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The Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasties
Arthur Weigall
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A History of the Pharaohs

The career of Arthur Weigall (1880–1934) encompassed Egyptology but also stage design, film criticism and journalism, as well as fiction and books about ancient Egypt. After studying in Germany, he worked at Abydos with Flinders Petrie, but in 1905 he was unexpectedly promoted to Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, when Howard Carter was forced to resign. His work in Egypt, especially in the area of Luxor, focused on the conservation of monuments and the prevention of shipping of artefacts abroad, until 1911, when he returned to London. In the preface to this illustrated two-volume work, published in 1925, Weigall likens the writing of a history of Egypt to the piecing together of a jigsaw puzzle consisting of thousands of pieces, but intends to present a chronological narrative at a level to satisfy both the scholar and the interested amateur. Volume 2 covers the period from the twelfth to the mid-eighteenth dynasty.

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A History of the Pharaohs

VOLUME 2:
THE TWELFTH TO
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTIES

ARTHUR WEIGALL



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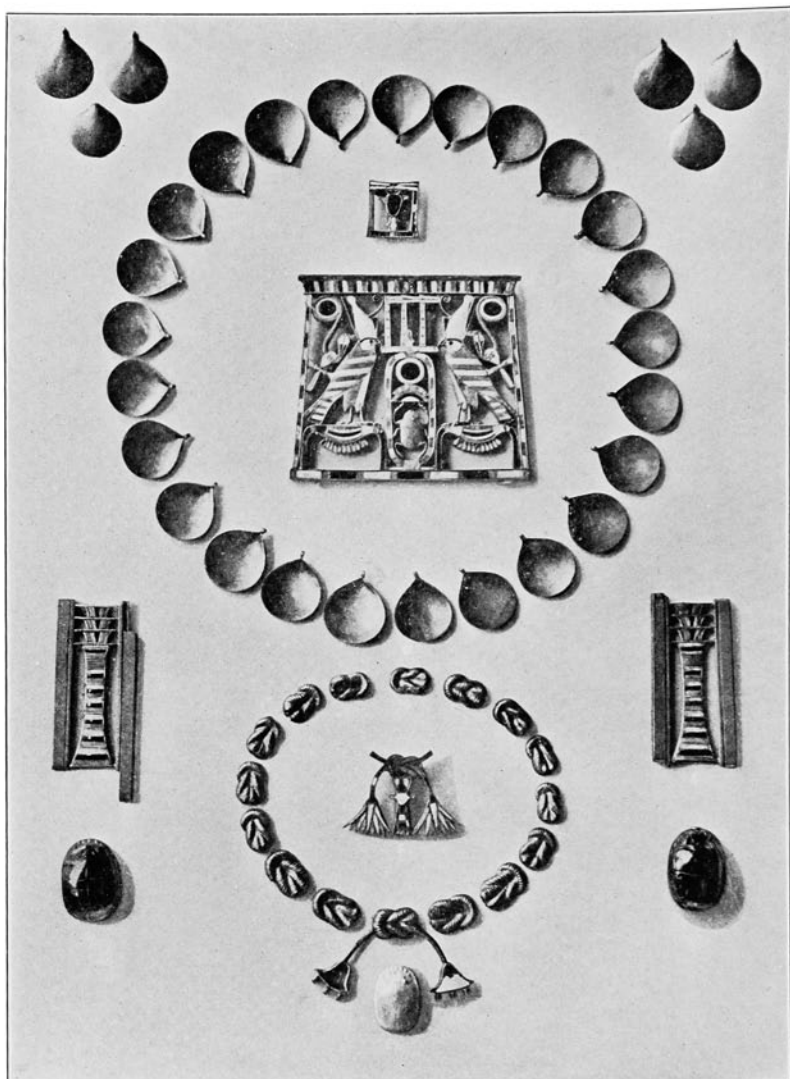
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THE TWELFTH TO THE
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PLATE I.



JEWELLERY OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY. (From de Morgan's *Dahchour*).
See page 78.

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A HISTORY
of
THE PHARAOKHS

VOLUME II

FROM THE ACCESSION OF AMENEMHET I OF
THE TWELTH DYNASTY TO THE DEATH
OF THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH
DYNASTY, 2111 TO 1441 B.C.

BY

ARTHUR WEIGALL

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



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PREFACE

IN this second volume of my History of the Pharaohs the student will realize how much I am indebted to Prof. Breasted's *Ancient Records*, where most of the important historical inscriptions are translated. In every case I have had the hieroglyphical text before me, usually in Sethe's transcription, and I have ventured to give my own translation from time to time. In the main, however, I have followed Breasted, only making verbal alterations where they seemed to help the sense or bring out a meaning which appeared to have been overlooked. I find that I do not agree with him in the historical arrangement of much of the material, and in the case of the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular I cannot accept his interpretation of many events; but these points will be fully discussed in the following pages. In the long story of the adventures of Sinuhe (pages 48 and 65) I have followed the rendering of Dr. Alan Gardiner, but I have avoided the "old English" into which he has laboriously translated this vivid tale. It is beyond my comprehension why scholars should deem it scholarly to employ an eccentric pseudo-antique phraseology in bringing before the readers of to-day the literature of an age which was to its writers just what ours is to us.

In my preface to the first volume I have made my acknowledgments to other authorities; but I should mention that the diagrams published in *Historical Studies* which I had spoken of as *Knobel's Tables* were really, I find, drawn by Prof. Sir W. Flinders Petrie from the data supplied by Mr. Knobel; and I shall therefore refer to them as the *Knobel-Petrie Tables*. It is a matter of great regret to me that I find myself so entirely at variance with Prof. Petrie in regard to the dating of the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. The dates of the Twelfth Dynasty are checked by certain astronomical phenomena which were recorded by the ancient Egyptians; but these phenomena repeat themselves

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in cycles of 1,460 years, roughly speaking, and Prof. Petrie has always used a cycle earlier than that accepted by other Egyptologists. He has very stoutly maintained this position, contending that the data we possess for this intermediate period is sufficient to fill the longer total of years; but this opinion, which was once fairly general, has been entirely abandoned long ago by other scholars, and now I think my new system of chronology has made the shorter dating absolutely beyond question.

It should be noted that my references to "*Journal*" are to *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society; and those to "*Ancient Egypt*" refer to the journal of that name edited by Prof. Petrie, these being the two main Egyptological periodicals in England. "*Zeitschrift*" refers to the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*; "*Recueil*" to the *Recueil des Travaux*; and "*Annales*" to the *Annales du Service des Antiquités*. The *Catalogue of the Cairo Museum*, to which I often refer, is a work in scores of volumes, each written by some Egyptologist expert in the subject dealt with; but for the sake of brevity, I have generally given only the number of the object referred to, and not the name of the author of that particular volume of the catalogue, for these numbers run in sequence, and the different volumes can be identified by them.

I must say a word in regard to the heads of the mummies shown in the illustrations of this volume. As will be seen, I have slightly restored the profiles of these royal faces, for the nose in each case is much flattened and the chin has dropped back. I have simply taken the photograph of the mummy, and have built up in pencil the distorted features, following the lines of the bone, and being guided by the portrait-statues and reliefs representing the personage. By this means, though I dare say my restorations will be criticized, portraits of these long-dead royalties are able to be shown, which, if not entirely lifelike, certainly give us some idea of their appearance.

As I find myself so much at variance with other Egyptologists in regard to the arrangement and interpretation of the events in the period covered in this volume, it will be as well to indicate here some of the main points on which I differ

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from them, and in regard to which I offer a new solution of the difficulties; and I should like to repeat what I said in the preface to the first volume, namely that the amateur who reads these pages should attempt to grapple with the problems, and not to accept the solutions as though they were obtained from inner information unavailable to him.

In the first place there is my new chronology of the Twelfth to Eighteenth Dynasties, which was outlined in the first volume, and which is here fully discussed. In the table on page 32, it will be seen how the known material fits into the Turin Papyrus' total for the length of the Twelfth Dynasty; and in the table on page 239 my new arrangement of the Eighteenth Dynasty is shown; while the grouping of the intermediate dynasties is set out in the tables given on page 224. The last-named tables give, I think, the first satisfactory arrangement of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties that has yet been made; and though the chronological details of the reigns are still speculative, I feel that the general structure of this period is now assured. The most important new point in regard to this subject is the fixing of the date of Khyan, the last Hyksos Pharaoh to rule all Egypt, by means of his adjustment of the calendar, which, without any "cooking" of the figures, gives us the date of his death exactly where we should expect it—151 years before the accession of Ahmose I, this 151 years being the well-authenticated total for the intervening Seventeenth Dynasty given by Manetho and confirmed by Syncellus (page 191). The placing of the kings of the names of Dudumose, Sobkemsuf, and Mentuemsuf in the Seventeenth Dynasty, instead of in the Thirteenth, is a new arrangement which greatly helps the solution of the problems. I find that Mr. Winlock, in a very interesting recent paper in the *Journal*, has also suggested the probability of this arrangement.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty there is so much that is new that it is difficult to state here the most important points. My attributing of 13 years to the reign of Thutmose I provides the key to the problem; and another outstanding point is the dating of Queen Hetshepsut's obelisks to the 16th year of Thutmose II instead of to the 16th year of Thutmose III. Working from this, I think I have made clear the sequence of events in the Queen's life.

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On page 21 and elsewhere I have fully proved that the regnal years of the Pharaohs' reigns coincided with the calendar years, and this has led to a new understanding of many events, and to an interpretation quite different from that which has previously been accepted. It explains a hundred difficulties, and, with the aid of the *Knobel-Petrie Tables*, supplies an exactitude of dating which would never before have been thought possible in so remote an age.

In publishing a history volume by volume, as I am doing, it is almost inevitable that the close study involved in the preparation of the second volume should lead to the observation of minor errors in the first; and I must record here a number of little corrections which are to be made in Volume I. Fortunately these are not of much importance, and as the new editions of the book will include them, the following notes are intended only for the use of those who possess copies of the first editions of the earlier volume.

On page 27, the paragraph in regard to the calendar year coming back into its original position in 1,460 years needs to be expanded. Though, by losing roughly one day in every four years, the calendar lost 365 days in 1,460 years, this calculation does not represent the true position as calculated throughout this history, and as found in the *Knobel-Petrie Tables* in *Historical Studies* which I have used; for in relation to the seasons the calendar actually retrograded $\cdot 24224$ of a day in each year, not $\cdot 25$, so that it agreed with the seasons again after 1,508 years, though the risings of the star Sirius recurred in cycles of about 1,460 years.

On page 29, the figures in the last paragraph must be adjusted to meet the more accurate calculations given in the present volume, page 32; and the Sothic date should be 1992 B.C. instead of "about 1990 B.C."

On pages 33 and 34, the date 1577 B.C. for the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty should be corrected to 1576 B.C., as I saw when preparing the tables on pages 224 and 239 of the present volume; and the rising of Sirius should be exactly in 1543 B.C. instead of "about 1544 B.C." as I there gave it.

The explanation, on page 35, of the adjustment of the calendar is more fully stated in the present volume on page 176, though no correction is called for.

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On page 38, paragraph 5, I have made a slip: "2191 B.C. . . . the end of February" should read "2113 . . . the beginning of February"; and in paragraph 7, the year 2545 B.C. is a misprint for 2548.

On page 42, in the table of dates, the accession of the Thirteenth Dynasty should be in 1898 B.C., not 1897 B.C.; and that of the Eighteenth Dynasty 1576 B.C., not 1577 B.C.

On page 63 I have left out the Son of the Sun-god name of Rathures, "Ratho."

On page 80, line 22, read "above" for "below."

On page 109, line 13, the "7th day of the 6th month" should be of course the "7th day of the 7th month," and the corresponding date April 5th.

On page 110, line 22, "northern" should of course be "southern."

On page 143, line 2, the "2nd month" should be "3rd month"; and similarly on page 186, the "4th month" should be "5th month"; and on page 200 the "9th month" should be "10th month." The explanation of these errors is to be found on page 21 of the present volume.

On page 261, No. 16, I think the title *heq* or *hiq* indicates that this king was more probably of the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

On page 284 the figures beginning at line 19 are incorrect, and should be adjusted by reference to page 32 of the present volume.

On page 315 the death of Nebtoure is mentioned, but on page 39 of the present volume it will be seen that his deposition rather than his death probably ended the reign.

On pages 319 and 320 the figures and dates must be corrected by reference to page 108 of the present volume.