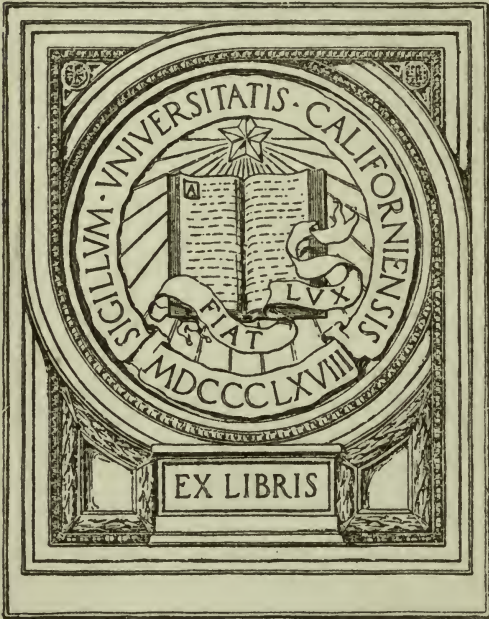


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A HISTORY OF
THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE

THE
LAW OF
CALIFORNIA



A NOBLEMAN FOWLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER,
AND HUNTING CAT, WHICH IS SEEN CATCHING BIRDS.

Reproduced from a wall painting from a tomb at Thebes, now in the British Museum
XVIIIth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C.

A

SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIAN PEOPLE.

WITH CHAPTERS ON THEIR RELIGION
DAILY LIFE, ETC.

BY

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PREFACE

THIS little book, like its fellow on Egyptian Literature, has been written by request, and with the view of providing beginners with a handy introduction to the study of Egyptian History. The first six chapters in it are devoted to a description of the country of Egypt and the Nile, and the ancient Egyptians, and the principal facts of their history, which covers a period of more than four thousand years. The next three chapters describe briefly the main outlines of the Religion and Daily Life of this wonderful people, and of their worship of the dead. Without some idea of the Religion of the Egyptians, and of the very large part which the worship of the dead occupied in their daily life, it is impossible to understand their History. Our knowledge of it is derived almost entirely from the tombs, temples, and other funerary monuments which the Egyptians built in connection with the worship of their gods and their deified dead. The Egyptians never wrote history in the modern sense of the word. The reason why so few dates are given in the earlier part of the book will be apparent when the remarks on Egyptian chronology in Chapter X. have been read. The limit laid down for this book precluded all possibility of adding references or long footnotes and explanations, but the curious or unsatisfied reader can verify the facts given herein by consulting the authorities whose books are enumerated in the List of Egyptological Works given on pp. 246-49.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
May 9, 1914.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF EGYPT AND THE NILE

IN primitive times there was situated on the west bank of the Nile, at a spot which is about twenty miles from the site now occupied by Cairo, the capital of modern Egypt, a town of considerable size, later known as "Memphis," in which the god Ptah was worshipped, together with other gods. The temple of Ptah occupied a prominent position in the town, and was dedicated to the "Ka" (*i.e.* the "double" or the "vital strength," as some now render the word) of the god Ptah; this temple was called "Hekaptah" or "House of the Ka of Ptah." As the power of the god was believed to be greater than that of all the other gods in the town, the fame of his temple increased, and little by little the name of the temple began to include not only the temple estates of the god, but also the entire district in their immediate neighbourhood. As this town was to all intents and purposes the frontier town on the north of the southern division of the country, its geographical position gave it great importance, and when the foreign traders who did business in the land wanted to refer to the upper country they spoke of Hekaptah, meaning thereby not only the capital, but the country that lay to the south of it. This is easily understood if we remember that the town stood at the northern end of the Valley of the Nile, not far from the place where the flat open land of



the northern division of the country begins. By degrees the use of the name Hekaptah for the whole country spread far and wide, and the Greeks transformed the name into "Aiguptos," and the Latins into "Ægyptus"; from these classical forms our own form "Egypt" is derived. The commonest name for the whole land of Egypt among the ancient Egyptians themselves was "Kam," a word that means "black, dark-coloured," in allusion to the dark colour of its muddy soil; Egypt was, in fact, the "dark-clodded country." This name was known to the Hebrews under the form of "Khām," or "Ham," as it appears in the Bible, where we read of "the tabernacles of Ham" (Psalm lxxviii. 51) and the "land of Ham" (Psalm cv. 23, 27; cvi. 22), and the Egyptians were the sons of Ham, or the children of Ham. The northern division of Egypt, or what is known to-day as the "Delta," appears to have been called "Mizraim" by the Hebrews, but what this name means has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions prove that, from the earliest times, the Egyptians themselves always called their country as a whole the "Two Lands," meaning the Land of the South and the Land of the North. The Land of the South included the portion of the Valley of the Nile that lay between the First Cataract and Memphis, or Gebel Silsilah and Memphis, and the Land of the North was formed by the whole of the Delta. About 4400 B.C. the Two Lands were "united" by a king called Mena, the Menes of the Greeks, and in this book the name "Egypt" always includes the two great divisions of the country, the southern and the northern. The extent of Egypt has varied considerably at different periods. Under the sixth dynasty Egypt consisted of the Delta and a portion of the Valley of the Nile as far south as Abu, or the Island of Elephantine. Under the twelfth dynasty Egypt included a further portion of the Valley of the Nile about 250 miles long, and Usertsen III fixed the southern frontier of his country at a rock barrier in the Nile, which is marked by two blocks of ancient Egyptian buildings now known by the names of Semnah and Kummah. Strictly



Map of Egypt and the Egyptian Sūdān.

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speaking, this portion of the Nile Valley forms a part of Northern Nubia, and the Egyptians called the most northern part of this "Kash" (the Cush of the Bible). Under the eighteenth dynasty a further portion of Nubia was annexed by Egypt, and Amenhetep III fixed the southern frontier of his kingdom at Karai, or Napata, about 350 miles to the south of the frontier fixed by Usertsen III. Under the twenty-sixth dynasty the southern frontier of Egypt was withdrawn to the Island of Elephantine, where it remained until the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt. For a few centuries after the downfall of the Roman Power in Egypt the position of the frontier varied considerably, but under the vigorous rule of the Arabs, the southern frontier was fixed at Old Dongola (A.D. 1275), which lies about 100 miles downstream of Napata. For about ten years (1873-1884) the southern frontier town of Egypt was Gōndōkōro, about 2830 miles (by river) from Cairo. The limits of Egypt at the present time may be thus stated. On the north the boundary is marked by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the south by the twenty-second parallel of N. latitude, which crosses the Nile at Gebel Sahābah, about 8 miles north of the camp at Wādī Halfah, 960 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. On the east the boundary is marked by a line drawn from Ar-Rafah, on the coast of the Mediterranean, to the little town of Tabah at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, and by the eastern coast of the Peninsula of Sinai, and by the Red Sea. The western boundary is marked by a line drawn from the Gulf of Solum due south to a point a little to the south-west of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon (Sīwāh), and then proceeding in a south-easterly direction to the twenty-second parallel of N. latitude near Wādī Halfah. The area of Egypt is estimated to be between 400,000 and 430,000 square miles.

The land of Egypt has been made by the mighty river which flows through it from south to north, the river Nile, and the old statement to the effect that "all Egypt is the gift of the Nile" is literally correct. In prehistoric times the Delta did not exist, and an arm of the sea extended through that portion of the north-east shoulder of Africa

in which Egypt now lies as far as Esnā, or Asnā, that is to say, to a place in the Valley of the Nile that is nearly 600 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. In those times were deposited the thick layers of sand and gravel upon which the soil of Egypt now rests ; these layers are upon a bed of sandstone, which in turn lies upon igneous rocks.

We have now briefly to consider how it came to pass that the Nile made Egypt. The true source of the Nile is Victoria N'yanza, or Lake Victoria, the greatest Lake in Central Africa, which is 250 miles long and 200 broad ; it was discovered by Speke on August 3, 1858. This is the first reservoir of the Nile. The second and third reservoirs are Albert N'yanza and Albert Edward N'yanza ; the former was discovered by Sir Samuel Baker in 1864, and the latter by Sir H. M. Stanley in 1875. The portion of the Nile between the Ripon Falls on Victoria N'yanza and Albert N'yanza is 242 miles long, and is called the " Victoria Nile," or the " Somerset River." The portion between Albert N'yanza and Lake Nō is 580 miles long, and is called the " Bahr al-Gebel " or " Upper Nile." At Lake Nō the Gazelle River flows into the Upper Nile on its west bank, and its waters become filled with decaying vegetable matter. The portion of the Nile between Lake Nō and Khartūm is about 700 miles long, and is called the " White Nile." About 60 miles north of Lake Nō the Sobat River flows into the White Nile on its east bank. At Khartūm the " Blue Nile," which rises in the mountains of Abyssinia and is 960 miles long, flows into the White Nile ; the river between Khartūm and the sea is called the " Nile," without any distinguishing epithet. About 200 miles north of Khartūm, the river Atbārā flows into the Nile on its east bank, and from this point to the sea the Nile has no other tributary. The Atbārā is about 800 miles long, and when in flood is very broad, with a swiftly flowing stream. Its waters are heavily charged with volcanic dust, and it provides the greater part of the rich fertilising mud which the Nile carries in flood. The total length of the Victoria, Upper, and White Niles is about 1552 miles, and the length of the Nile between Khartūm and the sea 1913 miles ; thus

the total length of the Nile from the Ripon Falls to the sea is about 3465 miles. Some authorities state that the Nile is over 4000 miles long, but this result is only obtained by assuming that the Kagera River is the source of the Nile, and by adding in the length of this river (375 miles) and the length of Lake Tanganyika (250 miles) in which it rises.

Now the water that is brought down into Egypt by the Nile is drawn from the great lakes that have already been mentioned, and from the Gazelle River, the Sobat, the Blue Nile, and the Atbārā, and these in turn are fed by the heavy rains that fall in the Sūdān between January and November. Once a year the Nile is in flood, and it overflows its banks, and this overflowing forms what is generally called the "Inundation," which is brought about in this way. In a normal year the heavy rains in the region of the Central African Lakes begin in April and, draining into the Nile, force down the green water of the swampy region into Egypt, where, during the month of June and a part of July the river becomes of a greenish colour. A little later the Sobat, or "Yellow River," is in flood, and it pours a considerable volume of water of a reddish colour into the White Nile. Usually the water of the Sobat is whitish and milky in appearance, but owing to the presence of reddish earth in its waters at flood time its colour changes. Early in June the Blue Nile begins to rise, and for six weeks or so it pours a great volume of water heavily charged with vegetable refuse, animal remains, and fertilising matters, into the Nile at Khartūm. Early in July the Atbārā flood begins, and for about two months the stream is a mighty river, which flows into the Nile with such violence that it washes out a large piece of the west bank. It brings into the Nile the whole drainage of Abyssinia and the swollen streams of its tributaries, and it carries into it more soil than any other of the tributaries of the Nile. With it come masses of bamboo and driftwood, and large trees, "and frequently the dead bodies of elephants and buffaloes are hurled along its muddy waters in wild confusion." The dark brown colour of its waters has gained for it the name of the "Black River." The Nile begins

to rise in Egypt at the end of June, and continues to rise until the middle of September, when it remains stationary for two or three weeks. In October it rises again and reaches its highest level. From this time it begins to fall, and though it may rise again temporarily, it continues to sink steadily until the month of June when it reaches its lowest level. Between the June of one year and the June of the next the Nile brings down into Egypt an immense quantity of mud and fertilising deposits of various kinds which it spreads all over the land covered by its waters. The Nile and its tributaries in fact bring down soil from Abyssinia and from countries that are from 1500 to 2000 miles distant from Cairo and manure Egypt with it. It is this deposit, which comes down yearly from these remote countries, that has formed the soil of Egypt. From calculations made during the last twenty years it has been reckoned that the bed of the Nile rises about four inches in a century. The thickness of the mud deposit over Egypt varies considerably; thus at Cairo it is 58 feet, at Gīzah, a few miles distant, 66 feet, and at Zakazīk it is 110 feet. The ancient Egyptians seem to have had no idea that the Nile flood was caused by the heavy rains that fell in the Sūdān and Abyssinia, and there is no evidence that they understood the great part played by the Central African Lakes in the watering of their country. At one time they thought that the sources of the Nile were in two caverns under two mighty rocks that were situated in the First Cataract ¹ to the north of the Island of Philæ, but at an earlier period they were content to assert that the Nile was an "incomprehensible mystery," and that the Nile-god could not be described or depicted, or imagined by men and gods.

The scenery of Egypt is of two kinds. In the Delta the land is quite flat, and its surface is raised very little above

¹ There are six great Cataracts on the Nile. The First is a little to the south of Aswān and is 3 miles long. The Second begins a few miles to the south of Wādī Halfah and is 125 miles long. The Third begins at Karmah and is 45 miles long. The Fourth begins near Abu Hamad and is 66 miles long. The Fifth is 32 miles north of Atbārā and is about 100 miles long. The Sixth is at Shablūkah and is 56 miles north of Khartūm.

the level of the sea. Wherever the waters of the Nile can be brought by canals the ground is exceedingly fertile, and the crops are luxuriant and abundant. Palms and trees abound, and add great picturesqueness to the landscape, and cattle, sheep, and goats thrive everywhere in the Delta. The Nile forks at a place about fourteen miles north of Cairo, and its two great branches, the Rosetta arm and the Damietta arm, the former flowing on the western side of the Delta and the latter on the eastern side, carry its waters to the sea. In classical times the Nile flowed into the sea through seven mouths, but of these five have been choked. The length of the Delta from south to north is 110 miles, and its breadth from Port Saïd to Alexandria is 156 miles. In the north of the Delta, near the sea, the scenery is bare and uninteresting. This is due to the presence of large sand dunes, which extend from the sea inland to, in some places, a considerable distance, and several very large shallow lakes, which are filled with fish, and the shores of which form the homes of innumerable water-fowl of all kinds. The largest of these lakes, Manzālah and Būrlūs, together cover an area of about 1200 square miles; some of the smaller lakes, *e.g.* Mareotis and Abūkīr, are being drained and the land used for agricultural purposes. The scenery of Upper Egypt is entirely different from that of the Delta. From Luxor to Cairo the Nile flows between limestone hills in a comparatively narrow valley, and the towns and villages are built on the strip of mud bank that lies on each side of it. In some places the hills on one side or the other come quite close to the river, and then the strip of mud bank available for cultivation is very narrow; in others they may be a mile, or more, from the river. About 60 miles from Cairo is the Fayyūm, with its peculiarly interesting scenery, and its lake called Birket al-Kurūn, which, in spite of the denials of irrigation authorities, some still consider to be the remains of Lake Moeris. In middle Egypt, where the strip of mud bank is of considerable width, trees and vegetation are abundant, and the farms built among groves of date palms and other trees, with their luxuriant crops and thriving flocks and herds, and pigeon-

houses, form delightful features of the landscape. At Luxor the river lies at a considerable distance from the hills on the east bank, and cultivation is abundant. At Esnā the character of the scenery changes; the strips of land available for cultivation are very narrow, and here begins the layer of sandstone that extends southward and covers nearly the whole of Nubia. At Edfū and at Kom Ombos are "plains," which are said to have been at one time Deltas formed by rivers that flowed down from the high lands near the Red Sea. At Aswān the hills on the west bank become bold and prominent, and we approach the First Cataract and its characteristic scenery. Here the formation of crystalline rocks invades the Valley of the Nile, and here are the famous granite quarries whence came most of the granite obelisks, statues, and buildings made by the Pharaohs. The Cataract is studded with small granite islands, and mighty granite boulders, black and shining, are seen everywhere; between these the Nile flows in innumerable small streams, and every patch of mud is cultivated by the natives. Great granite rocks, the remains of a natural barrier in the Valley of the Nile, and huge boulders are met with again at Kalābshah, 36 miles south of Aswān. The characteristic scenery on the Nile from Philā to Abū Simbel has entirely changed since the building of the Great Dam across the First Cataract. Formerly there were strips of cultivated land in places on both sides of the Nile, and many palm trees, but now during the winter season this portion of the Nile is made into a huge lake. When we reach Wādī Halfah, which is a little to the south of the southern boundary of Egypt, the scenery again changes, and we once more find granite. Vast stretches of sandy desert appear on both sides of the Nile, and a few miles upstream we enter the weird but picturesque reaches of the Nile at the foot of the Second Cataract.

CHAPTER II

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

THE flint tools and weapons that have been found on the skirts of the desert at various places in Egypt, and that are generally admitted to be older than those of the Neolithic Period, *i.e.* the New Stone Age, render it extremely probable that the country was inhabited by men in the Palæolithic Period, *i.e.* the Old Stone Age. The questions that naturally arise in connection with them are: Who were they? To what race did they belong? If they were immigrants, where did they come from? In the limited space afforded by a single chapter it is impossible to enumerate even the most important of the arguments of which these questions have formed the subjects, or the principal theories, old and new, of the origin of the Egyptians. Fortunately Egyptian archæology, even in its present imperfect state, supplies a number of facts, which will suggest answers to these questions that are tolerably correct, and as time goes on, and the results of further research are perfected, our knowledge of these difficult questions may assume a decisive character. The human remains that have been found in Neolithic graves in Egypt prove that the Egyptians of the Neolithic Period in Upper Egypt were Africans, and there is good reason for thinking that they were akin to all the other inhabitants of the Nile Valley at that time. When the great geological change took place that turned into a river valley the arm of the sea that extended as far as Esnā, and the Nile deposits had formed the soil of Egypt, their ancestors migrated from the south to the north and occupied the land made by the Nile. Whether these facts apply equally to the Delta cannot be said, for no Neolithic graves in the Delta are known.

Egyptian tradition of the Dynastic Period held that the aboriginal home of the Egyptians was Punt, and though our information about the boundaries of this land is of the vaguest character, it is quite certain that a very large portion of it was in Central Africa, and it probably was near the country called in our times "Uganda." There was in all periods frequent intercourse between Egypt and Punt, and caravans must have journeyed from one country to the other at least once a year. In the Dynastic Period several missions by sea were despatched to the port of Punt to bring back myrrh and other products of the country, which were so dear to the heart of the kinsmen of the Puntites who were settled in Egypt.

Now, if the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Valley of the Nile were attracted to the good and fertile land of Egypt, it follows as a matter of course that foreign peoples who heard of this rich land would migrate thither in order to partake of its products and to settle in it. The peoples on the western bank (Libyans), and the dwellers in the Eastern Desert would intermarry with the native Egyptians, and the same would be the case with the negro and half-negro tribes in the Sūdān. At a very early period, and certainly in Neolithic times, a considerable number of Semites must have made their way into Egypt, and these came from the Arabian Peninsula on the other side of the Red Sea, either for trading purposes or to settle in Egypt. Some of these crossed the Red Sea in its narrowest part, probably near the Straits of Bāb al-Mandib at the southern end of it, and made their way into the country where the comparatively modern town of Sennaar now stands, just as their descendants did some three to five thousand years later. Here they would find themselves not only in fertile land, but they would also be in touch with the tribes living in the region where, from time immemorial, alluvial gold has been found in considerable quantities. Others of the Semites must have made their way into the Delta by the Isthmus of Suez, and there is no doubt that by intermarriage they modified the physical characteristics of many of the natives. Others, again, must have entered

Egypt by way of the very ancient caravan route through the Wādī Hammāmāt, which left the Red Sea near the modern town of Kusēr and ended on the Nile near Kenā in Upper Egypt. It is impossible to think that the Semites in Arabia had no sea-going boats in which to cross the Red Sea, and that those who lived on the coast half-way down the Red Sea would be obliged to go so far north as the Isthmus of Suez, or so far south as Bāb al-Mandib before they could cross over into Africa.

In the case of the natives of the Delta foreign influences of another kind would be at work. Here would flock traders of all kinds from the land that is now called Palestine, and from the Islands of the Mediterranean, and from the sea-coast and the countries inland to the west of Egypt. Some think that even in the Neolithic Period there were many settlers who had come from the southern countries of Europe. If the above remarks are only approximately true, we are justified in assuming that the population of the Valley of the Nile was even at this early period very much mixed. It must, however, be noted that neither Libyans, nor Semites, nor sea-faring folk of any kind, altered the fundamental characteristics of the African dwellers on the Nile.

The Neolithic or Predynastic Egyptian was a man of nearly average height, that is, his height was rather under than over 5 feet 6 inches. The colour of his skin appears to have been of a reddish brown, a fact suggested as much by the dark red colour of the figures of Egyptian men in early dynastic tombs as by the colour of the skins of their remains found in their tombs. His skull was long and narrow, and he had a narrow, oval face, a small, broad nose, narrow forehead and cheeks, a weak jaw, a pointed chin, a small, pointed beard, very little hair on his upper lip, and his eyes were probably brown in colour. He wore his hair tolerably short; it was more often black than brown, and it was not "woolly" like that of the negro. His teeth were of the average size. He was slightly built and slim of body, and closely resembled in his general appearance the small-bodied man of certain parts of the Sūdān and Abyssinia at the present day. His

hands and feet were long and thin, and well adapted for the weaving of flax and reed baskets, and his bones were surprisingly slender. The woman was about the average height, but rather under than over 5 feet, her figure was slim, her hips tolerably solid, and her feet of moderate size. The small, green slate objects of the period in the British Museum prove that the Neolithic man was circumcised.

Coming now to the latest part of the Neolithic Period, and the beginning of the Dynastic Period, we find that there existed in Lower Egypt and the Delta a population that possessed physical characteristics very different from those of the Egyptians of Upper Egypt, which have just been described. These northern folk who offered such stubborn resistance to the kings of Upper Egypt had features of a distinctly Semitic type, and there seems to be little reason for doubting that they came from some part of the Arabian Peninsula. They must have existed in the Delta in considerable numbers and, for a time at least, formed the ruling class there. Whether they invaded the Delta in large numbers suddenly, or whether they had settled there gradually cannot be said, but it is tolerably clear that they intermarried freely with the people who were already established in the country when they arrived there. Their principal interests were in trade, and they do not seem to have made the civilisation of Egypt generally to progress.

The men who next formed the ruling class in Lower Egypt were very different in body and in mind from the Egyptian of Upper Egypt and the Egyptian of Lower Egypt with Semitic blood in his veins. In stature they were below the height of the average Neolithic Egyptian, but their bodies were solidly built, and were large and broad, and capable of doing hard work of a continuous character. The shape of their heads was different, and not only were they broader, squarer, and flatter, but they contained more brains than those of their predecessors in Egypt. These short, large-limbed, big-headed men, with wide faces, good foreheads, black eyes, short noses, big mouths, and strong jaws were the men who built the Pyramids and all the other mighty works in stone,

the remains of which testify to-day to the power of thought and work of those who conceived them. There is no doubt whatever about the physical aspect of these men, for they have left behind them statues of themselves in stone and wood, which illustrate it effectively. Whether they came from Asia, as some think, or whether from the countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, according to the opinion of others, it is quite certain that many of their physical characteristics were "European." Their civilisation was of a high order, and they ruled the Egyptians whom they conquered with great success so far as their own interests were concerned, and little by little they succeeded in making themselves masters of all the Egyptian portion of the Valley of the Nile. But though they were great and powerful conquerors, and mighty builders, they never succeeded in altering the fundamental beliefs and manners and customs of the bulk of the native Egyptians, for these continued to worship their African gods, and to bury their dead, and to live in the same way as their ancestors had lived for thousands of years before them.

An attempt may now be made to describe the way in which the Predynastic Egyptians lived on the banks of the Nile. The man of the Old Stone Age probably lived on the skirts of the desert, and passed most of his time in hunting wild animals; when he was fortunate enough to kill, he devoured the meat raw, and drank the blood, and dried the hide, which he then wore as clothing. The bulk of his fellows had no clothing, and probably needed none in the daytime; at night they retreated to any shelter available, perhaps behind the screens made of reeds torn up from the edges of the Nile banks, which were then in process of formation, or hid themselves in holes and caves in the hills. Their weapons were rudely shaped flints, which in their hands became useful objects for defence, and with them they crushed the heads of their foes, both animal and human. Any "bush" or cover that existed in the ravines of the deserts, and owed its life to some water underground, or that grew up temporarily after rains, was infested with deadly animals and reptiles

of every kind, which must have taken heavy toll of the lives of men in the Old Stone Age. Whether these men had any belief in God, or in a future state, is difficult to say, but they probably possessed some dim idea that a Creator existed. As for their dead, the greater number of them must have been thrown out into the desert or "bush," and devoured by wild animals.

From the graves of the men of the New Stone Age in Egypt we may deduce much information as to the manners and customs of those who made them. The man of the early part of this Age was not far removed from his ancestors of the Old Stone Age, but before the close of it he had become master of the land of Egypt, and had advanced many steps on the road of civilisation. Men of this period lived in villages, circular in shape, and surrounded by a wall; each large village possessed two roads, which ran through it from side to side and crossed in the middle of it at right angles. Thus a village had four entrances, and the main entrance was probably protected from the attacks of foes by objects placed near it which were supposed to afford magical protection. The houses or huts were made of mud. Domestic animals lived in the clearing round the village. In selecting the site for a village advantage was taken of every bit of rising ground, so that the houses might be above the level of the annual flood of the Nile. Little by little the rank undergrowth and "bush," which grew wherever the waters of the Nile flowed, were cleared, and a kind of millet and barley was grown on the land thus reclaimed. The wild animals that infested the bush were driven farther and farther away, but even under the new conditions innumerable holes in the ground harboured scorpions and all kinds of small reptiles, and the country was full of venomous snakes. The Nile and its streams, and the large shallow lakes formed annually as the Nile flood ran off the land, were filled with crocodiles, and in Lower Egypt these monsters must have existed in very large numbers. In the swamps, which closely resembled those on the Upper Nile, lived herds of hippopotami, as well as the noxious insects that make life a burden in tropical

climates. The Egyptian of this period hunted wild animals as did his ancestors, and he must have been far more successful than they, for he had learned to make spear-heads and arrow-heads of flint, and when fowling he used the boomerang. The waters were filled with fish, which he speared or caught with his hands, and he must have learned to make fish-traps at a very early period. In fishing and fowling expeditions he used shallow boats made of reeds tied together by reed ropes at each end, and in swimming across the Nile he employed floats made of reeds, similar to those that are found among the people in Nubia at the present day, and that are called *tôf*.

In the making of pottery he attained very great skill. The potter used no wheel, but shaped his pots, and bowls, and jars, many of them of very large size, with his hands and feet, as the potter in West and Central Africa does to-day. At first he used the mud of the Nile, but later on he discovered that some kinds of earths found in the hills made better pottery, and used it freely. Many of his shapes are very graceful. As he gained experience his vessels assumed a fineness of texture that is quite surprising. Then he began to decorate his pottery, and he drew on the yellowish drab kind figures of men, animals, birds, &c. ; the red and black kind he left undecorated. As a potter he was unrivalled, and none of the later Egyptians attained his skill in the fictile art. Long before the Dynastic Period he learned to plait mats, and to weave flax into linen. With him the mat was the equivalent of the carpet among modern Eastern nations, and he used it as a bed, as well as a covering for parts of the floor of his hut, and the bodies of the dead were sometimes wrapped in mats. Of the flaxen cloth he made clothing for himself and his wife, and he ceased to be dependent on the skins of animals for garments. The predynastic women wore necklaces of beads made of hard stone, limestone, and shell, and bracelets made of ivory, stone, and sometimes of flint. The skill of the predynastic Egyptian in the working of flints was equal to his skill in making pottery, and in both arts he has never been equalled. The

bone and ivory figures from the graves prove that he had learned to carve, and the beads show that he possessed means for drilling holes in hard stone. He had also discovered how to make fire by means of the fire-drill.

Those of the Egyptians of the New Stone Age who were of sufficient importance socially to deserve burial were buried in shallow graves dug on the edge of the desert. The grave was often irregular in shape, but it was usually oval, and there was very little space between it and the grave next to it. Often the body is found lying on the bare ground, on its left side, with its head usually towards the south. The knees are bent up on a level with the top of the breast, and the hands are placed before the face ; placed round about the body are a number of pottery vessels, often filled with offerings of food, flint knives and weapons, and other objects that had been used by the deceased when he was alive. Some bodies were wrapped in reed mats, and others in skins of animals. In some graves bodies that seem to have been partially burnt before burial are found, and in very many the bones of the skeletons are found scattered about in such confusion that it has been thought that the bodies were dismembered before burial. A good deal of support for this view is obtained from many passages in the Pyramid Texts and the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead, in which the deceased prays that his bones may be collected and his flesh gathered together, and his head rejoined to his body. But whatever may have been the cause for the scattering of the bones, such prayers could never have been written unless it was generally believed that such disturbance of the limbs of the body took place after death. In some cases bodies were buried in rough earthenware coffins of various shapes and sizes. In connection with certain of the burials in the New Stone Age one fact stands out clearly, namely, that the predynastic Egyptian believed in a future life. He laid offerings of food in the graves of his kinsmen and friends because he thought they would need it on their journey from this world to the next, and he supplied them with flint knives and instruments of various kinds because

he believed they would be useful to them when hunting or warring with their foes. Of the gods and goddesses whom he worshipped his graves tell us nothing, but a flint head of a cow now in the British Museum proves that the cult of Hathor was already established, and as we know that the original home of her worship was in the South, this is not to be wondered at. Shu and Tefnut, a Southern god and goddess whose original home was the region of Bukem in the south-east of the Sūdān, were also known to him, and to these we may add Net, or Neith, and certain other deities. Models or figures of these gods were probably made of mud or wood, and kept in shrines made of reeds and mud, and parts of the figures or all of them may have been painted. Many of the symbols, which we know from dynastic inscriptions represent gods, were well known to the predynastic Egyptians, and were to them the recognised symbols of divine beings.

The earliest weapons of the predynastic Egyptians were made of flint, and the later ones of stone; they, like their descendants, found also the heavy stick, or cudgel (the modern *nabūt*), a very effective weapon. Battle-axes were made by tying pieces of stone to the ends of sticks with strips of leather, but the mace was perhaps the more formidable weapon. The mace-head was usually made of variegated breccia (or "plum-pudding stone") or marble, which was perforated and was thus fitted on to the top of the handle. The mace-heads of Egypt are similar in shape to those of Babylonia, a fact easily proved by comparing the mace-head bearing in Babylonian characters the name of Sargon I of Agade, with the mace-head from a predynastic tomb, both in the British Museum (No. 91146 and No. 32089) This fact indicates either that there was communication between Babylonia and Egypt at this period, and that the people of one country borrowed the mace-head from the other, or that Babylonians and Egyptians borrowed it from a source available to both.

In a few graves of this period small copper instruments have been found, and it is a reasonable question to ask

where they came from. There is no copper in Egypt, and so far as we know there never was any, but there is copper in the Sūdān, and in modern times the mines have been more or less worked. The copper mines nearest to the predynastic Egyptians were situated in the Peninsula of Sinai, and though they were worked by the Egyptians themselves in the earliest dynasties, there is no evidence that the predynastic Egyptians worked them. If the material of the copper instruments from the tombs came from Sinai it is clear that they were worked by the Semitic natives of the country, and that Semitic traders brought the metal to Egypt. If the copper came from some other country it must have been brought to Egypt by the merchants of that country who traded with Egypt. In either case the presence of copper in Egypt in the Predynastic Period proves that the Egyptians had trade relations with some foreign country, that country being, presumably, Arabia.

In the later part of the Neolithic Period the Egyptians used for sealing purposes little rollers made of wood or stone, on which rude pictorial characters, probably representing the names of their owners, were cut, in fact, they were acquainted with the cylinder seal. Now the cylinder seal is one of the most characteristic products of Babylonian, or perhaps, Sumerian, civilisation, and it is difficult not to think that the Egyptians borrowed it, as they probably did the mace-head, from the Babylonians, especially as the general trend of the evidence supports this view. The cylinder seal was much used in Egypt under the Ancient and Middle Empires, and there is an example in the British Museum bearing the name of Amenhetep I, a fact that shows it was used under the eighteenth dynasty; but after this period it fell into disuse. On the other hand, it was in general use in Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, down to the fifth century before Christ.

The rudely cut pictorial characters on the cylinder seals found in the graves of the Neolithic Egyptians raise the question whether at that time the people of Egypt were acquainted with the art of writing, and if so whether the art was of native growth, or borrowed from some foreign nation.

That the Egyptians could at that time draw figures of animals, men, birds, &c., is proved by their decorated pottery, but there is no evidence that they were able to arrange them in a group in such a way that we can rightly describe it as an inscription. Had they been able to form sentences with their pictorial characters we should certainly have found them cut in wood or stone in their graves. One thing quite clear is that all the picture characters of this period were copied from purely Egyptian objects, animate and inanimate; in later times they may have been helped in developing their writing for royal and other business by borrowing ideas from the system of writing that was in use among the Sumerians and Babylonians, with whom, for trading purposes at least, they were in communication. They borrowed the pronouns from some Semitic people at a very early date, and it is impossible not to think that they adopted a great many ideas from the peoples possessing a higher class of civilisation than their own, with whom they had intercourse. Their debt to such peoples, Semites and others, was undoubtedly very great.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

How long the general condition of things which has been outlined in the last chapter continued in Egypt cannot be stated, but in Upper Egypt at least civilisation progressed slowly. Towards the end of the New Stone Age the Egyptians acquired the knowledge of working in copper, and with tools of this metal they found themselves able to do many things that were before impossible to them. With copper drills they perforated beads and hollowed out stone jars and vessels, and with copper knives and chisels they sculptured stone figures of men, animals, &c., with a skill that is truly wonderful. They had long known how to produce fire, and one of its principal uses among them was to smelt copper. In many respects the state of Egypt at the close of this period was not greatly unlike that in which we know it to have been in the earliest part of the Dynastic Period. It was divided roughly into districts, or as we might say, counties, which at a later period were called "nomes" by the Greeks. Each district had its own symbol, which was generally that of its totem, and probably its own god, or gods, who must have been served by some kind of priest. The laws which men draw up for the protecting of their wives, cattle, and possessions generally, as soon as they settle down in towns and villages, were, no doubt, administered in the rough and ready way that has been common among African communities from time immemorial. A system of irrigation must have been in use at this time, but it is improbable that there was any central controlling authority. The men of each district protected the part of the bank of the Nile that belonged to them, and made and

maintained their own canals, and the high, banked causeways, which connected the towns and villages during the period of the Nile flood, and served as roads. There must have been a head man or governor in each district who possessed a good deal of power, and each town was probably ruled by a kind of mayor with due regard to the interests of the owners of large properties of different kinds. In the villages the largest landowners were probably supreme, but the "old men" or "fathers" of each village must have enjoyed a certain authority.

For a considerable time before the Dynastic Period there must have been kings in Egypt, some ruling over Upper Egypt, and some over Lower Egypt and the Delta. A portion of a monument, now called the "Palermo Stone" because it is preserved in the Museum of Palermo in Sicily, supplies the names of several kings of Lower Egypt, *e.g.* Seka, Tau, Thesh, Neheb, Uatchnār and Mekha. It is quite certain that the names of several kings of Upper Egypt were given on the missing portion of the monument, and this fact proves that at that time Southern and Northern Egypt formed two separate and independent kingdoms. When complete the Palermo stone contained a series of Annals, which recorded the principal events in the reigns of the pre-dynastic kings, and also of the dynastic kings down to the middle of the fifth dynasty. There were also included the names of the principal festivals that were celebrated in these reigns, and also the height of the Nile flood yearly, given in cubits, palms, fingers, and spans. How these heights were ascertained is not clear, but it was probably by means of lines cut into a rock on the river bank, or on a slab built into a wall of a well at Memphis. The height of the Nile flood then, as now, was valuable for determining the prosperity of the country that was probable during the year.

We have already said that the native African element in Upper Egypt was reinforced continually from the south, and we may assume that the process of reinforcement usually went on peacefully, and that the Egyptians in Upper Egypt assimilated their newly-arrived kinsmen from the south

without difficulty. This, however, was fated not to go on indefinitely, for on one occasion at least, probably a century or two before the Dynastic Period began, a host of men from the south or south-east swept down upon Egypt. This invasion in many respects seems to have been similar to that which took place under Piānkhi, the king of Nubia, whose capital was at Napt, or Napata, about 720 B.C. ; but whilst Piānkhi returned to Nubia, the southern folk and their leaders who invaded Egypt towards the close of the Predynastic Period did not do so. If we take into account the effect of this predynastic invasion upon the civilisation of Egypt we must assume that the invaders were more highly civilised than the people they conquered. And if we assume this we must further assume that the invaders came from the country now called Abyssinia and the lands to the south of it. Their route was the old trade route known to-day as the "Blue Nile caravan route," which has been chosen from time immemorial by the captains of caravans because it makes it unnecessary to traverse the first four Cataracts. Among the invaders who came by this route were natives of the Eastern Desert, the remote ancestors of the Blemmyes and the modern Hadenduwa and cognate tribes, and Semites, who had originally crossed the Red Sea from Asia to Africa. We have no distinct record of this invasion, still less have we any details of it, and we have no knowledge of the causes that led up to it, but in an inscription of the Ptolemaic Period cut on the walls of the temple of Edfū in Upper Egypt, we certainly have a legendary account of it. In this inscription the victorious leader is accompanied by men who are called "Mesniu," or "Blacksmiths," who were armed with spears having heads of copper, and who carried chains with them to fetter their foes. Now there is copper in many parts of the Sūdān to the west of the Nile, and this fact seems to suggest that the "Blacksmiths" came from the west of the Nile, *i.e.* from a country to the south of Egypt, and not from a country to the south-east. This view agrees quite well with what is known of the history of the Dynastic Period, for the Pharaohs often had to fight hordes of enemies from

countries so far south as the White Nile and the Gazelle and Jûr Rivers, and their descendants were probably to be found in the Nobadae who terrified the Romans, and the "Baggārah" who fought under the Mahdī in our own times. There may have been a conquest of Egypt by the peoples to the west of Egypt at one time, and another by the people on the east at another time, or the enemies of Egypt on both banks of the White and Blue Niles may have invaded the country together. In any case the purport of the inscription, the contents of which we will now describe, is to show that the king of the South and his descendants first conquered Upper Egypt and then Lower Egypt.

The Edfū text sets forth that Rā-Harmakhis was king of Ta-sti, the "Land of the Bow," *i.e.* the country of all the peoples who fought with bows and arrows, or the Eastern Sūdān. In the 363rd year of his reign he despatched a force into Egypt, and overcoming all opposition, this god established himself and his followers at Edfū. Having discovered that the enemy had collected in force to the south-east of Thebes,¹ Horus and his followers, or the Blacksmiths, armed with spears and chains, set out and joined battle with them, and utterly defeated them at a place called Tchetmet. For the first time probably the natives armed with weapons made of flint found themselves in mortal combat with foreign enemies armed with metal weapons; their defeat was unavoidable. Soon after this battle the natives again collected in force to the north-east of Denderah, about 50 miles north of Thebes, and they were attacked and again defeated by Horus. Another battle took place a little later on at Heben, about 150 miles south of Memphis, and Horus cut up many of his defeated foes and offered them to the gods. Horus then pursued the enemy into the Delta, and wherever he did battle with them he defeated them. In one place the Arch-rebel Set appeared with his followers and fought against Horus and his "Blacksmiths," but Horus drove his spear into his neck, and fettered his limbs with his chain, and then cut off his head, and the

¹ Edfū is 60 miles south of Thebes.

heads of all his followers. Horus then sailed over the streams in the Delta, and slew the enemy in detail, and made himself master of the whole of the Delta, from the swamps on the west of the left main arm of the Nile to the desert in the east. The text goes on to say that companies of the "Blacksmiths" settled down on lands given to them by Horus on the right and left banks of the Nile and in what is now called "Middle Egypt"; thus the followers of Horus from the south effectively occupied the country. Horus returned to Edfū and made an expedition against the people of Uauat (now Northern Nubia), and punished their rebellion. He then sailed back to Edfū and established the worship of Horus of Edfū, and ordered a symbol of this god to be placed in every temple of Egypt. Now the symbol referred to is the winged solar disk, with a serpent on each side of it, and the statement suggests that Horus established the worship of a form of the Sun-god in Egypt. If this be really so, Horus and his followers must have come from the East, where sun-worship was common, and must have found that the Egyptians were not sun-worshippers. The Egyptians, like most of the peoples in the Nile Valley, ancient and modern, only worshipped the sun under compulsion. On the other hand, the worship of the moon was universal, and the native gods of the Egyptians were of a kind quite different from those worshipped in the Eastern Desert and among the peoples of Arabia, Syria, and the Northern Delta.

The inscription of Edfū makes it quite clear that in the Ptolemaic Period the Egyptians believed that the victorious southerners settled themselves at Edfū, and that this town was to all intents and purposes their capital. How long it remained so cannot be said, but it cannot have been for long. As soon as King Horus had consolidated his power at Edfū, he laid his hands on the very ancient town of Nekheb, about 12 miles to the north, on the east bank of the Nile, and on Nekhen, a town on the west bank almost opposite to Nekheb. At Nekheb a very ancient native Egyptian goddess called Nekhebet was worshipped under the form of a vulture, and from first to last in Egyptian history every king of Egypt

claimed that his rule was sanctioned by this goddess. In settling the country Horus found the support of the priesthood of Nekheb and Nekhen all-important. Another ancient town of importance at this period was that known to-day by the name of Gebelēn, which lies on the west bank about 16 miles south of Thebes. A natural barrier across the Nile seems to have existed here in very early times, but the river broke through it, forming a small Cataract. From Gebelēn the kingdom of Horus in Egypt, which had presumably by this time passed into the hands of his successors, extended northwards, and just before the beginning of the Dynastic Period it included Abydos and all the country round about.

We have already alluded to the comparatively advanced state of the civilisation of the people of Upper Egypt at this period, and if proof be required we may point to the two green slate objects in the British Museum,¹ to which the name of "palettes" has been given. In the centre of the more complete example is a circular hollow, in which some thick paint was rubbed down with stone mullers for application to the face of the figure of a god before the performance of certain ceremonies. This view is based upon the fact that palettes of somewhat similar shape were found at Abydos, together with fragments of antimony and the pebbles that were used in ancient days for powdering it. The scene represented on this example is a hunt, and we see hares, ostriches, jackals, antelopes, and lions being pursued by huntsmen who are armed with double-headed stone axes, maces, boomerangs, bows and arrows, the latter tipped with flints spatular in shape, and spears, or javelins. The hunters wear feathers in their hair, and from the waist-belt of their short tunics hang the bushy tails of jackals or wolves; each wears the short characteristic African beard. There are two rows of huntsmen, and the leader of each holds a staff with the figure of a hawk on the top of it. The second green slate object is only a fragment, and on it, sculptured in relief, are figures of a prisoner of war being cast into the desert to be devoured by lions and vultures. His hands are

¹ See the Table Case L in the Third Egyptian Room.

tied behind his back, and a weight is suspended from his neck. Figures of other prisoners being devoured are lying about. On the reverse is a part of a scene in which two giraffes are eating the leaves of a palm tree. The work on these objects is so good that they must represent long experience and great skill only acquired by practice on the part of the workman who made them.

The successors of Horus continued to press more and more northwards, and to occupy the more northern parts of the Nile Valley, and the time soon arrived when they began to fight with the robust dwellers in the Delta. These consisted of men from Arabia and Syria with Semitic blood in their veins, and Libyans from the Western Desert and North Africa, and a considerable leavening of dwellers on the sea-coast. How long the struggle for the possession of Lower Egypt lasted is not known, but it is certain that the Northern confederates were not easily conquered. They were strong men, and better armed than the Southern folk whom Horus had overthrown, and their civilisation stood at a higher level than that of the successors of Horus. They probably exported wheat, or exchanged it for the products of Syria and the Islands of the Mediterranean, and they worshipped a number of gods whose shrines even in those times were ancient. In the double city of Pe-Tep (later Buto) a Serpent goddess was adored, at Saut (later Saïs) the cult of Net, or Neth (Neith), a goddess of war and the chase, flourished, and at Tet-t (later Busiris) there was worshipped a Nature-god, whose symbol afterwards became a prominent feature in the religion of Osiris. The districts or counties of the Delta were not so well defined as those of Upper Egypt, because of the frequent changes in the position of their boundaries that were caused by the Nile-flood annually.

DYNASTIC HISTORY—ARCHAIC PERIOD

As the result, however, of one of the battles between the forces of the South and North, which was fought probably near Anu (later, Heliopolis), the King of the South gained

the victory, and he was henceforth able to call himself " King of the South, King of the North." Who this mighty " Uniter of the Two Lands " really was is not known, but the native tradition, which was current at Abydos, and presumably throughout Egypt, in the thirteenth century before Christ, stated that he was called MENA; this tradition was also accepted in the time of the Greek historians, for they all agree in saying that the first King of Egypt was called MENES. Now the monuments that have been found in the tombs of the earliest dynastic kings of Egypt do not help us much in this difficulty, for on none of them do we find the name Mena as it is given in the famous King-List drawn up for Seti I, and cut upon a wall in a temple built by him at Abydos, or in the King-List of the Turin Papyrus. But on a small wooden tablet found at Nakādah, a few miles north of Thebes, we have the name of Āha, cut within the rectangular panel called *serekh*,¹ and surmounted by a hawk, and by the side of this, written in an irregular oval, and under a hawk and a serpent that form one of the king's titles, is a sign that has been read *men*. Some authorities believe that this sign *men* is the equivalent of the name Mena, and that it is the personal, as opposed to the official, name of Āha. Others, however, basing their opinion on a reading found on a fragment of the Stele of Palermo, think that the personal name of Āha was *Ateta*, and, if this opinion be correct, Āha was certainly not Mena, or Menes. If the hawk and the serpent mentioned above really form a title of Āha, he must have had great authority in Lower Egypt, for the title is royal. Of Āha but little is known, and the few inscribed remains of his reign are very difficult to understand. His tomb was found at Nakādah, and a small funerary monument was built for him at Abydos.

About the time of Āha, whether before or after is not absolutely certain, reigned the king called NĀRMER; he must undoubtedly be placed among the kings of the first dynasty, for his monuments prove that he was a " King of

¹ The word means literally " to make to know "; the *serekh* served the purpose of the heraldic badge or cognizance among Western nations.

the South and King of the North.” On one side of a large green slate “palette” which was found among the ruins of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis) in Upper Egypt, he is seen wearing the crown of the South, accompanied by his sandal-bearer. His right arm is upraised, and in his hand he grasps a mace with which he is about to brain a prisoner who is kneeling



Green slate “ Palette ” of Nārmer, a King of the First Dynasty.

before him. In front of him is a representation of a hawk holding in his left claw a cord or hook,¹ one end of which is fastened to the nose of a barbarian prisoner ; behind are six symbols, which are supposed to give the number 6000. This scene has been thought to indicate that the Hawk, *i.e.* the King, has captured 6000 prisoners. Below the feet of the

¹ Compare Isaiah xxxvii. 29, “ I put my hook in thy nose and my bridle in thy lips.”


king are two prostrate foes. On the other side of this object are also heads of the Cow-goddess Hathor and the name of Nārmer. Below these is a figure of the king wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, followed by his sandal-bearer, and preceded by a victim who is to be sacrificed. Next come four men holding each a standard, on which are carried the king's after-birth, a figure of a jackal, and two hawk figures, and beyond these are the decapitated bodies of ten enemies laid out in two rows, with their heads between their feet. Below these stand two lions, with greatly elongated and intertwined necks, being lassoed by two attendants. The necks of the lions form a circular hollow in which it is supposed that antimony was ground. In the lowermost space is a bull, symbolising the king, which has broken into a fortified village, and having thrown down a foe is about to gore him. The principal scene here is of very great interest, for it represents certain ceremonies which the king performed even in that early period to effect the renewal of his life. The victim, who is clad in the skin of the beast through which he is supposed to pass, is to be offered up on behalf of the king, and the ten decapitated bodies are the men who have been slain by the king in order that their souls and their blood may renew his life.

On the mace-head of Nārmer we see the king enthroned within a shrine in the character of Osiris, and he is assumed to be dead temporarily, even as Osiris was dead for a certain period. According to a very early legend, Osiris was restored to life by making his body to pass through a bull's skin, in other words, he was supposed to be reborn. A victim was chosen to represent the king, and having "passed through the bull's skin," he was reborn, and entered upon a new period of life and strength, which was mystically transferred to the king. By these means the king was prevented from becoming old and weak, and he had these ceremonies performed, and took part in them whenever he felt it necessary to show his subjects that his powers were unimpaired. The performance of these ceremonies was the sole reason for the celebration of the Set Festival. The excellence of the reliefs

on the green slate objects which we have described above, and on the mace-head is remarkable, and the ideas which they express prove that the Egyptians in the reign of Nārmer had reached a high state of religious and moral development. It may be argued that the god in the shrine is not Osiris, but, even if he is not, he must have been some god whose powers and attributes were identical with those of Osiris. That he was a god the centre of whose cult was at Abydos is quite clear, and whether he is called Osiris or Khenti Amenti is of very little importance in comparison with the fact that at that time the Egyptians believed in a being, part god and part man, who had risen from the dead.

Of the length and of the events of the reign of Nārmer nothing is known, but it is certain that he was one of the earliest kings of the first dynasty, and that the centre of his authority was at Abydos, the capital of the Thinite nome in Upper Egypt. Many of his successors were buried here, and Edfū, the centre of the power of the Horus kings, was abandoned by them in favour of a more northern capital. With the reigns of Āha and Nārmer begins the first part of the Dynastic Period of Egyptian History, to which the name of ARCHAIC PERIOD has, for convenience' sake, been given. The monuments of this period have revealed the names of several kings, but whether the list of them thus supplied is complete is uncertain. The King-Lists drawn up by Egyptian scribes under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties only give selections of royal names, and they contain proofs that those who compiled them possessed less knowledge of the kings of the Archaic Period than, thanks to the discovery of the royal tombs at Abydos, is available to-day. There is, fortunately, a source of information to which we can apply for help, namely, the now famous King-List which, tradition says, was compiled in the third century before Christ for Ptolemy II Philadelphus, one of the greatest benefactors and patrons of the great Library at Alexandria. Ptolemy II, it seems, was most anxious to include in this library a history of Egypt, and he commanded a priest of

Sebennytus ¹ called Manetho to compile one. In this History of Egypt Manetho gave a list of the kings of Egypt, which he divided into three parts, each containing several groups of kings which he called "dynasties," but it is not quite clear what he meant by the word "dynasty." His History is lost, but four copies of his King-List are preserved in the works of later writers. The oldest of these is that which is said to have been written by Julius Africanus, in the third century of our era, and is preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (born A.D. 264, and died about 340). In this work Eusebius also gives a copy of the List of Manetho made by himself, but the copy of Julius Africanus agrees better with the results derived from the monuments which we now have than that of Eusebius. The dynasties of Manetho's King-List that represent the "Archaic Period" are the first three. According to this, the kings of the First Dynasty were eight in number and reigned 263 years; those of the Second Dynasty were nine in number and reigned 302 years; and those of the Third Dynasty were nine in number and reigned 214 years. The First and Second Dynasties reigned at This (Abydos), and the Third Dynasty at Memphis. The original Egyptian forms of many of the royal names given by Manetho have been identified without doubt; the identifications of a few others are nearly certain, and about the remainder there exist many different opinions. Besides Āha and Nārmer, or Nārmer and Āha, for the true order of these two kings is uncertain, the other important kings of the First Dynasty were :

SEMTI, the fifth king of the dynasty, who was the first to use the title , i.e. "King of the South, King of the North" (*Nesu bati*). His name as the successor of Horus was TEN, or DEN, and his personal name was Semti; the hieroglyphs that form the latter name were for many years read "Hesepti," and some authorities now read them "Khas-

¹ The capital of the Twelfth Nome of Lower Egypt, the modern town of Samannūd.

kheti." Nothing is known of the events of his reign, but the objects found in his tomb at Abydos prove that the Egyptians were no mean handicraftsmen in his day, and that the funerary arts had developed greatly. For example, the king's tomb was panelled with wood, two stairways brought worshippers down into it, and its floor was paved with blocks of granite. The presence of granite proves that the granite quarries of Aswān were already being worked, and that barges large and strong enough for the transport of blocks of granite were in use on the river.



Plaque of King Semti.

In his tomb were found several inscribed wooden tablets recording various important events that took place during his reign. On one of these, now preserved in the British Museum, is cut a scene representing the performance of one of the ceremonies of the Set Festival, to which attention has already been called in the paragraph dealing with the mace-head of Nārmer. The scene represents the king Semti, who has the crowns of the South and North on his head, and holds in one hand a whip and in the other a sceptre, dancing before a god who is enthroned within a shrine set on the top of a flight of steps. The god wears the crown of the South, and is either Osiris or a figure of the king, who is supposed to be dead and deified. The ceremonies connected with the offering up of the victim who personified the king are supposed to have been performed, and the king is dancing before the god as a mark of his gratitude for his rebirth and the renewal of his life. The Set Festival may have been invented to prevent the slaughter of the king when he became infirm, or old, or unpopular, but the frequency with which it was celebrated in each reign suggests that the Festival was celebrated whenever the king had successfully completed some work, with the view of strengthening him and continuing his life so that he might be able to repeat his victories and successes.

Elsewhere on the wooden tablet of Semti is a figure of the Henu Boat, which, in later times at least, played such a prominent part in the ceremonies connected with the worship of Seker, the Death-god of Memphis. A tradition of the eighteenth dynasty couples Semti's name with the discovery (literally "finding") of the shorter version of the LXIVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead under the foundations of the shrine of the god Henu. A tradition of the twenty-sixth dynasty attributes the discovery of the CXXXth Chapter of the Book of the Dead also to his reign, and the contents of these chapters suggest that elaborate ceremonies intended to effect the resurrection of the dead were performed at this period. In books of medicine the name of Semti also finds honourable mention, for the great medical papyrus in Leipzig contains a copy of a prescription for healing the *ukhedu* disease, which was discovered in the temple of Anubis of Sekhem (Letopolis) in his reign. The inscriptions of Semti that we possess make it somewhat difficult to accept these statements literally, but it is quite clear that the Egyptians of the New Empire believed this king to have been a religious man and a patron of learning.

ĀTCHAB, or Āntchab, whose personal name was MERPEBA. Of this king very little is known, but he must be mentioned because the Egyptian King-List that is commonly known as the "Tablet of Sakkārah" begins with his name, and it is somewhat remarkable to find the names of such important kings as Nārmer and Semti overlooked. He was buried at Abydos in a tomb, which was entered after descending a flight of stairs, and was surrounded by a wall nearly five feet thick.

SMERKHA, whose personal name was HU or NEKHT. During this reign the Egyptians worked the copper mines at Wādī Maghārah in the Sinaitic Peninsula, and on a rock at this place a scene is sculptured in which Hu is seen in the act of braining a native. These mines were probably worked by the Semites of Sinai long before this date, but from this time onwards they were in the possession of the Egyptians.

With the reign of QA, whose personal name was SEN (not QEBH as the King-Lists have it), the first dynasty came to an end.

SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES

Under the second and third dynasties the balance of power in Egypt shifted to the North, and Memphis, the founding of which was ascribed by Greek tradition to Mena, or Menes, gradually came to be regarded as the capital of the whole country. Some development in the worship of sacred animals must have taken place under this dynasty, for Manetho says that in the reign of Kaiechos (Egyptian KAKAU), a king of the second dynasty, the Bull Apis in Memphis and the Bull Mnevis in Heliopolis and the Goat of Mendes were appointed to be gods. Aelian, another writer, states that the worship of Apis was founded by Menes, but the monuments afford no proof of this. Passing over the reigns of unimportant kings such as BETCHAU, HETEP-SEKHEMUI, NEBRĀ, KAKAU, ENNETER, SEKHEMAB, PERABSEN, and SENT, we come to KHĀSEKHEMUI, the first of the two great kings of this uncertain period.

KHĀSEKHEMUI, whose personal name was BESH, made Abydos the seat of his rule and built his tomb there. This building was about 260 feet long, and contained at least 57 chambers. From a scene cut upon a granite vase found in his tomb we learn that he was engaged in fierce war with the people of the North, *i.e.* Lower Egypt, and that as a result of his victory over them he was able to unite the Two Lands, *i.e.* the South and the North. Here we see Nekhebet, the great goddess of Nekheb and Nekhen, in the form of a vulture, standing with one claw on a signet ring, within which the name of Besh is written, and with the other grasping the stem of two plants, the lotus and papyrus, where they are tied together to represent the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. A hawk, wearing the crown of the South and standing on the *serekh*, on which the king's Horus name "Khāsekhem," *i.e.* "the Power appeareth," is written, faces the vul-

ture of Nekhebet. The king appears to have altered his name from Khāsekhem to Khāsekhemui, *i.e.* "the Two Powers rise," after his conquest of Lower Egypt. Among other very important objects found in his tomb were a grey granite door-jamb bearing his Horus name, and limestone and slate seated statues of the king; these are the earliest statues known. Upon the bases, in front of the feet, is his Horus name, and round them are cut figures of slain enemies in attitudes of agony, while a statement on the front sets forth that the number of enemies slain by Besh amounted to 47,209. His queen was called Enmaāt-Hap.

Besh was succeeded by KHETNETER, whose personal name was TCHESER. He was a mighty king, as his monuments testify, and a tablet bearing his name cut on a rock at Wādī Maghārah in the Sinaitic Peninsula suggests that he worked the copper mines there as had done one, or more, of his predecessors. Of his wars nothing is known, but he seems to have put down a rebellion in Northern Nubia. He followed the example of his predecessors and built a fine tomb at Bēt Khallāf, a little to the north of Abydos; when it was excavated it was found to contain bowls and dishes of diorite, alabaster, and porphyry, copper implements, worked flints, &c. Its stairway passed under an arch and led down to a series of underground chambers at a depth of 90 feet from the top of the tomb. This was his tomb as King of the South. As King of the North he built a tomb in the form of an oblong stone pyramid at Sakkārah, the necropolis of Memphis, and he called it by his Horus name KHETNETER. This pyramid consists of six steps, hence the name "Step Pyramid," by which it is commonly known, and is nearly 200 feet high. The length of its sides at the base are: north and south 352 feet, east and west 396 feet. Its internal arrangement is peculiar to itself, and the remains of some of the walls of the chambers prove that they must have been well decorated. In which of these two tombs Tcheser was buried is unknown, but the contents of the tomb at Bēt Khallāf suggest that he was laid to rest in the southern tomb. Manetho states that he

was called "Asclepios by the Egyptians because of his great medical knowledge, and that he built a house of hewn stones, and greatly patronised literature." The house of hewn stones is, of course, the Step Pyramid. An inscription cut upon a rock on the Island of Sāhal in the First Cataract states that a seven years' famine took place in the reign of Tcheser, and describes the endowments made by this king to the temple of Khnemu, including a large portion of the territory of Northern Nubia. Hennekht, or Sanekht, a brother of Tcheser, also built a tomb at Bēt Khallāf, but it is not certain that he was buried in it. His name is found with his brother's at Wādī Maghārah, but whether this fact indicates that he superintended work there for Tcheser, or was himself king of Egypt after his brother's death, is not clear. Manetho includes three or four other kings after Tcheser in the third dynasty, but none of them was in any way important.

From what has been said above it is clear that, in the interval that elapsed between the rise to power of Āha and the death of Tcheser, the Egyptian civilisation developed very greatly. At the end of the Archaic Period the Egyptians possessed metal weapons and tools, they were able to make really good though small bas-reliefs, they worked the copper mines and could smelt ore, they quarried granite, and used it in buildings, they were skilful workers in limestone, wood, ivory, and gold, they made pots and other vessels in very hard stones, *e.g.* porphyry and diorite, and the Step Pyramid shows that their knowledge of architecture was considerable. Between the beginning of the first dynasty and the end of the third they also developed the art of writing in the true sense of the word, and though the examples of their earliest efforts that have come down to us are very difficult to read, many parts of the inscriptions of Senti, the fifth king of the first dynasty, are comparatively easy to understand. As soon as the primitive Egyptians were able to work stone and wood, and to cut notches and marks on reeds and palm sticks, they must have begun to make figures of men, animals, sun, moon, stars, and the objects about

them. Masters of caravans must have needed signs and marks of some kind to help them in their exchanges and barter, and men began to realise that ideas could be expressed by pictures. Soon there came into existence the need for indicating the relationship of one picture representing an idea to another, and then it became necessary to find out some way of showing how these pictures were to be pronounced. Little by little the Egyptian scribe thought out the means for supplying these needs, and in due course he produced a set of pictorial characters, some of which were used as pictures of ideas, and some merely as representations of sounds. The latter class is of two kinds, syllabic and alphabetic. Curiously enough the Egyptians never seem to have attempted to get rid of their cumbrous system of writing, and they used it without a break from the Archaic Period down to the end of the Roman Period. The inscriptions of the Archaic Period afford most valuable material for illustrating the growth of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, and they show how quickly the scribes advanced in the knowledge of their art as they gained practice, and as the demand for inscriptions grew more and more. At first they devoted their rare accomplishment exclusively to the service of the king and to recording his triumphs, but they very quickly realised its importance for business purposes.

In the burial of the dead a great change took place among the Egyptians of the first three dynasties. In predynastic times the dead were buried in shallow graves, as we have already seen, on their left sides, with their knees bent up near the chin. In the Archaic Period, at least among the ruling classes, the dead were laid out in their tombs at full length on their backs, and massive structures of brick and stone stood over them.

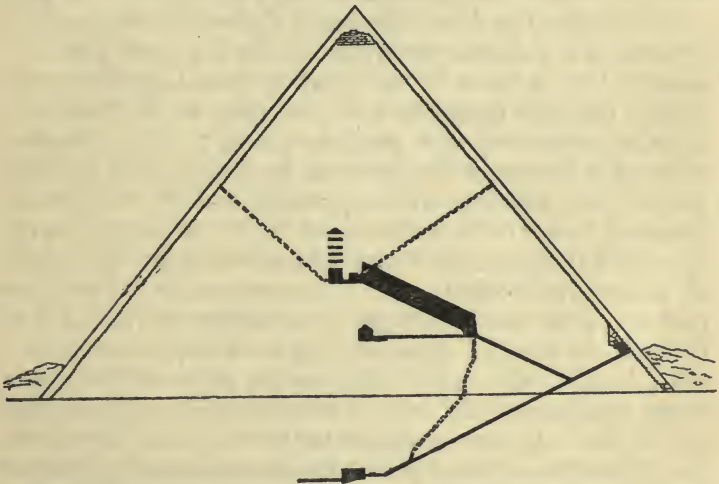
CHAPTER IV

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE—DYNASTIES IV—XI

ACCORDING to the King-List of Manetho the period of the Ancient Empire included the reigns of the kings of the first eleven dynasties, and as the first, second, and third dynasties have already been treated of in the preceding chapter, we may now consider the principal kings of dynasties four to eleven. The first king of the fourth dynasty was SENEFERU, a mighty warrior and a builder of pyramids. He worked the copper mines of Sinai, both for the sake of the metal and the turquoises found in them, and in a large relief cut on the rocks at Wādī Maghārah this king is represented in the act of slaying a typical Semitic native of the country. A passage on the Stele of Palermo states that he raided the Sūdān, and captured 7000 men, and 200,000 cattle, sheep, and goats, and probably a large number of women and much gold; he also sent a trading fleet to Syria. The object of the raid was to obtain men to carry out the great works in stone which he had already begun or contemplated beginning. As King of the South and King of the North he built two pyramid tombs, one at Dahshūr and the other on the site now called Mēdūm. The latter is commonly called the "Pyramid of Mēdūm," and the "False Pyramid," and is over 120 feet in height; it consists of three stages, which are about 70, 20, and 30 feet high respectively, but it was never finished. Round about the pyramid, which was called "Khā," are the tombs of several of Seneferu's officials, including those of Rāhetep and his wife Nefert, and of Nefermaāt and his wife Atet. Quite close to it were also found a number of tombs in which the bodies had been buried in the contracted, or predynastic, position, a fact that proves that the humble

subjects of Seneferu preserved the funerary customs of their ancestors. The Queen of Seneferu was called Mertitefes. She survived her husband and married his great successor Khufu, whom she also survived ; of her origin nothing is known. Methen, a famous official who became the governor of a district and master of the royal hunt, flourished and died in the reign of Seneferu.

KHUFU, the Souphis of Manetho and the Kheops of Herodotus, was a greater builder than fighter, and it seems doubtful



Section of the Great Pyramid, showing the Positions of the Passages.

if any military expeditions were undertaken during his reign. At Wādī Maghārah in Sinai there are two reliefs that have been commonly supposed to commemorate him ; in the one the king is called Khufu, and in the other Khnem-Khufu. These two names were thought to represent one and the same person, but recently Khnem-Khufu has been held to be the name of another king of the fourth dynasty. Khufu built for his tomb the Great Pyramid at Gīzah, and his name will be remembered for ever as the builder of this mighty

monument. In its present state the Great Pyramid is about 451 feet high, and the length of each of its four sides at the base is about 755 feet. Originally it was about 30 feet higher, and its sides were about 20 feet longer, but in the course of centuries several of its outer layers of stone have been removed to Cairo and used as building material. The cubic contents of the masonry are said to amount to 3,000,000 yards, and the pyramid covers an area of $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Khufu called this pyramid "Khut," *i.e.* "Glory." In its original state the pyramid was cased with smooth slabs of limestone, some of which bore inscriptions in hieroglyphs. The king was probably buried in a chamber in the body of the pyramid, and not in the chamber beneath it. On the north side of it, immediately in front of the entrance, there originally stood a large funerary temple in which services for the benefit of the soul of the king were performed daily; in one chamber of it were presented the offerings to the dead. The stone used in the building of the pyramid and its temple was quarried in the hills of Raau, or Troja, which lie nearly opposite to the pyramid, about eight miles away. The blocks of stone were brought down a causeway made of earth to the river, and ferried in barges to the western bank, and then dragged up another causeway, made of earth and several miles long, to the rocky ledge on the skirts of the desert where the pyramid is built. From 300,000 to 360,000 men are said to have been occupied for twenty years in building it. There is no evidence that elaborate mechanical appliances were used in the construction of the pyramid, and it is most unlikely that the Egyptians possessed any things of the kind. Some simple means for raising the blocks from ledge to ledge, or step to step, may have been in use, but the inclined plane made of dry mud and sand, and sledges, wedges, and short levers were the principal means used in moving and fixing the stones. The imaginations of many have run riot over this pyramid, and it has formed the subject of many theories. It does not contain chambers filled with precious stones, and never did; it was never one of Joseph's granaries, it being, in fact, wholly unsuitable for such a purpose; it was

never used as an astronomical instrument, and it was not built by or for any of the patriarchs mentioned in Holy Scripture. It is a tomb, and nothing but a tomb. Khufu married Mertitefes, the widow of Seneferu, who survived him, and he appears to have been succeeded by his brother Khāfrā; the length of Khufu's reign is unknown, but it cannot have been very much longer than the time which his pyramid is said to have taken in building, namely, twenty years.

If RĀTETEF was really the immediate successor of Khufu his reign was short and unimportant, and we pass at once to KHĀFRĀ, the third of the great kings of the fourth dynasty. The chief event of his reign, which must have been shorter than has been thought, was the building of his tomb, *i.e.* the second of the great pyramids at Gīzah. His pyramid is about 450 feet high, and the length of each side at the base is about 700 feet; like the pyramid of Khufu, it is entered on the north side, where stood the funerary temple of the king. Khāfrā called his pyramid "Ur," *i.e.* "Great." No military expedition during his reign is recorded; according to the Turin Papyrus he reigned twenty-four years.

In an inscription of Thothmes IV, cut upon a slab of granite between the paws of the SPHINX, mention is made of Khāf[rā], and it has been thought that he was the maker, or restorer, of this remarkable monument. Recently, however, the genuineness of this inscription has been doubted, and some now think it to be a restoration of an ancient inscription, made not earlier than the end of the twenty-first dynasty (about 900 B.C.) by certain priests who wished to magnify the importance of the god Rā-Harmakhis. Whether the name of Khāfrā occurred in the original inscription or not cannot be said, but if it did it shows that tradition in the eighteenth dynasty associated this king with the Sphinx. If it did not, and was only inserted by priests of the twenty-first dynasty or later, it shows at least that they associated the Sphinx with Khāfrā. If they only wanted to indicate the great antiquity of their god they could quite well have

quoted the name of Khufu, or Seneferu, or of some other earlier king. As to the Sphinx itself some believe it to be the work of Amenemhāt III, a king of the twelfth dynasty, but others disbelieve this. The Sphinx is a mighty man-headed lion, hewn out of the living rock, and it has often been repaired. The paws are 50 feet long, and the body is 150 feet long; the head is 30 feet long, the face 14 feet wide, and its height, from the top of the head to the base, is 70 feet. Its face was originally painted red. The Egyptians called the Sphinx "Hu," and it symbolised Rā-Harmakhis, a form of the Sun-god; when it was made, and when and how it came to typify this god, is unknown. We may note in passing that in the name of Khāfrā and in that of his unimportant predecessor Rātetef is included the name of "Rā," the Sun-god of Heliopolis, a fact that seems to suggest that the power of the priests of this foreign god was gradually increasing, and that those who were responsible for naming the successors of Khufu were influenced by it.

MENKAURĀ, better known by the classical form of his name Mykerinos, or Mycerinus, is said by Herodotus and Diodorus to have been a son of Khufu, but the monuments yield no information on the subject. Like his two great predecessors he was no warrior and is famous chiefly as the builder of his tomb, the third pyramid at Gīzah. This pyramid he called "Her," *i.e.* "High," but it is the smallest of these three pyramids, for it was not completed. Its height to-day is a little over 210 feet, and the length of each side at the base is only 350 feet; it was originally faced with granite slabs, many of which are still visible, and it was entered on the north side, where stood the funerary temple. Traditions current in the eighteenth dynasty state that Chapters XXXB and LXIV of the Book of the Dead were "found" during the reign of Menkaurā by Prince Herutataf, a son of Khufu, cut in hieroglyphs on a block of alabaster, the characters being inlaid in blue paste made of lapis-lazuli. Thus it seems that some important work in connection with the Book of the Dead was carried out with the knowledge and approval

of Menkaurā. He was succeeded by SHEPSESKAF, who built a pyramid tomb called "Qebh," *i.e.* "Coolness" or "Refreshing"; with the reign of this king the fourth dynasty practically came to an end. The kings of this dynasty have been rightly named "Pyramid Builders," and indeed they appear to have done nothing except build these mighty piles of stone for their tombs. Whatever may have been the population of the country, and whatever may have been its resources, the greatest possible strain must have been put on them to build these extraordinary monuments of human vanity. Round about them at Gīzah are the tombs of many of the great nobles and high officials who assisted these gods, as the kings were called, in compelling the wretched Egyptian peasant to pass the best years of his life in forced labour. Many of them are decorated with bas-reliefs and painted scenes of great beauty. Their fidelity to nature is surprising, and the skill with which they are executed, and their delicacy of detail, mark them for all time as masterpieces of art and sculpture, which the Egyptians under the later dynasties rarely equalled and never surpassed. The force and vigour that are in them seem to have disappeared from Egypt with the close of the fourth dynasty, for the later work of the kind, though in many respects much prettier, is weaker. The painted portrait statues are often very beautiful works, and, when looking on some of their faces, one feels that they are "speaking likenesses" of great and able men.

The kings of the FIFTH DYNASTY, according to Manetho, came from Elephantine, *i.e.* the region of the First Cataract, but this statement is not supported by the testimony of the monuments, which suggests that the kings of this dynasty came from Lower Egypt. An interesting legend preserved in a papyrus in Berlin throws some light on the origin of the dynasty, and may be very briefly summarised thus: King Khufu once ordered a magician at his court called Teta to bring him certain writings from Anu, or Heliopolis, but he refused to do so, saying that the eldest of three children, to whom Rut-tetet would give birth, should bring them. The

king asked who Rut-tetet was, and the magician told him that she was the wife of Userrā, a priest of Rā of Sakhabu, and that the three children were in fact the sons of Rā ; and that the eldest of them was to be high priest of Rā. This news made the king very sad. When the three children were born the goddess Isis, who was present there with the goddesses Nephthys, Meskhenet, and Heqet, and the god Khnemu, gave them the names of Userkaf, Sahurā, and Kakaa, and it was prophesied at the same time that they would all be kings, and would all one day reign over Egypt, one after the other. Looking now at the King-Lists we find that the names of the first three kings of the fifth dynasty, according to Manetho, were USERKAF, SAHURĀ and KAKAA, and thus the prophecy of the goddesses who attended the birth of the three sons of Rut-tetet seems to have been fulfilled. Their father Userrā was a priest of the Heliopolitan Sun-god Rā, and the name of Rā formed part of the name of each of his sons, either directly or implied.

SAHURĀ, the second king of the dynasty, is represented on a bas-relief at Wādī Maghārah clubbing a native of Sinai, as also is USERENRĀ, whose personal name as the son of Rā was AN. In the reign of the latter flourished the high official Thi, who married Princess Neferhetepes, and built a tomb which is still filled with the most beautiful bas-reliefs. Among the priests of the Sun-temple of Userenrā was Ptah-shepses, a very old man, who was born in the reign of Menkaurā, and lived through eight reigns. ASSA, the last king but one of the dynasty, appears in a bas-relief at Wādī Maghārah, and his name is found on rocks in the Valley of Rehenu, or, as it is called by the Arabs to-day, Wādī Hammāmāt. These facts may indicate that this king really did work the copper mines of Sinai, and that the old trade-route between the Nile and the Red Sea was used by his officials for trading or mining purposes. An inscription of the sixth dynasty at Aswān, at the foot of the First Cataract, states that Assa sent one of his officers called Baurtet to the land of Punt to obtain and to bring back to

him a pygmy, or dwarf; the officer succeeded in his task, and brought back the dwarf, and was handsomely rewarded by the King.

Each of the kings of the fifth dynasty from Userkaf to Assa built a tomb in the form of a pyramid at Abūsr, to the south of Memphis, but all these pyramids were far smaller than those of the great kings of the fourth dynasty. Associated with each of them was a "Sun-temple," *i.e.* a building, with courts, set apart for the worship and sacrifices of Rā, the Sun-god of Heliopolis. At the western end of a large square enclosure stood a blunted pyramid, and on top of this stood an obelisk. On the eastern side of this object was an alabaster altar, on which the victims were sacrificed, and on the north side of the altar was cut a series of channels along which the blood of the victims flowed into bowls that were placed to receive it. Details of the worship of this Sun-symbol are wanting, but there seems to be little doubt that it was a form of the "pillar-god," whose pillars have been so common in Arabia, Palestine, and Syria from time immemorial. All the kings of the fifth dynasty were worshippers of Rā, a foreign god from the East, whose cult obtained prominence in the Eastern Delta under the fourth dynasty. Some of the kings of the fourth dynasty introduced the name of Rā into their names, but it was some of the kings of the fifth dynasty who adopted the words SA RĀ, or "Son of Rā," as one of their great titles, and gave themselves special names as "sons of Rā." Thus the Horus name of one king was "Ast-ab-tauī," his Nebti name was "Ast-ab," his Horus-of-gold name was "Neter," his name as King of the South and of the North was "Userenrā," and his Son-of-Rā name was "An." Rā worship became the official cult of the country, and from the fifth dynasty onwards every king of Egypt called himself the "Son of Rā." This subject is referred to again in the section of this book that deals with the Egyptian Religion.

The last king of the fifth dynasty was UNAS, who worked the copper mines in Sinai and the quarries in the Wādī Ham-

māmāt. The pyramid which he built for his tomb is unlike that of any of his predecessors, for the walls of its chambers and corridors are covered with a series of texts cut in hieroglyphs which are inlaid with green plaster. These texts describe the triumphs of the dead king in the Other World and his occupations, and are full of most valuable information about the curious beliefs of the early dynastic Egyptians in respect of the life of the soul after death. The subject matter belongs to different periods in Egyptian history, and many of the conceptions relating to the future life clearly belong to the predynastic period. Side by side with magical spells to be used against snakes, vipers, and reptiles of all kinds are found expressions of spiritual ideas which closely resemble some of those found among Western nations to-day. Many of the texts are very old, but the forms in which they are found in the pyramid of Unas are due to the priests of Heliopolis, who made Rā the god of the Other World whereto Unas had departed.

The kings of the SIXTH DYNASTY are said by Manetho to be of Memphite origin. The first of them, TETA, built a pyramid similar to that of Unas, with inscriptions of the same class as those selected for Unas ; the second, USERKARĀ, also built a pyramid, the stone for which was brought from the Wādī Hammāmāt. The third king, MERI RĀ PEPI I, was the greatest king of this dynasty. His rule over Egypt was of a very effective character, and his reign was a period of great industrial progress. He worked the mines in Sinai and the quarries of the Wādī Hammāmāt and Syene (the modern Aswān), and copper was so plentiful in his reign that a metal-worker, name unknown, made a life-size statue of the king in copper, and another of his soul more than two feet high. When the nomad tribes of the Sūdān revolted Pepi determined to break their power, and he sent Una, his able administrator, and, apparently, soldier, to subdue them. Una collected troops, not only from Egypt, but also from many parts of the Sūdān and Libya, and he attacked the rebels, who were called "Āamu" and lived in the Eastern Sūdān,

and vanquished them completely. On five separate occasions Una conducted punitive expeditions into the Eastern Sūdān, and on one of these, when the resistance offered to him was peculiarly obstinate, he slew every rebel to the last man. It was high time that a strong king sat on the throne of Egypt, for the kings of the fourth dynasty had spent their energies in building their own tombs, and those of the fifth dynasty in building Sun-temples to the foreign god Rā. Pepi I built his tomb in the form of a pyramid close to those of Unas and Teta, and its chambers and corridors contain inscriptions similar in character to the texts prepared for those kings. There are in them, however, many passages that prove that Osiris, a very ancient Egyptian god, was resuming his place as the great god of the Other World, from which the priests of Rā had succeeded in driving him temporarily.

Pepi I was succeeded by MERENRĀ MEHTIEMSAF, his son by his wife Ānkhnesmerirā, whose reign was very short, and who is only of importance as the builder of his pyramid tomb, which contained religious inscriptions similar to those prepared for his father. The works begun by Pepi I were continued during the reign of his son, and the usual mining operations went on undisturbed. The great official Una, who did such splendid service for Pepi I, was employed by Merenrā to fetch granite doors and frames and altars from the quarries at Elephantine, and he brought his flotilla down to Memphis, escorted by one war-boat only. Subsequently Una was sent by the king to the south to build seven large wooden boats, which were to be loaded with blocks of granite for the royal pyramid tomb. The boats were built with the help of the chiefs of the tribes in the neighbourhood, and loaded with granite, but then it was found to be impossible to bring them through the First Cataract. Nothing daunted, Una set his men to work, and they excavated five canals, through which the boats passed easily. In the fifth year of his reign Merenrā visited Northern Nubia, and was hospitably received by the Governors of Uauat, Matchai, and Arthet. In this reign Herkhuf, the Shēkh of the Caravans which

traded between Egypt and the countries on the Blue Nile and White Nile, visited various parts of the Sūdān three times, and brought back ivory, ebony, boomerangs, grain, panthers' skins, &c.

Merenrā was succeeded by his half-brother NEFERKARĀ PEPI II, when, according to Manetho, he was only six years old, and he reigned until he had completed his hundredth year. His long reign was singularly uneventful, and besides the usual mining and building works there is very little to chronicle. He built a pyramid tomb, the walls of the chambers and corridors of which were covered with religious texts similar to those found in the pyramid of his father Pepi I. During the reign of Pepi II the Shēkh of the Caravans mentioned above made a fourth journey into the Sūdān, and brought back many products of that region, including a dwarf who knew how to dance "the dance of the god." Having reported the success of his expedition to Pepi II, the king shortly afterwards sent a despatch telling him to bring the dwarf to him at Memphis, and saying that if he did so he would bestow upon him honours greater than those which King Assa bestowed upon the official Baurtet, who brought a dwarf to his court. Herkhuf, of course, obeyed the royal command, and he was so pleased with the king's despatch that he had it cut on the front of his tomb. It is nowhere said in the texts why Assa and Pepi II were so anxious to have dwarfs near them, but it was probably because they shared, with many Oriental nations, the belief that a dwarf could be used as a habitation or receptacle for the soul, or, in the case of the Egyptians, the KA or Double. When the king died his dwarf was killed and buried with him in his tomb, so that his spirit might go and carry the royal shadow in the Other World as his body had carried the royal KA in this. It is unlikely that such great trouble was taken to obtain dwarfs, unless they were able to be of material use to the king. During the long reign of Pepi II several other chiefs of Elephantine made expeditions into the Sūdān, namely Pepinekht, Saben, and Mekhu. The last-named

died on one of his journeys, and Saben his son set out with men and one hundred asses to bring back his father's body so that it might be mummified. He succeeded in his task, and when he had buried his father in Elephantine he journeyed to Memphis and gave to Pepi II the Sūdānī products that his father had collected.

The last two or three kings of the sixth dynasty were kings only in name, for even when Pepi II died the royal house had lost its grip on the country. There now happened in Egypt what has always happened there when the strong hand of a vigorous king was wanting; the central power at Memphis having collapsed, disorder and confusion spread throughout the land. The kings of the fourth and fifth dynasties kept the great nobles of the country at their courts on one pretext or another, and when these died they were buried in tombs round about their lords' pyramids. The kings of the sixth dynasty must have had quite different courts, for their pyramids are not surrounded by the tombs of their nobles and high officials. In other words, the great native chiefs of the nomes of the South and North at this time appear to have lived on their own estates, and to have ruled their districts without much regard to the wishes of their kings. When Pepi II died, the hereditary chiefs in many parts of the country asserted their independence, the small local governors began to quarrel and to usurp each other's possessions, and the people naturally flocked to the successful men, whether their claims were just or unjust. The offerings to the temples were diminished, their treasuries became empty, the worship of the gods languished, and everyone did what was right in his own eyes. Arts and crafts ceased to be practised, for no one needed fine tombs, and poverty and misery ruled the land. Of this period nothing is known, and no facts are available by which we can estimate its length. According to Manetho, the SEVENTH DYNASTY consisted of 70 kings who reigned 70 days, and the EIGHTH DYNASTY consisted of 27 kings whose reigns lasted for 146 years, and both dynasties were of Memphite origin. These statements may be correct, but they cannot be verified by the monuments.

This period of disorder was brought to an end, more or less, by the chiefs of Hensu, or Henssu, the Khānēs of the Bible (Isaiah xxx. 4), and the Herakleopolis¹ of the Greek writers, who succeeded first in making themselves independent, and then in making themselves kings of Egypt. As they made Hensu their capital it seems as if kings were still pretending to rule Egypt from Memphis, but there is no doubt that the chiefs of Hensu became, as Manetho says, the kings of the NINTH and TENTH DYNASTIES. One of the earliest of these was KHATI, the Akhthoes of Manetho, whose name is known from a bronze bowl and from an inscription in a quarry at Aswān, and we may assume that for some time after his accession the country had peace. When the peace was broken is not known, but it is certain that the rule of the Herakleopolitans did not remain unchallenged by the descendants of the lawful kings of Egypt who were living at Memphis. Now, whilst the Herakleopolitan kings were imposing their authority on the nomes to the south of them, the hereditary princes of Thebes were gradually becoming powerful, and were imposing their authority upon the nomes to the north of them. At the same time the hereditary princes of Siut, the modern Asyūt, about 250 miles south of Cairo, had acquired considerable power, and their "kings" who were called either "KHATI" or "TEFABA," became independent. The Theban princes extended their dominions northwards, and before long came into conflict with the princes of Siut, whom they eventually conquered. They then advanced on the Herakleopolitans, who, after apparently a stubborn resistance, were also conquered, and thus the Theban princes became the kings of Egypt of the ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

The monuments seem to indicate that one of the important ancestors of the kings of the eleventh dynasty was ANTEFA, and that he was the first of the Theban princes who declared himself independent and made Thebes the centre of his rule, but he claimed no authority over the Kingdom of the North. Of his reign nothing is known. An inscription in the British Museum supplies the name of three kings of this period,

¹ The ruins of the town lie about 65 miles to the south of Cairo.

namely ANTEF THE GREAT, whose Horus name was "Uah-ānkh," another ANTEF, whose Horus name was "Nekhtnebtetnefer," and Mentuhetep, whose Horus name was "Sānkhabtauī." At least three other Mentuheteps are known, namely, NEBTAUIRĀ MENTUHETEP, NEBHAPTRĀ MENTUHETEP, and SĀNKHKARĀ MENTUHETEP, but opinions differ as to the order of their reigns. According to Manetho, the kings of the eleventh dynasty were 16 in number, and the duration of the dynasty was 43 years. There is some mistake here, for one king, Nebhaptrā Mentuhetep, must have reigned for about 46 years. The general trend of the evidence of the monuments suggests that the kings of this dynasty were not more than 8 in number, and that the dynasty lasted for about 200 years. Such facts as are available are interpreted in different ways by different authorities, and at present no satisfactory account of the dynasty as a whole can be written. The greatest of its kings was undoubtedly NEBHAPTRĀ MENTUHETEP, a mighty warrior who established his authority from one end of Egypt to the other. He marched into Nubia and crushed a revolt of the tribes of the Eastern Desert and the Āamu, and presumably laid them under tribute. He built a pyramid at Dēr al-Baharī, close to his magnificent funerary temple, the remains of which have been excavated in recent years. Judging by the fragments of the coloured bas-reliefs that remain, this building must have been beautifully decorated, and their style and finish call to mind the characteristics of some of the best work of the fifth dynasty. These bas-reliefs were probably the work of Mertisen, a famous sculptor, who says on his stele now in the Louvre, "I am a workman, skilled in his craft, who by reason of his knowledge hath risen above [all others]. I know the water-flood, and I understand the rising of the scales in making reckoning by weighing, and how to depict the motion of a limb when it is extended and withdrawn to its place. I know [how to depict] the gait of a man, and the way in which a woman beareth herself, and the two arms of Horus, and the twelve abodes of the Monster, and how to gaze with that unequalled eye that striketh terror into the

fiends, and how to balance the arm in such a way as to smite down the hippopotamus, and [how to depict] the stride of him that runneth. I know how to make the amulets that will enable us to go unharmed through every fire whatsoever, and that will keep us from being washed away by any water whatsoever. No man hath gotten skill in these matters, except myself and the eldest son of my body, unto whom God hath decreed that he should advance in them. I have seen the productions of his hands, and his beautiful work in precious stones of every kind, and in gold, and in silver, and in ebony."

The last king of the eleventh dynasty was SĀNKHKARĀ, and the principal event of his reign was the despatch of an expedition to Punt, under the command of a high official called Henu, in the eighth year of his reign. He set out from the town of Coptos, taking with him soldiers from the nome of Thebes, and workmen, in all about 3000 men. Water for the entire force was carried in skins slung on poles, and every man had to act as porter in turn. On the road to the Red Sea three wells were dug and the skins refilled from them, and when Henu arrived on the coast of the Red Sea thank-offerings were made to the gods. Henu then built the boats in which he and his men were to sail, and they embarked in them and reached Punt safely. Here the chiefs loaded the boats with myrrh and other valuable products of Punt, and Henu sailed back in peace. Being in the neighbourhood of the famous diorite and porphyry quarries by the Red Sea, he went to them and made his men quarry a number of blocks of these valuable stones, which he took back with him to Egypt to be made into statues of the gods and of the king. Punt could be reached by land as well as by sea, but from very early times the Egyptians preferred to despatch their expeditions by sea, for, in the first place, it was much easier travelling, and, in the second place, the pillage by the tribes on both banks of the Nile of the goods brought back was obviated. On the death of Sānkhkarā disorder and confusion again broke out in Egypt, but it is not known how long anarchy lasted. With the accession to the throne of AMENEMHĀT, a new dynasty, and, according to Manetho, a new Regnal Period began.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE—DYNASTIES XII-XIX

WITH the TWELFTH DYNASTY we touch firm historical ground, for the names of all its kings are known, and the order in which they reigned, and the years of the reign of each ; it is tolerably certain that there were only eight kings in the dynasty, and that the total of the years of their reigns was between 225 and 240 years. The seat of government was transferred from Herakleopolis to Thebes by the Antefs and Menthuheteps, although the home of the latter was Anu-resu, or Hermonthis, the modern Armant. The kings of the twelfth dynasty were closely related to those of the eleventh, and it is probable that the first king, Amenemhāt, was a kinsman of Sānkhkarā, the last king of the eleventh dynasty. For some reason the first king of the twelfth dynasty built a fortress at Athitai, a place which seems to have been not far from Minyah ; this became the seat of his power in the North. The kings of the twelfth dynasty greatly developed the province of the Fayyūm, and though as Thebans they adored Amen, they also held the Crocodile-god of the Fayyūm, *i.e.* Sebek, in great veneration. They enjoyed more power than any of their predecessors after the fourth dynasty. They waged war successfully in the Sūdān, and in the Eastern Desert, and their influence in Syria, Sinai, and Libya was very great ; and the tribute and the trade from these countries made them rich. In the south Nubia, as far as the Second Cataract, became a portion of Egypt. The power of the hereditary princes was everywhere curtailed, and their subjects were compelled to work on undertakings of public utility, and especially on those that were connected with improvements in the irrigation of the country.

The cult of the dead and the worship of ancestors were revived, large selections of Chapters from an early Recension of the Book of the Dead were copied on wooden sarcophagi and coffins, and the kings of the dynasty built pyramids for their tombs, only they were very much smaller than those of the fourth and fifth dynasties. The temple of Amen at Karnak, which must have been an insignificant building, made probably of wood, was now rebuilt in stone, and important additions were made to the temple of Rā at Heliopolis by Usertsen I, who set up in it a pair of red granite obelisks of a height and size previously unknown. The art and sculpture of the Middle Empire are developed directly from those of the Ancient Empire, but have an increased tendency towards realism.

AMENEMHĀT I, the Ammenemes of Manetho, who reigned about thirty years, ascended the throne after a period of anarchy. From the "Instructions" which he compiled for his son it seems that after he became king a conspiracy to kill him was formed by certain of his officers or household. These attacked him as he lay asleep, but the king managed to defend himself, and beat them off. He restored or rebuilt the temples of Abydos, Tanis, and Bubastis, and refounded the temple of Amen, a very ancient god of Thebes. He made regulations for the irrigation service, and is said to have had a survey made of the country, and to have delimited the frontiers of each nome. He invaded Nubia and conquered the four chief tribes there, and he added to Egypt the portion of the country between Abu, or Elephantine, and the place called to-day Korosko. In his "Instructions" he says that his power reached from the sea to the First Cataract. He adds, "I was a farmer, and I loved the Harvest-god. The Nile saluted me in every channel. During my years no man suffered hunger or thirst, and men dwelt in peace through my acts." He built a pyramid tomb at Lisht, 30 miles south of Cairo. In connection with the death of Amenemhāt I reference must be made to the now famous STORY OF SANEHAT, a son of Amenemhāt I. This prince was, it seems, at the

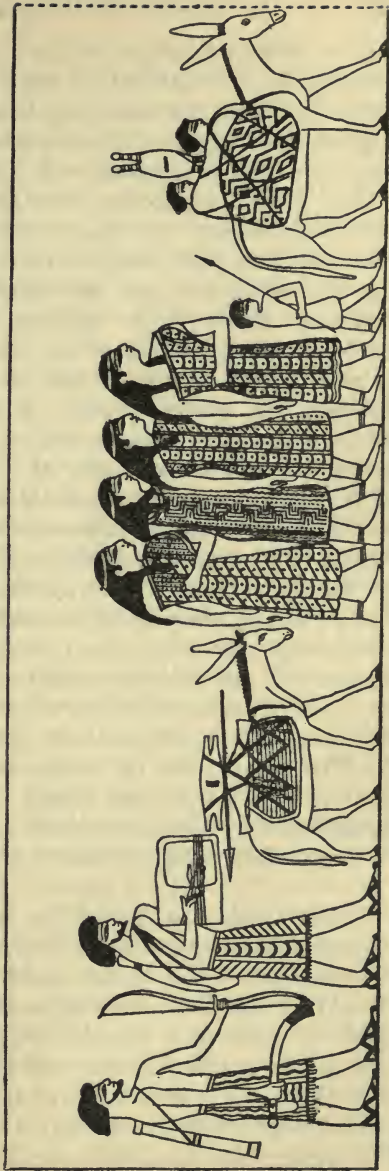
time of his father's death, engaged in an expedition against the Libyans, and one day whilst the fighting was going on a messenger came to announce to Usertsen I, the heir to the throne of Egypt, the death of his father. Sanehat overheard the messenger's words, and for some reason or other was seized with a fit of terror at the idea that Usertsen might put him to death, and, taking the earliest opportunity that offered itself, he deserted from the army and took to flight. There is no need to describe here the incidents of his flight, and his subsequent good fortune, for a translation of his autobiography is given in the accompanying volume on Egyptian Literature.

USERTSEN I (or Senusert), the Sesonchōsis of Manetho, reigned at least 43 years. In the third year of his reign he rebuilt and re-endowed the famous temple of the Sun-god at Anu, the On of the Bible, and the Heliopolis of Greek writers, which had fallen into ruin during the troubled times between the sixth and twelfth dynasties. The new temple was dedicated to the Sun-god in his three characters, which bore the names of Horus, Rā, and Temu, the Sun-god in the morning, at noon, and in the late afternoon. Before the temple Usertsen set up a pair of granite obelisks, the tops of which were covered with copper casings; one of these was thrown down by the Muslims in the thirteenth century of our era, and the other, 65 feet high, is still standing. Before they were set up the king performed the ceremonies of the Set Festival, the object of which was the renewal of his life. The obelisk is a modified form of the symbol of the Sun-god, which was worshipped in the Sun-temples built by the kings of the fifth dynasty. The reign of Usertsen I was one of great activity, and work was carried on diligently in the quarries to supply stone for the temples that were being built at Tanis, Bubastis, Abydos, Karnak, and elsewhere, and as the old copper mines of Wādī Maghārah seemed to be failing, new ones were opened at Sarābīt al-Khādīm, also in the Sinaitic Peninsula. At Abydos Usertsen I built a temple to Osiris, the director of the works being the official

Menthu-hetep. The cult of Osiris had become general in Egypt before the close of the sixth dynasty, but nothing is known of any of the temples which must have been built in many parts of the country in his honour. At the same time the king either repaired or rebuilt the casing of the famous well at Abydos, which was supposed to be connected with an underground conduit by which the offerings made to the dead were conveyed to the kingdom of Osiris in the Other World. Usertsen I continued the practice of his father in sending expeditions into Nubia in quest of gold, but he made no serious attempt to occupy the country. The inscription of Ameni, a nobleman from the Oryx Nome, proves that gold and gold only was the object of the raids that he himself made into Nubia on behalf of his lord. At one time his force consisted of 400 men, and at another of 600 men, and with these troops he compelled the wretched natives in the gold-producing districts to give him what he wanted. About this time the king appointed a viceroy over Nubia, with the title of "Prince of Kash" (*i.e.* Cush) and "Governor of the South." Usertsen I built his pyramid tomb at Lisht.

AMENEMHĀT II was the son of Usertsen I, and he reigned at least 35 years. His reign was peaceful and uneventful, and his attention was devoted to the development of the country. He built a temple to Hathor at Sarābīt al-Khādīm in Sinai, over which country the goddess presided. He sent Sa-Hathor to the Eastern Sūdān to work the gold mines, the ore being washed by the chiefs of the country; on his return Sa-Hathor was despatched to the land of the Blacks, *i.e.* the Southern Sūdān, to collect tribute for his lord. In the 28th year of his reign the king despatched an expedition to Punt under the command of Khentkhatour, who returned in peace, and anchored his boats at Sauu.

USERTSEN II was the son of Amenemhāt II, and his reign was long and prosperous; Manetho says that he reigned 48 years, but this statement lacks the support of the monuments. In the first year of his reign, as we learn from the



The royal scribe Nefer-hetep, introducing to Khnemu-hetep, a high official of Usersten II, a company of thirty-seven Aamu, or Asiatics, led by the Prince of Absha, who had brought a quantity of *meschem* eye-paint to Egypt.

stele of Khnemu-hetep now at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, he "established his monuments in the Land of the God," *i.e.* he set up memorial stelæ, and perhaps even buildings of some kind on the shores of the southern end of the Red Sea. On the same stele he is represented receiving "life" from the god Sept, a deity of the Eastern Delta and the neighbouring countries on the east. All this suggests that the king paid special attention to the development of the Red Sea trade, and encouraged traders from Punt and Southern Arabia to do business in his country. Manetho calls him "Sesōstris," and says that he "conquered all Asia in nine years," but the records of his reign now available do not bear out this statement. From a wall-painting in the tomb of Khnemu-hetep, a nobleman of the Oryx Nome, we learn that in the sixth year of the king's reign a company of 37 Āamu, or Semites, visited Menāt Khufu in Upper Egypt, and were received by Khnemu-hetep, the Governor of the Nome. The reason of their coming is unknown, but it was, no doubt, to do business with the Egyptians, and, to make dealing easier, they brought some *mestchemet*, or eye paint, which they were ready either to give or sell to the Governor. Usertsen II built his pyramid tomb at Al-Lahūn (Illahūn) on a plan different from any other known. The base of it is the living rock, which has been dressed to a height of 40 feet; on this is a portion of the pyramid core with cross-walls, built partly of stone and partly of brick. The whole of the filling between the walls is mud brick. The sarcophagus is of red granite, and the chamber it stands in is of red granite.

USERTSEN III succeeded his father Usertsen II, and he reigned at least 33 years. The greatest event in his reign was the conquest of the Sūdān, which he occupied effectively as far as the countries bordering on the Nile are concerned. He made at least four expeditions into the Northern Sūdān, and gained much experience of the character of the people as well as of the geography of the country. Egypt needed gold in large quantities during his reign, and he realised that if the supply from the South was to be maintained, the Egyp-

tians must be masters of Nubia, *i.e.* the "land of gold." One of his first works was to re-make a canal in the First Cataract through which his war-boats could pass freely up and down the river, thus doing away with the necessity of the transshipment of goods and men, and the consequent delay. In the eighth year of his reign this canal needed repairs, and when these had been carried out it was 250 cubits long, 20 wide, and 15 deep. The canal here referred to is probably that which was made by the official Una under the sixth dynasty. Having repaired the canal, Usertsen III brought his troops through it, and sailed up the river to the Second Cataract, and built several forts in the district near the river to the south of the modern town of Wādī Halfah. He occupied several of the islands in the river, among them Jazīrat al-Malik, and fortified them, and at Semnah and Kummah, on the top of the high, rocky river banks, he also built forts. At the former place he set up a red granite boundary stone, on which was cut a decree prohibiting the Blacks from advancing further to the north than that stone, excepting such as were actually traders and who had been in the habit of travelling to Egypt on business. No Nubian boat of any kind was permitted to pass that stone going northwards. Very soon after the king had returned to Egypt the Blacks refused to bring tribute to the Egyptian forts, and they treated the decree cut in hieroglyphs, which they could not read, with contempt. At length the king determined to march against them, and in the sixteenth year of his reign he and his army raided their country in all directions, killed their cattle, carried off their women, and cut down and burnt their crops of *dhura* (millet). When he had squeezed all the gold he could possibly get out of the wretched natives, he returned to Semnah and set up another slab of red granite on which an account of his conquest of the country was cut. In his inscriptions he describes himself as a king who thinks and gives effect to his thoughts without delay. His attack is quick, and is pressed home with all his might; his wrath is implacable, and to his enemies he is merciless. To show mercy is a sign of weakness, which the enemy regards as cowardice,

and any man who allows himself to be beaten on his own ground is a coward. He then goes on to describe the character of the Black: A word frightens him, and makes him hesitate; meet his attack boldly and he will run away; he has no courage, and is a miserable and feeble creature; he is nothing but a stupid animal without sense and without intelligence. "I have seen the Blacks," says the king, "and I swear by my father's life, and by my own life, that what I am now saying is the truth, and it cannot be gainsaid." This inscription is the only one known wherein a king of Egypt describes the character of his foes with such arrogance and contempt; as the Nubians could not read it, and the Egyptian officials did not need to, the exact object of the character-sketch of the Nubians is not clear. Usertsen III built a chain of forts from Elephantine so far south as the rock on the west bank of the Nile now called Gebel Dōshah, and was thus able to ensure the safe transport of gold from the Sūdān to Egypt. He built a small temple at Semnah, and he either repaired or added to the great temples at Elephantine, Thebes, Abydos, Herakleopolis, Tanis, Bubastis, &c. In his reign the ceremonies connected with the Miracle Play of the death and resurrection of Osiris were revived on a very large scale, and a new figure of the god, made of lapis-lazuli, gold, and turquoise, was established in a new boat in his temple. The pyramid tomb in which the king was buried is probably the more northerly of the two brick pyramids at Dakshūr; round about this pyramid have been found several tombs of royal ladies, who were the wives and daughters of Usertsen III, and his tomb must have been near these.

AMENEMHĀT III, the son and successor of Usertsen III, was the greatest of the kings of the twelfth dynasty; he reigned at least 44 years, and Egypt under his rule enjoyed great peace and prosperity. Art, sculpture, architecture, and trade of all kinds flourished, and the remains of his buildings and monuments proclaim the activity of all classes of artificers during his reign. All the great quarries and mines

of Egypt and Sinai were kept hard at work in producing the metal and stone which the king required for all his building operations. He devoted a great deal of thought and energy to the improvement of the irrigation of the country. One of his greatest and most useful works was the construction of the great reservoir in the Fayyūm, which is commonly known as "LAKE MOERIS." This Lake stood in a natural depression in the land, probably of no very great size, but by means of dykes and regulators the king increased its waters until their area was about 750 miles and their circumference 150 miles. Its level is said to have been about 80 feet above the Mediterranean. Near Semnah, where his father had built a fort, Amenemhāt III caused a series of levels to be cut on the rock to mark the height of the Nile-flood in certain years. These levels are said to prove that at that time the level of the river during the Inundation was about 26 feet higher than it is at the present time. That they were cut in connection with the working of Lake Moeris is said to be probable.

In connection with the great Lake Herodotus mentions two huge statues, which he says stand upon two pyramids in the middle of the Lake. These statues must have been two colossal statues of Amenemhāt III, but they can never have stood upon pyramids in the water; they probably stood on massive stone bases or pedestals that were built on some earthwork near the Lake. Diodorus Siculus says that the king "built a sepulchre and two pyramids, one for himself and another for his queen, a furlong in height," in the "middle of the lake"; he further says that the statues were made of marble. Amenemhāt III built his pyramid tomb at Hawārah, on a spur of the limestone plateau in the Fayyūm; the core was made of mud bricks laid in clean yellow sand, and the pyramid was entered from the south. The sarcophagus chamber is hewn out of a single block, and is about 22 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 6 feet high. The elaborate precautions taken by the king for the hiding of his body were all in vain, for thieves managed to effect an entrance and to plunder the tomb in ancient days. Quite

close to the pyramid, to the south of it, he built a magnificent funerary temple, which Greek writers called the "Labyrinth." The stone for this building was quarried in the Wādī Ham-māmāt by 2000 men, who were sent there for the purpose by the king in the nineteenth year of his reign. It must have been a very large building, and its area is calculated at 800,000 square feet. It must also have contained a very large number of chambers and corridors, each small chamber probably representing a town, and each large one a district or a nome. The whole building was dedicated to the Crocodile-god Sebek, and, according to Herodotus, it contained 3000 chambers, 1500 being above and 1500 below ground. In one part of it were large monolithic pillars, and, according to Pliny, there were in it "figures of gods, statues of kings, and effigies of hideous monsters," and the greater part of it was in "total darkness." Among other great works in stone executed by Amenemhāt III some would include the Sphinx, the features of which have been thought to resemble those of this king; but the evidence adduced in support of this theory is not conclusive. On the other hand, the faces of the Tanis sphinxes (see the cast of one of them in the British Museum) may well have been copied from the face of the great king.

Among the monuments of this reign is one of peculiar interest, because it helps us to understand how the king was regarded by so great an official as Sehetepabrā, a director of works at Abydos. After enumerating certain works which he carried out, and describing his own excellences, he gives his children some good advice. He says: "Worship the king, who liveth for ever, in your inmost hearts, enshrine His Majesty in your hearts; he is the lord of wisdom in the heart. His eyes search the reins, he is the Sun-god and seeth by his light, he sheddeth more light on Egypt than the Sun-god, he maketh Egypt more fertile than a high Nile, he filleth Egypt with strength and life. . . . Fight ye for his name, sanctify yourselves by swearing in his name. . . . He whom the king loveth is prosperous. The man who is a foe of His Majesty shall not be buried, but his body shall

be cast into the water. Observe these things and your bodies shall flourish, and ye shall be ever radiant.”

AMENEMHĀT IV, the last king of the twelfth dynasty, reigned for about nine years. His reign was unimportant, and though the copper mines in Sinai and the stone quarries were worked, his buildings were few. His name is found at Kummah in connection with Nile levels, but there is no evidence that he occupied himself with irrigation works.

SEBEK-NEFERUT-RĀ, the sister of Amenemhāt, was associated with her brother in the government of Egypt, either as co-regent or wife, and she is said to have reigned alone for nearly four years. Her reign was unimportant. In connection with the twelfth dynasty must be mentioned King HER, who may have been a son of Usertsen III or of Amenemhāt III, and a king called Usertsen, who is sometimes called USERTSEN IV.

With the end of the twelfth dynasty we reach another period of difficulty, and, in spite of all the facts that have been brought to light in recent years, no satisfactory, or even approximately final, account of it can be written. The monuments supply the names of a considerable number of kings who ruled between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, but several kings whose names are unknown must have lived during that period. According to Manetho, the kings of the THIRTEENTH DYNASTY were 60 in number, they reigned 453 years, and their origin was Theban; the kings of the FOURTEENTH DYNASTY were 76 in number, they reigned for 184 or 484 years, and they came from Aat-Sekhau in the Delta, the Xoïs of the Greeks, and the Sakhā of the Arabs. The same authority goes on to say that there were 43 kings in the FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, and SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES, who reigned in all about 953 years; to these kings he gives the name of “Hyksos,” or “Shepherds.” Speaking generally, the thirteenth dynasty represented the kings of Upper Egypt, and the fourteenth dynasty the kings of Lower Egypt, and many of these must have been contemporaries. In fact, Egypt was once again split up into two kingdoms, and the

king of each kingdom strove continually for the possession of the land of the other. Now the total of the years of the five dynasties above-mentioned is 1590 according to the shorter reckoning, and 1890 according to the longer reckoning, but the known facts do not justify us in accepting either reckoning. It is possible that the total of 1590 years or 1890 years represents the length of the reigns of the kings at Thebes added to that of the reigns of those of the Delta. It is tolerably clear that, except at rare intervals, between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties a king of the North and a king of the South were always reigning at the same time, and that during the greater part of the period neither was sufficiently strong to make himself master of the whole country. The general drift of the evidence derived from the monuments seems to indicate that the power of the Theban kings declined steadily at the beginning of the period, and that as it declined the power of the nomad Semites from the east, who are known as "Hyksos" or "Shepherds," increased until the end of the period, when the Thebans became strong enough to make themselves masters of the whole country. We may now mention the principal kings of this difficult period.

Passing KHUTAUIRĀ, SEKHEMKARĀ, AMENI-ANTEF-AMENEMHĀT, and several other kings, we come to KHUTAUI-SEKHEM-RĀ SEBEK-HETEP, whose name is found on monuments at Bubastis in the Delta, and on the rocks at Semnah in connection with Nile levels. These facts suggest that his power extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Second Cataract. Sebek was a favourite deity with the kings of the thirteenth dynasty, and many of them delighted to include his name in their names. Opinions differ as to the order of the succession of the Sebek-heteps, therefore the name which each adopted as unifier of Egypt is given. NEFER-HETEP was the son of the priest Haānkhēf and undertook the restoration of the temple of Osiris at Abydos. He paid a visit to Heliopolis, and searched through the papyrus rolls in the Library there for information about the form of the statue of Osiris and the details of his worship. He

returned to Abydos, and superintended the performance of the Miracle Play of Osiris, and took part in the sacred procession from the river bank to the temple of the god.

KHĀNEFERRĀ SEBEK-HETEP (III ?) seems to have carried out some important works in connection with the temples of Tanis and Abydos, but it is doubtful if he extended the southern frontier of Egypt to a place a little to the south of the head of the Third Cataract as the present writer and others have asserted. The two statues in grey granite, about 24 feet long, which now lie on the Island of Argo, and which have been adduced as proof that his territory extended above the Third Cataract, were made, it is now said, at a much later period. One of the last kings of the thirteenth dynasty was probably Aāab, whose name is mentioned on a stele now in the British Museum.

Among the kings of the fourteenth dynasty, from Xoīs in the Delta, may be mentioned SEBEKEMSAF, who worked the quarries in the Wādī Hammāmāt, where on two reliefs he is represented paying adoration to the god Menu of Coptos. There is in the British Museum a beautiful green basalt scarab, set in a gold plinth, inscribed with this king's name and parts of Chapters XXXB and LXIV of the Book of the Dead. This probably came from his tomb in Western Thebes. Of SEBEKEMSAUF, who may well have been the successor of Sebekemsaf, very little is known. He built a pyramid tomb for himself and another for his wife Nubkhās in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rameses IX the authorities at Thebes extracted, by means of "blows of the stick" and "beatings upon their feet," a confession from eight thieves of a gang who had broken into these pyramids and robbed them. They tore off the gold from the mummies of the king and queen, and stole the king's two swords and his amulets and necklaces, and then they set fire to the funerary swathings. They collected all the furniture in the tomb, including gold, silver, and copper vases, and all the gold, &c., from the two

mummies, and they divided it into eight lots, each thief receiving one-eighth of the spoil. The remaining kings of the fourteenth dynasty are unimportant.

We have seen that at this time neither in Upper Egypt nor in Lower Egypt was there a king sufficiently strong to rule the whole country, or to defend it from the attack of foes. To the nations around this fact was clear, and Egypt was quickly invaded in the north, not by a single nation, but by a confederacy of nomad Semitic tribes, namely, the Āamu and their kinsfolk, who flocked to the Delta, by way of the Isthmus of Suez, and settled down there. They came from the Peninsula of Sinai and Arabia, and from Palestine and Syria, and they entered Egypt without striking a blow, the native Egyptians being powerless to resist the invasion. When they arrived in the Delta they found many Semites who had been settled there for some time, and before a great many years had passed the newcomers were masters of Lower Egypt. To these settlers Manetho gave the name of "Hyksos," or "Shepherds," and their kings are now generally known as "Shepherd Kings." The name "Hyksos" represents the Egyptian words "Hequ Shasu," the former meaning "chiefs," or "governors," and the latter "nomads"; but there is no proof that *Shasu* had this meaning before the nineteenth dynasty, and Manetho probably only gives the meaning which the word had in later times. His statement is correct, however, for the Semites who overran Lower Egypt towards the end of the fourteenth dynasty were nomads. The epithet applied to them by the Egyptians was "Aat-t," which has been translated "rebels," "invaders," "plague-bearers," and even "pestilence"; but its exact meaning to the mind of the Egyptians is unknown. It was certainly intended to express their hatred and contempt of the foreigner. The monuments supply no account of the invasion of the Hyksos, but, thanks to the famous Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, we have a description of it, and this agrees substantially with all the known facts. Josephus quotes this description from the Second Book of the Egyptian History of Manetho,

who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and says: "I will set down his very words (*i.e.* Manetho's), as if I were to bring the very man himself into court for a witness." The quotation then follows thus: "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;¹ he also lived in Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions² pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and as he found in the Saïte (read Sethroïte) Nome a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastite channel,³ 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 Salatis came 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. When this man had reigned 13 years, after him reigned another, whose name was BEON, for 44 years; after him reigned another, called APACHNAS, 36 years and 7 months; after him APOPHIS reigned 61 years, and then JONIAS 50 years and 1 month; after all these reigned ASSIS 49 years and 2 months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who

¹ This is a form of the Semitic word "SHALĪT," *i.e.* "Governor."

² *i.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt. ³ *i.e.* the Damietta arm of the Nile.

were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. The whole nation was styled 'Hyksos,' that is, 'Shepherd Kings.' . . . These people kept possession of Egypt 511 years."

Of the names of the Hyksos kings given by Manetho two may be identified from the monuments. Thus Apophis is clearly one of the kings whose personal name was APEP, or APEPA, and Jonias, or Iannas, is KHIAN; the identifications proposed for the others are unsatisfactory. The principal Hyksos kings whose names are recorded on stone objects, scarabs, and the like are: ĀAUSERRĀ APEPA, who carried on building operations at Bubastis in the Delta; his name has been found at Gebelēn in Upper Egypt. In the 33rd year of his reign the famous papyrus in the British Museum known as the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus was copied from an older papyrus, which probably dated from the reign of Amenemhāt III, a king of the twelfth dynasty. SUSERENRĀ KHIAN is known from several monuments, both small and great. A portion of a colossal statue of this king was found at Bubastis, and a small stone lion, which was purchased at Baghdad and is now in the British Museum, bears two of his names. The names of the following kings are found on scarabs: SEMQEN, ĀNTHER, USERMERRĀ IQEBARH (?), NUBTAUIRĀ, ĀAHETEPRĀ, KHĀMURĀ (?), KHĀUSERRĀ, SKHĀENRĀ, MAĀ-ABRĀ APEPA, ĀANETERRĀ, IPEQHER, &c. One of the latest of the Hyksos kings is ĀAQENRĀ APEPA, whose name is found on two black granite statues of King MERMASHĀU, and on a table of offerings dedicated to the god Set. In his reign fighting took place between the two kingdoms of the South and North, and the Theban king SEQENNRĀ TAUĀQEN was killed. Another late Hyksos king, ĀAPEHTI-SET, with the personal name of NUBTI, is made known to us by the "Stele of Four Hundred Years," which was discovered at Tanis. In the text on this stele it is stated that Nubti reigned 400 years before Rameses II. The monuments of the latest Hyksos kings prove that the Hyksos had adopted, little by little, the manners and customs of the Egyptians, and that their chiefs, or shēkhs, had at length adopted the

Egyptian language and religion, and had assumed the titles of the old Pharaohs, and become to all intents and purposes Egyptian kings. Though they worshipped Sutekh, and other gods and goddesses chiefly from Syria, their kings were quite content to call themselves "sons of Rā," as if they had been true descendants of the sun-worshippers of Heliopolis.

Now whilst the Hyksos of the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties were in possession of the Delta, a considerable number of petty kings reigned at Thebes. Of the greater number of these nothing is known, but a few have left behind them monuments of importance for the history of the period. Among these may be mentioned SESHESHRĀ-HERHERMAĀT ANTEF, SESHESHRĀ-UPMAĀT ANTEF, whose coffins are preserved in the Louvre, and NUBKHEPERRĀ ANTEF, whose gilded coffin is in the British Museum. An important inscription of the last named Antef is found cut upon a doorway built by Usertsen I in the temple of the god Menu at Coptos, and it is almost unique of its kind in Egyptian literature. It is a decree authorising the removal from his office of a high official of Coptos called Teta, the son of Mentuhetep, for treason. His rations were stopped and all his emoluments, his name was erased from the temple registers, none of his posterity was to minister in any capacity in the temple of Menu, and his name was consigned to oblivion. Teta seems to have had friends among certain local chiefs and governors, for the king goes on to threaten to confiscate the property of any of those who aid and abet him after the promulgation of this decree, and to transfer it to Menu, the god of Coptos. Another king belonging to this difficult period is MAĀTENRĀ-KHĀENRĀ KHENTCHER, in whose reign the temple of Osiris at Abydos, which was built by Usertsen I, was cleared out, and its walls renewed and painted by Amenisenb. In return for his services Amenisenb was given ten *teben* weight of metal, a mass of dates, and a part of an ox, and he was made inspector of the temple for life. He subsequently restored all the shrines in the temple, and made repairs of the temple furniture in cedar wood, &c.

How long the struggle for supremacy between the Hyksos and Theban kings lasted cannot be said, but towards the end of the Hyksos rule it is quite certain that, in the words of Manetho as quoted by Josephus, "the Kings of the Thebaïns and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the Shepherds, and there was a long and terrible war between them." This war, he continues, was brought to an end by a native Egyptian king called Misphragmuthosis, or Alisphragmuthosis, who smote the Hyksos, and shut them up in a place called Avaris, which had an area of 10,000 acres. This place the Hyksos had fortified strongly by means of a "vast and strong wall." Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, besieged Avaris with 480,000 men, and at the very moment when he despaired of reducing the city the people inside it capitulated on the understanding that they were to leave Egypt, and to be permitted to go whithersoever they pleased. These terms were agreed to, and they departed from Egypt with all "their families and effects, in number not less than 240,000, and bent their way through the desert towards Syria." Being afraid of the Assyrians, they built in the country called Judea "a city of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and they gave it the name of Jerusalem." A great many of the statements made in the extracts above rest upon facts. A little more light is thrown upon the relations between the Hyksos kings and their Theban vassals by the First Sallier Papyrus in the British Museum. According to this, the "Filthy ones," *i.e.* the Hyksos, were masters of Egypt, and there was neither king nor lord in the land. The Heq or King of the South was called Seqennrā, and the Hyksos King was called Rā-Apepi; the seat of the rule of the latter was Avaris, and the entire country paid tribute to him, and acknowledged his overlordship. He had built himself a temple to the god Sutekh, and worshipped therein daily both morning and evening with his nobles. One day he summoned his scribes and magicians, and called upon them to assist him in framing a despatch to Seqennrā, ordering him to worship the Hyksos god Sutekh, and to destroy the hippopotami in

the marshy land about Thebes, because the noises they made prevented him from sleeping at night in his palace at Avaris. He promises also that if Seqennrā will worship Sutekh he will demand no further tribute from him, and will not bow down before any god save Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, of Thebes. What happened between the kings afterwards is not known, for the last portion of the papyrus is broken off, but sufficient of the text remains to show that the Hyksos king was the overlord of Seqennrā. The Hyksos king is called Rā Apepi, and it is probable that he was either $\bar{A}A\bar{Q}ENNR\bar{A}$ APEPA or $\bar{A}APEHTI$ -SET NUBTI.

The fight between the Hyksos and the Thebans appears to have taken a turn favourable to the latter under a small group of kings who formed the SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY from Thebes. These were: (1) $\bar{S}EQENNR\bar{A}$ TAU- $\bar{A}A$, who built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. (2) $\bar{S}EQENNR\bar{A}$ TAU- $\bar{A}A\bar{A}A$, who also built himself a tomb in the same place. Both these tombs are mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum. (3) $\bar{S}EQENNR\bar{A}$ TAU $\bar{A}A$ - $\bar{Q}EN$. Nothing is known of the reign of this last Seqennrā, but he was mummified, and buried, presumably in some tomb that had been prepared for him. Subsequently his mummy was taken from its tomb, and hidden with the mummies of many of the great kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties at Dēr al-Baharī in Western Thebes. Here they were discovered in 1871, and a few years later they were removed to Cairo, where on June 9, 1886, the mummy of Seqennrā was unrolled. His head was turned round to the left, the skull was split, the lower jawbone broken, the tongue was bitten through, and there was the mark of a stab from a dagger over the eye; it was probably this last injury that ended the brave king's life. All these wounds were no doubt received by the king in a fight with the Hyksos, but whether his troops were victorious or not is unknown. The struggle for supremacy was carried on by KAMES, the son of Seqennrā, and after his death by his brother Senekhtenrā, but details of their short reigns are wanting, and how they died is not

known. The successor of Senekhtenrā was his younger brother AĀHMES, who became the first king of the EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. The mother of all three brothers was AĀH-HETEP, the wife of Seqennrā I, and, as the name of the Moon-god "AĀH" forms part of her name, it has been thought that she must have been connected in some way with one of the great families of the town of Khemenu, the Hermopolis of the Greeks, where Thoth was worshipped both under the form of an ibis and the Moon. In any case she was a moon-worshipper, and it is noteworthy that her son Kames calls himself on his spear-head "Son of the Moon, born of Thoth."

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

AĀHMES I, the Amōsis of Manetho, carried on the war against the Hyksos with great vigour, and it is probable that not more than fifteen or twenty years elapsed between the death of his father on the field of battle and his conquest of them. The Thebans drove their former masters before them northwards, and having captured the Hyksos stronghold at Memphis, Aāhmes marched on and attacked the chief seat of their power at Avaris. No inscription of Aāhmes tells us anything about these successes, but one of his Generals of Marine, also called Aāhmes, relates some important facts in connection with them in the inscription upon the walls of his tomb at Al-Kāb in Upper Egypt. This officer was captain of a ship called the *Bull*, and he served on another called the *North*. He loved fighting, and he was appointed to run after the king in his chariot. When the king was besieging Avaris, his officer was serving in the ship called "Khāem-Mennefer," and several times he slew foes and brought back prisoners single-handed. After the fall of Avaris, and the flight of the Hyksos into Syria, the king pursued them in his fifth year as far as the city of Sharhana (the Sharuhēn of Joshua xix. 6), and he besieged this city and took it. Meanwhile the Nubians had revolted, and Aāhmes, taking his able general with him, marched into their country and defeated the rebels with great slaughter; when

he returned he was truly King of Upper and King of Lower Egypt. Shortly after this another revolt broke out in the south; its leader was Aata, whose name means something like "Filthy one." This rebel advanced northwards with his troops, and attacked and laid waste the shrines of some of the Theban gods. His triumph was short-lived, for Aāhmes, with his two generals, Aāhmes the son of Abana, and Aāhmes who was surnamed Pennekheb, captured him and his followers at a place on the Nile called Tenttaā. This Aata was probably one of the Hyksos. Yet another revolt, headed by one Tetaān, broke out, but was quickly suppressed. Later in his reign Aāhmes again marched into Nubia to extend the boundaries of Egypt, and on this occasion he captured many prisoners, *i.e.* he seized a large number of men and brought them to Egypt to perform forced labour. In the 22nd year of his reign he reopened the quarries of Turah opposite Memphis, and began to rebuild the temple of Ptah at Memphis and the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes; the hewing of the stone was performed by the "Fenkhu," *i.e.* "foreigners," but at that time these were not the Phœnicians, as has been asserted. Aāhmes reigned about twenty-five years, and he will be renowned for all time as the deliverer of his country from the yoke of the Hyksos. His mummy is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

TCHESERKARĀ AMEN-HETEP. (Amenophis I) succeeded Aāhmes I, and reigned about twenty-one years. From the funerary inscriptions of his generals called Aāhmes, it is clear that he marched into Nubia to extend the boundaries of Egypt, and waged one or two wars against the Libyans, but his military expeditions were short and unimportant. To him belongs the credit of having realised that the Nubians could not be made to pay their tribute, unless Egyptian officials resided permanently in their country; he therefore appointed a governor over them with powers to collect and forward the tribute annually. His building operations were on a considerable scale, and he added to the temples of Karnak and Dēr al-Baharī, and built shrines to the

native goddess Sati at various places in Nubia. Perhaps the most important act of his reign was performed in connection with the endowment of the priests of Amen-Rā at Thebes. There is no doubt that he was a " princely benefactor " of their order, for on their coffins he appears as a god, and his name is usually found on them in the most prominent places. It was Amen-Rā who had given the Thebans victory over the Hyksos, and it was therefore the duty of the Theban kings to consolidate his worship, and to provide for its continuance in a temple worthy of the great god. The worship of Amen at Thebes was very ancient, but in the earliest times he was one of a group of Nature-gods, and for centuries he was only of local importance. His priests early in the eighteenth dynasty, wishing to increase his importance, affixed to his name that of Rā, the Sun-god of Anu (Heliopolis), and bestowed upon him the attributes of gods who were far older than himself. It seems as if the priests of Amen tried to make their god represent all the great gods of every great town of Egypt, so that he might become a sort of universal god in the country. Amen-hetep I must have been a religious man and a generous giver to the religious institutions of his day, otherwise he would not have been worshipped so persistently for hundreds of years. His mummy is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

ĀAKHEPERKARĀ TEHUTIMES (Thothmes I), was the son of Amen-hetep I by his wife the lady SENSENEB, who was not of royal rank, and he reigned about twenty-two years. He ascended the throne on the twenty-first day of the third month (= January 15–February 15) of the season Pert, and he sent out a circular to all the nobles of the kingdom stating this fact, and announcing the forms of the royal names and titles which he intended to adopt and use. On the death of his father the Nubians and other Sūdānī folk again rebelled, and Thothmes was obliged to invade their country, called Khent Hennefer. He took Aāhmes the General with him, and as he was sailing up the river his

boats encountered many boats of the rebels sailing down. A fierce fight ensued, and many of the Nubian boats were rammed, and they capsized and drifted to the bank. The king "growled at his foes like a leopard," and he hurled his spear at their leader with such success that it pierced him through and through, and he fell down dead. Thereupon a great slaughter took place and the enemy was defeated, and many prisoners were taken. Before Thothmes returned to Egypt he tied the dead body of the rebel chief to the bows of his boat, so that as he sailed down the river every one on the banks might see it and tremble before him. Where this fight took place is not known. Subsequently, perhaps in the third year of his reign, Thothmes seems to have traversed the whole district of the Second and Third Cataracts, for a long inscription of his is found on the Island of Tombos, at the head of the Third Cataract, near the modern village of Karmah. Near this place he built some kind of strong building, the officer in charge of which would be instructed to collect tribute from the people on the river banks, who cultivated the richest tract of land in all Nubia. This tract is now known as the "Dongola Province," and at the present time it yields a good revenue. On his way back to Egypt Thothmes passed through the canal in the First Cataract, which was made by Merenrā in the sixth dynasty, and repaired by Usertsen III in the twelfth dynasty.

The next scene of the king's labours was Western Asia, and he marched northwards through Palestine and Syria to the region of Rethenu, which lies to the north-west of Mesopotamia. He fought many fights with the various semi-independent peoples of this country, and was victorious everywhere; he collected loot in abundance, and made many prisoners. His old servant Aāhmes was with him in the land of Naharina, *i.e.* the "land of the two rivers," or Mesopotamia, and captured a horse and chariot and cut off twenty-one hands from the men he had slain. Whilst Thothmes I was in this region he set up a stele to mark the limit of his empire in that direction, and this stele was

seen in later days by Thothmes III. The building operations of Thothmes I were important. With the tribute from Nubia and Western Asia he built a pylon and set up two obelisks, each about 76 feet high, at Karnak; one is still standing. He carried out many works in Western Thebes, built a temple at Abydos, dedicated a chapel to Sati and Thoth at Primis in Nubia, and added buildings to the forts at Semnah.

ĀAKHEPERENRĀ TEHUTIMES (THOTHMES II) was the son and successor of Thothmes I, and he reigned about twelve years; his mother was the Princess Maāt-Nefert. According to the testimony of the General Aāhmes Pennekheb, Thothmes sent an army into Nubia to put down a revolt among the Nubians, who had not only refused to pay tribute, but had begun to raid the cattle of Egyptians settled in the country. The tribes of Palestine and Syria that had been forced to pay tribute by Thothmes I also refused to pay, and General Aāhmes accompanied Thothmes II when he raided those countries and extorted tribute from the tribes of the Shasu. Considering the shortness of his reign Thothmes II carried out many important works on the temple at Karnak on the right bank of the Nile, and on the temple of Madīnat Habū on the left bank. His names are found on the buildings that were begun in Nubia by his father and completed in his own reign. The mummy of Thothmes II is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and was unrolled on July 1, 1886, when it was found to have been opened and remade in the reign of Painetchem (twenty-first dynasty). The experts who examined the mummy stated that the king could not have been more than thirty years of age. He had a low, narrow forehead, and his nose was deformed, and the general appearance of his remains suggests that his muscular development was imperfect, and that he suffered from some skin disease. He left one son, who afterwards became Thothmes III; the mother of this son was the lady Aset, or Isis. Some think that he married his half-sister Hātshepset.

What happened exactly on the death of Thothmes II is

not certain. According to the scribe Anen who lived under four reigns, namely, Amenhetep I, Thothmes I, Thothmes II, and Thothmes III, the successor of Thothmes II was his son by the lady Aset, who ascended the throne as Thothmes III. He says, "When he (*i.e.* Thothmes II) went to heaven and was united with the gods, his son (Thothmes III) stood upon his throne as King of Egypt, and he ruled upon the throne of him that begot him. And his sister Hätsheset was made a ruler of the country, and Egypt was under her jurisdiction, and Kamt (*i.e.* Egypt) performed for her works of service with due submission." These statements agree very well with the evidence of the monuments, but it must be noted that Hätsheset was not the sister of the son of Thothmes II, but the aunt. When his father died he was quite a child, and certainly unable to rule. His aunt Hätsheset was of royal descent both on her father's side and her mother's, whilst her nephew was royal only on one side. There is no doubt that she took up the reins of government at once on the death of her half-brother Thothmes II, and it seems she felt that she would effectually consolidate her power, and render her rule acceptable to the Egyptians if she married her nephew, and she did so. When the scribe Anen calls Hätsheset the "sister" of the successor of Thothmes II, he follows a custom that was always common in Egypt, *i.e.* to call a man's wife his "sister" and a woman's husband her "brother." The monuments prove that Hätsheset was a shrewd, capable woman, and that although her joint reign with her nephew was peaceful it was not inglorious. Her will must have influenced the course of affairs greatly during her half-brother's reign, and after his death she carried out undertakings, some of which were probably planned during the reign of her father Thothmes I.

HÄTSHEPSET began her joint reign towards the close of the sixteenth century before Christ, and she reigned about twenty-two years. She justified her claim to the throne of Egypt by asserting that she was a veritable daughter of Amen-Rā, who had begotten her in his sanctuary, and that

of her two parents only her mother was mortal. The belief that every king of Egypt was a god who had become incarnate of a woman was very old, for the first king of Egypt was begotten by Horus, and the first of the sun-worshipping kings who formed the fifth dynasty was begotten by Rā, a sun-god from Western Asia, and became incarnate of the mortal woman Rut-tetet. Hātshepset was, so far as we know, the first queen of Egypt to claim divine origin in this way, and she herself seems to have seen the difficulty of applying to a woman the theory that from the very beginning was supposed to concern the king of Egypt only. She called herself "Khne-met Amen," a name which indicated that she was of the very essence and being and bone and flesh of the god. One of the most important events in her reign was the despatch, in the ninth year, of an expedition to Punt to fetch myrrh and the other products of this remote Sūdānī land. Her fleet consisted of five ships, which reached Punt safely, and, when the captain Nehsi had given to Paṛahu, the Prince of Punt, the gifts which the queen had sent, the natives loaded her ships with gold, boomerangs, myrrh, ebony, ivory, precious woods and incense, dog-headed apes, monkeys, skins of animals, &c. From a commercial point of view this expedition was a great success. In the ninth year of her reign Hātshepset made herself king of Egypt, and in her bas-reliefs she appears in the form of a man, and wears male attire, and wears the head-dress of a god and a beard on her chin. As the builder of the beautiful temple of Dēr al-Baharī she has earned lasting fame; she called it "Tcheser Tcheseru," *i.e.* "Holy of Holies," and dedicated it to Amen-Rā and Hathor. It had three stages, and one of the walls she decorated with bas-reliefs illustrating her expedition to Punt, and with sculptured scenes and texts illustrating and describing her divine birth and enthronement. Her architect was called Senmut. Besides this temple he carried out a great many works at Karnak, including the setting up of a pair of granite obelisks, about 98 feet high, in honour of her divine father Amen and her earthly father Thothmes I. With the revenues which she derived

from the Sūdān and Syria she carried out the restoration throughout the country of many of the temples and shrines that had been wrecked by the Semitic Āamu and by the Hyksos and other foes. The monuments made during the twenty-two years of the reign of Hātshepset make it quite clear that her nephew, who was joint ruler with her, had very little to do with the government of the country during her reign, and that he was kept in the background. From the career of conquest on which he embarked after her death it is certain that his tastes and abilities were wholly different from hers.

MENKHEPERRĀ TEHUTIMES (Thothmes III), the son of Thothmes II and the lady Aset, reigned 54 years, 22 years as co-regent with Hātshepset, and 32 years as sole monarch of all Egypt. Shortly after he ascended the throne he found himself obliged to undertake wars on a scale that had never been dreamed of in Egypt, for the people of Syria and Palestine and Nubia on the great Queen's death promptly declared themselves independent, and refused to pay tribute. They had forgotten all about the conquests of Thothmes I, and apparently they never had any cause to fear Thothmes II or Hātshepset; in fact, the twenty-two years of the reign of the latter had enabled them to husband their resources, to make plots against Egypt, and to prepare for war. She was no warrior, and had no military instincts, and whilst she was amusing herself with playing at "bringing Punt to Egypt," and proclaiming her divine origin, the possessions of Egypt in Western Asia and in the Sūdān were slipping away from her control. Thothmes III realised that there was no time to be lost, and, with the skill, decision, and bravery of a man who was naturally a great soldier, he collected his forces and made ready for serious war. He knew that the tactics which the Egyptians usually displayed in dealing with savage Sūdānī tribes would be useless in Syria, among well-armed men, who were better trained, and who were in many respects more civilised than the Egyptians. During his reign he made seventeen expeditions

into Western Asia, Nubia, and other countries, and it is the Annals of these campaigns, which he instructed his officer Thaneni to prepare, that form our chief source of information about his splendid conquests.

In his first campaign, which took place in the 22nd and 23rd years of his reign, he captured Megiddo, defeated all the tribes round about it, and obtained immense quantities of spoil. A diary of this war was kept, and the leather roll on which it was written was preserved in the temple of Amen at Thebes. In his 24th year he received tribute from the governors of Assyria and Rethenu. In his 25th year he received from Rethenu choice shrubs and plants, which he sent to Egypt. In his 28th year he marched again into Syria, and took possession of Methen (Mitani) and Thenpu (Tunep), and obtained very rich spoil. On his way back to Egypt he captured Arvad and with it immense spoil. In his 30th year he captured the town of Kadesh on the Orontes, which was the centre of rebellion, and Simyra, and made a second attack on Arvad. On this occasion he carried back to Egypt several sons and brothers of the chiefs as hostages. Another expedition to the same region took place in his 31st year, and when he came back to Egypt he found a deputation from Nubia, who presented him with gum, cattle, ivory, ebony, and slaves. The expedition to Syria in his 33rd year was very important, for he conquered the whole region of Naharen (the Naharayīm of the Bible), and received tribute from all the important towns, as well as from Sinjar and Babylon. Whilst he was in this region the Hittites sent gifts to him, and, according to the information supplied by the General Amenemheb, the king went to hunt elephants, and slew one hundred and twenty of these animals. On his return to Egypt he found awaiting him valuable tribute from Punt and from Northern Nubia (Uauat). In the 34th year of his reign he received tribute of copper, lead, &c., from Cyprus, and tribute from Northern and Southern Nubia.

Meanwhile the peoples of Naharen had made up their minds to cast off the yoke of the Egyptians if possible,



Head from a Colossal Statue of Thothmes
III, King of Egypt 1550 B.C., now in the
British Museum.

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and they revolted, their revolt taking the form of refusing to pay tribute. Thothmes III promptly marched against them, and utterly routed the allied tribes, who had sent cavalry and infantry to bar his progress. The rebels were slain, and all their horses and chariots, and armour and weapons, became the spoil of the Egyptians. The expeditions of the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st years of his reign produced vast quantities of spoil, and on his last expedition, the seventeenth, which took place in the 42nd year of his reign, he attacked Kadesh and laid waste the cities of Tunep, Arkata, and the country around; from these he obtained an immense quantity of spoil of all kinds. The Annals of Thothmes III end with the 42nd year of his reign, but there is little doubt that his expeditions did not cease then. It is possible that seventeen campaigns had convinced the stubborn Nubians and peoples of Western Asia that it was easier and cheaper to pay tribute than to fight Thothmes III. On the other hand, the king may have sent his son to collect the tribute. In the 50th year of his reign Thothmes III made some kind of expedition into Nubia, for he had the old canal in the First Cataract cleared out, and his fleet of boats passed through it to the south. Four years later he died, and was buried in a rock-hewn tomb in the Valley of the Royal Tombs. His mummy was found at Dēr al-Baharī, and was unrolled at Cairo in July 1881; it had been broken in ancient days by tomb-robbers, and was wrapped in a linen swathing on which was inscribed a remarkable text from the Book of the Dead, now known as the CLIVth Chapter.

The expeditions of Thothmes III filled the treasury of Egypt to overflowing, and never before had the countries of Punt, Nubia, and Western Asia poured their treasures into Egypt so often or so abundantly. The king's liberality to the temple of Amen was as great as his bravery, and the remains of his works prove that every great temple of Egypt profited by his munificence. His captives supplied the labour, and the decorations of every temple testified, by the materials of which they were made, to the vast extent

of his conquests. At Heliopolis, Memphis, Abydos, Denderah, and Coptos he carried out extensive works and additions, but his most splendid architectural works were reserved for Thebes, the beloved city of Amen. Here he added a colonnade with 40 granite columns and 32 pillars, and a pylon, on the walls of which he had cut the names of all the peoples and tribes whom he had conquered. On the walls of a corridor leading to the shrine of Amen his Annals were cut, and he built a small temple between two of the pylons, and dug a sacred lake. At Elephantine he built a temple to Khnemu, the god of the First Cataract, and he founded the temple of Sūlb (or Soleb) between the Second and Third Cataracts. He set up at least four great granite obelisks at Karnak, but not one of them now remains, and two at Heliopolis, and of these one is in New York, and the other, commonly called "Cleopatra's Needle," stands on the north bank of the Thames, on the Thames Embankment. Another of his obelisks, which was unfinished when he died, stands in the open space in front of St. John Lateran in Rome. Another, but quite a small one, is preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Alnwick Castle, Northumberland; it was given by Muhammad Ālī, Pāshā of Egypt, to Lord Prudhoe, but what temple or town it came from is not known.

As Hātshepset was fortunate in her choice of the architect Senmut, so also was Thothmes III fortunate in finding a number of officials who were capable of understanding and carrying out his great works. First and foremost was his *wazir*, or prime minister, called Rekhmarā, who ruled Egypt during his king's absence, and administered the affairs of the kingdom during the latter half of his reign. He was a wise man, with sound, shrewd judgment as to men and things, and a competent knowledge of everything that belonged to his office; he was just and honest, and the description of the duties of a *wazir*, which he had inscribed upon the walls of his tomb, proves that he was one of the ablest officials ever known in ancient Egypt. Among the great building engineers of Thothmes III must be mentioned Puam, who set up for

his lord a pair of obelisks, which are represented on one of the walls of his tomb at Kurnah in Western Thebes. The best summary of the conquests of Thothmes III is given on a stele found at Karnak. The text is cut upon it in hieroglyphs, and is supposed to be a speech of the god Amen-Rā, who enumerates the countries that had been brought under the sway of Egypt by the king, whom he calls his beloved son. A translation of it will be found in the accompanying volume on Egyptian Literature.

ĀAKHEPERURĀ AMEN-HETEP (AMENOPHIS II) was the son of Thothmes III by Hātsheset Mertrā, and he reigned about ten years. He was associated in the rule of Egypt with his father, with whose methods he was well acquainted. As soon as Thothmes III was dead, the peoples of Western Asia revolted. Amen-hetep II at once marched into Syria with an army, and quickly reduced the rebels to subjection. He crossed the Orontes and went on to Ni, where he set up a memorial tablet, and was successful in all his fights with the natives. The rebels had had no time to organise their forces, so his engagements with them cannot be regarded as battles. The centre of the rebellion was the country of Takhisa, which lay to the north of Kadesh, and we owe our knowledge of the details of his expedition to a stele which he set up at Amādah in Nubia, after his return from Syria. He was a mighty man of war, for in Shemshu-Atum he himself captured eighteen prisoners alive and sixteen oxen (horses?). He carried away from Takhisa seven chiefs, and brought them to Egypt, together with hundreds of other prisoners and a very large quantity of copper and hundreds of horses and chariots. He hung the chiefs head downwards from the bows of his boat, and when he arrived at Thebes he sacrificed six of them to Amen-Rā, and had their bodies exposed on the walls of Thebes. During his absence in Syria the Nubians revolted, and in the third year of his reign he sent an army against them, and his officers took with them the remaining chief of Takhisa. The Egyptians were victorious everywhere, and they penetrated so far south as Karai, or Napata

(the modern Merawī), at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Here the wretched chief of Takhisa was sacrificed to the local god, and his body was hung upon the city wall, so that all men might know how futile it was to rebel against the King of Egypt. Neither Syrian nor Nubian rebelled during the later years of the reign of Amen-hetep II, and he was free to devote himself to the repair and restoration of temples. Few, however, of his monuments remain. He was buried in a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings in Western Thebes, and his mummy, lying in its sarcophagus, may be seen there to-day. Close by lie the bodies of some of the royal ladies, who either committed suicide or were killed when the king died.

MENKHEPERURĀ TEHUTIMES (THOTHMES IV) is thought to have been the son of Amen-hetep II, and he reigned for eight or nine years. He made one or more expeditions into Western Asia, apparently because the tribes had again revolted, and, according to the inscriptions in the tombs of some of his officers and officials, he advanced to Naharen, reduced the rebels to subjection, and brought back the usual gifts of gold and silver in the form of vases, and copper. In the eighth year of his reign he learned that the Nubians of Uauat were about to invade Egypt, and, after consulting his god, he set out with an army to chastise the rebels and to collect the all-important tribute. His soldiers were successful, and he brought back a large number of prisoners and much spoil. A relief on the Island of Konosso represents him in the act of slaying two Nubians in the presence of the Nubian gods Tetun and Ahu. He settled his prisoners, both Syrians and Nubians, in Thebes, where they carried out forced labours for the king. Though the name of Thothmes IV is found in many places, his buildings were few, and the greatest of his works was the erection of the fine granite obelisk which Thothmes III had ordered to be set up at Karnak, but which death prevented him from finishing and erecting. Thothmes IV added by the side of the dedication of Thothmes III inscriptions of his own, and he tells us that the obelisk had

been lying on its side at Karnak for thirty-five years, when he had his father's dedication cut upon it, and set it up. Among other facts it states that Thothmes IV brought back from Rethenu (Syria) cedar wood wherewith to make the sacred boat of Amen-Rā, called Userhāt-Amen. The name of Thothmes IV is imperishably connected with the Sphinx at Gīzah. According to an inscription on a stele set up between the paws of the Sphinx, Thothmes IV was in the habit of amusing himself by practising shooting with arrows at a target, and in hunting lions and oryxes, and in chariot-driving with very fleet horses. One day after hunting in the desert near the Sphinx, he and his followers rested at midday under the shadow of the Sphinx, and he fell asleep. During his sleep Harmakhis-Kheper-Rā-Atem appeared to him, and promised to give him the double crown of Egypt if he would clear away the sand from the Sphinx, his image, and protect his sanctuary. When the king awoke he took steps to carry out the god's desire and, presumably, became king in consequence. The style of the language in which the inscription is written has given rise to the theory that the narrative is a priestly invention of a later date, but, even if this be so, it is probable that the legend itself is as old as the time of Thothmes IV. Hitherto the relations between the kings of Egypt and the chiefs of Syria, or Rethenu, Naharen, or Mitanni, had not been of a friendly character, for they had consisted on the one side of demands for tribute, and on the other of the payment of the same. Thothmes IV, however, inaugurated a new policy. How the matter came about is not clear, but certain it is that he demanded in marriage the daughter of Artatama, the king of Mitanni, and we learn from one of the Tell al-Amarnah tablets now in Berlin (No. 24) that he made his demand seven times, and that Artatama only gave his consent to her marriage with Thothmes IV at the seventh time of asking. The kingdom of Mitanni was ruled at that time by kings who were of Aryan descent, and the documents written in the language which they introduced into the country with their rule cannot at present be deciphered. The native name of the Mitannian princess who

married Thothmes IV is unknown, but she is, no doubt, to be identified with the queen of this king who is called "Mutemuaa."

NEBMAĀTRĀ AMEN-HETEP (AMENOPHIS III), the MEMNON of Greek writers, was the son of Thothmes IV and the Mitannian princess Mutemuaa, and he reigned about thirty-six years. In the latter years of his reign, at least, it was stated in his inscriptions that he was a veritable son of the god Amen-Rā, who had become incarnate in him by Queen Mutemuaa. He ascended the throne probably before he was twenty years of age, and during his reign he saw Egypt attain to a state of greatness and prosperity almost beyond belief. He enjoyed the fruits of the wars of his ancestors, and was free to indulge in hunting expeditions, of which he was passionately fond, to cultivate friendship with Asiatic kings, and to gratify his taste in architecture and the fine arts. There is no evidence that he possessed great abilities as a warrior; but he had no need of them, for the only tributary people who rebelled during his reign were the Nubians. Their revolt must have taken the usual form, namely, refusal to pay tribute to Egypt, and in the fifth year of his reign Amenhetep III sailed to the south at the head of a military expedition. The revolt in the country of Abhat was suppressed by Merimes, the Egyptian general who was over Nubia, and a stele in the British Museum states that he cut off 312 hands of the rebels, and captured 740 prisoners. The king himself marched much farther to the south than Abhat, and, though the position of the countries which he reached cannot be identified with certainty, it seems clear that he penetrated the region to the south-east of Egypt through which the Blue Nile flows. There is no evidence that he made any attempt to annex this remote country, or to impose even the most shadowy rule over it, and this part of the expedition was probably undertaken by him solely for the gratification of his love for exploring lands unknown to him, and perhaps for hunting purposes. In his reign the rule of Egypt was not effective south of Karai, or Napata, a large Nubian town

situated on the left bank of the Nile at the foot of the Fourth Cataract.

With the tribute paid by the tributaries of Western Asia and Nubia, and the profits that accrued to Egypt from successful trading in all the neighbouring countries, Amenhetep carried out the series of magnificent building operations that have made his name famous throughout the world. He reopened the quarries of Turah to obtain the stone with which he built the Serapeum at Sakkārah, he worked the copper mines of Sinai, and, in order to obtain stone for his mighty buildings at Thebes, he worked the quarries of Gebel Silsilah on a scale unprecedented in the history of Egypt. He built a great pylon at Karnak, and made in connection with it an avenue that came from the river to the temple and was ornamented with two obelisks and a colossal statue of himself. He also completed many buildings at Karnak, but for some reason he felt that another great temple was necessary for the beautifying of his capital, and so he began to build the great temple of the Southern Apt, now commonly known as the "Temple of Luxor." This temple was dedicated to Amen-Rā, Mut, and Khensu, and was about 500 feet long and 180 broad; it was connected with the temple of Karnak by means of a paved way, on each side of which was a row of ram-headed sphinxes facing each other. Between Karnak and Luxor he built a temple to Menthu, and another to Mut; and from the latter come the black basalt statues of Sekhmet now in the British Museum. In Western Thebes Amenhetep III built a magnificent funerary temple, every trace of which has disappeared with the exception of two great sandstone statues of the king, each about 60 feet high, which stood before it, and which are now known as the "Colossi of Memnon." The northern statue is said to have emitted a sweet, sad note daily just after sunrise, and for this reason was called the "vocal statue of Memnon," but, after the damage that was done to the statue by an earthquake (27 B.C.) was repaired by Septimius Severus, the sound it had formerly emitted at sunrise was no longer heard. Amenhetep III built a temple to Khnemu on the Island of Elephantine,

and a temple in honour of his wife, the great Queen Ti, at Sadēngah in Nubia. Some 30 miles to the south of this, near the modern village of Sūlb, he built a very large temple of sandstone, with two pylons, two courts, and two pillared halls, large portions of which still remain ; it was about 300 feet long, and was the largest Egyptian temple ever built in Nubia. It is possible that the two fine red granite lions, which were found at Gebel Barkal at the foot of the Fourth Cataract, and are now in the British Museum, stood originally in the temple at Sūlb ; both contain this king's names, but one of them was made by the command of Tutānkh-Amen, a later king of the eighteenth dynasty, probably to replace one of the originals which had been broken, or destroyed by some means.

Among the small monuments of the reign of Amen-hetep III must be mentioned a remarkable series of five scarabs, which were issued by the royal command to commemorate five important personal events in the king's reign. These events were :—1. His marriage with Tī, a foreign lady from the country of Tchah. 2. His making of a lake on which Queen Tī could sail in a pleasure boat on the left bank of the Nile in or near Western Thebes. 3. His marriage with Gilukhipa, the daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, in the tenth year of his reign. 4. A famous wild-cattle hunt at some place in Lower Egypt, when the king slew about 75 beasts in two days. 5. His lion-hunts, during which in the first ten years of his reign he slew 102 " fierce lions " with his own hands. These scarabs, many specimens of which are nearly four inches in length, were made in large numbers, and were distributed by the king among his officials and friends in many parts of Egypt. Several fine specimens are exhibited in the British Museum.

Amen-hetep III continued and developed the friendship that existed between Egypt and certain of the kings of Western Asia, and he married several of their daughters. These facts we learn from the Tell al-Amarnah Tablets, a remarkable collection of documents written in the Babylonian language and in cuneiform characters, which were found in

1887 by a native woman in a chamber in the small building that lies to the east of the palace built by Amen-hetep IV in his city of Khut-Aten, the ruins of which are known by the Egyptians as "Tell al-Amarnah." The exact number of the tablets found is unknown, for several were broken into pieces by the men who bought the woman's interest in the "find," and several were lost on their way to Cairo, but the total number of tablets found must have been between 300 and 320. The British Museum possesses 85 Tell al-Amarnah Tablets and a portion of a mythological text, the Royal Museum in Berlin about 160 tablets and fragments, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo 54, and a few are in private hands. The greater number of the tablets contain letters and despatches written to Amen-hetep III and his son Amen-hetep IV by kings and governors of the countries and districts in Western Asia, between 1450 B.C. and 1400. They throw great light on the relations that existed between Egypt and Babylonia, Mitanni, and Syria, and supply much information concerning their treaties and alliances, and their marriage customs, religion, intrigues, &c., which is to be obtained nowhere else. They give us for the first time the names of the Mitannian kings Artatama, Artashumara, and Tushratta. According to these tablets Amen-hetep III married a sister of Kadashman-Enlil, king of Karaduniyash (Babylonia), and one, if not two, of his daughters. He also married Gilukhipa, the daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, sister of Tushratta, who succeeded Shutarna on the throne of Mitanni; this lady arrived in Egypt in the tenth year of the reign of Amen-hetep III, accompanied by a train of 317 of her principal ladies. And he married Tatum-khipa, the daughter of Tushratta, whose wedding gifts, *i.e.* dowry, are enumerated on a tablet in Berlin. His chief wife, and mother of his heir and successor to the throne of Egypt, was Ti, the daughter of Iuaa by his wife Thuaa; her name appears side by side with that of Amen-hetep III, and it is quite clear that her power was far greater than that usually enjoyed by queens of reigning monarchs in Egypt. Much has been written about her origin, some holding the view that she was an

Egyptian and that her parents were Egyptian, and others that she was of foreign extraction. An inscription on a small porcelain bowl in the possession of a private collector in England states that her father was a chief of the country of Tchah, a fact that shows at least that she was not wholly of Egyptian origin. Opinions may differ as to the exact position of Tchah and its boundaries, but it is quite certain that this country was in Western Asia, and that it was a part of the region commonly known as Syria, and thus, according to the testimony of the bowl, Tī was the daughter of a man of Asiatic origin.

The monumental remains of Amen-hetep III prove beyond all doubt that many great architects, sculptors, metal workers, artists, and literary men of all kinds flourished during his reign, and among these must be mentioned Amen-hetep, the son of Hep, a man of great learning and ability. He was "royal scribe" to the king, and he possessed a thorough knowledge of Egyptian literature. He presided over the taxation of the country, and managed the Inland Revenue Department of Egypt with firmness and justice. He rectified the boundaries of public and private estates, and kept the claims of the desert tribes in check, and created a service for the policing of the river Nile and its canals, and the ports in the Delta. Finally he was appointed Overseer of Works by the king, who also made him his chief architect, and it was due to the genius of this great official that Thebes became a great and beautiful city, full of dignified and splendid buildings. One of his greatest works was the building of the temple of Amen-hetep III, and it was he who made for it the colossal statue of the king, which was nearly 60 feet high. He also built a funerary temple, which, by a special decree issued in the 31st year of his reign, the king ordered to be maintained out of the revenues of the temple of Amen-Rā, and in an inscription set up in it the king solemnly cursed any of his successors who should allow this temple to fall into ruin. A copy of this decree, cut in the hieratic character, is preserved on a slab of sandstone now in the British Museum (No. 432). Amen-hetep was the

author of certain religious texts which were believed to possess great magical power, and he was said to be a skilled diviner. His words of wisdom were treasured for many centuries after his death, for the Egyptians thought that the spirit of Thoth and all the other great gods was in him, and they ranked him with Herutātāf, the son of King Khufu, and with Imhetep, the great magician-priest of Memphis, two of the greatest of Egyptian sages. He was over eighty years of age when he died.

Amen-hetep III caused his tomb to be made in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and had some of its chambers decorated with scenes representing the king holding converse with the gods, and with texts from the Book Am Tuat. His mummy was found in 1889 in the tomb of Amen-hetep II, whither it was removed after the robbery of the Royal Tombs under the twentieth dynasty.

NEFER-KHEPERU-RĀ UĀ-EN-RĀ AMEN-HETEP (Amenophis IV), the next king of Egypt, was the son of Amen-hetep III by his wife Tī, and he reigned about 20 years. Whether he ascended the throne immediately after his father's death is not known, but whether he did or not matters little, for it is quite certain that for some years at least his mother was the actual ruler of Egypt, and that she ordered works to be carried out as if she were its lawful sovereign. His wife Nefertithi, who was probably of Asiatic origin like his mother, also obtained a power and an authority in Egypt which were not usually enjoyed by Egyptian queens. These facts are proved by the monuments, in which both Tī and Nefertithi are represented as equals in every respect of Amen-hetep IV, and their names are accorded prominence similar to those of the king. The pictures and sculptured representations of Amen-hetep IV show that his physical characteristics were wholly of a non-Egyptian character, and suggest that he was of a highly nervous and sensitive disposition, lacking in purpose, firmness, and decision, full of prejudices, self-will, and obstinacy. His acts prove that he was unpractical in every matter connected with the rule of Egypt and her Nubian

and Asiatic provinces, which had been won for her by the great Thothmes III, and the story of the break-up of the great Egyptian Empire owing to his weakness and incapacity is almost the saddest page of Egyptian history. His alien blood, derived from his mother and grandmother, caused to develop in him a multitude of strange ideas about religion, art, and government that were detestable to the Egyptians,



Amen-hetep IV, his Queen, and three Princesses distributing Gifts.

whose national characteristics he neither recognised nor understood, and with whom he had no true sympathy. When he ascended the throne he adopted a series of names that proclaimed to all Egypt that he held religious views of a different character from those held by the majority of the Egyptians. Some of these resembled the doctrines of the Sun-god as taught by the priests of Heliopolis, but others were obnoxious to the Egyptians generally. His father and grandfather probably held exactly the same religious views,

but if they did they took care not to allow them to disturb the peace of the country, or to interrupt the business of the state. Amen-hetep IV proclaimed a new form of worship and, to all intents and purposes, a new god, whom he called Aten. Now Aten was well known to the Egyptians as the god of the solar disk, and they had been familiar with him from the earliest period; but Amen-hetep IV assigned to him new attributes, which are very difficult to describe. He taught that Aten was the unseen, almighty, and everlasting power that made itself manifest in the form of the solar disk in the sky, and was the source of all life in heaven and earth and the underworld. He ascribed to Aten a monotheistic character, or oneness, which he denied to every other god, but when we read the hymns to Aten of which the king approved, it is extremely difficult to understand the difference between the oneness of Aten and the oneness of Amen-Rā, or Rā, or of any other great Egyptian god.

During the first four years of his reign Amen-hetep IV lived at Thebes, but during the whole of this period he was quarrelling actively with the priests of Amen-Rā, whose god Amen was an abomination to him. As king he had great resources at his command, and besides building a sanctuary called Kem Aten at Thebes, he set up shrines to Aten at various places in Egypt, and also in the Sūdān. The most important in the latter country was Kem Aten, which was probably situated at or near Sadēngah, where his father had built a temple in honour of Queen Tī. Whilst this work was going on Amen-hetep IV caused the name of Amen to be hammered out from the inscriptions on existing monuments, and he suppressed by every means in his power the cults of the other gods. Such an intolerant religious fanatic was never before seen in Egypt, and the king hated Amen and his name so thoroughly that he changed his own name from Amen-hetep to "Khu-en-Aten," or "Aakh-en-Aten," a name meaning "spirit soul of Aten." Besides his fanaticism there was also a material reason for his hatred of Amen. He saw the greater part of the revenues of the country being absorbed slowly but surely by the greedy priesthood of this

god, and he felt that their wealth made their power to be actually greater than that of the king.

Of the details of the fight between the priesthoods of the old gods of Egypt and the king little is known, but it is clear that the Egyptians found some effective way of showing their resentment to the king, for in the fifth year of his reign he forsook Thebes, and founded a new capital, wherein Aten alone was to be worshipped. The site of the new capital, which was called Khut-en-Aten, or "horizon of Aten," was on the east bank of the Nile, about 200 miles south of Memphis, and is marked to-day by the villages of Haggi Kandil, and Tell al-Amarnah. Here he built a large temple to Aten and two or three smaller sanctuaries for the private use of the ladies of his family. Near the temple was the palace, which was splendidly decorated and furnished with beautiful objects of every kind, and the priests and high officials and nobles who had followed the king were provided with rock-hewn tombs in the mountain behind the new capital. A considerable space of ground about this capital was set apart as the property of Aten, and its confines were marked with boundary stones, and the revenues of some of the old sanctuaries were wrested from them by the king and applied to the support of Aten. Amen-hetep IV and his followers lived in Khut-en-Aten for some twelve or fifteen years in comparative peace, and the king occupied himself in playing the priest, and in superintending the building operations and the laying out of large and beautiful gardens by the court architect Bek. The high priest bore the title of the high priest of Heliopolis, and the form of worship there seems to have had much in common with the old solar cult of Heliopolis. The king composed one or two hymns which were sung in his temple, and copies of these were painted on the walls of the tombs of his favourites.

Meanwhile what was happening to Egypt and her Asiatic and Nubian provinces? For a time the kings of Mitanni and Babylonia sent despatches to Amen-hetep IV as they did to his father, and some of the chiefs of the neighbouring countries sent tribute to him as they did to his father. When, how-

ever, the envoys returned to their countries and reported that Pharaoh, whose mere name had struck terror into the Asiatics, was at enmity with all his people, and was devoting all his time to theological matters, and to the founding of new canons of art, and to the selfish enjoyment of a religion that was detested by all the Egyptian priesthoods, with the exception of the priesthood of Heliopolis, the enemies of the Egyptian power in Western Asia felt that the time of their deliverance was at hand. With one accord they ceased to pay tribute, and gathering together their forces, they attacked the Egyptian garrisons in Syria and Palestine, and one by one the cities fell, and the Egyptian governors and their troops were slain or scattered. The Kheta, or Hittites, swept down from the north upon the possessions of Egypt, and being joined by the Khabiri and by the vassal princes of Egypt, were irresistible. They first attacked and took the inland cities, and then advancing westwards they captured city after city along the coast until Beyrūt, Tyre, Ascalon, Gezer, and Lachish were at their mercy. The Tell al-Amarnah Letters contain piteous appeals to Amen-hetep IV for help from all parts of Syria and Palestine, and every writer entreats the king to protect his own possessions; but the king had no help to send, and even if he had had troops available for despatch they would never have been sent, for he hated war in all its forms. Thus Egypt lost her Asiatic possessions which it had taken her kings nearly two hundred years to acquire. Meanwhile discontent was growing everywhere in Egypt itself, and conspiracies against the king were spreading in all directions; when these had reached formidable proportions the king died, but whether his death was due to anxiety, disease, or poison cannot be said. Amen-hetep IV had no son, and his family consisted of six daughters, the eldest of whom died before her father. He was buried in a tomb hewn in the mountains behind his town, and his stone coffin, or sarcophagus, was found there in 1893 by the native tomb robbers, who cut out the cartouches from it and sold them to travellers.

Amen-hetep IV was succeeded by SĀAKARĀ, who had

married one of his daughters called Merit-Aten, and had probably assisted his father-in-law in his various religious undertakings. Sāakarā ruled the town of Khut-en-Aten for two or three years, and was succeeded by TUT-ĀNKH-AMEN, a son of Amen-hetep III, who married a daughter of Amen-hetep IV called Ānkh-sen-paaten. Tut-ānkh-Amen was undoubtedly supported by the priests of Amen, as the presence of the name of the god in his name testifies, and his accession to the throne marks the triumph of the priesthood of Amen over Aten and his followers. He made his wife change her name to Ānkh-sen-Amen, and removed the court to Thebes, where he at once set to work to repair portions of the great temples of Amen at Karnak and Luxor. Wherever it was possible to do so he restored the name and figure of the god Amen, which his father-in-law had attempted to obliterate. He carried out certain building operations in the Sūdān and received tribute from the chiefs of the country, but he undertook no military expeditions into Syria, and made no attempt to renew the sovereignty of Egypt in Western Asia. When Tut-ānkh-Amen removed his court to Thebes, he was quickly followed by many of the nobles who had settled at Khut-en-Aten, and the capital of Amen-hetep IV began at once to decline. The services in the temple languished, and the sculptors and artists who had designed their works in accordance with the canons of art devised and approved by Amen-hetep IV found themselves without employment; the working classes who had lived on the court left the town, which in a very few years became forsaken. The Aten temples were thrown down, and before many years had passed the town became a heap of ruins. Thus the triumph of Amen, the god who had delivered the Egyptians from the Hyksos, was complete.

The next king of Egypt was AI, who succeeded to the throne because he married Tī, the nurse of Amen-hetep IV. For a time he continued to worship Aten, but at length the influence of the priests of Amen prevailed, and he abandoned his former cult; his reign was very short, and details con-

cerning it are lacking. Among the few really able men who found a favourable reception at the court of Amen-hetep IV was HERUEMHEB, the Harmaïs of Manetho, a native of Het-suten, or Alabastronpolis, in Upper Egypt, whose forefathers had fought in the wars of Thothmes III. This distinguished man possessed considerable influence in the district in which he lived, and was held in great honour by all the people and by those who had served in the army. He entered public service in the Delta probably before the death of Amen-hetep III, and was promoted from one high position to another until at length he became the "chief mouth" and deputy governor of all Egypt. His rule was acceptable to the priesthood of Amen, and when the death or abdication of Ai gave them the opportunity, they invited him to Thebes, so that Amen might make him king of Egypt. Heruemheb straightway set out for Thebes, and his journey from his town to the capital was one triumphal progress. Here he married Mutnetchemet, a sister of Amen-hetep IV, and was crowned king by Amen, and his official names and titles were then and there decided.

His first act as king was to restore the worship of the old gods of the country, and to rebuild the temples of Egypt from the marsh-lands of the Delta to Nubia. He appointed priests in every temple and endowed them, and set apart estates for the upkeep of the temples in which they ministered. He filled the shrines with new statues of the gods, restored the festivals and religious processions, and spared no pains in obliterating every trace of the worship of Aten. In Thebes he pulled down the temple called Kem-Aten, which Amen-hetep IV had built between Karnak and Luxor, and used the stones thereof in repairing the temple of Amen, and he put no check upon those who went to Khut-en-Aten and wrecked the tombs of those who had been associated with Amen-hetep IV in the cult of Aten. Having done his duty to his gods Heruemheb attempted to form an honest administration in his country. He issued a series of just and humane laws, and curbed the powers of the dishonest tax-gatherers who ground the faces of the poor.

On stated days he himself sat as judge in the courts and tried cases ; slight offences he punished by beating, but some criminals were not only banished to Tchar, a criminal settlement on the north-eastern frontier of the Delta, but had their noses slit, or perhaps entirely cut off. Many parts of Egypt were visited by Heruemheb in person, and everywhere he righted wrong, and as far as his power went he took care that his officials did the same. Heruemheb added two pylons to the temple of Karnak, and had a small temple hewn in the rock at Gebel Silsilah to commemorate a victory over the Nubians. He seems to have made some attempt to revive the power of Egypt in Syria, but if he did it can hardly have been very effective. Early in his career, and when he was, to all intents and purposes, King of Lower Egypt, he caused a tomb to be made for himself at Sakkārah, but when he was reigning over all Egypt he had another hewn for him in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings in Western Thebes, and in this he was buried. The exact length of his reign is unknown, but it probably exceeded twenty years. With the death of Heruemheb the eighteenth dynasty came to an end, and Egypt never again enjoyed the greatness and glory that had been hers under the great kings of this dynasty.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

The first king of the NINETEENTH DYNASTY was MENPEHTIRĀ RĀMESSU (RAMESES I). Nothing is known of his early life or career, but it is probable that he held high office during the period of the Aten heresy and also in the reign of Heruemheb. If this be so he must have been well past middle age when he ascended the throne, and his reign must have been very short. His name suggests that he was a native of Lower Egypt, perhaps of Memphis or Heliopolis, but he must have acknowledged the supremacy of Amen, or the priesthood of the god would never have consented to his succession to the throne. Rameses seems to have suppressed a revolt in Nubia, and he built a pylon at Karnak, but when he became

king he was too old to inaugurate any great civil or military undertaking. He made his son Seti co-regent, and probably planned with him the great Asiatic campaign which Seti carried out after the death of his father. Rameses was buried in a rock-hewn tomb in Western Thebes, but his mummy was removed to the tomb of Queen Anhep in the sixteenth year of Sa-Amen, and is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

MEN-MAĀT-RĀ SETI, BELOVED OF PTAH (SETI I), began his reign with a campaign in Syria and Palestine. He set out from the frontier town of Tchar, near the modern town of Al-Arīsh, and defeated without difficulty the Shasu, or nomad tribes of the desert, who had begun to raid the towns. He marched into Northern Syria and conquered all who opposed him, and everywhere received tribute. The towns on the sea-coast, including Tyre, submitted to him, and thus Palestine and Syria became once again possessions of Egypt. A year or so later Seti fought a battle with the Kheta, or Hittites, whose king at that time was Merasar, the son of Saparuru, but with exactly what result is not known. It is probable that the Egyptians managed to hold their ground, but, judging from the fact that Seti made no further expeditions against the Hittites, it may be assumed that he felt that their power was too great to be crushed by Egypt. When his wars were over Seti began the restoration of the great temples throughout the country, and the development of the gold-mining industry, and the existing mines and quarries were worked diligently. At Karnak he added seventy-nine columns to the great "Hall of Columns," and completed the great north wall, which he decorated with sculptured reliefs illustrating his battles. At Kurnah in Western Thebes he finished the funerary temple begun by his father, intending it to be used for commemorative services in connection with his tomb. He caused a splendid tomb, nearly 350 feet long, to be hewn for him in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and the walls of its chambers and corridors were covered with religious texts dealing with the Other World, and with mythological legends. From this tomb came his

wonderful white alabaster sarcophagus, which is now preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. This magnificent specimen of the work of the funerary mason is covered with texts cut in hieroglyphs, and with scenes illustrating them, inlaid in blue lapis-lazuli paste, and every one should see it. At Abydos he built the splendid white limestone funerary temple which Strabo calls the Memnonium. Its walls are covered with bas-reliefs, which for delicacy of work and excellence of finish remain unequalled. This temple contained seven shrines dedicated to the gods Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amen, Harmakhis, Ptah, and Seti I. The most remarkable feature of this temple is the great KING-LIST OF ABYDOS, which is cut on the main wall of a corridor at the side of the main building. Here, within cartouches, are cut the names of seventy-six predecessors of Seti, the first name being that of Mena; or Menes, in whose honour the king held commemorative services, and for whose welfare in the Other World he prayed. In spite of the omissions this King-List is of the highest importance for the chronology and history of Egypt.

Seti also built a temple at Radasīyah, a station on the old desert road that ran from a point on the Nile opposite to Edfū, or Utfū, to the emerald mines of Gebel Zābarā, near the later town of Berenice on the west coast of the Red Sea. Close to the temple was a well, and it seems to have been one of a chain of wells that were used by caravans going to and from the Red Sea. Under Seti an attempt was made to work the gold mines in the desert to the east of Kubbān, in Nubia, which were probably situated in the district now called Wādī Ulākī. An inscription of Rameses II states that Seti I dug a well here, but failed to reach water. The trade in gold from the Sūdān was protected by Seti, and remains of temples built by him have been found near Karmah, at the head of the Third Cataract, and at Sesebi, or Dulgo, about 60 miles further down the Nile. Of the last years of the reign of Seti nothing is known, and the length of it is uncertain; some think he reigned fifteen and others twenty years. He was buried in his magnificent



Rameses II, King of Egypt about 1330 B.C.,
holding a Whip and a Sceptre, Emblems of
Sovereignty and Rule.

In the British Museum.

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white alabaster sarcophagus in his tomb in Western Thebes, but his body was twice removed from its resting-place, and was finally deposited in the hiding-place for royal mummies at Dēr al-Baharī. After the discovery of this hiding-place by the authorities, in 1880, it was removed to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it was unrolled on June 9, 1886.

USERMAĀTRĀ SETEPENRĀ RĀMESSU, beloved of Amen (RAMESSES II), was a younger son of Seti by his Queen Tuaa. He seems to have been chosen co-regent by Seti during the last years of his reign, and this position justified the priesthood of Amen in permitting him to ascend the throne of Egypt in the place of his elder brother, the lawful heir. Rameses II must have been about twenty-five years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and he reigned sixty-seven years; when he died he was probably over ninety years of age. During the first four years of his reign he continued the series of raids on the Libyans and Nubians which he began during the reign of Seti I, and he compelled the tribes of the Sūdān to bring him gold in large quantities, and slaves to carry on his building operations. He took a personal interest in the development of the gold mines in the Eastern Desert, and a text, cut upon a stele found at Kubbān in Nubia, describes the completion of the boring of a well in the gold-producing quartz which had been begun by Seti I, and the finding of water there in large quantities. In the fourth year of his reign he began his great campaign against the Kheta, or Hittites, whose power in Western Asia had grown so greatly since the time when Seti I came to an understanding with them, that it became doubtful whether Egypt could retain her hold upon Palestine and Syria. When Rameses became king they were in possession of Kadesh, on the Orontes, and were masters of Northern Syria, and their king Muthenra was preparing to extend the borders of his kingdom further towards the south. Muthenra was supported by the princes of Aleppo, Karkēmish, Aradus (Arvad), Keti, and by the governors of all the great towns, and each ally sent to him contingents of soldiers, and, if possible,

horses and chariots. Besides these the princes of many outlying countries sent soldiers, and the Hittite king found himself at the head of a very large army. Rameses had also gathered together a very large army, among which were Sūdānī warriors, and dwellers on the sea-coast, and miscellaneous auxiliaries of all kinds. It is doubtful if even Thothmes III had ever commanded so many soldiers, and the Hittites and their allies had never before put so many troops in the field at one time. The Egyptian army contained four divisions, viz. the division of Amen, the division of Rā, the division of Ptah, and the division of Sutekh.

For the account of the great battle between the Hittites and the Egyptians we must have recourse to the official account of it, which is found on a stele at Abū Simbel in Nubia, and the description of it copied upon papyrus by Pentaurt, the Court Scribe and Remembrancer of Rameses II. According to these documents Rameses set out with his army from the frontier city of Tchar in the fifth year of his reign, and marched northwards into Syria. When he and his advanced troops came near Kadesh on the Orontes he was surprised not to have found the enemy. At this time two natives who had been sent to his camp by Muthenra, and ordered to supply Rameses with false information, allowed themselves to be captured and brought into the Egyptian camp. When they were brought into the presence of Rameses, they gave him to understand that they had escaped from Muthenra's army and that the Hittite king had retreated before the advance of the Egyptian army, and that he was at that moment near Aleppo. Thinking this information true Rameses marched at once on Kadesh and encamped his troops to the north-west of the city. Whilst he was doing this Muthenra moved his troops southwards, marching on the east bank of the Orontes on the east side of Kadesh, but the Egyptians knew nothing of this. Whilst this movement was being carried out by the Hittites two of their spies were captured in the Egyptian camp, and when they had been beaten, and probably tortured, they confessed that the enemy at that moment were on the eastern side of Kadesh, and quite close to the

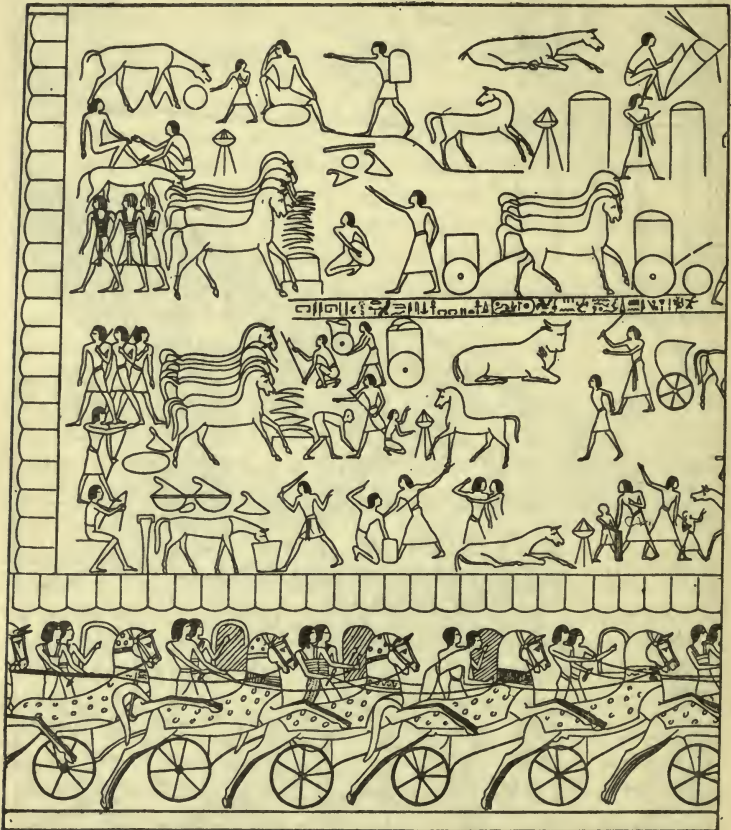
Egyptians. Rameses promptly held a council of war, and began to discuss plans with his officers. He was in a difficult



The Defeat of the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh.

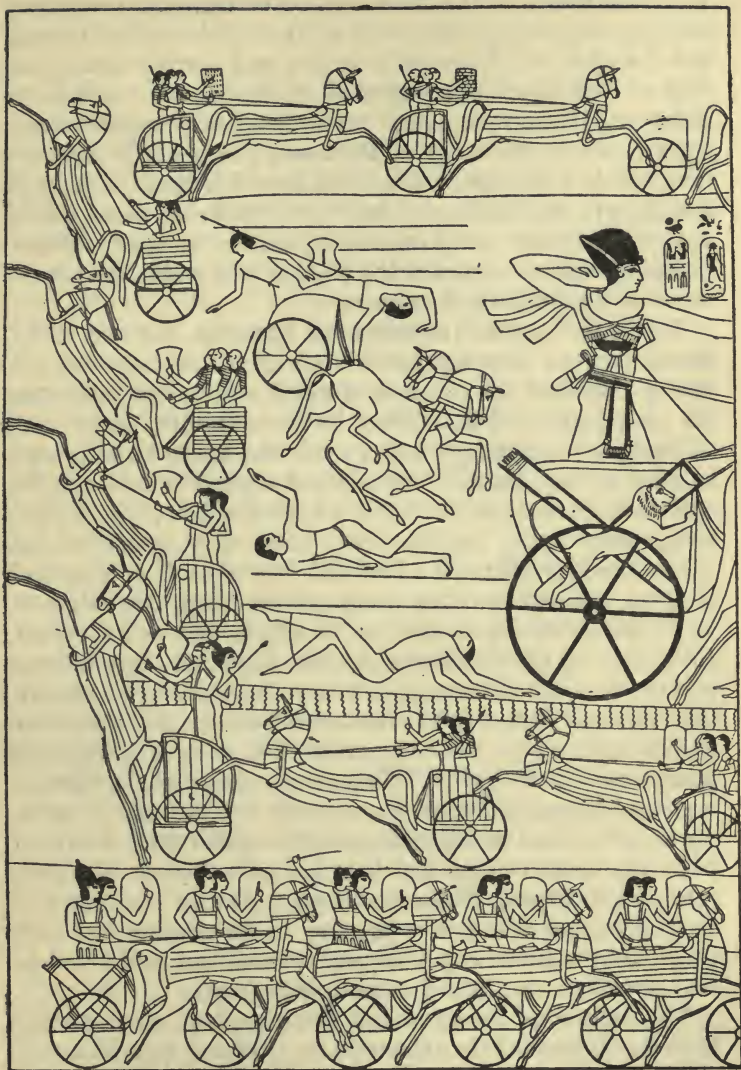
position, for only two of his divisions were with him, and he knew not exactly how far to the south the other two were.

Whilst he was discussing the situation with his officers, the whole of his camp was suddenly thrown into a state of panic, for large numbers of soldiers belonging to one of the two



The Camp of Rameses II before the City of Kadesh.

divisions which were marching to join him at Kadesh were seen coming in full flight towards his camp, hotly pursued by the chariots and horsemen of the Hittites. The Hittites, who were watching on the bank of the Orontes, had seen the



Rameses II in his Chariot attacking the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh.

Egyptian troops of the third division marching in easy order and quite unprepared to resist an attack, and they had crossed the Orontes and fallen with sudden and terrific force upon them. The Egyptians scattered in all directions and large numbers of them were killed, but a considerable number managed to reach the camp of Rameses, and these brought to him the first tidings of the disaster which had fallen upon the Egyptians. Before he could prevent them, many of the troops in his own camp betook themselves to flight, and the pursuing Hittites occupied the portion of it which the terror-stricken Egyptians had vacated.

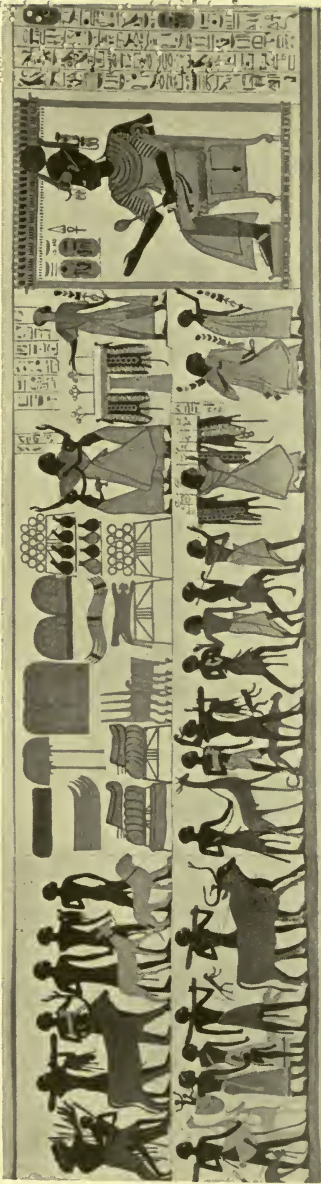
This was a critical moment for Rameses, for two of his divisions were thus separated from the other two, but the young king kept his presence of mind, and hastily collecting his bodyguard and its officers, he mounted his chariot, and charging the oncoming Hittites again and again, he succeeded in staying their onset. One of his charges was driven home with such irresistible force that a large number of the Hittite troops were thrust into the river, where they were drowned. When the Egyptians who had fled saw what their king had done they rallied, and, returning to their camp, they attacked the Hittites, who were occupied in pillage, and slew them all. Heartened by this further success, the Egyptians attacked the main body of the Hittites, and, led by Rameses and his officers, they inflicted such serious losses on the enemy that they were driven back up to the very walls of Kadesh, and nightfall put an end to the battle. Though the power of the Hittites was not broken, they made no attempt to continue the fight, for both they and the Egyptians sorely needed time to recover from the serious losses which they had suffered. Rameses returned to Egypt, disheartened no doubt by the fact that he had neither added new territory to his empire, nor even recovered the lands which his predecessors had held; and he had no tribute or gifts to show to his subjects.

The natives of Palestine and Syria realised more quickly than the Egyptians that Rameses had suffered a moral defeat at the hands of the Hittites and their allies, and as soon as Rameses was in Egypt they rebelled against the rule of

Egypt. In the eighth year of his reign Rameses again marched into Syria, and for three full years he was engaged in reducing the tribes to submission. Ultimately he suppressed all the revolts in Palestine, and he claims to have reconquered the city of Tunep, the region of Nahrēn, and all the neighbouring districts, but there is reason to believe that as soon as he turned his back revolts again broke out in all these lands. The struggle between the Hittites and Egyptians lasted for at least eight years longer, probably as long as the Hittite King Muthenra lived, but no decisive battle took place. Both peoples were weary of fighting, and soon after Khetasar, the new king of the Hittites, had ascended the throne, he and Rameses determined to make a treaty and to come to an arrangement as to the frontiers of their respective kingdoms. The terms of this treaty were discussed, and when they were done into writing, a copy of the Hittite text was cut upon a tablet of silver, which was brought to Rameses at Tanis in the twenty-first year of his reign by Taratisebu, the Hittite ambassador. Two copies of the Egyptian translation of the treaty are extant (they are cut on the walls of the temple of Karnak and the Ramesseum), and a copy of the original form of the treaty written in cuneiform characters was found at Boghaz-köi in 1907. The treaty first mentioned the friendly relations that had existed between the two countries in ancient times, and declared that these were now re-established, and that peace should exist between the two countries for ever. Neither king was to attempt the conquest of the territory belonging to the other, and each king was to abide by the old treaty between Saparuru and Amen-hetep III. Each king was bound to assist the other in repelling the attacks of enemies in Syria; each was to assist the other in maintaining peace and order in that country; and each was to assist needy subjects of the other, and to help to bring criminals to justice. Then follow the names of the gods and goddesses who are witnesses to the treaty, and a curse on him that shall break the treaty, and a blessing on him that shall observe it. On the silver tablet were impressed seals, *i.e.* figures, of the gods Sutekh

and Rā, and the seals of Khetasar, king of the Hittites, and Pukhipa, the Queen of the Hittites. Rameses added to the treaty a clause providing for the safety of the persons and property of Egyptians, probably malefactors, whose return to Egypt was demanded by the Law of Egypt. It is noteworthy that the treaty does not define the boundaries of either king's territories in Syria, and its clauses prove that the king of the Hittites regarded himself as the equal in every respect of the king of Egypt. Thirteen years after the conclusion of the treaty, *i.e.* in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, Rameses married a Hittite princess called Urmaāneferurā, and the king her father, accompanied by the king of Keti in Syria, visited Egypt and assisted at her marriage. On a stele at Abū Simbel she is depicted in Egyptian attire, whilst her father wears the characteristic Hittite coat-like garment and the conical hat. This marriage is referred to in the story of the Possessed Princess of Bekhten (see the accompanying volume, pp. 92-97), whose father is said to have despatched an embassy to Rameses asking him to send a physician to expel a devil that had taken possession of Bentresht his daughter. The physician was sent, but failed to heal the princess; in answer to a second request a statue of the god Khensu was sent to Bekhten, and the power of this god cast out the devil, and the princess was healed.

After the conclusion of the treaty of peace with the Hittites Rameses devoted himself to the completion of the buildings which his father had begun, and when these were finished he began a series of buildings on his own account. He was indeed a mighty builder, but his name is found on buildings and monuments of every kind from one end of Egypt to the other, to the making of which he contributed very little. On many of the buildings which he repaired he caused his names to be cut on the walls, door posts, lintels, &c., in such a way that it appeared as if these edifices, from foundation to roof, had been built by him. He added columns of texts laudatory of himself and his actions to the obelisks of his predecessors at Thebes, and ordered his names to be cut upon the statues, sphinxes, &c., of earlier kings.



Upper Register. Rameses II receiving Tribute from the Tribes in the Sūdān.

Lower Register. Rameses II driving his War Chariot through a Company of rebellious Blacks in the Sūdān.

In some cases he caused existing monuments to be re-worked, and, the names of their makers disappearing in the process, he made them his own by cutting his names on them. As he advanced in years his vanity increased, and before his death he seems to have believed that he alone was the creator of Egypt.

The greatest of his works is undoubtedly the famous rock-hewn temple at Abū Simbel in Nubia, which he dedicated to Amen of Thebes, Rā-Harmakhis of Heliopolis, and Ptah of Memphis. This temple is nearly 200 feet long, and the front of it is 100 feet wide and 90 high, and on each side of the entrance are two seated colossal statues of Rameses, each 60 feet high. Close by it is the temple of Hathor with six statues, each 30 feet high; four are statues of himself and two of his wife Nefert-ari. The temple of Abū Simbel was made to commemorate his wars against the Hittites, and the inscriptions in and near it prove that he claimed the victory over them. As a matter of fact he and his army narrowly escaped annihilation at the battle of Kadesh, but the easy optimism of Rameses and his natural conceit enabled him to banish the recollection of this unpleasing incident from his mind, and to believe that he was a great warrior and conqueror, as his courtiers declared he was. At Bēt al-Walī near Kalābshah, about 30 miles south of Philæ, he made a little rock-hewn temple to commemorate his victories in the Libyan war in the early years of his reign. At Thebes he carried out many great works. He finished the Hall of Columns at Karnak, adding to it fifty-four columns; he built a pylon there, and a small temple and a colonnade, and enclosed the temple of Amen with a wall. He added to the walls at Karnak reliefs illustrating his wars, and a list of the countries and towns that he claimed to have conquered, and the text of the account of the battle of Kadesh. He added two courts, one with a colonnade and one with a portico, and a pylon to the temple of Amen-hetep III, and he set up there two large red granite obelisks and six colossal statues of himself, two seated and four standing. He finished the temple of Seti I in Western Thebes, repaired several of

the temples there, and built the temple called the "Ramesseum," which he dedicated to Amen-Rā. Here he set up a colossal statue of himself in granite, which was at least 60 feet high, and cannot have weighed less than 885 tons. At Abydos he finished his father's temple and built one to Osiris, and in it he set up reliefs illustrating his wars, and a King-List, a large portion of which is now in the British Museum. He also carried out repairs of temples at Silsilah, Kom Ombos, and Elephantine in Upper Egypt, chiefly because these towns were the places of arrival and departure for the caravans that traded between Egypt and the Sūdān. Rameses developed the gold-mining industry in the Eastern Desert, and sank at least one well there, and it is probable that the gold was shipped on the Nile at one of the three above-mentioned places.

The chief interest of Rameses as the descendant of a family whose place of origin was Lower Egypt was in the Delta, and here he carried out many great works. He allowed no building in Memphis, the oldest capital of the country, to fall into ruin, and he repaired some of the temples of Heliopolis, but the town which he loved of all others was Tanis (the Zoan of the Bible, the site of which is marked by the modern village of Sān), which he rebuilt and turned into a great and beautiful city, with splendid temples, lofty obelisks, and spacious gardens with lakes and streams of water running through them, and groves of trees and flowering shrubs. The importance of Tanis at this time was very great, for from it Rameses watched the progress of events in Palestine and Syria. Though the Hittites loyally observed the treaty which they had made with him, he was never certain when the tribes living to the north and north-east of the Egyptian frontier would revolt. On or quite near to the old caravan road that ran from Syria to Egypt he built the towns of Per Atem, or Pithom, and Per-Ramessu, or "Raamses," which served at once for provision centres and for fortresses that guarded the road into Egypt. This road passed near the modern stations of Al-Kantarāh and Ismailiyah on the Suez Canal, and ran into Bubastis (the modern Tell Bastah) in

much the same direction as that taken by the railway through the Wādī Tūmilāt, or the Biblical "land of Goshen," in our days. Rameses protected this road very carefully, and there must have existed a whole chain of forts between Heliopolis and the frontier; of most of these, however, no traces remain. He is also said to have cleared out or deepened an ancient canal that connected the Bitter Lakes with Bubastis, but details of the work are wanting.

Rameses married a very large number of wives, and in a temple which he built at Wādī Sabuā in Nubia the names of 111 of his sons and 51 of his daughters are given. His son Khāmuast, a very learned and able man, acted as viceroy of Egypt from the thirtieth to the fifty-fifth year of the reign of Rameses, and when he died another son, Merenptah, succeeded him and governed Egypt until Rameses died in the sixty-seventh year of his reign. Rameses was buried in the tomb which he had made in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but before many years had passed it was robbed of all that was valuable. The priests of Amen removed his mummy from one place to another for safety, and eventually hid it at Dēr al-Baharī, where it was found in 1880; it was then taken to Cairo, and was unrolled on June 1, 1886. The long reign of Rameses II was one of the greatest calamities that fell upon Egypt. As a young man he fought his battles bravely, but he was in no sense a skilled warrior or military tactician. His personal bravery was over-estimated, and the victory which he claimed over the Hittites was in sober truth merely a lucky escape from annihilation by them. His reign marked the steady decline of the power of Egypt in Asia and the decay of religion, literature, sculpture, painting, and art of all kinds. The influence of the foreigners who filled Egypt with foreign wares, foreign ideas, and foreign customs, destroyed the characteristics of every class of society, and wealth and luxury became the things most desired by the Egyptians. The king was vain, boastful, fond of pleasure and good living, easy-going, tolerant, and good-natured; his reputation for bravery won him the admiration of many, and he was probably very popular everywhere. His worship

of Sutekh and Baal and other Syrian gods and goddesses, whether personal or official, won him many friends and supporters among the Semites settled in the Delta and their kinsmen in Palestine and Syria, but it destroyed the prestige of the ancient gods of Egypt, and the old religion died, its place being taken by magical cults and superstitions of all kinds. The Egyptians became corrupted by Asiatic luxury, and were content to serve Asiatic foreigners, many of whom held high office in Egypt.

Rameses II was succeeded by his thirteenth son called MERENRĀ HETEPHERMAĀT (MENEPHTHAH), who had been co-regent with his father for twelve years, and he reigned from eight to twelve years; when he succeeded Rameses he must have been well past middle age. Hardly had he ascended the throne when widespread revolt broke out in Palestine and Syria, and he was obliged to lead an army into those countries to reduce the rebels to submission. This done he returned to Egypt, presumably with a certain amount of spoil, and then he discovered that the whole of the western side of the Delta was in revolt. This portion of the Delta was filled with dwellers who were kinsmen of the tribes in the western desert and the northern coast of Africa, and taking advantage of the king's absence in Syria, the Thehenu and the Libyans, with their allies from the northern coast of the Mediterranean, namely, the Mashuashau, or Maxyes, the Sharatenu, or Sardinians, the Shakalshu, the Akuashu, or Achæans, the Leku, or Lycians, and the Turshau, or Tyrsenians, invaded Egypt and advanced nearly as far as Heliopolis. The leader of the enemy was Meraiai, the son of Tit, the king of the Libyans, and his army was very large, and contained thousands of well-armed men. Menephtah began to fortify Memphis and Heliopolis, but before he had finished the work, it was reported to him that Meraiai and his troops had already occupied the town of Per-art. Menephtah collected his troops, and, heartened by a dream in which the god Ptah appeared to him and spoke words of encouragement to him, attacked the enemy in the fifth year of his reign

with such fury and vigour that large numbers of the allies were slaughtered and the rest utterly routed. The battle raged for six hours, and when Meraiai saw that the day was lost he cast away his weapons and fled, and seeing that he was being pursued he stripped off his clothes and escaped naked. About 6359 Libyans were slain and mutilated, 9376 prisoners and 126 horses were captured, and about 130,000 swords and other weapons were collected by the Egyptians on the battlefield. Menepthah and the Egyptians rejoiced greatly at their victory, and the king commanded a "hymn of triumph" to be cut on the back of a huge granite stele of Amen-hetep III, which was found in the Ramesseum at Thebes in 1896. The descriptions of Menepthah's conquests of the Syrians and Libyans are treated in a highly poetical manner, but the general accuracy of the historical facts described is beyond question. The following passage, which sums up these facts, reads, "The princes are cast down and cry for peace. None of the Nubians can lift up his head, Thehenu is laid waste, Kheta hath been pacified, Canaan is ruined by every kind of calamity, Ascalon hath been carried away (*i.e.* its people deported), Gezer hath been captured, Inuāmam hath been reduced to a state of not being, the Israelites have been ravaged and their seed destroyed, Syria hath become a widow of Egypt, all lands together are at peace." Here then is a distinct mention of the Israelites, who in the reign of Menepthah must have had sufficient territory and power to justify their mention with the Hittites, Canaanites, Syrians, and others.

Menepthah repaired the fortresses along the old caravan route from Syria to Egypt, and added one or more to them. He carried on building operations at Tanis, where, copying his father's example, he had his name cut upon statues and sphinxes that had been made by earlier kings. At Thebes he destroyed many buildings and colossal statues of his predecessors to obtain stone for his temple, for he was too old to undertake works in the quarries on a large scale. He had a tomb prepared in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, the walls of which were covered with religious texts. His

mummy was found in the hiding-place of the royal mummies at Dēr al-Baharī in 1880, and is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Owing to a misreading of the name on one of the bandages it was at first thought to be that of the "heretic king," Amen-hetep IV. Some authorities hold that the Exodus described in the Bible took place in the reign of Menepthah, and it is very probable that the Semites in the eastern Delta, who had been reduced to a state bordering on slavery, took the opportunity to rejoin their kinsmen in Palestine during the disturbed period in the latter part of the reign of Menepthah.

On the death of Menepthah the peoples of Syria and the Libyans again revolted, and a period of anarchy followed. Menepthah appears to have made no choice of a successor, and we find two claimants of the throne, namely, AMEN-MESES, who called himself "Governor of Thebes," and MEREN-PTAH SA-PTAH. Whether these reigned in succession or simultaneously is not known, but each seems to have ruled some part of the country, after a fashion, for a few years. Either before or after them reigned SETI (II) MERENPTAH, who appears to have lived at Tanis, and to have attempted to keep in an effective state the fortresses on the high road from Egypt to Syria. His buildings were unimportant, and he added his name to monuments that he never made, as did Menepthah and Rameses II. He built a tomb in the Valley of the Royal Tombs, but his mummy was found in the tomb of Amen-hetep II in 1898, and is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The transcript on papyrus of the famous Tale of the Two Brothers, now in the British Museum, was made during his reign by the scribe Annana.

The length of the reigns of the three kings mentioned above is unknown. After their deaths disorder and confusion became general in the country, and every man did as he pleased. The governors of the nomes claimed power to which they had no right, and oppressed their people in characteristic Oriental fashion, extorting taxes by beatings and torturings. The nobles and descendants of ancient feudal

families first quarrelled among themselves and then made war upon each other, and the result of all this was dislocation of the ordinary business of the country and widespread misery and ruin. The peoples of Syria and Palestine took advantage of these internal dissensions, and, according to the statement of Rameses III, a certain Syrian called ARSU succeeded in making himself prince over them. He levied taxes everywhere as he pleased, and his tax-gatherers robbed the people mercilessly in the execution of his orders. Not content with this he stole the temple endowments, and the worship of the gods ceased and the temples were forsaken. How far the rule of Arsu extended is not known, but he must have been master of a portion of Palestine and part of the eastern Delta, at least. At length there arose in Egypt a man called SETNEKHT, who succeeded in overthrowing Arsu, and in making himself king of Egypt; his name suggests that he was a native of Lower Egypt, and he was probably a kinsman of Rameses II. Setnekht established peace in the country, restored the worship of the gods, rebuilt the temples, and renewed their endowments. His reign was short, probably two years at the most, so that he had not time to have a tomb hewn for himself at Thebes. As soon as he ascended the throne he elected his son Rameses co-regent, and made arrangements for him to succeed him. Setnekht was mummified and buried in the tomb of Queen Tausert at Thebes, but his body was found in the tomb of Amen-hetep II in 1898. With the death of Setnekht the nineteenth dynasty came to an end.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW EMPIRE—DYNASTIES XX—XXX

STRICTLY speaking, the kings Amenmeses, Sa-ptah, Seti II, and Setnekht belong to the New Empire, for the nineteenth dynasty ended, to all intents and purposes, with the death of Rameses II, but, as Manetho makes his third division of kings begin with Rameses III, he is here regarded as the first king of the TWENTIETH DYNASTY. USERMAĀTRĀ MERI AMEN RĀMESES, Governor of Anu (Heliopolis), the son of Setnekht, was crowned king immediately after his father's death; he reigned a little over thirty-one years. Very soon after he ascended the throne the Libyans and their allies from North Africa and from the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and from the Islands of Crete, Sicily, &c., namely, the Shartana, the Qehau, the Tanunau (or Danaoi), the Thekru, the Purestau, or Philistines, the Uasheshu of the sea, the Mashuashau, and many other Libyan tribes, made a league together, and under the leadership of Tit, Mashkan, Meraiai, and Thamar, began to attack Egypt. The attack was delivered simultaneously by sea and by land in the fifth year of his reign, but Rameses was prepared, and as a result of the fight that followed the allies lost over twelve thousand killed, and a large number of them were made prisoners, who were employed in forced labour for the king of Egypt. Three years later Egypt was threatened by an invasion of enemies from Northern Syria, who included among them contingents from Cyprus and Crete, and from peoples in Asia Minor, and they were supported by a well-equipped fleet manned by sea-robbers and pirates from the shores and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. As they marched southwards by land their fleet co-operated with them by sea,

and in a very short time all the Syrian ports and the chief inland towns would have been in their possession. Rameses, however, collected his fleet, and having sent detachments of ships to the Syrian seaports to await the enemy, he set out from the frontier city of Tchar, and marched into Palestine, his army, no doubt, keeping in touch with his fleet. In due course he found the enemy, and fought and defeated them, and then marched to some place on the coast, where a fight was in progress between the hostile fleets. Victory favoured the Egyptians, and in the bas-reliefs which Rameses had made to illustrate this naval engagement we see the enemy transfixed by the Egyptian archers, their ships being capsized or sunk, and the fugitives from them being intercepted and slain.

Whilst Rameses was thus occupied the Libyan allies made another attempt to invade the Delta, and this time they were led by Kapur, the chief of the Mashuashau, and his son Mashashara. They were defeated, for, in the words of the Egyptian annalist, the king "fell upon their heads like a granite mountain"; 2175 of their men were slain, and 1205 men, 152 officers, 131 boys, and 558 women and girls were made prisoners. The spoil consisted of 239 swords, 603 bows, 2310 quivers, 93 chariots, 93 spears, 183 horses and asses, and a large number of cattle. Meanwhile the peoples in Palestine and Syria became restless, and, though it is not known in what form they showed their disaffection, Rameses felt it to be necessary to march once more into these countries. He advanced some distance to the north, laying waste towns and villages, setting fire to the standing corn, and cutting down fruit trees as he went. His march was a poor imitation of the triumphal progress of Thothmes III, but many of the tribes brought him gifts, and when these arrived with the army returning to Egypt, the natives thought that the glorious days of the eighteenth dynasty had come again. This was far from being the case, for it is clear that in spite of his victories by land and sea Rameses III only just succeeded in appearing as the conqueror of Palestine and Syria, and that his power was taxed to the utmost to stave off an invasion of the peoples of these countries.

When his wars were ended Rameses devoted himself in a whole-hearted fashion to develop the commerce of the country, and he was apparently the first Egyptian king to realise the great importance of "sea-power" to Egypt. The value of his navy had already made itself evident in his sea-fights with hostile fleets, and he now built a fleet of large boats, which were manned by foreign seamen and native skilled bowmen, and which were actively engaged in commerce on the Phœnician coast. He kept another fleet in the Red Sea, and some of its ships were engaged in the transport of copper from the mines of Sinai, and others brought the products of Punt and Southern Arabia to the port on the western side of the Red Sea, now called Kusēr, where they were disembarked and transported on the backs of asses to Coptos on the Nile. From this point the caravans that traded with countries in the west and south obtained their supplies of Oriental goods. The sea-carrying trade under Rameses III must have attained considerable proportions, and the king spared no pains in rendering the trade routes of his country safe. Every time goods were "handled" by his merchants profit accrued to his treasury, and at that time Egypt was one of the richest countries of the world. Curiously enough, the sailors and soldiers were chiefly mercenaries, and the most successful commercial men were Semites and foreigners. Rameses says in his great papyrus in the British Museum, "I covered the whole country with flowering trees, I made the people to sit in their shade. I made it possible for a woman to walk fearlessly wheresoever she pleased, with none to molest her. I made the horsemen and bowmen of the Shartana and Qehaq to dwell in their quarters; they lay on their backs without fear, for there was no fighting with Nubians or with Syrians. Their bows and weapons were 'piled' in their guard-houses, they were filled with meat and drink, their wives and children were with them, and they looked not behind them, for their hearts were glad." Every man, rich or poor, was free, the king pardoned the evil-doer, relieved the oppressed, and did good to gods and men.

With the wealth produced by his commercial enterprises

Rameses built the great temple at Madīnat Habū, the walls of which he decorated with sculptured reliefs illustrating the principal events of his battles ; at Karnak he built a temple to Khensu ; at Tell al-Yahūdiyyah, a little to the north of Heliopolis, he built a small temple, a part of which was lined with beautiful tiles, many of which are now in the British Museum. On one of his frontiers he opened a large well, which he protected with a stone building 20 cubits square ; its walls were 30 cubits high. And in Pakanāna in Palestine he built a temple to the Syrian Sun-god, to which the people tributary to Rameses III brought offerings. The bulk of the wealth that flowed into the Egyptian treasury at that time was appropriated by the various priesthoods of the country, but chiefly by those of Amen-Rā of Thebes, Temu of Heliopolis, and Ptah of Memphis. The richest was the priesthood of Amen, and Rameses yielded to every demand made upon him by them. Each temple possessed its estates, with slaves to work them, vineyards, orchards, and ships on the sea, which collected its share in every trading transaction, and in the great papyrus of Rameses III the lists of the gifts made by him to the temples of Egypt fill dozens of columns. The following figures illustrate the magnitude of his gifts : 113,433 men (slaves), 490,386 oxen and cattle of various kinds, 1,071,780 *aruras* of land, 514 vineyards and orchards, 160 towns in Egypt and 9 in Syria, 426,965 water fowl, 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, 5,279,552 bushels of corn, &c. Amen was a hard god, and his priests were hard taskmasters.

In the last year but one of his reign Rameses discovered that a plot had been hatched against his life, the wish of the conspirators being to kill him and to make one Pentaurt king in his stead. The conspiracy was first formed in the *harīm*, or women's quarter of the palace, but one by one the steward, the chancellor, the chief inspector, the royal scribes, and many other high officials were drawn into it. The viceroy of Nubia planned to stir up the troops to attack Egypt, and to make the Egyptians revolt against the Government at the same

moment ; in the confusion that would result Rameses was to be killed, and the successor chosen by the conspirators set upon the throne. Not content with this plan a certain magician called Hui was prevailed upon by them to attempt to bewitch the king by spells and to produce in him sickness and death. The plot was, however, discovered by the king, and he insisted on the conspirators being tried for conspiracy and high treason in the law courts of Thebes. All the ringleaders were found guilty and condemned to death, and some of the judges who were found to have been concerned in the plot were degraded, tortured, and subsequently put to death. Some highly placed personages were allowed to commit suicide. During the last few years of his life Rameses was assisted in ruling the country by one of his sons. He died in the beginning of the thirty-second year of his reign, and was buried in a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings ; his mummy, which was found with the other royal mummies at Dēr al-Baharī, is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Rameses III was succeeded by USERMAĀTRĀ SETEPEN-AMEN RĀMESES (Rameses IV) ; his reign was short, and did not exceed five or six years. The chief event of his reign was the despatch of 8368 men to the Wādī Hammāmāt to obtain stone, probably for building operations at Thebes. He worked the copper mines in Sinai, but with what success is uncertain. He built a large tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and was buried in it ; his mummy is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The reign of RAMESES V was short and unimportant. In the reign of RAMESES VI the Egyptians still had authority in Nubia, and an official there called Pennut dedicated the revenue derived from a parcel of land near Ibrīm to the maintenance of the worship of the king's statue. The reigns of RAMESES VII and RAMESES VIII were very short and unimportant. Rameses V, Rameses VI, and Rameses VII built tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. During the reigns of these kings the condition of the poorer classes became lamentable, for all the revenues available were handed over to the treasury of the priesthood

of Amen, who were slowly but surely becoming the masters of the country. The kings their nominees were their puppets, and the welfare of Upper Egypt, at least, was wholly sacrificed to the glorification of Amen-Rā and his priesthood. To help themselves out of their difficulties the poor people began to plunder the tombs for the sake of the gold, jewellery, and objects of value which they contained. The mummies of many wealthy nobles, as well as those of royal persons, were wrapped in shrouds of gold before they were laid in their coffins, and the tomb robbers stripped these off the mummies, and even broke the mummies in pieces in their search for gold rings, chains, amulets, &c. In the fourteenth year of his reign Rameses IX made his government prosecute a number of the thieves who had been caught, and a commission was appointed to report upon the state in which the royal tombs then were. Eight of the thieves were brought before the court, and one of them turned "king's evidence," and described in detail how he and his friends had robbed a tomb. They broke open the coffin of Sebekemsaf, and found two daggers lying by his mummy. They tore off his neck his chains of gold and the amulets, and the gold covering off his head. His inner coffin was lined with gold and silver and decorated with precious stones, and the outside of it was covered with gold. These coverings they tore off, they stripped the king of every piece of gold they found on him, and when they had torn the mummy of Queen Nubkhās to pieces, and taken her ornaments and amulets, they burnt the linen swathings in the tomb. They next collected all the vessels of gold, silver, and bronze, and then they divided the whole of the spoil into eight parts, each thief taking one part. During the trial it became clear that the cemetery officials had connived at robberies of this kind, and that many highly placed officials had been bribed by the thieves. The result of the trial is unknown, but it is quite certain that the robbery of the royal tombs went on.

The high priest of Amen in the reign of Rameses IX was one Amen-hetep, son of Rameses-nekht, high priest of Amen, whose power over the king was absolute. In the inscription

describing the repair of certain buildings of Usertsen I the work of restoration is attributed not to the king but to the high priest. Not content with this Amen-hetep describes the building of a new house for himself, and the setting up of a statue to each of the high priests of Amen. Finally the astute high priest obtained from the king the power to levy taxes on the people for the support of Amen and his priesthood; in short, the actual king of Egypt was Amen-hetep, high priest of Amen. Rameses IX made a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and was buried in it. In the sarcophagus chamber are some very interesting religious texts; the other chamber contains texts from the "Book of praising Rā" and from the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead.

In the reign of NEFERKAURĀ SETEPENRĀ RĀMESES (RAMESES X), a prosecution of tomb robbers took place, and some sixty people were charged with robbing the tombs of Seti I and Rameses II, at the instance of the high priest of Amen. Once again the complicity of many scribes and officials of the Government was proved, and the robbery of the tombs went on as before. The reign of RAMESES XI was unimportant, and during the reign of his successor, RAMESES XII, Her-Heru, high priest of Amen, who had succeeded Amen-hetep, boldly proclaimed himself king. He appointed himself general of the army, and thus he was master of things temporal as well as of things spiritual in Egypt. Now whilst the weak and unworthy successors of Rameses III were occupied with the building of their tombs, and neglecting the business of their country, the old enemies of Egypt in Palestine and Syria threw off the yoke of Egypt, declared themselves independent, and began to threaten to invade Egypt. After the death of Rameses IV they ceased to pay tribute to Egypt, and it was this fact that accounted for the emptiness of the treasury of Amen, and for the action of the high priest of Amen, who forced Rameses IX to give him authority to levy taxes. Meanwhile the people of Northern Egypt viewed with alarm the growing power of the Syrian

peoples who had formerly been tributaries of Egypt, and seeing that the kings reigning in Thebes were powerless to help them to keep the Syrians out of Egypt, they took steps to protect themselves. With the decline of the power of the Theban kings the influence of the priests of Amen in Lower Egypt had also lessened, and the priesthoods of Memphis, Heliopolis, Bubastis, and Tanis were free to support the claims of a local candidate for the supreme power in Lower Egypt. Thus it happened that one Nesubanebtet, a native of the Delta, took possession of Tanis during the absence of Rameses XII in Thebes, and declared himself king, and so there were two kings reigning in Egypt at the same time, one at Thebes, and one at Tanis, and Egypt was once again divided into two kingdoms. Rameses XII continued to live at Thebes for some years, and Her-Heru ruled Upper Egypt and Nubia as if the lawful king were non-existent.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

The first king of the TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY in the King-List of Manetho is SMENDES, and this Smendes is no other than HETCH-KHEPER-RĀ NESUBANEBTET, who established his rule over Lower Egypt, with Tanis as his capital. During his reign, owing to some unusual event, the temple built at Thebes by Amen-hetep III became flooded, and as the water undermined some of the foundations the whole building was in danger of collapsing. When Smendes heard of this, he sent 3000 men to hew stone in the quarries of Gebelēn, and repaired the damage done by the water. The fact that it was Smendes, and not the high priest of Amen, who carried out the work proves that his rule was effective in the south as well as in the north. The length of his reign is unknown.

Smendes was succeeded by ĀAKHEPERRĀ PASEBKHĀNUT (PASEBKHĀNUT I), who, according to Manetho, reigned forty-one years; he was a contemporary of Paiānkh, the son of Her-Heru, who succeeded his father as high priest of Amen. A daughter of Pasebkhānut called Maātkarā Mutemhāt, and

described as the "divine wife of Amen, the daughter of the king (*i.e.* princess), royal wife, eldest daughter of the Lord of the Two Lands," married a son of Paiānkh called Painetchem (I), and there was peace between the Tanite king and the high priest of Amen. The three sons of this marriage, Painetchem, Masahertu or Masaherth, and Menkheperrā, became, each in turn, high priest of Amen.

USERMAĀTRĀ AMENEMAPT succeeded Pasebkhānut at Tanis, and during his reign Menkheperrā, high priest of Amen, began to assume the title of "King of the South and of the North," and to enclose his name in a cartouche. NETERKHEPERRĀ SA-AMEN succeeded Amenemapt at Tanis, and during his reign Menkheperrā, high priest of Amen, was succeeded in his office by a kinsman called Painetchen (II). HETCHHEQRĀ PASEBHKĀNUT (PASEBKHĀNUT II) was the last of the Tanite kings of the twenty-first dynasty. The last of the high-priest kings at Thebes seems to have been TAAKHEPERURĀ PASEBKHĀNUT; at all events he was the last of them to write his name in a cartouche. The duration of the twenty-first dynasty is given by Manetho at 114 or 130 years, and the latter figure is probably near the truth.

Of the history of Egypt during the rule of this dynasty hardly anything is known, but it is quite certain that under its kings Egypt lost once and for all the little authority in Palestine and Syria that remained to her. The Tanite kings had no army, no money, and no means of filling their coffers with tribute from foreign nations. The occurrence of their names on the buildings of Tanis or Memphis seems to indicate that they carried out the repairs of the chief temples that were absolutely necessary, but they built no large temple and inaugurated no new works on a large scale. At Thebes the priest kings were occupied chiefly with the cult of Amen, and in proclaiming his glory and the power of his priests. The successors of Amen-hetep, the first high priest of Amen who assumed royal rank, followed his example, and increased their pretensions. They invented for themselves great and high sounding titles, or "strong names," as if they had been

the descendants of the Pharaohs, and several of them enclosed their names in cartouches. They assumed the generalship of the soldiers and claimed the sovereignty of Nubia, with the tribes of which country they managed to keep on friendly terms. Their whole existence seemed to have become merged in that of their god Amen, whose words they feigned to believe, or perhaps really did believe, ruled the whole world. They paid no heed to the events that happened outside their small world of Thebes, and so long as the demands of their god were satisfied nothing disturbed their arrogance and self-complacency.

The narrative (see the accompanying volume) of a journey undertaken by an official of Thebes called Unuamen in the reign of Her-Heru illustrates the ignorance of the high priest of Amen of the true state of affairs in Syria and Palestine, and the contempt in which the Egyptian king was held at that time in these countries. The high priest wished to make a new barge for Amen, and sent Unuamen to Byblos to obtain beams of cedar for the purpose. He provided him with a totally inadequate supply of money to purchase this wood, and gave him a figure of Amen to bring him luck on his journey. Unuamen arrived in Tanis, and was well received by Nesubanebtet, and in due course set out for Byblos. On his way thither he was robbed of his money, but after robbing some one else of some silver, he arrived at Byblos. Here he had to wait several days before the Governor Zeker-Baal would receive him, and when he did he flatly refused to supply the timber. Unuamen told him that Lebanon and all the cedars on it belonged to Amen, but in reply Zeker-Baal made it quite clear that he neither acknowledged the claims of Amen, nor owed fealty to the ruler of Egypt. Moreover, he treated Unuamen as an impostor, and the production of the image of Amen by him did nothing towards helping him to get the timber. It was only when the messengers whom Unuamen sent to Egypt returned with vases of gold and silver, hides, linen, &c., together with proofs that he was the duly accredited messenger of the ruler of Egypt, that Zeker-Baal ordered the trunks of cedar to be

loaded on the ships in the harbour for transport to Egypt. Unuamen, thanks to Zeker-Baal, succeeded in leaving Byblos and in escaping from a hostile fleet that pursued him with the view of seizing him because, as their captains alleged, he had stolen silver from one of their number. He was therefore more fortunate than the messengers who had been sent to Byblos in the reign of Rameses IX, and who had been kept in prison there by Zeker-Baal for seventeen years, and had finally died there.

Mention has been made of the robbery of the royal tombs at Thebes during the reigns of the kings of the twentieth dynasty, and, judging by the action taken by the high priests of Amen under the twenty-first dynasty, the prosecutions of the thieves in the reigns of Rameses IX and Rameses X did not abate this evil. Her-Heru decided that the only certain way of preserving the royal mummies from desecration was to take them from their tombs. He removed the mummies of Rameses I, Seti I, and Rameses II to the tomb of Queen Anhep, and two of them he rebandaged. Painetchem repaired the mummies of Amen-hetep I, Thothmes II, Rameses II, Rameses III, and carefully hid the mummies of Amasis I and Sa-Amen. Masaherth rebandaged the mummy of Amen-hetep I, the founder and great benefactor of the priests of Amen. Menkheperrā banished many of the tomb-robbers to the Great Oasis (Khārgah), but, owing to the outbreak of a serious riot in Thebes, he was obliged to allow the banished to return. These facts suggest that the high priests of Amen took other precautions to preserve the mummies of their royal benefactors.

The power of the high priests of Amen and of the kings of the twenty-first dynasty at Tanis collapsed about 950 B.C., and soon after this date the Libyans, who had for many years been steadily acquiring territory and power both in Upper and Lower Egypt, seized the opportunity of making themselves masters of the whole country. The rule of the Libyan kings who, according to Manetho, formed the TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY, lasted till about 750 B.C. or 740. The first of these was :

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

HETCHKHEPERRĀ SHASHANQ (SHISHAK I; see 1 Kings xiv. 25, 2 Chron. xii. 5, 7, 9). He was descended from a Libyan chief called BUIUWAWA, one descendant of whom married Mehtenusekht, the high priestess of Amen. Shishak's father Nemart married an Egyptian lady called Thentsepeh, and through her Shishak probably possessed a claim to the throne of Egypt; he married Karāmāt, the daughter of Pasebkhānut II, and this alliance gave him a further claim. He reigned about twenty-one years. As soon as Shishak had established himself in Būbastis, which city he made his capital, he despatched his son Auapet to Thebes, and made him high priest of Amen and general of the army of the south. When Solomon king of Israel was seeking to kill Jeroboam Shishak gave him asylum in Egypt, and the conspirator lived there until Solomon died, aged ninety-four years (Josephus, *Antiquities*, viii. 7, 8, 1 Kings xi. 26-40). Jeroboam then returned to Palestine and became king of the Ten Tribes, whilst Rehoboam became king of two tribes; the latter built cities and fortified them, and so provoked Shishak to invade Palestine. This he did in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (1 Kings xiv. 25), taking with him 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and 400,000 footmen, including Libyans and Ethiopians. Town after town fell before the advance of Shishak, who besieged Rehoboam in Jerusalem. When the city surrendered Shishak spoiled the Temple, and carried off large quantities of gold and silver. Among his spoil were the golden bucklers and shields made by Solomon, and the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah and had dedicated to God. Thus Palestine and the southern portion of Syria again became possessions of Egypt. On his return Shishak began to build at Karnak, and on one of the towers of the second pylon he had cut a large relief in which he is represented clubbing a number of Semitic prisoners in the traditional fashion. He added to it also the names of 133 towns, districts, &c., conquered by him during his campaign. His son Auapet superintended the working of the quarries

of Gebel Silsilah whence the stone for his works at Karnak was obtained. Shishak also carried on building operations at several places in Lower Egypt. In his reign the robbery of the royal tombs was continued, and it was found that the thieves had discovered the hiding-place in the tomb of Amenhetep I, to which Pasebkhānut, high priest of Amen, had transferred them. Auapet decided to find another hiding-place for them, and he chose the tomb at Dēr al-Baharī that had been made for Astemkhebit, wife of the high priest Menkheperrā, for this purpose. To the mummy chamber of this tomb Auapet removed many of the royal mummies, together with their papyri and funerary furniture, and then he walled up the entrance of the corridor leading to it, and filled up the shaft with stones; there they remained in safety until 1872, when they were discovered by the brothers Abd Ar-rasūl. These natives of Western Thebes took out of the tomb on various occasions numbers of rolls of inscribed papyri, and other valuable objects, and sold them to travellers. After eight or nine years of successful robbery the robbers were brought to justice, and as a result of the beatings and torturings suffered by them, they revealed to the authorities the source of their plunder. The Government then had the tomb at Dēr al-Baharī cleared out, and all the royal mummies, &c., brought to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where they now are.

Shishak I was succeeded by KHERPKHEPERRĀ USARKEN (OSORKON I), who reigned for about fifteen years. According to Champollion he is to be identified with Zerah (Heb. Zerakh) the Ethiopian (see 2 Chron. xiv. 9) who invaded Judæa "with an host of a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots," and was defeated by Asa king of Judah. Osorkon I was succeeded by TEKLETH I who reigned twenty-three years; he was succeeded by USERMAĀTRĀ USARKEN (OSORKON II), who reigned twenty-nine years, and is famous as the builder of the Hall of the Set Festival (see above, p. 29) at Bubastis. The texts on the walls describe him as the conqueror of Nubia and Syria, but the revolts that broke out

in Upper Egypt during his reign, and the advance of Shalmaneser II, King of Assyria, 860 B.C. to 825, into Syria prove this statement to be incorrect. There is also no foundation for the assertion that Osorkon II sent 1000 men to assist Ahab, king of Israel, Irkhulini king of Hamath, and Benhadad king of Damascus, who were fighting the king of Assyria. Of the reign of SESHESHKHEPERRĀ SHASHANQ (SHISHAK II) nothing is known. His successor, HETCHKHEPERRĀ THEKLETH (TEKLETH II), reigned about fifteen years, and married Karamāmā, a lady who was of royal Theban descent. He lived for a time at Thebes, but this policy did not please his subjects at Bubastis, and as he had little to give to the priests of Amen the Thebans cannot have welcomed his arrival, unless they hoped that he would suppress any revolt that might arise in Nubia, for the Nubians were at that time threatening to become troublesome. SHISHAK III, his successor, is said to have reigned over fifty years, and he made large gifts to Amen in the eleventh, twenty-second, and twenty-fifth years of his reign. PAMAI, his successor, reigned about two years and was succeeded by ĀAKHEPERRĀ SHASHANQ (SHISHAK IV), who is said to have reigned nearly forty years. He was the last of the kings who reigned at Bubastis. When the twenty-second dynasty came to an end (about 750 B.C.) there was no central government in Egypt, for in all parts of the country the local chiefs had acquired much power, and each of them did much as he pleased. The priests of Amen had been driven from Thebes, and appear to have sought asylum at Napata, a town at the foot of the Fourth Cataract, and in other parts of Nubia, where Egyptian officials, both civil and military, had been stationed for several centuries. They joined themselves to the priesthood of Amen already established in Nubia, and encouraged the rulers of the provinces to look forward to and to prepare for the time when Amen would be able to reassert his ownership of Egypt.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY AND THE INVASION
OF EGYPT BY PIĀNKHI, KING OF NUBIA

Among the local chiefs of Lower Egypt who succeeded in establishing their claims to rule the country were SEHERABRĀ PETABAST, AUPUT, and ĀAKHEPERRĀ USERKENA (OSORKON III) ; these form the TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY. The first of them is said by Manetho to have reigned forty (or twenty-five) years. During the reign of Osorkon III there reigned at Thebes a Nubian king or prince, who seems to have legalized his claim to the throne by marrying a princess from the north. He had two sons, Piānkhi and Shabaka ; and he made the former king, or perhaps viceroy, of Nubia, probably between 750 B.C. and 740. It was to him that the priests of Amen in Nubia looked for the restoration of the supremacy of their god. When Piānkhi had been reigning about eighteen years at Napata news was brought to him that Tafnekht, a powerful chief of Saïs in the Western Delta, had seized a number of towns near him, and had sailed southwards with a large army to take possession of the whole country. All the large cities as far south as Herakleopolis had opened their gates and submitted to him in sheer fright, and he was at that time besieging Herakleopolis, about 85 miles south of Memphis, which seems to have formed the northern frontier city of Piānkhi in Egypt. In answer to this report Piānkhi did nothing. Meanwhile other governors of great towns submitted to Tafnekht, and when this fact was reported to Piānkhi, he ordered Puarma and Lasmersekni, his generals in Egypt, to attack Hermopolis, and sent soldiers to help them.

Soon after this Piānkhi arrived in Egypt and found Herakleopolis besieged, and Tafnekht supported by Nemareth, king of Hermopolis, Auapeth, the chief of the Mashuasha, Shishak of Busiris, Tchetamenafānkhi of Mendes, and many other chiefs. On his way down the Nile Piānkhi met a fleet of war-boats of Tafnekht. In the fight that followed he was victorious, and his slaughter of the enemy was great. A

little later he himself assisted at the siege of Hermopolis, which surrendered after three days' resistance, and Piānkhi pardoned Nemareth, and accepted his offerings. He then marched northwards, and having compelled all the towns he passed to submit to him, he came to Memphis, the gates of which were closed before him. He sent a messenger into the city bidding the people to surrender, and promising to do them no harm if they submitted. He reminded them that he had only killed those whom he had found offering active resistance to him. The Memphites refused to surrender, and added to their foolish provocation of Piānkhi by treacherously falling upon a number of his men who happened to be near the city and killing them. At this time Tafnekht arrived in Memphis, and having encouraged the Memphites to continue their resistance, he mounted a horse and rode away. Meanwhile Piānkhi came to the north side of Memphis, and saw that the waters of the Nile were close up to the wall, and that boats were moored there. He promptly ordered his war-boats to seize these boats, and then, having made his soldiers set every available boat in a line close to the city wall, with their bows pointing towards it, he ordered an attack to be made. The Nubians quickly filled the row of boats in front of the city wall, and then rushing on to their bows leaped on to the wall, and forced their way into the houses that were built close up to it, and so went down into the city. Before the Memphites could make any effective resistance Piānkhi's soldiers filled the city, and they killed all who opposed them and took many prisoners. Piānkhi, like a great and generous conqueror, saved the great temple of Ptah from being looted, made offerings to the gods, and confirmed the priests in their appointments. The result of this victory was that many local chiefs came to Memphis and tendered their submission. Piānkhi then crossed the Nile and went to Kherāha, a very ancient town, and so on to Heliopolis, where the priesthood acknowledged him to be King of Egypt. While he was here Osorkon III arrived from Bubastis, and also acknowledged him as king.

A little later Piānkhi moved northwards and pitched his

camp at Kaheni in the nome of Athribis, and hither came at least fifteen local princes to tender their submission to him. They brought rich gifts, and Petaast, prince of Athribis, begged him to come to his stables and stud farm and take from them any and every horse he wished for. Piānkhi was, like all Sūdānī men, a great lover of horses, and this Petaast knew well. Meanwhile Tafnekht did his utmost to make the people in the west revolt, and when all his efforts had failed he sent an envoy to Piānkhi and begged for pardon. He described his wretched state, saying that he was sick and miserable, and that his anxieties had made him bald. He was in rags, and he had taken no pleasure in his food, or in music, and the beer-hall, because of his terror of Piānkhi, and he said, "Take everything I have, only forgive me, and send me a messenger with forgiveness. I will go into the temple of Neith in Saīs, and swear allegiance to thee." In answer to his petition Piānkhi sent his general Puarma to receive the gifts of Tafnekht, and a priest to hear him take his solemn oath of allegiance in the temple of Neith. One by one all the chiefs and princes who had been allies of Tafnekht came and swore fealty to Piānkhi, and among them was Nemareth. Having loaded his fleet with rich gifts of all kinds Piānkhi sailed up the river to Thebes, and finally returned to Napata, his capital, where, with the spoil obtained in Egypt, he enriched the temple of Amen-Rā.

After the return of Piānkhi to Nubia Tafnekht asserted his former pretensions to the sovereignty of the Delta, and reigned at Saīs for several years. He must have enjoyed considerable power, for it was his son Uahkarā BAKENRENEF who became the first king of the TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY, and not a son or member of the family of Osorkon III of Bubastis. This son of Tafnekht, whose name the Greeks give as Bocchoris, is said by Diodorus the Sicilian to have been one of the six great lawgivers of Egypt, and to have been a wise and prudent man, many of whose sayings were remembered for centuries after his death. The same writer states that in his reign a lamb was born with eight legs, two

heads, two tails, and four horns, and the faculty of human speech. According to a legend preserved in demotic this animal portended danger to Egypt from Assyria, and that the period of calamity through which Egypt was to pass would last for 900 years. There are no monuments of Bocchoris extant, and he appears to have been the only king of the twenty-fourth dynasty.

THE NUBIAN KINGS OF EGYPT

The kings of the TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY were Nubians, the first of them being NEFERKARĀ SHABAKA, the son of KASHTA, the Nubian king of Thebes, and brother of Piānkhi, the conqueror of Egypt; he reigned about twelve years, but for several years before he became king he acted as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, and was king to all intents and purposes. He is now generally regarded as the So of the Bible (2 Kings xvii. 4). He is said to have burned, or flayed, Bocchoris alive. When he obtained command of the army of Egypt the Assyrian king was the overlord of the kings and princes of Palestine and Syria, and Shabaka detested the Assyrian rule as much as they did, for it did away with any hope that he may have cherished of one day regaining possession for Egypt of these countries which had been in olden days tributary to her. Shabaka therefore stirred up the tribes on his north-eastern frontier to revolt against the Assyrians, and he seems to have promised help to Hoshea, the last king of Israel, to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Relying on Shabaka and the army of Egypt Hoshea neglected to send tribute to Shalmaneser IV, the king of Assyria, who promptly marched against him, "and shut him up, and bound him in prison," and ravaged his country. Two years later, or in the ninth year of Hoshea (2 Kings xviii. 10) (722 B.C. ?), Samaria was taken, and the Israelites were carried away by Sargon from their native land to Assyria and Media. Shabaka did not profit by this example of what happened to those who rebelled against Assyria, but continued to foment revolt in Palestine. About two years later he

joined his forces to those of Hanunu of Gaza, and the princes of the Philistines, and the Israelites, and assisted the king of Damascus in his attempt to throw off the yoke of Sargon II, who had succeeded Shalmaneser IV (721 B.C.). Sargon set out for Palestine as soon as his war against his enemies in the south permitted, and he was everywhere victorious. He crushed the Syrian rebels in the battle of Karkar, and, marching southwards, defeated Hanunu, the king of Gaza, and his allies, among them being a contingent of Egyptians, at the battle of Rapihu, or Raphia, about 720 B.C. The Egyptians, from whom Hanunu had expected so much, were routed with great slaughter, and Shabaka their leader fled back to Thebes (?). For some reason Sargon did not invade Egypt, but contented himself with the gifts which the Egyptian king sent to him, and which he regarded as tribute. The Pharaoh who sent gifts to Sargon may have been Bocchoris, the son of Tafnekht, and it was probably for this reason that Shabaka burnt or flayed him alive when he returned to the north as king of all Egypt a few years after his flight. Both as commander-in-chief and king Shabaka fomented revolt in Palestine, but he was too weak to defy Assyria independently.

Sargon was succeeded by his son Sennacherib (705 B.C.), and four years after his ⁷⁰¹ succession Shabaka joined with Luli, king of Tyre, Hezekiah, king of Judah, and all the local princes in a revolt against Sennacherib, who marched against them and, after a victorious progress, gave battle to the allies at Altaqū, or Eltekeh, and defeated them utterly; and the town of Ekron fell into his hands. The weakness of the Egyptians was again shown, and even the support of Shabaka's Nubian troops was not sufficient to enable them to stand against the Assyrians. Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem, and he only raised the siege when Hezekiah its king sent to him the gold which he had stripped off the temple. Sennacherib thereupon returned to Nineveh, but two years later, owing to a further refusal of Hezekiah to pay tribute, he again marched into Palestine and besieged Lachish, which he took. He then sent to Jerusalem from Lachish messengers, viz.

the Tartan, and Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, with a great host (2 Kings xviii. 17), to demand the surrender of the city and the submission of Hezekiah. They were received by Eliakim, Hezekiah's steward, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the recorder, who were terrified at the threats and promises of the Rabshakeh, which, being uttered in the ordinary dialect of the people, were understood by every listener. They reported his demands to Hezekiah, but he, encouraged by Isaiah the prophet, who foretold the ruin of the Assyrian host, refused to comply with them. Sennacherib did not press an attack on Jerusalem at that moment, but marched on to fight the Egyptian army, which lay near the eastern frontier of Egypt. His object was to destroy the ally upon whom Hezekiah leant, and he meant to reduce Jerusalem on his return. The Egyptian army was led by Taharq, a son of Piānkhi and nephew of Shabaka, whom the Hebrew Scriptures describe as "Tirhākāh, king of Kūsh" (2 Kings xix. 9; Isaiah xxxvii. 9), but whether Shabaka was with him or not is not clear. The invasion of Egypt was near, but it did not take place under Sennacherib, for a great disaster overtook him, and 185,000 of his soldiers perished (2 Kings xix. 35; Isaiah xxxvii. 36); so Sennacherib and the remnant of his army returned to Nineveh. This disaster not only saved Jerusalem, in which Hezekiah was besieged and shut up like a "bird in a cage," but Egypt also—for the time. At some period of his reign Shabaka seems to have opened negotiations with Sennacherib in writing, for two clay seals bearing his name and titles were found among the tablets of the Royal Library in Nineveh. They are now in the British Museum. Shabaka repaired several of the great temples at Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Tanis, and on a relief in the temple of Karnak he is seen clubbing his enemies in traditional fashion. His sister MUTKHĀNEFERU AMENARTAS was appointed by him high priestess of Amen, and Menkheperā Piānkhi, her official husband, assisted her in carrying out several building operations. Shabaka was succeeded by his son (?) Shabataka, about 700 B.C.

Of TETKAURĀ SHABATAKA very few monuments remain,

and practically nothing is known about his reign. An ancient tradition says that he reigned twelve years, and that he was taken prisoner and put to death by Taharq, or Tirhākāh (688 B.C.), who was in command of the Egyptian troops 701 B.C.

The opening years of the reign of NEFERTEMKHURĀ TAHARQA were peaceful, and he had nothing to fear from Sennacherib who was occupied with wars on various frontiers. He seems to have been made king of Napata in Nubia when he was about twenty years of age, and up to that time he helped his father to farm the family estate. Events, of which nothing is known, made it necessary for him to go to Egypt, and on his arrival there he became king. On a stele from Tanis he tells us that he sent and fetched his mother Akaluka from Napata to witness his coronation in Thebes and Tanis, and that he heaped honours upon her as the mother of Amen's son on earth, *i.e.* himself. During the early part of his reign he built a rock-hewn funerary temple, 120 feet long, at Gebel Barkal (Napata), and ornamented the front of it with statues of the Sūdānī god Bes; he also repaired two temples near his own, one of them being the temple of Piānkhi. At Thebes he repaired many of the temples and added to them, and at Tanis various restorations of buildings were undertaken by him. The two seats of the cult of Amen, Thebes, and Napata, and his capital Tanis were the only cities of Egypt in which he seems to have taken special interest.

Tirhākāh enjoyed several years of peace, and it was not until some years after the murder of Sennacherib (681 B.C.), and the accession of his son Esarhaddon that rumours of wars in Syria and Palestine reached him. Esarhaddon attacked Abdi-Milkutti, king of Sidon, in 676, and destroyed his city, and about three years later he seems to have sent an army into Palestine for some purpose, but he made no advance on Egypt. In 670 he besieged Baal, king of Tyre, who had entered into a league with Tirhākāh, and when he had reduced that city he determined to punish Egypt. He marched from Aphek to Rapihu (Raphia) in fifteen days, and he chased

the Egyptians across the frontier, fought three or four battles with them, and pursued them to Memphis, which he captured. This city was sacked by the Assyrians in a thorough manner. Tirhākāh fled to the south, and Esarhaddon appointed twenty governors to rule, each from his own city, the various provinces of Egypt. As soon as Esarhaddon had left Egypt for Nineveh, these governors entered into negotiations with Tirhākāh, who in a very short time had returned, and who slew the Assyrian garrison in Memphis, deposed Esarhaddon's governors, and had himself declared king of Egypt. On hearing of this Esarhaddon set out for Egypt to crush Tirhākāh, but died on the road thither (668 B.C.), and was succeeded by his son Ashurbanipal, who at once took steps to carry out the campaign begun by his father. On his way through Syria and Palestine Ashurbanipal received the submission of twenty-two kings of the sea-coast, among them being Manasseh of Judah. He fought a battle with the Egyptians at Karbanit and defeated them, and then marched into Egypt and occupied Memphis. Tirhākāh fled to Thebes, and when he found that the Assyrians were sailing up after him he fled to Napata. On his return to the Delta Ashurbanipal reappointed the governors who had been chosen by his father and deposed by Tirhākāh, and returned to Nineveh. He had hardly left the country when Necho of Saïs, Paqrer of Persept, and Sharruludari of Tanis, began to write letters to Tirhākāh inviting him to return to Egypt, but the letters were intercepted by the Assyrians in Egypt, and Necho and Sharruludari were sent in chains to Nineveh. The former Ashurbanipal pardoned, and restored to his governorship, and the latter was probably put to death. After this Tirhākāh lost all his influence in Egypt.

Tirhākāh was succeeded by the Nubian BAKARĀ TANUTAMEN, the Tandamanie of the Assyrian inscriptions, who had already served his country as co-regent; he was a son of Shabaka and probably began to reign in the year in which Tirhākāh died (665 or 663 B.C.?). In the first year of his reign, as the result of a dream in which he beheld himself king

of Egypt, Tanutamén set out from Napata for Egypt, with 1,100,000 soldiers(!) and having been well received at Elephantine and Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, which, after a fierce fight, he took. He again embarked in his boat, and set out to attack the Princes of the North, but they hid in their towns "like rats in their holes" and refused to fight; after waiting several days for them to appear Tanutamén returned to Memphis. A little later a body of the Princes of the North, led by Paqrer, the governor of Persept, came to Memphis, and prayed for pardon, and they were allowed to go and bring gifts to Tanutamén. Meanwhile the news of these doings had been carried to Nineveh, and Ashurbanipal set out at once for Egypt. On his arrival the Princes of the North submitted to him and kissed his feet, and Tanutamén fled from Memphis to Thebes, where he was followed by the Assyrians. He then fled to Qepqepa (Kipkip), and Ashurbanipal captured Thebes. The Assyrians sacked the city thoroughly, and stripped the temples and palace of everything of value in them, including two pillars or obelisks that were plated with gold. They seized all the costly clothing and furniture and horses, and then apparently set fire to the city. Not content with this, Ashurbanipal deported a large number of men and women, after the usual Assyrian fashion. This was the greatest calamity that had ever fallen upon Egypt, and Thebes never recovered its former greatness and splendour. Ashurbanipal returned to Nineveh with a "full hand" and well satisfied with the conquest of Egypt. Tanutamén seems to have returned to Thebes, and to have lived there for a few years, but he made no further attempt to defy the power of Assyria. The city of Napata, which the Nubians regarded as a second Thebes, began also to decline, for the peoples who lived to the south of the Atbarā River, on the "Island of Meroë," little by little gained possession of the country round about Napata, and finally of the city itself. As the Nubians of Napata imitated the manners and customs of the Theban Egyptians, so the founders of the Meroëtic Kingdom on the Island of Meroë imitated those of the Nubians of Napata.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

The TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY was founded by UAHABRĀ PSEMTEK (PSAMMETICHUS I), the son of Nekau (Necho), the governor of Saïs, who had been carried in chains to Nineveh, but had been treated with great honour by Ashurbanipal, and restored to his governorship. Necho died or was killed soon after the arrival of Tanutamén in the Delta, and his son fled for protection to Assyria. Ashurbanipal received him graciously, and ordered his officers in Egypt to make him ruler of Saïs in his father's stead (660 B.C. ?). He was thus a vassal of Assyria, but after the death of Tanutamén, which took place a few years later, he took possession of Thebes (654 B.C. ?), and made Shepenapt, the sister of Tīrhākāh and high priestess of Amen, adopt his daughter Netaqert (Nitocris). Thus he obtained great power in Upper Egypt. For nearly twenty years he continued to combat the power of the Assyrian vassal-governors in the Delta, and at length, by the help of the Carian and Ionian mercenaries whom he employed, he was able to proclaim himself king of Egypt. About 640 he ventured to invade Palestine, of which the king of Assyria was still the overlord, but Ashurbanipal ignored the incident, and the glory of Psammetichus was increased. During his long reign of fifty-four years he kept up a strong army of mercenaries, and established garrisons at Pelusium and Daphnæ in the Eastern Delta, at Marea in the Western Delta, and at Elephantine in the First Cataract. The protection of his land being thus assured, he was able to devote himself to the development of the commerce and industries of the country. He allowed the Greeks to trade freely, he opened up all the old trade routes, he established markets everywhere, and did all he could to develop the sea trade of Egypt. In a very few years under such conditions the people became prosperous, and having money to spare the king repaired the great temples and restored the worship of all the old gods. Under his patronage the priests began to study the ancient religious texts, the old ceremonies

and rites were revived, and a new Recension of the Book of the Dead was made. The texts of the Ancient Empire were copied on coffins and tombs, the old funerary paintings were copied, and the rich were buried with all the pomp and ceremony of the nobles of the earlier dynasties. The art of this period possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, a result due to foreign influence. In this reign there came into general use the modified form of hieratic writing, which is now commonly called "demotic." Psammetichus died about 612 B.C. (?) and was buried in a chapel that he built near the temple of Neith in Saïs.

UHEMABRĀ NEKAU (NECHO), the son of Psammetichus I, reigned about fifteen years. On his accession he built a fleet for use in the Mediterranean and another for use in the Red Sea, and he attempted to join the Nile and the Gulf of Suez by means of a canal; though he employed 120,000 men in this work, the canal was not finished. Necho is said to have sent some Phœnician sailors to circumnavigate Africa, who returned after three years, thus proving that Libya, or Africa, was surrounded by water. He invaded Palestine and Syria with a large army of mercenaries, and Josiah, king of Judah, attempted to stop his advance, but was mortally wounded in the Valley of Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 21 ff.). Necho continued his march, but when he arrived at the Euphrates he found no Assyrian army to do battle with, and he set out for Egypt. On his way back he found that Jehoahaz had been made king of Judah, and he put him in chains in Riblah, and fined his people 100 talents of silver and 1 talent of gold. He then appointed Eliakim, another son of Josiah, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and he took Jehoahaz to Egypt, where he died (2 Kings xxiii. 31 ff.). In the year 607 or 606 Nineveh was taken and destroyed by Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and Nabūpalusur, king of Babylon; the latter, in order to assert his supremacy over Syria and Palestine, sent an army against Necho. This army was led by Nabūkudurussur, or Nebuchadnezzar II, the son of Nabū-

palusur. The Babylonians met the Egyptians and their allies at Karkemish, and in the battle that followed (605–604 B.C.) the forces of Necho were utterly defeated; he himself retreated with great rapidity to Egypt, pursued by Nebuchadnezzar, who received tribute from Jehoiakim on the way (2 Kings xxiv. 1). In 604 Nabūpalusur died, and Nebuchadnezzar was obliged to return to Babylon, and defer the invasion of Egypt for a few years. Jehoiachin succeeded his father Jehoiakim in the opening years of the sixth century B.C., and very soon after his accession provoked the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar. In 596 Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, seized all the treasures in the Temple and in the king's house, and carried them away, together with the king, and all his family, and all the people, "save the poorest sort of the land" (2 Kings xxiv. 14), to Babylon. Mattaniah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, was appointed king of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, who changed his name to Zedekiah. Thus Palestine became a province of Babylon, and Necho laid no further claim to any part of it. Necho was buried in Saïs, and was succeeded by Psammetichus II.

NEFERABRĀ PSEMTEK (PSAMMETICHUS II) reigned about six years. He is said to have invaded Nubia with a host of Greek mercenaries, and a record of an invasion is preserved in the form of a Greek inscription, which is cut upon the broken colossal statue of Rameses II in front of the temple of Abū Simbel. The appearance of the name of Psammetichus II in the quarries of Gebel Silsilah, the Wādī Hammāmāt, and Tūrah suggests that he repaired some of the temples at Karnak, Memphis, and Heliopolis, where his name is also found.

HĀĀABRĀ UAHABRĀ, the Pharaoh HOPHRA of Jeremiah xliv. 30, and the APRIES of the Greeks, succeeded Psammetichus II about 590 B.C. and reigned for about twenty-five years. Soon after his accession to the throne the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and Zedekiah, king of Judah, revolted, and Hophra made a league with them against Nebuchadnezzar.

In the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv. 1) a Babylonian force appeared before Jerusalem (587 B.C. ?), but the greater part of Nebuchadnezzar's army camped at Riblah. As Hophra was attacking Tyre and Sidon by sea, Nebuchadnezzar seems to have expected him to land a force somewhere on the Syrian coast, with the object of attacking the Babylonians. This Hophra did not do, but he returned to Egypt, and made an attempt to raise the siege of Jerusalem by land. This was unsuccessful, for when the Babylonians marched against him he retreated, leaving Jerusalem to its fate. The Babylonians then prosecuted the siege with vigour, and in a short time famine compelled the city to surrender. Zedekiah tried to escape, but was caught in the plains of Jericho and taken to the king's camp at Riblah. Nebuchadnezzar had the sons of Zedekiah slain before him, and had his eyes put out, and bound him with fetters of brass, and took him to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 1-7). Hophra made no further attempt to regain the lost possessions in Palestine and Syria, but devoted himself to developing the commerce of his country; trade increased, and the Egyptians became very wealthy. His reign was brought to an end in a curious manner. He despatched a force of Egyptians against the Cyrenians who were settled to the west of the Delta, because they had been quarrelling with the Libyans. This force was defeated with great loss by the Cyrenians, and the Egyptians thought they had been specially sent by Hophra because he wished them to be killed. They therefore rebelled, and Hophra sent an officer called Aāhmes, or Amasis, to quell their revolt, with the result that they elected him to be their king instead of Hophra. Amasis then ruled for two or three years with Hophra, who lived at Saïs and was treated with all honour. At length Hophra managed to leave Saïs, and having collected an army, he led it against Amasis, who defeated him. According to an inscription of Amasis Hophra was killed by some of his own men whilst he was sitting in a boat, but others say that he was slain by the emissaries of Amasis (about 560 B.C.), who was looking on from the river bank. However this may have been, Amasis states that he

buried Hophra in the tomb of his father at Saïs, and that he endowed his tomb and provided for the continuance of commemorative services and offerings.

KHNEMABRĀ AĀHMES (AMASIS II) reigned for about forty-four years. He was of humble origin, and is said to have been born at Saïs. The Greek writers describe him as a good-natured man, who loved conviviality and was popular with his comrades, and was a good soldier. With the wealth that flowed into his treasury he repaired many of the old temples, and built new ones, and restored the worship of the native gods. He added chambers to the temple of Karnak, and his works at Abydos were on a large scale. He restored and re-endowed the sanctuary of Osiris there, cleared out the canals, planted a vineyard, and renewed the worship of the god. He added to the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and set up the colossal granite statues mentioned by Herodotus; and he buried, with great pomp, an Apis Bull in the Serapeum in the twenty-third year of his reign. He rebuilt a temple at Bubastis, and dedicated a huge shrine to the temple of Thmuis. He added a court with statues and sphinxes to the temple of Nèith at Saïs, and he set up here the granite shrine that struck wonder into Herodotus, for it was 30 feet high, and it took 2000 men three years to bring from the quarries at Syene (Aswān) to Saïs. Whilst he was doing all these good works for the Egyptians he did not forget to assist in every way the Greeks who had settled in his country, for he knew that the prosperity of his country rested ultimately on their commercial enterprises and ability. Moreover, his sympathies inclined far more to the Greeks than to the Egyptians. He made a new grant of land to the Greeks who were settled in Naucratis, and conferred upon the town many valuable privileges. The over-sea trade of Egypt was now very large, and the ships of Amasis could be seen in every port of the Mediterranean; his fleet was equally useful for either commerce or war. He made no attempt to regain Egypt's lost possessions in Syria, either when Nebuchadnezzar died (562 B.C. ?) or during the pacific reign of Naboni-

dus. Amasis died about 526 and was succeeded by his son Psammetichus III.

ĀNKHKAENRĀ PSEMTEK (PSAMMETICHUS III) reigned for about six months, and the few monuments bearing his name add nothing to the history of the period ; what is known of it is derived from Greek sources. Amasis II had provoked the wrath of Cyrus, king of Persia, by making alliances with Croesus, king of Lydia, and other kings who were the enemies of Persia, and when Cambyses succeeded Cyrus he determined to conquer Egypt. With the assistance of the desert tribes who supplied his soldiers with water he marched on Egypt, and met the army which Psammetichus had collected at the frontier city of Pelusium ; the Egyptians were defeated and the remnant of the army retreated to Memphis, which they fortified. A little later Cambyses sent an ambassador up the river to Memphis in a boat manned by 200 Greeks to propose terms of surrender ; when the boat entered the canal leading to the city the Egyptians attacked the crew and slew them and broke up the boat. Cambyses then went on to Memphis, took the city, and avenged the murder of his ambassador. On the whole he treated Psammetichus with consideration, for he took him to live with him in his palace for a time, and it was only when he discovered that Psammetichus was plotting against him that he put him to death. Thus perished the last king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, and Egypt became a Persian province.

THE PERSIAN KINGS OF EGYPT

When MESUTRĀ KAMBATHET (CAMBYSES) became king of Egypt, the first king of the TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY, he adopted the same policy of religious toleration which his father Cyrus showed towards the Babylonians, Hebrews, and others, and assumed a Horus-name (*Smataui*, "the uniter of the Two Lands," *i.e.* Egypt) like a Pharaoh of old, and had his other names written in cartouches. Regarding Saïs as the capital of Egypt he marched thither, and was received

by the nobleman Utchaheruentresu, who was probably a kinsman of Amasis II. On the green basalt statue of this official, now preserved in the Vatican, is an inscription that



Netek-Amen and his Queen Amentarit worshipping their god.
From the Temple of Nagaa in the Sūdān.

mentions the adoption by Cambyses of the title " Mesut Rā " and his visit to Saïs. During the course of his conversation with the king Utchaheruentresu described the antiquity of

Sais and the power of its goddess Neith, and told him how aliens had seized her revenues and taken possession of her temple. Cambyses gave him authority to expel the aliens and restored to the goddess her revenues. And when the temple had been purified he went there and poured out a libation to the goddess, and made gifts to her temple. Cambyses next planned the conquest of the Carthaginians, and of the dwellers in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon (the Sīwāh of the Arabs), and of the Nubians, and then seems to have departed into Upper Egypt. His plan for the conquest of Carthage fell through, because the Phœnician sailors refused to fight against their kinsmen in Carthage. When he arrived at Thebes he despatched a force of 50,000 men to the Oasis of Sīwāh. They arrived safely at the Oasis of Khārgah or the Oasis of Dākhlah, which was on the old caravan road to Sīwāh, but after they started from this place they were never more heard of, and it was said that they were all destroyed by a sand storm. The probability is that they were overwhelmed by one of the hills of sand, which to this day move from south to north and north to south according to the time of the year.

From Thebes or some place farther to the south Cambyses despatched another force to conquer the Nubians and to seize their capital Napata, where at that time reigned the Meroitic king NASTASEN, the son, probably, of Herusatef. Before the Persians had gone very far they had eaten all their provisions, and their transport animals also, and starvation stared them in the face. Nastasen says in his inscription that his men attacked "Kambasutent," and defeated him. If this was so Cambyses must have been attacked at some place in the region of the Second and Third Cataracts, the northern part of which is so full of rocks and stone that it is called "Batn al-Hagar," or "Stone-belly." In any case Cambyses had to retreat to Memphis, and his loss of men must have been appalling. The Greek writers say that when he returned to Egypt he committed many sacrilegious acts, that he smote the Apis Bull in the thigh, and gave the animal a wound of which he died, that he had many mummies

dragged from their tombs, that he burned certain wooden statues of the gods, &c. Having established a viceroy in Egypt called Aryandes, Cambyses set out for Persia to put down the revolt headed by Gaumāta, a Magush, who declared that he was Bardiya (Bardes or Smerdis), the brother of Cambyses, whom Cambyses had murdered before he set out for Egypt. The revolt was so successful that Gaumāta was able to declare himself king of Persia. Whilst Cambyses was on the way to Persia he committed suicide, about 522 B.C.

Cambyses was succeeded by SETETU ANTARIUSH (DARIUS I), who arrived in Egypt about 517 B.C., and adopted the rank and style of the Pharaohs, and had his names written within cartouches. He showed an interest in the old worship of Egypt and ordered Utchaheruentresu, the old noble of Saïs who had induced Cambyses to restore the revenues of the temple of Neith to the goddess, to found a college for the education of the priests. He completed the digging of the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been begun by Seti I and continued by Amasis II, and set up stelæ inscribed in hieroglyphs and in three kinds of cuneiform characters (Persian, Susian, and Babylonian) to commemorate this work. According to Diodorus, Darius honoured the gods of Egypt, and often discussed theology with the priests, and became acquainted with their lore. He was kind to the people, and when he was dead they paid him divine honours, and regarded him as the sixth Lawgiver of Egypt. He built a temple to Amen in the town of Hebt, the capital of the Oasis of Khārgah, or the Great Oasis; it was about 144 feet long and nearly 60 feet wide, and had three pylons. On one of the walls of the second chamber in the temple is cut a hymn to Amen-Rā, who is described as the One God, of whom all the other gods are but forms. The hymn was supposed to be sung by the eight great primeval gods of Khemenu (Hermopolis, the modern Eshmūnēn). The sanctuary is decorated with well-executed figures of a remarkable series of gods. Whilst Darius was absent from Egypt, and engaged in conflicts with the Greeks, the Egyp-

tians in the Delta began to conspire against the rule of the Persians. In 486 a serious revolt, headed by KHABBASHA, broke out, and in the following year Darius, when on his way to Egypt to crush the rebels, died. He was succeeded by his son Xerxes.

XERXES the Great suppressed the revolt of Khabbasha, who called himself "beloved of Rā," and who seems actually to have reigned for a short time and to have adopted a throne name, which he wrote within a cartouche, like one of the Pharaohs of old. Khabbasha carried out a kind of survey of the Delta that was of public utility, and was a great benefactor of the temple of Buto (Pe-Tep); his conduct is contrasted, to his advantage, with that of Xerxes, who robbed that temple of its possessions and revenues. Xerxes reigned about twenty years, but, having no sympathy with the Egyptians, he neither honoured their gods nor repaired their temples.

He was succeeded by his son ARTAXERXES, who reigned for about forty years, and followed his father's example in treating the religion of Egypt with contempt. In the early years of his reign a revolt broke out, headed by Inarōs, a Libyan, who expelled the Persian tax-gatherers, and then collected an army. †With the help of the Athenians, who sent 300 ships, he fought a battle at Papremis against the Persians, in which they were defeated and their general, Akhæmenes, was slain.‡ In 460 the Persians attacked the Egyptians with myriads of men, and Inarōs, seeing that resistance was useless, gave himself up on the understanding that his life should be spared. He was taken to Persia by Megabyzus, where he lived for five years, but at the end of that time, at the instigation of Amestris, the mother of Akhæmenes, the dead general, Inarōs was impaled, and then, having been stretched on three crosses, flayed alive. Thannyras his son was permitted to inherit his estates in Libya and to rule as a vassal of Persia.

Artaxerxes was succeeded by DARIUS II, surnamed Nothus, who began to reign in 423, and reigned nineteen years.

His name is found in several places on the walls of the temple of Darius I in the Great Oasis (Khārgah) and at Edfū; he is the last of the Persian kings who left any memorial of himself in Egypt. The last king of the dynasty of Persians was ARTAXERXES II; in his reign the Egyptians regained a measure of independence.

According to Manetho the TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY, from Saïs, contained only one king, whom he calls AMYRTAIOS; he is said to have reigned six years, but nothing is known of his life and acts. The kings of the TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY were from the town of Mendes in the Delta; their names were NEFĀARUT, HAKER, and PSAMUT. Their reigns were unimportant, their total length being only about twenty-one years. The kings of the THIRTIETH DYNASTY were from Sebennytus. The first of them was NEKHATHERHEB, the NEKTANEBES of Manetho, who began to reign about 378, and reigned eighteen years. Under him Egypt enjoyed peace and a temporary prosperity, and many of the ancient temples were repaired by him; his name is found on the temple of Darius I at Khārgah. His massive stone sarcophagus, covered with hieroglyphic texts, is in the British Museum, and is one of the most important monuments of his reign. He successfully defended his country against the attacks of the Persians, and drove them from its shores. He was succeeded by TCHEHER, the Teos of Manetho and Tachos of Diodorus, who reigned for two or three years. He was succeeded by KHEPERKARĀ NEKHTNEBEF, the Nektanebos of Manetho, who reigned for about seventeen years. He repaired many of the old temples, some of which he re-endowed, and his name is found in many places in Egypt. To provide stone for his works he opened a new quarry at Tūrah. The art of the period is interesting, but in detail it is delicate, if not weak. In the reign of Nekhtnebef the Persians, under Artaxerxes III Ochus, attacked Egypt with an overwhelming force, and Pelusium having been captured, all the other towns in the Delta opened their gates, and the Egyptians, laying down their arms, sub-

mitted. From Memphis Nekhtnebef watched the progress of the Persians, and when he saw their triumph he determined not to venture on a struggle with them. According to Greek writers he quietly abdicated, and gathering together much treasure, fled into Ethiopia. Artaxerxes advanced, demolished the fortifications that had been raised against him, and appointed a viceroy called Pherendates. He collected a large quantity of gold and silver from the temples, and, taking with him all the records and writings found in them, returned to Babylon laden with spoil. Thus ended the rule of the last native king of Egypt, about 340 B.C.

THE MACEDONIANS AND PTOLEMIES

The rule of the Persians over Egypt lasted for a few years longer, but was brought to an end by ALEXANDER THE GREAT (born 356 B.C., died 323), who defeated the Persians at the Battle of Issus (332 B.C.). The result of his victory was that Egypt, which had been a province of the Persian Empire for nearly a hundred and fifty years, passed into the possession of the Greeks (Macedonians). When Alexander arrived at Pelusium the Egyptians welcomed him with great enthusiasm, for they were weary of the cruelty and extortion of the Persian governors and tax-collectors, and they hated the Persians for the insults which some of their kings had heaped upon the gods of Egypt and her religion. Alexander marched direct to Memphis, where he received the submission of the satrap, or governor, Mazakes, and where he was crowned king of Egypt in the temple of Ptah. He adopted the Egyptian titles "beloved of Rā," "chosen of Amen," "lord of the Two Lands" (*i.e.* Egypt), "lord of diadems," like a Pharaoh of old, and had his name written within a cartouche. The Persians had shown great wisdom in assuming the titles of the Pharaohs, and in adopting Egyptian customs, but Alexander went further than they, for he determined to show the Egyptians that he was a veritable son of Amen, and that the blood of the god ran in his veins. To carry out this determination he marched, not to Thebes,

the ancient seat of the cult of Amen, but to the Oasis of Sīwāh, several days' march to the west of Egypt, where was a famous sanctuary of Amen. In it was a figure of Amen, probably with movable head and arms, beautifully decorated with emeralds and other precious stones. When Alexander approached the shrine the priest told him that Amen had called him his son, and the king replied that he would accept sonship of the god if he would make him king of the whole world. Thereupon the figure of the god, either with head or hand, made a sign of assent. Alexander then asked if he had killed all his father's murderers, and the god replied, "No mortal could kill thy father, but all the murderers of Philip have suffered just punishment," meaning that Alexander's true father was an immortal god, namely himself, Amen. All the god's further remarks greatly pleased Alexander, for he promised him invincibility. Alexander returned to Egypt, and founded Alexandria, close to the old town of Rakote and opposite the Island of Pharos, soon after 331 B.C. No other site in the Delta was so suitable for a seaport, and the immense importance of Alexandria to Egypt for the last twenty-two centuries has justified the choice. Having appointed governors over Memphis and Pelusium, Alexander departed to Syria to begin the career of conquest that has made his name immortal. He died in Babylon in June 323 B.C., and his body was embalmed and brought to Egypt, and was ultimately buried in a splendid tomb in Alexandria by his faithful general, Ptolemy.

When Alexander's kingdom was divided among his generals, Egypt and Libya fell to the share of Ptolemy Lagus, but he at first only administered these countries on behalf of Philip III, Arrhidæus, who thus became PHILIP I of Egypt. Philip reigned six years and four months, and was assassinated 317 B.C. In his name a small granite temple was built at Karnak, and in one of the reliefs he is seen kneeling before Amen-Rā, who is conferring upon him the sovereignty of all Egypt. Thus was maintained in Egypt the fiction that the Macedonian kings were the

sons of Amen-Rā. Philip was succeeded by Alexander IV of Macedon, or ALEXANDER II of Egypt, the son of Alexander the Great by his wife Roxana ; he reigned about twelve years, and was strangled by Glaukias, governor of Amphipolis, by the order of Cassander, 305 B.C. Works were carried out at Karnak in his name, and a fine granite statue, nine feet high, of the young king was set up in the temple of Amen-Rā. A granite temple was also built in his name at Elephantine. A stele dated in the seventh year of his reign states that he restored to the temple of Buto certain lands which had been given to it by Khabbasha and had been stolen by Xerxes, and that Ptolemy had a copy of the original title-deeds made, and took care that Horus of Buto received his full rights.

On the death of Alexander II of Egypt Ptolemy ruled the country in his own name, and he inaugurated the policy under which Egypt became the richest country in the world. This result was brought about, not by Nubian or Asiatic wars, but by a steady development of the trade of the country. Under the influence of the shrewd and business-like abilities of the Ptolemies Egypt became a kind of central market and clearing-house for all the commerce of East Africa, Southern Arabia, the Red Sea, the Egyptian Sūdān, Palestine and Syria, Cyprus and the Islands and coasts of the eastern half of the Mediterranean. The Jews were encouraged to settle in Alexandria, and the merchants contributed largely to making that port the most important in the world at that time. A Jewish colony existed at Elephantine long before the rule of the Ptolemies, and when the Macedonians established a strong and settled government in Egypt Jewish merchants were to be found in the markets of all the large towns in the country. The Ptolemies employed a wise policy in respect of the Egyptians. They adopted the rank and style of the Pharaohs, assumed ancient Egyptian titles, made use of hieroglyphic writing on certain occasions, and had their names written in hieroglyphs and enclosed within cartouches. They worshipped Egyptian gods and made offerings to them,

and they devoted no small share of the revenues of the country to the maintenance and rebuilding of the Egyptian temples. They, their court, and their army spoke Greek, but the language of the priesthood and people continued to be purely Egyptian. They administered the country on Greek lines, and permitted no interference with this their fixed policy, but they always took care to disguise their rule under Egyptian forms. They imitated the Egyptians in marrying, officially at least, their sisters, for among the Greeks such marriages were detested. As time went on the influence of the Greek in Egypt was felt more and more, and little by little the knowledge of the Greek language became general in the country. It is doubtful if even under the eighteenth dynasty the bulk of the population could read the hieroglyphic inscriptions which the Thothmes and the Amen-heteps had cut on the temple walls, but in Ptolemaic times it is quite certain that only the priests and students could read the Egyptian texts of the decrees that were issued.

PTOLEMY I, SOTER I, or PTOLEMY LAGUS, was born about 367 B.C. and began to rule in 305 or 304. He founded the town of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, and another town in the Delta, and he developed Alexandria greatly. He founded the MUSEUM and the famous ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY, and his liberal policy induced the Jews to settle in Alexandria and in many other parts of the country. The worship of Hades, the Greek god of the Other World, was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy, and as the attributes of Osiris and Apis were transferred to him the new god was called SERAPIS, and formed an important link between the Greek and Egyptian Religions. Ptolemy was a brave soldier, a prudent general, and a wise, sympathetic, and tolerant administrator; he was humane and generous, and his geniality made him popular with all classes.

Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, the son of Ptolemy I by Berenice, was born 308 B.C., and reigned from 286 to 247, when he died. He pursued a peaceful policy, and took care to maintain friendly relations with the Romans, who were becoming a powerful people. He added largely to the Alex-

andrian Library, which in his day was said to contain 400,000 or 700,000 volumes, and among the staff of the Library and Museum were many grammarians, philosophers, and mathematicians. In his reign the Pharos, or lighthouse of Alexandria, was built by Sostratus; it is said to have been 400 cubits high and was one of the Seven Wonders of the world. The revenue which Ptolemy derived from trade with the Sūdān and Arabia and with Mediterranean peoples was very large, and his gifts to the temples of Egypt were on a royal scale. His buildings at Karnak, Philæ, Mendes, Pithom, &c., were of considerable importance, and he founded the towns of Berenice and Arsinoë, the former on the Red Sea, and the latter in the Fayyūm. He dug new canals and dredged old ones in connection with the waterway between the Nile and the Red Sea, with the object of increasing the trade between Egypt and the East. In his reign MANETHO of Sebennytus compiled his Egyptian History in Greek, of which only the King-List is extant, and the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures called the SEPTUAGINT was made. Eleazar, the high priest of Jerusalem, is said to have lent Ptolemy a Hebrew manuscript for the purpose, and to have selected six learned elders from each tribe to translate it.

PTOLEMY III, EUERGETES I, son of Ptolemy II, was born about 282 B.C., and reigned from 247 or 246 to 222. He was a patron of the arts and literature, and a great benefactor of the temples of Egypt. He built a sanctuary at Esnā (Lutopolis) in Upper Egypt, and he began to build on the site of an old Egyptian temple the temple of Edfū, 237 B.C.; this was finished by Ptolemy XIII, 57 B.C. He also made additions to Karnak and Philæ, and he added largely to the Library of Alexandria, which at that time was under the direction of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (born 276 B.C., died 196). He is said to have marched to Babylon and Susa (the Shushan of the Bible, and the modern Shushter), and to have brought back from the latter city 2500 images of Egyptian gods that had been carried there by Cambyses. The great benefits which he had conferred upon the priesthoods of Egypt induced them to assemble at Canopus in the ninth year of the reign of

Ptolemy III, and to pass a decree conferring special honours on the king and on his queen Berenice. Copies of the decree in the Egyptian (hieroglyphic and demotic) and Greek languages were ordered to be cut on stelæ, which were to be set up in every temple of the first, second, and third class in Egypt. This Decree also ordered that one day be added to the calendar every fourth year, thus anticipating the leap-year of our own times.

PTOLEMY IV, PHILOPATOR I, began to reign 222 B.C., and died in 205. He added a hall to the temple built by Ergamenes king of Nubia at Dakkah, and he built the temple of Hathor at Dēr al-Madīnah at Thebes; he also repaired the temple of Isis at Philæ, or added to it. He defeated Antiochus at the battle of Raphia, on the north-east frontier of Egypt, but made no attempt to regain any of Egypt's lost possessions in Palestine and Syria. He is said to have lived a luxurious life of pleasure.

PTOLEMY V, EPIPHANES, the son of Ptolemy IV, was born 210 B.C.; he ascended the throne in 205, and was poisoned in 182. He conferred great benefits on the priesthoods of Egypt, and in return for these they assembled at Memphis in the ninth year of his reign, and passed a Decree ordering that greatly increased honours be paid to the king and his ancestors. Copies of this Decree in the Egyptian and Greek languages were ordered to be cut upon stelæ, which were to be set up in every temple of the first, second, and third class in Egypt. The stele that was set up at Rosetta was discovered by Boussard, a French officer, in 1798, and is now universally known as the ROSETTA STONE. It was from the Egyptian text on this Stone that Thomas Young deduced the values of several letters of the Egyptian alphabet, and succeeded in reading the name of Ptolemy. With the help of this text and of another from Philæ the Frenchman Champollion read the name of Cleopatra, and formulated a correct system of Egyptian decipherment. The serious revolt which had broke out in Upper Egypt under Ptolemy IV continued under Ptolemy V, and was not suppressed until the nineteenth year of his reign. At this time

also the power of Egypt in Palestine and Syria declined, and the weakness and vicious life of the king made him generally unpopular. He was succeeded by his son PTOLEMY VI, EUPATOR, who reigned for less than one year.

PTOLEMY VII, PHILOMETOR, succeeded to the kingdom when a child, and the early years of his reign were troubled by his brother Ptolemy Physcon, who disputed the throne with him. Ultimately Ptolemy VII referred the matter to Rome, and the Senate re-established him on the throne of Egypt, and made his brother king of Cyrene. In his reign, as a result of the persecution of Antiochus IV, Onias the Jew settled in Egypt with a large number of his co-religionists, and built the town of Onion in the Delta; its ruins are called Tell al-Yahūdīyyah. Ptolemy VII repaired many of the later temples at Karnak, Dēr al-Madīnah, Esnā, Kom Ombo, and Philæ, and at the last-named place he founded the temple of Hathor. He also restored a part of the temple that had been built at Parembole in Nubia by Arqmen, the Ergamenes of the Greeks. Ptolemy VII died through a fall from his horse 146 B.C.

PTOLEMY VIII, EUPATOR, or NEOS PHILOPATOR, was prevented from reigning by the Romans, who gave the throne to his uncle, Ptolemy IX; he was murdered in the same year in which his mother proclaimed him king.

PTOLEMY IX, EUERGETES II, began to reign 147 B.C., and died in 117. He repaired some temples, and built small additions to others at Karnak (the temple of Apet) and Madīnat Habū, and he finished the building of the temple of Edfū (142 B.C.). During the next century the Ptolemies made additions to it, and the last gift to it by a member of their dynasty was a brass-mounted door, which was dedicated to the temple by Cleopatra Tryphæna, 57 B.C. Ptolemy IX rebuilt the hall of the temple of Kom Ombo, and restored the temple of Isis at Philæ; he also made additions to some of the Nubian temples.

PTOLEMY X, LATHYRUS, began to reign 117 B.C. He conferred great benefits on the priesthoods of Upper Egypt, and he carried out repairs on the temples at Thebes,

Madīnat Habū, Denderah, Philæ, Kalābshah, and in the Great Oasis.

PTOLEMY XI, ALEXANDER I, and PTOLEMY XII, ALEXANDER II, were murdered in 87 B.C. and 81 respectively. With the death of Ptolemy XII the legitimate line of the Ptolemies came to an end. Some authorities state that before his death he bequeathed Egypt and all his possessions to the Senate of Rome, but whether this be so or not the Romans made no attempt to occupy the country.

PTOLEMY XIII, surnamed AULETES, or the "flute player," was a son of Ptolemy X; he was born about 95 B.C., and he became king of Egypt about 80 B.C., and died in 51. The excessive taxation which he imposed made the Egyptians rise against him, and in 58 he fled to Rome and claimed the protection of the Senate, saying that he had been expelled from Egypt. The Romans decided to restore to him his kingdom, but took no steps to give effect to their decision; he then departed from Rome to Ephesus, where he lived in the temple of Diana. Gabinius, governor of Syria, was induced to favour his claims, and after defeating the Egyptians in three battles he restored Ptolemy XIII to the throne (55 B.C.). During the latter years of his reign riots were frequent. He repaired several of the temples at Kom Ombo, Edfū, and Karnak, but undertook no great work. Ancient writers state that he was addicted to vice and debauchery, and all agree in giving him a very bad character. He was a skilled player on the flute, and competed with professionals for the prize at public concerts. He left his kingdom by will to his daughter Cleopatra and his son Ptolemy XIV, surnamed Dionysos, who was to marry his sister, and brother and sister were to reign together. In 48 Cleopatra and Ptolemy XIV quarrelled, and the former left the country. Cæsar sent troops to support Cleopatra's claims, and they defeated Ptolemy's forces with great slaughter; Ptolemy himself was drowned in crossing a river. In 47 Cleopatra married her second brother, aged eleven, and he reigned with her as PTOLEMY XV for two years, when he was murdered by Cleopatra, who wished

PTOLEMY XVI or CÆSARION, her son by Julius Cæsar, to be her co-regent.

CLEOPATRA was born about 69 B.C., and after the death of her father Ptolemy XIII, Auletes, became virtually sole monarch of Egypt. She visited Rome with Cæsar and her son Cæsarion and Ptolemy XV, and stayed there until Cæsar was murdered 44 B.C. In 41 Mark Antony demanded from her an explanation of the part she had taken in the recent war, but having been entertained by her at a sumptuous banquet he fell entirely under her influence, and obeyed all her commands. At length he proclaimed publicly that Cleopatra was queen of Egypt, and then the Romans declared war against her. The forces of Antony and Cleopatra were utterly defeated, and, seeing this, Antony stabbed himself with his sword, and died from the wound, and Cleopatra caused herself to be bitten by an asp, and died from the effects of its poison. Cleopatra is said to have been able to speak eight languages, and her love for literature and interest in learning are shown by the fact that she made Antony give her the Library of Pergamum, and then transferred the 200,000 rolls which it contained to the Library of Alexandria. Cleopatra built a small temple at Hermonthis (the modern Armant, a few miles to the south of Thebes), and decorated the walls of the small chamber attached to it with reliefs in which the birth and rearing of her son Cæsarion were represented. In these Cleopatrâ, under the form of Isis, is visited by Amen-Râ, who becomes the father of Cæsarion, just as he was of Amen-hetep III and of Hâtshepset fourteen or fifteen centuries earlier. The object of these reliefs was to make the Egyptians believe that Cæsarion was a son of Amen-Râ, and therefore the legal heir to the throne. On the death of Cleopatra Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire, and was governed by Roman Prefects.

The first Prefect of Egypt was CORNELIUS GALLUS (30-26 B.C.), who quelled a serious rebellion in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia. He was succeeded by GAIUS PETRONIUS, under whose rule the Nubians captured Philæ, Elephantine,

and Syene, and invaded Upper Egypt. Petronius advanced against them, and defeated them, and then went on to Napata, which he captured and destroyed. The Nubians at that time were ruled by a queen, whose official title was "Candace," and she succeeded in making peace with the Romans. The Emperor Nero (A.D. 54-68) contemplated the annexation of the Egyptian Sūdān, but the two centurions whom he sent to report upon the country brought back such an unfavourable account that he gave up the idea. Between A.D. 54 and 260 the Nubians gave the Romans little trouble, and some of the emperors placated the people by building new temples and restoring old ones.

In the reign of TRAJAN (A.D. 98-117) the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea was re-opened, and the fortress of Babylon (now Old Cairo) was built. HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138) founded the town of Antinoopolis, and made a road from it to Berenice on the Red Sea. Hadrian visited Egypt twice, and Septimius Severus once, and Caracalla, his immediate successor, once. Under DECIUS (A.D. 249) a series of persecutions of the Christians began. About A.D. 268 the BLEM-MYES, a collection of tribes from the Eastern Desert and Ethiopia (or Abyssinia) invaded Egypt, and DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284-305), about twenty years later, was obliged to hire the Nobadæ, or tribes of the Western Desert, to keep them in check. The persecution of the Egyptian Christians by Diocletian was so severe that the Copts date the ERA OF THE MARTYRS from the day of his accession to the throne, August 29, 284. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT abandoned Alexandria as his capital, and founded CONSTANTINOPLE at Byzantium A.D. 324, which he dedicated in 330. Under THEODOSIUS I (A.D. 378-395) the pagan Egyptians were persecuted, and the temple of Serapis at Alexandria was turned into a church. Under MARCIANUS (A.D. 450-457) the Blemmyes and the Nobadæ agreed with the Romans to keep the peace for 100 years. In the reign of ANASTASIUS (A.D. 491-518) the Persians invaded Egypt. JUSTINIAN (A.D. 527-565) suppressed the worship of Isis at Philæ, and closed the temples, and his envoy Narses brought the gold and silver statues of the gods

to Constantinople. About A.D. 550 Nubia adopted Christianity as the national religion ; its first Christian king was Silko, who made Dongola his capital.

Early in the seventh century the Persians took Egypt, and occupied it for ten years ; they were expelled by HERACLIUS (A.D. 610-640) in 629. In 639 the Arabs captured Pelusium, and defeated the Romans at Heliopolis ; they occupied Memphis and then laid siege to Babylon, which was taken by the Arab general AMR IBN AL-ĀSĪ on April 9, A.D. 641. Close to Babylon Amr founded the city of FUSTĀT, which after 664 became the capital of Egypt. Thus Egypt became a province of the Empire of the Arabs. The year following the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs the Nubians invaded Egypt and laid waste the country, but in 652 the Arabs drove them out of Egypt and advanced to Dongola, which they destroyed. The Nubians sued for peace, and their king Koleydozo agreed to pay the annual *Bakt*, or tribute, of 365 slaves ; this tribute was paid for about 600 years, although the Nubians frequently tried to evade it. In 969 (August 5) Jawhar, the general of the Khalifah Muizz, founded a new capital, and, because at the moment the planet Mars was in the ascendant, called it " Al-Kāhirah," *i.e.* " the Victorious " ; from this title the name " Cairo " is derived. Salāh ad-Dīn or " Saladin " (A.D. 1169-1193) conquered Syria and annexed Mesopotamia, and in 1275 the Mamlūk Sultān Bēbars (1260-1277) annexed the Egyptian Sūdān. In 1317 a mosque was dedicated at Dongola, and the bulk of the population of Nubia was Mohammadan ; the Christian kingdom founded by Silko had come to an end, and Christianity was practically dead all over the Egyptian Sūdān.

The rule of the Arab Khalifahs and the Mamlūks, or " Slave Sultāns," came to an end on April 14, 1517, when the Turks under SALĪM occupied Cairo, and hanged the Sultān, Al-Ashraf Tūmān Bēy. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkish Empire, which it has remained ever since, for it is now stated officially to be " a pāshalik of Turkey in the temporary occupation of the British."

CHAPTER VII

EGYPTIAN MAGIC AND RELIGION

ABOUT the spiritual ideas or religious beliefs of the Egyptians of the Old Stone Age nothing is known. But because they have left few records of themselves, and none of their religion, we must not assume that they had none. For it is impossible to think that even the first men on the earth were wholly destitute of some kind of dim idea of the existence of some being who possessed qualities and powers greater than their own, and whom they feared and whose good will they sought to obtain. In Egypt, as in many parts of Africa at the present day, the origin of the worship of God must be sought for in the cult of the ancestor, or "great father," of the tribe or community. He was first adored whilst he was alive on earth, and subsequently when he was dead and in the Other World he became an object of worship. As the intellect of the primitive Egyptian developed he grafted on this early cult the idea of the ancestor in a spirit form, *i.e.* as a soul, and so the beginnings of the later idea of immortality came into being. As a man the father was regarded by his descendants as the source of their life, and to him their adoration was due; as a spirit he was appealed to by them for help and guidance in the difficulties of life, and they expected him to be their defender and protector. And ultimately they ascribed to him the powers of a god. The idea of the father-god persisted unchanged until a comparatively late period in the history of Egypt, and under the eighteenth dynasty the Egyptians addressed their prayers to "Father Osiris" and to "Father Amen," as their ancestors in primitive times had addressed theirs to their father-god and grandfather-god. Religion, in the sense in which we use the word, did not

exist among the primitive Egyptians, but the cult of the ancestor was an integral part of their daily lives and of their very existence, and round it grew up every belief which we are accustomed to associate with religion.

The Egyptians of the New Stone Age, or the Neolithic Period, preserved carefully all the essentials of the old cult of the ancestor, and with it they combined many beliefs that grew up among them both as the result of their natural development and of the changed surroundings in which they lived. Of the details of the form of the cult of the ancestor in use among them little is known, but some information about their religious beliefs has been obtained from their graves. We know that they buried some of their dead, and as they put into their tombs weapons made of flint, and earthenware jars filled with food, it is evident that they believed that their dead would live again in a form which needed food for its sustenance, and that they would use the flint weapons in slaying their enemies, or in killing animals to eat. They knew from experience that the dead men never left their graves, and they must therefore have been certain that they had possessed when alive a something, which we call soul or spirit, that could, and did, live after their bodies were dead. This something, they thought, lived after death in the form of the body to which it belonged, and ate the soul, or spirit, of the material food that had been placed in the grave, and used the souls, or spirits, of the flint weapons in war or the chase. In order to ensure the continuity of the life of this something men began to make offerings of food at the graves of their dead, and out of this custom grew the elaborate system of funerary offerings, which is the chief characteristic of the worship of the dead as practised in the Dynastic Period. The life of the spirit-ancestor had to be maintained at all costs, for if he were allowed to die his descendants would have no protector, no helper, and no guardian of their interests. At a very early period a member of each family of position, perhaps the eldest son, or a grandson, was set apart to minister to the needs of the spirit-ancestor, and in the Dynastic Period this ministrant is represented by the

“servant of the Ka,” or “double,” whose duties were to keep clean the figure of his father or ancestor and its dwelling-place, and to dress and decorate the figure itself, and to perform all the prescribed commemorative rites and ceremonies.

In one of the tombs of the New Stone Age was found a flint instrument which, as we know from inscriptions of the Dynastic Period, was used in performing the ceremony of “opening the mouth” of the dead, a fact that proves that even in the Old Stone Age a ceremony was performed on the dead body with the purpose of assisting the soul, or spirit, to acquire the faculties and powers needed by it in the Other World. In this ceremony the flint instrument was thrust between the teeth of the dead man, and when these were separated his spirit form was believed to acquire the power to eat and drink, to speak, to think, and to perform all the natural functions of the body. In tombs of the New Stone Age a flint figure of a crocodile and a flint head of a cow have been found; these indicate that the crocodile and the cow were even at that time venerated. How or where or when this veneration of animals arose in Egypt cannot be said, but in the Dynastic Period the number of “sacred” animals, birds, and reptiles was very great, and their cult formed a very important part of the Egyptian Religion. According to some these “sacred” creatures were symbols, or visible emblems, or incarnations, of certain gods and goddesses who chose these material forms when they wished to mingle with human beings in this world. Others think that they represent the various powers of God, and others give them a totemistic origin, and think they represent the totems or the animals, birds, reptiles, &c., which certain clans or tribes regarded as their protectors and the sources of their life and well-being, and which as time went on became venerated as ancestors, and were finally deified. As the Egyptian texts supply no information on the subject no decision can be arrived at. Among the inanimate objects that were venerated by the primitive Egyptians may be mentioned certain trees and stone pillars. Among the former was the sycamore fig, which in the Dynastic Period

was regarded as the dwelling-place of the goddess Hathor or Nut, and the oldest form of the Tet, which was in later times merged in the symbol of Osiris of Busiris in the Delta, was a tree trunk, or a tree with unusually shaped branches. The antiquity of stone-pillar worship is indicated by the popularity of the obelisk among the Dynastic Egyptians, and the stones venerated in the temples of Rā, after the introduction of his cult from the East, were probably representatives of stones of a ruder shape that had been adored from time immemorial.

When we come to the Dynastic Period, about 4000 B.C., we find that the Egyptians possessed a well-organised system of worship of divine powers, and that every town of any importance had its own god, or object of worship, animate or inanimate. The gods of the Eastern Delta were different from those of the Western Delta, and those of the northern part of Egypt different from those of Upper Egypt. Certainly by this time there had grown up in the minds of the Egyptians a vague and dim idea of a great Creator who seems to have been called "Pautti," and who was quite distinct at that time from the ancestor god, and from the beings who were styled "gods." They believed him to be almighty and eternal, and to be just and righteous, but they felt, as Africans have always felt, that he was too great, and too far removed from this world to concern himself very much with the affairs of men. These were under the directions of a long series of "gods" and "goddesses," whose dispositions were on the whole considered to be friendly towards man, and of a long series of devils, demons, fiends, and evil spirits, who were naturally disposed to be unfriendly or even directly hostile to man. The "gods" were enemies of the devils, and the devils of the "gods"; both gods and devils, though possessing knowledge and powers superior to those of men, resembled men in many respects, for they grew old and died, and loved and hated, and were amenable to flattery, and loved gifts and offerings. The "gods" typified physical and moral good, and the demons physical and moral evil, and the strife between them in

nature and in the minds of men was perpetual. When the strife took a very acute form the leader of the "gods" collected his hosts, and waged war against the leader of the demons, *i.e.* the Devil, who, according to the Egyptians, was always defeated and put to flight, but never destroyed, and was, after a time, always ready to renew his attack. A final lasting triumph of the leader of the "gods" was never imagined, and from the earliest to the latest period this dualism, this belief in the existence of two everlasting powers, the one good, the other evil, was one of the most persistent characteristics of the Egyptian Religion.

The names of the "gods" of the Old and New Stone Ages seem to have perished. Most of those of the period immediately preceding dynastic rule in Egypt are unknown, but it is probable that a few of them have survived, *e.g.* Sebek, the crocodile god; Apet, the hippopotamus-goddess; Nu and Nut; Net (Neith), the goddess of Saïs; Tet, the tree-god, or pillar-god of Busiris; Hep (Hāpi), or Hepr, the Nile-god, &c. The most important gods and goddesses were the following: NU and NUT, the sky-god and sky-goddesses; KHEPERA, the creator of the universe; HERU-UR, or Horus the Great, an ancient form of the Sun-god; TEM, or ATEM, ATEN and RĀ, gods of the Sun; TEHUTI (Thoth) and KHENSU, gods of the moon; KEB, TANEN, TATANEN, earth-gods; HEP, or HĀP, or HĀPI, the Nile-god; KHNEMU and PTAH, who assisted Khepera in building up the material universe; SHU, the god of the air, light, and dryness, and TEFNUT, his female counterpart, goddess of rain and moisture; SET, the god of the desert and of all evil, physical and moral; MAĀT, goddess of order, law, right, truth and wisdom, and SESHETA, goddess of drawing, design, painting, &c., who, with MAĀT, was associated with Thoth in bringing order into the world; NEKHEBET, the goddess of NEKHEB, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt; UATCHET, the goddess of the ancient capital of Lower Egypt; NET (Neith) the ancient goddess of Saïs; BAST, the ancient goddess of Bubastis; SEKHMET, a fire-goddess of Memphis, and her son NEFER-TEM; AUSĀSET, goddess of Heliopolis; SEKER,

the Death-god of Memphis ; AMEN, a very ancient Theban god, whose later form was called Amen-Rā ; and his female counterpart MUT, who became the World-mother ; MENTHU, an ancient war-god of Upper Egypt ; MESKHENET, a birth-goddess, and RENNET, a harvest-goddess ; ASAR, or SAR (Osiris), king of the Other World and Judge of the dead ; AST, or SET (Isis), sister and wife of Osiris ; SET, brother of Osiris ; NEPHTHYS, sister of Osiris and wife of SET ; HORUS, brother or son of Osiris ; MESTA, or KESTA, HEP, QEBH-SENUF, and TUAMUTEF, the four sons of Horus ; ANPU and UPUAT, guides of the dead to the Other World, the latter belonging to Upper, and the former to Lower, Egypt ; IMHETEP, the physician-god, &c.

The goddess Hathor, who is represented both as a cow and as a woman with the ears of a cow, and the god SHU and the goddess TEFNUT were introduced into Egypt from the country of Bakem, in the south-east Sūdān. From the northern Sūdān came BES, the god of music, singing and dancing, and jollity and war. From Nubia came the gods TETUN, AHU, and MERUL, and the goddesses ĀNḶET and SATET. From Syria and the country to the south of it and the eastern Delta came SEPT, MENU, a god of generation and reproduction ; RESHPU, god of lightning and thunder ; BĀR, or BAAL, a war-god ; and the goddesses ANTAT, ASTHARTHET, or ASHTORETH, KETSHEP, KENT, BARATA, the counterpart of Baal-Zephon ; and from the land of the Hittites came the god SUTEKH and the goddess Ānthrata.

The principal SACRED ANIMALS were : the Apis Bull of Memphis, the Mnevis Bull of Heliopolis, the Bakha Bull, the Ram of Mendes, the Ram of Amen, the Hippopotamus of Taurt, Rerut, Apet, and Sheput, the Lion and Lioness called Mahes, Pekheth, &c., the Cow of Hathor, the Cat of Bast, the Lynx, the Ichneumon, the Shrew-mouse, the Dog or Jackal of Anubis, the Wolf of Upuat, the horned animal of Khnemu (the *kudu* ?). The principal SACRED BIRDS were : the *benu*, or phoenix, a bird of the heron class, the vulture, three kinds of hawks, the ibis, the swallow, the goose. The principal SACRED REPTILES and insects were : the turtle,

several kinds of snakes, the scorpion, the frog, the grasshopper, the praying mantis, the beetle (*scarabæus sacer*), &c. The principal SACRED FISH were: the Abtu, Ant, Āha, At, Utu, Mehit, and Nār, but these fish have not been satisfactorily identified.

The gods and sacred creatures mentioned above do not by any means represent all the gods of the Egyptians, for the names of about two thousand "divine" beings are mentioned in the religious texts. The large number of the Egyptian gods is thus explained. In early times every nome, city, town, and perhaps every large village had its god, or gods, and each god had a female counterpart and often a son. Such a group, *i.e.* husband, wife, and son, was called a TRIAD; the triad of Memphis was composed of Ptah, Sekhmet, and Imhetep, and the triad of Thebes of Amen-Rā, Mut, and Khensu. Some important towns worshipped a company of nine gods, or ENNEAD. Thus at Hermopolis the ennead consisted of Thoth and four gods and four goddesses, and at Heliopolis of Atem, or Tem, the chief local god, and four gods—Shu, Keb, Osiris, and Set—and four goddesses—Tefnut, Nut, Isis and Nephthys—and to these Horus and Anubis are sometimes added. The only one of these gods who was connected originally with Heliopolis was Tem. Shu and Tefnut came from Bakem in the remote Sūdān, and Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys and Horus belonged originally to a district near Abydos in Upper Egypt. Heliopolis also had a second ennead which contained the lesser gods. The greatest toleration was shown by the gods of one town to those of another, but as a rule every man worshipped the god or gods of his own clan or family, and those whom he knew best. The fortunes of the gods varied with the growth or decay of the city or town to which they belonged. Thus under the second and third dynasties Amen was a local god of Thebes of no national importance; but when the Theban princes became kings of all Egypt the power and glory of Amen filled all the country. When the Theban kings expelled the Hyksos, and overran Syria, and conquered Sinai, and the peoples of the Eastern Desert and Nubia, Amen became the great national god of

Egypt, and his temple was the largest, richest, and most beautiful in the land for nearly one thousand years. On the other hand, Rā of Heliopolis, a form of the Sun-god worshipped by the Semites and the peoples near the eastern frontier of the Delta, was under the fourth and fifth dynasties one of the greatest gods in Lower Egypt, and his priests claimed that his power was supreme in the Other World. But under the sixth dynasty Osiris became the chief god of the Other World, and in the centuries that followed the downfall of that dynasty the great renown of Rā suffered eclipse. When Heliopolis became once again a great city under the eighteenth dynasty, the priesthood of Rā flourished and their god assumed a new importance, but he was second to Amen, and when his name appears with that of Amen in the compound god Amen-Rā, it follows and does not precede it.

It is tolerably certain that when once the Egyptians had formed triads, and enneads, and larger companies of gods, the priests began to wonder how the gods came into being and to make theories about them. In all such religious speculation each body of priests must have tried to satisfy first his own mind, and then the minds of the followers of his chief god, that this god was the creator of the universe and man, and that he was the father of all the gods and goddesses known to them. We know that the priests of Memphis tried to prove that their god Ptah was the most important of all the gods, for a copy of the document in which one of them tried to show this is cut upon a black stone slab in the British Museum. Similarly the Pyramid Texts (sixth dynasty) and later documents show that the priests of Heliopolis believed that their god Tem was the self-existent and eternal god, and that he produced from the emanations of his body the god Shu and the goddess Tefnut, in fact that Tem, Shu, and Tefnut formed the FIRST TRIAD, or trinity. These three names represent three *aspects* of one god; it was only in later times that they were personified. And the priests of the goddess Net (Neith) of Saïs, of whom four aspects were distinguished, held the view that she was self-begotten and

self-produced, that she was the mother of the Sun-god, and at the same time a perpetual virgin-goddess.

Although there is much that is uncertain in the texts that describe these opinions, one fact is quite clear—all the great priesthoods believed in the existence of one great, almighty, eternal, inscrutable, incomprehensible, and self-existent god, who existed somewhere when there was neither heaven nor earth, and before gods, men, animals, and death had come into being. He was called in different parts of Egypt Tem, Khepera, Ptah, Rā, Khnemu, Aten, Amen, Herukhuti, &c., but the god referred to in each of these names is the same, and these are only different names, or, as the Egyptians said, different *aspects* or forms of him.

Though the Egyptians conceived of the existence of this great unknown god, they were wholly unable to describe his form, or to say where and how he lived. The texts suggest that he must have lived for ages by himself in a state of inactivity in the great watery mass, which the Egyptians deified and called "Nu." The CREATION of the heavens and the earth by him they explained thus. When he had been living in Nu for some time he decided for some unknown reason to create the heavens and the earth. Before he did so he fashioned in his mind the similitude of everything which he intended to create, and according to the design thus evolved every material thing that exists was made. He used his name as a word of power, and produced from himself Shu and Tefnut, or heat and light and moisture. Earth (Keb) and sky (Nut) were next created, and by the union of these the animal and vegetable creations were produced. Men were formed from the water that fell from the eyes of the god upon his body, and among these were Osiris and his brother Set, and his sisters Isis and Nephthys, and his son Horus. The sun and the moon became the two eyes of the creator, and they governed the world. Many other explanations of the creation and the formation of man must have existed in Egypt, but we do not know what they were. At a very early period the Egyptians evolved a theory to account for the alternation of day and night, and to explain the waning of the moon,

and eclipses, and storms. They thought that Set, the god and symbol of all physical and moral evil, produced the storms which caused "sickness" in the right eye of Horus, the Sky-god, and obscured its light, and that it was he who bit off and devoured a portion of the moon each day during its season of waning, until he had swallowed the whole of it. This disturbance of the orders of creation was put an end to by the creator, who deputed Thoth, a personification of his mind and its powers, to act as judge between the "two fighters," Set and Horus. Thoth stopped the fight, and made Set disgorge the moon which he had eaten, and put a limit to his power to do evil. He could not prevent him from creating storms and eclipses, but once and for all he made it impossible for him to destroy the light of the sun and moon. The decision of Thoth was so just that he was ever after called the "righteous judge" and the "pacifier of the two fighters." Other legends about the gods have been described elsewhere,¹ and they need not therefore be discussed here.

It has already been stated that the principal cult of the predynastic Egyptians was that of the ancestor, and we know that it continued to be so in the beginning of the dynastic period. Before the rule of the first dynasty, however, there seems to have sprung into importance in some district near Abydos in Upper Egypt the cult of a god called ASAR, or SAR, the Osiris of the Greeks. There is no reason for supposing that Osiris was a new god, for he was a very ancient one, and if we knew his complete history we should probably find that he was one of the oldest of Egyptian gods. In one of his early forms he was a Water-god, and the thick muddy waters of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt depended, were said to flow from his body; they were, in fact, the essence of the god. Because this essence germinated and grew up on the land in the form of millet, barley, wheat, and other food-stuffs, and dates, figs, grapes, and fruit of all kinds, Osiris was regarded as a god of vegetation. When the Nile fell and returned to its winter level, and when

¹ See the volume on *The Literature of the Egyptians*, p. 71.

the harvest was over and the fruit was gathered in, Osiris was said to be dead, and it was the winter that killed him. In the same way the waxing and waning of the moon caused this luminary to be identified with Osiris, and at one period of his history Osiris was a Moon-god. Thus we see that with Osiris were coupled the ideas of the renewed life, or resurrection, of the Nile in the form of the annual inundation, and of vegetation, and of the moon. The creator, no matter by what name he was called, gave life to every living being and thing on the earth in the beginning, but it was Osiris who provided for the resurrection in new forms. Man was no exception to the rule according to which every being and thing died, and the Egyptians looked to Osiris to effect the resurrection of the dead, and to provided them with new bodies. How or by what means he was thought to do this in the earliest times, and what his form was, or where he lived, are matters about which nothing is known. But in dynastic times the Egyptians thought that he was one of the gods who at one time reigned upon earth, and that all Egypt was his kingdom. According to the text of a hymn to Osiris preserved on a stele in Paris, Osiris inherited the sovereignty of the earth from the Earth-god Keb, who, as we know, was his father. He ruled his country with wisdom and justice, he destroyed all her foes, he enlarged her boundaries, and made her great and prosperous. The wicked were terrified at him, and good men rejoiced in his rule, and the hearts of the Great and Little Companies of the gods applauded the righteous acts of the god-king, whose sole object was to "set right in the place of wrong." In the Greek account of Osiris and his wife Isis, written by Plutarch, Osiris is said to have encouraged agriculture and the growth of the vine, and to have introduced wheat into Egypt, and to have been a patron of singers and dancers. In all his good works Osiris was supported by his sister-wife Isis, who employed all her wonderful power of speech and her skill as an enchantress and magician in protecting her brother.

The only beings in Egypt who were dissatisfied with the acts of Osiris were Set, his brother, the personification of all

evil, and his followers; and Set hated Osiris with a deadly hatred, and compassed his death, though by exactly what means is not clear. According to one ancient authority Osiris was drowned, and according to another he was killed by Set, either in a duel, or during a general fight. Plutarch states that Set induced Osiris to lie down in a box, and when he had done so, Set and his allies fastened down the cover of the box, and threw it into the river, Osiris, of course, being drowned. When Isis heard of the murder she at once set out with Nephthys in search of the body, which, according to the Pyramid Texts, the two sisters found lying near Abydos, at a place called Netat. They had the body brought into Abydos (according to the local tradition), and there with the help of Anubis, a very ancient god of embalming and medicine, they embalmed it. Some of the texts state that Isis was assisted by Horus and his four sons, who performed very elaborate ceremonies over the body of the god. Osiris was buried at Abydos, and a tree grew up near his body, and enveloped it with its branches; among the reliefs at Abydos is one in which this tree is represented growing by the tomb. When the body of Osiris had been in its tomb for a short time Isis, assisted by Thoth and Horus, began to perform ceremonies with the view of restoring Osiris to life. She recited the words of power which she had learned from Thoth, and Horus, having performed many ceremonies over the mummy of Osiris, at length took out his own eye and gave it to Osiris, who swallowed it, and thereby regained his life. Thus Osiris rose from the dead, and became the king and god of all the beings in Amenti, or the Other World. Thus he conquered Death and defeated Set and all his powers of decay and corruption, for, according to the texts, the flesh of father Osiris suffered no corruption, and his mortal body neither decayed nor became food for worms. At Busiris in the Delta in the earliest times, and later at Abydos, his tomb became the abode of life, and long before the reign of Mena, or Menes, he had become the recognised symbol of the resurrection of the dead and the lord in whose hands was the power of immortality.

When Set saw that all his evil plans had miscarried, and that he had only succeeded in making Osiris the heir to a heavenly kingdom, he was filled with fury, and once again he attempted to overthrow his brother Osiris. He approached the gods, and laid before them such serious charges against Osiris that they decided to let him state his case, and to adjudicate upon it. A full court of the gods assembled, either in heaven itself or in the Great Hall in Heliopolis, and Osiris and Set appeared before them; Osiris entrusted his defence to Thoth, the great and learned scribe of the gods, and the Maāti goddesses, *i.e.* the two goddesses of Truth, were present at the trial. We have no details of the charges which Set brought against Osiris, or of the counter-charges of Osiris against Set, but it is quite clear that Osiris, aided by Thoth, succeeded in proving his innocence, and in showing that Set had slain him without cause, and that he had never forfeited his right to his kingdom through misrule or injustice on his part. When the gods had heard the evidence of Osiris, and the speech of Thoth, they were satisfied that Set was a liar and a murderer, and that Osiris was innocent (*maā-kheru*) of the charges which Set had brought against him. They therefore ordered that Osiris should succeed to the throne of his father Keb, and that he should be henceforth king of all the gods in Amenti, *i.e.* the Other World. And in their presence Set was dragged forward, and Osiris was made to sit upon his back as a sign of his conquest of him. Set, however, in no wise disheartened by his defeat, transferred his hatred from Osiris to Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, who had been begotten by his father after death. From a legend cut on the Metternich Stele we find that, owing to the persecution of Set, Isis was obliged to flee to the Delta, and that she hid herself in the papyrus swamps at Khemmis and brought forth her child there. One day, during her absence, Set sent a scorpion to the place where the child was hidden, and it stung him to death. When Isis returned and found the boy dead, she broke out into weeping and lamentations which were heard all over the neighbourhood, and she was stricken by

bitter grief. Her sister Nephthys, seeing what had happened, appealed to the Sun-god, who stopped his boat, and sent Thoth to instruct Isis in the words which would expel the scorpion's power from his body, and restore Horus to life. Isis, having learned the words, recited them over Horus, and the child came to life again, because the scorpion's poison flowed out of him and fell to the ground. When Horus grew to manhood he fought a great fight with Set, whom he defeated, and in consequence was called "Horus, the avenger of his father" (Heru-netch-tefef). In later times this fight was confused with the far earlier fight between Horus the Great (Heru-ur) and Set, wherein Set wounded Horus in the eye, and Horus cut off one of the forelegs of Set, who had fought in the form of an animal.

The age of the legends of Osiris described above cannot be stated, but it is certain that they were current throughout Egypt before the Dynastic Period. The characteristics of the kingdom over which Osiris reigned prove that the earliest home of his cult was in the Delta, probably at Busiris, where it seems to have superseded the cult of a still earlier tree-god. From there it seems to have spread southwards, and to have localised itself at Abydos, where it also superseded the cult of the southern god Khenti Amentiu, whose name means "Prince of those in Amenti." The priests of Osiris taught that the body of man was a sacred thing, and discouraged cannibalism, which was probably tolerably common in those days. Their doctrine of the resurrection of the dead spread throughout the country, and before the end of the sixth dynasty the position of Osiris as chief god of the dead was assured. Under the twelfth dynasty he gradually assumed the character of the universal Ancestor-god, and his authority in the Other World was absolute. In him all men placed their hope of resurrection and immortality, for he was the one god-man who had suffered pain and ignominy, and who had died and risen from the dead in a transformed body, and who was reigning over a never-ending kingdom. Moreover, by virtue of his own innocence and truth, he had the power to confer everlasting life upon

his followers, a power that had never before been possessed by any other god of the dead.

The Precepts of Ptah-hetep prove that a very high standard of morality existed among the Egyptians under the earliest dynasties, but the religion of Osiris demanded a still higher standard from its followers. Only those who had led a life of truth and sincerity towards the gods and men could gain admission into his kingdom, and all who had been liars and double-dealers were an abomination to him. The soul of every man was weighed before him in the Great Balance in the "Hall of the Two Truths" by Anubis and Thoth, and unless it was declared to be *maā-kheru*, (literally "truth-speaker," or "innocent") by Thoth, and his verdict was ratified by the Great Company of the gods, it was not permitted by Osiris to enter into his kingdom of Sekhet-hetepet and live there with the gods. If the soul, which was represented by the heart of the man to which it belonged, was light in the balance it was handed over to a monster called "Ām-mit," or "Eater of the Dead," who devoured it at once. Under the eighteenth dynasty the deceased was supposed to make a series of declarations before forty-two gods, who were present in the Hall of the Two Truths during the weighing of his heart, that he had not committed forty-two sins. These are all enumerated in Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead. The oldest conception of the abode of Osiris, where he lived surrounded by his righteous followers, was a district closely resembling a fertile region in the Delta. It was intersected by canals on which those who liked sailed in boats which moved about through the utterance of words of power, and wheat, barley, vegetables, and fruit grew there luxuriantly. Each of the blessed received an estate there, the size of which depended upon his merits, and on it he lived with his father, mother, wives, and children, whose society he enjoyed as he had done upon earth. There he met his old friends, and as his estate was worked for him by the slaves of Osiris he lived a life of ease and leisure. The Pyramid Texts state that the blessed wore fine linen apparel and white sandals, that their bread never grew

stale, nor their wine sour, and that they sat by the side of a lake and ate the "wood of life," *i.e.* wheat, which was at once the symbol of Osiris and the god himself. In this state of happiness the blessed lived for ever and ever.

For the enemies of Osiris a terrible fate was reserved. According to the BOOK OF GATES and the Book AM TUAT, the judgment of souls took place at midnight each day, and those who had treated the god with contempt during their lives and had been his declared enemies, then received their punishment. They were handed over to the headsman of Osiris called Shesmu, who, with the help of his assistants, hacked them limb from limb, and chopped up their flesh, which was then thrown into pits of fire. Before this mutilation took place their hearts and other organs were torn out of their bodies, and were devoured by an awful monster who kept himself invisible. The pits of fire were presided over by goddesses, who produced a continuous supply of liquid fire from their bodies. The enemies of both Osiris and Rā were quickly and utterly destroyed; there is no idea of everlasting punishment in the texts. The headsman Shesmu was occupied each day, and the pits of fire were used each day, but this was because a new batch of the enemies of Osiris was condemned daily.

The history of Osiris, apart from its purely religious aspect, greatly impressed the Egyptians of all periods, and at Abydos, and probably in every great sanctuary of the god, a sort of miracle play was performed annually. The scene of his murder was reproduced as far as circumstances permitted, and ceremonies representing the bringing of his body from Netat, which place was always assumed to be near Abydos, its embalment, its restoration to life, his enthronement as king of the Other World, the attack made upon Set and his followers, and many other incidents were performed with great zeal and precision. The grief of Isis, and the loving care which she showed in ministering to her lord, living and dead, appealed strongly to the popular imagination, and, in later times at least, the recital of the compositions in which she and her sister were supposed

to give expression to their woe formed a very important feature of the festival of the commemoration of Osiris, which took place in December. On these occasions the parts of Isis and Nephthys were taken by two young and beautiful women, who held vases of water in their right hands and Memphis cakes in their left hands; on the arm of one was a bandlet bearing the name "Isis," and on the arm of the other was a bandlet bearing the name "Nephthys." Certain sections were sung by the women alternately, and some by both together. The following extracts from a papyrus in Berlin illustrate these "Lamentations," Isis saith:

"Come to thy temple, come to thy temple, O god An, come to thy temple; thine enemy existeth not. O beautiful god Ahi, come to thy temple, let me see thee. I am thy beloved sister, go not away from me. O beautiful Youth, come to thy temple, immediately, immediately. I see thee not, my heart is sorrowful, mine eyes search for thee, I wander about to see thee. . . . It is a good thing to see thee, to see thee, O An, it is good to see thee. Come to the woman who loveth thee, who loveth thee, O Un-Nefer, whose word is true. Come to thy sister. Come to thy wife, to thy wife, O thou whose heart is still. Come to the lady of thy house (*i.e.* thy chief wife). I am thy sister by thy mother, be not thou far from me. Gods and men [turn] their faces to thee, and they weep for thee at the same time. I cry out to thee with tears into the height of heaven, thou hearkenest not to my voice, I thy sister who was beloved by thee on earth do this. Thou canst love no other woman except myself, my brother, my brother."

Nephthys saith: "O beautiful king, come to thy temple, let thy heart rejoice, all thine enemies exist not. Thy two sisters are near thee, by thy bier, they cry out to thee shedding tears. Turn thou thyself on thy bier, look thou at thy fair women, speak to us, O King our Lord. Destroy the sorrow which is in our hearts. Thy sisters and the gods and men [long] to see thee; turn thou thy face to them, O King our Lord. Our faces live in seeing thy face. . . . Our hearts will rejoice at the sight of thee, O beautiful king.

I am Nephthys thy sister whom thou didst love. The Seba fiend is overthrown, he no longer existeth. I am with thee, and I will protect thy members for ever."

The following passage, which was sung by both goddesses, is quoted from the Festal Songs of Isis and Nephthys in the British Museum: "Hail, beautiful god Ahi, come to thy temple. . . . I am the woman who defendeth her brother, I am thy wife, thy sister by thy mother. Come, come, hasten to me, O Strong-Heart. Let me see thy face, for I do not see thee. . . . My heart burned [as] with fire at thy escape from the Fiend, even as it burneth with fire when thou turnest thyself to me; would that thou didst never remove thyself from me. . . . I seek to see thee because of my love for thee. I am in the great city with the mighty walls, and I am overcome by my love for thee; come thou to me. . . . I hid myself [from Set] among the bushes in order to conceal thy son, so that he might speak on thy behalf. And at the time when the great calamity came upon thee, did not I gather together thy members for thee? I advanced being alone, and I ran about in the bushes when a huge crocodile was pursuing thy son, and it had its face directed towards the boy. Verily, I and the god Anpu knew this. And I travelled about on the roads wandering backwards and forwards in my search for my brother, and I defended him against the Fiend, and the hearts of hundreds of thousands of people burned with anxiety within them. . . . Come to me in thine own form, come in peace, in peace, O king of the North, O Prince, come in peace. O let us see thy face again, as of old, for I love to look upon thee."

Under the eighteenth dynasty, when the worship of Osiris was in its most flourishing state, many hymns to the god were written, but none of them describes so fully the exalted position which he held in heaven and on earth as the following text which is cut upon a stele preserved in Paris, which is to all intents and purposes the confession of faith of the official for whom it was composed. It reads:

Homage to thee, Osiris, lord of eternity, king of the gods,

whose names are many, whose transformations are holy, whose form is hidden in the temples. He is the sacred Ka, the Prince of Tatu (Busiris), the Chief also in Sekhem (Letopolis), the Lord who is hymned in the nome of Ati, the Prince of the sacred food in Anu (Heliopolis), the Lord who is commemorated in Maāti (the city of the Two Truths), the Hidden Soul, the Lord of the Cataract Region, the holy one of Memphis, the Soul of Rā. His very body reposes in Hensu (Herakleopolis). The perfect one who is hymned in Nārt, making his soul to rise up. Lord of the Great House in Khemenu (Hermopolis, Eshmūnen), mightily victorious in Shashetep, Lord of eternity, Prince of Abydos, whose domain in the Holy Land (a district of Abydos) is extended, whose name is stablished in the mouths of men. He is the two Companies of gods (Pautti) of the Two Lands (*i.e.* Egypt), Tem (?) the sacred food of the Kau (Doubles), Chief of the companies of the gods, a perfect Spirit among spirits. The waters of the celestial ocean (Nu) he draweth to him, the north wind and the breeze of evening are in his nostrils, to the satisfaction of his heart. His heart germinateth giving birth to. . . . The starry heaven obeyeth him. The mighty gates thereof open themselves to him. He is the Lord who is hymned in the Southern Heaven and worshipped in the Northern Heaven. The imperishable stars are under the place of his face, and the stars that never rest are his habitations. Offerings appear before him by the command of Keb. The companies of the gods praise him. The stars of the Tuat (the Nether Sky) smell the earth (*i.e.* bow low) before him. The ends of the earth bow in homage before him, and the uttermost limits of the universe make supplication to him when they see him. The holy ones acclaim his victory, all Egypt payeth adoration when it meeteth His Majesty, the glorious Sāh, prince of the Sāhu, whose rank is assured, whose rule is firm, beautiful (or well-doing) Power of the company of the gods, with gracious face, beloved by him that seeth him. He setteth his fear in all countries through [his] love, and they all proclaim his name above every other, and all make

offerings to him, the lord who is commemorated in heaven and in earth. Many are the cries of joy made to him in the Uak festival, and together the Two Lands hail him with shouts of gladness.

He is the eldest and first of his brethren, the oldest god of the company of the gods. He hath stablished right throughout the world. He hath placed his son upon the Great Throne of his father Keb (the Earth-god). He is the darling of his mother Nut. Mighty of strength, he hath overthrown Seba (a form of Set). He rose up and slew his enemy, he set the fear of himself in his foe. He brought back the boundaries. . . . Stable of heart, his legs stand firm. He is the heir of Keb and of the kingdom of Egypt. Keb perceived his glorious abilities, and conferred upon him the direction of the world so long as time shall last, and placed in his hand this earth, its water, its winds, its vegetation, all its cattle, all its birds, all its fowls, its creeping things, and the animals of the desert became a gift to the son of Nut, and the Two Lands were satisfied to [see him] ascend the throne of his father like Rā, when he riseth on the horizon and giveth light in the darkness. He illumineth [heaven] with the light of his plumes, he floodeth the Two Lands with light, like the Disk (Athen) each day. His White Crown pierceth the height of heaven, it reacheth the stars. He is the leader of every god, perfect in command and word, praised by the Great Company of the gods, beloved by the Little Company of the gods. His sister protected him, driving away [his] enemies, turning aside from him calamities, strong of speech with the spells of her mouth, skilled of tongue, making no mistake in speech, making perfect command [and] word, Isis, the glorious spirit, the avenger of her brother. She sought him untiringly, she went round about this land sorrowfully, she would not have alighted had she not found him. She made light with her feathers, she made air to be with her wings, [as] she uttered wailings for her brother. She raised up the inert members of him whose heart was still, she absorbed his essence, she conceived an heir, she nursed the child in loneliness, unknown was the place wherein he was.

He flourished, his arm became mighty in the House of Keb (*i.e.* the earth). The company of the gods rejoiced, rejoiced, at the coming of Horus, son of Osiris, stable of heart, true of word, son of Isis, heir of Osiris. The Chiefs of Maât, the company of the gods, and Nebertcher himself gather themselves together to him, and the Lord of Truth joineth them. Verily those who destroyed sin rejoice in the House of Keb at the transfer of the royal dignity to its owner, and of the sovereignty to him whose it is by right.

The cult of Osiris flourished from the earliest times until about the beginning of the twentieth dynasty, and during the latter part of this period the worship of the god at Abydos must have been conducted on a magnificent scale. About this time the belief became common that the actual tomb of Osiris had been discovered there, and a massive stone bier, with the figure of the god sculptured upon it, was made and placed in the tomb of one of the kings of the first dynasty, and was held in reverence as the actual funerary bed of Osiris. Under the twenty-first dynasty the power of the priests of Amen became predominant in Upper Egypt, and an attempt was made by them to make Amen assume the sovereignty of the kingdom of the dead. From the twelfth dynasty onwards Osiris was generally regarded as the Ancestor-god of all Egypt, and when we come to the nineteenth dynasty we find the ancient cult of the ancestor had been absorbed in the worship of Osiris. Under the twenty-second and following dynasties the worship of Osiris declined gradually, and only at rare intervals were attempts made to revive the former splendour of his worship. In the Ptolemaic Period the introduction of the cult of SERAPIS, a compound god of the dead, part Egyptian and part Greek, hastened the decay of the cult of Osiris, and the adoration paid to him was generally transferred to Horus, the son of Isis. As the popularity of Osiris declined, that of Isis grew, and men began to worship her son as the personification of life and strength. When the Egyptians embraced Christianity they saw nothing strange in identifying her with the Virgin Mary, and her son Horus with the Babe Christ.

In connection with the cult of the ancestor the primitive Egyptians performed many rites and ceremonies; some of these were purely symbolic in character, but others were magical, and were intended to influence the gods and spirits, and to secure their friendship for the dead. However far we go back we find MAGIC flourishing side by side with religion, and it is hard to say which is the older; in Egypt magic seems to precede religion. Be this as it may, there were at all times in use in Egypt two kinds of magic, the one lawful and the other unlawful, or, as we say to-day, "white magic" and "black magic." The two greatest men in Egypt were the king and the official magician (the "medicine man," or "witch doctor" of modern African peoples). The former directed the affairs of the kingdom and conducted wars, and the latter, who was supposed to be in perpetual communication with the ancestral spirits, the gods of a later age, dealt exclusively with all spiritual matters, and informed the king whether his acts and deeds were in accordance with the wishes of the celestial powers. The title of this great magician was "Kher-heb," and his power was very great. He knew all the names and words of power, he composed spells, he cast out devils, he sent dreams to sleeping folk and interpreted dreams, he produced and stilled storms, he foretold the future, he raised the dead, he laid ghosts, he possessed the secret of reciting the words of the liturgy in such a way that material offerings became changed into the spirit food of the god. He was, of necessity, a learned man, and he knew the magical and religious literature thoroughly; and of course he could write; these abilities commanded the respect and fear of the people to whom the written word was always sacred. No one questioned his power, because all believed that it was obtained direct from the gods and spirits, and as very few of the people were able to read or write, they were not in a position to verify his interpretations of the books of magic, which formed one of the chief sources of his power. Moreover, as the people never thought out matters with which he was familiar, they were obliged to accept, practically, everything he said. Little by little

they came to regard him as the equal of the powers they wished to propitiate, and his influence became predominant in all the principal religious and civil affairs of life. The man whose wonderful works proclaimed that he was in communication with the gods was not to be withstood by ordinary folk, and his knowledge was in great demand by those who wished to use it for unlawful as well as lawful purposes.

The Pyramid Texts and their later forms, the Recensions of the Book of the Dead, the Harris Magical Papyrus, the Book of *Āapep*, and kindred works supply much information about his methods of work, and from these the following examples are derived. Having by some means found out the secret, or "hidden," name of a particular god or fiend, he addressed this being by that name, and then adjured him to do his will. Sometimes he forced the god or spirit by trickery to reveal his name, and sometimes he obtained it from another god. Whenever possible he used the means whereby some god had at one time or another vanquished a foe, and he repeated the actual words, which the conquering god had used on that occasion. In all such spells or adjurations names of power play a very prominent part. In dealing with the dead the magician declared that he was *Rā*, or *Thoth*, or *Horus*, and assuming that this declaration, coupled with the use of the god's name, conferred on him divine power, he proceeded to assure the dead that he could perform for them whatever the god had done for the god *Osiris*. Thus in the first Chapter of the Book of the Dead he says, "I am *Teti*, the son of *Teti*, I was begotten in *Tetu*, I was born in *Tetu*," meaning that he was *Osiris* himself. Elsewhere he says (Chap. XXXIX) when he slays the devil *Āapep*, "I am *Rā*, the terrible one; get thee back before his beams." In another place (Chap. XL) he frightens the monster *Hai* by describing to him the terrible tortures which he will inflict upon him. It was impossible for the magician to live in every tomb to protect every mummy, but he claimed to be able to protect them by means of written spells. These spells were copied upon a sheet or roll of papyrus which was laid in the tomb, and when the dead man found himself in

need of water or food, or in danger from noxious beasts or creatures which threatened him with destruction, he recited the spell proper for the occasion, and so the danger was averted. All large copies of the Book of the Dead contain many such spells, and their efficacy was firmly believed in from the earliest to the latest times. Thus when he needed air in the tomb he said, "I am Shu," and air was provided for him; when he needed water he said, "I am the Great Nile" (Hep-ur), and water was provided. When he was threatened with being scalded or burned with fire in the Other World, he said, "I am the oar of Rā which the god used when ferrying the gods' images over the Lake of Fire," and he became proof against fire and against boiling water (Chap. LIII). These spells belong to different periods, and some of them, according to modern ideas, render the repetition of others unnecessary. Thus in Chap. XLII the deceased says, "There is no member of my body which is not the member of some god." He then says he is with Rā and under the protection of Thoth, that he is Khepera and lives in the eye of the sun, that he is Horus and the "one who proceedeth from the only one," that he is the Sprout of Nu, and that his mother is Nut. But the Egyptian never omitted any spell which he thought might be of the smallest use to him; his fathers had used it, therefore it must benefit him in some way.

The importance of spells in the mind of the Egyptian is well illustrated by a passage in the Harris Magical Papyrus, in which it is said that Rā gave men spells which put lions and enemies to flight, which shut the mouths of lions, leopards, wolves, and panthers, and muzzle the goddesses Pakht, Sekhmet, &c., and the men of every kind who speak evil things. These spells cause men's limbs to become helpless and diseased, and make their flesh to separate from their bones and shrivel up. To obtain the best possible result from a spell it was necessary to recite it four times, *i.e.* once for each of the four quarters of the earth.

Often the written spell was accompanied by the use of a magical picture. Thus if the spell, in which a man claimed

to be Rā and Shu seated in the eye of his father, were recited four times by a man holding a drawing of the Eye of Rā with a figure of Anheri sitting inside it, the power of the god's name would rend the river bank, and cause the earth to break out into fire, and would make the North to become the South, and the South the North. The Theban and Saïte Recensions of the Book of the Dead are full of spells accompanied by magical drawings. Thus the Chapter of the Ladder and a drawing of it would secure for the deceased the use of the famous ladder, whereby Osiris had climbed up from earth into heaven. The Chapter of the Ferry-boat and a picture of it would provide a boat for the deceased when he wished to sail across the Nile of the Other World. Each part of the boat possessed a magical name, which is given in the text of the spell, and when all the names of the parts were properly pronounced by the deceased the boat would sail to any place to which he wanted to go. The Judgment Scene, which represented to the initiated the deepest and most fundamental truths in the religion of Osiris, was, to the ordinary Egyptian, a magical picture drawn on funerary papyri with the view of making the gods declare those for whom it was drawn to be truth-speakers. If drawings of Osiris, Rā, Isis, and Nephthys, the four gods of the winds, were painted on a coffin, they would enable its occupant to enter each of the four quarters of heaven. The spells that had to be recited were a "great mystery," which was beyond the understanding of the foreigner and the unlettered man. One drawing of the god Menu over the heart, two drawings of a god with a ram's head over each shoulder, and one over each breast, enabled the deceased to drink from the celestial stream and to shine like the stars in heaven. According to an ancient tradition a certain amount of heat remained in the head of the deceased until his resurrection; if a drawing of the Eye of the Sun-god were made and placed under the head of the mummy in its coffin it was believed to keep that heat in the head undiminished.



Besides magical names and magical drawings the Kherheb used freely magical figures made of various substances,

but especially of wax, for transmitting good and evil to the living and the dead. In very early times the Egyptians were anxious to avoid the performance of work in the Other World, and a spell was provided in the Book of the Dead (Chap. V) to enable them to do so. For some reason or other this spell was considered insufficient to free them from agricultural labours in the Kingdom of Osiris, so another was composed (Chap. VI). The second spell was cut upon the figure (*shabti*) of a man holding a hoe in each hand and carrying a bag on his back, which was placed in the tomb with the dead man, and when the dead man recited the spell this figure became changed into a full-grown field-labourer ready to do any work in the fields of Osiris which he might be called on to do. As many as 365 such figures have been found in one tomb, so the deceased in this case enjoyed the services of a fresh labourer each day of the year. These figures were intended to take the places of the slaves who in early times were killed when a great man died, and thrown into his tomb, so that their spirits might go into the Other World with the spirit of their lord, and minister to its needs there as their bodies had served him here. The magical figure also played a prominent part in certain ceremonies that were performed in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes to effect the destruction of Āapep, a form of Set, the god of evil, who fought daily against the Sun-god. The priests recited this series of prescribed spells :—“ Get back, Devil, an end to thee ! I shoot flame at thee, I destroy thee, I damn thee ! An end to thee, an end to thee. Taste death ! An end to thee ; thou shalt never rise up again. Thy face is on the block of slaughter where Rā spitteth. Thou, thy soul, thy body, thy offspring, thy hands, thy limbs, thy members, thy bones, thy spells, thy mouth, thy form, thy attributes, thy creations, thy skin, thy possessions, thy substance, thy seat, thy abode, thy tomb, thy den, thy paths, thy going in, thy coming out, thy steps, thy motion, and thy rest shall cease to exist.” The priests went so far as to threaten the gods with penalties if they attempted to assist Āapep. These spells were said

over a drawing of *Āapep* made with green paint upon a sheet of new papyrus, and over a wax figure of *Āapep*, whereon his name was cut and the letters were inlaid with green pigment. The wax figure was held over a fire made of a magical plant, and as it melted the actual body of *Āapep* in the sky was supposed to melt. The remains of the figure were then mixed with filth, and spat upon many times, and trampled upon with the left foot, and stabbed with a flint knife, and then finally burnt in a fierce fire. Figures of the allies of *Āapep* made in wax were treated in the same way, and if all of them melted easily and burnt freely it was regarded as a sure sign that the Sun-god had overthrown all his enemies, and that he would resume his place in the sky at the proper time. Figures of *Āapep* were burnt at stated times on certain days of the month regularly, and also whenever lightning appeared in the sky, or when thunderstorms threatened to burst over the land.

Another example of the use of the wax figure is found in a papyrus containing an account of the great conspiracy against Rameses III, about 1170 B.C. Among the conspirators was one Hui, who made friends with one of the officials in the Library of Amen, from whom he obtained some books in which the theory and practice of magic were described. He made wax figures, on which he wrote spells derived from the books of magic, and gave them to an accomplice in the palace who took them into the king's apartments, and he intended them to make the king ill, to paralyse his body, and to kill him. In this case the idea of the conspirator was to make the spirits of sickness, disease, and death take up their abode in the wax figures and pass from them into the king's body. From Egypt the use of magical wax figures passed to the continent of Europe, and thence into England. It will be remembered that the famous Dr. John Dee was summoned hurriedly to London, and instructed to use all his powers to avert the danger imminent to Queen Elizabeth, of whom a wax figure, with a pin stuck through its breast, had been found in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Many examples

drawn from English books might be quoted to prove the use of magical wax figures with the view of causing the death of the persons represented by them, and the custom of sticking pins in wax figures and hearts, and placing them in niches in the chimneys to melt away gradually, is not unknown in some parts of England at the present day.

Besides spells, magical drawings, and magical figures, the magician was called upon to provide AMULETS¹ for the living who wished to carry about with them the protection of the gods, spirits, and sacred animals, and to benefit by their power, and also for the dead. The earliest amulets used in Egypt were probably the portions of the bodies of great ancestors that were most directly connected with the propagation of the race, and to this day in many parts of Africa the most potent element in fetish "medicine" is a small bone, or an eye-ball, or member, or emanation from the body of an ancestor. Among the Egyptians two of the most important amulets were the Tet, or Ded , and the Tet ; the former represented a part of the backbone of Osiris, and gave the wearer virility, and the latter a part of the body of Isis, and gave the wearer the strength of the blood and power and spells of Isis. The Rubrics in the Book of the Dead (Chaps. CLV, CLVI) say that the Osiris amulet is to be made of gold, which was identified with the fluid of life of Rā, and the Isis amulet of carnelian, or of some stone the colour of blood. The popularity of these amulets is attested by the large numbers of them that are to be seen in all our great Museums, and the importance of them is proved by the fact that on very many coffins they are seen held in the hands over the breasts. Other powerful amulets were the following: The HEART—this preserved for the dead the powers of the natural organ and took its place in the body. To protect it seven prayers or spells were composed, the most popular being that which is called

¹ The word "amulet" is derived from an Arabic word meaning "something worn or carried on the person."

Chapter XXXB of the Theban Book of the Dead. This prayer is very old, and said to have been in existence in the first dynasty, when it was recited over a green stone scarab to effect the "opening of the mouth" of the deceased; at a later period it was cut upon "heart scarabs" made of green stone; it continued in use down to the Roman Period. The SCARAB, or BEETLE, symbol of new life and virility and resurrection, was associated with the god Khepera, or Kheperr, *i.e.* the "Roller," who rolled the ball of the sun across the sky. Having prepared a ball of matter to serve as food for its offspring, the female beetle rolled it into a hole in the ground in which it had laid one egg, and when the young beetle was hatched out it fed upon it. With this egg was associated the idea of "only-begotten," and the beetle amulet gave to the wearer the protection of the only-begotten son of the primeval Egyptian god. This idea was current in much later times, for one Christian writer, who was acquainted with the fact that the beetle of this class only laid one egg, calls Christ the "scarab on the wood," *i.e.* the Only-begotten on the Cross. The Frog was the symbol of new life, regeneration, and resurrection; in Christian times figures of the frog are found on lamps, and are emblematic of re-birth. The PILLOW gave the dead the power to lift up their heads, and prevented them from falling off their bodies. Other amulets mentioned in the Book of the Dead are the VULTURE, giving the protection of Isis (Chap. CLVI), the COLLAR (Chap. CLVIII), the PAPYRUS-SCEPTRE, giving youth and vitality (Chap. CLIX, CLX), the Cow of Hathor, giving warmth (Chap. CLXII), the UTCHATS or Eyes of Horus, giving life, strength, and immortality (Chap. CLXIII), &c. Two very ancient amulets were the LADDER and the TWO FINGERS (index and medius); the former enabled the deceased to climb up into heaven, and the latter supported him in his efforts, and gave him the strength of the two fingers of Horus, who assisted his father Osiris therewith when he climbed up into heaven. Common amulets are the NEFER, which gave good luck and happiness, the SERPENT'S HEAD, a protection against the bites of snakes of all kinds, and the

MENAT, which gave power and virility. A figure of any and every god and sacred animal became a powerful amulet, provided the Kher-heb had recited the necessary words of power over it.







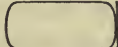
The Kher-heb was in early times also a physician, and as he administered his medicines to the patient he assisted their operation by reciting spells, charms, and incantations, and sometimes by performing ceremonies. Sickneses and diseases were caused by evil spirits, and when these were exorcised the patients recovered. In all such cases the magician had to discover the name of the spirit that was causing the sickness ; this once found the treatment was easy. Sometimes the sickness was caused by a hostile person who had recited a series of spells whilst he tied knots in a piece of cord, and so rendered his victim spell-bound. In such cases the magician healed the sickness by untying knots in a piece of cord, and reciting as he did so very potent spells coupled with mighty magical names. It is easy to see that all such magical practices could be used equally well to injure and to benefit the living and the dead, and that the use to which magic was put depended on the character and object of the magician. The chief magicians of the temples were men of great learning and ability, which they used disinterestedly and with lofty purpose. Before performing the most sacred ceremonies connected with the worship of the gods and the cult of the dead they abstained from the eating of meat and fish, and made themselves ceremonially pure by ablutions and censings, and they spared no pains to make themselves acceptable to the gods, between whom and men they were the authorised mediators. A sharp distinction must be drawn between magicians of this class and the astrologers, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, necromancers, casters of nativities, and sorcerers of all kinds, who flourished in Egypt from the reign of Rameses II onwards. The latter class of magicians were impostors who deceived the people and professed to read the future by the help of absurd tricks and ceremonies, to foretell dreams, to transform men into animals and reptiles, to heal the sick, to bring the spirits of the dead back to this

earth, to work miracles by means of potions derived from the bodies of the dead, and to be able to make amulets that would protect their owners for ever against every hostile creature or thing in this world and the next. Such men only flourished in Egypt when her people as a whole had lost their belief in Osiris and the other ancient gods, and were seeking to make debased superstitions take its place.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE EGYPTIANS

ACCORDING to Egyptian tradition the country of Egypt was in the earliest times ruled by the gods, who lived upon the earth, and went about among men, and mixed themselves up in the affairs of the people. Their reigns lasted for a very long time, and they did many great and mighty things, but at length a time came when they decided to withdraw to heaven, and Horus, the last king of the divine dynasty, appointed his son by a woman living on the earth to succeed him. Thus it happened that the first human king of Egypt was part god and part man, and from the earliest to the latest times the king was worshipped as a god, and his statues had a place by right among those of the gods. He received Egypt from the gods as his lawful inheritance, and every man, woman, and child in the country were his slaves, and only existed to work for him and to do his pleasure. The gold in the bowels of the mountains and in the rivers, the wild animals of the desert, the birds of the air, the fish in the rivers, the cattle, and the crops in the fields were all his, for they lived by and through him, and at his word they died. He, being divine, was the source of all wisdom and knowledge, his power was absolute, his authority illimitable, his decision on every subject final, his person sacred, and the man who spoke against him was guilty not only of treason, but of sin, and paid for his boldness with his life. No man owned anything absolutely; he only used what he had at the pleasure of the king, and he gave up land, house, cattle, wives, and children when his lord needed them. These ideas concerning the king are purely African, and the earliest kings of Egypt were exact counterparts of the kings of Dahomey, Congo-land, Dār Fūr,

Unyoro, Uganda, &c., described in the Travels of Skertchley, Burton, Stanley, Speke, Baker, Johnston, and others, and there is little doubt that they were of Sūdānī origin. The king who ruled Upper Egypt had the signs  *suten*, or *nesu*, placed before his name, and the king who ruled Lower Egypt had  *bati*; the former wore the White Crown , and the latter the Red Crown . After the union of the North and the South the king of the Two Egypts placed both signs before his name thus , and he wore the double crown . Before the union of the kingdoms of the North and South kings had only one name, *e.g.* Seka, Khent, Besh, &c.; after the union the king of the Two Egypts took another name on his accession to the throne, and a little later two more—one as the Horus of gold, and the other as the Lord of the Vulture and Uræus Crowns, which signified his sovereignty over Nekheb, the ancient capital in the South, and over Per-Uatchet (Buto), the ancient capital in the North. Under the influence of the priests of Rā the kings of the fourth dynasty, who were said to be sons of Rā, adopted a fifth name as sons of Rā. In early dynastic times the personal name of the king and his name as King of the South and King of the North were written in an oval , which is now called a “cartouche,” a word meaning “cartridge.” This name was given to the oval by the Frenchman Champollion, but nowadays the word cartouche is often used to express both the oval and the royal name which it contains. The king had many titles, and the most extravagant epithets were applied to him by his court scribes, but the title by which he was best known in the countries outside Egypt was “Pharaoh,” which represents the Egyptian PER-ĀA, *i.e.* “Great House.” The Great House was literally the royal palace, but the Egyptians used the words to indicate the king, just as the Turks and Arabs speak of the “Sublime Porte,” and

Europeans of the "Porte," when they refer to the Sultān and his Government.

In the earliest times the dress of the king consisted of a loin-cloth and a girdle or belt, to which was attached the tail of an animal or a piece of bast to resemble a tail, similar to that worn by chiefs in some parts of the Sūdān at the present day. Additions were made to the loin-cloth later, and it became a sort of short tunic. His beard was carefully trimmed to the traditional shape of that worn by the men of Punt. When he was seated in state he held in his hands a sceptre in the shape of a pastoral crook, and a whip, and probably a large flint knife, for which in later days a bronze sickle-shaped weapon was substituted. On his head was the simple, high crown, made probably of reeds covered with skin, and about his neck was a collar. When officiating in the temple he wore various kinds of robes and crowns, the latter being decorated with figures of cobras, metal disks, ostrich feathers, and horns; his sandals on such occasions were turned up at the toes. He was, as a god, entitled to wear the characteristic dress of the gods, and, like them, he held the symbol of life in one hand. When fighting his principal weapon was a club made of a stone fastened to one end of a short stick, or a stone-headed axe; in later days he carried a bronze battle-axe and a bronze dagger. His throne was set on a platform, with one or two steps in front, beneath a canopy which rested on four poles; it differed but slightly from the shrines in which the primitive figures of the gods were placed. All sorts of magical objects were attached to the poles of the canopy to protect the king from enemies and malign influences. Beneath the royal seat or chair of state a reed mat was placed. In later times, when Egypt was filled with the riches of Western Asia and the gold of the Sūdān, the throne and its canopy were made of costly woods inlaid with precious stones, and gold, silver, and copper were used lavishly in their decoration.

Theoretically the prosperity of all Egypt depended upon the existence of the king in this world, and its prolongation was prayed for daily by himself and all his people. He

offered worship and sacrifice to the gods daily as the legal head of all priesthoods, and he performed daily a series of elaborate ceremonies that were intended to renew in him the divine power which he inherited from the gods. After offering incense, and pouring out libations, and reciting the appointed prayers, he approached the shrine, and the figure of the god in it embraced him and laid its hands upon him, and thus the "fluid of the god" passed from him to the king. The performance of these ceremonies must have occupied a very considerable part of the day, and it is therefore probable that the king only assisted personally at this service on special occasions, and that at other times the high priest officiated. Another series of highly symbolical ceremonies was performed for the maintenance and prolongation of the king's life during the celebration of the Set or Sed Festival, *i.e.* the Festival of the Tail. The exact meaning of the name of this festival is doubtful, but it seems to refer to the animal's skin in which the king was enveloped during the ceremony that was supposed to effect his re-birth and to give him renewed strength and additional years of life.

The official honour paid to the king was similar to that given to a god, and, as was common at all Oriental courts, those who were privileged to know him intimately spared no pains to make court etiquette as elaborate as possible. To carry the king's sandals and his chair were honours eagerly sought after, and Ptahshepses, who married Princess Maātkhā, daughter of Shepseskaf, records in his funerary inscription that King Neferarikarā allowed him to kiss the royal foot itself, and not the ground at the king's feet! The highest nobles prostrated themselves before the king when summoned into his presence, and those who were wise in their generation feigned to be blinded by his glory and stunned by his majesty. Though Pharaoh the god was the owner of all Egypt, Pharaoh the man possessed property of various kinds, which was probably administered by his own private officials just like the estate of any nobleman. Whether he received a stated grant from the people

annually is not known, but it is probable that a considerable share of all revenues found its way into the hands of his stewards. But royal tombs like the Pyramids of Gīzah could never have been built out of any royal Civil List, however large, and the greater part of the country's income must have been spent for two or threescore years in building these mighty piles. The royal estates were worked by forced labour, and were probably situated in the most fertile parts of the country.

The royal palace was divided into several parts, and there were in it a court in which great state ceremonies took place, and a hall in which the king gave audiences and tried cases of high importance, and a suite of rooms for his private use, and the quarter set apart for the queen and her personal attendants and for the use of the princes and princesses, and the quarters of the ladies of his *harīm*. The first wife of the king, *i.e.* the queen, was usually of royal birth, and she shared the king's honours, and her name, like his, was enclosed within a cartouche. The names of very few of the earlier queens are known, and the monuments supply no details of their lives. A king sometimes married the widow of his predecessor, *e.g.* Khufu, or Cheops, who married Mertitefs, the "very delightful" widow of Seneferu. Provision was made for widowed queens and their sons and daughters, and the greatest honours were paid to them. Kings usually married Egyptian or Nubian women, but some of them selected their queens from foreign nations. Thus Thothmes IV married a Mitannian lady, to whom he gave the name of Mutemuaa, and his son Amen-hetep III married Ti and several other ladies from Western Asia, and to their influence was due, ultimately, the downfall of the eighteenth dynasty. Rameses II also married a Hittite princess. Theoretically all the kings of Egypt were descended from Horus, but some claimed Rā as their ancestor, and others claimed Amen; as a matter of fact several kings of Egypt had not a drop of Egyptian blood, either divine or human, in their veins. Two of the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty, Hātshepset and

Amen-hetep III, claimed to have been begotten by Amen-Rā himself, and Alexander the Great, to strengthen his hold on Egypt, also claimed to be the son of this god.

The king was supposed to govern Egypt directly—to make the laws, to control the finance, to appoint the governors of districts, nomes, and towns, to direct the army, and to know everything that went on in his territory from one end of Egypt to the other. But, as is the case in most Oriental countries, his actual knowledge of the details of his government must have been very slight indeed, and he depended almost entirely upon his chief officials for information, counsel, and guidance. Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt were ruled each by a governor, who was assisted by chiefs of towns and cities, heads of villages, and a staff of highly trained scribes, who superintended the collection of the taxes, kept the government registers, and measured the land and assessed the dues upon it. Judges and assistant judges sat in the law courts in all large towns to try important cases, but in some trials judgment could only be given after consultation with the king, or his high court of judges which sat in the capital. All cases of petty speculation, theft, robbery, burglary, cattle-stealing, &c., in the country generally were dealt with by the local mayors or magistrates, who performed all the functions of the kadis, maamūrs, and omdahs in Egypt in our own days. The ancient Egyptians loved litigation as much as do their descendants to-day, and we may rest assured that bribery and corruption were as prevalent then as now. The fate of litigants lay in the hands of the scribes of the courts, for they drafted the pleas and defences, and they alone knew the laws and precedents. Whatever may have been the feelings of judges, it was not in the interests of the scribes or the officers of the court to have cases decided summarily. Stubborn witnesses and those suspected of lying were made to tell the truth by beating on the soles of the feet (*bastinado*), and witnesses who were silent after this treatment sometimes suffered the loss of their nose or ears.

The Egyptian aristocracy consisted of the old feudal

chiefs, the lesser nobles, the high officers of state, the royal scribes, the great priesthoods, the men who had been ennobled by the king, and the royal relatives. The feudal chiefs were to all intents and purposes petty kings, and their powers were only kept in check by strong kings. Egypt never possessed an ARMY in the modern sense of the word, for the Egyptians of the lower classes were neither fighting men nor soldiers by nature. In the earliest times the king drew his levies from all parts of the country, and the weapons of most of these consisted of large stout sticks, like the modern *nabūt*, and clubs. The great nobles sent contingents of men armed with bows and arrows, the latter tipped with flint, shields, and rough battle-axes. At a later period such soldiers and those maintained by the king were armed with bows and arrows, bronze spears, swords, daggers, and battle-axes. As early as the sixth dynasty Blacks from the Sūdān were employed in fighting Pharaoh's battles, and under the New Empire many of the regular troops were Nubians. The army of Rameses III was composed of mercenaries, for the natives were no match for the well-armed and well-drilled foes who threatened Egypt on all her boundaries. Egyptian peasants and merchants made poor fighting men, and after the death of Rameses III the masters of Egypt were in turn the armies of the Libyans, the Blacks, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The greater number of the so-called wars of the Egyptians, beginning with Seneferu's invasion of the Sūdān, were nothing but raids pure and simple, for the object of their kings was loot, slaves, cattle, gold, &c., which was dignified by the name of tribute. When Pharaoh "extended his borders" in any country the extension was followed by slaughter, and wholesale destruction of property, and the burning of towns and villages. The only Egyptian campaign we know of that seems to have been conducted on any definite plan was that of Rameses II against the Hittites in Northern Syria. The Egyptian fought best behind walls, a fact well understood by Usertsen III, who built the great forts in the Second Cataract, and by the kings who built the first forts on the north-east frontier to guard the old caravan road

between Syria and Egypt. The Egyptians of the eighteenth dynasty found chariots and horses very useful in Syria, but there was no room for them in Egypt or Nubia.

Until the Egyptians began to obtain possessions in Palestine and Syria under the eighteenth dynasty they had no need of a NAVY. The natives of the northern parts of the Delta must from time out of mind have been familiar with shipping, and, as many of them were akin to the seafaring folk who traded with the dwellers on the coasts of Syria and North Africa and in the islands of the Mediterranean, they probably made very good sailors. The bringing of timber from Syria must always have formed a lucrative trade, and must have required a considerable number of tolerably large sea-going ships, the crews of which were probably partly Egyptian. The trade was in a very flourishing state in the time of King Seneferu (third or fourth dynasty), and there is no reason for thinking that it was started by him. In the Red Sea many sea-going ships were engaged in the transport of copper from the mines in the Peninsula of Sinai to some port on the western shore of the Red Sea near the modern town of Kus̄er, and at a comparatively early period the Egyptians had intercourse by sea with Punt and with the ports on the coast of Southern Arabia. With this overseas trade the Egyptians of Upper Egypt had little to do. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty employed ships in connection with their campaigns in Syria, but there is no evidence that they maintained permanently a fleet of warships for the defence of Egypt. The first king who recognised the true importance of a navy was Rameses III (twentieth dynasty), and he established a fleet in the Mediterranean and another in the Red Sea. In many of his ships soldiers formed an integral part of the crew, and protected their precious freights from pirates and other sea-robbers. In his great campaign against the Syrians and their allies his navy co-operated so successfully with his army, that he was able to inflict upon the enemy a defeat that was as unexpected as it was crushing.

The important PRIESTHOODS of Egypt were always great

and powerful organisations, and to all intents and purposes they directed the government of the country. Theoretically, as we have seen, the king's power was absolute, but practically he carried out the will of the priests, for their leaders saw the gods face to face, and talked with them, and were the mediums through which they gave their commands to their son the Pharaoh. Moreover, the priests were the repositories of the learning and wisdom of Egypt; they composed the liturgies and the religious texts wherein were enshrined the beliefs and mysteries of the Egyptian faith, they were the trustees of the property of the gods, they administered the revenues of the temples, they superintended the mummification of the dead, they devised the elaborate system of funerary ceremonies in the tomb, and they were the stewards of all the mysteries of heaven and earth. The high priests were beyond doubt able and learned men, and the religious literature of Egypt testifies to their high moral instincts and to their spiritual-mindedness. They practised asceticism and prepared themselves for important duties by fasting and prayer, and by abstaining from fleshly lusts, and they cleansed their bodies by sprinkling themselves with water in which natron, &c., had been dissolved, and by drinking the same and by censings with specially prepared incense. This they did because they realised that they were the temporary abodes of the spirit of the Creator of the world, and the means of communication between the gods and ancestral spirits and the living. The high priest of Memphis, the *Urkherphemu*, or "Great director of the artisans," and the high priest of Heliopolis, the *Urmau*, or "Great Seer," and the high priest of Thebes became, they thought, during the performance of their most sacred duties, counterparts of the gods Ptah, Temu-Rā, and Amen.

Apart from these great temple officials we find attached to most temples the "servants of the gods," a chief libationer and his assistants, a Kher-heb, whose office has been already described (see p. 182), a steward, a registrar, and a copyist of the books used in the temple services. In very large temples there were very many other "priests"

who kept the apparel of the gods and dressed their statues on days of festival, priests of the altar, "divine fathers," priests of the first, second, and third order, &c. Certain duties seem to have been performed in some of the temples by members of the laity who were called "priests of the hour," but what these duties were is not clear. Probably in the earliest times every citizen of a certain position in his town served as watchman, or keeper, of the temple in his turn for an "hour." The son of a priest was always elected by the colleagues of his father to a priestly office, but not necessarily to the office which his father had held. The daughters of the old feudal lords of the Ancient Empire were always priestesses of Hathor, just as their fathers were always priests of the local gods, but their office was honorary. Under the eighteenth dynasty the services in the temple of Amen were augmented by many hymns, litanies, choruses, &c., which were sung by the *shemāt*, or women singers, who accompanied them with the rattling of sistra. These *shemāt* included all the well-born women in Thebes, and they formed a sort of sacred *harim* belonging to the god Amen-Rā, the head of which was the queen, or first wife of the king. During the rule of the Priest-kings of Thebes under the twenty-first dynasty some of the ladies of the *harim* possessed very great power, and filled many offices. Thus Nesi-Khensu is actually described as the viceroy of Nubia, and is called the wife of Amen-Rā and mother of the god Khensu the Child, and priestess of Amen-Rā, Nekhebet, Osiris, Horus and Isis, and Hathor. Her daughter Nesitanebtashru held the position of official copyist and arranger of the hymns and music in the temple of Amen-Rā, and she was also a singer, perhaps a soloist, in the temple of Mut, the female counterpart of Amen-Rā. Her copy of the "Book of the Dead" is probably the work of her own hands, and as several of the compositions found in the latter part of it are not found elsewhere, we may assume that they were composed by her. In later times the chief lady of the *harim* of Amen, whose official title was *neter tuat*, actually usurped the functions of the high priest of Amen, so that the chief ecclesiastical

officer of the god was a woman! In her was vested all the vast property of Amen, and her influence and authority were very great.

Under the early dynasties many of the priests lived in the same way as other gentlemen of their class, and wore much the same kind of dress, but the high priests of some of the large temples wore the special insignia of their offices when performing very solemn or very important ceremonies. Under the New Empire the dress of the priests became more elaborate and varied, but even so some of them wore tunics &c., which were similar in shape to those of the priests of the Ancient Empire. In the papyri of the Book of the Dead the Sem priest usually wears the leopard skin, or panther skin, which seems to have been in some way symbolic of his office. In the Papyrus of Ani (Chap. XVIII) we see the Sameref and Anmutef priests also wearing the leopard skin.

Under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties the priest-hoods of Amen of Thebes and Rā of Heliopolis became very wealthy, owing chiefly to the rich spoil which the victorious Pharaohs brought back from Syria, and the gold which was poured into Egypt from the Sūdān. But besides the substantial share of the spoil which was set apart for their gods, the priests made large sums of money by burying the dead. The embalming of the dead was carried out by professional embalmers who were attached to the temples, and all the various objects employed in furnishing the tombs were provided by workmen who were directly under the control of the priests. Their carpenters made the coffins, the sledges, the *ushabtiu* figures, the coffers for the "Canopic" jars, &c.; their weavers made the linen in which the dead were swathed; their stone masons hewed the tombs in the cemetery in the hills on the western bank; their scribes wrote the funerary papyri and drafted the inscriptions for the coffins and the sepulchral stelæ; their metal workers supplied the bronze vessels and figures; their lapidaries cut the alabaster vases and amulets; their farms supplied the beasts for sacrifice; their apothecaries supplied the incense, scents, drugs, unguents, and oils used in the funerary

ceremonies ; their jewellers produced the ornaments made of gold, silver, and precious stones, and their bakers, butchers, and confectioners produced the cakes, joints, and sweetmeats for the funeral feasts and the sepulchral offerings. In short, the priests became funerary providers, and they carried on a very large and profitable business, because they enjoyed a monopoly in burials. To carry out all the various works which the priests undertook during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties required the services of a very large number of men of all sorts, from scribes to farm labourers, and it is probable that more officials were employed in the service of Amen than in that of the king and country ! The priesthood of Amen was the richest in Egypt, and it maintained trading ships on the high seas and soldiers to protect its vast possessions. We have already seen in the section on Egyptian History how the high priest of Amen, little by little, acquired power in the country until he became not only the rival of the king, but the king himself. In their anxiety to honour their god, and incidentally to magnify the position of his priests, they lost all sense of proportion, and having set all classes against them, and neglected the general well-being of the country, they wrecked their own interests, and destroyed their own power, which had taken centuries to build up.

The affections of the Egyptians centred in their homes and in their wives and families. Kings and noblemen often married more than one wife, and, speaking generally, there must have been good reasons for their so doing, for there is no doubt that, as a rule, the Egyptian loved one wife only, who ruled supreme in his house, and was the mother of his children. She was called the "mistress of the house," *nebt per*, and the position of the good wife and mother was absolutely secure. How the preliminaries of a marriage were arranged is not known, but it is probable that there was a "go-between" who interviewed the parents of the girl and man, and proclaimed the beauty of the one and the strength of the other, and helped in settling the amount which the father of the man was to give to the father of the

girl. It is unlikely that the marriage ceremonies were elaborate; indeed it is very doubtful if there was any ceremony at all beyond a formal handing over of the girl to her future husband, and the utterance on his part of some such simple phrase as "I have taken thee," in the presence of the parents and relatives. A feast, more or less elaborate according to the means of the parents, followed, and then came singing and dancing to reed-pipes and some kind of drum, in which everybody joined, and the drinking of very much beer. In late times, after the influence of the Greeks had spread throughout Egypt, the well-to-do families insisted on wedding contracts being drawn up when their sons and daughters married.

It was more common among families who possessed estates for a man to marry his sister, or his niece, than a stranger. The marriage of brother with sister is abhorrent to us, but this was not so in Egypt. One of the oldest traditions in the land made the primitive Osiris marry his sister Isis, and he was said to be the father of Anubis by his other sister, Nephthys. The primary object of brother and sister marriages was to keep the property in the family, and in Egypt at the present time the marriage of first cousins is highly approved of, because when the two fathers are brothers it avoids the undue division of the family and the scattering of the property. Some such idea was probably in the minds of the Ptolemies, all of whom married either a sister, sometimes more than one, or a niece, for the Greeks hated the marriage of brother and sister. The conditions under which women were obtained in marriage by workmen, artisans, and farm labourers are unknown, but it is probable that they were to all intents and purposes bought and sold. Wealthy men maintained on their establishments bands of pretty young women who were skilled dancers and players on the harp and pipes, and who amused their masters during their leisure hours with dances, songs, and instrumental music. Sometimes members of these bands became secondary wives of their masters, or employers, and sometimes merely concubines. But there also existed com-

panies of such young women who could be hired for any entertainment where singing and dancing were required, and about them gathered disorderly folk of both sexes. When unoccupied professionally in the houses of their hirers they drifted to the quarter of the town where the beer-houses and eating-houses were situated, and consorted with men of all classes.

The married woman who was the mother of children enjoyed the greatest freedom. She ruled her house and family with benevolent but despotic power, and her influence extended far beyond the walls of her dwelling. She went about freely in the towns and villages, conversed with men as well as women, and, unlike the modern Egyptian woman, she wore no veil. A son respected his father, but he loved his mother, and the sages of Egypt impressed upon every boy that it was his bounden duty never to cause her pain or anxiety. In the Precepts of Khensu-hetep it is written : When thou art grown up, and art married, and hast a house, never forget the pains which thou didst cost thy mother, nor the care which she bestowed upon thee. Never give her cause to complain of thee, lest she lift up her hands to God in heaven, and He hearken to her cry [and punish thee]. Similarly the husband is exhorted to treat his wife well, and in the Precepts of Ptahhetep (about 3200 B.C.) it is written : If thou wouldst be a wise man, rule thy house, and love thy wife wholly and constantly. Feed her and clothe her, love her tenderly, and fulfil her desires as long as thou livest, for she is an estate which conferreth great reward upon her lord. Be not hard to her, for she will be more easily moved by persuasion than by force. Observe what she wisheth, and that on which her mind runneth ; thereby shalt thou make her to stay in thy house. If thou resistest her will it is ruin. The honour in which the mother was held is attested by many monuments. Thus on innumerable sepulchral stelæ the name of the mother of the deceased is given, but not that of the father, and a man was proud to trace his descent from his mother's side of the family.

It is probable that girls were betrothed when they were

only a few years old, and we may assume that in all classes they were married before they were fifteen years of age. The birth of a child was celebrated with rejoicings, and if its parents were well-to-do they made a feast and there were music and dancing. A child received a name soon after birth, and the day on which his name was bestowed upon him was frequently celebrated by him in later years with rejoicings. Names were of many kinds. Sometimes the name was that of an ancestor, or of a god, and sometimes the name of a god or king formed a part of it. Twins were sometimes called by the names of twin-gods, *e.g.* Heru and Suti, *i.e.* Horus and Set. The name often described some physical characteristic, thus a boy was called "Nekht" *i.e.* "Strong," or a girl "Netchemet," *i.e.* "Sweet"; pet names were also used, *e.g.* Mai-sheri, *i.e.* "little cat," or "Pussy." Two neighbouring children might have the same name, *e.g.* "Teta," but one of them would be called "Teta ki," *i.e.* the "other Teta." Often, however, the same name was given to several children in the same family, or to father and son for several generations, and much confusion was the result. The Egyptians attached the greatest importance to the preservation of the name, which was considered to be an integral part of a man, and therefore it was the duty of every son to take care that his father's name was carefully preserved on his funerary stele and other monuments, and in his tomb. On many statues dedicated by sons to their fathers we find cut on the pedestals, "His son made his name to live," and in some funerary inscriptions the dead man in enumerating his virtues states that he repaired the broken letters in the inscription on his father's tomb. To obliterate the name of a man on his monuments was equivalent to condemning him to destruction, for no one and no thing had being if it had no name. Hence arose the custom of cutting out from inscriptions the names of enemies: thus Thothmes III obliterated Hâtshepset's name on her monuments, and, with the view of destroying the god Amen, the fanatical King Amen-hetep IV had his name cut out from an untold number of monuments.

Children of both sexes lived exclusively with their mothers for the first three years of their lives, and the peasant woman worked in the fields with her child lying either upon her neck and shoulders, or bound to her back with a cloth. For some years after children could crawl or walk about they went naked, just as they do to-day; boys wore a thin girdle about the waist, and little girls wore an amulet on some part of the body to keep away the "evil eye." Their heads were clean-shaven, but boys wore a lock or curl on the right side of the head in imitation of Horus the Child, the son of Isis. The children of the upper classes were taken care of by their mothers' slave women, and were provided with toys of all kinds of an elementary character, such as balls made of papyrus or leather stuffed with chopped straw, and models of cats, dogs, lions, apes, elephants, hippopotami, &c. These toy animals often had movable limbs or jaws, and the joy of the child who possessed the wooden cat (now in the British Museum, No. 15671) with inlaid crystal eyes, and a movable jaw studded with metal teeth, can be readily imagined. The young children of the peasant crawled about on the ground inside and outside the mud hut, and played with their neighbours and the family goat, or donkey, or cow. Little girls loved dolls then as now, and all large Museums contain many interesting examples of mud dolls, wooden dolls, dolls with and without hair, &c. Among the poor the future of the children was fixed at a very early age; the boys learned to work in the fields or at a trade, and the girls were married long before they were fifteen. These child-wives collected the materials for the fire, fetched the water from the river in pots which they carried skilfully on their heads, looked after any animals which their husbands possessed, and brought up their children to do the same. Before they were thirty they had daughters old enough to be married, and were to all intents and purposes old women, bent of back and withered of face. The daughters of the well-to-do were in better case, for they were better fed, better housed, and better clad, and were protected from the burning

heats of summer, and from the glare of the waters of the inundation, and from the bitter cold of the winter morning hours between midnight and three o'clock. It is doubtful whether girls in any class learned to read or to write as a general rule.

The boys of the well-to-do were sent to school, because most fathers hoped that their sons would become scribes, and perhaps even rise to positions in the king's service. There appear to have been local village schools in Egypt, where the elements of education were taught, and to which a mother sometimes brought her boy's allowance for the day—three bread-cakes and two vessels of beer. The pupils worked from early morning until noon, and the master never spoiled by sparing the rod any boy who came late persistently, or who was lazy or inattentive. Masters and parents knew well that the wits of some boys could only be sharpened by the application of the palm stick to their backs. It is tolerably certain that in these elementary schools the pupils learned to read and perhaps to draw hieroglyphs, and to take down from dictation passages from works dealing with morality and inculcating respect to their seniors. Whether they were made to learn by heart passages from some standard religious book, like the modern Egyptian children, who for the past twelve hundred years have learned passages from the Kurān, is not known, but it is very probable. Personal cleanliness and diligence and obedience, as being acceptable to gods and men, were certainly taught. From the elementary schools boys passed on to those that were maintained by the great temples, and perhaps also by the Government, and in these they studied the subjects which would qualify them for occupation in the Civil Service of their country or in the temples. Those who wished to be employed in the public departments learned arithmetic, book-keeping, geometry, mensuration, and for all such the possession of good handwriting was absolutely necessary. A good knowledge not only of hieroglyphs was required, but also of the cursive hand in which accounts were kept and reports written. The pupil learned to write well and to spell correctly by copying out on

papyrus, or on slices of limestone or white-washed boards, with a reed dipped in ink made of lamp black, extracts from the Precepts of the sages of olden time, which the master considered suitable for the improvement of his mind, morals, and manners. Certain passages or texts were selected for copying with the view of improving his composition and enlarging his vocabulary, and he was urged to employ old metaphors and allusions, and archaic words, and high-flown similes as much as possible. The art of letter-writing was carefully studied also, as well as the drafting of reports. Students of theology, who wished to be employed in the temples, in addition to making themselves expert scribes, were obliged to study the ancient works on magic, religion, mythology, medicine, astrology, &c. In both the elementary schools and the secondary schools the pupils spent a good deal of time in gymnastics and in playing games, and it goes without saying that, in a country like Egypt with its great river and canals, most boys were good swimmers. The Egyptian had a very real respect for learning, but it is almost certain that very few of the general public could either read or write. The art of writing he regarded with almost superstitious reverence, for it savoured of magic in his opinion. The profession of the scribe was at all times greatly esteemed, not so much for the learning which it represented as for the wealth, and power, and high position which a truly expert scribe enjoyed.

The DRESS of the Egyptians, both of men and women, was made chiefly of linen, for wool was considered to be unclean. The simplest form of dress common in the earliest period was the loin-cloth; it was worn by all classes, and by both sexes, and its early form was preserved in religious ceremonial apparel down to the latest times. Attached to its upper edge was a border which resembled a girdle or belt, and from this there hung down behind an animal's tail, or an imitation of one made of bast or leather. As time went on the loin-cloth developed into a short shirt resembling a kilt, which sometimes projected in a peak above the knees. Later the shirt was lengthened and made to cover a larger

portion of the body, and finally it reached from the breast to the knees. Sometimes a shirt was worn over the loin-cloth and a loose flowing garment over both, its size and fullness depending upon the rank or occupation of the wearer. Under the New Empire the garments of the women of the upper classes became voluminous, and in all classes there seems to have been a tendency to wear much clothing. At this time garments with large loose sleeves and capes became popular with women of the well-to-do classes. Much of the linen cloth worn was of a very light brown colour when new, and was moderately thick, but the linen used by the wealthy must have been of exceedingly fine texture, and, judging by the pictures of the priestesses given in papyri, it must have been semi-transparent. In some periods the linen cloth was ornamented with bands of blue or green threads. The numerous folds in some garments suggest that the Egyptians knew of some process of hot pressing or ironing.

Both men and women wore wigs of various forms and shapes, some being very full and heavy, and some relatively short. Some men and women shaved their hair off, and some only "cropped" it and cultivated masses of short curls; many women let their hair grow and wore it in a large number of long plaits, with or without fringes at the ends. In order to make their hair appear more abundant than it was, some ladies plaited locks of goats' hair with their own, and then frizzed it out all round their heads. Some Sūdānī women at the present day load their hair with mud mixed with castor oil and goats' hair, and from a distance their heads look like large, round baskets. As a rule men of the upper classes shaved their beards and moustaches, but they wore, on certain ceremonial occasions, false beards, made in the characteristic pointed form, turned up in front, so dear to all Africans. The form of the beard was traditional, and was derived from Punt, the ancestral home of the Egyptians. As a rule the Egyptians wore nothing on their feet, and the use of the SANDALS only became common at a comparatively late period. They were perhaps worn ceremonially by kings

and high officers of state in the early period. They were made of papyrus, palm fibre, and leather, and in late times sides were added to them and they resembled shoes; they were kept on the feet by means of a thong passing between the big and second toes, and by a cord tied round the ankles. Kings, queens, and members of the royal family wore various kinds of HEAD DRESSES symbolic of their rank, but ordinary women were content with a bandlet, or fillet, more or less decorated. Both men and women wore FINGER-RINGS, BRACELETS, ARMLETS, NECKLACES, elaborately inlaid and decorated PECTORALS, pendants, AMULETS; women of all periods wore anklets, and under the New Empire earrings were common among them. Soldiers wore on ceremonial occasions the GOLD COLLARS which were the reward of bravery, and every man of position carried a staff, or stick, which seems to have varied in length according to the rank of its owner.

The heat and scorching winds from the South made careful attention to the skin absolutely necessary, for health of body and content of mind depended upon it. Among the poorer classes men and women anointed their bodies freely with castor oil and other thick and more or less impure oils sold in the bazaars for native use. Women of rank and fashion used fine oils imported from the East, and specially prepared unguents and salves, many of which were scented with strong-smelling perfumes. During feasts balls, saturated with oil or pomade, were placed on the heads of the feasters, and as the heat of the head melted it the grease ran down over the head, neck, and body, and produced pleasurable sensations. The heat and glare caused diseases of the eyes, which were treated with medicated ointments, antimony, and lead; the eyelids were smeared with the ointment and the powdered medicine was then laid on them. Many women beautified their eyes by painting their eyebrows and adding a ~~thick~~ line under each eye. Different kinds of eye-paint were used according to the season of the year, but it was absolutely necessary to anoint the eyelids with one kind of ointment daily. Some ladies rouged their cheeks

and lips, and all women of position stained the nails of their fingers and toes a reddish yellow with the juice of a plant which the Arabs call *hinnā* (*henna*). The importance attached to the artificial beautifying of the body is proved by the fact that after embalmment the faces of women of high rank were often rouged, and their eyelids and eyebrows painted with antimony. A MIRROR and a FAN were carried by ladies of fashion, Roughnesses of the skin were removed by rubbing with a piece of stone something like pumice stone, and small hairs, and probably grey hairs also, were extracted by tweezers.

The FOOD of the poorer classes consisted of coarse bread, onions, and other vegetables, and salt. The bread was made of millet, barley, and wheat, which were ground in a hand-mill or crushed on stones; the dough was made into thick, flat cakes of various sizes, which were baked in hot ashes or on hot stones. The commonest vegetables were onions, beans, peas, lentils, cucumbers, radishes, water melons, leeks, garlic, spinach, the egg-plant, and edible roots of the turnip and carrot class. The straw of the millet and barley served as fuel. The peasants and slaves in the Delta ate various kinds of fish, both fresh water and salt water, but in some periods the eaters of fish were regarded as unclean; the people of Upper Egypt probably salted and potted the little fish that were found in the irrigated basins, just as they do to-day. The well-to-do classes ate animal food, *i.e.* the flesh of the goat, cow, ox, gazelle, &c., which was boiled or roasted, and eaten with boiled grain or vegetables. The water-fowl of the marshes, several kinds of geese, pigeons, doves, &c., were commonly eaten. Animals intended for food and geese were fattened artificially, and the trade in geese must have been very large. Milk was drunk in large quantities, and cheese was a common article of food. Native fruits were figs, dates, mulberries, grapes, &c., and in the gardens of the wealthy foreign fruits were probably found. Rock salt was obtained from the Western Desert, and a coarse kind came from the salt lagoons in the Delta; seeds of aromatic plants probably were stewed with the meat, and made

seasoning other than salt unnecessary. The common DRINK of the country was BEER, of which many kinds were known. Many kinds of wine were drunk, *e.g.* wines made from grapes, dates, and honey, and under the New Empire several foreign wines were imported. The Egyptians must have known that strong intoxicants could be made from dates and grain steeped in water, and fermented, and as these drinks were easily made they must have been drunk by the poorer classes in considerable quantities. At certain festivals all men were expected to get riotously drunk, and there is little doubt that they did so. The poor man squatted on the ground and ate his food, and the rich man either lay on a mat or cushion, or sat on a low stool. Joints and birds were torn to pieces with the hand, each man tearing off as much as he wanted. Grain and boiled vegetables were scooped up by the right hand, and were eaten from it. Fingers were wiped on very thin round bread-cakes, made as large as a small pocket-handkerchief. Cakes made very rich with honey and fat, and sometimes stuffed with aromatic seeds, served as "sweets," and when the meal was ended water from a vessel was poured over the hands of the eaters by the servants. Water, cooled by being placed in the wind in a porous vessel, was drunk from an earthenware bottle, and wine and beer from bowls.

The poor man had few amusements. He began his work at dawn and ended it at sunset, and the peasant farmer was always busy with his land. On public festivals and holidays, of which there were many, he probably enjoyed some relaxation, and then he sat in his village, played draughts, drank beer, and talked to his friends and neighbours. The Egyptian gentleman amused himself in fishing, fowling, and hunting, and in those days when sportsmen were few, the deserts, the marshes, and the river must have yielded large quantities of game and fish. DANCING was a very popular amusement among all classes, and in the village dances at least nearly everyone joined. It is clear from the scenes on the monuments that several kinds of dances were known, but it is impossible to describe them, for all details are wanting.

II
2

In the large towns many amusements were to be found, for in them the population as a whole did not go to bed at sun-down. On festival days acrobats of various kinds gave exhibitions of their skill, and professional dancers, both male and female, musicians, wrestlers, jugglers, conjurors, and every kind of public performer vied with one another in their efforts to please the public and gain a living.

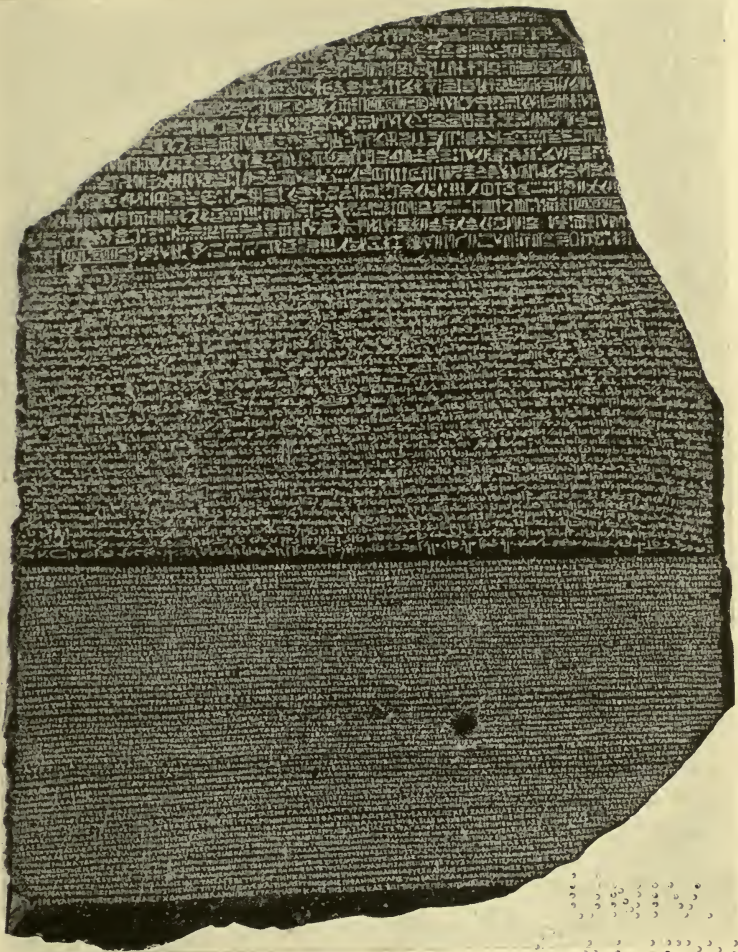
† The Egyptian HOUSE was usually built of mud. The house of the peasant and farm labourer was a mere mud hut, roofed with palm leaves plastered with mud. It probably had an opening high up in one of the walls to let out the acrid smoke of the cow-dung fire, and an opening in another that served as a doorway. The small farmhouse contained two or three small rooms, one of which was used for storing grain. The large farmhouse stood in a courtyard, along one side of which was a series of small chambers that were used as grain bins. A flight of mud steps led to the flat roof on which the owner slept on hot nights, and on the south side of it was a small chamber, facing the north, in which the farmer sat in the evening and enjoyed the cool breeze. The courtyard was surrounded on all sides by a mud wall, in which was a stout door that swung in a stone socket and could be fastened by the pushing of a strong bolt into a deep cavity of the wall. In the courtyard the large water-jars were kept, and here the grain was ground, and the bread-cakes were made and baked. The farmhouse itself was a one-storeyed, long, low, rectangular building, the walls of which sloped inwards towards the top. The house of the nobleman was usually built in two storeys among trees, each floor consisting of two series of rooms, with the doors and openings for light all towards the north. Sometimes the rooms occupied three sides of a courtyard, and a large, shady portico formed the fourth side; all the openings for light were near the ceilings, and wind shafts were built in the roof. The sleeping rooms were in the upper storey. Near the house were the wine and oil presses, the store chambers for grain, fruit, and vegetables, the beer-house, the stable, and the cattle byres, and huts for the use of the servants. In the grounds

round about the house were groves of flowering shrubs, avenues of trees, ornamental lakes, and gardens. Under the eighteenth dynasty a great feudal lord's abode was not very much different from the king's palace, for it contained his own special apartments, one suite of rooms for his wife, another for the ladies of his house, another for the children, another for the servants, and one or more extra large rooms wherein he could transact official business and entertain his friends in such manner as befitted his rank. In the earliest times the royal palaces were built of wood, and were brightly painted, like the shrines of primitive gods. In later times they were built of mud bricks, and then the whole of their interior arrangements had to be modified. Later still the "palace" became a collection of houses, built among gardens, palm groves, lakes, and fish ponds, and surrounded by a substantial wall. The royal bedroom, living room, audience chamber, banqueting room, &c., were larger than those in a nobleman's house, but the general arrangement and distribution of the suites of rooms among the queen, the royal ladies, the princesses and princes, and the servants were the same.

The Egyptians did not fill their houses with FURNITURE as do Western nations, and ornaments for the walls in the form of pictures, brackets, statuary, &c., were unknown to them. The floors of the rooms of the well-to-do were covered with rugs or mats made of reeds, and low benches, covered with mats or cushions, ran round the walls of the reception rooms for the use of guests and visitors. The walls were often decorated with mats made of reeds dyed in different colours. Important visitors sat upon chairs of state made of ebony inlaid with ivory and precious woods, and provided with cushions covered with leather or cloth. Many kinds of stools were used, either with or without cushions, and some folded up like our modern camp-stools. Couches or sofas were also made, and the sitters probably sat upon them cross-legged. The bedstead was rectangular in shape like the modern *ankarib* in the Sūdān, and was provided with cushions and padded quilts. The pillow in use among all classes was a wooden head-rest, from five to

eight inches high, which was placed under the neck, and which kept the head well above the cushion, in what we should think a most uncomfortable position. In very early times several low stands on which to place water-bottles, food, &c., were found in good houses, but later these were superseded by tables of different sizes and heights. Cavities cut in the wall were used sometimes as cupboards, but clothing, jewellery, ornaments, and valuables generally were kept in boxes, which served the purpose of both wardrobes and safes.

It has already been said that the Egyptian regarded WRITING with almost superstitious reverence, and this is literally true, for he was taught that hieroglyphs were invented by the god Thoth, in other words, that they were invented by one of his divine ancestors. Though the earliest written Egyptian characters known to us belong to the predynastic period, it was some time after the beginning of the dynastic period before the Egyptians were able to arrange their characters in such a way as to form inscriptions. Egyptian writing exists in three forms, called HIEROGLYPHIC, HIERATIC, and DEMOTIC. The oldest of these is hieroglyphic or picture-writing, which was sacred and of divine origin, because it was used in writing down the words of the gods. It remained in use in all periods, and was employed chiefly for monumental purposes, *i.e.* for inscriptions on the walls of temples, tombs, obelisks, statues, sepulchral stelæ, &c. Hieroglyphic writing was found to be too elaborate for ordinary purposes, and the scribes first modified the pictorial characters, and then abbreviated them, and in course of time produced the cursive form of writing called "hieratic." Later still the scribes, between a thousand and six hundred years before Christ, invented a purely conventional system of signs, based upon the hieratic, which is called "demotic." During the first three centuries of the Christian Era the hieroglyphic and hieratic systems of writing fell into disuse, and demotic writing was employed for most purposes. When the Egyptians embraced Christianity they decided to have written in Greek



The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum.

letters the Egyptian translations of the Holy Scriptures which were made for them, but as some of the sounds peculiar to the Egyptian language could not be expressed by any of the letters of the Greek alphabet, they added seven characters from demotic writing to the Greek letters which they adopted. Before the close of the Roman occupation of Egypt all knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was lost, and from that time to the beginning of the nineteenth century neither Oriental nor European could read or understand a hieroglyphic inscription. Many attempts were made to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but none succeeded until the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1798, among the ruins of Fort St. Julien near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile. This Stone passed into the possession of the British in 1801, and was deposited in the British Museum in 1802. On its face are cut 14 lines of hieroglyphs, 32 lines of Demotic, and 54 lines of Greek. The name of Ptolemy cut on it was deciphered by Dr. Thomas Young, and that of Cleopatra, which is cut upon an obelisk from Philæ now standing at Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire, was identified by Mr. Bankes. In 1819 Young published a list of alphabetic Egyptian characters, six of the values of which are accepted as correct at the present day. In 1822 Champollion published a greatly enlarged list of alphabetic characters, together with classified lists of hieroglyphs, &c. To him we owe the system of grammar and the general method of decipherment which are the foundation of all modern Egyptological work.¹ The hieroglyph is a picture of an object, animate or inanimate. A picture may represent an *idea*, e.g. a picture of a musical instrument symbolises not only music, but joy, happiness, pleasure, &c. A hieroglyph of this kind is called an IDEOGRAPH. Every object had a name, therefore each hieroglyph, or picture, was a word-sign, and each

¹ For a short and handy description of the way in which the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra were deciphered, and for a general account of the Rosetta Stone and a good colotype plate of it, see the little monograph entitled *The Rosetta Stone*, published by the Trustees of the British Museum, price sixpence.

word-sign was originally SYLLABIC. An ALPHABETIC HIEROGLYPH is a picture of an object to which the sound of the first letter of the syllabic word-sign was given as its phonetic value ; thus the sign for "mouth," the syllabic word-sign for which was ra, was called *r*, and the *a* was dropped, and the sign for mouth became the alphabetic hieroglyph with the value of *r*. Alphabetic and syllabic hieroglyphs are often used together in writing a word, without any regard to their ideographic values, and in such cases a picture indicating the meaning of the word is placed after them. Thus in the word *sfent* a "knife," we use the pictures of a chair-back, a reptile, a wave, and a hand, and these are followed by a picture of a knife. The picture that follows the word is a DETERMINATIVE, but some pictures that follow words determine sounds, and others determine meanings. The fundamental words of the Egyptian language are African in origin, but at a very early period, several thousands of years before Christ, the Egyptians borrowed the words for the personal pronouns from some Semitic people, and the names of certain objects which they imported from them.

A good general idea of the average Egyptian can be derived from the monuments and writings that have come down to us. In the first place he was a very religious man. He worshipped God and his deified ancestors, offered sacrifices and offerings to the dead, and prayed at least twice daily, *i.e.* morning and evening. He believed in the resurrection of the dead through Osiris, and in the life everlasting, and was from first to last confident that those who had led righteous lives on earth were rewarded with happiness and lived with Osiris in heaven, and that the wicked on earth were punished with annihilation in the next world. His deep-seated interest in religion had a very practical object, namely, the resurrection of his spirit-body and his soul's future happiness in heaven. His conscience was well developed, and made him obey religious, moral, and civil laws without question ; a breach of any of these he atoned for, not by repentance, for which there is no word in his language,

but by the making of offerings. In all religious matters he was strongly conservative, and his conservatism led him to hold at the same time beliefs that were not only inconsistent with each other, but sometimes flatly contradictory. In reality his religious books are filled with obsolete beliefs, many of which were contradicted by his religious observances. He had a keen sense of humour and was easily pleased. He loved eating and drinking, music and dancing, and festivals and processions, and display of all sorts and kinds, and he enjoyed himself whenever an opportunity offered. Over and over again the living are exhorted to eat and drink and enjoy themselves. His morality was of the highest kind, and he thoroughly understood his duty towards his neighbour. He was kindly and humane, he fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirsty, lent a boat to the shipwrecked man, protected the widows and orphans, and fed the starving animals of the desert. He loved his village and his home, and rejoiced when he was "loved by his father, praised by his mother, and beloved by his brothers and sisters." He was a hard worker, as the taxes wrung from him by tax-gatherers and priests in all periods testify. He was intensely superstitious, and was easily duped by the magician and the medicine man, who provided him with spells and incantations and amulets of all kinds. He was slow to anger and disliked military service and war. His idea of heaven was the possession of a homestead in a fertile district, with streams of water and luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, fruit, &c., wherein he would live a life of leisure surrounded by all those whom he had known and loved upon earth. He had no wish to enlarge the borders of Egypt, except for the loot which raids brought in; he never sought to bestow the blessings of Egyptian civilisation upon other lands, and he never indulged in missionary enterprises of any kind. His religious toleration was great. He was content to serve God and Pharaoh, and he wished above all things to be allowed to till his land and do his own business in his own way in peace. The ideas of the modern free and independent "young Egyptian" were unknown

to him, and he had no "national spirit," and yet the influence of his beliefs and religion, and literature, and arts and crafts on the civilisation of other nations can hardly be overestimated. In one of the least known periods of the world's history he proclaimed the deathlessness of the human soul, and his country has rightly been named the "land of immortality."

CHAPTER IX

EMBALMING, TOMBS, FUNERARY CEREMONIES, AND THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD

How the earliest inhabitants of the Nile Valley disposed of the bodies of their dead is unknown, but it is probable that the greater number of them were thrown out into the "bush," or desert, to be eaten by wild beasts. It is certain also that cannibalism was practised, and that one village community ate the dead of the other, a custom that seems to have existed in many parts of Africa from time immemorial. Attempts were made, no doubt, to preserve the bodies of the chiefs of clans, or tribes, and those of great warriors and men of distinction in primitive society, but we have no certain information on this point. In the latter part of the New Stone Age the dead were laid in very shallow pits made on the outermost edge of the cultivated land, or in the desert itself, and the state of the human remains found in them suggests that they had never been embalmed in any way. Just before and for some centuries after the beginning of the Dynastic Period bodies were buried in a contracted position, *i.e.* they lay on their left side with the legs bent upwards in such a way that the knees almost touched the chin, and the elbows were bent, and the hands held up towards the face. Soon after the end of the first dynasty attempts seem to have been made to preserve the body systematically, and a simple form of embalming came into use. It is possible that these attempts may have been the result of the development of the cult of Osiris, whose priests proclaimed the resurrection of the body. In other words, every man's body became an object of great value to him, for out of it, in some way, was developed his

new body, which was to live in the kingdom of Osiris. No process of embalmment, however simple, was unattended with expense, and therefore the bodies of slaves and of the poorer classes of the people were disposed of in the old manner. Under the third and fourth dynasties the art of embalming developed, and the dead were no longer laid on their left sides, but stretched out at full length on their backs. As soon as the embalmer began to bandage the body with strips of linen, instead of wrapping it up in a reed mat, or in the skin of an animal, the contracted position became impossible and had to be abandoned.

During dynasties IV-VI the kings, and certain members of their families, and some of the highest officials were elaborately embalmed and swathed with linen bandages before burial. These facts are proved by the fragmentary remains of Menkaurā (fourth dynasty) now in the British Museum, and by the royal mummies that were found in some of the Pyramids of Sakkārah, and that used to be exhibited in the Egyptian Museum at Būlāk in Cairo, and by the following statement that is cut on the front of the tomb of Sabna at Aswān. Sabna's father, who was called Mekhu, died, or was killed, when he was on a mission in Nubia in the reign of Pepi II. When Sabna learned this, he set out with soldiers, and one hundred asses, and gifts for the Nubian chiefs, and in due course he reached the place where his father died, and found his body. He made a coffin for it, and brought it back to Aswān, where he found the messengers, whom he had sent to inform the king of what had happened, returning from Memphis with embalmers and the chief Kher-heb (see p. 182), and with holy oil and linen, and all the materials necessary for embalming Mekhu's body. Thus we have definite proof that under the sixth dynasty there existed at Memphis a body of professional embalmers of the dead, and, as they went to remote Aswān by the king's orders to embalm Mekhu, we may conclude that they went to other parts of the country to embalm the bodies of the royal friends to which the king was pleased to grant burial. And we may note the filial piety that made Sabna to travel far into Nubia

and bring back his father's body for embalment, whereon depended its resurrection.

Under the twelfth dynasty the art of embalming reached a very high pitch of perfection. They found a way of removing the flesh from the body so thoroughly that the mummies¹ of this period often consist of little more than bones and sinews. The internal organs, which in the earliest times seem to have been thrown away, or wrapped in linen cloths smeared with preservative unguents, &c., were at this period carefully embalmed and placed in four vessels, commonly called "Canopic jars," made of stone, or earthenware, or wood. Each jar represented one of the four sons of Horus, who embalmed his father Osiris, and had a cover made in the form of the head of that god; these four sons of Horus were confounded with four very much older Horus-gods, who presided over the four quarters of the world and represented the four cardinal points. The four embalming gods were called Mesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf, and had the heads of a man, a dog-headed ape, a jackal, and a hawk respectively. The organs placed in the jars were the stomach and large intestines, the small intestines, the heart and lungs, and the liver and gall bladder. When the jars were filled the covers were fastened on, and all four were put in a box that contained four cavities and was mounted on a sledge. The goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serqet were associated with the four sons of Horus in protecting the contents of the four jars, and copies of the spells which they recited, and which are often cut in hieroglyphs on the jars, form part of the CL1st Chapter of the Theban Book of the Dead. The box containing the Canopic jars is often seen in pictures of the funeral procession being drawn along behind the coffin.

Under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties the art of embalming the dead culminated. The wealth of Egypt was at this time so great, and all classes of people were so prosperous, that many were able to afford the luxury of embalment for their relatives. The mummies of kings and high

¹ The word "mummy" is derived from the name of the substance, *mūmya*, *i.e.* bitumen, which in late times was used in embalming the body.

officials were made and bandaged with great skill, and the fact that many mummies of this period have come down to us in the most perfect state of preservation proves how efficient the embalmers were thirty-five centuries ago. If a good specimen be unrolled it will be found that every toe and every finger has been bandaged separately, and that from first to last the amount of linen required for swathings, pledgets, pads, and sheets for the final coverings is very large indeed. The unguents and the spices, *e.g.* myrrh, cassia, &c., which were brought from foreign parts, were very expensive items, and it is clear that only the wealthy could pay for high-class embalming, to say nothing of the elaborate funerary furniture for the tomb and the tomb itself. Herodotus mentions three kinds of embalming, and Diodorus, who also refers to three kinds, says that the first cost a talent of silver (about £250), the second twenty minæ (about £60), and that the cost of the third kind was nominal. In the first kind the brain was extracted through the nose, and the viscera were removed through a hole cut in the left side of the body; the choicest unguents and medicaments were then used in treating the body, which, having been sewn up, was steeped in natron for seventy days, and then bandaged and put in a coffin. In the second kind the treatment of the body was much less elaborate, and very few expensive medicaments were used; in the third kind little more was done to the body than steep it in natron for seventy days. There must have been many poor folk who could not afford even this treatment for their dead; for these the evisceration and drying of the body in the sun would probably suffice. Under the later dynasties bodies were embalmed by being steeped in bitumen, and instances are recorded of the dead being preserved in honey, *e.g.* Alexander the Great. The Greek and Roman settlers in Egypt often had their dead embalmed in the Egyptian way, as had some of the Egyptian Christians, or Copts, who also preserved many of the funerary customs of their non-Christian ancestors. It is doubtful if embalming was generally practised after the third century A.D.

Whatever may have been the views held by the Egyptians

of the Old and New Stone Ages as to the probabilities of a future life, it is quite certain that from first to last the Dynastic Egyptians believed in the resurrection of the dead in some kind of body, and this was the chief reason why they embalmed the dead and, little by little, raised up the elaborate system of the worship of the dead, of which so many remains have come down to us. There were probably many Egyptians in all periods who believed in the resurrection of the physical body, otherwise several of the ceremonies that were performed in the tomb have no meaning, and in this case many chapters in each Recension of the Book of the Dead were copied and buried uselessly with the dead for four thousand years or more. On the other hand, there were many who thought that the body always remained on the earth, and that the soul and other immaterial entities in it left it and departed to heaven, where they took up their abode in a sort of immaterial shape or form, which was somehow derived from the body whence they came. The texts state that when a man was born into the world he possessed a *khat*, or material body, and three principal spirit entities called KA, BA, and KHU, or AAKHU. The word KA represents a purely African conception of a spirit-being, and because this conception is wholly foreign to Western minds, and unknown to us, the word describing it can only be translated with approximate correctness. The commonest renderings proposed for "Ka," from about 1840 onwards, are "double, genius, effigy, statue, image, person, idol, guardian angel, or spirit, or god, the principle of life and material strength, totem," &c.; and many of these renderings describe certain aspects of the "Ka" at different periods. In the earliest times the Ka of a man was that portion of the corporate life of his clan, or tribe, or community, which was incarnate in him. In dynastic times it was believed to leave the body at death, and meat, and drink, and shelter had to be provided for it by the kinsmen of the deceased. If food offerings were not made to it in the Ka-chapel by the Ka-servant, it would either have to live upon offal or perish. In the Ptolemaic Period the idea of the Ka had

changed greatly in the minds of the Egyptians, and it then seems to have been regarded as a sort of benevolent guardian angel. The BA was the heart or animal-soul, and the KHU was the spirit-soul, and together they formed the dual-soul, the original conception of which is African. The seat of the Ba was the heart, and it possessed a KHAIBIT, or "Shadow," another essentially African conception, and was very intimately connected with the KA. The Shadow left the body with the Ka and the dual-soul, and shared the fate of the Ba. The Ba returned to the earth and often visited the body in the tomb; this is proved by several drawings on funerary papyri in which the Ba, in the form of a man-headed hawk, is seen flying down the pit of the tomb and hovering over the mummy. Often it perched on a tree, which was probably planted specially for its use, as we see from the following extract from the Stele of Nekht-Menu: "May they (the gods) permit me to go into and come out from my tomb. May my majesty refresh its SHADOW. May I drink water out of my cistern each day. May all my limbs flourish. May the Nile give me bread and green herbs of every kind in their season. May I pass over my estate daily. May my Ba alight upon the branches of the trees which I have planted. May I refresh myself under my sycamore-fig trees and eat of the food which they give. May I possess my mouth wherewith to speak like the Shemsu Heru (*i.e.* the Followers of Horus). May I come forth out of heaven and descend upon the earth. Let me not be imprisoned by the way. Let there not be done unto me what my Ka hateth, and let not my Ba be held in restraint."

Often the Ba used the inscribed stele in the tomb as a resting-place, and the Egyptians may have thought, like the Chinese, that souls lived in the stelæ. A good example of the Ba resting on the stele is supplied by a painted wooden funerary tablet in the British Museum (No. 8468). Several of the pyramids at Meroë still exhibit the little cavity, with a stone ledge, which in one face, near the top, was specially made for the soul of the dead king to alight upon when it came

to visit its body under the pyramid. In many parts of Africa at the present day the natives, when making a tomb, make a small shaft leading to the surface from the actual cavity in which the body lies, so that the soul may pass up and down it whenever it pleases.

What forms were taken by the Ba and the Khu in the Other World is not known. The Ba, as we have seen, is represented as a man-headed hawk, and the Khu by a bird of the heron class, but they cannot have appeared in heaven in these forms. In papyri and on stelæ the blessed are given the forms of human beings, and are arrayed in fine apparel, and wear necklaces, pectorals, armlets, bracelets, and anklets, and white sandals. This proves that the Egyptians believed that the form of body given to the blessed at their resurrection was that of the mortal body which they had had in this world. But whether the resurrection body was believed to be a transformed mortal body, or an emanation from it, the texts do not help us to decide. That the future life of a man was believed to depend upon the preservation of the physical body in a complete form is beyond question.

Whilst the body of a royal personage or man or woman of high rank was being embalmed a priest stood by and watched the process. As each bandage was applied and at each anointing of the limbs he recited a spell, or, as we should say, prayer, the object of which was to place the members under the protection of the gods and goddesses, and to make the spirits of the oils and drugs operate with the best possible results.¹ The names of the divine protectors of the members of the dead are enumerated in Chapter XLII of the Book of the Dead. In addition to these prayers the various parts and internal organs of the body were protected by a series of amulets, each of which had its appointed place. These were made of gold, gilded wood or wax, valuable stones of various kinds, *e.g.* carnelian, lapis-lazuli, hæmatite, mother-of-emerald, porcelain, glass

¹ Specimens of these will be found in the companion work on *Egyptian Literature*, p. 104.

paste, &c., and were placed either directly on, or inside, the body, or laid between the folds of the linen swathings. The number of amulets so employed varies. Frequently they are four in number, and consist of figures of the four sons of Horus made of wax, or porcelain, or glass. From the twentieth dynasty onwards as many as forty amulets are found on one mummy, and in the Ptolemaic Period a tradition was current that the body of Osiris had been protected by one hundred and four amulets. Perhaps the most important of all such amulets was the large green basalt scarab, on the base of which was cut Chapter XXXB of the Book of the Dead, which was placed inside the body under the breast, or upon it outside. In many cases a simple scarab mounted in a ring, and worn on one of the fingers of the left hand, took the place of the large "heart-scarab." Sometimes a long roll of papyrus inscribed with numerous chapters from the Book of the Dead was placed by the side of the body or laid between its legs before the final bandaging, and such a roll was regarded as a very great protection for the dead. The bandages of many of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, *e.g.* Amen-hetep I and Thothmes III, were covered with texts from the Book of the Dead written in black ink, and the mummy of the priestess Hent-meht, now in the British Museum, when found was wrapped entirely in papyrus swathings inscribed with a hieratic version of the Book of the Dead.

The decorating of mummies began under the influence of the priests of Amen. In olden times the outer covering of a mummy consisted of a sheet of flaxen cloth, or linen of rather fine texture, which was kept in its place by one perpendicular and three horizontal linen bands; in later times a sheet of salmon-coloured cloth formed the final covering. Under the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty mummies began to be enclosed within cases made of linen stiffened with lime plaster, which were moulded to the outlines of the mummy, and then laced up the back. On the fronts were painted religious and mythological scenes, in which the deceased is seen adoring the gods or sitting with them, magical symbols,

&c. Under the twenty-sixth dynasty mummies were often covered with large sheets of blue bead-work, which symbolised the heavens. At the end of the Ptolemaic Period the wealthy caused a wooden panel, on which a portrait of the deceased was painted, to be fastened on to the bandages over the face of the mummy, so that visitors to the tomb might know at once whose mummy they were looking upon. At this time some families kept their mummies with painted portraits in their dwelling-houses, so that they might see the presentments of the faces of their loved ones at will. Finally, in the latter part of the Roman Period, mummies of wealthy persons were wrapped in sheets of silk. The mummies found at Akhmim (Panopolis) in Upper Egypt were wrapped in large linen coverings, in which designs were woven in various dark-coloured threads, or worked upon them after the cloth was woven. The bandages or outer coverings of Christian mummies are often ornamented with crosses in which the old Egyptian symbol of "life" is merged, and with doves, symbolic of the Holy Ghost.

To ensure further the preservation of the dead, the embalmed body in the case of a king or great personage was provided with a SARCOPHAGUS and wooden shell COFFIN, the earliest forms of which were rectangular. The sarcophagus was usually made of stone, and its ornamentation varied at different periods. In the earliest times its sides were ornamented with architectural reliefs, reproductions of "false doors," and other portions of the early tomb; in later times figures of the gods were sculptured upon the ends and sides, and inscriptions were added. The oldest wooden sarcophagi are of the same shape as those of stone, and under the eleventh and twelfth dynasties their insides were often covered with religious texts describing the Other World, and coloured drawings of the Islands of the Blessed, and of the regions to be traversed before reaching them. The texts often contain long extracts from the funerary compositions cut on the insides of five pyramids at Sakkārah (Pyramid Texts), and from the "Book of the Two Ways," and from an early Recension of the Book of the Dead, in which

large portions of these works were incorporated. Some time between the twelfth and the eighteenth dynasties it became customary to make coffins in the form of a man, and to provide them with models of human faces. The coffins of the eighteenth dynasty are usually brightly painted and decorated, and those of the priests and priestesses of Amen are covered with religious and mythological scenes, many of them being of great interest. The mummies of some kings, queens, and people of high rank were provided with a stone or wooden sarcophagus and two inner wooden coffins, usually covered inside and out with characteristic coloured drawings and texts. Some of the inner coffins are beautifully inlaid with hieroglyphs made of coloured glass paste, and with figures of the gods also made of glass paste. Many of the inner coffins of the priests and priestesses of Amen bear on the front the prenomen, or throne name, of Amen-hetep I, the founder of the priesthood of Amen, and one of the greatest benefactors of the order. The coffins of the twenty-first dynasty do not exhibit such good work as that of the three preceding dynasties, but their decoration is quite characteristic, and illustrates the influence of the cult of Amen upon funerary artistic work. During the following dynasties the art of coffin making and decorating decayed, and we no longer find the careful workmanship of an older period. The form of the coffin is much less exact, the colours are more crude, and the artistic work is of a poor character. Many coffins have a plinth up the back to resemble the Tet of Osiris, and on the insides large figures of the goddesses Nut, Hathor, and Amentet are painted. All man-shaped coffins intended for the mummies of men had beards attached to the faces; all the beards were more or less pointed, and were intended to represent the characteristic beards of those traditional ancestors of the Egyptians who came from Punt in the Egyptian Sūdān. After the twenty-sixth dynasty wooden coffins are very large and badly made, and it is evident that the painted scenes and inscriptions were executed by unskilled workmen in a hurry. On the other hand, many handsome well-cut and polished

limestone and granite man-shaped coffins of this period prove that some skilled funerary masons still survived. The massive stone sarcophagi of this period, which have been found chiefly in Lower Egypt, are very fine, and those intended for royal personages, or great priestly officials, are beautifully decorated on the inside with large numbers of figures of the gods carefully cut and polished, and on the outsides with scenes and hieroglyphic texts from the Book Am Tuat. In the Græco-Roman period coffins are rectangular in shape, and the texts upon them are usually extracts from late funerary compositions based upon the Book of the Dead. A new kind of sarcophagus also came into use. A large rectangular board was prepared, about 7 or 8 feet long and 2 or 3 feet broad, and having been painted with figures of the gods and sacred symbols, the mummy was laid upon it. Over it was then placed a deep, rectangular vaulted cover, with an upright post at each corner, and the ends of the four uprights sank into holes specially cut for them in the board on which the mummy lay. The outside of the cover was painted with figures of the gods and sacred animals worshipped at this period, and on the framework hieroglyphic inscriptions were cut. The coffins and sarcophagi of this period had to be made very large, because the art of making small, well-proportioned mummies had died out, and the large, shapeless bundles which mummies had now become would not fit coffins of the ordinary size. In the early centuries of the Christian era the inscription containing the name and genealogy of the deceased is often in Greek, and among the figures of the gods are to be found those of the gods of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac, and of the Thirty-six Dekan Stars, besides several which have not been satisfactorily identified.

Having briefly described the making of various kinds of mummies, and the principal kinds of coffins in which they were placed, the kinds of graves and tombs to which they were finally consigned must now be mentioned. The earliest graves in Egypt are shallow hollows dug in the ground, large enough to hold the skeleton or the body, whether buried

lying at full length on its back, or on its side with the knees up to the chin; the offerings made to the dead in the earliest times were probably laid on the grave. What the earliest royal tombs were like is not known, but the kings of the first dynasty were buried in tombs of very considerable size. Thus the tomb of King Āha at Nakādah in Upper Egypt was 175 feet long and 88 feet wide; it contained twenty-one chambers, and the middle chamber of the middle row was probably the mummy chamber. It was built of unbaked bricks, and mud was used for mortar. Among its ruins were broken marble and earthenware vessels, flints, redware vases, and many miscellaneous objects, among them being the inscribed ivory plaque that has been said to contain the original form of the name of Mena (Menes), the first dynastic king of Egypt. A remarkable royal tomb of the third dynasty is that of King Tcheser at Bēt Khallāf in Upper Egypt. The portion of the building above ground is 26 feet high, 278 feet long, and 146 feet wide; from the top of it stairs lead down to the chambers, which are 80 feet below the surface of the ground, and which, when excavated, were found to contain wine jars and large numbers of broken stone vessels of various shapes and kinds. This same king built another tomb for himself at Sakkārah in the form of an oblong pyramid, with six steps, about 200 feet high, the north and south sides at the base being each 352 feet long, and the east and west sides being each 396 feet long. It contains many chambers, several of which were beautifully decorated, but the king's mummy was not buried in this pyramid.

Under the fourth dynasty the most stupendous of all the Egyptian Royal Tombs were built, namely, the pyramids of Khufu, Khāfrā, and Menkaurā, commonly known as the Pyramids of Gīzah. The stones for building them were obtained in the quarries of Tūrah, on the east bank of the Nile, about eight miles from the site of the pyramids. They were taken down to the Nile and ferried across in large, flat-bottomed barges, and having been unloaded from the barges, they were dragged on sledges up the road to the rocky plateau

on which the pyramids are built. Here the stones were dressed and laid in position, one row on the other. No great and elaborate machinery was used in this process, as some have imagined, for the Egyptians possessed nothing of the kind; the sledge, the inclined plane of sand, or ramp, the wedge, and lever, and the crowbar were the principal instruments used in building the pyramids. On the north side of the pyramid a large funerary temple was built, and here service for the dead was performed daily, and offerings to the dead were received. Round about each pyramid were the tombs of the great officials who had served its builder during their lifetime, and if we examine these we find that they contain all the essential parts of a good tomb, and that the same principle underlies both the pyramid of the king and the tomb of the official. In the case of the pyramid the mummy chamber is usually under the centre of the building, and is approached by means of one or more corridors, which could be blocked at the ends; the funerary temple outside the pyramid was intended primarily for the deposit of the offerings by which priests and temple servants were maintained. The tomb of the nobleman of the pyramid period consisted of a low, rectangular building, with sides that sloped inwards towards the top, and with a door on one side; in this building the offerings to the dead were made, and commemorative services performed. The common name for such a tomb is *mastabah*, and is derived from an Arabic word meaning "bench." Inside this building is a pit or shaft, which varies in depth, and at the bottom of it is a very short passage leading into the rectangular chamber in which lay the mummy in its sarcophagus. The rectangular building of the *mastabah* is the equivalent of the funerary temple of the pyramid; the pit is represented by the corridor, whether horizontal or sloping upwards or downwards, of the pyramid, and the mummy chamber is the same in each. In the *mastabah*, low down in the west wall, is a stele, which is always inscribed. At its foot on the ground are usually found a tablet for offerings, made of granite or some kind

of sandstone or alabaster, and two obelisks, or two stands for offerings. Hewn in one of the walls is a long, narrow hollow called a *serdab*, in which the Ka statue of the dead man was placed; it communicates with the chamber by means of a very narrow passage, through which the smell of the offerings and sacrifices was supposed to reach this figure. The depth of the pit in the mastabah tomb varies from 40 to 80 feet. The insides of the walls of the mastabah chambers are often decorated with painted scenes illustrating events in the life of the dead man, agricultural operations on his estates, the performance of funeral ceremonies, the celebration of religious festivals, the transport of funerary offerings to the tomb, &c. These scenes were painted, no doubt, during the lifetime of the owner of the tomb, and they are most valuable sources of information about the manners and customs of the people in that remote epoch. The art of building both pyramids and mastabahs attained its highest level under the fourth dynasty, but shortly afterwards decay set in, and sepulchral work of all kinds became inferior both as regards design and execution. Under the sixth dynasty pyramids became small relatively, and few which contain religious texts, with the exception of those of Unas, Teta, Pepi I, Merenrā, and Pepi II, are of interest.

In all succeeding periods the tombs made for kings and noblemen consist of a hall for offerings, a pit or corridor leading directly to the mummy chamber, and a mummy chamber. Under the twelfth dynasty the tombs of the wealthy often took the form of a small pyramid about 30 feet high, which rested on a brick base a few feet in height; the mummy was buried either in a cavity in the masonry, or in a small chamber under the building. Sometimes the pyramidal part of the tomb rests upon a rectangular chamber with walls sloping inwards, after the manner of a mastabah. In some places, *e.g.* Beni Hasan and Aswān, large and fine tombs were hewn by feudal families high up in the sides of the limestone or sandstone hills, tier above tier, and each of these consisted of the offering chamber,

the pit, and the mummy chamber. The coffins and sarcophagi were dragged up an inclined plane made of stones with steps running up the middle of it from bottom to top for the use of those who did the hauling; on each side of the steps the face of the inclined plane was carefully smoothed so that sledges might move along upwards without difficulty. The only complete example of such a "stairway" now in Egypt is found at Aswān. Many tombs of this period are decorated with long series of scenes in which the principal events in the lives of those for whom they were made are represented, and these throw great light upon the manners and customs of the Egyptians. Many of them also contain biographies of the dead, cut or painted in hieroglyphs, which are of the greatest value because of the historical information contained in them.

The tombs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, both royal and private, have all the essential characteristics of those of the earlier periods, but in detail they vary very much. The largest and finest of them all are the tombs of the kings that lie in two valleys of Western Thebes, and the oldest royal tomb is that of Thothmes I. As the wealth of the dynasty increased the tombs grow larger and larger, and the mummy chamber is hewn deeper and deeper in the mountain. The corridors are of increased length, and to them are added numerous chambers, the exact purpose of which is not very clear, but many of them must have been used by the priests when performing the ceremonies connected with the worship of the dead kings. The walls of the corridors and chambers are decorated with figures of gods, often beautifully drawn and painted, and with the scenes and descriptive texts of two illustrated "guides" to the Other World, viz., the *Book AM TUAT* and the *Book OF GATES*. In the Hall of the tomb of Thothmes III a complete copy of the text of the former work written in hieratic covers the walls. In the tomb of Seti I the greater portion of each of these works is given, as well as the text of the "Praisings of Rā," and of several mythological legends, all in hieroglyphs, and large coloured figures of the

gods. In the tomb of Amen-hetep II are still to be seen the bodies of two of the wives of the king, who either were strangled or committed suicide when their lord was laid in the tomb.

The tombs of the nobles of the period, though not so large, are equally interesting, and many of them supply most valuable historical information. The wall paintings illustrate events of importance in the lives of the men for whom they were made, especially those that were calculated to impress the visitor to the tombs with a sense of their greatness and power. Thus the officer who was over the tribute is seen receiving gold, silver, precious stones, leopard skins, chairs, beds, ostrich feathers, &c. from the Sūdānī envoys, and gifts of vases and other products of the craftsman's skill from the envoys from Western Asia. The inscriptions in some tombs are far more valuable than the pictures, especially those that describe the works of the great architects, sculptors, and overseers of works who planned the buildings, and decorated the temple of Amen with gold, silver, bronze, and precious stones, and set up the magnificent obelisks and statues, and made Thebes under the eighteenth dynasty one of the most splendid cities in the world. As the wealth of Thebes declined funerary art declined also, and though royal and private tombs on a large scale were built under the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties the work of both sculptor and painter is poor and careless. The spirit of Egyptian funerary art was dead, and the gracefulness of the hieroglyphic characters had departed. Under the twenty-sixth dynasty when, through the influence of the Saïte kings, attempts were made to revive the art of the early dynasties, numerous tombs were built according to ancient plans, but they and the sarcophagi and other furniture in them lack the simplicity and dignity of the ancient models. In the Græco-Roman Period the general plan and arrangement of the tomb changed greatly, the result probably of beliefs that were not of Egyptian origin.

We may now return to the mummy. When the embalm-

ing and bandaging of the body were ended, and the internal organs were embalmed and placed in the "Canopic" jars, the day was fixed for what we may call the funeral. Assuming that the dead man had belonged to the well-to-do class, and that he had lived on the east bank of the Nile, his mummy would be taken to the river and ferried over to the west bank, where most of the cemeteries were situated. There it was placed on a sledge under a brightly decorated canopy, and the funeral procession was formed. The Kher-heb priest or his assistants made the path ceremonially pure by sprinkling it with water in which natron had been dissolved, and by burning incense in a censer. The sledge was drawn along by the animals that were intended to be slain for the funeral feast, and as the procession moved on the wailing women filled the air with their cries of lamentation, and beat their faces and breasts. The rear was brought up by the servants of the dead man, who were laden with provisions for the funeral feast, and with the various articles that had been used by him and were going to be deposited with his mummy in the tomb. On arriving at the tomb, the mummy was lifted off the sledge and made to stand upright, and the family of the dead bade it farewell. Then the Kher-heb priest, clad in the leopard skin and wearing the garments prescribed for the occasion, stood up and recited passages from the Liturgy, and from compositions with contents similar to those of the First Chapter of the Book of the Dead. He then began to perform the ceremonies of "Opening the Mouth." Under the New Empire these were accompanied by the sprinkling of water and the burning of incense, and the presentations of a very long series of offerings. The priest touched the mouth of the mummy, or the statue that was sometimes substituted for it, with a flint or metal instrument, thus repeating what Horus did when he and Isis were trying to restore life to the body of Osiris. The words said by the priest as he touched the mouth with the instrument "opened the mouth" of the dead man, *i.e.* restored to him the use of all the natural functions of his body. Meanwhile the animals for sacrifice

had been slaughtered, and the heart and right fore leg of the bull (or ox or cow) were presented to the mouth of the mummy. Various kinds of wines, beers, and other articles of food were next presented ; and the words which the priest pronounced as he presented each were supposed to transform it into the hidden and secret body of Osiris, on which the gods and the spirits and souls of the righteous lived. When the dead man had partaken of these offerings by means of some mysterious and magical process, the resurrection of his spirit-body was supposed to have been effected. And when his family and kinsmen ate it this transformed food became to them a means of communion with their ancestors and with all the divine beings among whom they lived ; and for a season at least it made them " divine " also.

When all the ceremonies were ended the mummy was laid in the coffin and taken into the tomb and placed in the sarcophagus already there, and very special means were taken to protect it and to provide its KA with food. One of the most important ceremonies performed to protect it is described in Chapter CXXXVIIA of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. Four figures, each of which had one of the names of the Four Pillars, or Sons, of Horus written upon its shoulder, held in their hands lighted torches made of a special kind of cloth dipped in Libyan unguent, and after they had been burning for some time each was extinguished in an earthenware vessel that was filled with the milk of a white cow. The object of this ceremony was to make the dead man " imperishable," and to make his heart soul to come forth from his body, and to strengthen the spirit soul, and to make it " to flourish like Osiris for ever and ever," and to make the dead man to assume the form of Osiris in the eyes of all the dwellers in the Other World. When this ceremony was performed no one except the ministrant was to be present, save perhaps the father or son of the dead man, for it " was an exceedingly great mystery of Amentet," and it was a " type of the mysteries of the Land of the God." In each wall of the tomb was a

cavity, wherein was placed a powerful amulet that prevented hostile fiends and devils from approaching the walls. In the west wall a crystal Tet, mounted on a mud brick, was placed, facing the east. In the east wall a figure of Anubis, made of mud and incense and mounted on a mud brick, was placed, facing the west. In the south wall a reed filled with incense, and smeared with pitch and lighted, and mounted on a mud brick, was placed, facing the north. In the north wall a palm-wood figure of a man seven fingers high, mounted on a mud brick, was placed, facing the south. Each brick was inscribed with a special formula, and when the four bricks, &c. had been placed in their places the cavities were walled up. This ceremony was only effectual when performed by a holy man, who was ceremonially clean, and who had eaten neither meat nor fish, nor had had intercourse with women. The rubric referring to the palm-wood figure orders the priest to "open its mouth," *i.e.* to perform on it on behalf of the dead the very ancient ceremony that was believed to restore to him all the natural functions of the body.

The offerings of meat, drink, fruit, flowers, unguents, &c., which the living were obliged to bring regularly to the tomb, were provided, in the case of kings and members of royal families and the old feudal lords and noblemen, by endowments, and in early times the revenues of certain lands and farms were settled upon tombs in perpetuity. But such endowments were often alienated, and often came to an end through some perfectly legitimate cause, and then the kinsfolk of the dead were obliged to provide the offerings necessary at their own expense. Every pious man felt it to be his duty to do all in his power to maintain the lives of his ancestors in the Other World, and this could only be done by presenting offerings to their tombs. Moreover, the giving of offerings procured for the giver the favour of the gods, and he not only accumulated credit in heaven by his piety, but received the gifts of health and prosperity upon earth. And what a man did for his father his son would do for him. Now experience showed the Egyptian

that very large numbers of tombs were soon neglected by the living, who not only failed to bring offerings to the dead, but who also allowed the funerary chapels to fall into ruin. To avoid the terrible effects of such neglect the help of religious magicians was called in. The priest composed a formula in which the Earth-god Keb, or Anpu (Anubis), or Osiris, or any other god who at that time was considered to be a god of the dead, was called upon to provide the dead man with cakes and ale, and oxen and geese, and unguents, in short, with every thing which he needed. This formula was cut or painted on sepulchral stelæ in all periods and on the wooden figures, coffers, &c., that were placed in the tomb. When the dead man in the tomb found that offerings were not brought to him, it was intended that this formula should be recited by him as a word of power, and as he recited it men believed that the offerings mentioned in the spell actually appeared in the tomb. The same result was supposed to be brought about by any visitor to the tomb who recited the formula that was written on the stele in it. The collective name for sepulchral offerings was *pert kheru*, i.e. "things which appear at the word." The formula mentioned above was from the fourth dynasty onwards preceded by the words *Nesu ta hetep*, meaning "the King gives an offering." They were cut in tombs and on stelæ first of all when the king gave permission for the bodies of his friends to be buried in tombs, and when he sent an offering as a contribution towards the funeral feast. As time went on and burials in tombs became common in all parts of Egypt, it was obvious that the king could not send gifts for every funeral feast celebrated in the land. But the innate conservatism of the Egyptian made him continue to prepare his sepulchral word of power with the words *Nesu ta hetep* for many centuries after they had ceased to have any meaning.

The worship of the dead was one of the chief characteristics of the Egyptian Religion, and it expressed itself by the gift of funerary offerings. The worship of the gods seems to have been of secondary importance, for all the

services held in the great funerary temples were performed for the benefit of dead kings, and most of those held in the temples of gods like Ptah, Rā and Amen-Rā, were performed for the benefit of the living king, the part-divine and part-human Pharaoh. One of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, Amen-hetep III, went so far as to set up a statue to himself as a god in the temple of Sūlb in Nubia, and on a bas-relief there this king is actually seen worshipping his own image! There is no proof that any king of Egypt ever built a temple in which the PEOPLE were intended to worship God and God alone, and there is no evidence that public worship in our sense of the word was ever performed in any temple of Ancient Egypt.

CHAPTER X

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

THE primitive inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile probably divided the year into two seasons, Summer and Winter. As time went on they found it to be absolutely necessary for successful agricultural operations to know the periods of the year in which to expect the inundation, and with this object in view they probably tried to make use of the period of the moon. They soon discovered, however, that the moon was very little or no use for this purpose, because her periods do not divide the year with exactitude. At some period, probably before the rule of the dynastic kings, they came to the conclusion that the year contained 360 days, which they divided into twelve months, each containing 30 days, and so made a calendar. Some think that the adoption of this calendar by the Egyptians took place about 4241 B.C. A little experience showed the Egyptians that the year of 360 days was too short, and they therefore added five days more to it, thus making their year to contain 365 days. The year of 360 days was divided into *three seasons* called Akhet, Pert, and Shemu, which began about our July 19, November 15, and March 15 respectively. The five days added yearly were called the "5 days over the year." But as the true year contains nearly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days the Egyptians found that their year was practically a day short of the true year every fourth year. And as time went on their year would work backwards until at length the summer of their calendar would coincide with the winter of the true year, and the winter with the summer. The Egyptians were far too skilful agriculturists to allow the

shortness of their year of 365 days to upset their farming plans, and it is only fair to assume that they had some rough-and-ready, though sure, ways of knowing the right time for sowing their fields. Some think that they were acquainted with the *SOTHIC YEAR*, *i.e.* the year which began on the day when Sothis, or the Dog Star (Sirius), rose with the sun, *i.e.* on July 19 or 20, but there is no evidence that the early dynastic Egyptians knew anything about the Sothic Period (*i.e.* the length of time between two risings of Sothis with the sun, or 1460 Sothic years, each containing $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, or 1461 true, *i.e.* solar years), or that they ever made, or were capable of making, the elaborate calculations which the use of the Sothic Period would have necessitated.

Whether the Egyptians were acquainted with the Sothic Period or not matters little, for this Period is useless in assisting us to assign a date to the beginnings of Egyptian civilisation, and the existing Egyptian monuments do not help us, as the following facts will show. The King-List of Abydos contains 76 names of kings, but we know that many other kings reigned during the first eighteen dynasties besides those it mentions. The Tablet of Sakkārah contains 50 names, and, like the King-List of Abydos, it does not give the lengths of the reigns of the kings whose names occur on it. The Royal Papyrus of Turin (written about 1500 B.C.) contained about 300 names of kings, and the number of years of the reign of each, but, as many parts of it are wanting, it does not enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the total of the years of the reigns of the kings whose names appeared in it. Manetho's King-List is only known from copies of it made hundreds of years after his death, and these copies do not agree in their statements. Thus one version says that 561 kings reigned in 5524 years, and another gives the number of kings as 361, and their total length of reigns as 4480 or 4780 years! So long as the number of kings is unknown, and the order in which each succeeded is unknown, and the number of years which each reigned is unknown, it will be impossible to make up a

complete scheme of Egyptian Chronology, and this is the state of the case. The reason is that the Egyptians never wrote history in our sense of the word.

In predynastic times several kings probably reigned at the same time, each in his own district or petty kingdom. After the union of the South and the North under the king whom the Greeks called Menes, there were long intervals during which Egypt had only one king, but as soon as a strong king died, or a dynasty came to an end, one king, or more, at once appeared in each of the two great divisions of the country, and in times of anarchy the events of the predynastic period repeated themselves, for the great nobles promptly assumed the title of king, and every petty chief asserted his independence, and made war on his neighbour how and when he pleased. It is quite impossible to write the history of Dynasties VII-X, and Dynasties XIII-XVII, although the names of scores of kings of these dynasties are known, and every system of chronology dealing with these periods is purely theoretical. Even the order of succession of some of the best-known kings is uncertain, and this must always remain so, for very few kings of Egypt cared to perpetuate in any way the memory of the deeds of their predecessors. There was no common era by which either king or subject reckoned ; each king made his own era, and every event was dated by the years of his reign.

At the present time the dates proposed by Egyptologists for the reign of Menes, or the first dynastic king of Egypt, whatever his name may have been, are 5869, 5702, 5613, 5004, 4400, and 3315 B.C., that is to say, there is a difference of more than 2500 years between the highest and the lowest computations ! With these facts before them many readers will no doubt be inclined to distrust any and every statement they read on Egyptian chronology, but this is unnecessary, for all these computations are quite arbitrary. All the *evidence* now available goes to show that the civilisation of Egypt is very, very ancient, and that, from its beginning to the time when we have certain knowledge of it, many centuries must have elapsed. And, as indicating the exist-

ence of civilisation of a high class in Egypt at a very early period, the earliest date that has been proposed by any Egyptologist is, in my opinion, far more likely to be correct than such a date as 3315 B.C. The dynastic Egyptians themselves did not know how old their civilisation was, and in the nineteenth dynasty the scribes who drew up the draft of the King-List of Abydos were even uncertain about the spelling of the names of some of the earliest kings! It cannot be too clearly stated that every scheme of Egyptian chronology hitherto proposed for Dynasties I-XVII is largely guesswork, and it is difficult to see at present how any correct scheme can be formulated, for the necessary facts and figures are wanting. Similarly, it is impossible to state the true date of the beginning of the rule of the dynastic kings of Egypt. The difficulties of Egyptian chronology have been well considered by many Egyptologists, and those who hold moderate views on the subject think that the dynastic civilisation of Egypt lasted for a period of about 4000 or 4500 years. This view was substantially that held by the late Dr. Birch and the late Dr. Brugsch, and it seems to agree, on the whole, with the general trend of the evidence of the monuments and of Manetho; but in the light of the information derived from the Babylonian Chronicles the date of the eighteenth dynasty must be lowered from 1700 to 1600 B.C. Dr. Brugsch's system of chronology, with a few modifications, has therefore been adopted in this book, but in using it the reader should bear in mind the remarks above.

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LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL KINGS OF EGYPT

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

FROM THE STELE OF PALERMO

1.	6. Neheb
2. Seka	7. Uatchnār
3. Khaau	8. Mekha
4. Tau	9. a
5. Thesh	10. ff wanting

DYNASTIC PERIOD

FIRST DYNASTY, 4400 B.C.

1. ¹ Āha	5. Ten, or Semti (Hesepti)
2. Nārmer	6. Ātab (Āntchab)
3. Khent	7. Hu (?)
4. Tcha	8. Qā or Sen

SECOND DYNASTY

1. Hetepsekhemui	4. Sekhemab
2. Nebrā	5. Perabsen
3. Enneter	6. Sent

THIRD DYNASTY

1. Khāsekhem	4. Sanekht
2. Besh	5. Neferka
3. Tcheser	6. Seneferu ²

¹ The numerals do not always indicate the order of succession.

² He may have been the first king of the fourth dynasty.

FOURTH DYNASTY, 3700 B.C.

- | | | |
|-------------------|--|----------------------|
| 1. Sharu | | 4. Khāfrā (Khephren) |
| 2. Khufu (Kheops) | | 5. Menkaurā |
| 3. Tetefrā | | 6. Shepseskaf |

FIFTH DYNASTY

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. Userkaf | | 5. Nuserrā |
| 2. Sahurā | | 6. Menkauheru |
| 3. Neferarīkarā-Kakaa | | 7. Tetkarā-Assa |
| 4. Neferkarā-Shepseskarā | | 8. Unas |

SIXTH DYNASTY

- | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 1. Teta | | 4. Merenrā |
| 2. Ati | | 5. Pepi II |
| 3. Pepi I | | |

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES

[Of these nothing is known.]

NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

[These ruled at Herakleopolis; the names of some of the kings are given in the King-List of Abydos.]

THE ERPĀ ANTEF, GOVERNOR OF THEBES

ELEVENTH DYNASTY

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. Uahānkh | Antef-āa |
| 2. Nekhtnebtenefer | Antef |
| 3. Sānkhabtauī | Menthuhetep |
| 4. Nebtauira | Menthuhetep |
| 5. Nebhaprā | Menthuhetep |
| 6. Sānkhkarā | Menthuhetep |
| 7. Sekhā . . . rā | Menthuhetep. |

TWELFTH DYNASTY, 2400 B.C.

1. Sehetepabrā	Amenemrhāt I
2. Kheperkarā	Usertsen (or, Senusert) I
3. Nubkaurā	Amenemhāt II
4. Khākheperrā	Usertsen II
5. Khākaurā	Usertsen III
6. Maātenrā	Amenemhāt III
7. Maākherurā	Amenemhāt IV
8. Sebekneferurrā.	

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES

FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

HYKSOS, or SHEPHERD KINGS

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, 1600-1400 B.C.

1. Nebpehtirā	Aāhmes I.
2. Tcheserkarā	Amenhetep I.
3. Āakheperkarā	Tehutimes I.
4. Āakheperenrā	Tehutimes II.
5. Maātkarā	Hātshepset (Queen).
6. Menkheperrā	Tehutimes III.
7. Āakheperurā	Amenhetep II.
8. Menkheperurā	Tehutimes IV.
9. Nebmaātrā	Amenhetep III.
10. Neferkheperurā	Amenhetep IV (Khuenaten, or Aakhuenaten).
11. Ānkhkheperurā	Sāakarā-tcheserkheperu.
12. Nebkheperurrā	Tutānkhamen.
13. Kheperkheperurā-arimaāt	Ai.
14. Tcheserkheperurā-setepenrā	Heruemheb.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY, 1350-1200 B.C.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Menpehtirā | Rameses I. |
| 2. Menmaātrā | Seti I. |
| 3. Usermaātra-setepenrā | Rameses II. |
| 4. Baenrā-meriamen | Merenpthah (Menephtah). |
| 5. Menmarā-setepenrā-meriamen | Amenmeses. |
| 6. Khuenrā-setepenrā-arimaāt | Saptah Merenpthah. |
| 7. Seti II (?). | |

Arso, the Syrian.

TWENTIETH DYNASTY, 1200-1100 B.C.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Userkhārā-setepenrā-meriamen | Setnekht Merirā
Meriamen. |
| 2. Usermaātrā | Rameses III. |
| 3. Usermaātrā (or, Heqmaātrā) | Rameses IV. |
| 4. Usermaātrāsekheperenrā | Rameses V. |
| 5. Nebmaātrā-Ashttau | Rameses VI. |
| 6. Usermaātrāsetepenrā | Rameses VII. |
| 7. Usermaātrākhuenamen | Rameses VIII. |
| 8. Sekhaenrā-meriamen | Rameses IX. Saptah. |
| 9. Neferkarā-setepenrā | Rameses X. |
| 10. Khepermaātra-setepenra | Rameses XI. |
| 11. Usermaātenrā-setepenrā | Rameses XII. |

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY, 1100-966 B.C.

A. Reigning at Thebes (Priest-Kings)

1. Hemnetertepenamen Herheru.
2. Paiānkh.
3. Painetehem I.
4. Menkheperā.
5. Painetehem II.

B. Reigning at Tanis

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hetchkheperrā-setepenrā | Nesbanebtet (Smendes). |
| 2. Taakheperurā-setepenrā | Pasebkhānut I. |
| 3. Usermaātrā-setepenrā | Amenemapt. |
| 4. Neterkheperrā-setepenamen | Saamen. |
| 5. Āakheperrā-setepenamen | Pasebkhānut II. |

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY, 966–750 B.C. (about)

Buiuaua, a Libyan, founder of the dynasty.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Hetchkheperrā-setepenrā | Shashanq (Shishak) I. |
| 2. Sekhemkheperrā-setepenrā | Usarken (Osorkon) I. |
| 3. Usermaātrā-setepenamen | Thekleth I. |
| 4. Usermaātrā-setepenamen | Usarken II. Sa-Bast. |
| 5. Sekhemkheperrā-setepenamen | Shashanq II. |
| 6. Hetchkheperrā-setepenrā | Thekleth II. |
| 7. Usermaātrā-setepenrā | Shashanq III. |
| 8. Usermaātrā-setepenamen | Pamai. |
| 9. Āakheperrā | Shashanq IV. |

TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY, 750 (?)–733 (?), B.C.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Seherabrā | Petabast. |
| 2. Aakheperrā-setepenamen | Usarken III. |
| 3. Usermaātrā | Thekleth III. |
- About this time Piānkhī, king of Nubia, invaded Egypt and conquered it.

TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY, 733 (?) B.C.

Uahkarā Bakenrenef (Bocchoris).

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY, NUBIANS, 700 B.C.

Kashta (?)

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Neferkarā Meriamen | Shabaka (Sabaco) |
| 2. Tetkhāurā | Shabataka. |
| 3. Khuneferrātem | Taharqa (Tirhākāh). |
| 4. Bakarā | Tanutamen. |

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY, 666-527 B.C.

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Uahabrā | Psemthek (Psammetichus) I. |
| 2. Uhemabrā | Nekau (Necho). |
| 3. Neferabrā | Psemthek (Psammetichus) II. |
| 4. Hāāabrā | Uahabrā (Hophrā). |
| 5. Khnemabrā | Aāhmes (Amasis) II. |
| 6. Ānkhkaenrā | Psemthek (Psammetichus) III. |

TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY, PERSIANS, 527 B.C.

1. Mesutrā Kambathet (Cambyses).
2. Setutrā Antriush (Darius).
3. Khshiarsha (Xerxes), the Great Pharaoh.
4. Artakhshashes (Artaxerxes), the Great Pharaoh.
5. Userkhepesh Meri-Amenrā-neb-Hebt-neter-āa Antriusha (Darius) II.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY

Amyrtaios (on the authority of Manetho).

TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY, 399 B.C.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Baenrā meri-neteru | Naifāarut. |
| 2. Khnemmaātrā-setepenkhnemu | Haker. |
| 3. Userptah-setep-en-Rā | Psamut. |

THIRTIETH DYNASTY, 378 B.C.

1. Senetchemabrā-setepenamen Nekhteruheb (Nektanebus I).
2. Arimaātenrā Tcheher (Teôs) Setepenanher.
3. Kheperkarā Nekhtnebef (Nektanebus II).

MACEDONIANS, 340 B.C.

1. Setepenrā-meri-amen Alexander the Great, the son of Amen.
2. Userkarā-meri-amen Philip Arrhidaeus.
3. Hāāabrā-setepenamen Alexander II (of Egypt).

PTOLEMIES I-XVI., 305-30 B.C.

ROMANS, 30 B.C.-A.D. 378 (Theodosius I).

BYZANTINES, A.D. 395 (Arcadius)-610 (Heraclius I).

PERSIANS take Egypt 619; are expelled 629.

ARABS, A.D. 640-1517.

TURKS, 1517.

1798. Napoleon Bonaparte occupied Egypt.

1805. Muhammad Alī Pashā of Egypt.

1882. Battle of Tell al-Kabīr, and occupation of Egypt by the British.

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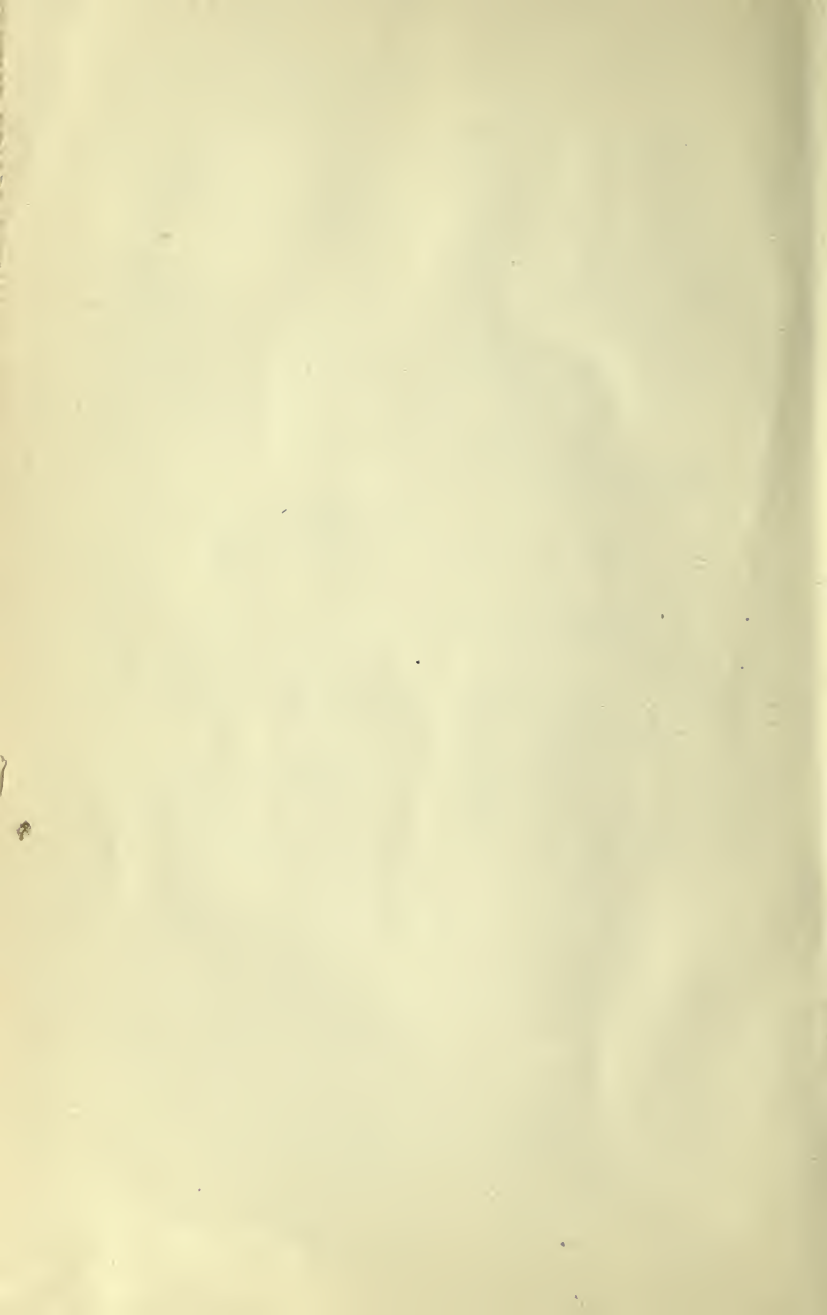
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