemed quite natural to an Egyptian, for they had constantly taken place under the ancient Pharaohs for the purpose of keeping the royal blood pure; such marriages were entirely confined to the kings. When we have disabused our minds of the prejudice against the Ptolemies caused by this peculiar custom, for which they were not responsible, we see that despite their many vices they were, in reality, for the most part, great and powerful monarchs, who lose but little when compared with the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties.



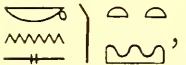
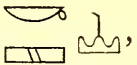
¹ In one case a Ptolemy married his stepmother.

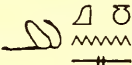
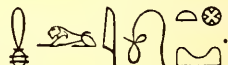
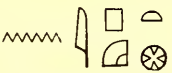




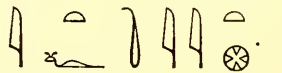




CHAPTER IV.

THE NUBIAN KINGDOM AFTER THE
XXVITH DYNASTY.


IN connexion with the Ptolemaïc Period a short account of the revival of the power of the Nubian kingdom must be given. We have already seen that the temple at Dakkeh, built by Àrq-Àmen (Ergamenes), was added to by Ptolemy IV., and it seems that either in his time or that of his predecessor much of the country between the First and Second Cataracts reverted to the Egyptian kingdom, from which it had been separated since the time of Ta-nut-Àmen, some 400 years before. Ptolemy II. must have asserted some claim to suzerainty over the Nubian kingdom, and this view is supported by the fact that he received the young Nubian prince Àrq-Àmen, the Ergamenes of Diodorus (iii. 6), at his court, for the purpose of being educated after the manner of the Greeks. Until this time the Nubian kingdom seems to have been isolated from Egypt, although the descendants of Ta-nut-Àmen continued to arrogate to themselves the titles of "king of the South and North," and "son of the Sun," thus claiming the legal right to rule over the whole of the Nile Valley from the Eastern Sûdân to the

Mediterranean Sea. The Saïtes, however, took no notice of their claim, and in Nubia the Egyptian royal titles gradually came to be nothing but mere formulae, which its kings themselves scarcely understood. Their capital remained at Napata,  *Nepita*, about 450 miles from Wādī Ḥalfa, for a long time, but they finally founded a new capital at Meroë, the ancient Egyptian Márauat, , the modern Baḳrawīyeh, which lies about forty miles south of the river Atbara.


The ancient Egyptians regarded Nubia as a nome, which they called TA-KENSET, , and they called the country generally "the negro land," ; certain districts of it were called KENSET, , and KESH, , or Cush. The province between Meroë and Philae was divided into thirteen districts,¹ each with a capital. Com-

- ¹ 1. Peḥ-gennes, . 2. Márauat, .
3. Nāpt, . 4. Peten-Ḥert, . 5. Pa-
- nebs, . 6. Ta-uatchet, . 7. Behent, .
8. Átefthit, . 9. Nehāu, .
10. Meḥit, . 11. Maāt, .
12. Baket, . 13. Ḥet-Khent, .

paratively early in the Ptolemaïc Period the portion of Nubia which extended from Philae southwards for a distance of twelve schoinoi, in Egyptian,

, was called "Dodekaschoinos"¹ by the

Greeks, who no doubt adopted some ancient division of the country made in earlier times. The schoinos is said to be equal to sixty stadia, i.e., to 7½ miles, and therefore the region Dodekaschoinos would be about ninety miles in length, and would extend from Philae to the modern village of Miḥarraḳah, near which lie the ruins of the city of the Holy Sycamore (Hierasycaminus). The reason why the Ptolemies laid their hands upon this part of Nubia is not far to seek, for included in it was the city on the Nile called Baka,


, by the Egyptians, Tachompso by the Greeks, Contra-Pselchis by the Romans, and Ḳubbân by the modern Arabs. From this point the

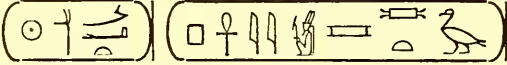
caravans started for the gold mines in the Wâdî 'Ulâḳî, and all the gold obtained from that region entered Egypt by way of Baka. The mines were worked as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties wells were sunk at various places along the desert road which led to them; they must have been worked under the Ptolemies, for many of these kings being lovers of money and shrewd men of

¹ See Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Aegypten und Nubien*, Leipzig, 1901.

business, it is unlikely that they would have allowed such a source of wealth to slip from their grasp.

The centres of the activity of the Nubian kings as builders were Donkōla, Napata (Gebel Barkal), Meroë (Baḳrawīyeh), Nâga, Ben Nâga, and the Muṣawwarât aṣ-Ṣufra; from these places Dr. Lepsius collected and published in his *Denkmäler* (Abtheilung v.) a large number of reliefs and inscriptions and kings' names, but unfortunately the information which would enable us to arrange these in chronological order is wanting. In his "Königsbuch" ¹ Lepsius divided the duration of the Nubian kingdom into four epochs, and arranged the names of the kings in groups, but the arrangement cannot be regarded as correct.² In the VIIth and VIth centuries B.C. we must probably place the following kings, whose names are found at Napata or Gebel Barkal:—

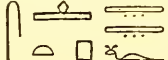
1.  P-ĀNKHI, son
of the Sun, RĀ-SENEFER.³

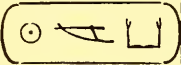

2.  RĀ-USR-MAĀT,
P-ĀNKHI-MERI-ĀMEN-SA-NET.

Both these names seem to have been composed under the influence of the archaism which was in vogue under

¹ Taff. lxxi. ff.

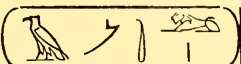
² The arrangement of Lepsius was adopted substantially by Brugsch and Bouriant, *Livre des Rois*, p. 128 ff.

³ With the Horus name , SE-ḤETEP-TAUI-F.

the XXVIth Dynasty and shortly before. To a somewhat later period must probably be assigned the kings, 3. MER-KA-RĀ  and 4. UATCH-KA-RĀ ,¹ whose equally archaistic names are also found at Gebel Barkal. Next we must probably place:—

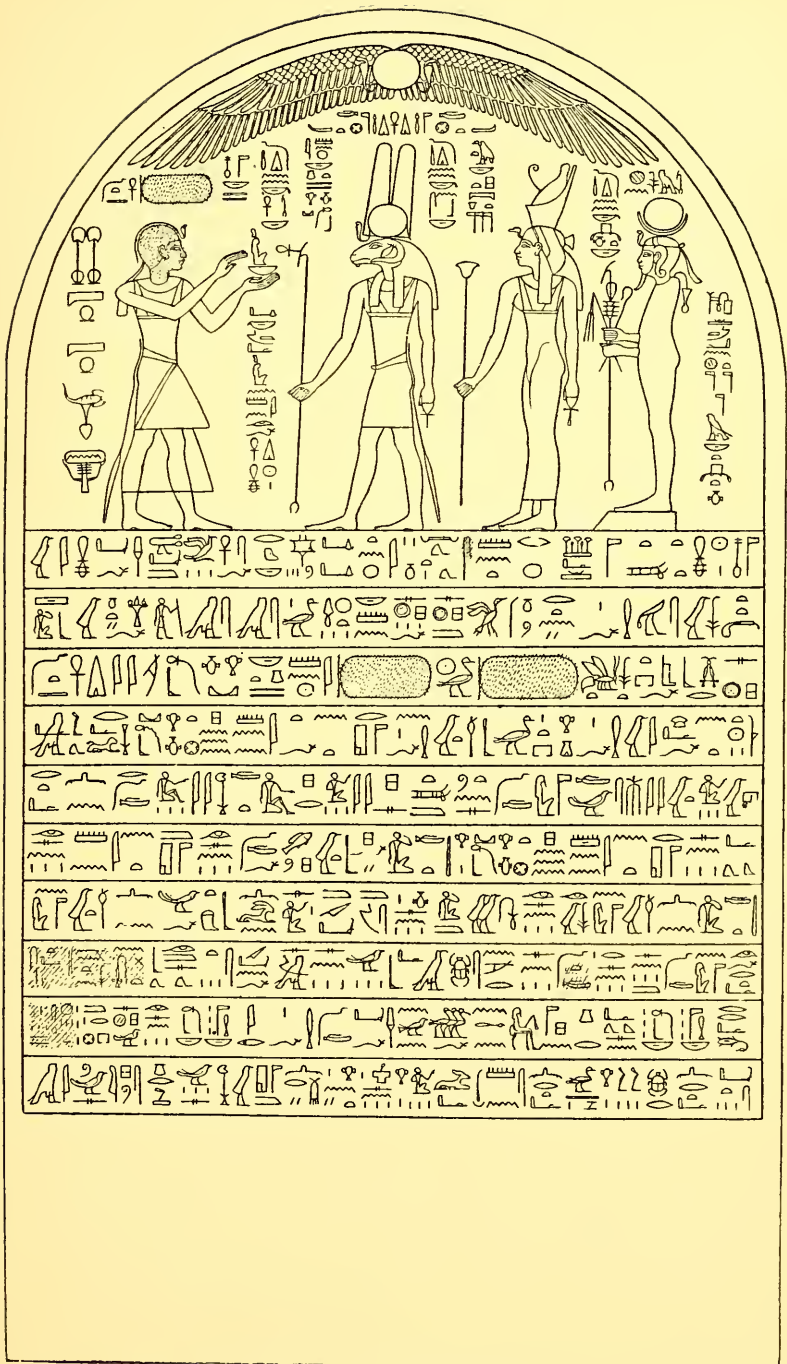
5.  MER-KA-RĀ,
son of the Sun, ASPELTA.

ASPELTA seems to have flourished in the second half of the VIIth century B.C., and Mariette thought that he was a contemporary of the first kings of the XXVIth Dynasty; recently Schäfer has come to the conclusion that his date may be fixed at B.C. 625.² Of the events of this king's reign nothing is known. An account of his election and of his coronation is inscribed upon a stele which was found at Gebel Barkal, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, and from this much information may be gained concerning coronation rites and ceremonies as performed at Napata.³ The king was elected by six of the nobles of the kingdom, and on a given day their choice had to be ratified by the god Amen; the chosen

¹ With the nomen , AMATHEL.


² *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, xxxiii. 1895, p. 101 ff.








³ For the text see Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 9; Mariette, *Revue Archéologique*, 1865; Maspero, *Revue Archéologique*, 1873; and *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 71.


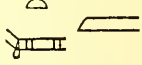



The Stela of the Excommunication.

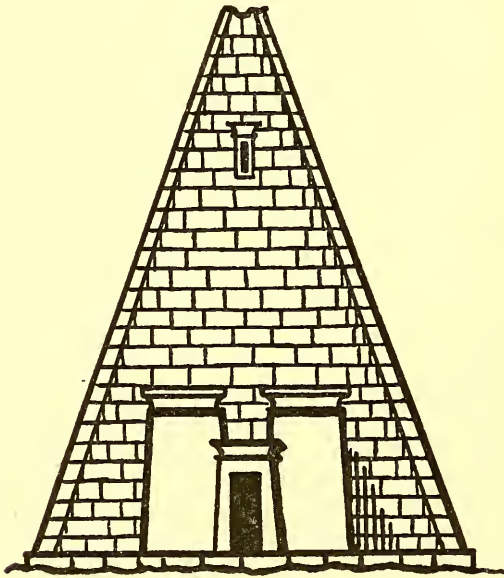
which he endowed the shrines of Amen of Pa-qem-
 Aten and Bast of Thert, and judging from these and
 from the information supplied by the stele in the
 Louvre, we are right in assuming that Aspelta's acces-
 sion was heartily approved of by the priesthood of
 Amen in Nubia.

In connexion with this reign must be mentioned the
 "Stele of the Excommunication," which was found
 with the stelae of Piānkhi, Ta-nut-Amen, Aspelta, and
 Heru-sa-âtef at Gebel Barkal. The stele is a small
 one, and on the upper part of it is a scene in which a
 king is making an offering of Maāt, , to the god
 Amen-Rā, "who dwelleth in the Holy Mountain,"

 . The god is ram-headed, and is accompanied
 by Mut and by Khensu-em-Uast, who holds in his
 hands the emblems of life, sovereignty, dominion, power,
 and stability,     ; above the gods is the
 winged disk. The hieroglyphic characters which formed
 the name of the king and his features have been
 obliterated, both from the cartouche above his head, and
 from the third line of the inscription, but it is probable
 that the king who is here represented is Aspelta, for
 this king's names are obliterated from the stele which
 records his coronation. The stele now under con-
 sideration is inscribed with a very interesting text
 which throws some light on the social life of the people
 of Napata. After enumerating the titles of the god

Tem,  , it goes on to say that in the second year of his reign the king made a journey to the temple of Amen of Napata in the Holy Mountain, to “drive out “the men who were hateful to the god” and who were called “TEM PESIU PER TET KHAIU,” 

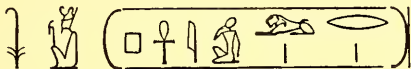
 . These men,




A Pyramid at Meroë.

it appears, formed a company or sect the creed of which was expressed in the words of their name, i.e., “those “who cook not that which cometh from the hand of “the slaughterers;” in other words, a sect which preferred to eat its meat raw like the Tartars of old and some of the tribes of the modern Abyssinians. The Nubian king was opposed to the sect and tried to

alter their views, but they conspired against him and intended to take his life, and when the king discovered this he went to the temple and killed them all, and gave orders that their posterity should not enter the temple. In revenge for this act the adherents of the raw-meat eaters cut out the king's name and features from the stele.¹

6.  P-ĀNKH-ALURU.

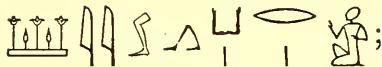
Of P-ĀNKH-ALURU nothing whatsoever is known, but we may assume that he lived in the first half of the VIth century B.C. His name occurs twice in the Stele of Nāstasenen; from the way in which he is mentioned it is certain that he was an ancestor of this king, and he may even have been the founder of the dynasty. In line 8 he is said to have sprung from the city of Ta-ḥeḥet, , and in line 16 Nāstasenen says, "Āmen of Napata, my good father, gave me the "kingdom of Napata, and the crown of Ḥeru-sa-ātef, "and the might of P-ānkh-aluru." The former of these kings was probably the father of Nāstasenen, and the latter his grandfather.

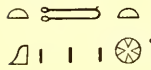
¹ See Mariette, *Monuments*, plate 10; Mariette, *Rev. Arch.*, 1865, tom. ii. p. 161; Maspero, *ibid.*, 1871, tom. i. p. 8; and *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 93.





Stele of Heru-sa-âtef.


year he attacked him and his ally Shaiuārkaru,

; and in his 33rd year he sent fifty spies into Mekhet-ḥi, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his foes in the city of Teqethet,

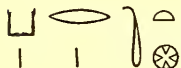

. The latter part of the inscription gives the names of a number of shrines of Rā, Osiris, Isis, and

Horus, e.g., Osiris and Isis of Merthet, ,

and of Ḳarret, ; Osiris, Isis, and Horus

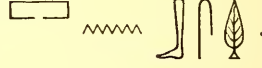
of Sehresat, ; Osiris and Āmenā-Ābtī¹


of Sekaruḳat, ; Horus in Karuthet,

; Rā in Meḥat, ; Ānḥer in

Āruthenit, ; Osiris of Napata;

Osiris of Nehanat, ; Osiris and Isis

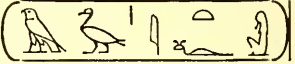
of Pa-qem; and Osiris of Pa-Nebes, .





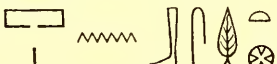
8.  ĀNKH-

KA-RĀ, son of the Sun, NĀSTASENEN.


Of NĀSTASENEN, or ĀSTASENEN, there is preserved in the Museum at Berlin a grey granite stele dated in the





he went to the temple, and he prayed to Āmen that the royal crown of king Heru-sa-ātef, , and the might of P-ānkh-Āluru might be bestowed upon him.


On the first day of the third month of the season Shat (i.e., Khoiak), he made a great festival in honour of Āmen, and a great procession of the god in his boat took place; at this time Āmen gave him the sovereignty over the land of Kenset, , and the land of Ālut, or Ārut, , the Nine-Barbarian nations, , the lands on both sides of the Nile, and the four quarters of the earth. From this we see that Kenset was the name given to Nubia from Napata to Philae, and Ālut represented the country south of Nubia as far as Khartûm, or perhaps even as far as Şawba. On the twenty-fourth day of the month Nāstasenen was crowned with great rejoicings, and he slew the sacrificial beasts, and ascended the golden throne and sat down under the great umbrella. He then continued his journey down the river, and offered up sacrifices to Āmen of Pa-qemt, ,¹ a town near the head of the Third Cataract, and to Āmen of Pa-nebest, , a town near Wādî Ḥalfa; Āmen of Pa-qemt gave him a bow, and Āmen


¹ Or, Pa-qemt-Āten; see the inscription on the reverse of the stele, line 10.


of Pa-Nebest a club. When these acts of homage to Amen of Northern Nubia were ended, Nāstasenen returned to Napata and made a great feast in honour of Amen and the goddess Bast of Terut, or Telut, , a town to the south of Napata. He next made great offerings to the gods, including figures of Amen and Horus, vessels of incense, and honey, and large numbers of bowls, basins, vases, cups, etc., made of bronze, and sacrificed bulls and cows to the god, and performed all the ceremonies which he was expected to perform. Then there came the man Qambasauṭen...

, and made war against Nāstasenen. Against him the Nubian army

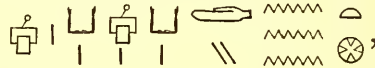



marched from Tchart, , and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his forces. Nāstasenen captured all his ships, and utterly routed his men, and he took as booty all his lands, and all his flocks and herds, whereupon his army had intended to live, from the city of


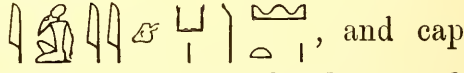
Kareṭept, , to the city of Taluṭi-

peḥt, . To the town of Taremut,

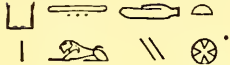
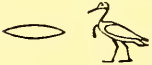
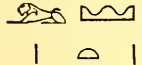
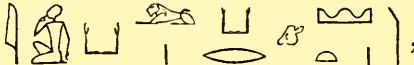

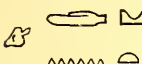

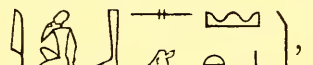

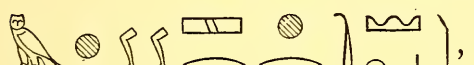
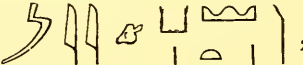
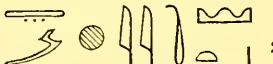


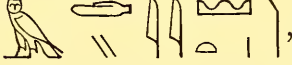


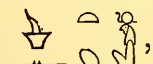
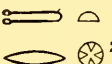
, he gave twelve of the holy

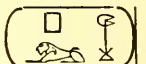

bulls which had been brought from Napata. The name of the king or general, Qambasauṭen... who came against Nāstasenen naturally suggests Cambyses, although it is spelt in an unusual fashion.

We have already seen that Cambyses, according to Herodotus, made an expedition into Ethiopia, as Nubia was called in those days, and that it was attended with the loss of all his army, and it is quite possible that in the inscription of Nāstasenen we have an account of the actual defeat of the Persian king.¹ Cambyses must have made his ill-fated attempt to reduce Nubia about 525 or 524, and this date falls well within the period of the reign of Nāstasenen. On the 26th day of the fourth month of the season Shat, i.e., on his birthday, Nāstasenen gave six of the sacred cattle of Napata to the city of Sakasakaṭit, , and on the great day of the same month whereon he received the crown of Rā, he dedicated to Āmen garlands and offerings from the land between Kartēpt, , and Tarleqet, . In Taqetat, , he dedicated a lamp to the god.

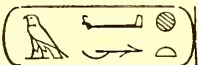
Nāstasenen next made war on the city Mekhneṭ-genenet, , and made captive its prince Āikhentkat, , and captured great spoil, consisting of 717,008 head of cattle of various kinds, 2236 women, 322 objects from the


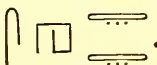
¹ The arguments for and against this view are well set forth by Schäfer in *Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 9 and 10.


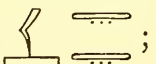

town of Katartit, . In his subsequent campaigns Nāstasenen conquered, 1. Rebalu,  , Ākalukarkhent, , and took prisoner their prince Lubkhentten,  ; 2. Ārerusa, , taking prisoner Ābsekhent, , the prince of Mashamet, ; 3. Mekhsherkherthet, , taking prisoner the prince thereof; 4. Maikhentka, , the prince thereof Tamakhithet, , being defeated at the Sycamore of Sarusaru,  ; 5. he made two expeditions against the Meṭi, , the first because they had stolen some property which had been dedicated to the temple of Pa-qem-Āten, , by king Āspelta, ), and the second because they had stolen some of the property of the goddess Bast, , of the city of Thert, , which had been dedicated by the same king. At each conquest

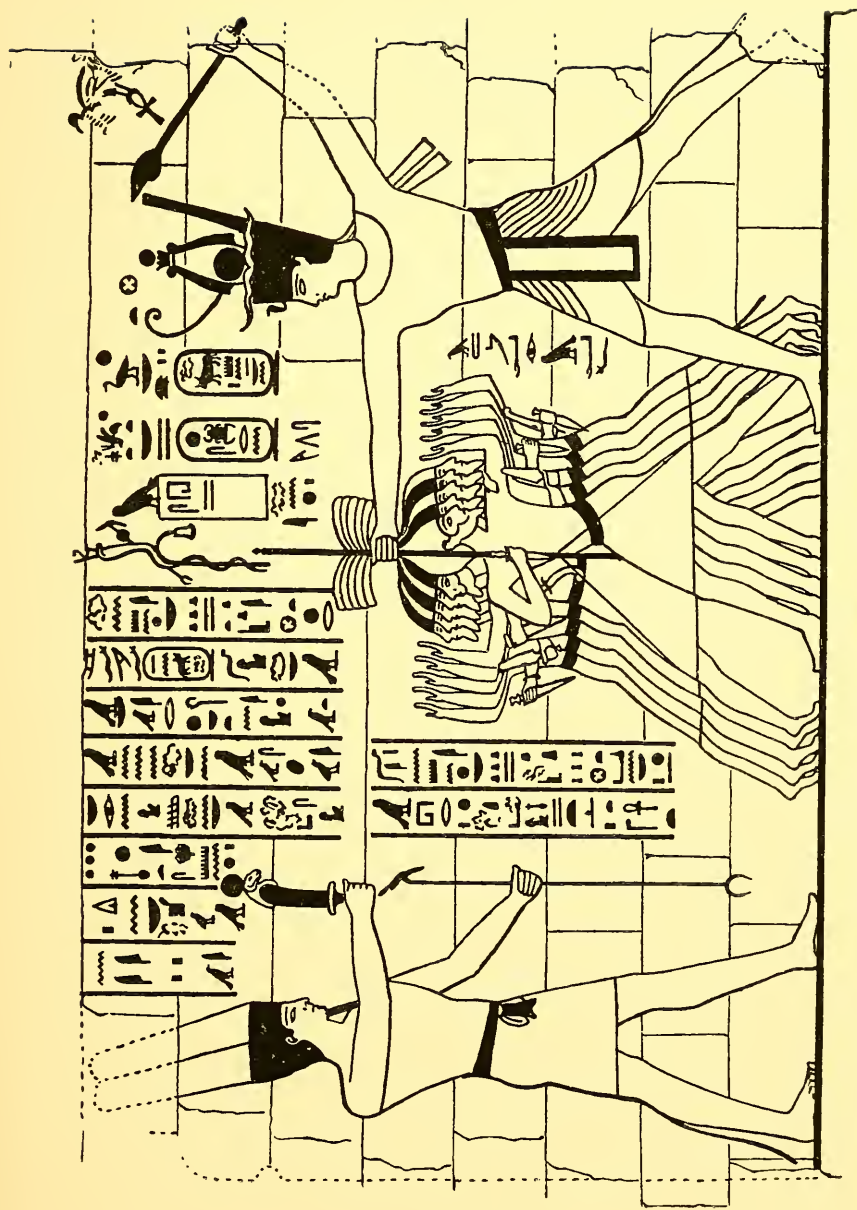
Nāstasenen captured large quantities of spoil, and he was careful to make large gifts to his god Āmen of Napata. The upper part of the stele of Nāstasenen is rounded, and on the obverse are two scenes in which the king is seen making offerings to the god Āmen of Napata; in the one the god is man-headed, and the king is accompanied by his mother Palkha , and in the other the god is ram-headed, and the king is accompanied by his wife Sekhmakh . Above these scenes is the winged disk with the pendent uraei of the South and North and the king's name in a cartouche between them.

After the reign of Nāstasenen it again becomes impossible to arrange the Nubian kings in chronological order, but between B.C. 525 and 260 we may place the following:—

1.  HERU-NEKHT.

2.  SEKHEPER-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SENKA-ĀMEN-SEKEN, with the Horus name .

3.  KHU-KA-RĀ, son of the Sun, ĀTHLENERSA, with the Horus name KER-TAUI, ; and the  name Meri-



King Senka-Amen-seken slaying his foes in the presence of Amen-Ra. From a pyramid at Gebel Barkal.

Mut, and Khnemu, and to Thoth and Tefnut. Ārq-Āmen was a devotee of the god Āri-ḥes-nefer, and he contributed reliefs to the small temple which Ptolemy IV. built in honour of this god on the Island of Philae. Diodorus tells us that he was the first of the Ethio-



Nubian king seated on his throne in a shrine; behind him stand his queen and the goddess Isis. From the south wall of Pyramid No. 9 at Bakrawiyeh. (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. v. pl. 27.)

pians to break the laws of his country in connexion with the custom of putting kings to death. It seems that whenever the priests at Meroë became tired of their king they sent a message to him commanding

him to put himself to death, saying that it was the will of the gods; usually the king obeyed the command and so accepted what he believed to be his fate. A



Nubian king. From a bas-relief on the west wall of the Temple at Naga.
(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. v. pl. 60.)

message of this kind was sent to Ārq-Āmen, but he was so bold as to reject and despise such commands, and assuming the spirit and courage becoming a king,

he collected a number of men and marched straight-way to the golden temple of the Ethiopians, which was built in a place very difficult of access, and there cut the throats of all the priests, and so abolished an ancient barbarous custom. There is no doubt that the king who built the temple at Dakkeh is to be identified with the Ergamenes of whom the above story is told.

Another Nubian king, of much later date, whose cartouches are found near Philae is



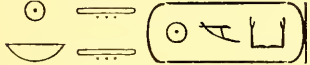


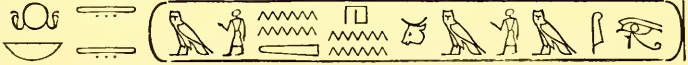
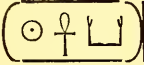


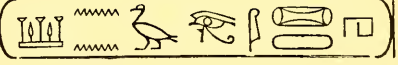


TĀA-EN-RĀ-SETEP-EN-NETERU, son of the Sun, ATCHA-KHAR-ÂMEN-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-ÂST-MERI.

He seems to have repaired or added to a temple at Dâbûd, whereupon appear the names of some of the Roman Emperors, but whether he was contemporary with them, or immediately preceded them, which is more probable, cannot be said.

A year or so after the death of Cleopatra the Nubians revolted, and Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman prefect of Egypt, marched against them and suppressed the revolt. About B.C. 23 the Nubian queen, whose official title was "Candace," invaded Egypt, seized the Island of Philae, and enslaved the inhabitants of Elephantine and Syene. Petronius attacked her with 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, and drove her as far south as Napata, which he destroyed (Strabo xvii. i. § 54; Pliny vi. 35); after this the

Nubian kings appear to have restored Meroë and made it their capital. The kings who reigned there from about B.C. 200 to A.D. 200 adopted the prenomens of some of the old Egyptian kings, and in their second cartouches they gave their own native names, e.g. :—

✱ EGYPTIAN PRENOMENS.	NUBIAN NOMENS.
1. 	
2. 	
3. 	
4. 	
5. 	

The Meroitic inscriptions have not as yet been deciphered, and it is impossible to give the correct readings of the Nubian names, because at the period when they were written the Nubians seem to have given new values to several of the hieroglyphic characters. Thus the Nubian kingdom of the descendants of the priest-kings came to an end, and a most interesting but little-known chapter of Egyptian history is brought to a close. The Egyptian element in

the Nubian royal house or houses gradually exhausted itself, until in the later Ptolemaïc Period we find that the features of their kings as depicted on the monuments resemble those of negroes, while their names, which started by being purely Egyptian, become as time goes on barbaric and strange. A parallel may be drawn between them and the Greek kings in Bactria and India, who were established in those countries after the expedition of Alexander the Great, and who, being isolated from Greece and Greek culture, gradually became more and more barbarized until their original Greek characteristics were entirely lost.

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