BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDAEA. A
HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE END OF
THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TO THE
DEATH OF CLEOPATRA VII, B.C. 30, VOL.
VI. EGYPT UNDER THE PRIEST-KINGS
AND TANITES AND NUBIANS

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# EGYPT

UNDER THE

# PRIEST-KINGS, TANITES, AND NUBIANS

BY

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KERPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRLAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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#### PREFACE

THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume begins with the reign of Nes-ba-Tettet, the first king of the XXIst Dynasty from Tanis, and ends with that of Psammetichus II., the third king of the XXVIth Dynasty, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt and the various portions of her Empire from about B.C. 1100 to B.C. 600. It includes the reigns of a number of kings under whose rule the power of Egypt declined and her Empire shrank, and in whose time the various hereditary foes of Egypt succeeded in obtaining their independence. In spite of this, however, we find that the Northern kingdom of Egypt made itself very powerful, and it is interesting to note how this came to pass, viz., by the aid of foreign soldiers and sailors. With the close of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire came to an end, and the period of Egyptian Renaissance began. Under Shashanq I. the feeble kingdoms of the South and North were once more united, and a Libyan monarch occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. The cult of

Bast increased and flourished whilst that of Amen-Rā declined, and the priests of Amen were compelled to seek asylum at Napata in Nubia. Stirred up by these the Nubians provoked the wrath of the great kings of Assyria, and Egypt found herself involved in war with an enemy who was far more terrible than any with whom she had ever come in contact. Sargon and his son Sennacherib turned Syria and Palestine into provinces of Assyria, but it was reserved for Esarhaddon and his son Ashur-bani-pal to enter Egypt and to make the king of Assyria her over-lord. The last-named king sacked Thebes and gave the Egyptians an example of the manner in which the Assyrians were accustomed to treat the inhabitants of a conquered country; but the recuperative power of Egypt was so great that in the country generally the traces of the destruction wrought by "the great king, the king of Assyria," and his host were soon obliterated. As soon as the Nubian pretenders to the throne of Egypt saw that Thebes had fallen and that Amen-Ra was powerless to protect his city, their opposition to the inevitable ceased, and Egypt rested in tolerable peace under the rule of the twenty governors who were appointed by Esarhaddon, and who were restored to their positions by Ashurbani-pal after the revolt of the Nubian Tirhâkâh.

In the period of history treated in this volume there is little besides the political facts to interest the historian, and its art and archaeology afford little instruction to the student. Art of every kind had fallen into a state of apathy and lack of originality, and artists followed the models of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties with servile conventionality. The Egyptian language began to decay in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in the period under consideration decay of the writing also set in; in the tenth century before Christ the hieratic script was supplemented by demotic, and a few centuries later was almost unknown. With the end of the rule of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire comes to an end.

In connexion with the question of the identification of So or Sib'e with Shabaka I have taken the view that the Musuri of which he is stated to have been Commander-in-chief, A TAR-TAN-NU (var. TUR-DAN-NU) was Egypt, and not a country in Northern Arabia, as has been maintained by Dr. Winckler and by his followers, Prof. T. K. Cheyne and others. am well aware that it is a serious matter to disagree with the dicta of such a distinguished critic as Prof. Cheyne, but in this particular case he has relied upon the statements of a professed exponent of Assyriology, of which science Prof. Cheyne has, admittedly, no knowledge at first hand. Dr. Winckler's theory has received but little support in Germany itself, and it would ere now have passed into the limbo of forgotten theories but for its adoption and advocacy by Prof. Cheyne in the Encyclopaedia Biblica, where it is made to support his own extraordinary theory of the existence of a "Jerahmeelite" kingdom in Southern

Palestine. These views are so revolutionary that they naturally call for careful examination, and I now propose to discuss the evidence on which Dr. Winckler bases his theory of the existence of an Arabian Muşri or Muşuri.

Briefly stated his theory is as follows:—It is agreed by all Assyriologists that there were certainly two countries which bore the name of Muşri: 1. Egypt, and 2. a land in Northern Syria. Dr. Winckler, however, asserts that all the supposed mentions of the Egyptian Muşri which are to be found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III., and of Sargon, and of his son Sennacherib, are to be taken as referring not to Egypt, but to another country of the same name alleged to be situated in Northern Arabia. The supposed evidence on which he bases this assertion I will now discuss in detail.

1. In Dr. Winckler's first exposition of his views, he made the assumption on which was based the whole fabric of his theory with regard to his new kingdoms of Muşri and Meluḥha and to their identity with certain portions of Dr. Glaser's hypothetical "Minaean Empire," and to the age of the Minaean Inscriptions, and on which Prof. Cheyne's "Jerahmeelite" theory partly rests. This assumption can, however, be shown to be without foundation. Dr. Winckler says that the Muşri mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III. cannot be Egypt and must be in Arabia because Idibia'ilu, who was

<sup>1</sup> See Altorientalische Forschungen, i., Leipzig, 1893, p. 24 ff.

appointed "Kipu," i.e., "Warden of the Marches," of Musri by this king, is, presumably, mentioned in one passage,1 which reads, "[I]dibi'ilu of the land of Arubu." Dr. Winckler assumes that because Arubu = Arabia, and therefore Idibi'ilu was an Arabian, it follows that the Musri over which he was appointed "Kîpu" must have been in Arabia. That the Arabian Idibi'ilu is the same man as the "Kîpu" of Muşri is very probable, but the fact of the "Kîpu" of Muşri being an Arabian is no proof whatsoever that the Musri mentioned was in Arabia, for an Arab chief could perfectly well have been appointed Warden of the Marches of a neighbouring kingdom by the Assyrian king. Moreover since Askelon is mentioned in the same context with the Arabian Idibi'ilu, it is certain that Musri is here Egypt, and that Idibi'ilu was an Arab shêkh who was appointed to watch the borders of Egypt in the Assyrian interest. Thus Dr. Winckler's initial assumption falls to the ground.

2. In a second paper 2 dealing with the same subject, Dr. Winckler seeks corroboration of his theory by finding supposed allusions to his third Muşri in other Assyrian inscriptions. In texts of Sargon (B.C. 722-705) mention is made (as is stated infra, p. 125) of Pi-ir-'-u | April 2 king of Muşuri or Muşri; in one place 3 he is spoken of as having been

See Rost, Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pilesers III., xviii. b. 12.

Musri, Meluhha, Ma'in (Mitteilungen der vorderas. Ges., 1898, 1).

Winckler, Keilschrifttexte Sargons, Bd. i., p. 188, 189, 1. 29 ff.