

- (2) That the late camp of tents, *scenae*, was not at the earlier town of Tell el Yehudiyeh, but along the desert about El Menair;
- (3) That Gheyta is Vicus Judaeorum; and
- (4) That the only corruption is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  schoeni, or XII for XXII miles to Thou.

From the Notitia we learn that at Scenae Veteranorum were the Saracen horsemen of the Thamudeni, and the Ala Quinta Raetorum. At Castra Judaeorum, probably Vicus Judaeorum, was the Cohors Prima Epiroorum. And at Thohu was the Cohors Prima Augusta Pannoniorum. Thohu is evidently the Thou of the Itinerary; and this may well be a late form of Succoth or Thuku, which even under Ramessu II was corrupted to Thu, as on the scene in Pl. XXX.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE HISTORY OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD

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98. HITHERTO the material remains belonging to the age between the XIIIth and XVIIIth dynasties have been so scanty, and so little studied, that they have not yet been treated in a consecutive manner. Indeed it is only in the last few years that the scarabs of this age have been noticed, and that it has been possible to compare them in a systematic fashion. Those of the Hyksos kings which we propose to classify in this chapter are about half of them from my own collection and notes, and about half from Mr. Newberry's recent book on *Scarabs*, in which they appear without arrangement. This chapter is therefore but a first attempt to treat the period from the historical point of view.

The series of graves now found at Tell el Yehudiyeh gives the first decisive evidence of the age of this class of scarabs, including those of the kings Khyan and Sekhanra. A further historical result is that we can trace the continuous degradation of the scarab types and work, accompanying changes in the black pottery which is found with them. And the series is at one end linked by the best scarabs to the age before the Hyksos, and at the other end linked by the worst pottery to the age after the Hyksos. Hence we can accept the degradation of type as a basis for an approximate arrangement in historical order; and now it becomes possible to treat the period in detail.

Another view to which we are led by this classifying of the scarab types is that a large part of the private scarabs which are commonly attributed to the XIIth dynasty, may really belong to the officials of the earlier Hyksos age. It is the more likely that when the native rule was weakened or abolished, each official would seal the documents and goods of his office with his own name and titles rather than those of the king.

The first evidence of a foreigner rising to supreme power after the XIIth dynasty is the appearance of the king Khenzer. A stele and three scarabs of his are known, and we see that he took the throne name copied from that of Amenemhat III, the most celebrated king of the XIIth dynasty, who was revered in later ages. The stele in the Louvre is fairly cut and follows the style of the XIIth dynasty; hence it seems that we must place this king in the afterglow of the middle kingdom. It is obvious that Khenzer is a foreign name, and in later times there was a Babylonian king of the same name, Khinzoros in Greek, or Yukin-ziru, who reigned at 731 B.C. This was probably a couple of thousand years after the Egyptian Khenzer, but it shows that this intrusion in Egypt was of Babylonian origin.

Evidence of a similar case of a foreigner becoming king of Egypt is shown by a green jasper cylinder of purely Babylonian work of before 2000 B.C., which I bought in Cairo. Beside the ornaments of a twist pattern, and a row of ibex couchant, there is a figure of a king of Egypt, adored by two subjects, one an Egyptian, the other a Babylonian. The king's name is placed in a cartouche and reads Khandy, clearly a foreign name like that of Khenzer.

These kings seem to have been able mercenary generals of Babylonian origin who succeeded in gaining power in Egypt. They probably belong to the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty, as their work is too good for the Hyksos time.

99. Coming now to the scarabs which can be referred to the Hyksos, we find about twenty-eight names, and more than a dozen examples are known of some of the kings. That there was a general course of degradation is fairly clear from the contents of the Hyksos graves. And we may thus make a rough sequence by workmanship alone. But beside that there is the degradation of the ornamental designs, which also shows an approximate order. The classes of design should therefore be defined, and then it is possible to tabulate the examples, as shown on Pl. LI. The main types to notice are those which

head the columns in that plate, and which may be listed as follows :

A Title, *heg khastu*, "prince of the deserts," or foreign lands.

*Scrolls.*

- B Complete scroll pattern, linked above and below.  
 C Scroll only linked below, or sides unconnected.  
 D Two loops at side, linked below.  
 E Two loops at side, sides unconnected.  
 F Row of circles.

G Cartouche between fairly formed signs.

H " " badly " "

J " " symmetrical uraei, hawks, &c.

*Bars at sides.*

- K Bars with fairly formed signs } Contemporary with  
 L " " badly " " } classes G, H.  
 M *Nuter* signs only at sides.  
 N " " joined to bar.  
 O Cross strokes derived from *nuters*, with *nuters*.  
 P Curved lines derived from *nuters*.  
 Q Cross strokes and vertical.  
 R Cross strokes only.

The basis for the order here followed is generally the degree of bad and unintelligent work on the scarab. Such a scale of workmanship is authorised by the steady degradation of the scarabs associated with the black incised pottery. There were considerable variations in the style under certain kings, and it will be seen at a glance that two or three types were in use simultaneously ; but yet the entire absence of some types from the earlier reigns, and others from the later reigns, gives an historical value to the classing here.

100. It will be seen that there is a marked change at the reign of Shesha ; older types which last to his time become extinct, and later types of degraded style become general. The first test, the title "prince of the deserts," obviously belongs to the age when the Hyksos were not yet completely established in Egypt. Ant-her is here placed first, as his scarab has only the name, and no scroll pattern which was adopted by the later kings. Semqen has the complete scroll circuit. Khyan adopts also the fragmentary scroll, and the two-bar type. After this the original title of prince is dropped. Yaqeb'her Meruserra precedes Apepa I as his work is much better. Apepa I begins the short-lived class of symmetric scarabs with hawks,

uraei, and other figures on each side of the cartouche. His types are very marked ; the single uraeus at the side of the name, the *nub* over the cartouche, the twist of cord, the rosette back, and the wide humpy shoulder of the scarab are all peculiar to this reign. This variety marks the wider grip on different centres in Egypt, and a greater amount of touch with Egyptian life ; such is to be expected of the king whose monuments are found even as far as beyond Thebes. Nefer'ka'ra has the similar symmetric groups, and similar backs. Nub'ka'ra is associated with Apepa I by the rosette on the back of his scaraboid. Kheper'ra has the continuous scroll round the whole scarab like Nub'ka'ra ; and has the cartouche with double line, and with symmetric *usa* eyes, both points like the scarabs of Apepa. Kara and Aa'neb'ra have the symmetrical uraei and hawks, as used by Apepa, but in a far ruder style. This group of the Apepa age is well separated from others, and judging by the style of the work is probably in this order.

A change was made by Uazed, who introduced the senseless *ran ran* border, though the scroll border still appears well formed. Sekt has a shorter scroll border, of only two links. Sam'ka'ra has the name simply between signs, or in a rope border cartouche ; the signs are so coarse that they can hardly be placed earlier than this. Neferui'uah'ra has a cartouche between signs, of the style of the last three kings. Maa'ab'ra, whose scarabs are very common, shows a debasement below the style of all that we have noticed. The signs are poor and often senseless, and the scroll is reduced to only two links, without connection from side to side. Shesha is of the same style but more debased. The scrolls appear for the last time, and are reduced to a row of concentric circles, linked by lines or left separate. The new style of debased *nuter* signs inverted, begins here, and led on to an entirely new fashion of parallel lines at the middle of the sides of the field. This reign shows the close of the early Hyksos style and the opening of a more debased period.

Aa'qer has the last of the cartouches between intelligible signs, but the *nuter* is inverted. Kha'user'ra has the last survival of the scroll pattern ; and though this is well done, yet the debasement of the other examples, and the senseless modification of the inverted *nuter* altered to a mere curve, show that he must be placed as late as this. Se'khan'ra is often met with, but his types are limited to the late varieties. Yaqeb'el is of the same type, but always debased and irregular ; the spelling of the

name is even inverted. One scarab has the fuller form of the name Yaqeb'el, "Jacob is God," which is found in the monumental lists of Syrian places. This shows that the name of Yaqeb when alone is to be taken as an abbreviation of the full form. The next king Aa has the hieroglyphs more debased; and Aa'hotep'ra follows much the same style. Qar has what seems to be a senseless repetition of *ankh* at the *du ankh* group. Ykha, Ya, Maa'ra, Nuby'ra, and Ra (or Du'erra) are all of the most debased and careless style.

Without now saying that the order we have proposed here is exact, or that inversions may not be proved in future, yet the general distribution into the following successive classes seems fairly certain: Babylonian adventurers, Princes of the Desert, the Full scroll scarabs, Partial scroll, Two loops, Circles, Apepa group (rosettes and symmetrical), the division at Maa'ab'ra, Debased signs, and lastly Cross strokes derived from *nuters*. Henceforward it will be possible to approximately date the private scarabs of officials according to these types.

The positions of the graves at Tell el Yehudiyeh in this series are not certain within a reign or two, but are indicated pretty closely by the styles of the scarabs. It seems that this cemetery covered the whole of the Hyksos age, as might be expected if this were the capital city Avaris.

101. We are now in a position to compare the recorded information with the names on the scarabs. On collating the various versions of Manetho, which were extracted by Josephus and by Africanus, and edited by Eusebius (Greek and Armenian) and Syncellus, we find the following differences:

Josephus.	Africanus.	Eusebius.	Armenian.	Syncellus.
Salatis 13	Saites 19	Saites 19	Saites 19	Silites 19
Beon 44	Beon 44	Bnon 40	Bnon 40	Baion 44
Apakhnas 36	Pakhnan 61	—	—	Apakhnas 36
—	Staan 50	(Afofis 14)	—	—
—	Arkhes 49	Arkhes 30	Arkhes 30	—
Apofis 61	Afobis 61	—	Apofis 14	Afofis 61
—	—	—	—	Sethos 50
Ianias 50	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	Kertos 29
Assis 49	—	—	—	Aseth 20

Here there is only one inversion of the order of the names, though each list has dropped out some of the names. It seems that we should restore the whole list as follows:

Manetho. Scarabs.  
 "XV dyn. Shepherds. 6 foreign Phoenician kings, 284 years."

Salatis	2533	B.C.	Ant-her
Beon			Semqen
Apakhnas			—
Staan	=		Khyan
Arkhes			Yaqeb-her Meruser'ra
Apofis	=		Apepa Seuser'ra

"XVI dyn. 32 Hellenic Shepherd kings, 518 years."

Sethos	2249	B.C.	Nefer'ka'ra
Ianias			Nub'ka'ra
Kertos			Kheperra
			Ka'ra
			Aa'neb'ra
			Uazed
			Sekt
			Sam'ka'ra
			Neferui'uah'ra
			Maa'ab'ra
Assis, Aseth	=		Shesha
			Aaq'er (mu)
			Khauser'ra
			Se'khan'ra
			Yaqeb'el (mu)
			Aa (mu)
			Aa'hotep'ra
			Qar
			Ykha (mu)
			Ya (mu)
			Maa'ra
			Nuby'ra
1731		B.C.	Ra, or Erd'ura (mu)

It is not possible yet to complete the equations between the list of Manetho and the scarabs. Khyan would certainly become Siaan in Greek, just as Khufu becomes Souphis; this was pointed out by Freiherr von Bissing, and we may add that CTAAN would easily become corrupted by copying into CTAAN, as in Manetho. Apepa I has always been recognised in the Afofis or Apofis of Manetho. And Prof. Sayce long ago saw that Assis was the late form of Shesha. But though more individuals cannot be identified, yet as a whole we see that there are five names which belong to the six Phoenician kings, and 23 names from the 32 of the Hellenic Shepherd kings.

102. The title of Phoenician is natural for a people coming down through Syria into Egypt; but the description of the XVIth dynasty as Hellenic has been either ignored or emended by historians. Now the movement from east to west which brought the Hyksos into Egypt, was shared by other tribes, who pushed on behind them, so that they built Avaris for fear of an invasion by "the Assyrians" as Manetho states (*Jos. c. Apion*, i, 14). They were thus cut off from their old homes and pushed down on to the Mediterranean coast. That they had communication by sea appears both from the jar-lid of Khyan found in Crete, and from the fact that six of these kings add *mu*, the determinative of "sea," after their names,—they were, in fact, sea-kings. And the black Syrian pottery which they brought into Egypt was likewise imported into the eastern side of Cyprus. Now the main purpose of being sea-kings, would be the control of Cyprus, with its large supply of copper, which was then greatly in demand for weapons and trade purposes. And the people who ruled Cyprus would be in Egyptian called *Ha-nebu*, "lords of the north," a term used till much later times for Cyprus, as is evident by the statue of Admiral Hor here published. *Ha-nebu* is the regular Ptolemaic term for Hellene, especially as the Cypriote was, before all others, the Hellene to the Egyptian. Hence the "sea-kings" of the scarabs who held Cyprus would be naturally translated as Hellenic Shepherd kings by Manetho.

103. We may now sum up in general terms our present view of this age between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties, as consolidated by our recent discoveries.

Even in the XIIth dynasty, as early as Senusert II, a *haq khast*, or "prince of the desert," named Absha, is represented with his family coming into Egypt, as shown on the celebrated scene at Beni Hasan. This title (in the plural) is the same as that of the Hyksos rulers, the *haq khastu*, "prince of the deserts;" and as *kh* became *sh* in later times, and so passed into the Greek *s* (already noted in the instances of Khufu = Souphis and Khyan = Siaan), so the *khastu* would read *sastu* or *sasu*, and the *haq sas* were the *hyksos* of Manetho. This prince of the desert in the XIIth dynasty is entirely of the Bedawy type of Semite, with the aquiline nose and the growth of beard of the modern Bedawy. His name Absha is probably the Abishai of Jewish usage. And the Semitic nature of this desert prince cannot be doubted. Further the names of the Hyksos kings—as I pointed out long ago—seem to be Semitic; and Prof. Sayce considers

that they are of the type of Semitic names of the period shortly before 2000 B.C. Probably these people occupied the great triangle between Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. The southward drift of the Semites may be seen in the history of a prince of the desert with a following of three hundred men who drifted down, in the later Hyksos times, from Haran to Judaea, and thence into Egypt, who is familiar to us as Abraham; for the Jews were in fact a late branch of the Semitic Hyksos migration.

After the XIIth dynasty a long period of gradual decline came over Egypt. Foreign auxiliaries rose into power, just as the Gothic chiefs became rulers of the Roman Empire through means of the army. Such precursors of the Hyksos were the kings of Babylonian origin, Khenzer and Khandy. The Semitic tribes bordering on Mesopotamia and Syria filtered in as followers of these foreign chiefs, and seeing the country an easy prey they gradually swamped it. Much in the same way the Saracen horsemen appear as Roman auxiliaries in the east of Egypt, two or three centuries before the Islamic invasion; or the Saxon auxiliaries and settlers appear in Britain a few centuries before the Saxon invasion.

These archers overcame the solid Egyptian troops, who fought hand to hand, much as the Parthian archers annihilated the army of Crassus. And, as Manetho states, these ignoble people from the east subdued Egypt without a battle. There was no chance of the hard-fought pitched battle, such as the Egyptian triumphed in; but an elusive cloud of archers destroyed all resistance without being touched by the Egyptian arms. After a century of raids, plundering, and destruction, the Prince of the Deserts became King of Egypt. And, being accepted as the XVth dynasty, we may believe that an Egyptian heiress had legitimised the rule of the eastern invader.

The fortress of Avaris was thrown up dominating the eastern road from Syria to Memphis, and its long slopes were adapted to the defence of these formidable archers. But when a centralized government, legitimised in Egypt, had gained control of the old Egyptian work of quarrying and building, then the great and mighty wall was built which consolidated the Hyksos power for several centuries. Salatis and his immediate successors still called themselves Princes of the Deserts, but Khyan conquered far and wide by the aid of the wealth and skill of Egypt, and took the title "embracer of territories." From Baghdad to Crete his monuments are found. At

the close of this dynasty the great king Apepa I identified himself further with the Egyptians, erected his own monuments as far south as Gebeleyn, and had a great variety of scarabs made with his name.

After this the balance of power shifted, and Asiatic tribes pushed the Hyksos forward on to the Mediterranean and over to Cyprus; and the XVIth dynasty of "sea-kings," or Hellenic Shepherd kings, continued to rule Egypt. Two-thirds of these have

left actual remains, and the average reign of sixteen years stated by Manetho is very probable.

Lastly, the XVIIth dynasty consisted of a century and a half of brief reigns of two or three years each, during the struggle with the invading Berbers. This long warfare so much demoralised the power of the Asiatic nomads that finally Egypt submitted to the southern invaders, who expelled the Hyksos, and who picked up again the threads of the old civilisation and founded the XVIIIth dynasty.

### ADDENDA

P. 22. The use of the pottery cylinders for the passover sacrifices agrees with the account of the Jewish ritual in the Mishna, in which it is stated that "the oven was of earthenware and appears to have been in shape something like a beehive . . . the lamb was carefully so placed as not to touch the side of the oven" (SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Passover*, p. 715).

P. 31. Mr. Griffith considers that the title on the door-jamb is not that of "keeper of the granaries of Ta'nuter," but "keeper of the foreigners of Ta'nuter,"

or Syria, which he would connect with the Israelites living at Raamses. The difficulty that the sign could not mean "keeper of the hills of Syria," as the man was also keeper of the Residency in Succoth, is avoided by taking the hill sign as referring to foreign peoples. And the *ne thuku* at the end Mr. Griffith separates from the name of the man, and refers it to the earlier titles; so he reads "chief archer, keeper of the foreigners of Syria in Succoth, keeper of the Residency in Succoth, USER·MAAT·RA·NEKHTU."