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# A History of Egypt

VOLUME 3:  
FROM THE XIXTH  
TO THE XXXTH DYNASTIES

W.M. FLINDERS PETRIE



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University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

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Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108065665](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108065665)

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This edition first published 1905  
This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-06566-5 Paperback

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*This History comprises Six Volumes :*

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Vol. II. Dynasties XVII.–XVIII.	By W. M. F. PETRIE
Vol. III. Dynasties XIX.–XXX.	By W. M. F. PETRIE
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HISTORY OF EGYPT  
FROM THE XIXTH TO THE XXXTH  
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BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

HON. D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., PH.D.,

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*First Published in 1905*



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## PREFACE

THE long delay in the issuing of this volume must be excused, in view of the great mass of fresh discoveries that have been on my hands: the researches in the early dynasties have not only occupied much time, but they have necessitated such changes in the revision of what has been already published of this History, that no time could be given to the present volume until two years ago. Moreover, the period here dealt with has such a large mass of details in it, and so great a quantity of references, that it has been a long work to place them in shape. Over 200 officials in one single reign imply some weeks of research before a final list of their monuments can be made. In another way much time has been required, in order to get rid of bad references. The monuments of this age have been so often published, that many of the copies are quite worthless when compared with others; and every copy that did not give something that was unstated elsewhere has been omitted here, so as to save the student's time, and direct him to the best sources at once. There is, I believe, no other country of which there is a complete index to every historical monument that is known, with a translation or abstract of every historical text.

In some of the translations here given an attempt has been made to show the idiom so far as possible.

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For a student it is better to be able to appreciate the character of a language, rather than to transpose the ideas into the expression of a different civilisation. So long as the sense could be grasped, the words have been left to tell their own tale. The ruggedness and strange English is therefore intentional; and I have to thank Dr. Walker for looking over the texts.

Regarding chronology, the greatest care has been taken to get all the data together; and in some parts—as the XXIInd dynasty—a very different face is put on the history by the fresh material here stated. Broadly, there is not as much as 10 years to spare anywhere in this volume. The fixed amounts occupy the whole period very closely, and it is even difficult to suppose that they really come together without more unascertained intervals.

As some persons still continue to quote Dr. Brugsch's chronology, I ought, perhaps, to point out that it entirely rests on two certainly false assumptions, and it is only rendered possible by freely making any number of arbitrary omissions. In short, it is no system, and it has no reason. The assumption that a generation is 33 years is certainly wrong; in the royal families we find throughout that the generations of 22 years for eldest surviving sons (which are shown by the Jewish kings) exactly fit the known history. The other assumption, that a reign is equal to a generation, is also certainly wrong, as we see by looking into the family history of any dynasty. These entirely false premises are then arbitrarily doctored by omitting to count any reigns which would make the time too long, as in the XXth to XXVth dynasties, where 18 kings are omitted, and an overlap of 66 years is made where it is impossible. Nothing remains but a mass of guesswork, in which all the certain facts are ignored.

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And no one who uses it can be supposed to know of the facts of the history which are stated in this volume.

Our earlier dates depend on the fixing of the reign of Amenhotep I., which is generally accepted as given in vol. ii. ; though probably a difference of a few years may be involved (see LEHMANN) in correcting MAHLER's new moon dates from the theoretical to the apparent new moon. The dead-reckoning of reigns in the XVIIIth dynasty, however, precludes our accepting the dating derived by MAHLER from the star diagrams, which are to be treated otherwise, as we see below. The lengths of reigns show that the close of the XVIIIth dynasty must be about 1328 B.C. And as this puts Ramessu I. to 1328-26 B.C., it agrees nearly with his being Menophres (Men'peh'ra), who was reigning at the Sothic period of 1322 B.C.

It seems therefore certain that the star diagrams—which give well fixed epochs—must belong to some earlier points in the reigns of Ramessu II. and VI., and not to the time of constructing the buildings, as has been supposed. The only star diagrams known, in any age with which we are familiar, are the horoscopes of persons' nativities ; and it is a gratuitous assumption that the diagrams of the Ramessides should refer to any other event in their lives.

Let us see how this works out. The ceiling of the Ramesseum shows 1318 B.C. as an epoch (A.Z. xxviii. 33). The age of Ramessu II. was probably about 18 at his accession (the age in A.Z. xxviii. 34 refers only to his army rank) ; for he was married in the 1st year of his reign, and he had ten sons in the 8th year, even though they were not actually fighting. Thus his reign might probably begin in 1300 B.C. Now, counting from the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Sety I. began to reign in 1326 B.C., and so this leaves about 26 years

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for the reign of Sety I., which seems very probable. The other horoscope, that of Ramessu VI., is dated to 1198 B.C. ; and as he was the second son of Ramessu III., who began to reign about 1200 B.C. (by the above data), this would well agree to the horoscope being of his nativity.

The whole subject has been so much complicated by mixing together the general dating by stars (of which the personal application is apparently wrong), together with the more detailed dating by new moons (which might apply to other epochs 19 years apart), that it is impossible to disentangle the facts from the theories, without a research too long for this volume. But the main conclusion, that the horoscopes are of nativities, like later horoscopes, seems the only view which will fit the tangible data of the reigns. (See A.Z. xxvii. 97, xxviii. 32, xxxii. 99 ; O.L.Z. iii. 202, v. 184, etc.)

The other synchronisms, with the Jewish history, offer no difficulty, and will be found dealt with under their respective reigns.

No one can feel more strongly than I do that this work is only a skeleton of facts, and cannot in its present scope show the living civilisation of the land. But as the palaeontologist studies the exact detail of every bone and joint before he can restore the living appearance of an extinct animal, so the historian must restore the detail of each period before he can begin to work at the whole life of a country. And now the way is clear for studies of various aspects of ancient Egypt upon a solid basis of history.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.	L'Anthropologie (Journal).
A.A.	Ayrton, Abydos, iii.
A.B.	Arundale and Bonomi Gallery (Brit. Mus.).
A.E.	L'Archéologie Egyptienne (Maspero).
A.G.	Amelineau Geography.
A.L.	Archæologia, London, Society of Antiquaries.
Am. P.	Amherst Papyrus.
A. Mus.	Ashmolean Museum.
A.R.	Archæological Report, Egypt Exploration Fund.
A.S.	Annales du Service.
A.Z.	Zeitschrift Aeg. Sprache.
B.A. Cat.	Birch, Alnwick Catalogue.
B.A.G.	Berlin Anthrop. Gesellsch.
B.B.M.	Belmore Tablets, B. Mus.
B.C.	Berlin Catalogue, 1894.
Bd. A.	Breasted, Hymn to Aten.
B.E.	Baedeker, Egypt.
Belz. T.	Belzoni's Travels, 3rd edition.
Berl.	Berlin Museum.
Berl. Cat.	„ Catalogue, 1899.
B.F.	Brend Monuments of Florence.
B.G.	Brugsch, Geographie.
B.G.I.	„ Geog. Inschrift.
B.G.O.K.	„ Grosse Oasis El Khargeh.
B.G.M.	Benson and Gourlay, Temple of Mut.
B.H.	Brugsch, History.
B.H.I.	Bergmann, Hierog. Inschrift.
B.I.	Berlin Aegyptische Inschriften.
B.I.E.	Bulletin Inst., Egypt.
B.I.H.D.	Birch, Inscr. Hieratic Demotic.
B. Met.	Bissing Metallgefasse, C. Mus.
B.M.C.	Bliss, Mound of many Cities.
B. Mus.	British Museum.
B.O.D.	Bezold, Oriental Diplomacy.
B.P.	Birch, Pottery.
B.R.	Brugsch, Recueil.

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B.R.P.	Birch, Two Rhind Papyri.
B. Rs.	Brugsch, Reiseberichte.
B.S.A.	Budge, Saraph. Ankhnesraneferab.
B.S.Y.	Brugsch, Sieben Jahre.
B.T.	„ Thesaurus.
B.X.	Burton, Excerpta.
C.B.	Champollion, Deux Letters . . . Duc de Blacas.
C.C.T.	Chabas, Choix des Textes.
C.E.	„ Melanges, Egypt.
C.F.	Champollion, Figeac Egypt. Anc.
C.L.	„ Lettres, ed. 1868.
C.M.	„ Monuments.
C.M.C.X.	„ Musées Charles X.
C.M.F.B.	Cailland, Meroe au Fleuve Blanc.
C.M.O.	Chabas, Mines d'Or.
C. Mus.	Cairo Museum
C.N.	Champollion, Notices.
C.O.E.	Congrès Oriental, St. Etienne, 1878.
C.O.T.	Cailland, Oasis of Thebes.
C.R.	Capart, Recueil.
C.T.K.	Caulfeild, Temple of Kings.
C.V.O.	Cailland, Voyage à l'Oasis.
D.D.	Duemichen, Baugesch. Denderatempels.
D.E.	Description de l'Égypte.
D.F.	Duemichen, Flotte.
D.G.	Davies, Gebrawi.
D.G.P.	Duemichen, Grab Patuamenapt.
D.H.	„ Histor. Inschrift.
D. Hist.	„ History.
D.K.O.	„ Kalend-Opfer-listen, Medinet Habu.
D.M.	Deveria, Memoirs.
D.M.E.	„ Manuscrits Egyptn. (Louvre Catalogue).
D.M.H.	Daressy, Medinet Habu.
D.O.	Duemichen, Oasen.
D.P.	Davies, Ptah-hetep.
D.S.	„ Sheikh-Said.
D.T.I.	Duemichen, Temple Inschriften.
Dy. O.	Daressy Osraka.
E. Coll.	Edwards Collection.
E.G.	Ebers, Gozen zum Sinai.
E.L.	Études ded. Leemans.
E. Mus.	Ermitage Museum.
E. Ob.	Ebers, Oberegypten.
F.H.	Fraser, Graffiti of Hat-nub.
F. Mus.	Florence Museum.
F.P. Coll.	Flinders Petrie Collection.
F.S.	Fraser, Scarabs.
G.A.	Garstang, Arabah.
G. Bh.	Griffith, Beni Hasan.

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G. Coll.	. . .	Grant Collection (Aberdeen).
G.D.	. . .	Gau, Denkmaler, Nubia.
G.E.	. . .	Golenischeff, Ermitage Catalogue.
G.F.	. . .	Greene, Fouilles.
G.H.	. . .	Golenischeff, Hammamat.
G.K.	. . .	Griffith, Kahun Papyri.
G.L.	. . .	Gatty, Catalogue Liverpool.
G.M.	. . .	Garstang, Mahasna.
G. Mus.	. . .	Gizeh Museum (now Cairo Museum).
G.N.	. . .	Gardner, Naukratis ii.
G.O.	. . .	Gorringe, Egyptian Obelisks.
G.S.	. . .	Griffith, Siut.
H.B.	. . .	Hawkins, Belmore Tablets (Brit. Mus.).
H. Coll.	. . .	Hilton-Price Collection.
H.G.O.	. . .	Hoskins, Great Oasis.
H.P.	. . .	Birch, Harris Papyrus.
J.A.I.	. . .	Jour. Anthropol. Institute.
L.A.	. . .	Lepsius, Auswahl.
Lb. D.	. . .	Lieblein, Dictionary of Names.
Lb. P.	. . .	„ St. Petersburg, Aegyptischen Denkmaler.
L.C.	. . .	Leyden Congress.
L. Cat. H.	. . .	Lee, Catalogue of Hartwell Collection.
L.D.	. . .	Lepsius, Denkmaler.
L.D.T.	. . .	„ „ Texte.
L. 22 Dyn.	. . .	„ XXIInd Dynasty.
L.K.	. . .	„ Königsbuch.
L.K.R.	. . .	Lincke, Correspond. Zeit Ramessiden.
L.L.S.	. . .	Leemans, Letter to Salvolini.
L.L.	. . .	Lepsius, Letters (Eng. ed.).
L.M.E.	. . .	Leemans, Monuments Egypt, Leyden 1840.
L. Mon.	. . .	Leyden, Aeg. Monuments.
L. Mus.	. . .	„ Museum.
L.R.	. . .	Livre des Rois.
L.T.	. . .	Lanzone, Catalogue of Turin.
L.T.P.	. . .	Lyons, Temples of Philae.
M.A.	. . .	Mariette, Catalogue Abydos.
M.A. ii.	. . .	„ Abydos ii.
M.A.B.	. . .	„ Album de Boulaq.
Mac. Coll.	. . .	MacGregor Collection.
M.A.E.	. . .	Max Müller, Asien und Europa.
M.A.F.	. . .	Mission Archeol. Franc., Cairo.
M.B.	. . .	Mariette, Catalogue Boulaq., 6th edit.
M. Coll.	. . .	Murch Collection, Chicago.
M.D.	. . .	Monuments Divers.
M.D.B.	. . .	Mariette, Deir el Bahri.
M.D.F.S.	. . .	„ Descrip. Fouilles de Serapeum, 1863.
M.E.	. . .	Musée Egyptien.
M.E.E.	. . .	Maspero, Études Egypt.

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Mel. . . . .	Mélanges, d'Arch. Egypt (Maspero).
M.F.D. . . . .	De Morgan, Fouilles à Dashur.
M.G. . . . .	Meyer, Geschichte.
M.I. . . . .	De Morgan, Monuments et Inscriptions.
M.K. . . . .	Mariette, Karnak.
M.M. . . . .	„ Mastabas.
M.O. . . . .	Murray, Osireion.
M.P.B. . . . .	Mariette, Papyrus Boulaq.
M.S. . . . .	„ Serapeum, 1857.
M.S. Ms. . . . .	„ „ ed. Maspero.
Ms. A. . . . .	Maspero, L'Archéologie Egypt.
Ms. C. . . . .	„ Contes Populaires.
Ms. C.M. . . . .	„ Catalogue Marseilles.
Ms. E. . . . .	„ Enquête Judicaire.
Ms. G. . . . .	„ Guide Boulaq.
Ms. G.E. . . . .	„ Genre Epistolaire.
Ms. M. . . . .	„ Momies de Deir el Bahari.
Ms. M.P.L. . . . .	„ Mem. Papyr. Louvre.
Ms. P.E. . . . .	„ Passing of the Empires.
Ms. Q.G. . . . .	„ Guide, Cairo Mus., trans. Quibell.
Ms. S.N. . . . .	„ Struggle of the Nations.
My. E. . . . .	Murray, Guide to Egypt, ed. 1880.
My. T. . . . .	„ Tombs of Saqqara.
N.A. . . . .	Naville, Ahnas.
N. Aeg. . . . .	Nicholson, Aegyptiaca.
N.A.P. . . . .	Naville, Ahnas, Tylor's Paheri.
N.B. . . . .	„ Bubastis.
N.Bh. . . . .	Newberry, Beni Hasan.
N.D.B. . . . .	Naville, Deir el Bahri.
N.F.H. . . . .	„ Festival Hall.
N.G. . . . .	„ Goshen.
N.L.S. . . . .	„ Litanie du Soleil.
N.P. . . . .	„ Pithom.
N. Pin. . . . .	„ Inscrip. de Pinodjem.
N.S. . . . .	Newberry, Scarabs.
N.Y. . . . .	Naville, Tell el Yahudiyeh.
O. Coll. . . . .	Owen's College, Manchester.
O.L.Z. . . . .	Orient. Litteratur Zeitung.
O.T. . . . .	Orcurti, Catalogue of Turin.
P.A. . . . .	Petrie, Tell el Amarna.
P. Ab. i. and ii. . . . .	„ Abydos i. and ii.
Pap. T. . . . .	Papyri of Turin, Pleyte and Rossi.
P. Cat. . . . .	Hilton-Price Catalogue.
P.C.E. . . . .	Perrot and Chipiez, Egypt.
P.D. . . . .	Petrie, Denderah.
P.D.P. . . . .	„ Diospolis Parva.
P.E. . . . .	„ Ehnasya.
P.E.E. . . . .	Pierret, Etudes Egypt.
P.E.F.Q. . . . .	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.

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P.E.T. . . .	Petrie, Egyptian Tales.
P.H. . . .	„ Hawara.
Ph. Mus. . . .	Philadelphia Museum.
P.I. . . .	Petrie, Illahun.
P. Ins. . . .	Piehl, Inscriptions.
P.K. . . .	Petrie, Kahun.
P. Kop. . . .	„ Koptos.
P.L. . . .	Pierret, Louvre Catalogue, Salle historique.
P.M. . . .	Petrie, Medum.
P. Mus. . . .	Paris (Louvre) Museum.
P.N. . . .	Petrie, Nebesheh (in Tanis ii.).
P.N.B. . . .	„ Naqada and Ballas.
P. Nk. . . .	„ Naukratis.
P.O.N. . . .	Prokesch van Osten, Nilfahrt.
P.P. . . .	Petrie, Pyramids of Gizeh.
P.P.R. . . .	Pleyte, Papyrus Rollin.
P.P.T. . . .	„ „ de Turin.
P.R. . . .	Pierret, Recueil Inscrip. Louvre.
Pr. A. . . .	Prisse, Art.
Pr. M. . . .	„ Monuments.
P.R.T. i. and ii.	Petrie, Royal Tombs i. and ii.
P.S. . . .	„ Season 1887.
P. Sc. . . .	„ Scarabs.
P.S.T. . . .	„ Six Temples.
P.T. i. and ii. . .	„ Tanis i. and ii.
P.T.O. . . .	Parker, Twelve Obelisks in Rome.
Q.H. i. and ii.	Quibell, Hierakonpolis i. and ii.
Q.R. . . .	„ Ramesseum.
R.A. . . .	De Rougé, Album Phot. Mission, Egypt.
R.C. . . .	Revue Critique.
R.E. . . .	De Rougé, Études Egyptologiques.
Rec. . . .	Recueil de Travaux, Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.
Rev. A. . . .	Revue Archéologique.
Rev. E. . . .	„ Egyptologique.
R.L. . . .	Rosellini, Mon. Civili.
R.M.A. . . .	Randall MacIver, El Amrah and Abydos.
R.M.L. . . .	De Rougé, Monuments Egn. du Louvre.
R.N.M. . . .	„ Notice des Monuments.
R.N.S. . . .	„ Not. som. Louvre.
R.P. i. to xviii.	Records of the Past, series I. i.-xii. ; II. i.-vi.
R.Q.T.D. . . .	Revillont, Quelques textes Demotiques.
R.Ŕ. . . .	Rosellini, Mon. Religieuses (del Culto).
R.S. . . .	„ Mon. Storici.
R.S.D. . . .	De Rougé, Six Dynasties.
S.A.K. . . .	Schäfer, Aethiop. König Inschriften.
S.B.A. . . .	Soc. Biblical Archæol. Proceedings.
S.B.A.T. . . .	„ „ „ Transactions.
S. Cat. F. . . .	Schiaparelli, Catalogue, Florence.
S.C.R.P. . . .	Spiegelberg, Corr. Rois Prêtres.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

S.E.C.	. . .	Smith, Eponym Canon.
S.E.W.	. . .	Stuart, Egypt after the War.
S.G.C.	. . .	Schmidt, Glyptothek Carlsberg.
S.H.O.	. . .	Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka.
S.I.	. . .	Sharpe, Inscriptions.
S.M.C.	. . .	Schmidt, Musée de Copenhagen.
S.M.E.I.	. . .	Schiaparelli, Mon. Egn. dell' Iseo, 1883.
S. Pap.	. . .	Select Papyri, B. Mus.
S.P.S.S.	. . .	Spiegelberg and Portner, Sud-deutschen Sammlung.
S.S.	. . .	Shuckhardt, Schliemann.
S.S.A.	. . .	Schack - Schackenberg, Unterw. des König Amenemhat.
S.T.	. . .	Schiaparelli, Tomba Herchuf.
S.U.	. . .	Sethe, Untersuchungen.
T.A.	. . .	Tylor, el Kab, Amenhotep III.
T. Mus.	. . .	Turin Museum.
T.P.	. . .	„ Papyrus.
U.M.	. . .	Unger, Manetho.
V.G.	. . .	Virey, Catalogue Gizeh.
V. Mus.	. . .	Vienna Museum.
V.P.	. . .	Vyse, Pyramids.
V.S.	. . .	Valeriani and Segato, Atlante Monumentale.
W.G.	. . .	Wiedemann, Geschichte.
W.G.S.	. . .	„ „ Supplement.
W.H.T.	. . .	„ Hier. Text., Berlin and Paris.
W.M.C.	. . .	Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ed. Birch.
W.M.H.	. . .	„ Materia Hierog.
W.R.S.	. . .	Weill, Recueil Inscrip. Sinai.
W.T.	. . .	Wilkinson, Topography of Thebes.
Y.H.	. . .	Young, Hieroglyphs.
Y.L.	. . .	Yorke and Leake, Mon. Prin. Brit. Mus.