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EGYPT

By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE,
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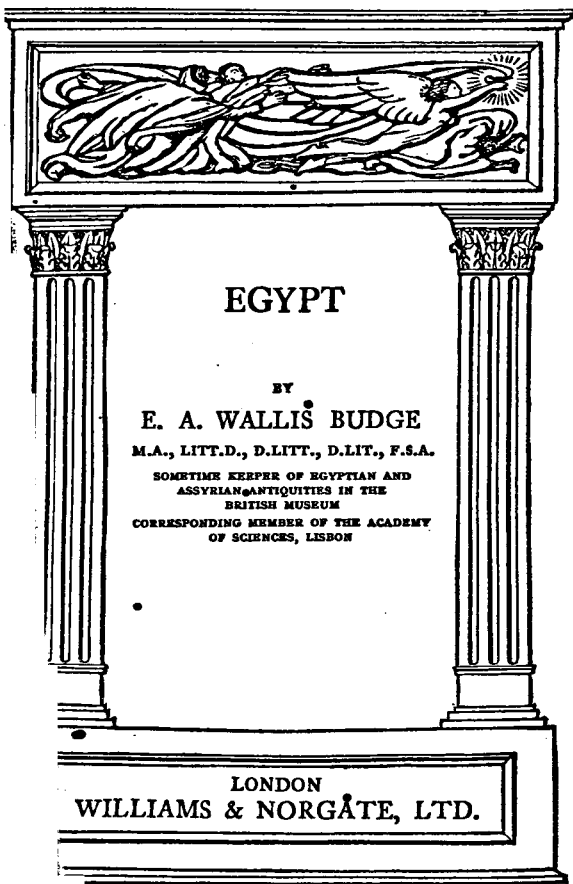


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EGYPT

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT., D.LIT., F.S.A.

SOMETIME KEEPER OF EGYPTIAN AND
ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE
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PREFACE

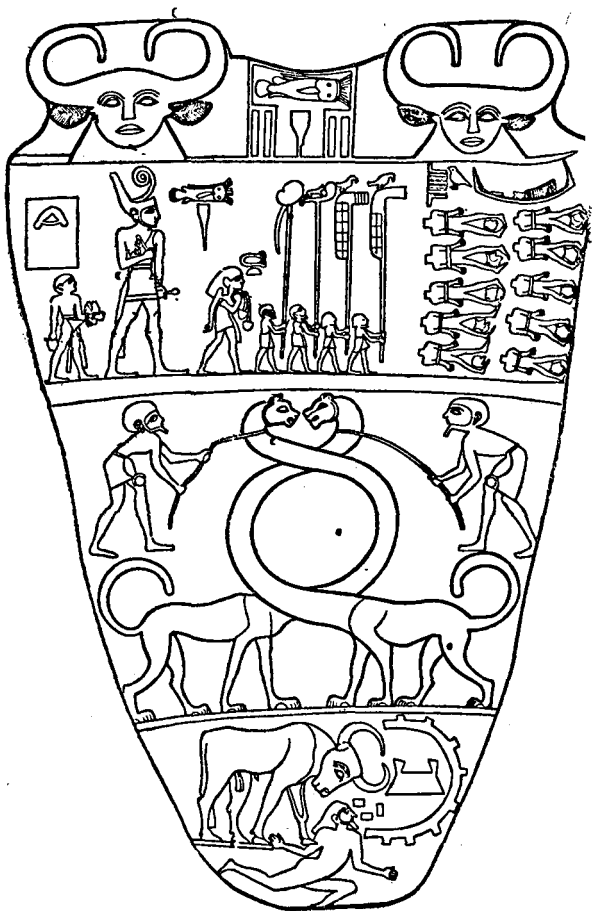
IN the following pages I have set down the principal facts concerning the history and civilization of the Ancient Egyptians which are, in my opinion, to be deduced from the evidence supplied by their inscribed monuments and other remains. The scope of this little book and the limits assigned to me preclude all detailed discussion of questions which are still subjects of vigorous controversy among experts. The books mentioned in the short Bibliography at the end of the work will guide the curious reader to full sources of further information. I have laid under contribution the works of Egyptologists generally, and the thanks of myself and my readers are due not only to living authorities, but also to the mighty dead—Young, Champollion le Jeune, Champollion-Figeac, Birch, Hincks, Goodwin, Lepsius, E. de Rougé, Brugsch and Maspero, on whose shoulders we all stand.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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Obverse of a green stone palette (?) of Narmer, with reliefs representing: (1) The king going to inspect decapitated enemies; (2) The lassoing of wild animals; (3) The king in the form of a bull destroying a fortress of the enemy and trampling upon a fallen foe. Found by Quibell at Hierakonpolis.

EGYPT

CHAPTER I

THE NILE VALLEY AND THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

WHEN Hecataeus of Miletus (570–476 B.C.) and, following him, Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484–406? B.C.), stated in their works that the soil of Egypt had been gained (from the waters) and that the country was a gift of the river (*i.e.* the Nile), they spoke more truly than they knew. It is a well-ascertained fact that a very considerable proportion of the soil of Egypt between Aswān (Syene) and the Mediterranean Sea has been brought down from the mountains of the Sūdān and Abyssinia by the Nile and spread over the country in a layer of varying thickness. In some places borings have shown that this layer is only 16 feet thick, whilst in others it is as much as 65 feet. How long it has taken to form the layer that is 65 feet

thick is not known. But it must not be assumed that the period required for its formation was four times as long as that required for the deposit of the layer that is only 16 feet thick. Experts have calculated that during the last 5000 years the average annual deposit of mud by the Nile in Egypt has been at the rate of 4 or 5 inches per century, and that the depth of the soil has increased by some 16 feet during this period. But such calculations must necessarily rest largely on guess-work, for the circumstances under which the deposit was made year by year are known to no man.

The great river of Egypt not only created the soil of the country, but added to it regularly by means of its annual **Inundation**, and the Egyptians knew that their prosperity, indeed the very lives of themselves and their cattle, depended upon its life-giving waters. The river was deified at a very early period, and the worship of the God of the Nile was probably the oldest worship in Egypt. The Egyptians called him "Hep" or "Hāpi"; the meaning of this name is unknown, but it was applied by them both to the river and its god. Modern nations know the river as the "Nile," from the Greek "Neilos," a name which is first met with in the writings

of Hesiod, a Greek poet who wrote about 720 B.C. The meaning of "Neilos" also is unknown. It is very doubtful if the primitive Egyptians knew anything about the source of the Nile, or the causes that produced the Inundation, and even in historic times the priests were content to say that its waters were derived from the great mass of water that surrounded the whole world and was called by them "Nenu" or "Nu," and by the Greeks "Okeanos," *i.e.* the World-Ocean. In late times a priestly tradition at Philae stated that the waters of this Ocean entered Egypt through two caverns situated under a pile of rocks near Philae, and the water that poured in through one cavern became the Nile of the North, and that which poured in through the other became the Nile of the South.

To the Egyptians of all periods the Nile was an object of mystery, and the author of a hymn to the Nile-god says, "If thou didst fail to appear from the sky the gods would fall upon their faces, and men and women would perish." Unlike other gods, his form could neither be drawn nor sculptured, and the mind of man could not conceive him. He is not to be seen in the sanctuaries of the temples, for no habitation which man could

built would be large enough to contain him; and man could not conceive the similitude of him in his heart. If he failed to provide food all happiness would forsake the homes of men, and the earth would become a ruin. Even the name that he bears in the Other World is unknown, and every attempt made by man to understand his attributes is vain. But the theologians of Egypt all agreed that the Nile arose in heaven and that its waters came from the sky, and they spoke more truly than they knew, as the facts concerning the river, briefly summarized below, which explorers and travellers have collected during the past century, will show.

The principal reservoir of the Nile is Lake Victoria (Victoria N'yanza), a vast lake lying on the Equator, about 200 miles long and 150 miles wide; it is about 3766 feet above sea-level, and has an area of nearly 50,000 square miles. A very high authority holds the view that the true source of the Nile is the Kagera River, which rises a few degrees south of the Equator. But it has been shown satisfactorily that the Kagera represents the united flow of three rivers, and that the current which was alleged to flow across the Lake from the Kagera to the Ripon Falls was caused by the prevailing wind, and not

by the very small volume of water that the Kagera contributes to the Lake. The next great reservoirs of the Nile are Lake Albert (discovered by Sir Samuel Baker in 1864) and Lake Albert Edward (discovered by Stanley in 1875); these two lakes are connected with each other by the Semliki River. The Nile leaves Lake Victoria at its northern end, and the portion of it that flows between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert is known as the Victoria Nile or the Somerset River. The portion between Lake Albert and Lake No is called Bahr al-Jabal, *i.e.* "Mountain River," and the portion between Lake No and Khartūm is called the Bahr al-Abyad, *i.e.* "White River." The first two of these portions of the river are known collectively as the "Upper Nile." From Khartūm to the sea the river is known as the "Nile." The Upper Nile receives the waters of the Bahr al-Jabal and the Bahr az-Zarāfah ("Giraffe River") and the Bahr al-Ghazāl ("Gazelle River") on its west bank; the Sobat River flows into it on its right bank. These, and the three great lakes mentioned above, are the sources of the Upper Nile. The "green water" which used to be seen in the Nile in May was caused by the minute weeds that were brought down by the Sobat River.

At Khartūm the Bahr al-Azrak ("Blue Nile") joins the White Nile on its east bank, and the colour of its waters, which from June to October is reddish-brown, contrasts strongly with the whitish-yellow of the waters of the White Nile. The Blue Nile is 960 miles long, and rises at Sakalā in Abyssinia. It flows into Lake Sānā, which is 5785 feet above sea-level and has a circumference of about 163 miles, and leaves it at its southern end. About 200 miles north of Khartūm the river Atbarā flows into the Nile on the east bank. It is about 800 miles long, and is fed by the heavy rains that fall in Abyssinia in the summer. In flood it is a swift-flowing, mighty river, and in August its waters rush into the Nile with such force that they dig out a large bay in the opposite bank of the Nile. They bring with them the greater part of the rich fertilizing mud that is deposited year by year on the soil of Egypt. North of the Atbarā the Nile has no tributary, and it flows to the apex of the Delta in a single stream. The total length of the Nile, or rather Niles, is about 3473 miles. And the area of the Nile Basin in which the summer rains are collected is about 1,119,737 square miles.

At six places the flow of the Nile has been

obstructed by ridges of rocks, but in the course of ages it has broken through them and pursued its way to the sea. These rocky obstructions are called "Cataracts." The Sixth Cataract is at Shablukah, the Fifth at Ganēnettah, the Fourth Cataract lies between Abu Hamad and Marawi, the Third between Karmah and Kōshah, the Second between Dāl and Wādī Halfah, and the First between Philae and Aswān. In very ancient times, at some period unknown, the Nile, which was heavily charged with sediment that it could not dispose of in the sea, made a breach in one of the banks which it had formed itself, and the waters poured through it and made a second arm of the river whereby they reached the sea. The place where the breach was made is now about 20 miles north of the city of Cairo, and the two main arms of the Nile thus formed are called the Rosetta arm and the Damietta arm; the former is the western arm and the latter the eastern. The space between the two arms is usually V shaped, but the sediment that is deposited at the mouths and on the banks spreads out, and the land between assumes the form of a triangle, ∇ , the apex being at the point where the breach took place. The Greek geographers, looking at it from the sea, called

this triangle area the "Delta," because it resembled in shape *Delta*, Δ , the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet; and the northern part of Egypt, containing the arms of the Nile and the lakes and swamps, is always known as the "Delta." In ancient days several secondary arms of the Nile formed deltas, and as a result the Nile entered the sea not by two mouths only as now, but by seven. To these mouths the names Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitic and Canopic were given.

The **Inundation** is caused by the rainfall in Abyssinia and the Eastern Sūdān. The heavy rains begin in April, and the White Nile rises steadily soon after. The Blue Nile begins to rise early in June and is in flood about August 25th: the Atbarā flood begins early in July and is highest about the middle of August. The floods from the Sōbat and White Nile come down in September. The Nile rises steadily until the middle of September, when it remains stationary from 14 to 20 days. It rises again in October, and attains its highest level in this month; it then subsides steadily, but rises once more, and then it sinks steadily until June, when it is again at its lowest level. Speaking generally, the White Nile supplies the bulk of the

water that keeps the Nile constantly flowing, but its contribution to the Inundation is comparatively small, and forms perhaps only about one-twentieth part of the Nile-flood. The matter, vegetable, animal and mineral, which forms the sediment that is spread over Egypt by the Nile, is contributed by the Blue Nile and the Atbarā. From the Third millennium B.C. the Egyptians kept systematic records of the heights reached by the Nile during its flood year after year, and remains of their Nile-gauges, or Nilometers, have been found in many parts of Egypt. The Nile gauge at Elephantine (Aswān) seems to have been the standard for the whole country. In A.D. 100 the floods here reached the height of 91 metres above sea-level, and in 1874 they reached 94 metres above sea-level, thus showing that the river-bed had risen 0·16 metre per century at this point. The researches made by experts in recent years show that the river-bed is rising faster than the land on each side of it.

However much the extent of Egypt varied in ancient times, the Egyptians themselves always spoke of their country as the "Two Lands" (Tauī), meaning thereby South Egypt and North Egypt, or, as we say, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt. They also called

it "Kam," *i.e.* the "Black Land," because of the dark colour of the soil of the irrigated land, and thus distinguished it from the Teshar, *i.e.* "Red Land" of the desert, on each side of it. A poetical name for the whole country was "Ta-mera," *i.e.* the "Land of the Inundation." In the Bible Egypt is called "Mizraim" (Genesis x. 6), and this dual name-form is said by some writers to refer to the two great native divisions of Egypt, the South and the North. Egypt proper is a strip of country lying in the valley that extends practically from Aswān to Cairo, and is about 600 miles long and from three-quarters of a mile to 10 miles wide. The hills on each side vary in height from 400 to 1200 feet, and the width of the alluvial deposit varies from a few yards to 15 miles. At one time the Nile Valley from Asnā (Esneh) northwards was an arm of the sea, which laid down on the great mass of crystalline rocks below thick layers of sand and gravel, and these form the foundation on which now rest the great layers of sedimentary deposits that have been brought down from the Sūdān and Abyssinia. During the occupation of Egypt by the British the southern boundary was fixed at the Island of Faras, about 20 miles north of Wādī

Halfah. And the total area of Egypt, which was made to include the Peninsula of Sinai and territory to the west of the Delta, was said to be between 400,000 and 430,000 square miles. From the apex of the Delta to the sea is a distance of 110 miles, and the width of the Delta in its widest part (from east to west) is 157 miles; its area is about 15,000 square miles.

When the earliest settlers arrived in Egypt, probably from the south, they found many pools and lagoons in the lands on each side of the river, and during the Inundation, when the waters covered the whole valley for two or three months each year, their lives must have been miserable indeed. But they soon learned how to connect the pools by means of canals, and how to construct dykes which served the double purpose of containing walls for the lakes and paths and roads for the people. Each community of settlers made and maintained the canals in their district, and the largest of the canals formed exact boundaries for the properties of the communal states. The land near the canals was devoted to the crops, and that which could not be irrigated served the community for purposes of recreation; if the latter included swampy ground men went there and fished and snared

water-fowl. The importance of a community depended upon the size and extent of its system of canals, and at length the canal-systems formed the principal divisions of the country. Each division had its own governor, and each had its own god, or object of worship, and perhaps totem.¹ In historic times such a division was called *hesp*, and it contained a capital, with the temple of the chief god of the *hesp*, and the chief's house, and the government offices; these varied in size and magnificence with the wealth of the *hesp*. The Greek writers translated *hesp* by *nomos* (hence our "nome"), a word which first of all signified a "pasture for cattle," and later "district" and "province." The number of the nomes in prehistoric times is unknown, but about 1500 B.C. it was 42; Upper Egypt contained 22 and Lower Egypt 20. Classical writers give different numbers, some 36, some 40, and others 47. Modern Egypt is divided into 14 provinces, which are subdivided into 84 districts; Upper Egypt contains 8 provinces and Lower Egypt 6. The population of Egypt in ancient days is not known,

¹ A totem was some material object, animate or inanimate, which a tribe or family adopted as its badge or token. Each member bore a representation of it on some part of his body, and often on his raiment and on each of his possessions.

but some writers think that about 1500 B.C. it was over three millions, and that a considerable number of the people in the Delta were of foreign origin, having come from Palestine and Syria, and the maritime districts of the Mediterranean Sea. In the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69) about 7,500,000 people in Egypt paid poll tax, and 500,000 were exempt, so that, exclusive of slaves, the population of Egypt was 8,000,000. In A.D. 1846 the population was 4,476,440; the census of 1884 made it 6,831,131; that of 1897 made it 9,734,405, and that of 1907 made it 11,287,350. Competent authorities in Cairo think that it is now (1924) about 14,000,000.

The prehistoric native of Egypt, both in the Old and the New Stone Ages, was an African, but what he was like no one can say exactly, for no figures, or statues, or pictures of him exist. He cannot have lived in Egypt before the Nile had laid down the land for him, and as, according to historic tradition, he was not akin to the peoples in the Eastern and Western Deserts, the earliest settler in Egypt probably made his way thither from the South. There are many things in the manners and customs and religion of the historic Egyptians, that is to say, of the

workers on the land, that suggest that the original home of their prehistoric ancestors was a country in the neighbourhood of Uganda and Punt. The historic Egyptians divided mankind into four groups: (1) the **Themehu** (Libyans), who had fair complexions and sometimes blue eyes; (2) the **Āmu**, or nomads of all sorts in the Eastern Desert with yellowish complexions; (3) the **Nehesu**, *i.e.* "Blacks," who were the issue of the god **Rā**, but had no mothers; and (4) the **Remthu**, the Egyptians themselves. These last sprang from the tears that fell from the eyes of **Rā**.¹ The painted reliefs in the tombs and temples show that the average Egyptian was of a reddish-brown colour, with a long head, big eyes, full cheeks, a moderate-sized nose, a wide mouth, thick lips, a square chin, broad shoulders, long arms, hands and feet, and a somewhat slim body. But many of these characteristics are different when the man represented had foreign blood in his veins. The dried bodies of Egyptians of the late prehistoric period indicate with tolerable clearness the physical characteristics of the native dwellers in the Nile Valley at

¹ Here there is a play on the words *remi*, a "tear," and *remi*, to "weep." When the Egyptian writers are reduced to punning for their explanations of words it is clear that they have no facts to go upon.

that time, and the reader who is curious on the subject will do well to study the specimens exhibited in the British Museum. They make it quite clear that the native Egyptian was neither a Semite nor a Negro, and that the later pictures of Egyptians are based upon well-established traditions about their physical forms in ancient times.

If we consider for a moment the geographical position of Egypt, we shall see that the possibility of describing the physical characteristics of the native accurately is small. There were desert tribes on each side of him, Libyans on the west, people akin to the Blemmyes and to the Hadendowas and Semites on the east and north-east, black-skinned tribes and peoples on the south, the great cattle-breeding tribes on the south-west, and Mediterranean peoples on the north. And the seafaring, coastal-dwellers in the Delta must always have been different in physique and character from the natives of Upper Egypt. From the earliest times the physical characteristics of the families of the land-owning and governing class must always have been modified by concubinage, and in the working classes marriages with aliens must have produced unusual types of features. The examinations of the skulls of Egyptian mum-

mies made by many authorities have not produced decisive results or supplied definite information about the particular African race to which the Egyptian belonged. This is not to be wondered at, for only kings and members of their families and high officials were mummified, and the evidence of the monuments often suggests and sometimes shows clearly that royal personages and highly-placed men were of mixed race. Of the form and similitude of the millions of Egyptians who were not mummified nothing is known. And the statements made by experts about the race to which the Egyptian belonged and his physical characteristics differ greatly. For while some hold that they were of medium height, with dark skins and hair, sometimes having long heads and sometimes broad heads, others say that they were solidly built, and had a fair or ruddy complexion, with hair that varied in colour from auburn to black, and long narrow heads. And one authority says that they resembled the Berbers, another makes them akin to the early Semites, and a third regards them as related to the ancestors of the Abyssinians. These diverse opinions show how difficult the subject is, and how little is really known about it. It seems, however, quite clear that

the people of the southern end of Egypt were a mixed race, springing partly from the Nile Valley and partly from the country to the north-east of Egypt; and that those in Lower Egypt, *i.e.* the Delta, had in them a strong strain of Libyan and perhaps also of southern European blood. The Semitic traders who entered Egypt from the north or south of Arabia in very early times influenced the Egyptian more by their methods of trade than by marriage with the natives. But in spite of all the immigrations of foreign conquerors and peaceful settlers, the Egyptian type remains unaltered. Soil and climate have made the Egyptian what he is, and what he is he always has been. His country is the gift of the Nile, and his character is the gift of his country. Men and animals domiciled permanently in Egypt either become assimilated or die out.

CHAPTER II

THE EGYPTIANS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW STONE AGES. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

AT a period that we may reasonably place before 10,000 B.C., the deserts on each side of the Nile Valley were inhabited by people who probably lived in exactly the same way as their remote descendants did until about a century ago. In process of time some of them settled down in the oases, where they may have kept domesticated animals of some kinds, and others settled on the skirts of the desert, as near the river Nile as possible. They snared the wild animals of the desert, and in some simple way managed to trap or catch the fish in the river, and they must have had some kind of vegetable food; and they probably ate reptiles and insects of various kinds, as many tribes in the Sūdān do at the present day. The lagoons, swamps and marshes on the banks of the Nile must have swarmed with crocodiles, and the "bush" afforded shelter to myriads of noxious and death-

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dealing creatures like snakes and scorpions, and the large velvety caterpillars, a single touch of the spear-like hairs of which produces a swift and agonizing death. Where there were swamps there also would be the hippopotamus, and if the natives were able to kill him they would certainly eat him. The earliest abodes of these people would be the caves and holes in the hills. Their weapons were very roughly chipped flints, many fine specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum. Some of these were used as axes, and, fastened to a handle, would make very formidable weapons. Like most primitive folk, they must have spent a good deal of time in fighting. The period during which these savage people lived on the banks of the Nile is called the **Old Stone Age**; when it began no one can say, but authorities on the Old Stone Age in Southern Europe and the neighbouring countries think that it came to an end about 10,000 B.C., or possibly earlier. Nothing remains of the Egyptians of this period except roughly worked flints which are found scattered about at various places in the desert and on the high lands near the river.

There is no reason for assuming that the Old Stone Age ended suddenly or abruptly,

or that such rudimentary civilization as the Egyptians possessed at that time was destroyed by invaders or by some convulsion of nature. On the contrary, it continued to exist in the New Stone Age, but it was greatly developed, and of the form which it assumed, say, between 10,000 B.C. and 4000 B.C., many of its essential features and characteristics passed into the wonderful culture of the historic Egyptians, *i.e.* the Egyptians who lived under the rule of the kings who claimed that they were the lords of both Upper and Lower Egypt, and who reigned from about 4000 B.C. downwards. Of the happenings of all the early part of the New Stone Age nothing is known, but we may be sure that the Egyptians gradually settled on the soil that the Nile was depositing regularly on its banks, and learned to heap up mounds of earth on which to live during the periods of the annual inundation, and to make dykes, which served as roads from one village to the other, and to improve the shapes of their flint weapons and tools and digging implements. The people of Upper Egypt probably held communication with the people of the South-Eastern Sūdān, but whether they were in a position to man caravans is doubtful, and indeed it is difficult to imagine what

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they had to export, or what they had to exchange for foreign products. Everything belonging to the greater part of the period of the New Stone Age has disappeared, but towards its close the Egyptians began to bury their dead in graves, and from the objects that have been found in them many facts relating to their civilization have been ascertained. The graves at Nakādah, a prehistoric site lying a few miles to the north of Luxor (Thebes), are considered the most typical of the period, and similar graves found elsewhere are spoken of as graves of the Nakādah Period. But there must be graves of this kind far older than these, for it is impossible to think that they were the first of their kind made by the Egyptians.

Graves of the New Stone Age are found just beyond the cultivated land, on the edge of the desert among the sand and stones; the land even in these early days was far too valuable to bury the dead in. The body is sometimes wrapped in a reed mat, somewhat resembling the coarse "bark-cloth" of modern African peoples, and sometimes in the skin of an animal, probably of the gazelle family. In historic times the dead man was passed through a bull's skin, and many African chiefs are buried in bulls' skins to this day. Some-

times the body was laid in a box or wicker-work case, and sometimes a huge earthenware pot was inverted over it, to prevent it from being crushed. It lay on its left side with the legs drawn up and the knees almost touching the chin; the hands are held up near the face. This is the position which a child has before birth, and the Egyptians of the historic period seem to have thought that the spirit-body would appear in this attitude just before its resurrection. In some graves the head and bones only are found, and in such cases the bones were probably unflashed by being buried in the ground for a time. One authority thinks that the early Egyptians dismembered their dead to prevent their return as *vampires*, and that the later Egyptians protected themselves against their dead by the use of mummification and coffins. In some countries of the Sūdān the dead are put out for the driver ants to clean the bones, which they do effectively in twenty-four hours; the bones are then collected and preserved, or reburied as human bones were buried in the New Stone Age.

In the graves are found earthenware pots containing food of some kind, which shows that even at that early period the Egyptians did not think that a man's existence ended

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with his death. Though the potter's wheel was unknown in prehistoric times, earthenware pots, vases, saucers, etc., of various shapes and sizes were successfully made, and with wonderful symmetry and accuracy of form. The oldest pottery is made of a reddish ware, and is polished, or burnished, and decorated with black tops. Next we have bowls and vases made of yellowish drab ware, on which are painted in red or reddish-brown outline figures of men and women, crocodiles, hippopotami, ostriches, reed-boats and boats with sails, etc. The tall narrow pots, with rims and wavy projections to represent lugs, seem to be copies of pots made of stone. The worker in stone produced beautifully shaped pots in quartzite, diorite, granite and other hard stones, probably without the help of a drill, and he polished them without the polishing table. In the art of flint-knapping the prehistoric Egyptians were past masters, and their flint knives, spear-heads, arrow-heads, scrapers, borers, axe-heads, digging tools, beads, etc., are unrivalled for their size, and fluting, and polishing; and the saw-like edges of the knives are marvels of flint-working. The contents of the New Stone Age graves show that the Egyptians were as much at home in carving in ivory and wood

as in stone. In some of them objects in gold and silver and copper have been found, and all these metals must have been brought from the Sūdān, the gold and silver probably from the country and streams near Fā-Maka and Kamāmīl, and the copper from the region of Tanganyika. The ivory for the figures of men and women and for the hairpins of the women must also have come from the Sūdān, for the elephant would hardly have found sufficient food in Egypt. All this suggests that the products of the South were sent to Egypt tied up in bundles and carried either on the backs of strings of men or on asses. It is said that the ancestor of the ass of the historic period was of African origin, and that his home was in the mountains of Central Africa; certainly in early historic times the ass was the only transport animal known to the Egyptians.

Other objects found in these prehistoric graves, *i.e.* the ivory and stone figures, show that the men usually wore a short shirt which was made of the skin of an animal, and that the women wore a closely-fitting garment, perhaps made of fine bark-cloth and in later times of linen, which reached from the shoulders to the ankles. Slaves and dependants and children wore nothing, and

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most of the men and women of the peasant and working classes must have gone about their duties unclad. Sometimes the women had figures of animals (their totems?) and amuletic signs tattooed on various parts of their bodies, but whether these were regarded by them as a protection against evil spirits or as ornaments cannot be said. Tattooing was practised in all periods of Egyptian history, and designs in blue may be seen on the faces of working women from one end of Egypt to the other at the present day. Some women shaved their heads, but others let their hair hang loose over the shoulders, and yet others tied it up at the back of the head, where it was held in position by bandlets, hairpins, and a kind of comb. They painted their eyelids with green paste which probably contained an ingredient made from copper ore, or perhaps the hydrous carbonate of copper. This was rubbed down on green slate or stone palettes, made sometimes in the form of animals, and mixed with grease of some kind, and applied to the eyelids with a bone or wooden "needle," as the Arabs now call the eye-paint stick. At first eye-paint was used as a medicament, but later the painted eyelids were considered as ornaments of the face, and in later times still the

painting of the eyelids assumed a ceremonial importance. Women wore necklaces, the beads being made of flint, hard stones of various kinds, crystal, sard, carnelian, agate, etc.; their bracelets were made of flint and ivory or bone, and some are large enough to have been worn as armlets or anklets.

How the Egyptians of the early part of the New Stone Age disposed of the dead cannot be said, but it is very doubtful if they were buried. A chief may have been wrapped up in the skin of an animal, as was the case in the latter part of the New Stone Age, but the bodies of ordinary folk were probably thrown out into the desert for wild birds and beasts to devour. The theory that the dead were eaten by the living, which was solemnly put forward a few years ago, has been universally rejected. The question which arises naturally, when speaking of the dead of the latter part of the New Stone Age, is, Why did the Egyptians of that period bury their dead and place with them pots of food, flint knives and weapons, and all the various objects that have been mentioned above? So far as can be seen they made no attempt to preserve the dead by artificial means, as did the Egyptians of the historic period who invented an elaborate system of mummifica-

tion, for the bodies were merely dried before burial. The dead were expected to need the food buried with them, and to use the flint knives and other weapons either in defending themselves against the onslaught of foes or in attacking the savage creatures of Dead Land. It seems clear that the Egyptians, even at that early period, believed in a future life, and that belief was probably the foundation of the highly developed doctrines of immortality and resurrection which are such prominent features of the religion of the historic Egyptians. At the same time it appears that a renewed existence was supposed to be the lot only of chiefs and folk of rank and quality.

The earliest dwelling, or house, of these prehistoric Egyptians was built of reeds or small branches of trees made into large mats which were tied on to stakes driven into the ground; its form was circular, and when warmth was required its sides were plastered with mud. Some very early models of houses in our museums show that their form resembled that of a modern beehive. The oldest god-house, or abode of the object of worship, was also round, and it may be noted in passing that the churches in Abyssinia at the present time are round. At a later period

the house and the god-house took a square or rectangular form, and were made by fastening mats to four stakes or posts driven into the ground; a mat was tied over the top to form a roof, and the whole or part of one side was left uncovered and served as a doorway, which the round house lacked. The form of the square god-house was perpetuated in the stone shrines that are seen in the great stone temples of the historic period. A model of the rectangular house in baked clay is exhibited in the British Museum (No. 35505); it has a door at one end, with a massive lintel, and two windows high up in one of the walls. Whether brick-making was a native or foreign craft is an open question.

The master of the house slept on a rectangular bedstead of much the same shape as the *ankarib* common everywhere in the Sūdān at the present time (see the model in the British Museum, No. 50691); members of the family slept on mats, and slaves and others on the bare ground. The models of oxen and a young bull suggest that the breeding and rearing of cattle formed one of the principal occupations of the life of the prehistoric Egyptian, and both bulls and cows possessing certain physical characteristics were worshipped by him, the former for their strength

and virility, and the latter for their beauty and fecundity.

From what has been said above it is clear that when the graves at Nakādah were made, the Egyptians were living in a comparatively high state of civilization, but had they progressed to that state of civilization of and by themselves, or did it represent the influence of a foreign people? It seems incredible that a people who dwelt on the land deposited by the Nile, and who lived upon the results of their agricultural labours and their hunting expeditions, could have invented all the handicrafts that produced the objects found in the Nakādah graves. Unfortunately we have no examples of the objects produced in the Delta at this period, but if we had, we should probably find that they bore traces of Libyan or European or Semitic influence, or perhaps of all three. That some foreign influence was at work in Upper Egypt at this period is well-nigh certain, and it is nearly as certain that it was due to the presence of a people who had migrated to Egypt from the East, and whom we may call Hamites. They came either as traders seeking markets for their wares or as conquering invaders, and some of them settled in the Nile Valley. The climate and soil and water

had their usual effect on the newcomers; Egypt absorbed them and the Egyptians adopted some of their ideas and methods of work. But the trader of those days was usually accompanied by the fighting man, who was able to supplement with force the efforts at peaceful penetration made by the trader. The Hamite was a man of higher intelligence than the prehistoric Egyptian, and he was better armed; and in the trials of strength, or fights, which necessarily followed his settling in Upper Egypt, he became the victor and the Egyptian the vassal. Reinforcements of the kinsmen of the conquerors arrived from time to time, and so the hold of the foreigner on the country was strengthened, and his authority extended. By what route he entered Egypt is immaterial, but it was probably either by way of the Blue Nile and Nubia, or by the age-old caravan routes from the southern end of the Red Sea and the Eastern Sūdān. Thus towards the close of the New Stone Age two great foreign influences were at work in Egypt, viz.: the Libyan, from the west, and the Hamitic, from the east or south-east, and under these the Egyptian must have developed considerably.

In process of time there arose in the North, or the Delta, a man who was able to impose

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his will on all the chiefs therein, and he assumed the title of "Bati," which means practically "King of Lower Egypt." And, probably, though at a later time, a ruler arose in the South who called himself "Nesu," meaning perhaps "King of the South," or Upper Egypt; both these titles were adopted by the kings of the historic period, and they are undoubtedly very ancient. Of these Batis and Nesus nothing is known, but the names of nine out of the 120 Batis who must have reigned are preserved on the **Palermo Stone**.¹ How long these kings reigned cannot be said, but their rule probably lasted for a few hundred years. The kingdom of the North and the kingdom of the South existed independently, and the Egyptians in each worshipped their own gods, observed their own manners and customs, and followed their own occupations, which were in each case ordered and regulated by the annual Nile-flood. Judging by the evidence of the monuments of the early part of the historic period the capital of the Kingdom of the South was

¹ This is a fragment of a large diorite slab which when complete contained the names of the prehistoric kings of Egypt, and those of the historic period until the middle of the Vth dynasty. It is about 17½ inches high and 10 inches wide, and is preserved in the Museum at Palermo; hence its name.

situated at a place a little to the south of Al-Kāb and about 10 miles north of Edfū. It is called Nekheb and Nekhen in the hieroglyphic texts, and the Greeks knew it as Hierakonpolis; the vulture was its tutelary goddess, and the historic Egyptians depicted her in the form of a woman with a vulture's head and called her Nekhebit. The capital of the Kingdom of the North was near the mouth of an arm of the Nile,¹ and was called in historic times Per-Uatchit by the Egyptians and Buto by the Greeks. The principal object of worship was the uræus, and in later times she was depicted in the form of a woman with the head of a uræus.

The language in use throughout Egypt in the New Stone Age was probably Nilotic in character, but nothing is known about it. In Upper Egypt it must have contained a great many words borrowed from the country of Punt and the regions now forming Abyssinia, and in Lower Egypt it must have exhibited many elements derived from Libyan and from the Semitic dialect spoken in the country to the north-east of the Delta. The inscriptions of the early part of the historic period contain definite traces of Semitic

¹ According to Ptolemy (IV, 5, § 48) the Phthenthite arm.

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influence, but whether this was the result of one or more invasions of the Semites into Egypt, or of peaceful trade intercourse between Semites and Egyptians, or was due to a very ancient affinity between the Egyptian and Semitic languages in prehistoric times is still an open question. From time immemorial there must always have been much intercourse between the Eastern Delta and the countries now called Palestine and Syria, and the terminus of the Eastern caravan routes was probably on or near the site of the great city of Anu (Heliopolis) of the historic period. Here merchants of many nationalities met, and here many different languages were spoken. The religious and political importance of Anu in historic times was based upon its importance as a trading centre in pre-dynastic times, and in all periods it formed a centre from which the religions and languages of Oriental peoples spread into Egypt. On the other hand the knowledge of the religion and language of the prehistoric and historic Egyptians might flow from it into Babylonia and Assyria, and no doubt it did, but the influence of such civilization as the Egyptians had on the peoples of those countries was at no time as great as some have positively asserted.

There is no evidence that the Egyptians of the New Stone Age had invented the art of writing, but there is abundant proof that they could draw pictures of the symbols of their totems and sacred animals and objects. These symbols are found painted on pots at Nakādah and are supported on standards fixed in the prehistoric boats; many of them reappear in the names of gods in the historic period, and they form the oldest Egyptian hieroglyphs known. They are very important as showing that the earliest attempts to write in Egypt were made by native African Egyptians, and there is every reason to believe that the gods represented are of Nilotic origin. The hieroglyphs used by the historic Egyptians for some of the signs of the nomes were derived from these symbols on standards drawn during the latter part of the prehistoric period. On one prehistoric standard we have the picture of an elephant, which shows that this animal was at one time a sacred animal, or perhaps a totem, but his worship seems to have died out in very early times, probably soon after he withdrew to the forests to the south of Egypt. Seeing that the prehistoric Egyptian painted pictures of animals, etc., on his pots, it is not surprising to find small wooden cylinders with inscribed signs on them which

may represent names. These must have been employed for rolling on clay or mud, and they were used by the Egyptians as the well-known stone cylinder seal was used by the Babylonians, *i.e.* for sealing purposes. Many think that the use of the cylinder seal in Egypt is due to Sumerian or Babylonian influence, and couple it with the use of the stone mace-head and brick-making, as proofs that Egypt was at one time invaded by a people who were akin to the dwellers on the Euphrates. Though at present it seems certain that the stone mace-head originated in Sumer or Babylonia, there is no evidence to show that any foreign people taught the Egyptians how to make bricks, or were the first to use the seal-cylinder. The hieroglyphs drawn in outline on a clay tablet found by Prof. Langdon at Kish, near Babylon, early in 1924, closely resemble those found on several of the objects of the early historic period which were excavated at Abydos and neighbouring sites. As it is asserted that the tablet was written about 3700 B.C. it might equally well be quoted as a proof that the Egyptians borrowed their hieroglyphs from the Kishites, or that the Kishites borrowed theirs from the Egyptians.

The infiltration into Upper Egypt of people

from Punt, or Somaliland and the adjacent country must have gone on century after century for perhaps two thousand years during the latter part of the New Stone Age. But towards its close Egypt was invaded by a warlike host from the same regions, whose leader conquered the kings of the South and the North, and united their two kingdoms and made himself the overlord of the whole country. The invaders were not men of an inferior race, and they were certainly not negroes of any kind, but they were better armed than the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, and their civilization was of a far higher character. The greater number of them were probably what are called "Hamites," but their leaders may have sprung from a people of a still higher grade of civilization than they possessed. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that the invaders conquered all Egypt, and that they came from the south. They established themselves on both sides of the Nile about 12 miles north of Edfu, and little by little advanced northwards until they reached the Delta, where their progress was resisted with great vigour. The only account of their conquest is contained in a text composed during the Ptolemaic Period, which is cut upon the walls of the great temple at

Edfū. Several large reliefs, also sculptured on the walls, illustrate parts of the narrative. According to the text the god Rā-Harmakhis was reigning over Egypt, but he was old and feeble, and his son Horus of Edfū (Behut) seems to have been his deputy. In the 363rd year of his reign Rā-Harmakhis sailed down the river through Nubia and came to Edfū. There his son Horus entered his father's boat and, on reporting that the god's enemies were conspiring against him, was ordered by him to set out and destroy them. Horus assumed his father's form, viz. that of a mighty winged disk, and flew up into the sky, where he took his father's place.

Horus pursued the enemy, and, first blinding them with his beams and then attacking them, he slew large numbers of them; the remainder in their panic killed each other. Rā and the goddess Ashtoreth came and looked on the slain and were content. Horus and his Mesniu, or workers in metal, set out in their boat to conquer the people to the north of Edfū; these took the form of hippopotami and crocodiles, and tried to upset the boats of the fleet of Horus, but the Mesniu speared them with iron harpoons, fettered them with chains and killed 651 of them. The victors sailed on downstream and fought one battle

at Thebes and another at Denderah, and overthrew the foe, who were caught in nets of ironwork and speared, as had been the crocodiles and hippopotami. Horus continued his pursuit of the enemy, who fled to the swamps of the Delta, and after four days' search he killed 142 of them and a bull hippopotamus, and having hacked their bodies in pieces, he distributed them among his Mesniu. Another body of the enemy fled towards the sea and allied themselves with the followers of Set, the Arch-enemy of Rā and the personification of all evil, mental, moral and physical. Horus pursued them undismayed, overthrew them with great slaughter, and dragged 381 of them on to his boat and slew them there.

Then Horus and Set engaged in single combat; Horus speared Set in the neck, and smashed with his club the mouth of Set, which had uttered such filthy abuse and horrible blasphemies against Rā and Horus that Thoth called him the "Stinking Face," a name which ever after clung to him. Later Horus cut off Set's head, and leaving his spear stuck in the body, he dragged his vanquished foe through the country for all people to see.

Having slain his foes, Horus, son of Rā,

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and Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, each took the form of a hawk-headed man, and each wore the White Crown of the South and the Red Crown of the North. In a further fight 106 foes were slain by Horus, and in another fight, which took place near Tanis in the Eastern Delta, Horus, who had taken the form of a man-headed lion wearing the triple crown, ripped up and tore in pieces 142 of the enemy, and carried off their tongues in triumph.

Meanwhile a rebellion had broken out in Nubia during the absence of Horus in the North. When he had quelled this, he came back to Edfū and established himself there as king of all Egypt.* He became the ancestor and type of the historic kings of Egypt, each of whom was an incarnation or a revived form of Horus, the Hawk-god of war of Edfū, and adopted a Horus-name. This name was written on an object which the Egyptians called "Serekh," and is often called the "Ka-name." Some think the object on which this name was written was a "banner" or blazon; others a tomb, and others a temple. One king at least, Perabsen, adopted a name as an incarnation of Set!

Now the text at Edfū summarized above practically describes what happened when the

king of the Southerners conquered Egypt at the close of the New Stone Age. His conquest of the country was not effected in one campaign, but the text when stripped of irrelevant matter seems to me to record facts of history, and as these are supported by the evidence of the early historic remains in Egypt, they are wholly credible. The object of the priests of Edfū in inscribing the Myth of Horus, the War-god of Edfū, on the walls of their temple was to glorify their god, but they must have known, as well as we do now, that it was the early kings of Edfū who were the conquerors of all Egypt and the founders of the long line of its historic kings. It may be noted in passing that this conquering god Horus of Edfū devoted much care to the protection of the shrine of Osiris, which means that he was a supporter of the worship of Osiris. Hence some have thought that the worship of Osiris, who in historic times became the god of the resurrection and the Ancestor-god of all Egypt, was introduced into Egypt from the south or east.

Any attempt to assign a date to the conquest of Egypt by the southerners must raise the vexed question of **Egyptian Chronology**. So far we have been dealing with undefined periods of time, namely the Old and the New

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Stone Ages, but it is important now to try and get some clear idea as to when the successor of Horus, the War-god of Edfū, effected the union of the kingdoms of the South and the North, and to fix an approximate date for this event. Egyptian History begins with the reign of the first king of all Egypt, and Egyptologists have, since the time of Champollion-Figeac, spared no pains in trying to find out when this reign began. The results have been so conflicting, and even absolutely contradictory, that no decision acceptable to all Egyptologists has been obtained. The native Egyptian materials for chronology consist of selected lists of kings cut upon stone tablets at Karnak, Abydos and Sakkārah, and the fragments^o of a long and probably nearly complete list of kings ¹ written on a roll of papyrus (now broken) preserved at Turin, and the fragment of a list inscribed on the Palermo Stone. Unlike the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians, the Egyptians cared little for chronology, and at first, at least, their years were dated by events; two of their king-lists even disagree as to the name of the first king. By adding up the highest

¹ The names on this list were about 330 in number, as Birch calculated, but down to the reign of Nekhtnebf the names of about 380 kings, kinglets, and queens regnant are now known.

dates of the regnal years of the kings whose monuments have survived, a general idea of the length of the historic period may be gained, but this dead reckoning does not supply the date of the reign of the first king of all Egypt. Some have tried to fix certain chronological points in Egyptian history by the use of a cycle of 1461 years called the "Sothic Cycle," which seems to have been invented in the Roman Period and which was unknown to the Egyptians, as an Era or as an aid to chronological reckoning. But mathematicians have discovered ¹ what they say are serious differences in the results attained by the different authorities from the same data, and the archæologist must therefore look upon all early dates "fixed astronomically" with some doubt. The supporters of the Sothic Cycle theory assert that the Calendar was fixed at the beginning of the Sothic Cycle that began 4241-4240 B.C., and that the first king of all Egypt began to reign 3315 B.C., but the Calendar might just as well have been introduced at the beginning of the previous Sothic Cycle, *i.e.* 5702-5701 B.C. The Egyptians of the latter part of the New Stone Age must

¹ See Nicklin in *Classical Review*, vol. xiv, 1900, p. 148; Torr, *Memphis and Mycenae*, pp. 54, 57, 60; Legge, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxxi, p. 106 ff; and H. Bruce Hannah, *The Era of Menophres and the Sothic Calendar*, Calcutta University Press, 1924.

have known that their ancient Calendar of 360 days was defective or they would never have added to it five days, each of which, in later times, was celebrated as the birthday of a god. For all practical purposes the annual Inundation of the Nile was the governing factor of the agriculture of Egypt, and it regulated the business of the country as no calendar could have done.

The pioneers of Egyptology attached much importance to the List of the Kings of Egypt that was compiled by Manetho, who was born at Sebennytos (the Tchepneter of the Egyptians and Samanūd of the Arabs), who became a priest, and wrote a history of Egypt, it is said at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The historical part of his work is lost, but four versions of the King-list are extant, and the oldest of these is found in the Chronicle of Julius Africanus, a Libyan who lived in the third century A.D. This is preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (A.D. 264-340), where a King-list, containing many interpolations, presumably by the bishop himself, is also to be found. Africanus makes 561 kings reign in 5524 years, and Eusebius 361 kings in 4480 or 4780 years; the version of Africanus agrees better with the monuments than that of Eusebius. The first section of Manetho's King-list deals with the dynasties

(*i.e.* groups of hereditary rulers) of the Gods, Demi-gods and Nekues or Spirits (Manes), who reigned in all 24,836 years. The Nekues, who may well have been the prehistoric kings of Egypt, reigned in all 5813 years. In this first section he also gives dynasties I–XI of the kings who were men; in the second section dynasties XII–XIX, and in the third dynasties XX–XXX. These sections contain many mistakes, as the evidence of the monuments proves, but taken as a whole Manetho's work is very useful. The Egyptian scribes themselves made mistakes in reading the names of the earliest kings of Egypt, and their mistakes, repeated by Manetho, were greatly added to by his copyists, who regarded the forms in the documents from which they copied as uncouth and barbarous. And of course they misread many of the figures in the totals of the years of the kings' reigns.

The contradictions in the results obtained by modern writers on Egyptian Chronology seem to be due to the fact that some authorities have tried to fix a date for the beginning of Egyptian civilization, whilst others have endeavoured to discover when the first king of united Egypt began to reign. The dates 5869 B.C. (Champollion-Figeac), 5702 (Boeckh), 5613 (Unger), and 5004 (Mariette), may quite well indicate roughly the time when Egyptian

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civilization began, but in the light of the information that we possess none of them ought to be used to date the reign of the first king of all Egypt. The pioneer Egyptologist Lepsius gave as that king's date 3892 B.C., Bunsen followed with 3623 B.C., Lieblein with 3893 B.C., Brugsch with 4400 B.C., and Meyer with 3315 B.C. Brugsch's date for the reign of the first king of Egypt, 4400 B.C., is not far removed from that which Meyer gives for the introduction of the Calendar, 4241-4240 B.C., and therefore both authorities agree that the Egyptians were civilized in the fifth millennium B.C. But Lepsius and Meyer both place the reign of the first king of all Egypt in the fourth millennium B.C., though there is a difference of 577 years in their dates, 3892 B.C. and 3315 B.C. Hall thinks that Meyer's date is too late and proposes 3500 (?) B.C. for the beginning of the 1st dynasty (*Cambridge History*, I, p. 173), thus discounting the "absolute certainty" of a most important date which is said to have been ascertained astronomically. My own view is that the date proposed by Lepsius is more in harmony with the evidence of the monuments than that of Meyer.

The fact is that no certain date can be given for the reign of the first king of all

Egypt, and most of the early Egyptian dates may be wrong by as much as three centuries. The dates of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty (about 1600–1360 B.C.) have practically been fixed by the cuneiform inscriptions, but strictly accurate dating cannot begin until about 700 B.C. The dates proposed by Brugsch and Meyer for the important dynasties are as follows:—

Dyn.	I.	Brugsch	4400	B.C.	Meyer	3315	B.C.
"	III.	"	3966	"	"	2895	"
"	VI.	"	3350	"	"	2540	"
"	XII.	"	2466	"	"	2000	"
"	XVIII.	"	1700	"	"	1580	"
"	XIX.	"	1350	"	"	1320	"

A table of Egyptian Chronology by Hall, in which the evidence of the monuments has been taken into consideration, will be found in *Cambridge History*, I, p. 656 ff. Apart from his archæological knowledge acquired in the British Museum, Hall as a trained historian is better able to deal with historical evidence generally than the mere excavator or student of Egyptian texts. The dates of the kings of Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, etc., are given in the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 3rd edition, London, 1922, p. 240 ff. See also Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1921.

CHAPTER III

PREDYNASTIC KINGS, THE OLD KINGDOM (DYNASTIES I-VI) AND THE TWO HERAKLEO- POLITAN DYNASTIES

BEFORE the conquest of Egypt by the people who invaded the country from the south in the fourth millennium B.C., Egypt was divided into two distinct kingdoms, each of which was ruled by an independent king. In the Vth dynasty the names of a large number of rulers of both kingdoms were known, but all are lost, with the exception of a few names of kings of Lower Egypt, *e.g.* Seka, Tau, Thesh, Uatchnar, Mekha, etc., which are found on the Palermo Stone. The period covered by the rule of both Southern and Northern kings is unknown. Among the first Kings of the South who essayed the conquest of the whole country was the Horus **Ro**, or **Ru**, whose tomb was at Abydos. He was succeeded by the Horus **Ap**, who called himself "Nesu" or "Ensu," which is rendered "King of the South." The hieroglyph for

this title represents apparently a kind of flowering reed, which he took as a badge (?). His Horus name was represented by a scorpion, which was probably intended to refer to his deadly power; he is generally known as the "Scorpion," and his rule extended so far north as the modern town of Helwān. On the jars from his tomb at Abydos we find roughly drawn hieroglyphs arranged to form elementary inscriptions.

THE OLD KINGDOM. DYNASTIES I-VI

Dynasty I. The "Scorpion" was succeeded by Narmer, who completed the conquest of the North and made his capital near the modern town of Tarkhām, about 25 miles south of Cairo. To his title "Nesu" he added "Bati," the hieroglyph for which is a bee, or more probably hornet, and as the unifier of the two Egypts he became "King of the South and of the North." Narmer was his name as Horus, and as king of the two Egypts, *Nesubati* (the *insibya* of the cuneiform inscriptions), he adopted the title of Men or Mena. He was a mighty warrior, and on his great mace-head he says that he captured 120,000 men, 400,000 oxen, and 1,422,000 goats. On it he is seen seated on a throne and arrayed in the garb of Osiris, celebrating the Set festival. He was succeeded by Aha,



Map showing the Delta, Upper Egypt, as far as Asyüt, the Peninsula of Sinai and the Palestinian sea-coast.

who as lord of two ancient capitals of the country, Nekheb and Per-Uatchit, adopted the title of **Men** or **Mena**, which his predecessor had adopted as his Nesubati title. This title **Men**, or **Mena**, was the word whence Manetho derived the name of **Menes**, the first king of Egypt. As Narmer was the actual unifier of the two Egypts we must regard him as really the first king of the Ist dynasty, and the actual conqueror of the North. The objects found in the tomb of **Āha** show that the Egyptians were now able to write in hieroglyphs sentences with connected ideas; in fact that they had acquired, probably under the influence of people from the north or north-east, the art of writing. **Āha** married the lady **Nethetep**, and the name of the goddess **Net** (**Neith**) forming a part of her name suggests that she came from **Saïs**, the centre of the cult of this goddess. • Then, as later, the newcomers consolidated their position and power by marrying into the families of the native chiefs.

Of the acts of the next two kings, **Teher** and **Tehe**, practically nothing is known; the **Horus** name of the latter was written with the hieroglyph for a serpent, and thus we have a "Serpent King" as well as a "Scorpion King." The "Serpent" was succeeded by **Senti**, or **Khasti**, whose **Horus** name was **Ten**

or Den; the ancient scribes misread his Nesubati name, and in many books he is known as "Hesepti." The reign of this king was remarkable. He was not only a great fighter, but was a patron of the arts, and the objects found in his granite-paved tomb show that the crafts of the potter, mason, worker in metals, and maker of semi-opaque glass paste for beads and inlays in jewellery, had reached a high pitch of perfection. Gold and ivory were plentiful, and there is no need to assume that carving in ivory was not a native art. No matter whom the ivory figure of a king wearing the White Crown now in the British Museum (No. 37,976) may represent, it stands unrivalled for the fineness of its work and the delicacy of its finish. This and the gold bracelets of the queen of king Tcher well illustrate the art-loving character of these early kings. Semti kept a record of the chief events of his reign written upon ivory tablets; each tablet contained the account of the happenings of one year, and was kept in a small box made for the purpose. The tablets supplied the material for the chronological summaries made in later years. Semti was also a patron of literature, for in the rubric of one of the two versions of the 64th Chapter of the Book of the Dead written on a coffin of the XIth dynasty, that chapter is

said to have been "found" during his reign. His kingdom was administered by a large number of great officials, chief among whom was Hemaka, the keeper of the king's gold seal; a part of the cover of the ivory box in which this was kept is now in the British Museum (No. 35552). Semti was buried in a tomb at Abydos, and its size and its staircase proclaim his greatness; it is surrounded by a large number of the graves of his officials.

Merpeba, the next king, appears to have adopted as his capital the ancient city called in predynastic times the "White Wall" (Aneb-hetch), which in later days was known as Mennefer, or Memphis. This city marked the place where Lower Egypt ended and Upper Egypt began, and it was often called the "Balance of the Two Lands." By some Merpeba is regarded as the founder of Memphis. His successor Smerkhat, to use his Horus name, made war on the peoples in the Peninsula of Sinai, and so began the Egyptian occupation of the country of the copper mines, which lasted for very many centuries. His Nesubati name was probably Hui or Nekhti, but the scribes of the XIXth dynasty misread the hieroglyph as Shemsu, and this Manetho turned into Semempses. Of the next king, Sen, whose name was misread by the scribes

as Qebh, nothing is known. In Manetho's list the Ist dynasty ends with Biēnechēs.

Dynasty II. The kings of this dynasty, which is thought to have reigned about 200 years, seem to have been of northern origin, or to have been under the influence of priests who wished to increase the power of Lower Egypt in the country. During the reign of the first king, whom Manetho calls Boēthus, a destructive earthquake took place at Bubastis; the first king, according to a statue at Cairo, was called **Hetep**, or **Hetep-sekhemui**. The second king, **Kakau**, "Bull of Bulls," adopted as his Horus name **Neb-Rā**, which shows that he was a votary of the foreign Sun-god **Rā**, or a nominee of his priests. The worship of this god entered Egypt by way of Palestine and Syria, and though it was supported by the priests of Heliopolis, and adopted by later Pharaohs, it was never accepted wholeheartedly by the Egyptian people, who preferred their ancient mother-goddesses, and Osiris and his cycle of gods and goddesses. The sun-stone in the form of a pillar or obelisk was the chief symbol of the worship of **Rā**, and the offerings most welcomed by the god and his priests were sacrifices of human beings. **Kakau** established the cult of the Bull **Apis** at **Memphis**, of the Bull **Mnēvis** at **Heliopolis**, and of the

Ram at Mendes. The reigns of kings **Baeneter**, or **Banetru**, and **Uatchnes** were unimportant, and the next king is only of interest because he claimed to represent both Horus and Set, the god of Evil, whose worship was general in the Delta, and at a later period a form of him was worshipped at Kōm Ombo (Ombos) in Upper Egypt. This king had two Horus names, viz. **Sekhemab** and **Perenmaāt**, and one Set name, viz. **Perabsen**. Some think that his personal name was **Uatchnes**. The introduction of the names of two foreign gods, **Rā** and **Set**, into the names and titles of the king of Egypt, suggests that their worshippers must have possessed great power at this period. About this time Egypt was invaded from the north-east by men who had heavy bodies and large heads, and it is probable that they brought with them the worship of **Rā** and of a god of the same character as **Set**. Other kings of this dynasty were **Sent**, **Karā**, **Neferkarā**, and **Neferka-Seker**; the last-named may be the **Sesōchris** of **Manetho**, who is said to have been five cubits high and three cubits wide. We hear of no conquests under the **IInd** dynasty, and some think that **Blacks** from the **Sūdān** took advantage of the weakness of Upper Egypt, and began to make their way into the lower part of the Nile Valley.

Dynasty III. Khāsekhem, the first king of this dynasty, restored the balance of power in the south at Hierakonpolis, and then set out to do battle against a confederation of peoples in the north. Inscriptions on his statues say that he slew 47209 of his foes in the north, and Manetho says that they were Libyans "who surrendered on account of an unexpected increase in the moon." His personal name was **Besh**, and after his conquest of the North he changed his name to **Khāsekhemui** to indicate that he was sovereign of the "Powers" of the South and the North. Above the rectangle containing the latter form of his name we find the hawk of Horus and the animal of Set. He married **Enmaāthap**, a Memphite princess. In his reign the art of building in stone greatly developed, and the sepulchral chamber in his tomb at Abydos is made of stone. The next great king of this dynasty was **Tcheser**, the **Tosorthrus** of Manetho, who says that he built a house of hewn stones, and patronized writing, and that because of his medical knowledge he was called **Asclepius** (**Aesculapius**). He is famous as the builder of the **Step Pyramid at Sakkārah**. This "house of stone" consists of six stages varying in height from about 28 to 38 feet; its total height is about 197 feet, and it is thought to have been

the king's tomb. Whether this is so or not cannot be said, but a tomb of the king certainly was found at Bēt Khallāf near Abydos. Various theories have been put forward to account for this "Step Pyramid," and an attempt has been made to trace in it a development of the *māstābāh*, or bench-shaped tomb, which began to come into more general use at this period. But its stages resemble those of the Babylonian *zikkurat*, and it was probably built under Oriental influence. Some think that it was designed by Tcheser's wise and learned minister Imhetep, who was renowned in Egyptian history for his words of wisdom and great medical knowledge, and that when Manetho mentions Aesculapius it is the minister and not the king to whom he is referring. The Egyptians deified Imhetep, and it is interesting to note that they represent him, as also they do Ptah, as a bald-headed god. A legend cut upon a rock in the First Cataract says that a terrible famine which lasted seven years came upon the country during the reign of Tcheser. The priests of the temple of the gods of the Cataract convinced his envoy that the famine was sent by the gods, who were angry at the failure of the people to supply adequate offerings to them. The king made arrangements that regular offerings should be pre-

sented by the people of various districts in Lower Nubia, whereupon the anger of the gods abated and the Nile came forth from its caverns as before, and the country once more enjoyed prosperity. It is probable that a historical fact underlies this legend, and that Tcheser extended his rule as far as Elephantine and Lower Nubia, and compelled the people to support the worship of the gods there. During the excavations made by Mr. Firth of the Cairo Museum at the Step Pyramid in 1924, he discovered chambers built of stone containing fluted columns. These may represent the "house of stone" mentioned by Manetho. Mr. Firth also found a full-sized limestone portrait statue of King Tcheser in a good state of preservation.

Sanekht, a brother of Tcheser, reigned for a short period. Nothing is known of the kings who immediately followed him, and it is difficult to identify some of the names given by Manetho. The last king was, perhaps, Huni, in whose reign lived Kagemna, a compiler of moral precepts.

With the close of the IIIrd Dynasty, the so-called Archaic Period comes to an end. We now find that Egypt is divided into a number of well-defined provinces, each of which is ruled by its own governor, whose power is practically absolute. The people

in each worshipped in their own way the gods whom they had inherited from their pre-dynastic ancestors, and continued to believe in the weird underworld, with its fiends and devils, and pits of fire and boiling water, which the primitive Nilotic mind had evolved. The dead were buried in the contracted position already referred to, but some at this time made attempts to preserve the body by wrapping the limbs in pieces of cloth, and thus began the system of bandaging the dead which was developed in later times. Moreover, in Upper Egypt holes and caves in the rocks were used as tombs, and it seems that at this time pits to receive the dead were hewn out of the living rock; the 'shallow pit of this period developed into the long shaft of the mästäbäh tomb, and the brick-lined graves of the IIInd dynasty were superseded by large and handsome tombs built of stone. Egypt was prosperous, and her king, who was both god and man, was as great and powerful and rich as any in the world.

Dynasty IV. The IIIrd dynasty was ended or the IVth dynasty begun by a king called **Sharu**, the Sōris of Manetho, but nothing is known of his reign. He was succeeded by **Seneferu**, who was one of the greatest kings of Egypt, and one of the first to realize that Egypt could be made the centre of the com-

merce of the world. His Queen was called Mertitefes. He made a raid into the great gold-producing country of the Sūdān, and brought back 7000 men and 200,000 oxen and goats. Thus he secured labour for his building operations, and no doubt a large quantity of gold. He established the power of Egypt in Sinai, and took possession once and for all of the whole of the great copper-producing district, and he arranged for the safety of his caravans in going to and coming from that country. He built a fleet of sea-going ships which brought cedar logs from Lebanon to the ports of the Eastern Delta, and another fleet of boats for the Nile, and as all the trade routes and markets were in his hands the country prospered, and the king and the merchants waxed rich. The people in the Oases in the Western Desert were compelled to pay him tribute. The dead as well as the living profited by this material prosperity, for tombs were built on a scale of size and magnificence hitherto undreamed of. For himself Seneferu built two tombs, viz. the Step Pyramid of Mēdūm, which is built in three stages and is about 215 feet high, and the great stone pyramid at Dahshūr, which is about 320 feet high. This last building is a true pyramid, and is without steps or stages. Round about the Step Pyramid of

Mēdūm are the tombs of many of the officials and kinsfolk of Seneferu, and most of them are of the māstābāh variety. The māstābāh (from the Arabic word meaning "bench") is a heavy, massive, rectangular stone or brick building, which varies in length from 26 feet to 170 feet, and in width from 20 feet to 86 feet; its sides incline to a common centre; the door is usually on the east side. Inside the building is a pit, which terminates in the mummy chamber. At the top of the pit, facing eastwards, is a stele, or tablet, inscribed with the name of the deceased and his titles, and on the ground in front of the stele is usually found a stone tablet on which offerings were laid, and on each side of the stele a stone obelisk is often seen. On the south side is a long, narrow hollow, which sometimes enters the thickness of the wall itself, and is called by the Arabs "Sardab" because it resembles the opening for air in a subterranean chamber. In this was placed a painted stone or wooden portrait-figure of the deceased, often called the "Ka figure," and this was supposed to enjoy the perfume of the incense and flowers, and the smell of roasted geese and joints of meat which were brought as offerings to the dead. The walls of the māstābāh inside are sometimes plain, but are frequently sculptured with reliefs, plain or

coloured, representing ancestor worship, the preparation of offerings, agricultural operations on the estate of the deceased, and important events in his private or official life. The painted portrait-statues and reliefs found in such tombs were sometimes equalled for beauty and accuracy in later times, but never surpassed.

The wealth that Egypt heaped up during the reign of Seneferu was spent lavishly by his successor Khufu, the Kheōps of Herodotus, famous for all time as the builder of the largest of the three great Pyramids of Gīzah. Of his life-history nothing is known, but his native town was Menat Khufu, a town which lay about 170 mīles south of Cairo; the local god was the ram-headed god Khnemu, and the king sometimes called himself Khnemu Khufu, which means something like "Khnemu is my protector." How and why this obscure provincial came to succeed the great Seneferu is not apparent, but it is probable that in some way he owed his rise to power through his marriage with Mertitefes, Seneferu's widow. Khufu neither raided the Sūdān nor made wars in other countries, but devoted himself entirely to the building of his great funerary monument, his pyramid. The word pyramid, which comes to us through the Greek (*pūramis*, Herodotus ii, 8), is probably

derived from the Egyptian **per-em-us**, which seems to mean a sloping-sided building. The pyramid of Khufu is built of nummulitic limestone, and when finished was nearly 480 feet high, and each side of the square base was nearly 760 feet; it covered an area of nearly 14 acres, and it has been calculated that the cubic contents of the actual pyramid were 3,277,000 cubic yards, and that 5,750,000 tons of stone were used in its construction. The entrance is on the north side. The arrangement of the chambers, corridors, etc., inside is different from that of any other pyramid. A large number of theories as to the age, use and builders of this unique pyramid have been published, but all competent authorities are now agreed that it was built by Khufu, and that it formed his tomb and funerary monument. In front of, or near the pyramid there must have been a temple, served by many priests, who probably performed at frequent intervals the ceremonies of "Opening the Mouth" of the deceased, and recited the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings. At the recital of this composition about 140 different kinds of offerings were presented. These became transmuted by the words of the Liturgy, and maintained the life of the king in the Other World.

Khufu was succeeded by **Tetefrā**, whose

reign was unimportant, and he was succeeded by Khāfrā, or Khephren, a son of Khufu, who probably reigned for over 50 years, and is famous as the builder of the *second pyramid* at Gīzah. When complete this pyramid was about 470 feet high, the length of each side at the base was about 705 feet, and about 5,300,000 tons of stone were used in its construction. The funerary temple stood on the east side of the pyramid and was connected with the so-called "Temple of the Sphinx" by means of a long causeway, which led up from the valley to it. The latter temple was decorated by several colossal statues of Khāfrā, and it was in a wall in it that Mariette discovered the seven marvellous diorite statues of the king which are now in the Museum at Cairo. There is a cast of the finest in the British Museum. Some think, and probably correctly, that the great spur of rock which now forms the **Sphinx** was hewn into its present form by Khāfrā. It represents both a Pharaoh and the sun-god Rā-Harmakhis. The next king, **Menkaurā** (Mycerinus, Mencherēs), waged no wars. He built the *third pyramid* at Gīzah, the lower part of which was cased with undressed granite. When complete it was about 220 feet high, and the length of each side at the base was about 355 feet. The funerary temple was

on the east side, and the valley end of the causeway was entered through a brick temple. During the excavations made there in 1907 some beautiful portrait statues in hard stone of the king and his queen were discovered; they are now in America. Under the reign of Menkaurā lived Hertatef, a son of Khufu (?), who was famed for his wise and pithy sayings, and his piety. In the Rubrics of Chapters 30B and 64 of the Book of the Dead he is said to have "found" these texts at Khemenu (Hermopolis), and thus tradition connects him with the composition or re-editing of important religious works. Of Menkaurā's successors the most important was Shepseskaf, but his monuments supply little historical information. The mighty pyramids built under the IVth dynasty, and the massive and handsome tombs and splendid reliefs, and the lifelike portrait-statues which excite our profoundest admiration, were, I believe, wholly the work of a big-bodied, large-headed, and small-nosed people who made their way into Egypt under the IIIrd dynasty. They are neither Semites nor Libyans, and resemble more the stone-mason and navy classes from northern Italy than any other class or nationality of men. The native Egyptians could never have conceived or executed such great works in stone.

Dynasty V. The resources of both king and nation became depleted towards the close of the IVth dynasty, and much of the royal power ebbed away with them. The astute priests of Rā from their stronghold at Heliopolis watched the dwindling of the central authority at Memphis, and, aided no doubt by the great hereditary nobles, brought the dynasty to an end and set upon the throne not only an avowed worshipper of their god Rā, but a son of Rā, who was begotten by the god by Ruttetet, the wife of Userrā, the high priest of Rā of Sakhabu. This event had, according to a popular legend recorded in a papyrus at Berlin, been foretold in the reign of Khufu, who had been told that the three sons of Ruttetet, one after the other, would reign over Egypt. The first of the three brothers to reign was **Userkaf**,¹ who was high priest of Rā, and bore the title of "Ur-maa," or "Chief of the Seers," and he was followed by **Sahurā**, who sent an expedition to Punt, and **Neferarikarā**, or **Kakaa**. These were followed by **Shepseskara**, **Khāneferrā**, and **Enuserrā**, whose name as the son of Rā was **An**. All the kings of this dynasty were "sons of Rā," but **Enuserrā** was one of the first to add formally a fifth name to the four

¹ This name means "Strong in his Ka." His refers to Rā, and Ka is the god's personality or "double."

other titles or names which many of his predecessors used. Each of these built a temple in honour of the Sun-god Rā, but that of An was probably the largest and finest of them all. His temple consisted of a great walled courtyard, with its chapels and a huge alabaster altar, and the slaughtering blocks and the bowls to hold the blood, and storehouses. The entrance to it was in the east wall, and inside, near the west wall, stood a stone obelisk, or sun-stone, on its platform. The walls of the passages were sculptured with reliefs illustrating religious ceremonies and scenes in the king's life. The building of these Sun-temples consumed much of the wealth of the kings of this dynasty, and as a result their pyramid-tombs are small and badly built.

The reign of Menkauher was short and unimportant. His successor Assa opened up the quarries in the Wādī Hammāmāt, through which ran the old caravan road from the Nile (near the modern town of Coptos) to the Red Sea, and sent a high official called Baurtet to the "Land of the Spirits" in the Southern Sūdān to bring back a pygmy who knew how to dance the "dance of the god." The Bari and many other modern African peoples have a special "god's dance," and the Muhammadans even to this day dance "the dance of Allāh (God)." Unas, the last king

of the dynasty, like Assa, maintained the rule of Egypt in the south, and was the first king to build a pyramid having chambers and corridors inscribed with religious texts written in hieroglyphs. Among them we find copies of funerary works like the Book of Opening the mouth, hymns to the Sun-god, chapters describing the power and deeds of the king in the Other World, spells and incantations which were intended to protect him from hostile gods and devils and noxious reptiles, etc. Several of the texts are preserved in modified forms in the Book of the Dead.

Our knowledge of the Vth dynasty is derived chiefly from the tombs of its kings and their officials and priests. The priests of Rā had established the worship of their god once and for all, for from that time onward every king of Egypt, including the Persians, Macedonians and Romans, called himself "son of Rā." They took over the gods of the predynastic Egyptians, whether they were animals, or birds, or reptiles, and gave them the bodies of men and women, and grouped them into companies usually containing nine gods and goddesses, and absorbed into their theological system nearly all the most ancient gods of the country. But the priests of Memphis worshipped their own gods, Ptah, Sekhmit, Iusāsit, Nefer-Tem, Imhetep, etc., in their own

way, and their high priest, as befitted the representative of Ptah, the blacksmith-god and worker in metals, bore the title of **Ur-kherp-hem**, *i.e.*, "great chief of the graving tool," and was as powerful in Memphis as the high priest of Rā was in Heliopolis. The tombs of the Vth dynasty are large and imposing, but the work in them was poor, and their similarity suggests that both designers and workmen were content to copy existing buildings (and this is true also for the bas-reliefs and statues) rather than to invent new designs. Some think that this was due to the interference of a priestly authority, which laid down canons to be observed universally, and this view is probably correct, but it is also probable that the inferior work of the time is due to a lack of skilled workmen. A point to notice is that the bodies of the dead, certainly among the governing classes, were buried no longer in the contracted or prenatal position, but lying at full length, and, in Upper Egypt at least, mummification in its elementary forms was practised. This result does not seem to be due to a mere natural development, but to a religious belief in connection with the spread of the worship of Osiris, whose body was embalmed by the divine embalmer Anpu (Anubis), with the help of Isis and Thoth. Osiris rose from the

dead in a complete body, not one bone of which was wanting.

Dynasty VI. The first king was **Teta**, who built a pyramid at Sakkārah; on the walls of the chambers and corridors inside it is cut a series of religious texts similar in character to those in the pyramid of Unas. His successors followed his example and the whole group of these inscriptions are known as the "Pyramid Texts." The reign of **Ati**, the second king, was unimportant, but his successor **Pepi (I) Merirā**, who reigned about 50 years, was a great and warlike king, and he founded and restored temples in many parts of the country. This necessitated great activity in the quarries in the Wādī Hamāmāt and at Sun (Syene,⁹ the modern Aswān), and in the copper mines of Sinai. He secured the friendly support of the great local chiefs of Elephantine, whose ass-caravans traded far to the south in the Sūdān, and his officials were able to bring back in abundance to Egypt treasures from the South. It seems that the nomads to the north-east of Egypt hindered or robbed his caravans from Sinai, and perhaps also raided the Delta, and he sent several punitive expeditions into their country led by the famous warrior Una. Finding these measures insufficient to stop the robberies, he stiffened his army with Blacks, or Negroes,

from the Sūdān, and despatched this mixed force by ship to Palestine, where they killed the robbers and laid waste the settlements and plantations. This seems to be the first time the Egyptians used the Sūdānī man as an auxiliary in battle. Una pursued the enemy a considerable distance to the north, perhaps so far as the Dog River near Bērūt. Pepi I built a pyramid at Sakkārah, about 50 feet in height, and its name "Mennefer" was transferred to that part of the city of Memphis that was nearest to it. He set up buildings also at Hierakonpolis, where bronze figures of himself and his son, 6 feet and 3 feet high respectively, were found. He was succeeded by his son Merenrā (I) Mehtiemsaf (I), who was a boy when he began his reign of about 7 years.

Merenrā paid a visit to Elephantine, where he was warmly welcomed by his father's friends and allies. He died when he was 15 or 16 years of age and was succeeded by his half-brother Pepi II, who was six years old, and whose mother bore the same name as the mother of Merenrā, viz. Ānkhnes-merirā. The warrior Una, who had been appointed Viceroy of the South by Pepi I, was succeeded in this office by Herkhuf, a great feudal lord of Elephantine, and under him the systematic exploration of Nubia

(Uauat), Kash (Kūsh, the modern Dār Mahass, Dār Sukköt, etc.) began. Herkhuf had been to these countries thrice in the reign of the last king, and now he revisited them, and among all the treasures, which he, like Baurtet in the reign of Assa, brought back was a pygmy, who was by the special request of the young king despatched to Memphis under careful guardians, to dance the god's dance before him. On one of his journeys Herkhuf defeated the troops of the king of Amam, who was about to attack the Libyans. During the long reign of Pepi II (nearly 100 years) many expeditions were sent into Nubia and Kash, and the foundations for their annexation a few centuries later by Egypt were laid by such traders and warriors as Ari, Sabni, Pepinekht and other chiefs of Elephantine. The last-named also marched with troops to the Red Sea via the Wādī Hammāmāt, and slew a large number of natives who had killed an Egyptian and his comrades whilst they were building a ship in which to sail to the Somali coast and Punt. The monuments and tombs of this dynasty show that the power of the nobles throughout the country was far greater than in the days of Khufu, and that officials and others claimed and used the right to describe their exploits on their funerary monuments, and to build

their tombs where they pleased. A lavish use of high-sounding honorific and honorary titles characterizes this period. If only Khufu had allowed his master architect to write a description of the building of the Great Pyramid, what a wonderful document it would be! The last kings of the dynasty were Neterkarā and Menkarā Netaqerti, but their reigns were unimportant; the last-named was confounded with Menkaurā by Manetho, who says that this sovereign was "the most handsome woman of her time" and the builder of the Third Pyramid.

Though Manetho includes Dynasties I-XI in his section for the Old Kingdom, the monuments prove that the Old Kingdom came to an end with the VIth dynasty. After the death of Pepi II no strong man arose to rule as king of all Egypt, for no chief or noble was able to compel his peers to acknowledge his supremacy. Manetho's Dynasty VII contains "70 Memphite kings who reigned 70 days," and his Dynasty VIII "27 Memphite kings who reigned 146 years." From the monuments the names of about 20 kings only can be collected, but hardly anything is known about any one of them. Some of them have the Nesubati name, or title, and a personal name, each in a separate cartouche, but in some cases both names appear to be con-

tained in a single cartouche. Thus Neferka was called **Nebi**, a second Neferkarā was called **Khentu**, a third Neferkarā was called **Terri**, a fourth Neferkarā was called **Pepisenb**, and Seneferka[rā] was called **Annu**.

According to Manetho the kings of **Dynasties IX and X** sprang from the town of **Henesu**, which lay on the left bank of the Nile, about 70 miles south of the modern Cairo; the Hebrews called the town **Khānēs** (*Isaiah xxx. 4*), the Greeks **Herakleopolis**, and the Arabs **Ahnās**. Each dynasty, he says, consisted of 19 kings, the ninth dynasty reigning 409 years, and the tenth 185 years, in all 594 years. There are evidently serious mistakes in these statements, and they are not substantiated by the monuments. The only **Herakleopolitan** king mentioned by Manetho is **Achthoēs**, who according to this authority was the worst king that ever lived. He did harm to all his people, went mad, and was killed by a crocodile. Now **Achthoēs** must represent the Egyptian name **Khati**, which was borne by several nobles at this period, both at **Henesu** and **Saut**, the modern **Asyūt**. A **Khati Abmerirā** is mentioned in an inscription on a rock in the **First Cataract** and on a bronze bowl in **Paris**. Among his successors were **Kamerirā**, who seems to have been the son of a **Khati**, and **Uahkarā Khati II** (?). The chiefs of **Herakleo-**

polis were a body of powerful nobles who attempted to seize the kingship of Egypt and to transfer the royal power from Memphis to themselves and their city. But they were never kings of Egypt in the true sense of the word, and the Egyptian King-Lists ignore their existence. They were one of the many groups of nobles throughout the country (at Memphis Lykopolis (Asyūt), Abydos, Thebes, Hermonthis, Hierakonpolis, etc.) who were trying to seize the supreme power. They were assisted by the nobles of Asyūt in their attacks on Memphis, and the chiefs Khati I, Tefaba and Khati II provided them with troops and ships to maintain the authority, even in their own town.

Meanwhile the powerful princes of Thebes were making themselves masters of all the country south of Asyūt, and at length they overcame the resistance of both the nobles of Asyūt and Herakleopolis, and extended their rule to the Delta. The most interesting relic of the rule of the Herakleopolitans is a papyrus at St. Petersburg, which contains a long series of admonitions written by Khati for the benefit of his son Merikarā-Khati and aimed at teaching Merikarā not only political wisdom, but morality and religion, and how to rule. His work contains the oldest and finest descriptions of the power of Almighty God and

of the Last Judgment. The Egyptians had realized for a very long time that the attainment of everlasting life and happiness by a man in the Other World depended upon the truthfulness in word and deed that he practised when upon earth. But no writer had ever shown so clearly that the impartial, pitiless judges only granted everlasting life to the man who was without sin.

According to Manetho the Herakleopolitan kings were followed by a series of 16 Theban kings, who form his **Dynasty XI** and reigned in all 43 years. Several of these so-called kings were merely chiefs or nobles who succeeded in making themselves powerful in that part of Egypt in which the towns of Apet (the Thebes of the Greeks) and Anu Resu (Hermonthis) were situated. Some of these chiefs waged war against the old feudal lords of Saut (Asyüt, Lykopolis) and Herakleopolis, and one of them, who was called **Antef** or **Antefa**, succeeded in destroying their power and in making himself lord of all the country from Thebes to Abydos, and perhaps further to the north. He was succeeded by **Antef-ā**, who adopted the Horus name of **Uahānkḥ**. He was the first king of the XIth dynasty and reigned about 50 years; he and his successors are the Theban kings to whom Manetho refers. He was succeeded

by Antef, who adopted the Horus name of **Nekht-neb-tep-nefer**, of whose acts nothing is known. Then, for some unknown reason, the supreme power in the nome of Thebes passed into the hands of a series of nobles of Hermonthis, each of whom bore the "Son-of-Rā" name of **Menthuhetep**. Menthu was the name of the War-god of Hermonthis, and the Mentuheteps probably owed their rise to power to the support of his priests. Some five or six Mentuheteps are known, but authorities differ as to the order in which they reigned. Some think that **Menthuhetep-Sānkhabtaui** was the first of them, and that he was succeeded by **Menthuhetep Nebheprā**, who was the greatest king of this dynasty, and reigned nearly 50 years. He had a rock-hewn tomb made in the mountain of Western Thebes, and built on the plain in front of it a funerary temple and pyramid. The walls of the former are decorated with coloured bas-reliefs which, though now fragmentary, are of importance for the study of the development of Egyptian art. **Menthuhetep Nebtauirā** carried on work in the quarries of Wādī Hammāmāt, and some inscriptions there describe the unusual incidents connected with it which the Egyptians regarded as supernatural. **Menthuhetep Sānkharā** sent an expedition to the Somali coast and

Punt under the leadership of a certain Henu, the Warden of the Gate of the South. He and his 3000 men, who were recruited from all parts of Upper Egypt, set out from Coptos; each man was provided with a skin water-flask and a staff, and received two measures of water and 20 bread-cakes a day. Henu sank wells and built water-tanks, so that in going and coming all might have water to drink. The workmen built a ship on the coast of the Red Sea, and it was despatched to Punt to fetch the green ānti, or gum-resin with a bitter taste, which was used in making incense and in embalming. This gum is still obtained from East Africa, and many thousands of packets of it are exported from the Sūdān annually, and it forms the base of most of the chewing-gum now made. On their return from the Red Sea Henu and his men quarried huge blocks of stone which they took back to Egypt. With the reign of the last Mentuhetep the XIth dynasty and the Old Kingdom of Manetho came to an end.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. THE HYKSOS PERIOD

THE interval between the end of the sixth dynasty and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom was about 900 years according to some, and nearly 500 years according to others; the former number is too high, but the lower seems to agree with the probabilities suggested by the monumental evidence. The date when the Middle Kingdom began lies probably between 2500 B.C. and 2100 B.C., but on this point also authorities differ. During the four or five centuries in which Egypt lacked a strong king and a stable central authority, the nobles throughout the country succeeded in consolidating their positions, and, speaking in a general way, each monarch ruled his nome in his own way and did as he could or as he pleased, and until the rule of the last two or three Mentu-heteps the great feudal chiefs and landed proprietors from one end of Egypt to the other were beyond control. At the head of

the great expedition that Mentuhetep Neb-taurā sent to work the quarries in the Wādī Hammāmāt was one Amenemhat, who united in his own person all the high offices of the kingdom, both civil and military. He was undoubtedly a great official, and a strong and capable man. And though we have no details we seem to be justified in assuming that he watched his opportunity, and being supported by his followers, who were 10,000 in number, he usurped the royal power, and ascended the throne as Amenemhat I, the first king of Dynasty XII. Manetho calls him Ammenemes, and reckons him among the 16 Theban kings who formed his XIth dynasty. The name of the new king contains that of the god Amen, a local, but very ancient, god of Thebes. The name "Amen" means the "hidden one," and the god symbolized the unseen secret power of generation, new birth and perhaps virility. Like Bes, Hathor and Sekhmit he was probably of southern origin; and though the Egyptians gave him the form of a man with a Puntite beard and ostrich feathers on his head, his symbol among the Nubians was a model of the *umbilicus*. Amenemhat I was a nominee of the priests of Amen, and he founded or re-founded a temple in his honour at Thebes,

and proclaimed him the great god of Egypt. Later the attributes of the great solar gods were given to him, and we find him called Amen-Rā, Amen-Rā Ptah, Amen-Rā-Her-aakhuti, Tem-Khepera-Heru, etc. Amenemhat I ruled neither from Thebes nor Memphis, but he built a strongly fortified palace surrounded with walls which he called **Athet-Tauī**, and which was situated about 40 miles to the south of Cairo. He was king not only in name but in fact, and he ruled the nobles firmly, and made them contribute to the expenses of the kingdom, and his officials took care that they made their payments in full. An attempt to murder him was made one night, but the king saved himself, though the guard was killed. * He describes the incident in the "Teaching" which he wrote for his son, whom he beseeches to trust nobody. When necessary he had recourse to war, and he fought and beat the Libyans. He reigned 30 years, of which 10 years were in conjunction with his son; he was buried in a pyramid at the place now called Al-Lisht.

Amenemhat I saw that it was impossible to maintain his rule in the country to the south of Thebes unless he was master of Lower Nubia, or Uauat. He therefore visited,



Map showing the Nile Valley from Tahtah in Upper Egypt to Dār ukkot in the Egyptian Sūdān, the Oasis of Khārgah and a portion of the Eastern Desert.

or perhaps raided, that country, and set up stelæ there to commemorate his visit, or conquest. His son Usertsen I (Sen-Usrit (?) I) sent expeditions into Nubia, and took possession of the country as far as the head of the Third Cataract, and established a colony of Egyptians at the place now called Karmah, and appointed Haptchefa, a noble of Saut, as governor of it. He thus became master of the rich country now called the Dongola Province, and was able to levy toll on the caravans which came from Dār Fūr, and Somaliland and Abyssinia by way of the Blue Nile and Shendi. Several of the expeditions were led by the nobles of the Oryx nome, whose tombs are at Bani Hasan, and one of them, Ameni, tells us that he sailed up into Nubia several times, and on each occasion brought back the gold due to the king. All the gold-producing districts in the south were now under the control of Egypt. Usertsen I was a great builder. He built, or rebuilt, a large temple at Anu (Heliopolis) and set up there a pair of red granite obelisks, one of which is still standing. He set up another obelisk at Begig in the Fayyūm. He built largely at Tanis and Thebes, and his great and capable official Menthuhetep built a temple to Osiris at Abydos, and dug the

famous well close by. Manetho spells this king's name Geson Goses, or Sesonchōsis, or Sesortōsis, seemingly confusing him with Shashanq, a king of the XXIInd dynasty, and Sesostris, who was Usertsen III. Usertsen I reigned about 45 years, of which probably 4 years were in conjunction with his son : he was buried in a pyramid at Al-Lisht.

Amenemhat II was neither a great builder nor a great warrior, and his reign of 35 years was uneventful; Manetho says that he was slain by his eunuchs. The gold mines in Nubia were worked under Egyptian supervision, and the royal steward Khentikhatiur made a journey to Punt and returned in safety. The wealth of the country was considerable, and the nobles built themselves splendid tombs. In the tomb at Al-Barshah of Tchehuti-hetep, a governor of Upper Egypt, is a painting representing the dragging of a colossal statue at least 60 tons in weight, from the quarries at Hetnub to his town. Amenemhat II was buried in a pyramid at Sakkārah. Usertsen II (Sen-Usrit (?) II), whom Manetho wrongly calls Sesostris, reigned 19 years, and as he waged no wars, trade and commerce flourished. In the sixth year of his reign a party of the Āamu, 37 in number, visited Egypt, bearing with them a gift of eye-paint; their reception

is represented in a painting on a wall of the tomb of Khnemuhetep at Bani Hasan. The king built his pyramid at Al-Lahūn, and excavations at Kahūn have brought to light the remains of the town in which the workmen lived. Fragments of the pottery, which experts in Cretan archæology call "Middle Minoan II," were found there, and that intercourse between Crete and Egypt existed under the XIIth dynasty is now an established fact. The discoveries made in Crete by Sir Arthur Evans in 1924 suggest that Crete was in communication with Egypt many centuries earlier, *i.e.* under the Old Kingdom.

Usertsen III (Sen-Usrit (?) III), the Lacharēs of Manetho, reigned about 38 years; the principal acts of his reign were connected with the final conquest of Nubia, which he visited on more than one occasion. He cleared out the old canal in the First Cataract, which was first dug under the VIth dynasty, and his troops passed through it into Nubia in his 8th year. He passed on to Buhen (Wādī Halfah), and thence to the places now called Mirgissi and Shalfak, in each of which he built a fortress. Going on to the south he built a mighty fortress on the island called Uronarti by the Nubians and Jazirat al-Malak by the Arabs. At Samnah and

Kummah he established garrisons, and probably built temples dedicated to Tetun and other local gods in which the soldiers might pray for his life and safety. At Samnah he set up a stele inscribed with an edict prohibiting any Black from passing that place. In his 16th year he set up two huge granite stelæ, one at Samnah and the other on Uronarti, inscribed in hieroglyphs, in which he says :

“ I am the king ; [my] word is performed. My hand performs what my mind conceives. . . . I attack my attacker. . . . The man who retreats is a vile coward ; he who is defeated on his own land is no man. Thus is the Black. He falls down at a word of command, when attacked he runs away, when pursued he shows his back in flight. The Blacks have no courage, they are weak and timid, their hearts are contemptible. I have seen them, I am not mistaken about them. I seized their women, I took their goods, I stopped up their wells, I slew their bulls, I reaped their crops, I burnt their houses. I am speaking the truth. . . . My son who maintains this boundary is indeed my son ; he who allows it to be thrust back is no son of mine, and I never begot him. I have set up a statue of myself here, not

only for your benefit, but also that ye should do battle for it."

The brutal treatment of the Nubians by the king suggests that he had other than Egyptian blood in him. He was a fierce fighter, and in some respects the description that Manetho gives of Sesostris is suitable for him; but he was not a great traveller, and it is very doubtful if he ever went to Asia or Europe. He was buried in a pyramid made of bricks, the remains of which are to be seen at Dahshūr; the ladies of his family were buried within the precincts of the pyramid, and in their rock-hewn tombs much beautiful jewellery was found.

Amenemhat III was the greatest king of the dynasty, and was certainly one of the three truly great kings who ruled over Egypt. Manetho calls him Ammerēs or Lamaris, or Lamarēs, and he reigned about 48 years. The conquest of Nubia by his predecessor made it possible for him to occupy Kash (Kūsh), *i.e.* the Dongola Province and the country as far south as Jabal Barkal, and gold from the countries further south flowed into his treasury regularly and in an increasing stream. The monuments and tombs and the small objects of the period show that the wealth of Egypt in his reign was very

great. Amenemhat's greatest works were connected with the development of the irrigation system of the country. He reclaimed a large tract of land in the district called "Ta-she," or the "Land of the Lake" (now known as the "Fayyūm"), and built the earthworks, locks and barrage required for controlling the inflow and outflow of water from the great lake, which classical writers call "Lake Moeris." All that remains of this lake is the Birkat Kurūn, which is now nearly 150 feet below the level of the Mediterranean Sea. The reclaimed land now forms the fertile district of the Fayyūm. The irrigation engineers of that time kept a register of the height of the Nile flood in Nubia for several years of the reign of Amenemhat III, and these may be seen cut on the rocks near Samnah and Kummah. And they made arrangements for the control of the ancient canal called the "Bahr Yūsuf," which takes off from the Nile a little to the north of Asyūt and, after a course parallel with the Nile for nearly 200 miles, passes through a gap in the Libyan mountains and enters the Fayyūm. Amenemhat III rightly saw that the wealth and prosperity of Egypt depended entirely upon successful agriculture. He built for his tomb the Pyramid of Hawārah; to the

south of it lay his great funerary temple, which classical writers call the Labyrinth, and which was said to contain 12 courts and 3000 chambers. The god worshipped with great honour in this district was Sebek, the Crocodile god, and the famous city of Crocodilopolis stood close by. The two "pyramids" that Herodotus saw in the Lake were two huge statues of the king, which with their pedestals were about 60 feet high. Remains of the pedestals are still to be seen, and the natives call them "Pharaoh's seats." The sphinxes with portrait-faces of Amenemhat III found at Sān (Tanis) were probably placed near them. At some period during his reign Amenemhat seems to have associated with him in the rule of the country a prince called Her, with the Nesubati name of Auabrā; his tomb lay near the brick pyramid of Manshiyah and was excavated in 1894. The last king of the XIIth dynasty was Amenemhat IV, who probably reigned about 9 years; after his death his sister Sebekneferurā ruled the kingdom for nearly 4 years.

Soon after the death of Amenemhat III the great feudal nobles in all parts of Egypt realized that the new king could never rule as his father had done, and that the whole system of government throughout the country

was about to collapse, and before Amenemhat IV died this actually happened. For a few years the machinery of government worked automatically, but it soon became apparent that the strong guiding mind and hand of the great king were wanting, and the nomarchs and nobles quickly began to plot and scheme to increase their powers at the expense of their neighbours. The princes of Thebes set up independent states. Then began a period of something very like anarchy. There was no central authority in the country, and, though it is fairly certain that a series of kings reigned in the south at Thebes, and another series in the North at the same time, it is possible that there were rank usurpers in other parts of the country, who were their contemporaries. The length of the period of the reigns of these kings, kinglets and usurpers is unknown. Manetho says that **Dynasty XIII** consisted of 60 Theban kings, who reigned 453 years, and that **Dynasty XIV** consisted of 76 kings, who reigned from Xoïs (a town in the Western Delta, the Sakhā of the Arabs) for 184 or 484 years; but he does not give any of their names. Thus it seems clear that the XIIIth and XIVth dynasties were contemporaneous, but either total of their years, 637 or 937, is excessive. And the

greatest number of kings' names that can be collected from the Turin Papyrus, the King-Lists and other monuments, is about 108, as against the 136 of Manetho.

The evidence of the monuments shows that the first king of the XIIIth dynasty was **Khutauī**, who reigned at Athettaui; his rule extended to Samnah, where monuments of his and Nile registers have been found. Immediate successors were probably **Sekhemkarā** and **Aufni**; the latter must have been a private individual or foreigner. A little later came **Sebekhetep I**, who ruled over all Egypt and Nubia, and caused the Nile registers to be kept at Samnah. **Sebekhetep II** was succeeded by **Sahether** and **Neferhetep**, and the latter was followed by his brother **Khāneferrā Sebekhetep III**. Colossal grey granite statues of this king, nearly 24 feet high, are now lying on the Island of Argo in the Dongola Province; they were quarried on the Island of Tombos, near Karmah. He was in truth King of the South and the North. Of the **Sebekheteps IV** to **VI** nothing is known. Among the Theban kings may be mentioned **Sebekemsaf**, **Sebekemsauf** and the five **Antefs**, the greatest of whom was **Nubkheperurā Antef**. Among the usurpers of the period may be mentioned **Smenkhhkarā**

mer Mashāu, a military captain, and Nehsirā (?) "the Negro of Rā (?)," who was a worshipper of Set, the god of evil. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say which kings were contemporaries, and to set out their true sequence.

During the struggle for supremacy between legitimate claimants to the throne and usurpers, the material condition of the country went from bad to worse; trade suffered, commerce decreased, and the lack of a central authority resulted in the neglect of the canals, and the rapid decay of agricultural interests. The hereditary foes of Egypt watched the condition of the country, and bided their time to invade her. The state of anarchy was greater in the Delta than in Upper Egypt, and as it was not defended by any adequate force, the kinsmen of the Semitic settlers there, who lived in the deserts to the east and north-east, decided that the time had come when they might invade the country and make it their own. With this object in view the people of the Sinai desert and the nomad Herushā ("dwellers on the sand"), and the nomad tribes of Palestine and Syria banded themselves together, and being joined by fugitives from Mesopotamia, and by some people from the north and east of Syria

who were provided with horses and chariots, invaded the Eastern Delta. This invasion took place probably while the later kings of the XIIIth dynasty were ruling at Thebes and the kings of the XIVth dynasty were ruling at Xoïs. The Egyptian monuments tell us nothing about this invasion, but there are several allusions in the inscriptions of the New Kingdom to the ruin and destruction that they brought upon the country. Our chief authority on the subject of this invasion is Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian (circa 37-95?) who, in his work attacking Apion, the opponent of Philo and the Alexandrine Jews, before Caligula, quotes Manetho and says :

“ 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 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**. He also lived at Memphis and made Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt pay tribute, and stationed 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. As he found in the Saïte (read Sethroïte) Nome a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastite channel (*i.e.* the Damietta arm of the Nile), but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called 'Avaris,' this he rebuilt and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of 240,000 armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither came **Salatis** in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners." **Salatis** reigned 13 years, and after him reigned **Beon** for 44 years, **Apachnas** for 36 years and 7 months, **Apophis** for 61 years, **Jonias** for 51 years and 1 month, and **Assis** for 49 years and 2 months. The whole nation was called **Hyksos**, that is, "Shepherd Kings."

From the above extract it is clear that

hosts of invaders from the east entered the Delta, and carried fire and sword everywhere in it. Their leader built, or rather rebuilt, and fortified the ancient city of Hetuârt, or Avaris, near Tanis, and occupied Memphis, and levied taxes. Josephus calls these peoples Hyksos, and modern historians call the period of their occupation of Egypt

THE HYKSOS PERIOD

Manetho breaks up this Period into three parts. During the first part 6 kings of the Hykshos (Dynasty XV) reigned 284 years; during the second 32 Grecian Shepherds (Dynasty XVI) reigned 518 years; and during the third 43 Hyksos and 43 Theban kings (Dynasty XVII) reigned 151 years. Thus according to him the Hyksos Period lasted 953 years, which is impossible. There is reason for believing that the 6 kings, Salatis, Beon (Bnōn), Pachnan (Apachnas), Staan, Archlēs (Assis) and Aphōbis (the names are greatly garbled) did reign, though the lengths of their reigns are exaggerated. But the remaining 118 "kings" can only represent the large number of usurpers and nobles who, in all parts of the country, assumed royal titles and state, and a great many of these must have been contemporaries. It is im-

possible to estimate the exact duration of the Hyksos Period in the present state of Egyptological knowledge.

Josephus calls the invaders Hyksōs or Hykshōs, and says that the first syllable *Hyk* means "king," and the second *sōs* or *shōs* "shepherd." Now the Egyptian word *heq* does mean "prince," or "governor," or "chief," but at the time when the invasion took place *sōs* or *shōs*, *i.e.* Shasu, the native of the desert-land, did not necessarily mean "shepherd." The Shasu, or dweller in the desert, was a nomad, and the nomad was often a shepherd, but he was also a robber of caravans; only at a later period did Shasu mean "shepherd." • The Heq-shasu of Josephus and Manetho is, as was pointed out long ago, the equivalent of the title Heq-sembtiu, or Heq-Khasut, "prince of the desert lands," which Khian, a king of the Hyksos, applied to himself in one of his inscriptions. Josephus thinks that the invaders were Arabians, and there may have been Arabs among them, but the invasion was on too large a scale, and the conquest too complete, for it to have been the work of a confederation of mere nomads, whether they were shepherds or robbers. The Princes who conquered and laid waste Egypt were, as Josephus rightly says, from

the east, and, as has been correctly pointed out, were of Aryan origin. Following the conquests of their kinsmen in the countries to the north of Assyria they swept into Syria, and driving all before them passed through Palestine into Egypt. Their chariots and horses, and, probably, their superior weapons, struck dismay and terror into the Egyptians, who seem to have submitted without striking a blow. When the invaders became tired of burning towns and villages and killing their inhabitants, they settled down in their new territory, and began to adopt the manners and customs of the Egyptians. The climate and soil and water had their inevitable effect on them, and their chiefs adopted the rank and titles of the Pharaohs, and set up monuments inscribed in hieroglyphs, and their names were cut on scarabs which were worn by their followers. The earliest of these chiefs, like Semqen and Anther, were content to call themselves "Prince of the Deserts." Others, *e.g.* Meruserrā Iqebārḥ, adopted a Nesubati and a son-of-Rā name. Of others we know only the Nesubati names, *e.g.* Khāmurā, Khāuserrā, Aaheteprā, Maāabrā, and Aasehrā. Judging by the monuments the most important of the Hyksos kings were: (1) Aapehtirā, with the son-of-Rā name of Nubti; (2) Seu-

serenrā Khian (the Janias of Manetho?); and the kings who bore the son-of-Rā name of Apep, or Apepa (the Apophis of Manetho), viz. Nebtkhepeshrā Apepa I, Āauserrā Apepa II, Āaqenenrā Apepa III. The scarabs supply the names of several "royal sons," e.g. Shesha, Qar, Iqeb, Nehesi, Seket, Apek, Kupepen. The scarabs of the latter part of the Hyksos Period have cut on their bases figures of animals, sphinxes, fish, hunting scenes, etc. The god most honoured by the Hyksos was Set, god of Evil; whether they built temples to any of the gods of Egypt cannot be said, but no remains of any are known.

The Hyksos ruled the Delta from Avaris and from a place in the nome of Heliopolites, now known as Tall al-Yahūdiyyah, and they attempted to rule Upper Egypt from Memphis. But the princes of Thebes in particular resisted their authority, and there was a state of active war between the South and the North for many years. In the end the Thebans were compelled to submit, and the king of the South who ruled in Thebes became to all intents and purposes a vassal of the Hyksos king in the Delta. Among these vassals was one called **Seqenenrā (I) Tauā**, who seems to have resisted the claims of the

Hyksos king successfully, and he was succeeded by Seqenenrā (II) Tauāā and by Seqenenrā (III) Tauāqen. The 1st Sallier Papyrus (Brit. Mus. No. 10,185) tells us that while the last-named was Governor of Thebes, the Hyksos king of the "filthy ones," called Rā Apepa, was ruling at Avaris, where he had built a temple in honour of Sutekh, a northern god, and it seems that he wished his Theban vassal to reject Amen-Rā, the king of the gods at Thebes, and to worship Sutekh instead. Later Rā Apepa sent a despatch to Seqenenrā, III in which he complained that the hippopotami at Thebes made so much noise that they prevented him in Avaris from sleeping either by day or by night. As if Rā Apepa could hear the splashings of the hippopotami 600 miles away! The complaint was frivolous and intended to provoke war, and in the battle which took place soon after the Thebans were routed and Seqenenrā himself was killed. His mummy at Cairo testifies to the awful wounds which were inflicted upon this brave fighter before he was killed. His left cheek was laid open, the lower jawbone was broken, his tongue was bitten through and his skull was fractured and the brain protruded, and he received a dagger thrust over the eye. Seqenenrā III married

Aāhhetep, a princess of Khemenu (the Her-mopolis of the Greeks and Ashmunēn of the Arabs), and by her had three sons, **Kames**, **Senekhtenrā** and **Aāhmes**. The mummy of the Queen was discovered at Thebes in 1859, and in her coffin were found several pieces of massive gold jewellery, bronze weapons inscribed with the name of Kames, and two models of boats, with their crews, one in gold and one in silver.

The attempt to free Egypt from the Hyksos begun by kings **Tauā**, **Tauāā** and **Tauāqen** (**Seqenenrā I, II, and III**) was continued by **Kames**, whose reign was short, and was brought to a successful issue by **Aāhmes** (**Amasis**), the third son of **Seqenenrā III** **Tauāqen**. **Kames** drove the Hyksos down the river to Memphis, and became master of Upper Egypt. His immediate successor consolidated the Theban power, and **Aāhmes** pursued the Hyksos in the Delta, attacked them in their capital **Avaris** and in the fortress the ruins of which are now known as **Tall al-Yahūdiyāh**, and finally compelled them to evacuate Egypt. No details of the struggle are forthcoming, but that it was obstinate and prolonged is certain. The Thebans fought boldly, no doubt, and it is pretty certain that they were supported by the Egyptians gener-

ally, but it is difficult to believe that Aāhmes would ever have been able to expel the Hyksos if they had maintained their old skill and mobility in war. They had deteriorated in Egypt, they could not manœuvre with chariots and horses in the vast irrigated lands in the Delta, they could not govern and administer the country, and it was hopeless for them, being foreigners who were hated everywhere, to make the Egyptians their willing subjects. As conquerors they were effective, and their victories made them masters of all Egypt, and of Nubia as far as the head of the Third Cataract (Karmah), where, as recent excavations have shown, a large colony of them was living at the end of the XIIth dynasty and later. But, like the Turk, they did not know how to govern a conquered people with due regard to the permanent interest of the country, or how to use tact and moderation in dealing with their subjects. When the Thebans began to fight them successfully the Hyksos realized that the end of their rule in Egypt had come, and they and their kinsmen and supporters moved eastwards into Palestine. Later, under the pressure of Egyptian arms, they went northwards into Syria, where they waited for a favourable opportunity to attack Egypt again.

With the Hyksos a number of Semites must have left Egypt, and among them, according to the Hebrew historian Josephus, were the Hebrews whose departure from that country is described in the Book of Exodus. Now the Egyptian inscriptions neither mention nor refer in any way to the Exodus of the Bible, and, strictly speaking, the subject does not therefore come within the scope of this little book. But it has been, and still is, believed by many, Egyptologists included, that the Egyptian texts *prove* that the Israelites fled from Egypt in the reign of Menephthah, and it is necessary therefore to add a few paragraphs on

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THE EXODUS

The form of the story of the Exodus given in the Bible is of a very late date, probably it is not earlier than the time of Ezra and his Great Synagogue, but underlying it is undoubtedly a historical fact, and an exodus of Israelites from Egypt certainly did take place. It was an event which they never forgot, for their deliverance from the "house of bondage" proved that God had not forgotten His chosen people. But the historical fact has been embroidered so much by the late narrator that his version is incredible.

He says that 600,000 men on foot went out, besides children, and a mixed multitude, and flocks and herds, even very much cattle (Exodus xii. 37, 38). In other words, the Israelites were from two to three millions in number, if we allow a wife to each man and two children to each family. Where in the desert to which they went could food be found for such a vast number of people? Had an exodus of Israelites on such a scale as this taken place, some record of it, other than that in the Bible, would have been preserved somewhere. But however vital this exodus was to the House of Israel, it was assuredly not a thing of such importance that the Egyptians would need to take notice of it.

The writer of Exodus regarded the event as miraculous, and we possess no evidence that will enable us to deal with it to make it comprehensible. But Josephus undoubtedly connected the Exodus of Israel with the Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, and there is a possibility that his view was correct. Many writers have, in various ways, tried to explain the Bible narrative, and also to fix a date for the event. The discovery of the Israel Stele among the ruins of Menephtah's temple at Thebes in 1896 proved conclusively that the Exodus described by Josephus could not have taken place in the reign of that king. This

stele was originally set up by Amenhetep III in his funerary temple, but it was removed by Menepthah to his own temple, and he caused a Hymn of Victory to be inscribed on the reverse, which Amenhetep III had left blank. The inscription is dated on the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 3rd season of the 5th year of Menepthah's reign, and contains 28 lines of text. In it the victory of the king over the Libyans is described in high-sounding, rhetorical phrases, some of which cannot be understood. The last two lines contain a summary of his conquests, and after the general statement that the kings (everywhere) have been overthrown, and the "Nine Bows" (*i.e.* Nubians) crushed, and the Libyans destroyed, and the Kheta quelled, the text goes on to say that "Canaan has been conquered, and is suffering sorely. Askelon has been led captive, Gezer has been fettered, Inuāamu has been crushed utterly, Israel has been destroyed and his seed exists not, Syria has become as the widow of Egypt. All the lands have been made to be at peace, for every rebel has been brought low by Menepthah."

This extract shows clearly that the Israelites were settled in Palestine long before Menepthah raided the country, for they cannot have left Egypt, and wandered in the desert for

forty years, and settled themselves in Palestine during the first five years of Menephtah's reign. On the other hand, it is quite possible that a number of Semites fled to Palestine on the death of Rameses II, and joined the Israelites who had been settled there for generations. And this flight of Semites might well be considered *an Exodus*, if not *the Exodus*, by later writers. But the ancestors of the Israelites who were crushed by him might have entered Palestine, together with other tribes, when the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt, for they must have come from somewhere. Another theory is that the Khabirú (Hebrews?) who are mentioned in the letters of Abdi Khiba, governor of Jerusalem in the reign of Amenhetep IV, about 1380 B.C., are Semites of the Exodus from Egypt. Yet another theory would make the Āperu workmen mentioned in the Egyptian texts to be the Hebrews who toiled for Rameses II, and served kings earlier and later than he. None of the theories yet advanced solves the difficulty, and all inquiries into this matter must have barren results until the facts necessary for the solution of this riddle are forthcoming. There are no facts, and all existing theories are based on guesswork, some scientific in character and some not.

And to identify the route of the Exodus

from the record of it in the Bible is, at least in the present state of knowledge, impossible. Its writer, who lived many centuries after the Exodus took place, did not know the geography of the Isthmus of Suez, and though he gives the names of many places where the Israelites camped, only one or two of them can be identified with certainty. The Christian traditions of the IIIrd and IVth centuries A.D., which are found in such works as the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr, have also added to the difficulty of clearing up the matter. There is no reason to suppose that the Israelites even went into the region now called the Peninsula of Sinai, or that the Law was ever given from a mountain there. And the Yam Sūph, or "Sea of Reeds," was certainly not the Red Sea but some reedy swamp lying many miles from the northern end of the Red Sea. If the Israelites came out by way of the Wādī Tūmilāt, we should say that the Sea of Reeds was Lake Timsāh; if by a road more to the north, it must have been by the Sirbonian Bog, *i.e.* the *Ta. Barathra* of classical writers.

The Israelites were wishful to get to the Promised Land as quickly as possible, and it is only reasonable to think that they made their way thither by the shortest route.

From time immemorial caravans have passed to and from Egypt by the road which, running near the Palestinian sea-coast, and skirting Lake Sirbonis on the south, continued its way across the Isthmus at no great distance from the route followed by the railway from Palestine to Al-Kantarrah at the present day. And a section of that road was near Tanis and Pelusium. The general trend of the evidence to be derived from the Bible suggests that the wilderness in which the Israelites wandered for forty years lay at no great distance from southern Palestine, and that the Mount Sinai from which the Law was given was in this neighbourhood. As to the years of the wanderings, forty is only a round number, and must not be too closely scrutinized. If we are to regard the story of the journey of the Israelites into Palestine as the record of a series of miracles, discussion is useless. But if it is to be treated as a historical document, the misleading statements of its author or editor, who was unacquainted with the physical conditions and geography of the Isthmus of Suez in the second millennium B.C., must be eliminated from it, and to effect this in the present state of our knowledge seems to be impossible.

CHAPTER V

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. ABOUT
1580-1355 B.C.

THE founder of this Dynasty was Aāhmes I, the Amōs or Amōsis of Manetho, the third son of Seqenenrā III, and he reigned from 23 to 25 years. He had probably served in the army before he became king, and in the early years of his reign he devoted all his energies to crushing the power of the Hyksos in Egypt, and to him belongs the credit of expelling them from the country. He left no annals recording his victories over them, but from the biographies which two of his generals inscribed in their tombs we learn that, following up the successes of his brother Kames, he began by attacking the Hyksos in their stronghold at Avaris. Aāhmes the general, a native of Nekhen (Al-Kāb) and the son of Baba, who served under Seqenenrā III, was with the king when he besieged Avaris, and was an officer on the ship Khāemmenefer during the fighting that

took place on the canal of Avaris called Patchetku. Having, after repeated attacks, captured Avaris, the king pursued the enemy into Palestine and besieged the city of Sharuhana (the Shārūkhen of Joshua 19. 6) for six years, and at length captured it. The inhabitants fled to the north, and another general from Nekhen, Aāhmespennekheb, says that the king pursued them into Tchah, *i.e.* Syria. How far he went is not known, but probably he reached the Dog River at Bērūt. Whilst the king was absent in Palestine the old feudal lords in Upper Egypt rebelled, and Aāhmes was obliged to return to Egypt. The rebellion was crushed with a heavy hand, and the rebels were deprived of their estates and holdings; and before the end of the reign the power of the older nobility of Egypt was broken.

During the sieges of Avaris and Sharuhana, Aāhmes, the son of Baba, performed prodigies of valour, and the king rewarded him with gifts of gold and slaves and an estate of four or five acres at Al-Kāb, and allowed his kinsfolk there to retain their ranks and privileges, and presumably their property also. It is quite clear that without their support and service the king could never have overcome the opposition of his countrymen and expelled

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the Hyksos. King Aāhmes was next obliged to crush a serious rebellion which had broken out in Nubia, and by employing the usual Egyptian methods he re-established the authority of Egypt in that country. On his return he found that another rebellion had broken out, but this was soon put down, and Aāhmes the general and all his crew were handsomely rewarded. Finally some of the Hyksos, under the leadership of Tetaān, rose up against the king, and these too were slain. Aāhmes reopened the old quarries and began to build the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and the temple of Amen at Thebes. He married his sister Aāhmes-nefertari, a woman of great ability, who was deified in later times and regarded as one of the greatest of the mothers of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. According to a tradition preserved by Manetho, Moses went forth from Egypt during the reign of Aāhmes I. There is no inscription extant saying that Aāhmes obtained great spoil from Nubia, Palestine and Syria, but we may be quite sure that he did, and that he was the first of the series of kings who made Egypt the richest country of the Old World by raiding and plundering Western Asia. The Egyptians did not conquer countries in order to better the condition of their people but in order to collect loot, whether described

as "gifts" or "tribute," and to gain control of the caravan routes, the caravans and the markets.

Aähmes I was succeeded by his son Amenhetep I, who reigned between 10 and 20 years. The conquest of Nubia had not been pushed far enough south by Aähmes I, and Amenhetep was obliged to sail to the south and crush a rebellion in Kash (Kūsh), *i.e.* the country between the Third and Fourth Cataracts, which was headed by the chief of the Anti, or "pillar folk." The king captured the rebel alive, and a fierce fight took place, but, like the Darawīsh (Dervishes) of a later date, many fled and escaped slaughter. For a short time the chief nobles of Nekhen acted as viceroys of Nubia and Kash. This campaign or raid was followed by an attack on the Libyans who had invaded the Delta, and then Amenhetep I marched into Palestine and Syria, and went so far north as the Euphrates. From these expeditions he obtained great riches, much of which he devoted to the service and buildings of Amen of Karnak, and he consolidated the priesthood of Amen, or Amen-Rā, the King of the Gods, and endowed their college handsomely. He was succeeded by Thothmes I.

Thothmes (Tchehutimes) was the son of Amenhetep I by the lady Senseneb, and he

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reigned about 24 years; on his accession he published an announcement of the fact both in Egypt and Nubia, and copies of the text of it were cut upon stelae at Kubbān and Wādī Halfah by the local governors. The chiefs of Nekhen were unable to hold the Nubian tribes in check, and Thothmes appointed a permanent resident official called Thura to act as his viceroy. In the second year of his reign he sailed up into Nubia with armed crews, and in the great fight that followed he speared the rebel leader and slew all his followers. He fortified the Island of Tombos in the Third Cataract, and set up there a stele proclaiming his power and the extent of his kingdom, which reached, he said, from the Fourth Cataract to the Euphrates. During this raid the natives of the First Cataract cleaned out the old canal which was dug under the VIth dynasty, and when Thothmes returned to Egypt he sailed through it with the body of the Nubian chief hanging head downwards on the prow of his boat.

The king's next expedition was directed against Palestine and Syria and the country lying between Kadesh on the Orontes and the Euphrates. The peoples of the petty states apparently offered little opposition, but there must have been a certain amount of fighting near the Euphrates, for General

Aāhmespennekheb says that in the "Land of the Two Rivers" (Naharina) he captured many prisoners, and a horse and a chariot, and 21 hands of human beings which he had cut off in the land of the Shasu. The other General, Aāhmes, son of Bāba, says that there was great slaughter, and that innumerable prisoners were taken; he himself captured a chariot with its horses and its charioteer. Such resistance as was made probably came from the people of Kadesh and their allies, the Aryan tribes who had made their victorious way into Mesopotamia. To celebrate his success Thothmes set up on the Euphratēs a stele to mark the boundary of his kingdom in Asia. The local chiefs everywhere gave him gifts of copper, cedarwood, etc., for these were the objects of his expeditions, and we may assume that he returned laden with "tribute" to Egypt. He devoted a portion of his spoil to the building of a pylon before the temple of Amen, and as this god was now identified with Rā, the foreign Sun-god of Heliopolis, he set up in his honour a pair of red granite obelisks, each about 76 feet high, which probably served the purpose of the old "sun-stones" in the solar temples of the kings of the Vth dynasty at Sakkārah. One obelisk only bears inscriptions of Thothmes I, the other proclaims the power of Thothmes III.

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These obelisks mark the introduction into Thebes of the symbols of a foreign god and an Asiatic cult.

Thothmes I rebuilt the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos, and set up in it splendid figures of the gods, and provided it with vessels, etc., in gold and silver. He was the first king to build a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and the figures of Isis, Nephthys and Nut, which are cut on his red sandstone sarcophagus, proclaim his belief in Osiris Khenti Amenti. Thothmes I married (1) his sister Aāhmes, the daughter of Amenhetep I and Queen Aāhhetep, by whom he had issue two daughters, Hatshepsut and Neferākhebit, and two sons, Uatchmes and Amentmes; (2) Mutnefert, by whom he had issue one son, Thothmes, who, according to the view of many Egyptologists, ascended the throne as Thothmes II on the death of his father. But some Egyptologists think that Thothmes I had, by a wife called Aset, another son called Thothmes, and that Thothmes I abdicated the throne when his wife Aāhmes died, and that their elder daughter Hatshepsut married her half-brother Thothmes, the son of Aset, and that they ruled jointly. This Thothmes is supposed to be the king who afterwards reigned as Thothmes III. For some reason he thrust his wife

out of the government, and reigned alone, and erased her name from the monuments. Then Thothmes, the son of Mutnefert, seized the supreme power, and reigned jointly with Thothmes, the son, of Aset, and further obliterations of Hatshepsut's name took place. When Thothmes I died, he was succeeded by Thothmes, the son of Mutnefert, *i.e.* Thothmes II, and when he died, Thothmes, the son of Aset (Thothmes III), reigned jointly with Hatshepsut, and when she died he reigned alone. The evidence adduced in support of this extraordinary view is of the flimsiest character and, in the opinion of the present writer, is based chiefly on the imagination of the inventor of the theory. The pioneer Egyptologists Hincks, Birch, and Lepsius thought that Hatshepsut and Thothmes II and Thothmes III were half-brothers and half-sister. But this was not so. It is true that Hatshepsut was the half-sister of Thothmes II, but Thothmes III was the son of Thothmes II by Aset. Therefore Thothmes III was the *nephew* of Hatshepsut, and not her half-brother. Some think that Thothmes II married his half-sister Hatshepsut.

Thothmes II succeeded his father Thothmes I, and reigned about 13 years. In an inscription set up in the 1st year of his reign he claims the overlordship of Nubia, the

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peoples of the Mediterranean, the Antiu and the Mentiu of the desert, etc. In his reign the Egyptians made the usual raid on Kash (Kūsh), and brought back alive as prisoner a Nubian prince, who was set under the king's feet. It seems that Thothmes II marched into Upper Syria (Rethen), and into the land of Shasu, where General Aāhmes-pennekheb captured many prisoners. In an inscription at Dēr al-Baharī mention is made of elephants and horses and the land of Nī. The appearance of the mummy of the king suggests that he was of delicate constitution and suffered from some skin disease, and that he was only about 30 years of age when he died. His building operations show that his officers succeeded in making Nubia and Syria send their contributions to his treasury regularly; and some of the oases in the Western Desert sent gifts to him as their overlord.

Thothmes II was succeeded by Hatshepsut (the Amensis of Manetho), the daughter of Thothmes I, and by Thothmes III, the son of Thothmes II. There seems to be little doubt that Hatshepsut had assisted in the government of the country for many years before her accession to the throne, which she regarded as her right in view of her descent from Aāhmes I, who expelled the

Hyksos from Egypt. Nominally she reigned conjointly with her nephew Thothmes III, but the monuments prove that during her reign of 22 years she was the real ruler of Egypt. She was a woman of great natural ability, and possessed the shrewdness and foresight that are now and then found in Oriental princesses. Her instinct enabled her to read men, and she was therefore able to surround herself with wise and capable counsellors. And as she had the sense, having once chosen her officials, to give them a "free hand," her schemes, which show her ambition and imagination, were by them developed and carried out triumphantly. The treasury was full, thanks to the raids into Western Asia and Nubia of her predecessors, but to carry out her plans and to use the means at her disposal wisely she needed above all things peace; therefore no warlike expeditions were undertaken during her reign. To gain the necessary power she married her nephew, and this done she assumed male attire, was represented as a god and wore the beard of a god; masculine nouns and verbal forms are used in speaking of her, and masculine attributes are ascribed to her. Only does she appear in female form when she represents the goddess Hathor. In the early years of her reign she sent an expedition to Punt, and

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her five ships went to the African coast, and apparently sailed up some river to an important town of Punt. Gifts were exchanged between the Egyptians and Parehu, prince of Punt, and when the ceremonious greetings were ended, the Egyptians came to terms with the Puntites, and then loaded up their ships with gold, *anti* gum, logs of ebony, tusks of elephants, spices, eye-paint, skins of panthers (?), and with dog-headed apes and monkeys. The expedition was, apparently, a great commercial success.

The greatest work of Hatshepsut was the famous temple, Tcheser Tcheseru, *i.e.* "The Holy of Holies," commonly called the Temple of Dēr al-Baharī, which she built in Western Thebes, and dedicated to Amen, Hathor and Anubis. It was 800 feet long, and consisted of three terraces, which rose one above the other, and was approached by an avenue of sphinxes, which led to the pylon, where two obelisks stood. The wall of the upper platform was ornamented with a series of reliefs illustrating her begetting by Amen-Rā, king of the gods, her birth, her enthronement by Thothmes I, and her expedition to Punt. The name of the architect was Senmut, and the Queen created him an "Erpā," or hereditary noble, and made him steward of the temple of Amen. It was he who directed the hewing

and setting up of the four red granite monolithic obelisks which the Queen added to the temple of Amen. The sites of one pair are unknown, but the second pair, one of which is still standing, were erected between the 4th and 5th pylons of the temple of Amen. These last were quarried at Aswān and transported to Thebes and erected there, all in 7 months, a truly great engineering feat; their heights were 98 and 105 feet respectively. Hatshepsut also built the little temple of the goddess Pakht near Bani Hasan, and restored many temples in other parts of Egypt. In one of her inscriptions she says that she tried to rebuild the sanctuaries which the Āmu, and the people of Avaris, and the "devilish foreigners" (*shemamu*),* who knew not the god Rā, had thrown down. Here clearly we have an allusion to the injuries done to the temples by the Hyksos. Hatshepsut made a tomb for herself in Western Thebes, but her mummy has never been found. The tomb was discovered in 1844, and excavated in 1904. The sarcophagus chamber is approached by a series of passages which wind in a nearly semicircular form, and descend to a depth of 320 feet; their total length is 692 feet. In the sarcophagus chamber stood two red sandstone sarcophagi, one for the Queen and one for her father Thothmes I. After her

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death her nephew had her name erased from many monuments.

Thothmes III, the Mispfragmuthosis of Manetho, reigned about 21 years as coregent with his aunt Hatshepsut, and about 32 years alone. The years of peace which Hatshepsut secured for herself were harmful so far as the foreign interests of Egypt were concerned, for both the Syrians and the Nubians had well-nigh forgotten the conquests in their countries of the earlier kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. When Thothmes III found himself sole ruler of Egypt he decided to embark on a career of conquest in Western Asia, and to compel the careless vassals of Egypt everywhere to acknowledge his overlordship and to bring gifts. And fortunately he kept a record of his campaigns, which is now available. A scribe or scribes accompanied the army and made notes, and in due course a summary of these was cut upon the walls of a passage in the temple of Amen-Rā at Karnak; and the biographies of certain of the officers of Thothmes III, *e.g.* Amenemheb, supply useful additional information. The Karnak inscription contains about 220 lines, and is the oldest and longest account of any battle fought by the Egyptians. It shows that Thothmes III was a great soldier and tactician, for none of his predecessors

ever had to face such organized opposition as he encountered in Western Asia. His first campaign began in the 22nd (or 23rd) year of his joint reign, and his last, the 17th, was carried out in the 42nd year of his reign, reckoning from the first year of his co-regency. In the 23rd year of his reign he set out from Thal, passed through Gāza and went on to Ithem, where he learned that the Syrians, and Shasu, and Kadeshites, supported by soldiers of Mitanni, had banded themselves together, and had collected horses and chariots and an army at Megiddo to oppose his progress. Marching on Megiddo he attacked the enemy early in the day outside the city, and defeated them, but many of the chiefs escaped to Megiddo; he then besieged the city, which soon surrendered, and he obtained great spoil: chariots and horses by the hundred, suits of armour, weapons, sheep, oxen, etc.

Thothmes III now undertook the conquest of Palestine, Syria, the countries of the Land of the Two Rivers, and all the country to the west of the Euphrates, the seaports of Syria and Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and in each campaign he succeeded in making a section of Western Asia tributary to him. In later campaigns he captured Kadesh, and defeated the king of Mitanni, and captured Carchemish, and received tribute from the

king of Babylon and the king of the Hittites, and set up memorial stelæ on the east and west banks of the Euphrates, one of them by the side of that of his grandfather Thothmes I. His spoil comprised gold, silver, lapis lazuli, a boatload of copper, etc. Whilst he was in this country he hunted elephants, and presumably slew 120 of them; during one hunt his general Amenemheb saved the king's life by cutting off the trunk of an elephant which had attacked him. During his last campaigns he seized the province of Anaugasa, and marched to Kadesh, captured the city, slew a large number of its king's allies, including the Hittites and Mitanni-ans, and so became king of Syria, the Land of the Two Rivers, and the land of the Hittites; and as the people of Babylon, Assyria, Sinjar and the neighbouring countries brought tribute, nearly all Western Asia became Egyptian territory. The king of Cyprus and the governors of the seaports of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and of many of the islands also sent tribute. One of the king's final military acts was to lay waste the whole country of Kadesh, and to destroy the cities of Tunip and Arkata; and, for the time, the descendants of the Hyksos and their allies were utterly crushed. The report of the victories of Thothmes reached the ends of the earth, and

the chiefs of the Southern Sūdān, Punt, Kash (Kūsh), Nubia, and the Oases of the Western Desert all vied with each other in sending tribute to the king, who, at the head of an army, apparently invincible, collected almost annually his dues in person.

The wealth that was poured into Thebes year by year was almost incalculable, and of this a very large share fell to the lot of Amen-Rā and his priesthood. The god now possessed not only lands and peasants to cultivate them but cities in Syria and Palestine, and slaves, and Amen-Rā became the richest god in Egypt, and his temple the greatest and most important in the land. Thothmes set up several obelisks in Thebes, but not one of them is now to be seen there. He set up four and dedicated them to Amen-Rā in the 42nd year of his reign; one of these was removed to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius, and a portion of it, about 50 feet in height, now stands there. A fifth obelisk was brought by the king to Karnak, but it was only set up and inscribed 35 years later by Thothmes IV; it was taken by Constantius A.D. 357 to Rome, where it was found in pieces by Pope Sixtus V, who rejoined the pieces and set it up. Thothmes III also set up two obelisks at Heliopolis; one of these ("Cleopatra's Needle") was

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brought to London at the expense of Sir Erasmus Wilson in 1877, and is now on the Thames Embankment, and the other was taken to New York by Commander Gorringe in 1880. Remains of temples, etc., either rebuilt or repaired by Thothmes III are found all over Egypt, but want of space prevents any mention even of the most important of them. All these testify to the great respect which the mighty conqueror paid to the religion of his country, and proclaim his generosity to its priesthoods. The greatest of all his buildings is the large colonnade at Karnak, 150 feet long and 50 feet wide; its roof rested on 40 massive granite columns and 32 rectangular pillars. In the rooms close by were reliefs sculptured with figures of the plants and animals which he brought back from Northern Syria in the 25th year of his reign. On the pylon that he built at Karnak he caused to be inscribed the names of over 500 countries, cities and peoples conquered by him. The temple to Khnemu that he built at Elephantine was pulled down by Muhammad Ali in order to build a palace for himself at Aswān. Thothmes's largest building in Nubia was the temple of Sūlb, which is over 520 feet long.

During the absences of Thothmes III from Egypt his kingdom was administered by a

series of able officials, the greatest of whom after the 32nd year of his reign was Rekhmarā. Under him the country of the South was ruled admirably, and the taxes were collected, and the royal revenues duly registered; his tomb at Kūrnaḥ is one of the most interesting ever discovered. Little is known of the acts of Thothmes III during the last twelve years of his life, but he seems to have visited Nubia in the 50th year of his reign, for the old canal in the First Cataract was cleared out for him to pass on his way to the south with a "joyful heart." He died a little before the end of the 54th year of his reign, and his body was mummified and buried in a rock-hewn tomb in Western Thebes. On one of the wrappings of his mummy a copy of Chapter 154 of the Book of the Dead was written, and in this the king says to Osiris, "Homage to thee, Osiris! Thy body exists. Thou didst not decay, thou didst not become worms, thou didst not rot, thou didst not suffer corruption or moulder away. I am Khepera. My body shall live for ever. I shall not decay, I shall not suffer corruption, I shall not moulder away." The walls of his tomb are covered with texts from the "Book of him that is in the Tuat" (Other World), and with several hundred pictures of the gods and demons who are mentioned in it.

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The sarcophagus chamber is oval, and is intended to represent the Tuat, and the tomb shows that Thothmes III accepted unhesitatingly all the beliefs prescribed by the native religion of Egypt. The kingdom of Thothmes III extended from the Fourth Cataract in the south to the Great Circle of the Euphrates in the north; he made Egypt the greatest and richest country of the world, and of three really great kings, Usertsen (Sen-Usrit?) III, Amenemhat III and Thothmes III, he was the greatest.

Thothmes was succeeded by his son Amenhetep II, who had been his co-regent during the last few years of his reign; Amenhetep's reign of 26 years was an unimportant one. As the tributary chiefs of Western Asia had not seen Thothmes III for 12 years, on hearing of his death they promptly determined to proclaim their independence, intending of course to cease to pay tribute to Egypt. As soon as Amenhetep II heard of this he marched to Shemshu-Atum in the Lebanon, where he met and routed the enemy. He then went on, crossed the Orontes and marched to Ni, where the people welcomed him. On his way thither he captured seven of the chiefs of Takhsi, and the chiefs of Mitanni hastily sent the tribute which Thothmes III had imposed upon them. How far he continued

his march is not known, but when he came to the end of it he set up a stele, which has disappeared, to mark the limit of his territory in Asia. He took back to Egypt 500 Syrian nobles, 240 women, 210 horses, 300 chariots, a great quantity of gold, and several tons of copper. Thus it paid the king of Egypt to collect his tribute in person. He sailed up to Thebes with the bodies of the seven chiefs of Takhsi suspended head downwards from his boat. Six of these bodies he hung on the walls of Thebes, and the seventh he sent to Napata in Karei (at the foot of the Fourth Cataract) to intimidate the people of Kāsh (Kūsh). He rebuilt the temple at Amādah in Lower Nubia, and set up both there and at Elephantine a stele recording his conquests. In the inscription on these monuments he boasts that "his arm was mighty," and that among his soldiers, whether they be chiefs of the nations who fight with the bow in the deserts, or princes of Retenu (northern Syria), "there is no man who can draw his bow, because his strength was far greater than that of any king who ever lived." It has often been pointed out that this statement is probably the foundation of the report of Herodotus (Bk. iii. § 21) that Cambyses was unable to draw the bow of the king of Ethiopia. The bow of Amenhetep II was found in his tomb

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and is now in the Museum in Cairo. He was buried in a rock-hewn tomb, where his mummy, lying in its sarcophagus, can still be seen; on the floor beside it are lying the bodies of the women and others who formed the funerary sacrifices when the king was laid in his tomb.

The reign of **Thothmes IV**, the son and successor of Amenhetep, was short, probably from 7 to 9 years. According to a legend found on the stele between the paws of the Sphinx at Gīzah, Thothmes IV went to shoot gazelle and lions in the desert near Gīzah, and the god of the Sphinx, Heraakhuti, appeared to him in a dream after lunch and promised to make him king of Egypt if he cleared away the sand in which the Sphinx was buried. He did so and became king in due course. In other words, the priesthood of the Sun-god of Heliopolis secured for him his accession to the throne; and during his reign he showed his devotion to the Sun-god by setting up and inscribing the great obelisks, 105 feet high, which Thothmes III had brought to Thebes, but did not live to set up. The obelisk was a form of the famous "sun-stone," which was the chief symbol of Rā of Heliopolis. Thothmes IV made an expedition into Naharina, and laid waste with fire and sword some of the countries through which he passed; and, like his predecessors, he

collected in person the tribute due to him. A considerable portion of this found its way into the treasury of Amen-Rā. He passed through the Lebanon on his way back, and carried to Egypt from there logs of cedar-wood for the sacred barge of Amen-Rā. In the 7th year of his reign he made a raid into Nubia and Kash, and, by the favour of the Sūdānī gods Tetun and Aahu, subdued all the Antiu, or "pillar folk," there and in the surrounding deserts. He put himself on friendly terms with Artatama, king of Mitanni, and wrote asking him to give him his daughter to wife. Artatama refused six applications by Thothmes IV for his daughter's hand, but yielded when the seventh application came, and he sent his daughter to Egypt. On her arrival Thothmes married her, and she is known in the texts as Mutemuuaa. Thus the king of Egypt married a princess of Aryan origin, and there is little doubt that she introduced into Egypt the knowledge, and perhaps also the worship, of the Indo-European gods of her father's house. Through this marriage the Mitannians became kinsmen of the Egyptians, and ceased to be vassals or tributaries, and the effects of it were far-reaching.

Thothmes IV was succeeded by his son Amenhetep III, who reigned 36 years. His

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mother was the Mitannian princess called in Egyptian Mutemuaa, and according to the legend which he had inscribed on the walls of some small chambers in the temple of Luxor, the god Amen accompanied with the Queen in human form and begot him. The only expedition of a military character which he conducted was a great raid into Nubia in the fifth year of his reign. The raid was successful and an enormous amount of loot was taken; many Nubians were killed, 740 were taken prisoners, and 312 hands were cut off. To celebrate his victory he repaired and added to the great temple which Thothmes III built at Sûlb in the Third Cataract. It was over 520 feet in length, had two pylons, two courts and two hypostyle halls; and Amenhetep III was worshipped in it as a god. As his father had entered into an alliance with the kings of Mitanni and Babylonia, the lesser chiefs paid their tribute regularly, and there was no need for Amenhetep to make raids among his kinsmen in Western Asia, especially as great kings like the kings of Assyria, and of the lands behind the western sea coast, and of Cyprus, were eager to become his allies. During the first ten years of his reign he often visited his kinsfolk and allies in Western Asia, but his principal object was the hunting of lions, of which he slew 102;

like his great-grandfather Thothmes III, who "hunted 120 elephants," he was passionately fond of the chase. When still a very young man he married Tī, the daughter of Iuau and Thuau, who was apparently a woman of great ability and character and highly esteemed by her husband; and her power was very great. The features of the mummy of her father, now in the Museum at Cairo, suggest that he was not a pure Egyptian, and in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, both he and his wife were probably of North Syrian origin. There is no evidence that they were of inferior social standing, or that Amenhetep, like King Cophetua, married a beggar maid. Notwithstanding his regard for Tī he married a sister and a daughter of Kadashman-Harbe, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), and a sister (Gilukhipa) and a daughter (Tatumkhipa) of Tushratta, king of Mitanni.

When Amenhetep III ceased lion-hunting and marrying Mesopotamian wives, and devoted himself to Egyptian affairs and the adornment of his capital Thebes, he corresponded with his wives' kinsfolk and the lesser governors in Syria, Palestine and Cyprus, on matters both private and public. They wrote to him in cuneiform, and about 320¹

¹ The tablets and fragments now known number about 360.

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of their letters, written upon clay tablets, were discovered at Tall al-Amārnah, in Upper Egypt, in 1888. These are now commonly known as the "Tall al-Amārnah Tablets," and more than 80, including the cuneiform draft of a letter from Amenhetep III to Kadashman-Harbe, are now to be seen in the British Museum. Envoys bearing these letters and despatches were arriving at Thebes continually, and the friendly relations that existed between Amenhetep III and his connections in Mesopotamia stimulated trade and commercial enterprise in every place. Caravans from all parts found the market for their wares, the ships from the Somali and Arabian coasts sailed up to Suez and unloaded their goods for transport to Mediterranean ports, and the products of the Islands in the Mediterranean, Cyprus, Crete, etc., found a ready market in Egypt. It is probable that Egypt never before or since experienced such an era of commercial prosperity. Merchants of all nationalities thronged her cities and towns, and while the foreigner learned much from the Egyptian, his influence on the manners and customs of the natives of all classes soon made itself manifest.

Amenhetep III now began to spend his vast wealth in making Thebes a beautiful city, and in filling it with great and splendid

buildings. He added largely to the temple of Amen-Rā, but some of the works that he planned to carry out there were never finished. He built an avenue from the river to the temple, and finished the temple of Mut, the consort of Amen-Rā, and dug a sacred lake close by. He joined the temple that he built in southern Thebes to the temple of Amen in northern Thebes by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes. On the west bank of the river he built a great temple, before which he set up the two Colossi, or "statues of Memnon," and two obelisks; and a palace which was richly decorated; and in the quarter that he set apart as an estate for Queen Ti he dug a great ornamental lake, and planted large gardens. Besides the great temple of Sūlb in Nubia which he had rebuilt in honour of Amen and himself, he built a temple at Sadēngah, a little further to the north, in honour of Queen Ti, who thus became the goddess of the Egyptian Sūdān. Among his many monuments must be mentioned the large scarabs, or models of the Goliath beetle, which he had made and widely distributed. They are usually made of steatite and are from 3 to 5 inches in length and from 2 to 3½ inches in width, and on the base of each of the series of five is cut in hieroglyphs the record of an event which the king wished

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to commemorate. The first records the names of the parents of Queen Ti, and the extent of his kingdom. The second (dated in his 2nd year) records a hunting exploit in which, within a week, the king slew with his own hand 96 wild cattle out of a herd of 190. The third states that he slew 102 fierce lions during the first 10 years of his reign; the fourth (dated in his 10th year) records the arrival of Gilukhipa, princess of Mitanni, together with her suite of 317 women; and the fifth (dated in his 11th year) records the digging of an ornamental lake at Tcharukha (in Western Thebes) for Queen Ti, and the institution of a festival when the king sailed on it in the royal barge Aten Thehen, i. e. "Aten sparkles." This lake was 3700 cubits (1850 or 2056 yards) long and 700 cubits (350 or 388 yards) wide.

The hunting expeditions of the king in Naharina appear to have come to an end about the 10th year of his reign, and the relatives of his wives and his vassals in Syria and Palestine saw no more of him in their countries. And in his occupations in Egypt he relaxed his hold on the lands conquered by Thothmes III; he was so rich, and the commercial prosperity of his country and the luxury of its people were so great that he seems to have thought it unnecessary to collect his tribute

in person, as his predecessors had done. He kept Egyptian garrisons in some towns of Syria and Palestine, but these were for the protection of his trading interests. In an evil day for Egypt he withdrew his troops from Sidon, and the vassals of Egypt were not slow to turn this act to their own advantage. In fact the decay of Egypt's great power in Western Asia began during the latter half of the reign of Amenhetep III, who had, in his middle age, neither the energy nor the inclination to undertake the fatigues of campaigns in a far country. It is possible, too, that he was a sick man, and this view is perhaps supported by the fact that during the last years of his life Tushratta, king of Mitanni, sent an image of Ishtar to him, most probably believing that the goddess would cure his ailment. The character of Amenhetep III is proclaimed by his monuments. He loved pleasure and a life of luxury. He was easy-going and tolerant in his disposition. He delighted in all that was great, striking or beautiful; fine buildings with large and spacious avenues, colossal statues, obelisks, gardens, elaborate metal-work, masses of gold inlay and plating, painted buildings, beautiful fabrics, rich jewellery, and everything that gives pleasure to the man of taste and the lover of music, dancing, gorgeous ceremonial

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and stately pageants. His wealth enabled him to be a generous patron of the arts and crafts, and he spent lavishly the treasure heaped up by his predecessors. His position required him to be a devotee of Amen, who had delivered the country from the Hyksos, but he was only half Egyptian by blood, and it is quite clear that his sympathy with the worship of Aten, a solar cult modified under Oriental influence, was wholehearted. His foreign wives and his cosmopolitan court and surroundings developed the characteristics that he inherited from his mother, and in every way he resembled more a benevolently despotic king of Mesopotamia than a Pharaoh of Egypt. He was buried in an unfinished rock-hewn tomb in the "Western Valley" of Thebes, in which the astronomical scenes painted on the ceiling are of interest; his mummy was removed to the tomb of Amenhetep II, where it was found in 1899, and it is now in the Museum in Cairo.

Amenhetep IV (commonly known as Akhenaten, Ikhнатon, Akhunaten, or Khuenaten) was the son of Amenhetep III and Queen Ti; he reigned about 17 years, and probably died before he was 30. He suffered from a congenital infirmity, which medical experts claim to have diagnosed. He married his half-sister, who was the daughter of a Meso-

potamian woman, and had a family of seven daughters; from his mother and his wife Nefertiti he learned the cults of various Aryan solar gods, and his object of worship was the physical body of the Sun, which he called Aten and regarded as the source and mainstay of all created things, animate and inanimate. He proclaimed that Aten was "One" and "Alone," which the priests of Egypt had proclaimed of each of the solar gods of Heliopolis 2000 years earlier. He called Aten "the living Horus of the two horizons, Shu in the Aten." In other words, heat and light formed his god; he said that whilst heat was in him Aten was in him, *i.e.* he was the god incarnate. He was determined to revive the old worship of the Sunstone (Benben) of Heliopolis, which the Egyptians throughout the country hated. Therefore he decided to suppress the worship of Amen-Rā and of the old gods of Egypt, to abolish the priesthood of Amen-Rā and to confiscate his possessions, and to make Aten the One God of all Egypt. He ordered the name of Amen to be cut out from the monuments, even from the cartouche which contained his father's personal name, Amenhetep, and as he had decreed that there was no god but Aten, the word for gods (*neteru*) was also obliterated. The symbol of Aten, invented

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or chosen by him, was a disk, from the circumference of which hung hieroglyphs meaning "life," and from the disk itself rays descended: at the end of each ray was a hand bestowing "life" on men and animals and on the earth itself. The idea of this many-armed and many-handed god was probably of Aryan origin, and after the king's death was not perpetuated in Egypt.

Amenhetep IV next began to build a sanctuary to Atên in Thebes, called Gem-Aten em Per-Aten, between the two temples of Amen, and this arrogant proceeding stirred up the wrath of the community. When the temple of Aten was finished, the anger of priests and people found vent in bitter quarrels, and probably in such deeds of violence that the king, perhaps fearing for his personal safety, abandoned Thebes, and founded a new capital at a place about 50 miles north of Asyût, which he called "Akhutaten," or the "Horizon of Aten." The ruins of this town are called to-day "Tall al-Amārnah," or simply "Al-Amārnah." He changed his name Amenhetep, *i.e.* "Amen is content," into "Akhunaten," which seems to mean something like "Aten is content," or perhaps, "the spirit-soul of Aten." He then set to work to build at least three temples to Aten in his new town, and temples to him

also in Hermonthis, Memphis, Nubia and Syria. He ministered in his temple as high priest for a time, and offered up bloodless sacrifices, chiefly of incense, and promulgated his doctrines, or "teaching," by the help of a number of followers who served under him in various capacities, and who were lavishly rewarded with gifts of rings and collars of gold, etc. For several years he occupied himself with the worship of his god, and in developing the arts of painting and sculpture and of every craft that could contribute to the beauty and adornment of the house of Aten and the palaces of himself and Queen Ti, and give pleasure to his domestic circle. The worship of Aten was accompanied by much singing and dancing, and musicians of both sexes, and acrobats of all kinds, found frequent employment in the temple.

Specimens of the hymns which embody the "teaching" of Amenhetep IV have been found written on the walls of the tombs at Tall al-Amārnah, and when we examine these we find that there is in them hardly an idea that is not derived from the older religious works of Egypt. There is nothing spiritual in them, and no expression of any consciousness of sin. But strong emphasis is shown in praising the life-giving heat of the eternal, almighty, and self-produced Aten, as the

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source of material well-being, happiness and pleasure. They contain no petition for spiritual wisdom, and no allusion to the hereafter. The king and his Court led a life of æsthetic pleasure and material enjoyment, whilst Egypt was in a state of social chaos; the worship of Amen had been destroyed temporarily and nothing put in its place as far as the Egyptians generally were concerned. It has been suggested that the wish of Amenhetep IV to destroy the cult of Amen was due rather to his coveting the possessions of that god than to his detestation of the great national religion of Egypt. He is not the only example of an Oriental monarch whose fanatical zeal for purity in religion was rewarded by the acquisition of great wealth. Amenhetep's "reform" is discussed temperately by Naville, *La Révolution Religieuse à la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie Egyptienne*, Strasbourg, 1924.

Meanwhile the hold of Egypt on Western Asia was weakening rapidly, and when the kings who were allies of the king of Egypt, and his vassal governors in Syria and Palestine, learned that Amenhetep IV had "turned priest," they made haste to take advantage of the situation. The letters found at Tall al-Amārnah enable us to see what was happening in those countries, how caravans were

pillaged, and Egyptian territory was invaded by the Khabiru and Hittites and others, and how loyal servants of Egypt were driven to despair because their warnings of danger were unheeded and their agonized cries for help to protect Egypt's interests were disregarded. The decline of Egypt's power in Western Asia which began in the reign of Amenhetep III culminated in that of his son. Vassal chiefs and governors gave up paying tribute to Amenhetep IV, and, as he was too weak or too indolent to enforce payment, Egypt's Asiatic Empire ceased to exist. A warrior like Thothmes III, or a mighty hunter like Amenhetep III, compelled the fear and admiration alike of Semites and Hittites and Mitannians, but for a religious fanatic, whose ignorance and obstinacy had reduced his country well-nigh to ruin, they had no respect. Amenhetep IV was in every way unfitted to succeed a line of warrior kings. His nominal rule was misrule, his attempt to reform the religion of Egypt was a failure, and the cult that he tried to thrust on his people was not only disliked but misunderstood by them. He was, unfortunately for Egypt, the victim of heredity and circumstances. Towards the close of his reign increasing physical disabilities, to which probably were added grief and chagrin, convinced him that he needed

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assistance, and he made **Sākarāteheser-kheperu**, who had married the princess **Meritaten**, his co-regent, and seems to have nominated him as his successor. **Amenhetep IV** was buried in a tomb which was hewn in the mountains about seven miles from **Akhutaten**, but his mummy seems to have been removed a few years later to the tomb of his mother **Ti** in Western Thebes, where it was found in 1909. It is generally thought that the mummy of the man found in this tomb is that of **Amenhetep IV**, which was brought from **Akhutaten** to Thebes by mistake; but some think it is not. If this mummy be not that of the king, the statements which have been made about his physical form and mental characteristics will need modification and perhaps withdrawal.

The reign of **Sākarā** was short and unimportant, but he seems to have been a loyal supporter of his father-in-law. He was succeeded by **Tutānkhamen**, who married **Ānkh-senpaaten**, the third daughter of **Amenhetep IV**, and was a follower of **Aten**, and when he ascended the throne he was called **Tutānkhaten**, i.e. "Living Image of **Aten**." At first he tried to perpetuate the cult of **Aten**, and actually began to build or restore a temple of **Aten** at Thebes. But, perceiving that his father-in-law's schemes of reform were impracticable, and that he could not resist the

power of the priesthood of Amen-Rā at Thebes, and of the priesthoods of Lower Egypt, he left Akhutaten, and removed his court to Thebes. And he substituted the name of Amen for that of Aten in his own name and that of his wife; thus his name became **Tutānkhamen**, "Living Image of Amen." and hers **Ānkhnesenpaamen**, a name signifying that she owed her life to Amen. In the fourth (?) or sixth (?) year of his reign Tutānkhamen restored the worship of Amef, and social order again prevailed in Egypt. He cleared and repaired the temples, rebuilt the sanctuaries, set up new gold figures of the gods in their shrines, restored to their offices the priests who had been expelled, appointed new orders of ministrants, re-established the offerings, renewed and increased the endowments, and spared neither trouble nor expense in reviving the temple services and pageants, and in blotting out the signs of the misery and ruin which the "sinful" Akhunaten had brought upon the country during the 17 years of his ill-starred reign. He brought to Thebes the singing and dancing women, and musicians, and acrobats who had been employed in the temples at Akhutaten, and having reconsecrated, or "purified" them, he appointed them to be servants in his palace and in the temple. During his short reign of about ten

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years Tutānkhamen seems to have made one or two successful raids in Palestine and Syria, and, as the Nubians brought him tribute of gold and the usual Sūdānī products, he was able to give gifts to "father Amen" as his predecessors had done, and so make atonement for his misplaced devotion to Aten. When and how he died is not known, but he was, presumably, buried, with a vast amount of funerary equipment, chariots, etc., in the tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, which was opened by the late Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. H. Carter in December 1922. The objects found in the chambers that have already been opened display a lavish use of gold leaf and blue-glazed Egyptian porcelain, and the style of decoration, the unusual shapes of the alabaster vessels, etc., bear many traces of the influence of the free and somewhat florid style of art that came into being at Akhutaten during the lifetime of Amenhetep IV. Tutānkhamen took pains to complete the splendid hypostyle hall of the temple of Luxor, and to add to it reliefs representing the celebration of the great festival of Amen of Karnak. He restored parts of the temple of Amen at Sūlb in Nubia, and dedicated there a new red granite lion in the name of Amenhetep III, whom he calls his "father."

Tutānkhamen was succeeded by Ai, a

“father of the god,” *i.e.* a priest, at Akhutaten (he had married Ti, the nurse of Amenhetep IV), and he reigned from 3 to 5 years. He seems to have been associated with Tutānkh-amen, perhaps as co-regent, for the names of both were found stamped on bands of leather in a tomb in Western Thebes. He was originally a follower of Aten, and even tried, after he became king, to continue the building of a temple to Aten at Thebes. It is possible that this act caused his downfall. Amenhetep IV gave him permission to hew a tomb for himself and his wife in the mountains at Akhutaten, but it was never finished and was not occupied by them; on the walls of this tomb one of the longest and best of the hymns to Aten is inscribed. But when Ai became king and ruled at Thebes he had another tomb hewn in the Western Valley, and a fine red granite sarcophagus placed in it. This tomb is close to that of Amenhetep III and is commonly called Turbat al-Kurūd, or “Tomb of the Monkeys,” because of the figures of monkeys painted on its walls. On the death of Ai, perhaps even earlier, Egypt fell once more into a state of anarchy, the descendants of the old feudal families tried to assert their independence, security of life and property, which is the first outcome of strong government, disappeared, and every

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man did what was right in his own eyes for a time.

But there lived in Lower Egypt a military commander called Heremheb, who had ruled the Delta, and had endeavoured to maintain Egypt's power in Palestine under Amenhetep IV. He was a native of Alabastronpolis, and he claims in his biography to be a son of Amen-Rā, who took his father's form and begot him. He seems to have been a kinsman of Amenhetep III, and to have attained to great power in the North under Amenhetep IV, and during the short reign of Tutānkhamen he was to all intents and purposes king of Egypt. During the period of the Atenite heresy he dissembled his religious views, but when Ai died, the priests of Amen, knowing that he was not only a follower of Amen but also a ruler of ability, adopted him as their nominee for the throne and made him king of Egypt. One of his first acts was to pull down the Benben house at Thebes, and use its stones to build pylons in the temple of Amen; thus he proved his allegiance to Amen, and at the same time gratified the priesthood of this god. Heremheb knew well that it was impossible to re-establish the power of Egypt in Western Asia, and he made no raids in any part of it. He sent the usual expedition into Nubia

where Amen had become the chief god from Elephantine to Napata, and built a little temple at Jabal Silsilah to commemorate the event. His actual reign lasted from 20 to 24 years, but it seems that some of his officials considered that it began at the death of Amenhetep III, and one document mentions the 59th year of his reign. But whether he reigned 24 or 59 years matters little; it is certain that he devoted the whole of his active life to the service of Egypt. After he became king he drew up a code of laws for the better administration of his country, and these show that he was a wise ruler, even though the penalties inflicted on evildoers included mutilation and banishment. He is usually regarded as the last king of the XVIIIth dynasty, but some authorities make him the founder of the XIXth dynasty. Whilst acting as governor of Lower Egypt he built a tomb at Sakkārah, from which came the bas-reliefs in the British Museum, but when he became king he had another hewn in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, where his sarcophagus is still to be seen.

From what has been said above the reader will have noted that under the XVIIIth dynasty the power of the king was absolute, and that literally he was regarded as a god by the Egyptians. The army was directly under his

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control, and the administration of the country was carried on by officials who were appointed by him and were responsible to him. The authority of the old feudal families and independent nomarchs had already, under the XIIth dynasty, been greatly diminished, and they, like ordinary people, were obliged to pay taxes and to give service to the king when called on to do so. The Law was probably administered honestly at Thebes and in the large towns, but in remote and outlying districts perversions of justice must have occurred frequently. The Egyptians then, as now, and like all Orientals, loved litigation, and the biographies of officials show that bribery and respect of persons were common. The Law was based upon the traditional usages and customs of the country; but new conditions and new abuses required new laws, and these were made from time to time.

It is impossible to calculate the revenues which the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty derived from taxation and the tribute of Nubia and Western Asia, but it is clear that they enabled them and the court and priestly officials to lead lives of luxury, and made it possible for the handicraftsman, cattle dealer, farmer and peasant to live in comfort. Side by side with the great material prosperity of the country, a great development of **Religion and Morality**

took place under this dynasty. Most of the gods of the Predynastic Period were worshipped throughout the Dynastic Period, in the early part of which sacred animals, birds and reptiles were given human forms. The Egyptian was always ready to respect the gods of Syria and Palestine and the Sūdān, but from first to last he clung to his belief in "father-gods" and "mother-goddesses," and in Osiris and the gods of his company, and in the beings who inhabited the Other World, as he conceived it. The worship of the foreign Sun-god Rā and the cognate solar gods who were popular among the medley of Asiatic traders and settlers at Heliopolis was never accepted by the Egyptians generally. The priesthood of Heliopolis forced the service of their god on the kings of the Vth dynasty, and tried to make Rā predominant in the Egyptian Underworld under the VIth dynasty, but in this they failed, and the Pyramid texts show that Osiris triumphed over him.

Under the Old Kingdom the Egyptians believed that man consisted of a physical body (khat), an animal soul (ba), and a spirit (aakhu); he also had an individual personality (ka), often called in modern books his "double," a mind (ab), a vital strength (sekhem); and his name (ren) and his shadow (khaibit) were also important parts of man's economy.

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The body was buried, and though the soul and spirit did not stay with it in the earth or tomb, they visited it from time to time. The **ka** lived on the spirits of the offerings made at the grave or in the tomb, and could be starved to death, but the soul and spirit were immortal and had endless existence. Osiris, a god-king, rose from the dead, and his body was transmuted and made incorruptible by the magical means employed by Anubis under the direction of Thoth and Isis. He became the god and judge of the dead, and his followers obtained resurrection and immortality through and by him. All Egyptian funerary ceremonies that were performed for the dead were the result of the belief that Osiris rose from the dead. The body that had been treated as the body of Osiris was treated was called a **Sāhu**, and became one of the beatified dead.

Apart from the "gods," the Egyptians believed in One great God, the Creator of all things, but they regarded Him as remote from all the affairs of daily life and unknowable, and they invented a series of lesser "gods," to whom they appealed for help in times of trouble; some of these were benevolent towards man and some malevolent, and the Egyptians made offerings to both kinds. They tried to gain the favour of the good gods and to

arrest the evil influence and acts of hostile ones by performing magical ceremonies, and by the use of amulets, and by the recital of spells and incantations. The earliest religious texts known, viz. the Pyramid Texts of the VIth dynasty, are a mixture of spells, incantations and words of power, which were written to protect the dead king in the Other World, and were arranged in Chapters. Under the XIIth dynasty selections of these, to which were added Chapters of a later date, were written in cursive hieroglyphs upon the coffins of men of high rank, who hoped by their use to gain access to the heaven, which, under the VIth dynasty, was believed to be inhabited by kings and gods only. The newer Chapters represent a higher phase of religious belief, due chiefly to the growing influence of the doctrines of Osiris, which promised resurrection and immortality to every follower of the god who had led a life of truth and sincerity upon earth. Everlasting life was no longer the prerogative of kings, and though magical ceremonies and amulets and spells were useful auxiliaries to the dead, only the righteous could hope for a place in the kingdom of Osiris. The other shadowy beliefs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms became definite in the period between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties, and this

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result may be partly due to religious teachings which had their origin in the East, and were adopted by the priesthood of Herakleopolis. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that the teaching of the Religious and Moral Code of Osiris is the foundation of the native religion of Egypt under the XVIIIth dynasty. It found expression in the great collection of religious texts which is now generally known as the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. This work was written usually in hieroglyphs on rolls of papyrus, some of which are 80 feet long and 1 foot 2 inches in width, and from these about 190 separate sections, or Chapters, have been collected. Some of them contain modernized versions of Chapters which are found in the Pyramid Texts of the VIth dynasty and in the texts written on the coffins of the XIth and XIIth dynasties, and a few of the Chapters (*e.g.* XXXB and LXIV) traditions incorporated in the Rubrics assigned to the Ist and IVth dynasties.

The oldest codices open with the scene of the Weighing of the Heart in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The heart of the deceased is seen in one pan of the Great Scales, and a figure of Truth in the other. Anubis, god of the tomb, watches the pointer of the Scales, and the Sūdānī dog-headed ape (baboon) of Thoth sits on the beam of the Scales, or near them, to make sure

that the heart is not "light on the Scales." But before this took place the deceased had to make forty-two categorical assertions, one to each of forty-two Assessors, that he had not committed the sins and offences enumerated in the Code of Osiris. His soul stood by ready to testify on his behalf, and his Fate or Destiny, and some internal organ of his body (umbilical cord? or perhaps embryo?) were also present, as a sign that he was speaking the truth. Thóth, the scribe of the gods, who had acted as Advocate for Osiris, having been told by Anubis and the Assessors that the heart of the deceased, which exactly counterbalances the figure of Truth, is just and righteous, reports the same to Osiris, who permits the deceased to enter his presence, and, on the recommendation of his son Horus, awards him an estate in his everlasting kingdom.

In the oldest codex of the Book of the Dead the text and Vignettes are written in black ink, and only the titles of the chapters are in red ink, but in later papyri, *e.g.* the Papyrus of Nu, the Vignettes are painted in colours, and the Rubrics are in red ink. The texts in the Book of the Dead are of various kinds, and consist of hymns to Osiris and Rā, prayers, spells, incantations, descriptions of magical ceremonies, magical formulas for

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inscribing on heart-scarabs, funerary figures, amulets, etc., descriptions of the divisions and pylons of the kingdom of Osiris and the Elysian Fields, and of the different forms that the deceased can assume, a plan for the arrangement of the mummy chamber, etc. All the great kings of the XVIIIth dynasty were devotees of Osiris, the Judge of the dead and god of the Other World, though they worshipped Amen, or Amen-Rā, as the god of this world, who gave them victory in battle, and the people made personal petitions to him. The Atenite schism, which lasted at the most about 30 years, and was only serious because its leader was a king, had no effect on the religion of the Egyptians generally. Even whilst it was in being men lived and died in the faith of Osiris, "who made mortals to live a second time," and copies of the Book of the Dead were made as usual, and the funerary ceremonies prescribed were duly performed.

Two other works also were held in high esteem by the great kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, viz. "The Book of him that is in the Tuat" (*Ammi Tuat*, i.e. the Other World) and the "Book of Gates," and some of them had extracts from these "Guides" to the Other World painted on the walls of their splendid tombs. The latter book especially proclaims

with no uncertain voice the doctrine of man's responsibility for his actions. He must give an account of the deeds done in the body on earth. The righteous are rewarded and the wicked are punished, either by being devoured by Am-mitu, the "Eater of the Dead" (a composite monster, part lion, part crocodile and part hippopotamus, which is seen in the Hall of Osiris waiting to devour the souls condemned in the Judgment), or by dismemberment at the hands of Shesmu, the executioner of Osiris, and destruction by fire. The doctrine of Osiris decreed annihilation for the wicked, but a belief also existed according to which the place of punishment was divided into "Circles," which were seven or twelve in number. The punishments inflicted in these on the souls of the wicked varied in severity, and the greatest sinners of all were cast into the nethermost circles, which were filled with fearful monsters of every kind and with liquid fire. On the other hand, those who were admitted by Osiris into his kingdom lived upon the "plant of life," and enjoyed the repose of the blessed; they were arrayed in celestial garments and were shod with white sandals. The plant of life was the plant Maät, i.e. Truth; it sprang from the members of Osiris, and the beatified tended its growth and ate of it,

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and so became of the same substance as the god, that is to say, the Living Truth. Osiris offered salvation, *i.e.* resurrection and eternal life, to every Egyptian, but at a price, *viz.* the observance of his religious and moral code and truth and sincerity in speech and act.

The preservation of the bodies of the dead by means of mummification was incumbent upon all followers of Osiris, who was always depicted in the form of a mummy,¹ and in the Book of the Dead his throne is always formed by a funerary chest, which suggests that certain parts of his internal organs were taken from his body and embalmed separately. The art of embalming attained its culmination under the XVIIIth dynasty, and the rites and ceremonies that were performed at the burial of a king or great official were never more elaborate. The body henceforward was never buried in the contracted or prenatal position, but lay at full length in its coffin.

¹ The word mummy is derived from a Persian word meaning a body that has been preserved by wax (*mūmiyy*), or from the name of some substance (*mūmiyā*) that took the place of wax in embalming. The Arabs borrowed the word and applied it to bitumen, pitch, tar, oil of bitumen, etc., with which they supplied the Egyptians for embalming purposes. The Syrians also borrowed the word, and from them it passed into Egypt and other parts of Africa and into Europe.

The brain was removed through the nostrils. The heart and other important organs were taken out from the body through an incision made on the left side and, having been mummified separately, were placed in four jars ("Canopic" Vases), with covers made in the shape of the heads of the four sons of Horus, who were called Amset, Hāpi, Tuamutef and Qebhsenuf. A special chest was usually provided for these, and it was drawn to the tomb with the mummy. The body was washed and cleaned and filled with costly spices, gums, etc., the fingers, toes, and limbs were bandaged separately, and the whole body was swathed in large sheets of linen. Amulets and jewellery were frequently laid on the body itself or inserted between the bandages, or placed under the final wrappings. The mummy was provided with two or three coffins, and these, laid one within the other, were placed in a large rectangular sarcophagus made of red sandstone or granite. The coffins, inside and out, were covered with texts recording the name and titles of the deceased, and containing prayers to the gods and goddesses of the Other World, and scenes in which are represented the deceased worshipping the gods, and the weighing of his heart, and his funeral procession, and pictures of the amu-

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lets symbolizing life (*ānkh*), stability (*tet*), strength (*utcha*), health (*senb*), the blood of Isis, etc. The coffins of the priests and priestesses of Amen-Rā were frequently decorated with coloured figures of several of the Seventy-five forms of the Sun-god Rā. A roll of papyrus inscribed with a selection of chapters from the Theban Book of the Dead was often placed in the coffin with the mummy.

All the great kings of the XVIIIth dynasty were buried in tombs hewn in the rocks of one or two valleys in Western Thebes, and here also are found the tombs of the kings of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, and of several great officers of state. These tombs are not sunk deep in the ground, but consist of a series of three corridors or passages, one at the end of the other, with side-chambers, and their tube-like characteristic caused classical writers to call them "Suringes," i.e. tube passages. The side-chambers of the first corridor were probably reserved for the use of the priests, and those of the second and third corridors held the funerary equipment of the deceased. Beyond the third corridor is the sarcophagus chamber, with its small ante-room, and in a cavity in the floor stands the sarcophagus. The corridors often slope downwards as they go inwards, and sometimes,

as in the case of the tomb of Thothmes III, a deep shaft is found between the second and third corridors, and this was sunk probably with the view of making the sarcophagus chamber inaccessible to the tomb robbers. The walls of the corridors and chambers are covered with texts and figures of the gods from the "Book of him that is in the Tuat" and the "Book of Gates," each of which was intended to teach the king to make his way in safety through the Twelve Divisions of the Other World. In these divisions are situated the Underworlds of the great cities and towns of Egypt, and as the deceased, who is identified with the Sun-god of Night, passes through them he addresses the spirits and souls of the dead who are in them, and they renew their lives and powers for a season.

The coffin and funerary equipment of the deceased, whether king or official, were transported across the river in barges, and dragged on sledges over the road up the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, to the door of the tomb. The procession was led by priests and professional mourners, who accompanied the coffin, and by musicians and acrobats, who amused the people whilst the funerary ceremonies were being performed at the door of the tomb. In one of the

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chambers of the tomb in which a statue or figure of the king was placed the priests recited the Book of Opening the Mouth and the long Liturgy of Funerary Offerings, and presented to it the heart and haunch of a bull which had been killed for the purpose, and food of all kinds, fruit, flowers, vegetables, the seven holy oils, eye-paint, scented unguents, apparel, etc. The formulas recited during the presentations of the objects were believed to give to the Ka the power to eat and drink, to think and speak, and generally to enjoy the offerings. In order to protect the deceased from the attacks of underground fiends and devils that might molest him, a cavity was cut in each of the four walls, and in each cavity a talisman was placed which would destroy all the powers of darkness that were hostile to the dead. The talisman was in the form of a mud brick inscribed with a spell; on the first brick was a figure of the jackal of Anubis, on the second a Tet, on the third a *shabti* figure, and on the fourth a reed(?). These are all described in Chapter CXXXVII of the Book of the Dead.



Map showing the course of the Nile from Dār Mahass in Nubia to the region of the White Nile, the Island of Meroë, etc.

CHAPTER VI

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY—SETI I,
RAMESES II, ETC., ABOUT 1320-1200 B.C.

THANKS to the wise rule of Heremheb and the impartial administration of the laws which he formulated, social order was restored in Egypt, and the country was prosperous. The new capital founded by Amenhetep IV at Khutaten was deserted and had fallen into ruins, the cult of Aten was no longer a disturbing force in the country, and Amen-Rā again became the predominant god of Egypt. His priesthood was, however, less wealthy, for their coffers were no longer replenished by the rich gifts with which the warrior kings of the XVIIIth dynasty filled them. When Heremheb died they chose as their nominee for the throne a man called Rameses, who had probably served under Heremheb in Lower Egypt, and may have been a kinsman of his, and he became the first king of Dynasty XIX, about 1320 B.C. Of the early life of Rameses I and the circumstances under which he ascended the throne nothing is known.

He was, it seems, an old man when he became king, and his reign was short, about two years. The fact that he began to build the large Hall of Columns at Karnak proves that he was a devotee of Amen-Rā. He was buried in a tomb in Western Thebes, and was succeeded by his son Seti I, who had been his co-regent. The name of the new king shows that he held in honour the god *Set*, whom the earlier Egyptians regarded as the god of evil. This god, who was worshipped by the mixed peoples of the Delta, was a Hyksos god, and his attributes were similar to those of several Hittite and Syrian gods of death and destruction. Seti also called himself *Merenptah*, i. e. "Beloved of Ptah," which proclaims his allegiance to the great god of Memphis. All this suggests that his father, Rameses I, was of northern and not of southern, or Theban, origin.

Having thrown off the yoke of Egypt about 50 years earlier, the Syrians and the Hittites now invaded Palestine, and being joined by the Shasu and other nomad tribes, they began to occupy the territory on the north-east frontier of Egypt. In the first year of his reign Seti collected an army and set out to fight the enemy. He marched from the fortress of Thal, defeated the Shasu, and then attacked the Canaanites, Syrians, and Hittites, whom he slew in large

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numbers, captured the city of Inuāmu and laid waste the country with fire and sword. He set up a stele east of the Jordan to record his victories, and then compelled the people of Lebanon to cut down cedars and send them to Egypt for the building of a new sacred barge for Amen. He returned to Egypt laden with spoil, and celebrated a great festival at Thebes, during which he sacrificed to the god a number of the foreigners whom he had captured. After a victorious campaign against the Libyans in the second year of his reign, Seti marched again into Palestine, and having besieged and captured Kadesh, he proceeded northwards, where he found an army of Mursil, king of the Hittites, son of Shubbiliuma. A battle was fought, and it is possible that Seti defeated the Hittites who were opposed to him, but it is quite clear that he did not overthrow the Hittite power. The most that Seti effected by this campaign was the restoration of the power of Egypt over all Palestine and the country northwards so far as the Dog River. Seti and Mursil appear to have decided that the establishment of friendly relations was better than warfare, and they made a treaty which remained unbroken until the reign of Rameses II.

Seti was now able to devote himself to the development of his country. Work was

renewed in the quarries in the Wādī Hammāmāt and at Silsilah, the copper mines of Sinai were worked, and he sank wells on the roads from Edfū to the Red Sea, and worked the **Emerald Mines** on Jabal Zābarah (a little to the north of the city of Berenice Troglodytica, which was founded by Ptolemy II, 275 B.C.), and the gold mines of Umm Rūs. Whether he worked the gold mines in the valley now called Wādī Ulākī is doubtful, but he certainly made a road from Amādah in Lower Nubia in this direction, and sank wells. He restored the temples, and continued the building of the great Hall of Columns ¹ at Karnak which Rameses I began, and added a series of reliefs sculptured with battle scenes. He began to build a funerary temple for himself in Western Thebes, and he built at Abydos the fine temple of Osiris which Strabo calls the "Memnonium." In this temple, he set up the list of 76 kings who were his predecessors; this is known as the Tablet of Abydos, and the first name on it is that of Mena (Menes). Seti died after a reign of about 20 years, and was buried in a splendid rock-hewn tomb in Western Thebes. His

¹ This Hall is 340 feet long, 168 feet wide, and contained 134 columns; 12 of these were 68 feet high and 35 feet in circumference, and 122 were 43 feet high and 27 feet in circumference. Some are still standing.

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tomb was discovered by Belzoni in 1817; its corridors, sloping downwards, extend into the mountain for about 480 feet. The paintings are well preserved, and, in addition to large figures of the gods on the walls, there are numerous astronomical scenes with lists of the Dekans, planets, the Cow of Heaven, etc. The texts contain the Litany of Rā, sections from the Book *Ammi Tuat* and the Book of Gates, and the Legend of the Destruction of Mankind. The mummy of the king was found at Dēr al-Bahārī, and was unrolled at Cairo on June 9, 1886. His splendid alabaster sarcophagus is covered with scenes and texts from the Book of Gates and Chapters from the Book of the Dead. It is preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and should be seen by everyone who is interested in the antiquities of Egypt; it is unique.

Seti I was succeeded, about 1300 B.C., not by his eldest son but by his son **Rameses (II)**, whose mother was Queen Tuaa; he was a devotee of both Amen and Set of Ombos. During the last years of the reign of Seti I Rameses had assisted him in making raids on the Libyans and Nubians, and he continued them during the early years of his own reign. These he commemorated on the walls of the little rock-hewn temple at Bēt al-Walī near

Kalābshah in Nubia. About this time he repaired and re-endowed his father's temple, etc., at Abydos. In the 4th year of his reign he made an expedition into Palestine and set up a stele on the northern bank of the Dog River, showing that he was master of the country and of the towns on the sea-coast as far as this point. He determined to disregard the treaty which Seti I had made with Mursil, king of the Hittites, and to attempt to regain possession of the countries which Thothmes III had conquered. The king of the Hittites summoned his allies from Naharina, Kadesh on the Orontes, Carchemish, and from the countries of the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea and the Islands, and made ready to meet the Egyptians in battle. The army of Rameses consisted chiefly of Egyptians, but it was stiffened with a large number of fine, warlike Sūdānī troops, and the Shartena (Sardinians); the Hittite army was probably larger than the Egyptian.

Rameses divided his army into four great sections, each of which was placed under the protection of one of the four gods, Amen, Rā, Ptah and Set, or Sutekh. The section of Amen was commanded by the king in person. In the 5th year of his reign Rameses set out from Thal, and about a month later, marching down the Valley of the Orontes, he came

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within sight of Kadesh, to the north-west of which the Hittite army was encamped. Whilst his soldiers were here they captured two men who feigned to be deserters from the camp of the Hittites, and who lied to them, saying that the Hittites were encamped to the north of Tunip and were near Aleppo. Believing them, Rameses and the Amen Division of his army crossed the Orontes and in all haste marched towards Kadesh, having no knowledge of the actual whereabouts of the Hittites. In his haste he and his staff pressed on without a sufficient escort, leaving the remainder of his Division and the Division of Rā some distance behind him, and the two Divisions of Ptah and Sutekh far to the rear, and encamped to the north-west of Kadesh, a position which had been evacuated by the Hittites. Two spies were captured, and under torture they confessed that the Hittite army lay on the east side of the city.

Meanwhile the Division of Rā was drawing near Kadesh, and that of Ptah was not far behind, but before they could reach the city, the Hittites in their chariots fell upon the unsuspecting and unready Division of Rā and cut it to pieces. A certain number of its soldiers fled northwards to the camp of Rameses, being hotly pursued by the Hittites

in their chariots. The soldiers of the Amen Division could not defend either the fugitives or themselves, and they too fled northwards to the camp of Rameses, who swiftly realized that unless he could in some way reach the Division of Ptah, he and all those who were there with him would be annihilated. Gathering together his staff and the few officers and men who were near at hand, he mounted his chariot and drove out to cut his way through the chariots which were massed about him. In one of his charges he drove the enemy into the river, and slew many of their officers, and many must have been drowned. Encouraged by his success, he charged again and again, and assisted by many of the Amen troops who had regained their courage, he managed to make a stand until the soldiers of the Division of Ptah appeared. These attacked the Hittites on the south, whilst Rameses attacked them on the north, and the Hittites, losing heavily, were glad to withdraw to the city of Kadesh for refuge. Details about the end of the battle are wanting, but one text says that it was renewed on the following day, and that the issue was so favourable to the Egyptians that the king of the Hittites sued by letter for peace, and that Rameses granted his petition. Having collected the remains of his army, Rameses

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returned to Egypt, sailed up to Thebes, celebrated a great festival and sacrificed prisoners to Amen, who had given him the victory, and then set to work to cover the walls of the temples of Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel with reliefs representing scenes in the battle of Kadesh, and with texts glorifying himself.

Allowing for the vividness of the Oriental imagination and the personal vanity of Rameses, it is quite clear that on the "day of Kadesh" he performed feats of valour such as the world has rarely known. His readiness, courage, boldness and pertinacity command admiration, for by these qualities he saved himself and all his army from annihilation. The Hittites and their allies must have stood stupefied as they watched his splendidly reckless charges, and felt convinced that the strength of Bäl (Baal) and Sutekh were in him, and that Amen was indeed protecting his beloved son on that terrible day. But from his splendid feat of arms Rameses gained nothing; Kadesh remained untaken, and the power of Muthenru, or Mutallu, king of the Hittites, and of his allies was unbroken. Their losses in killed, wounded and missing must have been less than those of the Egyptians, and they were better able than Rameses to replace the

chariots and horses and men and war equipment.

Soon after the return of Rameses to Egypt, the Hittites succeeded in persuading the chiefs of Palestine and Syria to revolt against him, and it seems as if some of those whose lands were nearest Egypt tried to invade that country. Three years after the Battle of Kadesh, Rameses again set out from Egypt, and succeeded in taking Ascalon and in laying waste the country far and wide, and he set up in eastern Palestine a stele to record his conquests, among which was the overthrow of the outposts of the Hittites. His successes induced him to make another attempt to repeat the conquests of Thothmes III, and there seems little doubt that he became master of the Valley of the Orontes, and captured Kadesh, and carried destruction into Naharina. It is clear that the Hittites suffered greatly through the Egyptian raids, and so when Muthenru died Khetasal (Khattusil), the new king of the Hittites, made overtures to Rameses, and suggested that a new treaty between the Hittites and Egyptians should be made. Rameses, realizing that the complete subjugation of the Hittites was impossible, accepted the suggestion, and a treaty was drawn up, and formally agreed upon in the 21st year of his reign, *i. e.* about 1280 B.C.,

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in the city of Per-Rāmessu in the Delta. This treaty mentions no delimitation of the frontiers of either the Egyptians or Hittites, and the practical result of it was to allow each people to keep what they possessed before the war; in other words, their fifteen years' fighting was in vain. Thirteen years later Khetasal, king of Khatti, visited Egypt with his daughter, and assisted at her marriage with Rameses, who gave her the name of Maaturneferurā, and paid her great honour. The peace between Khatti and Egypt lasted till the death of Rameses, who embarked on no more wars but devoted himself to the repair of old temples, and the building of new ones in his country.

The building operations of Rameses extended from one end of Egypt to the other, but the well-known vanity of the king induced the builders to inscribe his name wherever possible on the buildings of his predecessors. He finished the great rock-hewn temple of Abu Simbel, about 185 feet in length, which Seti I began, and set up before it four colossal granite statues of himself, each 60 feet high; he built the temple of Hathor close by it, and set up before it six statues, four of himself and two of his wife Nefertari-mertenmut. He finished the great Hall of Columns at Karnak, adding to it 54 columns; he built a

pylon, the greater part of the girdle wall of the temple of Amen, added a small temple and a colonnade, and covered the walls of many buildings with texts that proclaimed his bravery and might; and on one building a copy of his treaty with the Hittites is found. He added two courts and a pylon to the temple of Amenhetep III at Luxor, and set up there two huge granite obelisks, each about 80 feet high, and weighing about 250 tons. He built the great funerary temple, the Ramesseum (the "Tomb of Osymandyas" of Diodorus, and the Memnonium of Strabo), before which he set up a granite statue of himself, 60 feet in height and weighing about 885 tons.

Rameses lived chiefly in the Delta, and built largely there. He made Tanis a large city, and set up at least 14 obelisks there and another colossal statue of himself similar to that at the Ramesseum. He built Per-Tem (Pithom) on the old canal, which joined Memphis with the Red Sea, and the town in which he lived, called "Per-Rāmessu," which was practically his capital. He obtained the means for carrying out all these mighty works from the revenue derived from Nubia and Kash, which were now to all intents and purposes provinces of Egypt, and were ruled by Egyptians, and from the wealth produced

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by import duties and taxation. Egypt was once more an exceedingly prosperous country, and in its markets the products of all the countries of the known world were found, and foreigners of many nationalities thronged its streets, and many strange tongues were spoken therein. As the transaction of business required the services of men who could read and write, the profession of the scribe became one of great importance. Many schools were established and ancient works were copied and studied, and most of the literary texts that we possess belong to this period. Rameses made his son Khāmuast, the famous magician, his co-regent, and he ruled Egypt with his father for 25 years. Rameses was succeeded by Merenptah, his thirteenth son, who ruled for 12 years.

Rameses married many wives and had about 111 sons and 51 daughters; he seems to have thrust aside his elder brother and succeeded to the throne when he was 30 years of age, and as he reigned 67 years he was nearly 100 years old when he died. He was buried in a splendid tomb in Western Thebes, but his mummy was found at Dēr al-Baharī; it was taken to Cairo and unwrapped on June 1, 1886. Rameses was a brave and fearless man and a capable ruler, but after his 50th year he led the life of an

Oriental despot, and gave free rein to his vanity, and accepted as his due the praise and flattery which were in truth due to Khāmuast and his officials.

Under Merenptah I, the aged successor of Rameses II, the revolt of the Libyans, which had been partially suppressed during the last years of his father's reign, broke out again with renewed strength, and the vassal chiefs in Palestine threw off their allegiance to Egypt. In fact the rich and apparently great kingdom of Rameses II fell to pieces, never to be again united. Merenptah I marched into Palestine in the third year of his reign, and suppressed the revolt of his vassals with a strong hand, and laid waste the country with fire and sword; the description of his conquest of the Israelites and others has already been referred to (see above, p. 110). In his 5th year he had a rebellion of the Libyans on a very large scale to deal with, and after a battle which lasted six hours, Marciui, the Libyan king, fled, leaving behind him his wife and children, and his stricken army. The Egyptians obtained rich spoil, 120,314 miscellaneous weapons, 9,111 swords, etc.; they slew six of the king's brothers and children, 6,359 officers and men, and captured 9,376 prisoners, and returned to Egypt carrying hands and other

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members which they had cut off the dead. The Libyan king was dethroned by his own people, and another king reigned in his stead. Merenptah's name is found on many buildings at Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis and Abydos, and he followed his father's example in usurping statues, sphinxes, obelisks, etc., which had been made by his predecessors. The stele on which his now famous Hymn of Victory is inscribed was stolen by him from the temple of Amenhetep III. He died about 1225 B.C., after a reign of ten years, and was buried in a large tomb in Western Thebes; his mummy was found in the tomb of Amenhetep II, and is now in the Museum in Cairo.

The reign of Merenptah I was followed by a period of confusion and strife, and the exact order of the next three kings is not fixed. The first, Amenmeses, seems to have been a usurper, the second, Merenptah II (?) Saptah, seems to have been a nominee of the Nubians, and the third was Merenptah III Seti II. Their reigns were short and unimportant. Amenmeses was buried with his mother Takhat and his wife Bakturener (?) in his tomb in Western Thebes; Saptah was also buried in Western Thebes. With the death of Seti II Dynasty XIX came to an end.

CHAPTER VII

DYNASTIES XX-XXII—THE PRIESTS OF AMEN IN NUBIA—THE NUBIAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT—ABOUT 1200-720 B.C.

CONFUSION and disorder, which always followed the breakdown of the governing power, now seized Egypt, and once again every man did what was right in his own eyes. A certain Syrian who, whether he was called Aarsu or not, was certainly a usurper, made himself master of Egypt, and for many years private property ceased to exist. He and his associates seized the revenues of the gods and the estates and possessions of the landed proprietors, imposed crushing taxes on the commercial classes and oppressed the people cruelly. At length the priesthoods of the country found a man to deliver them and their people from the savage tyranny of the Syrians in the person of one Setnekht, who, as his name shows, was a native of the Delta, and possibly a Libyan and descendant of a family connected with the old Pharaohs. He

rose and slew the rebels, drove the Syrians out, restored the revenues of the gods, righted wrong, made social order once again to exist, and reigned over Egypt for about a year. He was the first king of **Dynasty XX**. As he had made no tomb for himself, he seized that of Queen Tausert, obliterated the reliefs and was probably buried in it. He was succeeded about 1200 B.C. by his son, **Rameses III**, the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, who had helped his father to right what was wrong in the country; he reigned about 31 years.

In the 5th year of his reign a confederation of peoples from Libya, and "the peoples of the sea," including Philistines and Sicilians, under the leadership of Tit, Tamar and others, attacked Egypt by sea and by land, and Rameses met them in battle and defeated them in the Western Delta. About 12,500 of their army were slain and their fleet was practically destroyed. Three years later Egypt was again threatened with invasion, but the attackers came this time from Northern Syria. They included men of Ketî, Carchemish, Arvad and Cyprus, but their finest warriors were the Pulesta, the Tanauna, the Thakaru, the Uashsha and the Shakalsha, and their land forces were supplemented by a powerful fleet. They overran Syria and Palestine, and as they

marched southwards towards Egypt, their fleet sailed down the sea-coast of Phœnicia, and their ships took up their places near the eastern ports of the Delta. Rameses and his army marched from Thal into Palestine, and his fleet sailed up the Palestinian coast. His army overthrew and slew the enemy on land, and the Egyptian ships captured or destroyed his fleet, and so both by sea and by land Rameses gained a glorious victory. For the first time in their history the Egyptians employed a fleet to support their land forces, and though the crews were probably mercenaries, the success achieved redounds to the king's credit. It seems that Rameses himself was present when his soldiers attacked the enemy's fleet from the land, whilst his own ships were attacking them by sea, and this fact suggests that the final sea fight took place in some port not far from Egypt. The result of this decisive action was that the Egyptians once again regained the overlordship of Palestine and a large part of Syria. Rameses claims on his monuments to have conquered Naharina, but this is unlikely.

Three years later the Libyans, urged on by the Mashuasha under the leadership of Mashashar, the son of Kapur, their king, made another attack upon Egyptian territory on

the Western Delta, and seized lands there and occupied them. Rameses marched out to meet them, and defeated them easily. Kapur was made prisoner, Mashashar, and five of his generals, and 2175 men were slain, and the Egyptians captured a large number of women and cattle, 183 horses and asses, 93 chariots, 2310 quivers, 603 bows, 239 swords, etc. Soon after this Rameses marched into the country of Amor, and besieged and took several cities, and captured in addition Kadesh (?) and a Hittite stronghold. He built a fortress in Syria, which contained a temple to Arien, and set up a statue of the god inside it; here the Syrian and other vassals were ordered to bring their tribute.* He dug a well at Āina, on the high road from Egypt to Palestine, and built forts or block-houses at certain points for the protection of caravans. He encouraged and protected commerce in every way, and his ships enabled him to develop sea-borne trade. He built a great temple to Amen (Madīnat Habū) on the west bank of the Nile, and beautified the temple of the god at Karnak, adding gardens, etc. His personal wealth was very great, and the list of his benefactions to the temples of Amen-Rā of Thebes, Temu of Heliopolis and Ptah of Memphis fills many pages of the great Harris Papyrus No. 1 in

the British Museum (No. 9999). Among other things, he gave to these gods 2756 images, 113,433 men, 490,386 cattle, 1,071,780 *aruras* of land, 514 vineyards, 88 boats, 160 towns in Egypt, and 19 in Syria, 426,965 water-fowl, 1,075,635 rings and scarabs, 2,382,650 sacks of fruit, 6,272,431 loaves of bread, 490,000 fish, 19,130,032 bundles of vegetables, 1,933,766 jars of honey, oil, etc., and 5,279,552 bushels of corn. The magnitude of these gifts to the gods shows how much he owed to their priests.

Under Rameses' III Egypt enjoyed absolute peace for about 21 years, and she became richer than she had ever been. A good modern parallel to this period of peace and prosperity is the period 1885-1905, when Lord Cromer ruled Egypt. Life and property were secure, forced labour was abolished, trade increased by leaps and bounds, all classes were better fed and housed than ever before. The hereditary enemies of Egypt, the Sūdānī tribes, were held in check, and the *ad valorem* import duty of 8 per cent. made the country richer and richer. The prosperity of Egypt has ever depended upon the firmness and justice of its ruler. Rameses III built himself the splendid tomb in Western Thebes which is commonly known as the "Tomb of the Harper" or "Bruce's Tomb"; his mummy was

found at Dēr al-Baharī, and is now in the Museum in Cairo. On his death the period of the final decay of Egypt began, and from about 1170 B.C. her history is little more than a record of her subjugation by the Libyans, Nubians, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Ptolemies and Romans. During the last years of the reign of Rameses III a conspiracy was hatched in the royal Harīm, the object of which was to depose the king and to set one Pentaurt upon the throne. The plot was discovered, and its ringleaders were put to death.

Rameses IV, the son of Rameses III, succeeded his father. During the reigns of this king and his successors Rameses V-XII, who resided at Thebes, the priests of Amen-Rā obtained very great power in Upper Egypt and they became the real rulers of the country. They levied taxes in the king's name and usurped the royal power, and at length, when Rameses XII died, Heriher, high priest of Amen, seized the throne (about 1100 B.C.) and reigned for a few years, and so was the first king of Dynasty XXI. The rule of the kings Rameses IV-XII lasted about 40 years, but some years before the end of that period the governor of Lower Egypt, Nesbanebtet, who dwelt at Tanis, was to all intents and purposes king of the Delta. When

Heriher proclaimed himself king, Nesbanebtet did the same, and thus the XXIst dynasty contained two series of kings, one series ruling from Thebes and the other from Tanis. Heriher was succeeded by his son Piānkhī, who failed to make his rule effective, and Pisebkhānu I became king of all Egypt. Pinetchem, son of Piānkhī, married Maātkarā, daughter of Pisebkhānu I, and when his father-in-law died became king of all Egypt (Pinetchem I). His son Menkheperrā succeeded him, but probably only after the short reign of Amenemapt at Tanis. Pinetchem II, the son of Menkheperrā, reigned at Thebes when Saamen succeeded Amenemapt at Tanis. The former was succeeded by Pisebkhānu II and the latter by Her-Pisebkhānu, and these were the last kings of the XXIst dynasty. The priest-kings lacked the means to build temples or to fight, and their rule was ineffective.

During the reign of the Rameses kings the tomb robbers began to break into the royal tombs to steal their gold sheathings and jewelry, and in their nefarious work they smashed the coffins and wrecked the mummies. As the priest-kings were unable to stop the work of destruction, they removed the royal mummies from their tombs, and having repaired and re-swathed those that were broken or

damaged, and added dates and docketts, they hid them in a tomb at Dēr al-Baharī and in the tomb of Amenhetep II. Under the Rameses kings and the priest-kings Egypt lost Nubia, the Sinaitic Peninsula and Palestine, and her territory consisted only of that portion of the Nile Valley between Elephantine and the Mediterranean Sea.

The first king of Dynasty XXII (which lasted from about 945-745 B.C.) was Shashanq, the Sesonchis³ or Sesonchosis of classical writers and the Shishak of the Bible, who reigned about 20 years. He was of Libyan origin and appears to have been a descendant of a family that had settled in Herakleopolis and was founded by one Buiuuaua. Leaving the paternal estate, he removed to Bubastis in the Eastern Delta, and proclaimed himself king. He made his son Auputh high priest of Amen, with the view of strengthening his hold on Upper Egypt. He marched into Palestine and captured and burnt the city of Gezer, whose Canaanite governor had rebelled, and gave it and its territory to Solomon, king of Israel, perhaps as a dowry (?) for the Egyptian princess whom Solomon had married (1 Kings ix. 16). In the fifth year of Rehoboam, who succeeded Solomon, Shashanq went up against Jerusalem and looted it. He

stripped the Temple of God and the palace of the king of everything, "he even took away all," and he carried away the shields of gold which Solomon had made (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26). His soldiers plundered Palestine thoroughly, but there is no evidence that he either wished or tried to reconquer Western Asia, although the names of places in Mitanni are found in the list of the cities conquered by him which he had cut upon the walls of the temple of Karnak. Shashanq returned to Egypt with much loot, and when he brought it to Thebes, and presented a large portion of it (which no doubt included the gold shields from the Temple at Jerusalem) to Amen, the priests and people must have hoped that it betokened a new period of Egyptian conquest in Western Asia. Shashanq began to add to the temple of Amen a great court with rows of pillars and a pylon, but it was never completed, and all that remains of it is a very large bas-relief on the so-called Bubastite Gate. Here Amen is represented leading rows of captives to the king, who is engaged in slaughtering his prisoners.

Shashanq was succeeded by his son **Usarken I** (Osorkon), who had married a daughter of Pisebkhānu II. Three of his sons held the office of high priest of Amen, and **Shashanq**

(II?), the last of them, assumed royal rank and position. Usarken I was succeeded by **Teklet I**, and he by his son **Usarken II**, who built a great hall at Bubastis. He was followed by **Shashanq II**, **Aput**, **Shashanq III** and **Teklet II**, but very little is known about their reigns. It seems clear that the followers of the high priest of Amen, and the descendants of Shashanq I at Herakleopolis and at Bubastis quarrelled, and that there were several claimants of the throne. In fact the disputes between the Theban's and Bubastites were as bitter as those between the priest-kings and the Tanite kings a couple of centuries before. Among the claimants of the throne who proclaimed themselves Kings of the South and North were **Usarken III**, **Pamai** and **Shashanq IV**. Of **Teklet III** and **Usarken IV** little is known. The exact number of the kings of the XXIInd dynasty is not known, and the order of their accession is doubtful. The views of Daressy and Gauthier on these points have not yet been adequately discussed.

The names Usarken and Teklet were, like the name Shashanq, of Libyan origin: Usarken (Osorkon) is not a form of *Sharrugina* (Sargon), and Teklet has nothing to do with *Tukulti* (Tiglath in Tiglath Pileser). Some think that "Zerah the Ethiopian" (2 Chron. xiv. 9) who

was defeated by Asa, king of Judah, is to be identified with Usarken II, and it is possible Usarken made a raid into Palestine, if only for the purpose of collecting "tribute" or loot.

According to Manetho, the first king of Dynasty XXIII was Petabast, a native of Tanis, but his name, which means "The gift of Bast," suggests that his original home was Bubastis. By some means unknown this man made himself king and reigned at Thebes for 23 or 24 years. According to some he was a contemporary of one or more kings of the XXIInd dynasty, and was succeeded by his son Usarken. The uncertain character of such information as we possess about the history of the latter half of the eighth century B.C. suggests that anarchy was rampant in Lower Egypt.

THE PRIESTS OF AMEN IN NUBIA, AND THE NUBIAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT

A new calamity, and from an unexpected quarter, was now about to fall upon the country. We have seen how the priests of Amen of Thebes had little by little filched away all real power from Rameses IV-XII, and how on the death of the last Rameses the high priest of Amen had proclaimed himself king. The rule of the priest-kings at Thebes lasted about 150 years, and though they may have

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been able theologians they were bad rulers. One of them assumed the title of viceroy of Nubia and Kash (Kūsh), but he did this solely that he might extort gold the more easily from the natives for the support of the priesthood of Amen at Thebes. The Nubians learned to know Amen in the XVIth century B.C., and his cult had been adopted by them, and in the Xth century B.C. temples dedicated to Amen existed in many large towns of the Egyptian Sūdān. When Shashanq I, the Libyan, deposed the Theban high priest of Amen and made his own son Auputh high priest in his stead, the priesthood of Amen withdrew to the large fertile province between the Third and Fourth Cataracts, now known as the Dongolah Province, and established themselves at Napata, probably between 950 and 900 B.C. Here they repeated the tactics which they had used at Thebes, and little by little they acquired power over the native chiefs and peoples. They first became their advisers, then their co-rulers, and finally their masters, enforcing their will as being that of the god Amen of Thebes, the King of the Gods and Lord of the Thrones of the World. There is little doubt that for about 100 years they reigned at Napata as they reigned at Thebes.

And when at length the force of circum-

stances compelled them to make the native warrior chiefs into kings, they managed to preserve sufficient of their power to set up kings and to depose them when they pleased. For no man could reign who had not been touched by the hand of the statue of Amen, which was, of course, manipulated by the priests. The high priests of Amen of Napata, the "Holy Mountain," taught their nominees that their kingdom included Upper Egypt as far north as Saut. And in the 21st year of his reign, about 721 B.C., Piānkhi, the son of Kashta and Shepenupt, the daughter of Usarken III (?), determined to make his rule effective there. The immediate cause of his decision was the news which reached him from his viceroy in Upper Egypt to the effect that **Tafnekht**, a prince of Saïs in the Western Delta, had overcome the opposition of all the chiefs in the Delta, and was master of Upper Egypt as far as Saut (Asyūt) and was preparing to invade the upper part of Upper Egypt and seize Thebes. He was supported by the chiefs of sixteen of the principal towns and cities, and servants of Piānkhi hitherto loyal were forsaking their allegiance to him. The Nubian generals Purema and Lamersekni were unable to quell the revolt, and they asked for reinforcements from Napata. Piānkhi sent down an

army, which defeated the rebel forces at Perpega near Herakleopolis, but unfortunately the ringleaders of the revolt escaped, and Nemlet, king of Hermopolis, took refuge in his own city, which he fortified. When Piānkhi heard of their escape he was furious, and set out without delay to lead his forces in person.

Having performed the necessary religious services at Thebes on his way down, and fortified by the assurance of the protection of Amen of Thebes, he proceeded to Hermopolis, where he took charge of the siege operations, and at length, persuaded by mounds and battering-rams, Nemlet surrendered. His queen and family entreated Piānkhi to spare him and his city, and Piānkhi did so. As he passed through the city he paid a visit to Nemlet's stables, and when he found the young horses emaciated and starving, for they had suffered sorely from hunger during the siege, he lost his temper, and with an oath he burst out angrily with words to this effect, "I swear by Rā that the starving of my horses cuts me to the heart more deeply than any of the abominable deeds which thy wilful wickedness has made thee commit." Piānkhi continued his journey northwards, and seeing that Hermopolis had fallen, the chiefs of Herak-

leopolis and several other cities surrendered and opened their gates to him. Memphis, where Tafnekht was, refused to submit, but Piānkhi, taking advantage of the high river, brought his ships alongside of the ships moored by the walls of the city, and his soldiers crossing them climbed the walls without difficulty, and dropped down into the city. Meanwhile Tafnekht had ridden off to the Delta. The Nubians slew a large number of the Memphites, but the property of the god Ptah was uninjured, and his priesthood received Piānkhi with due humility. The loot of the city having been divided between Amen and Ptah, Piānkhi crossed the river, and went by way of Kherāha (now Fustāt or Old Cairo) to Heliopolis, where he entered the sanctuary of Rā, and performed various ceremonies, as the result of which he was recognized by the god as his son, and therefore the lawful occupant of the throne of Egypt. Piānkhi whilst at Heliopolis was visited by Usarken (III) of Bubastis, his maternal grandfather, who paid him homage.

At Kaheni, near Athribis, Piānkhi received the submission of the rebel chiefs, and then visited Athribis, where Petaast, its chief, opened his treasury and placed himself and all that he had at the conqueror's disposal. Knowing

Piānkhi's love for horses, Petaast induced him to visit his stables, where he had collected a number of fine animals, and we may assume that Piānkhi selected some for transport to Nubia. Meanwhile Tafnekht fled to the Western Delta, and, having burnt his boats and all else, hid himself in some island in the papyrus swamps. Seeing that the garrison of the fort in which he first hid had been slain by Piānkhi, Tafnekht sent him a gift, and offered to swear an oath of fealty in the temple close by in the presence of an officer of Piānkhi. This offer was accepted, and thus Piānkhi became absolute and unquestioned king of all Egypt, about 721 B.C. He then loaded his ships with the gifts and spoil of Egypt and sailed up the river, leaving the chiefs to enjoy their independence locally and the populace happy. When he reached Napata he set up in the temple of Amen the massive granite stele, inscribed in hieroglyphs with the account of his conquest of Egypt, from which the above short summary has been made. A cast of the stele is exhibited in the British Museum (No. 793).

As soon as Piānkhi had departed for the South, Tafnekht renewed his efforts to become king of Lower, if not also of Upper Egypt, and having overcome the opposition of the

neighbouring nobles, he assumed the rank and style of a king of the South and the North. He reigned for a few years, being a contemporary of Usarken III, and his power was sufficiently great to enable him to appoint his son **Uahkarā Bakenrenef** as his successor. Bakenrenef reigned from about 718–712 B.C.; he is the **Bocchoris** of Manetho, who makes him the sole king of **Dynasty XXIV**. Nothing is known of him from the Egyptian inscriptions, but Greek tradition says that he was a wise man and a prophet, a codifier of his country's laws and a just judge.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NUBIAN DYNASTY AT THEBES, ABOUT 715-660 B.C.(?)

THE first conquest of Egypt by the Nubians was effected by Piānkhi, the son of Kashta (of whom we know nothing) and Shepenupt, the daughter of Usarken III. When Piānkhi returned to Thebes, he appointed his son (some say brother) Shabaka to be his successor, and compelled Shepenupt (whose father built a small temple at Thebes) to adopt his sister and wife Amenartas as her successor in the office of high priestess of Amen (*Tuait Neter*). It seems that when Piānkhi departed from Lower Egypt he left Shabaka in charge of the country, and that the Nubian prince promised to help Hoshea, king of Israel, or in some way showed sympathy with him, about the year 725 B.C., *i.e.* about 10 years before he became king. Shabaka must be "So, king of Egypt" (2 Kings xvii. 4), to whom Hoshea had sent messengers, but he was not king of Egypt when Hoshea sent them,

though he was no doubt the "Tur-dan" (Tartan), *i.e.* commander-in-chief of the army of the king of Egypt. As Sib'i we hear of him again in the inscriptions of Sargon, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.), where he is distinctly called the "Tur-dan of Pharaoh of Egypt." But such help as the Egyptians were able to lend availed Israel little, for Samaria fell, and Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser V, crushed the Israelites and their allies in the battles of Karkar and Raphia 720 B.C. Shabaka sent valuable gifts to Sargon, who henceforward regarded him as his vassal, and then fled to Thebes, where he consolidated his power and, according to Manetho, became the first king of Dynasty XXV, about 715 B.C. Meanwhile Bocchoris, the son of Tafnekht, was reigning at Saïs in the Western Delta, but his relations with Sargon did not please Shabaka, who straightway invaded Lower Egypt and burnt him alive. During the last years of his reign he conspired with Luli of Sidon, Hezekiah of Judah and other kings against Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), the new king of Assyria, and sent an army of bowmen with chariots and horses to attack the Assyrians. This army was commanded by Taharqa (Tirhākāh), a brother of Shabaka. But the rebels were defeated with great loss

at Eltekeh, and the Egyptian army was destroyed. Sennacherib first took Lachish and then besieged Hezekiah, whom, he says, "he shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem."

It has been generally believed that Sennacherib then set out to invade Egypt, and that his army of "an hundred fourscore and five thousand" were smitten by the angel of the Lord in a single night, and on the following morning were found to be "dead corpses" (2 Kings xix. 35). But it has been shown recently that there is no proof that Sennacherib ever tried to invade Egypt, and that no such disaster ever overtook his army. On the other hand, Mr. Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, has published extracts from Chronicles¹ written in cuneiform which prove that the army that Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, sent to invade Egypt 675 B.C., was destroyed by a great and terrible storm; in other words, that it was overwhelmed in the desert by a *habūb*, or sandstorm of exceptional violence. This being so, we must conclude that the ancient chroniclers confounded Sennacherib with Esarhaddon, and that the disaster that overtook the army of Esarhaddon was by them made to fall on the army of Sennacherib. Shabaka died

¹ *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London, 1924, p. 5ff.

about 700 B.C., having reigned in peace over Egypt for 12 or 15 years, and the baked clay seal found at Nineveh, and now in the British Museum (No. 51-9-2, 43), suggests that this was due to some kind of compact which existed between the Assyrians and himself.

Shabaka was succeeded by Shabataka, the Sebichos of Manetho, but his reign, which lasted about 10 years, was unimportant. He was succeeded (689 B.C.?) by Taharq, the Tirhākāh of the Bible, who is said to have regarded Shabataka as a usurper and to have slain him and proclaimed himself king. After the defeat of the Egyptian army by the Assyrians several years earlier, Tirhākāh, who had commanded it, settled down in the Delta, probably at Tanis, and sent to Napata and had his mother brought to Tanis, where he ennobled her. It seems that he spent the early years of his reign in conspiring with Hezekiah and his successor Manasseh, but the Assyrians made no attempt to invade Egypt until the sixth year of the reign of Esarhaddon, who succeeded his father Sennacherib 681 B.C. Esarhaddon failed in his first attempt to invade Egypt 675 B.C. because, as already said, his army was destroyed by a storm (and want of water).

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At length, with the help of the desert guides and their camels, laden with skins of water, he reached the north-east frontier of Egypt, destroyed its defences and routed Tirhākāh's army. Tirhākāh retreated with his army in all haste to Memphis, whither Esarhaddon pursued him, and the Assyrians captured the city and sacked it in characteristic fashion. Tirhākāh abandoned everything and fled up the river to Thebes, and Esarhaddon, knowing that before he could get to Thebes Tirhākāh would have fled to Nubia, did not follow him. The lords of the Delta submitted to Esarhaddon, and of them he selected twenty, whom, when they had taken an oath of allegiance to him, he appointed to be his vassal governors. As the general occupation of Lower Egypt was impossible, he left a small Assyrian garrison in each of their towns, and set out on his way to Assyria. Whilst marching up the Syrian coast he stopped at the Dog River (Nahr al-Kalb), and had a bas-relief, in the form of a monumental stele, hewn in the rock to commemorate his conquest of Egypt. It still stands by the side of the stelae which Rameses II set up to commemorate his conquests in Western Asia. On it, sculptured in high relief, are a figure of Esarhaddon, and figures

of Baal (?) of Tyre and Tirhākāh of Egypt bound in chains and grovelling at the king's feet. The face and features of the larger figure, which even to this day are easily recognizable as negroid or Meroitic in character, leave little doubt that the sculptor has given us a faithful portrait of Tirhākāh. Esarhaddon had another similar bas-relief hewn at Samallah, the modern Sinjirli, in Northern Syria.

Esarhaddon had no sooner left Egypt than Tirhākāh came down the river, and having collected a large force, attacked Memphis and took it, and slew the Assyrian garrison stationed there. It is possible that the little Assyrian garrisons in the Delta were destroyed in the same way. When the news of the Egyptian breach of faith reached Esarhaddon he set out at once to avenge the slaughter of his garrison, but died on the way to Egypt. He was succeeded by his son Ashurbanipal (668 B.C.), who promptly continued his father's campaign against Egypt. Tirhākāh made ready to do battle against the Assyrians, and the clash of the Assyrian and Egyptian armies took place at Karbanit, where, of course, Tirhākāh was defeated; and he fled to Thebes. The Assyrians recaptured Memphis without difficulty, and then followed Tirhākāh

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up the river to Thebes. Again Tirhākāh fled southwards, perhaps to Napata, and Thebes lay at the mercy of the Assyrians, but as its governor, Mentemhat, had submitted to Ashurbanipal or his Tartan, they did the city no harm. Ashurbanipal reappointed several of his father's vassals to their former offices, and added some of his own, including Sharruludari, an Assyrian, whom he made governor of Tanis, and having re-appointed Mentemhat governor of Thebes, returned to Nineveh. In a very short time Tirhākāh returned to Egypt, and made overtures to Nēkau (Necho) of Saïs, Pakruru of Per-Sept, and Sharruludari of Tanis, presumably by letter. The treachery of Sharruludari was promptly discovered, and he and Nēkau were arrested by his countrymen, who bound them in chains and sent them to Nineveh. On their arrival Sharruludari was probably flayed and burnt alive, or impaled, but Nēkau, having been arrayed in gorgeous apparel, and a ring placed on his finger, was sent back in state to Egypt to govern his city Saïs on behalf of Ashurbanipal. His son Psemtek was appointed governor of Athribis, and Ashurbanipal gave him an Assyrian name, Nabushezibanni. During the last year of his reign Tirhākāh associated with himself in his

kingdom a kinsman called **Tanutamen**, and died soon afterwards. In spite of the Assyrian invasions **Tirhākāh's** reign was beneficial on the whole to Egypt. He gained control of the wealth of the priesthood of Amen by making **Amenartas** adopt his sister **Shepenupt** as high priestess of Amen, and he spent a large portion of it on the temple buildings at Thebes. He died at Napata 663 B.C., and was succeeded by his co-regent **Tanutamen**, viceroy of Upper Egypt.

Tanutamen hastened to Napata, and was crowned, and then, in consequence of a dream in which he saw himself crowned King of the South and the North, set out for Thebes, and invaded Lower Egypt. When he reached Memphis the Assyrians tried to arrest his progress, but he defeated them and captured the city, and settled down there to rule the country like a Pharaoh of old. A year or so later **Ashurbanipal's** army marched into Egypt, and the king, who commanded in person, took possession of Memphis. **Tanutamen**, the **Tandamanie** of the Assyrian inscriptions, fled for his life, and **Ashurbanipal** pursued his troops and destroyed them. He went on to Thebes, and the Assyrians, having first stripped the temples of everything of value, looted the houses of the well-to-do inhabitants, and

then set fire to them. The destruction of the city was carried out with a thoroughness that was truly Assyrian. Her inhabitants of importance were carried off to Assyria, and nothing was left therein, but the mighty stone temples which the Assyrians had not time to pull down, and a mob of half-starved peasants and poor folk. The actual fate of Tanutamén is not known, but with the sacking of Thebes the rule of the Nubians in Egypt, which lasted about 100 years, came to an end. During this period the Egyptian priests who had settled at Napata died out, and the Egyptian officials who were resident in the country were superseded by natives, and the populace generally reverted to their old manners and customs.

The immediate successors of Tanutamén made no attempt to invade Egypt but devoted their energies to the conquest of the peoples in the great Bayūdah Desert and on the Island of Meroë. These conquests they, like the Pharaohs of Egypt, recorded in inscriptions cut in hieroglyphs on granite stelae, and it is tolerably certain that Amen of Napata received his share of the spoil brought to his city. They copied the example of the Egyptians, who were always trying to "extend their borders" towards the south.

And as Egypt overcame Nubia and Kash (Kūsh), so they by raids and wars terrorized the tribes in the Bayūdah desert and gained control of the caravan routes, which led by way of the town, the site of which lay very near to the modern Shindī (about 190 miles by the desert route from Napata), to the fertile lands on the Blue Nile. In less than 100 years the kings of Napata were masters of the great tract of country which is bounded by the Nile, the Atbarā, and the Blue Nile, and is commonly called the "Island of Meroë." Here on the east bank of the Nile, between the modern villages of Bagarawīyah and Kabūshīyah, they established (300–200 B.C.) their capital called Barua or Marua, the Meroë of the Greeks. •

Tanutamen and many of his immediate successors, e. g. Atlanersa, Senkaamenseken, Anlāmen, Aspelta, Hersatef, built pyramid tombs at Napata and were buried in them, and recent excavations made at Nuri have proved that they adopted most of the essential funerary ceremonies of the ancient Egyptians. A fine selection of the Ushabtiu figures and foundation deposits taken from them is exhibited in the British Museum. The Nubian kings, from the time of Tirhākāh to the end of their kingdom at Napata, assumed the

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titles of the kings of Egypt, and a great many of them gave themselves titles as King of the South and the North, and wrote these as well as their native names in cartouches. Thus we have Bakarā *Tanutamen*, Khukarā *Atlanersa*, Ankhkarā *Anlamen*, Merkarā *Aspelta*, Kaänkhrā *Nastasen*; the names italicized are personal. •

As Egypt was unable to continue her raids in Nubia there was little contact between the two countries, and little by little the Nubians dropped the use of hieroglyphs, and all evidence of the influence of the Egyptians disappeared. The earlier kings and rulers of the Meroitic kingdom built themselves pyramid tombs similar to those of the kings of Napata, and the walls of the chapels of several of them are covered with paintings copied from the Vignettes of the Saïte Recension of the Book of the Dead. The groups of pyramid tombs in the Island of Meroë are of different periods, and the objects found in them, especially the tables of offerings, show that the earliest belong to the second or first century B.C., and the latest to the second or third century A.D. The Nubians, like the Egyptians, believed that the soul (*Ba*) visited the body in the tomb, and on one of the faces of each pyramid, near the top, is a cavity, with a step before

it, on which the soul was expected to alight before descending to the body buried under the pyramid. Of the script in which the Meroitic language is written very little is known. The kingdom of Meroë came to an end about 250 B.C., and was succeeded by dynasties or families of Negroid origin, whose chief buildings seem to be the temple of Wād Ba-Nagaa and Masawwarāt, a little to the south-east of Shindī.

CHAPTER IX

EGYPT IN DECAY—THE ASSYRIANS, SAÏTES AND PERSIANS. ABOUT 663—361 B.C.

AFTER the flight of Tanutamén to his "dark destiny," or "black fate," Ashurbanipal was master of all Egypt (663 B.C.), although Mentemhat, nomarch of Thebes, did his utmost to maintain a sort of royal state and to repair the damage which the Assyrians had done to Thebes. Ashurbanipal made no attempt to assume the rank and titles of the Pharaohs, but, probably as the result of the unsettled state of portions of his kingdom, decided to appoint a viceroy over Egypt. His choice fell upon Psemtek, or Psemthek (Psammetichus), the son of Nekau, lord of Saïs in the Western Delta, who had fled for protection to Assyria when his father rebelled. He became viceroy 663 B.C., and during the ten following years succeeded in gaining power over the other feudal lords of the Delta, and in inducing Mentemhat to acknowledge his

supremacy. About 652 B.C., when Ashurbanipal was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with his brother Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, Psemtek managed to overcome the Assyrian garrison in the Delta, and, supported by the Ionians and Carians whom Gyges, king of Lydia, had sent to help him, he took the final step and proclaimed himself King of the South and the North, and made Saïs his capital. Thus he became the first king of **Dynasty XXVI**, the Saïte Dynasty. He had married Shepenupt, a descendant of Kashta, and one of his first acts was to make Shepenupt, a sister of Tirhākāh, and high priestess of Amen at Thebes, adopt his daughter Nitaqert (Nitocris), and transfer to her all the income and property of the temple of Amen and his priesthood. He thus brought the control of the wealth of Amen into his own family, and still further legalized his position as king. Psemtek I relied upon foreign mercenaries to protect his country and its commerce, and he established garrisons at Elephantine, Pelusium Daphnae, in the Eastern Delta, and at Marea, in the Western Delta. The natives were encouraged by him to devote themselves to agriculture and trade, and to copy the arts and crafts introduced by the foreigners. Under his fos-

tering guidance the wealth of the country increased enormously, and his commercial instinct was as shrewd as his political foresight was keen. His foreign mercenaries kept the country in good order, and the power of the native chiefs was everywhere curtailed or destroyed. Herodotus says (ii. 30) that 240,000 of the mercenaries at Elephantine mutinied and departed into Ethiopia, but this is incredible, though it is quite possible that a large body of mercenaries, acting on their own initiative, raided Nubia in quest of loot in the reign of Psemtek I. It was probably loot that the king himself sought when his mercenaries invaded Palestine and besieged Ashdod, which only fell after a stubborn resistance lasting some years (Herodotus ii. 157).

In the reign of Psemtek I the Egyptians began the attempt to revive the ancient glories of their country in respect of art and literature. Their wealth enabled them to build splendid tombs, decorated with bas-reliefs and paintings, and to put in them carefully executed statues of the dead, but their bas-reliefs and paintings, and even the funerary texts, were slavish copies of those which they found in the tombs of the Old Kingdom. The tomb of Petamenemapt at

Thebes contains long extracts from the Pyramid Texts, and copies of the Books of Opening the Mouth and the Liturgy of Offerings, and the sarcophagi and coffins are covered with texts from the works Ammi Tuat and Book of Gates. The Theban Book of the Dead was re-edited by the theologians, but in many cases neither they nor the scribes knew what the texts meant. They performed the ancient rites and ceremonies and chanted the texts that gave significance to them; and in this respect they are resembled by many modern Copts who pronounce the ancient language without understanding it. Everything old was carefully copied, the worship of dead kings was revived, and officials and others assumed ancient titles which were originally bestowed by kings of the VIth dynasty upon their officials who had served them well. But all Saïte work bears upon it the mark of the period. The statues and reliefs lack the vigour, force and character of the works of the Old Kingdom, and there is an over-refinement about them which cannot be mistaken. The Saïtes produced nothing really great or striking that was not copied from ancient models, and as there was no new life in such works the Saïte Period cannot be rightly called the period of the Renaissance.

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The clean-cut scarabs and scaraboids, the clever, life-like portrait-heads in green stone, the dainty shapes of earthenware vessels, and the bronze figures of gods and private persons, often beautifully inlaid with gold and silver, which were produced during the Saïte period seem to be the result of the influence of the Greeks which was then spreading abroad in the country.

Psemtak I died after a reign of about 54 years, and was succeeded (609 B.C.) by his son Nekau, who reigned for 15 years. Influenced by the fall of Nineveh, which, as Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, has proved, took place 612 B.C., Nekau set out to invade Palestine and Syria, and intended to do battle with the Assyrians at Carchemish. On his way he was met by Josiah, king of Judah, who went out and fought against him at Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20), but Josiah was wounded by an Egyptian archer and died, and his army was routed. Thus Nekau was left master of the country, and he deposed Jehoahaz and made Eliakim (Jehoiakim) king of Judah in his stead. About four years later Nabupalusur, king of Babylon, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar (II) to drive Nekau out of Syria. A fierce battle was fought at Carchemish, Nekau was de-

feated with great slaughter, and he and his army fled to Egypt, pursued by Nebuchadnezzar, who did not invade Egypt, for the news of his father's death reached him at this time (604 B.C.). The rule of the Babylonians was accepted everywhere, and Jehoiakim, king of Judah, Nekau's vassal, paid tribute to Nebuchadnezzar for three years. Nekau, after his crushing defeat, devoted himself to the development of the trade of his country, and maintained fleets of merchant ships in the Mediterranean and Red Sea. He tried to extend the old canal, which ran from Pelusium to Lake Timsah, to the Gulf of Suez, and is said to have sacrificed 120,000 men in digging the new portion. But when an oracle declared that he was only toiling for the foreigners he ceased digging, and the work remained uncompleted. Diodorus states that the canal was not finished because it was believed that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean, and Nekau feared that the Delta would be submerged. The belief mentioned by Diodorus held its ground until General F. R. Chesney (1789-1872) proved the contrary, and M. de Lesseps admitted that it was Chesney's *Report* that made him decide to construct the Suez Canal. During the reign of Nekau

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an exploring party of sailors sailed round Africa. Some years ago two large scarabs inscribed with a hieroglyphic text recording this fact were offered for purchase to the British Museum, but were promptly rejected by the authorities on the ground that they were forgeries. They were purchased by another museum, but it was subsequently proved that the inscriptions were composed by a well-known Egyptologist, and the vendor was punished. *

Nekau was succeeded by Psemtek II, who reigned from 593-588 B.C., and made an attempt to conquer Nubia. His troops reached Abu Simbel, and left a record of their expedition cut in Greek on a leg of one of the colossal statues of Rameses II. This states that when Psammetichos came to Elephantine, Archon, son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos, son of Oudamos (nobody), * and Psammetichos, son of Theokles, went as far as the river would let them, *i. e.* to Kerkis. The Greek and Carian mercenaries were led by Potasimto, and the Egyptian soldiers by Amasis. There is no doubt that Psemtek II went to Elephantine, but his expedition failed to conquer Nubia, which never formed part of his kingdom. In order to tighten his hold upon the revenues of Amen of Thebes, he

caused his daughter Ankhnesneferabrā to be adopted by Nitocris, the daughter of Psemtek I, and she became the high priestess of Amen and the recipient of all the wealth of the god.

Psemtek II was succeeded by his kinsman Hāāabrā Uahabrā (the Pharaoh Hophra of Jeremiah xlv. 30, the Ouaphris of Manetho, and the Apriēs of Greek writers generally), who reigned from 588–566 B.C. He attacked the cities of Phœnicia, and took Sidon, and his fleet captured Tyre and Cyprus (Herodotus ii. 161). On his return to Egypt he marched to Jerusalem, which was being besieged by Nebuchadnezzar II, but when the Babylonian army advanced from Riblah on the Orontes to press the siege, Apriēs retreated to Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, and carried Zedekiah to Riblah, where his sons were slain before him and his eyes were put out. Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah as governor of Jerusalem, but he was murdered by Ishmael and his ten men (2 Kings xxv. 25), and “all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the armies, arose, and came to Egypt” (2 Kings xxv. 26), and Apriēs allowed them to settle at “Migdol, and at Tahpanhes [Daphnai, the modern Tall Dafannah], and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros”

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(Jer. xlv. 1). That the Jews had many settlements in Egypt in the first half of the VIth century B.C. is proved by the papyri found at Elephantine, the Sewēnēh (Aswān, Syene) of Ezek. xxix. 10. Apriēs made no further attempt to invade Phœnicia, and was wise enough to send help to Tyre, which fell after a siege of thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar. He devoted himself henceforward to the development of his kingdom, and Egypt continued to wāx wealthy. His foreign mercenaries gave him trouble from time to time, but he ruled successfully until he attempted to help the Libyan chief Adikran against the people of Cyrene, who were seizing portions of his territory. The troops that Apriēs sent to fight against the Cyrenæans were destroyed, and a serious rebellion broke out in Egypt in consequence, for the people declared that Apriēs had intended them to be slain. Apriēs sent a general called Aāhmes (Amāsis) to put down the rebellion, and he acted with such astuteness that the rebels proclaimed him king; in the end he became co-regent with Apriēs. Three years later Apriēs collected an army of mercenaries and attacked Amasis, but was defeated, and was either strangled at the instigation of Amasis, or murdered by the crew of the boat in the

cabin of which he was sleeping. Amasis recovered his body and gave him honourable burial.

The most important work of Aāhmes II, who reigned from 569–526 B.C., was the founding of the city of Naukratis, where alone in the Delta he allowed Greek merchants to trade and carry on business. Its site was near the mouth of the Canopic arm of the Nile in the Western Delta, and the city probably took the place of an older native trading settlement, just as in later days Alexandria absorbed Rakoti. According to some it is represented by the ruins found at Al-Nabīrah. Naukratis was at once a market for Greek produce and a manufactory of Greek wares. Greek craftsmen flocked to the new city, and in a very short time it became a flourishing trade centre. Temples to Greek gods were erected, and its great municipal hall, the Helleneion, was built at the cost of the Greek states whose citizens traded in or with Naukratis. Its population was increased by the merchants and others who had formerly lived at Daphnai, and Greek travellers of all kinds made it their second home. Everything that Aāhmes could do to help the Greeks he did, and in some respects he was more Greek than they. Apart from the advantages

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which Egypt gained generally from the Greeks, he saw that it was of vital importance for him to keep the goodwill and friendship of all the great rulers of neighbouring Greek States, for he might need their help in resisting any attack which the Persians, who were now the masters of Western Asia, should see fit to make. The Egyptian inscriptions supply very little information about Aāhmes, but the monuments show that he repaired many of the sanctuaries of Egypt. He did a little work at Karnak, and restored the temple of Osiris at Abydos, and he seems to have made the famous figure of Osiris on his bier, which was excavated there by Amélineau. He added to the temples of Ptah at Memphis and Bast at Bubastis, and dedicated shrines to Osiris at Athribis and Thmuis. He made a new court for the temple of Neith at Saïs, and placed in it statues and sphinxes, and a granite shrine which was 30 feet high, 11 feet wide, and 24 feet long.

Aāhmes II was succeeded by his son Psemtek III, who reigned for about six months. He sent his troops to Pelusium to arrest the progress of Cambyses, who had determined to invade Egypt, but the Egyptians were almost annihilated, and the remnant of the army fled to Memphis for safety. An

envoy, sent by Cambyses to demand the submission of Psemtek, and the crew of his boat were torn limb from limb, whereupon Cambyses appeared in person and took exemplary vengeance on the Egyptians. Psemtek III was banished to Asia, where he soon either died or was murdered. Thus perished the last king of the XXVIth dynasty, and Egypt became, like Babylonia and Assyria, a Satrapy of the Persian Empire.

THE PERSIANS IN EGYPT

When Cambyses, whom Manetho makes the first king of Dynasty XXVII (Persian), had slain ten men for every member of his embassy whom the Egyptians had murdered, he went to Saïs, the capital of the kings of the XXVIth dynasty, and, according to Herodotus (iii. 16), entered the tomb of Aähmes II, and treated his mummy with great indignity. Among those who came to pay homage to him was Utchaherresenet, a royal kinsman, who had the titles of Erpā and Haā and Smer-uāt, and had been the keeper of the king's seal. This astute official succeeded in interesting Cambyses in the history of the city, and showed him that it was the seat of Neith, who as a virgin goddess had brought forth Rā the Sun-god, and was the home of all the gods

and the counterpart of heaven. In reply Cambyses ordered the temple to be cleared of all the foreigners who had settled in it, and reconsecrated it, and restored its revenues and all the temple services. He went to the temple when these things had been done, and performed an act of worship there, and poured out a libation to Neith. This done, he made Utchaherresenet his almoner, and this man was a true friend of the poor and a protector of the people. This incident shows that to Cambyses one god was much the same as another, and illustrates the policy of religious toleration which the Persians adopted consistently.

Having conquered Egypt, Cambyses determined to send out expeditions against the people of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon (Sīwāh), the Carthaginians and the Nubians. His plans for an attack upon Carthage by sea failed, and he sent his army up to Thebes, apparently with an ill-managed commissariat. One portion of it, consisting of about 50,000 men, was ordered to march to the Oasis of Sīwāh and to burn down the temple and enslave the inhabitants. They set out and in seven days reached the Oasis of Khārgah (the Great Oasis), which lies nearly due west of Thebes. They resumed their march, prob-

ably by the route that passed through the Oases of Dākhlah, Farāfrah and Bahriyah, but were overwhelmed by a terrible sandstorm (*habūb*), and were never more heard of. The number 50,000 must be heavily discounted, but the story is undoubtedly true, as every one who knows by experience the destructive power of the *habūb*, and has seen the moving sandhills of the Western Desert, will admit. The other portion of the army of Cambyses set out for Nubia, presumably with the view of capturing Napata, and the statements of Strabo (XVII. I. § 5) and Diodorus (i. 33) suggest that he went as far as the city of Meroë. But this is doubtful, for in a short time the soldiers were obliged to eat their transport animals, and were faced with starvation. Then Cambyses realized the hopelessness of his task, and gathering together the poor remnant of his army returned to Memphis; once again the desert had defeated his plans of conquest. An inscription on the stele of the Nubian king Nastasen, in Berlin (No. 2268), states that the "Chief Kambasuten" came to attack him, and that he sent out his bowmen from Tchart, who fell upon him and defeated him with great slaughter, and captured his weapons (?) and boats. Opinions differ about the date of the reign of Nastasen,

some authorities making him a contemporary of Cambyses, and others placing his reign in the IIIrd or IIInd century B.C. But both the stele and the inscription must be older than the IIIrd century B.C., and it is most probable that the "Chief Kambasuten" really represents Cambyses. Greek writers say that Cambyses was an epileptic (Herodotus iii. 33), and was seized from time to time with fits of insanity, during which he perpetrated many cruel acts. He is said to have died or committed suicide (521 B.C.) at Damascus when on his way to suppress the revolt which had broken out in Persia under the leadership of Gaumāta, the false Bardiya or Smerdis. On leaving Egypt Cambyses made Aryandes satrap over the country.

Immediately after he had murdered Gaumāta, Darius (in Egyptian Antriush) the Great, the son of Hystaspes, was proclaimed king; he reigned from 521-485 B.C. He invaded Egypt about 517-16 B.C., and caused Aryandes the satrap to be slain, because he had attempted to make himself the equal of Darius. He assumed the rank and titles of the Pharaohs, and placed his name, transcribed into hieroglyphs, within a cartouche, and called himself "son of Rā." He sent for the old official Utchaherresenet at Saïs

and commanded him to establish a school in which boys might be educated for the priesthood, and showed his toleration of the worship of the gods in every way possible. He conversed with the priests and studied their theology and writings, and his justice caused him to be regarded as one of the six great lawgivers of Egypt. He repaired the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and built a large sandstone temple to Amen in the Oasis of Khārgah, now known as the "temple of Hibis." It has three pylons, which are 34, 96 and 117 metres respectively distant from the temple, which is 44 metres long and 18 metres broad, and is oriented to the east. The walls of the sanctuary and of two chambers are covered with reliefs and inscriptions, the finest being in the sanctuary. Among the texts is a fine hymn to Amen as the One God, which is placed in the mouth of the Eight Gods of Hermopolis, Nu, Nut, Hehu, Hehit, Keku, Kekit, Kerh and Kerhit. This God is said to be self-produced; he was neither begotten nor born, but sprang from primeval matter; he is without similitude or counterpart, he dwells in the Sun, he shines from the Sun and Moon, he gives life to the living and the dead, and carries heaven on his head.

Darius encouraged commerce, and intro-

duced a stamped coinage, and completed the canal that joined the Nile and the Red Sea. He caused a cuneiform inscription in three languages, Persian, Susian, and Babylonian, to be cut upon the face of a rock overlooking the high road from Persia into Mesopotamia, and in it he gives a full description of his conquests; in the striking bas-relief we see the Great King with a row of his prisoners fettered before him. This inscription was first translated by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, and is now known as the "Bihistūn, (or Bisitūn) Inscription." About one year before the death of Darius a rebellion, headed by Khabash, or Khabbasha, broke out in Egypt; Darius prepared to crush it, but died before he was ready to set out. Of this Khabash very little is known, but he was probably a descendant of some Saite prince who watched his opportunity and, when war broke out between the Persians and Greeks, proclaimed himself king. He was a votary of Ptah of Memphis, and was a benefactor of the double city of Per-Uatchit (Pe and Tep). He assumed the rank and titles of the Pharaohs and probably reigned one or two years. He was a man of wealth, for he provided the sarcophagus in which the Apis Bull was buried in the 31st year of the reign of Darius.

Darius I was succeeded by his son Xerxes (in Egyptian Khshaiarsh) the Great, who reigned from 485-465 B.C. He made his brother Akhaemenes satrap of Egypt, and reduced the people to a state of slavery. He robbed the temples of their revenues, and proved himself to be a weak and vacillating Oriental despot, and tyrannical and cruel. He was murdered by Artabanus and the eunuch Spamitres. Alabaster vases inscribed with his name in Egyptian, Persian, Susian and Babylonian may be seen in the British Museum. Artaxerxes I, the "Great Pharaoh," the successor of Xerxes, reigned from 465-424 B.C., but save for a few rock inscriptions in the Wādī Hammāmāt, and alabaster vases bearing his name, little trace of him remains in Egypt. For accounts of his war with the Greeks see Diodorus (xi. 69; xii. 64 ff.), Thucydides (i. 104-112) and Ctesias (32-35). The reign (424-404 B.C.) of Darius II, called Ochus, and Nothus, is commemorated in Egypt by his inscriptions which are found cut on the walls of the temple that Darius I built in the Oasis of Khārgah. He was the last of the Persian kings of Egypt who left any memorial of himself in the country. At his death, or perhaps even before it, the Egyptians threw off the Persian yoke, and a descendant

of the royal house of Saïs proclaimed himself king. Manetho calls him Amyrteos the Saïte, and says that he reigned six years; he makes him the sole king of Dynasty XXVIII. His name has not as yet been identified in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and nothing is known about his rule from this source. Amyrteos was a fellow rebel with Inarōs the Libyan, and when he was slain by the Persians, Amyrteos fled to an island in the swamps of the Delta (Herodotus ii. 140). His rule, which could only have been local, then presumably came to an end.

Between 440 and 404 B.C. the supreme power in Egypt passed into the hands of a series of kings who ruled from Mendes, and were followed by another series of kings who ruled from Sebennytus; the Mendesian kings form Manetho's Dynasty XXIX, which lasted about 20 years, and the Sebennyte kings his Dynasty XXX, which lasted about 38 years. The first king of the XXIXth dynasty was Naifārut (Nepherites or Nephreus), who reigned at least 4 years. The second king was Hager (Achōris), who reigned about 13 years, and repaired several of the temples of Memphis, Thebes, and Hierakonpolis. He assisted the Greeks, to whom probably he owed his throne, against the Persians, who

under Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359 B.C.) were attacking Evagoras, king of Cyprus. The third king was Pshemut (Psammuthis), who may have reigned a year. Manetho says he was succeeded by Nephorites and Muthis, but of these the Egyptian inscriptions say nothing.

The first king of Dynasty XXX was Nekhterhebit (Nektanebēs), who reigned about 18 years. He assumed the rank and titles of the old Pharaohs, and Egypt flourished under his 'capable administration. From Greek sources we learn that the Persians attacked Egypt during his reign, and that fighting went on in the Delta against the Persians almost daily. The Egyptians fought bravely, and, stimulated by their victories, they succeeded in driving the Persians out of the Delta. When the Persian commanders saw how strongly Memphis and Pelusium were fortified, they withdrew their army to Asia. Nekhterhebit restored the worship of the gods, and repaired several of the temples. He built a temple to Horus at Hebit, the modern Behbit al-Hajārah near Mansūrah, he dedicated shrines at Abydos and Edfū, he built a gateway and temple at Karnak, a colonnade in the temple of Darius I at Khārah, and a temple at the Serapeum. He set

up a pair of obelisks in honour of Thoth, which passed into the possession of the British in 1801 and are now in the British Museum (Nos. 919, 920), together with his massive stone sarcophagus (No. 923). This fine sarcophagus is sculptured with scenes illustrating the text of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 8th and 9th Sections of the "Book of him who is in the Tuat" (Other World), and on it are found a relief representing the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and extracts from the "Book of the Praise of Rā," together with 37 figures chosen from the 75 forms of the Sun-god Rā.

Nekhtherhebit was succeeded by Tcheher (or Tcher), the Teōs of Manetho and Takhōs of Diodorus (xv. 90 ff.), who reigned for one or two years (360-359 B.C.). He marched into Syria with his army, but during his absence the Egyptians revolted, and when he heard this he fled to Persia and was pardoned by Artaxerxes II. He was succeeded by Nekhtnebef (Nektanebōs), who is said to have been the son of Nekhtherhebit. He reigned 18 years (358-341 B.C.), and the great work that he accomplished during this period proves that he was a capable and energetic king, and that he possessed great power in Egypt, and was master of considerable wealth. He built a large temple at Philae, he endowed

the temple of Edfū, and he repaired temples at Karnak, Madīnat Habū, Coptos, Abydos, Memphis and Sebennytus. Artaxerxes III (359–338 B.C.) determined to carry out the plan for the conquest of Egypt which Artaxerxes II had formulated, and set out from Sidon with his mercenaries. He lost a large number of men in the Sirbonian Bog (*ta Bārathra*), but advanced to Pelusium, and when Nekhtnebef learned that some thousands of his men had been killed in the preliminary fighting, he withdrew his native army and marched back to Memphis, from which place he watched the movements of the Persians. Seeing that they were beating down all opposition, he abdicated secretly and, taking with him a large quantity of treasure, fled to Ethiopia. Artaxerxes demolished all the fortifications of the cities, and plundered the temples and robbed their libraries. Thus the Persians conquered Egypt a second time, and their renewed domination of the country lasted for about eight years. Artaxerxes III was succeeded by Arses (338–336 B.C.) and by Darius III (336–331 B.C.). Manetho's Dynasty XXXI consists of three kings, Ochus (20 years), Arses (3 years) and Darius (4 years).

CHAPTER X

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 356-323 B.C. THE
PTOLEMIES, ROMANS, ARABS, TURKS, ETC.

ALEXANDER III of Macedon and I of Egypt defeated Darius III at the Battle of the Granicus in 334, and at the Battle of Issus in 333, and captured Tyre and Gāza in 332. He marched into Egypt in 332 and founded the city of Alexandria, which became the greatest seaport in the Eastern Mediterranean and the chief market of the Eastern World. The city was built on a site near the old Egyptian town of Rakoti, and faced the island of Pharos; its architect was Deinocrates. Alexander conquered Persia and Media (330), Bactria (329), Sogdiana (328), India (327), and died at Babylon in June 323, aged 32 years, having reigned 12 years and 8 months. The arrival of Alexander in Egypt was welcomed by all classes, for the Egyptians hated the Persians for their cruelty, and they resented deeply the insults that the satraps had heaped upon their gods,

and the slaughter of the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes, the incarnations of Ptah and Osiris respectively. Alexander went to Memphis, and Mazakes, the satrap, tendered his submission and laid gifts of the value of 800 talents at his feet. Alexander adopted the rank and titles of the Pharaohs, and styled himself the "chosen of Amen, the beloved of Rā and the son of Rā," and he was probably crowned in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Among his titles is that of Sept ābui, *i.e.* "he who is ready (to strike) with (his) two horns"; this title appealed to the imagination of the later Orientals, and the Arabs and others perpetuated it in "Dhu'l Karnēn," *i.e.* "the Two-horned."

Alexander was gracious to the priesthoods of Egypt, and tolerant of their religion, and, like the Pharaohs of old, he wished to be regarded as the son of Amen, chosen by the god to be the lawful king of Egypt. He therefore went to the temple of Amen in the Siwah Oasis, and was taken by the high priest into the sanctuary, where the figure of the god made a motion with its head indicating that Amen admitted Alexander's claim to sonship, and the high priest did homage to him and declared that Amen had called him his son, and would give him the lordship of the world

if he would accept the title "son of Amen" (or Amen Rā). Thus Alexander conquered Egypt without striking a blow; he entered the country as a simple mortal, the son of Philip, but when he left, it he had become the son of Amen, whether he wished it or not. When Alexander had appointed governors over the provinces of Egypt, and officials to administer the various great departments of the State—thus following the system of government of the country which the Persians had developed from the arrangements made by the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal—he left Egypt and never returned, until he was carried there from Babylon, a dead man, by Ptolemy Lagus. He was laid in a marble sarcophagus filled with white honey, and Masūdi (*Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 259) says that the platform on which it stood was to be seen at Alexandria in A. H.¹ 332 (A.D. 943).

THE PTOLEMIES

In the division of Alexander's kingdom which took place at his death, Egypt fell to the share of Ptolemy the General, who administered the country on behalf of Arrhi-

¹ *I.e.*, Anno Hijrah, or "Year of the Flight" of Muhammad the Prophet to Madinah on June 20, A.D. 622.

daeus, the son of Philip II of Macedon (who reigned 6 years and 4 months), and Alexander II, the son of Alexander the Great, who died in 311. In 306 Ptolemy the General became king of Egypt as Ptolemy I Soter I. The Ptolemies ruled Egypt on Greek lines, and Greek became the official language of the country. The priesthoods and religion remained unchanged, and the Ptolemies worshipped the native gods and sacrificed to them, and rebuilt and endowed the temples at Denderah, Edfu, Philae, etc. They adopted native names and titles, married their sisters and nieces, adopted the habits of the Pharaohs, and several of them were crowned at Memphis; but they never allowed the priests to interfere in the government of the country. The earlier Ptolemies were astute business men, and encouraged and supported commercial enterprises of every kind, and under their wise, tolerant and broad-minded rule Egypt became once again the wealthiest country of the Eastern World. Members of the families of the later Ptolemies quarrelled over the succession to the throne, with the result that fratricidal murders became common and eventually caused the downfall of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. But in spite of these Alexandria remained

the "mistress of the markets, of the world" for 250 years, the Jews contributing largely to her commercial importance and wealth.

Ptolemy I Soter I (323-285 B.C.) founded the **Museum and Library of Alexandria**, and introduced the worship of **Sarapis** into Egypt. He also founded the town of **Ptolemais** in the Thebaïd; the modern town of **Al-Manshiyah** stands on its site. **Ptolemy II Philadelphus** (285-247 B.C.) founded **Berenice Troglodytica** on the Red Sea and the town of **Arsinoë** in the **Fayyûm**, and built the **Pharos**, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. This **Pharos**, or lighthouse, stood on the north-east point of a narrow rocky island near Alexandria. Its architect was **Sostratus of Cnidus**, and its three-storeyed white limestone building was 400 cubits, *i.e.* nearly 600 feet, in height. It was finished 280 B.C. and cost 800 talents. It was destroyed by two earthquakes and a tidal wave early in the fourteenth century. In this reign the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, and **Manetho** wrote his **History of Egypt**. **Ptolemy III Euergetes I** (247-222 [B.C.) conquered a large portion of Western Asia, and made an attempt to add one day to the calendar every fourth year, thus anticipating the leap-year of modern times. This fact is recorded on the

Stele of Canopus, a cast of which is in the British Museum (No. 957). Ptolemy IV Philopator I (222–205 B.C.) added a hall to the temple built at Dakkah by Ergamenes, king of Nubia. He frustrated the design of Antiochus IV to invade Egypt, but failed to prevent the Thebans in his own country from obtaining their independence. He was an incapable ruler, and weak and vacillating. In his reign elephants were brought to Egypt from the Sūdān by sea for military purposes.

Under Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181 B.C.) Egypt lost Palestine and Syria. His wife, Cleopatra I, was the daughter of Antiochus. He maintained cordial relations with the priesthoods of the country, who in the 9th year of his reign passed a Decree at Memphis ordering that a statue of him should be set up in each of the great temples, together with a copy of the Decree inscribed upon stone in the Egyptian and Greek languages. The Egyptian version was written in hieroglyphic and demotic characters, and the Greek in ordinary Greek capitals. Two or three stelæ inscribed with this Decree have been found, and the most complete of these is the stele found near Rosetta and commonly known as the Rosetta Stone (British Museum, No. 960). Ptolemy V failed to rule Egypt, and during

his reign the country drifted into anarchy, and he was murdered. **Ptolemy VI Philometor** (181–146 B.C.) was taken prisoner by Antiochus IV in 171, and his brother **Ptolemy IX** was made king; the two brothers reigned jointly for about 7 years, when **Ptolemy IX** drove his brother out of Egypt. At this point the Romans interfered and brought **Ptolemy VI** back to Egypt, where he reigned alone. **Ptolemy VII (Eupator)** was succeeded by **Ptolemy IX (Euergetes II)**, who married the widow of **Ptolemy VI**, and his niece **Cleopatra**, and murdered his son **Ptolemy VIII (Neos Philopator)**. **Ptolemy X (Soter II)** (118 B.C.) was co-regent with his brother **Ptolemy XI (Alexander I)**. **Ptolemy XII (Alexander II)** murdered his wife **Cleopatra Berenice**, and was murdered (80 B.C.). **Berenice** expelled her father **Ptolemy XIII (Neos Dionysos)**, called **Auletes**, the “flute-player,” but the Romans reinstated him a few months later. **Ptolemy XIV (51–47 B.C.)** and **Cleopatra**, son and daughter of **Auletes**, were placed under the guardianship of **Pompey** by the Roman Senate. **Ptolemy XIV** expelled **Cleopatra**, and caused his guardian **Pompey** to be murdered after the **Battle of Pharsalia**. **Julius Caesar** came to Egypt 47 B.C., and reinstated **Cleopatra**; **Ptolemy XIV** was

drowned. In the same year Julius Caesar appointed **Ptolemy XV** co-regent with Cleopatra, who caused him to be murdered (45 B.C.). Caesar appointed as co-regent **Ptolemy XVI (Caesar)**, his son by Cleopatra. After the defeat of **Antony**, Cleopatra's lover, by **Octavianus** at the battle of Actium, 31–30 B.C., both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, and Egypt became a **Province of the Roman Empire**.

THE ROMANS

From 30 B.C. onwards Egypt was ruled by Roman Prefects. The first, **Cornelius Gallus**, suppressed a revolt in the Thebaïd, the second, **Gaius Petronius**, suppressed a revolt in Alexandria (28 B.C.), and the third, **Aelius Gallus**, invaded Nubia, and defeated Queen **Candace** (23 B.C.). In the reign of Nero two centurions were sent into the Sūdān to report on the value of the country as a possession of Rome, and St. Mark preached Christianity in Alexandria (54 A.D.). **Juvenal** was banished to Syene about A.D. 81, **Trajan** (A.D. 98) reopened the Nile—Red Sea Canal, and the fortress of Babylon was built by **Turbo**. **Hadrian** (A.D. 117) visited the Colossi of **Amenhetep III** in Western Thebes. **Decius** (A.D. 249) persecuted the Christians, and in

268 Zenobia invaded Egypt; she was dethroned in 273. In 284 the Romans were expelled from Nubia, and Diocletian (A.D. 284) employed the Nobadae to check the Blemmyes; the Copts date the Era of the Martyrs from Aug., 29th, 284. Constantine founded Constantinople A.D. 328. The persecution of the Christians which began in the reign of Severus (A.D. 193) drove many of them into the deserts, where they built monasteries in the IIIrd century, and made translations of the Holy Scriptures into Coptic from the Greek. The papyrus Codex in the British Museum (Oriental 7594), containing the Books of Deuteronomy, Jonah and the Acts of the Apostles, was written towards the close of the IIIrd century. Theodosius I (A.D. 378) proclaimed Christianity to be the religion of his Empire, and the famous statue of Sarapis was burned.

The **Byzantine Period** begins with the reign of Arcadius (A.D. 395-408). In 415 Hypatia was murdered through the instrumentality of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. The Council of Chalcedon sat Oct. 8, A.D. 451. In the reign of Marcianus (450-457) the Blemmyes began to trouble Egypt. A great famine devastated the country in 502. In the reign of Justinian (527-565) Narses destroyed the

temple of Osiris and Isis at Philae, and carried off the gold statues of the gods to Constantinople. In this reign the Monophysites (Copts) separated from the Melkites (Royalists); and Silko, king of the Nobadae, embraced Christianity. The Persians under Chosroës II invaded Egypt in 619 and held it for 10 years.

THE ARABS

The Arabs under Amr ibn al-Ās, the captain of the army of Umar the Khalifah, captured Pelusium and slew the garrison in 640, and thus Egypt became a Province of the Empire of the Arabs. The Arabs invaded Nubia and seized Dongolah the capital; Umar died in 664, and was succeeded by the Umayyad Khalifahs (A.D. 660-750), the Abbāsid Khalifahs (750-868), the Tūlūnid Khalifahs (868-906), Muhammad the Ikhshīd and his followers (935-969), the Fātimites (969-1171), the Ayyūbid Khalifahs (1171-1250), the Bahrite Mamelukes (1250-1389), the Burgite or Circassian Mamelukes (1389-1517).

THE TURKS

The Turks under Salīm took Egypt in 1517. He appointed a Pāshā over Egypt, and his Council of Seven Turkish chiefs controlled the twenty-four Mameluke Beys, who ruled over

the twenty-four Provinces into which Salīm divided Egypt. In 1768 Ali Bey expelled the Pāshā and made himself king of Egypt; he was murdered in 1772, and the Beys fought among themselves for the sovereignty. In 1790 a Turkish army under Murad seized Cairo. Napoleon Bonaparte landed in Egypt in July 1798, stormed Alexandria, and at the Battle of the Pyramids defeated Murad; a few days later Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Abukir Bey. In 1801-2 the English compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, and restored the country to the Turks. Muhammad Ali (1769-1849) was elected Pāshā of Egypt in 1805, and murdered all save one of the Mameluke Beys in 1811. He sent Ismāil to invade Nubia and the Sūdān in 1820, but Ismāil was burnt alive at Shindi by an Arab Shekh called Nimr. Muhammad Ali's sole object in invading the Sūdān was to obtain slaves and gold, and the methods he employed resembled those of the Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty. Ibrāhīm (1848) an adopted son of Muhammad Ali, ruled for one year. Abbās I (1849-1854) son of Prince Tusun, showed little administrative ability. Muhammad Ali's fourth son Sa'īd (1854-1863) was a just and humane ruler. He improved the irrigation of Egypt, introduced railways,

gave the concession for the building of the Suez Canal, and founded the Būlāk Museum. He was succeeded (1863) by Ismāil, grandson of Muhammad Alī, who was made Khedive, of Egypt on May 14, 1867. He built railways, established schools, encouraged trade and agriculture, and finished the Suez Canal, which was opened with great pomp and ceremony in 1869. He was reckless in spending money and in 1875 his liabilities amounted to £77,667,569. He built palaces everywhere, and one-fifth of the land of Egypt was his private property. He was deposed by the Sultān of Turkey in 1879, and was succeeded by Tawfik Pāshā. As the result of the rebellion of Arabi Pāshā and the weakness of Tawfik the British bombarded Alexandria on July 11, 1882, defeated Arabi's forces at Tall al-Kabīr on September 13, and two days later Sir Garnet Wolseley took Cairo. As the result of the terrible cruelty of the Egyptians in the countries of the Sūdān which Muhammad Alī and Ismāil had seized, widespread rebellion broke out in the Sūdān. The ringleader was Muhammad Ahmad, commonly called the Mahdī, a carpenter. The rebels defeated the Egyptian troops everywhere, and in September 1883 the Mahdī destroyed the army of Hicks Pāshā in the forest of Shekan, and became absolute master of the Sūdān. General C. G.

Gordon (born 1833) was sent in 1884 to fetch the Egyptian garrisons out of the Sūdān and, after being besieged by the Mahdī in Khartūm for 318 days, was murdered there on Monday, January 26th, 1885. The Mahdī died on June 22, and was succeeded by the Khalīfah Abdallāh.


In 1896 a British Expedition under **Sir H. Kitchener** was sent to the Sūdān. He defeated the Khalīfah's forces at **Farkat** on June 7, and at the **Atbarā** on April 8, 1898, and captured **Ummduṛmān** on September 2 of the same year. On November 24, 1899, **Sir F. R. Wingate** attacked the Khalīfah's army at **Umm Dabrikāt**, and slew him and 600 of his men, and captured 3000 men, women and children. This was the death-blow of Mahdīism in the Sūdān. A **British Protectorate** over Egypt was declared on November 18, 1914, and the Khedive, being freed from the suzerainty of the Sultān of Turkey, assumed the title of Sultān. In March 1922 Egypt was proclaimed by Great Britain to be an independent kingdom, and the Sultān, **Ahmad Fuad**, became King of Egypt. From the time of **Cambyses** (525 B.C.) until A.D. 1922, with the exception of a period of about fifty years, Egypt has been ruled by foreigners under whose domination she has attained to her greatest heights of wealth and prosperity.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN
HIEROGLYPHS

The oldest Egyptian writing signs are pictures of objects, animate and inanimate. They were supposed to have been invented by the god Thoth, and the Egyptians called them "words of the god," or "divine words," and they are commonly called hieroglyphs, from a Greek word meaning "sacred writing." The earliest religious literature was written in hieroglyphic characters. A form of writing in which the hieroglyphs are modified and abbreviated is called Hieratic; it was much used by the priests and by the mercantile community. About 700 B.C. a purely conventional form of writing called Demotic, i. e. the writing of the people, came into use; another term for it is Enechorial, i. e. the writing of the country, or native writing. During the Ptolemaic Period the Greek language and writing were much used in Egypt. When the Egyptians became Christians they wrote the Scriptures in Coptic, i. e. Egyptian, using the Greek alphabet, to which they added seven characters derived from Demotic.

All knowledge of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing died out in Egypt before A.D. 500, and no real progress was made in the decipherment of it until the discovery of

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the Rosetta Stone, which is now in the British Museum. The "Stone" is a stele of basalt 3 ft. 9 in. high and 2 ft. 4½ in. wide, and is inscribed with fourteen lines of hieroglyphic writing, thirty-two lines of Demotic writing, and fifty-four lines of Greek writing. It was found by a French officer called Boussard among the ruins of Fort St. Julien, near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile. Under the terms of the Capitulation it passed into the hands of the British, and arrived in the British Museum in 1802. The Greek text was soon translated, and it showed that the inscription was a copy of a Decree of the priests ordering additional honours to be paid to Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), in return for the favours he had shown them. Åkerblad made out the general meaning of several lines of the Demotic text in 1802. Dr. Thomas Young in 1819 published a list of alphabetic Egyptian hieroglyphs, to which in several cases he had assigned correct values. He was the first to grasp the idea of a phonetic principle in the reading of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, and he was the first to apply it. Zoëga thought that the ovals  or cartouches contained royal names, but it was Young who proved the correctness of this view. He deciphered the name of Ptolemy on the Rosetta Stone, and that of Berenice on another monument; and

Bankes first identified the name of Cleopatra on the obelisk which he found at Philae. In 1822 J. F. Champollion published a list of alphabetical characters which he had obtained by applying Young's method to the names and titles of the Roman Emperors, and he adopted some of Young's phonetic values, but unfortunately without proper acknowledgment. He also formulated a system of decipherment and grammar, which has formed the foundation for the work of later Egyptologists. The means by which Young and Champollion obtained the phonetic values of Egyptian hieroglyphs is described in a quarto pamphlet, entitled the "Rosetta Stone," published by the British Museum, price 6d. It contains one of the best reduced facsimiles of the Rosetta Stone ever published, and hieroglyphic type is employed in the explanation given. Champollion's system was manifestly incomplete when he died in 1832, but in 1835 Lepsius showed in his *Lettre à M. F. Rosellini* that the fundamental facts of it were to be accepted. It was finally established by the labours of Birch, Hincks and Goodwin in England, E. de Rougé and Chabas in France, and Lepsius and H. Brugsch in Germany. These were the pioneers of modern Egyptology, and upon the foundations laid by them its superstructure rests.

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