



**DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY**



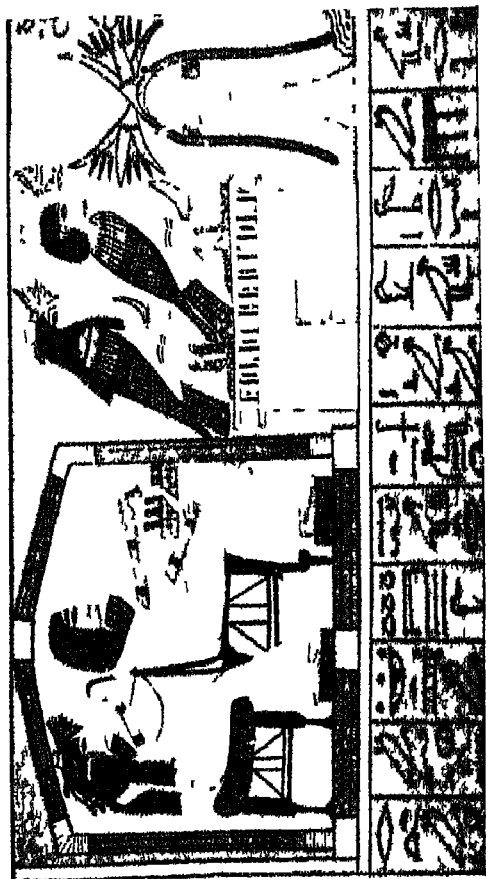


## EGYPT

AUTHOR OF

THE ROMANCE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM  
THE ROMANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
BABYLON, ASSYRIA AND ISRAEL  
PALESTINE





THE ANCIENT LANDS AND BIBLE SERIES. NO. 2

W. H. BOULTON

# EGYPT

LONDON  
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO., LTD.  
—

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
BY PURNELL AND SONS,  
PAULION (SOMERSET) AND LONDON

# CONTENTS

| CHAPTER                                               | PAGE |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. THE LAND OF EGYPT . . . . .                        | I    |
| II. ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT . . . . .                     | 10   |
| III. EARLY EGYPT . . . . .                            | 17   |
| IV. THE HYKSOS KINGS . . . . .                        | 24   |
| V. JOSEPH IN EGYPT . . . . .                          | 31   |
| VI. ISRAEL IN EGYPT . . . . .                         | 44   |
| VII. THE DATE OF THE EXODUS . . . . .                 | 52   |
| VIII. MOSES IN EGYPT . . . . .                        | 63   |
| IX. MOSES AND PHARAOH—THE PLAGUES . . . . .           | 71   |
| X. EGYPT AND PALESTINE . . . . .                      | 80   |
| XI. TELL-EL-AMARNA . . . . .                          | 89   |
| XII. THE SECOND EMPIRE . . . . .                      | 97   |
| XIII. THE VARYING FORTUNES OF EGYPT . . . . .         | 105  |
| XIV. EGYPT OR ASSYRIA . . . . .                       | 115  |
| XV. EGYPT VERSUS BABYLON . . . . .                    | 129  |
| XVI. HOW EGYPT BECAME A BASE KINGDOM . . . . .        | 144  |
| XVII. RELIGION IN EGYPT—OBJECTS OF WORSHIP . . . . .  | 154  |
| XVIII. RELIGION IN EGYPT—MAN AND HIS FUTURE . . . . . | 168  |
| XIX. AN ADDENDUM—THE BASE KINGDOM . . . . .           | 178  |
| INDEX . . . . .                                       | 181  |

## NOTE

ONE of the problems which has to be met in a book of this character is the spelling of Ancient Names. Although great progress has been made in the decipherment of the early languages there is still much difference of opinion concerning the pronunciation of Egyptian, Assyrian, and other Names. To ensure uniformity the latest spelling adopted by the Trustees of the British Museum will be used throughout the "Ancient Lands and the Bible" Series, except where the Bible use of a name has made it too familiar for any alteration to be desirable.

In a series of Volumes such as these some repetition is unavoidable, unless certain incidents are omitted from the history of one people because they have been mentioned in a previous book. This would be very undesirable, as it is intended that each Volume shall be as complete as the space permits. An effort has been made to present the facts in a different way, so as to preserve the atmosphere that surrounded them in the country which is the main subject of each particular Volume.

# ILLUSTRATIONS

|                                                          | FACE | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------|------|
| A VIGNETTE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD <i>Frontispiece</i> |      |      |
| ASIATICS VISITING EGYPT . . . . .                        |      | 20   |
| BRICKMAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT . . . . .                   |      | 48   |
| HEAD OF COLOSSAL STATUE OF TUTHMOSIS III . . . . .       |      | 84   |
| STELE OF MERENPTAH . . . . .                             |      | 102  |
| THE RUINS OF THEBES . . . . .                            |      | 126  |
| KARNAK . . . . .                                         |      | 150  |
| AKH-EN-ATEN AND FAMILY WORSHIPPING . . . . .             |      | 162  |



# EGYPT

## CHAPTER I

### THE LAND OF EGYPT

THE aim of "The Ancient Lands and the Bible" Series has been defined in a previous volume. As however it is desirable that each book should be complete in itself that aim may be briefly epitomised here. Every Bible student has at his disposal two records in which the past is pictured; one is the Bible itself, the other is the account given by various people of the results of the labours of a generation of Archæologists who have been at work in the lands of the Bible. Neither of these records is complete. The Bible is not, and was never intended to be, a history book. It contains a great deal of history, but that phase of its contents is altogether subordinate to the higher purpose for which it was written. If, therefore, we rely upon the Bible alone for our knowledge of the past we shall only be aware of just those facts which are there recorded, and our knowledge will be fragmentary even in relation to the people whose history it mainly relates. History is there, but it often leaves the reader with the feeling that he would like to know more. In reading other parts of the Bible, such as the writings of the

Prophets, a knowledge of the historical circumstances of their times is a great help to the understanding of their message.

It is for these reasons that the information which has been obtained from the Ancient Lands of the Bible is valuable. For over a hundred years the Archæologists have been at work, and have discovered a perfect mine of information concerning the past. Most of that which they have found is entirely new, in the sense that although it is history, every memory of that history, had vanished. Yet it often relates to the peoples who are referred to in the various books of the Bible, and it frequently happens that the knowledge which it has made available has been of great importance and has led to a fuller understanding of the Bible's story and prophecies.

Another reason for the study of the finds of the Archæologists is of equal, if not greater, importance. The Bible is a book with great claims. Frequently we read in its pages such expressions as "Thus saith the Lord", "And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying". Whatever we may think of such statements there is no question that they take the book out of the category of ordinary literature. They are essentially a challenge to the thoughtful reader. Are they true? Are they credible? Is the book which makes such claims reliable? However certain anyone may be in his own mind that the Bible is a Divine book, the issue raised by these claims must be faced. If its history were proved to be false, the fact could not fail to have an adverse effect upon the claims of other parts of the book. It might be put even more strongly: If the history were

found to be faulty, to be guilty of gross misrepresentation, or the suppression of essential truths, it would be very difficult to maintain any great confidence in the rest of the book.

These considerations indicate one of the purposes of the series of books of which this volume is a part. How do the two records of the Bible and Archæology compare? Do they agree in their story or are they at variance? Do they help each other? If they do this then both gain by comparison. To do such things as these is the object of "The Ancient Lands and the Bible" Series of volumes.

The connection between the Bible history and the history and land of Egypt is frequent and important. Abraham went down to Egypt in a time of dearth. Israel, the people of the Bible, dwelt there for a long time. The Exodus, the outstanding event of their early history, was from that land. For ages after that the relations between Israel and Egypt were frequent, sometimes friendly, sometimes the reverse. The prophets make constant reference to Egypt, usually as a warning to Israel not to rely on that land, because its people and rulers would prove to be but broken reeds. Finally the infant Jesus was taken there to escape the destruction designed by Herod. With such a long continued connection there is sure to be much that is worth considering, and much that should be helpful.

The first thing which is necessary to enable allusions to a land to be understood is to know something about the country itself. Without this, expressions will often seem to be meaningless, when perhaps they are really full of meaning. A simple illustration will be found

in a prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Egypt. He represents Pharaoh as saying, "My river is my own, and I have made it for myself." It sounds like a mere kingly boast, highly exaggerating what the rulers of Egypt had done for the improvement of their river. It actually indicates that Pharaoh had altogether forgotten, or deliberately ignored, the fact that it was the Nile that had made Egypt. This boast of the ruler of the land may serve to introduce a brief consideration of the position of the Nile in relation to the country.

The Nile rises in the great lake now known as Victoria Nyanza, nearly four thousand feet above the sea-level. In its various sections it bears different names. The Upper Nile reaches from Lake Albert to the Bahr al-Ghazal. It then becomes the White Nile until it reaches Khartoum, where it is joined by the waters of the Blue Nile, the combined streams forming the river actually known as the Nile. About two hundred miles beyond this it is joined by the Atbara. From Khartoum to the Mediterranean is a distance of 1,913 miles, and as the Atbara is the last tributary to join the river, it flows from that point to the Delta as one long river without a single addition to its waters. The old Egyptian portion of the Nile commences at Aswan, formerly known as Syene, or in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, Seveneh, where the first cataract is situated. The order of the cataracts is calculated from the sea, so that from this point the flow of the river is uninterrupted. At times the border of Egypt has extended further south; for example, during the great times of the XVIIIth Dynasty it was drawn at Napata, six hundred miles farther up the river. But this was

exceptional, and for all practical purposes in relation to the Bible, Syene may be regarded as the southern limit of the land. In the Authorised Version of the Bible the prophet Ezekiel is made to refer to the Tower of Syene, but this is a mistranslation, the phrase should read "from Migdol (in the Delta) to Syene."

Within these limits it may be said that the Nile is Egypt. The river valley varies in width, but until the Delta is reached Egypt is a mere ribbon of country on either side of the river. The land has been compared to a lotus flower on a very long stem, and the simile is a very apt one.

An examination of a map will show that there are naturally two Egypts: the long stem and the flower. The division is represented by the two names Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the latter term being applied to the Delta. This section of the country commences at the modern Cairo. From this point the country widens out until it reaches the sea. At one time the northern limits of the Delta were considerably farther south than they are to-day. For ages the soil brought down by the river has been deposited as it reached the limits of its flow, and this, going on for thousands of years, has increased the land surface of the country by a rich deposit. This is a further illustration of the fact that Egypt is the gift of the Nile, whatever any proud Pharaoh might say concerning that river.

In the dual character of the land of Egypt may be seen the first contact between the Land and the Bible. As the Egyptians called their country the Two Lands, so the Hebrews used the plural, or rather the dual, word *Mitzraim* when they desired to refer to the

country. The singular form, *Mitzour*, means a hemming in, or a defence, and is used in relation to Egypt because it was the boundary of the Promised Land, which was to stretch from the River Euphrates to the River of Egypt.

The dual character of Egypt was expressed in the institutions of the country and in its religious emblems. Representations of the Nile god sometimes include two deities, one of the North and one of the South. Thus the two are shown in the act of binding together the stalks of the lily and papyrus plants. The lily, or lotus, was the plant of the Southern land, as the papyrus was of the North where it grew in the moist lands by the river. The binding of the two symbolised the union of the two countries. The protecting genius of the South was Nekhebit, a goddess who was represented in the form of a vulture; that of the North was Uadjit (or Uraeus), the serpent goddess.

In the political aspect the crown of the North was red and that of the South white; the crown of the two lands was therefore a composite form which included both. In the administration of the land this dual aspect was maintained even when the government was centralised. The palace became the "Double great house", *Pirauui*, from which the Hebrew term Pharaoh was derived. In writing the word palace the scribe often placed the sign of two houses after it. The Royal Treasury was the "Double House of Silver and Gold", the Royal granaries were the "Double granary". Among seals which have been found in royal tombs there are some bearing the phrase "Vineyard of the Red House of the King's Estate", from which it is inferred that at one time

the two were kept separate, and that fusion came later.

The most important thing in connection with the land of Egypt is the annual inundation of the land by the overflowing of the Nile. The immediate cause of this overflow is the immense rainfall which takes place in Africa in the spring. The waters raise the level of the lakes, and this causes a much greater flow of water to pass through the channel of the Nile. By June the water commences to rise and assumes a greenish colour. The rise of the various sections differs somewhat in time. The Blue Nile pours its waters into the Nile at Khartoum, and for a period of about six weeks these waters are charged with vegetable and animal remains, which form a wonderful fertilising medium which is carried down to the lower portions of the land. Then the turn of the Atbara comes, and by July it is a great stream draining the land of Abyssinia and the Soudan, and pouring more and more soil into the Nile. That, too, brings down animal and vegetable refuse to enrich the land. Coming to the Nile itself, it is at its lowest early in June, begins to rise by July, and continues to do so until September. In early days this was a critical time. A full river meant a bountiful harvest, a low river meant famine, perhaps starvation. In October there is a second rise. The inundation lasts for some time, depositing the fertilising soil all over the land. Sowing commences in the month of November. Then, as soon as the land is firm enough for the peasant to walk upon it, he goes forth with his seed. In the past, with which we are concerned, it was broadcast upon the mud, which was then raked over it, sometimes by means of

branches of trees being drawn over the surface. In a short time the whole country was covered with a soft green mantle of verdure. The first and main crop was wheat and other grain. The warmth of the land, following the moisture of the inundation, speedily caused growth, and by the end of April the harvest was gathered in. This was early enough for a vegetable crop to follow it where there was sufficient water supply; lentils, garlic, leeks, onions, cucumbers, lettuce and other similar plants were produced in profusion. These were the things which appealed to the Israelites in the wilderness. Flax was another staple crop; it provided the basis for the fine linen for which Egypt was famous.

With a soil thus enriched every year by the river an abundant crop was assured. For ages Egypt was the granary of the world. This continued down to Roman times, and in the decadent days of Rome, it was the abundant harvests of Egypt that enabled the necessary doles of bread to be issued to its spoiled citizens.

Sometimes the Nile failed to reach the height necessary to secure a satisfactory inundation, and only covered the parts of the country lying near the banks of the river. When that was likely there were anxious days for the watchers. If it did finally fail the state of affairs was sad indeed. Before the construction of dams and barrages, a low Nile meant famine. Sometimes such a failure occurred in successive years. Within historic times a seven years' famine commenced in the year 1066. So terrible was the famine on this occasion that the Caliph's establishment of 10,000 horses and mules was reduced to three; people were killed and eaten, and great multitudes died of plague. Such famines

happened in the days of the distant past, and the one associated with the name of Joseph is by no means a unique experience in the land. During the period of the XIIth Dynasty there were famines sufficiently severe to call for the attention of the rulers of the land. In the tombs of princes at Beni-Hasam, there are records of the famines of their times. At Abydos there are tomb records which refer to superintendents (or storekeepers) of the public granaries, who appear to have been appointed to such a position to meet a time of emergency. The XIIth Dynasty may be placed somewhere about the years 2200 to 2000 B.C.

## CHAPTER II

### ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT

IT is not an easy task to record in the short space of a chapter the history of Archæology in Egypt. At times so many people have been engaged in the work that it would scarcely be fair to single out one or two for particular reference; indeed the whole of the circumstances differ materially from those which have prevailed in other fields of similar work. Still, something must be said about the matter if we are to understand why we have such an extraordinarily complete knowledge of the past of a land like Egypt.

It is a strange fact that the beginning of the work arose out of Napoleon's military adventures in connection with his attempt to found a great Eastern Empire. He saw in Egypt the way to the accomplishment of his desire. Ambitious as he was for fame and military glory, he had also an appreciation of knowledge, and when he despatched his army to the land of Egypt he arranged for it to be accompanied by a number of scholars whose duty it was to examine and record all that they could concerning the great temples and other buildings which had existed there. The result of their labours was the issue of the *Description de l'Égypte* in twelve volumes of plates and twenty-four of text. Such a colossal work was a worthy introduction to the

archæological study of Egypt and its past. True, the records were not understood at the time, that was a later task, but it was the first chapter in the story. Napoleon's military efforts in Egypt failed, his work for Archæology must be regarded as an unqualified success.

When the work of investigation commenced again after the cessation of the Napoleonic wars, many people were engaged in it. It was very largely a "go-as-you-please" affair. In those days the value of evidence which depended upon the association of one thing with another was not appreciated; every man was out for his own purposes, and all that he wanted was that which was intrinsically valuable or which appealed to his imagination. As a result incalculable damage was done to the ancient records and relics, for those early seekers cared very little what was damaged, or even destroyed, so long as they obtained what they were looking for. Belzoni, for example, gained entrance into a royal tomb by the use of a battering-ram made of palm-tree trunks. To-day entrance would be gained by removing the stones one by one with the utmost care, lest anything inside might be damaged. Further evil resulted from this indiscriminate search. The natives learned that there was a commercial value in these ancient things, and the practice of tomb-robbing became general. How much has been lost by these methods of the past will never be known. Fortunately there were some in Egypt who realised the damage that was being done, and eventually matters were altered.

Among the early investigators was Karl Richard Lepsius. He travelled in Europe looking for material

concerning Egypt, and in the years 1842-1845 he conducted a scientific expedition to Egypt itself. The results were published, and added materially to the knowledge that was available.

Order began to appear in the field of Egyptian Archæology when Mariette, a Frenchman who went to Egypt in 1850 for the purpose of seeking Coptic manuscripts, discovered the Serapeum. He gave up manuscript hunting and became a life-long seeker for the remains of the past in the ancient land. He was appointed to the headship of the Egyptian Service of Antiquities. In pursuance of his aim of preventing further destruction he went to the extreme of decreeing that no one but himself should be allowed to take part in the work of search. With such a monopoly it is not to be wondered at that he accomplished a good deal. At Abydos and at Thebes, and at many other places in the land, he conducted excavations, and thousands of monuments of the past were brought to light through his efforts. Even Mariette had his drawbacks, principally in the way in which he kept information to himself and refrained from issuing reports of his labours. But it was better than the wholesale and wanton destruction of the past.

On his death in 1881 he was succeeded by Sir Gaston Maspero, and from that time the work has been carried on by a number of earnest and indefatigable workers who have been urged on by their desire to gain more and more information concerning the past. As work has to be carried out under permission, and on defined conditions, the results are far more satisfactory than they were in the old days of unfettered search, or in the

monopolistic times of Mariette. It would be invidious to single out people for special mention. There was naturally a good deal of luck or fortune in the search. Earnest workers might put all their energies into a place which yielded no results; others might with good fortune come across finds of great interest after comparatively little search. On the other hand, to-day most of the great finds are the result of carefully made plans, based upon a knowledge of the district and of the history of the land. The great discovery of the tomb of Tutankh-Amon was an example of this; Mr. Howard Carter felt sure that such a tomb must exist where it was found, and he was satisfied that it should belong to the king whose mummy was actually found there.

One of the characteristics of the work of the modern investigator in the field of Archæology is the care with which everything is done. Nothing must be missed, everything is carefully examined and its surroundings noted and recorded. The result is that others beside the finder can know exactly what has been discovered, and the combined wisdom of all who are interested in the matter is available in the attempt to recreate the history of the past.

Some idea of what modern methods mean may be gained by looking at the work of Sir Flinders Petrie, who has devoted much time to Egyptian Archæology. No labour has been too great for him to do. Whole seasons have been spent in temples and tombs. Living often in an ancient tomb fitted with the barest necessities of life, he has passed year after year in an effort to get all the information possible about the past. The little things are to him as important as the great. In

some ways they are more important, for after all human life is made up of small things. By such means he has re-created the past, not only in relation to the outstanding events of history, but how the people lived, what they did, and what they thought. By such efforts and studies of his and many others the past has been made very real, and we can get not only the facts of history but the very atmosphere of those early times.

Great as is the debt which we owe to the strenuous labours of those who have spent years in Egypt seeking for the memorials of the past and recording them for the use of others, no less credit is due to those whose patient labours have enabled us to read the writings of the people who lived in the land of Egypt thousands of years ago. Only the barest outline of their work can be given here. An Egyptian inscription, written in the hieroglyphs of the country, is very interesting as an example of what men could do in those far off days, yet it tells very little of the circumstances of the times. If it can be made to speak its interest becomes far greater; then it may tell us just the things we desire to know.

In connection with the attempt to enable moderns to know what men of the past wrote in Egypt two men stand out pre-eminently, although many others had a hand in the work. One was an Englishman, Dr. Thomas Young, the other a Frenchman, Jean François Champollion. The former published his conclusions in 1819 in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1822 the latter enlarged and corrected the lists of characters published by Young. Obviously it was slow work, and it was long before it was possible, as it is to-day, to read any

inscription which may be found recorded in hieroglyphs.

The principal basis upon which they worked in the early stages of decipherment was the Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum. It contained a decree passed by a General Council of Egyptian priests assembled to celebrate the first commemoration of the coronation of Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), king of Egypt. It was in three languages, one of which was, fortunately, Greek. This, of course, could be read, and as it contained the name of the king it was apparent that if a form of signs which stood for the king in the hieroglyphs could be identified, the first step to the decipherment of the strange language would be taken. Certain forms were enclosed in ovals, called cartouches, and it was surmised that these might be royal names, especially as similar arrangements were seen in other inscriptions. The surmise proved to be correct. In this and another inscription two names occurred, those of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Certain letters occurred in both these names, and the forms which represented those sounds were actually found in each of the two cartouches. Thus the sound values of those forms were established, and definite progress was made. It is all sounds very simple now; it was not so in those days, and all honour is due to Young and Champollion, and the many others who followed them, in their patient labours which resulted in such a wonderful addition to human knowledge. It is no exaggeration to say that we know far more about the past history of Egypt than we do of many parts of mediæval Europe, and the credit for this is due to the two kinds of workers to whom reference has been

made in this chapter—the Archæologist who has worked amid discomfort and disappointment in his work of discovery, and the scholar who has given the best of his intellect to the work of ascertaining what the old languages of the world signified when the writers of those times used their strange forms to represent words.

## CHAPTER III

### EARLY EGYPT

THE first actual contact between Egypt and the Bible, apart from the mention of Mitzraim, was in the time of Abraham. It will not be necessary therefore to go into details of the early history of the land, though some knowledge of the past is desirable.

Like other Bible lands Egypt had a pre-Historic Age. In this case it would be better to term it a pre-Dynastic Age. According to the king lists the first king was Menes, and though he is now regarded as a mythical individual, it is only in the sense that he is included in the lists in the place of three actual kings of the 1st Dynasty. Aha, one of these, has left actual memorials of his existence, some with hieroglyphic inscriptions. It was during the times of the 1st Dynasty that the title King of Upper, and Lower Egypt was first used.

With the 3rd Dynasty we reach the beginning of the Pyramid era. Zoser, the second king of this Dynasty, built the step pyramid at Saqqarah so that it might be used as his tomb. What caused the king to have such a fancy cannot be said, but he set a fashion which lasted for a long time, and led to the construction of many others, including the Great Pyramid. It is a strange fact

that as early as this and the following Dynasty, much of the conventional style of Egyptian building was established.

The Pyramids have been so often described that it is quite unnecessary to do so here. It is true that many see in them the greatest of all connections of Egypt with the Bible, for they regard them as containing prophecies parallel with those of the Scriptures in relation to some of the leading matters associated with the truths of Christianity, and with dates connected with the Second Coming of Christ. The ideas of those who have endeavoured to explain the Pyramids on these lines are outside the scope of this volume. The "interpretations" are so numerous and have been so varied that it would be impossible to do so without sacrificing valuable space. The Pyramids themselves sufficiently indicate the purpose for which they were constructed; they were intended to be the burial places of the kings for whom they were built. The Great Pyramid itself is a sufficient indication of this; it contains the King's apartment and the Queen's apartment. In the former a sarcophagus was found, which was assumed to be that of the king Khufu, once more popularly known as Cheops. The Second Pyramid likewise contained a sarcophagus, but it was empty and bore no inscription. The third also contained one inside which was a coffin bearing the name of Men-kau-Ra. There may perhaps be a connection between them and the Scriptures in the allusion of Job: "Why died I not from the womb? For now I should have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept; then had I been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth which built desolate places for

themselves; or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver."

The IIIrd and IVth Dynasties established their headquarters at Memphis, just south of the Delta, a "good abode" as the name implies. Situated on the banks of the Nile, with all the advantages of a navigable river, near quarries of excellent stone, with a delightful climate, and just far enough away from the sea to remove it beyond the ordinary reach of any sea-rovers, it was an ideal spot for the capital of a state. Although it disappeared long ago its place is practically taken by the Cairo of to-day, which is a few miles further north and on the opposite bank of the river.

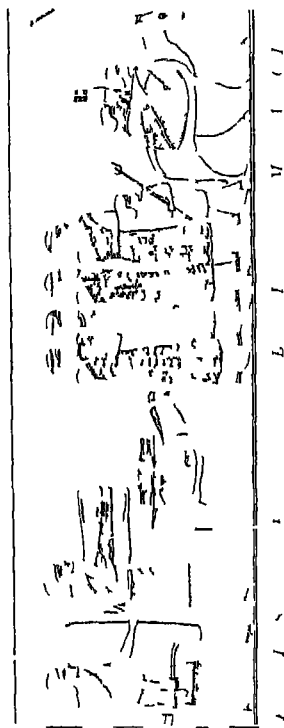
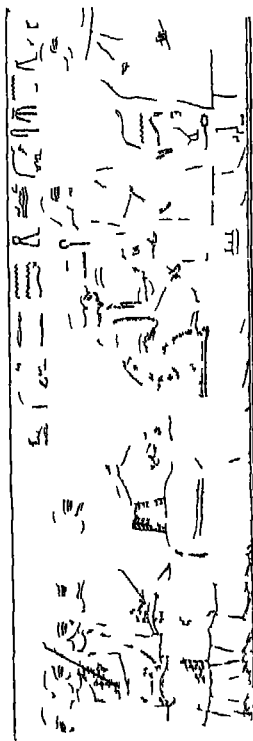
With the XIIth Dynasty the seat of government was removed to Upper Egypt. Meanwhile the country had passed through a period of commotion and depression, from which it was lifted by a series of capable kings forming that Dynasty. It is probable that during the time of depression two or more Dynasties may have reigned at the same time; this is one of the circumstances which make the early chronology of Egypt so uncertain. This fact always needs to be allowed for in establishing points of connection between Egypt and the Bible so early as this.

The new centre of government was Thebes, the No-Amon of the prophet Nahum. It is some three hundred and fifty miles further south, where the river valley opens into a kind of plain or basin. It was an excellent site for a capital. To the west was a way through the desert to the Lesser Oasis, which controlled the trade route to the interior of Africa; to the east there was a way through the Valley of Hammamat, with many

kinds of rare and valuable stones, to a district abounding with gold and other mines. Beyond these was the Red Sea, giving trade connections with Arabia. Under the kings of the Dynasty, and of others which followed in later times, Thebes became the great centre of Egypt. Luxor, Karnak, Madinat Habu, and other well-known sites of great temples and other buildings are all there; Abydos and Hierakonpolis are not far away.

Under a series of capable rulers Egypt made great advances, politically and in art. The Dynasty lasted for a little over two hundred years. The art of the country became more realistic and original, a sure indication of a time of settled government and peaceful conditions. The last ruler was a queen, and then once again came a period of depression during which several Dynasties ruled over the land. The history is uncertain in detail, although certain facts stand out clearly. The very order of the kings is unknown, the length of their reigns cannot be fixed. "The figures given by Manetho are fantastic, and the Turin Papyrus gives us an interminable list of names which, if at all authentic, would seem to show that every village *omdeh*, almost, arrogated to himself the kingly title at this period." One thing seems certain; during this period there must, generally, have been a king of the North and a king of the South reigning at the same time. In Thebes the native Egyptian rulers maintained a nominal rule, in the North Semites from Asia gradually established themselves as kings of Egypt.

It is at this point that a fresh contact between the Bible and Egypt took place. "And there was a famine in the land (of Canaan); and Abraham went down into



ANCIENT EGYPT  
FROM THE TEMPLE OF BAHY HASSIN



Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was very grievous in the land." This movement on the part of the Patriarch was quite natural in the circumstances. In a time of famine Egypt was the natural asylum for those whose food failed in other lands. Reference has been made to the famines during the XIIth Dynasty, and the appointment of superintendents of the public granaries. With such an organisation in the land the famine-stricken people of adjacent countries might well "go down into Egypt" for sustenance. In view of the unsettled state of the land at the time it is impossible even to suggest which of the kings was reigning when Abraham arrived. At any rate, it would have been one of those of the Northern portion of the land who would have received him. With his substance Abraham approached the borders of Egypt, as many another company from Syria has done from time to time under similar circumstances.

In one of the tombs at Beni Hasan, there is an illustration of the arrival of such a party. The picture shows a company of thirty-seven people, men, women, and children, presenting themselves before an Egyptian prince. They gave him offerings, including green eye-paint and antimony powder. They came bearing their arms, bows and arrows, spears, axes and clubs, and one of them is represented as playing on an instrument as he approached the prince. From the whole composition it is evident that the party were not mere fugitives, for they are well dressed with rich clothes, and they were of a civilisation equal to that of Egypt itself. At one time the scene was supposed to represent the arrival of Abraham himself, but that is not likely to be the case.

It is of interest, however, as illustrating the way in which he may be assumed to have entered the land.

The record of Abraham's deception in regard to Sarah, his wife, is well known. Fearing that her beauty would attract the notice of the princes of Pharaoh, and that they might even kill him for the purpose of obtaining possession of her, he represented her to be his sister. Actually she was his half-sister, the daughter of his father but not of his mother. For the morality of his action nothing can be said; it betrayed a lack of faith startling in one who is called the Father of the Faithful. The fate he anticipated for Sarah proved to be real; Pharaoh took her into his harem; the danger to himself was avoided, but his subterfuge led to a well merited rebuke from Pharaoh. Eastern customs, such as those which are mentioned in the case of Esther (Esth. 2. 12), would have delayed the consummation of the intended marriage, and Sarah was restored to her husband.

In the meantime Abraham had been "entreated well" for her sake, and Pharaoh had presented him with sheep, oxen, asses, camels, and slaves. Two things here are worthy of notice, the presence of camels and the absence of horses. The inclusion of the camel indicates that it was a Dynasty of the northern part of the country that received Abraham, for the camel was not an ordinary animal of early Egypt, though well known on the borders of the land. The horse does not appear in Egypt before the days of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and then it was prized for its use in war. At first horses in Egypt were of a small variety and were used only for chariots. They were introduced from Asia, probably

in the great Asian invasion which brought the Hyksos into the land.

Although it is impossible to state even under which Dynasty Abraham went down to Egypt, his removal there is typical of the greater influx of Semites which soon afterwards took place. A land like Egypt must have presented a great attraction to the wandering peoples of Syria and other lands. The weakness of the peoples in the days which succeeded the stronger kings of the XIIth Dynasty invited the Semites to take greater liberties than had been possible before, and northern Egypt was soon overrun by them. From small numbers they became a flood, and eventually they seized the government of the country and set up a Dynasty of their own. They are known to history as the Hyksos kings; a brief account of whom will be found in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HYKSOS KINGS

THE times of Abraham witnessed a number of movements amongst the peoples of Asia Minor, Syria, and neighbouring countries. It is probable that all of them were more or less directly the result of one particular nation bringing pressure to bear upon others, but it is not possible at present to give a very clear and definite account of the connected facts. All that can be done is to mention a few of the principal movements.

Abraham himself left Ur of the Chaldees to seek a home in the land of Canaan. In his case a Divine purpose was at work, preparing for developments which were to take place long afterwards. He went in response to a Divine call which was associated with the blessing of all the families of the earth. When he arrived in the land he was brought into contact with an invasion of Palestine and the adjoining countries by the Elamites and Babylonians with certain other related peoples. But more important than all these was the Hittite push southward. Hitherto they had lived in their homes in Asia Minor. They were a confederation of peoples rather than a nation at first, but under the pressure of increasing numbers and a growth of military power they burst through the mountains of Asia Minor and

commenced an invasion of other lands. They went as far as Babylon which they sacked in 1925 B.C.

Movements such as these must inevitably have affected the inhabitants of Syria. With Hittite pressure from the north, and Elamite and Babylonian movements as well, they must have been stirred up to seek more peaceable lands where they might dwell. Whatever the cause they in turn joined the general movement of peoples and looked towards Egypt. Hitherto the kings of Egypt in their capital at Thebes had experienced no troubles on their north-eastern frontier. Many parties of Asiatics had entered the land, seeking a refuge from famine or other dangers. In the past they had been welcomed as a source of strength. As they grew more numerous, however, they became a menace to the native princes. Of another stock, with different habits of life, and, more important still, with a different religious outlook, they began to appear in the light of potential enemies, and the welcome they had once received became first a suspicion and then a scarcely veiled animosity. But Egypt was weak, there was no real central authority at that time, and its weakness gave the opportunity to the strangers who had settled there as fugitives or friends. Very little is known at present of these movements, or of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, but what has been discovered in connection with them gives a general support to the story as it is found in the works of Josephus.

Manetho, as reported by Josephus, gives the following account of what happened. "There was once a king of Egypt named Timæus, in whose reign the gods being offended, for I know not what cause, with our nation,

certain men of ignoble race, coming from the eastern regions, had the courage to invade the country, and falling upon it unawares, conquered it easily without a battle. After the submission of the princes, they conducted themselves in a most barbarous fashion towards the whole of the inhabitants, slaying some, and reducing to slavery the wives and children of the others. Moreover they savagely set the cities on fire, and demolished the temples of the gods. At last they took one of their number called Salatis, and made him king over them. Salatis resided at Memphis, where he received tribute both from Upper and Lower Egypt, while at the same time he placed garrisons in all the most suitable situations. He strongly fortified the frontier, especially on the side of the east, since he foresaw that the Assyrians, who were then exceedingly powerful, might desire to make themselves masters of his kingdom. Having found, moreover, in the Sethroite nome, to the east of the Bubastic branch of the Nile, a city very favourably situated, and called, on account of an ancient theological tradition, Avaris, he rebuilt it and strengthened it with walls of great thickness, which he guarded with a body of two hundred and forty thousand men. Each summer he visited the place, to see the supplies of corn measured out for his soldiers and their pay delivered to them, as well as to superintend their military exercises, in order that foreigners might hold them in respect."

Of the Hyksos period in Egypt little is known. Hyksos is a Greek word which was supposed to be derived from the Egyptian *Hiqa-khasut*, a term which means Prince of the Deserts. By a slight change of form it is now

thought to mean Ruler of the Countries. Such people had, at first, very little sympathy with the settled civilization of a land like Egypt, and their attitude was that of iconoclasts. With few exceptions the temples of the pre-Hyksos period have disappeared, and the traces which remain bear marks of destructive violence. They brought their own religion, and worshipped a god named Sutech. The Egyptians identified this name with that of their god Set, a pigheaded god, the principle of Evil.

Recently an ivory group of the Hyksos period was discovered in a tomb at Abydos. It belongs to a royal sphinx, and although only a portion has been preserved, it is that which represented the head and forepart of the Sphinx. It is possible therefore to look at a representation of one of the kings of the Hyksos Dynasty. There is no mistaking the type. It is characteristically Semitic, and shows the source from which the invaders were derived.

According to the evidence which is now available it seems that the Hyksos reigned over other countries than Egypt. So little has been found that definite views can hardly be formed yet, but the memorials of their rule suggest this, and imply that their dominions reached from the Euphrates to the Nile, including the land of Arabia. The last king of their Dynasty was Khayan, and his monuments and scarabs have been found as far apart as Gebelen in Southern Egypt, at Cnossus in Crete, and in parts of Palestine. Another work bearing his name is a granite lion, now in the British Museum. Although this was purchased in Bagdad it is not definitely known where it actually came from, so

no conclusions can be drawn from its place of discovery. In addition to his name it also has a title which reads "Encompasser (or Embracer) of the lands". On his scarabs there occur the words "Ruler of the countries".

It must be admitted that, putting all we know together, there is very little on which to found a theory, let alone a definite conclusion. Such as it is, however, it certainly suggests an extended rule and influence for the Hyksos kings, far beyond what used to be thought. Leaving out Crete and Bagdad, the places where their memorials have been found cover a territory which reaches from Palestine and Syria to the First Cataract on the Nile, and this suggests that the Hyksos dominion was a widely extended one. If this deduction is correct, and it is made by Professor Breasted, one of the greatest authorities on Ancient Egypt, there are very good reasons for the choice of Avaris as the seat of their dominion instead of one of the usual cities of the Delta where previous monarchs of Egypt had reigned. They needed a spot which would be equally suitable to control Egypt and their Syrian dominions, and for such a purpose Avaris was well situated, as from it they could easily reach their Asian and African lands.

Their main power so far as Egypt was concerned, was in the Delta, where they reigned for a long time without effective opposition. During a portion of the period they also exercised control over Upper Egypt, but more often the two lands were antagonistic to each other. Some twenty miles from Cairo they established a great fortress, possibly the Avaris of Manetho. It was of a type hitherto unknown in Egypt. The fortress was constructed of an immense bank of earth, varying from 150

to 200 feet thick and 45 feet high. The enclosure was a square measuring about half a mile in each direction. It was completely surrounded by the wall through which no door or entrance was made. Anyone desiring to enter it had first to proceed along a causeway about 200 feet long which led up to the top of the surrounding bank. The outside wall of the bank sloped upwards, a kind of glacis open to the archery of the defenders in the case of siege. Archery was evidently the principal means of attack and defence, and in the use of these weapons the Hyksos were far in advance of the native Egyptians. In their later years a stone wall was constructed along the sloping face, no doubt as the result of the experience gained by the invaders in relation to Egyptian buildings.

As the Hyksos settled down in their new home, they gradually took on the manners and customs of the people they had conquered. Such a course was inevitable, for the conquered were the more civilised race. The chiefs assumed the titles of the Pharaohs, and, like them, built temples for their god Sutech. One was made at Zoan; it was constructed of red granite and adorned with obelisks and sphinxes. The Hyksos sphinxes differed from those of native Egyptian art, they had a mane like a lion, and wings.

As time passed the Hyksos kings and peoples lost their first vigour. The usual experience of conquerors settling down in more congenial surroundings took place. The energy of the conquering race imperceptibly gave way before the luxury of royal position and the enjoyment of a dominant caste. Meanwhile the Egyptians of the South, smarting under the irksomeness

of subjection, were gradually preparing for the task of throwing off the still detested foreign yoke. A long-drawn-out struggle ensued, and it was not until about 1580 B.C. that their object was achieved. Then under Aahmes the end was reached. He defeated the remnants of the Hyksos, captured their stronghold at Avaris, drove the foreigners out of the country, and even captured Sharuhén, a town in the south of Palestine.

The new Egyptian Dynasty which followed treated the monuments of the Hyksos as the latter had done those of their forerunners, so that there is very little in Egypt to tell of their ways and doings. They employed native Egyptians in the administration of the land, a small point of some importance later. Most of their kings had the name of Apepi. It is generally thought now that it was during the period of the Hyksos rule that Joseph was sold into Egypt and that Jacob and his family went down to that country. It is this fact which gives the period so much interest to the student of the Bible, and it is a matter of regret that so little has come down to tell of the state of affairs which then existed in the land. Assuming the Exodus took place somewhere about 1450 B.C. and the final expulsion of the Hyksos was in the year 1580 B.C., the two series of events fit in with each other, and the few historical facts which are known also fit in with, and explain, the Biblical references to the times.

## CHAPTER V

### JOSEPH IN EGYPT

**W**ITH the sale of Joseph into Egypt the principal contact between that land and the Bible begins. From this time until the Exodus the interest of the one *is the interest of the other.*

The story of Joseph has been told too often for it to be necessary to give it at length here. The favourite child of Jacob, the object of jealousy to his brethren, he was sold by them to some Midianitish merchants who carried him down to Egypt, where they in turn sold him for a slave. The Egyptians themselves do not appear to have taken much part in international carriage or transport. In their own land the Nile was the convenient mode, and the development of other methods seems to have been left to others. There is thus a touch of reality in the fact that Joseph arrived in the land as the property of foreigners.

"And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard." The latter term is alternatively expressed in the margin—"chief of the slaughterers or executioners", or "chief marshal". In the days of the Septuagint Version this was assumed to refer to slaughtering for the purpose of providing food, and the officer was called the chief cook, but it evidently refers to a position as

the officer of the king's guard charged with the duty of executing persons who were condemned to death. It seems at first somewhat surprising to find Potiphar described as "an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian". The last phrase would seem to be quite uncalled for; it would not be thought necessary to refer to an officer of the English court as an Englishman. Remembering what has been said concerning the Hyksos and their officers, the reason for the comment is apparent; they often employed native Egyptians in the executive offices of the Court, and, being foreigners themselves, such employees might quite naturally be spoken of at times as Egyptians.

The training which Joseph had had in his own home evidently stood him in good stead now. Faithful work met with early recognition, and he was made overseer of "the Egyptian's house". In a great household there were many posts. In the largest there were directors of private rooms, directors of houses, scribes, guards, caterers, washers, housemaids, etc. What kind of a house Potiphar possessed cannot, of course, be said, but it is evident from Joseph's words that it was a fairly large one. "He hath committed all that he hath to my hand" certainly implies something more than a moderate establishment. The house would have a courtyard, with sets of rooms built on three sides, the fourth being used for a portico. One or more of the rooms would be rather large, but the rest would be small. Ventilation was provided by means of windshafts from above, which also enabled a certain amount of light to enter the rooms. Outside windows were rare. Near the house would be the wine-press, beer-house, stable,

sheds for cattle, bins for the storage of grain, and chambers for keeping vegetables and fruit. Usually there was a garden which sometimes contained small ponds for water fowl. Such was probably the kind of house over which Joseph was overseer.

Egyptian houses had separate quarters for men and women, although at banquets and other similar occasions they met and conversed freely, and dined at the same place. Being overseer, Joseph had the *entrée* to all parts of the house, a fact which led to the well-known incident of Potiphar's wife's advances and Joseph's committal to prison upon her unjust accusation. It is worthy of note that while Joseph is said to have gone into the house, the woman called the men of "her house". The position of women in Egypt differed materially from that occupied by them in other countries of the East. As a daughter an Egyptian woman inherited property equally with her brothers, and when she became a wife she was mistress of her house. So completely was this the case that the husband has been described as a privileged guest. Her actions were not controlled, and she was at liberty to talk to whom she would, even when out of the house, in the street or the market. Woman's dress was simple; it consisted of a frock which reached from her armpits to the ankles, and no veil was worn. A considerable use was made of cosmetics and unguents, the lips were coloured with rouge and the eyes were outlined with a black paint made of antimony and finely ground charcoal. Notwithstanding this freedom of movement the moral condition of the people of Egypt was fairly high, although the literature of the country, especially the fiction, indicates that the incident of

Joseph and Potiphar's wife was by no means an isolated case. The Tale of the Two Brothers referred to in the following paragraph is a case in point.

The two brothers lived on a small farm belonging to the elder, the younger occupying a somewhat similar position to that which Joseph held in the house of Potiphar though in much humbler circumstances. The wife of the older brother conceived an affection for the younger, and as she could not get him to respond to her overtures she made false charges against him to her husband, who went to seek for his younger brother to kill him. Here all resemblance between the two stories ceases. The Tale of the Two Brothers is full of magic. The cattle told the younger man of his danger and he fled. The elder brother immediately set off in pursuit and as he was gaining upon the younger the god Ra-Harakhti caused a river full of crocodiles to be interposed between them. Speaking across the river the younger brother told the elder what had happened, who thereupon went home and killed his wife and cast her body to the dogs. The further adventures of the younger brother are described in detail, and are full of magic.

There was no magic in the case of Joseph. His master took him and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound. The old Jewish expositors have been somewhat put to it to explain why Potiphar did not put Joseph to death when his wife had laid such a charge against him. They suggest that he did not really believe her, but the fact that Joseph was "laid in iron", and his "feet were hurt with fetters", hardly bears out this idea. A review of the circumstances may

suggest some other explanation. Joseph was a Hebrew, a Semite. The Hyksos kings of Egypt were also Semites; they were therefore of kindred race. Potiphar, though captain of Pharaoh's guard, was an Egyptian, and therefore, probably, not so free to act as he himself might desire towards one of the same race as Pharaoh, even though such a serious charge had been laid against him. Admittedly this is but a surmise, but it is based on the facts of the case, and is certainly more reasonable than the one put forward by Jewish commentators. Moreover the Egyptian government was a centralised one, and, theoretically all matters had to be determined by Pharaoh himself. It is specifically stated that all documents relating to condemned criminals had to be seen by him before the condemnation could be carried out, and it may well be imagined that, in all the circumstances of the case under notice, the documents would not have been very convincing had they been placed before Pharaoh in accordance with Court etiquette.

Whatever the cause Joseph was put in prison and not put to death; it was a Royal prison "where the king's prisoners were bound". It seems, from its name to have been a round house, attached to the quarters of Potiphar, but clearly not under his jurisdiction, for the "keeper of the prison" was evidently able to make his own arrangements for carrying out the duties of his post.

The good fortune, as some might call it, which had followed Joseph so far, did not desert him in this new adversity. The explanation given in the Bible is that "the Lord was with Joseph, and gave him favour in

the sight of the keeper of the prison." "The Lord was with him, and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper".

The road to freedom began here. Two of Pharaoh's chief officers were cast into prison, and naturally therefore entered into the one where "the king's prisoners were bound". Thus they came into contact with Joseph. They were the butler and baker respectively of the royal household. The butler was literally, "one who gives to drink", and as is shown from his own saying later, the drink he gave was the juice of the grape. Relying on a saying of Herodotus some have seen a difficulty here. Herodotus has said "The Egyptians make use of wine prepared from barley, because there are no vineyards in their country". Whoever gave Herodotus this information was quite wrong, in fact he himself speaks elsewhere of grape-wine being given to the priests of the country. A hieroglyph of a wine-press goes back as far as the 1st Dynasty, and according to Egyptian tradition the god Osiris knew the vine and made wine from its grapes. In the days of the Old Kingdom the vine was trained on trellises, by the time of the New Kingdom the square in the middle of the garden belonging to a mansion was entirely covered with vines on trellis work. That the Chief Butler should take grapes and press them into Pharaoh's cup was therefore just what might have been expected.

The dreams of the two prisoners were quite in accord with the customs of the land and the practices of the Court and its servants. The interpretation given by Joseph found its fulfilment, the butler was freed and the baker was hanged, but the promise given to Joseph

was forgotten by the butler when he was once restored to the service of his master. Two whole years elapsed before other circumstances caused him to remember his debt and then, at last, Joseph's long waiting time was over.

It was by the means of dreams that the last stage in his deliverance was effected. The dreamer on this occasion was Pharaoh himself. The dreams which he had were typically Egyptian in their surroundings, a point quite worthy of notice in considering the testimony of the Ancient Lands and the Bible. The scene of the first was the river. It is the first time the particular term *Yeor* is used in the Bible, and it is seldom used for any other river than the Nile. From the river seven kine came up and "fed in a meadow". Again there is something essentially Egyptian in the term used. It really means the flags or rushes which grew by the river-side—the rich herbage which grew where the water of the Nile made the ground sufficiently moist to encourage the free growth of such vegetation. It is only used in one other place in the whole of the Bible, namely, in the Book of Job. Equally appropriate was the leading feature of the second dream, seven ears of corn on one stalk. Egypt was famous for its wheat which was of good quality. Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians* says that bearded and other varieties "existed in ancient as in modern times, among which may be mentioned the seven-eared quality described in Pharaoh's dream". It formed one of the staple foods of the people, and was usually produced in great abundance.

These dreams of Pharaoh brought the long delayed opportunity to Joseph. Whether the magicians of Egypt

could not, or would not, interpret the dreams cannot be said. It is just possible that the general indication was appreciated by them, but they feared to tell the king of the calamity which they seemed to portend. Seven fat kine eaten up by seven thin and ill-favoured ones, and seven ears of corn blasted by the east wind following the seven "fat and good" were so suggestive of the interpretation which Joseph gave, that it seems hardly likely that any one believing in portents at all would not conclude that they presaged a great calamity. Whatever the cause they could not interpret them to Pharaoh. In the face of Pharaoh's anxiety the butler remembered Joseph, who was sent for in haste. "They brought him hastily out of the dungeon and he shaved himself". Here is another little touch that indicated the parallelism between the customs of the Ancient Land and the Bible record. Amongst the Hebrews and other Semitic peoples shaving was not a necessary or a usual thing. The Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures represent the men with plenty of hair and long beards. In Egypt it was otherwise, and when hair is shown on the head of anyone it is a wig and not the natural hair. To let hair grow was a sign of mourning. The custom of shaving goes back to pre-historic times, and was evidently adopted for purposes of cleanliness. The barber was a well-established servant or trader in Egypt. He is represented on the monuments in the execution of his work. Wilkinson may with advantage be quoted again here: "So particular, indeed, were they on this point, that to have neglected it was a subject of reproach and ridicule; and whenever they intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a

slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard." The only general exception to the practice seems to have been under the XVIIIth Dynasty when men often wore their own hair parted in the middle and hanging over their shoulders, but even then they are sometimes shown as wearing a wig over it. This, of course, was later than the times of Joseph.

There is no need to repeat in detail the account of the interview between Pharaoh and the Hebrew captive who was able to interpret the dreams. Seven years of terrible famine were to succeed seven years of almost incredible plenty. Reference has already been made to the fact that such periods of famine occasionally visited the favoured land of Egypt. They were disasters to be dreaded, for a famine lasting seven years was a fearful evil. Joseph's advice was quite natural in the circumstances; it was the only thing to do. The advice was accepted, and Joseph was raised to the highest position in the land. Again everything is thoroughly Egyptian. The ring which was handed to him was the signet ring which Egyptian officials and officers bore as their insignia of office. It bore either their own names or the name of the Pharaoh. In early times they were cylinder seals like those of Babylonia, but later on they were in the form of a scarab-beetle carried on a string or ring or affixed to a solid signet ring. The scarab was perforated and attached to the ring by wire. Its use for the purpose of a seal dates from the XIIth Dynasty, some time before the Hyksos period. The British Museum possesses a large number of scarabs of the Hyksos times; they bear the names of kings and other royal personages. The gold chain was really a gold

collar, and the word used in the Hebrew only occurs in the account of Joseph's advancement and in Ezekiel, where it is used in relation to Israel's sojourn in Egypt. It is therefore essentially Egyptian. Such collars are represented on the monuments where investitures are shown, and it is definitely stated that those whom the king honoured by the gift of gold collars wore them on every occasion.

The terms which are used in connection with the advancement of Joseph are likewise Egyptian, and have no affinity in the Hebrew language. When it is said "they cried before him 'Bow the knee'" they used the Egyptian word Abreck, which actually means to bow down, and has nothing whatever to do with the Hebrew Abba, Father, as is suggested in the margin of the Authorised Version. It is stated that to-day a similar word, Abrok, is used in Egypt when it is desired to make camels kneel down.

So also the name Zaphnath-Paaneah is essentially Egyptian. It may be defined as follows:—Zap, plenty or abundance; nt is the proposition of; Pa, is the definite article; and eah is a representation of the Egyptian word ankh, which means life. The name therefore proclaimed Joseph as the one through whom there was abundance of life, that is abundance of the food that was essential for the life of man and beast. If in these days we see in it something more than a mere name, one of those "types" of which Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 10. 6, the name is even more suggestive.

The last act of Joseph's advancement was his marriage, he was given Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah,

the priest of On. On is in the Egyptian Yonu, and is the Heliopolis of the Greeks. It is on the east side of the Nile north of the modern Cairo. Asenath means the "favourite of Neith", the war-goddess. Heliopolis is sufficiently indicative of the worship which was associated with the city. It means City of the Sun, and was the site of a Temple of Ra, the Sun god of Egypt.

Some interesting considerations arise in connection with Joseph's administration of the land of Egypt. In the first place when the famine had prevailed for some time the lands and property of the Egyptians were mortgaged to Pharaoh, and the land was then let to the people on condition that they returned one-fifth of the resulting produce to Pharaoh. A similar figure has been found as the proportion of crops, etc., payable to the government in later times.

More important is the question of the priestly lands. We are told that "Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; . . . only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands." So little is known of Egypt in Hyksos times that nothing can be said here of a contemporary character, but as those kings copied Egyptian manners and customs in many things it is not a mere assumption to suppose that they did so in regard to this matter.

It was the practice of Egyptian kings to make great presentations to the various temples of the gods of Egypt; they consisted of lands and estates, as well as such things as silver and gold. In the end this caused the

downfall of Dynasties, for, as happened in Europe two thousand years afterwards, the power of the priesthood gradually became greater than that of the royal houses. Fortunately we have an actual record of the position in a later age, and though it may not have been quite so bad in the times of Joseph it is an interesting illustration of the principle involved.

It is contained in a remarkable papyrus which was found behind the temple of Rameses III at Medinat Habu. It purports to record the good deeds of Rameses, but from the magnitude of the figures which are shown it is assumed that it really gives particulars of the various property which had been presented to the temples of Egypt by the Pharaohs, and which had therefore become the priestly property. According to this official document the land owned by the priests amounted to more than a quarter of a million acres, a figure which is estimated to represent about 14 per cent. of the total cultivable land in the country. They also possessed over a hundred thousand slaves, nearly half a million head of cattle, a large number of towns in Egypt and Syria, to say nothing of eighty-eight fleets which sailed the seas on behalf of the priestly representatives of the gods of Egypt. There was then good reason why it was not necessary for the priestly lands to be sold, they were a wealthy corporation in a privileged position, and evidently even the foreign Hyksos were not able to dislodge them from it.

Before closing this chapter some reference should be made to the granaries in which the corn was stored. A number have been found; they were large brick buildings with high, vaulted rooms. There were only

two openings, one at the top through which the corn was poured in, and one about the ground level through which it was removed. From the illustrations which have been presented, it appears the grain was carefully measured, and a scribe entered particulars in a register.

## CHAPTER VI

### ISRAEL IN EGYPT

**W**HEN the years of plenty had run their appointed course the famine followed, and evidently affected the surrounding countries, for "all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn". Among those who came were the brothers of Joseph. The history is too well known to need repetition; it resulted in the whole family of Jacob coming to Egypt, one more Semitic tribe being added to many which had come in the past. Joseph arranged for them to dwell in the land of Goshen, and there in due time they settled.

The land of Goshen was pre-eminently suitable to be the home of the Israelites so long as it was necessary for them to stay in Egypt. It consists of a strip of land reaching from the Nile towards the Red Sea. It was a fertile region, its fertility being due to the fact that it was watered by one of the branches of the Nile. It is known to-day as the Wady Tumilat. It possessed two advantages; it was rich agricultural and pasture land, and it was situated between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. It was, therefore, a sanctuary for the people, and well suited to their requirements. Here they could live under the protection of the all-powerful Joseph, and with the good will of Pharaoh who would welcome them as kindred tribes.

Some difficulty has been experienced in relation to the advice which Joseph gave to his brethren to tell Pharaoh they were shepherds, "because every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians". Why should such a reason be given if, as is assumed, Egypt was then governed by the Shepherd kings? His reasoning probably was that a Hyksos Pharaoh would welcome them and be only too glad to retain them in a portion of the land not too far removed from the royal city instead of letting them go into the land itself amongst the native Egyptians. Whatever the reason the facts turned out as he desired, and for a long time Goshen remained the home of the families descended from Jacob. There they prospered and multiplied under the protection of the king.

During this time of safety Jacob and Joseph died. In each case we are told they were embalmed. It is hardly necessary to point out that this was the usual method of dealing with the dead in the land of Egypt, although it was quite foreign to the ordinary practices of the descendants of Abraham. In the case of a person like Joseph it was an expensive process, though there were much less costly methods which were adopted for the poorer people. An additional touch of reality is introduced into the account of Joseph. He was "put in a coffin in Egypt", and kept ready for the time of which he himself spoke, when the descendants of those who had come down into Egypt to find an asylum from the famine should go back to the land from which their fathers had come.

Coffins, or at least wooden boxes, began to be used in Egypt as far back as the 1st Dynasty. In the time

of the Pyramid builders they were like wooden chests made to look like a house with doors and windows. Afterwards they were made of great planks of wood, cedar or deal, painted on the outside with the names of the deceased and also with prayers. Later on the coffins were shaped to the human body. One relating to the XVIIth Dynasty—that is, a Dynasty of the Hyksos, is in the British Museum. It is made of wood, gilded, with the face of the deceased represented at the head. Another practice which developed was that of modelling a cartonnage case round the body. It was made of linen sheets pasted together, and covered with a kind of stucco, a portrait of the dead person being attached. It would probably be coffins like that of the Hyksos period, moulded into shape, that were used for Jacob and Joseph.

“Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.” These words introduce the great change which came over the fortunes of the Israelites in Egypt after the death of Joseph. The words indicate a crisis which had arisen in the land. During the latter part of the times of the Hyksos kings there had been a rival Dynasty of native Egyptians reigning at Thebes. The later representatives of these had carried on a war against the Hyksos of the North kingdom. The war was savage and relentless, for it was a native rising against a foreign yoke. In such a conflict neither side would be likely to give, or ask for, quarter in victory or defeat. Tau-a-qen, one of the last of the Theban kings of the Dynasty, perished on the field of battle. His mummy has been found, and when examined it was found that the lower jaw bone had been broken

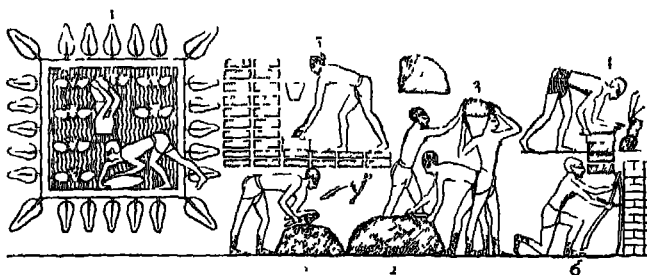
and the skull split; there were large wounds on the side of the head and over the eye, and one of the ears had been hacked away. What he failed to accomplish was achieved soon afterwards. A new Dynasty arose, the XVIIIth, the first king of which was Aahmes. He prosecuted the war against the Hyksos with vigour, captured the city of Avaris and pursued the fleeing Hyksos into Palestine, where the city of Sarhuhen was also captured by him. The power of the Shepherds was completely broken, and in their place there arose the greatest Dynasty that Egypt ever experienced. Such were the circumstances behind the brief expression that another king arose who knew not Joseph.

The result to Israel in Egypt was serious. They had been welcomed by the kings of the so-called Shepherd race, for they were allied in blood. Just to the same extent they would be obnoxious to the new native kings. The very situation of their land, so helpful in the past, now added to the feelings against them. If the expelled Hyksos endeavoured to stir up their fellows of Syria in an attempt to regain their lost position in Egypt, Israel on the north-eastern borders would be their natural allies. It is not to be wondered at that the new king and his counsellors should take such steps as were open to them to prevent such a course of events from happening. "And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of Israel are more and mightier than we; Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land." The

result was the hard bondage of the people in the land of Egypt.

The form which the bondage took was in keeping with Egyptian customs. They were called upon to build treasure cities, to follow hard bondage in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field. Forced labour was not a new thing in Egypt. At the best the lot of the labourer in Egypt was a poor one. The Pyramids are standing examples of the work which was accomplished by such means. Thousands of men were employed year after year by ambitious kings who wished merely to raise a memorial to themselves. In later times Pharaoh Necho attempted to re-open the canal which had been cut between the Nile and the Red Sea, and had finally to give up the project because of the severe mortality which occurred amongst the forced labourers whom he used. According to Herodotus no fewer than 120,000 labourers perished in the course of the work. With such examples in earlier and in later times, the lot of the Israelites under the new regime may be imagined. Their lives were made bitter with hard bondage.

The treasure cities are named Rameses and Pithom; the term for them would, more appropriately be, store cities. The circumstances already described, and the fears of the Egyptians of reprisals from the expelled Hyksos, made it necessary to strengthen the defences of the land at the north-eastern corner where Africa joins Asia. Pithom and Rameses were both situated in the land of Goshen, handy for the storage of stores and supplies needed for either a defensive force in case of attempted invasion, or for an expeditionary



- 1 Bringing water from a pool
- 2 Mixing the mud
- 3 Carrying prepared mud

- 4 Moulding bricks
- 5 Laying the bricks in rows
- 6 Workman mending his mud hoe



- 1 Overseers or taskmasters
- 2 Carrying bricks with a yoke and cord
- 3 Returning with empty yoke
- 4 Mixing and depositing mixed mud for the moulds

### BRICKMAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT



force bent on carrying the war into the country of Palestine and Syria.

The site of Pithom has been explored. It is known as Pa-Tum. Speaking of the place M. Naville, who conducted the excavations, says: "Outside the space which I consider to be the temple, and excavating further towards the north-east, we reached some very strange buildings, no indication of which appeared above the sand, but which, however, were of considerable extent. We came upon thick walls built of crude bricks, joined by thin layers of mortar. These walls are remarkably well built, and have a thickness of from two to three yards, the surface being perfectly smooth, and as well polished as possible with such material as Nile mud. Everything indicates a very good epoch, when the Pharaohs built with the intention of making a lasting work." He proceeds to give particulars of his discoveries and then continues: "What was the object of these chambers? I believe them to have been built for no other purpose than that of store-houses or granaries, into which the Pharaohs gathered the provisions necessary for armies about to cross the desert, or even for caravans and travellers which were on the road to Syria. . . . The chambers had no communication with each other; the access to them was only from the top."

The general impression made by the Bible account of the hard labour of the Israelites in Egypt is that their principal occupation was making bricks. Brick-making was an old industry there, it goes back into the pre-historic period. At Abydos a mud-brick fort of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty is still standing to a height of thirty-

five feet; elsewhere there are brick walls eighty feet thick. The wall paintings of Egypt give illustrations of the process of brick-making. They represent the mound of mud to furnish the crude material, the supply of water in buckets, the mould which was used to fashion the brick, and then the bricks piled up in rows to dry. In principle the method is that of to-day. A description of the modern method will therefore give a general insight into the work done by the Israelites 3,500 years ago. The first thing is to dig a hole at the edge of a stream or pool so that the water may flow over the soil. It is then trampled on so that the soil and water may be formed into a clay sufficiently plastic for moulding. Sand may be mixed with the clay to prevent cracking whilst drying, and chopped straw, or pieces of grass are sometimes used to mix with the clay to assist in binding it together. A great lump of the mud is then taken and placed on the ground. From it the moulder takes a lump large enough to fill his mould, presses it down, smooths the surface, and then removes the mould, so that the brick is left upon the ground. The bricks as made are placed one beside the other in rows, with a slight space between each brick. They are then left for a few days to dry.

As the days of the Israelites in Egypt came to an end the service they were called upon to perform was made more difficult. Straw which had hitherto been provided was withheld from them, but the number of bricks which were to be made was not reduced. They had to gather straw for themselves or go without. It has usually been assumed that the straw was for mixing with the clay of the bricks. It has been pointed

out that this is by no means the most likely idea of the injunction. Bricks without straw are, and were, a usual thing. In brick-making as practised in Egypt chopped straw is useful as a dust for the hand and for the brick, making the handling of the latter more easy, so that the work can be done more quickly. This adds considerably to the narrative. The difficulty of the process was increased, yet there was to be no diminution in the number of bricks made. It was a refinement of cruelty to an overburdened people, slowing up production and adding to the difficulty of handling.

All the efforts of the Egyptians to keep the Israelites from increasing in number and importance were of no avail, and finally the decree was issued that all male babies were to be cast into the Nile. Our Western minds are horrified at such a proceeding; it is only fair to point out that such conduct was far less reprehensible to the peoples of those times than it is to people imbued with the civilisation of to-day. In much later ages it was customary in Greece to expose infants who were undesired or who were likely to put an unbearable strain on the parents to properly bring up. In Rome a somewhat similar practice prevailed. The difference, of course, is that in the case before us it was done with the deliberate object of preventing a race of slaves from becoming too powerful in the land. The object failed, for the very means adopted led to the deliverer being saved and educated in such a way that he was properly prepared for the great work which has ever been associated with the name of Moses.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DATE OF THE EXODUS

**B**EFORE turning to the events associated with the Exodus of Israel from Egypt it is desirable to examine certain theories which have been put forward in connection with it, and to fix, approximately, the date at which it took place. It will be realised that these two matters are connected, and neither can be solved without the other being considered.

Three main ideas have been put forward in relation to the event. A long succession of expositors have considered Rameses II to be the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Merenptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Many cogent reasons have been put forward in support, and if it were not for certain difficulties which it involves, the theory has much to commend it. Rameses was a great builder, his works are to be found all over Egypt, and the name of one of the cities which were built by the Israelites bears his name. Something too must be allowed for the facts connected with the mummy of Merenptah. The medical examination of it disclosed that the cause of his death was atheroma, a disease which made the heart rigid and inelastic. This disease affects the brain, giving rise to mental changes which result in a narrowness of outlook and a restriction of all

enterprise. These characteristics are so suitable to the actions of the Pharaoh who is pictured in the Book of Exodus that they add weight to the general tradition on the subject.

The second suggestion is that the Exodus is the Israelitish account of the expulsion of the Hyksos, that in fact the Hyksos and the Hebrews were one and the same people. The idea has been revived again recently, and is referred to in a Guide issued by the British Museum. A quotation will best express the position of the matter. "Very great interest attaches to the accounts of the expulsion of the Hyksos, because some hold the view that it was the same event as the Exodus of the Israelites; the Egyptian record describes the departure of the invading Semitic tribes from Egypt, from the Egyptian point of view, while the Exodus story describes the same event from the Hebrew point of view. The date of the Exodus will then be *circa* 1580 B.C. However probable this view may seem to be, it must be remembered that it is still simply a theory, not a statement of historical fact. As a theory, however, it is gaining adherents among those who deal with the subject at first hand, especially from the Egyptological side." This may be taken as a fair setting out of the theory and its present position amongst those who are interested in Egyptian Archæology.

The third theory places the Exodus during the XVIIIth Dynasty, that is the Dynasty which expelled the Hyksos from Egypt, but later on than the expulsion era. According to this suggestion the Pharaohs concerned would be one of the Tuthmoses or Amenheteps.

Such are the three theories which have been put forward, and the fact that all three have been accepted by some authorities, and reasons advanced in support of them, sufficiently indicates that the problem is not altogether an easy one. Two kinds of evidence may be considered, historical and chronological. Both have a bearing on the matter, and if the two can be brought to the same solution it may be considered to be as conclusive as could be expected in all the circumstances of the case.

The chronological evidence may be taken first. Bible chronology is not the simple matter that it sounds. Anyone who has attempted to make it out for himself has found many problems, and, unfortunately, differences of opinion exist among students as to which is the proper solution of some of them. Such being the case it is not intended to discuss these problems here, but to rely on the generally received data, which may be taken as approximately correct, at any rate sufficiently so for the purpose in hand. In addition certain main chronological periods may be examined.

Although an enormous amount of information has been discovered in relation to Egyptian history, to the various kings, and the length of their reigns, Egyptologists are by no means agreed as to the dates when the various Pharaohs came to the throne; in relation to the earlier times the differences are fairly considerable. The later the date, the more certain it will be, and working backward is more satisfactory than working forward. As it is necessary to take some standard for comparison the dates given by the Trustees of the British Museum in their Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections

will be taken here for the purely Egyptian figures. It was re-issued in 1930 and bears the name of the late H. R. Hall; it is therefore of authority.

Some of the important dates are as under:

|                                       |                |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| The Exodus . . . . .                  | 1490 B.C.      |
| The Expulsion of the Hyksos . . . . . | 1580 B.C.      |
| Tuthmosis II . . . . .                | 1514-1501 B.C. |
| Tuthmosis III . . . . .               | 1501-1447 B.C. |
| Amenhetep II . . . . .                | 1447-1421 B.C. |
| Rameses II . . . . .                  | 1301-1234 B.C. |
| Merenptah . . . . .                   | 1234-1225 B.C. |

If the matter were to be decided by the chronological data only there would be no question as to the solution of the problem. The times of the Hyksos were too early and those of Rameses and Merenptah were too late. The XVIIIth Dynasty is the only one whose dates synchronise with the traditional dates of the Exodus; by traditional is meant the received chronology as usually shown in our Bibles.

Can the date approximately given for the Exodus in the margins or headings of the Bible be sustained by any general considerations? Two such calculations may be given; they will be at least circumstantial evidence in support. There is first the statement contained in the record of the incident when God entered into covenant with Abraham. "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years," (Gen. 15. 13.) In Exodus it is said, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the self-

same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." The sojourning evidently includes the time of sojourning in the land of Canaan as well as Egypt. This is indicated in the Samaritan and Septuagint Versions and by Josephus, who states that it was "four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan". So also in the New Testament it is definitely stated that the Law was given at Sinai four hundred and thirty years after the making of the covenant. (Gal. 3. 17.) Abraham's date may be placed approximately at 1900 B.C., and 430 years reckoned from this gives 1470, a date sufficiently near to be accepted as confirmatory evidence.

One other may be given. According to the Books of the Kings, Solomon commenced to build the Temple in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus. How does this period scan with the suggested date of the Exodus? Solomon's accession is given as 1015 B.C. He commenced to build the Temple in the fourth year of his reign, which, taking round numbers, may be called 1010. If to this the 480 years are added, the date arrived at is 1490, which it will be seen exactly coincides with the date assigned for the Exodus on page 55. It may therefore be safely said that the chronological argument places the Exodus in the times of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and, if the assumed date is correct, in the reign of Tuthmosis III. The date usually adopted by modern authorities for the building of the Temple is 967 B.C.; this is based upon certain synchronisms between Egyptian and Israelitish history. This would give 1447 for the date of the Exodus and place it in the

reign of Amen-hetep II. What are the historical evidences?

If there were nothing but historical considerations there would be a great temptation to adopt the first suggestion and place the Exodus in the reign of Merenptah. The condition of Egypt before and after his reign was in keeping with the incidents of the Exodus, and the examination of the Pharaoh's mummy might well be considered to be collateral evidence. Historical facts, however, are known which render it impossible, and make some such date as that arrived at on chronological considerations a necessity. The outstanding fact in this respect is that in the reign of Merenptah Israel were already living in the land of Palestine. Supporters of the Rameses-Merenptah period are therefore obliged to argue that a section of the Israelites either escaped from Egypt before the Exodus, or that only a portion of the people were ever in Egypt. There is no hint of either of these suppositions in the Bible.

Merenptah has recorded an invasion of Palestine, in the course of which he says:

“ The Hittite land is pacified,  
Plundered is Canaan, with every evil,  
Carried off is Askalon,  
Seized upon is Gezer.  
Yenoam is made a thing not existing,  
Israel is desolated, her seed is not,  
Kharu (South Palestine) has become a widow for Egypt.”

It may, of course, be objected that there is no allusion to such an event in the Bible, and that therefore it

cannot refer to Israel but to some other people. The reason for the silence of the Bible is fairly obvious. If the Exodus took place about 1490 B.C., the times of Merenptah were those of the Judges when Israel was in a state of disunion and division, when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes". The Book of Judges obviously does not record all that took place in the land during the period it covers, but only matters that affected various parts of the country from time to time and resulted in the uprising of the Judges. The order of the places named by Merenptah indicate that his army marched by the coast route, "the Way of the Philistines" as it is called, and the Israel of his inscription would probably be that portion of the people living in the north of the land, for the Yenoam is situated there, and an independent record refers to the establishment of an Egyptian military post at Tyre at the same time. In these circumstances the silence of the narrative in Judges is easily accounted for; the incident did not lead to any outstanding event in the history and development of the people.

Of course the great argument in support of the Rameses-Merenptah date is the fact that the Israelites are said to have built the treasure cities of Pithom and Rameses during the oppression, and the latter seems to imply the former of the two kings. This is probably the reason which, more than any other, has led to Rameses being regarded as the Pharaoh of the Oppression. It is necessary, therefore, to give some little attention to this matter. Reference has already been made to Pa-Tum which was excavated by M. Naville. He has ascribed it to Rameses on the ground that he

found the name of Rameses on the ruins of the city. Naturally there is weight in such a fact, and in some matters it would be conclusive. The facts already noted, however, with regard to chronology and history cause the conclusion to be questioned. Is the mention of a king's name necessarily an evidence that he caused the construction of the thing on which his name is found? In the case of Rameses II the answer is a very decided negative. Rameses was a great builder and put his name everywhere he could, the slightest addition or repair to a building was a sufficient excuse for him to place his name on it. He went much further than this, however. A well-known illustration is Cleopatra's Needle, as it is called, on the Thames Embankment. It was unquestionably set up by Tuthmosis III, yet it bears the name of Rameses. It may be a mere coincidence, but it was dedicated to Tum of Heliopolis, the same name as is memorialised in Pa-Tum. Rameses removed the name of his own father from monuments and substituted his own. That his name appears on the ruins of Pa-Tum cannot therefore be taken as conclusive evidence of its late date. There are indications which take the city back to an earlier Dynasty, such, for example, as the discovery of a sphinx bearing the name of Rameses, but having definite evidence of another name having been erased.

With regard to the city of Rameses not much can be said, as it has not been excavated. Suggestive though the identity of names may be it is not conclusive. It is recorded, however, that Rameses received the ambassadors of the Hittites in the city of Rameses in the fifth year of his reign—that is, before he undertook

any works in that region. There is a still more pertinent fact. When Israel first went down to Egypt we are told that Joseph placed them "in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses". Under any theory of the date of the Exodus this must have been long before the time of even the first Rameses, so that the name is no certain indication of date. Two explanations are possible: as a place-name it may be older than the kings who possessed it, in which case it has no bearing on the question of the date; on the other hand it may be a scribe used the name afterwards given to the land and the city, just as happened in the case of various sites and places in Palestine where old sites are described by new names in passages relating to incidents which occurred long before the new names were adopted. In the face of these suppositions it must be admitted that the evidence based upon the name of the two cities is not convincing, especially in view of the direct evidence furnished by the considerations advanced.

Having looked at the Rameses-Merenptah theory we may turn to that which sees in the Exodus only another record of the expulsion of the Hyksos. What can be said, historically, for the suggestion? So far as evidence is concerned there is none. The Egyptian records of the expulsion and the Hebrew record of the Exodus present no points of contact. The expulsion of a Dynasty which had ruled Egypt for 120 years and the flight of a race of slaves obviously present no parallels, and as was said some time back the "idea is still simply a theory". As such it may be left until its upholders bring forward evidence sufficient to establish it as something more tangible than a theory. The absence of this and the

chronological discrepancy are sufficient to lead us to discard it.

By this process of elimination we arrive at the conclusion that the Exodus must have taken place during the time of the powerful XVIIIth Dynasty, and allowing for any slight discrepancy which may exist in chronological calculations, it may be assigned to the reigns of Tuthmosis III or Amen-hetep II. Can any evidence be supplied which will enable the student to determine in which of these two reigns it did actually occur?

The first point that may be mentioned is that Josephus quotes Manetho, the Egyptian historian, as saying that the Jews were compelled to flee out of Egypt in the reign of Amenophis, who was the Amen-hetep of the Egyptian records. It is a fact of some importance in connection with this that whilst Amen-hetep had daughters by his marriage with his sisters, the only sons he had by them died young, and therefore his successor, Tuthmosis IV, though a son of the late king, was not the natural heir to the throne, who should have been the offspring of a marriage between Pharaoh and one of his full sisters. Tuthmosis IV was therefore chosen to be the husband of one of the princesses, and by this means became Pharaoh. He seems to have found it necessary to ascribe his elevation to the throne to the intervention of the god Kheperi, whose temple of the Sphinx he restored.

Thus it may be regarded as almost certain that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was Amen-hetep II. An interesting corollary to this may be seen in the fact that eighty years before the accession of Tuthmosis IV, Queen Hatshepsut commenced her reign. She was before

that a princess of the royal house, and was in turn the wife of Tuthmosis II and III. She was a woman of a remarkably independent character, and she occupied a position of great power in the land. She was therefore just the sort of person that might be expected to act as the Pharaoh's daughter of the Bible acted when she saved the life of the infant Moses eighty years before the Exodus.

There is one other consideration which has a bearing upon the question. Recent discoveries have fixed the time of the Exodus to a late Bronze Age date, which is given approximately as 1447 B.C., with a possible error of eight years. There is no need to recount the arguments upon which this date is reached; it is sufficiently near those already given to be accepted as supporting evidence for the period, if it does not fix the exact date of the event.

## CHAPTER VIII

### MOSES IN EGYPT

**B**EFORE passing to the consideration of the events which led directly to the Exodus of Israel there are a few matters worthy of some attention. They have a bearing on after events, and an appreciation of them will enable the atmosphere of the times to be better realised.

The Pharaonic command to kill all the boys born to the Israelites was evaded in the case of Moses by the ruse narrated in the second chapter of Exodus. For three months he was hid in the house, after which he was placed on the Nile in an "ark of bulrushes", no doubt in hope that a means of deliverance would arise. The terms used are essentially Egyptian, and would be better expressed "a chest of the papyrus plant". Though the papyrus suggests writing and writing materials, and was extensively used for those purposes, it had a variety of other uses. The plant was the *Cyperus papyrus*, which grew by the banks of the Nile in the marshy places and pools. To-day it is not cultivated in Egypt, though it still grows in the Soudan. It grows to the height of from twenty to twenty-five feet, and the stems are quite thick. Its use for boats is indicated by the prophet Isaiah in a call to the Ethiopians, where he says: "Woe (or Ho!) to the land shadowing

with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia; that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters." It was also used in the construction of cabins on boats and for framework on which matting was fixed in making rooms in houses. It was, therefore, a natural and fitting material from which an ark or chest might be made for the young child to be placed among the reeds of the Nile.

The result of the chance which was taken by the mother of Moses resulted, as is well known, in his being taken over by the daughter of Pharaoh and brought up in the Royal Court. It has been suggested that the lady in question was the princess Hatshepsut, who was afterwards married to both Tuthmosis II and III. Seeing, however, that she is only alluded to as "Pharaoh's daughter" no nearer identification is possible, and we must be content to think that it may have been this great lady of Egypt. It will be more to the point to consider what effect this action of hers had on the future of the child. In this respect something may certainly be gained from the evidence which this Ancient Land furnishes in relation to the Bible.

It is extremely probable that the children of the Israelites received very little education during the latter portion of the time they were in Egypt. A race put under hard bondage, with a daily quantity of bricks to be provided, must have had little opportunity to attend to the training of the young, let alone seeing to their education. For a child taken into the Egyptian circle the circumstances were quite different. Education was looked after in Egypt of the XVIIIth Dynasty

for various classes of the population, and for the members of the Royal household, and others in high position, special instruction was given to fit them for their future responsibilities. To this extent the introduction to such a state of society must have resulted in Moses being far better fitted for the future than would have been the case had it been possible for him to be brought up among the other Hebrew children of his time.

Schools were attached to many of the temples of Egypt, and teaching was mostly in the hands of the priests and scribes. Although the children of the labouring classes probably had little or no tuition, a proper curriculum seems to have been adopted for those of the middle and upper classes, the teaching being modified to suit the probable future duties of the scholars. So important was this principle regarded that certain of the Government Departments had schools attached to them in which the scholars were taught just those things which would be useful to them in connection with such Departments. These included the Treasury, the Public Granaries, and the Offices overlooking the possessions of the Crown throughout the land. A people among whom education was thus specialised had made great advances in organisation for the benefit of the State.

Sufficient indications have been found to give an idea of the methods of instruction which were employed in these ancient schools. In some matters learning was imparted by mere repetition, but in others more lasting methods were adopted. In the earliest stages of education the scholars wrote their exercises on

potsherds, broken vessels, pieces of limestone, and similar materials. These are known to-day as ostraka, from the Greek *ostrakon*, burnt clay or anything made therefrom,—an earthen vessel, also the hard shells of certain forms of lower life. On such materials exercises were written which the students had to copy, just as in more modern times copy books were used with a beautiful "copper-plate" headline which scholars were expected to copy, and thus learn to write. Many of these have been found, though they relate mostly to later ages of Egyptian history. Another writing material was a board thinly covered with lime or similar material, on which letters and words could be written and then erased, just as slates may be used in modern times. By such means the scholars in the schools of all kinds were taught to write. As proficiency increased papyrus was probably used, and this material was used for writing from very early times; the oldest known specimen is dated somewhere about 3000 B.C.

Two kinds of writing were taught, the hieroglyphic and the hieratic. The former was the sacred writing, purely pictorial. Its appearance is familiar to all, for it may be seen on the monuments, tombs, statues, tablets and other things in our Museums. The hieratic was a kind of abbreviated hieroglyph; it was based on the earlier writing but was more cursive. It goes back at all events to the XIth Dynasty, *circa* 2300 B.C., and was therefore quite common in the days of Moses.

One form of writing exercise in the schools of both kinds was that of copying formal legal documents, model letters, and what in modern terms would be

called classical works. By such means the students gained an insight into real education, and their minds would necessarily expand. Some of the latter works were of great antiquity. There were the Precepts of Kaqemni and the Precepts of Ptah-hetep which date from long before 2000 B.C. Fragments of these and others exist on the ostraka and on papyri. From the latter may be quoted: "If thou art an underling and in the following of a great lord, who is in favour with the god (i.e. Pharaoh), know nothing of his former insignificance. Raise not thy heart against him on account of what thou knowest of his aforetime, but rather hold him in awe on account of what has happened to him, for having cometh not of itself; it is the god (Pharaoh) who maketh the great." It is good advice, and was evidently as much needed then as it is now. Another expression, dated in the XIXth Dynasty, is "Love letters as thy mother", an excellent advice to a scholar whose mind is just opening up the wonders of literature, whether in 1200 B.C. or A.D. 1930.

Poetry occupied a prominent place in Egyptian literature, and would no doubt be included in the tuition. Historical documents, tales, fables, and other kinds of writing, including fiction, were common, so that the education of an Egyptian youth of the upper or middle classes was likely to be of a fairly high character, certainly much higher than would have been supposed had it not been for the finds of the Archæologist.

In the special schools for the training of youths for the public service specialised instruction was given in arithmetic, account-keeping, geometry, mensuration, report writing, and so forth. It will be seen that Ancient

Egypt was a literary land, and that anyone brought up in a position which involved attendance at the schools was likely to have a real insight into life and learning, and could not fail to be able to read and write.

For members of the Royal household even greater advantages were open. There seem to have been tutors and others attached to the palace establishment charged with the education of the Royal princes and others brought up with them. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty these included hostages from Syria, who were frequently sons of the chiefs of the various cities where the Egyptians placed garrisons. To participate in this educational process was esteemed a great honour, something to be recorded afterwards. Thus a noble would record that he was a "child of the king of his bringing up". The natural result following from such an institution was that the princes who might succeed to the throne of Pharaoh were specially prepared for such a future; the princes from the outlying Empire were brought up in an Egyptian atmosphere. Being thus associated in early life, they became united in spirit, a fact of great advantage to the quietness of the kingdom.

The course of events alluded to in the opening sentences of this chapter brought Moses into the educational institutions of Egypt. A New Testament statement declares that he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians". By such a training he was prepared to be a leader of men; he would have learned to appreciate the necessity of written records in any organisation of people who were working for a future. The fact that he would have been given the educational advantages provided for members of the Royal household

would give him a freedom of action when in later years he once more came to the land to demand of an Egyptian monarch the release of a people who were both an asset and a menace to Egypt.

This will be a convenient place in which to consider the position which a ruler occupied in the land of Egypt. When a prince came to the throne he retained his own name, and in addition received another which became his throne name. To this the formula, "Son of Ra", that is "Son of the Sun", was attached. Thus Tuthmosis III, to whom reference will frequently be made, was "Men-kheper-Ra, Son of Ra, Tuthmosis". The great Rameses was "Usr-Maat-Ra-setep-en-Ra, Son of Ra, Ramasesu-meri-Amon". By such titles and names the Pharaohs identified themselves with the principal gods of Egypt, and proclaimed themselves to be the sons of Ra.<sup>1</sup>

No one could be accepted as a Pharaoh unless he could lay claim to this divine origin. It was essential that he should be regarded as the bodily son of Ra. This belief or theory goes back to the time of Khufu, of the age of the pyramids, at all events, and it continued right down to the latest times of the Egyptian royalty. It applied even when a Queen was supreme ruler in the land ; she too must be a Son of Ra. So essential had this idea become that in the Temple at Dair al-Bahri, which Queen Hatshepsut caused to be constructed, the birth of the Queen was represented in a series of incidents, one of which shows the god in converse with her mother, saying "Hatshepsut shall be the name of this my daughter". It may be taken

<sup>1</sup> See also page 78.

as an indication of the essential character of this fiction, that the artist who was employed to illustrate the divine parentage of the child used conventional scenes to depict the various incidents of the birth, and Hatshepsut is represented as a boy! Evidently all the traditionary pictures at his disposal made no provision for the new monarch to be a daughter of Ra.

By such a legal fiction, supported by a priesthood working for its own future advantage, every Pharaoh became a visible god. He was spoken of as "the good god", "the great god", "the living god", and everyone approaching him had to do so with words of praise and honour. Occupying such an exalted position it was not right to address him by name, he was usually spoken of as "One". Thus if it is intended to say that a certain individual reported to the king, it is said he "caused One to know". The king and his government became known as "the Great House", just as in modern times the Sultan of Turkey and his government were styled the Sublime Porte. When he died Pharaoh was, of course, taken into the great company of the gods.

With such ideas concerning the birth and position of the Pharaoh it will be appreciated that Court etiquette developed into elaborate official rules. Even in early days the Pharaohs were surrounded with numbers of court functionaries, such as marshals and chamberlains and officers of all sorts. It was very much like the system that grew up in the later days of the Roman Empire and in Europe in Mediæval times, when there were officers of all sorts, some of whose duties it is hard to visualise. It was all part of the divinity that beset the king.

## CHAPTER IX

### MOSES AND PHARAOH—THE PLAGUES

THE conclusion of the previous chapter led us to the great crisis in those events which, more than any others, brought the ancient land of Egypt into relation with the Bible. A race of helots, who could be put to all kinds of hard bondage, was a great asset to Egypt, and when Moses demanded their release only one reply could be expected from an Egyptian Pharaoh, whether he were a Tuthmosis III or a king of less renown. The demand for the release of Israel resulted in additional burdens being put upon them. With steadily increasing intensity the struggle proceeded until the Exodus became an accomplished fact. A knowledge of certain circumstances which were attendant on the history will give it an added interest and meaning. It is no use looking at Egyptian monuments for information; it was not the practice of the Pharaohs to record their own discomfitures; it is to the natural phenomena and the religious beliefs of Egypt that attention must be given.

"Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment." This brief expression may be taken as a general description of much that took place during the months that intervened between the first appearance of Moses

before Pharaoh and the departure of the people of Israel from Egypt. The force of this will be seen as the various incidents are referred to in the order in which they occur in the Bible.

The first matter calling for note is the reference to the sorcerers and magicians of Egypt. Egypt was a home of magic. Its religion was essentially magical in its basis. The Book of the Dead, for example is almost wholly taken up with various magical words, formulas, and actions which are necessary to enable the dead person to go through the various tests which are imposed before he can pass the many obstacles which might prevent him from getting into the Hall of Osiris. He had to repeat the magical names of the doors of the Hall, to address forty-two gods, each of whom had to be addressed by his, or her, particular name, and to each of them it was necessary to protest innocence of the crimes for which they might condemn him or stop his progress. The prayers and hymns of the Book of the Dead led to magical ceremonies which had to be performed in order that the deceased might become a "living soul for ever". The whole Book is full of magic and spells. It has been well said: "the religion of the Egyptians was simply an attempt to get into touch with the supposed unseen forces, whether of the gods or the dead, by means of magic. The whole of Egyptian religious literature is therefore, with the exception of certain hymns, of a more or less definitely magical character." The scope of magic was universal; it protected the living from the dangers of natural phenomena, from wild beasts, ghosts and evil spirits. Oracles, amulets and omens were in

constant demand. In a country, with an atmosphere like that, magic was sure to develop and prosper. Magical Books were numerous. With sufficient credulity on the part of the people, the practices of the magicians passed for miracles. It is not so very long since such things were common in England, where a belief in charms and mascots is by no means dead.

Magic was also associated with the medical profession in Egypt; in fact, it dominated the whole practice of the physician. As much, or more reliance was placed on the magical formulas with which remedies were administered, as upon the formulas themselves.

The first of the plagues was the turning of the waters of the Nile into blood. Whatever this may have involved it is remarkable that there was a stage every year during the rise of the Nile when its waters assumed a red colour, due to the substances which it held in solution. Such a fact would probably detract from the effect of the "sign" upon the minds of the people and princes of the land. It would appear to be but an accentuated form of a phenomenon with which they were familiar every year. This particular phenomenon occurs about the month of August, and from the course of the history, it is probable that this was the time when the plague took place. Had it taken place at another period the plague and its successors might have had a greater effect upon the people than they did.

Yet the results were terrible enough for any people to endure; in the case of the Egyptians it must have been exceptionally so. The Nile, the maker of the land, had become adverse to the inhabitants of the land. And the Nile was a god! and therefore their own god

was either overcome by the god of the Hebrews or he had become the enemy of his own people. The Nile was the god Hapi. Pictorially he is represented in a cavern pouring the waters of the river out of two vases. Another illustration shows the Nile-gods of the south and north tying the stems of a lily and a papyrus plant to signify the union of the two lands. The following excerpt from a hymn to the Nile-god will indicate the feelings of the Egyptians toward him.

"Homage to thee, O Hapi, thou appearest in this land, and thou comest in peace to make Egypt to live. Thou waterest the fields which Ra hath created, thou givest life unto all animals, thou makest all the land to drink unceasingly as thou descendest on thy way from heaven. Thou art the friend of bread and drink, thou givest strength to the grain and makest it to increase, and thou fillest every place of work with work. . . . If thou wert overthrown in the heavens the gods would fall upon their faces and men would perish. . . . Thou fillest the storehouses, thou makest the granaries to overflow, and thou hast regard to the conditions of the poor and needy. Thou makest herbs and grain to grow that the desires of all may be satisfied, and thou are not impoverished thereby."

Shrines to Hapi existed along the Nile, and offerings were made to the river-god at appointed times. Yet very few statues of the god exist, and in the fine collection of Egyptian statuary in the British Museum there are only two of the Nile-god.

There was another aspect in which the Nile-god ministered to the Egyptians, and in which during the operation of the plague it would be impossible to

participate. Cleanliness was a matter of great importance to them, and particularly to the priests. They washed in cold water twice every day and twice every night, and shaved their whole body every third day. It may be imagined what an infliction it would be to people so scrupulously clean to be deprived of the means of washing day after day because of the change in the character of the water. In all ways their god would appear to be their enemy. There was something of retribution also in this plague; they had cast the babies of the Israelites to their river-god, and now that god had turned against them.

Frogs were well known in Egypt, but a plague of them was another matter, for they swarmed everywhere. On this occasion also the religious element in Egyptian life received a shock. The frog was used as an amulet to be placed upon the mummies. It was typical of teeming life and represented the idea of resurrection. It was a symbol of the goddess Heqt, the wife of Khnum, a ram-headed god who had formed the first man on a potter's wheel. When placed on the mummy the frog was supposed to convey to it the new life which dwelt in the frog goddess. In this visitation, therefore, a second god became inimical to the well-being of its worshippers.

The third plague is associated in the Bible with lice, a horrible infliction to the cleanly Egyptians. There is reason, however, to think the translation is incorrect and that the word used would be better represented by mosquitoes. Herodotus records the abundance of these insects in the Delta, and in modern times they are referred to as a pest, particularly about October, when

they are a nuisance to men and beasts. It will be observed that the time, assuming the suggested alteration is justified, is about two months after the first plague.

In the account of the following visitation the word "flies" is used; the original merely speaks of swarms, without defining what they were. As they were to be in the houses and on the ground the term apparently applies to some kind of creeping thing like the beetle, in which case yet another of the Egyptian gods was being made a plague to the people. The beetle was the Kheperi, the Scarab-god, who was looked upon as the Creator. This god was represented by the scarab, thousands upon thousands of which have been found in Egypt, being used as amulets, as well as for seals and rings. Too much stress must not be laid on this matter in view of the indefinite character of the allusion to swarms, without application to a particular kind of insect.

There next followed a murrain upon the domestic animals of Egypt. There is no need to dwell upon this; bulls and cows, sheep and rams were all associated with the worship of the land. The Apis bull was worshipped at Memphis, the Mnevis bull at Heliopolis, and others elsewhere. Hathor, the mother-goddess, was represented with the head of a cow. Amon, or Amon-Ra, the "king of the gods", was a ram deity. Pestilence followed, quite a natural result of the preceding visitations viewed in the ordinary way, but now taking its place in a series of inflictions which succeeded in something like regular order, and at the word of Moses.

Rain, with thunder and lightning, is sometimes supposed to be unknown in Egypt. This is not the case, especially in the Delta. It is unusual, but not unknown.

Here another note of time is introduced. "The flax and the barley was smitten, for the barley was in the ear and the flax was balled". This fixes the time to somewhere about early February, that is about four months after the last plague which implied a particular time. It still makes the various inflictions to follow at intervals of about one month.

Locusts which followed are not usual in Egypt; allusions to them in the native records are exceedingly few, a fact which accords with the statement that it should be an infliction "which neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen". The darkness which ensued was probably due to the Khamsin, a hot, oppressive wind which blows in Egypt from March onwards during a period of fifty days. Each visitation is said to last for about three days at a time. The air is filled with fine particles of sand, and during the time it prevails diseases native to the country are very virulent. A severe visitation of such a wind would bring a condition into the land that "one shall grasp darkness", to give the precise meaning of the words used by Moses. Such a darkness might be felt. There was a deep religious significance in this plague. Ra, the great god of Egypt, was essentially a sun-god, with his seat at Heliopolis. Darkness was the creation of Set, the Egyptian god of darkness and evil, the enemy of Osiris, who was the popular god of Egyptian theology. This intense darkness therefore implied the victory of the forces of evil and darkness, the defeat of Ra and light. To a superstitious people who had already experienced so much it was almost a last blow, for it was aimed against the chief of the gods of the land.

Then came the last infliction of all, the death of the firstborn throughout the land. Again it will be seen to be the natural course of things, but so controlled in its effects upon defined individuals that it partook of the miraculous, just as all the others had done. "The Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt." Amongst them would be the first born of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh himself was a god. He had divine titles, such as a Horus name, as the descendant of Horus, a Nebti name as the representative of the goddesses of the north and south, and a Son of Ra name, the personal name of the king. The last name appeared in the cartouche which indicated the royalty of his position. By what is termed "an official fiction" the king being divine was believed to consort with his queen as an incarnation of Ra, so that the issue of the two was a son of Ra, and might therefore be raised to the throne in due time. To support the theory the Queen was called "the god's woman", in addition to her other titles.<sup>1</sup> Thus the death of the firstborn of Pharaoh was the death of the son of Ra.

This was the last stroke. Egypt was tired of her slave population on whose behalf such dreadful inflictions had been endured. Better be without forced labour than be all dead men. Israel was therefore thrust out—the Exodus took place.

Reviewing the whole series of the plagues certain points emerge which emphasise the reality of the events. First of all they were of a kind which might, under natural circumstances, have happened in the land. The special feature about them was their severity,

<sup>1</sup> See also page 69.

and the way in which they followed one after the other in an increasing intensity, and in accordance with pronouncements made by Moses previously. The second point is the regularity of them. The bloodlike condition of the water occurs in August. The Passover and the Exodus may be placed in April. This is a period of nine months for ten plagues. When it is remembered that, according to the construction of the record, the last followed immediately after the ninth, the order of one each month is preserved until the ninth and tenth completed the series. Such a regularity must have had a tremendous effect on the superstitious people of Egypt. The third point has already been referred to, the way in which the gods of Egypt were affected, directly or indirectly, by the various happenings. Sometimes, as in the first and the ninth, the god was directly concerned—Hapi the Nile-god and Ra the sun-god. Sometimes it was in the indirect way that the animals sacred to the gods of Egypt were concerned—the khepari and the cattle. In other cases it was something associated with the amulets which were used to ensure divine protection, as, for example, the frog. Whichever it was, there ran through the whole series the idea "against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgement".

It will be noticed that no attempt has been made to prove or disprove the accuracy of the narrative in Exodus. This is not a part of the purpose to be served by the Ancient Lands and the Bible series. The principal purpose is to place the two records side by side where it is possible to do so, leaving the reader to draw conclusions from the comparison.

## CHAPTER X

### EGYPT AND PALESTINE

UP to the time of the Hyksos the Egyptians had very little to do with any of the countries outside their own land. A country which could be likened to the long stem and flower of the lotus plant was well suited to maintain its isolation. The arid lands to the east and west contained no close neighbours to be either enemies or friends. True, Nubia lay to the south, and from time to time Egyptian Pharaohs found it necessary to conduct expeditions against the tribes of that country to keep them in their place and to secure the trade in gold, for Nubia contained rich veins of gold-bearing quartz. It was one of the main sources from which the Egyptians obtained their supplies of that metal.

Across the Isthmus of Suez lay the Peninsula of Sinai and the Arabian Desert. Into this land also the Egyptians penetrated very early in their history. The granite mountains which run parallel to the Red Sea contain veins of gold-bearing quartz. In the same country were deposits of alabaster and other hard igneous rocks which the Egyptians used for the manufacture of their beautifully made vases in the early Dynasties. Djeser (Zoser), the second king of the IIIrd Dynasty, exploited copper mines in the Peninsula,

and from the same region were brought malachite, turquoise, and lapis-lazuli, commodities largely used in Egypt from the earliest known times. The need of the valuable deposits of Nubia and Sinai made it necessary to maintain communications with them, but beyond this the early Dynasties troubled very little about other countries. They lived in a little world of their own. Generally speaking Syria was beyond the ideas of the early Pharaohs, although Senusret III of the XIIth Dynasty invaded that land and defeated the native armies. No attempt seems to have been made to retain possession of the country.

The Hyksos domination changed all that. The experiences which Egypt then underwent made the people realise that there was a world outside their own, and that they could not shut themselves for ever in a state of "splendid isolation". It was an early example of the lesson which England learned during the Great War. The Arabian Desert was no protection against an enemy determined to invade Egypt for the sake of the immense treasures which it contained.

The early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty recognised this and acted accordingly. Aahmes, who drove the Hyksos out of Egypt, followed them as far as the south of Judah, thus driving them sufficiently far from Egypt to ensure the safety of his land. As the founder of a new Dynasty, following a long period of struggles against the foreign kings, Aahmes found sufficient to do to consolidate his kingdom, especially as there was trouble in the south, where the Nubian tribes had to be kept in check. Amenhetep I, who succeeded him, also had his time occupied elsewhere, but he conducted at least

one expedition into Syria, though no records of it have been discovered.

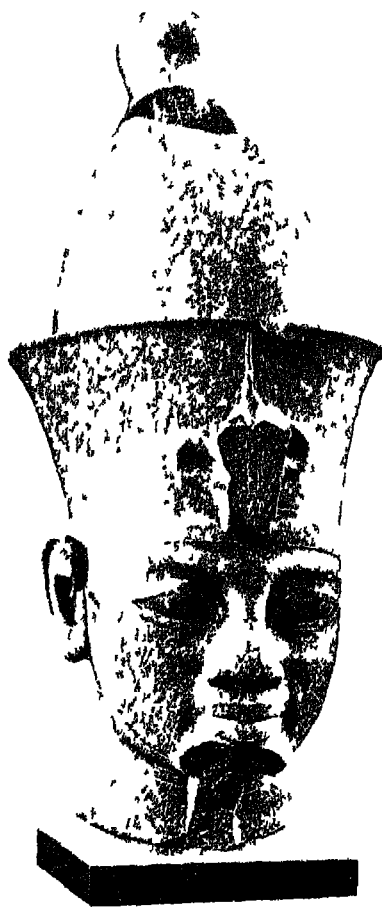
With the accession of the Tuthmoses the whole complexion of affairs was changed. Of the first of that name little is known concerning Syria, yet it is certain that he conquered the land as far as the Euphrates, for in an inscription of one of his officers it is recorded: "His Majesty arrived at Naharina (the name for the northern portion of Mesopotamia); he found the enemy who had plotted conspiracy. His Majesty made a great slaughter of them; an immense number of captives were carried off by his Majesty from his victories." Thus the tables were turned, and the whole policy of Egypt was changed. From this time it became one of the world powers, and entered into the race for Empire.

The second Tuthmosis was a weakling and accomplished little. He was dominated by his wife, Hatshepsut, who, when he died, seized the kingdom for herself; she pretended to be a man, as well as king and a god. She married her stepson, the rightful heir to the throne, and for a time treated him as altogether her subordinate. Although she represented herself as a man, a king, and a god, she could not lead Egyptian armies on careers of conquest, so that the outlying Empire had a rest while she carried on building operations which were intended to perpetuate her name. She built the wonderful temple at Dair al-Bahri, adorned with reliefs illustrating a shipping expedition which she organised to the land of Puenet (Punt). She also carried on the working of the mines of Sinai. It was, however, a time of peace, but, so far as Syria was concerned, it was the calm that presaged a storm.

Her new husband, however, was no weakling like his father. He soon tired of the domination of his step-mother-wife. It is thought by some that he caused her to abdicate, but this seems doubtful. At any rate, as soon as he was free to act for himself, he renewed the military activities of Egypt and built up a great empire. Tuthmosis III was unquestionably the greatest king and the greatest warrior that ever occupied the throne of Egypt. Fifteen expeditions into Palestine, Syria, and elsewhere are known. He went, not as a mere conqueror, but as an Empire builder. Each time when he returned to Egypt he left a portion of his army behind him to maintain the position he had gained, and to act as the base of further operations in the next season. On the first expedition he marched along the low country of Palestine near the sea, crossed the Plain of Sharon, and then turned inland at a point some eighty miles from Gaza, on the south of Carmel. By this route the country afterwards inhabited by the Israelites was very little affected. He met the federated chiefs of Syria at Megiddo, where he utterly routed them. This was one of the earliest battles of Armageddon, for Megiddo is, of course, the town which gives its name to that significant term. The whole army of the enemy capitulated, and enormous spoils were secured. From that time forward the history of his reign was a wearying record of invasions of Syria, alternated with a few into the lands south of Egypt. Little would be gained by repeating his records of these expeditions. When he died he left Egypt the greatest kingdom of the day, and the Empire the greatest that Egypt ever had,

before or after his days. "Tuthmosis made so enormous an impression on the history of Egypt that he seems to dominate it, and he certainly was for always the national hero. Special worship was kept up in his chantry-chapels long after his time. . . . The magical power of Tuthmosis's name was held in awe even to the very latest days of Egyptian history, and scarabs with it inscribed on them were the luckiest little amulets that could be obtained." He has been likened to Alexander the Great and Napoleon, and described as the first who attained to world fame or became a world hero.

Being a wise ruler he did not attempt the limitless extension of the Egyptian possessions in Asia, and though he was ready to push his conquests further, he drew the boundary of the empire at the River Euphrates, just as a wise Roman emperor did centuries later. The Hittites paid him tribute, and the whole land of Syria was subjected to a yearly tax upon its resources. In this respect he and his immediate successor exceeded all reason, and put upon the subjected peoples such serious exactions that the land was ruined. Yet he showed great wisdom in other ways. He profited by the feuds which had existed between the petty kings of Syria, supporting one against another as policy dictated, choosing the one who was most likely to be subservient. Young princes were taken to Egypt as hostages, and educated there with the princes of Egypt. By these means they imbibed the spirit of the Court of Pharaoh and of Egypt generally, so that when they returned to their native lands they were more than half Egyptianised. This, however, was not sufficient to



*[British Museum]*

HEAD OF COLOSSAL STATUE OF  
AMENHOTEP III

King of Egypt 1501-1447 B.C.

*[See page 54]*

1

1

1

1

1

1

counteract the impoverishment of the land by the frequent and excessive exactions of the conquerors, and the vitality of the peoples of Palestine and Syria was drained by the armies of the Pharaohs. That this had much to do in preparing the way for the Israelites when they reached the land is obvious. Tuthmosis and his race were the "hornets" who were sent before to help in the conquest of the land. (Josh. 24. 12.)

Tuthmosis was succeeded by Amenhetep II, who conducted at least one expedition into Palestine and Syria. Tuthmosis IV followed with a short reign, and then another king of force and ability ascended the throne of the Pharaohs, Amenhetep III. By this time the purity of the Egyptian blood in the Pharaohs had been modified by marriages with foreign princesses. Amenhetep's mother was a lady named Mut-em-uia, who is supposed to have been the daughter of a king of Mitanni, in northern Syria. For thirty-six years he reigned over a prosperous empire which seemed as if it might continue indefinitely. The results of Tuthmosis III's policy were working favourably. "Tuthmosis III had thoroughly grasped the country. He had taken the sons of the chiefs to be educated in Egypt; and as the Egyptian kings married Syrian princesses, it is most probable that the sons of the Syrian chiefs were married to Egyptians at the close of their education. It was only stipulated that they should be restored to their homes to succeed their fathers; and thus they may have lived until middle life in Egypt. In this way the rulers of Syria were assimilated in thoughts and ways to the suzerain power, and were very unlikely to attempt to be independent.

The correspondence of the cuneiform tablets shows that the northern kingdom of Mittanni and Kardunyas were in close diplomatic and family connection with Egypt; and no troubles appear to have disturbed the Empire until late in the reign of Akh-en-Aten. The reign of Amenhetep III was thus free for commercial extension and the cultivation of the arts; and we find in it the greatest activity in this direction."

In spite of the promising appearances it was in this reign that the first step was taken which led to dire results in relation to the Egyptian Empire in Syria, and which had a particularly disastrous effect upon their position in Palestine. Amenhetep made many visits to Syria, and during them he married several of the daughters of the friendly kings of the land. There is some reason to suppose that whilst he maintained an outward conformity to the religion and worship of Amon-Ra, his religious views were affected by his Syrian connections. It was another case of Solomon, to whom Nehemiah so quaintly refers in the Authorised Version, "Even him did outlandish women cause to sin", i.e. to worship gods other than the God of Israel.

Amenhetep's principal queen, and the mother of his successor, was Tii or Teie (the spelling is uncertain). It was thought at one time that she also was of foreign origin. In recent years, however, the tomb of her father and mother, Iuia and Thuiu, has been discovered, and it is now supposed that the father was a native of the Eastern Desert, though the mother was an Egyptian woman. By this marriage the blood of the Pharaohs was further mixed with that of alien races, and the process of modifying the religion which had hitherto been

supreme in the land was continued. The king, however, was powerful enough to prevent troubles arising during his reign. He was a great builder, and many memorials of him were put up in various parts, and nothing appears to have indicated the collapse that was imminent. Yet it is to his reign that the first steps in this direction must be assigned. The religious element in this change can be best considered elsewhere; here it is the political results that matter.

Towards the close of his reign the first mutterings of the coming storm were heard. The Hittites crossed the Taurus Mountains and invaded Mitanni. They were defeated, but the event marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Egyptian Empire in Syria, a chapter which is intimately associated with the Tell-el-Armana letters.

Before closing this chapter it is necessary to endeavour to link up what has been said with the corresponding times in the history recorded in the Bible. From the considerations which were put forward in chapter VII the Exodus of Israel from Egypt must be placed somewhere during the XVIIIth Dynasty, and though the two chronologies, those of Egypt and Israel do not exactly coincide, there is a general parallel between the events related in the two histories, and the times are sufficiently near to make these parallels noticeable. During the long period covered by the reigns of Tuthmosis III and his successors up to and including Amenhetep III—a period of well over a century—Palestine was a peaceful land so far as its relation to its overlords in Egypt were concerned. Even allowing for the early years of the third Tuthmosis there is a

century of comparative quiet. Although military expeditions took place against the Syrian cities, this would not affect that part of the country which the Israelites occupied under the leadership of Joshua. If the actual invasion of the land was during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and the conquest was forty years later than the Exodus, the parallel is even more remarkable. He was a man of a different type altogether from the previous bearers of the name. His reign is described as unimportant, and the quietness of the Egyptians in relation to the land of Palestine would enable the Israelites to secure their footing in the land.

Amenhetep too, as has been seen, was not troubled by Syrian wars, and so long as the tribute of the country was paid it is not likely that he would trouble much about the difficulties of his vicegerents in the land. The end of his reign witnessed the beginning of the great change in the fortunes of the country, and marks the commencement of the period of trouble covered by the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence. Taking all things into consideration, and noting that the two records were altogether independent of each other, being written by different peoples and for entirely different purposes, there is a fitting in which is, to say the least, suggestive. Later on, this will be even more apparent.

## CHAPTER XI

### TELL-EL-AMARNA

**T**ELL-EL-AMARNA will ever stand as a key note to one of the most interesting of all the periods of Egyptian history. It has its bearings on the actual events themselves, and on the religious principles which, as in many another country, vitally affected the course of history. To understand the one is to understand the other, and the history without the religious influences that were at work, would be inexplicable. While, therefore, special chapters will be given to the religion of Egypt, a brief allusion to it is necessary here to enable the extraordinary collapse of Egyptian power under Ahk-en-Aten to be realised.

During the time which had elapsed from the foundation of what is known as the Middle Kingdom, that is the XIth Dynasty, or about 2300 B.C., the worship of Amen-Ra had occupied the principal position in the Egyptian religious system. The Hyksos, of course, had revered another god, Sutech, but they were foreigners, and their choice of a deity in no way affected the national attitude towards Ra. With the overthrow of the Hyksos, Amen-Ra came into his own again, for the first kings were loyal and devoted servants of the old god, and did much to add to and beautify the

temples in which he was worshipped. The priesthood of Amen became an exceedingly powerful body, which exercised a great influence in the affairs of the country. When, therefore, Amenhetep III began to favour a rival worship—that of Aten, represented by the Solar disc—the attitude of the priesthood of Amen-Ra became one of suspicion, and then of opposition. But Amenhetep did not actually break away from the old worship, he was, moreover, a great king, well established in the kingdom, too powerful to be challenged by the priesthood. They were compelled to wait their opportunity, but obviously they were not likely to give up the position they had hitherto held in the nation without a struggle.

Their opportunity came in the following reign, that of Amenhetep IV as he was at first called. He was the son of Amenhetep III and Ti. Whether it was the influence of his mother, and the evident leanings of his father, can hardly be said definitely, but he discarded the old worship and became an enthusiastic worshipper of Aten, the Solar Disc, though he seems to have identified his deity with the sun-god Ra and attributed the change to a revelation from that god. The change of religion was publicly proclaimed by a change of name; he no longer adopted one which included that of the god Amon, but assumed the new one of Akh-en-Aten, a name which meant Blessed of the Disc. This was a direct challenge to the old priesthood, and resulted in the open hostility of that body to the throne. Thus there was division in the kingdom. Such a condition was fatal to any people, even in home politics; when it arose in association with a people who held a

vast territory of alien races in subjection it was doubly so.

Akh-en-Aten further signified his breach with the priesthood of Amon by seeking a new place for his Court and worship. He chose a site on the east bank of the Nile, about midway between Thebes, the centre of Amon worship, and the beginning of the Delta region. There he built a temple to Aten, a royal palace, and the necessary residences for the officials of the Court. He gave to this new city the name of Akhet-Aten, the "horizon of the Disc". The royal records of his father's reign were removed thither, and those of his own times were naturally kept there. Amarna was intended to be a great city, worthy of being the capital of an Empire. The king declared of it: "The whole land shall come hither, for the beautiful seat of Akh-en-Aten shall be another seat (presumably this means capital) and I will give them audience whether they be north or south or west or east." The capital was to be "great in loveliness", "mistress of pleasant ceremonies", "like a glimpse of heaven". A new kind of art was adopted, free from some of the stilted ideas and stereotyped ways of the past. Nature was depicted much more realistically than had been the custom in Egypt since the earliest days. In the representation of animal and bird life a sense of real movement and posture was shown. The models and pictures of the human figure were so far beyond what had been usual that they almost suggest the art of Greece hundreds of years afterwards. It is impossible not to feel a great interest in the king and his intentions. He was evidently moved by a real devotion to his god, and was desirous of doing all he

could to extend his worship. He may, in fact, be regarded as a religious enthusiast, an estimable man placed in a difficult position and at the wrong time.

A king who gives the whole of his attention to the exercises of religion and ignores the claims of the State is sure to bring trouble upon his country. It was so in the case of Akh-en-Aten. His reign of eighteen years saw the complete collapse of the Egyptian Empire in Palestine and Syria, and no sooner was he dead than his new city was destroyed. The priesthood of Amon proved to be too strong for the new religion to make headway, even though it was an advance towards monotheism.

The destruction of his capital did one thing for posterity. Whilst he took some of his father's records to Amarna, the Amon priesthood were far too incensed against him to trouble about removing his records, and they were allowed to remain at Amarna when the city was abandoned. To this fact we owe the detailed knowledge we have of the later times of his father, and of his own reign. In the year 1887 a peasant woman, hunting among the rubbish heaps by the old town, picked up a piece of tile, as it seemed to be, on which were a number of lines of strange writing. As soon as the find became known search was made to see if there were any more of the strangely marked tiles, and as a result some 320 were eventually discovered. They constitute what are known as the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. They were found in a low brick built room which had evidently been used as the king's archive chamber.

These tablets give a clearer insight into the political occurrences of the time than anything else could do.

Generally our knowledge of the distant past depends upon the records of kings telling their own story. Here we have the actual despatches which passed between the two Egyptian kings and the kings of Babylon, Nineveh, Mitanni, and the various vassal kings and regents who reigned for Pharaoh in Syria and Palestine. They therefore throw a flood of light on the history of the period. They are written in the cuneiform script of Babylonia, and indicate that this was the language of diplomacy in those times, for even the Pharaohs, kings of Egypt and supreme Lords of Syria, adopted it.

We must briefly review the tale which they tell. The earliest refer to the reign of Amenhetep III. They indicate that his position in Syria was considered to be unassailable, kings of Babylonia and of Syria wrote to him in flattering terms. The king of Cyprus was a vassal who regularly forwarded his tribute. No wonder the king was enabled to enjoy his reign in peace. A very different tale is told by the letters which relate to the reign of Akh-en-Aten. Syria was no longer at peace. The Hittites from Asia Minor were pushing southward. The vassal kings who were loyal to Egypt attempted to stop their advance, but in vain. From Tunip in the north they reported that their city had been plundered and asked for help. "Tunip thy city weeps, and her tears are flowing, and there is no help for us." Further south was Byblos, whence came reports and appeals, equally in vain. The same thing occurred at Tyre and other cities. In addition to the Hittites, the Khabiri, who appear to have been Semites from the desert who invaded Palestine from time to time, invaded

the land, encouraged by the recognition of the growing weakness of Egypt. The combined activities of these peoples affected the southern cities of Syria and Palestine. The deputy king in Jerusalem wrote alarmist letters. "The king's whole land which has begun hostilities against me will be lost. . . . As long as ships were upon the sea the strong arm of the king occupied Naharin and Kash, but now the Khabiri are occupying the king's cities. There remains not one prince to my lord the king, every one is ruined. . . . If no troops come in this year, the whole territory of my lord the king will perish. . . . If there are no troops in this year let the king send his officer to fetch me and my brothers, that we may die with our lord the king." Akh-en-Aten seems to have sent a general to do something, but he was helpless, and had to withdraw. The whole land fell into a state of anarchy, and the Egyptian Empire in Asia fell. Akh-en-Aten was a hopeless visionary whom fate had placed upon the throne just at a time when it was most urgently necessary for it to be occupied by a soldier. It is probable that he was physically incapable of carrying such a burden as the occupation of a throne imposed upon him. Every representation of him indicated the delicate form and constitution of an ascetic. His new religion emphasised this aspect of his mental make-up, his favourite poses as illustrated in his own inscriptions confirm the idea. Thus he is portrayed receiving flowers from his queen, in the midst of domestic scenes. It would be quite impossible to imagine a king like Tuthmosis III allowing such representations of himself to be made.

An excellent word picture of Akh-en-Aten is the

following, taken from the British Museum Guide to the Egyptian Collections: "The reliefs and pictures of the king prove that his features were unusual in character. He had a high, narrow, receding forehead, a large aquiline nose, a thin mouth, projecting chin, a slender neck, rounded chest, and his figure came in many respects to resemble that of a woman. He was probably a pathological subject, hypernervous, and with an irritable brain that made him a genius, while at the same time his body degenerated. It is more than probable that he died mad." Perhaps he might be summed up as a genius with no practicality.

It is necessary now to see the application of the historical facts of Egyptian history to the Bible records. On the parallels which have been suggested they will accord with the times of Joshua, and perhaps the earliest Judges. Some have seen in the frequent references to the Habiru in the tablets, an allusion to the Hebrews, and suggest that they give us yet another record of some of the facts of the Exodus. The somewhat similar sounds of the two names, Hebrew and Habiru, make such an idea seem plausible. There are, however, very cogent reasons for dismissing the suggestion. The Tell-el-Amarna letters imply that the Habiru trouble started in the north. They came as helpers of the Hittite movement, which obviously started from the extreme north of Syria. So far as can be ascertained there was a gradual southward move of these peoples, though the chronological element is not very clear. The Hebrews entered from the east, and toward the southern rather than the northern portion of Palestine, to say nothing of the wider Syria. It is,

of course, possible that Pharaoh's despairing correspondents may at times have referred to Hebrew activities as those of the Habiru, especially when writing from southern towns, but the two invasions were altogether distinct.

On the other hand, the disruption of the Egyptian Empire opened the way for the Israelitish conquest of the land. The confusion gave Israel their opportunity of settling down, and by its effects upon an exhausted country deprived the earlier owners of the land of any chance of trying to assert their rights of prior occupation. Tuthmosis III had drained the land dry; during the times of Amenhetep III tribute had been regularly demanded, and paid. Now in the time of anarchy the early occupiers were prostrate, and unable to assert themselves in any way. It was Israel's opportunity to strengthen their hold upon the land which had been promised to their fathers. The surrounding peoples might be restive and uneasy, but Israel was sufficiently established to hold what they had already secured, and by peaceful penetration to settle themselves in the portions of the land hitherto held by the various races of the Canaanites.

These parallel records give new life to the Bible story, and the testimony of Egypt in relation to the times of the Amarna letters is by no means the least interesting chapter in the witness which the Ancient Lands bear to the Bible.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SECOND EMPIRE

**A**FTER the religious revolution of Akh-en-Aten, and its deplorable results so far as Egypt was concerned, the XVIIIth Dynasty soon came to an inglorious end. His first successor was Smenkhara, who only reigned for two years; and he was followed by the now celebrated Tut-ankh-Amon. At his accession his name was Tut-ankh-Aten, but the power of the old priesthood was sufficient to make him change the god element of his name to Amon. During his reign little was accomplished, though there is a record of a campaign in Asia. Next came Ai and Hor-em-heb, with whom the Dynasty came to an end.

Hor-em-heb was a man of ability, and under his rule something was done to restore the fallen fortunes of Egypt, and some place him as the first monarch of the XIXth Dynasty which revived a good deal of the departed glory of the empire. His immediate successors were Rameses I and Seti I, the latter of whom took active steps to retrieve the position into which Egypt had fallen. One of his first acts was an invasion of Palestine. In the Negeb (called "the south" in the Bible) he punished the Shasu, the Bedouins of the region, and scattered them. He went as far as Megiddo, using no doubt the coast route, then crossed the Jordan to the

Hauran, and on to Lebanon, whence he collected a tribute of cedars. Once again Egypt was paramount in Syria, for the news of Seti's conquests seems to have been sufficient to cause the various chiefs of Syria to renew their homage and their gifts. The only people who declined to recognise him were the Hittites. He met them in battle, but although he returned with much spoil, it is evident that they were not subdued by his arms. He seems to have given up the attempt and arranged a treaty of peace.

Seti's great claim to renown rests upon his buildings. At Abydos and at Karnak he carried on building operations, and he prepared a great tomb for himself in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.

Rameses II, his son and successor, was the greatest of the kings of the XIXth Dynasty. He also enjoyed a long reign of sixty-seven years. He used to be regarded as the Pharaoh of the oppression, but for reasons which have been given, this idea cannot be sustained. He came to the throne at a serious time for Egypt. The Hittites in Northern Syria had not only not been crushed by his father's campaign against them, they had actually improved their position in the land. Kadesh, which it had taken Tuthmosis III ten years of warfare to capture, was in the possession of the Hittite king. It was a strategic position, and as a Hittite city gave its possessors a decided advantage in the land. So long as it remained in their occupation it was hopeless for Rameses to expect a renewal of the old Egyptian Empire in Syria. If that was to be restored something had to be done, and the new king made his plans accordingly.

Those plans necessarily affected Palestine. The

first thing was to secure the coast route, for if that were dominated by the Egyptians, it was always possible for reinforcements and supplies for the army to be conveyed by water to a convenient point. It was recognised on both sides that a terrific struggle was likely to be involved, and both strained their resources to the utmost. From various parts of Asia Minor and Northern Syria, and from his various vassals, the Hittite king drew his forces. He employed mercenaries from various Mediterranean lands.

On the Egyptian side Rameses also drew upon every available course. From Africa he obtained the help of Nubian soldiers, he also had the services of the "Sherden", or Sardinians, a clear indication of the importance of the occasion. This is one of the earliest references to these people, who with others were known as the Peoples of the Sea, and became the originals of the Philistines of the Bible. With his army Rameses moved through Palestine, no doubt by the coast road, for when they were as far north as Lebanon they were still by the sea. He then marched along the valley of the Orontes towards Kadesh. Misled by false reports his army was put in a very serious position. He had actually walked into a trap which the king of the Hittites had prepared. Allowing for all the boastfulness which a king of those days naturally exhibited, there can be no question that the Egyptian forces were saved from destruction by the action of Rameses himself. "I was by myself, for my soldiers and my horsemen had forsaken me, and not one of them was bold enough to come to my aid". So the king has recorded it. By his valour he undoubtedly saved the situation, which

was further retrieved by the failure of the Hittite charioteers. They had found the Egyptian camp, and, giving themselves up to the pleasant task of plunder, they saved the army of Rameses from further disaster. Rameses claimed the battle as a great personal victory. He described himself as "Prostrator of the lands and countries", though really he had achieved very little. The Hittites were not subdued; Kadesh was not taken, it was not even besieged. The general position was very much an "as-you-were". He had, however, re-established the Egyptian position in Palestine, which again became part of the Egyptian possessions in Asia.

In the twenty-first year of his reign a treaty was entered into between Rameses and the Hittite king. It was inscribed on a silver tablet, and in eighteen clauses it set forth the terms upon which the two powers agreed to refrain from all hostilities against one another, and to co-operate in the maintenance of the *status quo*. Rameses recorded the treaty as a great triumph. It is difficult to see anything of the kind. The Hittites remained pre-eminent in Northern Syria; Egypt retained the southern portion of the land as a sphere of influence. Throughout the reign of Rameses the treaty remained in operation, and peace was maintained.

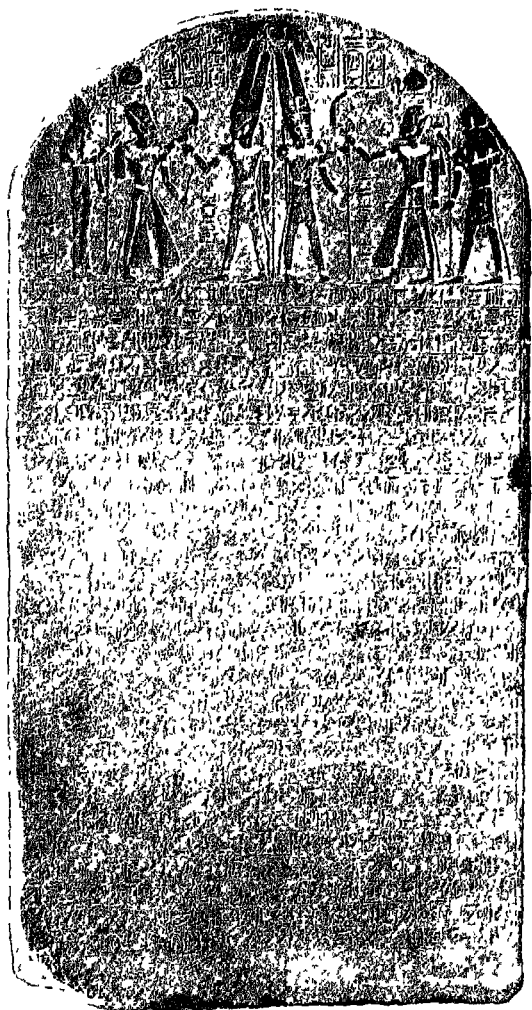
The results which flowed from this peace, and the acceptance of the Egyptian domination in Palestine, are seen in the position which developed in relation to Israel in that land. In one of the early periods covered by the Book of Judges there is a record of an unparalleled time of peace. "And the land had rest fourscore

years." As will be seen from the account in the third chapter of Judges, it followed the short oppression of the people by the king of Moab. From the time when Seti crossed the Jordan to subdue the peoples on the east of that river to the death of Rameses there is a period of just about eighty years. During the domination of the land by the Egyptians under such monarchs as Seti and Rameses it is not likely that any of the peoples living round the land of Palestine would dare to cause trouble. Rameses could strike too hard against such tribes. If the Hittites could not fight successfully against him, it would have been disastrous for the smaller peoples around Palestine to dare to incur his displeasure. To Israel, therefore, there was an opportunity for peaceful development such as the circumstances required, and it is evident from the narrative which follows that they took full advantage of it. Egypt was a protecting power to them, and it is by no means unlikely that it was in the memory of this phase of their experience that in after years Israel looked so often to the great country to the south to help them in their opposition to the rising peoples of Mesopotamia.

Although Egypt seemed to be great during the times just reviewed, things were not really so promising as they appeared. The tendency to introduce foreign blood into the royal family, started by the XVIIIth Dynasty, had already affected the kings themselves, and it is apparent that Rameses had a considerable streak of the Syrian in him. The effect was seen in other and more dangerous directions. Foreign productions became common, the luxuries of Asia ministered to the tastes of the Royal circle and the nobles,

and slaves of Semitic and other races abounded. Foreign merchants were established in various parts of the country, in Memphis a quarter was given up to them; alien gods were worshipped and found their way into the lists of Egyptian deities. Foreign mercenaries formed an ever increasing proportion of the armies. It was not a new thing to hire mercenaries, they had been used by the XVIIIth Dynasty; but now they were getting much more numerous and formed a regular branch of the forces of the land. In a reference to Rameses II's army we read of his "infantry, chariotry and Sherden". A striking illustration is found in an expedition which was sent to protect the quarries in the Wady Hammamat. They consisted of four thousand Sherdens and Libyans, and the rest were negroes. Not a single Egyptian was included in the force. The result could only be the entire loss of prestige by Egypt, whilst the mercenaries gradually realised the power they possessed. Where such troops were used as garrisons they would soon arrogate to themselves power, just as they evidently did in the coast towns of Palestine, where they, with the Peoples of the Sea who came in the time of Rameses III, formed the nation of the Philistines.

Rameses was succeeded by Merenptah, who was at one time supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. There is no need to repeat what has been said in reference to that idea. Once again the land was threatened by peoples of other races. A confederation of the tribes of Libya, with various peoples of the Mediterranean lands and islands, sought a home in Egypt. These peoples were seeking both plunder and



*[Reproduced by Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie and the S.P.C.K.]*  
STELE OF MERNEPTAH REFERRING TO ISRAEL

*[Face page 102]*



a place of settlement, being forced from their old homes by the pressure of other races. Cities in Palestine such as Askalon and Gezer endeavoured to throw off allegiance to Egypt. Nothing is known of the conflict, only Merenptah's song of triumph in which he specifically refers to the Israelites as one of the peoples whom he had subdued.<sup>1</sup>

Two more attempts of the peoples of the sea coast to find a home in Egypt must be referred to before the continuity of the history is broken. Merenptah and his successors gave place to the XXth Dynasty, the second king of which rejoiced in the name of Rameses, the IIIrd of the name. Egypt was growing weaker; that was apparent to all. The Libyans and the Sea Peoples made another attempt to gain an entrance into Egypt. This time the *federation of peoples* was widespread. The Sherdens, of whom we have heard before, were joined by other tribes including the Peleset, supposed to be the Cretans, the Thakels, and others of Ægean origin. They came by land and by sea. Some advanced into the western side of the Delta and were met by Rameses. Their ships were destroyed, thousands were slain, and great numbers taken captive. Thus ended this attempt.

But another threat from the north was still there. Moving southward by land and by sea, accompanied by their families, the Ægean tribes advanced, land and sea movements progressing southward. The Hittite power in Syria was overcome; they established a camp in Amor (the land of the Amorites). Rameses met them by land and by sea. Of the sea conflict he

<sup>1</sup> See also page 57.

has given an account, telling of their complete defeat. Of the land battle not much is known beyond a reference to the Sherdens of his army breaking through the enemy to plunder. As, however, the enemies themselves were partly Sherdens one wonders whether the comparative silence covers something left unsaid. He saved Egypt, that is certain, though only for it to decline very quickly. But in doing that he evidently riveted on Syria and Palestine a people who were to be for a long time the great enemies of the Israelites. These Peoples of the Sea were the founders of the Philistines. They probably joined with the mercenaries of the past, or their descendants, in the coast towns of Palestine. Thus once again there is found to be a connection between Egypt and the Bible, and the appearance of the Philistines is explained.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE VARYING FORTUNES OF EGYPT

**A**FTER the great effort made by Rameses III to prevent the Peoples of the Sea from settling down in Egypt, there was a sudden fall in the fortunes of the country. During his reign there was a considerable degree of prosperity, commerce was specially fostered, Egyptian trading fleets sailed on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, dealing with such countries as Phœnicia, Syria, and Punt, whilst copper and malachite were brought from Sinai. As a result many works were undertaken, including the building of temples. But under this outward show of prosperity, decay was taking place. Ecclesiasticism had imposed its shackles on the nation, and nothing could be done to retrieve the position. As soon as the hand of the Pharaoh was removed things hastened to anarchy and collapse. During a period of twenty-eight years eight more Rameses (the IVth to the XIth) occupied the throne. They were all weak, and could do nothing to stay the rot that had set in. The Empire came to an end. Palestine was wholly in the hands of the Philistines and the Israelites. The loss of that country involved a great reduction in revenue, and Egypt became poor. Even the home administration was too weak to prevent the loss of vitality and the consequent anarchy.

During the hundred and fifty years which followed the close of the XXth Dynasty, the kingdom was divided, a race of kings reigning at Tanis, in the Delta, and another at Thebes. There is nothing to record of any of them. At Thebes the high priests of Amon became the rulers; but their power had left them, and the country sunk lower and lower. Not a king nor a priest stands out to relieve the dull monotony of the record.

It was somewhere about this time that "Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter". It is not possible to identify the king in question; it must have been one of the later kings of the XXIst Dynasty who reigned at Tanis, unless it was Shashanq, which is not at all likely. That such a Pharaoh should have been able to capture Gezer is somewhat surprising, but by no means impossible. Egypt always had a ready road to the land of the Philistines who possessed little power after the reign of David.

The XXIIInd Dynasty followed and inaugurated a change in the affairs of Egypt. The Libyans, who had been defeated in the past when they essayed to invade and conquer Egypt, gained possession of the Delta. Apparently it was not necessary to conquer the land, its power and prestige had fallen so low that they were able to enter from the west and settle down without hindrance. One of the chiefs of this race was Buiu-uaua, and among his descendants was Shashanq, who seized the throne about the year 945 B.C. It was a great revolution, but it was effected without bloodshed so far as is known. Egypt was now ruled by a prince of Nubian descent.

It was a very different Egypt from that of the days of the Tuthmoses and the early Rameses. Such as it was, though, it witnessed some revival of the old spirit, for the new king proved himself to be a man of action, desirous of placing Egypt in the position which it had once occupied. In some ways circumstances played into his hand. In Palestine Solomon had drained the kingdom of its vitality by severe taxation and huge expenditure. He had also caused internal enemies to arise which threatened the stability of the country. Among these was Jeroboam, who later became the first king of the revolted tribes.

The history of Jeroboam is given in 1 Kings 11. He was an energetic worker who attracted the notice of King Solomon, and was promoted in the royal service. A prophet named Ahijah, told him in a dramatic fashion that after the death of Solomon, he should become king of ten of the tribes of Israel. The action which accompanied the prophecy seems to have taken place openly, and the report of it reached the ears of the king, who, as might have been expected, took steps to have the prospective rival to his son put to death. Jeroboam therefore fled to Egypt and took refuge with Shashanq.

In the Vatican copy of the Septuagint Version there is an interesting addition to the story as narrated in the book of Kings, which, as it is not very generally known, may be given here. After 1 Kings 11. 24 it gives the following: "And there was a man of Mount Ephraim, a servant of Solomon, and his name was Jeroboam; and his mother's name was Sarira, a woman who was a harlot. And Solomon made him taskmaster

(master of the staff) over the burdens of the house of Joseph; and he built for Solomon Sarira, which is in Mount Ephraim; and he had three hundred chariots. He it was who built the citadel (Millo) by the labours of the house of Ephraim, and completed the fortifications of the city of David. And he was exalting himself to seek the kingdom. And Solomon sought to put him to death; so he feared and stole away to Sousakim (Shashanq), king of Egypt, and was with him till the death of Solomon. And Jeroboam heard in Egypt that Solomon was dead, and he spake in the ears of Sousakim, king of Egypt, saying, Send me away and I will go back to my own land. And Sousakim said to him, Ask me a request and I will give it thee. And he gave to Jeroboam Ano, the elder sister of his wife Thekemina (Tahpenes) to be his wife. She was great among the daughters of the king, and bare to Jeroboam Abias (Abijah) his son. And Jeroboam said to Sousakim, Send me really away and I will go back. And Jeroboam went forth from Egypt and came to the land of Sarira, in Mount Ephraim, and there gathered together to him the whole strength of Ephraim. And Jeroboam built there a fortress."

The account is interesting, but can scarcely be of much authority; it seems in fact to be a mixture of the Bible accounts of Hadad and Jeroboam respectively. What is apparent from both is that Jeroboam had to flee from Palestine and went to Egypt. There he came into contact with the Pharaoh, Shashanq, who welcomed him, evidently because he thought it would be a help to him in his design of restoring the Egyptian Empire in Syria. A friendly king in the land would

be a considerable asset. It was Egyptian ambition that caused the invasion of Judah, not a desire to help the man who had been a fugitive at his court; that is evident from the facts as recorded.

It was in the fifth year of Rehoboam that the Egyptian invasion took place. The record in the Book of Kings contains very little information in connection with the expedition; it is confined to the attack upon Jerusalem, and the spoils which the Egyptian king carried away. The Egyptian records tell more. The campaign was conducted against the northern territory of Israel as well as against Judah, and it is evident that it was the wider idea of reviving the old Empire that moved Shashanq. On his return he had a record of the expedition placed on the south outside wall of the great temple of Karnak. There is a difficulty in identifying some of the places named in the list of towns which he claims to have conquered. It seems that he penetrated as far as Megiddo and Beth-shan and across the Jordan to Mahanaim, places well north of the boundary between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel so that the expedition was not a punitive one against Judah. Thus once more Egypt and Israel found a point of contact. Times were changing, however, and it will be found that the relations between the two powers were generally friendly afterwards; a common peril was to draw them together, a peril which was quite as real to Egypt as it was to Israel and Judah; Assyria was just beginning to appear upon the political horizon.

Before this came into operation one other event occurred which needs to be mentioned. By the conquest of Judah and the sack of Jerusalem, its king became a

"servant" to Shashanq—that is to say, he became tributary and rendered dues to Egypt. But the sudden revival of the country was not very real, and the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty did not actually accomplish much. Consequently we find that after the withdrawal of Shashanq "Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem and reigned". His son Abijah fought against Israel and defeated them and Egypt evidently looked on and did nothing to help the northern kingdom. After a reign of three years he died and was succeeded by Asa. Asa further strengthened the position of Judah. Faced with an anticipated invasion from the north he made alliance with the king of Syria. Thus threatened on both sides Israel had to give up all idea of conquest in Judah, and meet the hosts of Syria. Asa mobilised all the man power of his state, and destroyed the city which Israel had been built on his frontier, and, with the materials which were recovered from it, he constructed other cities of defence to hold up any foe which might rise up against him. The mobilisation of the power of his realm enabled him to perfect the military position of the country, and a considerable force of men was got together, numbering over five hundred thousand men.

His actions were watched with considerable suspicion in Egypt, now ruled by a successor of Shashanq, probably Osorkon II. Such an army was evidently intended to secure the independence of Judah, and the Pharaoh saw in it a defiance of his country and the repudiation of the last pretence of an Egyptian Empire in Palestine and Syria. He therefore mobilised his forces also. Gathering together all he could from Egypt, Libya,

and Cush (Ethiopia) he invaded Palestine with a "thousand thousand men". This is probably to be understood as an indefinite expression of a very large host; the inclusion of only three hundred chariots rather confirms this. Defeat by the little kingdom of Judah would evidently be fatal to the Egyptians in the state in which they were at the time. The old spirit of the country was gone, faction was rife, and a setback in the field would be the signal for general disaffection. The leader of the Egyptian forces was a Cushite named Zerah, though some see in this only a form of the name of the king Osorkon.

The Egyptian hosts advanced as far as Maresshah, between Gaza and Jerusalem. It was a fenced city, one of those which had been built by Rehoboam in the early days of the division of the kingdom. They were intended to be cities of defence and strongholds. There the two armies met. Asa, we read, "cried unto the Lord his God", and in the strength of the confidence thus imparted to him and his army, the mixed hosts of Egypt were totally defeated. They turned and fled with the army of Judah in pursuit. The flight turned into a rout so that the armies led by the Cushite were overthrown to such an extent that they could not recover themselves. The expression used is translated by some, "And there fell of Kushites until they had no revival (or survival)". A great spoil was taken by the victors and the remains of the great host of Zerah returned to Egypt.

It is not to be wondered at that no account of this expedition has been found in Egypt. Neither Pharaohs nor their officers were in the habit of recording such

incidents on their temple walls or on papyri. That is the reason why we know so little about the country and its history except in those times when Pharaohs were victorious. Tuthmoses III and Rameses II were great in war and we know most of the things which happened in their reigns. When Egypt was in decline the records fail us and we have to be content with what can be found in the annals of other peoples. In this case our only authority is the so-called Chronicles of Judah, that is the unknown compiler of the books of Chronicles. But though the Egyptian records tell us *nothing of the event in question the general condition* of the country as it is evidenced by what is known of the times, is quite in accord with the Bible account. It was an age of decline, when everything seemed to be going wrong. After the death of the second Osorkon the old division of the land took place once more, and the XXIIIrd Dynasty reigned side by side with the XXIInd for something over a hundred years.

Osorkon was a builder, but unfortunately he copied the ways of greater men like Rameses II, and placed his name on the constructions of others. After him a number of kings occupied the throne, but among them there was none whose name has stood out more than his fellows. Egypt was sinking, and before the Dynasty came to an end the whole orientation of the political situation in Western Asia, and therefore in Egypt, was changing. After a long period of inactivity, and then of preparation, Assyria was becoming a power in world politics. Sooner or later the two powers were certain to come into conflict, and few who looked beneath the superficial aspect of things could have

doubted what the result would be. Yet there were those who totally misread the signs of the times, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Although the two Dynasties were reigning in Egypt with royal pretensions, many of the rulers of the nomes were acting as petty kings on their own behalf. They claimed to be independent, and their struggles led to the practical dissolution of the Egyptian State. Each was a king in his own domain, and the term "kings of the Egyptians", which was used in connection with the siege of Samaria, recorded in 2 Kings 7, was applicable for a very long time. When, later on, the Assyrians came as far as the borders of Egypt, the kings of the Delta region were too disunited to give any help to Judah. The prophet Isaiah has preserved a correct and graphic picture of the state of affairs in his 19th chapter.

"The burden of Egypt. Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it. And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof; and I will destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. And the Egyptians I will give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall reign over them; saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts. . . . The princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of

Noph are deceived; they have also seduced Egypt, even they that are the stay of the tribes thereof. The Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof: and they have caused Egypt to err in every work thereof, as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit. Neither shall there be any work for Egypt which the head or tail, branch or rush, may do. In that day shall Egypt be like unto women: and it shall be afraid and fear, because of the shaking of the hand of the Lord of hosts."

How true Isaiah's picture was will be seen in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XIV

### EGYPT OR ASSYRIA

THE XXIIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties which had reigned as contemporary royal houses both came to an end in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. The XXIVth only lasted for about eight years, and did not differ materially from its predecessors, and was contemporary with the XXVth. The times needed rulers of a very different type from those who had been occupying the throne of the Pharaohs during the last few years. Had there been no change Egypt must have collapsed under the blows that were delivered against it, as it was it survived, for some of its rulers showed themselves to be capable men of action. They were too late to prevent the decline which caused Egypt finally to pass from one foreign ruler to another.

During the period covered by the XXVth Dynasty the leading power in the world was Assyria. In the past the predominant peoples in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris had usually been the Babylonians or one of the other southern states. By the middle of the ninth century B.C., this had changed, and in the year 850 B.C., the king of Babylon had been compelled to recognise Shalmaneser of Assyria as his

overlord. Not long after the time at which we have arrived in the history of Egypt (*circa* 745 B.C.), an Assyrian king had become master of the whole country of Mesopotamia, and reigned in Babylon as well as in Nineveh. Being thus set free from rivalry nearer home, Assyria could enter upon a career of conquest abroad. The result was the establishment of an Empire which, reaching beyond the bounds of the Euphrates, raised the whole question of world supremacy. When such a question was raised Egypt was immediately involved.

If the course of history during the next two or three hundred years is to be understood and its relation to the Bible appreciated, it is necessary to keep the world position before the mind. The two river valleys, those of the Nile and the Euphrates-Tigris, were the centres of two leading civilisations of the times. So long as they were content to remain within their own territories, the two river civilisations could grow together without interfering with each other's development. The history of all such peoples, however, shows that such a course is unlikely. As nations become strong they require outlets for their energies. Neighbouring countries are the first to suffer, but sooner or later their interests are sure to meet those of other great peoples, and the question of supremacy will be raised. In the case of the two kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria the one place where their interests were bound to clash was Syria, and, more important still so far as we are concerned, the most southern portion—that is, Palestine. Palestine was the country of the Bible, and therefore the clash, or impending clash, of the two

powers brought them into immediate contact with the people of the Book.

The position of the two small kingdoms of Israel and Judah, placed thus between the two competitors for world power, was a very unhappy one. They were not necessarily drawn to either of the contending parties. Blood relationship in the long past might draw them to Assyria. Self-interest in trading and other matters might incline them to Egypt. If they had carefully weighed the probabilities of the future Assyria might well have seemed the party whose favour was most worth cultivating. But Assyria was a long way off, and Egypt was near. It is not to be wondered at that opinions in Palestine were divided, and that there were Egyptian and Assyrian parties amongst the people. This division enters largely into the writings of the Prophets, to which it will be necessary to refer.

Portents of the coming struggle had already appeared. During the reign of Osorkon II, Shalmaneser of Assyria had invaded Syria. He had previously strengthened his position to the north, and was then contemplating an extension of his dominions through Syria to Palestine. The kings of the various states of Syria had joined their forces to resist the threat, Ben-Hadad of Damascus, the king of Hamath, and Ahab of Israel, were among the leaders of the opposition, and among the peoples who sent smaller contingents to swell the forces which were to resist the Assyrian invasion there were one thousand men sent by the king of Egypt. Thus coming events cast their shadows before. In this first round of the conflict Assyria was victorious,

at least so Shalmaneser claims in the records of his reign, though it is rather questionable whether his victory was anything like as important as he claims. He makes no reference to tribute being paid, and five years elapsed before he renewed the attempt. Probably the campaign was less satisfactory than an Assyrian king cared to admit.

The XXVth Dynasty, which came into direct contact with Assyria, commenced in the year 745 B.C. It was not Egyptian but came from Ethiopia. This was quite a turning of the tables, for in the past the south had been ruled over by the Pharaohs of Egypt. Under Piankhi, the second king of the Dynasty, Upper Egypt was secured to the new Dynasty, though Lower Egypt was still ruled by its native princes. Piankhi invaded Lower Egypt and secured it for himself, and the two lands were once more united under one head. He was followed by Shabaka, his brother, who by some is considered to be the first king of the Dynasty, his reign commencing about the time of the ending of the XXIVth Dynasty. With the consolidation of the country under one head the question of the Assyrian threat had to be considered and steps to be taken to meet it.

Meanwhile the Assyrians had invaded Syria, first under Tiglath-pileser, who had carried away the eastern tribes of Reuben and Gad, and devastated the northern territories, later by Shalmaneser V. Israel had succumbed to the invasion, and had accepted the position of vassalage to the Assyrian conqueror. Judah so far had escaped. It must have been obvious to Shabaka that it would soon be the turn of Egypt to experience

the perils of an Assyrian invasion, and he set to work to do as much as was possible to prevent it, or at least to make the task of the Assyrians as difficult as possible. Events played into his hand, although they proved to be of no avail in the end.

A brief epitome of the events referred to must be given to enable the political situation to be understood. Pekah, king of Israel, and the king of Syria had made war against Judah and attempted to capture the city of Jerusalem. Although the attempt failed Ahaz of Judah felt insecure and looked around for helpers. He turned to Assyria, ignoring the advice given by the prophet Isaiah. It was the unbelief of Ahaz on this occasion which led to the well-known prophecy of Immanuel (Isa. 7 to 9). Isaiah's advice was, "Sanctify the Lord of Hosts Himself, and let Him be your fear and let Him be your dread. And He shall be for a sanctuary". This was too vague for Ahaz, he wanted something more tangible, so he sent to the king of Assyria saying, "I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me." The request was accompanied by a suitable present, and Ahaz was duly accepted as a tributary of Assyria, and Syria and Israel were invaded and conquered.

When Hosea, the last king of Israel, came to the throne there was only one thing which he could do. Called upon to pay huge tribute to Assyria, which the failing fortunes of the kingdom of Israel made practically impossible, he decided on resistance. If he were to throw off the yoke of Assyria, Egypt was the only power

to which he could turn for support. He therefore sent his messengers to Shabaka in Egypt, and ceased to send the yearly present to Nineveh. Whatever the Egyptian king may have thought as to the final outcome of the adventure, it was clearly policy for him to accept the overtures of Hosea. It meant, in any case, that the king of Assyria would have to attack his revolted vassal, and anything that kept him occupied was so much grace for Egypt. Hosea paid dearly for his temerity: he was taken away and imprisoned, and his unfortunate city had to endure all the horrors of a three years' siege by such heartless foes as the Assyrians. We are not concerned here with particulars of the siege; it may be noted, however, that if Shabaka undertook to give any assistance to Hosea he failed when the time came. It was only what might have been expected, for really Egypt was not capable of giving help. In this, as in so many things, it was the prophet and not the politicians of the time that saw things as they actually were. Isaiah had described them in the words quoted in the preceding chapter. In scathing words the prophet described the Egyptians as "drunken men staggering in their vomit", even the small kingdom of Judah being regarded with terror, for there should be "no work for Egypt which the head or the tail, branch or rush" might do.

The respite for which Shabaka planned did not last long, though in the meantime a change of Dynasty had taken place in Assyria. Shalmaneser seems to have succumbed to a camp conspiracy and Sargon, the greatest of all the Assyrian kings, ascended the throne. Syria was as restless as ever, the Assyrian

yoke was a heavy one, and again revolt broke out against their over-lord. This time it was widespread, and seems to have been stirred up by Shabaka. Amongst those who joined in the effort was Hezekiah of Judah, together with the kings of Edom and Moab. The politicians of the time altogether over-rated the powers of Egypt. It was still the prophet who saw the danger of the course the politicians were pursuing. In a chapter which contains the only reference to Sargon which is to be found in the literature of the past, Isaiah clearly indicated the actual position of affairs. Sargon had sent his Tartan against Ashdod and captured it, but the Syrian powers could not, or would not, heed the signs of Assyria's might. By his symbolic actions Isaiah gave added impressiveness to his words: "Like as My servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt." (Isa. 20.)

The revolting princes had taken advantage of troubles which had broken out between Assyria and Babylon. Tyre joined in the revolt; but the Assyrians left that city behind them, hastened southward, reducing various towns on the way, to meet the allies in the south of Palestine. The history of that campaign belongs to the Assyrian section of these books, but it needs to be briefly alluded to here. The Assyrian hosts threatened Jerusalem. Having regard to the position of Judah, faced with the might of Assyria, the result

must have seemed a foregone conclusion. The result was very different from what might have been expected. The Assyrians learned that after all the Egyptian forces were in the field, advancing somewhat tardily to the support of the peoples of Palestine and Syria. They were under the leadership of Taharqa, the nephew of Shabaka. He is spoken of as king, and it is possible that he already possessed the kingly dignity in conjunction with his uncle.

The Assyrian and Egyptian armies met at Eltekeh (Altaku). The exact position of the place has not been identified, though it was evidently in the south of Palestine. Pharaoh proved to be the broken reed that Sennacherib described him to be. Sennacherib has recorded the event in his annals. It is questionable whether the defeat of the Egyptians was as complete as Sennacherib states, though evidently it was severe. Taharqa retreated with his forces across the Isthmus of Suez, there to await the further onset of the Assyrians. Sennacherib advanced towards Egypt to complete his triumph and return to Jerusalem. The triumph did not materialise, Jerusalem was saved. The Bible and the Egyptian histories both record the sudden termination of the triumphal march of the Assyrians. The Bible one is well known. The Egyptian account is less familiar and may be set down here in the words of Herodotus.

"After this, Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched a large army against Egypt; whereupon the Egyptian warriors refused to assist him; and the priest being reduced to a strait, entered the temple, and bewailed before the image the calamity

ties he was in danger of suffering. While he was lamenting, sleep fell upon him, and it appeared to him in a vision, that the god stood by and encouraged him, assuring him that he should suffer nothing disagreeable in meeting the Arabian army; for he would himself send assistance to him. Confiding in this vision he took with him such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, and encamped in Pelusium, for here the entrance into Egypt is; but none of the military caste followed him, but tradesmen, mechanics, and sutlers. When they arrived there a number of field mice, pouring in upon their enemies, devoured their quivers and their bows and, moreover, the handles of their shields; so that on the next day, when they fled bereft of their arms, many of them fell."

The parallel between this and the Bible account is more remarkable than appears on the surface. The mice of the Egyptians are put against the "Angel of the Lord" of the Scriptures. It is not difficult to reconcile the two things. In the history of Israel the "Angel of the Lord" has more than once been used in an infliction of plague upon a people. The case of the pestilence in the days of David is a well-known example. On the other hand the association of mice and other rodents with the dissemination of disease is universally recognised. When the Philistines in the early days of the kingdom of Israel suffered from a plague because they had retained the Ark of the Covenant, one of their offerings consisted of golden mice, one from each of the cities. It was probably a plague of a bubonic character which devastated the Assyrian army and caused Senna-

cherib to return with the remnant of his army to his own land.

The disaster gave a respite to Egypt as well as to Judah, and it was not until the reign of Esarhaddon that Assyrian troops actually invaded the lands of the Nile. By this time, too, Taharqa had succeeded to the throne of Egypt, or had become sole ruler.

The unlooked-for event that destroyed the Assyrian army caused Sennacherib to turn his attention elsewhere. Assyria was as much a land of omens and superstition as were any others of those times, and he probably saw a warning in the plague, and refrained from further adventures in Syria or Egypt. At any rate, it was something like thirty years before the threat of his reign became an accomplishment under his son and successor.

Meanwhile Egypt showed some signs of revival. Taharqa was a man of far more ability than his predecessors had been; he ruled the country well, and brought it to a measure of success which had long been absent. To the south he warred in Africa; he carried on building operations, and by a wise administration he established his position among the people so that they looked upon him as something like their heroes of the past. It was of no avail. Assyria was moving forward once again in Syria, and sooner or later the struggle must be renewed. Various difficulties nearer home kept Esarhaddon occupied for a time, but at last he was ready to renew the attempt to reduce Egypt to a state of subjection.

It was about the year 670 B.C., that Assyria was ready and Esarhaddon commenced his task. He sud-

denly appeared at Raphia. He had removed Manasseh of Judah away to Babylon. This was probably a measure of protection rather than of warfare, as Manasseh was afterwards released and restored to his country. It was, however, unwise to leave him free to act on the line of Assyrians' communications. Crossing the desert he entered Egypt by way of the Wadi Tumilat. As was to be expected the invasion was successful and Taharqa retired southward. Esarhaddon then besieged Memphis, which was given up to pillage. A vast spoil was taken away and Egypt suffered some of the feelings of despair that her Pharaohs had caused other peoples to experience in the past. The great temple of Ptah was despoiled of its riches, and the gods of Egypt were deposed. Taharqa fled to Thebes and then to Napata. The Assyrians moved south, Thebes the city of her splendour was taken after a siege, and all Egypt from Migdol to Syene passed under the sway of Esarhaddon.

For a time Egypt lay prostrate. But Esarhaddon was taken with a desperate illness, and Taharqa waited his opportunity. When that came he moved from his retreat in the south, expelling the Assyrian governors as he descended the Nile and rousing the enthusiasm of the people. Thebes and Memphis received him, and the flame of revolt burst forth. There was by that time a new king of Assyria—Ashur-bani-pal. Gathering his hosts together he marched against the revolted country. The peoples of Syria on this occasion did not attempt to join in with Egypt; they had learned severe lessons in the past, and the influence of them had not died away. There was nothing, therefore, to stay the progress of

the Assyrians under the leadership of Tartan and the Rabshakeh.

Memphis was deserted, several towns in the Delta were pillaged, and the principal inhabitants were flayed alive, presumably as a warning to others who might be disposed to resist the Assyrian advance. Once again Taharqa fled, leaving Thebes to look after itself. It managed to save itself from destruction by paying a huge ransom—half of the accumulated treasures of the temple of Amon. At the conclusion of hostilities the various princes and deputy rulers were treated with clemency, a somewhat unusual course for Ashur-bani-pal. It proved to be a mistaken policy, and it was not long before revolt broke out again. Taharqa had died and his stepson Tanut-Amon succeeded him. Before he was crowned he had a dream. In it he saw two serpents, one on each side of him. The wise men of Egypt interpreted the dream to mean that he was to rule over the two regions of Upper and Lower Egypt. He was acclaimed as king, "Go in peace, mayest thou have peace! Restore life to Egypt! Rebuild the ruined temples and set up once more the statues and emblems of the deities!"

The deputies whom the Assyrians had left in the Delta attempted to resist Tanut-Amon, but in vain, and he established some sort of dominion over them and returned to Napata. Obviously Assyria could not sit down under this defiance, and as soon as opportunity offered, Ashur-bani-pal sent his generals to the land of Egypt. The Egyptian king dared not attempt to defend Memphis; he withdrew to Thebes, where he assembled all the forces he could muster. The Assyrian



THE THEBES

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THEBES



armies moved up the Nile, and by the time they had reached Thebes Tanut-Amon realised that it would be impossible to offer any effective resistance. He fled and left Thebes to its fate. It may well be imagined what sort of a fate it was. This was the third Assyrian expedition to Egypt in the course of a few years, and under the best of circumstances they were cruel conquerors. The whole place was given over to the soldiery, the population was carried into captivity, and all the temples and palaces with which the city abounded were relieved of their treasures. When it is realised how long it had been the centre of Egyptian religion, how many and how great were its temples, and how king after king had given treasures to the temple of Amon, it may be imagined that the spoil was enormous.

The fall of Thebes was a calamity which resounded through the world. Years afterwards a Hebrew prophet, speaking of the doom of Nineveh, the city of Ashurbani-pal, could find no better way of enforcing his message of doom than by referring to what had happened to Thebes, which he called No-Amon. "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim (i.e. Libya and Nubia) were thy helpers; Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity, her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men and all her great men were bound in chains." (Nahum 3. 8.10). It is a graphic

picture, and conveys some of the lesser horrors of the fate of the city and its inhabitants. It must have seemed that the days of Egypt were over, that the glory had departed for ever. In the conflict of Assyria versus Egypt, Egypt had failed completely.

## CHAPTER XV

### EGYPT VERSUS BABYLON

THE next chapter in the history of Egypt was a comparatively short one. Assyrian supremacy was short-lived; indeed the signs of the coming decline were already manifested during the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, who was the last of the great kings of the country. The fall which Nahum announced took place a few years after the death of Ashur-bani-pal.

When the Assyrians triumphed so completely in the conquest of Egypt, they attempted to rule the land by means of the petty kings of the Delta region, really the heads of the various nomes of the country. Although they had conspired with Taharqa, one of them, Necho, was able to satisfy the Assyrian king of his bona-fides, and was sent from Nineveh with all honour to resume rule in Sais, his son being appointed to one of the other districts. During the petty struggles of the time Necho seems to have been killed, and his son, Psamatik, fled to Syria to join the Assyrians. He was then appointed king, accepting that position as the nominee of the Assyrian monarch. The outlook, from an Egyptian point of view, was very uncertain; the yoke of the conqueror seemed firmly fixed upon the neck of the defeated people. Yet a revival was at hand. Psamatik gradually threw off the trammels of the Assyrian

representatives who had been left behind, but who could do little as their master was engaged elsewhere in his widely extended Empire. The Egyptian king used the time secured to him by Assyria's troubles elsewhere to consolidate his power and secure the future.

At first his kingdom was confined to the Delta; later he obtained possession of Thebes and may then be regarded as the ruler of all Egypt. He secured his legitimacy to the throne by bringing about the adoption of his daughter by Tei-nuter, the sister of Taharqa. She was the "Divine Votress" of Thebes. The decree of adoption which has been found transfers the property of Tei-nuter to Nitocris, Psamatik's daughter. The weakened state of the kingdom enabled him also to control the various lords of the nomes, and as the priesthood of Amon had declined in power and prestige also, he was able gradually to assume an independent position, [and was as much a ruler of Egypt as the great Pharaohs of the past had been. Though obviously working for the independence of his country, when the Assyrians were threatened by Babylonians and Medes he sent an army to the assistance of the Assyrian king.

At this time a new factor commenced to appear in Egypt. Certain "Brazen Men of the Sea" appeared upon the scene. They were Greek and Carian mercenaries, who now formed a considerable portion of the king's available military power. Greece had now definitely appeared upon the scene to prepare for her future greatness. Psamatik evidently saw in the Greeks a promise of the future, and encouraged them to settle in the land. Naucratis, a city which was founded for

them, became the centre of a thriving trade and commerce. Conservative as the Egyptians were by nature, this contact with the Greeks in daily affairs with the outside world must have affected the people considerably. The Delta particularly was subject to the changing conditions, and the intercourse between Greeks and Egyptians had its influence in later days.

At one time the unsettled state of affairs in Syria led to a renewal of Egyptian adventures in that land. Had it succeeded something of the old glories might have been revived, but the new Egypt was not to be compared with that of the past. Philistia was invaded, and Ashdod was besieged, it is said, for twenty-nine years. But though it fell at last to the Egyptian arms, there was no likelihood of sufficient success to justify prolonged expeditions in Syria. It was just at this time that a great irruption of Scythian tribes took place, overrunning all the lands of Western Asia. Such a time was not opportune for forward movements by the older powers, they had quite enough to do to protect their lands from the Scythians. Psamatik, therefore, did not pursue his Syrian adventures, but remained content with what he had accomplished. Looking back at it his was a very creditable accomplishment. He found Egypt in the dust, shattered by the Assyrians. He gradually changed his position from that of a deputy ruler on behalf of Assyria to be an independent ruler of Egypt. He effected a revival of prosperity such as must have seemed impossible when he started his career. After a reign of fifty-four years he died, and left a revived land to be the care of his son Nekau, the Necho of the Bible.

Nekau was a man of ambition. Times seemed propitious, for the Scythian irruption had weakened all the peoples of Western Asia. With armies largely formed of Greek mercenaries, he turned his attention to the sea. In this also he was assisted by Greek artificers, and was able to build and fit out two fleets of triremes, one for use on the Red Sea, the other on the Mediterranean. He also attempted to re-open the old canal which had at one time connected the Nile with the Red Sea. The project was too much for the kingdom, Necho could not face the appalling loss of life which it entailed, and the work had to be discontinued. It was under his instructions that the circumnavigation of Africa took place. With the help of Phœnician sailors a fleet sailed right round the Cape of Good Hope and returned to Egypt by means of the Mediterranean Sea, having commenced the journey from a Red Sea Port. When such projects could be carried out it may be assumed that so far as the maritime portions of his programme were concerned, Nekau might well hope for success in his enterprises.

Nekau now set out on his attempt to re-establish the Egyptian Empire in Syria. Naturally that land was in an extremely unsettled state, Assyria was failing, and Babylon had not yet taken steps to secure the reversion of the old Assyrian Empire. With fleet and army Nekau left Egypt for Northern Syria. "He went up to the king of Assyria to the River Euphrates". In the Book of Kings it is stated that he went "against" the king of Assyria, but the Hebrew word is capable of the other rendering, and for reasons connected with

the history of the times, the rendering given above is to be preferred. For some reason Egyptian policy towards Assyria entirely changed about this time. When Ashur-bani-pal sacked Thebes with such intense severity, the feelings of the Egyptians against Assyria must have been very bitter. Now they are found acting as allies with their old enemies. The cause for this changed policy is, no doubt, connected with the Scythian invasion. It must have seemed to the peoples of the times that an occasion had arisen when the civilised powers of the world must stand together if they were to defeat the barbarians and prevent the downfall of civilisation. Whatever the cause, the facts are that from this time until the Assyrian Empire and kingdom finally disappeared Egypt worked in close concord with Assyria and against Babylon. The latter had apparently some agreement with the Scythians or one of the connected peoples. It is probable, too, that a politician like Nekau thought it better to put up with a declining power like Assyria rather than risk having a new master in the growing power of Babylon.

Whatever the reasons Nekau left Egypt to develop his plans. Following the coast road he first attacked Gaza, as alluded to by the prophet Jeremiah (chap. 47). Next Askalon was punished, after which Pharaoh pushed on for the north, where Tyre and Sidon were undecided whether to accept the dominion of Babylon or not.

It is at this point that Egypt once more comes into contact with the historical portions of the Bible. Josiah, king of Judah, determined to resist the Egyptians. The reason for his action is not very evident. It may

be that he saw in the advance of Nekau an attempt to rivet the Egyptian yoke on Syria, and he was not prepared to submit to such a course. On the other hand, he may have felt himself in some way pledged to the conqueror of Nineveh. Whatever the cause, he decided to fight against the Egyptians, although Nekau pointedly told him that he had no cause of quarrel with him. Marching northward after the Egyptians, Josiah met their forces at Megiddo, and once again that place witnessed a decisive battle. It was a small affair compared with some that had taken place there in the great days of old. The little force that Judah could then put into the field to meet the trained mercenaries of Egypt were helpless. Josiah was fatally wounded and had to withdraw, and Judah became a part of the renewed Egyptian Empire in Asia. Thus, whatever may have been the intentions of Nekau, the Egyptian Empire in Asia was reinstituted.

The people of Judah set up Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, as king in Jerusalem, where he had a precarious reign of three months. Meanwhile Nekau pushed on for Carchemish, and the whole of the land submitted to his sway. The poor little kingdom of Judah was helpless. Jehoahaz was put down and Eliakim his brother was set up as an Egyptian nominee, after a suitable tribute had been extorted from the land.

The incidents which have just been narrated brought into existence two parties in the Jewish state, an Egyptian and a Babylonian. Generally speaking the political section of the community was pro-Egyptian, the prophets were just as decidedly pro-Babylonian, at least they indicated that trust in Egypt was hopeless

and that the only path of safety for Judah was an acceptance of the rule of Babylon.

For a short time Egypt maintained its Syrian Empire, uneasily waiting the time when the Babylonians should feel sufficiently established to claim the old Assyrian tributaries as theirs. In the year 605 B.C., the king of Babylon, Nabopolassar, commenced the task, which he entrusted to his son Nebuchadnezzar. Egypt prepared to defend its possessions. The clash between the two armies took place at Carchemish, and the result was the complete defeat of the Egyptian army. Unfortunately no account of the battle seems to have been found. Egypt would certainly not record it, and the silence of the Babylonian records may be due to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar had to hurry home and secure his succession to the throne, as his father died at that time. In the circumstances we may be thankful for Jeremiah's reference to the battle.

"Against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah. Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses; and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, put on the brigandines. Wherefore have I seen them dismayed and turned away back? and their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back: for fear was round about, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape; they shall stumble, and fall toward the north by the river Euphrates. Who is this that

---

cometh up as a flood, whose waters are moved as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are moved like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up and will cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. Come up, ye horses; and rage ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians and the Libyans, that handle the shield, and the Lydians that handle and bend the bow. For this is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his adversaries: and the sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and be made drunk with their blood: for the Lord God of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates. Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured. The nations have heard of thy shame, and thy cry hath filled the land: for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, and they are fallen both together." (Jer. 46. 2. 12.)

With such a piece of graphic writing, which seems to call up the scene before the eyes, the absence of any dry record, penned by the order of a Babylonian king, need not be regretted. There is life in every line of Jeremiah's account; it has much more of the modern War Correspondent than all the stiff and formal records that the great military leaders of the past have written on clay tablets or inscribed on stone. In less graphic, but equally decisive terms, the Bible historian says: "And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt."

For a time Egypt ceased to take part in world politics. Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon was engaged in consolidating his power nearer home. Jehoiachin of Judah was put down and the princes, the principal part of the army, the craftsmen and the smiths were taken to Babylon, and Zedekiah, the last king of the house of David, was placed upon the throne as the nominee of the king of Babylon. He occupied the throne, as a Babylonian vassal for eleven years. At first he paid his tribute to the conqueror, but later rebelled and refused the annual payment.

In Egypt Nekau had died and had been succeeded by his son Psammetichos, or Psamtik II, who only reigned a few years and was succeeded by Uahib-Ra. The Greeks called him Apries and the Hebrews called him Hophra. Uahib-Ra joined in the unrest which was once again passing through Syria. It seems as if nothing less than the absolute subversion of their kingdoms would cause the peoples of that land to accept the dominion of Nebuchadnezzar. The end was near, however. Zedekiah of Judah and Uahib-Ra of Egypt came to an understanding, although the whole weight of the prophet Jeremiah's advice was against it. From the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah Jeremiah had insisted that submission was the only wise course. When the kings of Tyre and Sidon, of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, had sent to Jerusalem early in the reign, Jeremiah had declared, "I have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar . . . all nations shall serve him and his son, and his son's son. . . . Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers." It was in vain. Jere-

miah was looked upon as an unpatriotic preacher of evil and calamity. The pact was made between Zedekiah and the king of Egypt and as already stated the former rebelled against the king of Babylon.

As might have been expected, the revolt was fatal to Judah. The Babylonian armies once more appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. Tardily, as usual, the Egyptians moved into Palestine, and for a moment saved Jerusalem from capture. Whether the Babylonian and the Egyptian armies came into conflict cannot be said. It is possible that the very advance of the former was sufficient, and the Egyptians retreated across their border. Jeremiah was very definite in his language as to what would take place: "Behold Pharaoh's army which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land; and the Chaldeans shall come again and fight against this city, and take it and burn it with fire." For the last time in the history of Israel, Egypt proved to be a bruised and broken reed, and Zedekiah was left to meet his fate. The last pictures we have of the unhappy king are terrible. Taken prisoner by the Chaldeans, his sons were put to death before his eyes, and then his own eyes were taken out. It was one of the most terrible refinements of cruelty that could have been imagined; it left to the wretched king as the last vision of his eyes, the slaughter of his sons. As for the people, those who were of any importance were carried away to Babylon and only the poorest of all were left in the land, too insignificant for the conqueror to trouble about.

Even when such a terrible lesson had been given it could not be read. Those whom the king of Babylon

had placed to keep order in the land were murdered by a party of Jews who had returned to the country from places to which they had fled. Such an action could only have the effect of stirring up the fury of a Nebuchadnezzar. This they knew, and took the only course which was open to them. "They departed and dwelt in the habitation of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem, to go to enter into Egypt, because of the Chaldeans." Again, in opposition to the advice and warning of Jeremiah they persisted in their determination, and taking the prophet with them they entered into Egypt and settled themselves in Tahpanhes, the later Daphne, in the Delta.

It will be seen that by these incidents the Babylonian dominions and the Egyptian territory were alongside each other, and it was obvious that sooner or later the two powers would come into collision. Nebuchadnezzar was not the sort of man to tolerate the existence of a kingdom like Egypt as an asylum for the fugitives. Uahib-Ra did what he could to strengthen himself in his kingdom, though it is not easy to understand some of his efforts, such as an attack upon Tyre, which had been a party to the Syrian confederacy against Babylon. Perhaps he thought that if he could establish himself so far north in Syria it might keep the Chaldeans employed away from the Egyptian border, and so preserve his country from the horrors of invasion.

Jeremiah in Egypt, and Ezekiel in Babylon, both predicted the downfall of Egypt. Jeremiah's words were addressed to "all the Jews which dwelt in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros", and among

the things he indicated should come upon them he said, "This shall be a sign unto you, saith the Lord, that I will punish you in this place, that ye may know that My words shall surely stand against you for evil; Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life." For a time it seemed unlikely that this anticipation would be fulfilled, although the Chaldean army moved south against Egypt.

Meanwhile trouble arose in Egypt itself. First of all Pharaoh found he could no longer rely on his mercenaries. Then trouble arose with the native troops. They were sent to chastise the Greeks who had been settled in Cyrene. Despising the Greeks they advanced confidently to the fray and were seriously defeated. They blamed the Pharaoh for their reverse, and a revolt broke out among them. Uahib-Ra sent Aahmes, a member of the royal house, to quell the disturbance, but the troops proclaimed him king and insisted on him being admitted to the joint rulership of the country. In troubles which arose later Uahib-Ra, who had been compelled to take an entirely second place in the dual rule, endeavoured to regain supremacý. He gained over the Greeks, but was defeated by Aahmes, became a fugitive, and was slain during the pursuit.

The history of this period is not very clear. Josephus and Herodotus both record various matters in relation to it, but there is practically no help from the monuments and inscriptions. Some have questioned whether

Nebuchadnezzar ever invaded Egypt, and have bluntly stated that he did not achieve the conquest of the land as anticipated by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Others, however, are equally certain that he did, and that it took place during the lifetime of Uahib-Ra. Others place the expedition in the reign of his successor, Aahmes. Nebuchadnezzar went up the Valley of the Nile as far as Elephantine, and on the way back completed the ravage of Egypt, but the course of his subsequent operations is unknown. Records of Nebuchadnezzar have been found in the Delta area, in the Isthmus of Suez, so that the fact of his invasion of Egypt is really beyond dispute, although the details of the expedition are unknown. One thing is certain, Egypt had come to the end of its long history as a power; henceforth it was to exist as "a base kingdom", as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold.

One interesting item in connection with these times should be mentioned. When the Jews had left Judah and taken Jeremiah with them down to Egypt, as already narrated, they came to Tahpanhes. "Then," we are told, "came the word of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah; and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, My servant, and will set his throne on these stones that I have hid; and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them." In the year 1886 Sir Flinders Petrie commenced to work at Tell Defenneh, the ancient

Daphnae. The local name of the place was Qasr Bint el Yehudi, which means "the Palace of the Jew's Daughter". He recognised in this an indication of an old tradition that members of the Jewish royal family had taken refuge there at some time, and that time could hardly be any other than when the remains of the Jewish people fled to Egypt from the Babylonians. On carrying out excavations he discovered a large platform of brickwork in front of the entrance to the remains of what was evidently Pharaoh's house. It was undoubtedly the place where, two thousand four hundred years before, Jeremiah hid the stones in the "brick-kiln". The word used by Jeremiah has no necessary reference to a brick-kiln, though it certainly refers to something connected with bricks. The revisers have therefore represented it by the term brickwork, which is in accord with what was found there in 1886. That the house near by was a royal building was evidenced by the large number of sealings of royal wine jars which were discovered in the pantry of the house.

The interest of the discovery was further enhanced by the number of Greek vases which were found there. Herodotus records that Amasis<sup>1</sup> removed the Greeks to Daphnae, and the sealings referred to were found amongst the fragments of the vases, thereby demonstrating that they had to do with the times with which we have been dealing.

The dominion of Babylon was a short one; it was really a personal creation of one man, Nebuchadnezzar, and on his death things soon began to go wrong. With

<sup>1</sup> The Greek form of Aahmes.

the rise of Persia under Cyrus, Babylon fell. But the fall of Babylon made no change to Egypt. It had sunk too low to take advantage of the new world conditions which arose. It had failed before Assyria, it had failed before Babylon, it was not likely to revive with such a power as Persia rising to supremacy in the world. Yet the outward appearances were not unpromising, and the country enjoyed a time of peace and prosperity. Aahmes founded a new city on the Canopic mouth of the Nile, which he established as a home and market for Greek traders and manufacturers. Throughout Egypt building and renovations were carried on. But the outward show had but little to support it, all the strength of the country had been sapped, the "base kingdom" had gone too low to be able to revive before it finally passed under the control of other peoples, whose rule has coincided with Ezekiel's far-reaching statement, "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt".

## CHAPTER XVI

### HOW EGYPT BECAME A BASE KINGDOM

WITH the death of Aahmes the XXVIth Dynasty of Egypt practically came to an end, for his successor, Psammetichos III only reigned six months, and after him the whole situation of the rulership was entirely changed. Hitherto, through all the changing fortunes of the country, Egypt had been ruled over by a prince of Egyptian, or at least of Ethiopian, blood, and who had recognised that they were Pharaohs of Egypt, their prosperity being bound up with the fortunes of the country. All that was to be changed and an entirely new chapter opened.

The time at which we have arrived was one when the world was on the eve of great changes; it was a time of transition. The East was beginning to give way to the West, and the supreme power was about to take the first of the moves that eventually brought it to Rome. Sufficient has been seen already to show how Greece had taken a prominent part in the fortunes of Egypt, not yet as a nation, but by means of individuals of the race. Soon the world was to become Greek, but before that there was to be an intermediate stage during which world supremacy remained an Eastern possession, though it was no longer under the Semites; the Aryan races were coming to the fore.

It was in the year 525 B.C., that Cambyeses, the king of

Persia, invaded Egypt. The new king of Egypt had gathered together an army composed of Egyptians and auxiliaries from Caria and Greece. The former were of little use, military occupations were unpopular in Egypt, and reliance had been placed on mercenary troops for so long that there was little likelihood of native troops proving to be of any value in a time of danger. Moreover, patriotism had little appeal to a people who had little to lose by a change of masters. The army was drawn up at Pelusium. The conflict has been described as not so much a battle as a carnage. The mercenaries fought desperately, but the native troops were incapable of anything. According to one record fifty thousand of them fell on the field of battle and during the rout, and their flight did not stop until the broken remains of the army reached Memphis.

Psammatichos determined to make one more bid for freedom from the Persian yoke. He withdrew into the city and waited for the coming of the Persians. The city was blockaded by water and land, and soon fell. In return for an act of cruelty to some Persian envoys, Cambyzes executed two thousand of the principal citizens. Psammetichos himself was spared, but attempting shortly afterwards to regain the kingdom was put to death, and Egypt became a satrapy of the Persian Empire. One contemporary monument at least has survived, that of one who had been admiral of the fleet under the last two kings of Egypt. Its opening phrases are as follows: "When there came to Egypt the great king, lord of all lands, Cambyzes, and peoples of all foreign countries with him, he ruled the whole land, and they settled in it. Being great prince of Egypt,

and great king of all foreign lands, his Majesty granted me the rank of chief doctor, and made me dwell with him as friend and keeper of the palace, composing his prenomen, the name king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesut-Ra".

In the events just narrated there is a reflection of the prediction of Ezekiel. "Thus saith the Lord God; Howl ye, Woe worth the day! For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day; it shall be the time of the heathen. And the sword shall come upon Egypt, and great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. Ethiopia and Libya, and Lydia, and all the mingled people, and Chub, and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword. They also that uphold Egypt shall fall; and the pride of her power shall come down; from the tower of Syene (from Migdol to Syene) shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord God." Although the latter verses of the prophecy are associated with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, the verses seem equally applicable to the fate of Egypt under Cambyses.

Once established in Egypt, Cambyses went southward. He carried his conquests into Ethiopia, going farther south than the Assyrians had gone, and returned with a booty of elephants' tusks. According to native records in Nubia the expedition was not so successful, and apparently Cambyses only returned after losing a very considerable portion of his army, which had suffered great privations on the march.

It is strange to find that although the Persians went to Egypt as conquerors they succumbed in many ways

to the customs of the land. Cambyses adopted a throne name just like any Egyptian Pharaoh, the name of Mesut-Ra as given in the inscription already mentioned. Further on in the inscription it is recorded, "When the king came to Sais he went into the sanctuary of Neith, he worshipped before the holiness of Neith with much devotion, as all the kings had done, he made great offerings of all good things to Neith, the great, the divine mother, and to all the gods who dwell in Sais, as all the pious kings had done." Not only so, but he gave instructions for the re-establishment of the school of sacred scribes. Revenues were appointed for the purpose. "His Majesty did this because he knew the virtue of this work of restoring all that he found wrecked, and to restore the names of all the gods, their temples, their endowments, and the managements of their feasts for ever."

In an earlier part of the inscription there are repeated references to "the calamity", "the very great calamity" that came to pass in the land. It is presumed that this refers to fits of madness and mental disturbances which came upon Cambyses and made him feared by those who were about him. He gave way to heavy drinking bouts. The symptoms may have been brought on by remorse, for he had procured the assassination of his brother. Whatever the cause, he became morbid and fitful, and he died, whether by his own hand or not is disputed. He left the kingdom with no recognised successor. There is no specific reference to him in the Bible, but he was one of the three kings who were to stand up in Persia as mentioned in the eleventh chapter of Daniel. There can be little doubt that the three were the principal successors of Cyrus, that is Cambyses himself, Darius and Xerxes.

In the annals of Egypt Cambyses was followed by Darius. The actual course of Persian history will have to be told elsewhere; here the only concern with the Persians is as kings of Egypt, for right through the Dynasty they reigned as Pharaohs, not as conquerors ruling a subject nation by means of agents. Some of them adopted Egyptian king names as Cambyses had done. Darius became Setetu-Ra, Xerxes apparently did not follow this example; it is recorded of him that "he reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was under Darius", and confiscated the temple estates of any cities which rebelled against him. The second Darius adopted the essentially Egyptian name of Mery-amon-Ra.

The history of Egypt under the Persian Dynasty (the XXVIIth) can be briefly summed up. Darius cultivated friendship with his Egyptian subjects. It was he who gave the instructions for the re-establishment of the schools of the sacred scribes, already mentioned. He even went so far as to build a temple to Amon-Ra, and rebuilt temples in various parts of the country. Xerxes had little time which he could devote to Egypt, and the country appears to have been left somewhat to itself. The king found enough to engage his attention in matters connected with his war against Greece, his one expedition into Egypt resulting in the increased severity just mentioned.

In the reign of Artaxerxes Egypt made a desperate effort to recover her freedom. The leader in the insurrection was Inaros, a Libyan. The Athenians assisted the revolting Egyptians, but in spite of an initial success and the capture of Memphis, the Persians

triumphed. Little is known of the detailed history of Egypt during the rest of the time occupied by the Persian Dynasty. Another insurrection against the Persian rulers broke out, and Egypt enjoyed a brief time of comparative prosperity under native princes. A war of independence was carried on for some years, and in 378 B.C., the XXXth Dynasty commenced under Nakhtenebef. The Persians attempted to overthrow him, hiring Greek mercenaries for the purpose, but failed, partly owing to the inability of the Persian commandant and his mercenaries to agree on a course of action. The Egyptians played for time, and the Nile helped them, for when the inundation commenced the Persians were compelled to retire. Nakhtenebef, otherwise known as Nectanebo, became a national hero, and for a time there was a definite revival in power, art, and industry. So great was the change that on his death the king was raised to the dignity of a divine being. It was, however, only a last flicker, for the Dynasty of three kings only lasted thirty-six years, after which Egypt passed again under the Persians, never again to be ruled over by a prince or king of Egyptian blood.

With the downfall of the Persian Empire world supremacy passed to Greece, first under Alexander the Great, of Macedon. As an enemy of the Persians he was welcomed in Egypt. He conformed sufficiently to the religion of the country to visit the temple of Amon-Ra and worship there. Amon-Ra acknowledged Alexander as his son and therefore as a legitimate sovereign of the land. After his brief career his kingdom was divided (Daniel 11. 4), and in the division of his domains Egypt passed to the Ptolemies, who

ruled the land for nearly three centuries. This was one of the brilliant periods of Egypt. The succeeding monarchs adopted Egyptian names as became Egyptian rulers, and followed Egyptian customs, even to the extent of marrying their sisters in conformity to the long established rule of Egypt, where royalty depended on the female line. But at heart they were Greek, and the language of the court was Greek; Egypt was still subject to foreign rule and remained a base kingdom.

A large part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel is taken up with the various fortunes of the Ptolemies, but it is not intended to attempt to interpret the various incidents alluded to. Such matters must be sought elsewhere. It is mentioned, however, for it is in that chapter the connection between the Ancient Land of Egypt and the Bible is mainly to be found during the Ptolemaic Period.

Some of the best temples in Egypt were raised during the times of the Ptolemies, and many other great works were undertaken. The first of the Dynasty founded the Library and Museum of Alexandria. The second built the Pharos lighthouse there; it was reckoned to be one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Most of all is this reign noted for the LXX Version of the Scriptures. The brief story of this Version is that Ptolemy Philadelphos desired to add a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures to the great Library of Alexandria. He obtained a copy of the Scriptures and the services of translators. Tradition says that there were seventy-two of these men, and that they completed the work in seventy-two days. There is evidently a good deal of tradition mixed up with the facts of the case. There, however, is the translation, one which was sufficiently esteemed even



*Part 1 of Part 1*

# KARNAK FESTIVAL HALL



by the Jews that in the New Testament times Jesus and the Apostles often quoted from it.

The Ptolemaic period of Egyptian history, if comparatively unimportant in itself, is of very great interest to all who desire to know the ancient records of the country. It has been pointed out that the language of the Court was Greek. On the other hand the priesthood still used the old sacred language of the hieroglyphs, and the general correspondence and accounts of the country were conducted in the cursive demotic. Royal decrees and similar things were usually recorded in the temples, and the result was that two or three languages were used in the records. It is to this fact that we owe the unlocking of the enigma of the hieroglyphic writing. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to the Ptolemies, and especially to the fifth of the Dynasty, known as Ptolemy Epiphanes.

Epiphanes was a great benefactor to the temples of Egypt. At Philae, for example, he carried out an enlargement of one of the temples. To indicate their appreciation of his bounty the priests of Egypt issued a decree ordering additional honours to be paid to the king.

It was provided that a copy of the decree should be inscribed on a stela and set up in each of the principal temples of the land. This inscription was written in hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek characters. One of these stelae was found in 1798 near Rosetta. It is the well-known Rosetta Stone which may be seen to-day in the British Museum. Greek was a known language, and the decree could be read without much difficulty. Knowing the contents of the Greek inscription it was obvious that the hieroglyphic said the same thing in the sacred language. This stone, therefore, with another

from Philae, gave the first indications of the meaning of the hieroglyphic characters of Egypt. The story of their gradual decipherment is too long to tell here, but it is to the monuments of the Ptolemaic age that we owe the wonderful knowledge that we have of early Egypt. It is no exaggeration to say that in respect of the principal epochs of early Egyptian history we know far more than we do of many of the peoples of Europe during mediæval times.

The last days of the Ptolemies were associated with the name of Cleopatra. In her days Rome conquered Egypt, and a new era began for the country. Under a firm rule the country prospered and became one of the most important parts of the Empire. Still Egyptian ways prevailed in many respects, and Roman rulers adopted Egyptian names and titles; some of them rebuilt or repaired the temples of the gods of the land. It was during the Roman period, and in the reign of Cæsar Augustus that the infant Jesus was taken into Egypt to escape from Herod. The evangelist Matthew does not say where he dwelt, nor how long he remained there. Legends declare that he was taken to a place near Cairo, and that he was there for two years. It is possibly correct, though the various matters connected with his stay in those same legends are altogether unreliable even where they are not preposterously untrue.

There is little more to say on the main subject. The Canon of Scripture does not take us far beyond the days of Jesus of Nazareth. The Acts of the Apostles finishes about the year A.D. 63, and there are very few references to Egypt therein. The three that are to be found are worth noting before the chapter is closed.

The first is the allusion to the eunuch who was in the service of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. The kingdom over which she ruled was founded at Meroe, in Ethiopia. At the time of the Roman conquest of Egypt it was a flourishing kingdom. At one time it had resisted Rome and invaded Egypt, but had to sue for peace. The Romans did not retain possession, so that it remained an independent state. Its queens all bore the title Kantakit (in Latin Candace). The religious ideas of the people were Egyptian in character.

The second allusion is in connection with Apollos, "who came from Alexandria". Alexandria had a considerable colony of Jews. Augustus granted to them all the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under the Ptolemies, and they were a people of considerable importance in the town. Being an intellectual centre many of the Jews followed the natural influence of the surroundings and became distinguished in the arts and accomplishments usual in the city. Apollos was clearly a man of considerable culture, and at the same time "mighty in the Scriptures". This combination made him a man of influence in the early Church, and it is interesting to find that as a result, even in this period of Bible history Egypt had some place.

Lastly Egypt comes before the readers of the Bible in its historical pages when Paul was taken to Rome. It was on a wheat-ship from Alexandria that Paul and his company were placed from Myra in Lycia. Egypt supplied Rome with a considerable quantity of corn, so that such ships were frequently passing to and from that city. After the ship was wrecked at Malta, it was another corn ship from Alexandria which finally completed the journey to Rome.

## CHAPTER XVII

### RELIGION IN EGYPT

**R**ELIGION is one of the most powerful influences in human life, and in any attempt to understand a people and their history a knowledge of their religion is essential. Among most of the early races of mankind their gods were, to a great extent, reflections of themselves, and a study of their myths and legends often throws considerable light on the ways and thoughts of the people. The Egyptians are no exception to this rule, and it is proposed to give some attention here to that aspect of their lives.

So far as can be seen the earliest forms of religion among the Egyptians partook of a totemistic character, just as it did among other African people, and as was the case among the native races of North America. A totem has been defined as a class of natural phenomena or material objects, most commonly a species of animals or plants, between which and themselves the simple peoples of the earth believed some relation to exist. Where such an idea had developed it became the custom for the people to refrain from killing the animal which it had adopted as its totem. A totem involved certain other obligations pertaining to such matters as marriage, but these need not be set out here. Totemistic beliefs have existed in Africa up to recent times, and even insects have been included in the totems there.

There can be little doubt that such beliefs were held by the early Egyptians, and that they account for many of the customs which were handed down to the later times of the people, also that it was this that led to there being so many sacred animals among them. The divine animals included the crocodile, lion, bull, hippopotamus, dog, wolf, ram, and many others. Amongst the birds there were the hawk, vulture, ibis, swallow and dove. Several kinds of fish were held sacred, and even creeping things like the beetle and the grasshopper. These animals were inviolate, and it was a capital crime to kill one of them even accidentally. In comparatively late times these ideas continued to exist amongst the Egyptians. Juvenal, who was born in the early years of the Christian era, directed one of his satires to the animal worship of the people of Egypt in his days:

Who knows not to what monstrous gods, my friend,  
The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend?—  
The snake-devouring ibis these enshrine,  
Those think the crocodile divine;  
Others, where Thebe's vast ruins strew the ground,  
And shatter'd Memnon yields a magic sound,  
Set up a glittering brute of uncouth shape,  
And bow before the image of an ape!  
Thousands regard the hound with holy fear,  
Not one, Diana: and 'tis dangerous here,  
To violate an onion, or to stain  
The sanctity of leeks, with tooth profane.

The crocodile to which Juvenal refers was treated royally. At the seat of its worship the animals were

kept in a lake, fed with meat, also with cake, honey and milk. They were ornamented with gold and jewels, and had bracelets upon their paws. At the death of a sacred crocodile it was embalmed and placed in catacombs which had been prepared. Temples of Sebek, the crocodile god, were to be found in various places. This animal appears to have been particularly associated with Egypt in the minds of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, who use it as emblematical of the land. The latter introduces his prophecies against Egypt by saying: "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own". It is generally recognised that the animal referred to here is the crocodile. The bull worship of Ancient Egypt is well known, and there is little doubt that it was the original from which the golden calf of Aaron, and the calves of Bethel and Dan were copied.

In this phase of its religion Egypt furnishes one of the best exemplifications of Paul's references to Gentile worship, "professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things . . . who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator."

From totems to district gods is not a far step, and Egypt abounded in these. Every nome (this may be compared to an English county), every city, town, and village possessed its own god, and every god had a female counterpart and a son. There must have been thousands of gods in the land of Egypt, even to-day

the names of over two thousand are known. "Gods many and Lords many" is especially applicable to the land of the Pharaohs. As the country became more organised, and especially as a centralised form of government was set up, there was a tendency to reduce the number of these gods, and to see in them manifestations of a comparative few. There are even indications of something not far removed from a monotheistic conception of the Godhead. This is to be seen more particularly in some of the moral precepts in which reference to God, in a singular form, are not infrequent. But these allusions did not represent the mind of the people; they had their different gods and they rejoiced in them.

There would not be much advantage in detailing the various chief gods of the country; it will be sufficient to give particulars of those who occupied a prominent place in the Egyptian worship. Their relationship has been described as follows: After speaking of the origin of the Sun-god (Tum) from the Ocean, it is said, "From himself he (Tum) begat four children, Shu, Tefnut, Geb and Nut." Shu and Tefnut represent the atmosphere, Geb the earth and Nut the heavens. Then Geb and Nut produced four more gods, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys. Here were a group of nine gods, a trio of trios. These constituted the Great Company which was the "ennead" of the gods. Each temple possessed an ennead, varying according to the god in whose honour or worship it had been erected."

The most prominent of the gods was Ra. In the foregoing list Tum is a form of Ra, representing him as the setting sun. His supremacy goes back as far as

the Vth Dynasty at all events. By the time of the XIIth his position was practically unquestioned, and from that time onward there was a tendency for the priesthoods of the other gods to endeavour to identify their god with Ra, or to link the two together in some way. In a land like Egypt the supremacy attained by the Sun-god can be understood. At sunrise he commenced to travel over the land; after he set in the west he journeyed in a boat through the underworld to reappear on the morrow. Wherever nature gods are worshipped the Sun-god "necessarily becomes" supreme, for the beneficence of the sun in all the affairs of men is obvious.

The various sky-gods of Egypt, in addition to Ra, were Hathor, Horus, Tum, Khons, and Nut. Hathor was a cow-headed goddess, and was later identified with Isis; she was the goddess of love as well as of the cemeteries of the dead. Horus was represented with a falcon's head, but the name became afterwards applied to the son of Osiris and Isis; T'uni, or Itum, was the god of the setting sun. Khons was a moon-god, and Nut is merely described as a sky-goddess.

In later ages Ra became generally known as Amon-Ra. Amon was at first merely a local god of Thebes. When Thebes rose to political power, it was the great religious centre of the land, the home of its temples, and Amon became the most prominent of all. Ra, however, was too well established in the theology of the land to be dispossessed, and the two were regarded as one, described as Amon-Ra. It is an illustration of the effect of worldly politics upon religious ideas.

No god had so much power and splendour in Egypt as did Amon. The great kings of the XVIIIth and

XIXth Dynasties could not shower sufficient wealth and honours upon his temples and priesthood. After every successful expedition he was given a substantial share of the spoils which were taken. From an inventory which has survived it appears that he, or rather his priesthood, possessed lands and gardens by the hundred in Thebes, whilst throughout Egypt there were fields, meadows, hunting grounds and fisheries. Even in Ethiopia and Canaan cities were dedicated to him by grateful Egyptian conquerors. By the time of Rameses III, when the inventory was prepared, it is calculated that the temples of Amon possessed between them 583,000 acres of land in the country. Further reference will be found to this in an earlier chapter. It is mentioned here to indicate growth of the Amon cult, a growth that could not fail to prove a danger to the State.

Among the earth gods may be mentioned Anquet, a local goddess associated with the First Cataract; Geb the earth god; Hapi the Nile god, and Sati a goddess who was also connected with the neighbourhood of the First Cataract.

Through most of the times of Egyptian history of which the records have been recovered, the most popular god was Osiris, and quite a number of those whose names are included in the list of chief gods are there because they are connected with the legends in relation to him. The principal legend is well known, and need only be summed up briefly. Originally Osiris was a king who reigned in the Delta. His wife, who was also his sister, in accordance with a general custom amongst the royalties of the land, was Isis.

Their son was Horus, not the Sun-god already mentioned, but another of the same name. Osiris was a beneficent king who ruled his people for their good. He had a brother, Set, who was jealous of him, and managed to drown him in the Nile. The body floated down the river to the swamps where the papyrus plant grew, and there Isis, by the aid of magic, found it. She hid the body whilst she sought her son Horus, but Set discovered it and divided it into fourteen pieces which he scattered about the country. Isis collected all the pieces and erected a shrine at every place at which a portion of the body was found. Isis was a great enchantress. Some of the most interesting of the legends of Egypt are connected with this aspect of her personality. So she and her son Horus, together with a number of helpers were able to perform a series of ceremonies over Osiris, with such effect that he was raised from the dead and endowed with renewed life for ever. Having been a king in this life he was one in the world to which he went in his renewed existence, the land Seket-hetep, the field of peace, which is situated in Sckhet-iaru. It is represented in pictures drawn in various copies of the Book of the Dead as a region surrounded by a stream of water like the fertile regions of the Delta. There is the Judgment Hall of Osiris where he sits as the judge of the dead. A further reference to this will be found in the next chapter. The cults of Osiris and Isis were by far the most popular of all the religious ideas of Egypt. That of Osiris goes back to the earliest times. He is called "King of eternity, lord of the everlastingness, the prince of gods and men, the god of gods, king of kings, lord of

lords, prince of princes, the governor of the world, whose existence is everlasting."

In addition to the gods of the sky and the earth there were others of a more general character. Some of these were deified men, who had been raised to the company of the gods because of the great services they had rendered to their fellows, which probably, in most cases, meant to the Pharaohs of their times. Such a god was Imhotep. Imhotep was the vizier, architect, and physician to King Zozer of the IIIrd Dynasty. At this time an extraordinary development of the art of building took place, and in this sudden forward step Imhotep was evidently the guiding spirit. He was something of a genius, such as does appear occasionally. Architecture made a tremendous advance; Imhotep became famous. Later he was the patron spirit of the scribes and was numbered with the gods of Egypt. His posthumous deification was not unlike the canonisation of saints in certain sections of the Christian community.

Thus Egypt had its multitude of gods, as among the Greeks of after times there were gods for everything; but unlike those of Greece they came from all parts of the animal world as well as from the human. They were not all beneficent by any means. Set was the god of evil; he was a pig-headed god; Anup (or Anubis) the jackal god, was the god of the necropolis at Abydos, deified no doubt to placate the jackals so that they might not devour the bodies of the dead.

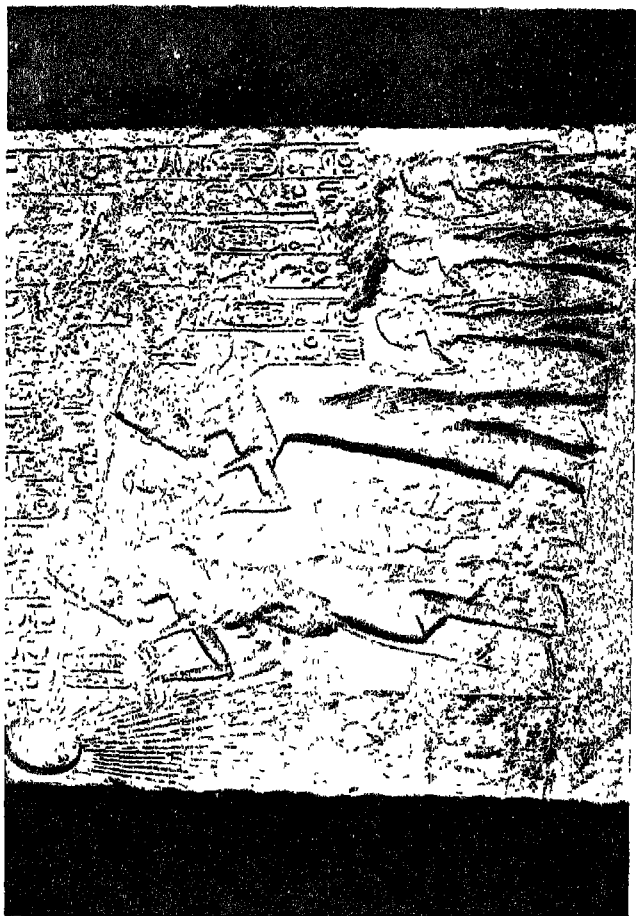
Before leaving the subject of the gods of Egypt it will be well to complete the review by recording the great revolution in the worship of the gods which signalised the XVIIIth Dynasty and brought about

the downfall of the Dynasty and the Empire. It has been pointed out that Akh-en-Aten attributed his change of religion to a revelation from Ra, and that the real change was from Amon to Aten. There was a fundamental difference in the outlooks of the two cults which explains why the alteration produced such a great effect. The worship of Aten was not something entirely new in Egypt. The difference which caused such offence to the priests of the hitherto State religion, was the fact that to Akh-en-Aten and his followers Aten was the one god. It was the nearest approach to pure monotheism that Egypt ever had until the rise of Christianity. In addition to being exclusive it was carried out with a good deal of intolerance.

There is something very attractive about Atenism as it was held by its supporters. In its hymns there are expressions which can be placed alongside some of those of the Psalms. A few lines taken here and there from a hymn to the splendour of Aten will be interesting

Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,  
O living Aten, Beginning of life!  
When thou arisest in the eastern horizon of heaven,  
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty;  
For thou art beautiful, great, glittering, high over the earth;  
Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all thou hast made.  
Thou art Ra, and thou hast carried them all away captive;  
Thou bindest them by thy love.  
Though thou art afar, thy rays are on earth;  
Though thou art on high, thy footprints are the day.

The hymn then proceeds with a description of the night, then of the day. The wild and poisonous beasts



*By Courtesy of the L. A. P. Expedition to N. E.*  
AKHEN-ATEN AND HIS FAMILY WORSHIPPING THE SOLAR DISC (ATEN)



come forth by night for "he that made them has gone to rest in his horizon." But by day all nature, especially kindly nature, rejoices, the cattle, trees and plants, the birds and the sheep. Aten, too, is concerned with the birth of the child, he "giveth breath to animate every one that he maketh". Then all nature is referred to;

How manifold are all thy works!  
They are hidden from before us,  
O thou sole god, whose powers no other possesseth.  
Thou didst create the earth according to thy desire.

The hymn finally finishes with references to Akh-en-Aten and his consort, "living and flourishing for ever and ever".

It is impossible to read such expressions as these without feeling that in Atenism, religion in Egypt had made a tremendous advance on what had been. It went even further than may appear upon the surface for it was recognised that the god was not really the Son's disc, but the god whose power was behind it, the disc was but the symbol for the unseen.

It is somewhat significant that this great religious change came when it did. In the past Egypt had been a country more or less isolated from the world. Egypt and the Nile Valley, with perhaps Sinai, had been to all intents and purposes a world in themselves, certainly they were all that mattered. Its gods therefore were usually local in character, or the ideas associated with them were governed by the circumstances which prevailed in the land. Under Tuthmosis III all that

had been altered, and Egypt had become a World-power, its horizon had been extended far beyond the lands watered by the Nile. It was therefore natural that the conceptions concerning god, or the gods, should change also. Aten was not merely an Egyptian god, he was a world-ruler; a creator who acted for the benefit of Egypt, of course, but who was at the same time creator of the birds of the air and the fishes in the waters. In the hymn from which a quotation has been given Aten is represented as bringing even the chick from the egg and the blossom from the tree.

Unfortunately it was the religion for a recluse, not for a king situated as Akh-en-Aten was, and the result was short-lived. Amon triumphed, and with him all the multitudinous gods of Egypt, from Ra to Khepera, the beetle-god. Egypt was no more ready for monotheism than were any of the other nations of the time. Even Israel was not ready for it, for their record from that time forward is one of constant apostasy into idolatry and the worship of other gods than the One God whose witnesses they were intended to be.

The religion of Egypt, so far as its gods were concerned, finds a reflex in the Bible. Among the animal gods none was so popular as the bull and the cow. Three different personifications of the bull were worshipped in the land. There was the Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, and Bouchis at Hermonthis. Among these the Apis bull was pre-eminent. It was kept in a specially prepared stable, had a train of priests and a harem of cows. When it was dead it was buried with magnificent ceremony, the body being embalmed and placed in a splendid sarcophagus. Hathor may

be taken as a representative of the cow-gods, her worship goes back to pre-Dynastic times; she was recognised as the mother-goddess.

The results of the association of the Israelites with these emblems of Egyptian religion were seen on at least two occasions in their history. The first was the time recorded in the book of Exodus, shortly after the escape from Egypt. Whilst Moses was in the Mount in connection with the Law, the people grew restive and asked Aaron to make them gods which should go before them. "Make us a god," they said, and Aaron did so. Most people have been struck with the naïve explanation which Aaron offered of his action: "I cast it (the gold) into the fire, and there came out this calf." Of course he had actually "fashioned it with a graving tool" after he had made it a molten image. Why should this attempt to provide a visible form of god have taken the shape of a calf? Their long experience in Egypt supplies the explanation. There in the land of Goshen they were not far from either Heliopolis or Memphis where such worship prevailed. The link with Egypt led to the choice of a calf to represent their god.

Five hundred years later Jeroboam, the leader of the revolted tribes, set up calves in Bethel and in Dan. They appear to have been intended to represent Yahweh, the God of Israel, and were set up to prevent the people going to Jerusalem, where their minds might have been influenced to return to their old loyalty to the House of David. It was another illustration of the influence of Egypt. Jeroboam, fleeing from the vengeance of Solomon, had gone down to Egypt,

and found a protector there in the person of Shashanq. When he returned on Solomon's death and set himself at the head of the revolting tribes, he probably came with the promised support of the Pharaoh, and was influenced in his choice of his images by the Egyptian ideas with which he had been surrounded. As the bull also was the emblem of the tribe of Ephraim there was an additional reason for his choice. Still the selection of that particular animal was an indication of Egyptian influence that had affected him during his stay in that land.

Bearing in mind the general idea of this series of works a further matter invites some consideration. Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, the leader of the Israelites therefrom, gave them a Law and proclaimed their religion. It is one of the most definite elements of that religion that there was but one God. The contrast between Egypt and Israel in this respect is remarkable. Egypt had, as we have seen, thousands of gods, Israel under Moses had but one. The primary commandment was, "Thou shalt have none other gods before Me." Egypt was full of graven images of its multitudinous gods. Moses taught, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image." Egyptian gods were of the heaven, the earth, and the sea, and Moses went on to say, that the forbidden images were not to be of "the likeness of anything which is in the heaven above, or on the earth beneath, nor in the waters under the earth." Sometimes a contrast is as suggestive as a parallel. It is so here. Egypt with all its past and all its greatness was about the most polytheistic nation in history.

Israel, lately but slaves in the house of bondage, started with a purely monotheistic doctrine. They often fell from such a conception, but that was the position as defined by Moses when they left the land of their bondage. Such a fact requires some explanation. People do not act in that way without a reason. In the Bible such a reason is supplied; without it this is one of the unaccountable facts of history.

Further, Egypt with all its powerful Pharaohs has, from a religious point of view, done very little that is worthy of notice in the world. Israel, weak, frequently unfaithful, has so affected the religious ideas of the world, that the doctrine of one God has encircled the earth, and made converts of the greatest peoples of the past two thousand years. This also needs an explanation, and that is only to be found in the facts so definitely announced in the Bible. In this respect the Ancient Lands and the Bible have a message for mankind quite apart from the parallels which are to be found in the historical circumstances which each of them record.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### RELIGION IN EGYPT—MAN AND HIS FUTURE

**A**FTER considering the gods of Egypt it is necessary to give some attention to the religious views of the Egyptians as they concerned themselves. This can be gathered from their practices in relation to the dead, and from various texts which have come down to us, and in which we may find an expression of their beliefs.

The earliest insight into the ideas of the people is afforded by the burial customs of pre-Dynastic times as indicated in the various graves which have been examined. In a replica of one in the British Museum there may be seen the actual body as it was found, and with it a number of pottery vessels which had contained food, and some flint knives. This custom was by no means confined to Egypt, it was fairly general in the ancient world. It is usually accepted as an indication of a belief in a future life, or a life beyond the grave. The individual had required such things whilst he was in the land of the living; it was supposed therefore that they would be equally necessary when he was dead. Of the nature of that future life they convey no idea, such finds can only indicate a general and vague belief in a future. Probably they thought it to be continuous, although that does not by any means

follow as a matter of course. In any application of the facts, however, a belief in some future must be understood.

As the ages passed the ideas of the Egyptians became more complicated in relation to the various parts which went to make up the man as he was. The ideas expressed in the Bible of body, soul, and spirit, are simple compared with their ideas of man. He had a body, of course, the name for it was khat. When after death, it was mummified, and had the necessary prayers recited over it, this body became incorruptible, and was then known as a Sahu. There was also a kind of double, which was called a Ka. It seems to have been something like a soul which inhabited the body during life, but left it at death. As it was necessary for it to have some place of habitation a statue of the deceased was placed in the tomb, and this, after a process of prayers and ceremonies, was able to receive the Ka. The Ka was not compelled to remain in the statue but could roam in and out at will. By the time these views had developed the offerings which continued to be placed in the tomb were supposed to be for the wants of the double or soul. Then there was the heart, or Ab, the seat of life and the emotions; it possessed a spiritual counterpart which might be affected by the practice of magic. The vital power of the man was known as the Sekhem, and the Ikh seems to have represented the mental and spiritual attributes of man. This was able to escape from the tomb and might get to heaven, there to join the spirits of men who lived with Ra.

Complicated as all this sounds there were in addition the Bai and the Khaibit. By some strange mixture of

ideas the former was considered to be the soul. It was supposed to be immortal and could live in a state of invisibility, though it could assume a form. In pictures of the deceased it may be seen in the shape of a hawk fluttering over the mummy. As for the Khaibit that was the shadow which seems to have been credited with an existence separate from the body which threw it.

It is difficult to imagine all that followed from this strangely complicated idea concerning the make-up of man. Probably very few understood it, and it is thought that people had varying ideas concerning the different items, but the foregoing is the generally accepted description of the constitution of a man and *the offices of his several parts.*

It was the influence of beliefs such as these that gave rise to the practice of embalming the bodies of the dead so that they might continue in existence. A recognition of the importance which was attached to this process gives additional point to the case of the Chief Baker whose dream Joseph interpreted whilst in the prison. Before the time of the Hyksos the upper classes of Egypt provided tombs for themselves and incurred considerable expense in embalming the bodies of their dead. A host of physicians and embalmers had grown up and flourished because of this belief. To be told therefore that "they shall hang thee on a tree, and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee", was the hardest infliction that could fall on a chief officer in the court of Pharaoh.

The process of embalming changed from time to time. Herodotus in his second book has given par-

ticulars of three methods which were adopted in his days, varying according to the position occupied by the deceased and the amount of money the survivors were able to spend upon the process. There would be little advantage in giving details; it is sufficient to have the general idea that, consequent on the religious beliefs of the country, the bodies of the dead were preserved. During the greater part of the time all the softer parts of the body were removed and placed in Canopic jars, as they were termed, each of which was dedicated to one of the four sons of Osiris or of Horus. From various records the time occupied in the process of embalming was considerable, up to as long as 96 days, and, in one case at all events, 121 days. In the case of Jacob it is recorded that forty days were occupied in the embalming process and seventy days for the mourning. There are some stelae in the British Museum which mention seventy days for the latter purpose, so that this may have been a period dictated by custom, varying probably in time according to the position of the deceased, something like Court mourning in England.

The mummies were enswathed in linen. At one time this was plain but afterwards various texts were inscribed upon them. Papyrus with extracts from the Book of the Dead were also placed with the body. These were supposed to be necessary so that the deceased might know what to do and what to say at the various places through which he had to pass on his way to the Hall of Osiris where he was to be judged.

Coffins were used; many of them highly decorated with scenes and extracts from the Book of the Dead.

At one time they were of box shape, later they were shaped like the human body. Joseph was put in a coffin in Egypt, and, having been embalmed, the Israelites were able to take his remains with them when they left Egypt. Sarcophagi were sometimes used, in which the coffin and all it contained were placed. These, too, are covered with inscriptions often most delicately cut, as may be seen on some now in the British Museum. Evidently it was an expensive thing to deal with the body of a man or woman who had occupied an important position in Egypt.

The Book of the Dead is the great religious work of Egypt. It was the repository of all the priestly lore which it was necessary for the deceased to know to attain to the great aim of his life, a place in the kingdom of Osiris. It would be tedious and not very profitable to give a synopsis of its contents. The complete work contains one hundred and ninety chapters and it will be sufficient for our purposes if a few salient features of it are set down. Its object was simple; it was intended to make known to the dead man or woman exactly what it was necessary to do and to say at each stage of the journey to the underworld and during the judgment ceremony. Although there was an insistence on righteousness there was so much magic, especially of words, that the real value of the teaching of righteousness was lost in the magical additions which had been made to it. So far as can be seen the deceased's own words mattered but little, everything was set down as part of a formula, and a slip in the use of the proper word at a particular time was evidently to be dreaded more than anything else. The

whole matter was so complicated that it can be well understood that such a guide book was necessary if the dead man were to arrive safely in the heaven of the Egyptians. An epitome of what took place in the Hall of Osiris will show this. When the deceased entered the Hall he had to repeat a hymn to Osiris in which he expressed his own integrity and his good deeds towards others. It contained the words "I am pure, I am pure, I am pure". In the Hall were the forty-two gods of the nomes of Egypt, and having repeated the magical names of each of the gates of the Hall, it was necessary for the deceased to address each of these gods by his proper name. To each of them he had to declare his innocence of the particular sin with which it was concerned. Thus: "O Neha-hau, comer forth from Re-stau, I have not killed men." "O Uammti, comer forth from Khebt, I have not defiled any man's wife." "Oh Nekhen, comer forth from Heqat, I have not turned a deaf ear to the words of the Law."

Having safely passed this ordeal a speech had to be delivered to the gods, rendering to them the homage that was their due, and declaring his own good deeds to the gods and his offerings to them. Next he had to address Osiris himself, again using fixed words. He was then invited to enter the Hall of Maati, the goddess of wisdom and truth, but the porter, the door-bolts, the various parts of the door, and its frame, also the floor, refused to allow him to enter the Hall until he had correctly repeated each of their magical names. Again certain questions were asked, and these being properly responded to he was taken to Osiris himself.

In the presence of Osiris his heart had to be weighed against a feather, the symbol of truth and righteousness. Still it was necessary to repeat magical words, and it was not until after this that he was granted an "appearance before Osiris and an abiding homestead in the Field of Offerings". Thus he passed into the kingdom of Osiris.

With all its magic and stereotyped formula there was a good side to the ideas contained in the Book of the Dead. *At the end, the final scene was the weighing of the heart*, and to any man of character this thought must have been a great influence for good during his life. Yet after all, the magical element preponderated, and the whole thing evidently worked out very well for the priests who could supply the necessary portions of the Book of the Dead to be buried with the deceased.

The fate which the Egyptian religion held out for the evil was to have their heads cut off by the headsman of Osiris; their bodies were then dismembered and destroyed in pits of fire; complete annihilation was their lot.

It is worth while comparing this doctrine of eschatology with that of the Bible, particularly bearing in mind the fact, already referred to, that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," a phrase which must be assumed to cover such "wisdom" as this, for it had to do with the eternal interests of the people. The writings of Moses and of those who came after know nothing of such things. There are no "magical words" there. Rabbinical tradition may have invented some such things, but they are altogether absent from the Old Testament as well as from

the New. "The soul that sinneth it shall die," may be taken as the keynote of the moral teaching of the Bible in all its significance in relation to the destiny of man. It is well-doing, not magical formulas that are wanted. Nowhere is the duty of man better summed up in the Old Testament than in the words of Micah, "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God." In the New, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap". "God will render to every man according to his deeds." "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Belief in truth and a manifestation of faith and love take the place of the magical words of the Book of the Dead. The contrast is instructive, and the matter may well be left there.

Of personal religion little can be said, and whether it influenced the people generally may be doubted. They were probably more concerned in the festivals of the gods, leaving the king and his counsellors, together with the priests, to carry on the ceremonies of the temples and the practice of religion. Although the Book of the Dead provides the principal religious literature of the country there are other examples, and two of these may be quoted. In the XIXth Dynasty one Ani wrote "He who exalts his spirits by praise, by adoration, by incense in his works, so that devotion is in his affairs—he who does thus, God shall magnify his name." Again, "That which is detestable in the sanctuary of God are noisy feasts; if thou implore him with a loving heart of which all the words are mysterious, he will do thy matters, he hears thy words, he accepts thine offering." *If Egyptian religion rose*

to that height it was a good thing for the people. Remembering the negligible effects of the words of the prophets of Israel on the people as a whole, it is safe to conclude that the writer was an exception from the rule.

Another side of the religion of Egypt is represented in the festivals which were held. In the great temples, beautiful and impressive, with walls adorned with pictures in relief and colour, many feasts took place. They were exceedingly popular, and thousands appear to have attended them. Sometimes the god was taken round in his shrine for the adoration of his worshippers. It was practices of this kind which the prophets of Israel had in mind when they uttered such words as these. "The carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering; and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved." (Isa. 41. 7.) "They lavish gold out of a bag, and weigh silver in the balance, and hire a goldsmith; and he maketh it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship. They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove; yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble." (*Ibid*, 46. 7.) "They are upright as a palm tree, but speak not; they must needs be borne, because they cannot go." (Jer. 10. 5.)

However such practices may have assisted in the religious life of Egypt, it should be pointed out that the occasions were not always as decorous as might have been expected at a ceremony of a religious character.

One of these festivals is described as the "Intoxication Festival." It was held in commemoration of an incident recorded in one of the Egyptian myths. Men had rebelled against Ra, and for their temerity in so doing he determined to destroy them. The goddess Hathor was sent to accomplish this and she did with such effect that Ra was afraid the whole race would be destroyed and he would have no worshippers. He sent therefore for a great quantity of mandrakes which he commanded to be mixed with the blood of the slain. Then huge quantities of beer were provided and the mixture added to it. The whole was then poured out at the spot where Hathor was to continue her work on the morrow. She drank of it so freely that she became drunken, and mankind was saved! It was to commemorate this deliverance that the "Intoxication Festival" was held each year, when, apparently, the example of Hathor was dutifully copied by the people.

## CHAPTER XIX

### AN ADDENDUM—THE BASE KINGDOM

**W**ITHIN the strict limits of our programme the previous chapter might have been the final one. Egypt, however, has always been a land somewhat different from all others, and it is so from the aspect of the Bible student. In the foregoing pages it has been seen as the proud possessor of a great Empire stretching from the Northern Euphrates, through Syria, to the distant cataracts of the Nile. It has also been seen divided into two kingdoms, holding precariously only the land of Egypt itself, and then rent into a number of fragments, every nome exercising sovereignty on its own behalf, with no central government at all. Then it has been seen under the dominion of Persians, Greeks, and Romans. All these aspects of its history are parallel with the Bible records.

A Jewish prophet invites further attention to this strange land. In his prophecy concerning Egypt Ezekiel said: "They shall be there a base (or low) kingdom. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations." (Chapter 29. 14, 15.) On another occasion he said: "There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." (Chapter 30. 13.) These are challenging announcements, and they deserve some consideration.

In the previous chapter Egypt was seen as a Persian satrapy, as the kingdom of the Ptolemies, and as a province of the Roman Empire. During the hundreds of years covered by those phases Egypt had been a "low" kingdom, and its rulers had been men of a strange race. The little revival under Nectanebo only served to throw into deeper shadow the times before and after. The Roman dominion lasted until the era of Mahommed. The land was conquered by the Arabs during the years 639 to 641, and for the next few hundred years it was a province of the Caliphate. During a portion of that time the governors were<sup>a</sup> Turks. Then for some time Arabs, Turks and Syrians managed to obtain possession of the throne. During the times of the Crusades the Franks invaded Egypt; then Saladin, the Saracen prince, took the land, and ruled over it as Sultan. One of his successors purchased huge numbers of slaves whom he turned into soldiers. These soon realised their power, and in 1250 the slave-soldiers became the ruling power of the land; they were known as the Mamelukes. In 1515 war broke out between the Mameluke rulers of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey, and Egypt became a part of the Ottoman Empire. For three hundred years, approximately, the Turks were the unquestioned rulers of the country. During the revolutionary wars of France, Napoleon endeavoured to seize the land, but was frustrated by the British under Nelson and Abercrombie. For a time the state of the country was little better than one of anarchy. Later on Mehemit Ali, an Albanian, allied himself with the party of the Mamelukes and seized the government. It seemed as if the Turkish

control was about to cease, but the powers of Europe intervened and Turkish supremacy was again secured. The later history is well-known, at least in outline. Under Khedives who cared little for the people, the finances of the country were exhausted, and in 1882 England had to interfere, and finally to occupy the country.

The promised withdrawal of Britain was prevented by various causes until the War of 1914. Then the Turkish sovereignty was abolished, and later, the independence of Egypt under certain defined restrictions, was granted. Even then the ruler was not a native prince but the descendant of Mehemit Ali.

Thus through a period of over two thousand years Egypt has remained a "base kingdom," its princes have been of various nationalities but not of its own. It is a striking example of a parallel between the condition of an Ancient Land and the declaration of the Bible carried right down to our own days. As Professor Breasted, one of the best historians of Ancient Egypt, has put it in his closing sentence, "the words of the Hebrew seer 'there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt' have been literally fulfilled."

# INDEX

## A

Aahmes (XVIIIth Dynasty),  
 30, 47, 81  
 — (XXVIth Dynasty), 140,  
 142  
 Abraham, 20, 55  
 Ahaz, 119  
 Akh-en-Aten, 86, 89, 93  
 Akhet-Aten, 91  
 Alexander the Great, 149  
 Alexandria, 153  
 Amenhetep II, 61, 85  
 — III, 85, 90, 93  
 Amon Ra, 89, 158  
 Animal Worship, 155  
 Apis Bull, 76, 164  
 Apries, 137  
 Archaeology, 2, 10  
 Armageddon, 82  
 Art, 91  
 Artaxerxes, 148  
 Asa, 110  
 Asenath, 41  
 Ashur-bani-pal, 125, 129  
 Assyria, 115  
 Aten Worship, 90, 162  
 Avaris, 28, 47

## B

Babylon, 129  
 Base kingdom, 144, 178  
 Beni Hasan, 21  
 Bible, 1, 2  
 Book of the Dead, 72, 172  
 Bricks and brick making, 48  
 49  
 Bull worship, 76, 164  
 Burial customs, 168

## C

Calf, golden, 165  
 Calves at Bethel, 165  
 Cambyses, 144  
 Candace, 153  
 Carchemish, 134  
 Coffins, 45, 171

## D

Daphne, 139  
 Darius the Great, 148  
 Date of Exodus, 52  
 Dreams, 36, 37  
 Dual character of Egypt, 5

## E

Early Egypt, 17  
 Education, 64  
 Egypt, Land of, 1  
 Eltekeh, Battle of, 122  
 Embalming, 45, 170  
 Esarhaddon, 124  
 Ethiopia, 111  
 Exodus, 52, 63, 78, 87  
 Expulsion of Hyksos, 30

## F

Famines, 8, 39  
 Fertility of Egypt, 8  
 Festivals, 176  
 Firstborn, Death of, 78  
 Frogs, 75

## G

Gods of Egypt, 71, 157  
 Golden calf, 165  
 Goshen, Land of, 44  
 Granaries, 42  
 Greece and Greeks, 130, 144

## H

Hapi, 74  
 Hathor, 158  
 Hatshepsut, Queen, 61, 64,  
     69, 82  
 Hezekiah, 121  
 Hittites, 25, 84, 87, 98  
 Hophra, 137  
 Hornet, The, 85  
 Horses in Egypt, 22

Horus, 158  
 Hosea, 111  
 Households in Egypt, 3  
 Hyksos, 24, 45, 47, 53, 81

## I

Inundation, 7  
 Isis, 160  
 Israel, 44, 101

## J

Jehoahaz, 134  
 Jeremiah, 137  
 Jeroboam, 107, 165  
 Jerusalem, 94  
 Jesus of Nazareth, 152  
 Joseph, 30, 31  
 Josiah, 133  
 Judges, Book of, 58, 100  
 Judgment, 174  
 Juvenal, 155

## K

Ka, 169  
 Kadesh, Battle of, 98  
 Khabiri, 93  
 Khamsin, 7  
 Khayan, 27  
 Kheperi, 76  
 Kingship in Egypt, 69

## L

Lower Egypt, 5

## M

Magic and magicians, 72  
 Man, Nature of, 169  
 Manetho, 25, 61  
 Memphis, 19  
 Mercenaries, 99, 102, 130  
 Merenptah, 57, 102  
 Mitzraim, 5  
 Moses, 63, 71  
 Mummies, 171

## N

Nabopolassar, 135  
 Nektanebo, 149  
 Nature of man, 169  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 137, 139  
 Necho or Nekau, 48, 131  
 Nile-god, 73  
 Nile, River, 4, 73

## O

Oppression in Egypt, 46  
 Osiris, 159  
 — Hall of, 72, 173  
 Osorkon II, 110, 117

## P

Palestine, 80, 87,  
 Papyrus, 63  
 Peoples of the Sea, 99, 102  
 Persia, 145  
 Pharaoh, 6  
 — Daughter of, 62  
 Pharaoh's dreams, 37

Philistin  
 Piankhi, 118  
 Pithom, 48  
 Plagues, 71  
 Potiphar, 31  
 Potiphar's wife, 34  
 Priests, Position of, 41  
 Proverbs, 175  
 Psamatik, 129  
 Psammaticchos, 137  
 Ptolemies, 15, 149  
 Pyramids, 17

## R

Ra, 77, 157  
 Rameses II, 52, 58, 98  
 — III, 42, 103  
 — City of, 48  
 Rehoboam, 109, 110  
 Religion, 154, 168  
 Romans, 152  
 Rosetta Stone, 15, 151

## S

Sargon, 120  
 Sarah, 22  
 Schools, 65  
 Scythians, 132  
 Sea Peoples, 99, 102  
 Semitic invasions, 21  
 Sennacherib, 122  
 Septuagint Version, 150  
 Seti I, 97  
 Shabaka, 118, 120  
 Shalmaneser, 115, 117  
 Shashanq, 106

Sinai, 80  
 Solomon, 56, 106  
 Sorcerers, 72  
 Syria, 80, 82, 83, 86

## T

Tablets, 89  
 Taharqa, 122, 124, 129  
 Tahpanhes, 139, 141  
 Tell-el-Amarna, 87, 89  
 Thebes, 19, 106, 127  
 Th, 86  
 Totems, 154  
 Treasure Cities, 48  
 Treaty, 100  
 Tuthmosis I, 82  
   — II, 82  
   — III, 61, 83, 85  
   — IV, 61, 85  
 Two Brothers, Tale of, 34  
 Tyre, 133

## U

Uahib Ra, 137  
 Upper Egypt, 5

## W

Wheat in Egypt, 37  
 Women in Egypt, 33  
 Writing, 14, 66

## X

Xerxes, 148

## Z

Zaphnath-Paneah, 40  
 Zedekiah, 137  
 Zerah, 111

