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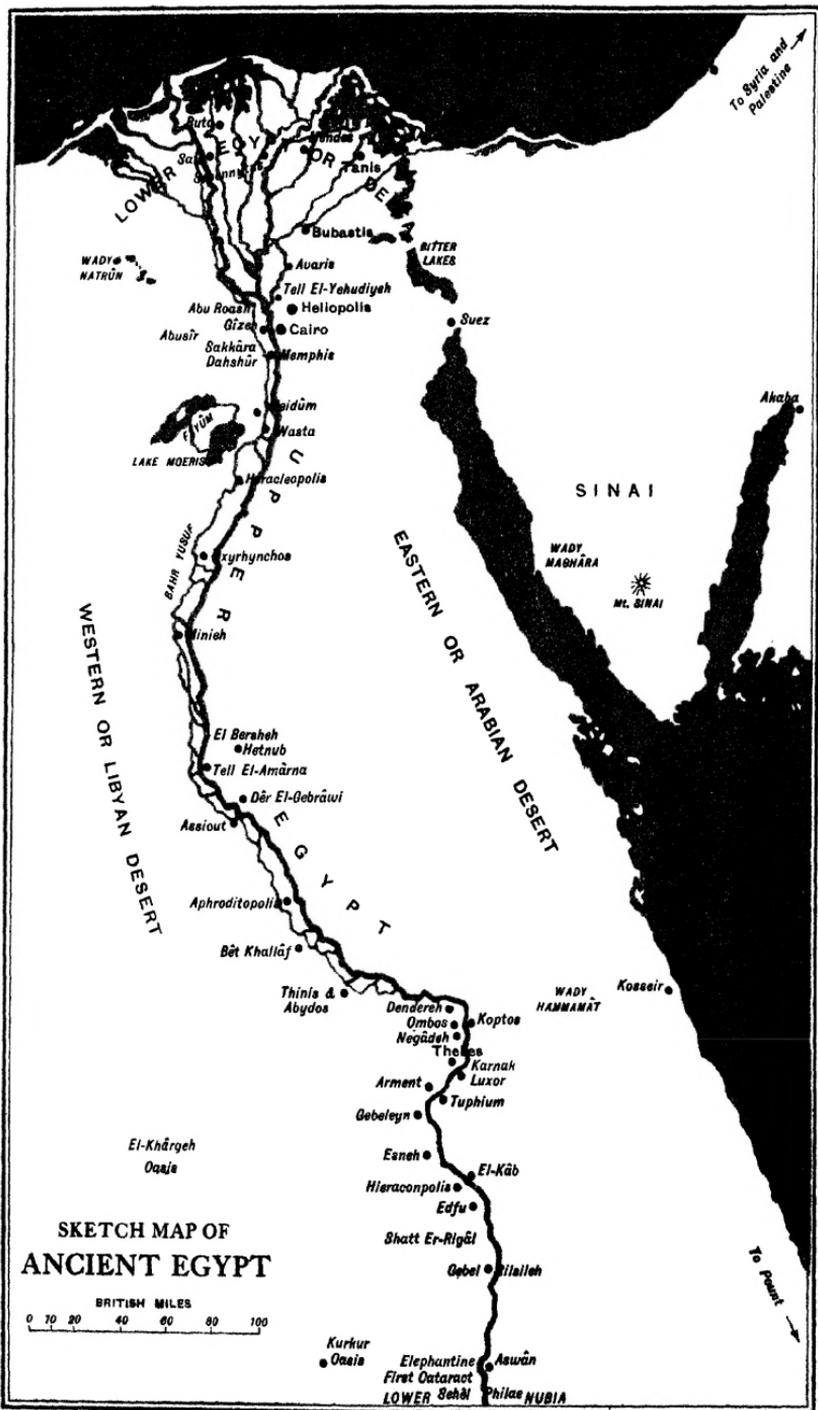
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THE FIRST ELEVEN DYNASTIES

BY
ARTHUR WEIGALL

Late Inspector-General of Antiquities, Egyptian
Government, and Member of the Catalogue Staff
of the Cairo Museum

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PREFACE

THE writing of a history of the ancient Pharaohs of Egypt consists, in the main, of the assembling and marshalling of vast numbers of isolated facts, and fitting them into a complete picture, in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle; but since the faded and often fragmentary condition of the thousands of separate pieces sometimes makes possible more than one arrangement, the historian is confronted, at the outset of his task, with the difficulty of deciding whether to present without comment the picture as he thinks it should be, and to let it go at that, or whether to cover it with notes and comments in explanation and justification of his arrangement. In fact, he has first to decide whether he shall write for the student or for the layman, or, greatly daring, shall attempt to write for both.

Most Egyptologists seem to take the view that the mechanism of their study is, in a manner of speaking, the secret of their calling, and is beyond the range of interest of the general reader, who, it is thought, desires only to look at the final picture, right or wrong; and hence, of the two best known histories of Egypt, the thoughtful study by Professor Breasted is very definitely written for the layman, most of the arguments therefore being omitted, the obscure periods passed over, and the controversial subjects avoided, while the painstaking work by Professor Petrie is entirely for the student, a useful compilation of facts and figures being all that is aimed at.

In my opinion, however, there is no cause for this extreme difference in the methods of presentation. In the first place, I think that Egyptological discussions can, and should, be made intelligible to the ordinary reader, the sources of information made easily available, and the difficulties and stumbling-blocks made apparent, so that there may be as many amateurs at work as there are in other fields of art and science; and, in the second place, I believe that the

ordinary reader, if interested at all, is generally glad to apply his brains to the little puzzles which confront the historian, and has no wish to be presented with a picture of Egyptian history the correctness of which he is asked to take on trust. In a word, I regard neither the public as dolts nor Egyptologists as magicians; and in this book my object is to write a consecutive story which will be intelligible and readable to the layman who has no particular knowledge of Egyptology, and which, at the same time, will aid both him and the actual student in a closer study of the subject.

My arrangement and interpretation of the facts, however, is in very many cases new, and it is not an easy task to present the arguments in a manner acceptable to my fellow-workers and also to the general reader, and at the same time to keep the story running smoothly along its varied course. In the first chapters of this book, in particular, I find it difficult to avoid lengthy technical discussions; for there is so much that is still open to question in regard to these remote times, and there are so many matters upon which I find myself in some disagreement with my colleagues. But the reader must bear with me if my first pages are full of controversial matter; and he must here endeavour to apply his brains to the problems presented, remembering that these riddles are capable of being solved almost as readily by him as by an Egyptologist. He will, indeed, best interpret the spirit in which this history is written if he will bear in mind the fact that I regard myself and other Egyptologists as men of very ordinary intelligence, drawn to the subject by its fascination, and grappling with its problems as best we can, sometimes with inspiration and success, sometimes with stupidity and failure, and always in need of the help and criticism of fresh brains, to aid us to give to the world once more the wonderful story which was lost when the ancient civilization of the Pharaohs collapsed.

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF EARLY EGYPTIAN ANNALS, KING-LISTS, CHRONOLOGY, AND CALEN- DAR DATES

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

I HAVE found myself so widely at variance with accepted Egyptological opinion in regard to the positions of the Pharaohs of the oldest epoch, the lengths of their reigns and duration of their dynasties, their dates, the nature of the calendar they used, and even the reading of many of their names, that it has seemed best to set down, here at the beginning, a general statement of some of the results to which a study of the vexed questions of early Egyptian history and chronology has led me. In this first chapter, therefore, I propose to place before the reader a more or less technical argument which shall serve as a basis for, and explanation of, the assertions and suggestions made in the subsequent pages; and though I shall thus postpone the opening of the actual story of these remote ages until the second chapter, I shall, by so doing, relieve the narrative itself of the burden of many purely Egyptological discussions.

The main sources of information available for the study of the early periods of Egyptian history are as follows:

Firstly, there are the lists of kings quoted by classical writers from the lost History of Egypt written by the High-Priest Manetho, a native of Sebennytus in Lower Egypt, who lived in the third century before Christ. The lists, and a few brief extracts from the history itself, were quoted by Julius Africanus, a Libyan historian of the third century after Christ, and these were again quoted by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who died about A.D. 340. In these lists the Pharaohs are divided into Dynasties or Houses, an arbitrary chopping up of the names into groups, which does not seem in every case to be justified by the facts, but which, on the whole, is

a quite convenient arrangement. Manetho, it should be mentioned, gave a Greek form to the Egyptian names of the Pharaohs by adding a termination in *s*, but it is generally quite easy to identify his renderings exactly with the original hieroglyphs.

Secondly, we have the "Abydos List" and the "Sakkâra List." The former is a list of kings inscribed upon a wall of the Temple of Abydos by Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and gives all the kings recognized in the archives of the upper country, each Pharaoh being called by the name by which he was known in that locality. The latter is a record of the kings acknowledged by the historians of Memphis and Lower Egypt, and was inscribed in the tomb of a certain learned man named Thunuroy, who was buried at Sakkâra in the reign of Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Thirdly, a considerable body of material has been brought to light by Prof. Petrie, whose careful excavations in the necropolis of the earliest kings, in the desert behind the twin cities of Thinis and Abydos, revealed many objects actually inscribed with the names of these monarchs. Mr. Quibell also made a great haul of objects belonging to these early times at Hieraconpolis; Prof. Garstang found two royal tombs at Bêt Khallâf; and useful material has come to light as a result of various other excavations.

Fourthly, there is the Turin Papyrus, a list of kings written in the Seventeenth Dynasty upon a scroll of papyrus. It was discovered in Egypt somewhere about the time of Bonaparte, and came into the possession of the King of Sardinia. It was then sent to Turin, in a box without packing; and, when it arrived, this most precious and unique document was found to have fallen into scores of dry and brittle little pieces which lay in a heap at the bottom of the box. It was put together, more or less by guess-work, in 1826; and later the fragments were numbered and copied, and various scholars have spent a great deal of time in attempting to fit them into their true places.

Finally, in the museum of Palermo, Sicily, there is a small fragment of a large stone tablet, originally some three yards long, upon both sides of which the brief Annals of the first five dynasties are inscribed. This fragment is

known as the "Palermo Stone," but where it came from has been forgotten. There is a second fragment of the same tablet, or its duplicate, in the Cairo Museum, and two or three very small pieces are also known; but, even so, there is a far larger area of this great record missing than surviving, and until now the attempt to reconstruct the lost parts by means of the known pieces has baffled those who have set themselves to the task. The Annals are written in long horizontal rows, divided up into little rectangles, each representing one year; and the rectangles, or year-spaces, which comprise any one reign are separated from those of the previous and succeeding reigns by a dividing line, and are headed by the name of the king, written above the middle point of that section. Each year-space contains a reference to some event or events which took place in that year, and the line which forms the right-hand side of the year-space is shaped like the hieroglyph *ronpet*, "year," so that the reading of the inscription is in each case: "The year of such-and-such an event." In a separate space at the bottom of each year-space there is a smaller section in which the height of the highest Nile flood-level of that year is recorded.

In the accompanying diagram (Plate I) I submit a new reconstruction of these Palermo Stone Annals, which, I think, will come to be accepted as a working basis, even in its details, except for a few doubtful minor points. The two chief fragments of the Annals are, as I have said, the original Palermo Stone itself, published and discussed by Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen*, and Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 197; and the more recently discovered Cairo fragment, published by Gauthier, *Le Musée Egyptien*, 1915, vol. iii, part 2, p. 29, and discussed again by Daressy, *Bulletin de l'Institut français*, vol. xii, p. 161. Both fragments are studied by Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die Zeitliche Festlegung*, 1917, a work which will now, however, have to be discarded.

The problem is simply to deduce from the two sides of these two fragments the whole lay-out of both faces of the original tablet; and I shall show that my reconstruction meets the known facts so exactly that there can be no

very serious doubt about its general correctness, and thus the lengths of the early dynasties, and of most of the reigns, are now able to be settled satisfactorily. I venture to think that this complete solution of a problem which has previously been considered as one which was unable to be solved, is one of the most fortunate chances of Egyptological research, throwing, as it does, a sudden and clear light upon the dim ages of early Egyptian history, and enabling us to speak in the most precise terms of an epoch previously shrouded in obscurity, without much fear of wide error.

Before explaining my reconstruction of these Annals it will be as well to give the list of Kings of the first five dynasties and the lengths of their reigns so far as they can be read in the shattered Turin Papyrus; for on this list I have based my work. It is as follows:—

No.	Name.	Reign.	No.	Name.	Reign.
1.	Meni	....	20.	Thosertati	6
2.	At.....	...7	21.	.....	6 yrs.
3.	.....	...9			1 mo.
4.	.....i	....	22.	Huni	24
5.	Hesapti	....	23.	Snofru	24
6.	Merbi	....	24.	.....	23
7.	.....	....	25.	....	8
8.	....bh	....	26.	Khef....	....
9.	....beu	....	27.	....	....
10.	...ke...	....	28.	....	18
11.	Bineter	....	29.	....	4
12.	.....	....	30.	....	2
13.	Sendi	....	31.	...ke...	7
14.	Neferke..	....	32.	.....	12
15.	Neferkesokar	8 yrs.	33.	.....	....
		3 mo.	34.	.....	7
16.	Huthefi	11 yrs.	35.	....	21?
		8 mo.	36.	.....	11?
17.	Thethi	27 yrs.	37.	Menkehur	8
		2 mo.	38.	Dadi	28
18.	Nebke	19	39.	Unnos	30
19.	Thoser....	19 yrs.			
		3 mo.			

I approached the problem with this list as my guide, and the principle I adopted was as follows:

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANNALS

The size of the year-spaces differs in each register of the Annals, and it seemed to me that this could only mean that the scribe wished to fit a definite amount of material into each register, and therefore in one case had to squeeze it

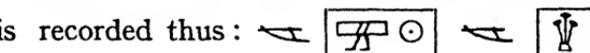
together, and in another case had to space it out. Thus it seemed obvious that he wished to begin each register exactly at the beginning of some new reign, and to end it exactly at the close of some reign, and to fit a definite number of reigns into a definite number of registers. He did not wish one reign to run on from one register into the next, and he expanded or contracted his material accordingly. The top register gives only the names of the so-called pre-dynastic kings. The Annals began, therefore, in the second register, and I assumed that this second register began with the accession of Menes.

The only figures we have for the lengths of the reigns of the kings of the First Dynasty are those of Manetho ; and it seemed probable that these figures were not merely fanciful. There were evident errors in Manetho's figures, especially in later dynasties, but they would serve, I thought, as a basis for the First Dynasty, since the Turin Papyrus did not here help us, and one might suppose that there would be fewer errors at the beginning of the lists than later on, when the jumble of names and numbers might have confused the scribes and historians. Now Manetho, according to Africanus, gives 62 years for the reign of Menes and 57 for that of his successor. I assumed, therefore, that the second register comprised these two complete reigns, i.e. a total of 119 years. This, of course, was simply a guess ; but, having laid out the reconstruction on this assumption, I found, as I shall show in the following pages, that all the essential facts fell into place. On the Palermo Stone the end of a reign is marked in the second register. I, therefore, assumed that this was the end of the 62 years' reign of Menes ; and in this way I was able to place the Palermo Stone experimentally in position in my reconstruction. On the Cairo fragment the name of a king appears above the second register ; and since a royal name is evidently always written over the exact middle of the reign, and since I was assuming that the reign lasted 57 years, I could also place this Cairo fragment experimentally in position in the reconstruction.

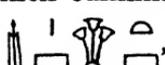
Such, in general, was the principle which I followed in order to obtain the original length of the tablet of the

Annals, and to place in position the two big fragments which have come down to us. Having made this tentative arrangement, however, a most remarkable piece of evidence was forthcoming to prove the absolute correctness of what was at first the merest guess on my part.

In the 8th year-space (counting from the right) of the fourth register on the Palermo Stone, the event of

the year is recorded thus: . I

suppose there is little doubt, as Breasted agrees in his *Records*, I, § 125, that this means: "The hacking up, or conquest, of the fortress or fortified camp of the Host of Re; the hacking up, or conquest, of the fortress or fortified camp of Ha." We thus have here the record of a civil war; for the first name pretty certainly refers to On or Heliopolis, the city of Re, the Sun, and the second to an unidentified place called Ha, which was near by. According to my experimental lay-out of the Annals, the year-space in which this event is recorded was the 363rd from the accession of Menes.

Now on a wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu there is a representation of the famous wise-man, Iemhotpe, reading from a scroll the history of a civil war waged between the adherents of Horus and those of Set, which culminates in the two great defeats of the latter at , these two very places, Heliopolis and Ha or Hat (Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, Pl. XVIII, 1). This war is there stated to have occurred in the 363rd year of an era, which, as Newberry has pointed out (*Ancient Egypt*, 1922, II, p. 42), must be that dating from the accession of Menes.

This pretty well proved that in my experimental reconstruction of the Annals I had had the surprising good fortune to hit upon exactly the correct number of year-spaces; and I felt that one could now, for the first time since the Palermo Stone has been the subject of study, look into the length of the different reigns with real hope of definite results, which should replace the rather wild guessing of the past. Briefly, I may state my methods and results as follows.

The first reign, that of Menes, as I have said, seemed certainly to begin the second register. Therefore I assigned 62 year-spaces to it, in accordance with Manetho (Africanus), plus the 6 months and 7 days recorded on the Palermo Stone at the end of the reign. Then comes the division between this and the next reign, after which 4 months and 13 days are recorded on the Palermo Stone as the remaining fraction of the same year. I shall explain presently the shortage of 45 days which occurs here.

The remainder of the second register, I assumed, gave the 57 years of Athothis, the successor of Menes, which is the Africanus figure, partly confirmed by the Turin Papyrus in which a damaged numeral ending with7 appears against the name of the king after Menes. The Cairo fragment gives us the name of this king, thus :

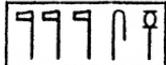


. . . . (90) ,

and I took it that the year-space just under the middle of this heading must be the middle point of the reign, since the heading seems always to be written above the exact middle of each reign. This year-space would be the 28th or 29th, since the reign lasted 57 years, and the royal cartouche appears immediately above this point. The accepted reading of the Hawk-name  as *Zer* or *Ther* is probably incorrect. It is more likely to be

a stockade, an old form of  *Khenti*, meaning, "He of

the harim," as I will explain on pages 45 and 110. This Hawk-name on the Cairo fragment is not very legible, but it is confirmed by the following fact. In two of the year-spaces of this reign, as seen on the Cairo fragment, there is a

reference to the palace (?)  ; and Borchardt

(*Die Annalen*, p. 31) has published a fragment of a vase in the Berlin Museum, which bears an inscription mentioning this same palace in conjunction with the name of King Khenti (*Zer*). (I shall prove later on that the identification of Menes with Nar-mer, Athothis with Ohe (Aha), and so on, which has lately been adopted, is incorrect, and must be dropped again at once.)

The second register having given the reigns of Menes and Athothis, I saw that the third register would have to begin with the reign of Manetho's Kenkenes, to whom, according to Africanus, he attributes a reign of 31 years. In the Turin Papyrus, however, there are traces of a figure ending in 9, and therefore in my reconstruction of the Annals I assigned the necessary room for 29 years.

Next comes the reign of Uenephes, to which Manetho (Africanus) assigns 23 years; and here, experimentally, I allowed room for 26 year-spaces, ending with a fraction. The fractions of years, it should be noted, are seen on the Palermo Stone sometimes to cover two year-spaces and sometimes only one. From the death of Uenephes to the end of the dynasty Manetho gives 90 years, and in my reconstruction there was room for 91 year-spaces and a fraction, from the close of the reign of Uenephes to the end of the register, which showed me that my arrangement was pretty well in agreement with Manetho as to its total.

Then comes the reign of Usaphais, whose Hawk-name is , which Petrie used to read as *Den*. Manetho attributes  20 years to his reign, but this, one could see, was an error, for, on the Palermo Stone, there are the last signs of the heading which once gave the name and titles of the new king; and, as such a heading was written above the middle of the section dealing with that particular reign, a simple measurement to right and left of the middle point showed that its duration must have been just about 40 years. I therefore assigned him 40 instead of 20 years. Newberry has shown (*Ancient Egypt*, 1914, p. 148 ff.) that this reign, as recorded on the Palermo Stone, is undoubtedly that of Usaphais.

In the 11th year-space (counting from the right) in this reign the Palermo Stone records the celebration of the feast of Sed, the god of the thirty-years' jubilee, and one might expect this to correspond to the 31st year of the reign, i.e. the new year after the completion of 30 years' reign. According to my reconstruction, this year-space did represent exactly the 31st year of the reign, a fact which again seemed to show that my arrangement was exact.

The length of the next reign, that of Miebis, is fixed by that of the following king, Semempses, which is recorded in full on the Cairo fragment. Between the 40th year of Usaphais and the first year of Semempses there was room only for 13 year-spaces, and this, therefore, must have been the length of the reign of Miebis. Manetho, however, attributes 26 years to him; but this may be explained by supposing that Miebis was co-regent with Usaphais for 13 years, and had a sole reign also of 13 years, making in all 26 years. Such a co-regency is strongly indicated, if not proved, by the fact that on two or three fragments from the tomb of Miebis the names of both kings, Usaphais and Miebis, are written side by side, and in one case two royal hawks, each upon a standard, are shown together in the middle, while the name of Usaphais is on the one hand and that of Miebis on the other, each having the title . I shall refer further to this point in my more detailed discussion of the reigns later on.

Then follows the reign of Semempses which, on the Cairo fragment, is shown to have lasted 9 years. Manetho attributes 18 years to him. Possibly we have here another case of a co-regency to explain the discrepancy.

The next reign is that of Bieneches, which ends the First Dynasty. In my reconstruction of the Annals it evidently ended the third register; but here again Manetho's figure required adjusting. He attributes 26 years to the reign, but there was room for 28 and a fraction in my reconstruction. It was a new point of confirmation to notice that Manetho's total for the First Dynasty, according to Africanus, was 263 years, and that my total, according to this reconstruction of the Annals, was almost the same, namely, 264 years. This, I felt, was a good indication of the correctness of my restoration.

With the fourth register I began the Second Dynasty. Manetho gives the first three kings of this dynasty thus: Bœthos, 38 years; Kaiechos, 39 years; and Binothris, 47 years. My reconstruction, however, suggested that these figures should be reversed, thus: Bœthos, 47 years; Kaiechos, 39 years; and Binothris, 38 years: for, on the

Palermo Stone the reign of Binothris is recorded, the king's Hawk-name being given, $\overline{\text{I}}$, and the length of the reign could be exactly estimated at 38 years by a simple calculation and measurement. The third remaining year-space mentions the fourth occurrence of the census, and afterwards there is a census every second year. This showed that exactly 5 year-spaces were missing at the beginning of the reign. Then, by measuring from the first year to the middle point under the royal name I found that I had 19 year-spaces, which, being doubled, gave 38 to the end of the reign. The reign could not have been longer, because the second and third occurrences of the feast of Sokar are recorded on the Palermo Stone, and one could thus estimate that the first occurrence of that festival took place in the fifth year of the reign, and had the reign been longer there would have been time for yet another such feast. This reign thus made a fixed point in the middle of this fourth register; and I had here also, as I have already explained, the fixed point of the conquest of On and Ha in the 363rd year of the era. Therefore the two previous reigns—Boethos, 47 years, and Kaiechos, 39 years—fell into place, and since they exactly filled the first part of this register, I saw again that my reconstruction was correct.

After Binothris comes the reign of Tlas, which Manetho gives as 17 years; and in my reconstruction there was room exactly for 17 years and a fraction, for the end of the reign is marked on the Cairo fragment, and there are traces of the last signs of the obliterated royal name above the first two remaining year-spaces.

Next comes the reign of Sethenes, to which Manetho attributes 41 years; but in my reconstruction there was room for only 37 year-spaces, which therefore was probably the correct figure, the other 4 years of Manetho's 41 being perhaps the length of the king's co-regency with his predecessor.

In the fifth register I found another fixed point in the middle, for, on the Palermo Stone, the end of a reign is marked, and this reign is undoubtedly that of the king whose name is generally read Khasekhemui, since, in the

fourth remaining year-space, reference is made to a statue of that king. Moreover, the reign ends with the recorded fraction "2 months" and some odd days; and in the Turin Papyrus we have the length of that reign given as 27 years and 2 months.

Working backwards from this point, the previous reign was that of Huthefi, for which the Turin Papyrus gives 11 years, 8 months. Before this comes Nefer-ke-Sokar, Manetho's Sesochris, for which the Turin Papyrus gives 8 years, 3 months; and before this again comes Manetho's Nephercheres, whose reign must have begun the register, with room for 32 year-spaces.

Now, working forward from the fixed point of the end of the reign of Khasekhemui, the next king, Necherophes, is the Neb-Ke of the Turin Papyrus, where his reign is given as 19 years. Next comes Thoser, Manetho's Tosorthos, for whose reign the Turin Papyrus gives 19 years, 3 months. This reign runs across the Cairo fragment, and there are faint traces there of the obliterated royal name above the middle of the reign. Gauthier thought he could see a line here marking the end of a reign, but this is not so, as Daressy also observed.

Next we have the reign of Tosertasis, for which the Turin Papyrus gives 6 years; and then the reign of Aches, for which the Turin Papyrus gives 6 years and 1 month. I supposed, therefore, that the register ended with these two reigns, although such a supposition obliged me to increase the size of the year-spaces so as to fill up; but this was not unlikely, since the year-spaces in the next register were of greatly increased size on the Palermo Stone. (Scholars are agreed that Manetho's Tyreis, Mesochris, and Soyphis, whom he places between Tosorthos and Tosertasis, have no existence here.)

The sixth register evidently consisted of two reigns. The second of these two was that of Snofru, Manetho's Sephuris, as is made clear by the Annals on the Palermo Stone, in which his name occurs. There are obliterated traces of the royal heading above the first two remaining year-spaces on the Cairo fragment, and from this I could calculate that the middle of the space assigned to this reign stood at about

one or two year-spaces farther to the right. This allowed room, roughly, for about the 24 year-spaces necessitated by the statement in the Turin Papyrus that the reign lasted that number of years, but on the Palermo Stone the size of these year-spaces varies, and I assumed that it gradually became bigger. The earlier part of this register, therefore, was probably filled with the reign of Kerperes (Huni), for whom the Turin Papyrus gives 24 years.

The seventh register seemed to consist of the reign of Cheops alone, for which the Turin Papyrus gives 23 years. The last sign of the royal heading is to be seen on the Palermo Stone, which showed that it was just in the middle of the register, thus proving that only the one reign was here recorded. The King's name, I found, occurred in its expected place at the bottom of the Cairo fragment.

The eighth register, now lost, probably gave room for the 8 years of Ratoises, followed by 16 of the years of Chephren. Here we have the first overlap of a reign from one register into the next, but the greatly increased amount of material now to be dealt with made this unavoidable.

Now, turning to the other side of the tablet, the most convincing proof of the correctness of my reconstruction was apparent, for everything dropped into place with the utmost ease. My first fixed point was the beginning of the reign of Shepseskaf, for which the Turin Papyrus seems to give 4 years. But in that papyrus the previous reign is given a length of 18 years. The name is lost, but it must have been that of Menkheres (Men-keu-re), for in the inscription of Ptahshepses (*Mariette*, Mastabas, 112), Shepseskaf reigns immediately after Men-keu-re. This 18 years took me back to the 6th year-space in the top register. Of the five previous spaces, three probably belonged to the end of the reign of Chephren, for that reign seems to have lasted 18 years, and 16 of those years were on the other side of the tablet, according to my reconstruction. Pliny (xxxvi) gives 68 years, 4 months as the length of the Gizeh Pyramids period; and 23 years for Cheops, 8 for Ratoises, 18 for Chephren, 1 for a lost king of whom there is an obliterated mention in the Turin Papyrus, and 18 for Menkheres (plus the 4 months recorded on the Palermo

Stone) make exactly 68 years 4 months, which shows that Chephren's reign cannot have been longer than 18 years. It should be noted, however, that Pliny's figure 68 is also sometimes read 78 and 88. I allowed, as I say, 1 year for the nameless king of the Turin Papyrus, who comes between Chephren and Menkheres, and who may well be the Shero (Soris) whose name is known from a graffito.

After Shepseskaf the Turin Papyrus gives 2 years for a king whose name is lost, probably the Thampthis of Manetho, and then 7 years for Usercheres (Userkef). The reign of this Usercheres runs across both the Palermo Stone and the Cairo fragment, and on the latter we have a reference to the "year after the first numbering," which shows that that is early in the reign. I had to space out the years of the reign of Thampthis and the first year of Usercheres (Userkef), but we know from the Palermo Stone that the spaces vary in size sometimes, as is seen there in the case of Snofru. Owing to the large number of religious endowments, the year-spaces of the reign of Usercheres are larger than those of other reigns, as the Palermo Stone shows.

Next comes the reign of Sefhres (Sahure), to which the Turin Papyrus attributes 12 years. It extends across the Palermo Stone and the Cairo fragment. On the Palermo Stone mention is made of what has been read as the "second numbering"; but this must be an error for the "tenth numbering," \cap having been misread as 11, unless for some reason the numberings were delayed.

My next fixed point was in the following register, where, on the Palermo Stone, we have the beginning of the reign of Nephhercheres. Between this and the end of the reign of Sahure there was exactly room for the 4 years of Cheres and the 7 years of Sisires. (In the Turin Papyrus only the 7 years remains, but the 4 years is required by the total.)

That Manetho's Sisires and Cheres come before Nephhercheres, and not after him, as he places them, is shown by the fact that Rathures follows Nephhercheres immediately (Tomb of Ty). Year-space 711 must be well on in the reign of Sahure, since the King's sun-temple is already referred to as being in use, and hence there is this gap to fill between Sahure and Neferirkere (Nephhercheres). Moreover, in

year-space 723, reference is made to an expedition to Pount, and in the Herkhuf inscriptions we are told that such an expedition was made under Sisi (Sisires).

The 20 years which Manetho attributes to Nephercheres seems to be given as 21 in the Turin Papyrus, and this brings us exactly to the end of the sixth register. After that there must have been still two registers, giving the 11 years of Rathures (Nuserre) and the 8 of Mencheres (Menkehur); and the whole tablet must have ended at the seventh year of the reign of Tatcherer (Dadkere-Isesi or Sisi) which was the 769th year from the accession of Menes. That is to say, the Annals were thus committed to stone in the 770th year of the era of Menes, a number which may perhaps have had some religious significance. Now let us turn to the known inscriptions of the reign of Tatcherer, and I think it will be seen that they tend to corroborate this date of mine for the making of the tablet.

In the tomb of Senethemib (Sethe, *Urkunden* I, 59-67), that personage, who was "Chief Scribe of the King's Writings," tells us how he carried out some piece of work, which may well have been the preparing of these very Annals, since, he says, the idea of it had come to the king "while he was in the 'place of writings,'" or library of archives. The king was delighted with the way the work was carried out, and wrote to Senethemib to congratulate him, referring to some building, perhaps the shrine in which the Annals were to be deposited, which was to be called "Beloved of Isesi," and which was to be built in the "Great House" or Palace. Then the king orders him to make a , and this hieroglyph may either mean a "lake," or it may actually be the stone tablet of the Annals itself, which had that shape. A second inscription refers to the laying out of a flower garden, but whether this has anything to do with the other piece of work or not is doubtful, though it may well have been the garden in front of this ancestral shrine where the Annals were to be lodged. Akhnaton, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, built an ancestral shrine of this sort at Tell-el-Amârna.

In Sinai, in the Wady Maghâra, there is an inscription

of the same king, referring to a costly piece of stone which the god caused to be found in the mines or quarries, for "the Hawk-shrine (or tablet?) for the writing of the Hawk-god himself." The latter phrase is the usual designation of ancient records. This inscription is dated in the "Year of the fourth numbering of the cattle," and, by the analogy of the same event in the reign of Userkef, this would be about year 7, which is the year at which the Annals end, according to my reconstruction. The Palermo Stone is made of diorite; and the above inscription may refer to some more costly stone used in the decoration of the shrine in which the Annals were to be kept. Then, again, there is the fact that Tatcherer is particularly called in one inscription, "Beloved of the souls of On or Heliopolis," and in another, "Beloved of the Souls of Pe"; and there is much evidence to show that these "souls" were those of the ancestral kings. Moreover, Tatcherer is the first Pharaoh definitely to be called "Son of the Sun," i.e. the descendant of the kings of the long line established in the beginning by the sun-god himself; and in assuming this title he may well have desired to record the Annals back to the time of the sun-god's reign on earth. Thus my date—the eighth year of Tatcherer—for the writing of the Annals is shown to be very probable; for, to put it in other words, we have, on the one hand, these references to ancestral souls, ancient records, the solar race, and so forth, connected with the seventh year or so of Tatcherer, and, on the other hand, we have my reconstruction of the Annals pointing to exactly the same date.

The above notes will be sufficient to explain my reconstruction, and, looking critically at it, it seems to me that the first 363 years are definitely fixed by the era date mentioned above, and by the manner in which all the essential facts drop into place. Then I feel that the end of the reign of the so-called Khasekhemui is a definite fixed point. Therefore there can hardly be a doubt that so far the total of the years is pretty well exact, namely, 264 years for the First Dynasty and 256 for the Second Dynasty. From the middle of the Second Dynasty onwards we have the Turin Papyrus figures to guide us, and thus the whole

Third Dynasty is fixed at 98 years. In the Fourth Dynasty we again have the Turin Papyrus figures, except in the case of Chephren and the obliterated king who followed him, where, however, we have Pliny to guide us; and I think we can be certain that the total of 74 years for the dynasty is very close to the truth. For the Fifth Dynasty we have the Turin Papyrus figures for every king except Cheres, in whose case the Turin total and my reconstruction of the Annals make 4 years pretty certain; and therefore the total of 128 years for the dynasty cannot be far wrong, and is probably exact. It is therefore not too bold to say that the lengths of these first five dynasties are now fixed.

I may mention here a small difficulty which is met with in the reign of Phiops I of the Sixth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus gives him a reign of 20 years, but there is a quarry-inscription dated in "the year of the 25th census" which is also the year of his jubilee. We know, however, from another inscription that that jubilee was held in "the year after the 18th census" and it seems that the King sometimes counted in the years of his predecessor, a usurper who must have reigned 6 years, therefore. The census took place at this time practically every year, and thus the reign probably had the length assigned to it by the Turin Papyrus. I will discuss this fully on pages 223 and 224.

All these figures, I think, can be finally confirmed in the following manner: Somewhere after the Sixth Dynasty the Turin Papyrus gives this summary: "181 years, 6 months, 3 days. Kingless years, 6. Total [187 years, 6 months, 3 days]. Kings since Menes, their kingdoms and years, and the kingless years [94]9 years 15 days; kingless years, 6. Total, 955 years." Now, the total for the first five dynasties, as I have just shown, is 820 years (i.e. 264 + 256 + 98 + 74 + 128). The lengths of the reigns of all the kings of the Sixth Dynasty, except Othoes and Userkere, are given in the Turin Papyrus, and total 121 years, though there is a possibility that the 90 years of Phiops should be slightly increased. If, then, we allow an experimental 8 years for Othoes, and 6 for Userkere (which I shall show to be probable, on page 223), the length of the dynasty will be 129 years. Add 129 to our previous total of 820 and we

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANNALS 17

have exactly the 949 years given in the Turin Papyrus. In other words, we have, on the one hand, the Turin Papyrus total of 949 years; and, on the other hand, my reconstruction of the Annals, confirmed by the individual Turin figures, gives us a total of 935 years plus the unknown length of the reign of Othoes and Userkere, and we have only to assign a quite probable 14 years to these two kings to make the two totals absolutely tally. I submit that this agreement clinches the whole matter, and settles once and for all the total lengths of the first six dynasties, and the lengths of practically every reign in them.

The following table will set out the figures clearly:

DYNASTY.	KING.	LENGTH OF REIGN. YEARS.	AUTHORITY.	TOTAL.
First Dynasty	Menes	62	Manetho and Annals	
	Athothis	57	" " "	
	Kenkenes	29	" " "	
	Uenephes	26	" " "	
	Usaphais	40	Annals	
	Miebis	13	"	
	Semempses	9	"	
	Bieneches	28	"	264
Second Dynasty	Bæthos	47	Manetho adjusted and Annals	
	Kaiechos	39	" " " "	
	Binothis	38	" " " "	
	Tlas	17	Annals	
	Sethenes	37	Manetho and Annals	
	Nephercheres	32	Annals	
	Sesochris	8	Annals and Turin	
	Chaires	11	" " "	
	Chenneres	27	" " "	256
Third Dynasty	Necherophes	19	Annals and Turin	
	Tosorthos	19	" " "	
	Tosertasis	6	" " "	
	Aches	6	" " "	
	Kerpheres	24	" " "	
Fourth Dynasty	Sephuris	24	" " "	98
	Suphis (Cheops)	23	Annals and Turin	
	Ratoises	8	" " "	
	Suphis (Chephren)	18	Annals and Pliny's total	
	Unknown	1	" " " "	
	Menkheres	18	Annals and Turin	
	Sebercheres	4	" " "	
	Thamphthis	2	" " "	74
Fifth Dynasty	Usercheres	7	Annals and Turin	
	Snephres	12	Manetho adjusted, Annals, Turin	
	Cheres	4	Annals and Turin total	
	Sisires	7	Annals, Turin, and Manetho	
	Nephercheres	21	Turin and Annals	
	Rathures	11	" " "	
	Menkheres	8	Manetho adjusted, and Turin	
	Tatcherer	28	Turin	
	Onnos	30	"	128

DYNASTY.	KING.	LENGTH OF REIGN. YEARS.	AUTHORITY.	TOTAL.
Sixth Dynasty	Othoes	8	Historical evidence	
	Userkere	6	" "	
	Phios	20	Turin	
	Methusuphis	4	"	
	Phiops	90	"	
	Menthesuphis	1	"	129
			Total (Turin)	949
Six years without a king (Turin)				6
			Total (Turin)	<u>955</u>

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SEVENTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

Now let us carry the argument forward into the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties. To what does the Turin 181 years' summary refer? There is no definite period in the above table, which agrees with it, and therefore it is certainly a total which came at the end of some period after the Sixth Dynasty. At the end of the Sixth Dynasty, let us suppose, there was a period of 6 years without a king. Then came the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, and the Turin Papyrus gave a total of 181 years for those two dynasties, followed by a total of 949 years for the previous six dynasties, and recorded the intervening 6 kingless years between these two totals in such a way that they might be added to either total, making the one 187 or the other 955.

At the top of Fragment 48 of the Turin Papyrus there is a total of 75 years. This is probably the total of the Seventh Dynasty, and agrees with Manetho's figure for the same dynasty (Eusebius), namely, 5 kings in 75 years (wrongly written 75 *days* in one version). For the Eighth Dynasty Manetho (Eusebius) gives 106 years, and thus we have a perfect explanation of the 181 years (i.e. $75 + 106 = 181$). Egyptologists are agreed that this 181 years' total is to be referred to the end of the Eighth Dynasty in the Turin Papyrus; and Manetho's figures thus confirm it, while the figures I have given in the table above show that it cannot refer to any earlier period. Therefore, the number of years from Menes to the end of the Eighth Dynasty is $949 + 6 + 181$, i.e. a total of 1,136 years.

I think it is possible, next, to link up these figures with

the Eleventh Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus gives a list of seven kings for the Eleventh Dynasty, and a total of 160 years for its duration, with the possibility of some odd units. Two of the last kings of this Turin list are Neb-hapet-re and Senkh-ke-re, and there is then a final name now lost. The arrangement of the first three kings of the line is known from two inscriptions in the British Museum, which show that the order was (1) Wah-enkh Intef, (2) Nakht-neb-tep-Intef, and (3) Senkh-ib-toui Mentuhotpe. Of the other known kings of this dynasty Neb-hept-re Mentuhotpe came before Neb-hapet-re Mentuhotpe, as is proved by the fact that the mortuary temple of Neb-hapet-re, at Dêr el-Bahri, was built over the shrines erected there to the six Hathor-priestesses by Neb-hept-re (as Winlock's excavations have shown); and the Turin, Sakkâra, and Karnak lists tell us that Neb-hapet-re was followed by Senkh-ke-re. Thus six of the kings of this dynasty are placed; but there is a seventh king known—Neb-toui-re Mentuhotpe, whose name occurs at Wady Hammamât in conjunction with that of his Wazir, Amenemhet. This Amenemhet is pretty certainly the man who afterwards founded the Twelfth Dynasty, and thus Neb-toui-re must be placed at the end of the dynasty, where the Turin Papyrus has an obliterated name.

The dates of these kings within this 160 years' period can be estimated roughly as follows:

1. Wah-enkh Intef	Known reign 50 years . . .	Say 50
2. Nakht-neb-tep-nefer Intef . .	Short reign, length unknown . .	„ 10
3. Senkh-ib-toui Mentuhotpe . .	Known reign, 14 + x years . .	„ 15
4. Neb-hept-re Mentuhotpe . .	Important reign, length unknown,,	25
5. Neb-hapet-re Mentuhotpe . .	Known reign, 46 + x years . .	„ 47
6. Senkh-ke-re Mentuhotpe . .	Known reign, 8 + x years . .	„ 10
7. Neb-toui-re Mentuhotpe . .	Known reign, 2 + x years . .	„ 3
		160
	Total	160

The first of these kings to be sovereign of all Egypt, and not merely King of Thebes and the upper country, was Neb-hept-re Mentuhotpe; and the fall of the Tenth Dynasty which he supplanted may therefore be regarded as having taken place some 75 years after the accession of Wah-enkh Intef. We do not know exactly how long it held the throne.

We have actual remains of only four kings of the Ninth Dynasty: Neb-keu-re, Mery-ib-re, Wah-ke-re, and Mery-ke-re, each having the personal name Akhtoi (Khetty). We know that they lived at Heracleopolis, near the Fayûm, and ruled the country to a point south of Assiout; we know that Wah-enkh Intef only ruled as far north as the Thinite province (inscription of Thethi, British Museum); and we know that this same Wah-enkh Intef was fighting with the House of Akhtoi (Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 2). Therefore it is certain that the two dynasties were contemporaneous; and it follows, I think beyond question, that the Akhtoi dynasty was founded at Heracleopolis at the same time that the Intef dynasty was founded at Thebes, namely, during the confusion at the fall of the Eighth Dynasty. In other words, I think the whole of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties reigned within a period of 75 years or so. Some 50 years is ample for the four kings of the Ninth Dynasty, allowing 7, 12, 25 and 6 years to the four reigns, which are the probable figures, as I shall explain on page 264; and 25 years for the Tenth Dynasty is a figure which cannot be much increased, since the whole dynasty has to be sandwiched in between the fixed point of the accession of Neb-hept-re, as King of all Egypt, and the known war of the Heracleopolitan (Ninth) and Theban (Eleventh) dynasties.

The beginning of the Ninth Dynasty, therefore, was, in my opinion, as I say, an event contemporaneous with the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty; and on page 263 a fuller argument will be found which, I think, is conclusive in that regard. But I have shown above that the fall of the Eighth Dynasty took place 1,136 years after the accession of Menes. Therefore Menes came to the throne $1,136 + 160 = 1296$ years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty.

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CALENDAR

Now let us turn to the very difficult subject of the Egyptian calendar, before discussing the date of the Twelfth Dynasty; and here my second discovery was chanced upon, no less upsetting to previous calculations than was the

reconstruction of the Annals. Let me try to explain the matter.

In the Annals, at the bottom of every year-space there is a separate space in which the measurement of that year's high Nile is given. The arrival of the annual flood at its highest level was evidently regarded as an event to be recorded *at the end* of each year, for not only was it written at the bottom of the yearly record, but in cases where the death of one king and the accession of the next necessitated the recording of one year's events in two parts, this Nile measurement was written at the end of the second part. This fact has been observed before, but its significance has been entirely overlooked.

In modern times the Coptic New Year is celebrated on September 10th, but the festivities are repeated on September 26th and 27th, when the floods are incorrectly reckoned to have reached their greatest height (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, II, end of Chap. xiii). At the latter festival a messenger from the Nilometer cries out, saying, "The fortunate Nile of Egypt has taken leave of us"; and thus with the falling of the river the new year begins. It is, however, obvious that these festivals do not coincide with actual conditions, for the highest flood-level of the Nile is reached in the middle of October. I shall try to show that the original New Year occurred immediately after this highest level had been reached. Egyptologists have always supposed that the original New Year's Day occurred in July, when the most rapid period of the river's *rise* takes place; and herein lies the error which has led to the complete misunderstanding of the whole problem of the calendar.

The beginning of the ancient Egyptian year was preceded by five epagomenal or intercalary days. The fifth epagomenal day was New Year's Eve, as is stated in the Hepthefi contracts (Breasted, *Records*, I, § 552). The remaining 360 days were divided into three seasons, Akhe, Pero, and Shom, each season being subdivided into four months of 30 days. The name of the first season, *Akhe*, has generally been thought to mean "the Inundation"; but, in my opinion, it is to be identified with the word meaning "to

burst into flower," "to grow," etc., for, as I shall show, this season really covered the period of the growing of the first crops after the flood, i.e. from the middle of October to the middle of February. The first harvest in Upper Egypt took place at this latter date, the middle of February, and to the inventors of the calendar this presented a natural and definite point at which to end the first season.

The name of the second season, *Pero* (Coptic *Pro*), has, I believe, nothing to do with the idea of the "coming forth" of the crops, as is usually thought. It may be derived from the similar word for "harvest," referring to the second harvest of the year, or it may have another significance. All those who have lived amongst the Egyptians will know that the peasants go out into the fields and take up their residence there in temporary booths during the second harvest-time. To this agricultural population it is the great annual event, and it may well be expected to have given its name to the season. *Pero*, then, which must have begun at the middle of February and continued until the middle of June, was the season of the exodus into the fields for the second harvest, the last month of this season being actually dedicated to the goddess Rennut, Lady of the Harvest. The reaping of this second harvest, and the beginning of the rise of the Nile, was to the makers of the calendar a fitting point for the ending of the second season.

The name of the third season, *Shom* (the Coptic is *Shōm*), in my opinion, meant originally either "the Inundation," or "summer," and lasted from the middle of June, when the rise of the Nile begins, to the middle of October, when the flood touches its highest level, and begins to decline. From the beginning of the rise to the beginning of the decline thus made a natural season of four months, which, with the two harvest seasons, fittingly divided the year into three equal parts.

The calendar is seen, therefore, to be based on the natural conditions of life in Upper Egypt, as they affected an agricultural people. It was a farmer's calendar, each year ending after the culminating point of the October high flood-levels, and beginning very naturally with the declining of the waters which heralded the sowing of the crops ;

and it is the realization of this previously unrecognized fact which solves the whole problem.

I think it is very probable that the ancient Coptic festival of the Lelat el-Nukta, or "Night of the Drop," which is celebrated on the 11th day of the month Paoni, now June 17th-18th, originally marked the beginning of the season of Shom, which season therefore ended four months or 120 days later, on October 15th-16th. This festival in ancient times also was

called , "the Night of the Drop."

I think the section at the bottom of each year-space in the Annals, in which the Nile measurement is recorded, actually represented the intercalary five-days period, from October 15th-16th to October 20th-21st: that is to say, the highest Nile level was announced in the intercalary period, and was the last event of the year. The famous Decree of Canopus helps to confirm this dating of the seasons. It was issued in the year 238 B.C., and it announces that in order to prevent the calendar falling behind the seasons, an extra day (corresponding to our extra day in Leap Year) would be added to the 365 days every fourth year. In 238 B.C. the calendar year happened to begin on October 17th, and it was therefore just about the right time to issue such a decree; for New Year's Day was in more or less its original and correct seasonal position, and the scientists of the time wished to keep it in its proper place, and hence added the extra day every fourth year. (As a matter of fact, the plan was soon allowed to lapse again, probably owing to religious conservatism.)

This loss of one day in every four years had always caused the calendar to fall back, as I have said, behind the actual seasons, and it only came round into its correct position again every 1,460 years. Some most important and useful diagrams have been published by Mr. E. B. Knobel (*Historical Studies*, edited by Petrie), whereby one may see at a glance the dates at which the seasons in this calendar corresponded to the actual seasonal conditions; and there we find that if, as I believe, the old year was intended to end on October 15th-16th, and the new year to begin five days later on October 20th-21st, the original

New Year's Day must have thus been fixed within a year or two of 3400 B.C., when, as Knobel's tables show, the first day of the first month of Akhe, the first season, coincided with October 20th-21st, when the Nile was declining; the beginning of the second season, Pero, took place on February 17th-18th immediately after the reaping of the first harvest, and the beginning of the third season, Shom or "Inundation," coincided with June 17th-18th, the date now celebrated as the "Night of the Drop," i.e. the night on which the magic drop, which produced the rise of the water, fell into the Nile.

Now, on the back of the Palermo Stone we have the division between the beginning of the reign of Nephhercheres and the end of that of his predecessor; and on one side of the dividing line is "9 months and 28 days," and on the other "2 months and 7 days." These together make 365 days. Similarly we have the dividing line between the reign of Shepseskef and his predecessor, and a restoration of the damaged figures on either side of the line, as Borchardt has observed, gives us "4 months and 24 days" on the one hand and "7 months and 11 days" on the other, again making 365 days. It is certain, therefore, that each year-space represented one *calendar* year, the larger part of the year-space being the 360 days, and the smaller section at the bottom, in which the Nile level is recorded, being probably the intercalary five-days' period. But on the front of the Palermo Stone we have a similar dividing-line between the reigns of Menes and Athothis. In this case, however, the figure on the Menes side of the line is "6 months and 7 days," while that on the other side is "4 months and 13 days," giving a total which is 45 days short of the calendar year of 365 days.

The explanation is this: the Annals are *calendar annals*, and begin with the establishment of the calendar, or, rather, with the accession of the king who established it. This calendar did not exist before Menes, and that is why the important Annals of the reigns of Nar-mer, the "Scorpion," etc., were not recorded. Menes reigned 62 years 6 months and 7 days, that is to say, he died on the 187th day of the 63rd year of his reign; but this 187th day of his regnal year

was the 232nd day of the calendar year which he instituted, i.e. the calendar year at his death had still 133 days to run. Therefore, since the year-spaces in these Annals were calendar years and not years dated from the anniversary of the accession of Menes, there remained only 133 days (i.e. 4 months and 13 days) to be recorded at the beginning of the reign of Athothis.

Let me explain this new and all-important point in another way. The first reign in these Annals, that of Menes, had to be recorded in its full length, namely, 62 years 6 months and 7 days. But, afterwards, every year of every king's reign was really reckoned as beginning on New Year's Day, i.e. the second year of each reign always began on the first New Year's Day after that king's accession. Menes came to the throne, evidently, on a date which was afterwards reckoned as the 45th day of the calendar year, the calendar, in fact, being established by him during the early years of his reign. Therefore, though he died on the 187th day of the 63rd year of his reign, this day was really the 232nd day of the calendar year, which he had instituted; and the only way in which the writer of the Annals could indicate that the year-spaces now represented calendar years was simply to start the reign of Athothis with the 4 months and 13 days remaining of the calendar year, and thus to make each successive year of this and subsequent reigns begin on the New Year's Day of the calendar.

This fact makes it quite clear, I think, that the calendar was instituted in the reign of Menes; and, indeed, he is shown to be the founder of the calendar by another piece of evidence. In the Edfu tradition, to which I have already referred, wherein an event in the 363rd year of the era is mentioned, that era is called the Era of , and that must therefore be the name applied to Menes. But the month of Mesore, in ancient times the first month of the year, is stated to be dedicated to this same , i.e. Menes, which certainly suggests that it was he who instituted the months. Let us now refer to the Tables of Mr. Knobel. If the calendar was established when New Year's Day

corresponded to the modern Coptic New Year's Day on September 10th, the Tables show us that the date of that event would have been about 3220 B.C., or 1,460 years earlier. But if it was established, as I have just suggested, when New Year's Day corresponded to October 20th-21st, i.e. immediately after the flood had reached its highest level, the date would be about 3400 B.C., or 1,460 years earlier.

I shall presently try to show that Menes came to the throne some seven years or so before 3400 B.C., and hence that the calendar was established within seven years or so after his accession, when the New Year fell immediately after the culminating point of the Nile flood in the middle of October. But first let me clear away the completely false idea that the oft-mentioned "Sothic rising" was originally connected with the New Year's Day of this calendar; for it is owing to this mistake that Egyptologists have gone so badly astray in their dates.

THE SOTHIC RISINGS

Censorinus, writing in A.D. 238, states that in his time the first day of the year was the first of the month then called Thoth (i.e. then the first month of the season of Akhe), and that it corresponded to the 7th day of the kalends of July; and he goes on to say that one hundred years before that time, in A.D. 139, the first day of Thoth was New Year's Day, and on that day, which corresponded to the 12th day of the kalends of August, the rising of Sirius took place. Theon, the mathematician of Alexandria, calls the preceding Sothic cycle the "epoch of Menophres."

This "rising of Sirius" is to be understood as meaning the reappearance of the Dog-star, Sirius or Sothis, at sunrise on the eastern horizon after it had been invisible for some time. Now, if its rising corresponded with the first day of Thoth, i.e. the New Year, in A.D. 139, Knobel's tables show us that it must also have corresponded with that day in 1317 B.C. 1,456 years earlier, and at that date the corresponding day of the month would have been our July 6th. Now the name Menophres is probably that of Rameses I, whose throne name was Men-peh(ti)-re; and his accession took place just about 1317 B.C. (Breasted gives

it at 1315 B.C.). The previous cycle, for astronomical reasons which Knobel explains, was not 1,456 but 1,458 years in duration; and therefore the rising of Sirius corresponded to the 1st of Thoth in 2775 B.C. But, as I shall explain later, the first month of the year was then not Thoth but Mesore (which in later times was the name of the last month of the season of Shom), there having been an adjustment and alteration in the calendar during Hyksos times. The rising of Sirius therefore corresponded to New Year's Day, regarded as the first day of Mesore, in 2895 B.C., that day being our June 22nd; and this may be reckoned as the beginning of the Sothic cycle previous to that of Menophres. The cycle before this again would have begun in 4355 B.C., when the rising of Sirius would correspond to the first day of Mesore, which would be our June 10th; for the cycle in this case is exactly 1,460 years in duration.

Now the calendar year, which lost one day in every four years, passed completely round the seasons and came back to its original position in 1,460 years, and the Sothic cycles have therefore generally been assumed to be 1,460 years in duration, though actually they vary, as I have shown above. It has thus been reckoned that the cycles corresponded to the New Year's Day of the calendar in A.D. 139, 1321 B.C., 2781 B.C., and 4241 B.C.; and some Egyptologists have given the date 4241 B.C. as that of the institution of the calendar. Actually, however, this is a complete error. In the first place, such a date is arrived at without regard to the adjustment of the calendar from the Mesore to the Thoth year. Secondly, the difference in the lengths of the Sothic cycles has been forgotten. Thirdly, the beginning of the original calendar year occurred in October, as I have shown, and not in June-July. Egyptologists have thought that the 1st day of the 1st month of the season of Akhe, i.e. the New Year's Day of the calendar, coincided with the period of the rise of the Nile; and on this false premiss they have argued that the institution of the calendar must have occurred at a time when this rising of the Nile and the simultaneous reappearance of Sirius coincided with the beginning of the season of Akhe. This it happened to

do in A.D. 139, when it corresponded to July 17th, a time of year at which the Nile is rapidly rising; and the same thing happened in 1317 B.C., when the time of year was July 6th, at which period the rise is just becoming rapid. Previous to that, risings of Sothis are mentioned, of course, but the corresponding date given for them by the calendar reckoning has no connection with any recognized cycle. In other words, the Sothic rising had nothing whatsoever to do with the New Year's Day of the calendar, and there is nothing definitely to show when the first observation of Sirius was made. 4241 B.C., or, as it ought to be, 4355 B.C., is the beginning of a cycle, in the sense that it is the date at which the rising of Sirius, then on June 10th, would have corresponded to the 1st day of the 1st month of the calendar year had a calendar been in existence at that time; but, as I shall show, the calendar was not in existence then, and the date thus means absolutely nothing historically.

All that we can say is that at some unknown period of the old kingdom the astronomers made the discovery that the rising of Sirius was a good fixed point by which to regulate the year. They realized that the calendar was continually dropping behind the actual solar and Nile year, owing to the loss of one day in every four years; and hence they began to celebrate the rising of Sirius as a New Year's Day, no matter with what date in the official calendar it happened to coincide. They came to speak of Sothis in such terms as "Lord of the beginning of the year, who causes the Nile to rise in her season" (Philæ), and so on. They were dealing with two systems of reckoning, the Sothic year and the calendar year; and they certainly noted the date in the calendar year on which the Sothic year happened to begin, but at what date they began to do so is not known, though I think I may now offer a plausible suggestion. I have already stated that the calendar was probably instituted about 3400 B.C., when its New Year's Day would coincide with October 20th-21st, immediately after the highest Nile; and I have said that very possibly the festival anciently called "the Night of the Drop," and still called "Lêlat el-Nukta," which has the same meaning, at present celebrated on June 17th-18th, gives us a point for the beginning of

the season of Shom, the flood season. But in 3400 B.C. the rising of Sirius did actually take place on June 17th-18th; and thus it is quite possible that the men who instituted the calendar, and who fixed their New Year's Day on October 20th-21st, also fixed the beginning of the season of Shom, or "Inundation," at June 17th-18th by reference to the rising of Sirius on that date, which happened to coincide with the first rising of the Nile level. Later, as the calendar year fell back, and the rising of Sirius moved forward, this date, June 17th, ceased to have its original meaning, and came to be celebrated, as it still is, simply as the traditional date of the rising of the Nile. This, at least, is a possible explanation.

In other words, the inventors of the calendar do seem to have used the rising of Sirius as a date by which to fix the beginning of the third season of the year, Shom, at June 17th-18th, and if this be so, then the fact clinches my argument that the calendar was established in 3400 B.C., the year in which Sirius did rise on June 17th-18th; but we do not know when the rising of Sirius came to be regarded as New Year's Day, or when its coincidence with the first day of the first season, Akhe, came to be regarded as the beginning of a cycle.

THE LINK WITH THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

And now, let me return to the chronology. I have shown that Menes came to the throne 1,296 years before the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. The length of that dynasty is given in the Turin Papyrus as 213 years; and in it we have a fixed astronomical date. In the Kahun Papyrus the rising of Sirius is stated to have occurred on the 17th day of the 4th month of Pero in the 7th year of Sesostri III; and reference to Knobel's tables will show that this date is to be fixed at about 1990 B.C. Sesostri III reigned 38 years, and therefore died in 1959 B.C. The next king, Amenemes III, reigned 48 years (Sethe) and therefore died in 1911 B.C. He was followed by Amenemes IV and Skemiophis (Sebeknefrure), for whom the Turin Papyrus gives respectively 9 years 3 months 27 days, and 3 years 10 months and 24 days, making close on 13 years.

Therefore Sebeknefrure died in 1898 B.C., and with him the dynasty ended. It must have begun, then, 213 years earlier, in 2111 B.C., which is confirmed by the known lengths of the reigns previous to Sesostris III, namely, Amenemes I, 19 years ; Sesostris I, 42 years ; Amenemes II, 35 years ; and Sesostris II, 19 years.

The date 2111 B.C. for the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty at the beginning of the reign of Amenemes I is confirmed by another piece of evidence, previously overlooked. At Edfu it is stated that, according to the decree of Amenemes I, the firstfruits of the earth shall be offered to the gods on the 1st day of Epiphi. This date corresponds, in 2111 B.C., to November 5th, which is the exact time at which the firstfruits appear as the floods recede. In 200 B.C., when Edfu was built, this date coincided with the end of July, when there are no such fruits, the harvest having been gathered six weeks and more before that time, and the Nile being in flood ; but it will be seen that if Amenemes I issued his decree in 2111 B.C. there was proper reason for it.

Now add to 2111 B.C. the 1,296 years stated above as the length of the period from the accession of Menes to the establishment of the Twelfth Dynasty, and we get 3407 B.C. for the date at which Menes came to the throne. But this date, 3407 B.C., is within 7 years of the date 3400 B.C., which I have shown to be about that of the institution of the calendar, if the original New Year's Day, the first day of the first month of the season of Akhe, fell on October 20th-21st, immediately after the culminating point of the floods had been reached within the five epagomenal days, and if the original season of Shom, the Inundation season, began on the day of the rising of Sirius and the simultaneous first rising of the Nile on June 17th or 18th. Hence we see that (1) by the calendar and (2) by the Sothic risings, we reach the year 3400 B.C. or thereabouts, and that (3) by the dead reckoning of the length of the reigns and dynasties we reach about the year 3407 B.C. This divergence of 7 years or so may well be accounted for by the supposition that Menes instituted the calendar in the 7th year or so of his reign ; and I think, therefore, that my date for the accession of Menes may be accepted as definitely established within a year or two.

THE FESTIVALS RECORDED IN THE ANNALS

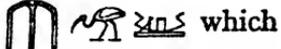
I may here put in a few notes in regard to the recurring festivals recorded in the Annals, which possibly have some bearing on my suggestion that the calendar was instituted in the 7th year of the reign of Menes.

On the Palermo Stone the feast of  Thet, or Wathet (or Utho), is recorded in the 71st, 199th, and 369th year-spaces. In the 71st year-space, which corresponds to the 9th year of Athothis, it is called "the first occurrence" of the festival (in that reign?); in the 199th year-space, which corresponds to the 25th year of Usaphais, it is called "the second occurrence" of the festival (in that reign?); but in the 369th year-space, which corresponds to the 19th year of Binothris, the number of the "occurrence" is not given. Now there is no satisfactory highest common factor for 71, 199, and 369, nor does it help us much to regard these figures as 70, 198, and 368 (i.e. reckoning from the first year after the accession of Menes instead of from the actual accession). But let us try an experiment. Let us suppose that in the case of the third reference, the festival ought to have occurred in the 367th year instead of the 369th, but that the feast was postponed, because the 367th year was already dedicated, as the Palermo Stone shows, to the feast of Sokar, and the 368th year was likewise dedicated to the feast of the Hawk which occurred regularly every second year. Thus, our figures become 71, 199, and 367. Still, there is no highest common factor. But if we accept my suggestion that the calendar was instituted, as my reckoning requires, in about 3400 B.C., some 7 years after the accession of Menes in 3407 B.C., and if we suppose that these festivals were dated from the institution of the calendar, then our figures become 64, 192, and 360, and for these there is the satisfactory highest common factor 8 ($64 = 8 \times 8$; $192 = 8 \times 24$; and $360 = 8 \times 45$). The feast, in this case, would seem to have been celebrated at intervals of 8 or 16 years, and its record in the 71st year-space may thus have been its "first occurrence" in the reign of Athothis, while that in the 197th year-space may

well have been its "second occurrence" in the reign of Usaphais.

There are, of course, too many suppositions in this theory to make it convincing; but the fact remains that by supposing 7 years to have elapsed between the accession of Menes and the institution of the calendar we do arrive at an explanation of the dates of the recurrence of this feast, though the real explanation is more probably the fact that the dating is a continuation from pre-Menite times.

Again, we have the "Birth of Anubis" recorded in the 62nd, 70th, 88th and 230th years, for which figures there is no highest common factor which is of use to us. If we suppose that the occurrence of the feast in Year 88 had been postponed from its proper date of Year 86, we get the figures 62, 70, 86 and 230. Still, there is no good multiple to be found; but if we next suppose that the feast was commemorated every 8 years after the 6th year of Menes, which could be regarded as the last year of the old order before the institution of the calendar, then we get 56, 64, 80, and 224, which are 7×8 , 8×8 , 10×8 , and 28×8 . Here again, the real explanation is probably that the dating continues from pre-Menite years, but the matter is worth noticing.

I may also mention the feast called  which is recorded in the 64th year-space (Palermo Stone), the 95th year-space (Cairo fragment) and the 520th year-space (Palermo Stone). There is no highest common factor for these figures, but if we suppose that the 95th year-space should really be the 96th, then we find that 64, 96, and 520 are multiples of 8 ($8 \times 8 = 64$; $8 \times 12 = 96$; and $8 \times 65 = 520$), and thus the feast may have been celebrated every 8th or 16th year. I should explain that the change from 96 to 95 cannot be due to a mistake of one year in my placing of the Cairo fragment, because the Hawk-festivals, which occur on alternate years, prevent my shifting the fragment one year to the right or left, but here again we may suppose the festival could not be held in its right year owing to that year being already dedicated to the Hawk-feast, as the Cairo fragment shows. This festival is generally regarded as that of *Deshor*, and in

the phrase  (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 149, III, 4) Desher is evidently connected with some calendar event. But the name may perhaps be connected with the word *Gem*, meaning "Investigation" or "Observation," and the feast may thus be a commemoration of the great investigation which fixed the calendar, in which case it may have dated, like the Wathet festival discussed above, from the 8th year after the accession of Menes, the multiples being 8×7 , 8×11 , and 8×64 .

I may mention another recurring festival chronicled in the Annals, which also has a bearing on the argument: it is that of Sokar, which is recorded in the 67th, 91st, 200th, 361st, and 367th year-spaces. If we suppose that the feast in the 200th year had been postponed one year, because the 199th year was already dedicated to the Wathet festival, and if we reckon from the 7th year of the reign of Menes, we can see that a multiple of 6 fits each figure, the first being 6×10 years after the year in which I suppose the calendar to have been instituted, the second being 6×14 years after that date, the third 6×32 years, the fourth 6×59 , and the fifth 6×60 . Thus the festival of Sokar may have commemorated the institution of the calendar, though more probably it dates, like the others, from pre-Menite days. The above notes on these festivals, of course, hardly constitute an argument in regard to the date of the institution of the calendar, but they show my reconstruction of the Annals to be exact, since otherwise the festival-dates would not be able to be reduced to any system at all.

THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWELFTH AND EIGHTEENTH DYNASTIES

Now let us return to the question of the actual dates B.C. I have shown that Menes came to the throne in 3407 B.C., 1,296 years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty in 2111 B.C., and that the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty took place in 1898 B.C. This is 321 years before the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty in 1577 B.C., a fact which does away with the previous difficulties in regard to the

short length of the intermediate period felt by those who used to think that the Twelfth Dynasty ended in 1788 B.C., 208 years before the beginning of the Eighteenth (Breasted, *History*, etc.).

The rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty is fixed at 1577 B.C., because we have in the Ebers Papyrus a statement that the rising of Sirius occurred on the 9th day of the 3rd month of Shom in the 9th year of Amenophis I, and this establishes that year at about 1544 B.C., as Knobel's tables show. I can here offer, however, some new light on the length of the dark period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties by a discussion of the change in the calendar from the Mesore year to the Thoth year. The Ebers Papyrus' date for the rising of Sirius in the 9th year of Amenophis I shows that a year beginning with the month of Thoth was then in use, as we know it was in A.D. 139, and as it also was in 1317 B.C., when the A.D. 139 cycle began. That the Thoth year was used also in the time of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty is proved by a recorded rising of Sirius on the 28th day of the 3rd month of Shom, in the reign of that king. (The name of the king is not mentioned, but the fact that the inscription comes from the temple of Elephantine built by him, is sufficient to date it.) This calendar date coincides with the rising of Sirius on July 3rd in 1465 B.C., right in the reign of Thutmose III, somewhere about his 29th year; but it only does so if the Thoth year was then in use. In the Twelfth Dynasty, however, the year beginning with Mesore was used. Therefore there was an adjustment of the calendar between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. (The dates of festivals collected by Gardiner (*Zeitschrift*, 1907, p. 136) show that the festivals kept their place in spite of the adjustment.) Now I have already shown that the calendar originally began when the new year coincided with the period immediately after the highest Nile, on October 20th-21st. Therefore the adjustment was probably made in order to bring the calendar date to that period, or, in other words, to make the five epagomenal days coincide with the highest Nile. This required coincidence occurred in about 1767 B.C., and therefore that is the probable date at which the change from the Mesore year to

the Thoth year took place, the adjustment being made by postponing the epagomenal days for one month. This is 131 years after the close of the Twelfth Dynasty, or 190 years before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and therefore falls in the period of the Hyksos kings. Now, on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, which is dated in the 33rd year of Apophis, the fourth Hyksos king, there are some jottings added afterwards, and one of these reads: "Year 11, 1st month, day 3, Birth of Set. The majesty of this god caused his voice (to be heard). Birth of Isis. The heaven rained." One may perhaps assume that the "year 11" is that of the reign of Ianias (Khyan), who probably succeeded Apophis. The birth of Set was always celebrated on the third of the five epagomenal days, and the birth of Isis on the fourth of those days; but here these two dates are given as belonging to the first month of the year. The epagomenal days, therefore, have been missed out, yet the scribe is obviously dealing with the calendar year of 365 days, and not with the temple year of 360 days, because the birthdays of these gods were not celebrated in the temple calendar. Thus it seems highly probable that this is the very year in which the five epagomenal days were postponed; and the scribe's note was written because it seemed a noteworthy occurrence that there was thunder and rain on these days, as though the gods were angry at the postponement of their birthdays. In the year 1767 B.C. the event would have occurred between the 15th and 20th of September, one month before the same days in October, to which the intercalary period had been postponed; and rain and thunder are sufficiently rare at that time of year to be noteworthy, though every few years one gets a storm of that kind at that season.

The eleventh year of Khyan, therefore, may reasonably be placed at about 1767 B.C. The Dynasty to which he belongs is given in the different versions of Manetho as (1) Salatis, 19 years; (2) Bnon, 44 or 40; (3) Apachnas, 61 or 36; (4) Apophis, 61, 30, or 14; (5) Ionias, 50, and (6) Assis, 49, 30 or 14. By using this eleventh year date we can fix the reign of Khyan (Ionias) at 1777-1728 B.C.; and, allowing 49 years to Assis (1727-1679 B.C.), this dynasty,

which Manetho calls the Fifteenth, closes at 1679 B.C., and the Sixteenth Dynasty, also Hyksos, begins 1678 B.C. This latter is the dynasty which apparently came to an end in the great war which finally established the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Seventeenth Dynasty lasted 151 years, according to Eusebius; and as it ended in 1578 B.C., it must have been established in 1728 B.C., which, as we have just seen, is the date of the end of the reign of Khyan. That is to say, when Khyan died, he was succeeded by the insignificant Hyksos King Assis, who reigned at Memphis, but the native Seventeenth Dynasty immediately established itself in the far south, where its kings ruled as contemporaries of the Hyksos Sixteenth Dynasty at Memphis, until at last these southerners were strong enough to drive the Hyksos out.

Thus all is clear, and can be dated with precision, for the 200 years from the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty in 1577 B.C. back to the accession of Khyan in 1777 B.C. The Rhind Papyrus records the 33rd year of Khyan's predecessor Apophis, and perhaps it is to him that the 36 years' reign is to be attributed (1813-1778 B.C.), and to Apachnas, the 14 years (1827-1814 B.C.). The 44 years of Bnon may be a misreading for 4 years (1831-1828 B.C.), and, if this is so, the 19 years of Salatis would have begun in 1850 B.C. At any rate, the Hyksos invaders may reasonably be supposed to have entered and captured the eastern Delta, and to have pushed on to Memphis, where Salatis is said to have established himself, sometime about 1850 B.C.; but the monuments show us that of these Hyksos Kings only two, Apophis and Khyan (Ionias), ruled all Egypt, that is to say, the Hyksos rule did not spread over all Egypt until 1813 B.C. Even after this, however, the native kings probably survived as vassals in the western Delta and far up in the south.

For the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties, therefore, we have the whole period from the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1898 B.C. right through to the establishment of the Seventeenth Dynasty in 1728 B.C., i.e. a period of 170 years; and during the first 47 years of this period Egypt was free of foreign invaders, during the next 37 years the

Hyksos Kings held only the eastern Delta and Memphis, and it was only during the 86 years of the great reigns of Apophis and Ionias that the native kings reigned as vassals or possibly even as exiles.

I will deal with this subject in the next volume: I only wish to show here that the historical material for the period between the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty and establishment of the Eighteenth fits exactly into place, without the least cramping, between the dates which I have here assigned to those events, and which are fixed by the records of Sothic risings. Egyptologists, until now, have endeavoured either to cramp this material into about 200 years, which was the limit allowed owing to the German miscalculations in regard to the calendar; or else they have had to spread it over a period a whole Sothic cycle of 1460 years longer: and in both cases they have failed, of course, to establish an acceptable position. The riddle, however, is now finally solved, the intermediate period being 321 years in length.

SEASONAL TESTS OF THE DATES

In conclusion, let me test my dates by applying them to a dozen of the best known instances in which the seasons are mentioned in historical inscriptions:

1. There is a quarry inscription at Hammamât, dated in Year 19 of Amenemes III, 1st month of the 2nd season, day 15. This, according to me, is about 1940 B.C., when that date corresponds to the end of March, the end of the cool season, when quarrying is likely to have been in progress. In the hot season the works would shut down.

2. Also at Hammamât is an inscription in the 20th year of the same king, 3rd month of 1st season, day 13. This corresponds to the middle of January, right in the cool season.

3. At Hammamât again is recorded the 14th year of Sesostri III, 4th month of 1st season, day 16. This corresponds to the end of February in the year 1983 B.C., which is the date according to my reckoning.

4. At the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty Thutnakht, at El Bersheh, states that the flax harvest was reaped in

the last quarter of the 4th month of the 1st season. According to my reckoning this corresponds to the first days of April, which is the exact time at which the flax harvest is reaped in Middle Egypt.

5. At Hammamât there is an inscription dated in the 2nd year of Neb-toui-re Mentuhotpe, 2nd month of 1st season, day 23. This is 2191 B.C., and the date then corresponds to the end of February. The inscription says that it rained on that day, and rain in February often occurs.

6. Again at Hammamât is an inscription in the 8th year of Senkh-ke-re Mentuhotpe, 1st month of 3rd season, day 3. This is exceptional. It is early in September, when the weather is still pretty hot, though by no means unbearable up in the high country of Hammamât. The writer, however, was on his way back from an expedition to Pount, and could not choose his time.

7. In the reign of Nefer-ke-re, Herkhuf arrived back from an expedition to Nubia with a dancing dwarf. He notified the Pharaoh, and received the royal answer in a letter dated Year 2, 3rd month of 1st season, day 15, which would be the middle of June in the year 2545 B.C., the date by my reckoning. Expeditions to Nubia would take place in winter, but in this case, as I shall show on page 240, his start was delayed by a visit of the King to Aswân; and if Herkhuf got back in May and then sent a letter to the king in Lower Egypt, the seasonal date would tally nicely.

8. In the reign of Merenre (no year is given) Uni records that he quarried a large block of stone at Hetnub in the 3rd month of the 3rd season, and then transported it by river, and brought it to the king's pyramid, "although there was no water on the land," or perhaps "in the canals," or again, possibly, "on the sandbanks," the word *thesu* being of doubtful meaning. I reckon this as about 2550 B.C., when the date corresponds to February, at which season, of course, there is no flood-water on the fields or in the irrigation canals, while early in March the sandbanks in the Nile begin to trouble the boatmen.

9. In Year 5 of the same king, 2nd month of 3rd season, day 28, the king went himself to the First Cataract. In about 2550 B.C. this would be towards the end of January,

a time of year at which the weather in that district is at its best and coolest.

10. At the Hetnub quarries there is an inscription in the year of the jubilee of Meryre, about 2555 B.C. It is dated in the 1st month of the 1st season, which corresponds to April, the end of the quarrying season.

11. A Sinai inscription of the same reign is dated in about the 19th year, 4th month of 3rd season, day 6, which, according to me, is 2555 B.C., the time of year being early in March, in the cool season. An inscription at Hammamât of a year later gives a date a few days earlier.

12. In the Cairo Museum there is a table of offerings of a Superintendent of Scribes, named Sethu. It was found at Gizeh, and is numbered by Reisner G.4710. It dates from the Fourth Dynasty, about 2780 B.C. Cut into this offering-table is a small tank, having three steps around it. On the lowest step is written: "Season of Shom, height 22 cubits"; on the middle step: "Season of Pero, height 23 cubits"; and on the top step: "Season of Akhe, height 25 cubits." It is obvious that these figures refer to the height of the water in the tank, consequent upon the state of the Nile; and the table must have served as a petition, or a thankoffering, for the best possible river levels throughout the year. Shom was then, evidently, the season of the lowest Nile, and Akhe the season of the highest Nile. In 2780 B.C. this was pretty nearly exactly so: Shom then lasted from the end of January to the end of May, and Akhe from the end of May to the end of September. My date is thus confirmed.

These twelve instances will show that the dates I have submitted in the foregoing pages are in perfect accord with the evidence; and I think, therefore, that the whole question of early Egyptian chronology back to the time of Menes may now be said to have been placed on a satisfactory, if not on an absolutely final, basis.

THE EARLIEST DATES IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Let us now see whether we can carry Egyptian dates back farther than this; and for this purpose we must

return again to my reconstruction of the Annals. The top register contains the names of kings who reigned before Menes: on the Palermo Stone these are kings of Lower Egypt; on the Cairo fragment they are kings of Upper Egypt. Another small fragment, unplaced, shows other kings wearing the united crown of both countries. The size of the spaces in this register shows that there must have been 158 kings in all. Now Manetho states that previous to Menes there were four dynasties of "demi-gods": the first lasting 1,255 years; the second lasting 1,817 years; the third, consisting of 30 kings of Memphis, lasting 1,790 years; and the fourth, consisting of 10 kings of This (Thinis), lasting 350 years. The total is thus 5,212 years. If, then, we divide our 158 kings into this 5,212 years, the average per king will be 33 years, which is the recognized average length of a human generation, though it is somewhat too high for the length of an average reign. This shows, I think, that Manetho's figures are not so very far from the probable facts; and it is evident that we are dealing with history and not with mythology. I will try to show, presently, that three of these dynasties were contemporary.

Before the time of Menes there are four distinct kingdoms which can be recognized in Egypt. There is the kingdom of Lower Egypt, with its capitals at Sais and Buto, where reigned the *Bya*, or Hornet, who wore the famous red crown. There was the kingdom of the *Insi*, or Reed, whose king wore the white crown and probably reigned at Heracleopolis, his northern residence being perhaps "the White Wall," the original city on the site of the later Memphis. Then there was the kingdom of the *Hûr*, or Hawk, whose early capital was Hieraconpolis, south of the later Thebes. And lastly there was a kingdom centred at Thisis (Abydos), and which probably supplanted the original Hawk-kingdom, since Menes was descended from it.

It is generally thought that Lower Egypt was the oldest kingdom; and therefore, experimentally, let us assign to it the 1,817 years, which puts its foundation at about 5224 B.C. The Heracleopolis-Memphis kingdom, according to Manetho, was next to be founded, 1,790 years before Menes, about 5197 B.C. Next came the original dynasty

of the Hawks, let us suppose, lasting 1,255 years, and therefore founded in about 5012 B.C.; and on its collapse in 3757 B.C. it may well have been succeeded by the 350 years of the kings of Thisis or This who reigned until the accession of Menes in 3407 B.C. Manetho naturally placed the original Hawk-dynasty first, because the Hawk-kings ultimately conquered all Egypt, and the "Hawk" was the proudest of all the royal titles; and he placed the 10 kings of This last because Menes was directly descended from them.

Therefore we may elaborate Manetho's record thus:

	Founded B.C.
1. The original Hawk-dynasty of Hieraconpolis, lasting 1,255 years	5012
2. The Hornet-dynasty of Lower Egypt, lasting 1,817 years	5224
3. The Reed-dynasty of Heracleopolis and Memphis, lasting 1,790 years	5197
4. The dynasty of Thisis, supplanting the original Hawks, and lasting 350 years	3757

The Turin Papyrus gives us two more facts: (1) it gives the duration of the Lower Egyptian kingdom as $2,100 + x$ years, therefore carrying back the records of that kingdom to 5507 B.C. or so; and (2) it gives a dynasty of 19 kings of Memphis, thus making $30 + 19 = 49$ kings of that dynasty.

Now let us place these dynasties in the order of Manetho's record, upon my reconstruction of the Annals; and we shall find that, from left to right, we have room for: (1) 10 kings of This; (2) 49 kings of Heracleopolis and Memphis; (3) about 60 kings of Lower Egypt, though there is nothing to indicate the actual number; and (4) about 39 kings of Hieraconpolis to fill up the remaining spaces. In this way the Lower Egyptian kings shown on the Palermo Stone fall into place, and the Upper Egyptian kings of the Cairo fragment also fall into place, while the kings with the double crown were probably the original Hawk-kings at the beginning of the register, who may have been traditionally regarded as sovereigns of all Egypt. Of course, this arrangement is pure guess-work, but I wish to show that 158 year-spaces in the first register of the Annals is about the number one might expect, and that Manetho's record probably agreed

with it to some extent, the material thus being historical and not mythical. It is interesting to notice that the lists of the early kings of Sumer and Akkad also take us back to about 5500 B.C.

To sum up, therefore, I submit the following table of dates :—

	B.C.
Establishment of the dynasty of Lower Egypt (Turin)	5507
" " " " " " (Manetho)	5224
" " " Heracleopolis and Memphis	5197
" " " Hieraconpolis	5012
" " " Thisis	3757
Accession of Menes, and establishment of First Dynasty	3407
Institution of the Calendar with October 20th–21st as New Year's Day, and June 17th–18th (rising of Sirius) as 1st day of season of Shom	3400
Establishment of Second Dynasty	3144
Rising of Sirius, June 22nd, coincided with calendar New Year's Day, and hence the beginning of a Sothic cycle may have been recognized	2895
Establishment of Third Dynasty	2887
" " Fourth "	2789
" " Fifth "	2715
" " Sixth "	2587
Beginning of the six kingless years at end of Sixth Dynasty	2458
Establishment of the Seventh Dynasty	2452
" " Eighth "	2377
" " Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties	2271
" " Tenth Dynasty	about 2221
End of Tenth Dynasty	about 2197
Establishment of the Twelfth Dynasty	2111
" " Thirteenth "	1897
Arrival of the Hyksos, and establishment of the Fifteenth Dynasty	1850
Adjustment of the Calendar from Mesore year to Thoth year by postponement of intercalary days for one month	1767
Death of Khyan, and establishment of the Seventeenth Dynasty, contemporary with Hyksos Sixteenth Dynasty	1728
Establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty	1577
Beginning of Sothic cycle of Menophres, when rising of Sirius (July 6th) coincided with 1st Thoth	1317
Beginning of Sothic cycle, when rising of Sirius (July 17th) coincided with 1st Thoth	A.D. 139

THE KINGS OF THE FIRST THREE DYNASTIES

Finally, the following additional notes on the early kings will, I hope, give good reason for my new rendering of many of their names, and, at the same time, will clear up any

remaining difficulties in regard to their positions in my reconstruction of the Annals.

RO. The series of royal tombs at Abydos begins with a group to the north of those of Nar-mer, Neithotpe, and Menes. These were the sepulchres, no doubt, of Manetho's ten kings of This or Thinis. The earliest known name is that of the Hawk-king Ro, who may well have been the seventh of his line.

KE. Tomb B.7 at Abydos is that of the Hawk-king Ke. He may have had a co-regency with the "Scorpion," for the two names are inscribed side by side on alabaster vases (*Hieraconpolis* I, xxxiv). The inscriptions written against his name,    and   , which Petrie reads as "King Ap" and Queen Ha," are probably simply names of territories "South" and "North,"  or  corresponding to , and the other signs being the irrigated fields of the south, and the canal-watered lands of the north. I shall show later that  at this time is probably a determinative of "land."

THE SCORPION. The "Scorpion," was an individual Hawk-king, for the hawk is written above his name (Junker, *Phil-hist. Klasse*, 1910, xiv). He therefore cannot be identified with Ke, although their names often appear together. He had no tomb at Abydos. He seems to have taken possession of the Reed-Kingdom, for he wears the white crown of that realm, and his name was found at Turah, opposite Memphis (Junker). His name in Egyptian cannot be determined, as there are several readings for the scorpion sign.

NAR-MER. Tomb at Abydos. As Hawk-king his name is sometimes written simply Nar, with the Mer outside the hawk-enclosure. Then it is combined into Nar-mer, as one name inside the enclosure. At Tarkhan a third name, 

The, appears inside the enclosure, as though the king was ultimately called Nar-mer-the. He seems to have conquered the Delta, for he wears the red crown of Lower Egypt

as well as the white crown of the Reed-Kingdom. But primarily he was a Hawk-king of Hieraconpolis, the original home of the Hawks. In the case of one of the inscribed sealings (*Royal Tombs* II, xiii, 93) the word  alternates with the name Nar-mer. This has led some to think he is to be identified with Menes; but in many of the other early sealings the alternating word is evidently the name of a place, not of a person, and I think  is generally a territorial ideogram at this period (compare *Royal Tombs* II, xiv, 100; xv, 109; xviii, 142). The name of Menes is written in early times without the . Moreover, the famous ivory plaque of Menes (De Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, reproduced in Budge, *History*, I, 178) shows that the Hawk-name of Menes was not Nar-mer.

MENES. Since he reigned 62 years he must have been young when he came to the throne. He was married, probably, to Neithotpe, who, as I shall explain on page 103, was possibly a princess of the Set-people. Her title is

 , which I think is the word     *Mae*, "to conceive, or generate," afterwards found in the queens'

title    "Begotten of Horus and Set." The

Lower Egyptian legitimists did not recognize him, and the Sakkâra List, which is a Lower Egyptian list, does not record him at all. As Hawk-king of the elder, or Hieraconpolis, line, he was called Ohe, "the Fighter." As Hawk-king of This or Thisis, where he was buried, he was called   , Meni, for as such he is given in the Abydos

List, which seems always to use the local name. I should mention that the Thisis-name is the name written, as one so often sees, beside the Hawk-enclosure in the contemporary inscriptions. As *Nebti* or "Lord of the Vulture and Lord of the Cobra," i.e. as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, he was also called Meni, which Manetho, who seems always to use the *Nebti* name of these early kings, gives as Mênēs (MENE-s). If Menes were Nar-mer, then Ohe would have to be Athothis, which definitely he is not.



1, A FRAGMENT OF A SLATE PALETTE OF THE PERIOD BEFORE THE FIRST DYNASTY, PROBABLY ABOUT THE TIME OF KING NARMER. On the one side a battlefield is represented, with men being led captive by the Hawk-standards; and on the other side are giraffes. The lower part is in the British Museum, the upper part in the Ashmolean, Oxford. See *page 94*.

2 AND 3. THE FRONT AND BACK OF ANOTHER PALETTE OF THE SAME PERIOD. A bull, representing the King, sotes a foreign enemy. These palettes were ceremonial objects of uncertain use.

ATHOTHIS. On the Cairo fragment of the Annals this king's mother is called "the concubine, Hept," and as

Hawk of Hieraconpolis he took the appropriate name 

Khenti, "He of the harîm," a name usually incorrectly transcribed *Zer*. (The sign is probably an old form of *Khenti*, a stockade or enclosure: see p. 7.) Beside this Hawk-name we

get the name  (Royal Tombs II, xv, 109), which was his name as Hawk of Thisis, and which appears on the Abydos

List as . On the Cairo fragment of the Annals this name

appears as ; but in the Turin Papyrus it is written

, *Thuth*. The name of the god Thoth is sometimes

written simply ; and therefore I think ,  and

 are all readings of , and the name was probably

Athuthi; from which Manetho rightly derived his Athothis (A-THOTH-I-S), this being also the king's *Nebti* name. In

certain African tribes at the present day there are "learned men" who recite by heart the lists of names of dead rulers; and I suppose the names of Egyptian kings were likewise handed down orally, as well as in writing. Hence it is

more reasonable to suppose that Manetho's rendering of the names is generally correct than it is to regard him as being in error whenever there is a difficulty. This king was

not recognized by the Sakkâra List. He was afterwards identified with Osiris (page 111) under the name *Khenti-Imenti*, "Khenti in the Western Necropolis." The name

of Osiris is sometimes written  Osiris-Athuthi (?).

His tomb was revered as the Tomb of Osiris.

KENKENES. As Hawk of Hieraconpolis this king took the name , generally read Thet or Zet. But on the

ivory plaque of Menes this same sign is written in the "Vulture and Cobra" title in place of , which suggests,

as Sethe has seen, that it is to be read *Utho*, like the name of the goddess who became Uto, after whom Buto was called. This name, Utho, alternates with  on fragments from his tomb, this being his name as Hawk of Thinis. The Abydos List gives this as . The name is lost in the Turin Papyrus. He was not recognized by the historian who compiled the Sakkâra List. His *Nebti* name was written , the two arms holding a bludgeon, the ideogram of the word *Khenkhen*, "the Terrible." Manetho, using the *Nebti* name as before, reads this as Kenkenes (*KENKEN-es*). With him the direct line of Menes died out.

UENEPHES. Next comes a queen, , generally read Mer-neit. But the sign  is probably the hoe, *Hen*, which is the implement with which a conqueror hacks up a defeated land, as in the slate palettes, and the name means "Neit is victorious." Manetho records this as Uenephes (*UENEPH-es*), which is either his reading of Hen-Neit, or a copyist's error for Uenethes, or possibly he mistook  for , and read the name Hen-Nef. As sovereign of Thinis the queen seems to have taken a name which either reads Athuthi, like that of the previous kings, or else Ite or Ato, for it appears in the Abydos List as  , and in the Turin Papyrus as  , but is not known on contemporary objects. All the sealings from her tomb bear the name of the next king, Usaphais, which suggests that he was her heir. She had no Hawk-name.

USAPHAIS. According to the Palermo Stone this king was the son of a lady whose name ended with  . He was not a northerner, for he is not recognized in the Sakkâra List. He was not a Hawk by descent, for the Hawk-festivals, so conspicuous every second year in

other reigns in the Annals, do not occur in this reign. He was the first king to call himself . As Hawk of Hieraconpolis he took the name . The  is probably the ideogram of the word *udi*, "to destroy" or "cast down." The  is probably the ground-sign implicit in that meaning, and was not pronounced. Its phonetic value at this time may have been *bi*, as I will suggest under the names of Miebis, Bieneches, and Binothris. I think this sign  originally represented clods of Nile-mud (*Royal Tombs* II, xiv, 100), as it probably does in the word *heb*, "to plough" (*Hieraconpolis* II, lxx, 14 and 15). See *Royal Tombs* II, xxv, 17, 18; and see the hieroglyph for "island" (Griffith, *Hieroglyphs* II, 14), where we obviously have some earth with a sandy beach around it; or again, its use as an alternative for  as a determinative of *thet*, "boundlessness"; or as corresponding to the irrigation squares, , in the inscription of King Ke, mentioned above.

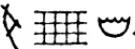
Note, also, its colour, black. In the sign  the plants on one side grow out of the  irrigation squares of Upper Egypt, and on the other side out of the  ploughed earth of Lower Egypt. The king's name, therefore, is probably Udi, "the Overthrower," not Udi-mu, as has been suggested.

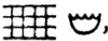
As King of Thisis he was called . These signs are given as  in the Abydos List; but these are not a mistake for the other: they are alternatives, as is shown in the Papyrus of Nu, where the name is written  .

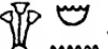
They read, in either case, Hesapti or Hesapi. This, I suppose, was also the king's *Nebti* name, and hence Manetho's Usaphais (USAPHAI-S). In the Turin Papyrus it is written

 . Besides being the first king to be *Insi-Bya*, he was the first to use the title *Bya* at all; the first to combine the red crown with the white crown; the first to wear at his forehead the royal cobra, probably part of the *Bya* insignia; the first to employ a "Treasurer of the *Bya*";

and the first to hold the ceremony called "the Appearance of the *Bya*." When, therefore, we find that his son(?) and successor, Miebis, is the first king to be recognized in the Sakkâra List, I think it is obvious that he must have had some family connection with the Delta, and his son was therefore the first king to be recognized by the north, Menes and his two successors having been regarded simply as conquerors. King Usaphais seems to have associated this son, Miebis, on the throne with him, for the two names, Usaphais and Miebis, are written side by side in inscriptions from the Royal Tombs. Manetho gives Miebis a reign of 26 years, but my reconstruction of the Annals shows a reign of only 13, which suggests that there were 13 years of co-regency.

MIEBIS. The name of the new king as *Insi-bya*, and as Hawk of Thinis, was . This time Manetho gives the  as *mer* (later *mi*) and not as *hen*, and obtains

MIE-BI-S. For the , compare the inscriptions of Ke :

 and . The Abydos List puts the  before the . The Sakkâra List seems to suggest that the signs were  originally, which again reminds

us of the Ke inscription. The Turin Papyrus gives the name

as , and  is a reading of , *bi*, "to

plough," in the Pyramid Texts. Note also the fact that in the name of Thutmose II , the  is sometimes

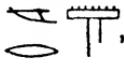
written  or , as though it read *Bya*, which makes one

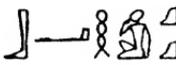
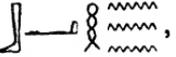
wonder whether all the royal names ending in  have been misread by us. To Manetho, at any rate, the signs

after  in Miebis evidently spelt but one word *Bi*, or similar. As Hawk of Hieraconpolis, the king's name was Othib, meaning "stout of heart."

SEMEMPSES. This king is not recognized by the Sakkâra

List, probably because he was not of Lower Egyptian descent, i.e. he was not a son of Miebis or of Queen Uenephes.

His mother's name, perhaps , is preserved on the Cairo fragment of the Annals. His name as Hawk of Thisis, *Insi-Bya*, and *Nebti*, was , which is generally read *Shemsu*, but, in view of Manetho's reading, SEMEM[P]S-es may have been *Shememsu*. As Hawk of Hieraconpolis he was called . I suggest that  is the word , *mer* "to bind on a royal diadem," for  and  are sometimes used for the same determinative in other words. The name is lost in the Turin Papyrus.

BIENECHES OR BIENTHES. This king's name as *Insi-Bya*, *Nebti*, and Hawk of Hieraconpolis, was , which in the Abydos List is written , and in the Sakkâra List . In the Turin Papyrus only the two signs  are visible. The first of these names is generally read *Qa'*, and the others *Qebhu*; but I think it is more likely that the  is an archaic writing of  *Beh*, "Plenty" or "Abundance," which is connected with , "Abundance" in the sense of "flood." The name, therefore, is probably *Behu*. Curiously enough, this king had a second *Nebti* name generally given as  *Sen* (*Royal Tombs* II, viii, 1; xii, 6; and *Abydos* I, xi, II); but it is to be remembered that Manetho seems always to use the *Nebti* name of these early kings, and therefore his Bieneches has to be identified with this so-called *Sen*, since it is evidently not a rendering of *Behu*. Now the word  *neth* in the phrase , a form of salutation, is

similar in meaning to $\downarrow \overset{\text{~~~~~}}{\Delta}$, both conveying the idea of rubbing noses, or smelling, as a primitive salutation. The original \downarrow is written with \downarrow , the spear-sign, *nese*. The ~~~~~ , coming below the nose-sign in the original writing, is a separate word, perhaps to be read *bi*, as I have suggested in the name of Micbis (see also under Binothris). Thus one would get Bi-neth or Bi-nes, of which Manetho's BIE-NECH-*es* or BIE-NTHE-*s* would be an exact rendering.

BÆTHOS. With this king the Second Dynasty begins. The well-known Cairo statue gives the names of the first three kings of the dynasty, $\overset{\circ}{\downarrow} \downarrow$, \ominus and $\downarrow \text{~~~~~}$. The last of these three can be identified and placed by the Sakkâra and Abydos Lists, and therefore $\overset{\circ}{\downarrow} \downarrow$ falls into place as the Hawk-name of the first king of the dynasty. The Abydos List, which presumably uses the Thinis-name, calls him $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ *Butho*, which in Manetho's time would read Bætho, and hence Bæthos (BÆTHO-*s*). This was evidently also his *Nebti*-name. The corresponding name in the Sakkâra List was $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$, Neterbeu, which must be a third name of the king. This appears, too, in the Turin Papyrus. It has been suggested that *Butho* is really a misreading for *Nar-mer* introduced here by mistake; but this seems rather unnecessary.

KAIECHOS. This name, the next in Manetho's list, Kaiechos (KAIE-CHO-*s*), corresponds to the $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ *Kekeu* of the Sakkâra and Abydos Lists, and the $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ of Turin. The Hawk-name was \ominus *Nebre*, which suggests a Heliopolitan origin. There is a fragment from Abydos (*Royal Tombs* II, viii, 12) bearing his erased name, and the superimposed name of the next king \downarrow

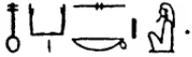
BINOTHRIS. This is the king whose Hawk-name was . This was also his *Insi-Bya* and *Nebti* name. The Abydos List gives it as  , and the Sakkâra List as    , leaving out the , which is still perhaps an ideogram. Turin gives it as  . The reading was evidently Bi-neter, from which Binothris (BI-NOTHR-is) was derived; and I think we must say that  corresponds to . Note the word  , or   , *Bi*, "to plough," which may have been determined by , just as   *heb* was (*Hieraconpolis* II, lxx, 14 and 15). Perhaps the reading of the name in *Royal Tombs* II, viii, 13, ends with a plough (not a boat) as in the Turin Papyrus reading of the name Miebis. This was the king who, in the 363rd year of the era, destroyed the "Host of Re," as recorded above.

TLAS. The Edfu legend, in recording the above-mentioned civil war, tells how the king overthrew the army of Set. It is interesting to notice, therefore, that the new king calls himself Set-king as well as Hawk-king. As the former, and also as *Insi-Bya*, he is named  , generally read Peribsen. I think the  is really *Wathit*, "a place of offerings," or "altar-hall," written with the enclosure-sign and the jar of offerings; and the remainder of the name is  , *nes*, "voice," or "tongue," in which case the  now for the first time has its later value of *n*. This word *Wathit* is later written  . The Sakkâra and Abydos Lists make this reading clear, for the one gives the name as   and the other as  . In Manetho's time *Wath* had become *Uôth* or *Uôt*, and *nes* had changed to *las*. Hence Otlas, which Manetho thought was

δ τλας, and recorded as Tlas. His Hawk-name was , sometimes amplified into  (*Abydos* III, ix, 3). The king's name in the Turin Papyrus is lost.

SETHENES. In the Abydos List this king's name is given as , and in the Sakkâra List and Turin Papyrus as , but there are no contemporary remains. Possibly Manetho read it as , *seden*, "authority," and hence SETHEN-es.

NEPHERCHERES. In the Sakkâra List and Turin Papyrus the next king was , obviously the Nephercheres (NEPHER-CHE-RE-S) of Manetho; but the Abydos List does not mention him, which suggests that he was not regarded as legitimate there. There are no contemporary remains.

SESOCHRIS. In the Sakkâra List the next king is , from which Manetho's Sesochris (SE-SOCHR-is) must be derived, leaving out the , as he does in some other cases. He was ignored by the Abydos List. The Turin Papyrus gives the name as .

CHAIRES AND CHENNERES. Now comes a difficulty. Manetho has a King Chaires, whom he places between Sethenes and Nephercheres; and he ends the dynasty with King Chenneres. There are thus two kings to be accounted for.

The Turin Papyrus has here two kings: , *Huthefi*, 11 years 8 months, and , *Thethi*, 27 years 2 months. The Abydos List has one king, , *Thethi*. The Sakkâra List has one king, , *Huthefi*. The contemporary remains give us two names,  and , the latter having another name, , with the title  "Pacifier of the two Hawks." This

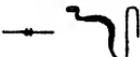
name  is probably the same as the word , *hethef*, "the Destroyer." Hence the  of the Turin Papyrus, the  of the Sakkâra List, and the  of the contemporary remains might all be identified with . But on the Palermo Stone the reign which is undoubtedly that of , since there is reference to the making of a statue of that king, ends with "2 months," and therefore corresponds to the Turin Papyrus reign of  , which ends with "2 months." Manetho's "Chenneres" (KHE-NERE-S) may be a rendering of either  or , for he has evidently read  or  as *neri*, which is probably its true reading, and has thus obtained *Khe-Neri*, or Chenneres. His Chaires (CHAI-RE-S) might be derived from , *Ke-re*, a name found on a cylinder of about this period at El Kâb (Quibell, *El Kab*, xx, 29). I think, therefore, that there must be two kings, the first being Chaires, the Huthefi of the Turin and Sakkâra Lists, and the second being Chenneres, the Thethi of the Turin and Abydos Lists, whose other names were  or  and . In my reconstruction of the Annals I have given the two reigns as shown in the Turin Papyrus. This ends the Second Dynasty.

NECHEROPHES. This king begins Manetho's Third Dynasty. The Abydos List and the Turin Papyrus give here a king called  *Nebke*. The Sakkâra List gives a king called  *Beby*. Necherophes (NE-CHE-ROPHE-S) is probably a rendering of Neb-ke-Beby, *neb* being *ne*, as so often in later times.

TOSORTHOS. The next king on the Abydos List is  *Thoser-sa(?)*, given by Manetho as Tosorthos

(TOSOR-[R]THO-s). In the Turin Papyrus the name is , and I think the  is not *in* at all, as usually read, but is an ideographic spelling of , *Retho*, a certain kind of fish; for, in the case of the sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty we have the name , read by Manetho as RATHU-[RE-s], and there are several words beginning with these three signs, generally read *in*..., which have their exact equivalents in words approximating to *reth*....: the clearest instances being  and  "to repel,"  and  "rope," and  and  "sandstone." In the Sakkâra List the name is simply . His Hawk-name was . The two names are found together on the Sehêl stela. The  of the Abydos List is probably a misreading for .

TOSERTASIS. In the Sakkâra List and the Turin Papyrus the next king was , Thosertati, the Tosertasis (TOSER-TASI-s) of Manetho. The Abydos List gives the name simply as . Manetho's next three kings, Tyreis, Mesochris, and Soyphis, are an evident mistake.

ACHES. The next king in the Turin Papyrus is ; in the Abydos List the name is  *sethes*, and in the Sakkâra List . The *sethes* may be a miswriting for *sethes*, for the latter word is determined by the goose-sign, as in the Turin Papyrus. This last name has been found in the great unfinished construction between Gizeh and Abusîr (*Annales* XII, 6r), which was evidently the beginning of his pyramid. Another name of the same king also found here is composed of a  preceded by an unread-

able sign, perhaps , and from this Manetho probably obtained his Aches (A-CHE-s).

KERPHERES. Manetho's next two kings are Sephuris and Kerperes, but the order should be reversed. Kerperes perhaps corresponds to the  of the Abydos List, though in this case it must be a corruption of CHE-[NE]PHER-RE-S. The Sakkâra List gives the name , and the Turin Papyrus has . At Bêt Khallâf Garstang found his tomb, the name being written , which he read as Hen-nekht. Sethe read it Sa-nekht. Actually, I think, it is certainly to be read Hûni, as in the lists, for the word *hu* in the Pyramid Texts, meaning "to strike," is written with the  as a determinative. In the Sinai inscription of the king (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, iv. 3) the sign has the form of a cudgel.  means "the Smiter," and  is a determinative as in the word , "a cudgel." On a fragment of a sealing from this tomb (*Mahasna*, XIX, 7) part of the cartouche can be seen, and the last sign, the only one remaining, is certainly  (curved at the bottom as is usual at the period) which is the last sign of his name .

SEPHURIS. This is the great Snofru, with whose reign we reach firmer ground. Manetho has confused him with a later king, whom he gives as Snephres (SNEPHRE-S). The quarry marks on the stones of the Meidûm pyramid are dated in the 17th year of the reign, and range from the 2nd month of Pero, day 22, to the 3rd month of Shom, day 8. Reference to Knobel's tables will show that if my date for this 17th year is correct, namely, 2797 B.C., the first of these days falls towards the end of November and the last in the beginning of April, which exactly covers the cool season when quarrying was alone possible. The assertion that the height of summer was the season for

quarrying (Petrie, *Historical Studies*, p. 11) is an unaccountable error.

This brings us to the end of the Third Dynasty, and practically to the bottom of the front surface of the Annals, so far as it remains. It is not necessary, therefore, to carry these notes further in any detail. It may be as well, however, to compare the subsequent names, so far as they appear in the Annals, with those of Manetho and other early writers.

MANETHO, ETC.	HIEROGLYPHIC ORIGINAL.
Suphis (S-UPH- <i>is</i>) }	KHU-FU, OR KHE-UF.
Cheops (CHE-OP- <i>s</i>) }	
Ratoises (R[E]-[T]ATOI-S- <i>es</i>)	RE-TATI-F, OR RE-DAD-EF
Suphis (S-UPH- <i>is</i>) }	KHE-FRE
Chephren (CHE-PHRE[N]) }	
Soris (SO-RI- <i>s</i>)	SHE-RO
Mencheres (MEN-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	MEN-KEU-RE
Sebercheres (SEBER-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	SHEPSES-KE-RE
Thamphthis (TH-AM-PHTHI- <i>s</i>)	I-EM-HOTPE
Usercheres (USER-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	USER-KE-RE (a King of the Sixth Dynasty confused with Userkef by Manetho)
Sephres (SEPH-RE- <i>s</i>)	SAHU-RE
Cheres (CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	KHE-RE-[NEFER]
Sisires (SI-SI-RE- <i>s</i>)	SISI
Nephercheres (NEPHER-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	NEFER-[IR]-KE-RE
Rathures (RATHU-RE- <i>s</i>)	[NUSER-RE]RETHO
Mencheres (MEN-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	MEN-KEU-HUR (or possibly Men- keu-re)
Tatcherer (TAT-CHE-RE- <i>s</i>)	TAT-KE-RE OR DAD-KE-RE

SUMMARY

The foregoing pages will be sufficient to explain the new interpretation of these early periods of Egyptian history which will be found in the following chapters; but, for the convenience of students, it will be as well to summarize here the twelve main points upon which I differ from accepted Egyptological opinion, as discussed above.

I. My reconstruction of the Palermo Stone Annals has now given a definite length to every reign and every dynasty for the first 750 years or so of Egyptian history, in place of the vague guessing in which we were obliged to indulge in the past. Against my now definite 520 years for the first two dynasties, Breasted has 420 years, and Petrie 555

years ; against my 98 years for the Third Dynasty, Breasted has 80 and Petrie 214 years ; against my 74 years for the Fourth Dynasty, Breasted has 150 and Petrie 284 years ; against my 128 years for the Fifth Dynasty, Breasted has 125 and Petrie 218 years ; and against my 129 years for the Sixth Dynasty, Breasted has 150 and Petrie 198 years.

2. This reconstruction of the Annals also reaffirms the identification of Menes with Ohe, Athothis with Khenti (Zer or Ther), and so on, which had been abandoned in Petrie's *History* and elsewhere. It also fixes the dates of various events, such as the civil war in the 363rd year of the era, and places them in their correct reigns. It shows, amongst other things, that the reading of Pliny's total of 68 years and 4 months for the Gizeh Pyramids period is exact.

3. The reconstruction of the Annals makes it probable that there were four dynasties previous to the time of Menes, and shows that there were 158 kings recorded before Menes, instead of the 184 given by Petrie and the 120 suggested by Breasted.

4. The reconstruction further shows that the list of kings in the Turin Papyrus is absolutely correct, and that Manetho's figures are hopelessly wrong, except here and there, as in his total for the First Dynasty, and in the lengths of the reigns of some of the earlier kings. The reconstruction of the Annals cannot possibly be effected by the use of Manetho's figures after the first few reigns ; but, if we use the Turin Papyrus figures, everything fits exactly, which proves that any system of chronology based on Manetho must be wrong. My reconstruction further shows that the Turin Papyrus totals of 949 years followed by 181 years, are exact ; and these totals are now able to be placed for the first time in their proper position in that broken and fragmentary document.

5. The other reigns and totals in the Turin Papyrus, down to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, are now able to be confirmed and placed ; and this has shown that the sequence of kings in certain dynasties—the Fourth and Fifth, for example—is not that which has previously been accepted. By regarding the accession of the Ninth and

Eleventh Dynasties as simultaneous, an uninterrupted sequence back to the time of Menes is established for the first time.

6. My new study of the calendar shows that the rising of Sirius had no connection with the first New Year's Day at its institution ; and it shows that the calendar began at the fall of the Nile flood, and not at its rise, as was previously thought. It indicates that the season of Akhe originally began on October 20th-21st, and lasted until February 17th-18th, when the reaping of the first crops was complete ; that the next season, Pero, began on February 18th-19th, and lasted until June 17th-18th, when the rising of Sirius took place, and the swelling of the waters of the Nile began ; and that the season of Shom began on June 18th-19th and lasted until October 15th-16th, when the highest flood-levels were reached, after which there were the five epagomenal days, celebrating this high-water mark. It had previously been thought (Meyer) that Akhe lasted from July 19th to November 15th ; Pero from November 16th to March 15th ; and Shom from March 16th to July 13th. This error has been the cause of the former mistakes in early Egyptian dating.

7. The establishment of the calendar occurred about 3400 B.C. and not in 4241 B.C., as stated by Breasted and others. The calendar was instituted by Menes, who, under the name of , as in the Edfu tradition, is the patron of its first month.

8. The Sothic date recorded in the Twelfth Dynasty fixes that dynasty at about 2111-1898 B.C., as against the 2000-1788 B.C. of the German scholars and the 3579-3368 B.C. of Petrie, thus giving neither an insufficient nor a far too excessive length of time for the intermediate period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties.

9. Menes came to the throne on the 46th day of the year, that is to say, the 16th day of the 2nd month of the season of Akhe in about the year 3407 B.C., the actual date being about our December 9th. For this event the previously recognized dates were Breasted's excellent guess of 3400 B.C., the *Cambridge History's* 3500 B.C., and Petrie's 5546

B.C. Menes thus established the calendar early in his reign, probably in his 7th year.

10. Since the calendar was not established when Menes came to the throne, the year-spaces of his reign in the Palermo Stone Annals represent regnal years; but from the accession of Athothis onwards they represent calendar years from New Year's Day to the last day of the last month. The section at the bottom of each year-space represents the five epagomenal days, and originally the highest flood-level was reached within that period of five days, which explains why its record was written in that section.

11. The change in the calendar from the Mesore year to the Thoth year was probably made in 1767 B.C. It was effected by postponing the epagomenal days for one month. This is the only adjustment of the calendar known to have been made in Pharaonic times; but it throws out the dates usually arrived at by Egyptologists in their reckonings of the Sothic cycles as related to the calendar.

12. I give new readings for most of the names of the early kings, and bring them into accord with the names used by Manetho; for it is probable that he had them orally as well as by reading.

Thus the history of the Pharaohs may now be begun upon a definite chronological basis. In this first volume I shall deal separately with every Pharaoh known to us down to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, endeavouring, wherever possible, to interpret the material in such a way that each king takes on some semblance of reality, and no period remains wholly obscure. It is my contention that each fact is dependent on other facts, and that therefore each difficulty must be faced, and each detail employed in building up the general structure; for if one passes lightly over the more obscure ages, dismissing them in a few words, as Egyptologists are so often inclined to do, not only is the significance, I might indeed say the majesty, of the great pageant diminished, but also one is likely to lose the thread of the story and to be led into numerous small errors.

By taking pains in regard to the framework of the history, I have managed, I think, to elucidate much that has pre-

viously been befogged. The First and Second Dynasties, for example, prove to be the great period of religious strife between Set and Horus, a point not realized before ; and the fight for power on the part of the sun-priests of On, or Heliopolis, in the Second Dynasty, becomes clear. Or again, the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, upon close examination, prove to be by no means obscure ; while the Ninth Dynasty, usually dismissed in a few words, has furnished material for perhaps the most vivid part of the whole story.

I must reserve for the second volume the history of the great Twelfth Dynasty, and of the intermediate period, and rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In that volume I shall record and closely date the scores of obscure Kings of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, and shall show how they all fit into place in the 321 years which my system of chronology assigns to them, thus finally proving its correctness. I hope in a third and fourth volume to carry the story down to the classical age. Meanwhile, having established the foundations of my work in the foregoing chapter, I may turn to the study of the individual Pharaohs and kings. I append here a table which gives the full list of them, with the lengths of their reigns and their dates, down to the foundation of the Twelfth Dynasty in 2111 B.C. This long and astonishing sequence of fixed dates will, I believe, have the immediate effect of causing Egyptian chronology to be regarded as the firm backbone of the study of all the ancient civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean ; and now, for the first time, we shall be able to look to the history of the Nile Valley as a clear, uninterrupted line, carrying our vision straight back through the confused ages of the remote Past, without hindrances and without serious uncertainties, to the very beginning of written records.

A TABLE OF THE PHARAOKS OF THE FIRST ELEVEN DYNASTIES.

THE FIRST DYNASTY.

Dynasty.	Turn Papyrus Order.	Manetho's Order.	Name according to Manetho.	Name according to Abydos List.	Abydos List Order.	Name according to Abydos List.	Sakkara List Order.	Name according to Sakkara List.	"Hawk" Name, from Actual Remains.	"Reed and Hornet" Name, from Actual Remains or Later Inscriptions.	"Nebti" Name, or later, "Son of the Sun" Name, from Actual Remains or Later Inscriptions.	Length of Reign : Manetho.	Length of Reign : Turn Papyrus.	Length of Reign : Reconstructed Annals.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
	1	1	MENES	MENI	1	(OMITTED)	—	OHE	(NONE)	MENI	MENI	62 yrs. 6 mo. 7 dys.	..	62 yrs. 6 mo. 7 dys.	62 yrs. 6 mo. 7 dys.	1-62	3407-3346
	2	2	ATHOTHIS	ATHUTHI	2	(OMITTED)	—	KHENTI	(NONE)	ATHUTHI	ATHUTHI	{ 57 27 25	..7	57	57	63-119	3345-3289
	3	3	KENKENES	(MISSING)	3	(OMITTED)	—	UTHO	(NONE)	KHENKHEH	KHENKHEH	{ 31 39	..9	29	29	120-148	3288-3260
	4	4	UENEPHES	ATHUTHI OF ATO	4	(OMITTED)	—	(NONE)	(NONE)	HENNEIT	HENNEIT	{ 23 42	..	26	26	149-174	3259-3234
	5	5	USAPHAIS	HESAPTI	5	(OMITTED)	—	UDI	HESAPTI	HESAPTI	HESAPTI	20	..	40	40	175-214	3233-3194
	6	6	MEBIS	MERBI	6	MERBI	1	OTHIB	MERBI	MERBI	MERBI	26	..	13	13	215-227	3193-3181
	7	7	SEMEMPSES	(MISSING)	7	SHEMSU OR SHEMENSU	—	MERKHEH	SHEMSU OR SHEMENSU	SHEMSU OR SHEMENSU	SHEMSU OR SHEMENSU	18	..	9	9	228-235	3180-3172
	8	8	BIENEPHES OR BIENHES	BEHU	8	BEHU	2	BEHU	BEHU	BEHU OR BIENHES	BEHU OR BIENHES	26	..	28	28	237-264	3171-3144

8 KINGS OF FIRST DYNASTY, 264 YEARS.

THE SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES.

Dynasty.	Turn Papyrus Order.	Name according to Manetho.	Name according to Turn Papyri.	Abdys List Order.	Name according to Abdys List.	Sakkara List Order.	Name according to Sakkara List.	"Hawk" Name, from Actual Remains.	"Reed and Hornet" Name, from Actual Inscriptions.	"Nebti" Name, or late "Name, from Actual Inscriptions.	Length of Reign: Manetho.	Length of Reign: Turn Papyri.	Length of Reign: Reconstructed Annals.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B. C.	
9 KINGS OR SECOND DYNASTY, 256 YEARS.	9 1	BORTHOS	[NETER]BEU	9	BUTHO	3	NETERBEU	HOTPE-SEKHEMUI	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	38	..	47	47	265-311	3143-3097	
	10 2	KAIKCHOS	[K]E]KE[]U	10	KEKEU	4	KEKEU	NEBRE	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	39	..	39	39	312-350	3096-3058	
	11 3	BINOTHIS	BINETER	11	BINETEK	5	BINETER	BINETER	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	47	..	38	38	351-388	3057-3050	
	12 4	TLAS	(MISSING)	12	UOTHNES	6	UOTHNES	SEKHEMIB	UOTHNES	(UNKNOWN)	(SEE NAME)	17	..	17	17	389-405	3019-3003
	13 5	SETHNES	BENDI	13	SENDI	7	SENDI	(UNKNOWN)	SENDI	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	41	..	37	37	406-442	3002-2966
	14 7	NEFERCHERES	NEFERKERE	—	(OMITTED)	8	NEFERKERE	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	25 48	..	32	32	443-474	2965-2934
	15 8	BESOCHNIS	NEFERKE-SOKAR	—	(OMITTED)	9	NEFERKE-SOKAR	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	48	8 YRS. 3 MO.	8	8 YRS. 3 MO.	475-482	2933-2926
	16 6	CHAIRES	HUTHEFI	—	(OMITTED)	10	HUTHEFI	(UNKNOWN)	KERE(?)	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	17	11 YRS. 8 MO.	11	11 YRS. 8 MO.	483-493	2985-2915
	17 9	CHENNERS	THEYTHI	14	THEYTHI	—	(OMITTED)	KHENERI	KHENERI	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	30	27 YRS. 2 MO.	27 YRS. 2 MO. 3 DYS.	27 YRS. 2 MO. 3 DYS.	494-520	2914-2888
	6 KINGS OF THIRD DYNASTY, 98 YEARS.	18 1	NECHROPHES	NEBKE . .	15	NEBKE	11	BEBY	(UNKNOWN)	NEBKE	(UNKNOWN)	28	19	19	19	521-530	2887-2869
		19 2	TOSORTOS	THOSERNTHO	16	THOSERSA(?)	12	THOSER	NETERKHET	THOSER	NETERKHET	29	19 YRS. 3 MO.	19	19 YRS. 3 MO.	540-558	2868-2850
		20 6	TOSERTASH	THOSERTATI	17	TATI	13	THOSERTATI	(UNKNOWN)	THOSERTATI	(UNKNOWN)	19	6	6	6	559-564	2849-2844
		21 7	ACHES	(MISSING)	18	SETHES	14	NEBKERE	(UNKNOWN)	NEBKERE	(UNKNOWN)	42	6 YRS. 1 MO.	6	6 YRS. 1 MO.	565-570	2843-2838
		22 9	KERPHERES	HUNI	19	NEFERKERE	15	HUNI	HUNI	. . . KE . .	(UNKNOWN)	26	24	24	24	571-594	2837-2814
		23 8	SEPHRIS (SNEPHRIS)	SNOPKU	20	SNOPKU	16	SNOPKU	NEBMAET	SNOPKU	NEBMAET	30	24	24	24	595-618	2813-2790

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH DYNASTIES.

24	4	SUPHIS (CHEOPS)	(MISSING)	21	KHEUP	17	KHEUP	METHERU	KHNUMKHEUP OF KHEUP	METHER	63	23	23	23	619-641	2789-2767
25	5	RATOISES	(MISSING)	22	REDADEF	18	REDADIEP	KHEPER	REDADEF	(UNKNOWN)	25	8	8	8	642-649	2766-2759
26	3	SUPHIS (CHEPREH)	KHE[FRE]	23	KHEPRE	19	KHEPRE OF KHEUPRE	USERIB	KHEPRE	HOTIFERE	66	..	18	18	650-667	2758-2742
27	1	SORIS(?)	(MISSING)	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	SHERO	(UNKNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)	29	..	1	1	668	2740
28	4	MENCHERES	(MISSING)	24	MENKEURE	20	MENKEURE	KEKHET	MENKEURE	KE	63	18	18 YRS. 4 MO. 24 DYS.	18 YRS. 4 MO. 24 DYS.	669-686	2739-2722
29	7	SEBERCHERES	(MISSING)	25	SHEPSESKEF	21	(MISSING)	SHEPSES	SHEPSESKEP	(UNKNOWN)	7	4	4	4	687-690	2721-2718
30	8	TRAMPHTHIS	(MISSING)	—	(OMITTED)	22	(MISSING)	(UNKNOWN)	TEMHOTPE	(UNKNOWN)	9	2	2	2	691-692	2717-2716
31	1	USERCHERES	[USER]KE[F]	26	USERKLF	23	USERKEF	IRMAET	USERKEF	NEBKHEV	28	7	7	7	693-699	2715-2709
32	2	SNEPHRES (SEPHRES)	(MISSING)	27	SAHURE	24	SAHURE	NEBKHEU	SAHURE	(UNKNOWN)	13	12	12	12	700-711	2708-2697
33	5	CHERES	(MISSING)	29	NEFEREFRE	27	KHRENEFER	NEFERKHHEU	KHRENEFER	(UNKNOWN)	20	..	4	4	712-715	2696-2693
34	4	SISIRES	(MISSING)	—	(OMITTED)	26	SHEPSESKERE	SEKHEM- KHEU	SHEPSESKERE	(UNKNOWN)	7	7	7 YRS. 9 MO. 28 DYS.	7 YRS. 9 MO. 28 DYS.	716-722	2692-2686
35	3	NEFERCHERES	(MISSING)	28	KEKEI	25	NEFERIKERE	USERKHEU	NEFERIKERE	KHEMSEKH- EMUNEB	20	21	21	21	723-743	2685-2665
36	6	RATHURES	(MISSING)	30	REFUSER OF NUSERRE	—	(OMITTED)	ISTIBTOUI	REFUSER OF NUSERRE	ISTIB	44	11	11	11	744-754	2664-2654
37	7	MENCHERES	MENKHEK OF MENKERE	31	MENKHEUR OF MENKERE	28	MENKHEUR OF MENKERE	MENKHEU	MENKHEUR OF MENKERE	KEUHOR	9	8	8	8	755-762	2653-2646
38	8	TATCHERES	DADI	32	DADKERE	29	DAD(?)KERE	DADKHEU	DADKERE	ISESI OF SISI	44	28	—	28	763-790	2645-2618
39	9	ONNOS	UNNOS	33	UNNOS	30	UNNOS	UOTHTOUI	UNNOS	UNNOS	33	30	—	30	791-820	2617-2588

7 KINGS OF FOURTH DYNASTY,
74 YEARS.

9 KINGS OF FIFTH DYNASTY, 128 YEARS.

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH DYNASTIES.

Dynasty	Turin Papyrus Order	Manetho's Order	Name according to Manetho.	Name according to Turin Papyrus.	Abydos List Order.	Name according to Abydos List.	Sakkara List Order.	Name according to Sakkara List.	"Hawk" Name, from actual Remains.	"Reed and Horset" Name, from Actual Inscriptions.	"Son of the Sun" Name, from Actual Inscriptions.	Length of Reign: Manetho.	Length of Reign: Turin Papyrus.	Length of Reign: Reconstructed Annals.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
6 KINGS OF SIXTH DYNASTY, 139 YEARS.	41	—	—	(MISSING)	34	ATHUTHI OF TOTI	31	ATHUTHI OF TOTI	SEHOTPE-TOUI	ATHUTHI OF TOTI	TOTI	30	8 yrs. 6 mo. 21 dys.	—	8 yrs. 6 mo. 21 dys.	821-828	2587-2580
	42	—	—	(MISSING)	35	USEKERE	—	(OMITTED)	(UNKNOWN)	USEKERE	ITV (?)	—	..	—	6	829-834	2579-2574
	43	2	PHIOS	(MISSING)	36	MERYE	32	PEFY OF PFIOP	MERYTOUI	MERYE PEFY OF PFIOP	PEFY OF PFIOP	53	20	—	20	835-834	2573-2554
	44	3	METHUSUPHIS	(MISSING)	37	MERHIRE OF MERENRE	33	MERHIRE OF MERENRE	ENKHREU	MERHIRE OF MERENRE	MERHIRE OF MERENRE	7	4	—	4	855-858	2553-2550
	45	4	PHIOS	(MISSING)	38	NEFERKERE	34	NEFERKERE	NEFERKHU	NEFERKERE	NEFERKERE	100	90	—	90	859-948	2549-2460
5 KINGS OF SEVENTH DYNASTY, 75 YEARS.	43	5	MENTHESUPHIS	(MISSING)	39	MERHIRE MERTHEM-SUP	—	(OMITTED)	(UNKNOWN)	MERHIRE OF MERENRE	MERTHEM-SUP	1	1 yr. 1 mo.	—	1 yr. 1 mo.	949	2459

TOTAL BY RECKONING USED IN THIS HISTORY 949

TOTAL BY TURIN PAPIRUS SUMMARY 949

TOTAL (MANETHO AND TURIN) 75 YEARS.

Dynasty	Order in Dynasty.	Abydos List Order.	Name according to Abydos List.	Turin Papyrus Order.	Name according to Turin Papyrus.	Name according to Eratosthenes.	Length of Reign: Manetho.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
5 KINGS OF SEVENTH DYNASTY, 75 YEARS.	1	40	NETERKERE	46 (MISSING)	(OMITTED)	(OMITTED)	—	? 5	956-960	2452-2448
	2	41	MENKERE	47	NITOKRI	NITOKRIS	6	12	961-972	2447-2436
	3	42	NEFERKERE	48	NEFERKE HUNU	MURTAIOS	22	22	973-994	2435-2414
	4	43	NEFERKERE REBY	49	NEFERES...	(OMITTED)	—	? 24	995-1018	2413-2390
	5	44	DEDEHREMIK	50	IB	THOOSIMARES	12	12	1019-1030	2389-2378

TOTAL (MANETHO AND TURIN) 75 YEARS.

THE EIGHTH DYNASTY.

Order in Dynasty.	Abdos List Order.	Name according to Abdos List.	Turn Payrus Order.	Name according to Turn Payrus.	Name from actual Remains.	Name according to Kratothene.	Length of Reign: Kratothene.	Length of Reign: Turn Payrus (Names of Kings are missing).	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
1	—	(OMITTED)	51	NEFERKERE	—	—	—	..	1031	2377
2	—	(OMITTED)	52	(MISSING)	KHUI	—	—	..	? 1037	? 2371
3	45	NEFERKERE KHENDUI	53	....NDY	KHENDUI	—	—	..	? 1043	? 2366
4	46	NERENHOR	54	....Y	—	—	—	..	? 1050	? 2359
5	—	(OMITTED)	—	(MISSING)	NEFERKHUMHOR	—	—	..	? 1056	? 2353
6	47	SNEPERKE	—	(MISSING)	SNEPERKE	—	—	..	? 1062	? 2347
7	48	NEKERE	—	(MISSING)	NEKERE	—	—	..	? 1068	? 2341
8	49	NEFERKERE TEROROL	—	(MISSING)	TEROROL	SETHIMIOS	8	..	? 1074	? 2335
9	50	NEFERKHOR	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	..	? 1082	? 2328
10	51	NEFERKERE PIOUSOM	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	..	? 1090	? 2320
11	—	—	—	(MISSING)	SNEFERKHRE PIOUS	SEMPHUKRATES	18	..	? 1097	? 2312
12	52	SNEPERKE ENHO	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	..	? 1115	? 2295
13	53	....KEURE	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	..	? 1120	? 2290
14	54	NEPERKEURE	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	..	1127	2281
15	55	NEFERKEUHOR	—	(MISSING)	NEFERKEUHOR BEURE NETERBEU	—	—	2 YRS. 1 mo. 1 day	1128- 1129	2280- 2279
16	—	—	—	(MISSING)	UTHAKERE SEKHESNY	—	—	4 YRS. 2 mo. 1 day	1130- 1133	2278- 2275
17	—	—	—	(MISSING)	NEFERKHUMHOR	—	—	2 YRS. 1 mo. 1 day	1134- 1135	2274- 2273
18	56	NEFERIKERE	—	(MISSING)	—	—	—	1 YR.	1136	2272

TOTAL (MANETHO) 106 YEARS.
TOTAL (TURIN) FOR SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES, 181 YEARS (106 + 75)

18 KINGS OF EIGHTH DYNASTY, 106 YEARS.

THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES.

Order in Dynasty.	Name from actual Records.	Name according to Manetho.	Name according to Eratosthenes.	Length of Reign: Eratosthenes.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
1	WAHREHE AKHTOI	AKHTOES	KHOUTHER	7	7	1137-1143	2271-2265
2	MERYIBRE AKHTOI	(OMITTED)	MEURES	12	12	1144-1155	2264-2253
3	MERBEURE AKHTOI	(OMITTED)	(OMITTED)	—	? 25	1156-1180	2252-2228
3	MERYEERE AKHTOI	(OMITTED)	(OMITTED)	—	? 6	1181-1186	2227-2222

TOTAL 50 YEARS

Dynasty.	Order in Dynasty.	Name according to Papyrus.	Length of Reign.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
9 KINGS OF TENTH DYNASTY, 25 YEARS.	1	(MISSING)	..	1187	2221
	2	NEFERKERE	..	? 1190	? 2218
	3	AKHTOI	..	? 1193	? 2215
	4	S.....H	..	? 1196	? 2212
	5	(MISSING)	..	? 1198	? 2210
	6	MER.....	..	? 1202	? 2206
	7	SENTI.....	..	? 1205	? 2203
	8	H.....	..	? 1208	? 2200
	9	(MISSING)	..	1211	2197

TOTAL 25 YEARS.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

Order in Dynasty.	Name from Actual Remains.	Abydos List Order.	Name according to Abydos List.	Sakkara List Order.	Name according to Sakkara List.	Length of Reign used in this History.	Years from Accession of Menes.	Date B.C.
1	WARENER INTF	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	50	1137-1186	2271-2222
2	MAKHTNEBTEPNEFER INTF	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	? 10	1187-1196	2221-2212
3	SENKHINTOUI MENTUHOIPE	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	15	1197-1211	2211-2197
4	NEBHEPTE MENTUHOIPE	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	? 25	1212-1236	2196-2172
5	NEBHAFETRE MENTUHOIPE	57	NEBHAFETRE	35	NEBHAFETRE	47	1237-1283	2171-2125
6	SENKHKERE MENTUHOIPE	58	SENKHKERE	36	SENKHKERE	10	1284-1293	2124-2115
7	NESTOUIRE MENTUHOIPE	—	(OMITTED)	—	(OMITTED)	3	1294-1296	2114-2112

TOTAL (TURIN) 160 YEARS.
FOUNDATION OF TWELFTH DYNASTY: 2111 B.C.

7 KINGS OF ELEVENTH DYNASTY, 160 YEARS

Dynasty.

THE NAMES OF THE PHARAOKS OF THE FIRST ELEVEN DYNASTIES AS WRITTEN IN HIEROGLYPHICAL SCRIPT.

THE FIRST DYNASTY.

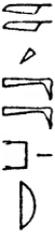
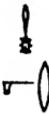
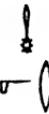
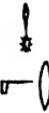
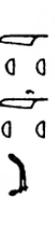
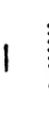
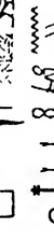
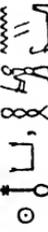
Dynasty.	No.	Hawk Name.	Vulture and Cobra Name.	Set, or Hawk of Nubi Name.	Reed and Hornet Name.	Son of the Sun-god Name.	Other Names or Spellings.
First Dynasty.	1.			-	-	-	-
	2.			-	-	-	-
	3.			-	-	-	
	4.	-		-	-	-	
	5.			-		-	-
	6.			-		-	
	7.			-		-	-
	8.			-		-	-

THE SECOND DYNASTY.

1.			-		-		-		-	
2.		-		-		-		-		-
3.			-		-		-		-	
4.										
5.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	-									
9.										

Second Dynasty.

THE THIRD DYNASTY.

No.	Hawk Name.	Vulture and Cobra Name.	Set, or Hawk of Nubi Name.	Reed and Hornet Name.	Son of the Sun-god Name.	Other Names or Spellings.
1.	—	—	—		—	—
2.					—	—
3.	—	—	—		—	—
4.	—	—	—		—	
5.		—	—		—	—
6.					—	—

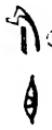
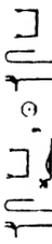
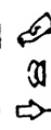
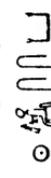
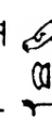
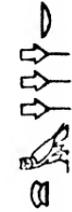
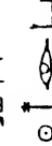
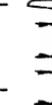
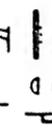
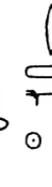
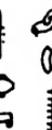
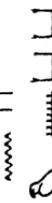
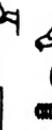
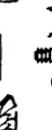
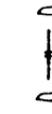
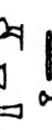
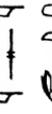
Third Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						

Fourth Dynasty.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

Dynasty.	No.	Hawk Name.	Vulture and Cobra Name.	Set, or Hawk of Nubi Name.	Reed and Hornet Name.	Son of the Sun-god Name.	Other Names or Spellings.
	1.		-	-		-	
	2.		-	-		-	-
	3.		-	-		-	-
	4.		-	-		-	
	5.			-		-	
	6.					-	
	7.		-	-		-	
	8.						-
	9.						-

Fifth Dynasty.

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH DYNASTIES.

1.		-	-			
2.	-	-	-		-	
3.			-			-
4.			-			-
5.		-				-
6.	-	-	-			-
1.	-	-	-		-	-
2.	-	-	-		-	
3.	-	-	-		-	-
4.	-	-	-		-	
5.	-	-	-		-	

Sixth Dynasty.

Seventh Dynasty.

THE EIGHTH AND NINTH DYNASTIES.

Dynasty.	No.	Hawk Name.	Vulture and Cobra Name.	Set, or Hawk of Nubi Name.	Reed and Hornet Name.	Son of the Sun-god Name.	Other Names or Spellings.
	1.	—	—	—		—	—
	2.	—	—	—		—	—
	3.	—	—	—		—	—
	4.	—	—	—		—	
	5.		—	—		—	
	6.	—	—	—		—	—
	7.	—	—	—		—	—
	8.	—	—	—		—	—
	9.	—	—	—		—	—
Eighth Dynasty.	10.	—	—	—		—	—
	11.	—	—	—		—	—

Eighth Dynasty.

THE TENTH DYNASTY.

No.	Hawk Name.	Vulture and Cobra Name.	Set, or Hawk of Nubi Name.	Reed and Hornet Name.	Son of the Sun-god Name.	Other Names or Spellings.
1.	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	—	—	—		—	—
3.	—	—	—		—	—
4.	—	—	—		—	—
5.	—	—	—	—	—	—
6.	—	—	—		—	—
7.	—	—	—		—	—
8.	—	—	—		—	—
9.	—	—	—	—	—	—

Tenth Dynasty.

Dynasty.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORIC PERIOD BEFORE THE FIRST DYNASTY 5500-3408 B.C.

THE NILE VALLEY

FROM the Sudan frontier at the Second Cataract of the Nile northwards to the shores of the Mediterranean is a distance, as the crow flies, of some seven hundred miles; and the whole land of Egypt is contained between these limits. The Nile, however, which, with the Amazon and the Congo, is one of the three longest rivers in the world, has its source in Central Africa, south of the Equator; and thence it makes its way down to the sea by a wandering, snake-like course which is altogether some four thousand miles in length. Almost the whole of North Africa, behind its coast line, is one vast and barren desert; but the waters of the Nile are laden with fertile mud, and the river has not only forced a passage for itself through these wastes, but has lined its course with rich earth, so that the Nile Valley, as seen in bird's-eye view, is a thin ribbon of blue, bordered on either side by vivid green, threading a meandering way through the wilderness until, at a point about a hundred miles from the sea, the blue waters divide and the green fields spread out into the wide lowlands of the Delta.

From the Sudan the river comes tumbling into Egypt over the rocks of the Second Cataract; but in the earliest years of Egyptian history this region, then called the land of Yam, was hardly known, except by rumour, while the territory from whence the waters came was the "Country of the Spirits," into which no man had dared to penetrate. The river, having thus arrived out of the Unknown, flowed for some two hundred miles through the rugged hills of Wawat, the region now called Lower Nubia, which, at the dawn of history, was a country of no great concern to the

Egyptians, except in so far as it served as a buffer between them and the ghostly dwellers in the far south. Thence the waters surged over the First Cataract, and swirled around the many granite islands at its foot, one of which, now called Sehêl, was the recognized southern frontier of Egypt proper, and so came to another island whereon stood Iebo, the City of the Elephant, called by the Greeks Elephantine, where Khnum, the ram-headed divinity who controlled the flow of the river, was worshipped as the eldest of the gods. On the eastern bank, at this point, there was a great market-place, or *Swân*, where the inhabitants of Wawat exchanged their goods with those of the Egyptians; and the name, rendered by the Greeks as Syene, has come directly down to us in the form Aswân or Assouan.

The river, free of the Cataracts, flowed gently onwards through the desert, bordered on its either bank by a narrow strip of rich cultivation; and, some fifty miles to the north, it passed through a sort of natural gateway in the rocks at a spot to-day called Gebel Silsileh. The granite of the First Cataract had now given place to sandstone; and the yellow cliffs of that material rose sheer from the water, and were regarded as sacred to Khnum and the gods of the Nile. Thereafter the river ran past the city of Edbo (Apollinopolis Magna) now called Edfu, on the left or west bank; and shortly afterwards it passed Nekhen, the City of the Hawks, the Greek Hieraconpolis, on the same bank, and Nekheb, the City of the Vulture, the Greek Eileithiaspolis, and modern El Kâb, on the opposite bank. Now the sandstone region was left behind, and hills and cliffs of white limestone took its place, these continuing in seemingly endless array right down to Lower Egypt and the sea.

The Nile then flowed past a number of small towns, and so came to On-Mentu, the modern Arment, and Greek Hermonthis, soon after which it arrived at Was, later called Thebes, the modern Luxor, which in early times was only a village, but afterwards became the capital of Egypt, the No-Amon of the Bible, and the Diospolis Magna of the Greeks. Thence, bending westwards, it passed Qebt, the Greek Koptos and modern Qeft, at the head of the

caravan route to the Red Sea, and Tontorer, the Greek Tentyris, the modern Dendereh, the home of the goddess Hathor, and, passing Nubi (Ombos) the city of the Set-worshippers, came to the great city of Theni, the Greek Thinis or This, near which was Ebod, the Greek Abydos; and here there was a caravan route which passed westwards across the desert to the important oasis of El Khârgéh. The river then wandered on past many towns, to the city of Seut, the modern Asyût or Assiout, called by the Greeks Lycopolis, or City of the Wolf, where the jackal god Wepwet, the Path-finder, was worshipped. A hundred and fifty miles further to the north, on the west bank, stood the city of Eheninsi, the modern Ehnasiyeh, called by the Greeks Heracleopolis, and to the north-west of this there was that low area of fertile ground called the Fayûm, a sort of oasis separated from the Nile Valley by a narrow strip of desert. Several important cities were now passed, and at length, on the west bank, the City of the White Wall, later named Memphis, was reached, while, a few miles further to the north, on the east bank, stood On, the City of the Sun, called by the Greeks Heliopolis. A short distance from this point, near the modern Cairo, the narrow valley, to-day termed Upper Egypt, suddenly opened out into the wide fields of Lower Egypt, called by the Greeks the Delta.

Here a complete change in the aspect of the country took place. So far there had always been the confined valley with its thin strip of cultivated ground on either side of the river, and behind this, to east and west, the hills of the desert. But now the Nile branched into seven separate streams, and poured into the Mediterranean from seven mouths, situated along some two hundred and fifty miles of coast-line. These streams were supplemented in very early times by artificial canals; and thus Lower Egypt was a well-watered triangle of flat and seemingly boundless fields, which merged into marsh-land before the sea was reached. Slightly to the west side of the middle of this triangle stood the city of Sae, the modern Sâ, called by the Greeks Sais, and, nearer to the sea, the city of Peutho, the Greek Buto. In the eastern half of the triangle there were many cities, including Thoan (the Biblical Zoan,

Greek Tanis, and modern Sâh) ; Pebast (the Greek Bubastis, and modern Basta) ; Mendes and other important centres. Beyond the eastern edge of the triangle stretched the desert, north of the Peninsula of Sinai, and across this ran the caravan route to Palestine : likewise, beyond the western edge, there was the desert again, crossed by the caravan routes to the land of the Libyans.

Early in June every year the waters of the Nile began to rise, owing to the rainfall in Central Africa, and in the second half of July the rise became very rapid, until, in August, the river overflowed its banks, and the whole valley of Upper Egypt was transformed into one great lake, the cities and towns rising like islands above the placid surface of the water, being connected one with another only by embanked roads. The highest flood-levels were reached at about the middle of October, after which the river rapidly subsided, and the sowing of the crops began in the wet mud, almost as soon as the ground was visible. In Upper Egypt the first harvest was gathered by the middle of February ; and then began the sowing of the second crop, which was reaped just before the floods poured on to the fields. In the Delta, however, the inundation did not cover the land in the same manner, and a third crop was grown while Upper Egypt was under water.

With three crops in the year, Egypt was always a land of plenty, where hunger was hardly known, except in the rare event of a series of bad Niles. Great herds of cattle and goats were maintained, and the Nile abounded in fish. The vast gold-mines in the eastern desert, moreover, were worked from the earliest known times ; and thus the wealth of the country was enormous. Its geographical position—shut in between the deserts—saved it in early days from attack ; and therefore, whenever the somewhat restless and intrigue-loving inhabitants were firmly governed, the prosperous and peaceful life of the nation was able to be developed and maintained in a manner unknown in other ancient lands. The dry, sunny climate, too, was ideal, except during the summer in the south, when the heat was great. Transport by river was always a simple matter, for, going northwards, the rapid stream carried

the vessels down without any labour, and, going southwards, the bracing north wind, which blows almost continuously, filled the great sails of the ships and brought them upstream at a fine speed and with the minimum of trouble. Under such favourable conditions the active-minded and happy race of Egyptians, in spite of innumerable revolutions and changes of government, produced their civilization at so remote a period that its beginnings are lost in obscurity, and maintained it with surprising tenacity and conservatism for thousands of years.

The archæologist who, by means of some discovery of the actual relics of the age of Menes, the traditional founder of the Pharaonic line, suddenly opens the door upon the early history of the Nile Valley, finds himself, to his great surprise, staring at a civilization in full swing, and at a court which seems to be enjoying the culture of a life already matured in wealth and power. He is like a man who has come late to the play, and beholds before him the great spectacle of the Second Act, but does not know what has gone before, except in so far as the bald and brief statements upon his programme can serve to enlighten him. The excavator unearths the fragmentary records of the ages around the time of Menes, and thinks at first that he is about to reach the beginnings of Egyptian history; but soon he finds that the new material reveals not only its own antiquity, its great remoteness from the present day, but also the antiquity of the civilization which produced it, its own remoteness from the real beginning.

The archæologist, coming suddenly upon the scenes, catches these people already hard at it, so to speak, already deep in the complexities of social life, already constrained by immemorial tradition and politely walking the brilliant stage of their days against a background of centuries and centuries of history. We go back to the time of Menes, thirty-four centuries before Christ, fifty-three centuries before the present day, and find ourselves dealing with long-established cities beside the Nile, and with kings far removed from those savage conditions which we associate with primitive peoples. All the material which modern excavation has brought to light only takes us back to those

ages which have left actual records behind them ; and we know very little of the centuries of ordered life along the banks of the great river which led up to that advanced point.

THE HORNET-KINGS OF LOWER EGYPT

As has been explained in the last chapter, Egypt was divided at the dawn of history into three, and, later, four kingdoms. Many hundreds of years before the days of Menes it is certain that there was a dynasty of kings reigning over Lower Egypt, their dominions extending from the shores of the Mediterranean southwards to the apex of the Delta, a short distance below the modern Cairo. This seems to be the dynasty to which the Turin Papyrus has assigned 2,100 years, and the establishment of the kingdom must therefore have taken place (if we may rely on this figure) about 5507 B.C.—at a time when the First Dynasty of Kish was ruling in Babylonia. According to my reconstruction of the Annals there must have been somewhere about sixty kings of Lower Egypt known to the early historians, their names being probably remembered orally, since the art of writing does not seem to have been invented until a few generations before the time of Menes. Only seven of these names are preserved on the Palermo Stone, and these probably belong to about the 43rd to 49th sovereigns of the Delta Kingdom. The hieroglyphs used, however, must be regarded as very primitive, and as not always having yet the values which they signified at a later date. The names, therefore, are not able to be read with certainty.

The first of these is written *Ske*, but the sign which is read *s* perhaps had another value at this period, and may have represented the word *deiu*, "garment," or the word *mer*, "to fasten on a fillet" (p. 49), for both of which it is the determining hieroglyph. The reading of this, the earliest known king's name in Egyptian history, therefore, may have been *Deiuke*, meaning "The Garment of the Spirit," or *Merke*, "Diademed in Spirit"; but this is entirely speculative. The next name in this list seems to

read Des-iow, meaning "A sword is his inheritance," or something similar, the first sign being probably a flint knife, and the second the hieroglyph for the word 'inheritance.' The name of the third king is probably to be read Athuthi, which has reference to Thoth, the god of Wisdom. The fourth name is The-she, or something similar, perhaps having the meaning "Capturer of the Lake District." The fifth name is probably to be read Heb, meaning "The Plough," and not Ne-heb, as it is sometimes given, the first sign being an ideogram used at this period as supplementary to the second. (See *Hieraconpolis*, II, lxx, 14, 15.) The sixth royal name is perhaps Utho-eneth, the first syllable being the name of the goddess of Lower Egypt, and the second being an archaic word for "Chieftain." The seventh name, the last remaining on the Palermo fragment, seems to read Heseq-Khet: the first sign, that of an owl, being sometimes used as the ideogram of the verb *heseq*, "to rend asunder," and the second sign meaning "womb," the name thus probably having the meaning "The render of the womb," in reference, I suppose, to the manner of his birth.

There are no contemporary records of these far-off kings, and for us, therefore, they must remain but a list of names; yet we are not justified in thinking of them as the barbaric chieftains of a primitive people. They were probably the rulers of a highly-organized kingdom, which included many great cities, countless villages, all the rich fields of the Delta with their teeming agricultural population, the seven branches of the Nile with their busy river-traffic, the sea-coast with its maritime trade with Asia, and the marshes and lakes where perhaps a race of aboriginal fenmen reluctantly acknowledged their sway. Arts and crafts flourished, no doubt; a system of pictorial writing was being developed before the time of Menes; and life had its comforts and its luxuries.

One may suppose that these kings did not all belong to one dynasty or family. Lower Egypt is known to have had two capitals in primitive times: the city of Sae or Sais and the city of Peutho or Buto; and there is some reason to suppose that the latter was the earlier and abori-

ginal capital, and that Sae supplanted it. These kings of Lower Egypt, however, so far as our scanty knowledge permits us to know them, reigned at Sae. The title of the king was *Bya* (formerly misread *Biti* or *Bati*), meaning "Bee" or "Hornet"; and in later times the temple at Sae was still called "The House of the *Bya*." He wore the afterwards famous red crown, a sort of Doge's cap, having a high peak at the back, and a curved projection, like a piece of wire, standing out from the front. Red was the royal colour, and the royal treasury was known as the "Red House." The Kingdom of Lower Egypt was generally called the "North Land" or "Papyrus Land," a tuft of the papyrus plant, which grew wild in its many marshes, being its hieroglyphic symbol. The patron goddess of Sae was Neit, whose symbol was a shield and two crossed arrows; but the patron goddess of Buto was the cobra Utho (in later times Uto), and since she was afterwards the patroness of the whole Delta, while the cobra ultimately became the Pharaonic symbol of royalty, it seems, as I have said, that Buto was probably the original royal residence.

The subjects of the royal *Bya* or Hornet were of mixed race. In the eastern Delta the people probably had a good deal of Asiatic blood in their veins, and may at first have had some fairly close kinship with the inhabitants of Canaan and Syria, while their culture, as I shall show, was perhaps closely connected with that of Mesopotamia. In the western Delta there was a strong Libyan element, and it is even possible that Sae itself was at first a Libyan city, and that its kings were originally of Libyan race. (Breasted, *History*, p. 32.)

THE REED-KINGS OF EHENINSI (HERACLEOPOLIS) AND MENNOFRE (MEMPHIS)

Three centuries after the Kingdom of Lower Egypt had been established, another kingdom, a little further to the south, came into being. Manetho records a line of 30 kings who reigned at Memphis for 1,790 years before the time of Menes; and at the beginning of the Turin Papyrus

there is a reference to 19 pre-Menite kings, also of Memphis. These figures, 30 and 19, make a total of 49 kings, a number, of course, quite uncertain, but for which there is room in my reconstruction of the Annals; and it may well be that there were two or more dynasties included in the 1,790 years. The ends of the names of nine or ten of these monarchs appear on the Cairo fragment of the Annals, but the actual names are now lost. The date of the foundation of this kingdom, if we can trust Manetho's figures, would be about 5197 B.C.

The original capital of this realm was the city of Eheninsi, later known as Heracleopolis, a short distance south of the Fayûm, and some 70 miles south of Memphis. The sovereign was called *Insi* (formerly misread *suten* or *selen*), which means "The Reed," and it was he who wore the tall white cap or crown afterwards famous as the White Crown of Upper Egypt, the city of Eheninsi being called the "House of the *Insi*," just as Sae was the "House of the *Bya*." The symbolic colour of the kingdom was white, and its treasury was called the "White House." After Menes had united the whole of Egypt into one kingdom, the title *Insi* took precedence of the older title *Bya*, the Pharaoh being called the *Insi-Bya*, or "Reed and Hornet"; but this was probably due to the fact that the *Bya* was the last to enter the union, and it does not necessarily mean that the Reed-Kingdom was superior to the realm of the Hornet in antiquity, culture, or power.

Although the capital of these nameless monarchs seems, as I say, to have been Eheninsi, a great city known as the "White Wall," just above the apex of the Delta, played an important part in the affairs of the Reed-Kingdom; and the name indicates that it was the border fortress of the "White" territory, situated close to the frontier of the "Red" realm of Lower Egypt. After the Union, the city later called Mennofre (the Memphis of the Greeks) was built upon the same, or an adjoining, site; and here the royal residence was ultimately situated: a fact which explains why Manetho and the Turin Papyrus speak of these kings as sovereigns "of Memphis." It is not known how far southwards the Reed-Kingdom extended, but in

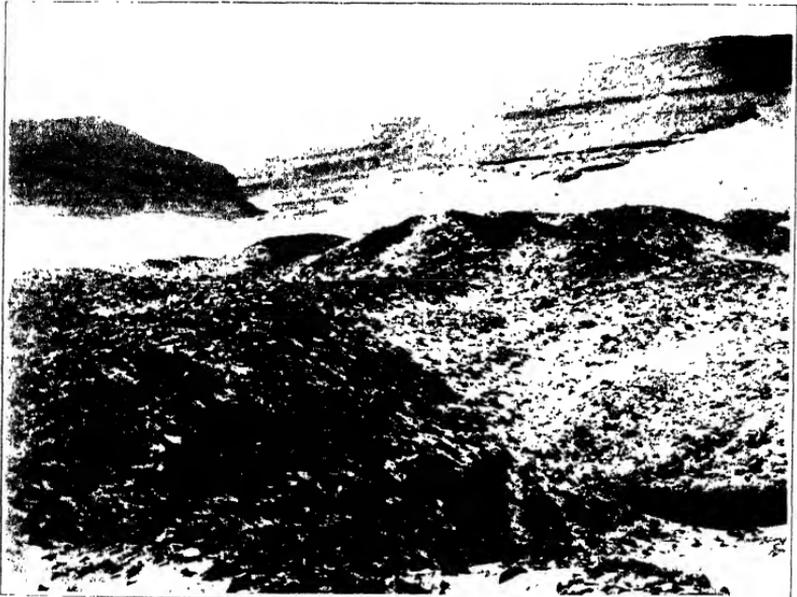
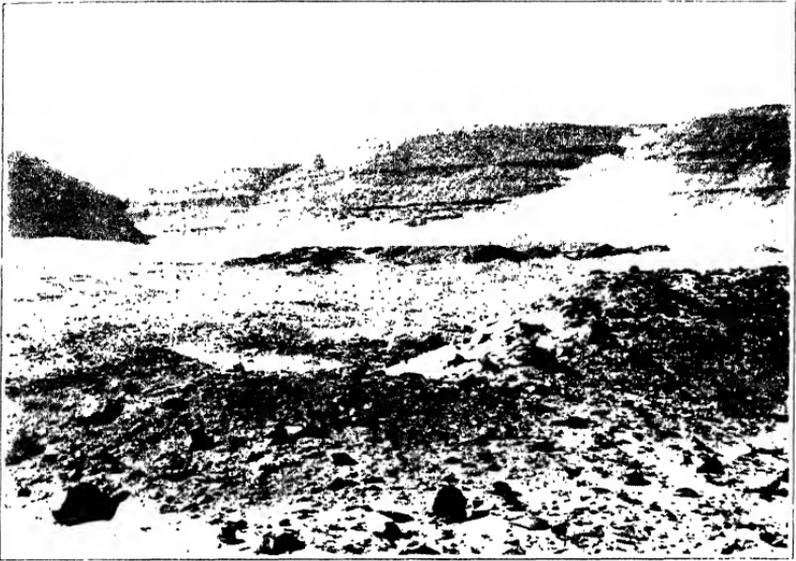
early times the southern frontier seems to have divided it from the neighbouring territory of the Hawk-Kings, of whom I shall presently speak, and the border line may have been situated somewhere between Asyût and Denderéh. The majority of the subjects of the Reed-King had probably pushed their way up the Valley of the Nile from Lower Egypt in very early times, and may well have been closely related to the men of the Delta in racial type. They had doubtless come up the Nile from the north in those great river-going vessels so often depicted in primitive drawings throughout Upper Egypt, and their river customs stamped their whole civilization. For centuries they lived their lives beside the water, in that thin green ribbon of the Nile Valley, cultivating the fields on both banks, and usually building their towns close to the river. The people of the Fayûm, at that time a district of lake and marsh, were perhaps of different race: aboriginal fenmen whom the Reed-King had conquered; but these racial problems still await study.

THE HAWK-KINGS OF NEKHEN (HIERACONPOLIS)

The first of the four lines of kings recorded by Manetho as reigning before the time of Menes is said by him to have held the throne for 1,255 years. This line was assuredly the dynasty of the famous Hawk-Kings, since, though not the oldest in years, it was the first in importance, and would naturally be placed first in the list; for, after the union of all Egypt, the Pharaohs always placed their title of the "Hawk" before that of the "Reed" and "Hornet." This title was written with the sign of the hawk above an enclosure (Plate V) on which the royal name is written. This enclosure represents the façade of the tomb, or more probably the palace, and the hawk is the standard rising above it. The names of all the monarchs of this line are missing, and the foundation of the dynasty is lost in obscurity. The capital of the kingdom was the city of Nekhen, called in Greek times Hieraconpolis, the "City of the Hawks." It was situated on the west bank of the river, in the far south, close to Edfu, between Luxor and Aswân.

The king was called the *Hûr* (now also written *Her*, *Hor*, or *Har*), the "Hawk," just as the king at Eheninsi was called the *Insi*, or "Reed," and the king at Sae, the *Bya*, or "Hornet." Originally the kingdom was probably confined to the territory afterwards called the Hawk-province, i.e. the district centred on Edfu and Hieraconpolis; and this area seems to have remained the personal estate of the Pharaohs in after years, for Newberry has pointed out (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* 1904, 298) that whereas local princes of most other provinces are known, there is no prince of this province except the Pharaoh himself. When the Hawk-kingdom expanded the northern frontier divided the realm from the kingdom of the "Reed"; and the southern frontier, perhaps situated at first in the neighbourhood of Gebel Silsileh, separated it from the little known territory of Lower Nubia. The inhabitants of the southern end of this Hawk-kingdom may well have had close affinities with the Nubians, while those of the northern part of the kingdom were doubtless allied to the inhabitants of the Reed territory, but it is probable that the ruling class had originally come from the far south-east, and not from the north at all.

There are many references in ancient Egyptian inscriptions to the land of Pount, on the coast of the Red Sea, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Somaliland, as being the home of the ancestors of the Hawk-kings; and Pount is generally called the "Land of the Gods" in that sense. There is an important caravan-route to the Red Sea, which has its head on the east bank of the Nile, just opposite the city of Nekhen; and it may be that the conquering Hawk-tribes entered the Nile Valley by this route. They probably found the country already peopled in the main by men racially akin to those of the "Reed" and "Hornet" kingdoms; and when history begins a certain degree of amalgamation had already taken place. The conquering Hawks and their subjects were, one may suppose, a civilized people, living in some comfort; but they were probably regarded by the more cultivated inhabitants of the northern kingdoms as southern barbarians.



TWO VIEWS OF THE ANCIENT NECROPOLIS OF THE PHARAOKHS IN THE DESERT BEHIND ABYDOS AND THINIS.

In the upper photograph the tombs are seen grouped at the foot of the hills; and in the lower picture the tomb in the foreground is that of Athothis, who succeeded Menes. This tomb was afterwards regarded as that of Osiris, and the mounds of broken pottery, the remains of pilgrims' offerings are seen around it. (From Petrie's *Royal Tombs*.) See page 111.

THE KINGS OF THENI (THINIS)

As the last of the four dynasties previous to Menes, Manetho records a line of 10 kings who, for 350 years, held sway at the city of Theni, the Greek Thinis, or This, close to Ebod, the later Abydos, between the modern Luxor and Asyût. The names of the first six of these ten monarchs are lost, but we have actual remains of the last four sovereigns of this line. One of these four kings has a title which is written with a hieroglyph like a flower or rosette; and it may be that this was the royal designation of these kings of Theni; but on most of their monuments the title is that of the Hawk, and it seems, therefore, that this dynasty succeeded the original dynasty of the Hawks of Nekhen. Each of the kings of the line seems to have been crowned at Nekhen, and to have been given a special name as Hawk of that city; but each appears to have had another name, written beside the Hawk-name, and this was his designation as King of Theni, the city of his residence, where also he was buried. The foundation of the dynasty, 350 years before Menes, must have taken place about 3757 B.C.; and this date is probably, therefore, that of the fall of the original dynasty of the Hawks of Nekhen, who had obtained the throne, according to Manetho, 1,255 years previously, that is to say, in 5012 B.C., some five centuries later than the establishment of the first royal line in the Delta.

The city of Theni stood at the head of the great caravan route from the Nile to the oasis of El Khârgêh, about 100 miles back into the western desert; and the ruling class may have entered Egypt by this route, though it is more probable that they came up the Nile.

THE *Set*-PEOPLE

Apart from these four kingdoms there was a distinct race of people whose name is not known, but who worshipped the god Set; and they played such an important part in the history of the First and Second Dynasties that it is necessary here to speak of them separately. The god Set had the form of an animal which, owing to the conven-

tionalized character of its representations, cannot be identified with certainty, but Professor Newberry (*Ancient Egypt*, 1922, p. 44) has given very good reasons for supposing that it was a wild pig, and in the Book of the Dead (Ch. 112) it is said that Set transforms himself into a black pig (*sha*), while the city of Shashotpe, "Satisfaction of Sha," is the capital of the Set province—a province not far to the north of that of Theni. Plutarch states that the Egyptians sacrificed a pig to Set once a year. In the legends relating to the warfare between Set and Horus (pp. 111 and 130), these people are generally called *Smiu* or *Sebiu*, both of which words, however, may mean simply "enemies." These Set-tribes seem to have been scattered throughout Egypt, living in communities distinct from those of the other Egyptian races, and it may be that they were the remnants of the original inhabitants of the country. The god Set is stated to have been "born" in a town called Sesesu in the Fayûm (British Museum, Stela No. 79), and in the later legends great battles against the Set-people are said to have been fought in that neighbourhood. These legends also place them in the marshes of the eastern Delta, and there are other references to them at Avaris, a city in the same neighbourhood. In Upper Egypt they gave their name to the Eleventh Province, on the west bank of the Nile; and it is possible that they were also to be found at Esneh and El Kâb, between Luxor and Aswân, as I shall presently show (pp. 103, 104). But their main capital was the city of Nubi, "The Golden," the Ombos of the Greeks, not far to the south of Theni; and here there was afterwards a famous temple dedicated to Set, while vast cemeteries of the period before the First Dynasty are situated in the neighbouring desert (Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*).

Possibly there was some racial connection between the Set-tribes and the Libyans, for Nubi was situated near the head of important caravan routes to the Oases, where the Libyans dwelt, and the emblem of the goddess Neit, who was perhaps Libyan in origin, is painted on pre-Pharaonic pottery found at Nubi (Petrie, *Nagada*, LXVI, 10, etc.). This emblem is also represented as being tattooed on the

arm of a Libyan depicted in the tomb of Seti I. Moreover, it is generally thought that the Hornet kings of Sae (Sais) in the western Delta were of Libyan family, and upon a pot discovered in an early burial near Nubi there is a representation of the red crown of the Hornet kings; but, of course, some commercial transaction along the great caravan routes through the western desert may account for the appearance of this northern sign so far up in the south. Plutarch states that the Set-followers were men of red-hair, and the red-haired Libyans are well-known. (Reference should be made to the study of the subject by Prof. Kees in the journal of the *Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, 1923.)

In early times these Set-tribes were a very powerful factor in Egyptian affairs, the god Set being the equal of the Hawk-god, Horus; and in the next two chapters we shall see how they placed their rulers upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

THE PEOPLE OF ON OR HELIOPOLIS

Finally, I must make some reference to the people of On, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, for, though they do not seem to have attained to any great importance until the time of the Second Dynasty, they were evidently a distinct community from the earliest days. The city of On was situated a few miles to the north-east of the modern Cairo, at the head of the great caravan route to Suez, Sinai, and Arabia, and to-day, under its Greek name Heliopolis, "the City of the Sun," it has become a residential quarter of the Egyptian metropolis. The name On, by which it is called in the Bible, is written with a hieroglyph representing a sort of pillar, which is generally read *An* or *In*; but *On* probably represents more nearly its original pronunciation. The inhabitants worshipped Re, the sun-god (sometimes read as *Ra*), who seems originally to have been an Asiatic deity; and the symbol of this god was a pyramidion, or small pyramid, called *Ben* or *Benben*, which stood in an open court. Now the Bedouin of the Eastern Desert were known as the Ontiu or Intiu, "the People of the

Pillar” ; and I think it was they who first founded On, or the “Pillar City,” at the head of the great Nile-Suez highroad, bringing with them from the east their god Re. There were two other cities called On, which were probably settlements of kindred tribes, one at or near the modern Denderah, opposite the head of the desert route to the Red Sea, and the other at the modern Arment, just to the south of Luxor (Thebes). These Bedouin “People of the Pillar” were constantly being chastised by the Egyptians in early times, but it seems that their kinsmen at the great city of On soon became part of the Egyptian confederacy of peoples, and forgot their eastern ancestry, having no further connection with the wandering tribes from which they were sprung.

THE ORIGINS OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

Such, then, is the history of the kingdoms and peoples into which Egypt was divided in the primitive epoch anterior to the date of the first contemporary objects of historical significance which excavation has revealed. Some day, perhaps, we shall discover further fragments of the Annals, and shall be able to read again the lost names of the kings of these far-off dynasties ; but for the present we must be content to leave the concerns of these remote ages, the historical substantiality of which has hardly, until now, even been recognized, and, in the next section, we must pass on to the four generations immediately preceding the accession of Menes, that is to say, to the epoch in which contemporary historical records begin to appear.

To sum up the foregoing pages, we may say that the two earliest kingdoms known to us were that of the Hornet-kings of Lower Egypt and that of the Reed-kings of Eheninsi and Memphis ; and that men of the same race had probably pushed on into the territory south of the latter kingdom, displacing and scattering the Set-tribes who may have held the land before them. Then, it seems, there had come the conquering Hawk-tribes, whose original home may have been in the land of Pount ; and these people had settled themselves beyond the southern frontier

of the Reed-kings. Next, another dynasty, which had possibly entered the Nile Valley from the Oasis of El Khârgéh, had taken on, by conquest and perhaps by marriage, the royal prerogatives of the Hawks, and had established themselves at Theni; and meanwhile there were the sun-worshippers from the east who had founded the city of On. Thus, at the dawn of history, the inhabitants of Egypt in general reveal their mixed origin: there were the northerners of the Delta, who themselves were of Asiatic descent in the east and Libyan descent in the west; there were the settlers at On, who were of Bedouin origin; there were the southerners who had come in part from Somaliland or Pount; there were the men of Theni; and finally there were the powerful Set-tribes, perhaps of Libyan stock.

Throughout Upper Egypt vast cemeteries of what are incorrectly called "prehistoric" times have been excavated, and the graves are undoubtedly those of the inhabitants of the country during the period covered by the rule of these four dynasties which preceded Menes. But we do not know what was going on in Lower Egypt at this time. Lower Egypt is a richly-cultivated country, and the remains of its early civilization are lost beneath its fields; but in Upper Egypt there is the dry sand of the desert to preserve its records, and it is not surprising, therefore, that while the contemporary relics of the northern civilization are wanting, those of the upper, or southern, country have come to light.

The objects found in these "prehistoric" cemeteries of Upper Egypt show, as I have said, that a state of considerable culture existed, and many centuries before Menes, gold, silver, and copper were being used and beautifully worked, and exquisite vases of stone were being fashioned. The human remains indicate that the people in general were of small and rather delicate build, having brown hair, and that they belonged to the same race as that of the neolithic peoples of the Mediterranean. Gradually, however, as we approach the centuries just before the time of Menes, a change takes place. A higher civilization seems to be filtering in; and, since we have no evidence as

to conditions in the Delta, it is generally assumed that the new culture, the origins of which cannot be found in Upper Egypt, came from the lower country. It is certainly a fact that the rather sudden outburst of this better civilization in the south occurs at a time when the Upper Egyptian kingdoms are known to have been coming into touch with Lower Egypt. These people were of much more massive build, and seem to belong to the Armenoid race which was of Asiatic origin.

The new culture, which gradually succeeds the culture revealed in the cemeteries of Upper Egypt, incorrectly termed "prehistoric," shows many traces of Mesopotamian influence, or, rather, it shows traces of affinity with the Mesopotamian civilizations. The most striking piece of evidence in this regard is a knife-handle (*Ancient Egypt*, 1917, 27, 29) found near Nag-Hamâdi in Upper Egypt and now in the Louvre. It evidently dates from a century or two before the time of Menes, and the decorations can be seen at a glance to have a really Babylonian character. On other Egyptian knife-handles, now in Cairo, Berlin, and University College, London, there are representations of entwined serpents very closely akin to those on the Gudea vase in the Louvre. Similarly, the entwined necks of the fabulous animals on the palette of King Nar-mer, the predecessor of Menes, are exactly like the design on a Babylonian cylinder now in the Louvre (Weigall, *Annales*, 1910, p. 171); and other Elamite cylinders are like those of this early period in Egypt. The knobbed mace-heads found in Egypt, again, resemble those discovered in the earliest levels at Susa. The rosette-title of a king of the Thinis Dynasty is very similar to the eight-pointed star which denoted a king in Babylonia. Some of the scenes, too, represented on early Egyptian palettes show a sort of gloomy ferocity which is decidedly Babylonian in character, as, for example, in the well-known representation of a vulture-haunted battlefield (Plate II).

Many other instances might be cited; but these will suffice to show that a definite connection between Lower Egypt and Babylon exists at this early period, and that this civilization gradually spread into Upper Egypt, blending

with that of the earlier inhabitants ; but it must be remarked that Egypt, having received this foreign culture, soon made of it a far finer thing than Babylonia could ever have dreamed of.

Yet, even so, we are only aware of an influence—nothing more. The “prehistoric” cemeteries of Upper Egypt remain the source of our knowledge of the Egyptian civilization of the earliest time ; and the objects discovered in the graves do not show us whence it came. There it is : a civilization in being. It is “prehistoric” in the sense that much of it belongs to a period anterior to the invention of writing ; but it is historic in the sense that the names of the kings and the duration of the dynasties were remembered and later recorded. There is a great field of work still to be explored in this regard. Prof. Petrie many years ago classified the pottery found in these cemeteries into a sequence based upon the development of the shapes, and in this way he established his famous “Sequence Dates.” Now, however, that my reconstruction of the Annals has shown us pretty well exactly how many kings there were in this pre-Menite age, and has permitted us to recognize Manetho’s figures for the duration of their dynasties as being based on fact and not myth, it should be possible to give approximate dates in years to the stages of Petrie’s “Sequence” ; and thus we should be able to abandon definitely the misleading term “prehistoric” in speaking of the objects of this period, and should be able to classify them as belonging, as the case may be, to some explicit age in the history of the Hawk-, or Reed-, or Hornet-dynasty.

THE HAWK-KINGS RO AND KET

ABOUT 3500–3450 B.C.

At the end of the nineteenth century the French Egyptologist, Amélineau, discovered a royal necropolis of early times in the desert west of the twin cities of Ebod (Abydos) and Theni (Thinis) in Upper Egypt. Here were the tombs of the kings immediately preceding Menes, and of those who reigned during the 500 years or so after him. The work

of excavation, however, was very badly conducted, and it was left to Prof. Petrie to re-excavate the site and to give to the world a record of the mass of historical material which he had there found.

The series of royal graves begins with six or seven brick-lined pits devoid of any written records; and these must have been the tombs of the kings of Manetho's dynasty of ten kings of This. Then comes a tomb, also a brick-lined pit, which is about 22 feet long and 11 feet wide, wherein Petrie found fragments of large alabaster and pottery jars, the latter inscribed with a hieroglyph representing a mouth, and reading *Ro*, above which is the royal hawk-sign. There was also a clay sealing thus inscribed.

Here, then, we probably have the name of the earliest known king of whom any actual and contemporary record remains—the "Hawk" *Ro*; and since, as I shall presently show, three other and later kings of this house, previous to Menes, are known, King *Ro* seems to have been the seventh of his line. His royal residence, it would seem, was at Theni, since he was buried in the desert near that city; but the old capital of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), which had been the seat of the original Hawks, was perhaps the traditional centre of the kingdom. His southern boundary may have extended as far south as Aswân and the First Cataract, though more probably it ended at Gebel Silsileh; and his northern frontier divided his territory from that of the Reed-king who ruled at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis).

The king who appears to have succeeded *Ro* was named *Ke* or *Ket*, and several inscriptions giving this name have been found in the cemetery in the desert behind the city of Theni, the royal hawk being written above it. His tomb was discovered by Petrie close to that of *Ro*, being a brick-lined pit of much the same dimensions as the other. The same name appears on various alabaster vases found at Nekhen (Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, xxxiv), and here it is accompanied by the name of the succeeding king, the "Scorpion," which might seem to suggest that *Ket* and he ought to be identified, were it not for the fact that each name is found in certain instances with the royal hawk above it, and there is no clear instance of any one king

having two Hawk-names, though often he had one name as Hawk-king of Nekhen and another name as king of Theni. The two names being written side by side may suggest, instead, that they shared the throne for some years, these co-regencies being common at later periods of Egyptian history. The same Ket, as Hawk-king, is also mentioned on an inscription found at Tarkhan (Petrie, *Tarkhan* I, xxxi, 67), a place north of Meidûm, which is in the midst of the Reed-king's territory; and thus one must suppose that the Hawks had made successful war against their northern neighbours in this reign, and were already masters of the whole of Upper Egypt.

THE SCORPION

ABOUT 3450-3425 B.C.

The name of the next king known to us is written with the hieroglyph of the scorpion, and evidently has that meaning, but as there are several words for that creature in the Egyptian language—Selk, Hureri, Hetet, Tai, and so on—one cannot now call him by his ancient name. He succeeded King Ket, with whom, as I have said, he may have previously shared the kingship, or at any rate, he came to the throne very shortly after that monarch's death; and there seems no doubt that he inherited from King Ket the throne of the *Insi* or Reed-king of Eheninsi and Memphis, for his name, surmounted by the royal hawk, has been found at Turah, near Cairo (Junker, *Philhist. Klasse*, 1910, No. XIV), this place being in the northern part of the Reed territory. Moreover, as will presently be seen, there are contemporary representations of him wearing the tall white crown which belonged to the *Insi* kingship, but there is no evidence that he actually assumed the title of *Insi*. Thus he seems to have united the whole of Upper Egypt, from the far south to the apex of the Delta, into one kingdom; and before he died he must have become a serious menace to the throne of the *Bya* or Hornet, the King of Lower Egypt.

The head of a large ceremonial mace belonging to him was found in the ruins of Hieraconpolis, and upon it the

standards of various tribes under his command are represented as victorious over his enemies. Upon the same mace-head we see him in the guise of an agriculturist, holding a hoe in his hands at the inauguration of some new irrigation works. He wears the *Insi's* tall white crown, and a lion's skin is about his body. In front of him are officials carrying the tribal standards, and behind him men hold great fans set upon long poles, with which to waft away the flies which must have buzzed around his head as he stood in the glare of the Egyptian sun, waiting to perform the ceremony of breaking the ground. The Egyptians have ever been an agricultural people, and it is significant that this, the first of their kings of whom we have a representation, should step forth from the mists of oblivion carrying a hoe in his hands. His tomb has not been found.

NARMER

ABOUT 3425-3407 B.C.

The successor of the Scorpion had the double name Nar, a species of Nile-fish, and Mer, a word meaning "the Piercer," or "Fastener," and written with a sign representing a bradawl or knobbed pin for the hair (Weigall, *Annales*, 1910, p. 176). Nar seems to have been his name as Hawk-king of Nekhen, and in some inscriptions found in the royal necropolis of Theni, that name is alone written under the royal hawk-hieroglyph, while his other name, Mer, is inscribed separately (Petrie, *History*, p. 11, fig. 6). Mer was thus probably his name as Hawk-king of Theni; but in most cases the two names were written together under the one hawk-title. A third syllable, *the*, possibly making the name Nar-mer-the, has also been found.

The two most important objects of this reign are a mace-head and a ceremonial palette, both found in the ruins of the city of Nekhen or Hieraconpolis, and each decorated with scenes from the king's life. On one side of the palette he is seen in the act of braining one of his enemies, who is called the "Chieftain" of a "lake-district" which has not been identified, while the royal hawk is represented above a group of signs which seems to signify 6,000 other captives.

Narmer here wears the tall white crown of the *Insi* or Reeking of Heracleopolis, that kingdom having been inherited from his predecessor, the Scorpion; but, on the other side of the palette, he has upon his head the red crown of the *Bya* or Hornet-king of Sais in Lower Egypt. This reveals the important fact that Narmer had extended his predecessor's dominions, and had seized the western side of the Delta, if not the eastern as well.

On the face of the palette he is represented viewing the decapitated bodies of some of his captive enemies, while the tribal standards of his people are carried before him. Behind him is the "King's Minister," holding the royal sandals, and in front of him walks the *Thet*, or "Learned-man." The King is proceeding from a rectangular building or enclosure called *thet* or *zeb*, a word which we may possibly identify with the later word for "sepulchre," or perhaps with a similar word meaning "storehouse"; and in this regard I may mention that the great archaic fortress-enclosure which stands to this day near the royal tombs of these kings in the desert behind Thisis is still known by the name *Zebib*, my inference being that the enclosure shown on the palette is possibly to be identified with this fortress, and that the beheading of these captives took place upon the sandy plain which lies in front of the fortress and behind the city. Or the sign may perhaps read *Edbo* (Edfu).

On the mace-head Narmer is shown wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, and enthroned under a canopy on a raised platform. A figure which may be that of a woman is seated before him in a palanquin, while three men perform some kind of a dance. Near by there is a building, having beside it an offering-jar and above it a *Benu*-bird, or phoenix. Now the temple of this phoenix was situated at Heracleopolis (p. 266), the capital of the ancient Reekings; and it does not therefore require much strain upon the imagination to see in this scene upon the mace-head a representation of some great ceremony enacted at Heracleopolis. It is possible that the figure in the palanquin, which, as I have said, seems to be that of a woman, was a princess of the conquered line, and that her enforced

marriage to the conqueror is here represented; but this, of course, is only a guess.

At the foot of this scene there is a record of the king's captures in some unnamed campaign: 120,000 prisoners, 400,000 oxen, and 1,420,000 goats; which shows that this was no simple victory, but an utter annihilation of a whole people. The memory of it must have remained in men's minds for generations, and in this fact I am inclined to see the origin of the sinister reputation of the city of Heracleopolis in later times, when it was spoken of as the place at which the sun-god set about the destruction of mankind, though, as I shall explain on page 143, this tradition may equally well have had its origin in the wars of the Second Dynasty. Perhaps Heracleopolis, conquered by Ket or the Scorpion, rebelled under Narmer, who thus chastised it, ultimately marrying the last left heiress of the old line, in order to establish by legal right his claim to the throne of the *Insi* which he and his predecessors had ascended by right of conquest, for in Egypt the succession passed through the female line. In this regard it is to be noticed that Menes, the successor of Narmer, seems to have been but a child at his accession (p. 102), and therefore may well have been the offspring of such a marriage, made late in Narmer's reign. Here, however, I am only guessing, and the scene represented upon the mace-head may not be that of a marriage at all. The fact that the king in this scene wears the crown of Lower Egypt does not help to locate the ceremony, for, as has been seen, he wears that crown in the representation on the palette which seems to record an event taking place at Thinis. In fact, the Hawk of Thinis is already quite comfortable in either the white crown of Heracleopolis or the red crown of Sais, and seems to wear them alternately.

The tomb of Narmer (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, p. 7) was a brick-lined pit, 26 by 16 feet in area, and some 10 feet deep, the roof having been made, apparently, of beams of wood supported on twelve columns. It is situated close to the sepulchres of Kings Ro and Ket. Various fragments inscribed with his name were found at this tomb; and it would seem that most of the objects discovered in what is

called the "main deposit" at Nekhen (Quibell, *Hieraconpolis* I) belong to this reign, since amongst them were the great mace-head, and a tablet (*Hieraconpolis* I, xv, 7) bearing his name.

One tablet from this same deposit (xvi, 4) shows birds, beasts, and female captives from some conquered territory, and the presence of elephants amongst these suggests that the king had carried his arms up the Nile into Lower Nubia. That Narmer was a great conqueror is also shown by a small cylinder (*Journal*, 1915, 99) which has upon it an inscription indicating that he conquered a Libyan people, who may well have been the inhabitants of the western fringe of the Delta.

Thus, before this king died, about 3407 B.C., all Egypt seems to have been prone before him. He was the hereditary king of Theni, the city at which he resided and near which he was buried; he was the hereditary Hawk, also, of Nekhen, where his ancestors had founded the first Hawk Dynasty in 5012 B.C.; he was, by his predecessors' conquest and possibly by his own marriage, the Reed-King of Eheninsi (though he is not known actually to have used the *Insi* title); and therefore he was sovereign of all Upper Egypt. Added to this, he was also by conquest the ruler of the Hornet-kingdom of the Delta; and thus his little son, the afterwards famous Menes, was heir to the united kingdoms of Upper Egypt, and to the conquered lands of Lower Egypt.

CHAPTER III
THE FIRST DYNASTY

3407-3144 B.C.

DYN. I, I. MENE: OHE MENI. 3407-3346 B.C.

THE great Menes (or Menē as the name becomes when we drop the unnecessary Greek termination in s) was quite a young man at the time of the death of Narmer, for he held the throne for 62 years, and such a long reign suggests the probability that he was then a youth of not much more than fifteen years of age. By birth he was primarily Hawk-King of Theni and Nekhen, the direct descendant of the dynasty of Theni which was the successor of the ancient House of Nekhen; and as Hawk of the elder House, he took the name Ohe, "the Fighter," by which he was generally known in the south.

Lower Egypt, it will be remembered, had been conquered by his father (?) Narmer; but though the new king combined with the white crown of Heracleopolis (the old Eheninsi) the red crown of Sais or Sae, he does not seem to have used the royal title *Bya* or Hornet which belonged to that kingdom, and it is to be supposed that to those people of the Delta he was simply the "Hawk," the son of the old Hawk who had vanquished them and had ruled them from afar, that is to say he was not legally king of Lower Egypt by right of blood, and the Egyptians were ever sticklers for legal form. The conquered *Bya*, indeed, may still have been alive, living in exile, or may have left an heir, for, as we shall see on page 116, there seems to have been a legal heiress of his kingdom living three generations later.

Mene was married, perhaps soon after his accession, to a lady named Neithotpe, which means "the Peace, or Satisfaction, of the goddess Neit," the patron goddess of Sae (Sais), the capital of the *Bya*; and hence it is generally

thought that she was a Lower Egyptian princess. But I should like to suggest the possibility that she was a princess of the Set-tribes, a daughter of the ruling family of Nubi (Ombos), the Upper Egyptian capital of those people; for she was ultimately buried in the desert behind that city. It has already been seen (p. 90) that there is a possible connection between these people and Libya and Lower Egypt, and it may be that the goddess Neit was recognized up in the south at Nubi, for, as I have said (p. 90), her emblem is found there. Strabo tells us that Minerva, who is identified with Neit, was worshipped at Esneh, still further to the south; and Neit and Set are both represented on Egyptian monuments instructing the Pharaohs in the use of the bow and arrows. Esneh was called "The Home of Neit in the Lands of the South"; and she is also sometimes described as "Lady of Elephantine." Neit is also the female counterpart of Harshef, god of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis), and the neighbouring region of the Fayûm was a centre of the Set-people. One of the creatures sacred to Set was the crocodile, and the crocodile god, Sebek, is called "Son of Neit" in the Pyramid texts. Neithotpe has the title *mae* (usually read *sma*), which means "the uniter," or "begetter," and this is amplified into "the Uniter of the Two Lordships," or "Begotten of the Two Lordships" (p. 44); and an ancient title used by the queens of Egypt is *Mae Hur Set*, meaning "The uniter, or the begotten, of the Hawk-people and the Set-people," a fact which again connects Neithotpe with the Set-worshippers. In one inscription (Newberry, *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, I, 5) the name of this queen is written with the *Hotpe*-sign inside the usual Hawk-enclosure, and the Neit-sign above it, in the same position in which the Hawk and Set-signs are found in other cases. The Hawk-enclosure is, in general use, an Upper Egyptian device, and hence this reference to Neit associates her with the south. It is just possible that the Set-tribes were ruled by queens, for in the Turin Papyrus "seven women rulers" are mentioned amongst the sovereigns who preceded Mene; and in the legend of the war between Set and Horus (p. 111) Set is linked with a *queen* of the south, named Aso. Thus it is not unlikely that this Neithotpe

whom Mene married was hereditary ruler of the Set-people.

Mene then assumed a new title, "Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra," sometimes called in Egyptian by the shorter form *Nebti*, "The Dual Lordship." The cobra was Utho, the patron-goddess of Buto, the elder capital of Lower Egypt, and it has generally been thought that the vulture in this title represented the vulture-goddess Nekhebt in her capacity as patroness of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), the ancient capital of the Hawk-kings, the title therefore meaning that the king was lord of the two ancient kingdoms of the Hawk and the Hornet. But it seems to me to be more probable that it meant the lordship of the two aboriginal peoples—the people of Buto in the north and the Set-people of the south, my argument being as follows.

Professor Newberry, as I have already said, has shown that the Set-animal is very possibly a wild pig, and Plutarch tells us that a pig was sacrificed yearly to Set. The real seat of the worship of the vulture-goddess, Nekhebt, was at the city of Nekheb, now called El Kâb, which is on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), the Hawk capital; and that city may perhaps have belonged originally to the Set-people, for what appears to be the Set-title of King Shero (p. 179) is inscribed on the rock at El Kâb, as though that were the title by which he was known in this district; and then, again, Herodotus states that offerings of pig's flesh were made to the goddess Selene, who is identified with the vulture Nekhebt, and in the tomb of Renni at El Kâb (Weigall, *Guide*, p. 326), mention is made of a herd of 1,500 swine kept by that personage. This may well be taken as an indication that Nekhebt had something to do with the Set-people; and Horapollon states that the Egyptians represented the goddess Athene (Neit) as a vulture, and we have already seen the connection of Neit with Set. Now, I have suggested above that these people may have been ruled by queens, and we have seen that the queens' title was connected with Set. The vulture, however, is definitely a queen's symbol, for the queen's headdress was a vulture, and the vulture is the hieroglyph of "motherhood," a fact which is not otherwise able to

be explained. Hence the vulture may have been the original emblem of the Set-queens, and Mene may have assumed the vulture lordship after his marriage with the Set-princess Neithotpe.

With this title he assumed the name Meni (Mena), "The Established," which name he also took as Hawk of Theni, for it is written beside his Hawk-name Ohe. Three thousand years later Manetho, who always uses the *Nebti* name of these early kings, rendered this as Mēnēs, the famous name by which he is generally called.

The Egyptians of Upper Egypt came to regard Ohe Meni, or Mene, as the first legal sovereign of a united Upper and Lower Egypt. Manetho named him as the founder of the First Dynasty of kings of all Egypt, and dismissed his immediate predecessors simply as "ten kings of This." The Abydos List (Abydos and This or Thinis were situated side by side), likewise, records him as the first legal king of all Egypt; and so, also, does the Turin Papyrus. But the Egyptians of the Delta did not accept him as their legal king by right of blood. The Sakkâra List, compiled by an historian with evident leanings towards Lower Egypt, does not record either Mene or his immediate successors as rightful kings of all Egypt; and it is to be remembered that in contemporary inscriptions Mene is never entitled *Bya*, or, for that matter, *Insi* either: he is simply the Hawk, or else the "Dual Lord."

But though, following Manetho, we must speak of Mene as the first king of the First Dynasty, the evidence which I have already tried to arrange and interpret shows that he was actually about the 50th recorded Hawk-king. Those readers, therefore, who have had some previous knowledge of Egyptian history, must rid their minds of the customary idea that the story begins with Mene and the "First" Dynasty, and that the kings before him were "prehistoric" or "predynastic," belonging to a vague epoch which is sometimes called "Dynasty O." The reconstruction of the Palermo Stone annals, and the general study of the available material, has corrected that attitude; and it is not accurate even to apply the word "Archaic" to these times, for the term implies a primitive condition which the known facts

do not justify. Mene was the ruler of a country which had been civilized for the best part of 2,000 years, and he stood against a background of recorded and manifest history which extended into an infinitely remote past. In his own eyes he was the final product of an immemorial civilization, and he must have had occasional intercourse with foreign nations of equal culture and antiquity, the kings of Kish and Erech in Babylonia, for instance, whose names are still known, dating back to long before 5000 B.C.

The word "Pharaoh" is the Hebrew form of the Egyptian *Peroe* (Coptic, *Pero*), meaning "the Great House" in the sense of "the great hereditary proprietor," *per* being the word often used for an estate or property which may be handed on, as in the matriarchal Egyptian title of a wife, *nebt-per*, "Lady, or possessor, of the house, or family property"; and though there is no evidence that this royal title was yet in use, the fact that it was afterwards the designation of the king as monarch of a united Upper and Lower Egypt perhaps justifies us in speaking of Mene and his successors as "Pharaohs," and the sovereigns before his time as kings of the "pre-Pharaonic" period. We may speak of the kings before the Union, and of the Pharaohs after the Union; but we must no longer regard the ages before the time of Mene as "prehistoric" or "predynastic," or in any way different from the ages after his time, except in so far as the union of the two countries wrought a change by doubling and trebling the actual wealth and power of the sovereign himself.

According to Egyptian tradition Mene was the founder of the great metropolis on the west side of the Nile, a few miles south of the modern Cairo, called *Men-nofre*, "The Well-Established," a name which the Greeks rendered as Memphis. The city was also called the "White Wall," which was probably the name of the original fortress-town on or near this site, where the ancient *Insi*-kings had ruled; and it may be that the name *Mennofre* did not come into use till much later (p. 231). Here Mene is said to have founded the temple of Ptah, the Egyptian Vulcan, who was the divine Craftsman and Pot-Maker of the gods, and whose High Priest throughout Egyptian history held the title of

the Great Master Potter. Diodorus records the tradition that Mene also established the manner of divine worship, and, moreover, that he taught the people "how to adorn their couches and tables with rich cloths and coverings, and was the first that brought in an elegant and sumptuous way of living." The fragmentary remains left to us of the civilization of his day show that a high degree of artistic skill had been reached, and we may picture the new capital as being a pleasant and stately city, the houses made of whitewashed brick, the roofing beams supported upon delicate wooden columns, adorned in rich colours, and the rooms furnished with chairs, tables and couches of elaborate workmanship. It was situated a short distance back from the Nile, amongst luxuriant fields and groves, and behind it were the sandy slopes of the western desert, carrying the eye back to the low hills of the horizon, which each evening received the setting sun. In front of it, across the river, there was a narrow strip of cultivated ground, beyond which was the desert again, leading back to a range of white limestone cliffs where the sun rose each morning. A few miles to the north the territory of Lower Egypt began, the country widening out into the flat fields of the Delta, through which the Nile flowed down in seven branches to the sea; and from that direction came the prevalent wind, "the sweet northern breeze" so often referred to by the Egyptians, bringing the coolness of the Mediterranean to the city. To the south the narrow but luxuriant Valley of the Nile stretched away into the distance, bordered on either side by the desert. The situation was strategically important as being the middle point between Upper and Lower Egypt; and the climate was excellent—cool and invigorating in winter, with almost continuous sunshine, and not intolerably hot in summer. Herodotus tells us that the priests related to him the story of how Menes constructed a great dyke near the city, whereby the waters of the annual inundation of the Nile, which flooded the fields around in the late summer and autumn, were diverted, thus leaving the whole site free from the floods, and giving the city room to expand.

With regard to the family of Mene, there are two or

three points of interest. Queen Neithotpe in later life perhaps took up her residence at Nubi, her ancestral home, as I suppose, for she elected to build her tomb in that neighbourhood. When she died she was buried there, in the desert close to the city, near the modern village of Negâdeh. The tomb, a great brick structure with underground passages and chambers, still stands; and from it various inscribed objects bearing her name and that of her husband Ohe (Mene) have been obtained (de Morgan, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, 1897, 147-202).

On the Cairo fragment of the Annals a concubine named Hept is given as the mother of the next Pharaoh. Perhaps Neithotpe had presented no son to the king, and falling into disfavour, had been sequestered on her estate at Nubi (Ombos), while Hept, this lady of the harim, enjoyed the royal favour; but an explanation of this kind, of course, is merely inspired by a desire to give purpose and reality to the misty facts which Time has left us, and must not be taken very seriously. In some of the fragmentary inscriptions of this period, signs which Petrie reads *Bener-ib*, "Sweetheart," are found beside the king's name, and he states that this is the name of a daughter of Menes; but actually the signs read *Benrit* (determined by the vase-hieroglyph), and mean simply "date-wine," this wine being a mortuary offering supplied at the tomb for the use of the king's spirit.

The inscriptions and hieroglyphical drawings of this age are not always able to be interpreted with much certainty, and though the material is considerable very little of importance can be gleaned from it. There is, for example, an interesting ebony label inscribed with the Pharaoh's name (Breasted, *History*, p. 43; Petrie, *History*, p. 14); but all that we can interpret upon it is a reference to the sacred barque in a temple of the goddess Neit, probably at Sae (Sais), the presentation on four occasions of a vase of electrum to the temple of the *Benu*, or Phœnix, apparently at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis), in honour of a wild bull hunt, and a reference to three Nile vessels in connection with two unidentified cities. The ivory plaque to which I have already referred (Budge, *History*, I, 178), gives the king's

names and titles thus : " Lord of the Vulture and Lord of the Cobra, Men ; Hawk, Ohe " ; but the remaining signs and pictures cannot be interpreted.

Tradition states that, while hunting in the Fayûm, Mene was once set upon by his own dogs, and was forced to plunge into the lake Mœris. In gratitude, apparently, for his delivery from the crocodiles which infested its waters he is said to have built a city there, and to have made a sepulchre for himself therein, and a labyrinth (Diodorus, ii, 89). Manetho records the story that he finally died of a wound received from a hippopotamus which he was hunting, probably also in the Fayûm, and the Palermo Stone tells us that his death occurred on the 7th day of the 6th month of what we know from other sources to have been the 63rd year of his reign (corresponding to about March 14th, 3345 B.C.) ; but that he was not buried in any such sepulchre beside the lake seems certain, for his tomb has been found in the royal necropolis at Theni (Thisis), where his ancestors rested. It is a large, brick-lined pit, having upright posts along the sides to support an inner chamber of wood, and in it several fragments of vases and other objects were found, inscribed with his Hawk-name, Ohe. Here also a beautifully worked bar of gold, having the king's name upon it, was discovered, this being part of the regalia. In the temple at Thisis a vase was found, having his name glazed upon it in two colours (Petrie, *Abydos* II, iv) ; and here, as well as in his tomb and in that of his queen, various small objects of his time have been found, some showing a high degree of artistic skill. Thus, though he reigned at an age so remote from ours, and though we know so little about him beyond the bare fact of his greatness, we are able to touch with our hands things which his hands have touched, and our eyes are still able to be charmed by the work of his craftsmen who laboured to please him, 5,000 years ago.

DYN. I, 2. ATHOTHI : KHENTI ATHUTHI

3345-3289 B.C.

In studying the accession of the new Pharaoh there are two considerations which lead one to think of him as a

young man, the son of his father's old age. Firstly, there is the great length of his reign, for, according to Africanus, Manetho gives him a period of 57 years upon the throne, and my reconstruction of the Annals confirms this figure; and, secondly, the Cairo fragment of the Annals has preserved us the name of his mother, "the concubine, or lady of the harîm," Hept, a name meaning "the veiled one," and as Neithotpe seems to have been the real queen of Mene, Hept may well have come into the royal favour at a later date, a supposition which fits in with this assumption that the new Pharaoh was but a young man at his accession.

I therefore picture him as a promising youth, not yet fully grown, who was the favourite of his father's declining years, and was made his heir in spite of the fact that he was not of noble blood on his mother's side. At the death of Mene he was accepted, however, by the Upper Egyptians as the new Hawk, the sovereign of the Upper and Lower countries, but only reluctantly acknowledged by the men of the Delta, who regarded him as a foreigner, the son of that old Hawk from the south, Ohe Mene, who had ruled them from the city of Memphis, which was beyond their southern frontier. The Set-tribes may also have shown disloyalty, for he was not the son of Neithotpe, who I suppose to have been a Set-princess, and they may have disclaimed his right to the title [*re*]n(?) *Nubi*, "Heir of Nubi," which is recorded on the Cairo fragment of the Annals. As Hawk-King of Hieraconpolis, and, indeed, of all Upper Egypt, the new Pharaoh took the name Khenti (p. 45), meaning, I think, "He of the Harîm," having reference to his mother's status; but as king of Theni (Thisis) and also as "Dual-Lord," he was called "Athuthi," which Manetho renders as Athothi(s).

Manetho records the tradition that Athothis built the palaces at Memphis, which is very likely; and that, being a physician, he caused books on anatomy to be written, a statement which tallies curiously with the mention in the Ebers Papyrus of the prescription for a hair-restorer prepared by his queen(?) Shesh, the mother of the succeeding king. In this regard it is rather an interesting coincidence that a fringe of false hair (Plate IV) was found in his tomb:



A PLAIT OF HAIR AND FALSE FRINGE FOUND IN THE TOMB OF THE PHARAOH ATHOTHIS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.
(From Petrie's *Royal Tombs*.)

See page 110.



JEWELLERY, MADE OF GOLD, TURQUOISE, AMETHYST, AND LAPIS LAZULI, FOUND IN THE TOMB OF THE PHARAOH ATHOTHIS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

See page 111.

evidently the hair-restorer, which was made from the claw of a dog, the hoof of a donkey, and some boiled dates, was not efficacious.

The royal tomb is situated in the necropolis in the desert to the west of the city of Theni, where all these early kings were buried. It is larger than those of his predecessors, and around it there are 338 smaller tombs, in which some 70 gravestones were found, mostly belonging to women, a fact which suggests that here the ladies of the royal *harim* were buried. In the king's tomb, besides many fragments of great artistic merit, four beautiful bracelets were discovered, charmingly designed in gold and semi-precious stones—turquoise, amethyst, and lapis lazuli (Plate IV). When found by Petrie they still encircled the arm-bones of a woman, who was perhaps the queen; and, more than any other relic of this far-off age, these bracelets, showing as they do a mastery of the jeweller's art which must have been the heritage of centuries and centuries of culture, make us realize that we are dealing with a civilization separated from the rude beginnings of national life by incalculable years.

The tomb of this king was afterwards regarded as the sepulchre of the god Osiris, and, as such, became the shrine to which millions of pilgrims made their way. Great heaps of broken pottery surround it (Plate III), these being the remains of the offerings deposited there by these pilgrims; and at length a stone image of Osiris, lying upon his bier, was placed in the tomb, and a stairway was made leading down into it, so that these pious visitors might make their prayers at the burial-place itself. The identification of this king with Osiris is regarded by Egyptologists as an ancient mistake; but actually, I believe, it was perfectly correct, and I think that the famous story told of the murder of Osiris by Set is historical, and is a narrative of events which took place at this time.

The story is recorded by Plutarch. Osiris, he says, was a king of Egypt, who, after civilizing his people and giving them many good laws, was drowned by his brother Set, who was in league with a queen of the south named Aso, the murder taking place on the 17th day of the month

Hathor (the 4th month of the 1st season), in the 28th year of his reign. Isis, the widow of Osiris, fled to Buto, and there her son Horus, the Hawk, grew to manhood. At length a battle was fought between Horus and Set, and Set was taken prisoner; but Isis pardoned him and set him free. Set then stated that Horus was not the legal son and heir of Osiris; but two more battles were fought, in each of which Set was defeated, and thus Horus at last came to the throne and avenged his father's death.

The date of the murder of Osiris seems too exact to be regarded as mythical. It took place, as I have said, in the 28th year of the reign, that is to say in the reign of a king who held the throne for 27 years and a fraction, that being the method of reckoning employed in Egypt, as I explained in Chapter I. Now the king with whom we are at present dealing is said to have reigned 27 years according to the version of Manetho left by Eusebius; and though the version of Africanus gives the reign 57 years, which is the true figure, the numeral 27 may well have been a correction made to bring it into accord with the popular tradition. Osiris was the god of Theni (Thinis), the ancestral home of this king, and the place where he was buried; and the attribution of events in the king's life to the reign of the god Osiris on earth is therefore quite probable. The name of the king is *Khenti*, not *Zer*, as it is usually read (p. 7), and Osiris came to be called Khenti-Imenti, "Khenti of the Western Necropolis," that necropolis being the place where he was entombed. King Khenti's mother was the concubine Hept, a name meaning "the veiled one," and it is perhaps significant that the goddess Neit is called by the same name Hept, and is spoken of as "the veiled one," and as such she is invoked to "receive the soul of Osiris and protect it" (Pierret, *Etudes*, p. 45). The goddess Isis, similarly, was identified with the queen of Khenti, who was probably actually the lady named Shesh. She is said in the story to have fled to Buto, where her infant son was brought up; and this is in agreement with the name of the next king, Utho, "He of the cobra-goddess," the cobra being the goddess of Buto.

Thus there are good grounds for the identification, and

it is surely more probable to suppose that the ancient Egyptians were correct in believing that the tomb of this king was the sepulchre of the murdered "Osiris," than it is to suppose, as modern scholars do, that they had made a mistake. We may therefore say that the Set-people probably rebelled against this Osiris-worshipping Pharaoh, and murdered him in the 58th year of his reign, 3289 B.C., at the recorded time of year, which would correspond to about our January 12th; and it may be that the Queen Aso, who, in the story, was a party to the crime, was the reigning sovereign of the Set-people, for I have already suggested (pp. 103, 104) that they were ruled by queens.

On the Palermo Stone we have preserved to us the brief annals of the first nine years of the king's reign; but these are not of much interest. Every second year was dedicated to a ceremony which seems to have been called the "attendance upon," or "following after," the sacred barque of the Hawk-god, a ceremony which is seen on the Palermo Stone to have been held also in the reign of Mene. In the third year there is a reference to the making of two statues, and in the fifth year it seems that a new palace was built, perhaps at Memphis. Otherwise the references are to religious festivals, and, apparently, to the fashioning of various statues of the gods.

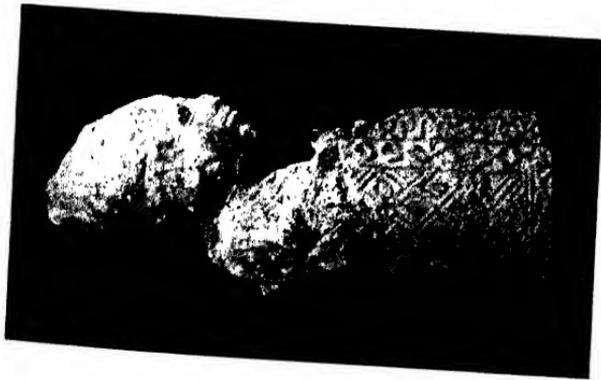
DYN. I, 3. KENKEN : UTHO KHENKHEN ATHUTHI

3288-3260 B.C.

If we may assume that the new Pharaoh was the "Horus" of the tradition, the infant son of the murdered "Osiris," it is to be supposed that he began his reign as a fugitive in the marshes of Buto; and there is a story that, while hiding here with his mother, he was stung by a scorpion and was miraculously saved from death after all hope had been abandoned. At length he, or rather his mother, managed to gather an army, which succeeded in placing him upon the throne. As Hawk-King of Hieraconpolis he was given the name Utho, written with the snake-sign, which means "He of the cobra-goddess," this being, one

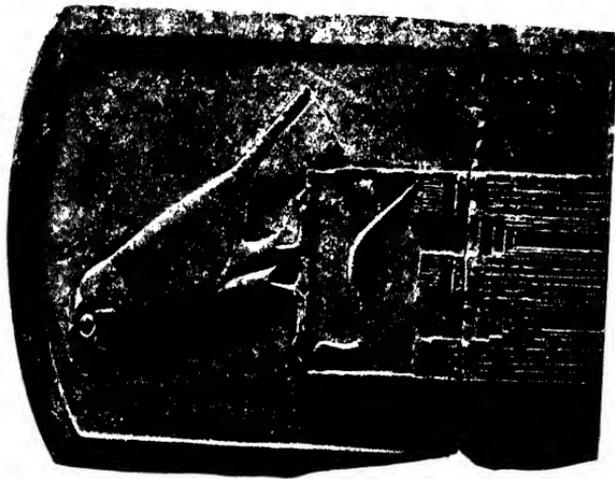
may suppose, in recognition of the fact that he had lived in safety during his exile in the marshes of Buto, the city of the cobra-goddess (Plate V). On certain fragments from his tomb this name alternates with the name Athuthi, the same as that of his father ; and, on the analogy of the other royal names, Athuthi must have been his designation as King of Theni, this being confirmed by the fact that he is thus named in the Abydos List, which, as I have said, always uses the Theni-name of these early kings. But as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra, the title which seems to have included his Set-kingship, he called himself Khenkhen, "The Terrible" ; and Manetho, using the Dual-Lordship name as was his wont, rendered this as Kenken(es). In the Sakkâra List the king is not mentioned at all, which shows that, like his predecessors, this monarch was not yet recognized by the Lower Egyptians as legal sovereign of the Delta. He reigned 29 years, and died while still a young man, whereupon the Set-people seem to have come back into power.

This Pharaoh's tomb was found by Petrie, with the other royal sepulchres of the period, behind the city of Thinis ; and around it were 174 graves of the same reign. A large monumental tombstone or stela (Plate V) was recovered from the tomb, inscribed with his Hawk-name, Utho. Another sepulchre, of "mastaba" form, which was discovered at Gizeh, north of Memphis, surrounded by smaller graves (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pp. 3-7), may have also belonged to this king ; for sealings inscribed with his name were here found, and the vases which it yielded are so similar to those discovered in his tomb in the royal necropolis at Thinis that they seem actually to have been made by the same craftsman. It will be remembered that Mene is said to have had a tomb in the Fayûm as well as that at Thinis (p. 109) ; and in later times it was not unusual for a Pharaoh thus to have two sepulchres, one being really a cenotaph for his spirit, and the other the tomb in which he was actually buried, but I think that in the case of all these early kings the actual burial took place at Thinis (Theni), the home of their ancestors.



IVORY STATUETTE OF AN UNIDENTIFIED PHARAOH OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

Found by Petrie at Abydos, it represents an aged monarch wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and an embroidered robe, shaped like that in which a King was dressed at his jubilee ceremony. (From Petrie's *Royal Tombs*.)



TOMBSTONE OF KING UTHO OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

The name Utho, written with the serpent-sign, is inscribed within an enclosure representing the facade of the palace, and above it is the hawk which was the emblem of the Hawk-kings of Upper Egypt. The Pharaoh's name as Hawk-king was always written in an enclosure of this kind, under the hawk-sign. See page 114.

DYN. I, 4. UENNEPH OR UENEPH: HENNEIT ATO
(or ATHUTHI?) 3259-3234 B.C.

With Kenken the direct line ended for the time being, and we find that the next sovereign was a woman. Her name was Henneit, "Neit is victorious," which Manetho's copyists render as Uenneph(es) or Ueneph(es), probably in error for Uenneth(es); and it is possible that she, like Neithotpe, the wife of Mene, was a Set-princess, though there is nothing to indicate this beyond my very tentative suggestions that Neit was recognized by the Set-people, and that it was their custom to be ruled by queens. In the Abydos List she is called by a name which may read Ato, but may also be Athuthi, like that of the last two kings. If Ato is the correct reading, then she may well be the Aso of Plutarch's story, the queen of the south who had taken part in the rebellion against Khenti, "Osiris"; and in that case we may regard her as a queen of the Set-people from the southern city of Nubi, who was but a young woman of 15 years of age or so, when she conspired against Khenti, and was therefore some 44 years old when she was placed upon the throne at the death of Kenken, 29 years later, she herself dying after a reign of 26 years, when her age would have been about 70.

If all this be so, the important part played by the Set-tribes in the history of these early times becomes apparent; but as my theory will be new to Egyptologists, and as it is not supported by any definite facts, I will not enlarge upon it, but will leave it, rather, to be studied as a possible explanation of the movement of the known events of this obscure age.

The tomb of Henneit, in the royal necropolis at Theni, is by far the most carefully-built sepulchre in that place. It is a brick chamber about 21 by 30 feet in area, and having chambers for mortuary offerings around it, as well as 42 graves of members of the royal household. It was identified by a large tombstone bearing the name Henneit, and various fragmentary inscriptions (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, frontispiece). Nothing is known of the events of the reign, but, according to my reconstruction of the Annals, its duration must be placed at 26 years.

DYN. I, 5. USAPHAI: UDI HESAPTI. 3233-3194 B.C.

When the queen died, she was, as I have said, a woman of probably 70 years of age or so; and as the new Pharaoh reigned 40 years, it is not likely that he was her son, for girls in Egypt were married at 12 or 14 years of age, and therefore if he were her son and heir he would probably have been 50 or 55 years of age at her death, and therefore 90 or 95 when he died, a rather extreme age. It is more probable, thus, that he was her grandson.

This is in accord with the known evidence, for, in the first place, the discoveries of Prof. Petrie have shown that the late queen's burial was conducted by the new Pharaoh, whose name appears on many of the fragmentary objects found in her tomb, and hence that he was closely related to her; and in the second place, the remains of the inscription still to be seen on the Palermo Stone above the annals of the new reign, state that he was the son of a lady whose name ended with the letters . . . rt, and hence that he was not the son of Henneit. The fact that Manetho does not here begin a new dynasty indicates that he was in some way related to the old Menite line; but it is to be noticed that whereas in the case of the other reigns recorded in the Annals there is a celebration of the "service of the barque of the Hawk" every second year, there is no such festival recorded in this reign, which looks as though the king were not a Hawk by descent. The Sakkâra List, with its prejudice in favour of Lower Egyptian sovereigns, is as silent in regard to him as it is in regard to the previous kings of the dynasty, which indicates that he was not a *Bya* or Hornet prince either. Therefore he was probably a prince of the Set-people. Yet he had a very definite connection with the Hornet-kingdom, as I shall presently explain, and his son, Miebi, was the first king of the dynasty to be recognized by the Sakkâra List. It seems probable, thus, that he contracted a marriage with a princess of the Delta who was a descendant of the old Hornet Kings, and, in her right, claimed to be the first legitimate Hornet-King of Lower Egypt since the Union.

His name as Hawk of Theni and Dual Lord was Hesapti,

which Manetho gives as Usaphai(s). But he also assumed another title, with which he used the same name, Hesapti : he called himself *Insi-Bya*, "Reed and Hornet," he being the first Pharaoh to employ this afterwards famous compound title. The *Insi*, or "Reed," it will be remembered, was the title of the ancient kings of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis); and the *Bya*, or "Hornet," was that of the old kings of Sae (Sais) in the Delta. The previous kings of the line of Mene had worn the *Insi* crown and the *Bya* crown, but, so far as we know, had never used the actual "Hornet" title, and there is only one reference to the use of the "Reed" title, namely, in the 7th year of Athothi, the successor of Mene, when it occurs on the Palermo Stone. Now, however, the new Pharaoh definitely calls himself both Reed and Hornet, and apparently every king after him did likewise. As Hawk of Hieraconpolis he assumed the name Udi (p. 47), "The Destroyer," a name which is sometimes incorrectly read Den.

The material at hand for the study of this reign is quite considerable. Not only have we the brief annals of 13 of his years on the fragment of the Annals known as the Palermo Stone, but in his tomb at Theni several small ivory tablets were found, on each of which is the record of the main events of a single year of his reign. The years on the Palermo Stone are, according to my reconstruction, the 21st to the 34th of his reign.

In the 22nd year the event recorded in the Annals is "the smiting of the Ontiu or Intiu," the Bedouin tribes of the Eastern Desert, who seem to have been kinsmen, originally, of the people of On or Heliopolis; and on one of the ivory tablets (figured in Breasted, *History*, fig. 26) the same event is represented. The king, here called "the Hawk, Udi," is shown in the act of braining an "Easterner," a long-haired and bearded Asiatic tribal chieftain; and an interesting fact is that the Pharaoh wears upon his head the hood, and the cobra at his forehead, which afterwards became the symbols of royalty. This is the first known occasion upon which the cobra is used as a headdress. It was, I think, part of the regalia of the old *Bya*-kings, perhaps in their capacity as sovereigns of Buto, the ancient city of

the cobra-goddess ; and it may have had a Libyan origin, for certain captive Libyan chieftains during the Fifth Dynasty (Breasted, *History*, p. 32) wear it upon the forehead.

In the 23rd year the Annals tell us that the king celebrated his jubilee, and the same event is recorded upon one of the ivory Tablets (*Royal Tombs* I, xi, 5, 14). The jubilee, or *sed*-ceremony, in ancient Egypt seems to have marked the completion of the 30th year after the celebrator, as a prince, had been proclaimed as the future Pharaoh and had assumed a definite position in the government of the country ; and in the case of King Udi the jubilee means, therefore, that he had received that position in the 18th year of the reign of the late queen. In the 23rd year, also, he held a ceremony which the Annals describe as " The Appearance of the *Insi* and the Appearance of the *Bya*," which may have been a sort of coronation anniversary ; and in the 26th, 27th and 28th years the Annals record the planning and building of a new palace called " The Thrones of the Gods," and the making of a lake beside it, wherein a grand hippopotamus hunt took place. The ceremony of marking out the ground for the great gateway of this palace is said to have been performed under the patronage of Sefkhet, the goddess of History and historical documents, who may have had some particular connection with the Set-people, since she is sometimes called " Mother of the Hawk of Nubi " (Budge, *Gods*, I, 426). The years between the 23rd and the 28th of the reign seem to have been a period of great importance, including as they do the coronation anniversary, the jubilee celebrations, and the building of a new palace ; and, as I shall presently point out, it was probably shortly after this that the king's ultimate successor, Miebi, was associated on the throne with him.

In the 29th year some great ceremony at the temple of the god Harshef (Harsaphes) at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis) is chronicled ; and in the 30th year we read of the " hacking up " of the city of Urke, an unidentified place. In the 31st year the king celebrated a feast of Sed, the god of the thirty-years' jubilee. In the 32nd year there is a record of " the first occurrence of the searching (literally, running)

for Apis." Apis was the sacred bull of Memphis, and when one of these bulls died, runners or messengers were sent out to search for another bull which, by certain markings upon it, could be chosen as a successor (p. 128).

On another of the ivory tablets found in his tomb (Budge, *History I*, p. 195), the Pharaoh is shown wearing the afterwards famous headdress composed of the white crown of the *Insi*, or Reed-king, and the red crown of the *Bya*, or Hornet-king; and he is seen performing a sort of war-dance, his battle-axe and mace in his hands. Reference is made to the "hacking up" of a city whose name is unreadable, but which may be the same city of Urke mentioned in the Annals; and the seizing of the dwellings of the Libyans is also chronicled, these being the marauding tribesmen of the Western Desert, behind the city of Sae (Sais). Here, also, an official named Hemake is mentioned, who was Treasurer of the *Bya*, or Hornet-kingdom; and there is conspicuous mention of the city of Eheninsi. The name Hemake has been found on various sealings of wine-jars in the king's tomb; and it seems that he was the chief man of his time—the Pharaoh's viceroy, in fact, in Lower Egypt.

Here, then, we have again an indication of this Pharaoh's particular concern with the kingdom of the Delta. This frequent reference to the *Bya* can hardly be a chance, in view of the fact that his son (?) and successor, Miebi, is the first king recognized by the Sakkâra List as a true *Bya*-king of Lower Egypt. The explanation seems to be that, while he himself was a scion of an Upper Egyptian line and was not recognized by the Lower Egyptians as a man of their royal blood, his wife was a true northerner, and their son, Miebi, was accepted by the men of the Delta as the first sovereign of the Union who was a descendant of their own ancient line.

In order to please the northerners, the Pharaoh, as I said above, seems to me to have associated this son, Miebi, upon the throne with him. A co-regency of this kind, beginning in, say, the 29th year of the reign of Usaphai, would mean that Miebi reigned jointly with his father for 13 years; and this would explain how it comes that the Annals give him

a 13 years' reign, while Manetho attributes 26 to him, the fact being that the Annals, of course, only give the 13 years of his sole reign, while Manetho counts in the 13 years of the joint reign with his father. Co-regencies of this kind were customary in the Twelfth Dynasty, and it is not surprising to find that there was this precedent for them in the First Dynasty. Such a co-regency, moreover, is strongly indicated, if not proved, by the fact that on two or three fragments from the tomb of Miebi the names of both Pharaohs, Usaphai and Miebi, are written side by side; and in one case two royal hawks, each upon a standard, are shown together in the middle, while the name of Usaphai is on the one hand and that of Miebi on the other, each having the title *Insi-Bya*, or "Reed and Hornet" (pp. 9 and 48).

One fact remains to be mentioned: the name of the young King Miebi, who was thus associated on the throne with his father, means, as I have shown in Chapter I, page 48, "The Beloved of the Land of Lower Egypt." Thus, a possible sequence of events becomes clear: King Usaphai, already an old man, was troubled by dissatisfaction amongst his northern subjects, and, in order to placate them, raised his son to the throne with him, Miebi being the first prince of the dynasty to have northern blood in his veins, his mother being a Lower Egyptian princess. In this way the legitimists of the north were satisfied, and for the first time (as the Sakkâra List shows) acknowledged a ruler of the House of Mene as their true king.

When the old Pharaoh Usaphai died, he was buried in the royal necropolis behind the city of Thisis, in a tomb far more magnificent than those of his predecessors. It is a great brick-lined pit to which a long and imposing stairway descends, and it was paved with blocks of granite. Upon this stone flooring stood a chamber of wood, clear of the pit walls, and herein the body was laid. The whole tomb was roofed with wood, above which a mound of sand was raised; and upon or beside this mound stood a tombstone with the royal Hawk-name inscribed upon it, while all around there were rows of small graves, 137 in all, wherein members of the court were buried. Many frag-

ments of vases, tablets, boxes, and so forth, were found by Petrie in the tomb; and amongst these is a piece of the lid of a box, neatly inscribed with the words: "The Golden Seal of Judgment," and the Hawk-name of the king. The various objects show a high degree of artistic skill; and that this age was also one in which learning flourished is indicated by the fact that in later times there are various references to this king's reign in religious and scientific papyri. In the Ebers Papyrus, for instance, mention is made of a medical prescription which was found in a book hidden under the feet of a statue of the god Anubis in the time of this Pharaoh; and in the rubric to the shorter version of Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead we are told that this chapter was discovered in the foundations of a temple during the same reign.

DYN. I, 6. MIEBI: OTHIB MERBI
3193-3181 B.C.

When Usaphai raised his son to the throne with him, he gave him the name Merbi, "Beloved of Lower Egypt," which Manetho renders as Miebi(s). This was the king's name as *Insi-Bya*, or "Reed and Hornet," and presumably it was his Dual Lordship name. It was also his designation as King of Theni, and thus he is called in the Abydos List. As Hawk of Hieraconpolis, however, he took the name Othib, "Stout of Heart" (sometimes transcribed Azab or Anzab), and this name appears side by side with the other in the inscriptions from his tomb. In the Sakkâra List, as I have already said, Miebi is the first king recorded, that is to say, he was the first king since the Union who was recognized by the Lower Egyptians as the legal descendant of their own pre-Pharaonic monarchs. But even so, the reign of 13 years does not seem to have been much of a success. The tomb, in the royal necropolis behind the city of Thisis, is not nearly so imposing as those of the other kings of this dynasty, and the graves of members of the court around it are neither so numerous nor so well made as in the case of the earlier kings. We must picture Miebi, I fancy, as a weakling, raised to the throne only to please

the Lower Egyptians; and, as will be seen in the next Section, the real power was probably in the hands of the prince who succeeded him.

DYN. I, 7. SEMEMPSE : MERKHET SHEMEMSU
3180-3172 B.C.

It is possible that the new Pharaoh, Semempse, had been appointed co-regent with Miebi, for Manetho states that he reigned 18 years, whereas the Cairo fragment of the Annals gives his complete reign, which is there seen to have lasted only 9 years and a fraction. Semempse was not the son or brother of Miebi, for the Sakkâra List does not mention him, which means to say that he was not of Lower Egyptian descent. He was very definitely a Hawk-king, for the ceremony of the "Service of the Barque of the Hawk," which had been suspended in the reign of Usaphai, was now taking place again every second year, as can be seen on the Cairo fragment of the Annals; and there also his titles have been preserved, and it is to be noticed that there is no mention of the *Nubi* title, that is to say, the king's designation as ruler of the Set-people. His mother's name, Betirset, has been preserved (Daressy, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, xii, 161); but this does not tell us anything of his origin. Perhaps he was a grandson of Kenken, the last of the old Hawk line, and his accession may mark yet another stage in the Hawk and Set warfare, the Hawks being now in power once more. He seems to have been glad enough to be rid of Miebi, and we find that he erased the name of that king from several inscriptions written upon vases. As Hawk of Theni, "Reed and Hornet," and "Lord of the Vulture and Cobra," his name was Shemsu, or more probably Shememsu, which Manetho renders as Semempse(s). As Hawk of Hieraconpolis he was called Merkheth, meaning "crowned by the Assembly" (p. 49), a name which indicates that he came to the throne by popular assent and not as the legal heir.

There is now increasing evidence that this was an age in which Egypt was beginning to feel her strength. Far away in the desert of Sinai, in the Wady Maghâra, there is

a large tablet cut upon the rocks, high above the valley ; and upon this there are three well-drawn figures of the king, in two of which he wears the white crown of the upper country, and in the third the red crown of the Delta. He is represented smiting down the chieftain of the Bedouin, and beside him stands the " Commander-in-Chief of the Army," the man who was responsible, no doubt, for this triumphant carrying of the Pharaoh's arms into these mountain fastnesses in the wilderness, where were situated the famous copper mines which were so extensively worked in later times by the Egyptians. Manetho states that in this reign a terrible pestilence afflicted Egypt, but there is no evidence to confirm the statement, and it may have had its origin in a very likely misreading of the Pharaoh's Hawk-name Merkheth as *Smerkhet*, which could mean " causing sickness in the body." The chronicles of the reign, as seen on the Cairo fragment of the Annals, are too much damaged to give us much information ; but we can still read that he celebrated the festival of the " Service of the Barque of the Hawk " every second year, and that the feast of the Birth of Anubis was held in the 3rd year. When he died he was buried with his ancestors in the royal necropolis at Theni, the tomb being a brick-lined pit of fair size, entered by a sloping passage, and having a flooring of wooden beams upon which the wooden mortuary chamber was erected. Around it were some 72 minor graves arranged in two rows ; and above it stood the royal tombstone, now in the Cairo Museum.

DYN. I, 8. BIENH OR BIENECH : BEHU BINETH

3172-3144 B.C.

The eighth and last Pharaoh of Manetho's First Dynasty is called Bienth(es) or Bienech(es), which is a rendering of the king's Dual Lordship name Bineth or Bines (p. 49). His Hawk-name seems to me to have read Behu, though it is usually given as Qa. He was recognized by the Sak-kâra List as a legitimate king of Upper and Lower Egypt, a recognition which had not been extended by the compiler of that list to the previous Pharaoh ; and therefore we may

perhaps suppose him to have been the son of Miebi, kept until now from the throne by the usurper Semempse. His reign seems to have lasted 28 years, and with his death the dynasty came to an end. He was buried with his fathers in the royal necropolis at Theni, the tomb being of much the same design as those of his predecessors—a brick-lined pit in which a wooden mortuary chamber was built. Only 24 minor graves were constructed around it, a great falling off from earlier days, which suggests that he was not a sovereign of much puissance. The dynasty seems to have come to an end, however, rather through failure of issue than through disaster, though the Egyptians, always prone to intrigue and rebellion and always ready to take advantage of a weak government, may have displayed their national characteristics in this instance as in so many others, and may have now clamoured for a new ruler and a new royal line: nevertheless, this king was revered in later times, and there were still priests attached to the temple of his spirit more than five centuries after his death (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 27, 29, 48, 89).

The struggle between the Set-faction and the Hawk-faction was not yet over, and we shall presently see that it once more became violent a few years later.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND DYNASTY

3143-2888 B.C.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS

IN the Second Dynasty we are faced with one of the most complicated problems in Egyptian history, and, curiously enough, very little attention has been given to it. In writing the following short chapter I have the feeling that this period would repay prolonged study; for it seems to me that in this age the great clash between the different religious factions took place. The Second Dynasty—which, indeed, as we shall presently see, is two dynasties rather than one—is a kind of melting-pot wherefrom there came at last that peculiar compromise of conflicting priestly interests which characterizes the Egyptian religion of later times. It was a period, evidently, of bitter struggle, but the paucity of the material which it has left behind makes it difficult to understand what was actually happening.

The Turin Papyrus and Manetho are agreed in assigning 9 kings to this dynasty, but the order in which they appear is different. The Turin Papyrus is, however, the authoritative source, as I have shown in Chapter I, and we must here abide by its arrangement, which is as follows: (1) [Neter]beu, (2) [Ke]Ke[u], (3) Bineter, (4) missing (Uothncs), (5) Sendi, (6) Neferke[re], (7) Neferkesokâr, (8) Huthefi, and (9) Thethi. The 2nd king, Kekeu, has another name, Nebre, and here we have for the first time in Egyptian history the incorporation of the name Re, the sun-god of Heliopolis, in the name of a Pharaoh; and his reign seems, therefore, to mark the rise of the religion of that ancient city into a position of dominance. But the chief event of the reign of the next king, Bineter, on the contrary, is the war waged by him as Hawk-king against the united

factions of Re of Heliopolis and the god Set of Ombos ; and this war ended in the complete defeat of the Re-worshippers and Set-worshippers. The next Pharaoh, Uothnes, however, is found to be calling himself king of the Set-people, a title never used before in so precise a form. The 6th Pharaoh, Neferkere, is, by the inclusion of Re in his name, evidently a Heliopolitan ; and we find that he was not recognized by the Upper Egyptians, who omitted his name from the Abydos List. The 7th Pharaoh, Neferkesokar, was also omitted from the Abydos List, and was evidently a Memphite king, Sokar being god of the necropolis of that city. The 8th Pharaoh, Huthefi, had a second name Kere, and was, thus, a worshipper of the Heliopolitan Re once more. His name is not given in the Abydos List. The 9th Pharaoh, Thethi, on the other hand, is known to have been a southern Hawk-king who waged a victorious war against the Memphites, and who called himself King of the Set-people, as Uothnes had done. His successor was the founder of the Third Dynasty at Memphis, and with him the troubles disappear. Thus it is evident that we are not dealing with a single line of kings, but with monarchs who rose and fell with the factions they supported ; and at least two most desperate civil wars were included in this period.

Let me remind the reader of the geographical position of these contending parties. The early Pharaohs of the First Dynasty had been primarily Hawk-kings, conquerors from the south, who resided at Memphis on the west bank of the Nile, just above, and across the river from, the modern Cairo, but who were still buried at the Osiris-worshipping city of Theni, their ancient capital, close to Ebod (Abydos) in Upper Egypt, and, apparently, were crowned at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), still further to the south, the original home of the Hawks of pre-Pharaonic days. Not far south of the city of Theni was the territory of the primitive Set-worshippers, who also seem to have had settlements elsewhere in Upper Egypt, and in the Fayûm, and who had fought with the Osiris-worshippers of Theni, but had now been at peace with them for some years. Memphis, however, which was originally one of the capitals of

the Reed-kings, had become the great metropolis, and here the gods Ptah and Sokar were worshipped. Across the Nile from Memphis, a few miles to the north, behind the modern Cairo, was the city of On (Heliopolis) where Re, the sun-god, was worshipped; but so far this city had not played an important part in Egyptian history. Finally, there was the Delta, or Lower Egypt, where once the Hornet-kings had ruled independently; but now this part of the Pharaoh's kingdom was loyal, it would seem, to the united throne at Memphis, with the exception of certain Set-worshipping tribes who lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Menzâleh.

DYN. II, I. BOETHO: NETERBEU BUTHO
3143-3097 B.C.

Manetho states that the Second Dynasty, like the First, had its origin in the city of Theni; and therefore the first Pharaoh of this new dynasty was probably related to the old line, though his actual parentage is not known. His name, according to the Abydos List, was Butho, which presumably was also his Dual Lordship name, and Manetho records it as Boetho(s); but as Reed and Hornet he assumed the name Neterbeu (or Neterbau), "The Divine-one (of the ancestral) souls," which was evidently meant to imply that the spirits of the ancient kings approved of his accession to the throne. As Hawk-king he was called Hotpesehemui, "The Satisfaction of the Two Dominions." Manetho states that he reigned 38 years, and that the third king of the dynasty reigned 47 years; but actually my reconstruction of the Annals shows that these figures have been reversed by mistake, the first king reigning 47 years, and the third king 38 years. In his time, Manetho says, there was an earthquake at Bubastis, and many people were destroyed; but this is probably due to some early attempt to read a hidden meaning into his name Butho, for the last hieroglyph in that name represents a jar not unlike that which served as the sign for Bubastis, and there is a word *buthiu* which means "those who are destroyed by fire." It will be remembered that we noticed another possible misreading

of this kind in the case of the name of Semempses of the previous dynasty (p. 123). On the other hand, earthquakes do occasionally occur in Egypt, and the tradition may be true.

The tomb of this king is not known, but his Hawk-name has been found on loose fragments discovered at the old necropolis of the kings in the desert behind Thebi (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, viii, 8, 9, 10); and at Sakkâra, the necropolis of Memphis, several jar-sealings, also inscribed with his Hawk-name, were found (*Annales*, iii, 187). Perhaps he had a tomb in each of these places. His long occupation of the throne must have been a period of importance, but actually there is not another thing remaining from it; and we must wait for further excavations at Sakkâra in the hope that they will reveal something more for the historian to pounce upon.

DYN. II, 2. KAIECHO OR KECHOU: NEBRE KEKEU
3096-3058 B.C.

It is quite likely that the new Pharaoh was the son of the previous monarch, but there is nothing definitely to show it, although a bowl, now in the Cairo Museum, is inscribed with the names of both kings, which suggests a relationship between them (Borchardt, *Klio*, ix, 488). Manetho calls him Kaiecho(s) or Kechou(s), and the corresponding name in the lists is Kekeu, which means "The Spirit of the (sacred) bulls." This appears to have been the name by which he was called under all his titles, except that of Hawk-king, for which there was a special name, Nebre, "Re is the Lord," or "the Lordship of Re." This name, as I have already said, indicates that the court was under the influence of the priests of Re, the sun-god, of On (Heliopolis). Manetho states that in this king's reign the sacred bull of Memphis, called Apis, that of Heliopolis, called Mnevis, and the sacred ram of Mendes, a city of the eastern Delta, were deified as gods, which means, I suppose, that previous to this they were but sacred or semi-divine creatures. This tradition, of course, may have had its origin in an attempt to explain the Pharaoh's name;

but it is perhaps more likely that the name is actually an indication that this king did show a particular interest in these sacred animals. Throughout Egyptian history the sacred bull, Mnevis, in which dwelt the spirit of the sun-god, had his stall in the sun-temple of On, each bull, when it died, being succeeded by another, chosen, sometimes only after long and diligent search, on account of certain peculiarities in its markings; and similarly the Hapi, or Apis, as the Greeks called it, was housed in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and, in later times, was buried with great pomp in the underground mausoleum which was part of the temple of Serapis, i.e. the Serapeum, at Sakkâra, the people mourning for 60 days after its death (*Recueil*, 21, 63; 22, 176). The sacred ram, or Bei, of Mendes, was worshipped in that city throughout the ages, being regarded as the manifestation of the spirit of the sun-god, and hence being addressed by the king as his "father." There is a record, dating from Ptolemaic times, which records the rejoicings when a new ram, having the necessary markings, was discovered after a number of years had elapsed since the death of the previous one; and we are told how the king caused it to be examined by the college of the learned men, and how, having passed the test, it was placed upon a throne, and proclaimed as "the living soul of the sun-god, Re" (Erman, *Religion*, p. 207). Thus, the bull of On and the ram of Mendes were both connected with Re; and the king's special attention to them is a further indication of the domination of the priesthood of the sun-god at this time.

Some sealings, discovered at Sakkâra (*Annales*, III, 188), are inscribed with the Hawk-name of this king; on a fragment of a vase, found at Theni, his name is inscribed, but has afterwards been erased, and that of the next king written in its place (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, viii, 12); and a statue in the Cairo Museum (p. 50) also bears his name. Manetho states that he reigned 39 years, and though the numeral is lost in the Turin Papyrus, my reconstruction of the *Annals* shows that the figure is probably correct. His tomb is unknown, but the sealings found at Sakkâra suggest that he was buried in that necropolis.

DYN. II, 3. BINOTHR : BINETER
3057-3020 B.C.

The next Pharaoh is known by only one name, which, for reasons explained on page 51, I read as Bineter. This was his name as Hawk, Reed and Hornet, and Lord of the Vulture and Cobra (Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, viii, 12; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, V, E), and Manetho renders it as Binothr(is). The great event of the reign was a rebellion and its suppression, which took place in the 13th year, 3045 B.C., that year being the 363rd since the accession of Menes. On a wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu an account of this rebellion is given in the form of a mythological legend (Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pls. 12-19), but the historical matter can easily be separated from the fanciful, and the following record of events then becomes clear. In the 363rd year of the era of Menes, the reigning Hawk-king went with his soldiers into Lower Nubia, apparently in the late autumn or early winter; and on his return his ship touched at the city of Edbo (Edfu) on the west bank, not far from Nekhen, the original capital of the Hawks, just across the river from Nekheb, on the east bank, which was perhaps a settlement of the Set-tribes. There he received news that a rebellion had broken out amongst the Set-people, and he immediately caused the arrest and execution of the men who appear to have been the local ringleaders, afterwards going himself to the execution ground and inspecting their bodies, each one of which was in fetters. This action led to a big battle opposite the city of Edbo, and the rebels, who were no match for the royal troops armed with metal spears, were defeated, 651 of them being killed. The king then sailed down-stream towards Was (Thebes), and, still on the east bank, just to the south of that town, he surprised another body of rebels moving southwards apparently at sunrise; and these men, after a short fight, fled northwards. The king pursued them throughout the day and, after dark, came up with them bivouacked on the east bank, opposite and just to the north of Tontorer (Denderah), some 40 miles or more down-stream. Here he again attacked them and routed them, and they fled "towards the lowlands, or valley

(leading to) the sea," by which is perhaps meant the famous caravan route which from this point crosses the desert to the Red Sea. The king then "spent 4 days and 4 nights away from the water, in their rear," yet he did not find them, for they had apparently doubled back to the river, and were continuing their retreat northwards; but, after this delay, he returned to his ships and proceeded downstream to Hebnu, the modern Minieh, a distance of some 200 miles, at which place he came upon the enemy again, and defeated them, taking 142 prisoners including one of their chiefs. These he caused to be executed on the riverbank, in front of that city. The remnant of the rebel army, meanwhile, having commandeered some boats, attempted to escape northwards by river; but, after a chase lasting a day and a night, the king arrived at Per-rehu, near Oxyrhynchos, some 40 miles down-stream, on the west bank, where he heard that the rebels had joined themselves with a tribe of Set-worshippers, perhaps belonging to that neighbourhood, and were gathered on the lake in the Fayûm. He therefore attacked them there, and, after a great slaughter, brought back 381 prisoners, whom he caused to be executed forthwith. The date of this battle was the 7th day of the 1st month of the season of Pero, which in 3045 B.C. corresponded to about December 3rd.

Some time later it was reported to the king that other groups of rebel Set-worshippers were gathering in the marshes of Lake Menzâleh in the north-east of the Delta; but, coming to this place, he spent 6 days and 6 nights in searching for the enemy without success. Then news came to him that they had moved eastwards to the swamps near Thoan (Zoan), and to this place the king pursued them, again without result. At last, however, he received definite information that they were massing in the desert behind the city of On, and the city of Ha, the latter being an unidentified town or fortress in that neighbourhood; and having brought his troops to that place, he outflanked the enemy, got round to their rear, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The usual executions were then carried out, 142 prisoners being killed. Only about a third of the enemy army escaped, and these fled southwards, not

resting until they had reached Lower Nubia. The king pursued them, and rounded them up at a place afterwards called Shasheryt, "Terrifying the Pig," the pig being the symbol of the Set-people; but they made little resistance and were annihilated.

On the Palermo Stone the two final battles, those at On and Ha, are recorded in the 363rd year-space (p. 6); but a very important point is that the former engagement is called "The destruction of the fortified camp of the Army of Re, the sun-god" (p. 6); and thus it becomes apparent that the rebellion was supported by the people of On. In the Edfu tradition quoted above, Re appears as the divine parent of the Hawk-king, and the enemy consists of those who have rebelled against Re; but the reference in the Annals to the Army of Re makes it quite clear that the Re-worshippers were the enemies of the Pharaoh. The Set-worshippers seem to have been amongst the most ancient inhabitants of Egypt (p. 89). They appear to have been scattered throughout the country, and there seem to have been communities of them at Thoan in Lower Egypt, in the Fayûm, and at Esneh and El Kâb; but their chief centre was at Nubi, not far south of Theni (Abydos). One might compare them, perhaps, to the modern Copts, i.e. those Egyptians who have been Christians since the earliest days, and who keep themselves separate from their Mohammedan fellow-countrymen, and live in scattered communities, though they are largely centred at Assiout. In later times the god Set became a sort of Satan; but in these early days his evil reputation had not yet become current, and he was regarded simply as the patron deity of these rather quarrelsome tribesmen who lived at Nubi and elsewhere. The sun-worshippers of On were also amongst the most ancient of the inhabitants of the country, and their god Re may have been Asiatic in origin; but it does not seem that there was anything much to draw them and the Set-worshippers together, although Set, too, seems to have been originally a foreign god, and in the Pyramid texts he is included in the company of the great gods of Heliopolis, with Isis, Osiris, and others; but the fact that they had both come under the dominion of the conquering Hawk-

kings of the south, and had so remained, restless, I suppose, and perhaps oppressed, may have had its influence. The Hawk-kings, that is to say the Pharaohs, seem to have been accepted by all the other communities of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to have come to be regarded as the legal descendants of the old Reed and Hornet kings; but so far the sun-worshippers of On may have kept aloof, since there is hardly any mention of them, and hence may have had a bond of sympathy with the Set-tribes who, apparently, were the only other community in the country which had not been assimilated. On, however, had now risen to be a great city, and under the first two Pharaohs of the dynasty with which we are now dealing, the priests of the sun had come to be a real power in the land, the late Pharaoh, Kaiecho, as we have already seen, being influenced by them even to the extent of incorporating their god's name in his own. The present Pharaoh, Binothr, however, may have attempted to put them in their place, and for this reason the rebellion recorded above may have broken out. On a fragment of a vase found in the necropolis at Theni (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, viii, 12) the name of this Pharaoh is inscribed, and that of his predecessor, which was previously written there, has been erased, which fact may be regarded, perhaps, as an indication that the king with whom we are now dealing was no friend to his predecessor or to the Re-worshippers.

On the Palermo Stone we have the chronicles of the 6th to 20th years of the reign, according to my reconstruction of the Annals, and above these year-spaces a part of the king's name and titles can be read, thus: "The Hawk Bineter, the nursling (or perhaps heir) of Nubi (Ombos). . . ." The only explanation of this title seems to be that at the close of the rebellion he had announced himself as heir and legal chieftain of Nubi, the main centre of the Set-tribes, hoping thereby to pacify them. The reader will see, however, that the appearance of this phrase in the titulary of a king who, as the Edfu tradition tells us, fought the Set-worshippers, presents one of the difficult problems in the history of this period. The Annals themselves are, otherwise, of little interest. They record "numberings"

of the people held regularly on alternate years, and the celebration of the ceremony of the "Service of the Barque of the Hawk" also every alternate year. In the 7th year mention is made of the planning of a palace (?) called *Hur-ren*, "The nursling (or youthful) Hawk." In the 9th and 15th years there are references to the sending out of runners or messengers for the sacred Hapi or Apis which, I suppose, means the search for a new bull upon the death of the last. In the 19th year there is a reference to the "*maes* of the royal mother" (the Queen-mother), and this word *maes* perhaps means "imprisonment," though the suggestion seems rather improbable. Besides these annals there is a brief but arresting statement by Manetho that this king decreed that the royal succession might pass in the female line, which may mean, perhaps, that he had no son to succeed him. Perhaps we may see here a compromise with the Set-people, for I have indicated in the previous chapter (pp. 103 and 104) that the Set-tribes may have been ruled by queens; and it may be that the Pharaohs now for the first time adopted the custom of female inheritance, afterwards a notable feature throughout their history, and possibly this custom was derived from the Set-people.

The king died after a reign of 38 years, and seems to have been buried at Sakkâra, for he does not appear to have had a tomb at Theni, but at Sakkâra some fragmentary sealings have been found, bearing his name (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, V, E), and these may have belonged to mortuary offerings.

DYN. II, 4. OTLAS: SEKHEMIB UOTHNES
3019-3003 B.C.

The late Pharaoh, it will be remembered, seems to have attempted to pacify the Set-tribes by naming himself as their chieftain; and now we find that the new king calls himself by the dual title of Set-king and Hawk-king, a very remarkable innovation. The late Pharaoh is said to have authorized the descent of the kingship through the female line, and it is therefore possible that in making peace with the Set-tribes he had married his daughter to one of their princes, and that the son of this union had been accepted

as his heir and had now come to the throne, thus uniting the Hawk and Set factions, as this new dual-title indicates. As Set-king, and also as Reed and Hornet, his name, as I have shown on page 51, was Uothnes (usually read Perabsen by Egyptologists), meaning "The Voice of the Sanctuary"; and as Hawk-king he was called Sekhemib, meaning "The Bold," sometimes amplified into Sekhemib-perennaet, "The Bold-one of the Temple," *perennaet* probably being the "place of offerings" in the temple, corresponding to the word *uoth*, "place of offerings" or "sanctuary," in the other name. Manetho calls him Tlas, which is an abbreviation of Otlas, the later pronunciation of Uothnes. He reigned 17 years, and when he died he was buried in the ancient royal necropolis at Theni, but his tomb differed greatly in style from those of the kings of the First Dynasty, nor are there now any minor tombs of the members of the household surrounding it. Two tombstones were discovered at the south-west corner of the sepulchre (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, xxxi), each inscribed with the king's Set-name; and there are many inscribed sealings and other small objects from the tomb. Long after his death his spirit was worshipped; for there is in the Cairo Museum the "false-door" of a tomb of the early Fourth Dynasty, belonging to a personage named Sheri, who held the office of Libation-priest of this king, and Superintendent of his Libation-priests in the necropolis.

DYN. II, 5. SETHEN : SENDI
3002-2966 B.C.

All the lists give the next king as Sendi, "The Terrible," but there are no contemporary remains known, and one cannot say what was his Hawk-name or whether he also had a Set-name. Perhaps the Dual-Lordship name, which is that generally used by Manetho, was compounded with the name of the god Set, and thus was the origin of Manetho's Sethen(es), which is not a good rendering of Sendi. He reigned 37 years, according to the reconstruction of the Annals, but Manetho gives him 41 years, which perhaps means that for 4 years he was associated on the throne

with the previous king. The same priest, Sheri, who was in charge of the tomb of the last Pharaoh, was also Superintendent of the priests of the spirit of King Sendi at his temple, which suggests that these two Pharaohs were buried close together. Two other priests of this king's spirit are known on a tablet now at Aix; and from as late as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty comes a bronze statue inscribed with his name, now in Berlin. The only other item of information now left to us regarding this Pharaoh is in the Berlin Medical Papyrus (*Recueil*, II, pl. 99, line 2), wherein he is related to have revised a certain medical papyrus which was found in the time of King Hesapti of the First Dynasty under the feet of a statue of the god Anubis. No trace of the king's tomb has been found; and, as we shall presently see, he seems to have met with disaster at the end.

DYN. II, 6. NEPHERCHERE: NEFERKERE
2965-2934 B.C.

It is significant that since the great rebellion in the time of Binotr and the destruction of the Army of Re, there has been no mention of the sun-god; but now comes a king having the name Neferkere, meaning "Beautiful is the spirit of the sun-god," who is recorded in the Turin Papyrus, the Sakkâra List, and Manetho, but is ignored by the Abydos List. He seems, in fact, to have been put on the throne by the sun-worshippers, but to have been regarded as illegitimate by the Hawk-people of Upper Egypt; and we may suppose that the late King Sendi met his death, or was dethroned, as a result of some sort of rebellion which brought the priests of On back into power again after nearly 90 years of suppression. This time, however, they do not seem to have been associated with the Set-tribes. According to my reconstruction of the Annals this king reigned 32 years, but nothing is known about his reign, except that in it, according to Manetho, the Nile flowed with honey for 11 days. This statement may well be due to some misreading of an ancient record: for instance, the word *gebgebiu*, meaning "the slain," may have been misread as *gebi*, "honey," and the original refer-

ence may have been to a great battle, after which the Nile was full of the bodies of the slain; or again, a reference to the *Bya* or Hornet-kingdom of Lower Egypt may have been misread as having something to do with *bya*, "honey."

DYN. II, 7. SESOCHR: NEFERKESOKAR
2933-2926 B.C.

In the Sakkâra List and the Turin Papyrus the name of the next king appears as Neferkesokar, "Beautiful is the Spirit of Sokar," the god of the Memphite necropolis; and Manetho, omitting the *nefer* as he sometimes does, wrote this name as Chesochr(is) or Sesochr(is). The Abydos List ignores him, which shows that his reign was not recognized as legal in Upper Egypt; and his Memphite name perhaps indicates that he was opposed to the Heliopolitan faction also. The Turin Papyrus gives the length of his reign as 8 years and 3 months, and since the new year began on about June 28th in 2926-5 B.C. his death probably occurred in October. Manetho states that the king was "5 cubits in height and 3 cubits in width, or girth," which, at 17.4 inches to the cubit, would make him about 7 feet tall, and over 52 inches round the middle—a very giant of a man. Another reading of the statement gives it as "5 cubits and 3 hands in height," which is improbable, as this would correspond to about 8 feet. There are no remains of this reign.

DYN. II, 8. CHAIRE: HUTHEFI KERE
2925-2915 B.C.

According to the Turin Papyrus and the Sakkâra List the next king was Huthefi, but the Abydos List ignores him, as it ignored his two predecessors. A small cylinder seal of about this date was found at El Kâb (Quibell, *El Kab*, xx, 29), bearing the Heliopolitan name Kere, "Spirit of Re," surrounded by an oval in which we are perhaps to see the earliest contemporary use of the "cartouche"; and, as I have explained on page 53, it is probable that the name Kere is the origin of Manetho's

Chaire(s), and that he is to be identified with Huthefi. The Turin Papyrus gives the length of his reign as 11 years and 8 months, but as I shall presently explain, this represents the duration of his reign up to the time when the next king proclaimed himself and began to record the years of *his* reign. Huthefi Kere really lived on for another 10 years, and was finally dethroned and probably killed by his rival. This is the third king in succession of whom we have no contemporary remains to speak of; and in view of the events of the next reign it seems probable that all traces of these three "usurpers" were obliterated by the conquering Pharaoh of whom I am about to write.

DYN. II, 9. CHENNERE: THETHI KHENERI
2914-2888 B.C.

When King Sendi died, 52 years previously, he had probably left a son and heir who was obliged to live in exile, perhaps in Upper Egypt, while the throne was held by the illegitimate kings. This prince, we may suppose, had a son; for now a warrior king appears in Upper Egypt, who wrested the kingdom from the sun-worshippers, and revived the Hawk and Set titles used in the earlier part of the dynasty. The victor's name as Reed and Hornet-king appears in the Turin Papyrus as Thethi, "The Supreme"; and the Abydos List, which ignored the three previous kings, records him as though he were the immediate successor of Sendi, while the Sakkâra List omits him, because, if my suppositions are correct, in Memphite eyes he was a conqueror from the south, the grandson of the dethroned and forgotten king Sendi. As Hawk-king, when first he rose in Upper Egypt, he called himself Kheneri, "The Splendour of Dominion," the word *neri* being written with a single hieroglyph representing a staff of office; but later, when his conquests were complete, he changed this to "The Splendour of the Two Dominions," writing it with two staves of office instead of one, and he surmounted this amplified name with the Hawk and the Set-animal, thus showing that the "two dominions" were those of the Hawks and the Set-tribes. Egyptologists have read

the dual hieroglyph representing the staff of office as *sekhemui*, and hence this great conqueror has come to be known as Khesekhemui; but the reading is more probably *neri* (a word having the same meaning), for Manetho renders the name as Chennere(s), and he is not likely to have been wrong in regard to a conqueror so well known in Egyptian history. The name Kheneri was also used with his titles "Reed and Hornet," and "Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra" (*Royal Tombs* II, xxiii, 201). The king also took another title, "Pacifier of the two Hawks," and with it he assumed the name Hethef, "The Conqueror" or "The Destroyer." The "two hawks," it seems, were the original Hawk-people and the Set-people, the latter now acknowledging a Hawk-king as their sovereign. Kheneri, in fact, seems to have settled finally the old feud between the two peoples, and we hear no more of the struggle between Horus and Set which has been the main theme of the First and Second Dynasty.

Some very important remains of this reign have been found at Nekhen, the ancient capital of the Hawks, in Upper Egypt. These include two very fine statuettes of the Pharaoh, and on the base of each of them there is a representation of a number of slain enemies, accompanied by the inscription: "Northern enemies, 47,209." There are also three stone vases, each having upon it an inscription, written in hieroglyphic signs and pictures, which I read thus:—"In the year of the war and of the conquest of the northern enemy, at the feast of purification in the city of Nekheb, the Vulture-goddess Nekhebt presents to the Hawk-king, Kheneri, the united kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt and the seal of the accursed one." In this inscription the word for "accursed one" is *bu*, written here with the terminal hieroglyph of a pond, the same word being written in the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth Dynasty with the sign of a pond and reeds, and later with the sign of a fish. Some scholars have read the word as *besk*, "a rebel," and others have regarded it as a name; but I think *bu*, "the accursed one," a term often applied to an enemy, is more probable. It is written within the oval of the *khetem*, or seal, to signify the seizure of the enemy's lord-

ship, treasure, possessions, rights, authority, and all that is understood in the Orient by the royal signet. It seems quite certain from these inscriptions that Kheneri had proclaimed himself in the south as the rightful Pharaoh, the heir of the Hawks and the Set-peoples, of the kingdom of the Reed and the Hornet, and of the Lordships of the Vulture and the Cobra ; and that he had defeated the sun-worshipping Pharaoh, Huthefi Kere, with terrible slaughter, and had killed him or driven him from his throne, thereafter celebrating his victory in the ancestral city of the Hawks. The date of the war can be ascertained pretty closely, I think, by means of the chronicles preserved on the Palermo Stone, for the last six years of the reign—the 22nd to 27th according to the Turin Papyrus and my reconstruction of these Annals—are there shown, and it is stated that the 8th “ numbering ” or census took place in the 26th year, the 7th in the 24th year, and the 6th in the 22nd year. Continuing this into the now lost years, we see that the 5th numbering would probably have occurred in the 20th year, the 4th in the 18th year, the 3rd in the 16th, the 2nd in the 14th, and the 1st in the 12th. This sudden beginning of the numberings in the 12th year indicates that the war was fought in the 10th or 11th year of the reign, which would mean that for the first 10 years of Kheneri's reign, he was acknowledged only in the south, the throne of Memphis being still occupied by Huthefi Kere. The Turin Papyrus and the Annals give Huthefi Kere a reign of 11 years and 8 months, which was the period covered by him before the rightful king Kheneri proclaimed himself ; and though the Memphite king reigned on for another 10 years or so, these years had, of course, to be attributed in the Annals to Kheneri, for two contemporary reigns could not be recorded side by side, and thus the Annals of Huthefi Kere ceased from the month in which Kheneri announced his afterwards acknowledged claim.

This was the second time in Egyptian history that the armies of the south, under an Upper Egyptian King, had surged down upon the northern kingdom and had carried their ruler on to the great throne of the “ Two Lands.” The first occasion was under the leadership of Narmer, whose

successor, Mene, founded the First Dynasty ; and, similarly, Manetho names the successor of the conquering Kheneri as founder of the Third Dynasty. Again, eight centuries later, a southern king, Nebhepre of the Eleventh Dynasty, (p. 294) led his armies northwards and ascended the throne of a united country ; and once more, under the southern king Ahmose of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the men of the upper country swarmed into Lower Egypt and crowned their sovereign as Pharaoh of both lands. The invasions of the north by the south, in fact, are regular occurrences throughout the history of Egypt ; for the people of Lower Egypt were a more cultured and less warlike race than those of the upper country, the latter always having a slight strain of Nubian blood which exhibited itself then, as it does now, in good fighting qualities against which the men of the north could not successfully contend.

The victorious Pharaoh caused a temple to be erected in his City of the Hawks, and there set up a great gateway of granite, quarried at Aswân, upon which his names " Splendour of the Two Dominions " and " The Destroyer " were inscribed, surmounted by the Hawk and the Set-animal (Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, ii). He also built some sort of edifice in granite at Nekheb, the modern El Kâb, the sister city to Nekhen, on the opposite bank of the Nile ; for a block of granite bearing his name has been found there (*Annales*, vi, 239). Then he set about the construction of a great tomb for himself in the ancient necropolis of the kings behind the city of Theni, the main feature of which was a central chamber made of stone—this and his temples being the first stone buildings of which we have any remains. The rest of the tomb was made of brick, and altogether it measured 223 feet long by 54 wide, having over 50 chambers in it, which were found to contain funerary stores consisting of jars of pottery ; vases and ewers of stone, gold and copper ; pans ; baskets ; boxes ; jewellery ; gold bracelets ; the royal sceptre of gold, polished sard and copper ; tools and implements of copper, including 64 little models of chisels and adzes, and 68 needles and pins, made of copper (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, 29). The two statuettes mentioned above were found at Hieraconpolis,

and are now at Cairo and Oxford (Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, xxxix ff). One is of slate and the other of limestone; and both show that the sculptor's art had already attained a perfection unknown at that period, it would seem, in any other country. They represent the king seated upon his throne, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and the close-fitting robe usually associated with the royal jubilee, a ceremony which in ancient Egypt appears to have been celebrated thirty years after a king, before his accession, had been recognized as heir-apparent, and, later, at intervals of a few years. Fragments of a monument were also found (*Hieraconpolis*, II, lviii), whereon the king is represented "humbling the foreign lands," which suggests that he carried his conquests beyond the frontiers of Egypt. Apart from religious festivals, the only two events recorded on the fragment of the Annals which remains, are the building of a temple of stone called "The Goddess is Established," in the 23rd year, this probably being the temple at El Kâb, of which traces have been found, as recorded above, the goddess referred to being, I suppose, the Vulture-goddess of that place; and "the making of a metal statue of Kheneri" in the 25th year.

A great royal lady of this period is named Nemaethapi (*Zeitschrift*, xxxvi, 143), a name which has some such meaning as "Possessing the right of Apis"; and this reference to the sacred bull of Memphis indicates that the lady was a princess of the fallen royal house of the north, married to the conqueror just as Neithotpe seems to have been married to Mene (p. 103). By this marriage he united his own royal line with that of the sun-worshipping kings of Memphis, and thereby pacified the whole country. She appears to have been the mother of the next king, the founder of the Third Dynasty, and was worshipped as the ancestress of that dynasty for many years, a record having survived which tells of the food-offerings made "every day in the temple of the spirit of the king-bearing mother, Nemaethapi," this dating from the close of the dynasty (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 6).

The great conqueror reigned for 27 years, 2 months, and 23 days, as recorded on the Palermo Stone, the Turin

Papyrus confirming this with " 27 years, 2 months " ; that is to say, he died on the 24th day of the 2nd month of what would have been his 28th year, 2887 B.C., which corresponds to our August 12th. His reign, which had begun in such troubled times, ended in years of profound peace, all the factions being united, the Set-tribes regarding the Pharaoh as their own prince, and the sun-worshippers of On, now holding, in spite of their defeats, a permanent position of influence at the court of Memphis, where their own princess Nemaethapi was queen and her son was heir to the throne. These great wars of the Second Dynasty, in fact, had been the birth-pains of Egypt's greatness ; and now in the peace of the Third Dynasty the nation was able to expand and develop with astonishing rapidity.

THE LATER TRADITIONS

We have seen how the later tradition in regard to the great Set-rebellion of the 363rd year of the Menite era has proved to be based on actual events in this dynasty ; and how the tradition of the warfare between Set and Horus likewise relates the events in an earlier Set-rebellion in the First Dynasty, and now it may be worth while to examine other traditions of this kind to see whether they, too, refer to this period of factional struggles.

Firstly, there is the well-known legend of the destruction of the men who rebelled against the sun-god, Re. The sun-god (i.e. the king of the On-faction), this story says, had grown old, and some of his subjects were uttering treasonable words against him. He therefore decided to attack them, whereupon they fled into the desert. The attack was conducted by Sekhmet, the war-goddess, who began the slaughter at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis), and so ferocious was her onslaught that at last Re said, " It is good, yet I must protect men and women against her " ; and therewith he stopped the massacre, and forgave the rebels. Soon afterwards, however, he expressed his weariness of governing the nation, and retired. This, of course, is another way of accounting for the defeat and massacre of the sun-worshippers. It is one of their own traditions,

and they account for the disasters by supposing that their god was angry with them. Then, secondly, there is the legend which tells how Re was nearly killed by the bite of a snake (a creature afterwards connected with Set), but was saved after making a certain compact with Isis, the mother of Horus, the Hawk.

In these legends, the wars of this dynasty may well have provided the historical matter, and it is significant that in each case the trouble ended in a compromise and settlement. Thirdly, there are the references to Horus and Set in the Pyramid Texts, that is to say, the religious inscriptions in the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, and these make many references to the warfare between these two gods, and to the final compromise between them. It is to be remembered that the First and Second Dynasties are the only period in Egyptian history in which there are actual indications of a struggle between the Hawk-peoples and the Set-peoples; and at no other time, therefore, are the obviously historical events so likely to have taken place. On a stela in the British museum the final arrangement between Horus and Set is recorded (Stela No. 7; Breasted, *Development of Religion*, p. 42). It says: "Geb (the earth-god) installed Set as king of Upper Egypt in Upper Egypt, in the place where he was born, in Sesesu (a town in the Fayûm); and he installed Horus as king of Lower Egypt in Lower Egypt, in the place where his father was drowned, at the time of the dividing of the two lands. But it was evil to the heart of Geb that the portion of Horus was (only) equal to the portion of Set, and therefore Geb gave his heritage to Horus, this son of his first-born son, and Horus stood in the land and united the land." Here I think we have the conclusion of the matter, as it was finally settled by the conquests of Kheneri, when the Hawk symbol came to represent both the Hawk-tribes and the Set-tribes, and there was at last peace between them. In later times the Pharaohs are sometimes represented as being crowned both by Set and Horus, which seems to be a recognition of that joint contribution to the building up of the Pharaonic throne made by these two factions, which I have tried to explain and emphasize in the foregoing pages.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD DYNASTY

2887-2790 B.C.

DYN. III, I. NECHEROPHE OR NECHEROCHI: NEBKE OR NEBKERE BEBY. 2887-2869 B.C.

MANETHO begins his Third Dynasty with the reign of a Pharaoh whom he calls Necherophe(s) or Necherochi(s). In the Abydos List and the Turin Papyrus the new king is named Nebke, which is perhaps a shortened form of Nebkere, "Possessing the Spirit of the Sun-god"; and in the Sakkâra List the corresponding king is called Beby, which may well be the personal name of Nebke, though there is nothing to link the two except this juxtaposition in the list. From these two names together—Nebkere-Beby—Manetho seems to have obtained his Necherophe(s). There can be no question, I think, that the wars of the great Kheneri afterwards came to figure in those Set and Horus legends of which I have just been speaking, and that some of the tales regarding the warfare waged by Horus, son of Osiris, against Set had their origin in events connected with the conquest of the north by Kheneri. King Nebke Beby must have ascended the throne while yet the memory of the slaughter was vivid; and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that he has passed into legend, so it seems to me, as Beby, the βέβων of Plutarch (*De Iside*, 62), the eldest son of Osiris, who had the form of the Set-animal, was patron of the phallic symbol of "union," and was a sort of devourer of the dead. The new dynasty, according to Manetho, was of Memphite origin; and Nebke Beby was perhaps the son of the marriage of Kheneri with the northern princess Nemaethapi, therefore uniting in his person the two contending factions.

This Pharaoh has left his name inscribed upon the rocks of Wady Maghâra in the Sinai desert, which probably means

that his men there worked the copper mines. Manetho says that he reigned 28 years, but the Turin Papyrus gives him 19 years, and my reconstruction of the Annals shows that the latter figure is correct. In his reign, Manetho says, the Libyans revolted, but, on account of an unexpected increase of the moon, they submitted through fear. Possibly the "increase of the moon" was his misreading of the original hieroglyphs; for instance, the original words might have meant simply "east and north," and the word *yebt* meaning "east" might have been read as *yebi* "the moon," and the word *he* meaning "north" might have been mistaken for *he* "increase"; or some error of that kind. On the Palermo Stone the annals of the first five years of the reign are chronicled, but these are not of much importance. In the first year we have a record of the Pharaoh's coronation; in the second year the king is stated to have made his ceremonial entry into the "Double *Senut*-house," a building of undetermined use; in the third year celebrations in honour of the gods Horus and Min are mentioned; and in the fourth year the beginning of the building of the royal palace, which was called "Refreshment of the gods," is chronicled.

DYN. III, 2. TOSORTHO : THOSER RETHO NETERKHET
2868-2850 B.C.

According to the Sakkâra List the name of the next Pharaoh was Thoser (sometimes transliterated as Zoser) meaning "The Holy"; but the Turin Papyrus adds a second word to the name, which is generally read *In*, but which, as I have pointed out on page 54, is more probably to be read *Retho*. Manetho shortens Thoserretho into Tosortho(s), which he gives as the second Pharaoh of this dynasty. The Hawk-name was Neterkhet, "God in the Flesh." As King of the Set-people, his title is given at the Step Pyramid as *Re-Nubi*, that is to say, the hieroglyph of the sun-god Re, above that of *Nubi*; but in his tomb at Bêt-Khallâf (Garstang, *Mahasna*, viii, 1) the *Nubi* follows the name Neterkhet (see p. 156). The presence of the name of the "Queen-Mother Nemaethapi"

in this tomb seems to show that he was her son, that is to say he was the brother of the last Pharaoh, and son of the great conqueror Kheneri, who, it will be remembered, married Nemaethapi. Manetho states that he was both a patron of literature and a physician of such eminence that he came to be identified with Asklepios, the Greek god of medicine himself; and he says, moreover, that he built a temple of hewn stone, the inference being that he was one of the first to do so. In after years he was remembered with reverence as one of the greatest of the early Pharaohs: there is a statue, now in Berlin, showing the Pharaoh Sesostris II of the Twelfth Dynasty adoring him; on one of the votive tablets of the Apis-worshippers of the Twenty-second Dynasty reverence is done to his name; we read of a priest of his spirit named Sonbf, and another, named Ahmose, in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; and a master-builder of a century later, named Khnumibre, proudly records the rise of his family in Thoser's time (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 275a). The length of his reign, according to the Turin Papyrus, was 19 years and 3 months; and I may mention in passing that since the year of his death began in the second week of June, he must have died some time in September or early October. Manetho gives him a reign of 29 years, but the figures recorded by that historian, in the corrupt form in which his lists have come down to us, are so incorrect in this and subsequent periods that they have to be disregarded in favour of the Turin Papyrus figures, which are everywhere confirmed by my reconstruction of the Annals.

The Pharaoh's greatness, as a matter of fact, seems to have been due to the labours of his minister, Iemhotpe, the Imouthes of the Greeks, who was the shining light of the age, and who also came to be identified with Asklepios, and was deified as the patron god of learning. A temple was ultimately erected in honour of this wise man near the Serapeum, in the desert behind Memphis; and hundreds of small bronze figures of him, seated with a scroll of papyrus upon his knees, are still in existence. He was revered as a philosopher, a proverb-maker, a physician, a scribe, and an architect; and ultimately he

came to be regarded in Memphis as the Son of God, that is to say, the offspring of Ptah, born of a mortal woman, Khro-tienkh, the name, perhaps, of his actual mother. Every scribe poured a few drops of water from the jar attached to his writing-box, as a libation to Iemhotpe, his patron god, before beginning his work (Schäfer: *Zeitschrift*, 36, 147). In Ptolemaic times, three thousand years later, the priests of Edfu, who were erecting a new temple, stated that the building was a reproduction of the structure designed by Iemhotpe himself in the reign of King Thoser according to a plan "which descended to him from heaven to the north of Memphis."

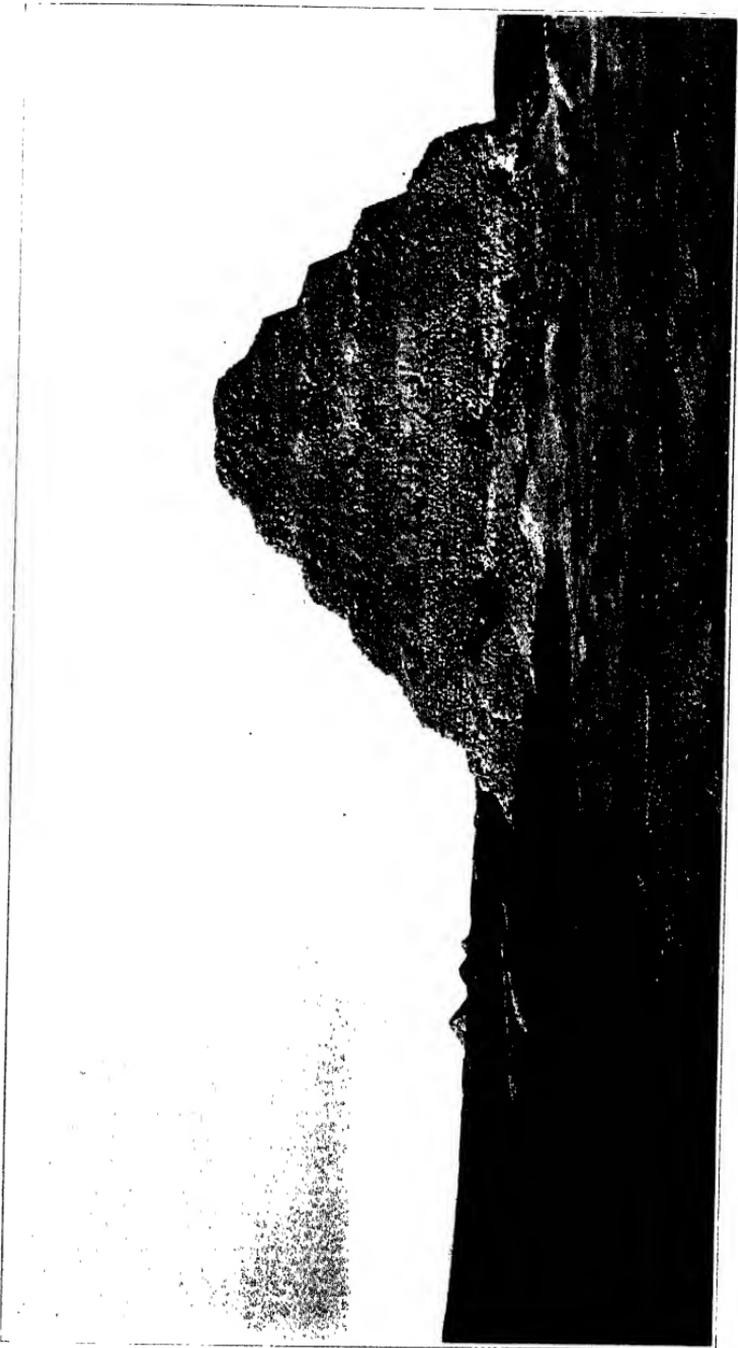
On the rocks of the island of Schêl, at the First Cataract, there is an interesting inscription written there also in Ptolemaic times; and as the story related in it is probably based on fact, I may record it here (Brugsch, *Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*; Budge, *Legends*, LXIV; Weigall, *Guide*, 421). It was related that in the 18th year of Thoser's reign, when a certain prince, named Medir, was a sort of Governor of the South, a terrible famine occurred in Egypt, and this prince received a letter from the Pharaoh, reading as follows:—"This is to inform you of the sorrow which has afflicted me upon my great throne, and how my heart aches because of the great calamity which has occurred, for the Nile has not risen (properly) for seven years. There is a scarcity of corn, there are no vegetables, there is no food of any kind, and every man is stealing from his neighbour. When men desire to walk, they have not the strength to move: the child wails, the young man drags his legs, the hearts of the old are crushed with despair, their legs fail them so that they fall to the ground, their hands clutching their stomachs. My councillors have no advice to give, and when the granaries are opened nothing but air issues from them. Everything is in a state of ruin." He then asks the prince if he knows where the Nile rises, and what god he should apply to for aid, and he expresses a wish to search the sacred books to find out what should be done. The prince at once went north to the court, and explained to the Pharaoh that the rising of the river was controlled by the god Khnum, who dispensed its waters from his temple

at Iebo (Elephantine) ; and thereat the king came in state to that city to make his appeal to the god in his own shrine. When he went into the temple, the priests drew back the curtains (?) and purified him with holy water, and the king then made a great offering to the deities who dwelt in that region, and addressed his complaint to the statue of Khnum. Thereupon this statue was seen to incline towards him, and it seemed that the god spoke to him, declaring that he was angry because his temple was so badly in need of repair, but that he would grant plenteous harvests if proper care were taken of him. The Pharaoh at once issued a decree, endowing the temple with the land on both sides of the Nile between Sehêl and the island of Takompso (probably Derâr, near Dakkeh in Lower Nubia) ; that is to say, he assigned to the priests of Khnum that rugged and narrow section of the Nile Valley which was afterwards known as the Dodekaschoinos, or " The Twelve Schoinoi " (a schoinos being a measurement of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles). This was territory of the land of Wawat, south of the Egyptian boundary, and, if this story is to be trusted, it would seem that Thoser was master of at least these 80 or 90 miles of wild country above his actual southern frontier at Sehêl. Moreover, it was enacted that a tax should be levied on those who drew water from the river, on fishermen, fowlers, and all those who lived by the produce of the Nile. Gold-miners and caravan-masters who came back from the desert by the Elephantine routes were also to be taxed, and an inspector was to be appointed to assess the value of the products they had obtained, and to punish delinquents by beatings.

There is another Ptolemaic inscription, at Philæ, which states that King Thoser gave to the priests of Isis that same strip of territory ; and the two inscriptions seem to represent the rival claims of the Isis and the Khnum priest-hoods to the property, each referring to a traditional deed made in their favour by Thoser, thirty centuries before their time. The dispute is not of importance, though it may be said in passing that the Khnum priesthood probably had the right of it, since the worship of Isis at and around Philæ was of much later date ; but the point of interest is

that King Thoser was remembered in Egypt as a wise and powerful administrator three thousand years after he had gone down into the underworld.

At the other end of Egypt, beyond the north-eastern frontier, the king has left his name (Neter-khet) upon the rocks of Sinai (*Recueil*, xvi, 104), where his men were probably working the copper mines. At On, the ancient city on the east side of the Nile, a few miles north of Memphis, which the Greeks called Heliopolis, the "City of the Sun," Thoser erected a temple or shrine in stone, embellished with well-executed bas-reliefs (Petrie, *Heliopolis*, 4); and I dare say this is the actual building to which Manetho referred when he wrote of the temple made of hewn stone in this reign. But the most important building of the period is the king's great tomb or cenotaph, now called the Step Pyramid, which still dominates the plateau of Sakkâra, the necropolis in the desert to the west of Memphis (Plate VI). The subterranean portion of this mighty monument consists of an excavation in the bedrock, 77 feet deep and 24 feet square, approached by a sloping passage and stairway, and paved with blocks of granite. Upon this pavement two chambers were erected, the walls being decorated with blue-green tiles; and between them there was a connecting doorway, upon which were the king's names and titles (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2 f.). These chambers were then embedded in masonry up to the surface of the excavation, and above them a flat rectangular superstructure was built of large limestone blocks, the whole being 38 feet high, 227 feet wide, and probably nearly 400 feet long. The design was then altered, and this solid basis was converted into a rough square, about 351 by 393 feet in area, upon this a second tier being built, 36 feet high, and about 6½ feet smaller on all sides. Then a third tier was added, 34 feet high, and again recessed as before; later on a fourth tier was made, this time 32 feet high, and again of smaller area; next a fifth tier was added, 31 feet high; and, lastly, a sixth tier, 29 feet high, was constructed. Thus the monument assumed the appearance of a sort of blunt pyramid in six monstrous steps, the total height being nearly 200 feet. The surfaces of all the



THE STEP PYRAMID AT SAKKÂRA.

This pyramid was built as the sepulchre of the Pharaoh Tosorthos of the Third Dynasty. The photograph shows the west face of the pyramid, so that we are looking east towards the Nile Valley, and to the north are the pyramids of Abusir (Dynasty V), while in the far distance are the Great Pyramids (Dynasty IV). See page 150.

sides seem to have been smoothed and dressed, and the cracks and crevices filled with cement, so that the whole structure must have been white and clean-cut, as seen against the deep blue of the sky. It was surrounded by a huge paved courtyard, probably having a fine roadway of approach leading up from the fields of the Nile Valley. So far as one can tell it was at that time the greatest stone-built edifice the world had ever known; and it is strange to think that it may have been intended only as a cenotaph or resting-place for the Pharaoh's spirit, and not as a tomb for his mummy, for another royal tomb was constructed at a place now called Bêt Khallâf, about 14 miles north of the ancient necropolis of the kings behind the city of Thinis in Upper Egypt. Here a great brick mastaba, 300 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 30 feet high, was built, having beneath it some 12 rock-cut chambers, over 50 feet below the surface, and approached by a long passage with an arched roof. This passage was blocked by no less than five great portcullis stones let down from above; and this fact indicates that here was an actual tomb to be defended against robbery, and not a mere cenotaph. Many fragments of the inscribed sealings of now-lost jars and pots of funeral-offerings were recovered by Prof. Garstang, who explored the building in modern times; and most of these give the king's Hawk-name, Neter-khet, which leads one to suppose that here he was actually buried, the Step-Pyramid being only a cenotaph. Eight sealings, however, bore the name of "the Queen-mother Nemaethapi" (Garstang, *Mahasna*, x. 7), which suggests the possibility that this was *her* tomb, and not that of Thoser, her son. On the other hand one may argue that the presence of her name here only indicates that she outlived him, and made contributions of offerings to his burial.

DYN. III, 3. TOSERTASI: THOSERTATI
2849-2844 B.C.

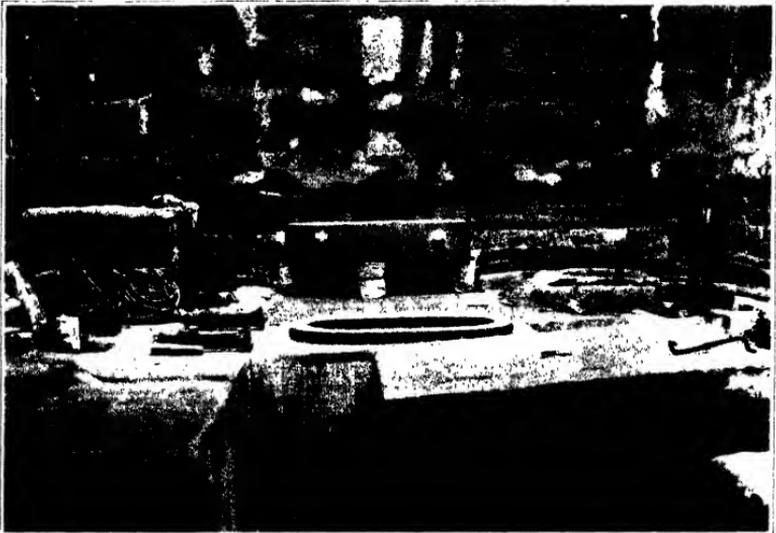
After the death of the great Thoser the throne probably passed directly to his son or heir, called Tosertasi(s) by Manetho, Thosertati in the Sakkâra List and Turin Papyrus, and Tati (or Teti) in the Abydos List. His Hawk-name is

not known. The Turin Papyrus states that he reigned 6 years, and my reconstruction of the Annals confirms this. There are no contemporary objects of his reign now known ; but the same priest, Ahmose, who was attached to the service of the spirit of Thoser in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, also ministered to the spirit of this Thosertati.

DYN. III, 4. ACHE : NEBKERE SETHES EKE
2843-2838 B.C.

Manetho's next king is called Ache(s), but the corresponding names in the Abydos List and the Sakkâra List are, respectively, Sethes and Nebkere. The *Sethes* may be a miswriting for *Sethef*, for the Turin Papyrus has here an obliterated name ending in the goose-sign, which is the determination of *sethef*, "to feed." In his unfinished tomb his name Nebkere is given with the title "Lord of the Two Lands," a phrase which now begins to appear in the royal titulary, and which ultimately came to be a regular designation of the Pharaoh ; but there is also in that place a name of which the first sign may perhaps be the eagle *e*, and the second sign is certainly *ke*, making Eke, which may be the original of Manetho's Ache(s). The Turin Papyrus (confirmed by my reconstruction of the Annals) gives his reign as having lasted 6 years and 1 month ; and since, at the date of his death, New Year's Day occurred at about the beginning of the second week of June, he must have died during July or the first days of August.

The one great monument of the reign which has been preserved to us is the king's unfinished tomb in the desert at Zâwiyet el Aryân, between Gîzeh and Abusîr, a few miles to the north of Memphis (Plate VII). Here a huge rectangular pit, 73 feet deep, has been laboriously cut down into the limestone bed of the desert plateau, like a monstrous tank, 82 feet long and 46 feet wide, with precipitous sides of sheer hewn rock, approached at one end by a magnificent stairway, 28 feet broad and 360 feet long. The floor of this pit was paved with great rectangular blocks of dressed granite, each weighing some 9 tons, while the middle block is so large that it must weigh at least 45 tons.



THE UNFINISHED TOMB OF THE PHARAOH ACHES (NEBKERE EKE) AT ZĀWIYET EL ARYĀN.

It is a deep excavation in the rock, into which a great stairway descends, and at the bottom is a pavement of granite blocks, wherein is the oval sarcophagus with its lid. It seems that a pyramid was to have been erected over this sub-structure. See page 152.

These blocks had been quarried in far-away Aswân, near the First Cataract, and had been brought down the Nile by ship, and then dragged up here into the desert. Sunk into this tremendous pavement there was an oval sarcophagus or cistern, having a lid of polished granite cemented to it; yet one must suppose that this was not the actual resting-place of the king's body in the end, though probably intended so to be, but that it was used as a receptacle for his invisible spirit—a sort of cenotaph: at any rate, it was empty when laid bare in modern times by Barsanti. It is to be supposed that the intention of the architect was to build a number of granite chambers and passages upon the pavement at the bottom of the pit, and then to embed them in sand and limestone, so that the whole pit should be filled, after which some sort of superstructure greater than Thoser's pyramid was to have been erected; but the Pharaoh died after a short reign, while yet the granite blocks which were to be used were lying in readiness at the surface, and the work was hastily finished, the blocks being heaped, pell-mell, into the pit: for thus they were found, piled up without plan over the empty oval receptacle, and yet apparently undisturbed since ancient times. Many Pharaohs are known to have had two tombs, one for the burial of the body, the other for the reception of the spirit; and such must be the explanation of this amazing monument, which yielded no rich burial to the expectant modern excavator to crown his laborious work, but yet which revealed in this early period a degree of skill and a largeness of conception hitherto unsuspected. It is obvious that already we have entered the age of the great builders, and are dealing not with primitive conditions, but with the hey-day of a magnificent civilization.

Upon some of the granite blocks in this tomb the quarry officials have written the Pharaoh's names (*Annales*, vii, 257; xii, 61). Firstly, as I have said above, there is the name Nebkere, as in the Sakkâra List, and this is preceded by the title Nêb-toui, "Lord of the Two Lands"; then there is the name Eke(?), enclosed in the royal cartouche or oval; and in one instance the two names are shown together (*Annales*, vii, No. 19), thus proving that they belong to the same king.

DYN. III, 5. KERPERE: NEFERKERE OR KENERFERE
 HUNI
 2837-2814 B.C.

Manetho's Kerphere(s) corresponds to Neferkere, the next name in the Abydos List, Neferkere having been read Kenerferre, but whether this transposition of the signs is correct I do not know. His other name, Huni, is found as his Hawk-name in his tomb at Bêt Khallâf and in Sinai; and in the Sakkâra List, the Turin Papyrus, and the Prisse Papyrus (Pl. I, line 7) it appears as his Reed- and Hornet-name. The Turin Papyrus attributes to him a tenure of the throne of 24 years, which fits correctly into place in the reconstruction of the Annals. It was a long and apparently important reign; but, unfortunately, there are no contemporary remains preserved to us from it, with the exception of a rock inscription at Sinai (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, iv, 3), which shows that he worked the mines there, and his tomb and some of its contents. This tomb, at Bêt Khallâf, stands close to that of King Thoser Neterkhet; but there was probably another tomb or cenotaph near Memphis, though this has not yet been found. The Bêt Khallâf tomb is a huge brick *mastaba*, that is to say, an oblong, flat-topped mass of bricks, over 200 feet long by 80 feet wide, the whole structure resting upon a brick platform. Two passages descend from the top of the structure, pass through the mass of brickwork, and continue deep into the solid rock below; and after the burial had taken place each passage was sealed by a huge portcullis stone let down from above. In the chamber at the bottom of one of these subterranean passages the king's skeleton was found, which proved to be that of a massively built man, over six feet in height. The pulverized remains of his coffin were still to be seen; and elsewhere there were funerary deposits of alabaster and copper vessels, flint and copper implements, pottery, and inscribed sealings of clay, once the stoppers of jars.

In this reign there lived a certain statesman named Kegemni, who addressed to his children a book of maxims which took its place as one of the classics of Egyptian

literature. The introduction to the book tells us that Kegemni, "having become thoroughly acquainted with men's characters, sent for his children to come to him, and they came, full of wonder (as to why he had summoned them). Then he said to them: 'Pay attention to everything that is written in this book, just as if I myself were telling it to you'; and his children thereupon laid themselves down on their faces (on the floor around him), and recited these maxims as they were written, and, in their opinion, these maxims were more beautiful than anything else in the whole land, and they continued to recite them both standing up and sitting down (all their life long). Then His Majesty King Huni died, and King Snofru became the gracious king of all this land, and Kegemni was made Prime Minister." Unfortunately, very few of the maxims are preserved, but if we may judge by those which can still be read, they were full of wit and worldly wisdom. One of them says: "Do not be pugnacious because (it chances that) you are muscular. No man knows what is going to happen, or what God will do when *He* hits out." Another says: "An (important personage's) house is open to the unpretentious man, and there is (always) plenty of room for him who has a modest tongue; but sharp swords are against him who would push his way in." (There is a translation of the maxims in Budge, *Amenemapt.*)

DYN. III, 6. SNEPHUR OR SEPHUR: SNOFRU NEBMAET
2813-2790 B.C.

The next Pharaoh, according to the Turin Papyrus, the Abydos List, and the Sakkâra List, was Snofru. Manetho gives the name as Sefhuris; but later, in the Fifth Dynasty, he calls Sahure by the name Snephres, and it seems probable that the letter *n* has been misplaced by his copyists, Snephuris being the real reading of the one and Sefhres of the other. Snofru, "The Gladdener," was the king's name as Reed and Hornet; but as Hawk-king and as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Nebmaet, "Lord in Truth" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2). There is another title which begins in this dynasty to appear in the royal titulary—

Hur-nubi, this being usually translated incorrectly as "the Golden Horus." There seems little doubt, however, that the supposed epithet *nubi*, "golden," is actually the name of Nubi or Ombos, "the Golden City" where the god Set was worshipped, the title being substituted for the sign of the Set-animal used by two of the kings of the previous dynasty. Probably the previous kings of this dynasty also used the title, though it does not happen to have been found, except in the case of Thoser (p. 146). When this title is used by subsequent kings there is sometimes a special name to go with it; but in the case of the Pharaoh with whom we are now dealing, the name Snofru was also used with this title. Snofru is sometimes regarded as the first king of the Fourth Dynasty, but most scholars accept Manetho's arrangement, in which he is placed in the Third Dynasty. According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 24 years.

For this reign we have a fragment of the chronicle of the 9th year, and the complete chronicles of the 10th, 11th, and 12th years, preserved on the Palermo Stone. Mention is made in the 10th year of the building of some Nile-vessels, each 100 cubits (nearly 170 feet) in length, and of 60 smaller ships; and we next read of a campaign, probably conducted by means of this fleet, against the negroes who dwelt, I suppose, in the reach of the Nile between 100 and 200 miles above the First Cataract; and it is stated that 7,000 living prisoners and 200,000 cattle were taken, which means to say that the country of these negroes was pretty thoroughly devastated. In the same year it is recorded that he built "a wall in the Southland and the Northland (called 'the walls of) the Domains of Snofru,'" which may have been defensive works on the frontiers, such as were built by the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Also in this year there was a peaceful expedition across the Mediterranean to the cedar-forests of Lebanon, for it is recorded that 40 ships laden with cedar logs were brought back to Egypt. In the two following years we read that he built another Nile-vessel of 100 cubits' length made of this cedar wood; and that he erected the great doors of his palace also made of cedar, probably from this same consignment. These doors, it

seems from these annals, were set up at the north and south gateways of the building, the one being called " The Exalting of the White Crown of Snofru," and the other " The Exalting of the Red Crown of Snofru," the white crown being that of the South, or Upper Egypt, and the red crown that of the North or Delta. The royal city, where the palace was built, seems to have been situated near the modern Wasta, some 30 miles up the Nile from Memphis; for near here the king was buried. The 6th, 7th, and 8th " numbering " or census of the people and their cattle are recorded in these years; and there is mention of the making of twin statues, which has sometimes been mistranslated as the birth of twins to the king. In the Wady Maghâra, in Sinai, such extensive copper-mining operations were conducted that Snofru was afterwards regarded as a patron deity of that region, and later engineers, in boasting of their achievements, claimed that there had been nothing like them " since the time of Snofru." Two tablets, made in his honour, were carved upon the cliffs at these mines, and here we see the king killing a chieftain of the hostile Bedouin as a warning to them.

The building of the royal tomb and cenotaph—for, as in the case of earlier kings, this Pharaoh made a resting-place for his body and another for his *ke* (*ka*) or spirit—must have been begun early in the reign. In the desert west of Wasta, near the modern village of Meidûm, he caused a large *mastaba* to be constructed in limestone blocks: that is to say, a rectangular, flat-topped mass of masonry, with sides slanting at a steep angle. A passage penetrated into the masonry from the north face, sloping down sharply until about the middle point was reached, when it turned upwards and became a vertical shaft, giving access to a burial chamber above, through an aperture in the floor of the room. Upon this *mastaba* four square towers were built, one upon the other, diminishing in size as they mounted up into the sky, until the whole edifice had the appearance of a sort of pyramid. It differed, however, from the Step-Pyramid built by King Thoser at Sakkâra, for the second or main tower was very much higher, in proportion, than the others, and the edifice did not rise, therefore, in regular

steps, but the clean, sheer sides of the main section dominated the rest of the building. The outer walls were faced with perfectly joined blocks of polished limestone, quarried in the Mokâttam Hills, on the other side of the Nile, some miles to the north, and transported here to the desert's edge on rafts during the annual floods. Finally, the royal architect seems to have altered the plan, and to have added two great steps around the main tower, making the whole building into a more or less regularly graded pyramid of steps; and Prof. Petrie thinks that an outer casing, of which he found traces at the base, was then added, passing up on all four sides in smooth slopes from the base to the top, thus forming the first true pyramid ever built in Egypt. These additions, however, have been torn away again during Egypt's long history, and the modern visitor sees the building rearing up, even now white and smooth and dazzling against the blue sky, like a great tower standing upon a massive base and having two smaller ruined towers at its summit, inaccessible to all but the birds of the air. It is still some 124 feet high, and, to my mind, is the most imposing of all these ancient structures, dominating the country around for miles, yet unvisited by the tourist, and therefore having a solitary and silent grandeur, very memorable to those wanderers who, like myself, have rested in its shadow in the heat of the day or under the light of the moon. Against the middle of the east side of the pyramid, and originally approached by a great causeway leading up from the fields, Petrie discovered a small temple, consisting of a series of chambers in front of a walled courtyard wherein two large and undecorated stelæ or tombstones stood on either side of the altar on which the food and drink for the king's spirit were placed. This little temple was visited by pious pilgrims and sightseers for some 1,500 years after the time of Snofru, as is shown by the names and inscriptions scratched upon its walls. Five of these refer to the pyramid as that of Snofru, and, indeed, this is the only definite evidence we have of its identity; for in the interior of the pyramid itself only a few uninscribed fragments of the wooden coffin and of a wooden vessel were found.

The king's cenotaph, or tomb of his spirit, was also built of stone in the form of a pyramid, and was situated on the desert plateau of Dahshûr, just to the south-west of Memphis. It was a vast structure, nearly as large as the Great Pyramid, being still 326 feet in height and still measuring some 700 feet in length at the base of each side, a figure which must have originally been at least 20 feet greater. A causeway led to it from a temple at the edge of the fields, and here the name of Snofru was found, whereby the building was identified (*Zeitschrift*, xxxviii, 121), though the fact that this king had two tombs was known from inscriptions in the tomb of certain priests of these pyramids (*Mission française*, I, 190), who refer to them both. The part of the reign during which these two pyramids were built can be deduced from the fact that on the casing stones of the pyramid at Meidûm the official in charge of the work has written the year and day of the month, this being, I suppose, the day on which each stone was quarried from the Mokâttam Hills on the east bank of the Nile, and was stacked ready for transport across the water. The year thus given is the 17th of the reign, and, the casing stones being the last addition to the structure, one may suppose that the Meidûm pyramid was finished somewhere about the 18th year.

In regard to these, the earliest pyramids, there is an important point which should not be overlooked, namely, that their shape had a deep religious significance. A pyramidion, or miniature pyramid, as Breasted has pointed out (*Development of Religion*, p. 70), is actually a symbol or totem of the sun-god Re, and this pyramid at Meidûm, as also, perhaps, the so-called Step-Pyramid of King Thoser, seems thus to have been designed as an enormous sun-totem. Perhaps its apex or cap was formed by a pyramidion, that is to say, by the sacred symbol itself, for this was certainly the case in the pyramid of Amenemes III of the Twelfth Dynasty, the pyramidal block, of polished granite, having been found lying at the base, where it had fallen. A pyramidion was always called *Ben* or *Benben*, and as such it was the centre of worship in the sun-temple of On or Heliopolis, the sun being supposed to have risen for the first time in the form of a phoenix upon it. In building

his tomb in this sacred shape, therefore, the king was actuated, it would seem, by the desire to encase his body for ever within the sacred symbol itself, and thus to identify himself with it and with the sun-god, Re, which it typified. This particular pyramid was given the name *Khe*, a word which originally meant the "ascension," or "appearance," or "rising glory" of the morning sun; and the significance of the name is clear. This was the place upon which the first rays of the sun would strike—an enlargement of the *Benben* in the temple of On. It is apparent, then, that the Heliopolitan priesthood was now the great power at the court, and henceforth Re, as we shall see, was the greatest of all the gods.

The king's pyramid at Dahshûr, being only a cenotaph, and that at Meidûm being the real tomb, the two most important royal princes of the period were buried near the latter, so as to lie near the Pharaoh. Of these the one was named Rehotpe (usually transcribed Ra-hotep), who was a "king's son," though whether his father was Snofru or one of his predecessors cannot now be ascertained. His wife was the Lady Nofret (Nefert); and all those who have visited the Cairo Museum will know the astoundingly life-like statues of this royal couple which were found in the tomb-chapel in 1871 (Plate VIII). These figures are sculptured in limestone, painted in colours which have never faded, and the eyes are inlaid with such skill that they seem endued with life. The statue of Nofret is perhaps the greatest achievement of ancient Egyptian sculpture; and we must realize that we are now dealing with a period in which the very height of artistic culture has been reached. It was an age removed by over six centuries from the reign of Menes, and by over 2,000 years from the earliest appearances of civilization in Egypt; and thus there had been ample time for the development of the arts and graces of life. It was the age of the great Sargon of Agade and Naram-sin in Babylonia; but Egypt had now entirely outstripped that country, and, so far as we know, all the other kingdoms of the earth, in culture and artistic capacity, and stood alone as the home of law and order, prosperity and wealth, taste and elegance.



A NOBLE NAMED HESYRE, WHO PROBABLY LIVED IN THE REIGN OF TOSORTHOS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY.

Carved on a wooden panel from his tomb at Sakkara



THE HEAD OF THE LADY NOFRET, WHO LIVED IN THE REIGN OF SNOFRU OF THE THIRD DYNASTY

See page 100.

From her statue found at Merdüm.



UPPER PART OF THE FIGURES OF QUEEN MERTITYOTES AND ANOTHER WOMAN AND BOY, NOW AT LEIDEN, HOLLAND.

The Queen was the wife of the Pharaoh Snofru of the Third Dynasty.

See page 161

The other prince whose tomb was near the pyramid of Snofru was named Nofremaet, and from the sepulchre of his widow came that admirable painting of geese which is one of the wonders of the Cairo Museum. Many fragments of the sculptured walls of the tomb of Nofremaet are to be seen in the same museum, and these give us interesting details of the life of a great noble of the time. The prince caused a second tomb to be made for him at Gizeh, near the pyramid of Kheuf, into whose reign he lived on ; and near this is the tomb of his son Khef-Snofru. From a genealogy in this latter tomb a strange and, indeed, painful fact has come to light in regard to Prince Nofremaet (Sethe, *Zeitschrift*, xlix, 97), namely, that he was the son of King Snofru by that king's own eldest daughter, Nofrekeu : that is to say, the Pharaoh actually took his own daughter to wife, and the son and grandson of that union were proud to record the fact. There is also a queen named Merityotes, "Her father's beloved" (sometimes incorrectly transliterated as Mertitefs), who seems to have been the wife of Snofru towards the end of his reign : she has the title "Uniter of the Lordships of the Vulture and Cobra," which suggests that she was a princess by birth. Her statue is in the Leyden Museum, and reveals a large-eyed and rather melancholy lady (Plate VIII). Her tomb is at Gizeh (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 62), and from a statement written therein we learn that after her husband's death she married King Kheuf, and later spent an honoured old age under King Khefre. This is important information for us, because it limits the period between Snofru and Khefre, which, as we shall presently see, is a matter in doubt.

Two other royal princes, perhaps the sons of Snofru, were buried at Dahshûr, their names being Snofrunofreher and Kenofre (de Morgan, *Dahchour*, II, 14 and 23). From a tomb at Sakkâra of this period comes a biographical inscription which relates the career of a certain Methen (Breasted, *Records*, I, p. 76), describing his gradual rise from a humble beginning as a scribe and overseer of a granary, to governor of a large province of the Delta. He was already a personage of importance in the reign of King Thoser, and he makes reference to the mortuary temple

of Queen Nemaethapi, that Pharaoh's mother. He died in the reign of Snofru, but was buried near the Step-Pyramid of Thoser at Sakkâra, where he had evidently built his sepulchre in the days when that king was still his master. In speaking of the royal favours heaped upon him, the inscription says: "There were founded for him 12 settlements (or towns); there were conveyed to him as a reward 200 *stat* of land; an allowance of 100 loaves of bread every day from the (bakeries of the) mortuary temple of Queen Nemaethapi; a house 200 cubits long and 200 cubits wide (i.e. over 100 yards, and therefore including the garden); fine trees were set out, and a very large lake was made amidst them; fig-trees and vines were planted . . . and a great quantity of wine was made from them. [Another] vineyard was made for him: 2,000 *stat* surrounded by a wall." Besides these and other gifts, "50 *stat* of land were conveyed to him by his mother, Nebsent, she having made a will to that effect in favour of her children."

Several stone bowls, found in various parts of Egypt, are inscribed with the name of Snofru; and there are a few scarabs belonging to his reign. Ministrations to his spirit were continued throughout Egyptian history, the names of about a dozen priests attached to his worship having been found, belonging to the Fourth, Fifth, Thirteenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-Seventh Dynasties and to Ptolemaic times. In the Westcar Papyrus there is a later story which is concerned with King Snofru, and though it is a fairy-tale it may be quoted here. The king, we are told, being one day weary and depressed, sent for his chief wise-man or magician, named Thethemenkh, to tell him how to cure his melancholy. The wise-man, evidently having a profound, if cynical, knowledge of human nature, fetched twenty young and beautiful maidens, put them into a royal pleasure-boat upon the palace lake, and handed to each of them one of the ebony and gold paddles with which the vessel was provided. He then invited the king to embark, and soon his Majesty was thoroughly enjoying himself. Suddenly, however, one of the girls dropped a turquoise ornament into the water, and her distress was so great that the entertainment came nigh to ending in a fiasco. But the magician, who was

standing on the shore, rose to the occasion: he uttered certain words of power, and, as in the story of Moses and the Red Sea, immediately the waters of the lake parted, so that he was able to walk down and recover the jewel. The waters then came together again, and all was well.

CHAPTER VI
THE FOURTH DYNASTY
2789-2716 B.C.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE DYNASTY

THE reader should try to forget, so far as he is able, the break between the Third Dynasty and the Fourth. In the early days of Egyptological study the mighty pyramids of Gizeh and the great Sphinx, which are the famous monuments of the Fourth Dynasty, seemed to be a sort of starting-point for Egyptian history, and not very much was known about the Pharaohs of earlier times, who, therefore, were called archaic and were thought to be almost legendary. Now, however, there is a very considerable amount of information available in regard to the First and Second Dynasties; and with the Third it will have been seen that we are already in the great age. The accession of Thoser, 2868 B.C., the Pharaoh for whom the Step-Pyramid at Sakkâra was made, marks the beginning of that epoch of vast building which ended with the reign of Menkeure, 2722 B.C.; and this period forms such an indivisible whole that its splitting into two parts by Manetho's ending of the Third Dynasty and the accession of the Fourth (and in the present volume, by the opening of a new chapter) must not be allowed to influence the reader. He must think of Thoser and Snofru at the same time that he thinks of Kheuf (or Khufu) and Khefre; and indeed there is good reason to suppose that they were closely linked in actual relationship.

Manetho begins his Fourth Dynasty with a king named Soris to whom he attributes a reign of 29 years. The royal name Shero, probably to be identified with Soris, has been found inscribed upon a rock at El Kâb in Upper Egypt beside the cartouche of Kheuf; but his reign is to be placed later in the dynasty, after that of Khefre and my recon-

struction of the Annals shows us that it can hardly have lasted more than one complete regnal year, with a fraction of the year before (i.e. the year in which Khefre died) and a fraction of the year after (i.e. the year in which Menkeure came to the throne. Perhaps he reigned 29 months in all, not years; but Manetho's figures in this dynasty are so corrupt that it is not worth while to attempt to adjust them. The Turin Papyrus, however, is of considerable help in this period, in spite of its damaged condition; and the list given there is as follows:—(Snofru, 24 years); (1) a missing name, probably Kheuf, 23 years; (2) a missing name, probably Redadef, 8 years; (3) Khe(fre), years missing; (4) a missing name, probably Shero, years missing; (5) a missing name, probably Menkeure, 18 years; (6) a missing name, probably Shepseskef, 4 years; (7) a missing name, probably Iemhotpe, 2 years; and then (User)ke(f), 7 years, the founder of the Fifth Dynasty. This coincides with my reconstruction of the Annals (see Plate I), where we have: (1) Kheuf, 23 years; (2) Redadef, 8 years; (3) Khefre, 18 years; (4) Shero, 1 year; (5) Menkeure, 18 years, 4 months, 24 days; (6) Shepseskef, 4 years; and Iemhotpe, 2 years. The period covered by the reigns of Kheuf, Redadef, Khefre, Shero, and Menkeure, is thus seen to be 23, 8, 18, 1, 18 = 68 years and 4 months; and this is remarkably confirmed by Pliny, who states that the three great pyramids of Gizeh, those of Kheuf, Khefre, and Menkeure, covered a period of 68 years and 4 months (p. 13).

DYN. IV, 1. SUPH, SAOPH OR CHEOP: KHEUF
2789–2767 B.C.

The name of this king is sometimes written as though it were to be read Khufu, which is the transliteration generally used by Egyptologists, and sometimes as though it were Khuf. The Greek renderings of the name are Suphis, Saophis and Cheops, and if we remove the Greek termination, these become Suph, Saoph or Cheop, in none of which is there a final vowel; and therefore the reading Kheuf or Kheof is probably correct. This was his Reed- and Hornet-name, and Hawk of Nubi-name (the latter

written with two hawks instead of one), and it seems to have had the meaning "He protects," which is explained by the alternating and more elaborate form of the name, found in Sinai and at the Great Pyramid, reading Khnum-Kheuf, "Khnum protects," Khnum being the ram-headed god who was the creator of the Universe, and, in particular, Lord of the king's native town of Menat-Kheuf. The Hawk-name and Vulture- and Cobra-name were both Metheru, "The Energetic."

According to the Westcar Papyrus Kheuf was the son of Snofru, and there is nothing to indicate that this is not so. It is true that Kheuf married the lady Mertityotes, the widow of Snofru; but this can be explained by supposing that Kheuf was the son of Snofru by another lady, which would make his marriage to the widow quite legitimate according to Egyptian ideas. It would seem, however, that he was not heir to the throne in his youth; for he appears to have been brought up on an estate near Beni Hâsan in Middle Egypt, at the above-mentioned place which was afterwards called Menat-Kheuf, "Nurse of Kheuf," in memory of that fact. The ram-god Khnum was the deity of that district, as is shown by the fact that a certain mortuary priest of Kheuf was also priest of "Khnum of Menat-Kheuf" (Rougé, *Inscriptions*, 78); and this explains why Khnum forms part of the king's name. Probably Kheuf was a son of King Snofru by a discarded wife or concubine, and lived in obscurity as a young man until his father saw him, took a fancy to him, and made him his heir. It may be, however, that he was a more distant relative of the Pharaoh: a grandson, perhaps, of Thoser or some other king, and, being a strong-minded young man, was placed upon the throne by his friends, either with or without Snofru's blessing. At any rate, later tradition regarded him as a ruler who held tyrannical views upon religious matters; for Manetho says of him that "he was arrogant towards the gods, but wrote a sacred book which is regarded by the Egyptians as a work of great importance," and Herodotus writes that he was a man "of wicked conversation, who, having caused the temples of the gods to be locked up, announced in all quarters of his realms that

it was not lawful for Egyptians to offer sacrifice, to the end that, being prevented from serving and doing reverence to the gods, they might be employed upon his own affairs." Be this as it may, Kheuf was certainly of sufficiently blessed memory to be revered for many generations after his death, for there are known to us nearly twenty priests of his mortuary service, who lived during this and the two succeeding dynasties, and the worship of his spirit was revived in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, 2,000 years later (Petrie, *History*, p. 60). Perhaps the fact that he was the builder of the Great Pyramid led the Egyptians of later days to regard him as a tyrant, for they may well have endorsed the opinion of Pliny (xxxvi, 16, 17) that so vast a monument was but "a stupendous memorial of vanity." As a matter of fact, the erection of the Pyramid was not such a strain upon the nation's resources as it might appear to be; and, after all, it is not more stupendous a monument than befits a king of that race which in those days must have excited awe and admiration and, indeed, utter bewilderment throughout the neighbouring kingdoms by the marvels of its artistic talents and the organization of its powers.

The Great Pyramid, called in Egyptian Ikhut, "The Glorious Place," was erected upon the high plateau of white limestone which forms the edge of the western desert behind the northern outskirts of old Memphis (Plate XII). It was a whole morning's walk north of Snofru's pyramid at Dahshûr; but the site was visible for miles around, and dominated the frontier lands between Upper and Lower Egypt. The stone for it was quarried in the Mokâttam Hills on the east bank of the river, and was transported by boat or raft across the Nile and the flooded fields to the foot of the plateau, each autumn during the annual inundation. Prof. Petrie thinks that it was originally planned in the vast proportions which it ultimately assumed; and the fact that its ground measurements were just a little bigger than those of the pyramid of Snofru at Dahshûr makes this supposition probable, for, given the wealth, the desire to surpass the achievement of a predecessor is an impulse which cannot easily be denied, and one can hardly imagine King Kheuf expressing satisfaction at any plan for his

pyramid, which showed a ground area less than that of the late king's pyramid. On the other hand, Dr. Borchardt and some German scholars believe that the pyramid was designed upon a much smaller scale, and was gradually enlarged throughout the king's reign by the addition of successive layers or coatings of stone. Each side now measures 755 feet; but as the sides of Snofru's pyramid measured 720 feet or more, I think one may say that the added casings, if there were any, probably did not increase the length of each side, as originally intended, by more than 25 feet or so. The area at the ground-level was 570,996 square feet, or over 13 acres; and upon this base a mountain of solid stone was erected, originally 481 feet high, and even now 451 feet—higher than any building in the world except a few modern towers. Its solid contents have been estimated at 85,000,000 cubic feet; and more than 2,300,000 blocks of stone, each weighing an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons, must have been used—probably more stone than has been used in any other single building in the world (Petrie, *Gizeh*). Herodotus states, according to the usual translation, that 100,000 men were employed upon the work, these being relieved by an equal number every 3 months; and that 10 years were first spent in constructing the causeway for the transport of the stones, and that then another 20 years were spent in building the pyramid itself. If the work was finished in 23 years, however, it is evident that the 10 years for the causeway must be reduced to 3 years, leaving 20 years for the pyramid itself. Prof. Petrie, with more probability, reads this statement of Herodotus as meaning that for 20 years 100,000 men were employed for 3 months in each year, that is to say, they worked only during the time of the annual inundation, when the agricultural population was idle, and a conscription of labour would not have impaired the resources of the country. This would mean the laying of an average of about 1,200 blocks every day; and as the stones which formed the core of the pyramid did not need to be laid with absolute precision, this rate of progress would not have been very exhausting. If we picture 300 blocks lying ready every day at each side of the pyramid, and if then we

imagine a gang of some 30 men assigned to each block, we can well understand how, in the case of the lower tiers of the pyramid, the stones could have been quickly hauled up gently sloping brick ramps, each block resting upon a sledge, the runners of which were continuously made slippery by water; and we can realize that with 9,000 men available on each 755-foot front of the pyramid—that is to say, about 36,000 men all told—far more than 1,200 blocks could have been easily and cheerfully dragged into position in a few hours, without confusion and without any of that sweating and straining under the taskmaster's lash which is so often supposed to have been a painful feature of the work. Another 36,000 men would have been required for the daily task of dragging the blocks along the causeway to the foot of the pyramid from the edge of the fields where they had been deposited by the boats or rafts which had brought them from the quarries; and the remaining 28,000 men would have more than sufficed for the many other necessary tasks. In the higher stages of the work the number of stones laid each day would have been smaller, for there must have been some congestion upon the narrow, sloping ramps leading from one tier to the next, and the haulage was longer and more arduous. Scores of these brick ramps must have zigzagged in gentle gradients up each side of the growing pyramid; and all day long these gangs of men must have dragged the blocks of stone up them, singing as they went—for thus to this day the Egyptian labourers lighten their task—while the overseers clapped their hands to lead the songs or swung their whips about in harmless and good-natured energy, even as they do to-day.

There were two main passages in the interior of the pyramid, one leading down to a chamber cut in the underlying bedrock, the other sloping up through a hall constructed in the masonry to the burial chamber where the granite sarcophagus rested. So marvellously are the blocks of stone which form the walls here fitted, that not even the point of a needle nor yet a hair can be inserted in the almost invisible joints. Some of the blocks above the burial chamber are inscribed with the king's name and the date of their quarry-

ing—the 17th year. From the latter passage another and horizontal passage leads off, ending in a chamber, the purpose of which is unknown. There is but one entrance to these passages: it is situated high up in the northern side of the pyramid, and was closed, it would seem, by a trap-door of stone. The whole work was completed by the casing of the entire structure with smooth and polished blocks of white limestone, again exquisitely fitted to one another; and thus, at the end, the pyramid must have appeared as a shining white miracle of stone, too steep and glass-smooth to be climbed even a little way by man, or to afford foothold to any bird; and the entrance to the interior being lost behind one of those sheer, unbroken faces. Around the base of the pyramid there was a wide pavement of limestone, dazzling white in the sunshine; and on the east side a great temple was erected, approached by the tremendous causeway of stone which led up from the fields. This was 3,000 feet long, and 60 feet wide, according to Herodotus; but only some 1,400 feet of its length now remain. At the south-east corner of this astounding monument three small pyramids were erected for members of the royal family, and beyond these the tombs of the great nobles were constructed in orderly rows, so that a very city of the dead here came into being, intersected by well-kept streets and passages.

At the time when the roofing blocks of the burial chamber were placed in position three-quarters of the whole pyramid were already finished, and as these are marked "Year 17" it could have been completed in 23 years. Snofru (p. 157) made *two* pyramids in that time.

The Great Pyramid has been regarded for so long as an expression of the vanity of a ruthless and slave-driving tyrant, that I hesitate to point out the fallacy of this view. Yet the Pharaoh's motive was not vain, nor was the execution of the work tyrannical, though his government, it seems evident, was severe and the whole nation was keyed up to a very high degree of efficiency, and must have been organized in an astonishing and almost ruthless manner. He desired to build an everlasting monument which should be for all time the glory of his race, and which should strike

awe into the hearts of the kings and peoples of the earth ; and in this he so well succeeded that this monument has brought fame to Egypt throughout the ages, and still continues, nearly five thousand years later, to draw the world to the banks of the Nile. The Pharaoh desired his body to be encased in the heart of this emblem of the sun in order that he might remain for ever the guardian of his people, his stern spirit brooding over them here at this point where Upper and Lower Egypt met. In carrying out this great project he trained his people in organization, discipline and united effort, yet did not in any way interfere with their productiveness for the nine months in each year during which agriculture was possible, for not only did he employ a mere fraction of the population, but he commanded their services at an otherwise idle season. " The training and skill which they acquired by such work," says Petrie, " must have been a great benefit to the national character " ; and at the same time the king provided for himself " the grandest monument that any man ever had, and one by which he is better remembered than any other Eastern king throughout history." This, surely, was no achievement of senseless ambition ; and, as Prof. Petrie has pointed out, Sir Thomas Brown's well-known remark that " to be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy of duration," is contradicted by this very instance which he had in mind. Kheuf is extant to-day because of his pyramid, and by it he has established at the same time the glory of his nation and the splendour of their achievement in a manner which will endure until the hills themselves shall fall into dust. He has long since been dragged by impious hands from the hidden chamber wherein he lay like a sleeping father of his people, for the casing-stones were removed from the pyramid centuries ago, and the entrance to the passages discovered ; but yet his memory survives, and though other records of his reign are few, all Egypt is full of his spirit.

In the Wady Maghâra, in Sinai, there are two tablets cut into the rock, inscribed with the names and titles of the king, and showing him smiting a Bedouin chieftain. Blocks of stone belonging to temples built by him have been found at Tideh, near Desuk, in the north-western Delta

(*Recueil*, xvii, 100) ; and at Zagazig, the old Pebast (Bubastis) (Naviile, *Bubastis*, viii) ; while he is said to have built a temple at Denderah (Weigall, *Guide*, p. 32). There is a tablet of his in the alabaster quarries near Tell-el-Amârna, (Petrie, *History*, 63) ; from Qeât (Koptos), north of Thebes, comes a ceremonial jar inscribed with his name ; and an inscribed bowl was found at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis). At Sehêl, the island at the First Cataract which was Egypt's southern frontier, his name is written upon a rock ; and on the island of Iebo (Elephantine), opposite Aswân, there is a rock-inscription giving the name of an official of his reign (Weigall, *Guide*, 32). In the ruins of Ebod (Abydos) Prof. Petrie found, while I was with him, a little ivory statuette of this Pharaoh, which is the only portrait we have of him ; there are some alabaster vases bearing his name now at Liverpool and in University College, London ; a good many scarabs of this reign are known ; and there is an inscribed weight, bearing his name and the value " 10 debens," which belongs to the Egyptian gold standard (Weigall, *Catalogue of Weights*, p. iv). In the Westcar Papyrus a story is told which relates how King Kheuf was entertained by an old magician who performed some surprising tricks before him ; and in the same papyrus there is a curious tale in which the king is warned of the forthcoming birth of King Userkef and his brothers, of the Fifth Dynasty, who should take the throne from his family. Near the Sphinx a later inscription was found which states that King Kheuf erected a pyramid for his daughter Henutsen beside his own great sepulchre (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 413), a statement which there is no reason to dispute, although other assertions made in this inscription are obviously incorrect. Three other of the king's daughters are known : Nofrehotpes, Hotpeheres, and Meritenkhes or Meritsenk (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 14, 26, 26c, 82c), and the last named was married to King Khafre. Several royal princes are also known (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26a, 23b, etc.) ; but it is not certain whether they were sons of Kheuf. Mention has already been made of Queen Mertityotes, and another of the king's wives was called Senit (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 21).

DYN. IV, 2. RATOISE : REDADEF
2766-2759 B.C.

According to the Sakkâra and Abydos Lists, and apparently according to the Turin Papyrus, though the actual name is missing there, King Kheuf was succeeded by a Pharaoh whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Dedefre or Redadef, the latter being the more probable reading, since Manetho transcribes it as Ratoise(s) and Eratosthenes calls it Ragosis. This king's Hawk-name was Kheper, "Creator." Later ancient writers, supposing that the builders of the great pyramids of Gizeh ought to be kept together, have placed Redadef after Khefre or even after Menkeure; two priests attached to his mortuary service at its revival in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty each give the sequence as Kheuf, Khefre, Redadef (de Rougé, *Six Dynasties*, 53); and Manetho places his Ratoises after his Menkheres (Menkeure). I prefer to rely, however, on the earlier lists; for these are confirmed by the Annals. Moreover, in the tales of the Westcar Papyrus mention is made of a Prince Hurdadef, the son of Kheuf, who may well be identified with this king; and again a certain Prince Sekhemkere (Rougé, *Six Dynasties*, 77) states that he lived under Khefre, Menkeure, Shepseskef, Userkef and Sahure, but makes no mention of Redadef after Khefre or Menkeure. On the other hand, it must be admitted that neither does the inscription of Queen Mertityotes mention him in referring to that lady's successive connection with Snofru, Kheuf, and Khefre; but this may have been due to some family feud.

King Redadef, whose name means "The Sun-god establishes him," reigned 8 years, according to the fragmentary Turin Papyrus and my reconstruction of the Annals. Manetho assigns 25 years to his Ratoises, but his figures in this dynasty are so wild that they must be disregarded. This Pharaoh constructed his pyramid some 5 or 6 miles north of the Great Pyramid of Kheuf, which was then standing in solitary grandeur on its rocky headland, 8 or 9 miles north of Thoser's pyramid at Sakkâra, and 14 miles north of Snofru's pyramid at Dahshûr; for each Pharaoh at this time, it would seem, chose to build his monumental

sepulchre at a distance of several miles from those of his predecessors. The site selected by Redadef—it is now called Abu Roâsh—was on the edge of the western desert, near the modern village of Herdaseh, some 15 miles north of the city of Memphis, but more or less opposite On, or Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, which stood on the edge of the eastern desert, 13 miles away, across the Nile and the fields. The pyramid was some 320 feet square, and appears to have been cased in granite; but it is now in a very ruinous state, though traces of a great causeway can still be seen leading up to it, and there is other evidence that it was once a splendid structure. A very fine head of the king, in red sandstone, broken from a statue, was found at his pyramid by Chassinat, and is now in the Louvre (Plate X); and other objects, including the ivory lions now in the Cairo Museum, were also discovered there, while a small plaque of green glaze is known (*Annales*, vii, 261). There are references in later times to his mortuary service, and the names of two or three of the priests of his spirit are known (Petrie, *History*, 75); but the absence of further traces of him seems to show that the reign was not important.

DYN. IV, 3. SUPH OR CHEPHRE: KHEFRE
2758–2742 B.C.

He was succeeded by the great Chephre(n) of Herodotus, the second Suph(is) of Manetho, whose name is generally written Khefre, as in the Abydos List, where he is shown as the successor of Redadef; though in the Sakkâra List, where again he comes after Redadef, it is written Khufre. This was his Reed- and Hornet-name, and meant "The Sun-god is his glory"; but his Hawk-name was Userib or Userhati, "Strong-heart," and as Hawk of Nubi (written with three hawks over the *Nubi* sign) he was called Sekhem, "Ruler"; while his Vulture and Cobra name was Rehotpe, "Satisfaction of the Sun-god" (*Bulletin, New York Museum*, 1907, 180). Manetho states that he reigned 66 years, and Herodotus attributes to his reign 56 years; but the 18 years of the Turin Papyrus is the correct figure, as is shown by

my reconstruction of the Annals and also by the fact that it fits the total of 68 years and 4 months mentioned by Pliny for the whole pyramid period. In the tomb of Prince Nekeure, a son of Khefre (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 15a), mention is made of "the twelfth occurrence of the numbering of the cattle"; but as these numberings are known to have taken place irregularly at this period the fact does not help us in regard to chronology, though it is important as showing that Khefra's son seems already to have been an elderly man in that year, for the inscription which follows is no less than his last will and testament, wherein he bequeaths his estates to his wife and sons and daughter. If we suppose him to have been a man of 50 or 60 years of age at that time, we must suppose his father, Khefre, to have been aged 70 or 80 years, which would mean that he came to the throne when he was already middle-aged, a fact which would suggest that he was the brother of Kheuf, as Herodotus states, and therefore uncle of Redadef. In order to legalize his accession he married his niece, the daughter of Kheuf, a lady named Meritsenk (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 14), for, according to Egyptian law, the Pharaoh's eldest daughter was his real heiress.

As soon as he came to the throne Khefre began to construct for himself a pyramid, called Ur, "The Mighty," which should rival that of Kheuf; and with great daring, since he was already advanced in years, he laid out the plans of what is now known as the Second Pyramid, just to the south-west of the Great Pyramid. It stood upon somewhat higher ground, and thus, though its original height was 472 feet, or 9 feet less than that of the other, it had the appearance of being higher. Its sides, also, were a few feet shorter, measuring 706 feet as against 755 in the case of the Great Pyramid. These smaller dimensions were due, I suppose, to the fact that it was intended to cover the whole structure with a 50-foot casing of pink granite which should make the building not only bigger but also more durable and more magnificent, the idea having been derived from the pyramid of Redadef, which, as I have said, was cased with granite. The granite, however, had to be quarried at Aswân, far up the Nile; and in the end

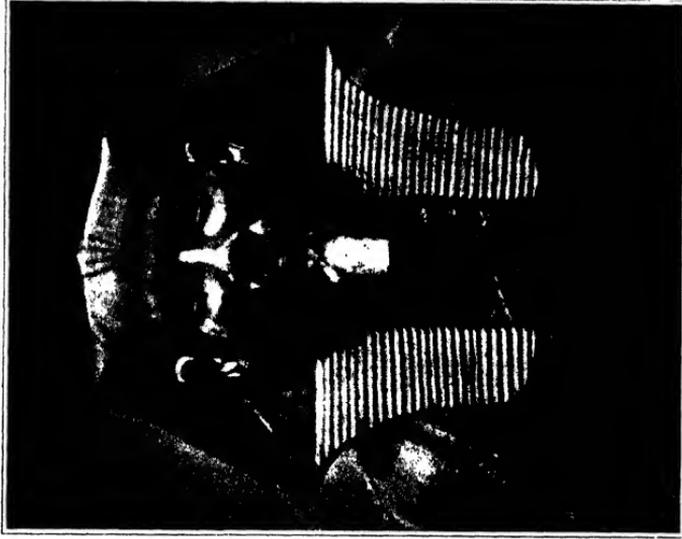
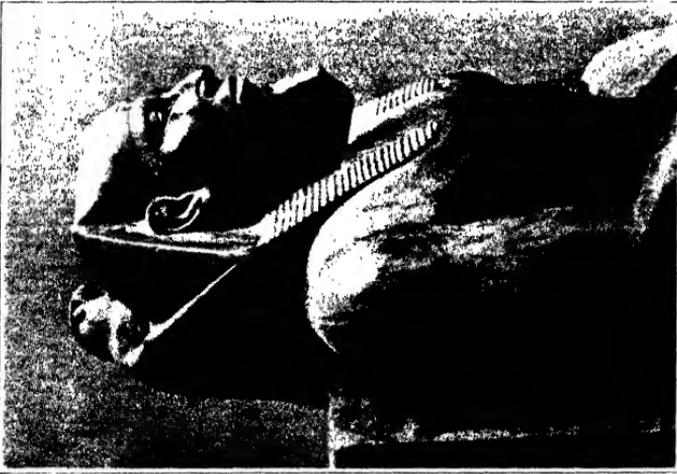
only a single thickness was built over the lower courses of the pyramid, the final dimensions thus remaining less than those of Kheuf's pyramid. The upper part of the casing was made of polished limestone, and this still remains near the summit like a cap, though the lower part has all been destroyed. There were two passages leading into the interior: one from a concealed entrance high up in the north face, and the other from under the pavement in front of that face. They led to two chambers, in one of which was the granite sarcophagus, sunk into the floor, wherein the king's body was to rest, shut in by great port-cullises of stone. The pyramid was entered and robbed in ancient times, and the royal body has disappeared.

The most famous antiquity in Egypt, the Sphinx (Plate XII), probably dates from this reign, though, curiously enough, this colossal and awe-inspiring figure is almost the only one of the great monuments which has failed to yield the secret of its origin. The "riddle of the Sphinx," indeed, may be said to be the riddle of its age; and I attribute it to the reign of Khefre with all reserve. The facts are these. The Sphinx is a monstrous lion with a human head, carved out of a natural headland not far from the pyramids of Kheuf and Khafre; and this bluff may have originally appeared to be somewhat like the figure into which it was made, thus inspiring the sculptors to improve upon nature and to produce the colossal creature out of the living rock. But in this part of the desert plateau there are several tombs in the form of shafts, none of which is to be dated, it would seem, earlier than the reign of Khefre; and one of these shafts is cut in the middle of the back of the Sphinx. Such a tomb would certainly not have been made there after the Sphinx had been carved out of the rock and had become an object of veneration; and therefore this great figure must have been sculptured at a date later than that of the making of these tombs, which means to say that it cannot have come into existence earlier than the end of the reign of Khefre. Now King Thutmose IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1416 B.C., has left a record in which he refers to the restoration of the Sphinx, and, in a fragmentary part of the inscription, there is the mention

of the name of King Khefre, the context being lost. It is therefore to be presumed that the reference was made to Khefre as the founder of the great monument ; and certainly the features of the face bear a decided resemblance to those of the statues of about this period (Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, p. 27). Moreover, the Sphinx lies beside, and parallel with, the straight causeway leading up to the pyramid of Khefre. In Egyptian it was called *Hu*, which probably means "the hewn figure," and it was described as representing the sun-god under a combination of four names ; firstly, that of Harmekhu (the Harmachis of Greek times), "the Hawk-god on the Horizon," the rising sun ; secondly, that of Khepri, the sun as "the Creator" ; thirdly, that of Re, the sun at his zenith ; and fourthly that of Atum, the setting sun. In the inscription of Thutmose IV it is called simply Khepri, but elsewhere it is sometimes named *Hu-n-Harmekhu*, "the Hewn-figure of Harmekhu." The human-headed lion, wearing the royal headdress, however, is symbolical of a Pharaoh rather than of a god ; and the Sphinx, therefore, represents the sun-god in his capacity as a king, for the ancient legends related how Re, the sun-god, once lived on earth as King of Egypt, and in the inscription of Thutmose IV the Sphinx is made to say to that monarch, while still he was a young prince, "I am your father, who will give you my kingdom on earth." Probably it was originally an actual representation of the Pharaoh Khafre in his aspect as an incarnation of the sun-god, and gradually it came to be regarded as the embodiment of the collective Pharaonic spirit, and hence at length a figure of the Sun himself, of whom the Pharaohs were manifestations on earth, and from whom they derived their royalty. Originally the face, which is 14 feet wide across the cheeks, was painted with a pigment made of red ochre, the employment of which was established by ancient custom as the colour to be used for depicting the complexion of male Egyptians ; the eyes seem to have been painted in with black ; and the headdress must have been mainly white. The two fore-paws, 50 feet long, but now buried beneath the sand, were stretched out in front of the figure upon the flat, paved surface of the rock, and between them

there may have been an altar and shrine. From this pavement to the top of the head is a height of nearly 70 feet ; and the whole figure is about 150 feet long. Thus, originally, the huge monster must have risen, stark and splendid, from the levelled desert, staring with fixed, wide-open eyes towards the distant hills from which the sun rose ; but now time has nearly obliterated the colouring, and the features have been much damaged both by the natural weathering of the rock and by mediæval fanaticism, a certain Mohammedan shêkh, in particular, having attempted, in the year 1380, to destroy the face. The eyes, however, have become more mysterious and more beautiful in the process, and seem now to have a contemplative, far-away expression, like those of a dreamer ; and on the mouth there is still that faint, wise smile, which the original sculptors fashioned there with such art. It is no longer terrible as it was when, with glaring colours and strong, clear-cut features, it towered up as a landmark for miles : it has become but a pale, ghostlike, blurred face, rising from the sand which has buried the body up to the shoulders ; yet even so it inspires awe in the beholder, and, as it were, compels his thoughts to enter into the regions of the fabulous. The word " sphinx," by the way, was used in describing it by the Greeks, who saw in it a resemblance to that mythical monster, although the Greek sphinx was a female creature, having a human head and breasts, and the body of a lioness. Abd el-Latif, the Arab, says that in his day it was called "*Abu'l-hawl*," " the Father of Terror," and that it still had upon its face " a red varnish as brilliant as if it were new." That was about 1200 A.D.

To the south-east of the Sphinx a granite temple of unusual design was built, apparently after the king's pyramid was completed (Petrie, *History*, I, 66). The pillars supporting the roof of the main hall were sixteen in number, and were made of great blocks of granite, square and simple. From this hall led a passage, ending in three long, narrow recesses, constructed of alabaster, but their purpose is doubtful, though I suggest that the models of the sacred barques were kept in them. This building, which originally rose clear from the levelled surface of the desert, is now so



TWO VIEWS OF THE STATUE OF CHEPHREN (KHEPRE), THE PHARAOH WHO BUILT THE SECOND PYRAMID.

It was found in the so-called "Temple of the Sphinx."

See page 179.

encumbered with sand on all sides that the interior, which has been emptied, seems to be subterranean. It is now called the Temple of the Sphinx, but actually it had nothing to do with that great figure : it was probably a temple of Sokaris-Osiris, the god of the Memphite necropolis. In a well or pit in this building, Mariette found, in 1853, nine statues of Khefre, which had been thrown down in later times. These included the famous seated statue of diorite, now in the Cairo Museum (Plate IX), which shows the king seated upon his throne, while behind his head the hawk-god extends its wings in protection.

Of other remains of this Pharaoh there are but few. Traces of a temple building have been found at Pebast (Bubastis) in the Delta ; there is a graffito giving his name at Nekheb (El Kâb) in the south ; a bowl from the pyramid-temple is now in the British Museum, and there are mace-heads from the same place ; and some scarabs and cylinder-seals and sealings have been found. The names of five of his sons and one daughter are known (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 12, 15a, 34g, 41c, 82d). His rule appears to have been as stern and efficient as that of his brother Kheuf, and Herodotus indeed states that the memory of both these Pharaohs was detested in his day, which indicates that the Egyptians then, as now, disliked enforced energy.

DYN. IV, 4. SORI : SHERO

2740 B.C.

As I have already said at the beginning of this chapter, there is an obliterated name and numeral in the Turin Papyrus after the reign of Khefre, and my reconstruction of the Annals also requires here a short reign of not more than one year and a fraction. Now at El Kâb, the old Nekheb, there is a graffito which gives the Hawk of Nubi title (written with two hawks) of a king named Shero (or Sheiru), inscribed close to, and in the same style as, two cartouches of Kheuf ; and Manetho's Sori(s) seems to be a rendering of this name. In his list, however, he places Soris before Kheuf, and gives him a reign of 29 years ; but the Turin Papyrus shows the true position of this king, and

the 29 years may well be an error for 29 months. Perhaps he was a son of Khefre; but, apart from the El Kâb inscription, nothing is known of him.

DYN. IV, 5. MENCHERE OR MYKERI : MENKEURE
2739-2722 B.C.

So far the dynasty had consisted of Kheuf; then of his son (?) Redadef; and, thirdly, of Kheuf's brother, Khefre. Now came a Pharaoh who took the Reed- and Hornet-name Menkeure, "Establishing the Spirits of the Sun-god," and who, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, was the son of Kheuf, and therefore brother of Redadef. Perhaps he had been but a baby when his father had died, and was still only a boy of some 9 or 10 years when the reign of his brother, Redadef, closed; and therefore his uncle, Khefre, had been able to take possession of the throne, being succeeded by his son (?), Shero. But now the boy had grown to manhood, and was perhaps some 30 years of age; and therefore, Shero having died or been dethroned, he was able to come at last into his own. As Hawk-king he assumed the name Kekhet, perhaps "the Bull-god in the flesh"; and as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he called himself simply Ke, "the Bull." Manetho's *Menchere(s)* is a pretty exact rendering of the name *Menkeure* as it was read in later times, and the name *Mykerinos* used by Herodotus and Diodorus is not far from the original, when the Greek termination *-nos* is removed.

Diodorus writes:—"Mykerinos, the son of the builder of the first pyramid, began a third, but died before it was completed. . . . This king, they say, detesting the severity of the former kings, behaved himself all his days with mildness and consideration towards all his subjects, and did everything he possibly could to gain their love and goodwill. Besides other things, he devoted vast sums of money to the oracles and to the worship of the gods; . . . and he gave generous compensation to those honest men whom he deemed to have been injured or unjustly dealt with in the courts of law (under his predecessors)." Herodotus says:—"After Chephren, Mykerinos, they say, the son of Cheops,

ascended the throne. This monarch disapproved the conduct of his father, reopened the temples, and allowed the people, who were ground down to the lowest point of misery, to return to their occupations, and to resume the practice of sacrifice. His justice in deciding legal causes was beyond that of all the former kings. The Egyptians praise him in this regard more highly than any of their other kings, declaring that he not only gave his judgments with fairness, but also, if any one had (just) cause of complaint against sentence (imposed upon him in the previous reigns), he made compensation to him out of his own money, and thus pacified his indignation."

It is possible that these accounts of the king's mild disposition are due in part to the fact that the pyramid built by him (the third of the three great pyramids of Gizeh) is very much smaller than the other two, which the awed visitors of later times quite unnecessarily described as having been constructed by tyrannical kings at the expense of their subjects' happiness; and therefore it seemed obvious that the builder of this third pyramid had deliberately refrained from oppressing his people in this way, and hence was of a more gracious disposition. But whether time has thus enhanced the king's reputation for kindness, or whether he was, in fact, the gentle monarch of the popular tradition, there seems to be no doubt that he had the strength of mind not only to be satisfied with a pyramid conceived and executed on a much smaller scale, but also to place it so close to those of his father and uncle that comparison can hardly be avoided. There they stand--two stupendous monuments side by side with one less than half their size; and visitors throughout the ages have asked themselves what manner of king was this who thus defied their comparison. One explanation, current in ancient days, was that Menkeure had lived a shorter time than his predecessors. Herodotus records a story which he had heard from the Egyptians and which related that after he had reigned some years "an oracular message reached him from the city of Buto which said, 'Six years only shalt thou live upon the earth, and in the seventh thou shalt end thy days.' The king, indignant, sent an angry message

to the oracle, reproaching the god with injustice. 'My father and uncle,' said he, 'though they shut up the temples, took no thought of the gods, and destroyed multitudes of men, nevertheless enjoyed long life; but I, who am pious, am to die so soon!' There came in reply a second message from the oracle: 'For this very reason is thy life brought so quickly to a close. Thou hast not done as it behoved thee. Egypt was fated to suffer affliction 150 years. The two kings who preceded thee upon the throne understood this; but thou hast not understood it.' The king, when this answer reached him, perceiving that his doom was fixed, caused lamps to be prepared, which he lighted every day at eventime, and feasted and enjoyed himself unceasingly both day and night, travelling about in the marshes and thickets," where the best hunting was to be obtained, "and visiting the places that he heard were agreeable resorts, his wish being to prove the oracle false by turning the nights into days, and so living twelve years in the space of six."

There may be some truth in the story, for it is quite possible that Menkeure was a man of a pleasure-loving and easy-going disposition, whose rule was not sufficiently severe to satisfy those of his nobles who had been trained in the hard school of Kheuf and Khafre; and a stern warning may have been sent to him, telling him to return to those strict methods of government which his predecessors had employed in dealing with a people always prone to rebellion. The Turin Papyrus, however, states that he reigned 18 years, which was a period as long as that of the reign of his uncle Khefre, and only 5 years short of that of the reign of his father Kheuf; and my reconstruction of the Annals shows that the exact length of his tenure of the throne was 18 years, 4 months, and 24 days (which, as I have said, is confirmed by the figures given by Pliny). The small size of the pyramid, therefore, cannot be attributed to the shortness of the reign; and thus we are perhaps justified in regarding Menkeure as a man who combined with a notorious mildness of disposition and love of good-living a sufficient degree of common sense to restrain him from exhausting the resources of the nation in building a

third pyramid on the vast scale of the other two. Diodorus, however, points out that "though the other pyramids went beyond it in size, yet it far excelled the others in its ingenuity of structure, and the largeness of its blocks of stone," and he states that "for 15 tiers the sides were made of black marble, the remainder being of the same stone as that of the other pyramids." An examination of the pyramid itself shows that the blocks of stone were, in fact, of great size and of fine workmanship, and that the lower part of the building was cased with red granite to the height of 16 tiers, and the upper part with limestone. The length of each side at the base is about 356 feet, as compared with 755 feet in the case of the pyramid of Kheuf; and the height was about 219 feet, as compared with 480 feet. The pyramid was called *Neter*, "The Divine" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 37b, and Mariette, *Mastabas*, 198), and in the tomb of a certain official of this reign, named Debhen, reference is made to another pyramid called *Her*, "the Supreme," which has sometimes been thought to be a second tomb of the same king. It is, however, more probably the name of one of the smaller pyramids, belonging to some other member of the royal family; for Debhen relates how Menkeure was kind enough to order a tomb to be made for him at the royal expense, one day "when his Majesty was upon the road beside the pyramid, Her, in order to inspect the work upon the pyramid, Neter."

Herodotus states that in his time (5th century B.C.) there was, in the palace at Sais, a richly adorned chamber wherein was the life-size figure of a recumbent cow. "The greater portion of it," he writes, "is hidden by a scarlet covering, but the head and neck, which are visible, are coated very thickly with gold, and between the horns there is a representation in gold of the disk of the sun. . . . Every day aromatics of every kind are burnt before it, and all night long a lamp is kept alight in the chamber. . . . Every year the figure is taken from this room where it is kept, and exposed to the light of day, this being done at the season when the Egyptians beat themselves in honour of Osiris." The story told to Herodotus by the priests, or by his guide, was that the daughter of Menkeure had

died, and that the king, "experiencing bitter grief at this visitation, in his sorrow conceived the wish to entomb his child in some unusual way, and therefore caused this cow to be made of wood, and after the interior had been hollowed out, he caused the whole surface to be coated with gold; and in this novel tomb he laid the dead body of his daughter." He adds that the reason why the cow is taken into the open air once a year was "that the girl requested her father in her dying moments to allow her once a year to see the sun." In an adjoining chamber, he says, there were some 20 nude figures of great size, made of wood, and these the priests declared to represent the wives of Menkeure. They seemed to him to be very ancient, for "they had lost their hands through the effect of time: they had dropped off, and were still lying on the ground about the feet of the statues." A further story which the priests told him was that Menkeure "had been enamoured of his daughter, and had offered her violence, whereupon the girl hanged herself for shame, and the king entombed her in the cow."

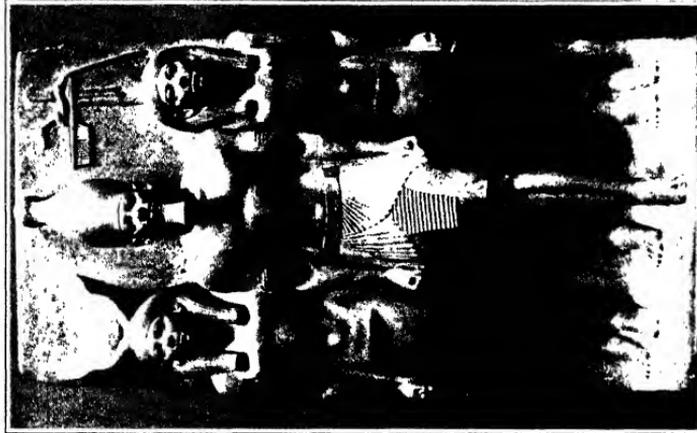
In reality, I suppose, the "cow" which he saw was the figure of some deity, and it may well have dated from the reign of Menkeure. Statues of the gods, it is known, were taken from their shrines at certain festivals, and carried into the open air. It may be true that the king had a daughter who died during his lifetime, and, in view of the fact that Snofru married his own daughter, it may even be true that Menkeure had paid court to her; but it is unlikely that the girl would have felt any shame on that account, since a relationship of that kind, so painful in our eyes, was not without precedent (p. 161), and was, indeed, not much different from the legal Egyptian custom of brother and sister marriages. Nor is it at all likely that the girl would have had so strange a burial place; and the tale, as Herodotus himself suspected, was probably a fable. But it is interesting as showing us how the kind of knowledge the priests possessed of their own history and antiquities was a mixture of fact and fiction.

When the king's pyramid was entered in 1837 it was found to have been robbed, but some fragments of the body were discovered, and a part of the wooden coffin, these now



HEAD OF THE PHARAOH RATOISES (REDADEF) OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

Found at his pyramid at Abu-Roash, and now in the Cairo Museum. See page 171.



THE PHARAOH MENCHERES (MENKEURE) BETWEEN TWO GODDESSES.

Found by Dr. Reisner in the Temple of the Third Pyramid. See page 185.

being in the British Museum. Upon the coffin there is an inscription reading: “. . . . The Reed- and Hornet-king, Menkeure, living for ever, born of Heaven, conceived by Nuth (goddess of the sky), heir of Geb (the earth-god), his beloved. Thy mother, Nuth, spreadeth herself over thee in her name of ‘Mystery of Heaven,’ and she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god without thine enemies. . . .” A magnificent sarcophagus was also found, and was shipped to England on board a merchant vessel in 1838; but the ship was lost with all hands off Carthage, and the sarcophagus now reposes for ever at the bottom of the sea. In recent years the careful and most successful excavations conducted by Dr. Reisner on behalf of the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, U.S.A., have brought to light some splendid pieces of sculpture in the temple of the pyramid. Four triads, similar to that shown on Plate X, were there discovered, representing Menkeure with the goddesses of the provinces of Egypt; and a very lifelike portrait of the king with his queen was also found, and is now in Boston (Plate XI). A fine alabaster statue of this king was found in these excavations, and is now in the Cairo Museum; a most lifelike head (Plate XI) is there; in Boston there is the torso of a statue of the king, revealing exquisite workmanship; while a little headless ivory figure, also in Boston, is evidently the work of a great master. These excavations showed that the pyramid buildings, as Herodotus says, were not completed at the death of Menkeure; and Dr. Reisner found several unfinished statues in various stages of their execution. Other statues of this king were previously known; and there is a statuette, now in University College, London, portraying him wrapped in the feathers of a hawk, in which regard I may mention that the Pharaoh at this period was still primarily Hawk-king, and on the statues of this king, his Hawk-name, Kekhet, is more prominent than his Reed- and Hornet-name, Menkeure. A few scarabs, cylinder-seals, and sealings have been discovered; and in Boston there is a fragment of a wand, inscribed “The Royal Mother, Khemerer-Nebti,” a name which means “The Shining-one, who loves the Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra,” and is probably that of Menkeure’s

queen, the mother of his son and successor, Shepseskef. There appears to have been another son, named Hurdadef, for in the Book of the Dead there is a statement that Menkeure sent this prince to inspect the temples throughout the country, and that he found at Hermopolis Magna the text of the 30th and 64th chapters of that book, inscribed upon a metal plate, inlaid with lapis-lazuli. There are other references to the same prince, which state that he was a man of great learning and piety; and of Ramesside times there is a letter which mentions the difficulty of comprehending his mystical sayings. Menkeure died, as I have said, on the 25th day of the 4th month of the year which, had he lived, would have been the 19th of his reign, 2721 B.C.; and as the first day of the year then fell on about May 12th, the date of his death was about September 3rd.

DYN. IV, 6. SEBERCHERE: SHEPSESKEF OR SHEPSESKEFRE
2721-2718 B.C.

In the Abydos List the next king after Menkeure is Shepseskef, a name meaning "Honourable is his Spirit," but there is here a lacuna in the Sakkâra List, while in the Turin Papyrus the name is lost, though the length of the reign, 4 years, can still be read. In my reconstruction of the Annals this Shepseskef is seen to have followed Menkeure, and part of the chronicle of his first year is preserved upon the Palermo Stone. On a scarab (Petrie, *History*, I, 75) the word Re, the sun-god, is added to the name, making it Shepseskefre. Manetho records two kings, Bicheris and Sebercheres, at this point, and though Bicheris is otherwise unknown and may be discarded, Seber-che-re(s) is a fair rendering of Shepses-ke(f)-re. Herodotus states that the name of the new king was Asychis, which is not so close a rendering, though it is near enough to be identified.

The new king's first business was to finish off the pyramid buildings of his late father, and this he did with such haste that, as Dr. Reisner's excavations have shown, he left the statues in the temple in their unfinished condition, and completed the front wall of the building with unbaked

bricks instead of stone. In this temple the head of a statue was found (Plate XI) which is that of a young man, and Dr. Reisner thinks, with great probability, that this was a portrait of Shepseskef rather than of his father; for the custom of placing figures of the heir in the tomb of the parent is sometimes met with. The chronicle of the new king's first year, as recorded upon the Palermo Stone, states that two religious festivals were held in this year, and that the king made rich gifts of land to the temples of the gods. It also records the interesting fact that he at once made "the selection of the site for his pyramid (which is to be called) 'the place of Refreshment'"; but the king died while yet the work was in an early stage, and the building has never been identified. Herodotus gives a tradition in regard to it, current in his time. "This king," he writes, left as a monument of his reign a pyramid of brick. It bears an inscription, cut in stone, which runs thus: 'Despise me not in comparison with the stone pyramids, for I surpass them all, as much as Jupiter surpasses the other gods. A pole was thrust into a pond, and the mud which adhered to it was collected, and bricks were made of the mud, and so I was formed.'" This inscription is quite Greek in character, and could hardly be even a free translation of an Egyptian original; but although it is, therefore, to be ignored, it is not at all improbable that the king's pyramid was actually built of brick, for there are several made of that material to be seen in Egypt, though, so far as is known, none belongs to this particular period.

The name of the pyramid, *Qebh*, may have had something to do with the invention of the spurious inscription, for it is a word which seems to have denoted originally the tree-shaded pool or well which was in ancient times, and is at the present day, the particular little spot of coolness and refreshment in every hamlet and beside every sacred building. It was at such a place that the wet mud was collected for the making of sun-dried bricks, and hence the word came to mean the primeval watery mud from which the universe was created.

The prosperity of the country—or perhaps one should rather say the power of the Crown to exploit that prosperity

had evidently declined during the slack administration of Menkeure, and the royal treasury was apparently unable to meet the expenses of any vast building operations. Herodotus, however, tells us that Shepseskef, or Asychis as he calls him, "built the eastern gate of the temple of Vulcan" (by which he means the god Ptah of Memphis), "which in size and beauty far surpasses the other three gates." But he goes on to say that "in the reign of this king, money being scarce and commercial dealings curtailed, a law was passed empowering a borrower to pledge his father's body" (i.e. his family tomb and its endowment) "in raising the loan he needed. A proviso was appended to this law, giving the lender power over the entire mortuary estate of the borrower, so that a man who raised money by such a pledge, if he died before the debt was paid, could not be buried either in his own family tomb or in any other, nor could he, during his lifetime, bury any member of his family in his own tomb."

I have already pointed out that Menkeure, the father of Shepseskef, was perhaps some 30 years of age when he came to the throne, and hence about 48 when he died. If this be so, Shepseskef would have been about 30 years old, or perhaps even younger, when he succeeded, which would explain the youthfulness of his portrait on Plate XI. He would doubtless have been married soon after the age of 16, and therefore his eldest child might have been already 12 or 13 years of age before his death. Such a child is referred to in an inscription in the tomb of a certain Ptahshepses (see p. 204); for that official begins his biography by saying that (he was a youth) "in the time of Menkeure, whom the king educated amongst the royal children, in the palace of the king, in a private apartment in the royal *harim*. . . . In the time of Shepseskef . . . he was more honoured than any youth. His Majesty gave him his eldest daughter, Maetkhe, as his wife, for his Majesty desired that she should be with him more than with anyone." Egyptian girls were given in marriage at about the age of 12 or 13 years; and therefore this inscription goes to confirm the suggested ages of these monarchs of the Fourth Dynasty which I have put forward in this chapter. Nothing



STATUARY FOUND IN THE PYRAMID TEMPLE OF THE PHARAOH MEN-
CHERES (MENKEURE) OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY, THE BUILDER OF THE
THIRD PYRAMID.

1. From the statue of the Pharaoh, now in Cairo. *See page 185.*
2. Head of Sebercheres (Shepseskef), the Pharaoh's son, now in Boston.
See page 187.
3. The Head of the Pharaoh, now in Cairo. *See page 185.*
4. The Pharaoh and his Queen, now at Boston, U.S.A. *See page 185.*

else has survived from the short reign of Shepseskef except a scarab and a sealing; but at his death it is evident that the dynasty was tottering.

DYN. IV, 7. IAMPHTH: IEMHOTPE
2717-2716 B.C.

The next king, the last of the dynasty, is recorded by Manetho under the name Thamphth(is), but neither the Abydos List nor the Sakkâra List mentions him. The Turin Papyrus, however, has here a missing name, against which a reign of 2 years is recorded; and in my reconstruction of the Annals there is here room for a reign of that length. In the quarries at Wady Hammamât a king's name is inscribed upon the rock, reading Iemhotpe, and this is probably the original of Manetho's Thamphthis, regarded as a copyist's error for Iamphthis, the word *hotpe* at the end of a name being generally transcribed in Greek times as *ophthis* or *ophis*. Now the name Iemhotpe was that of the saintly philosopher who lived in the reign of Thoser (p. 147); and it will be remembered that King Menkeure had a son, Prince Hurdadef, the younger (?) brother of Shepseskef, who was famous for his piety and learning. Possibly, therefore, it was this Hurdadef who had come to the throne when Shepseskef died, and had taken the name Iemhotpe as being that of the philosopher in whose steps he was walking. Be this as it may, however, the new king only survived for 2 years and a fraction, and with his death the dynasty, which had been begun in such splendour, collapsed in ignominy.

CHAPTER VII
THE FIFTH DYNASTY
2715-2588 B.C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY

THERE is an old legend, preserved in the Westcar Papyrus, which tells us the story of the origin of the new dynasty. It is related that once upon a time, while the old Pharaoh Kheuf, the builder of the Great Pyramid, was still upon the throne, an aged seer or magician, named Dedi, had an audience of the king, and performed a series of wonders in his presence, after which he uttered certain prophetic words. He said that in On, the City of the Sun, there lived a priest of the Sun-god, named Userre; and that this man's wife, the Lady Ruddedet, was about to become a mother, and would bring forth three sons at one birth, whose father was no other than the Sun-god himself. The eldest of the three, the seer went on to say, would be High Priest of the Sun, and he and his two brothers would each reign ultimately as Pharaoh of Egypt. King Kheuf was much troubled at this prophecy, but the seer consoled him, saying: "What are these (sad) thoughts, sire, my lord? Is it because of these three children? Lo, I say to thee: Thy son, his son, then one of these." By this it was meant that Kheuf's son, Menkeure, should reign after him, and then Menkeure's son Shepseskef; after which the direct line of succession would fail, and the eldest of the three yet unborn children would come to the throne.

In due course the Lady Ruddedet's hour came upon her, whereupon the sun-god Re sent to her house a company of goddesses, disguised as dancing-girls and wandering musicians, telling them to aid at the confinement, because the three children about to be born would later richly supply their altars with offerings, and their holy tables with libations. The goddesses therefore went to the house, and

were received by Userre, this priest of the sun, who conducted them into the presence of the expectant mother ; and thereupon the three babies were immediately born, the goddesses pronouncing blessings upon them. Userre then paid his visitors with a generous measure of wheat, little suspecting their divine identity ; and the goddesses departed, carrying away their wages with them. But presently they returned secretly to the house, and replaced the wheat in one of the store-rooms ; and thereafter it was noticed that from this room there issued from time to time mysterious sounds of singing and dancing, and it was said, too, that the royal crowns of Egypt were found secreted in the wheat.

This story, as will presently be seen, probably came to be whispered during the reign of the fifth Pharaoh of the new dynasty ; but though it is unlikely that the three kings were actually triplets, it is quite probable that they were three brothers. The name of the first of the three to come to the throne was Userkef, who reigned 7 years ; and it may well be, as the legend says, that he had risen to be High Priest at On before he ascended the throne, for if he was born, as the story relates, while Kheuf was still alive, he must have been a man of at least 52 years of age or so at his accession. The name of the second of the three was Sahure, and if he was a year or two younger, he would have been some 58 or 59 years old at his accession. He reigned 12 years, being therefore some 70 years of age at his death. The third brother was named Kekei, but, as I shall presently explain, he did not ascend the throne until 11 years after Sahure's death, and he then reigned 21 years. He must therefore have been very much younger than the other two brothers ; and it may well be supposed that he was about 55 years of age at Sahure's death, 66 when he came to the throne, and 87 when he died. Thus there is no improbability in the tradition of the three brothers ; and I feel sure that the whole legend had a basis of fact. For instance, people may have remembered that a band of wandering dancing-girls did come to the house on the day of the confinement, and did leave their very bulky wages behind them ; and so the legend may have grown. Moreover, the old priest Userre, or, more prob-

ably, his wife Ruddedet, may have been of royal descent, and King Kheuf may actually have been warned of their ambitions, the fact being remembered in later years, taking its place ultimately in the popular story. Legends of this kind generally have a basis of truth.

Manetho, however, writing more than two thousand years later, states that the new royal family came originally from the city of Elephantine, the old Iebo, far up in the south, near the First Cataract ; and it is certainly known that the new dynasty paid some attention to that part of the Nile Valley, as will presently be related. It is significant, too, that although Manetho here begins a new dynasty, the Turin Papyrus does not indicate any break between the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasties ; and contemporary evidence shows that various officials of the end of the Fourth Dynasty still continued to hold their offices and to enjoy the royal favour under the Fifth, which indicates that there was no revolutionary break in the Pharaonic succession.

The accession of Userkef, the first of the three brothers, may therefore be said, with some probability, to have occurred in the following manner : Userre, the scion of a noble family of Iebo (Elephantine), migrated to On (Heliopolis), and there rose to power and wealth as a dignitary of the priesthood of the sun. He married a great lady, named Ruddedet, who was of the blood royal ; and their sons, the first of whom was born while Kheuf was still upon the throne, were early recognized as possible future claimants to the crown. The eldest son, Userkef, rose to be High Priest at On ; and when the two last and feeble Pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty had departed this life, the High Priest ascended the throne without opposition, being recognized as a member of the royal family, and his claim being supported by popular stories, judiciously circulated, in regard to the divine manner of his birth.

DYN. V, I. USERCHERE : USERKEF
2715-2709 B.C.

We are to picture Userkef, then, as a man of over 50 years of age at his accession, who had been High Priest

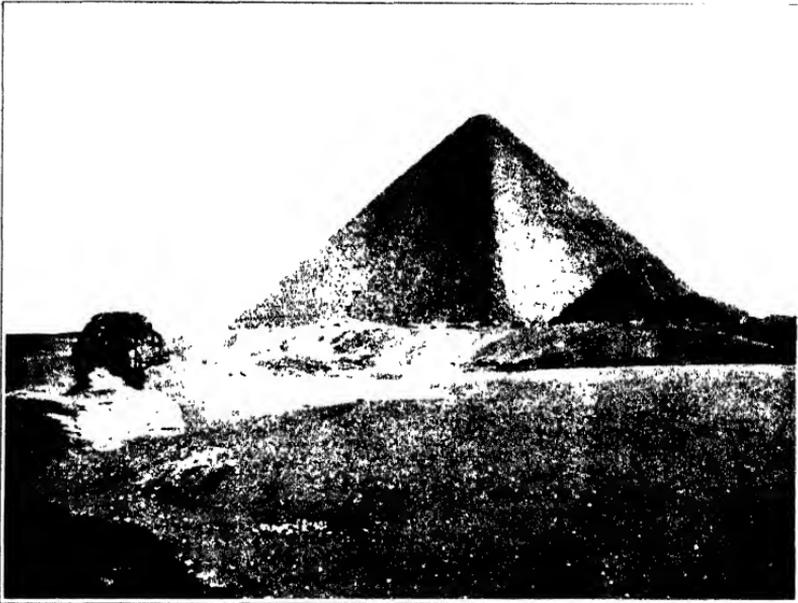
at On ; and therefore a closer connection between the throne and priesthood of the sun-god, Re, is now to be observed. Earlier Pharaohs, it is true, had always been regarded as Hawk-kings, and the Hawk, Horus, was a manifestation of the sun as worshipped in the far south, at the ancient and sacred capital of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), and elsewhere ; but now the Hawk in its religious aspect became secondary in importance to Re, the sun-god of On, and the Pharaohs henceforth became very definitely representatives of the Heliopolitan sun-god on earth. Some 200 years had elapsed since the last great war when the people of On shared in the general misfortunes of the north, and had to bow to the conquering Kheneri ; but already in the reign of that great king's successor they had lifted their heads once more, and now they had become the mightiest power in the land.

As Hawk-king the new sovereign took the name Irimaet, which means "The truth is accomplished," perhaps in reference to the prophecy, and he also assumed the name and title : "The Good God, Nebkhey, or 'Lord of the Ascension.'" Manetho calls him Userchere(s), which is the later rendering of Userkere, "Mighty is the Spirit of Re," but on contemporary remains this variant of the name is not found. As *Insi-Bya*, or "Reed and Hornet," that is to say "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," he was named Userkef, "Mighty is his spirit." He reigned, as I have already said, 7 years ; and a record of some of the sacerdotal events of his sixth year has chanced to be preserved upon the Palermo Stone. In that year the king gave two large areas of land to the priests, one for the enrichment of the temple of Re, and the other for the purpose of providing offerings on certain feast days for the "spirits of Heliopolis" ; and he also endowed a sun-temple, called Nekhen-Re. Other rich gifts of land or provisions were made to the goddess Hathor ; to the gods of the House of Horus, for whom also a shrine was built at Buto ; to the rarely-mentioned god Sepa, for whom a temple was erected ; to the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, patroness of the south ; to the cobra-goddess Utho, patroness of the north ; and to the gods of the Sanctuary of the

South, by which Hieraconpolis is probably meant, or possibly Elephantine, the ancestral home of the family. By such acts he fully deserved the title "Beloved of the Gods," which is to be seen on a cylinder-seal of his, now in the British Museum.

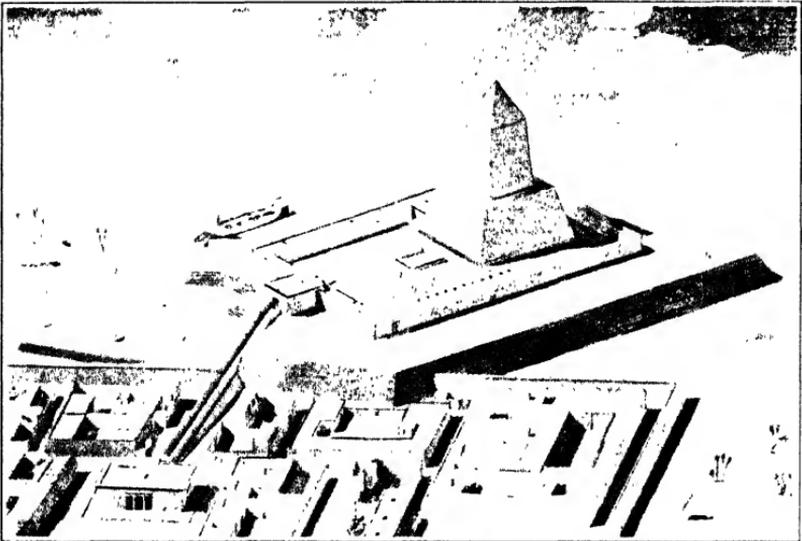
In a tomb at Tehneh in the Delta, there is a record of the last will and testament of a certain nobleman named Neke-enkh, who lived in this reign, in which he states that he was formerly Steward of the Palace, and Governor of the "New Towns," whatever they may be, that King Userkef appointed him to an evidently rich benefice, as priest of Hathor in Tehneh, which living had been endowed with certain lands by King Menkeure, that now this benefice is bequeathed by the said Neke-enkh to his children, who shall each in turn officiate therein for some weeks in the year, and that his personal property is bequeathed to his eldest son. "While I journey to the beautiful west," he writes, "it is these my children who shall act as priests of Hathor, even as I myself did." The inscription is important as showing that endowments made by Menkeure were still respected in the new dynasty.

Of actual remains of his reign, Userkef has left us nothing except a few cylinder seals and sealings. His pyramid, called *Web-isut*, "Abodes of Purity," which is mentioned in inscriptions left by priests who officiated there, has not been identified, and may have been destroyed by later builders in search of stone. The sun-temple, named, as Sethe has pointed out, *Nekhen-Re*, "The court of offerings of Re," is also lost; but it seems to have been built, like the sun-temples of succeeding kings, around an obelisk dedicated to, or symbolical of, Re, and may have stood close to his pyramid, as was the case in other reigns in this dynasty. A bowl of white marble inscribed with the name of this temple was found across the sea in the island of Cerigo (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii, 349, and Sethe, *Zeitschrift*, liii, 1916), which shows that trade with those islands was already established.



THE PYRAMID OF CHEOPS (KHEUF OR KHUFU) AND THE SPHINX WHICH WAS PROBABLY MADE IN THE REIGN OF CHEPHREN (KHEFRE).
The pyramid of the latter is behind the Sphinx, but is not seen in this photograph.

See page 176.



THE SUN-TEMPLE OF THE PHARAOH RATHURES (NUSERRE) AT ABUSÏR,
AS RESTORED BY BORCHARDT. *See page 203.*

(From Bissing's Das Ke Heiligtum.)

DYN. V, 2. SEPHRE : SAHURE
2708-2697 B.C.

Userkef, it would seem, left no son, and was therefore succeeded by his brother, an elderly man named Sahure, "The Possession of Re," who, as Hawk-king, was called Nebkheh, meaning "the Lord in his Ascension," or something of that kind, the second syllable being the word denoting either the appearance of the rising sun from behind the eastern horizon, or the "appearance" of the Pharaoh, as at the ceremony of his coronation. In spite of his age, the twelve years of his reign were a period of considerable activity. Upon the great desert plateau behind the northern suburbs of the city of Memphis, at a place now called Abusîr, he began early in his reign to erect his pyramid and a sun-temple; and these imposing buildings were evidently completed by his 12th year, for they are mentioned on the Palermo Stone whereon the Annals of that year happen to have been preserved. The sun-temple, which was built of dazzling white limestone, was a large open court having a series of chambers on either side; and at the far end of this paved court there stood a great stone platform, upon which an obelisk-like monument towered up into the sky. In the middle of the court, in front of this obelisk, there was a large altar, whereon the offerings were heaped up. Just outside the court there were two great boats made of wood, these being representations of the vessels in which the sun was supposed to sail across the heavens: they were found by the modern excavators still resting in their original positions, and are now in the Cairo Museum. The pyramid, the northernmost at Abusîr, stood close to this sun-temple, having against its eastern side a temple wherein the ministrations to the Pharaoh's soul were to be made (Plate XIV); and there was a magnificent causeway leading up to it from the edge of the fields at the foot of the desert plateau, some distance behind the city of Memphis. These buildings contained a number of very fine columns, each being a monolith quarried at Aswân and brought with great labour down the Nile. The capitals are gracefully sculptured in the form

of palm-branches and papyrus-heads. Many of the walls are decorated with reliefs, representing, amongst other scenes, the Pharaoh's triumphs.

From these reliefs it is clear that the king despatched a fleet against the Phœnician coast of Syria : four of the ships are here represented, and Phœnician captives are to be seen amongst the Egyptian sailors. He is also known to have sent an expeditionary force against the Bedouin tribes of Sinai, for in the Wady Maghâra there is a tablet inscribed upon the rocks, which shows Sahure smiting his enemies ; and the inscription reads : " The great god, smiting the Asiatics in all countries." In Lower Nubia, near the village of Tomâs, I found this king's name inscribed upon a rock (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, lvii, 27), which indicates, perhaps, that he had sent an expedition up the Nile towards the Second Cataract ; and there is said to be another rock-inscription of this reign on the island of Sehêl, just below the First Cataract (de Morgan, *Cat. Mons. et Inscr.* i, 88), but I never succeeded in finding it. Some Egyptologists state that Sahure also sent an expedition to the land of Pount ; but the inscription on the Palermo Stone from which the statement is derived, really belongs to the reign of Sisires. There is a rock-inscription, recording the king's name, just behind the ruins of the town of Nekheb (El Kâb), over against Nekhen, the ancient city of the Hawks. Of other contemporary remains, there is an excellent piece of sculpture in diorite, representing the king standing with the goddess of the Province of Koptos, this being now in New York ; there are some cylinder-seals and sealings ; and there is an inscription in the Cairo Museum, referring to the king's Jubilee. It is generally thought that the royal jubilee, which was a thirty-years' festival, was held thirty years after the king, before he came to the throne, had been proclaimed as heir to the kingship ; but in the present instance, since Sahure was destined to the throne long before his birth, one wonders whether it celebrated the second thirty years of his age, for, as I have already said, he may well have reached the age of sixty early in his reign.

Upon the Palermo Stone the sacerdotal annals of what

I believe to be the 12th year of the king's reign are recorded. Here we have a list of the endowments made to the gods ; and these include a large estate set aside for the maintenance of the sun-temple described above, thus showing that it had been completed by that year, and showing, too, that that year must be late in the reign, as I have placed it in my reconstruction of the Annals and not early in the reign, as has generally been supposed. A small parcel of land was presented in the same year to the shrine of the goddess Hathor in the temple of the king's pyramid ; and this building, too, is thus seen to have been already in use at that time. Daily offerings on a generous scale are provided for the altars of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, the cobra-goddess Utho, the sun-god Re, in the " Sanctuary of the South " and two other places ; and small parcels of land are assigned to three or four minor deities. The tenth (mistakenly read "second") occurrence of the "numbering," or census, is also recorded in this year. (This could hardly be the "second" numbering, since the pyramid and sun-temple were already built.)

In a small tomb of this period at Sakkâra, the desert necropolis behind the city of Memphis, Mariette found a fine stone slab in the form known as a "false-door," that is to say, a stone representation of a door, placed in front of the burial chamber, so that the spirit of the dead man might come out through it to receive offerings of food and drink. This particular slab is of far better workmanship than that displayed in the making of the tomb itself, and the inscription upon it tells us why this is so. The tomb in question was the last resting-place of a Chief Physician named Sekhmet-enekh, and the inscription tells us that this learned man had asked the Pharaoh Sahure to give him a "false-door" for his tomb, and that his Majesty had consented to do so, and had commanded that it should be made in the court of the palace, under the supervision of the two High Priests of Ptah at Memphis, Ptah being the patron god of the workers in stone. "The stone-cutting went on every day," the old physician proudly tells us, "and daily in the court there was an inspection of that which was done on it. His Majesty had colour put on it,

causing it to be painted in blue. Then his Majesty said to this physician: 'Since these my nostrils enjoy health (through your skill), and as the gods love me, may you depart at an advanced old age in honour to your last resting-place.' Therefore I thanked the king greatly, and praised every god for Sahure's sake, for he understands the desires of all his court. . . . And if you love the sun-god, Re, you, too, will praise every god for Sahure's sake, who did this for me."

Sahure's queen, the mother of his children, seems to have been named Nofrehotpes; for in the tomb of a certain court official named Persen (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 300) there is an inscription which refers to the mortuary offerings for the Royal Mother Nofrehotpes which were established "in the time of Sahure." The ultimate royal line descended from Sahure it seems, for Sesostris I of the Twelfth Dynasty made a statue of him (Cairo Museum) and calls him his ancestor.

DYN. V, 3. CHERE: KHERE-NEFER NEFEREFRE
2696-2693 B.C.

There is some difficulty in regard to the order of the next three reigns, but, as I have explained on page 13, it seems certain that some 11 years elapsed between the death of Sahure and the accession of Kekei-Neferirkere, the youngest of the three brothers of the legend. During these 11 years, I think, the throne was occupied by the two kings, Cheres and Sisires, incorrectly recorded by Manetho as coming after Nephercheres (Neferirkere), where, however, there is not room for them, since Rathures (Nuserre) closely followed Nephercheres, as is shown in the tomb of Ty at Sakkâra. I suppose the new king, Cheres, was the son of Sahure; and I fancy that at the death of Sahure there must have been a struggle for the crown between him and his uncle Kekei, for this would account for the confusion in the lists at this point.

Manetho's name Chere(s) is evidently his rendering of Khere-nefer, which is here found in the Sakkâra List: he has left out the sign *nefer*, as he did also in the case of

King Sesochris (Neferkesokar). The corresponding name in the Abydos List is Neferefre; and the Hawk-name is Nefer-kheu (Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, 57). The reign was brief: the numeral which gave its length is missing in the Turin Papyrus, but my reconstruction of the Annals and the Turin Papyrus total both indicate that it lasted only 4 years. Nothing is known of this Pharaoh, except that his pyramid was named *Neter-beu*, "Divine in its souls"; but this building has not been found, and was probably small and unfinished.

DYN. V, 4. SISIRE : SHEPSEKERE ISESI OR SISI
2692-2686 B.C.

The Sakkára List here records another Pharaoh, Shepseskere, but the Abydos List gives no corresponding name, and the only contemporary relic of the reign is a solitary scarab. A royal name, Isi or Isesi, or perhaps Sisi, is found at this period, compounded in the names of certain private persons and estates; and it is probable that it was the second name of Shepseskere, though this is by no means certain. Manetho's Sisires seems to be the same Pharaoh, and the 7 years which he assigns to the reign correspond to the 7 years recorded in the Turin Papyrus at this point against the now lost name of a king. He was probably the son of the last king, Chere; and it would seem that his Hawk-name was Sekhem-Kheu, "Ruler in his Ascension."

If I am correct in my placing of his reign, then he must be the king whose last year is recorded on the Palermo Stone, just before the first year of Neferirkere. There we read that he made certain gifts of land to the sun-god Re, to the goddess Hathor, and to other gods whose names are now lost. It is also stated that the "seventh occurrence of the numbering," i.e. the census, took place in that year; and as in certain other reigns these "numberings" were carried out every year, this mention of the "seventh numbering," in a year which is recorded as the last of that reign, provides some evidence that the reign lasted 7 years, and hence that it was the reign of Sisires, to whom

Manetho, as I have said, assigns that number of years. Then there is a very important statement which records the arrival in Egypt of produce from the land of Pount, and which therefore seems to indicate that Sisires had sent an expedition to that far-off country, just as Queen Hatshepsut did in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Now, in the reign of King Piop Neferkere of the Sixth Dynasty (p. 243) that monarch refers to an expedition to the land of Pount made "in the time of Isesi," and this, I think, is pretty strong evidence that I am right in attributing this year-space on the Palermo Stone to Sisires (Isesi), since it records such a visit to Pount. The produce includes 80,000 measures of myrrh, 6,000 (?) weight (?) of electrum, and 2,600 staves of some valuable wood, perhaps ebony. The land of Pount, in the neighbourhood of Somaliland, was famous for its myrrh and fragrant gums, used in the making of incense and scents; and so vast a quantity of this valuable commodity must have kept the altars of the gods well supplied for some years. The arrival of a great quantity of malachite from Sinai is also recorded here.

The king's death, according to the same inscription upon the Palermo Stone, occurred on the 28th or 29th day of the 9th month of the year, which in 2685 B.C. corresponded to about January 25th.

DYN. V, 5. NEPHERCHERE : NEFERIRKERE KEKEI
2685-2665 B.C.

I have supposed that Isesi or Sisi was the grandson of Sahure, and in this case he was probably quite a young man at his death. Perhaps he was childless, or more probably he left behind him an heir (afterwards King Nuserre?) who was but an infant: at any rate the throne was seized by the elderly Prince Kekei, the last surviving of the three brothers of whom the legend has told us; and, indeed, it may be supposed that it was he and his supporters who first spread the full story of the miraculous birth of the three, the purpose of the tale being the establishing of Kekei's right to the throne. As I have already said, the new king must have been an elderly man, being somewhere

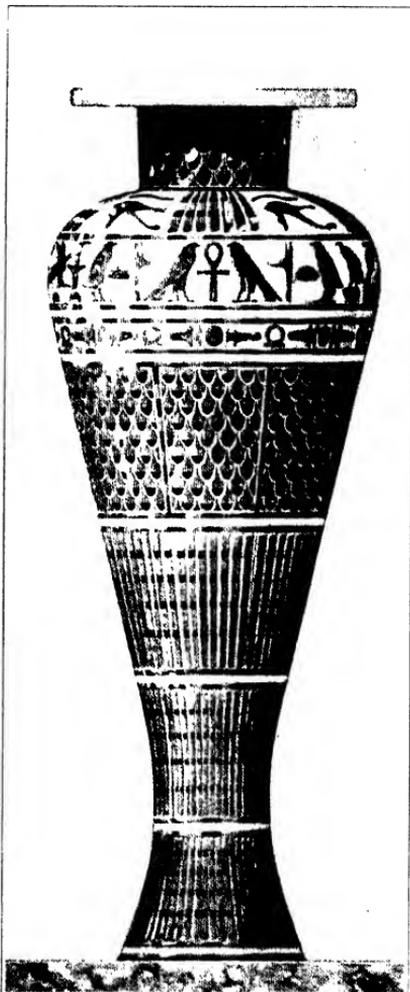


HEAD OF RENOFRE, HIGH PRIEST OF THE SUN, SOMETIME DURING THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

From his statue in the Cairo Museum.



HEAD OF THE STATUE KNOWN AS THE SHÉKH EL-BELED, REPRESENTING AN UNKNOWN NOBLE PROBABLY OF THE EARLY PART OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY.



RESTORATION OF A VASE FOUND IN THE PYRAMID TEMPLE OF THE PHARAOH NEPHERCHERES (NEFERIKERE) OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

See page 201.

(From *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*)

about 66 years of age at his accession ; and he may well have been the great power in the land even during the short reigns of Chere and Isesi, which would account for the fact that he precedes these two in the lists. On ascending the throne he took the name Neferirkere, which Manetho renders as Nepherchere(s) ; and that Neferirkere and Kekei are one and the same is shown by the fact that the names of the pyramid and sun-temple of both are similar. As Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was Khemsekhemuneb, " Ascending as the Lord of Dominions " ; and as Hawking he took the name User-kheu, " Mighty in his Ascension," for this name is recorded on a cylinder-seal (Petrie, *History*, Fig. 54) side by side with the name Neferirkere. The great official, Ty, whose tomb at Sakkâra is so well known, lived in this reign and served as a priest of the pyramids of this king and his successor Nuserre ; and on some of the blocks of stone used in the construction of this tomb the name of Kekei is inscribed.

This Pharaoh's pyramid-temple at Abusîr is much inferior in workmanship to that of Sahure, being built largely of brick instead of stone, a fact which confirms my supposition that he was an elderly man who did not anticipate a long life in which to make himself a more solid monument. On the Palermo Stone the annals of his 1st, 14th and 15th years have been preserved in part, and tell us something of his activities. In his 1st year he made gifts of land, etc., to the Divine Ennead, the Spirits of On, Re, Hathor, and other divinities ; and he caused a statue made of electrum to be set up in the temple of Hathor, Lady of the Sycomore, in the town of Meret-Snofru, a place which dated, as the name implies, from the time of King Snofru of the Third Dynasty. In his 14th year there is a reference to the sun-temple at Abusîr, which was called *Istibre*, " Favourite Place of Re," and a great ceremony, named the " Circuit of the Wall," was performed there. In his 15th year it is recorded that he set up a wall around the sacred barque of the sun which stood at the south side of the temple, and that he made a copper obelisk 8 cubits in height, and also a " morning " and an " evening " barque of the sun, in the same material (Sethe, *Zeitschrift*, liii, 1916). In the same year he presented

gifts to the Spirits of On, the god Ptah of Memphis, and the goddess Utho; and in this year also was celebrated the festival known as the "Ascension" or "Appearance" of the *Insi*, or Reed-king, and the *Bya*, or Hornet-king, a recurring ceremony of which we do not know the significance.

An interesting inscription dating from this reign was found in the tomb of Weshptah at Abusir. Weshptah was Vizier, Chief Justice, and Chief Architect, to King Neferirkere, and we are to picture him, I suppose, as an old man, frail with much learning and many responsibilities. The inscription tells us that the king and the royal family went one day to see a certain building which Weshptah was constructing, and that "they marvelled exceedingly, beyond everything, and his Majesty congratulated him because of it." But, suddenly, while the Pharaoh was yet speaking, "his Majesty noticed that Weshptah did not hear him." The king uttered an exclamation which is now lost, crying out that the old man was ill; and "when the royal family and nobles who were of the court heard this, great fear was in their hearts." The stricken man was carried to the palace, "and his Majesty caused the royal family and the nobles, the men of learning and chief physicians to come; and his Majesty ordered a case of (medical) writings to be brought, but these revealed to his Majesty that he was lost, and thereat the heart of his Majesty was exceedingly sad, beyond everything; and his Majesty, saying that he would do everything according to his heart's desire, went away to his private room." Weshptah died shortly afterwards, and "his Majesty commanded that there be made for him a coffin of ebony wood, plastered over. Never was such a thing done to one like him before. . . . It was his eldest son who made this inscription for him, for . . . his Majesty caused that the matter be put into writing upon the tomb; and his Majesty praised him (the son) on account of it, and he, on his part, praised God exceedingly for him."

The king reigned 21 years, as is recorded in the Turin Papyrus and confirmed by my reconstruction of the Annals, though Manetho gives the figure as 20; and he must have been an old man of some 87 years or so when at length he died.

DYN. V, 6. RATHURE OR NUSERRE RATHO
2664-2654 B.C.

The new king, Nuserre, had a second name which is usually read An ; but, as I have pointed out on page 54, it is more probably to be read Ratho, or Retho, whence Manetho's " Rathures " was obtained. As Hawk-king he was called *Istib-toui*, " Favourite in the Two Lands," which shows a sudden abandonment of the form of Hawk-name favoured by his predecessors. His reign seems to have lasted 11 years, according to the probable reading of the damaged figure in the Turin Papyrus ; and as he is known to have celebrated a jubilee (a festival which, as I have already said, is thought to have commemorated a period of 30 years from the instating of the celebrator as heir to the throne) it would seem that as a youth he was recognized as Crown Prince. This suggests that he was the son of Sisires, but had been kept from the throne by Nephercheres ; or else that he was the son of Nephercheres and had been proclaimed as Crown Prince immediately on that king's accession.

The main work of this reign was the erection of the temple of the sun, called *Seshepibre* (Plate XII), on the desert plateau nearly a mile to the north of the pyramids and temples at Abusir ; and this building was completed in time to be decorated with reliefs representing the jubilee celebrations. The temple consists of an open court, 330 feet long by 250 feet broad, having its entrance at the east end, and at the west end a huge obelisk was constructed upon a platform of masonry, inside which was a stairway leading up to the base of the obelisk. A covered way, decorated with reliefs, passed along the east and south sides of the court, and, bending to the north, or right, led to the obelisk ; while on the north side were store-chambers and treasure-houses, reached by a covered passage leading from the main entrance. In the middle of the open court was the altar, before which the sacrificial oxen were slaughtered ; and gutters, cut in the stone pavement, carried the blood to ten alabaster basins. The altar itself was made of great blocks of alabaster, the whole structure being 19 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 4 feet high.

The king's pyramid is the middle one in the Abusir group, and was called *Men-isut*; and the temple adjoining it was decorated with reliefs showing the conquest of Libyan and Syrian enemies—the marauding tribesmen of the western and eastern frontiers of Lower Egypt. Nuserre was evidently something of a military conqueror, and far away in Sinai there is a rock-tablet representing him in the act of smiting an Asiatic, and bearing the inscription: “The smiter of the Asiatics of all countries.”

An interesting record of this period is found in an inscription in the tomb of a great noble named Ptahshepses, who was born in the reign of Menkeure, the builder of the Third Pyramid at Gizeh, was married in the time of Shepseskaf, and lived on into the reign of Nuserre. According to the Turin Papyrus and my reconstruction of the Annals there were only 57 years between the death of Menkeure and the accession of Nuserre; and therefore Ptahshepses, who was old enough to be married during the 4-years' reign of Shepseskaf, and thus must have been born some 15 years or so before the death of Menkeure, would not have been much over 70 at the accession of Nuserre, and may have been about 80 when he died in that reign. These facts are of importance as showing that the lengths of these reigns as given in this volume are pretty certainly correct, and cannot be much increased; while those given by Petrie for the same period are certainly incorrect, for they would oblige us to suppose that Ptahshepses was about 170 years of age when he died!

The beginnings of the lines of the inscription in question are broken away, but even so the general sense is clear. “In the time of Menkeure,” the inscription tells us, “he was educated amongst the king's children in the palace, in a private apartment in the royal *harim*, and was more honoured before the king than any child.” “In the time of Shepseskaf he was educated (as before) in the palace of the king . . . and was more honoured than any youth. His Majesty gave to him his eldest daughter, Maetkhe, as his wife, for his Majesty desired that she should be with him more than with anyone.” Then, under Userkaf (?), he “was more honoured by the king than any servant.

He went down into every ship belonging to the court, and walked in the (state) processions in the southern palace at all the Coronation-anniversaries." Under Sahure (?) he "was privy councillor in every work which his Majesty desired to do, and pleased the heart of his Lord every day." In the reign of the next king, whose name again is lost, "when his Majesty praised him for something, his Majesty allowed him to kiss his foot, and his Majesty did not require him to kiss the ground." In the next reign, "he went down into the sacred barge (itself) at all Feasts of the Ascension (or Appearance), beloved of his Lord"; and finally, in the reign of Nuserre, "he was attached to the affections of his Lord, beloved of his Lord, honoured of the god Ptah, doing that which the god desired of him, pleasing every skilled man under the king."

Another interesting inscription of this reign was written in the tomb of Hotpeher-yekhut, who was both a judge and also a priest of the temple of the late king Neferirkere and a priest of the sun-temple of Nuserre. He was most anxious to tell those who should come after him that he had built this tomb for himself, and had not merely appropriated an older tomb, as, it seems, some unscrupulous persons were wont to do; and he promises that if visitors will remember to make an offering to his spirit, he will repay their kindness by commending them to the gods, for he, having been a good and respected man on earth, as he is at pains to point out, is now obviously in a position to use his influence successfully in their behalf in heaven. "I have made this tomb," he says, "as my rightful possession, I who have never taken a thing belonging to any other person. Whosoever shall make an offering to me therein, for them I will do this: I will commend them to God for it very highly, and I will commend them (as deserving) of bread, of beer, of clothing, of ointment, and of grain, in large quantities. I have never done anything violent to any man: and, as God loves the truth, I was held in honour by the king. . . . I have made this tomb upon the western bank in an undefiled place, there being no (previous) burial of any person therein; and (this I did) in order that the property of him who has gone back to his soul (namely,

myself) might be inviolate. As for any people who shall appropriate this tomb as their sepulchral place, or shall do damage to it, judgment shall be demanded of them for it by the great God, for I have made this tomb as my own shelter. I was respected by the king, who (himself) presented to me my sarcophagus."

Two of the wives of Nuserre are mentioned by name in his temple inscriptions: Khenti-kheus and Nubi; and the names of two of his daughters are known from the same source: Khemerer-Nebti and Mertetes. A few cylinder-seals and sealings, and two vases inscribed with his name, are still in existence; there is a statuette representing him in the Cairo Museum; and in the British Museum there is a statue of him made in the reign of Sesostri I of the Twelfth Dynasty, which shows that his memory was then held in high honour as an ancestor of the royal line.

DYN. V, 7. MENCHERE: MENKEURE IKEURE
2653-2646 B.C.

The name of the new king, Menkeure, "Establishing the Spirits of the Sun-god," is written as though it were to be read Menkeuhûr, the hawk-sign *hûr* being used instead of the sun's orb, *re*; but Manetho read the name Menkhere(s), which shows that to him the hawk-sign was *re*, and there is much evidence to show that the hawk, the old southern symbol of the sun, was now identified with the Heliopolitan Re. Another royal name occasionally found at this period reads Ikeuhûr, which, on the analogy of the first name, should be Ikeure, meaning, perhaps, "Adoration of the Sun"; and it is probable that these two names belong to the same king. As Hawk-king, Menkeure was called Menkheu, "Established in his Ascension." There is a reference to the celebration of this king's jubilee (Petrie, *History*, p. 90), but as the Turin Papyrus states that he reigned 8 years, and as his predecessor, Nuserre, reigned 11 years, Menkeure must have been recognized as ultimate heir to the throne some 12 years or so before Nuserre succeeded, that is to say, in the 9th or 10th year of the reign of Neferirkere. In this there is no improbability; and

it is an indication, perhaps, that Menkeure was the son of Neferirkere, but had been kept from the throne by Nuserre.

The new king, like his predecessors, built himself a pyramid and a sun-temple, the former being called *Neter-isut*, "the Divine Abodes," but neither building has been discovered. In Sinai there is a damaged inscription recording the names of the king, and referring to some commission executed by an official whose name is lost. A slab of stone, having a charmingly executed figure of Menkeure upon it, was found built into a wall of the Serapeum at Sakkâra, and is now in the Louvre. It probably came originally from the king's pyramid-temple, but that building evidently fell to pieces or was destroyed in ancient times, and its stones were scattered, which explains why it has not been found by modern excavators. The only other remains of this reign are an alabaster statue of the king found at Sakkâra, a stele bearing his name also from Sakkâra, a vase now in Berlin, a cylinder-seal, and a sealing from Abusîr.

DYN. V, 8. TATCHERE : DADKERE ISESI OR SISI
2645-2618 B.C.

The new king took the name Dadkere, "Enduring is the spirit of Re," and there is clear evidence (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 55) that the royal name Isesi or Sisi (sometimes read Assa) also belongs to the same Pharaoh, this, in fact, being his personal name. It is possible that he was a son of Shepseskere Isesi, and therefore cousin to the late Pharaoh; but there is nothing to indicate this beyond the recurrence of the name Isesi. As Hawk-king he was called Dadkheu, "Enduring in his Ascension, or Appearance," and as Hawk of Nubi he was called simply Dad. This is the first king who is definitely known to have assumed the afterwards famous title *Se-re*, "Son of the Sun-god," this being written as a prefix to his personal name Isesi or Sisi, and therefore signifying that he was physically descended from the sun-god. This claim to divine ancestry may have had its origin in the story of the foundation of the dynasty given at the beginning of this

chapter ; for 70 years had now passed since that event, and the tale had had ample time to come to be regarded as fact. But the late king, Menkeure, had used the Hawk-sign in the writing of the word *Re*, the sun-god, which perhaps indicates that there had been an attempt to identify the Hawk-god, the original ancestor of the entire royal line of the Pharaohs, with *Re*, the ancestor of this particular dynasty. In other words, the new title, "Son of the Sun," may have referred not only to the king's descent from *Re*, the sun-god, three or four generations back, but also to his descent from the long line of past Pharaohs, each of whom, as Hawk-king, had been a descendant of the original Hawk, who was beginning to be recognized as having been the sun-god himself. This may perhaps explain the adoption of the name "Dadkere" by the new king, the meaning of which may signify that the spirit of *Re* had endured and continued in the royal line throughout the ages.

According to my reconstruction of the Annals, the record of the years in that chronicle is brought down to the 7th year of this Pharaoh, which was the 769th year since the accession of Menes ; and, as I have explained in Chapter I, there are certain inscriptions in this reign which seem actually to refer to the preparation of these Annals. In view of the king's adoption of the title "Son of the Sun-god," it is not surprising to find that it is he who thus seems to have caused these Annals to be set down in a permanent form, for they showed how the sequence of the kings could be carried right back to the reign of the sun-god on earth, and they would have served, in fact, as the authority for that proud designation.

There is a damaged inscription in the Wady Maghâra in Sinai which seems to read :—"The year after the fourth occurrence of the numbering of all large and small cattle, in which (year) God caused that there should be found in the secret quarry that costly stone (which was to be used for) the tablet containing the ancient writings." Then follow the names of the king, Dedkheu, Dedkhere, Isesi, and a list of the members of the expedition, under the command of a certain ship's captain, named Nenekh-Khentikhet. It was the custom at that time to date the

year by the "numberings" of the people or cattle, these numberings taking place at irregular intervals, sometimes nearly every year, sometimes actually every year, and sometimes on alternate years. Thus, the "year after the fourth 'numbering'" might well be about the 7th or 8th of the reign, that is to say, the year down to which the Annals appear to have been carried, according to my reconstruction. There is another inscription, too, which may perhaps refer to the preparing of the Annals. It is in the tomb of Senethemib, the king's Prime Minister, and reads as follows: "I (Senethemib) was one who pleased the king as master of the secrets of his Majesty, and as favourite of his Majesty in everything. . . . As for any work which his Majesty ordered me to do, I did it according to the desire of his Majesty's heart in regard to it. (I received an order from) his Majesty, while he was in the Place of the Archives; and when it was executed . . . his Majesty caused me to be anointed with perfume by the side of his Majesty. . . . Never was the like done for anybody by the side of the King. . . . Then his Majesty himself wrote (a letter to me) with his own fingers, in order to congratulate me, because I had done the whole work which his Majesty commanded me to do, well and excellently according to the desire of his Majesty's heart in regard to it. (This is the letter:—) 'Royal command to the Prime Minister, Senethemib, Chief Scribe of the Royal Archives, Chief of all the works of the King. My Majesty has seen this your letter which you have sent to inform me that (the draft of the work in question has been executed) for the building called Beloved-of-Isesi, which has been made in the palace. . . . (You have executed it in a manner) to rejoice the heart of Isesi . . . for you can put into words that which Isesi loves, better than any men who are in this whole land. . . . You shall make a tablet (?) according as it was arranged. . . . My Majesty greatly desires to hear this your statement. . . .'" Senethemib then quotes a second letter which he had received from the Pharaoh; and this refers to the plan of a new building in the king's palace, which was to have a garden (?) in front of it, 1,200 cubits long, and 221 cubits wide. It is possible that

this was the building in which the tablet of the Annals was to be housed : a sort of temple of the king's ancestors, such as Akhnaton erected at El Amârna in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This whole inscription, and the inscription in Sinai, I must hasten to add, may not refer to the making of the Annals at all ; but in view of the fact that Senehemib was " Chief Scribe of the Royal Archives," and that the work referred to by him was ordered while the king " was in the Place of the Archives," it is not unreasonable to suppose that the reference is to these Annals, the preparation of which took place, according to my reconstruction of them, at just about this time.

The famous title " Son of the Sun-god " was afterwards used by practically every Pharaoh and was his proudest designation. It came to be regarded eventually more or less as the royal title of Lower Egypt, for beneath the list of kings in the Temple of Abydos, the names of Sety I are repeated as a sort of decoration, and in each case the first cartouche is described as that of the *Insi* or Reed-king, and has the hieroglyph after it of a king wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, and the second cartouche is given as that of the " Son of the Sun-god," and has the hieroglyph after it of a king wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt, while the title *Bya* or Hornet-king does not occur at all.

Besides the inscription in Sinai already mentioned there are two other rock-tablets of this reign in that region, on each of which the king is shown smiting an Asiatic tribesman, and is called " The Smiter of all countries." In the Wady Hammamât, a desert valley behind the city of Koptos, on the road to the Red Sea, there is also an inscription, giving the royal name Isesi. An alabaster vase is known, on which there is an inscription, reading : " The first occurrence of the Jubilee of Dadkere, beloved of the Spirits of Heliopolis." The Turin Papyrus states that the king reigned 28 years ; and this Jubilee, which seems to have celebrated the completion of a period of 30 years since he was proclaimed heir to the throne, indicates that he was so proclaimed at least 2 years before the death of the preceding Pharaoh, Menkhere. Of course, if he was really

the son of Shepseskere, as I have suggested, he may have been proclaimed Crown Prince when a baby, as much as 47 years before he actually succeeded, which would mean that he celebrated his first Jubilee as Pharaoh in the 60th and not the 30th year after that proclamation. But these speculations are not very profitable. At Tomâs, in Lower Nubia, I found his name inscribed upon a rock (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, lviii, 22), which indicates that his soldiers were up here upon some expedition. There are also a few small objects inscribed with his name: an ink-slab, some cylinders and scarabs, and so forth.

The most important relic of this reign, however, is the book of maxims, edited by Prince Ptah-hotpe, a member of the royal family, who may perhaps have been the king's uncle, and seems to have acted as his guardian and tutor. Here, again, we see the interest which was now being taken in the ancient records, for, in the opening sentences of his book, Ptah-hotpe, who addresses himself to the king, says: "I will repeat to you the sayings of those who have known the history of past times, and have heard the gods"; and the king replies: "Instruct me, then, in the sayings of olden times."

The object of the book is recorded in the introduction. "O king, my lord," says Ptah-hotpe, "grey hairs have come upon me, old age is advancing, and (the years of) my decline have come to me. Decrepitude has taken the place of freshness, and some new defect descends upon me every day. My eyesight is failing, my ears are stopped, my vigour is diminished, my brain is dull, my mouth is dumb and speaks not, my mind forgets, and cannot even recall the events of yesterday. Every bone in my body aches, pleasure is turned to discomfort, and the flavour of everything is vanished." He therefore asks to be allowed to resign his office at the court, and, this being granted, he decides to write these maxims for the instruction of his son. The wise sayings which were thus set down afterwards became very famous in Egyptian literature, and fortunately they have been preserved to us in a later copy. (They are translated by Gunn, *Ptah-hotep*, and by Budge in *Amen-emapt*). I will quote a few of them here.

“ Do not try to scare people, for it effects nothing. What God has decreed happens.”

“ If you are in the position of one to whom petitions are made, be courteous, and listen to the petitioner's story. Do not stop his words until he has poured out all that is in his heart, and has said all that he came to say. A man with a grievance loves the official who will accept what he states, and will let him talk out his trouble fully. . . . A kind word will paint (i.e. illuminate) his heart ; but if an official stops the flow of his words, people will say ‘ Why should this fellow there have the power to behave in this way ? ’ ”

“ If you wish to maintain a lasting friendship in the house to which you are in the habit of going . . . try to avoid talking to the ladies. . . . There are thousands of men who have gone after these beautiful creatures and have been ruined by them, being deluded by their soft bodies ; but they have turned into things that are harder than rock. The pleasure is only for a little moment, and it passes like a dream, at the end of which a man may discover what death is—by experiencing it.”

“ If you are in the vestibule of a nobleman's (audience-room), whether you have a seat or are (left) standing, submit to it at first, and do not push (yourself forward), in case you be turned out. Keep your eye, however, on the private secretary, who may announce you ; for a man who is invited to come in finds a comfortable seat, and a nobleman's vestibule (after all) is governed by precedence, and all its procedure is according to rule. It is God (alone) who raises the status of a person who climbs into favour : it is not effected by a man's shoulder ” (i.e. by pushing).

“ Do not go into a beer-tavern, for unpleasant are the words reported at second-hand as having come from your mouth, when you do not know that they have been said by you. And if you fall down you will break your bones, and nobody will give you a hand. Even your companions in drink will stand up and say ‘ Away with the drunkard ! ’ ”

“ I commend to you your mother who bore you. She it was who sent you to school so that you might be taught your books ; and she concerned herself daily about you,

giving you food and drink from the house. Now that you are grown up, and are yourself married, and master in your house, I beg you turn your eyes to her who gave you birth, and who provided all things for you—for so your mother did. Do not give her cause to rebuke you, nor let her lift up her two hands to God (in sorrow because of you), for He will surely hear her complaint."

"When Death comes, it seizes the baby which is at its mother's breast as well as him who has become an old man. When that messenger comes to you to carry you away, let him find you ready."

The king's pyramid, which was called *Nefer*, "The Fortunate" or "The Good," has not been identified. He carried out some restorations in the sun-temple of Sahure at Abusir, but it seems that he did not build a sun-temple of his own. In this fact one may perhaps see an indication that the influence of the Heliopolitan priesthood of Re was declining. We hear no more of these sun-temples. A century had now passed since Userkef, the priestly founder of the dynasty, had combined the prerogatives and functions of the Pharaoh with those of the sun-god, and had so imposed the ritual of Re of Heliopolis upon the life of the court that thereafter almost every Pharaoh of the dynasty had been obliged to erect one of these great temples near his pyramid; but now the domination of Heliopolis was nearing its end. Dadkere, in fact, seems to have been the last royal partisan of the priests of Re; and, when he died, they may have failed to hand the throne on to his son, if, indeed, he had one.

DYN. V, 9. ONNOS: UNNOS
2617-2588 B.C.

The next king is called Onnos by Manetho, a name which on contemporary monuments reads Unnos (generally read Unis), and this monarch took the Hawk-name Uth-toui, "Flourishing in the Two Lands," which recalls the Hawk-name of Nuserre, Istib-toui, "Favourite in the Two Lands," and suggests that the new Pharaoh was the son of Nuserre, rather than of Menkeure or Dadkere, both of

whom, like their predecessors in this dynasty, had Hawk-names ending in *Kheu*, "Ascension." As Hawk of Nubi his name was simply Uth. His reign lasted 30 years according to the Turin Papyrus; and if, therefore, I am right in my suggestion that he was the son of Nuserre, he would have been a man of about 40 years of age or more at his accession, and 70 when he died, which is a quite reasonable supposition.

Like so many of the earlier kings, he appears to have had two tombs; and in this we see, perhaps, a return to an ancient custom which seems to have been in abeyance since the time of Snofru. A certain priest of his mortuary service, named Ikhet-hotpe, speaks of himself as "priest of the tomb of Unnos, (which is called) *Nefer-isut*, 'Fortunate in his Abodes,'" and also as "priest of the tomb of Unnos, (which is called) *Isi-isut*, 'the Dual Abode of Abodes.'" The second of these two tombs was probably that now known in Arabic as the *Mastabat-el-Firaûn*, "Pharaoh's Seat," a large ruin which lies some distance to the south of the main necropolis of this period at Sakkâra; for the quarry-marks on some of the blocks of stone used in this building record the king's name, Unnos. The other tomb is the well-known pyramid at Sakkâra. It is entered by a sloping passage which leads to a square chamber, the walls of which are covered with inscriptions; and thence a short passage leads on to another chamber, also inscribed, containing the basalt sarcophagus, beyond which are three other chambers. In one of these rooms there was found a heap of small wooden instruments and implements. When excavated in 1881 the pyramid was found to have been plundered by robbers in ancient times, who had smashed open the sarcophagus and broken up the mummy; and all that now remains of this Pharaoh's body is the right arm, some fragments of the skull, and a few other bones. The inscriptions on the walls of the main chambers reveal a long and most curious ritual for the dead, and are of great importance as being the oldest known version of what have come to be called the "Pyramid Texts." Similar inscriptions are found in the pyramids of the succeeding kings, and an enlightening study of them has been made

by Breasted in his *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*.

Over and over again the assertion is made that the king is not dead. "The King has not died the death: he has become one who rises (like the morning sun) from the horizon. He rests from life (like the setting sun) in the West, but he dawns anew in the East. O King, you have not departed dead: you have departed living! Have you said that he would die?—nay, he dies not: this king lives for ever. He has escaped his day of death. O lofty one among the imperishable stars!—you shall not ever perish. Loose the embalming bandages!—they are not bandages (at all): they are the tresses of the goddess Nephthys (as she leans down over you). Men fall, and their name ceases to be: therefore God takes hold of this king by his arm, and leads him to the sky, that he may not die upon earth amongst men. This king flies away from you, you mortals. He is not of the earth, he is of the sky. He flies as a cloud to the sky, he who was like a bird at the mast-head. He goes up to heaven like the hawks, and his feathers are like those of the wild geese; he rushes at heaven like a crane, he kisses heaven like the falcon, he leaps to heaven like the locust. He ascends to the sky! He ascends to the sky on the wind, on the wind! The stairs of the sky are let down for him that he may ascend thereon to heaven. O gods, put your arms under the king: raise him, lift him to the sky. To the sky! To the sky! To the great throne amongst the gods!"

When he arrives "clouds darken the sky, the stars rain down, the constellation of the Bows staggers, the bones of the earth-gods tremble, the keepers of its gates are silenced, when they see this king dawning as a soul." Heralds announce his arrival, and all the gods welcome him, saying, "Our hearts were not glad until you came." "O Re," the heralds cry, "your son has come to you! Gather him to your heart, enfold him in your embrace."

The texts include also a great deal of magical matter by which the royal soul can protect itself, and overcome any resistance with which it may meet on its way to heaven; and there are many passages which seem to have

come down from the remotest ages and which still contain references to the cannibal feasts and the mumbo-jumbo of a forgotten prehistoric age, in which the king figures as the great hunter, chasing, capturing, and eating the celestial spirits, and putting terror into the inhabitants of the land of shadows.

Of other remains of King Unnos, perhaps the most interesting is a vase inscribed with his name, which was found in the ruins of the temple at Byblos, the great maritime city on the Syrian coast (*Acad. Insc. Comptes Rendus*, January, 1922). This seems to indicate that the Pharaoh was held in high respect in Syria at this time, since the authorities of this far-off and foreign shrine appear to have treasured objects of this kind bearing his name. Two other vases, both of alabaster, inscribed with his name, are now to be seen in the British Museum and at Florence, the former having been found at Abydos in Upper Egypt. On a rock at Elephantine, the island opposite Aswân, just below the First Cataract, there is a well-executed inscription, giving the king's "Reed and Hornet" name, Unnos, and his Hawk-name, Uth-toui, and speaking of him as beloved of the sacred rams of the god Khnum, the patron deity of the Cataract. A few scarabs of this reign are known.

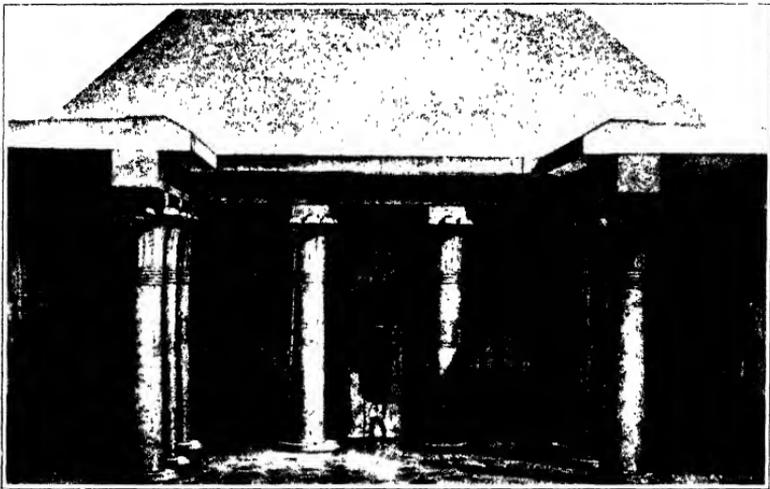
Manetho states that with the death of Unnos the Fifth Dynasty came to an end, and the Turin Papyrus gives a now lost summary of years beneath his name, as though it definitely ended a period. There is, however, nothing to indicate a break in the royal line at this time; and, indeed, the contemporary remains of the reign of Unnos are much more closely akin to those of the Sixth Dynasty than to those of the Fifth, for, as I have already said, the domination of the priests of Heliopolis ceases at the accession of Unnos, and the custom of inscribing the inner chambers of the royal pyramid with long religious texts begins in the time of Unnos and continues into the Sixth Dynasty. In fact, so far as religious observances are concerned, the Fifth Dynasty ends with the death of Dadkere Isesi; but it may be that Unnos left no son to succeed him, and that hence, genealogically, a new family came to the throne



A BATTLE AND SIEGE OF A CITY AS REPRESENTED IN THE TOMB OF A NOBLE OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY AT DESHÂSHEH.

(After the copy in Petrie's *Deshâsheh*.)

See page 217.



THE COURT OF THE PYRAMID TEMPLE OF THE PHARAOH SAHURE OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY, AS RESTORED BY BORCHARDT.

(From Capart's *Egyptian Art*.)

See page 195.

in the person of the next Pharaoh, Toti. Doubtless, however, the new monarch legitimized his accession by marrying some princess of the old line, and thus future kings were able to claim the Pharaohs of the main line of the Fifth Dynasty as their ancestors.

It will be as well to mention at this point an interesting record of a campaign in Palestine which is found at Deshasheh in the tomb of a nobleman (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, iv) whose name probably is to be read Rethi, and who evidently lived towards the end of this dynasty, though under which king is not known. The great event of his life was the capture of an Asiatic city named Nedie, and the battle and siege are represented very vividly in a scene which is reproduced on Plate XIV. The hand-to-hand fight outside the city walls is shown, and one sees that no quarter was given. A man with six arrows in his body tried to break his bow in token of surrender, but was cut down as he did so ; another wounded man was pulled to the ground by his hair, and killed by two Egyptians ; and a third, wounded in the stomach, was slaughtered by an Egyptian soldier who had leapt at him over the body of a fallen Asiatic. Another, also hit in the stomach, is seen to have crawled into the town, and to have died while a woman was attempting to pull out the arrow. Scaling ladders were brought up and placed against the ramparts of the town, while other Egyptians mined their way through the walls with crowbars. Meanwhile, inside the city, wounded soldiers fell dying in the arms of the women ; others broke their bows ; old men, women, and children entered the house of their prince, imploring him to surrender ; and others clustered round the point at which the wall was being mined, listening in horror to the thud of the crowbars outside. Then we see the prisoners being led away by the Egyptians, one of the latter carrying a struggling child ; and we may suppose that the surrendered city, filled with its dead, was then looted and burnt. Such raids across the borders of Palestine were now becoming frequent, and we shall see soon that raids into Egypt were made in retaliation.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

2587-2453 B.C.

DYN. VI, 1. THOE OR OTHOE : TOTI (TETI)

2587-2580 B.C.

THE first Pharaoh of the new dynasty did not follow the old custom of assuming a new name on ascending the throne of the Reed and the Hornet : like his predecessor Unnos, he retained his personal name. This name is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the three signs *t*, *t*, and *i*, and is generally read Teti ; but Manetho records it as Thōe(s) or Othoe(s), which indicates that it should be read Tōti or Otōti. As Hawk-king he took the name *Sehotpe-toui*, "Contenting the Two Lands," this being constructed like the Hawk-names of Unnos and Nuserre (*Uth-toui* and *Istib-toui*). Perhaps Toti was descended from some collateral branch of the royal family of the Fifth Dynasty, for he assumed the title "Son of the Sun-god," which had been used by Dadkere Sisi and Unnos, and wrote it within the royal cartouche (i.e. the oval encircling a Pharaoh's name), as is to be seen on a vase in the British Museum. His queen was perhaps a princess of the old line ; for we often find that a Pharaoh who had no real right himself to the throne claimed the kingship in the right of his wife, or legalized his accession by such a marriage ; but, at any rate, it is to be observed, as I have said, that the accession of Toti caused no marked disturbance at the court, for there is an inscription from the tomb of a certain Sabu-Ibebi which states that that personage was honoured by Unnos as High Priest at Memphis and continued to be honoured in that great office by Toti.

The numeral giving the length of this king's reign is missing in the Turin Papyrus, although "6 months and 21 days" at the end of it is preserved ; but, as I have

explained on page 16, we require here a reign of 8 years in order to conform to the total given in that list. Manetho records the fact that he was murdered by his guards, which perhaps also indicates a short reign. There is a biography of a great noble of this period named Uni, to which I shall presently refer; and in this the writer states that he "assumed the girdle" in the reign of Toti, and, under the same king, obtained a small post as under-keeper of one of the royal domains. Egyptian boys appear to have first worn the girdle of adolescence at about 10 or 12 years of age, and if Uni reached this age early in the reign of Toti, he would have been 18 or 20 years old at the close of the reign, and therefore just about the right age at which to obtain his first appointment at the bottom of the ladder of his career. This item of information, therefore, accords with my supposition that the reign lasted only 8 years; but, by an astonishing discovery, the king's actual features are still able to be seen in his death-mask (Plate XV), and it is obvious that he was quite a young man when he died; and since, as founder of the dynasty, he is likely to have been at least full grown at his accession, the fact that he was still young at his death indicates again that the reign was short.

This death-mask is of great and arresting interest, for it permits us to look at the actual face of a Pharaoh who reigned 4,500 years ago; and though we know the features of previous rulers of Egypt in statuary, this is the earliest king of whom we may say that we have seen the man himself. The plaster cast from which the photograph was taken was made by the authorities of the Cairo Museum from the original mould found in disturbed ground just outside the king's pyramid-temple at Sakkâra by Mr. J. E. Quibell; and I think one may say that the presence of this mould at that place is some confirmation of Manetho's story of the Pharaoh's untimely death at the hands of assassins, for, whereas it was probably the custom to make the portrait-statues of a king during his lifetime, the Pharaoh "sitting" to his artists for the purpose, in this case the artists had to work from a death-mask, a fact which indicates that his end had suddenly come upon him before the statues for his mortuary temple had been executed. It is the face,

one may suppose, of a man of not more than 30 years of age; and thus it would seem that he ascended the throne while he was in his first manhood. He could hardly have been, then, a conquering usurper; and it seems more probable that he was a princely candidate, put forward by a powerful faction, at a time when there was no male heir to the throne. I must point out, of course, that the identification of the death-mask is not absolutely certain; but it is unlikely that such a mask would have been made of the features of anybody but the king, and both the place in which it was found and the likeness of the face to that of the bronze statue of the next king (p. 226) pretty well determine its identity.

Previous to this time it appears that there had always been two High Priests of the god Ptah at Memphis; but this Pharaoh suppressed one of these, and appointed a certain Sabu Thety as sole High Priest (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 84). Another High Priest of Ptah in this reign was named Sabu Ibebi: he tells us in his mortuary inscription (*Urkunden*, I, 81) that he held this great office first under King Unnos and then under King Toti; and we may suppose that it was after the death of this High Priest that Toti united the two offices in the person of Sabu Thety. Sabu Ibebi says: "His Majesty (King Toti) caused that I should enter into the privy chamber, that I might set the people before him in their proper places according as I determined the precedence. Never was done the like to any minister like me by any king, for his Majesty loved me more than any minister of his, because . . . I was useful in his Majesty's presence, and found the procedure in every secret matter of the court." Here we have an indication that the new king, who, as Manetho tells us, was a native of Memphis, took a close interest in the Memphite priesthood; and it may well be that he had come to the throne through their support, for, in an inscription on a statue (Navelle, *Zeitschrift*, 1878, pl. IV), Toti adds the words "Beloved of Ptah," the god of Memphis, to his name, written within the royal cartouche. In fact, the decline of the domination of the priesthood of On seems to have been followed by the rise of the power of the priesthood

of Memphis; and as a commentary on the new state of affairs there is in the British Museum (No. 797) an inscription which is a later copy of a document of about this age, and which sets forth the Memphite faith. It tells how Ptah, the Divine Craftsman, the Vulcan of the Egyptians, was the original creator of gods and men, and how all things emanated from the mind of Ptah, even the "divine words" themselves coming into existence "by the thought of his mind and the word of his tongue." This, of course, was a quite different faith from that preached at On, where Re, the sun-god, was worshipped as the creator of all things; and since Memphis and On were within sight of one another—Memphis on the west side of the Nile, and On a few miles down-stream on the east—one can imagine that there was bitter quarrelling as the influence of the two priesthoods swung like a pendulum to and fro throughout the years. In the reign with which we are now dealing, Memphis seems evidently to have had the upper hand; but with the murder of this Pharaoh the pendulum perhaps swung back towards On, as we shall see.

The king's pyramid was erected not far from that of Unnos on the desert plateau of Sakkâra, behind Memphis, and to this it was very similar in design, the walls of the sepulchral chamber being inscribed with religious texts much like those of Unnos. The pyramid was plundered in ancient times by robbers who smashed up the royal mummy, leaving only an arm and shoulder to be found by the modern excavators. These fragments of the body show signs of hasty and insufficient embalming, a fact which is in accord with the statement that the king was murdered. Of other relics of this reign there are but few. I found the king's name inscribed upon a rock at Tomâs, in Lower Nubia, which shows that his agents visited that country; there is an almost obliterated decree found in the ruins of Ebod (Abydos), (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xvii) in which reference is made to certain land bequeathed to Osiris, and the name of a great noble of that part of the country, Sesi-nekeu, is given; a stone door-lintel inscribed with his Hawk-name was discovered at Memphis (Petrie, *Memphis*, I, iii); and two or three inscribed vases and small objects are known.

DYN. VI, 2. USERKERE ATHUTHI
2579-2574 B.C.

The murdered king left behind him a young son, so it seems, who afterwards came to the throne as Phiops or Piop Meryre; but the crown was seized at the moment by a personage who took the name Userkere, "Mighty is the Spirit of Re," and who may well have been raised to power by the faction which had brought about the overthrow of the last king. Indeed, the name taken by the new monarch is decidedly Heliopolitan in character; and it may be that the murdered king had fallen a victim to the struggle between the two priesthods. In the Abydos List this name is recorded next after that of Toti; but the Sakkâra List omits it, as does Manetho also, which indicates that at Memphis he was regarded as a usurper. No other mention of the name has been found; but belonging to this period there is an inscription in the quarries of Wady Hammamât giving a royal name which is probably the personal name of this Userkere. It is spelt with the three signs *i*, *t*, and *y*, and is generally read Ity; but similar groups of signs in the First Dynasty read Athuthi, and it is probable that this was still the reading. The inscription at Hammamât was written on the "second day of the fourth month of the season of Akhe, in the year of the first occurrence of the numbering," by which is probably meant the second year of the reign (since the first year of the reign, according to the Egyptian method of reckoning, included the 6 months and 21 days up to the previous king's death); and in 2578 B.C. this would have corresponded to about July 7th, a time of year when the heat at the quarries is intense, and when work would hardly have been undertaken there unless the need of haste had been great. The inscription goes on to say that on that date an expedition consisting of 200 soldiers and 200 workmen arrived there to carry out quarrying work in connection with the erection of the king's pyramid, presumably at Sakkâra. Doubtless the directors of the building operations were anxious to get a good supply of stone delivered at Sakkâra in November, when the floods would be out, and the transport by raft

or boat to the edge of the desert itself would be possible ; and therefore the expedition was despatched in the height of summer, so that three or four good months of work might be put in.

It looks as though Userkere had felt very insecure upon his throne, and had been eager to complete his pyramid at top speed, lest death should overtake him and find him unprepared. As a matter of fact he reigned 6 years, which was ample time in which to build a small pyramid ; but, significantly enough, all traces of it have now vanished, and we only know its empty name : " Fame of Athuthi." The length of this reign—6 years—is arrived at by a simple calculation. The next king did not recognize the reign of Userkere, and, incorporating the years of the usurper's reign in his own, he has left us an instance of double reckoning, his " Year after the 18th numbering " (i.e. the year which, after the next census, would have become the year of the 19th numbering) being equivalent to his " year of the 25th numbering," for the " 1st occurrence of the Jubilee " is recorded under both these dates. Userkere's 1st numbering was held in his 2nd year, and therefore his 5th numbering was held in his 6th year, and his 6th numbering in his incompleting 7th year which, on his death, became the 1st year of the next king. The latter king's 1st numbering thus took place in the 2nd year of the new reign, and the 19th numbering in the 20th year of the reign. The 6 numberings under the disowned Userkere were then added to the 19, and thus the " year after the 18th numbering," i.e. the year, presently, of the 19th numbering, became also " the year of the 25th numbering." Thus Userkere's reign is shown to have lasted in all probability 6 years. I will discuss this point in more detail presently.

DYN. VI, 3. PHIOP : PIOP (PEPY) MERYRE
2573-2554 B.C.

On the death or dethronement of the usurper, a king succeeded to the throne, whose name is spelt with the sign *p* written twice, and the sign *y* or *i*, the group being gener-

ally read Pepy. But Manetho gives it as Phio(s) or Phiop(s), the *p* having softened into *ph* in his time, and it will therefore be best to follow him, and to call this king Piop rather than Pepy. The probability is that he was the son of the assassinated King Toti, for a comparison of his portrait on Plate XV with the death-mask of Toti on the same plate shows a strong likeness between the two; and in the Sak-kâra List and in Manetho his name follows that of Toti, Userkere being ignored as a usurper. Piop may well have been some 12 or 14 years of age at his father's death, for, as I have said, the latter seems to have died at about 30 years of age, and the marriage of an Egyptian youth of royal blood generally took place very early in life—in the Eighteenth Dynasty at 12 or 14, and, in these remoter times, probably at about 16. Piop, therefore, may have been a man of about 20 years of age when at last, 6 years later, he came to the throne; and it would seem that he regarded himself as having been the rightful king ever since his father's death, and that now he ignored the 6 years of the usurper's dominion and dated his reign from the year in which Toti was murdered. In just the same way Armais, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ignored his predecessors' reigns, and dated his accession from the death of the last king whom he regarded as legitimate.

I lay stress upon this point because there is the inscription, to which I have just referred, which records what must be about the 26th year of the reign of this King Piop; but the Turin Papyrus, on the contrary, states the length of the reign as 20 years, and Egyptologists have seen in this an indication that the Turin Papyrus is in error. I think, however, that the figure is, actually, quite correct, and that the explanation of the discrepancy is, as I say, simply that in this case the king ignored the illegal reign of Userkere, and dated the years of his reign from the death of his father. The inscription in question is to be seen in the alabaster quarry behind Tell el-Amârna, and records quarrying works in the reign of this Piop Meryre, "in the year of the 25th occurrence (of the 'numbering')," which was also the year of "the first occurrence of the Jubilee." These "numberings," i.e. the census, took place every year

in some reigns ; and, therefore, as I have explained on pages 16 and 223, this would seem to be the 26th year of the reign. But in Sinai and the Wady Hammamât there are inscriptions recording expeditions to those regions in this same reign, and these are dated "in the year after the 18th occurrence (of the 'numbering')," in the year of "the first occurrence of the Jubilee." Now the reference to the Jubilee in each case proves that the year after the 18th "numbering" according to one reckoning was the year of the 25th "numbering" according to another reckoning ; and this shows, I think conclusively, that Piop regarded himself as having really been the rightful king during the 6 years of his predecessor's reign, and that while some of the official records dated his years from his actual accession, others dated them from the death of his father, thereby bringing about a double numbering which placed his jubilee in a year which was both the 20th and the 26th of the reign, according to the system of reckoning employed. The Turin Papyrus recorded the 6 years of the usurper's occupation of the throne (though the figure is now lost) and therefore quite correctly gave only 20 years to the reign of Piop. The jubilee, in this case, must have celebrated the completion of the 30-years' period since Piop was proclaimed heir to the throne, about 6 years before the death of his father, when he himself was perhaps a child of some 6 or 8 years of age.

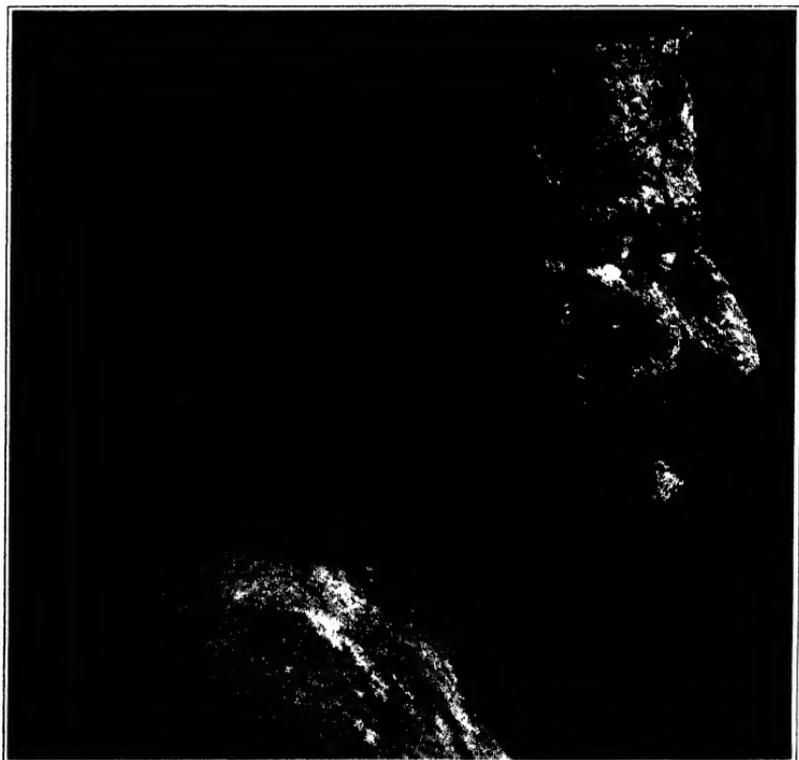
On ascending the throne as "Reed and Hornet," or King of Upper and Lower Egypt, he took the name Meryre, "Beloved of Re" ; and in front of his name Piop he added the phrase "Son of the Sun-god (Re)" just as Toti and other of his predecessors had done, thereby conciliating the Heliopolitan priesthood. As Hawk-king he assumed the name Mery-toui, "Beloved of the Two Lands," and as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he called himself Mery-Khet, "Beloved of the Community." A lady named Imtes, who is called "the Great Royal Wife," seems to have been his first queen, but, as will presently be related, legal proceedings were taken against her following a domestic scandal, and although the result of the action is not known, it is to be presumed that she forfeited her position. A second queen, who perhaps took her place, was named Meryre-

enkhnes or alternatively Piop-enkhnes ; and the fact that the king's name Meryre or Piop forms part of the name of this lady indicates that she had been born during his reign, for it was not unusual thus to incorporate a Pharaoh's name in those of children born in his time. She may have come into the world in the 1st or 2nd year after the king's accession, and may have been wedded to him in about the 13th or 14th year of his reign, when she was some 12 or 13 years of age—the usual age at which a girl in ancient Egypt was married. Her father was a prince named Khui, her mother was the lady Nebt, and she had a sister, perhaps her twin, who, according to a frequent Egyptian custom, had exactly the same name as herself, and a brother named Theu, afterwards Prime Minister, all these being recorded on a tablet found at Abydos (Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 523) ; and we are there told that the family belonged to the Thinite province in which Abydos was situated. This young queen presented the Pharaoh with a son, called Mehtiemsuf, who must have been a child of about 6 or 7 years of age at his father's death, and, as we shall see, he came to the throne, but died 4 years later, at about the age of 11 years. Queen Meryre-enkhnes seems to have died soon after the birth of this son, whereupon King Meryre Piop married her sister, who had the same name ; and this lady also presented him with a son called Piop, who was only 2 years old when his father died, and was 6 years of age when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder half-brother ; but he lived, as we shall see, to the great age of 96 years or so, for his reign is recorded as having lasted 90 years—the longest in Egyptian history.

A magnificent statue of this first Piop with whose reign we are now dealing, was found by Mr. Quibell at Hieraconpolis, the ancient capital of the Hawk-kings (Plate XV). It is made of copper, and was originally some 6 feet in height. It shows the Pharaoh standing, with left leg advanced, and holding in his right hand a long staff ; he is nude except for the usual kilt or skirt about his loins, and originally he was wearing a crown, but this has now been lost ; the eyes are inlaid in the copper, being made of



DEATH MASK, PROBABLY OF THE PHARAOH OTHOES (TOTI OR TETI) OF
THE SIXTH DYNASTY.
Found near his pyramid at Sakkara. (From Quibell's *Excavations at Sakkara*.)
See page 219



HEAD OF A BRONZE STATUE OF THE PHARAOH PHIOPS (PTOP OR PE₂PEY
MERYRE).

obsidian and white limestone ; and the features of the face show a very marked resemblance to those of the king's father, Toti, as seen in his death-mask. With the statue a smaller figure of a naked little infant prince was found ; and this, no doubt, represents the elder of the two sons, Mehtiemsuf, when he was some 6 or 7 years of age : that is to say, the statues were made in about the 20th or last year of King Piop's reign, perhaps as a memento of his jubilee.

The country appears to have been very prosperous at this time, and an immense amount of building was undertaken throughout the land. At Thoan or Zoan (Tanis) and Pebast (Bubastis), in the Delta, remains of temple gateways dating from this reign have been found ; at On Pliny states that this king erected an obelisk ; at Ebod (Abydos) he rebuilt the temple, and besides various blocks of stone from this edifice, vases, glazed tablets, and other objects have been found here ; at Tontorer (Denderah) he rebuilt the temple of the goddess Hathor, if we may rely on a later inscription which tells us that in this reign the plan of the earlier and then ruined temple at that place was found in the royal archives, drawn upon hide, King Piop thus being able to restore it in its original form ; at Qeḫt (Koptos) he rebuilt or enlarged the temple of the local god Min ; at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis) he seems to have conducted various works ; and at Ieḫo (Elephantine) just below the First Cataract, a granite shrine of his reign has been discovered. Mention has already been made of inscriptions in the alabaster quarries of Hetnub, near Tell el-Amârna in Middle Egypt ; in the Wady Hammamât, in the Eastern Desert, where the much admired breccia was worked ; and in Sinai whence copper and malachite were obtained. There are also rock-inscriptions at Nekheb (El Kâb) at the head of the road to the gold-mines ; at Silsileh, that sacred spot upon the Nile, where the river flows through a narrow gorge ; at Ieḫo (Elephantine) ; on the island of Sehêl, amidst the rushing waters of the First Cataract ; and at Tomâs, in Lower Nubia, near the southern end of the desert highroad from Elephantine. Thus there seems to have been a display of great activity from end to end of Egypt at

this time, the cause of which may perhaps be attributed to the fact that powerful princely families now seem to have been established in the various provincial capitals, each prince ruling his province as a sort of vassal of the Pharaoh, and taking a personal interest in its prosperity, in the aggrandisement of its cities and temples, and in the development of its industries. The Sixth Dynasty, in fact, is often described as Egypt's feudal age, these provincial princes being compared to the great Barons in Norman England, and the parallel is not amiss; but of course it is to be remembered that in Egypt there was a far greater degree of subordination and even obsequiousness on the part of these great nobles towards the throne than ever there was in England, for whereas the Norman sovereign was God's anointed, the Pharaoh was a god himself, a son of the sun-god.

In dealing with the reign of the first king of this dynasty, mention was made of a certain Uni, a young man who was not more than 20 years of age at that monarch's death. Six years later, on the accession of the Pharaoh of whom we are now treating, this Uni must thus have been about 26 years old, and in his biographical inscription he tells us that King Piop appointed him as one of the minor priests of his pyramid, an appointment which could not have taken place much before Uni was 32 years of age or so, since the pyramid would hardly have been ready for its priests before that time. A few years later, perhaps, when he was about 40, the Pharaoh made him a judge, and soon Uni could proudly declare that it was he who "heard" cases of the most private kind, sitting alone with the Prime Minister, because the king loved him more than he did any other official of the court. Later he was appointed Chief Steward of the royal household, in which capacity, he tells us, he had to direct all court functions, arrange all the Pharaoh's journeys, and make all the royal appointments.

The Pharaoh then began to treat him as a confidant, and thus it is that we hear about the scandal in the royal *harim*, to which I have already referred. Uni's words are: "When legal proceedings were instituted *in camera* in the *harim*, against the Great Royal Wife, Imtes, his Majesty

caused me to enter and to hear the case alone. No Chief Justice, nor Prime Minister, nor prince at all was there, but only I alone, because I was worthy, because I was acceptable to the heart of his Majesty, because his Majesty loved me. I alone was the one who then set down the case in writing, together with a single judge, although my office was only that of Chief Steward of the Royal Household. Never before had one in my position heard the private affairs of the royal *harim*, and yet the king caused me to hear them, because I was more worthy in the opinion of his Majesty than any other official or noble or courtier of his." Unfortunately this is all we know of the scandal; but perhaps the fact that it was mentioned by Uni at all, and was not completely suppressed, may indicate that it was not of so disgraceful a character as our immodest minds would suggest to us. Indeed, it is quite possible that the lady's only fault was that she had failed to bear the king a son, and was divorced in consequence; for, as has been already related, he afterwards took to himself another wife, and was succeeded on the throne by the son she presented to him.

Uni now became the Pharaoh's most trusted servant and friend, and from this time until the king's death, his powers of organization were utilized by his royal master in a series of military campaigns. "His Majesty made war on the Asiatic desert-peoples," says Uni, "and his Majesty raised an army of many ten thousands: throughout the entire South (i.e. Upper Egypt), southwards as far as Iebo (Elephantine) and northwards as far as Debu (Aphroditopolis); and also in the North (i.e. Lower Egypt), throughout both sides (of the Delta); and in 'the Stronghold' (by which a certain fortress in the Eastern Delta is probably meant); and in the strongholds amongst the Irthet tribes, the Mazoi tribes, and the Yam tribes (these being negro peoples, the two latter probably from the region above the Second Cataract in the northern part of the Sudan); and amongst the Wawat tribes, and the Keu tribes (i.e. the peoples of Lower Nubia); and in the land of Temeh (i.e. the western Oases). His Majesty sent me at the head of this army. While the nobles, the bearers of the royal seal, the peers

of the palace, the provincial princes, the governors of the fortresses of the South and North, the royal companions, the caravan-masters, the chief priests of the South and North, the stewards of the royal estates, were each at the head of some detachment from the South or North, or of the fortresses or cities which they commanded, or of the negroes of those countries, I was the one who made for them the plan (of campaign), although my office was only that of Chief Steward of the Royal Household ; and (owing to my good organization) not one of them quarrelled (?) with his neighbour, not one of them robbed the passer by of his bread or sandals, not one of them stole food from any town, not one of them took a goat from any villages."

Uni is here so elated by the success of his administration that he breaks into song : " This army returned in safety : it had hacked up the land of the Desert-dwellers. This army returned in safety : it had destroyed the land of the Desert-dwellers. This army returned in safety : it had demolished its fortresses. This army returned in safety : it had cut down its fig-trees and its vines. This army returned in safety : it had set fire to all its dwellings. This army returned in safety : it had slaughtered their soldiers to the number of many ten thousands. This army returned in safety : it brought back therefrom a great multitude of living prisoners of war. His Majesty praised me on this account more than for everything else." Uni then goes on to say that five times the remnant of these Desert-peoples showed signs of revolt, and five times he marched through their country at the head of his troops in order to frighten them into submission : this being probably a more or less annual demonstration made each cool-season during the remainder of the king's reign. Just before the Pharaoh's death, hostilities were opened by a tribe inhabiting the country north of the land of the Desert-dwellers ; and Uni says : " I crossed over in troopships with the army, and sailed to the back of the height of the ridge on the north of the Desert-dwellers, and when this army had been landed, I came and struck at the enemy, and every combatant amongst them was slain." This campaign may have taken place in the highlands of southern Palestine, or perhaps the

locality was the high ground at Akaba, beyond the Sinai peninsula. Uni lived on into the next reign, and we shall presently read of him again.

King Piop died after a reign of 20 years, when he was not more than 40 years of age or thereabouts. The pyramid which he had built for himself was erected at Sakkâra, in the desert behind Memphis. It was called *Men-nofre*, "The well-established (or, sometimes, "Meryre is well-established"), which is the same name as that of the city of Memphis itself; and it is an open question whether the city was originally called by this name, "the well-established city," at its foundation in the First Dynasty, as I have stated on page 106, the pyramid being named after it, "The well-established Pyramid," or whether the pyramid with its surrounding buildings came to be in itself a place of such importance that ultimately its name was used to signify the whole city. The pyramid is of the same type as those of Unnos and Toti, but the length of each side at the base is 240 feet (Perring), which is considerably more than that of the other two. The walls of the chambers inside were inscribed with religious texts similar to those of Unnos and Toti. It was entered by robbers in ancient times, who broke open the black basalt sarcophagus, and destroyed the king's mummy, only a few fragments of the body being found when the tomb was cleared in 1881. A small pink granite box, containing alabaster "canopic" jars, was found in the burial chamber.

Besides the relics of this reign already mentioned, there are a few scarabs and cylinder-seals, some inscribed vases, and two or three other small objects. At Byblos, on the Syrian sea-coast, vases inscribed with the name of this king and also with that of the second Piop have been found (*Ancient Egypt*, 1923, iv, 115).

DYN. VI, 4. METHUSUPH: MERENRE MEHTIEMSUF
2553-2550 B.C.

The little prince, Mehtiemsuf, aged about 7 years, succeeded to the throne; but, as so often happens in the Orient in the case of the firstborn of a mother who is her-

self only a child, the boy seems to have been sickly. His name, which means "The god Mehti is his protection," is given by Manetho as Methusuph(is); but on ascending the throne of the Reed and Hornet he took the name Merenre, and added the now customary phrase "Son of the sun-god" in front of his name Mehtiemsuf. As Hawk-king, and also as Lord of the Vulture and Cobra, he was called Enkh-kheu, "Living in his Ascension," a name constructed like that of Dadkere Sisi and several other monarchs of the Fifth Dynasty, which perhaps suggests that either through his mother or paternal grandmother he was descended from those kings. Both in the Sakkâra and the Abydos List he appears as the next king after Piop, under the name Merenre.

That energetic official, Uni, of whose career in the previous reign we have already read, was promoted by the infant Pharaoh to be Master of the Royal Footstool and Bearer of the King's Sandals, and was given the important governorship of the South-country, from Debu (Aphroditopolis) in Middle Egypt to Iebo (Elephantine) at the First Cataract, these then being the limits of South Egypt. In this capacity, he says, "his Majesty praised me for the care and vigilance which I showed in the audience-hall, (placing me) above his every official, above his every noble, above his every minister. . . . As Governor of the South I behaved to his satisfaction, and not one therein quarrelled with his neighbour. I carried out every work (entrusted to me); I numbered everything that was to be counted for the court twice (i.e. twice conducted the census). . . ."

Work on the king's pyramid and tomb, called *Khe-nefer*, "(Merenre) Shines and is Beautiful," was begun at once on his accession, and Uni says: "His Majesty dispatched me to Ibhet (a quarry apparently near Aswân) to obtain the (royal) sarcophagus (which was to be named) "Coffer of the Living," together with its lid, and the costly and magnificent pyramidion (or pyramid-cap, which was to serve as the crown) for the pyramid (called) "Merenre Shines and is Beautiful," and (other articles for the tomb) of the queen. Then his Majesty sent me to the Elephantine (quarries) to procure a false-door of granite, together with its altar, and

the fittings of granite, and also to procure doorways and altars of granite for the upper chamber of the pyramid of the queen. Then I sailed down-stream to the pyramid, with 6 cargo-boats, 3 towing-boats, and 3 other boats, but only one ship of war, (though) Ibhet and Iebo (Elephantine) had never before been visited with only one ship of war in the time of any kings; but whatsoever his Majesty commanded me, that I carried out, exactly as his Majesty commanded me." By this Uni means to say that the granite quarries at the First Cataract had generally been regarded as a region open to attack from the south, but that now, thanks to his successful governorship of the upper country, it was not necessary to have more than a nominal escort. The queen here mentioned was undoubtedly the king's mother, the first Meryre-enkhnés, for the Pharaoh was himself too young to have had a wife; and her small pyramid-tomb was perhaps situated close to the larger pyramid of her son.

"His Majesty then sent me," Uni proceeds, "to (the alabaster quarries of) Hetnub" (behind the modern Tell el-Amârna) "to procure a great altar of durable stone. I brought down this altar for him (from the quarry to the river-bank) after only 17 days (had been occupied in) having it quarried in Hetnub, and I caused it to go down-stream in this cargo-boat (of which the description follows). I built for him this vessel of acacia-wood, 60 cubits in length and 30 cubits in breadth: it was built in only (this same) 17 days; in the 3rd month of the 3rd season; and although there was no flood-water on the fields (?) I arrived in safety at the pyramid, the whole undertaking being carried out by my hand, according to the orders which the majesty of my lord had issued to me." As I have already pointed out on page 38, the above-mentioned season of the year corresponded at this time to our February, when, of course, there are no floods on the fields across which the load could be floated, and therefore it would have had to be dragged over the dry ground by hand. "His Majesty then sent me," Uni continues, "to dig five channels (or fairways through the cataracts) in the south, and to make 3 cargo-boats and 4 tow-boats of acacia wood from Wawat (part

of Lower Nubia) ; but the negro chieftains of Irthet, Wawat, Yam, and Mazoi brought in the timber for it, and I carried out the whole undertaking in only one year, the vessels being launched and loaded with very large blocks of granite for the pyramid."

Uni's own tomb was situated in the desert behind the twin cities of Ebod (Abydos) and Theni (Thinis), the home of Egypt's early kings ; and this biographical inscription was written upon a wall in its outer chapel, where it could be read by visitors to the necropolis. His sarcophagus, false-door, altar, and other tomb-fittings necessary to a peaceful demise, had been presented to him, so he tells us, by the late King Piop, as a token of affection and esteem, and had been made of white limestone specially quarried from the cliffs on the east bank of the Nile opposite Memphis, and transported to Abydos " in a large ship belonging to the court." The tomb was finished, no doubt, by the end of the reign of Piop, and the biographical inscription must have been added towards the close of the brief reign of Merenre. Uni must then have been a man of about 50 years of age ; but whether he died shortly after this, or whether he lived on to enjoy greater honours under the next Pharaoh, cannot now be said. His tomb was ready for him ; and, as is usually the case in ancient Egypt, where the preparing of a comfortable sepulchre was a successful man's first indulgence, the recorded story of his life ends at that point.

Uni, however, is not the only personage of this period who has left us a story of his deeds. There was a learned priest, who was also a caravan-master, called Herkhuf, who lived with his father, a priest named Iri, in the island city of Iebo or Elephantine, just below the First Cataract, which was Egypt's southern frontier ; and this Herkhuf later rose to be Governor of the South, perhaps in succession to Uni, and was ultimately buried on the slope of a desert-hill by the river-side, over against Elephantine, in a rock-cut tomb, on one of the walls of which he caused his brief biography to be inscribed. He begins the tale with a recital of some of his good qualities, such as would be likely to impress later visitors to his sepulchre, and would

inspire them to say a prayer for his soul, and at the same time would deter any unscrupulous person in the years to come from appropriating the sepulchre for his own use—a danger to which every Egyptian knew that his body would ultimately be exposed, after he and his family had faded from men's memory.

“ In my day,” he says, “ I came from (this) my city (of Elephantine) ; I was descended (?) from (the people of this) my province. (It was there that) I built my house, and set up its doors ; dug a lake (in its garden), and planted trees (around it). The king praised me ; my father made a will in my favour ; I was a man of worth, (beloved of) his father, blessed by his mother, one whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked ; and I ferried him who possessed no boat ”—a kindly act which at the present day, even as in ancient times, is much appreciated by the poor who live on this island, when they desire to cross the river to the age-old market-town of Aswân on the eastern bank of the Nile. “ O, you living, who are upon earth, you who pass by this tomb on your journey down-stream or up-stream, who shall pray ‘ May a thousand loaves of bread and a thousand jugs of beer (be granted) to the owner of this tomb (in the spirit-world),’ I will intercede on your behalf in heaven, I, who am a worthy and competent spirit, (once) a learned priest, whose mouth (therefore) knows (how to make intercession for you). As for any man who (in the years to come) shall enter into this tomb (to take it) as his sepulchre, I will pounce upon him as upon a bird, and he shall be judged for it by the great God ; for I was one who spoke pleasant things and repeated (only) what was agreeable. Never did I tell to a man in power anything evil against any other persons, nor say anything in such a way that a son was deprived of his father's inheritance ; for I desired that it might be well with me (in the day of judgment) in the presence of the great God.”

After this preamble he tells of some of the great events of his life. “ The majesty of Merenre, my lord, sent me, together with my father, to the land of Yam ” (far up in the south near the Second Cataract), “ in order to lay out

a highroad (across the desert) to this country. I made it in only seven months, and I brought back all (manner of) gifts from (those regions), for which I was very greatly praised. His Majesty then sent me a second time, alone. I set out upon the Elephantine road (across the desert), and I returned (by the Nile valley) through Irthet, Mekher, Tereres, and Irtheth, in a matter of eight months, bringing back from this region gifts in very great quantity. Never before was the like brought to this land of (Egypt). I returned by way of the (actual) dwelling-place of the Chieftain of Sethu and Irthet, after I had opened up these countries. Never had any official or caravan-master who made the journey to Yam, done this before"—that is to say, earlier explorers had followed the desert caravan-routes and had given a wide berth to the towns and villages on the banks of the Nile, in those regions where the negro inhabitants were believed to be hostile. "His Majesty now sent me a third time to the land of Yam, and I went forth upon the Oasis road," that is to say, the road which leads to the little Oasis of Kurkur in the Western Desert, and thence branches north-westwards to the large Oasis of El-Khârgeh, and southwards to Lower Nubia and the upper reaches of the Nile. " (At the junction at Kurkur) I found that the Chieftain of Yam was marching to the land of Temeh (i.e. the Oasis of El Khârgeh) to smite Temeh, (so he said), as far as the western corner-post of the canopy of heaven," or, in other words, to knock them clean out of the world. " Thereupon I went after him towards the land of Temeh, and I calmed him down, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake." Obviously, it would not have been conducive to Egyptian interests to allow this negro chieftain from the south to conquer the Oasis, and it was therefore a wise move to promise him redress for any wrongs under which he might feel himself to be smarting, and to persuade him to return to his own country of Yam, which, by the way, could hardly have been situated much further south than the Second Cataract, since the fighting men of that country could march to attack the people of the Oases; for if Yam had been situated far up in the Sudan, as is generally supposed, a quarrel with the

people of the Oases would have been unlikely, and a campaign against them impossible. A messenger was sent " to inform the majesty of Merenre, my lord, that I had gone after the Chieftain of Yam, and when I had pacified that Chieftain of Yam (I descended with him to the river) below Irthet and above Sethu, where I met the Chieftain of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat (and we then proceeded southwards to the land of Yam). I returned (later, from Yam) with 300 donkeys loaded with incense, ebony, grain, panther-skins, ivory, and every valuable product ; and when the Chieftain of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat saw how strong and numerous was the escort (of the men) of Yam which returned with me to the court, and my own soldiers who had been sent with me, this personage brought to me and gave me (a present of) bulls and small cattle, and escorted me by the tracks across the desert highlands of Irthet, because (he realized that) I was more important and more resolute than any noble or caravan-master who had been sent to Yam before. Now, as I was returning to the court, the Pharaoh sent (a relief party under) his Master of the Bath, (named) Khuni, up-stream (to meet me), with a ship laden with date-wine, cakes, bread, and beer," in case the expedition should have run short of provisions ; and thus the dangerous enterprise was brought to a successful conclusion.

The expeditions under Uni and Herkhuf having so impressed the natives of Lower Nubia, it was thought wise that the boy-Pharaoh, Merenre, should go himself in state to Aswân and the southern frontier of Egypt, in order to show himself in all his glory to the leading men of those regions ; and the royal journey southwards was undertaken in the winter of 2549 B.C. The negro chieftains were assembled on the eastern bank of the Nile, within sound of the First Cataract, and there, on the rocks, two inscriptions were cut, recording the meeting, and a figure of the king was drawn, representing him leaning upon his staff and receiving the chieftains. The first inscription reads : " The coming of the king himself, standing behind the hills of the desert, while the Chieftains of Mazoi, Irthet and Wawat, did obeisance and loudly uttered their praise " ;

and the second inscription reads: "The coming of the king himself, appearing behind the hills of the desert, that he might see (all) that which is amidst those hills." The king is called "the Beloved of the god Khnum, Lord of the Cataract," and the date is given as "Year 5, second month of the third season, day 28," which, in 2549 B.C., corresponded to our January 22nd, the coolest time of year in which to visit this sun-bathed region. Merenre, however, was at that time a delicate boy of about 11 years of age; and it seems that the fatigues of the journey proved fatal to him. The 5th year of his reign would have ended at a date corresponding to our March 4th; but he did not live to see the close of that year. He died, I suppose, on the return journey to Memphis; and thus the Turin Papyrus records his reign as having lasted only 4 full years, though actually, as we see, the 5th year was nearly completed when he collapsed and died. His pyramid, smashed up by robbers in ancient times, was opened in 1880. In it was found the sarcophagus of black granite—that same sarcophagus, called "Coffer of the Living," which was quarried at Ibhet, near Aswân, under the direction of Uni, as related in that personage's biographical inscription, recorded above; and in the same burial-chamber the king's mummy was discovered, stripped by the robbers of all its embalming bandages, but in fairly good preservation, though the lower jaw had been broken away. This body, now in the Cairo Museum, is that of a young boy; and on the side of the head is still to be seen the lock of hair which was the distinguishing mark of a youth not yet grown to maturity.

Of other remains of this Pharaoh, there is a rock-inscription at Aswân, dated in the 4th year of his reign (Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, 81); another rock-inscription at Wady Hammamât, which shows that the quarries were worked there in his time; a fragment from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, which indicates that he added to, or restored, that building; a few vases; an ivory box; and the canopic jars from his burial.

DYN. VI, 5. PHIOP : PIOP (PEPY) NEFERKERE
2549-2460 B.C.

Consternation must have reigned when the young Pharaoh Merenre died, for the heir to the throne was his younger half-brother, a boy of only 6 years of age (as Manetho records) ; and in the Orient an infant sovereign is a poor guarantee of peace and stability in the kingdom. However, so firmly established was the royal line in the esteem of the nobles that this little child was successfully placed upon the throne, and there is no evidence that any untoward incident occurred. These quiet conditions may have been due, perhaps, to the influence of Prince Theu, the brother of the two queens, Meryre-enkhnes, and uncle, therefore, of the infant king ; for, in his mortuary inscription (Mariette, *Catalogue général d' Abydos*, 523), this prince tells us that he was held in high honour both during the reign of the first Piop, who had married his two sisters, and also in the reign of Merenre, his nephew, and that now, under the second Piop, he came to hold the great position of Chief Justice and Prime Minister. It is true that there is nothing to show that he had yet attained to this high office, and, since his second sister, the Queen-Mother, was still a young woman of some 24 years of age, he himself was probably not more than 35 or so, at most, at this time ; but it is likely, at any rate, that he was already a personage to be reckoned with, and that he devoted such power as he possessed to the interests of his sister and her royal son, on whose security his own position depended.

The new king was given the now customary title, " Son of the sun-god," to be used in front of his personal name, Piop ; and as Reed- and Hornet-king he was called Neferkere, " Beautiful is the Spirit of the Sun-god," while as Hawk-king and Lord of the Vulture and Cobra he was named Neter-Kheu " Divine in his Ascension," and as Hawk of Nubi he was called Sekhem " Ruler." During the early years of his reign his mother must have acted for him ; and in a rock-tablet at the quarries in Sinai, dated in the year of the second " numbering," we find her figure, but not his, represented, and the inscription, after giving

his names and titles, records hers as "The King's Mother ; officiating at the pyramid (called) 'Neferkere is established as a living-being' (i.e. the pyramid of the new Pharaoh, then in course of construction) ; wife of the (late) king (Piop Meryre) ; his Beloved ; officiating at the pyramid (called) 'Meryre is well-established' : Meryre-enkhnes, whom all the gods love." The phrase "officiating at the pyramid" is literally "belonging to the pyramid," but I do not quite understand it : it seems, at any rate, that there was virtue in the fact that she was connected in some sort of titular capacity with the two pyramids—those of her late husband, and that of her son. On the mortuary tablet of her brother, Prince Theu, her figure is represented, and she is called "Wife of the (late) King (Piop Meryre) ; officiating at the pyramid (called) 'Meryre is well-established' ; very amiable ; very favoured ; Daughter of God ; great in possessions ; Companion of the Hawk-king ; the King's Mother ; officiating at the pyramid (called) 'Neferkere is established as a living-being' : Meryre-enkhnes." On this same tablet of Prince Theu, the figure of her sister, the other Meryre-enkhnes, is also shown, with similar titles, but with the pyramid of her son Merenre mentioned instead of that of Neferkere, her sister's son. It may be thought, perhaps, that these two queens are really one and the same person ; but this is contradicted firstly by the fact that Theu calls himself "*their* brother," not "*her* brother," and secondly by a decree found in the temple of Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos* II, xix), where reference is made to a statue of Prince Theu, another statue of Meryre-enkhnes, "of the pyramid of Neferkere," and a third and separate statue of the other Meryre-enkhnes "of the pyramid of Merenre."

In the last reign we have read of the doings of Herkhuf, the caravan-master who had explored the little-known regions of Lower Nubia. It seems that he made a fourth journey to the land of Yam, perhaps setting out immediately after King Merenre's visit to Aswân on January 22nd, when the negro chieftains had paid their homage. The death of Merenre shortly after that event converted that year, which was the 5th of Merenre's reign, into the 1st of the reign of Piop Neferkere, for such was the Egyptian method of

reckoning in calendar years (see p. 24). That year ended on March 4th, while Herkhuf was in Yam, and it was several weeks later, in the 2nd year of the new king's reign, that this bold caravan-master arrived back in Egypt, probably about the middle of May, when the weather is becoming intensely hot. No doubt he had originally planned to set out on his expedition earlier in the winter, so as to be home again in the coolness of his house and garden before the summer began; but probably the coming of the late Pharaoh to Aswân in January had delayed his start. He brought back with him from the Sudan a pigmy or dwarf who had been trained to dance, and as soon as he arrived he sent a letter to the court notifying his new and youthful sovereign of the fact. The boy-Pharaoh was now but 6 or 7 years old, and his childish excitement was great on hearing of the arrival in Egypt of this curious little creature. He therefore dictated, no doubt with his mother's help, a letter to Herkhuf, telling him to bring the pigmy at once to the palace at Memphis; and Herkhuf so prized this letter that he caused it to be inscribed upon the façade of his tomb, so that it might be read in the years to come by those who visited his sepulchre. The royal letter is one of the most human documents remaining to us from the ancient world, and vividly reveals the personality of the small boy who now wore the crown of the Pharaohs. It is dated "Year 2, 3rd month of the 1st season, day 15," which, at this period, corresponded to about June 13th, the hottest season of the year, when most of the day had to be spent indoors behind shuttered windows, and time must have hung heavy upon the royal hands. The letter reads as follows:—

"I have noted the contents of your letter which you sent to (me), the king, at the palace, in order that I might know that you have returned in safety from Yam with the troops which were with you. You have said in your letter that you have brought numerous rich and beautiful gifts, which the goddess Hathor, Lady of Imeu (a part of Yam?) has granted to me, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives forever and ever. You have (also) said in your letter that you have brought back from the Land of Ghosts (the old name for the unknown territories

south of Egypt) a pigmy of (the kind employed there in) the dances of (their) god, like the pigmy which the keeper of the Sacred Treasury, Beurded, brought back from the land of Pount in the time of King Sesi. You have said to my majesty : ' Never before has one like him been brought by any other who has reached Yam.' (I have heard how) each year you are doing that which your lord wishes and approves, and (how) you spend day and night with your caravans in carrying out that which your lord wishes, approves, or commands ; (and therefore) my majesty will bestow on you many high honours which will be the enjoyment of your descendants for ever, so that all people, when they hear what my majesty has done for you, will say : ' Is there anything like this which was done for Herkhuf, when he returned from Yam ? It was because of the zeal he displayed in doing that which his lord wished and approved and commanded.' Come northward to the court at once, and bring with you this pigmy of the sacred dances, which you have brought alive and in good condition and health from the Land of the Ghosts, to please and delight the heart of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives forever. When he goes with you on board the ship, appoint trustworthy people who shall remain near him on each side of the vessel ; and take care that he does not fall into the water. When he sleeps at night appoint trustworthy people who shall sleep beside him in his cabin ; and make an inspection ten times a night. My majesty wants to see this pigmy more than (all) the gifts from the mines of Sinai or from the land of Pount. If, when you arrive at court, this pigmy with you is alive, and in good condition and health, my majesty will do for you a greater thing (even) than that which was done for Beurded in the time of Sisi, in conformity with the heart's (intense) desire of my majesty to see this pigmy. Orders have been sent to the governor of the New Towns, directing that the necessary supplies are to be taken from him (by you) at every store-city and every temple without stinting."

The mention in this letter of the visit to the land of Pount made by Beurded in the time of Sisi, probably refers to the expedition to that country recorded on the Palermo

Stone, which, according to my reconstruction of the Annals, took place in the 7th and last year of the reign of King Shepseskere Sisi (Manetho's Sisires) of the Fifth Dynasty, in 2686 B.C., about 137 years previously; and it is illuminating both as indicating that my arrangement of the Annals is correct (see pp. 14, 200), and also as showing how rare and renowned were these great expeditions, and how they were remembered by succeeding generations, just as we, to-day, remember the adventures of early explorers, such as Captain Cook who died in 1779. The phrase "the dances of the god," which the pigmy knew how to execute, is written in such a way that it may have the meaning "the dances of the olden days," or "in the time of the gods."

Another tomb in the desert hillside to the west of Elephantine, close to that of Herkhuf, gives us in its inscriptions another story of adventures in the lands of the south. It will be remembered that while Herkhuf had had no trouble with the negroes of Yam, who probably lived above the Second Cataract, he was nervous of the inhabitants of Irthet, Wawat and other districts of Lower Nubia—that is to say the reach of the Nile between the First Cataract at Aswan and the Second Cataract at Wady Halfa—and he says that explorers before his time had avoided this region. Here we have the biography of a certain Sebni, and though the first part of the narrative is lost, one can see from the remaining portion of the inscription that it had related how that personage's father, named Mekhu, had met his death in that hostile district, and it is to be supposed that he was murdered. The news of the tragedy was brought to Sebni at Elephantine by a ship's captain and a Nubian soldier; and, like a dutiful son, he determined to go at once in search of his father's body, so as to give it proper burial in the tomb which the murdered man had prepared for himself in the desert behind his island city. "Then I took a company of men from my estate," he says, "and 100 donkeys with me, bearing ointment, honey, linen, oil and (a variety) of clothes, in order to make presents in these countries; and thus I set out for these lands of the negroes. (But before I started, I sent) people who were at the Frontier with letters which I had written to give information (to the Pharaoh)

that I had gone to bring back my father from Wawat or Irthet. (On arriving there) I pacified these countries (by means of my gifts) and (I found my father's body) in the country, the name of which is Mether. (I then placed) the body upon a donkey, and (afterwards) I had him carried by the company of men from my estate, having made for him a (temporary) coffin. (Thus) I brought him . . . in order to take him out of these regions, nor did I ever send (for aid) or (employ) any train of negroes—on account of which I was highly congratulated. I returned by way of Uthek in Wawat, and (thence) I sent (on ahead) an official (named) Iri, with two men of my estate as (messengers to the Pharaoh), bearing incense, clothing (?), and an (elephant) tusk, 3 cubits long (instructing them) to give the information that my (best tusk) was 6 cubits long . . . and that I was bringing my father and (also) all kinds of gifts from these countries (which he had collected). Then, while I was coming down (towards Egypt) to give information (that the body and these articles were awaiting an escort ?) at the bend (of the Nile, near Korosko ?), behold, Iri arrived from the court, as I came, to receive in state (the body of my father) Mekhu. He had brought (with him) embalmers, the Chief Ritual-priest, and other funeral functionaries, mourners and all (kinds of) gifts from the White House (i.e. the Treasury of Upper Egypt) ; and he had brought ceremonial oil from the Treasury, and the secret things from the House of Purity (i.e. the king's store of funeral equipment) . . . linen of the Treasury, and all the burial equipment which is issued from the court, similar to that which was issued for (the burial of) Prince Meru (? a great personage who had recently died). Now when this Iri arrived he delivered to me a message (from the Pharaoh) to praise me on account of what I had done, and in this message it was said : ' I (the king) will do for you every excellent thing, as a reward for this great deed, because of your having brought back your father, for never has the like been done before.' I buried my father in his tomb in the necropolis, nor was one of his rank ever buried (so richly) before. Then I went northward to Memphis, bearing the gifts of these countries which my father had collected, and I there deposited every

article which my father had left, (and I did this) before my army and the negroes (who had come down with us). I was praised at the court, and I gave praise to the king because I was so greatly favoured by him. Then there was given to me a chest (made) of carob-wood, containing (jars) full of ointment; there was given to me . . . clothing; there was given to me gold; there were given to me supplies of flesh and fowl . . . there were given to me 30 *stat* of land in the North and South, from the estates belonging to the pyramid (called) 'Neferkere is established as a living-being,' in order to honour me."

Sebni was afterwards appointed Governor of the South, perhaps in succession to Herkhuf, at the latter's death. He was ultimately buried in a tomb beside that of his father Mekhu; and both these sepulchres, as well as that of Herkhuf, are now to be seen on the desert hillside on the west bank of the river, at Aswân. Near them is another tomb, in which a certain Piop-nakht was buried; and here again we have a biographical inscription which sheds much light on the history of the period. The first part of it deals with the territories of Wawat and Irthet, that is to say, a region somewhere between the First and Second Cataract; and it seems that the negroes here, who, as we have seen, had shown much hostility to the Egyptians, had at length broken into open warfare against the Pharaoh, so that a punitive expedition had to be sent up the Nile to quell them. Piop-nakht was given the command, and he records the campaign as follows:—"The majesty of my lord sent me to destroy Wawat and Irthet, I did it in such a way that my lord congratulated me. I killed a great number there, amongst whom were the sons of chieftains and high commanders; and I (also) brought back to the court a great number of them as living prisoners. . . . Then the majesty of my lord sent me (again) to make peace with these countries. I did it in such a way that my lord praised me exceedingly, above everything. I brought back to the court two chieftains of these countries (as hostages), safely (arriving) with cattle and goats which they (were to present) to the court, together with some children of their chieftains, and the two high officers who were in charge of them."

Shortly after this the Pharaoh decided to send an expedition to the land of Pount, which, as the reader will remember, was the territory along the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of the modern Port Sudan; and for this purpose he dispatched a naval officer named Enenkht to a point on the shores of the Red Sea, probably at the little harbour anciently called Dueu, and now known as Kosseir, to build there a ship in which to make the journey southwards along the coast to Pount. About 100 miles of desert separated the city of Qebt (Koptos) on the Nile from the settlement of Dueu on the Red Sea, the caravan route passing through the Wady Hammamât, where the famous quarries were situated which had been worked from the earliest years of Egyptian history; and along this road the wood for the building of the ship, and all the supplies for the expedition, would have had to be carried by hand or on the backs of donkeys, a task which, however, was facilitated by the presence of good wells at intervals along the whole route. But disaster overtook the expedition: a force of Asiatic Bedouin descended upon them and slaughtered them almost to a man. It seems, however, that a few escaped to bring the news back to Egypt; and thereupon the Pharaoh dispatched Piop-nakht to find the body of Enenkht and to carry it home, that it might be decently buried, just as Sebni had brought back the body of his father Mekhu from Lower Nubia. "The majesty of my lord," says Piop-nakht, "sent me to the country of the Asiatics to bring back for him the naval-officer, Enenkht, who had been building a ship there for (his expedition) to Pount, when the Asiatics belonging to the desert-dwellers had killed him together with the soldiers of the army which were with him. (I found the body lying) amongst (those of) his men. I (attacked the enemy), and I slew many amongst them, I and the detachment of the army which was with me."

Piop-nakht was afterwards made Governor of Foreign Countries, "who spreads the fear of the Hawk-king throughout the countries," and though he lived and died at Elephantine, where he followed his vocation of Caravan-Master, "who brings the products of (foreign) countries to his lord,"

he held various important offices at Memphis, where he was Scribe of the Order of the Priests of the king's pyramid, called "Neferkere is established as a living being"; Chief of the Order of the Priests of the pyramid of the late king, called "Merenre shines and is beautiful"; Keeper of the royal Domain; Governor of the Pyramid-city; Chamber-attendant at the palace; and Royal Companion, or Peer; and he was also given the honorary post of Magistrate attached to the court at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), the ancient capital in the south. He was not, however, Governor of the South, for that position, which involved the dangerous task of maintaining order in Lower Nubia, was held by Sebni, and afterwards was given to a certain Prince Ibi, of whom I am about to speak.

It will be remembered that the Pharaoh Piop Meryre had married in succession two sisters, each named Meryrenkhnes, the son of the second of these being the present Pharaoh Piop Neferkere, and it will be recalled that these sisters had a brother, Theu, who was ultimately Prime Minister. Prince Theu in later life placed his commemorative tablet in the temple at Abydos, to which I have already referred, whereon he recorded his titles and those of his sisters, the two young Queen-Mothers; and here he says: "I set up this tablet at Abydos, in the province of Theni (Thinis) (to commemorate myself) as one honoured by the majesty of the King, Neferkere, and (previously) by the majesty of King Meryre and King Merenre; (and I did this) out of love for the province in which I was born." This Prince Theu was probably a man of no more than 30 years of age when King Meryre Piop died, for it will be remembered that his sister, the queen, was then not more than 20 (pp. 226, 239); but he had been married, it seems, at the usual age of 16 or so, and already at the death of Meryre Piop he had a son of some 12 years of age, named Ibi. The tomb of this Ibi is at Dêr el-Gebrâwi, north of Assiout (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*), and there he tells us that he was "a youth who (first) wore the girdle under Meryre Piop," that being an event which seems to have taken place in a boy's 10th or 12th year or so (see p. 219). He then goes on to say that the next king, Merenre, created him Prince

of the Province of the Cerastes-hill, the province just to the north of that of Theni, his father's ancestral home; and the appointment was probably made on his coming of age, at 16, in about the last year of Merenre, he being that king's first cousin. Many years later, well on in the reign of Neferkere Piop, Ibi was appointed Governor of the South, as I have mentioned above; and, when his father, the Prime Minister, Theu, at length died, Ibi was made Prince of the Province of Theni. In his tomb he says: "I have made this (sepulchre) as a mortuary possession (endowed with the revenues) from towns of my dominions and from the royal estate which the majesty of my lord assigned to me, in order to create for me (a property) with peasants of my own domain, complete with cattle, goats and donkeys, apart from the possessions of my father—203 *stat* of land the majesty of my lord gave me, in order to make me wealthy. . . . As for any people who (in after years) shall enter into this tomb (to take it) as their sepulchre, I will pounce upon them like wild-fowl, for I am a virtuous and trained soul, I know every magic charm, the secrets of the court, and that which is in the Underworld." He goes on then to recount his good deeds, in order to prove that he is likely to have sufficient influence in heaven to carry out his threat.

Ibi was succeeded by his son, Theu-Shemai, who ruled as Prince of the same two provinces during the middle years of the reign of Neferkere Piop; and this Theu-Shemai was succeeded in his turn by his son, Theu, whose rule probably lasted during the second half of this long reign. In the inscriptions in his tomb at Dêr el-Gebrâwi, he says that on the death of his father he petitioned the king that he might inherit the principedom, and that his Majesty caused a decree to be issued confirming him in his paternal inheritance, a fact which suggests that another brother had tried to oust him. "I was (my father's) eldest son," he says, "his beloved, his favourite, dear to his heart. . . . I buried my father (in a manner) beyond the magnificence, beyond the splendour of any equal of his who was in the south. I requested as a favour from the king that there might be collected (by me) from the Court Treasury, for (the burial of my father), Theu, a coffin, linen and ceremonial perfume;

and his Majesty arranged that the Keeper of the Royal Domain should bring a wooden coffin, ceremonial perfume, oil, linen—200 pieces of the best linen and of the fine linen of the South. Never had such a thing been done to another of his rank." Then, in a touching postscript, he adds: "And now I have arranged that I be buried in the same tomb with this my father, so that I may be in one place with him; not, however, because I am not in a position to make a second tomb, but I have done this in order that I may see my father every day, in order that I may be with him in one place."

Time has left us a certain number of relics of the long reign of Piop Neferkere. At Abusir his name occurs as having made some restorations in the temple of King Nuserre of the Fifth Dynasty; in the alabaster quarries of Hetnub there is a rock inscription mentioning his 6th year; at Qeibt (Koptos) some fragments were found, belonging to a temple built there by him; at Nekheb (El Kâb) there is a rock-inscription, and a fragment of a limestone tablet gives his name; and from Nekhen (Hieraconpolis) comes the base of a statue. The small objects include a black-granite mortar, a limestone jar, some cylinder-seals and scarabs, some plaques, several vases, including one found at Byblos on the Syrian coast, and one now in the New York Metropolitan Museum, naming both the king and his mother. At Iebo (Elephantine) there is a rock inscription which mentions the celebration of the king's second jubilee, and since he reigned so long such a festival is to be expected.

The length of the reign is given in the Turin Papyrus as 90 years, but there is a break in the papyrus at the end of the numeral, which therefore makes it possible that there were some odd units. Manetho states that the king was 6 years old when he came to the throne and that he completed his 100 years; but if we read this as meaning that he lived to the age of 100 years, the length of the reign would be 94 years, a figure usually adopted by Egyptologists. Manetho, however, so often adds a number of years to a reign, apparently with the object of increasing the antiquity of his country's history, that he is not to be trusted; and

I prefer to regard the visible figure 90 in the Turin Papyrus as having been the complete numeral, for this is indicated by the total which follows (see p. 16). The king was thus 96 years of age at the end of his reign. Possibly he lived on to his 100th year, and a statement by Eratosthenes that he died one hour short of the 100 years sounds genuine ; but he may have been in retirement at the end of his life. His pyramid, "Neferkere is established as a living being," is situated at Sakkâra, and was opened in 1881. The burial-chamber was found to be inscribed with religious texts even longer than those in the pyramids of his predecessors ; but these had been much damaged by robbers in ancient times. The granite sarcophagus, however, was in good preservation ; but a few fragments of mummy-wrappings were all that was left of the royal body.

A decree (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xix) issued by some king whose name is lost, but who probably reigned during the confused period of the next dynasty, a few years later, provides a sad commentary on the shortness of men's memories. It seems that Prince Theu had placed a statue of himself in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, together with a statue of each of his two sisters, one the mother of King Merenre, and the other the mother of Neferkere, and also a statue of King Neferkere ; and an endowment of these statues had been made, as was the Egyptian custom, in order to provide food and drink offerings which should be placed in front of them regularly at certain festivals, for the benefit of the souls of the four exalted persons they represented. The decree names these statues, and states that the offerings to each of them had consisted of the eighth part of an ox and a measure of milk ; but now the priests of these several endowments are discharged, for the unknown king declares that he does not approve that these offerings should continue to be made in perpetuity.

DYN. VI, 6. MENTHESUPH : MERENRE MEHTIEMSUF
2459 B.C.

The long reign of Neferkere Piop was a disaster to Egypt of the first magnitude, for, during his last 20 years or more,

he must have been too old and weary to govern his kingdom with a strong hand; and the great princes who had surrounded him in the heyday of his life, and had helped to maintain a powerful government, had, it would seem, long since died off, leaving the old man at last helpless upon a tottering throne. Strange to say, there is nothing to show that he ever had a son, and there is no evidence to tell us what relation the succeeding Pharaoh was to him. If the new king were the old nonagenarian's son, he may have been himself anything up to 80 years of age when he succeeded; but it is more probable that he was born much later in the reign, or that he was the aged monarch's grandson. That he was an immediate relation, and not a usurper, is perhaps shown by the fact that he had the same personal name as the late Pharaoh's elder half-brother, Mehtiemsuf, and that on his accession he assumed the same Reed- and Hornet-name, Merenre. But while the Abydos List records him as the successor of Neferkere Piop, the Sakkâra List stops short at Neferkere Piop and does not record a single name until that of Nebhâpetre Mentuhotpe, of the Eleventh Dynasty, over two and a half centuries later. Manetho, however, gives him, like the Abydos List, as the successor of Neferkere Piop, calling him Menthesuph(is), and states that he reigned 1 year; and the Turin Papyrus, also evidently acknowledged him, for, though the actual name is now missing in that document, the length of the reign, 1 year, is still to be seen there. Otherwise, absolutely nothing is known of him.

When he died the dynasty collapsed, and it is at this point, in my opinion, that the damaged Turin Papyrus gives the total of all the reigns back to the accession of Menes, arriving at the figure 949 years for this whole period, a total which, as I have shown in Chapter I, may be accepted as correct, and exactly meets every known fact. Then, this document states, came 6 years without a king, making the total 955 years. I interpret this as meaning that on the death of Merenre Mehtiemsuf a period of anarchy ensued, and for 6 years Egypt remained in a state of confusion, there being no Pharaoh upon the throne. Manetho, it is true, gives the reign of "Nitokris" at the end of the Sixth

Dynasty ; but that same sovereign is recorded on Fragment No. 43 of the Turin Papyrus, which, according to my arrangement, must be placed after the 955 years' summary, namely, in the Seventh Dynasty.



THE STATUE OF A NOBLE OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY NAMED MERERUKE, APPEARING AT THE SO-CALLED "FALSE DOOR" ABOVE THE ALTAR IN HIS TOMB AT SAKKÂRA.

The idea is that his spirit thus comes out through this door from the sepulchre, so as to receive the offerings placed upon the altar.

CHAPTER IX

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES

2452-2272 B.C.

THE MATERIAL FOR THE SEVENTH DYNASTY

THE arrangement of the material available for the study of the Seventh Dynasty does not present difficulties which justify the general opinion that this period is hopelessly confused. Manetho, according to Eusebius, states that the dynasty consisted of 5 kings who reigned at Memphis 75 days, and this, in the Armenian version, is corrected to 5 kings reigning 75 years. In the Turin Papyrus the summary of 955 years, from the accession of Menes to the death of Merenre Mehtiemsuf, is followed, in my opinion, by the list of 4 (originally 5) names shown on Fragment No. 43, these being (1) missing, (2) Nitokri, (3) Neferke, (4) Neferes, and (5) Ib; and then comes, at the top of Fragment No. 48, the summary of 75 years, as the total for the dynasty. Thus the Turin Papyrus seems exactly to confirm Manetho's "5 kings reigning 75 years." The Abydos List also agrees; for between the name Merenre Mehtiemsuf and the name Neferkere Khendu, which I think certainly belongs to the Eighth Dynasty, there are, again, 5 kings recorded, namely (1) Neterkere, (2) Menkere, (3) Neferkere, (4) Neferkere Neby, and (5) Dedkeshemire (or Dedkere-shemi). Bringing the names in these two lists together, we have, for the 5 kings of this dynasty, (1) Neterkere; (2) Menkere Nitokri; (3) Neferkere or Neferke; (4) Neferkere Neby, or Neferes; and (5) Dedkeshemire Ib.

Not one of these five sovereigns, however, has left a single contemporary relic, and the only information we have about the period, beyond the bare names, is derived from a later tradition in regard to "Nitokris," for which there is perhaps some basis of truth.

DYN. VII, 1 and 2. NETERKERE AND NITOKRI: MEN-
KERE NITOKRI
2452 B.C. to about 2435 B.C.

Herodotus, writing in the fifth century B.C., tells us that the priests read to him from a papyrus a list of their sovereigns since the time of Menes, and that amongst these there was one woman and that her name was Nitokris. They told him that she had succeeded her brother, who had been king but had been murdered by his subjects, and that the murderers had then put her upon the throne. Now Nitokris, during her reign, had caused a building to be erected near the river, on a low-lying site which, it seems, was well below the level of the Nile floods, and it appears that this building had a crypt or cellar beneath it, perhaps somewhat like those to be seen in the temple of Denderah, but larger. The murderous group of courtiers who surrounded her at length began, one is to suppose, to display the same hostility to her that they had shown to her brother; and the queen therefore made up her mind to be revenged upon them. With this object in view she caused a secret channel to be made which should bring the flood-water directly to this building; and then she invited these treacherous nobles to the inaugural celebration there, and having beguiled them into the crypt, suddenly, it seems, closed down the trap-door upon them, let the water in, and drowned the lot, afterwards herself committing suicide by shutting herself in a room full of charcoal fumes. "This, and this only, did the priests tell me about her," writes Herodotus; and it is quite possible that the story is founded upon an actual occurrence. The first Pharaoh of this dynasty seems, as I have said, to have been the Neterkere of the Abydos List, who may have established himself upon the throne at the end of the 6-years' period of anarchy; and it may well be that he was this brother of the queen, who was murdered. In the absence of all information we may, perhaps, attribute to him a reign of, say, 5 years, i.e. from B.C. 2452 (the fixed date for the foundation of the Seventh Dynasty) to about 2448 B.C. In the Abydos List the next name is Menkere, and, as I have said, the corresponding

name in the Turin Papyrus seems to have been Nitokri, undoubtedly the Nitokri(s) of Manetho. This is the name of a woman: for it is compounded with the name of the goddess Nit or Neit (compare the names of Neithotpe and Henneit, queens of the First Dynasty); it has the silent *t* of the feminine gender at the end of the *okri*; and there is a queen of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty who has the same name. Thus, this Nitokri Menkere may be identified with the Nitokris of the story.

But Manetho, writing in the third century B.C., tells us of a tradition current in his time that it was she who built the third pyramid at Gîzeh, that is to say, the pyramid actually built by Menkeure of the Fourth Dynasty; and it would seem that this erroneous story was due to the resemblance of the two names, Menkere and Menkeure, which supposition would tend to show that the identification of the Nitokri of the Turin Papyrus with the Menkere of the Abydos List is correct. But there is another possible explanation. Some Egyptologists, Dr. Borchardt in particular, have thought that the third pyramid was somewhat restored in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and since there is a second queen of the name Nitokri in that dynasty, it is possible that she was in some way connected with the work, and that hence the pyramid itself came to be attributed by mistake to her and thence to the earlier Nitokri. The story, however, does not end here. In the time of Apries of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, there lived in Egypt a famous Lesbian courtesan named Rhodopis, who amassed a considerable fortune; and a legend was afterwards circulated which stated that it was she who built the third pyramid out of her ill-gotten gains. Herodotus heard this tale when he was in Egypt, and is at some pains to show that it was nonsense. Dr. Hall thinks that a possible explanation is that the Greeks may have spoken of the Sphinx, which is situated close to the third pyramid, as *rhodopis*, because its face, as we know, was painted red; and they certainly regarded it as the figure of a woman. Thus, by a confusion of this term, *rhodopis*, with the name of the celebrated courtesan, the absurd story came into circulation.

Whatever be the explanation, however, it seems that Manetho had heard the tale, and thinking, as he did, that Nitokri Menkere had built this pyramid, he applied to that queen a descriptive phrase which really was to be attributed to the courtesan ; for he called the queen " most beautiful, having fair skin and rosy cheeks." He also spoke of her as " the bravest " of women ; but in this latter phrase I suppose he is referring to the older, and perhaps true, story of her revenge and suicide. Thus, this queen of the Seventh Dynasty came to be identified with the courtesan of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty ; and as such she came down in legend to mediæval times. The Arabic historian, Al-Murtadi, had heard of her ; and he tells how the third pyramid was believed in his time to be haunted by the figure of a beautiful, naked woman, whom many people had seen wandering around that building at high noon and at about sunset. Occasionally she appeared to some passing man, and smiled at him so sweetly that he approached her, whereupon she would draw him to her and so infatuate him that he would lose his senses, and wander after her into the desert and be lost.

Eratosthenes attributes a reign of 6 years to Queen Nitokri, but Manetho says that she reigned 12 years ; and if, in the absence of any real information, we accept the latter figure, it would place her reign at about 2447 to 2436 B.C. Thus, the remaining 58 years out of the total of 75 for the whole dynasty, namely from 2435 B.C. to 2378, are to be apportioned between the three other kings, Neferkere, Neferkere Neby, and Dedkere-shemi or Dedkeshemire.

DYN. VII, 3, 4 and 5. NEFERKERE ; NEFERKERE NEBY
OR NEFERES ; AND DEDKESHMIRE IB
ABOUT 2435 TO 2378 B.C.

In the selected list of Eratosthenes, the name Nitokris is followed by Murtaios, with a reign of 22 years, and Thuosimares, with a reign of 12 years. Murtaios may perhaps be identified with Neferkere, whose personal name we do not know, and Thuosimares may well be a rendering of the name Dedkeshemire. In the name of this latter

king the word *shemi* means "stranger," or "foreigner," the whole name meaning, "The sun-god is the support of the spirit of the stranger," which certainly indicates that he was a foreigner; and his other name, Ib, may very possibly be Asiatic. The word *neby* in the name of the previous king might possibly be Asiatic also; and these points perhaps give some support to a suggestion made by Prof. Petrie that there was at this time an incursion of Asiatic foreigners into Egypt, who brought with them the so-called "button-badges" which are frequently found, at about this period, and which undoubtedly are an Asiatic innovation.

Thus, though we have not much to work upon, the whole Seventh Dynasty may be speculatively reconstructed as follows:

	B.C.
1. Neterkere. Ascended the throne after the 6 years of anarchy	2452
Murdered, according to the story, say about	2448
2. Nitokris, or Menkere Nitokri. Reigned 12 years, and committed suicide	2435
3. Murtaios, or Neferkerc. Reigned 22 years, to	2414
4. Neferkere Neby, or Neferes. Perhaps a foreigner who usurped the throne, and reigned about 24 years, to	2390
5. Thuosimares, or Dedkeshemire Ib. Also a foreigner who reigned 12 years, and at his death the dynasty, which had lasted 75 years, ended, in	2378

On a rock near Gebel Silsileh I found a graffito mentioning a king named Isu, and a prince named Isuenkh. It is possible that this was the personal name of Neterkere, or else of one of the kings of the next dynasty.

THE MATERIAL FOR THE EIGHTH DYNASTY

These stormy 75 years of the Seventh Dynasty were followed by 106 years of the Eighth Dynasty, this figure being arrived at by subtracting this 75 from the total of 181 years which is given in the Turin Papyrus at the end of the Eighth Dynasty, and which I suppose to represent the period from that date back to the 955-years' summary after the Sixth Dynasty. Manetho also gives the length of the dynasty as 106 years. The Abydos List records 12 kings between Dedkeshemire of the Seventh Dynasty

and Nebhapetre of the Eleventh Dynasty, and it evidently omits entirely the kings of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties who, in the south, were regarded as northern usurpers. These 12 names, therefore, all belong to kings of the Eighth Dynasty. They are: (1) Neferkere Khendu; (2) Merenhur; (3) Sneferke; (4) Nekere; (5) Neferkere Terorol or Telolol; (6) Neferkehur; (7) Neferkere Piopsonb; (8) Sneferke Ennu; (9)keure; (10) Neferkeure; (11) Neferkeuhur; and (12) Neferirkere. The Turin Papyrus is here too damaged to be of much aid, but Fragment No. 48, which begins with the 75-years' summary of the previous dynasty, gives us the partly obliterated names of the first 3 or 4 kings of the Eighth Dynasty, while Fragments 44 and 61 give the length of the reigns of the last 4 kings, followed by the total 181. Eratosthenes, in his selected list, names only 2 kings of this period, Sethinilos, 8 years, and Semphrukrates, 18 years.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EIGHTH DYNASTY

2377-2270 B.C.

The different versions of Manetho give the number of kings of this dynasty as 27, 5, 9, or 19; but bringing together the names given in the Turin Papyrus and Abydos List, and also those which have been found on actual objects which seem to date from this period, we have in all 18 kings. The order in which these kings are to be placed is, of course, quite speculative; but I may be allowed, perhaps, to arrange them for convenience in the following manner:

1. Neferkere. This is the first name on Fragment No. 48 of the Turin Papyrus, and appears to head the dynasty.

2. Khui. This king's name was found in a tomb in the necropolis of Dara, near Manfalût (*Annales du Service*, xii, 128) and seems to belong to this period. He appears to have been a provincial prince who raised himself to the throne, and was not acknowledged in the Abydos List; but since there is here an obliterated name in the Turin Papyrus, it is just possible that he is to be placed at this point.

3. Neferkere Khendui. The first name of this dynasty in the Abydos List is Neferkere Khendu, and in the Turin Papyrus the third name, partly obliterated, ends inndty, which may have been the same name. Of this king a green jasper cylinder-seal is known, giving the royal name as Khendy or Khendui (Petrie, *History*, I, 123). The king is there represented, wearing Egyptian dress, but he is giving "life" to a man in Syrian costume, while the general style of the drawing, and especially a twisted band which is part of the decoration, is quite Asiatic, indicating that this Pharaoh, like those at the end of the previous dynasty, was a foreigner.

4. Merenhur. This is the next king in the Abydos List, and the corresponding place in the Turin Papyrus has an obliterated name ending iny, which may be the final letter of this king's second or personal name.

5. Neferhunihur. The name of this king is written with the hawk, *hûr*, the *nefer*, and then the same hieroglyph, representing a mace, which was used in the name of Neferkere Huni of the Third Dynasty (see p. 154). It is usually misread as the sign *hen* or *sa*, but I think it certainly stands for *huni*, "the warrior." I found three inscriptions of this king on the rocks at Tomâs in Lower Nubia (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, lviii), and in one his Hawk-name, Merytoui, is given. This was the Hawk-name of King Meryre Piop of the Sixth Dynasty, which indicates perhaps that Neferhunihur reigned not so very long after the time of that king; while the use of the Hawk-sign, *hûr*, in the name seems to place it in the Eighth Dynasty, in which four other kings have names compounded with *hûr*. One of the Tomâs inscriptions refers to an expedition made into Irthet in Lower Nubia, and another to an expedition made into the lands of the south (?). At the alabaster quarries of Hetnub in Middle Egypt there is a graffito giving his name, and a slab of alabaster now at University College, London, is inscribed with his name. The king seems, thus, to have had an important reign, and he is probably to be identified with one of the kings named in the Abydos List, though one cannot say with which.

6. Sneferke. This is the next king in the Abydos List ;

and in the British Museum (No. 8444) there is a leaf of gold which bears his name, and also that of the succeeding king.

7. Nekere. This king is named on the above-mentioned piece of gold, thus confirming the Abydos List, which records him next after Sneferke. A plaque and some scarabs bearing this name are also known, and one of these has the same twisted ornament seen on the cylinder of Khendui, which is an Asiatic design, again suggesting that the dynasty was foreign.

8. Neferkere Terorol (or Telolol). This is the next king in the Abydos List, and his name, which suggests the Semitic *telul*, "exalted," is pretty certainly foreign. A seal of this king is known (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 7). He seems to be the Sethinilos of Eratosthenes, who gives him a reign of 8 years.

9. Neferkehur. Nothing is known of this the next king in the Abydos List.

10. Neferkere Piopsonb. This is the succeeding king in the Abydos List, but otherwise he is unknown.

11. Sneferenkhre Piop. Of this king, who is not mentioned in the Abydos List, and whose position is not known, there is a single scarab (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, x). He is probably the Semphrukrates of Eratosthenes, who attributes a reign of 18 years to him.

12. Sneferke Ennu. This king follows Neferkere Piopsonb in the Abydos List, but otherwise he is unknown.

13. . . .keure, and 14. Neferkeure. These are the next two kings in the Abydos List, but there is no other mention of them.

15. Neferkeuhur. This king comes next in the Abydos List. He is to be identified with the king Neferkeuhur, having the personal name Beure, and the Hawk-name Neterbeu, who left a decree at Koptos (Weill, *Décrets Royaux*, 82) in favour of a high official called Shemi. A stone, also from Koptos, gives his second name (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* 1914, 47). The decree, which is now in New York, is dated on the 20th day of the 2nd month of the season Pero, in the king's 1st year. There is another decree, also in New York, issued by the same king, and fixing the limits of the south as between Iebo (Elephantine)

and the 7th Province of Upper Egypt, i.e. just south of Theni (Thinis). This was probably the dominion of Prince Intef of Thebes, of whom we shall presently read (p. 287).

16. Uthkere Sekherseny. This king is not mentioned in the Abydos List; but I place him here because he, like Neferkeuhur, left a decree at Koptos (Weill, *Décrets Royaux*, iv, ix). His Hawk-name was Demdibtoui, "Uniting the heart of the Two Lands of Egypt." Scarabs of his are known; and at Umbarakâb, in Lower Nubia, I found his name upon a rock (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, xix, 2), in an inscription which reads: "The order executed by the *Heq*-prince, Sedu, to inspect and report to his father, King Uthkere, son of the sun-god, Sekherseny, in regard to . . ." some matter which I do not understand. It is interesting to find that the king's son is called *heq*, a title much used in Hyksos times as the best Egyptian equivalent of the Asiatic word "chieftain" or "sheikh," but not used in Egypt as the particular designation of a royal prince.

17. Neferkhnur. This name, only found in a graffito at the Hetnub quarries, seems, by its style, to belong to this dynasty.

18. Neferirkere. This is the next name after Neferkeuhur in the Abydos List, and is the last of the dynasty. It is not otherwise known.

In the Turin Papyrus the lengths of the reigns of the last 4 kings of the dynasty are preserved thus: 2 years, 1 month, 1 day; 4 years, 2 months, 1 day; and 1 year, 0 months, 0 days. One cannot say, however, whether the 4 last kings in my list are those to which these figures should really be attributed.

Such, then, is all the information we possess in regard to this dynasty. Manetho says that its kings ruled at Memphis; but, as I have shown, there is a good deal of evidence to indicate that they were of foreign origin. In spite, however, of the troubled state of the country, the fact that two kings at least were able to send expeditions into Lower Nubia, while others worked the quarries, and so forth, shows that civilization had by no means collapsed in this period, though the arts and crafts had certainly deteriorated, and there was nothing like the same pros-

perity which the Sixth Dynasty had enjoyed. It is at present a dark and uninteresting period; but further excavations in Egypt may some day better illuminate it.

There is one little piece of evidence which serves to link this, the last dynasty which ruled at Mennofre (Memphis) with the succeeding dynasty which had its residence at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis). In the set address delivered by a Pharaoh to a newly-appointed Prime Minister, of which three copies dating from different times in the Eighteenth Dynasty are known (Gardiner, *Installation of a Vizier*, in *Recueil*, xxvi, 1-19), the following passage occurs: "There is a saying which used to be in the king's address at the installation of a Prime Minister at Mennofre, and which (has the purpose of) urging the Prime Minister to moderation. (It is this:) 'Take warning from that which is said of the Prime Minister Akhtoi. It is said that he discriminated against some of the people of his own kin in favour of strangers, simply for fear lest it should be said of him that he favoured his kin dishonestly; and that when one of them appealed against the judgment, he persisted in his decision. Now that is more than justice.'" The name Akhtoi is that of the kings of the Ninth Dynasty, but it is not known at an earlier date than this; yet in the above passage we see that there was a Prime Minister of that name, serving one of the Memphite Pharaohs, probably of this Eighth Dynasty. Thus we may detect the rise of the House of Akhtoi, which now seized the throne and founded the Ninth Dynasty.

CHAPTER X

THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

2271-2197 B.C.

THE MATERIAL FOR THE NINTH DYNASTY

AFTER the uncertainties and the darkness of the Eighth Dynasty we move forward into a clearly illuminated period, for in the Ninth Dynasty there is a considerable amount of material out of which, I think, we can build some sort of consecutive story, though the difficulty of marshalling and arranging the known facts has led most scholars to hasten over the ground, deeming it obscure and full of pitfalls. So, in truth, it is ; but, on the other hand, what we do know of the period is of a particularly vivid character, and a story full of historic interest is revealed. At the outset I must point out that the establishment of the Ninth Dynasty at Eheninsi or Heracleopolis, not far from Memphis, and the establishment of the Eleventh Dynasty at, or near, Was or Thebes were simultaneous events. Of this I do not think there can be any doubt, though the statement will be new to Egyptologists ; and indeed, Prof. Breasted gives 285 years between the two events, and Prof. Petrie 174 years. The facts are these. The Turin Papyrus gives the total length of the Eleventh Dynasty as 160 years. A break in the papyrus at the end of this numeral makes it possible that there were some units which are now lost ; but the round number, 160, seems to be correct, for Manetho records that the dynasty consisted of 16 kings who reigned 43 years, which may well be a copyist's error for 6 kings reigning 143 years, and to this he adds another 16, making the total 159 years ; while according to Africanus he gives the summary of the Twelfth Dynasty as 7 kings reigning 160 years, which is entirely incorrect for that dynasty, but exactly fits the Eleventh, thus indicating that the copyist has here mistakenly

attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty the total belonging to the Eleventh. The dates of the Twelfth Dynasty are astronomically fixed (p. 29), and we can say with certainty that it was established about 2111 B.C., the Eleventh Dynasty therefore being established 160 years earlier in 2271 B.C. The first king of the Eleventh Dynasty, Wahenkh Intef, reigned 50 years, first as a vassal under the Heracleopolitan Pharaoh, and later as a more or less independent king, and, as will presently be seen, part of his reign is contemporaneous with part of the reign of Wahkere Akhtoi, the third king of the Ninth Dynasty, who probably reigned about 25 years, for this Wahkere Akhtoi stated at the end of his life that he had waged a disastrous war against the south "a generation" earlier, i.e. at the beginning of his reign, and had lost the city of Thisis; and an inscription from Thebes tells us that this capture of Thisis was made under Wahenkh Intef during his war with the "House of Akhtoi." Of the Ninth Dynasty Manetho states that there were 4 kings, reigning in all 100 years; and from actual remains we know that there were, in fact, 4 kings in this dynasty, but it is improbable that they reigned anything like 100 years, for, according to Eratosthenes, the first of the four, whom he calls Khouthier, reigned 7 years, and the second, his Meures, reigned 12 years. The third had a reign long enough to be described as "a generation," i.e. some 25 years, but the reign of the fourth was short, so that 50 years probably covered the whole dynasty: that is to say, there is room for all 4 Pharaohs of the Ninth Dynasty in the north during the 50 years' reign of Wahenkh Intef, the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty in the south. The Tenth Dynasty followed in the north, but it came to an end at about the time of the accession of the 4th king of the Eleventh Dynasty in the south, for that monarch was the first of the Eleventh Dynasty who called himself Pharaoh of all Egypt. His accession took place about 75 years after the beginning of his dynasty: that is to say the Tenth Dynasty lasted only 25 years or thereabouts. This has to be recognized as a fact beyond doubt, for this Tenth Dynasty was certainly at an end when the southern monarch assumed the full titles of Pharaoh, and as certainly it had

not begun when Wahenkh Intef was on the throne of the south. In view of these facts it seems that the first king of the Ninth Dynasty proclaimed himself at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis) on the fall of the Eighth Dynasty, and that the same catastrophe led to Wahenkh Intef, afterwards recognized as the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty, setting himself up as a sort of vassal king in the province of Thebes, the two events being practically simultaneous. The Abydos List helps to confirm this, for it passes direct from the Eighth to the Eleventh Dynasty without so much as mentioning the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties.

Four kings of the Ninth Dynasty are known from contemporary remains: Wahkere, Meryibre, Nebkeure and Merykere, each having a personal name which is generally read Khety, but which may well be closer to the Greek form Akhthoes, and may be read Akhtoi. Their sequence may be arranged with fair probability by means of the following facts. One of them, whose name is lost, wrote a letter of advice and instruction to his son, Merykere, and in it he refers to the late king Mer. . . . re, who must be Meryibre. Now Meryibre is obviously the Meures of Eratosthenes, who is the 2nd king of the dynasty, and thus we can place the writer of the letter of advice as the 3rd king of the dynasty, the 2nd king being Meryibre, and the 4th being Merykere. Of the remaining two names, Wahkere is probably that of the founder of the dynasty, because of its similarity to the name taken by his southern vassal Intef, who called himself Wahenkh, apparently in imitation of his Heracleopolitan overlord; and the name Nebkeure may be assigned to the writer of the letter of advice, a classic piece of literature, on the very slender ground that another famous classic, the story of the Eloquent Peasant, is also assigned to this reign. The most important source of information for the period is the series of inscriptions in three tombs at Assiout, belonging to three princes of that district who served these Pharaohs (copied by Griffith: *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, and translated by Breasted, *Records*). Then, there is an Eighteenth Dynasty copy of the letter of advice written by the third king of the line (Gardiner, *Journal*, I, 22); and there is the story of the Eloquent

Peasant (see *Zeitschrift*, 50, 123). There are also various records wherein the fighting between the Eleventh Dynasty in the south and the Ninth Dynasty in the north is mentioned.

DYN. IX, I. AKHTHOE : WAHKERE AKHTOI
2271-2265 B.C.

About 70 miles south of the modern city of Cairo, just to the south-east of the Fayûm, in a rich agricultural area, some 10 miles back from the Nile, there stands the town of Ehnasiyeh; not an important place now, but having no less than 360 acres of ruins around it, which has given it the name Omm el-Kemân, "The mother of mounds." In ancient times it was called Eheninsi, in which one can easily see the origin of its present name, but owing to the fact that the chief god of the city was Harshef, whom the Greeks identified with Heracles, the city later came to be called Heracleopolis. At the period with which we are dealing it does not seem to have been a place of very great size, but it was important as having once been the capital of the original Reed-kings of Upper Egypt (pp. 40 and 85), and it was a religious centre of great sanctity. It was here, according to an old tradition, that the sun rose for the first time on that day when the heavens and the earth were created; and here, too, the god Osiris was crowned, and when he died, his son, Horus, was here proclaimed king. Moreover, when the sun-god ordered the destruction of mankind and sent the goddess Sekhmet to carry out that terrible command, she set forth, they said, from this city (Naville, *Ahnas*, p. 8). Somewhere in the neighbourhood lived the mythical Benu, the Phoenix; and here, also, dwelt the "Crusher of Bones," the dread of every evil soul at the last judgment; while Neheb-keu, the serpent-goddess, who distilled the nectar of the gods, was thought to reside in the heart of the city.

In this sacred region the first sovereign of the Ninth Dynasty, Akhtoi, proclaimed himself Pharaoh on the collapse of the Eighth Dynasty at Memphis; but whether he was the head of some noble family of the neighbourhood,

or whether he was a foreigner, is not known. If my arrangement is correct, it was he who, as Reed and Hornet-king, took the name Wahkere, which means "The spirit of Re is abundant," but he sometimes used his name, Akhtoi, as Reed- and Hornet-king, as is seen on a vase probably belonging to him (Daressy, *Annales*, xi, 47). On this vase he is called "Servant of Harshef," the god of Heracleopolis, which suggests that there was still much foreign influence at the court, for I do not know of any other case in which an Egyptian Pharaoh calls himself "servant" in that sense, whereas the term was common enough in Asiatic countries. He also used the traditional title "Son of the sun-god" in front of his name, Akhtoi. Manetho writes of him that "he was more terrible than all who went before him, and was one who did evil throughout Egypt," which shows that the fear of him was remembered for many generations. Eratosthenes speaks of him as "the tyrant, and gives his name as Khouthier, which is either a corrupt rendering of Akhthoes, or, more probably, is a reading of Wahkere as Kewahre, for *Ke* is *Khe* in later times, and *wah* seems to be the same word as *waht*, which, in later times, would be *ouhth*, or similar, thus giving the name *Kh-ouhth-re*, or *Khouthier*. The same writer states that he reigned 7 years. The name Wahkere has been preserved by an accident, owing to the fact that the funeral inscriptions from his tomb were copied in later times for the tomb of another personage, by a workman who, apparently, could not read, for he left the king's name in by mistake (*Recueil*, xxiv, 90). Nothing else is known of this Pharaoh except the one fact, also recorded by Manetho, that at length "he was seized with madness and was devoured by a crocodile."

DYN. IX, 2. MEURE: MERYIBRE AKHTOI
2264-2253 B.C.

The second Akhtoi, who was probably the son of the tyrant, took the Reed- and Hornet-name Meryibre, "Beloved of the Heart of Re," and the Hawk-name Meryibtoui, "Beloved of the Heart of the Two Lands," by which latter

name he was also called as Lord of the Vulture and Cobra. His name is inscribed on the rocks at Aswân, where the famous pink granite was quarried, which shows that his southern vassal, King Wahenkh Intef, did not attempt to hinder such work ; and, in this connection, we must note the statement of the next king that supplies of granite were able to be obtained there in his reign also. Some fragments of a bronze vessel inscribed with his names were found at Assiout, and are now in the Louvre ; and an ebony staff, also inscribed with his name, was found at Meir. Two or three scarabs of his are known. He appears to be the Meures of Eratosthenes, who is stated to have reigned 12 years ; for the word *mery* became *mi* in later times, and *Mi-ib-re* is a close rendering of Me-u-re(s), the *u* being *v*. His reign, it seems, was peaceful, but he appears to have maintained his overlordship of the south by a display of armed force ; for the only other fact known about him is that, in giving advice to his successor, he said : " He who would be at peace must be prepared for war," a remark which was quoted by the next king in his afterwards famous letter to his son, and thus took its place in Egyptian literature, this being the earliest instance of the use of that proverb of which a too literal interpretation has led to the great disasters of modern times.

There is no evidence to show what was going on in the Delta at this time, but the land was probably ruled by various important families, ready, at the least sign of weakness on the Pharaoh's part, to throw off their allegiance to him. In Upper Egypt there were two great princely houses with which these Pharaohs of the Ninth Dynasty had to deal. One of these had its seat at Assiout, half-way between Memphis and Thebes, and this line of provincial chieftains was consistently loyal to the royal house of Akhtoi. The other was the House of Intef, the head of which, Wahenkh, was vassal king of the south, having his residence at Was (Thebes) ; and this southern ruler was as independent of the northern Pharaoh as he dared to be. He was lord of a primitive, uncultured people, having, I dare say, closer connections and sympathies with the far south than with Lower or even Middle Egypt. At Eheninsi (Heracleo-

polis), the royal seat of the Ninth Dynasty, life was lived under fairly refined conditions; and such objects as have come down to us are well-made, and display a skill which was a treasured inheritance from the Sixth Dynasty. At Assiout, the ancient Seut, the tombs of the princely family which lived there reveal quite a decent level of art. But the few remains which have been preserved of the princes of Thebes are crude and unskilled, and show that the 450 miles, or thereabouts, which separated this city of the south from the Pharaoh's residence was a very real gulf, bridged but rarely by important travellers. The upper country, in fact, was pretty nearly independent, and was ruled by this Wahenkh Intef, who was the son of a Prince of the Province of Thebes, named Intef, a great noble who had held the office of "Keeper of the Frontier of the South," apparently under the last kings of the Eighth Dynasty, but whose ancestry is not recorded, he being afterwards honoured as the founder of the greatness of his house.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Seut was a man named Akhtoi—the same name as that of the reigning Pharaoh at Eheninsi. He does not appear to have been related to the royal house; but he was, nevertheless, on the best of terms with his sovereign, for the Pharaoh must have regarded the friendship of this province of Middle Egypt as of paramount importance, in view of the growing independence and strength of the house of Intef. This Prince Akhtoi of Seut tells us in his tomb-inscriptions that the royal house at Eheninsi had always regarded him as a friend, and that he "had been taught swimming with the royal children," that is to say he had been admitted as a companion and playmate of the Pharaoh's children in their most intimate and informal pleasures. His rule at Seut, he says, was prosperous and peaceful: great irrigation works were carried out, so that "every man had Nile-water to his heart's content." He was rich in crops, and once, during a famine, he was able to distribute grain free to his people and to remit all taxes. He had, however, to maintain a large army and fleet of river-boats, in view of the growing hostility of the south; and at length the Pharaoh made him officially "Commander of Middle Egypt."

Thus the stage was set for the great clash between the House of Akhtoi of Eheninsi, or Heracleopolis (the Ninth Dynasty) and the House of Intef of Was, or Thebes (the Eleventh Dynasty) which was soon to change the whole face of Egypt; but before it came two of the leading figures—the Pharaoh Meryibre Akhtoi and Prince Akhtoi of Seut—had died, and when the storm breaks we find the throne at Eheninsi occupied by a third Pharaoh of the name of Akhtoi, while at Seut the reigning prince is the late ruler's son, Tefibi, and at Thebes, Wahenk is still the king of the south.

DYN. IX, 3. NEBKEURE AKHTOI

2252–2228 B.C.

The first Akhtoi, the tyrant, had probably been a man of advanced years when he came to the throne, since his reign was so short; and the second Akhtoi may well have been a man of 45 or 50 when he succeeded, and hence somewhere in the neighbourhood of 60 when he died. The third Akhtoi, with whom we now have to deal, may thus have been some 40 years of age at his accession; and if, in the absence of definite information, we allow him a reign of 25 years, he may have been about 65 at his death. When he came to the throne he took the name Nebkeure, "Possessed of the spirits of Re." On a weight, found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, in the Eastern Delta (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, xxxiii, 4), his name is inscribed in the form Nebkeu Akhtoi; but in the tale of the Eloquent Peasant, to which I shall presently refer, he is called Nebkeure.

The trouble with the south seems to have occurred early in the reign, for, as we shall presently see, the Pharaoh speaks, at the end of his life, of a generation having passed since that event (i.e. some 20 years).

According to his own frank statement afterwards made to his son, he committed some unjust act of hostility against the vassal king Wahenk Intef, whereupon the latter rebelled, and immediately came to blows with Prince Tefibi of Seut, who had remained loyal. In his tomb-

inscriptions Tefibi tells us that at the first encounter, the men of Seut were victorious and drove the southerners back. Fighting on the east and west banks of the Nile, he captured a town and much territory, and was able at first to hold it. A rousing naval engagement ensued in which some of the ships of the southern fleet ran aground and were captured, others were set on fire, and a great day ended with the southern commander falling into the water.

That, however, was only the beginning of the rebellion; and the fact that it is all that Prince Tefibi has cared to record is evidence, in itself, that the rest of the story was a tale of disaster for him and his royal master. The Pharaoh, however, was more honest, and, as we shall presently see, he frankly admitted in later life that the southerners captured the sacred city of Theni (Thinis) and the whole of that region, which previously had been just beyond their northern frontier on the west bank of the Nile, and had been the southernmost territory of Middle Egypt. Wahenkh Intef, however, did not push his victory further; and, as will presently be seen, there is some evidence to suggest that the Pharaoh came to terms with him, and cried quits. The Pharaoh, judging by his famous letter to his son, to which I shall presently come, was something of a fatalist, and was painfully superstitious; and the loss of the holy city of Theni was a calamity which seemed to indicate the anger of the gods, and knocked the heart out of him. Moreover, there was some now forgotten prophecy regarding the southerners, to which he refers in his letter, and this seems to have made him most anxious to leave them alone. Thus a temporary peace was patched up, and the Pharaoh reconciled himself to the loss of Theni and all the territory south of it.

The city of Theni was close to Ebod (Abydos), the two townships standing side by side on the edge of the desert, some seven miles west of the Nile. Here the earliest kings had been buried, and it was reputed that the god Osiris himself was interred in the necropolis just behind the city. Now Eheninsi, the royal residence, was intimately associated with Osiris, as has already been said; and therefore the Pharaoh felt the blow all the more keenly. Moreover, I

think it was already the custom, as it certainly was in later times, for part of the funeral ceremonies of illustrious Egyptians to be conducted at Thebi, their bodies being conveyed there to rest awhile, before final burial beside those of Osiris and the archaic kings of the Hawk-tribe, who slept there beneath the sand of the desert. And thus the Pharaoh, when he came to die, would have to dispense with these rites, which had once seemed so essential. The calamity, indeed, was great ; and he accepted it as a judgment upon him.

On the other hand, the capture of this sacred burial-place of the Hawk-kings was joyous, indeed, to the Theban king, Wahenkh Intef, but he seems to have been glad enough to rest upon his laurels and to keep the peace which the Pharaoh Akhtoi so much desired ; and thus matters stood quiescent for quite a number of years, during which time the south must have been ever increasing in strength.

Nebkeure Akhtoi was a man of literary gifts, who, during his troubled reign, had found little opportunity for their expression ; but when he was getting on in years, and knew that soon his son would reign in his stead, he sat down and wrote a letter of advice and instruction to the young man, which had such merit that it became a classic, the copy which has come down to us being made many hundred years after the author had been gathered to his fathers. As is to be expected, the letter reflects very largely the hard conditions under which he had lived ; and it calls up to our minds a picture of an anxious, frightened and tired old man, who woefully regarded himself as having been much to blame for the war with the south, and who was most desirous that his son should not try his strength with the same enemy.

Happily, he writes, matters now stand well in regard to the south, and it is possible to obtain from that region supplies of pink granite with which to make statues and monuments—which suggests that Wahenkh Intef was also anxious to be conciliatory at this juncture. On the other hand, he explains that no gifts of grain are made by the south, or, in other words, the southern ruler was not

inclined to regard him as an overlord, or to pay any tribute of this kind ; but the Pharaoh hastens to add that no offence is intended, for, actually, nobody in that country has enough corn to give away. "Therefore," he says, "be indulgent in regard to any failure on their part to you, and be satisfied with your own meat and drink."

He goes on to say that former rulers were nervous in regard to the north-west land, but that he had pacified it even to the borders of the Fayûm. Then follows an obscure passage about the methods of protecting the eastern Delta against the incursions of the nomadic Asiatics, and he speaks of them with contempt as a people ever wandering, ever quarrelling, always troubled in their own country by rains, and too many trees, and too many mountains : a people who "conquer not, nor yet are conquered." "They are a nuisance to Egypt," he says, "but do not trouble yourself about them. Men of that race will plunder a lonely settlement, but they will not attack a populous city." Yet he advises his son to be prepared against them, quoting the late king's remark, already mentioned, that "he who would be at peace must be prepared for war."

"An agitator," he goes on, "is disturbing to a city, for he creates two factions among the young generation ; and therefore, if you find such an one belonging to a city, and if his doings have got out of hand, cite him before the nobles, and suppress him, for he is a rebel, in that a man who talks much is (always) a mischief-maker for any city." "Be diplomatic in speech," he adds, "in order that you may win, for the tongue is a sword to a king, and speech is more powerful than any fighting, none being able to circumvent a clever speaker." "Copy your fathers who have gone before you, and whose words are recorded in writing. Open and read them, and imitate one who knows." "Make a lasting monument for yourself in your subjects' love of you ; but . . . strengthen your boundaries and your frontiers, for it is good to do this in view of future events. Respect a life of energy, for self-complacency will make a wretched man of you ; . . . yet a fool is he who is greedy of what others possess. This life upon earth passes : it is not long, and fortunate is he who is

remembered. The possession of a million men will not avail a king (in that regard), but the memory of the good man shall live for ever." "Put not your faith in length of years, for the gods of the Judgment Hall regard a lifetime as but an hour. A man still remains after reaching the haven of Death, and his deeds are laid beside him as his only treasure. Eternal is the existence yonder, and a fool is he who makes light of it."

"Make your nobles powerful, that they may be able to carry out your wishes," he writes, having in view, perhaps, the importance of the princes of Assiout. "Great is the Great-one when his great-ones are great. Strong is the king who possesses strong men about him. Rich is he indeed who is rich in nobles." "Speak truth in your palace that the nobles who are in the land may fear you. Uprightness of heart befits a king, and it is the interior of the palace that inspires the outside world with fear. Do justice that your name may endure for ever. Comfort the mourner; oppress not the widow; expel no man from the possessions of his father. Do not (lightly) degrade magistrates from their posts; and take care that you do not punish wrongfully. Do not kill, for it does not profit you; but punish only with beatings or imprisonment, except only in the case of a traitor."

Then he goes on to advise his son to maintain a trained army of young men: this he has always done himself, he says, making a point of rewarding these soldiers with grants of land and cattle, and thus ensuring their loyalty. "Do not make any distinction," he adds, "between the son of a noble and one of humble birth; but take a man to you because of his capacity." This, indeed, was always the Egyptian habit, the nation, even to the present day, being thoroughly democratic.

He strongly advocates a strict observance of religious duties, and the maintaining of the temple services. "Let not your hands be idle," he writes, "but do your work joyfully. Indolence would ruin heaven (itself)." "Rule men as the flocks of God, for He made heaven and earth according to their liking. He checked the greed of the waters, and made the air to give life to their nostrils. They

are His own images, proceeding from His flesh, and He rises in heaven according to their desire. At their behest He made the dawn, and He sails by in order to see them. He has raised a sanctuary behind them; and when they weep He hears. He made for them the grass and the cattle: fowl and fish also to nourish them. He slew His enemies, and destroyed His own children because of their rebellious spirits; . . . yet how (that is to say, with what sorrow) did He slay the froward of heart? Even as a man slays his own son for his brother's sake!—for God knows every man by name. . . . He made for them magic as a weapon to ward off evil events: dreams also by night and day."

In these words it is evident that he refers to the religious beliefs already mentioned as prevailing at Heracleopolis. God to him was Harshef, an aspect of Re, the Sun, who first rose in that city, and who was the loving and tender-hearted Father of mankind, made manifest in the heavens as the sun; and it is apparent that the old Pharaoh was a hearty believer in the magic arts, and in the significance of dreams. He had a firm belief in the retribution of Providence, and in the law that a man is paid out for his misdeeds; and in this regard he frankly tells the story of the loss of the city of Thinis, which was the great catastrophe of his reign.

"A calamity happened in my time," he says: "the region of Theni was invaded. It happened, indeed, through my own fault: I knew it after it was over, and knew that I had been paid back for what I had done. Nay, but weak is he and no good man who glosses over the evil he has wrought, who makes light of what he has done, or improves it into something good. Take heed concerning it: a blow is answered by a blow—that is the rule in all that is done."

It is evident, as I have said, that he had performed some hostile action towards the South, and that the troops of Wahenk Intef had retaliated by seizing the sacred cities of Theni and Ebod, and the Pharaoh had now given up all hope of recapturing the conquered province. "A generation of men has passed," the old king sighs, "and God, who knoweth all hearts, has hidden Himself," that is to say, God had not answered his prayers for the recovery of the holy places.

In a very obscure passage of the text, he therefore advises his son to give up all hope of laying his dead body in the courts of Osiris in actuality, but to remember that, after all, his soul will find its way to God in the end.

He seems to attribute the irrevocable nature of his loss to the fact that, in the battle against the invaders, he caused some damage to the ancient tombs in the necropolis of Thinis, thereby bringing down on his head that malevolence of the spirits in which he so firmly believed. This is apparent in a statement which develops from a dissertation on the need of being prepared for war. "In miserable condition," he says, "is the man who lacks a fighting spirit; for the enemy in the midst of Egypt is never still, and it needs warriors to subdue warriors. As runs the prophecy of our forefathers in this regard: 'Egypt shall fight even amidst her tombs.' Yet injure not the tombs by works of war, for even so I did, and even so that thing befel me which deserves to be done to one who has transgressed in this way against God." His fear of incurring the wrath of the dead is also shown in an urgent admonition to his son to avoid using any old material, belonging to earlier sepulchres, in the making of his own tomb. "Destroy not the monument of another," he says, "but quarry your own stone from the quarries of Turah," the great quarries on the east bank of the Nile, whence the limestone of which the pyramids were made was obtained. "Deal not unkindly with the Southern land," he repeats, "for you know the prophecy concerning it. That shall happen even as this did happen. They did not cause the trouble: it was according as they said" (i.e. it was my fault). In conclusion he writes: "O, that you may reach me (in the underworld) without an accuser! Slay not any that is near to you, for God, in whose care he is, commends him to you. . . . Instil the love of yourself in all the land. A good character is that which is remembered. It is being said of you by the slaves in the back of this palace of Akhtoi, in foretelling the coming of your day: 'Ended now is the time of the weak!' Behold, I have spoken to you the best of my inner thoughts: set them steadfastly before your face."

There is something very pathetic in this confession of

failure, and the words of the slaves must have stung the old Pharaoh, whose policy of conciliating the south was evidently not popular. There is one curious little point which seems to show to what lengths he had carried this pacification. It will be remembered that in the tomb of Tefibi at Seut there is an account of how that prince routed the men of the south at the beginning of the revolt. Now, that inscription was plastered over shortly after it was written, and upon the clean surface some ordinary conventional phrases were written instead; and it is only to-day when the plaster has fallen off that the earlier, and unfinished, inscription can be read. It seems, therefore, that the Pharaoh, on one of his visits to Assiout, had seen the words, and had suggested to his host that perhaps they might give offence, and that it would be wiser to obliterate them. The Pharaoh's admission that the revolt had been due to his own fault, and his advice to his son to be indulgent to the late enemy, gives plausibility to this explanation of the otherwise unaccountable suppression of Tefibi's boastful words.

As a matter of fact, Prince Tefibi himself was not a little proud of the peaceful state of the country since the rebellion. In one of his tomb-inscriptions he addresses himself to posterity: "O, you living!" he cries, "O, you who are upon earth, children who are yet to be born!" He describes how peaceful and orderly was the land under his rule, and how a man sleeping out in the open was as safe as one in his own house; and he glories in the fact that his son was recognized as his successor from the day of his birth. The people rejoiced, he says, "because any prince who shall do good to the people, and who shall surpass the virtue of his father, shall be blessed in the hereafter, and his son shall abide in the paternal house; his memory shall be pleasant in the city, and his statue shall be glorified and carried aloft by the children of his house."

The only other reference to the Pharaoh Nebkeure occurs in the tale of the Eloquent Peasant, in whose reign the events narrated are supposed to have taken place. Of this story, which reveals him as enjoying a jest at the expense of one of his subjects, several copies are known, and its grim humour was apparently very popular (see translations

by *Maspero* and others, and a free version in *Petrie, Egyptian Tales*). There was a peasant, it says, living in the Wady Natrûn, in the desert to the west of Lower Egypt; and this man made a journey to Eheninsi, the capital, to buy provisions for his wife and children, leaving her only sufficient supplies to last a certain time. But when nearing the city, his little caravan of donkeys was seized by a malicious farmer on the grounds that they had trampled and eaten his corn. The peasant made his complaint to the King's High Steward, but that official was so amused by the eloquence of the man's appeal, that he delayed giving him justice so that he might enjoy the entertainment of his fine flow of language. Meanwhile this official caused provisions to be sent to the petitioner's family in the desert, and saw to it that the miserable peasant himself was supplied anonymously with food; and then he settled down to enjoy the joke. Nine times the man came to him, and the story gives us some of the extravagant and flowery speeches he made when pleading for justice; but at length, when he began to feel desperate, and believed his family to be starving, he became abusive, and thereupon—this is a great joke—the High Steward had him well beaten. At last the miserable man, abandoning all hope, determined to commit suicide; whereupon his tormentor decided that the jest had gone far enough, and caused his donkeys to be returned to him. Meanwhile King Nebkeure had been kept informed of the affair, the peasant's speeches being taken down in writing and sent to the palace; and the story says that the Pharaoh was so highly diverted by these eloquent and desperate appeals that there was nothing in the whole land that had amused him so much.

DYN. IX, 4. MERYKERE AKHTOI
2227-2222 B.C.

When Nebkeure at length died he was succeeded by his son (?) who took the name Merykere, "Beloved of the spirit of Re," in addition to his name Akhtoi. Meanwhile Prince Tefibi of Seut had also died, and had been succeeded by his son, whose name, once more, was Akhtoi; but up

at Thebes the old king Wahenkh Intef was still alive, having now ruled his southern dominions for some 45 years. Then, shortly after the new king had ascended the throne, or perhaps actually at his accession, a revolt broke out somewhere in Middle Egypt; but Prince Akhtoi of Seut remained loyal, and, assuming the office of "Military, Commander of the Whole Land," suppressed it and restored order, as he has recorded on the walls of his tomb, where he names the Pharaoh Merykere as his lord and master. Thereupon the Pharaoh sailed with him up the Nile, and "the clouds dispersed before him." With an enormous fleet, extending for many miles, they travelled up and down the river, while "the people feared and the officials were a prey to terror"; and at length the king returned amidst general rejoicings to his capital. A few years of undisturbed peace followed, so the new Prince of Seut tells us: "Every official was at his post; there was no fighting, nor any shooting an arrow; the child was not smitten beside its mother, nor the citizen beside his wife; and there was no evil-doer, nor any one doing violence against any house."

At Seut a great temple was built, dedicated to the local god Wepwet, the jackal, "the Opener of the Roads" for the dead; and meanwhile the Pharaoh began the construction of his pyramid tomb at Sakkâra, close to the pyramid of King Toti of the Sixth Dynasty (Quibell, *Sakkâra*, 1905-6, p. 21), and there he caused a statue of himself to be set up, which is now in the Cairo Museum, and which shows that the sculptor's art had not greatly deteriorated, in spite of over 200 years of somewhat unstable government. The sarcophagus of a priest of this pyramid, named Ipenkhu, is now in Berlin. A palette inscribed with this king's name is now in the Louvre, having been found probably at Assiout or Meir.

The end of the dynasty came rapidly. Perhaps the Pharaoh died, leaving no son, or perhaps a second rebellion cast him from his throne. Prince Akhtoi, too, who was telling us just now how peaceful was his province, apparently went down in the general disturbance, for he was the last of his race. At about the same time the old king Wahenkh

Intef of Thebes was gathered to his fathers, after a tenure of the throne of 50 years, during which the four kings of the House of Akhtoi who constitute the Ninth Dynasty had all reigned and passed away.

§ 6. THE TENTH DYNASTY 2221-2197 B.C.

As I have already said, this dynasty, which must have succeeded to the throne at about the same time as the death of Wahenk Intef of Thebes, cannot have lasted longer than about 25 years. Wahenk Intef was followed on the southern throne by a king named Nakht-nebtepnefer Intef, who probably reigned about 10 years, as I shall explain in the next chapter; and after him came King Senkhibtoui Mentuhotpe, who reigned 14 or 15 years; and in the 14th year of the latter reign a certain inscription, of which I shall speak in the next chapter, records a great rebellion, which seems to be none other than the revolt which swept the Tenth Dynasty from power and raised the kings of Thebes to the throne of the Pharaohs, for the next Theban king, Nebheptre Mentuhotpe, was hailed as Pharaoh of all Egypt. Manetho states that the Tenth Dynasty, which ruled at Eheninsi, lasted 185 years, and had 19 kings; but as he gives only 43 years for the Eleventh Dynasty, and 16 kings, whereas we know it consisted of 7 kings and lasted 160 years, his figures are obviously hopelessly muddled at this point. Possibly his 185 years for the Tenth Dynasty was really the total of the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasties together (i.e. 25 + 160), and his 19 kings are perhaps really 9. Neither the Abydos List nor the Sakkâra List mentions this dynasty; and from actual remains we have only one royal name, Shenes Wahenk, this being found on three scarabs (Petrie, *History*, p. 133); but even this king can only tentatively be placed at this period by the style of the workmanship and by the similarity of part of his name to that of Wahenk Intef. Other royal names found on scarabs have sometimes been assigned to this dynasty, but they more probably belong to Hyksos times.

On Fragment No. 47 of the Turin Papyrus, the position of which is not known, a list of 7 kings is to be seen, and, allowing one more at either end, there may have been 9 names here. The first two remaining names are Neferkere and Akhtoi, and these, I think, provide sufficient grounds for dating this series to the Tenth Dynasty. They do not belong to the Eighth Dynasty, for they do not agree with those given in the Abydos List, and, moreover, Akhtoi had not then appeared as a royal name. Nor is it likely that there would have been a Neferkere or an Akhtoi in the period after the Twelfth Dynasty. After these first two names, those which follow are partly illegible or missing:—(3) S....h, (4), (5) Mer. . . ., (6) Senti. . . ., and (7) H. Their average reign must have been less than 3 years; but as this was also the case in the reigns still visible in the Turin Papyrus for the end of the Eighth Dynasty, there is no improbability in the fact. It was a turbulent age of rebellions and experimental governments, and the so-called "dynasty" was soon swept aside by its powerful contemporaries from the south.

An extraordinary document has come down to us, which purports to be a record of an impassioned harangue delivered by a certain Ipuwer before the dethroned Pharaoh of his time; and there are good reasons to date the composition to the period of the Tenth Dynasty (Gardiner: *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*). Dr. Gardiner thinks that it probably belongs to the intermediate period between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties; and, as I will presently point out, we shall not be far wrong if we place it towards the close of the Tenth Dynasty, just before the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, who had been ruling Upper Egypt from Elephantine to Thisis, overthrew their miserable contemporaries of the Tenth Dynasty, ruling at Heracleopolis, and brought peace to the distracted country. The papyrus is so fragmentary that only a general idea of Ipuwer's speech can be given; but even so the matter is of great interest, as giving a picture of the terrible condition of Lower and Middle Egypt under the weak rule of these kings, and revealing once again that curious defect in the Egyptian character with which one meets throughout the

nation's history, namely their disastrous capacity for speedy backsliding, or one might perhaps call it their tendency to revert rapidly almost to barbarism, as soon as a strong governing hand, native or foreign, is removed—a tendency, however, which is balanced by their exceptional recuperative powers, and the facility with which they can convert chaos into order and ruin into prosperity, when the acceptable lead is given to them.

The speaker describes the condition of the country as one in which "the face is pale, for the bowman is ready, and the wrongdoer is everywhere, nor is there a man (like the men) of yesterday. The peasant goes out to plough with his shield (in his hand). The servants say, 'Let us go out and steal.' The (very) bird-catchers are drawn up in line of battle, and the fenmen carry their shields. A man looks upon his son as his enemy, and fights with his brother, or is killed at his brother's side. Men's hearts are violent. Plague (rages) throughout the land. Blood is everywhere, nor is Death lacking (in victims). No craftsmen work, for the enemies of the land have spoilt its crafts. The country is a desert throughout; the provinces are laid waste; a foreign tribe from abroad has come into Egypt; and Asiatics have become skilled in the fenmen's profession. The tribes from the desert have everywhere become Egyptians, and there are no (real) Egyptians left anywhere. The country from Elephantine to Thinis is in the hands of the Upper Egyptian kingdom" (i.e. the Eleventh Dynasty, ruling at Thebes), "yet they do not pay tribute (to the north) owing to the (latter's) civil strife. The roads have to be guarded, for men lurk behind the bushes until the benighted traveller comes along, so that they may plunder his baggage, and take away what is upon him. He is belaboured with the blows of their sticks, or wickedly slain. The robber is everywhere. Gates, columns, and walls, are consumed by fire; boxes of ebony are smashed to pieces; and precious acacia-wood is chopped up. Princes are hungry and in distress; noble ladies go hungry, and their limbs are in sad plight by reason of their rags; men eat grass and wash it down with water. Corn has perished on every side. No food is found even for the

birds. Squalor is (apparent) throughout the land, and there is none whose clothes are white in these times. The Nile overflows, yet no one ploughs the land. Cattle are left to stray, and there is none to gather them together. The laws of the courts of justice are cast out: men tread upon them in the public places. Offices are rifled, and their census-lists are carried off. Officials are murdered, and their writings are taken away. All is in ruins."

The cause of this state of things seems to have been due to some sort of political upheaval curiously suggestive of Bolshevism as viewed by a member of the aristocratic party. "Men have dared to rebel against the Crown: a few lawless men have attempted to rid the land of its monarchy. He who possessed no property is now a man of wealth. The poor of the land have become rich, and the possessor of property has become one who has nothing. He who was a messenger now sends another. Servants have given up performing the missions of their masters on which they were sent, and are not afraid to do so. All women servants have become free with their tongues, and when their mistress speaks it is irksome to them. Gold and precious stones adorn the necks of these female servants. Good things are in the land, yet the mistresses of houses say: 'Would that we had something to eat!' for paupers are become owners of the good things. The possessors of robes are now in rags. He who had no loaf is now owner of a barn: his storehouse is filled with the possessions of another. She who used to look at her face in the water is now the possessor of a mirror. The children of princes are dashed against the walls. The son of a man of rank is no longer distinguished from him who has no such father, for the families of princes are cast out in the streets. The wealthy are in mourning; the poor man is full of joy. Every city says: 'Let us suppress those in authority among us.' The hot-headed man says: 'If I knew where God is, then I would make offerings to Him.' Right still exists throughout the land in name, yet what men do, in appealing to it, is Wrong. The old order has perished. There is no end of noise, yet laughter has ceased, and it is groaning that fills the land, mingled with lamentations.

Great and small say: 'Would that I might die!'—and little children say: 'He ought never to have caused me to live.' The Palace has been overthrown in a minute: the king has been turned out by poor men. The storehouse of the king is the common property of everyone."

The speaker then urges the dethroned king to "destroy the enemies of the noble Palace, (once) splendid in courtiers," and he begs him not to omit to make due sacrifices to the gods. Then, in a very obscure but arresting passage, he seems to prophesy the coming of a divine Saviour who "shall bring coolness to that which is fevered. It is said: 'He shall be the Shepherd of His People, and in Him there shall be no sin. When His flocks are scattered He shall spend the day in gathering them together.'" This passage, very naturally, has been thought by some to be a Messianic prophecy; but, as Dr. Gardiner has pointed out, it seems to refer rather to the sun-god Re, who, it is hoped, will once more look down upon the distracted land, and be the saviour of his people. Nevertheless, the similarity of the wording to that used in the Biblical prophecies is remarkable, especially in view of the fact that this document probably still had a recognized place in Egyptian literature at the time of the Hebrew prophets.

The references to the kingdom of Upper Egypt which had ceased to pay tribute, to the foreigners who had gathered in the land, and to the state of anarchy which prevailed, all seem to point to the end of the Tenth Dynasty as the date of this remarkable work.

CHAPTER XI

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

2271-2112 B.C.

§ I. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

I HAVE already pointed out in the last chapter (p. 263) that, in my opinion, the Eleventh Dynasty was founded at Was or Thebes at about the same time as was the Ninth Dynasty at Eheninsi or Heracleopolis, the main reason for this deduction being the fact that the third Akhtoi of the Ninth Dynasty early in his reign lost the city of Theni to Wahenkh Intef, the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty. I have also mentioned there that the Eleventh Dynasty lasted 160 years, and consisted of 7 kings, as the Turin Papyrus tells us. There is an interesting little piece of information which goes to show that the dynasty could hardly have lasted longer than this. On a mortuary tablet now at Leyden (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, xxi-xxii) a scribe, named Intefokr, writing in the 33rd year of the reign of Sesostris I of the Twelfth Dynasty, states that "the father's father of his father," that is to say his great-grandfather, was an official under Wahenkh Intef, the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty, who reigned 50 years. Sesostris I was the second king of his line, the first having reigned 30 years, and thus the 33rd year of Sesostris I was the 63rd year of the dynasty. From the death of Wahenkh Intef to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty was 110 years (i.e. 160 minus 50); and therefore 173 years had elapsed between the writing of the mortuary inscription of this Intefokr, presumably when he was an elderly man, and the last years of Wahenkh Intef. It is to be supposed, then, that Intefokr was born at about the time of the establishment of the Twelfth Dynasty; and since his great-grandfather could hardly have been less than 25 years of age at the death of Wahenkh Intef, we have 135 years between the birth of

Intefokr and the birth of his great-grandfather, which gives an average generation of 45 years. This, in a country in which a man was often married at 16, is so high a figure that it could not be higher with any probability.

Two of the last kings of the dynasty, as given in the Turin Papyrus, are Nebhapetre and Senkhkere, and there is then a final name which is lost. The Sakkâra List and Abydos List give only these two kings, Nebhapetre and Senkhkere, for this dynasty, following them immediately with the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. The arrangement of the first three monarchs of the line is known from two inscriptions in the British Museum, which will be mentioned later: these show that the order was (1) Wahenkh Intef, (2) Nakht-nebtepnefer Intef, and (3) Senkhibtoui Mentuhotpe. Of the other known kings of this dynasty, Nebheptre Mentuhotpe came before Nebhapetre Mentuhotpe, as is shown by the fact that the mortuary temple of Nebhapetre at Dêr el-Bahri was built over the shrines erected there to six Hathor-priestesses by Nebheptre (as Winlock has shown, *Bulletin Met. Mus. New York*); and the above-mentioned lists tell us that Nebhapetre was followed by Senkhkere. Thus 6 of the kings are placed; but there is a 7th king, Nebtoure Mentuhotpe, whose name occurs at Wady Hammamât in conjunction with that of his Prime Minister Amenemhet. This Amenemhet, it seems to me, is certainly the man who afterwards seized the throne and founded the Twelfth Dynasty; and thus Nebtoure must be placed at the end of the dynasty, where the Turin Papyrus has an obliterated name.

In regard to the dates of these kings, we begin our calculations with the fixed date, 2111 B.C., for the foundation of the Twelfth Dynasty, and put the foundation of the Eleventh 160 years earlier, 2271 B.C., as stated by the Turin Papyrus. Between these limits we then fit in the years of the reigns of the 7 kings, the minimum for some of which we know from the monuments. Thus, the table given on page 19 is built up.

DYN. XI, I. WAHENKH INTEF (OR INTEF-OE)
2271-2222 B.C.

To begin the history of the House of Intef we have to go back to the last years of the Eighth Dynasty, when, in the reign of Neferkeuhur (p. 261) a man of the name of Intef is mentioned in a decree issued by the king at Koptos, a fact which is of importance as showing that the name Intef was certainly being used at that time: for it is to be remembered that whereas I attribute the rise of the Intefs to this period, it has generally been supposed that they did not appear upon the scenes until more than two and a half centuries later. At about the time of Neferkeuhur there lived, in the province of Thebes, a prince of the name Intef, or Intefi, who seems to have been as powerful as the rich Theban fields and the hardy and industrious people of those regions could make him. In an inscription found at Thebes (*Cairo Catalogue*, 20009) he is called: "The Hereditary Prince, Great Lord of the Theban Province, satisfying the King as Keeper of the Frontier of the South, great supporter of him who makes his two lands to live (i.e. the king)"; and from this it is clear that Intef was regarded at the court of Memphis as the chief personage of the southern country, that is to say of the territory fixed by a decree dating from the end of the Eighth Dynasty (p. 260), as from Iebo or Elephantine, at the First Cataract, to the southern frontier of the province of which Theni, or Thisis, was the capital. We do not know his paternal ancestry, but the name of his mother, Ikuy, has been preserved; and it seems that his actual residence was at first at the city of Hermonthis, the modern Arment, on the west bank of the Nile, a few miles to the south of that great range of desert hills which formed the backing of the later Theban temples. Little is known of his life, for his fame is due only to the glory of his descendants; but Sesostri I of the Twelfth Dynasty dedicated a statue to him at Karnak, and called him his ancestor (*Recueil*, xxii, 64), while in the List of Kings at Karnak he appears, under the title of Prince, as the founder of his line. There is also another inscription, now preserved at

Strasburg, which mentions his name (Spiegelberg: *Suddeutsch Sammlung* I, p. 11, pl. xi). He seems to have died at just about the time of the collapse of the Eighth Dynasty, and it may be that he met his death during the disturbance in which that dynasty came to an end. He was buried in the desert to the west of Thebes; and was succeeded by his son (?) Intef or Intef-oe, "The Great." But the tyrant, Akhtoi, had just then proclaimed himself Pharaoh at Eheninsi. Taking the name Wahkere, "Abundant is the spirit of Re"; and Intef, knowing his own power in the south, at once caused himself to be proclaimed Pharaoh at Thebes, taking a similar name, Wahenk, "Abundant is his life." The Heracleopolitan Pharaoh had called himself "Akhtoi, Son of the Sun-god," and the Theban king did likewise, calling himself "Intef, Son of the Sun-god."

Some sort of arrangement seems to have been made between the two monarchs, and King Intef appears to have acknowledged King Akhtoi as his overlord, paying him tribute in grain and also allowing him certain quarrying rights at Aswân, whence came the famous red granite; for, as we have already seen (p. 272), the third Akhtoi refers to this tribute in his letter to his son. So matters stood during the 7 years of the reign of the first Akhtoi, and the 12 years of the second—that is to say, during the first 19 years of the reign of Wahenk Intef. Then came the third Akhtoi at Eheninsi, who performed some hostile act against his Theban vassal, which he himself admitted later was unjust (p. 275). Wahenk Intef at once retaliated, and, as has already been narrated, he came to blows with Prince Tefibi of Seut, the northern Pharaoh's loyal supporter. At first the war went badly for the Theban king, but at length his men rushed the very sacred twin cities of Theni (Thinis) and Ebod (Abydos), and with them, of course, the tomb of Osiris; and this so upset the superstitious Heracleopolitan monarch that he made a hasty peace with his vassal, generously acknowledging that he had been in the wrong, and that the loss of this territory only served him right.

Wahenk Intef, thoroughly astonished, accepted his good fortune gratefully, and made no further attempt to extend his power. A certain Theri, who was Governor of

the Palace at Thebes, has left a tombstone inscription (Petrie, *Qurneh*, Plate II) in which he says: "King Wahenkh (Intef) sent me a (personal) message after I had fought with the House of Akhtoi in the territory of Theni; and messages also came that the great Prince had assigned a ship to me, in order that there might be protection for the property of those who belonged to the South to its whole extent, namely southwards from Iebo (Elephantine) (Aswân) and northwards to Debu (Aphroditopolis)," the northern frontier of the Thinite province. Theri tells us that he "was fierce of heart on the day of battle," which means that he carried himself bravely at the capture of Theni; and afterwards, as he here says, he patrolled the Nile in one of his sovereign's vessels in order to prevent any outbreak of active loyalty to the defeated Pharaoh.

Another brief inscription which refers to the conquest of Theni is now in the British Museum (*Egyptian Sculpture*, B.M., 9, viii), and records the deeds of a certain Thethi, who was Chief Treasurer at the Theban court. "I passed a long period of years," he writes, "under the majesty of my lord, the Hawk-king Wahenkh, Reed- and Hornet-king, Son of the Sun-god, Intef, this land being under his authority up stream as far as Thes," a place of doubtful location, "and down stream as far as Theni. . . . I made a vessel for the city, and a ship wherein to follow my lord." I suppose this indicates that for some years the authority of the South was largely maintained by ships of war which patrolled the Nile. "I was a real favourite of the king," he continues, in that vainglorious strain which can only be appreciated by those who know these ingenuous children of the Nile; "I was the coolness and the warmth in the palace of my lord, one to whom the arms were drooped in respect among the grandees"—that is to say even the nobles at Court made to him that bow and downward sweep of the arm which is still the Egyptian salaam.

But the most important monument of this reign is the king's own tombstone, which was found in the rather small and unimpressive brick pyramid wherein he was buried, on the hillside at the northern end of the Theban Necropolis, just opposite Karnak.

Upon this monument there is a figure of the king standing with his five dogs, four of whose names are still able to be read—"Gazelle," "Greyhound," "Black," and "Fire-pot"; and thus we can at once picture this ancient king of the South as a man who loved his dogs more than all his possessions, and desired that their memory should be perpetuated with his, and that they might still be with him in the underworld. The poor workmanship on this monument, and the wretched art displayed on the tombstone of Theri, show that in this part of Egypt there was not much left of the culture of a few centuries earlier; and, as I have remarked in the last chapter, there were here few of the refinements of life which were to be found at the Pharaoh's court in the north. Intef, in fact, seems to have been a fine type of primitive old patriarch, whom one can picture seated under a palm-tree, at the gate of his whitewashed palace, surrounded by his dogs, while Theri, and Thethi, and his other important officials, bow before him, and his half-nude soldiers, carrying cow-hide shields and long spears, stand ready to do his bidding.

The inscription on this tombstone states that it was set up in the 50th year of his reign, and one may suppose therefore that he was some 70 or 80 years of age when he died. In this inscription he refers to the capture of Theni: "I landed in the sacred valley," he says. "I captured the entire province of Theni. I opened all her fortresses. I made her my Gateway, or frontier, of the North. . . . I extended my northern boundary as far as the province of Utho" (the Aphroditopolis province). He speaks of the works which he carried out, probably at Karnak, in honour of the god Amon, the local deity of Thebes; and we see here the beginning of the rise of that god into a position of eminence. Very probably he removed the seat of government from his ancestral home at Hermonthis, where the god Mentu was patron-deity, and took up his residence here at Thebes, a few miles to the north, thus laying the foundations of that city's future splendour. "I filled Amon's temples with splendid chalices, in order to offer libations. . . . I built temples, fashioned their stairways, restored their gates, established their holy sacrifices for all

eternity." He says of himself that he was "rich in possessions, like a flood; and, like a sea, splendid in the glory of Thebes," and all this, he adds proudly, "I myself have bequeathed to my son. This is no lie that has come forth from my mouth, nor are there any other words appropriate for that which I have told; yet there was no violence done to any one dwelling (even) in the desert, nor loss for any one in possession of his paternal property." When we remember that after the pact of peace was made with the House of Akhtoi, at the conclusion of the war, Intef never again resorted to arms, and when we recall how the Heracleopolitan Pharaoh, in his letter to his son, quoted in the last chapter, begged that the greatest consideration be shown to the South, we are justified in supposing that this old ruler of Thebes was a man whose upright character commanded respect, and who at length died full of honours and of years.

There is a curious and interesting fact to be noticed in regard to this tombstone. Eleven centuries later, during the reign of one of the last Pharaohs of the name of Rameses, an inspection of the ancient royal tombs was made, and a report was drawn up which was discovered in modern times and is now known as the Abbott Papyrus. In this document the inspectors state that they visited the pyramid of this Intef, and found that it was damaged on the outside, but that the actual burial was in good condition. They then refer to the great tombstone, and say that on it is the figure of the king, and they even note the name of one of his dogs. To-day only a heap of bricks on a Theban hillside marks the site of the pyramid, but the tombstone, now in the Cairo Museum, can still be seen, just as the inspector saw it three thousand years ago, when it was already eleven hundred years old.

There are one or two other inscriptions which mention King Intef; but the only one of importance is a tablet cut on the rocks at Elephantine (Petrie, *History*, i, 138) which gives his cartouche and Hawk-name, and seems to show that he was working the granite quarries in that neighbourhood.

Two fragmentary versions of an old funeral song have been found in Eighteenth Dynasty documents (Breasted, *Development of Religion*, p. 182); and the title "A song

which was (sung) in the mortuary temple of King Intef" dates it probably to the reign of the monarch with whom we are now dealing. It reads as follows:—"How fortunate is this good prince! It is an excellent decree of Providence that our bodies collapse and pass away while others remain, (and that this has been so) since the days of the (royal) ancestors, the gods who existed aforetime, who rest in their pyramids, the nobles and the illustrious departed likewise, who are entombed in their sepulchres. These built mortuary temples for themselves, (but) their homes are no more, and see what has happened to them! I have heard the words of Iemhotpe and Hurdadef" (pp. 147 and 186), "words very famous as their utterances, yet look at their temples!—their walls are fallen down; and (as to) their homes, they are no more: they are as though they had never existed. Nor has any man come back from the Hereafter to tell us how they fare, to tell us what has befallen them, that he may make our hearts happy, until we too depart to that place whither they have gone. (Well), let your mind forget it!—let it be your pleasure to follow your heart's desire while yet you are alive. Put myrrh upon your head, and clothe yourself in fine linen. Make use of (life's) wonderful luxuries, for these are the real gifts of the gods. Increase ever more (and more) your delights, and let not your heart be downcast. Follow your desire and your fortune, and conduct your affairs on earth according to the dictates of your own heart, until that day of lamentation comes (also) to you, (and, even so, remember that) then the silent-hearted (i.e. the dead) do not hear that lamentation, nor does he who is in the tomb attend the funeral. Be happy in the gladness of the day, and be not sorrowful therein, for no man can take his possessions with him, and no man comes back again who has gone hence."

DYN. XI, 2. NAKHT-NEBTEPNEFER INTEF
2221-2212 B.C.

The old king was succeeded on the throne of the South, about 2221 B.C., by his son Intef, who took the Hawk-name

Nakht-nebtepnefer "Mighty is the Lord in the Height of Good Fortune," and a tablet naming this king, which was found at Abydos (*Cairo Museum Catalogue*, 20502; Mariette, *Abydos*, p. 96, No. 544), shows that he still held the province of Theni which had been captured by his father. The fact that he succeeded Wahenkh Intef is recorded on the tombstone of Thethi (p. 289), who states that he was retained in his office as Chief Treasurer when Wahenkh "journeyed to his horizon, and his son assumed his place." He was probably a man past middle age when he succeeded his aged father and his reign seems to have been short—probably not more than about 10 years, though the actual figure is unknown. He seems to have come to the throne at about the same time that the death of the Pharaoh Merykere Akhtoi brought the House of Akhtoi to an end, and thereby changed the attitude of the House of Intef from an almost benevolent inaction to an anxious defensive. The court of Thebes did not now know when it would be attacked by the rulers of the so-called Tenth Dynasty; and the next king of the South must have entered upon his reign with many misgivings.

DYN. XI, 3. SENKhibTOUI MENTUHOTPE
2211-2197 B.C.

This new king did not have the personal name, Intef, but was called Mentuhotpe, a name compounded of that of the war-god Mentu, the local deity of Hermonthis; and this, perhaps, suggests that he was the brother rather than the son of the late king. It may be, in fact, that he ousted King Intef, who perhaps was a weak ruler, not fit to cope with the new and dangerous situation brought about by the fall of the House of Akhtoi. He took the Hawk-name Senkhibtoui which means "Reviving the heart of the two lands"; and his position in the dynasty is given upon the tombstone of a certain official of the name of Intef (*Egyptian Sculpture, British Museum*, 9, vii) who mentions the three kings Wahenkh Intef, Nakht-nebtepnefer Intef, and Senkhibtoui Mentuhotpe, in that order. The only other contemporary monument of this reign is

an important one: it is the tombstone of a certain Henun (*Zeitschrift*, xlii, 133), which not only mentions these three kings again, but states that it was set up "in the 14th year (of Senkhibtoui), in the year in which Theni rebelled." Now the 14th year fell somewhere about 2198 B.C., and the following year, 2197 B.C., is the date at which I have suggested that the Tenth Dynasty collapsed, after holding the throne in the north for only 25 years. The rebellion at Theni was probably connected with some attempt on the part of the Tenth Dynasty at Heracleopolis to extend its dominions southward; but it seems to have led immediately to retaliatory warfare on the part of King Senkhibtoui, and one may suppose that the Heracleopolitan monarchy was wiped out in the ensuing campaign. Senkhibtoui himself, however, apparently died at the height of the trouble, and was succeeded by a second Mentuhotpe.

DYN. XI, 4. NEBHEPTRE MENTUHOTPE
2196-2172 B.C.

The new king took the Reed- and Hornet-name, Nebheptre, "Lord of the Equity of the Sun-god," the word *hept* meaning literally "squareness." As Hawk-king and Lord of the Vulture and Cobra he assumed the name Nebhethet, "Lord of the White Crown (of Upper Egypt)"; and some fragments of shrines found at Dendereh (Cairo Museum, *Annales*, 1917, p. 226) and at Gebeleyn (Daressy, *Rec.* xiv, 26; xvi, 42), show him smiting Egyptians, Libyans, negroes and the nomadic Asiatic tribesmen of the Eastern Delta, while the inscriptions here describe him as "Binding the Chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and Northland," and so on. These facts can only mean that the quelling of the rebellion at Theni had led to an invasion of Middle Egypt by the men of Thebes, and thence to a rapid and triumphant conquest of the Delta, at the close of which this new king of the Theban Dynasty ascended the throne of a united Egypt over the ruins of the Tenth Dynasty.

This event was of enormous importance in the history of the Nile Valley, for now, for the first time since archaic

days, a king from the far south was Pharaoh of all Egypt. The people of Lower Egypt must have thought that the end of the world had come, and must have been terrified at the prospect of being ruled by a barbarian from the southern provinces. What was Thebes, they must have asked, but an unimportant little settlement, hundreds of miles up the Nile? What was this conqueror, Mentuhotpe, but a dark-skinned descendant of a line of petty kings? Who were his nobles but an illiterate rabble of peasants and fighting-men? It must have been said of him, with good cause, as will presently be seen, that he outraged all ideas of decency; for he did not have only one wife, as did the civilized men of Lower Egypt, but maintained a large *harim* of concubines up there at Thebes. And as for art and education, these conquerors could hardly read or write, and the work of their draughtsmen was vile. The new Pharaoh, however, proved to be a man of understanding, and soon he had collected at Thebes some good artists and architects from the lower country; and presently we find that the miserable work which marked the earlier years of the dynasty has disappeared, and has given place to work of a high quality, evidently executed by artists and craftsmen trained in the schools of Lower Egypt which had very largely maintained the traditions of the Sixth Dynasty. Egyptologists have been inclined to think that, with the fall of the Sixth Dynasty, art and civilization collapsed throughout Egypt, and that it only began to revive again towards the close of the Eleventh Dynasty; but I have tried to show in these pages that there was no such collapse. The House of Akhtoi maintained a very fair degree of culture, especially in literature; and it was only in Upper Egypt that the extinction of the great feudal families, who had always been in touch with Memphis, led to a temporary reversion to primitive habits. If only the lower country had preserved for us its monuments of this period between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties, I think we should have found a fair continuity of the artistic canons; but with Upper Egypt practically independent of, and cut off from, the Pharaohs' court in the North, we cannot expect to find there in the South anything but primitive conditions,

yet this should not lead us to think that art in Lower Egypt had also gone to pieces.

I mentioned just now the two little temples which this king Nebheptre built at Gebeleyn and Dendereh. Gebeleyn is situated only a few miles up-stream from Hermonthis and Thebes, at a point where two prominent ranges of the limestone cliffs rise abruptly at the edge of the water, on the west bank of the Nile. It was a locality sacred to the goddess Hathor, and was known as Per-Hathor (Greek, Pathoris), "the Abode of Hathor"; and in the inscriptions the king calls himself "Son of Hathor, Lady of Dendereh." Dendereh is situated a few miles down-stream from Thebes, and in ancient times was the chief centre of the worship of Hathor. Now the only other buildings which can be attributed to this king are a row of mortuary shrines which he erected at the foot of the western cliffs of Thebes over the tombs of six of his wives, who were also priestesses of Hathor. The cliffs, too, in the shadow of which they were buried, were sacred to Hathor. It is hard to say what is the significance of this close relationship with Hathor; but the reader's attention may be drawn to two points, firstly that Hathor is the patron of women and of motherhood, and secondly that in this Eleventh Dynasty women evidently played an important part, as is perhaps to be expected in a family living so close to Ethiopian territory, where the queens were more important than the kings. The Pharaohs of this family are represented sometimes with their mothers, or mention them; and the dynasty traces its descent to Ikuy, mother of the first Prince Intef. It may be said, of course, that this is no more than occurs in other periods of Egyptian history, for descent through the female line was always a feature of Egyptian law: nevertheless I cannot help feeling that with the rise of these southern rulers there comes a strong renewal of the matriarchal practice, and the importance of women.

Let us consider these tombs and shrines of the six wives of the Pharaoh. They were situated upon a platform of rock and gravel at the foot of the soaring cliffs of the Theban hills, in that magnificent desert amphitheatre now known as Dêr el-Bahri. The tombs were small rock-cut chambers,

and in front of each stood the shrine, wherein was a statue of the dead woman to whom it was dedicated. Each shrine was closed by a wooden door which was opened on festival-days, offerings then being made before the statue. The names of these queens were Henhenit, Kemsit, Keuit, Sadhe, Aeshait, and Mait; and each is called "royal wife of the king, and *only* royal favourite," which, by the way, indicates that the latter phrase had ceased to have more than a polite significance. They were buried in beautiful sarcophagi (Plate XVII) made of white limestone, decorated with elaborate and charming representations of these ladies seated before heaps of food, drinking milk warm from the cows which are milked in their presence, or having their hair dressed, or being fanned and scented by their maids, or sniffing the delicate perfume of lotus-flowers, and generally enjoying themselves in the manner of women of the *harim*, while their pet dogs lie under their chairs, and their servants hasten to and fro to do their bidding.

The mummy of the lady Aeshait, found during Mr. Winlock's skilful excavations, showed her to have been not more than 22 or 23 years of age when she died, and Mr. Winlock describes her as "a plump little person with bobbed hair." Over her head a mass of bed-sheets had been piled, the linen being marked either with the name "King Mentuhotpe," or with the words "Fine-linen Wardrobe"; and inside the lid of the sarcophagus above her there were long lists of amulets and talismans with appropriate magical formulæ, such as might save her little soul from damnation. Her statuette showed her dressed in a tight-fitting garment of scarlet which extended from just above her waist to just below her knees, and was held up by two broad white bands passing over her shoulders and half concealing her breasts. The lady Mait, a name which means "The cat," proved to have been but 5 years of age or so, and must have been the daughter of some noble, formally taken into the *harim* in anticipation of her maturity, a custom not uncommon either in ancient or mediæval Egypt. There were five charming necklaces of gold, silver, carnelian and green felspar, around her small neck. I do not know the ages of the other mummies found by Naville and Hall;

but I suppose that some of them must have been older. The fact that six of them died during their husband's reign indicates that the king's *harim* was a large one, unless it be that a sudden disaster carried them all together down to the underworld.

There is an interesting inscription relating to this period which was found at Denderah (Petrie, *Denderah*, Plate XV) and which records the virtues of a certain Khnumerdu, the Steward of a queen named Nofru-keyt. In this inscription the queen is called "Royal Favourite, Great in ancestors, eminent in ancestresses, Heiress of the South country, daughter of a King, and wife of a King, inheriting from her mother the chieftainship over the people from Iebo (Elephantine) to the Province of Utho (Aphroditopolis)." This queen's mother, then, was in her own right lady of the land from the First Cataract to the northern boundaries of Theni; and it would seem likely, therefore, that she was the eldest surviving daughter, and hence heiress, of Wahenkh Intef, the conqueror of that precise region. She may have married Nakht-nebtepnefer Intef or Senkibtoui Mentuhotpe, and their daughter Nofru-keyt may perhaps have married Nebheptre Mentuhotpe, and brought to him the kingdom of the South. An interesting point is that this queen Nofru-keyt is said in this inscription to have placed Khnumerdu at Denderah in charge "of the great collection (?) of her mother, learned in writing, eminent in the works of science in the great hall (library?) of the South." Khnumerdu says: "I made extensions to the collection, enriching it with heaps of valuable matter, so that it was not wanting in anything within the scope of my knowledge of things. I organized it, I strengthened what I found decayed, I tied up (the manuscripts) which I found loose, I arranged what I found confused." It is rather surprising to find that the queens of this period were learned women and patrons of the sciences; and it is significant that here again they are connected with Denderah, the sacred city of the goddess Hathor.

The length of the reign of this king is unknown, but the Turin Papyrus total of 160 years for the duration of the dynasty necessitates a tenure of the throne by him of some

25 years. Some years ago a great subterranean tomb, known as the Bâb el-Hosân, was discovered by Carter at Thebes. An opening in the rock, some 50 feet deep, led down to a sloping tunnel, 450 feet long, at the end of which was a deep shaft. It appears to have been used as a cenotaph or tomb of the spirit rather than as an actual burial place, for although it had not been tampered with, no burial of a body was found. A small inscribed box gave the name "Son of the Sun-god Mentuhotpe," but it cannot be said with certainty which Mentuhotpe it is to be identified with. There is, however, no cartouche or royal oval around the name, and this fact rather suggests that it may have belonged to the Mentuhotpe with whom we are now dealing, or his predecessor. In the tomb there was a large seated statue of the king dressed in the costume usually worn at the Jubilee ceremony, and wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. It is now in the Cairo Museum. When found it was wrapped in linen and was lying on its side with the head propped up, as though it had been carefully laid to rest like a dead body.

DYN. XI, 5. NEBHAPETRE MENTUHOTPE
2171-2125 B.C.

The new Pharaoh was another Mentuhotpe, who took the Reed- and Hornet-name Nebhapatre, "Lord of the Guidance of the Sun-god." The word which I here read *hapet* literally means "the rudder-oar," and seems really to have had the same sound as the word which I have read *hept* in the name of the previous king, meaning "squareness"; but the transliteration of Egyptian hieroglyphs permits such latitude, and it has seemed wiser thus to make a clear distinction between the two names. As Hawking and Lord of the Vulture and Cobra, he took the name Smatoui, "Uniting the Two Lands (of Egypt)"; and in front of his name Mentuhotpe he used the time-honoured title, "Son of the Sun-god." With his accession to the throne there began a long reign which marks the zenith of the power of the Eleventh Dynasty. The ruins of a temple built by this Pharaoh at Abydos have been found

(Petrie, *Abydos* II, 14), and there the altars of granite show that he was working the quarries at Aswân. Parts of another building at Gebeleyn have also come to light (*Rec.* xl, 26); and from this same locality comes a stela (*Cairo Museum Cat.* 20001), commemorating a certain Assistant-Treasurer, Ity, who perhaps lived during this reign. "I sustained Gebeleyn," Ity says, "during the years of famine, there being 400 men in distress; but I took not the daughter of a man (in payment), I took not his field. I organized (for them) ten herds of goats with people in charge of each herd; I organized two herds of cattle, and one herd of donkeys; and I raised all kinds of small cattle. I constructed 30 ships, and then 30 other ships; and, after Gebeleyn was sustained, I supplied grain to Esneh and Tophium (just to the south and north of Gebeleyn). The province of Thebes went up-stream (for supplies), but never did anyone round about Gebeleyn have to trade with another district. I followed my great lord, I followed my lesser lord, and nothing was lost therein. I built a house . . . fitted with every luxury. The people said 'He is innocent of violence to another.'" And then there is a postscript, reading: "(This stela was made) for him by his beloved son," which shows that it was the son who put this self-praise into the mouth of his father.

The reference to a great lord and a lesser lord is interesting, and seems to suggest that under this Pharaoh there was some vassal king who held sway in these parts. Now, on the rocks of the Shatt er-Rigâl, a desert valley near Gebel Silsileh, a great tablet is carved (see photograph in Petrie, *History*), on which this king Nebhapatre Mentuhotpe is represented standing with his mother, a lady named Aoh, or "Moon," while before him, drawn in smaller size, is the figure of a king, called "Son of the Sun, Intef," and with him is Mentuhotpe's Chief Treasurer, named Akhtoi. Here, then, is evidently just such a "lesser lord," or vassal, as is mentioned on Ity's tombstone; and the fact that the Shatt er-Rigâl is the head of a caravan route to Kurkur Oasis and to Lower Nubia suggests that he was a ruler of the district from Aswân southwards. Now, in four different parts of Lower Nubia I found the cartouches

“Hekere, Son of the Sun, In,” inscribed upon the rocks, in a style of writing which suggests this period; and very possibly this may be the same vassal king, or one of his line, for the name Intef is sometimes written In for short (for instance, on the tombstone of Wahenkh Intef). Perhaps these vassal Intefs were an offshoot from the parent stock of the Eleventh Dynasty; and it may be that the accession of a Mentuhotpe instead of an Intef as the third king of the Dynasty, marks some family feud, in which the heir, named Intef, was dispossessed and betook himself to Lower Nubia. At any rate, we hear no more of this “lesser lord” Intef; but we do hear of an expedition made into Wawat, or Lower Nubia, by this same Akhtoi, the Chief Treasurer, in the 41st year of the reign: the bare fact is recorded on the rocks at Aswân, and it may be that the vassal Intef met his doom in that year. It has been suggested (Breasted, *Records*) that this treasurer, Akhtoi, is to be identified with the Akhtoi who was the last Prince of Assiout, owing to the fact that the name of the mother of each is similar; but the two dates are separated by 90 years. There is, by the way, another inscription on the rocks at Aswân (Petrie, *Seasons*, 243), written by a certain Mererty, also naming the 41st year.

In his various building operations the Pharaoh was now using skilled artists, and the work is generally very creditable. One of these artists was named Mertisen, and this man has left an inscription, in which he gives an account of his skill in the following interesting terms, to which I have added some necessary annotations in brackets:—“I know the secrets of the divine language (Art). An artist skilled in his art, I know what pertains to it (in tomb-decoration), namely the dropping down (or flicking) of water (i.e. the flicking of liquid red paint against the prepared surface by means of a wet string, so as to produce straight lines), the poise obtained by the reckoning up of these measured lines, how to produce figures proceeding (in one direction) and coming back (in the other), so that each limb may go in its place. I know the stride of the figure of a man, the carriage of a woman, the spread of a hawk, the (figures of the demons of the) twelve cycles (or hours) of the darkness,

the eye which sees without the other one (i.e. when the face is in profile) and which affrights the wicked (i.e. tomb-robbers and sacrilegious persons), the poisoning of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low (hunting hippopotami being one of the most usual subjects in tomb-decoration), and the movement of a runner. I understand the making of talismans, which enable us to go about without (risk of) fire striking its flame upon us, or without the floods washing us away. No one succeeds in this but I alone, and the eldest son of my loins. God has decreed that he (too) may excel in it, and I have seen the perfection of his hands in the work of a master-artist in every kind of valuable stone, of gold and silver, of ivory and ebony."

Of other remains there is at Turin a stela of a certain Meru (Lanzone, *Cat.* 117) which is important, because it records Nebhaptre's 46th year as king, a figure which thus gives us the minimum length of his reign; there is an inscription in the British Museum of a man named Intef, son of the Lady Mait, "The cat," who says that he fed the aged and gave food to the children with his own fingers, and who states that he was enriched by his sovereign Nebhaptre; there are two or three scarabs known, inscribed with this Pharaoh's name; and there is a stela of a man named Tetu, which was found at Abydos and which mentions the royal pyramid. This pyramid was the great monument of the reign (Plate XVII). It was erected just in front of the row of tombs wherein lay the wives of the previous Pharaoh (p. 296), and ultimately the surrounding buildings became so extensive that these tombs had to be incorporated into the general scheme (Winlock, *Bulletins of Met. Museum of New York*). The white pyramid itself stood upon a rock platform not far from the foot of the great echoing cliffs of Dêr el-Bahri, that magnificent natural amphitheatre from which one looks eastward down to the fields of the Nile Valley. In the morning the sun beats into this desert bay, so that it becomes a blazing arc of concentrated light, like a stupendous stage flanked and backed by the cliffs and spanned by the deep blue of the sky; but in the afternoon it lies bathed in shadow, while the sun goes down behind its rocky heights. The pyramid, dwarfed by the



A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN FROM THE TOP OF THE CLIFFS AT DÉR EL-BÄHRI, LOOKING DOWN ON THE TEMPLE OF NEBHAPETRE MENTUHOTPE, IN THE RIGHT CORNER, AND THE LATER TEMPLE OF QUEEN HATSHIEPSUT BESIDE IT.

The avenues leading to these temples can be traced down to the fields in the distance. (From the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.)

See page 302.



ONE OF THE WIVES OF THE PHARAOH NEBHETRE MENTUHOTPE ATTENDED BY A MAID WHO HANDS HER A JAR CONTAINING SOME SWEET SUBSTANCE FROM WHICH SHE FANS AWAY THE FLIES.

cliffs, was some 60-foot square at the base, and around it there was a triple colonnade which again was surrounded by a wall some 138 feet square, while outside this there was a double row of pillars. Behind this pyramid, between it and the cliffs, there was an open court, flanked by a pillared arcade, and in the middle was a great square-cut tunnel hewn out of the rock and descending in a long, sloping passage to a subterranean tomb-chamber in which stood an alabaster shrine, wherein the king was to be buried, though no trace of the burial was actually found when it was excavated by Naville and Hall a few years ago. In front of the pyramid a sloping ramp descended to a great forecourt 200 yards long and 100 yards wide, surrounded by a high masonry wall of white limestone. In this court there were groves of sycamore-fig trees, each tree growing in a circular hole cut into the rock and filled with earth, and each surrounded by a low, whitewashed wall. From the entrance of this court, a straight avenue, nearly a mile long and 100 yards wide, led down to the edge of the fields, there being a paved causeway some 18 yards wide running along the middle, flanked by rows of trees, in whose shadow stood statues of the Pharaoh. It was a magnificently conceived and splendidly executed series of buildings, and in the cliffs to right and left were the rock-cut tombs of the chief nobles of the court, each having a courtyard running up the slope at the foot of the precipice, and a gateway at the bottom.

DYN. XI, 6. SENKHKERE MENTUHOTPE

2124-2115 B.C.

When the great Nebhapatre died he bequeathed, it seems, a highly organized state to his successor, with all the government offices functioning smoothly, the great princely families throughout the Two Lands loyal and contented, the cities increasing in size and magnificence, the capital, Thebes, already rich in temples and monuments, and the life of the people able to be lived in peace and comfort. The new Pharaoh was the fourth of the name of Mentuhotpe, and he took as his throne-name Senkhkere, meaning "Reviving in the Spirit of the Sun-god," while as Hawk-

king he was called Senkhtouif, "Reviving his Two Lands." The highest known year of his reign is the 8th, and it is not probable that he occupied the throne much longer than this. But some fragments which seem to be connected with his Jubilee ceremony have been found (Petrie, *Qurneh*, 4, v-vii); and as a royal jubilee in Ancient Egypt seems to have been held generally, if not always, in the 30th year after the Pharaoh—before he came to the throne—had been proclaimed as heir or "crown-prince," it seems that that announcement in regard to his future accession was made somewhere about the middle of his father's long reign. These traces of the jubilee were discovered by Prof. Petrie on the summit of the great hill which rises to the north-east of the entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Here the Pharaoh had caused a small brick and stone temple to be erected, in which was a stone sarcophagus; and possibly this was a sort of cenotaph, or tomb of his spirit, as Prof. Petrie believes. It will be remembered that Nebheptre had built a shrine on the hilltop at Gebeleyn; but otherwise such hilltop temples or shrines are almost unknown in Egypt, and this building erected by Senkhkere, right up in the clouds, so to speak, is unique, and indicates a primitive and hardy custom of these men of the South, quite foreign to the Egyptians as we know them in the placid Nile Valley, where men grew corpulent and short-winded, and had a hearty distaste for mountaineering.

At Abydos there are some remains of a temple erected by this Pharaoh on the site of a ruined shrine of the Sixth Dynasty; at Elephantine there are the fragments of a temple which he built; at Arment, the home of his ancestors, some remains of a temple were found, and one block of limestone from it (*New York Hist. Soc. Bulletin*, 1918, p. 17) is decorated with some beautifully executed reliefs, showing the king before the goddess Utho (Buto) and also performing a religious dance, probably before Min, the god of fecundity; at Karnak the lower part of a kneeling statue of this king, of excellent workmanship, was discovered by Legrain (*Cairo Mus. Cat.* 42006); and Wiedermann (*Geschichte*, 221) mentions a statue of him found at Sakkâra, which cannot now be traced. On the rocks

of the Shatt er-Rigâl, where his father had caused himself to be represented with the vassal King Intef (p. 300), Senkhkere is shown seated on his throne, his dog by his side, while two nobles, one of whom is the Hereditary Prince Thuthi (Thoth)—perhaps a Nubian potentate—do obeisance before him, and two attendants bring offerings of gazelles to him. In the Cairo Museum there is an alabaster plaque inscribed with his name, and calling him "the beloved of Mentu, Lord of Thebes": it was found in the northern part of the Theban necropolis, and looks as though it might have come from a foundation deposit belonging to some temple erected there.

These various remains show us how active this Pharaoh was as a builder and administrator; but the most important information in this respect is found in an inscription carved upon the rocks of the Wady Hammamât, far away in the Eastern Desert, on the highroad between the Nile and the Red Sea. Here a high official named Henu has left a record which tells us how he went across the desert to the Red Sea, and launched an expedition to Pount, the Land of the Gods, on the shores of the Red Sea, far to the south of Egypt, famous for its incense-trees; and he records how, on his way back, he stopped in the Wady Hammamât to cut some blocks of breccia from the famous quarries there, to be used in the king's building operations. The record is dated in the 8th year of the reign, on the 3rd day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, a time of year which would correspond to our month of September, when the weather is beginning to cool down.

The inscription begins with an exaggerated recital of Henu's claims to greatness, which sets one smiling to-day, but which was no laughing matter four thousand years ago, when this important personage dispatched the vessel which was to sail the unknown seas for the glory of his sovereign. "The king's favourite servant," he begins, "who does all the things that the king praises every day; wearer of the royal seal; overseer of that which is and that which is not; overseer of the temples; overseer of the granary and the White House; overseer of horn and hoof; Chief of the Six Courts of Justice"; and so on. In a curious

phrase he speaks of himself as "high-voiced in shouting the name of the King on the Day of the Warding-off," which one pictures as some recurrent magical ceremony whereat the nobles of the court shouted and banged things to ward off the evil spirits. He then goes on to say that he "gives satisfaction to the King's heart as Keeper of the Frontier of the South," that is to say, as Governor of the Frontier at the First Cataract; that he is "set over the administration of the provinces of the South as Chief Treasurer, to whom the Two Lands come bowing down, and to whom every official reports." He adds, too, that he is the man who quelled some rising of the Haunebu, or inhabitants of the northern sea-coast.

"My lord sent me," he tells us, "to dispatch a ship to Pount, in order to obtain for him some fresh incense from the chieftains (who rule) over the Red Land (or Desert), in as much as there was fear of him in the highlands (of the wilderness). So I set forth from Koptos upon the road which his Majesty commanded me to take. There was with me an army of men of the South, and others of the Oxyrhyncos province (in Middle Egypt) . . . ; and every kind of official of the king's palace, those who were in town or country, came with me. The army cleared the way before me, overthrowing those (Bedouin tribes) hostile to the king; and the trackers and children of the desert were posted so as to be a protection to my feet. They reported by messengers (directly) to me, as one alone in command to whom many have to listen. I set out with an army of 3,000 men, and I made the road a river and the desert a stretch of field; for I gave a leathern bottle, a carrying-pole, two jars of water, and twenty loaves of bread to each one of them every day, and there were donkeys laden with sandals for them. Now, I dug twelve wells in the scrub, and two wells in the district of Idehet (with a mouth of) 20 cubits square in one case and 31 cubits square in the other. I dug another in Yahteb, 20 by 20 cubits on each side. At length I reached the sea, and there I built this ship; and, when I had made for it a great oblation of cattle, bulls, and ibexes, I launched it with everything (necessary for it)." He himself, however, remained on shore at the little village

which stood where the town of Kosseir now basks in the sunshine ; and there, it seems, he kicked his heels for many weeks, until the vessel at length returned. He then continues : " Thus I executed the command of his Majesty, and on my return from the Red Sea, I brought back for him all the gifts which I had secured from the territories of the Land of the Gods. I then came back by way of the Wady Hammamât, and there I obtained for him some fine blocks of stone to be used for statues in the temple. Never was the like of them brought down to the king's court, nor was the like of this done by any king's agent who had been sent out since the days of the gods. I did it in the service of my lord, because he so much loved me."

Another very important source of information in regard to this reign is supplied by a series of letters which were found by the expedition of the New York Metropolitan Museum in the tomb of a noble named Ipy, at Thebes. These letters were written by a certain Hekanakht, who was the agent in charge of the tomb-endowment, that is to say, the estates left by Ipy for the maintenance of his sepulchre and mortuary services, and the purchase of offerings for the benefit of his soul. Two of the letters are dated : one being in the 5th year of the reign of this Senkhkere, on the 9th day of the 2nd month of the 3rd season, corresponding to our September 22nd ; and another in the 8th year, that same year in which Henu went to the land of Pount. Some of the property was situated in Memphis and elsewhere, and Hekanakht had to travel about the country pretty extensively in order to look after the estate ; but while he was away he was wont to leave his son Mersu in charge at Thebes, and it is to him and to Hekanakht's mother that the correspondence is addressed.

The letters contain all kinds of interesting domestic instructions. For instance, " as to the flooding of our land," he writes to his son (the time of year being September, when the floods are out), " it is you who are cultivating it, and I shall hold you responsible." " Have the housemaid Senen turned out of my house at once," he says in another letter ; for it seems that she had insulted one of his favourite concubines in his *harem*. " He who shall interfere in any way

with my concubine is against me, and I am against him. It is well-known that a man's concubine ought to be treated kindly." Elsewhere, too, he orders his son to forbid the house to a certain woman named Sehathor, "because she does harm to my concubine," and he adds, sharply: "What am I supporting you for?—and anyway what have you got against my concubine?—What harm can she do to you, you five boys?" In another letter he writes to his mother: "How are you? Do not worry about me. I am alive and well, but the whole land is dead from hunger. I have obtained you your provisions as well as possible, but is not the Nile very low?" Then he gives a list of these supplies, and adds: "Do not be angry about this. To be half alive is better than to die outright!" He appends a word to his son: "You must give food to my people, while they are doing work. Mind this! And make the most of all my land. Dig the ground with your noses in the work. Be active, for, remember, you are eating my bread. It is lucky that I can support you at all! And any one of the men or women who may spurn these provisions, let him come to me here and stay with me and live as I am living—not that there is any one who will do so!"

In one letter he writes: "May Harshef, Lord of Herculopolis, aid you; and may Ptah gladden your heart!" Ptah was the god of Memphis, where, as has been said, some of the land was situated; but the mention of Harshef, the god of the old capital of the Ninth Dynasty, suggests that there were estates in that region also, which makes one think that Ipy's father must have been a landowner in the neighbourhood of the home of these earlier Pharaohs, and must have come to the new capital of Thebes, on the triumph of the South. I want to suggest by this that the court of the Mentuhotpes was now no longer an exclusively southern group of men, but that it represented all Egypt, and was not necessarily resident at Thebes all the year round. The Pharaoh, in fact, may now have spent the hot weather at Memphis, which is a good deal cooler than Thebes, and, indeed, the presence of his statue at Sakkâra, as recorded on page 304, may even mean that he was buried there, as was the last Pharaoh of the House of Akhtoi,

a hundred years before. We must not think of these Pharaohs of the Eleventh Dynasty, then, as being any longer southern potentates, imposing their rule upon the lower country from their inaccessible fastnesses far up the Nile, as they certainly were at the beginning of the dynasty; but rather we must picture them as having so come under the influence of the North that now their very capital, Thebes, was only their winter residence.

The reign of Senkhkere did not last much beyond the 8th year, which is on record; and the tomb and mortuary temple which were being made for him at Thebes were never finished. They were situated a short distance to the south of the pyramid of Nebhapatre, at the foot of the cliffs behind the desert hillock now called Shêkh abd'el Gurneh (Winlock, *Bulletin, Met. Mus. New York*, Nov. 1921, part II, p. 34). Here a platform of rock was fashioned, in which was the mouth of the subterranean tomb; but the actual pyramid and temple buildings had hardly been begun when the king died. A great causeway, however, had been laid out, leading straight down the desert valley to the edge of the fields at a point where afterwards the Ramesseum was built; and the general scheme was worthy of a great king. It is a question, however, whether Senkhkere was ever buried here; and, as I have said above, he may have been laid to rest at Sakkâra. The Pharaohs sometimes had two tombs, one being used as the actual place of burial, and the other as a sort of spiritual sepulchre, where the king's *Ka* or "double," that is to say his spirit, was committed to its rest; and it may be that this unfinished Theban tomb was thus used. At any rate, the remains of a sacrifice of five bulls which were found above the mouth of the sepulchre, indicate that the place was either the actual or the spiritual resting-place of this Pharaoh; and there is evidence that the sepulchre had been sealed up in realistic manner.

DYN. XI, 7. NEBTOUIRE MENTUHOTPE

2114-2112 B.C.

Senkhkere was succeeded by a fifth Mentuhotpe, who was probably his son, and who took the Reed- and Hornet-

name Nebtoure, "The Sun-god is Lord of the Two Lands." As Hawk-king and Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was simply Nebtoui. The new king celebrated his first jubilee on the 3rd day of the 2nd month of the 1st season, in the 2nd year of his reign, as is recorded in the great inscription at Wady Hammamât, to which I shall presently refer. That is to say, he had been proclaimed heir to the throne 28 years earlier, the Egyptian jubilee being, as I have already said, the celebration of the 30th year after that event; and it would seem, then, from this that the old king Nebhapatre had, in the middle of his reign, not only proclaimed his son, afterwards Senkhkere, as "crown-prince," but, a few years later, had acknowledged Senkhkere's son, still a youth, as the next successor, thereby anticipating any future disputes in the dynasty by definitely fixing the succession of his son and grandson. In another inscription at Wady Hammamât, the new King Nebtoure is described as "born of the Royal Mother, Imi," who, I suppose, was either the first wife of the late Senkhkere, but died before he came to the throne, and therefore was never actual queen, or else was a secondary wife, and hence had no right to a higher title than Royal Mother.

An interesting inscription, dated in this new reign, but without mention of the actual year, was carved upon the rocks of Wady Hammamât by a certain Senkh, an old man whose career took him much into the desert. It reads: "The Commander of the Troops in the highlands (of the desert), and in Egypt the officer commanding . . . (the sailors?) . . . on the river, Senkh. He says: I was commander of the troops of this entire land in this desert, they being equipped with water-skins, and with baskets of bread, (jars of) beer, and every fresh vegetable of the South, I made the valleys green and the hills floods of water, settled with people throughout, southward to Thau, northward to Menat-Kheuf. I went across to the Red Sea; I hunted men, I hunted animals. I went out into this desert although I was a man of sixty years, and had seventy little grandchildren, descendants of my one wife. I did all things dutifully for King Nebtoure."

The only other records of this short reign are found in

a series of inscriptions also cut upon the rocks of this historic Wady Hammamât. These tell the story of a great expedition sent thither in the second year of the reign, to procure two blocks of breccia for the king's sarcophagus and its lid ; for there is abundant evidence that the funeral equipment of a Pharaoh was prepared very soon after he came to the throne. The official in charge of the expedition was no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself, a man named Amenemhet, who, as we shall presently realize from the recital of his praises, was the great power behind the throne ; and it will be observed that he lays stress upon the fact that his royal master was reared from infancy as heir to the throne. This, and the early celebration of the jubilee, which was another way of announcing that for 30 years he had been the recognized heir, suggest that the succession had been disputed by another claimant ; and I think we can scent here a serious family feud, above which the great Prime Minister Amenemhet stands supporting the rightful, but perhaps weak or ailing, monarch.

The first of these inscriptions is headed by a figure of the king making an offering of wine to the god Min of Koptos, the patron deity of the desert, and by the words " First occurrence of the Jubilee, on the third day of the second month of the first season, in the second year (of the reign)." It then tells how, just when the masons were cutting from the hillside the block of breccia for the lid of the sarcophagus, an event which seemed very like a miracle occurred. This is what we are told : " This is a miracle which happened to his Majesty, for the wild animals of the desert came down to him ! There came a gazelle, great with young, running (down the valley) in the direction of the people before her, while her eyes looked backward (in fear), though she did not (actually) turn back, until she arrived at this consecrated hill, at this very block of stone, for the lid of the sarcophagus, it being still in its place (on the hillside). Upon it she dropped her young, while the army of the king was looking at her. Then they cut her throat before it, and brought fire (i.e. they made a sacrifice there and then). The block descended (i.e. was dragged down the hillside) in safety. Now (this being interpreted), it was the majesty

of this sublime god, Lord of the Desert, who gave this sacrificial offering to his son, Nebtouire Mentuhotpe, living for ever, so that his heart might rejoice (in this token) that he would live upon his throne forever and forever, and that he would celebrate millions of jubilees." Then follow the Prime Minister's titles: "The Hereditary Prince, Governor of the City and Prime Minister, Chief of all the nobles of the judicial office, Supervisor of that which heaven gives, the earth creates, and the Nile brings forth, Supervisor of everything in the whole land, the Prime Minister Amenemhet."

The next inscription gives the official record of the expedition, and is dated twelve days later. "His Majesty commanded," it says, "that this inscription should be placed on high to his father Min, Lord of the Desert, on this consecrated and primeval hill, in order that his spirit might be satisfied." Then come the king's titles: "The King who is upon the great throne, the first of thrones; perpetuated in memorials, excellent god, lord of joy, mighty in fear, great in love, heir of Horus in his Two Lands, whom the divine Isis, Min, and Mut the Great Sorceress, reared for the dominion of the two realms of Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebtouire Mentuhotpe, living like the Sun forever. He says:—'My Majesty sent forth the Hereditary Prince, Governor of the City and Prime Minister, Chief of Works, Favourite of the King, Amenemhet, with an army of 10,000 men drawn from the southern provinces, and from Middle Egypt, and with (contingents?) from the Oxyrhyncos province, to bring for me a sublime block of the fine and costly stone which is in this hill whose excellent qualities Min has created, for a sarcophagus, an eternal monument, and for monuments in the temples of Middle (?) Egypt, according as (it is right and proper that) a king over the Two Lands should send (his Prime Minister) to bring for him the desire of his heart from the desert lands of his father Min. He made this record and dedicated it to his father Min of Koptos, Lord of the Desert, Chief of the Bedouin, in order that he might celebrate very many jubilees and live like the Sun for ever."

On the same day Amenemhet engraved his own record

of the expedition, which begins with a recital of his own titles:—"The royal command executed by the Hereditary Prince, Governor of the City, Chief Justice, Favourite of the King, Chief of Works, distinguished in his office, great in rank, having front place in the Palace of his Lord, commanding the official body, Chief of the Six Courts of Justice which judge the people and hear their causes, him to whom the great come bowing low, and before whom the whole land is flat upon its stomach, whose offices his Lord has advanced, his Favourite as Keeper of the Frontier of the South, leading for him millions of people to do the desire of his heart in regard to his monuments which shall endure upon earth, Magnate of the King of Upper Egypt, Great-one of the King of Lower Egypt, Leader of the Palace, Governor of the whole South, to whom is reported that which is done and that which is left undone, conducting the administration of the Lord of the Two Lands, zeal of heart upon a royal commission, Commander of those that command, Overseer of overseers, the Prime Minister of the King at his audiences, Amenemhet! He says:—My Lord the King sent me, as one sends a person in whom are divine qualities, to establish his memorial in this land. He chose me before (all those in) his City; I was preferred before (all) his Court. Now his Majesty commanded that there should go forth with me to this consecrated hill an army of men of the pick of the whole land: miners, artificers, quarrymen, artists, draughtsmen, stone-cutters, gold-workers, treasurers of Pharaoh from every department of the White House, and from every office of the King's Palace, united under me. I made the desert a river and the upper valley a watercourse. I obtained for him a sarcophagus, an eternal memorial, an everlasting record. Never had its like come down from this desert since the age of the gods. My soldiers returned without loss: not a man perished, not a trooper was missing, not even a donkey died, nor was a workman injured. This happened as a mark of favour which Min performed for the majesty of my Lord, because he so much loved him, so that his spirit might endure upon the great throne in the Kingdom of the Two Regions of Horus. I am his favourite

servant who does all the things that he praises every day."

Never before in the history of Egypt had any man dared to proclaim his importance in such exaggerated phrases as were here used by this Amenemhet; and I think we can see at once that not only was he the virtual ruler of Egypt at this time, but that his king was a nonentity, incapable of controlling his Prime Minister's soaring ambition. The fact that Amenemhet was a Hereditary Prince and a Keeper of the Frontier of the South, an office usually held by one of the hereditary provincial rulers of the upper reaches of the Nile, suggests that he was a man born of a local princely family; and possibly he was a relative of the Pharaoh, or a descendant of that branch of the royal house, the existence of which was hinted at by the presence of the vassal Intef (p. 300) in the upper country in the reign of Nebhapatre.

Eight days later, that is to say, on the 23rd day of the same month, a second "miracle" occurred. "Work had (just) been begun in this hill on the lid of the sarcophagus (i.e. the dressing of the stone had just been begun) when the miracle was repeated! Rain was made, and the aspect of this god (as a deity of rain) appeared, and his nature was shown to men. The desert was made into a lake, the water rising to the edge of the stone block (where the block lay at the foot of the hill from which it had been quarried). Then (when the water sank) an (old) well was found in the middle of the valley, 10 cubits by 10 on its every side, filled with fresh water to its brim. It was undefiled, for it had been kept pure and clean from gazelles, and had been concealed from the Bedouin (under the sand which had now been washed away by the rain). Soldiers of old and kings who had lived aforetime had gone out and returned by its side, yet no eye had seen it, nor had the gaze of man fallen upon it; but to his present Majesty it was revealed! When those who were in Egypt heard of it, the people who were in Egypt, south and north, they bowed their heads to the ground, they praised the good fortune of his Majesty forever and ever."

A final inscription, written on the 28th day, records the

completion of the work. "The lid of the sarcophagus was dragged down (to the Nile), being a block of 4 cubits by 8 cubits by 2 cubits as it came forth from the work (of dressing). Cattle were slaughtered (in sacrifice), goats were slain, incense was cast upon the fire; and an army of 3,000 sailors of the provinces of the Delta went down with it in safety to Egypt."

It was well that the Pharaoh had prepared his sarcophagus in good time, for it seems that he died almost immediately, there being no further reference to him, nor any other memorials of his reign, except a few scarabs; and the tomb for which the sarcophagus was thus prepared has never been found. He was the last monarch of the Eleventh Dynasty; for next we find upon the throne a usurper, the founder of a new line, and that man's name is Amenemhet. To my mind there can be little doubt that this personage is to be identified with the great Minister Amenemhet of whom we have just been reading, and who, as I have suggested, was possibly a descendant of the earlier Pharaohs of the House of the Intefs. An extraordinary document, apparently dating from the reign of this new king, or from a few years later, has come down to us: it is supposed to record a prophecy foretelling the accession of this Amenemhet (or Ameny as he was popularly called), made by a wise man who was described as living in the days of King Snofru, of the Third Dynasty (*Pap. Petersburgh*, 1116B; Gardiner, *Journal Egyptian Arch.* 1914, p. 100). The prophecy first describes the misfortunes which were to come upon Egypt; and then it tells of the arrival of a deliverer. "There will be a king who will come from the South," it says, "whose name shall be Ameny, the son of a woman of Nubia, a child of Upper Egypt. He shall receive the White Crown (of Upper Egypt); he shall assume the Red Crown (of Lower Egypt); he shall unite the Two Powerful Ones (the patron goddesses of these two lands). . . . The people of his time shall rejoice; for this man, who will be of noble birth, shall establish his name for ever and ever. Those who are inclined to mischief, who plan rebellion, shall subdue their mutterings through fear of him. . . . Then shall Right come into its own, and Iniquity be cast

out; and he who shall behold (these things) and shall serve this king shall rejoice."

I suppose we must all admit that this prophecy is fraudulent: that is to say, it was written after Amenemhet's accession, in order to justify his seizure of the throne; but in that case the description there given of the woes of Egypt before the arrival of the deliverer must be a fairly true picture of the troubles which took place at the death of Nebtoure. As has already been said, Senkhkere had died suddenly, leaving his temple and tomb at Thebes unfinished; and there seems to have been a dispute between rival claimants to the throne, Nebtoure being at length crowned by the aid of the powerful Amenemhet. Then, two years later, when Nebtoure also died, there was evidently a rebellion; some other claimant had to be ejected from Egypt, it would seem; a number of princes, each trying to raise himself to the throne, had to be squashed; and, incidentally, an invasion of the Eastern Delta by nomadic Asiatic tribesmen had to be dealt with.

"Up, my heart!" cries the author of the pretended prophecy in describing these troubles; "and bewail this land whence you are sprung! . . . for that whereof men spoke as the thing to be dreaded has come to pass. Behold the Great-one (i.e. the Pharaoh) is fallen in the land whence you are sprung . . . and (provincial) princes hold sway in the land. Established authority is as though it had never been established and a (new) day begins in treachery. The country is utterly perished, and nought remains." "The land is diminished, but its rulers are multiplied. . . . Men do the bidding of him who once did other men's bidding; and the undermost are uppermost." These troubles were accompanied by a very low Nile. "The river is dry," says our author, "even the river of Egypt. Men can wade across the water on foot, and the fairway is become a sandbank." There were frequent south winds,—the dreaded *Khamseen* or sirocco,—and the air was so filled with dust that the sun was hidden. The magnificent temple of Nebhapatre and the surrounding necropolis ceased to be tended. "Men (have gone to) live in the Necropolis," says the writer; "the poor man makes his hoard (out of the

tomb-offerings) ; and the pauper eats the sacrificial bread." " Men take up weapons of war, and the country lives in an uproar. Men make arrows of bronze, and crave for a diet of blood : they laugh, but it is with the laughter of misery, and there are none who weep at (the thought of) death. . . . A man sits casually in his corner while somebody murders another. His son is his enemy, his brother a foe, and a man will slay his own father. . . . People take a man's possessions from him, and they are given to him who is a stranger. They regard their fellow citizens as creatures to be hated, and they try to silence the mouth that speaks. A word is answered, and immediately up goes an arm with a stick, while people cry ' Don't kill him ! ' The subject of men's talk comes from their heart like a fire, and no utterance of the mouth is tolerated."

Herein we can see civil war in all its horror ; but there was also this Asiatic invasion to add to the general misery. " A foreign bird is hatched in the swamps of the Delta and it makes its nest on either side, for the people have suffered it to approach because of its need (of supplies). Thus the country is fallen into misery (simply) because these Bedouins who infest the land are in want of food. Enemies are in the Eastern Delta, and Asiatics descend into Egypt. . . . The very beasts of the desert drink from the rivers of Egypt." But at last the saviour, Amenemhet, arises ; and then " the Asiatics fall by his sword ; the Libyans collapse before his fire ; rebels before his wrath, and the disaffected before his authority. The serpent that rests upon his forehead shall pacify for him the rebellious. He shall build the (great defence-works known as the) Prince's Wall, so as to prevent the Asiatics from entering Egypt, as is their custom, (even) to ask for water to give to their cattle to drink."

Such is this vivid picture of the commotion which followed the death of the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty ; and in one of the tombs at Beni-Hasan, dating from the reign of this Amenemhet, there is an inscription which refers to the expulsion of some personage from Egypt, who may have been a claimant to the throne. Thus, then, fell the House of the Intefs and Mentuhotpes, and thus the great Twelfth Dynasty came into existence.

THE PATRIARCH ABRAHAM

According to the new system of chronology which I have put forward in this volume there can be little doubt that the Eleventh Dynasty collapsed and the Twelfth Dynasty came into existence in 2112-2111 B.C., and I want to suggest that this was the date at which the Patriarch Abraham left Egypt. In the 14th chapter of Genesis it is stated that not long after this event there was a great war in which Amraphel, King of Shinar, took part; and scholars are generally agreed that this Amraphel is to be identified with King Hammurabi of the First Dynasty of Babylon, who came to the throne in 2123 B.C. (a date which has been fixed astronomically by Kugler), and who died in 2081 B.C. Abraham, therefore, left Egypt some years before 2081 B.C., a fact which is generally acknowledged. Now, the Bible story states that he entered Egypt because there was a grievous famine in the land in which he was living; and it will be remembered that the Egyptian document which I have just quoted states that at the time of the fall of the Eleventh Dynasty, 2112 B.C., Asiatic tribesmen infested the Delta, having entered these fertile regions because they were in need of food in their own territory, and having been allowed to do so by the Egyptians. The Bible then states that at this time "the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues"; and we have just seen how plagued indeed was Egypt at this period. At last, says the Biblical story, "Pharaoh commanded his men concerning Abraham, and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had": in other words Abraham was deported. But in this Egyptian document we have just read that the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty turned the Asiatics out of Egypt, and built defensive works so as to prevent them from re-entering the Delta even to ask for water for their herds. Thus the Biblical story and the Egyptian records are parallel, and the established dates of both agree; and therefore I think it highly probable that Abraham was deported in 2111 B.C., at the foundation of the Twelfth Dynasty.

I suppose all critics will now admit that the great ages of Abraham and his wife Sarah, as recorded in Genesis,

are fanciful ; and I may therefore be allowed to tell the Biblical story as it more probably happened. Abraham, we may suppose, left Ur, his native city, in 2123 B.C. or thereabouts, that is to say, at about the time when Hammurabi came to the Babylonian throne. He had lately married Sarah, and she was therefore probably about 15 years of age at that time, girls being generally married at the age of 12 or 14. A few years later, say about 2120 B.C., she and her husband were forced by famine to enter Egypt, Sarah being then some 18 years of age, and at the height of her beauty, as those who know the Orient will agree. The Pharaoh Senkhkere Mentuhotpe was then on the throne, and it may well be true that he made the acquaintance of the beautiful Sarah, the wife of this well-to-do Semitic chieftain. After a residence of some 7 years or so in Egypt, or at any rate a period long enough for him to become, as the Bible says, very rich in cattle and treasure, he was turned out of the country in 2111 B.C., on the establishment of the Twelfth Dynasty, Sarah being then some 25 years of age. A few years later, say about 2106 B.C., when Sarah was about 30, there was this war of which the Bible speaks, in which Hammurabi (2123-2081 B.C.) took part. By now Sarah realized that she was not likely to have a child, and Ishmael was born to Abraham by the Egyptian girl, Hagar, who may well have come from Egypt with Abraham when he was expelled from that country. Some 14 years later, as the Bible says, i.e. in 2092 B.C., when Sarah was 44, she gave birth to Isaac ; and since that is the extreme age for child-bearing among Oriental women, her surprise, of which the Biblical story tells us, was not unnatural.

Thus the age of Sarah at the time of these different events meets the probabilities, and shows that the Biblical narrative is based on fact ; and if, by thus calculating her age, we fix the battle of the Semitic kings at 2106 B.C., well in the middle of the reign of Hammurabi, it follows that Abraham must have left Egypt somewhere about 2111 B.C., at the very time when we know that the Semitic settlers were being ejected. In order to confirm this date by showing how it meets the later facts of the Biblical story,

I must anticipate the matter with which I shall deal in the next volume ; but this can be summarized briefly. Isaac, according to this dating, was born in 2092 B.C., as I have just said. Sarah, according to the Bible, died 37 years later, i.e. in 2055 B.C., when she would have been about 81 ; and just before her death, we are told Isaac was married, being some 36 or 37 years of age at the time, although the Bible says he was 40, thereby contradicting the figure 37. Probably it meant that he was nearing 40. When Isaac was 60, so the story says, his son Jacob was born, which would be in 2035 B.C. Jacob had a son, Joseph, born when he was, we may suppose, about 45 years of age. This would have been in 1990 B.C. Joseph was carried off to Egypt at the age of 17, the story relates, that is to say in 1973-2 B.C., when his father, Jacob, was about 62. The Bible then tells us that Joseph was 30 years of age when he was appointed to his high office by Pharaoh, i.e. in 1959 B.C., when his father must have been about 75. Some 8 years later, say about 1951 B.C., his father, who, the Talmud says, had mourned 20 years for Joseph, arrived in Egypt ; and, according to the above reckoning, he would then have been some 83 years of age, the Bible confirming this by saying that he was so old that he had to be carried. He died, according to the Talmud, 17 years later, when he would have been 100 years old, but of course the 17 years' residence in Egypt may be a mistake for a shorter period—say 7 years.

All these figures show that the events recorded in the Bible and their chronological sequence are perfectly probable, and it is clear that we are dealing with facts. This dating, then, points to Joseph's appointment having been made in 1959 B.C., which was about the year of the accession of Amenemes III of the Twelfth Dynasty, a likely date for new appointments to be made. Joseph, it will be remembered, collaborated with the Pharaoh in safeguarding Egypt against famine due to the low Nile-floods ; and this story is confirmed by the fact that Amenemes III is known to have undertaken vast irrigation works, and to have made a study of the Nile-levels at the First Cataract, with a view to bringing more land under cultivation and

thereby increasing the food-supply. The great canal which was then made still exists, and to this day is called *Bahr Yusuf*, "Joseph's Canal," a name which has never been explained, but the origin of which is now for the first time apparent. It means that these irrigation works were traditionally associated with Joseph, and the dates which are here put forward show that the tradition was correct.

There is a gap in the Bible story after the death of Jacob, but the Talmud says that Joseph died "71 years after Israel had entered Egypt," which may mean that he died at 88, i.e. 71 years after *his* arrival in Egypt, this, in round numbers, being 1900 B.C., just prior to the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty. In my opinion this Israelite family was only the vanguard of the main Israelite immigration, which took place some 124 years later, in about 1776 B.C., at the accession of the Great Hyksos King Khyan (pp. 35, 36); for it seems most probable that the arrival of the main body of Israelites in Egypt must have taken place at the time when an Asiatic king had obtained possession of the whole country and would therefore favour such an immigration. Then began the reckoning of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, which lasted 430 years, according to the Bible. A rabbinical tradition states that of this 430 years, 190 years were passed before the oppression began, which takes us to 1586 B.C., the very date of the beginning of the triumphant war of the Egyptians against their Asiatic kings and settlers, ten years before the reign of Ahmose I, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The tradition says that the remaining 240 years were spent under the oppression, and this takes us to 1346 B.C. as the date of the Exodus, which, as I shall show in the next volume, is the correct date for that event.

In the second volume of this history I will deal with this subject more fully; but meanwhile it is a matter of great satisfaction to observe that the Egyptian chronology which I hope I have fully established in the present volume has served to confirm the narrative of the Hebrew Patriarchs as related in the Bible, and has given at last a satisfactory date to the events in these sacred old stories which have been read and re-read by our fathers, and will be read by our children for generations to come.

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