

Great Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt

Professor Bob Brier



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

Bob Brier, Ph.D.

Professor of Egyptology, Long Island University

Bob Brier was born in the Bronx, where he still lives. He received his bachelor's degree from Hunter College and his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1970. From 1981–1996, he was Chairman of the Philosophy Department at the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University. He now focuses primarily on research and teaching Egyptology courses. He was director of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Egyptology Today program and has twice been selected as a Fulbright Scholar. He is also the recipient of the David Newton Award for Teaching Excellence.

In 1994, Dr. Brier became the first person in 2,000 years to mummify a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian style. This research was the subject of a National Geographic television special, *Mr. Mummy*. Dr. Brier was also the host of The Learning Channel's series: *The Great Egyptians*, *Unwrapped: The Mysterious World of Mummies*, and *Mummy Detectives*.

Professor Brier is the author of *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (Morrow, 1980), *Egyptian Mummies* (Facts on File, 1994), *Encyclopedia of Mummies* (Facts on File, 1998), *The Murder of Tutankhamen* (Putnam's, 1998), *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Greenwood, 1999), and numerous scholarly articles.

Table of Contents

Great Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt

Professor Biography	i
Course Scope	1
Lecture One King Narmer—The Unification of Egypt	3
Lecture Two Sneferu—The Pyramid Builder	6
Lecture Three Hatshepsut—Female Pharaoh	10
Lecture Four Akhenaten—Heretic Pharaoh	14
Lecture Five Tutankhamen—The Lost Pharaoh	18
Lecture Six Tutankhamen—A Murder Theory	22
Lecture Seven Ramses the Great—The Early Years	25
Lecture Eight Ramses the Great—The Twilight Years	29
Lecture Nine The Great Nubians—Egypt Restored	33
Lecture Ten Alexander the Great—Anatomy of a Legend	36
Lecture Eleven The First Ptolemies—Greek Greatness	40
Lecture Twelve Cleopatra—The Last Pharaoh	44
Map	49
Timeline	50
Glossary	51
Bibliography	52

Great Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt

Scope:

This is an introductory course for anyone interested in ancient Egyptian civilization. By presenting this history in terms of the lives of its rulers, it should be easy to assimilate and difficult to forget. We will not worry much about dates—everyone forgets them anyway. Rather, we will trace the rise of Egypt from a scattering of villages along the Nile to the greatest power the world had ever seen, through the lives of the pharaohs.

Egypt ruled the Near East because of its great kings and queens. As the world's first nation, Egypt's power was concentrated in the hands of a single person, the pharaoh. If the pharaoh decided a pyramid should be built, it was built. Because of this political structure, the nation could do great things—if it had the right ruler.

All nations have icons—the American bald eagle, the cedars of Lebanon, the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben—but in Egypt, this icon was the king. For 3,000 years, the pharaoh smiting his enemy was the national symbol. Even the Egyptian calendar was reckoned in terms of the pharaoh's reign; thus, it is appropriate that its history be told in terms of its rulers.

This course will be a kind of *People* magazine set in ancient Egypt. By recounting the lives and accomplishments of the great leaders of Egypt, we will present a history of the country spreading over 30 centuries, covering all aspects of ancient Egyptian life. We will begin with Narmer, the first king of unified Egypt, and through his reign, we will show how the seeds of Egypt's greatness were sown around 3200 B.C. We will see how the government influenced food production and how the people of Egypt benefited for the next 30 centuries.

As we continue through the centuries, we will meet the pharaoh Sneferu, who perfected the art of building pyramids, and see how his belief in life after death was intertwined with his building projects. Building was the signature of Sneferu's reign, but other pharaohs had other interests. When we discuss Queen Hatshepsut's reign, we will see that women had such incredible power in ancient Egypt that Hatshepsut could declare herself "king" and rule as pharaoh. The pharaoh Akhenaten will be our window into ancient Egyptian religion. The first person recorded in history to say that there was but one god, Akhenaten's attempt to force the people of Egypt to give up their many gods almost destroyed the country. The life of Ramses the Great will show us what life in the Egyptian army was like, and we will even discuss the theory that Ramses was the pharaoh of the Exodus.

Each pharaoh discussed in our 12 lectures has his or her own fascinating story, and each will lead us to different aspects of Egyptian civilization. We will discuss magic and mummification, hieroglyphs and art, farming and astronomy. Often, the fun of history is in the details. Knowing what kind of wine

Tutankhamen preferred makes him come alive. Understanding that Ramses the Great was crippled by arthritis for the last decade of his long life makes us more sympathetic to the monarch who boasted that he fathered 100 children. As we wind our way through the biographies of the kings and queens of Egypt, we will pause to look at the details that make up the big picture. By the time we come to the last ruler of Egypt, Cleopatra, we will have peered into almost every aspect of ancient Egyptian life, seen what made Egypt great, and learned what finally brought about its downfall. We will not discuss every king and queen, every battle or tomb, but my hope is that by the end of the course, you will have a sense that you personally know the men and women who made Egypt the greatest nation of the ancient world.

Lecture One

King Narmer—The Unification of Egypt

Scope: We begin by meeting the pharaohs we will discuss in this course and defending our approach to studying Egyptian history, that is, to look at history through the lives of great individuals, rather than to analyze events and circumstances. We then discuss what Egypt was like before kingship, and we see Egypt become the first nation in history. We also consider the first historical document in the world—the Narmer Palette. From the time of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt by King Narmer, it would take only a few hundred years to build a power that would dominate the Near East for thousands of years. We show how the political structure of ancient Egypt made this possible and how the Narmer Palette tells the story.

Outline

- I. This course presents the history of Egypt through the memorable personalities of the great pharaohs.
 - A. We begin with Narmer, the first king of Egypt, then move on to Sneferu, the builder of pyramids, and Hatshepsut, a woman who ruled Egypt as king. After Hatshepsut, we turn to Akhenaten, who introduced monotheism and almost destroyed Egypt, then look at Akhenaten's son, Tutankhamen, followed by Ramses the Great, who ruled for 67 years.
 - B. After Ramses, we discuss the Late Period and the Nubian kings of the south before moving on to the very end of Egyptian history, when the Greeks ruled. We close with a look at Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, and the last of the Ptolemies, Cleopatra.
 - C. Our approach in this course—examining the lives of great individuals—bucks 2,500 years of tradition.
 1. The Greek historian Herodotus noted, around 450 B.C., “Egypt is the gift of the Nile.” Because the Nile overflowed its banks every year, Egypt received an annual deposit of rich topsoil. This renewal enabled Egypt, throughout its history, to grow more food than it needed and, in turn, to support a standing army. For Herodotus, then, the Nile is what made Egypt great.
 2. In contrast, my thesis is that Egypt's greatness stems from its leaders.
 - D. One point to remember before we begin is a bit of geography: The Nile flows from south to north. The terms *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* refer to the direction of the Nile. Upper Egypt, then, is in the south, and Lower Egypt is in the north.

- II.** Our best guess for the period of the life of Narmer, first king of Egypt, is around 3200 B.C.
- A.** Just before Narmer's time, Egypt was divided into two kingdoms, Upper and Lower Egypt.
 - 1.** The kings of these regions were symbolized by their crowns. The king in the south wore a tall, white crown, conical in shape. The pharaoh in the north wore a shorter, red crown.
 - 2.** Interestingly, no crown has ever been found. The crown may have been considered magical, lending power to its wearer. For this reason, the crown was passed down from king to king; it could not be taken to the next world by the departing pharaoh.
 - B.** Sometime around 3150 B.C., Narmer, a king of the south, conquered the north, and Egypt became one nation. In doing so, Narmer established the political schema that would make Egypt great for 3,000 years.
- III.** The Narmer Palette (3150 B.C.), the world's first historical document, tells the story of the unification of Egypt.
- A.** The Narmer Palette is a piece of slate about 22 inches long and 24 inches wide. It was probably a ceremonial palette used to grind cosmetics that anointed statues of the gods.
 - B.** The Narmer Palette is carved on both sides with the story of Narmer's conquest.
 - 1.** On one side of the palette is a king wearing the tall, white crown of the south and holding a mace. He is poised to smite an enemy whom he is holding by the hair.
 - 2.** How do we know this king is Narmer? At the top of the palette is a small rectangle representing a palace façade. Inside the rectangle are two small objects, a fish and a chisel. The pronunciations of these two words combine to form the name *Narmer*.
 - 3.** The Narmer Palette contains the first hieroglyphic inscriptions, which were not just phonetic or pictographic. Hieroglyphs are a mixture of these two systems of writing.
 - 4.** On the same side of the palette is a falcon depicted holding a captive, who has a ring through his nose. The falcon is the god Horus, who is traditionally associated with the pharaoh.
 - 5.** On the other side of the palette, Narmer is shown in a procession wearing the red crown. His size, twice as large as anyone else on the palette, is another indication of his importance. This is the first example we have of a figure depicted in *hierarchical proportion*.
 - 6.** In front of Narmer in the procession is his vizier, a small, hunched figure wearing a leopard skin. The procession is marching toward a group of enemies who have been beheaded.
 - 7.** Maybe the most important feature of the Narmer Palette is the depiction of two mythological beasts with long necks that are

intertwined, forming a circle. The intertwined necks are symbols of the unification of Egypt.

8. Finally, beneath these two beasts is a bull that has broken down the wall of a city and is trampling someone within. The bull is another symbol of the pharaoh in ancient Egypt.
- C. The Narmer Palette was probably carved by two different people. The hieroglyphs show clearly different styles. There may have been some time separating the carving of the first side and the second side.
- IV. Narmer's achievement—unifying Egypt—had important benefits.
- A. Keep in mind that Egypt's king was a god. Throughout history, from Plato in *The Republic* to Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan*, thinkers have recognized that an all-powerful ruler can accomplish great things.
 - B. Narmer took advantage of the Nile's yearly overflow to grow an even greater surplus of food. He directed the digging of irrigation canals, marshalling the "gift of the Nile" for the general good.
 - C. As mentioned earlier, the food surplus supported a professional standing army for Egypt, increasing its power in the Near East.
 - D. Narmer established the tradition of a strong central government that would enable Egypt to rule the Near East for the next 3,000 years.

Essential Reading:

Michael Rice, *Egypt's Making*, chapter 3.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 14–19.

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the story told by the Narmer Palette?
2. What are the advantages of nationhood?

Lecture Two

Sneferu—The Pyramid Builder

Scope: This lecture presents the founder of the “Fabulous 4th” Dynasty, Sneferu. Before we meet him, however, we look at the history of burials and pyramid building in Egypt. We then turn to Sneferu’s reign, which saw three major innovations: (1) By trial and error, true pyramid construction began; (2) Egypt became an international power through trade with Lebanon and armed expeditions sent to the turquoise mines in the Sinai; and (3) artistic standards were established that would last for thousands of years. We close by noting that Sneferu is the first individual in history about whom we have some personal information: Legend reveals that he was an approachable, sympathetic king.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we jump forward a few centuries to Sneferu (r. 2613–2589 B.C.). Under this pharaoh, Egypt would become an international power; artistic conventions would be established that would last for the next 2,500 years; and the Egyptians would begin to build pyramids. Before we look at Sneferu, a little background is necessary.
 - A. Before Narmer’s time, the dead were buried in the desert in sand pits. The hot, dry climate of the Egyptian desert offers perfect conditions for natural mummification. Eventually, however, the sand might blow away, exposing the body to animals.
 - B. For this reason, Egyptians began to erect a small stone bench (*mastaba*) over the burial pit. This practice ultimately became more elaborate. Egyptians began to dig down into the sand to bedrock, excavate a chamber for the dead in the bedrock, cover the excavation, and cap the pit with a *mastaba* on top.
 - C. From these more elaborate burial pits, it was only a short step to pyramid building, which was introduced by another pharaoh, Zoser.
 1. The pyramid shape had no special meaning for the Egyptians; it was simply an architectural development.
 2. During the reign of Zoser, his architect enlarged the *mastaba* structure by placing progressively smaller benches one on top of the other. The result was a six-tiered step pyramid, built in Saqqara, a burial place of the Old Kingdom.
 3. This pyramid was the first such structure in the history of the world and was probably 20 times taller than any other building on Earth. The Egyptians used stone in construction, because it was the only material available to them.

4. Zoser's ability to marshal his people to build pyramids is a legacy of Narmer, the first powerful central leader of a unified Egypt, who began, with irrigation channels, the tradition of public works projects.
- II. Sneferu built several pyramids, including the first true pyramid without stepped sides.
 - A. Meidum is Sneferu's first attempt to build a true pyramid. The structure began as a stepped pyramid, the steps later to be filled in with limestone.
 - B. Today, the Meidum pyramid resembles a collapsed tower with a pile of rubble at its base. One theory holds that the pyramid collapsed while it was under construction.
 1. Next to the pyramid is a small temple where priests could make offerings for the soul of Sneferu throughout the centuries. On top of this temple are two *stelae* (sing., *stela*; a round-topped stone carved with an inscription), but they were never inscribed. For this reason, some scholars believe that the pyramid collapsed before it could be finished.
 2. The burial chamber at Meidum is within the pyramid, not beneath it. This innovation presents an engineering problem: Literally tons of rock are bearing down on the ceiling of the burial chamber. A corbelled ceiling was used to redistribute the weight of the rock and prevent collapse. Again, the burial chamber was never used.
 3. Structural problems may have led to the pyramid's abandonment, but later excavations show that it did not collapse during construction. The limestone casing stones used to fill in the steps of the pyramid were unstable.
 - C. Given that the pyramid at Meidum is uninscribed, how do we know that it was Sneferu's? Graffiti from the 18th Dynasty, 1,000 years after Sneferu's reign, tells us that the temple was his.
 - III. After the abandonment of the pyramid at Meidum, Sneferu's second pyramid was begun at Dahshur, a site about 15 miles away from Meidum.
 - A. This second attempt to build a true pyramid resulted in what is now called the Bent Pyramid. About halfway up the structure, the angle of the sides changes, causing a bend in the pyramid.
 - B. For stability, pyramids cannot be built on sand. The sand must be cleared away to the bedrock, and the bedrock must be leveled; then, the blocks can be laid for the foundation. The pyramids at both Saqqara and Meidum are constructed in this way.
 - C. Two of the corners of the pyramid at Dahshur are not resting on solid bedrock. As levels of stone were added to the pyramid, the base began to shift, causing cracks in the walls of the interior burial chamber, which had already been constructed.

- D. To keep the pyramid from collapsing, Sneferu had thick cedar beams installed in the burial chamber to brace the walls. He finished the construction quickly and inexpensively by allowing the bend in the pyramid, which would require less stone and take some of the pressure off the interior walls of the burial chamber.
 - E. Although this pyramid, too, was never used, it was finished to serve as one of two burial places for Sneferu. Since Narmer's time, the pharaoh had two tombs to symbolize his leadership of both Upper and Lower Egypt.
 - F. Less than a mile away from Dahshur, Sneferu built a third pyramid, the Red Pyramid. This structure, built at a more gradual angle than the two earlier constructions, is the first true pyramid and is the burial place of Sneferu.
- IV. Sneferu's international policies took him beyond the borders of Egypt.
- A. He sent a trading expedition to Lebanon to acquire the cedars used to brace the walls in the Bent Pyramid.
 - 1. Egyptians were not good ocean sailors; they had been spoiled by their experience on the Nile, which required them only to follow the prevailing winds when sailing upriver or the current when sailing downriver.
 - 2. They called the Mediterranean "The Great Green" and avoided venturing into its waters.
 - 3. Expeditions to Lebanon, then, were great adventures, but the Egyptians needed cedar to build ships and massive temple doors.
 - B. Sneferu also sent armed expeditions to the turquoise mines in the Sinai. Inscriptions there call Sneferu the "smiter of barbarians in the foreign territory." His wife, Hetepheres, had beautiful inlaid turquoise jewelry.
- V. Sneferu established artistic traditions that would last for the next 2,500 years. The first life-size statues were sculpted of Sneferu's family members during his reign.
- VI. Finally, Sneferu is the first individual in history about whom we have anecdotes; that is, we know a little about him as a person.
- A. The Papyrus Westcar, in Berlin, tells us that Sneferu was rowed in a boat by young ladies wearing exotic fishnet clothing.
 - B. One of the girls rowing the boat lost her turquoise amulet over the side. Sneferu calls a magician who parts the waters—centuries before Moses—and the amulet is retrieved.
 - C. The story is obviously fictional, but it indicates that Sneferu was an approachable, sympathetic pharaoh.

Essential Reading:

I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, chapters 2 and 3.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the stages in the development of the true pyramid?
2. Other than pyramids, what was Sneferu's legacy?

Lecture Three

Hatshepsut—Female Pharaoh

Scope: One of the greatest individuals in Egyptian history, Hatshepsut appears in no official record. We trace her biography from her marriage at the age of 12 to her half-brother, Tuthmosis II, to her death as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” We see how a woman handled the three ways in which a king was supposed to distinguish himself: building, waging war, and undertaking trading expeditions. After examining her three major achievements—her temple at Deir el Bahri, the trading expedition to Punt, and the erection of two great obelisks—we discuss why her name was systematically erased from Egyptian records. We also examine her relationship with Senenmut, the commoner who may have been her lover.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we jump another 1,000 years, to Queen Hatshepsut, but before we do so, we, again, discuss a bit of background information to cover the transition.
 - A. Sneferu left an incredible legacy, a part of which was his son, the pharaoh Khufu (Cheops), who built the Great Pyramid of Giza.
 - B. The period of Sneferu, during which all the pyramid building took place, is called the *Old Kingdom*. Egyptian civilization collapsed at the end of the Old Kingdom for unknown reasons.
 1. One theory explaining this collapse is that it was brought on by the cost of pyramid building itself.
 2. Another theory puts forth the reverse as an explanation: The loss of jobs caused by the cessation of pyramid building resulted in the civilization’s collapse. Remember that the pyramids were built by free labor, mostly farmers who were unable to work their crops during inundation.
 - C. During the dark period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, petty princes were probably vying for power. Eventually, Egypt was reunified under Montuhotep. His descendents ruled during the Middle Kingdom, and Egyptians experienced a few centuries of prosperity.
 - D. The Middle Kingdom collapsed when Egypt was invaded by the Hyksos (“foreign rulers”), who had the advantage of chariots and horses. The Hyksos dominated Egypt for a century, but with their expulsion, the New Kingdom emerged.
 - E. Hatshepsut (r. 1498–1483 B.C.) was a female pharaoh of the New Kingdom. All pharaohs were expected to distinguish themselves in

three ways: by waging war, building, and undertaking trading expeditions. How would a female ruler meet these expectations?

- II.** Hatshepsut's father, Tuthmosis I (r. 1518–1504 B.C.), was a great king.
 - A.** Tuthmosis I knew that, with the collapse of central government at the end of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the treasures of the pyramids had been stolen. For this reason, he decided that he would be buried secretly in an area that could be guarded. He was the first pharaoh to be buried in the Valley of the Kings.
 - B.** The tomb of Ineni, the architect of Tuthmosis's tomb, has been found, and its walls are inscribed with Ineni's autobiography. His proudest achievement was that he built the pharaoh's tomb in a secret place "with no one seeing and no one knowing."
 - 1.** For most of its history, Egypt had two capitals: the religious center, Thebes, in the south and the administrative center, Memphis, in the north.
 - 2.** For 3,000 years, Egyptians lived on the east bank of the Nile but were buried on the west bank. The west was associated with the dead because the sun sets in the west and is reborn in the east. Not surprisingly, the Valley of the Kings is on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes.
 - 3.** The Valley of the Kings is absolutely desolate. The location was chosen for the tomb of Tuthmosis, because no one could live there. Further, the valley could be easily guarded, because it has only one entrance. Tuthmosis's tomb is carved into the mountainside.
- III.** When Tuthmosis I died, he left a son, Tuthmosis II, who had a half-sister, Hatshepsut. Who would rule Egypt?
 - A.** The line of succession in Egypt was matrilineal. A man became king by marrying a woman who had pure royal blood.
 - B.** A woman could have three relationships with the pharaoh.
 - 1.** First, she could be the *Great Wife*. All the children of the Great Wife and the pharaoh were royals.
 - 2.** The second relationship a woman could have with the pharaoh was to be a wife. This status offered certain legal rights, but it was not equal to the Great Wife.
 - 3.** The third possibility was to be a concubine.
 - 4.** To become pharaoh, a man had to marry the daughter of the Great Wife.
 - C.** The mother of Tuthmosis II was not the Great Wife, but Hatshepsut's mother was. Tuthmosis II married Hatshepsut when he was in his 20s and she was only 12; through this marriage, Tuthmosis II became pharaoh.

- D. The couple had a daughter, and the marriage lasted for 20 uneventful years. When Tuthmosis II died, the question of succession arose again.
 - E. Tuthmosis II had a son, Tuthmosis III, with another wife, but he was only a child when his father died. The widowed queen Hatshepsut decided that she would rule as regent until Tuthmosis III came of age.
 - F. As a woman, Hatshepsut was unable to lead men in battle, but she did build a beautiful temple, Deir el Bahri (“the place of the northern monastery”). The walls of the temple tell her story.
 - 1. The inscriptions first relate the circumstances of Hatshepsut’s birth: The god Amun, disguised as Tuthmosis I, seduced Hatshepsut’s mother, Ahmose. Thus, Hatshepsut, like other pharaohs, is divine.
 - 2. Other inscriptions in the temple puzzled early Egyptologists. In 1829, Champollion, who had recently deciphered hieroglyphs, visited the temple and saw a confusing scene: Tuthmosis III and an unknown “king” named Hatshepsut.
 - 3. Scholars eventually determined that, after a few years of ruling as queen, Hatshepsut declared herself king. She began to wear the trappings of kingship and ruled as pharaoh.
- IV. What kind of king was Hatshepsut? The answer, derived from the walls of Deir el Bahri, is: a great one.
- A. One of Hatshepsut’s accomplishments was a trading expedition to Punt, perhaps in the area of modern Eritrea (near Ethiopia) or Somalia.
 - 1. To make this trek, boats had to be carried to the Red Sea, where they were launched on a journey southward for 15 days, or about 600 miles.
 - 2. The walls of Deir el Bahri show the land of Punt; these carvings constitute the first accurate depiction of sub-Saharan Africa in history. The carvings show thatched houses on stilts and the queen of Punt and her daughter greeting the expedition.
 - 3. The expedition returned with ivory, incense, and other trade goods.
 - B. Another achievement of Hatshepsut shown on the walls of the temple is the erection of obelisks at Karnak temple.
 - 1. Hatshepsut is shown sending the ships off to the quarries at Aswan to acquire pink granite for the structures.
 - 2. The temple walls also show the obelisks returning to Thebes. They are laid end to end on a single barge and towed by 22 ships.
 - 3. Obelisks were pounded out of the quarry using stone balls weighing about 10 pounds; chisels and hammers were not used. To this day, we do not know with certainty how the obelisks were erected.

- C. Hatshepsut had a tomb built for herself as queen near the Valley of the Kings, but as pharaoh, she began construction of her tomb in the valley. The tomb contains two sarcophagi, hers and her father's.
- D. A commoner, Senenmut, played a significant role in Hatshepsut's life.
 - 1. Senenmut had about two dozen titles. He was, among other things, the overseer of the works, meaning that he was in charge of building projects; steward of the temple of Amun, controlling the vast treasury of Amun; the royal tutor to Hatshepsut's daughter; and steward of the palace.
 - 2. Graffiti in a cave near Deir el Bahri shows a man in an overseer's cap, Senenmut, making love to a woman in a pharaoh's crown, Hatshepsut.
 - 3. Senenmut is buried in a grand tomb next to Deir el Bahri.
- E. Twenty years after Hatshepsut died, her name was erased from all monuments, and she was never included on the king lists. Egypt never wanted to record that a woman had ruled the nation as king.

Essential Reading:

Joyce Tyldesley, *Hatshepsut*.

Supplementary Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, chapter IX.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How was it possible for Hatshepsut to become king?
- 2. What were the outstanding achievements of Hatshepsut's reign?

Lecture Four

Akhenaten—Heretic Pharaoh

Scope: In this lecture, we meet the most enigmatic and controversial pharaoh in Egypt's long history, Akhenaten. This pharaoh was a mystic who built a new religious capital in Egypt at Tell el Amarna, from which he based his worship of the single god Aten. Until Akhenaten's time, Egypt had been a rigid, conservative society that valued tradition over change; indeed, the Egyptians had worshiped the same gods for more than 3,000 years. Akhenaten's declaration of belief in a single god was a significant blow to the temples and the larger society. With the reign of Akhenaten, we see what happens when the three pillars of Egyptian society—religion, the military, and the pharaoh—are altered. We also discuss the claim that Akhenaten was the first monotheist and the “first individual in history.”

Outline

- I.** In this lecture, we discuss another pharaoh whose name was erased from official Egyptian records, the controversial Akhenaten (r. 1350–1334 B.C.).
 - A.** After Hatshepsut died, her nephew, Tuthmosis III, took the throne and ruled as a great pharaoh. The 18th Dynasty, of which these rulers were a part, was the high point of Egypt's power and prosperity.
 - B.** Akhenaten brought about change in the three pillars of Egyptian society—religion, the pharaoh, and the military—and, in doing so, almost destroyed Egypt.
- II.** Let's begin by looking at these three foundations of Egyptian society.
 - A.** Ancient Egyptians had a notion of divine order, and the place of their nation in this hierarchy was on top.
 - 1.** Periodically, the Egyptian army would march out, conquering territories in its path, to assert Egypt's supremacy.
 - 2.** The military looted these territories and brought back the wealth to Egypt. Conquest, then, contributed to the economy.
 - B.** In turn, a portion of the spoils of war was donated to the temples of Egypt, creating a connection between religion and the military.
 - C.** The pharaoh was not just a political figure in this society; he literally led the army into battle. The pharaoh's proper actions ensured the continuance of divine order in Egypt.
- III.** When Akhenaten came to power, he would bring change to these foundations of Egypt, which had become the most conservative society in the world.

- A. The unchanging climate of Egypt led to the notion that change was bad. Even the dead, uncovered a thousand years after they were buried, remained unchanged—naturally mummified.
 - B. In art, adherence to tradition was valued over creativity and innovation.
 - 1. No words exist for *art* or *artist* in the ancient Egyptian language.
 - 2. Plato, who saw most art as illusory and false, found eternal truth only in the art of the ancient Egyptians.
 - C. The political structure of Egypt had been the same for thousands of years. The pharaoh smiting an enemy was the central symbol of the nation.
 - D. Finally, Egyptians had worshipped the same gods for 3,000 years.
- IV. Akhenaten’s father, Amenhotep III, was a great pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. In the last few years of his reign, he took his son as coregent.
- A. Amenhotep III may have taken a coregent because he suffered dental problems. His son, known first as Amenhotep IV, was never mentioned as part of the royal family in any official records until he became king.
 - B. Amenhotep IV served as coregent for about four years, until his father died. A year later, he changed his name to Akhenaten.
 - 1. To the ancient Egyptians, names had magical meanings. *Amenhotep* meant, “Amun is pleased.” *Akhenaten* meant, “It is beneficial to the Aten,” who was a minor solar deity.
 - 2. With this change, Akhenaten instituted monotheism. He declared, “There is no god but Aten,” a stunning statement in a world of polytheistic religions.
 - C. Akhenaten also brought about changes in art. Unlike preceding pharaohs throughout history, Akhenaten is not shown in art as young and vigorous. His statues depict a man who may have suffered from deformities: He seems to have an elongated face with a pronounced chin, almond-shaped eyes, wide hips, and a suggestion of breasts. These physical deformities may explain why Akhenaten was not mentioned in official records until he became king.
 - D. Consider the implications of a change to monotheism for Egypt. The thousands of temples and priests throughout the nation were put out of business.
 - E. Finally, Akhenaten had no interest in the military; he was, instead, a religious visionary. Thus, he altered the three pillars of Egyptian society.
- V. Akhenaten’s actions were so unpopular that he may have been forced to leave Thebes.
- A. Akhenaten moved the capital about 200 miles north of Thebes to Tell el Amarna, an isolated spot in the desert absent of previous temples or gods.

- B. Who would have moved with Akhenaten? Besides his wife, Nefertiti, and two daughters, the losers of Egyptian society probably followed their pharaoh to his new religious capital. Nonetheless, the period of construction must have been an exciting time.
- C. Akhenaten erected *stelae* to delineate the boundaries of his new city. On these *stelae*, he had carved a proclamation.
 - 1. First, he says that the Aten showed him where to build. He had a religious vision of “the horizon of the Aten.”
 - 2. Second, he says that he will never leave the city after it is built. He could not, therefore, lead the army, nor govern Egypt.
- D. Akhenaten was no longer the political or military leader of Egypt; he served only as a religious leader.
 - 1. Archives of diplomatic correspondence reveal problems with Egypt’s foreign connections, but Akhenaten never addressed them.
 - 2. Akhenaten was concerned only with religion. He wrote the “Hymn to the Aten,” presenting a creator god of all people, not just Egyptians. Akhenaten’s god was so abstract that his subjects were probably unable to understand the concept and unwilling to embrace the religion.
- E. Akhenaten built his tomb in a location that resembles the Valley of the Kings. The walls of the tomb show some remarkable scenes.
 - 1. In one view, Akhenaten and Nefertiti are shown mourning the death of a woman, perhaps Akhenaten’s other wife. Nearby stands a nurse holding a royal child. Such private scenes of the details of life are not found on tomb walls elsewhere.
 - 2. Another scene shows Akhenaten and Nefertiti with their children, a view of a happy domestic life.
- F. In the 17th year of his reign, Akhenaten died, leaving the question: What course would his followers take?

Essential Reading:

Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*.

Supplementary Reading:

D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did Akhenaten change everything?
- 2. What were the social and economic effects of the change to monotheism?

Lecture Five

Tutankhamen—The Lost Pharaoh

Scope: In this lecture, we trace the history of discovery in the Valley of the Kings and learn how Egyptologists search for a lost tomb. Far from the haphazard expeditions seen in the movies, extensive research in libraries before excavating is the key, followed by careful planning. We meet the interesting cast of characters involved in early excavations, including the circus strongman Giovanni Belzoni, and follow them as they solve the mystery of the missing mummies in the valley. We then encounter Howard Carter and his patron, Lord Carnarvon, the team that finally unearthed Tutankhamen's tomb and the thousands of treasures inside.

Outline

- I. As mentioned in the last lecture, a scene in Akhenaten's tomb showed Akhenaten and Nefertiti mourning a woman laid out on a bed and a nurse standing nearby holding a royal child.
 - A. Our best guess is that the woman on the bed is Kiya, Akhenaten's minor wife, and that she has died in childbirth. The child held by the nurse is the one she has just given birth to, and that child is Tutankhamen.
 - B. Tutankhamen is so important in our history that we will devote two lectures to him. In this first lecture, we will use Tutankhamen to illustrate how Egyptologists search for a lost tomb.
- II. Let's begin with the history of the Valley of the Kings leading up to the discovery of Tutankhamen.
 - A. As you know, the Egyptians were conquered by the Greeks, and their civilization was lost. The Valley of the Kings was left unguarded, and most of the tombs were robbed.
 - B. Even in antiquity, however, tourists visited the Valley of the Kings.
 1. In the 1st century B.C., the Greek historian Diodorus was told that the Valley held 47 tombs; only a few of these were open and visible to Diodorus.
 2. Much later, in 1739, a sea captain, Richard Pococke, said that nine tombs could be entered.
 3. Bonaparte's *savants* visited the tombs in 1798. They discovered a new tomb, that of Amenhotep III, and made the first accurate map of the Valley of the Kings.

- C. Around the beginning of the 19th century, in 1810 or 1812, Giovanni Belzoni, a former monk, circus strongman, and engineer, traveled to Egypt on a new business venture.
1. While there, Belzoni decided to make his fortune by excavating the Valley and selling his finds in Europe.
 2. Belzoni began the first systematic excavation of the Valley by looking for debris that might have been left over from the original construction of the tombs and excavating nearby. In this way, he discovered the tomb of Seti I.
 3. Belzoni removed the stone sarcophagus of Seti I and sold it in England, where it can still be seen today in a museum. The word *sarcophagus* (related to *esophagus*) comes from the Greek and means “flesh eater.” The word derives from the Greeks’ perception of the mummies they saw when they opened the sarcophagi—all their flesh had been eaten away.
- D. Despite Belzoni’s successes in finding tombs, no pharaoh’s body had yet been found in the Valley of the Kings. Where were the mummies? The mystery was solved in 1881.
1. In the late 1870s, royal antiquities began to appear on the market in Egypt. Suddenly, dealers had *Books of the Dead* and other ancient royal artifacts. Egyptologists knew that a significant discovery had been made.
 2. The director of antiquities in Egypt traveled to the Valley of the Kings to investigate. He suspected a certain family of grave robbers that lived nearby, but he died before he could solve the mystery. His successor also traveled to the Valley of the Kings and questioned the grave robbers under torture.
 3. Ultimately, one of the brothers in the family promised that he would reveal the source of the antiquities. The authorities were led to a cache of royal mummies near Deir el Bahri. Among the pharaohs buried in this location were Ramses the Great, Tuthmosis III, and others from wide-ranging dynasties.
 4. We now know that in the 21st Dynasty, Egypt had declined to such a degree that the Valley of the Kings was not always guarded. The result was widespread looting, documented by an official inventory in the 21st Dynasty. The pharaoh at the time decided to move all the earlier kings to a single secret tomb for safekeeping. This is the tomb that was discovered in 1881; however, Tutankhamen was not buried there.
- E. In 1898, the tomb of Amenhotep II was discovered by an excavator who was mentally unstable. A side chamber in this tomb revealed the bodies of yet more pharaohs, but still no Tutankhamen.

- III.** Several excavators, an interesting cast of characters, had heard of Tutankhamen, who was not a well-known pharaoh.
- A.** Flinders Petrie was the first modern Egyptologist, the first excavator who was not a treasure hunter. He excavated for 70 years in Egypt.
 - 1.** Petrie was the first to see the value in ancient pottery. Other excavators discarded the pottery they found because they were more interested in gold. Petrie realized that civilizations could be dated by studying their pottery.
 - 2.** In the 1880s, excavating at Tell el Amarna, Petrie found objects engraved with the name Tutankhaten. This unknown pharaoh would later change his name to Tutankhamen.
 - 3.** Tutankhamen's name was engraved in a *cartouche*, an oval encircling the name of a king or queen. The word *cartouche* is French for "cartridge." When Napoleon's soldiers saw these oval engravings in 1798, they thought the symbol resembled a bullet.
 - B.** The next character on the scene was Howard Carter, originally an artist from a large family of artists.
 - 1.** One of the patrons of Carter's father was Lord Amherst, who was also a collector of Egyptian antiquities. Lord and Lady Amherst were also patrons of Flinders Petrie and sent the young Howard to him when Petrie requested an artist to help with his work in Egypt.
 - 2.** Later, Carter worked under Percy Newberry in his excavations at Beni Hassan. At the age of 26, Carter was given the job of Inspector of Antiquities for the Valley of the Kings.
 - C.** Another excavator at the time was Theodore Davis, a wealthy American who had a concession to dig in the Valley.
 - 1.** Davis's excavator, Edward Ayrton, discovered a *faience* (ceramic) cup with Tutankhamen's name on it. This artifact connected Tutankhamen to the Valley of the Kings.
 - 2.** Davis also discovered a small pit containing dishes, animal bones, bandages with Tutankhamen's name on them, and floral pectorals (collars).
 - 3.** Davis believed that he had discovered the tomb of Tutankhamen and declared, "I fear the Valley of the Kings is now exhausted." He gave up his concession to dig in the Valley.
 - D.** Carter knew that Davis had found the remains of a last meal eaten by Tutankhamen's relatives before his burial, rather than the tomb. However, as inspector, Carter was unable to excavate the area himself.
 - 1.** Shortly thereafter, an incident involving French tourists and an Egyptian guard employed by Carter cost Carter his job.
 - 2.** Lord Carnarvon, a wealthy Englishman, hired the unemployed Carter to excavate for him. Carnarvon has the interesting distinction of being involved in the first automobile accident—ever—in 1903.

3. Around 1915, Carter and Carnarvon obtained the concession for the Valley of the Kings, but they had to put their work on hold during World War I.
- E. Carter drew a detailed map of the Valley of the Kings, carefully marking the areas that had been excavated to bedrock and those that had not been excavated. He and Carnarvon agreed that they would excavate every remaining inch of the Valley of the Kings.
1. After working for several years, the team had made no significant finds, and Carnarvon was ready to give up. Carter convinced him to sponsor one more year of the expedition, and on November 4, 1922, the first step to the tomb of Tutankhamen was found.
 2. Carter wired Carnarvon to come to Egypt immediately. In the meantime, the steps were cleared, and a sealed door was uncovered. When the men finally looked into the tomb, they saw an antechamber piled high with artifacts. This was the first time that a pharaoh's tomb had been found intact.
 3. It would take years for Carter and Carnarvon to excavate the tomb, and under a legal arrangement, all the artifacts would remain in Egypt. Perhaps the most important find among all the treasures of the tomb was the undisturbed mummy of Tutankhamen.

Essential Reading:

Nicholas Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamen*.

Supplementary Reading:

Nicholas Reeves and John H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What led to the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb?
2. What did we learn from the objects in the tomb?

Lecture Six

Tutankhamen—A Murder Theory

Scope: In this lecture, I present my own theory suggesting that Tutankhamen was murdered. We see how such a hypothesis from an archaeologist is put together from diverse sources and extensive research. We then return to the story of Carter's excavation of the tomb and the treasures it contained, including three nested gold shrines and three nested sarcophagi. Next, we turn to Tutankhamen's mummy and discuss what has been learned about the pharaoh from two autopsies, before delving into the genealogy of the boy-king and the circumstances surrounding his death that suggest murder. Finally, we learn who the best candidate for the murderer is.

Outline

- I. We begin this lecture by going further inside Tutankhamen's tomb.
 - A. After discovering the tomb, Carter and Carnarvon did not want to be bothered by the press. They decided to sell the rights to the story of Tutankhamen's tomb to one British newspaper, *The London Times*. Even Egyptian journalists were locked out.
 - B. Carter and Carnarvon cleared the antechamber and made a number of interesting discoveries. They found funerary couches, thrones, and chariots, in addition to jars of sacred oils and other provisions for the next world. Strangely, nothing in the tomb named Tutankhamen's father or mother.
 - C. The excavation was difficult and took more than 10 years. At one point, Carter requested help from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and was given the services of the photographer Harry Burton.
 - D. When the team finally reached the burial chamber, they discovered a small room, about 14 feet square. The space was almost entirely occupied by a gold shrine, which seemed to have been built inside the room. To remove the shrine, it had to be carefully dismantled, and doing so revealed two [should be three] more shrines, one inside the other.
 - E. Eventually, Carter's team reached the sarcophagus. The excavation was halted for a time when Carter committed a political gaffe that angered the Egyptian government, and before he could return to work, Carnarvon died. His death gave rise to rumors of the curse of Tutankhamen.
 - F. Inside the sarcophagus were three nested sarcophagi [should be "coffins"], the last one, 250 pounds of solid gold. Inside this coffin, the

body of Tutankhamen was held fast by congealed oil poured over it 3,300 years earlier.

- II.** The story revealed by the mummy of Tutankhamen may be even more interesting than the objects discovered in his tomb. I believe that Tutankhamen's body and the circumstances of his burial strongly suggest that he was murdered.
 - A.** To remove the mummy from the sarcophagus, Carter called in an anatomist, who sawed the body in half at the fourth lumbar vertebra.
 - B.** This "autopsy" of the body revealed that the *epiphyses*, or ends of the long bones, were separate and movable, indicating that Tutankhamen was about 18 years old when he died. The fact that Tutankhamen's molars had not yet erupted also confirmed this age.
- III.** How did Tutankhamen become king?
 - A.** Remember that Tutankhamen was the son of Akhenaten, born at Tell el Armarna of a minor wife. When Akhenaten died, he left behind only two royal children, Tutankhamen and his half-sister, Ankhesenpaaten. Tutankhamen married his sister, both of them around the age of 10, to become king.
 - B.** The couple left Tell el Armarna, returning to Thebes and the earlier religious traditions. Further, Tutankhamen changed his name to Tutankhamen and his wife changed hers to Ankhesenamen, harking back to the god Amun. These children were probably frightened by the events taking place around them.
 - C.** The vizier of Egypt, a man named Aye, was likely making decisions for the young royal couple.
 - D.** Tutankhamen began his reign by building his own tomb, near that of his grandfather, Amenhotep III. Next, Tutankhamen embarked on a project to decorate an unfinished temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor. The walls there are illustrated with scenes of the most traditional religious festival in Egypt. Tutankhamen was, at this point, probably a popular king.
- IV.** Why, then, was Tutankhamen murdered?
 - A.** A second autopsy, conducted in the 1960s, was performed more carefully than the first one. The mummy, which still rests in the tomb, was x-rayed on site. Findings indicated that Tutankhamen could have suffered a blow to the back of the head, which in turn, could have caused his death.
 - B.** After Tutankhamen's death, his wife, Ankhesenamen, sent a letter to the king of the Hittites, a traditional enemy of Egypt. In the letter, she says that she is afraid, and she offers to marry a Hittite prince and make him king of Egypt. A Hittite ambassador was sent to confirm the truth

of the letter. When he returned, a prince was dispatched, but he was murdered at the borders of Egypt.

- C. The walls of Tutankhamen's tomb reveal what happened after his death. Inscriptions show a high priest performing the *Opening of the Mouth* ceremony on Tutankhamen's mummy to enable him to breathe and speak in the next world. The priest is also wearing the crown of the pharaoh; he is Aye, the former vizier of Egypt.
- D. How did Aye become king? A ring found in the 1930s by Percy Newberry shows a double *cartouche* encircling the names of Ankhesenamen and Aye. Aye, a commoner, had married Tutankhamen's widow, but she disappeared from history.
- E. Aye may have realized that he would no longer be needed as advisor once Tutankhamen became old enough to rule on his own. He also knew that Ankhesenamen was capable of bearing children and would probably produce an heir. In these circumstances, it is possible that Aye murdered Tutankhamen, but ironically, Tutankhamen remains the king that is known to history.

Essential Reading:

Bob Brier, *The Murder of Tutankhamen*.

Supplementary Reading:

Christine Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What circumstances surrounding Tutankhamen's death suggest murder?
2. How likely was it that Egypt would accept a Hittite as king?

Lecture Seven

Ramses the Great—The Early Years

Scope: Ramses II (the Great) ruled for 67 years and was one of Egypt's exceptional pharaohs. His grandfather, Ramses I, was chosen to be pharaoh by Aye's successor; his father, Seti I, groomed the young Ramses for kingship from his youth. Shortly after Ramses took the throne, he began shaping his reputation as a builder and a warrior. He completed his father's monuments, although he took the opportunity to carve his own inscriptions on them. He also marshaled his army to retake Kadesh from the Hittites, and his leadership under ambush at the Battle of Kadesh made Ramses a hero; the story of the battle was carved on temples throughout Egypt. Along with his accomplishments as a ruler, Ramses was a family man, but as we shall see in this lecture and the next, tragedies in his family may have changed Ramses profoundly over the course of his life.

Outline

- I. As you recall, Aye succeeded Tutankhamen as pharaoh, but he was an old man and ruled for only two years. Neither he nor Tutankhamen left any successors.
 - A. Aye was succeeded by a general, Horemheb. He was a fairly strong leader and ruled for many years. He attempted to erase all traces of Akhenaten's heresy.
 - 1. He destroyed Tell el Armarna, using the blocks from the city in his own monuments.
 - 2. Horemheb also erased all traces of Aye and Tutankhamen.
 - 3. None of the three preceding kings, Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, or Aye, would appear in any of the official records of Egypt. All three were thought to be tainted by the heresy of monotheism.
 - B. Because Horemheb also had no children, he seems to have chosen his successor. His choice, an older military man named Ramses, may at first seem an odd decision: Why choose an old man? The answer is that Ramses had children and grandchildren, and with him, the succession would be established.
 - C. To Egyptologists, Horemheb is the last king of the 18th Dynasty. The 19th Dynasty begins with Ramses I and continues through his son, Seti I, and Seti's son, our subject in this lecture, Ramses the Great (r. 1279–1212 B.C.)
- II. Ramses the Great was groomed to be pharaoh from childhood, and he would rule for 67 years.
 - A. Seti I took Ramses on military campaigns in his youth.

- B. Every pharaoh had five names that reflect the politics of the times.
 1. Ramses's *Horus name*, which associated the pharaoh with the falcon god Horus, was "Horus, Strong Bull, Beloved of Truth."
 2. A pharaoh's next name is the *Two-Ladies name*, referring to two early protective goddesses, the Cobra and the Vulture. For Ramses, this name was "Protector of Egypt Who Subdues Foreign Lands."
 3. Ramses's *Golden Horus name* was "Rich in Years, Great in Victories."
 4. Next came the *King of Upper and Lower Egypt name*, which for Ramses was "Strong in Right Is Ra," an association with the sun god.
 5. Ramses's *Son of Ra name* was "Beloved of Amun."
 6. The name *Ramses* itself means, "Ra Is Born."
 - C. Ramses would distinguish himself in two ways: as a military man and as a builder.
 1. Early in his reign, he completed his father's temple at Abydos, a sacred city where Osiris was believed to be buried. Ramses carved his own inscriptions throughout Seti's monument.
 2. Ramses also completed the Hypostyle Hall at the vast Karnak Temple and claimed it as his own.
- III. In year 5 of his reign, when Ramses was about 25 years old, he established his military reputation at the Battle of Kadesh.
- A. We have more detailed information about this battle than about any other ancient event.
 - B. Kadesh was a city in northern Syria controlled by the Hittites. Early in his reign, Ramses marshaled his army and rode out to retake Kadesh.
 - C. The army was organized in terms of skills.
 1. The lowest level was the infantry, whose members were equipped with spears, swords, and shields and who marched to battle.
 2. On a higher level were the archers, who were able to avoid hand-to-hand combat.
 3. The highest level was the chariotry, the military elite of ancient Egypt. Chariots were expensive to build, requiring three different kinds of wood for the axle, the wheels, and the body. An archer rode with the charioteer, who drove a team of two horses.
 - D. Ramses's army was 20,000 strong, divided into four divisions of 5,000. Each division was named after a god: Amun, Ra, Ptah, and Set.
 1. The army marched northward, taking town after town, despite the logistical problems of maintaining enough food and water to supply 20,000 men.

2. As the army entered Syria, the men probably saw flowers for the first time. In the distance they saw their first glimpse of snow on the mountaintops.
 3. Two locals of the Beka Valley told Ramses that Muwatallis, the Hittite king, was fleeing. In truth, Muwatallis was hiding in the woods not far from Kadesh with 40,000 men and 2,500 chariots.
 4. Ramses, believing the information he was given, proceeded ahead of his army; behind him, the division of Ra was attacked.
 5. Ramses set up camp at Kadesh, scenes of which were later carved on temple walls. The camp was enclosed by a circle of round-topped Egyptian shields. As it was being set up, the camp was attacked by Muwatallis.
 6. Pandemonium ensued, but according to accounts, Ramses rallied his men and almost single-handedly saved the day.
 7. Ramses managed to push back the Hittites for the night, but the battle the next day would be a standoff. In the end, Ramses refused to sign a peace treaty and would accept only a truce. The battle account was carved everywhere in Egypt.
- IV.** Ramses was also unequalled as a builder. After completing his father's monuments, he began to build his own.
- A.** One significant monument is the temple of Abu Simbel, south of Aswan in Nubia.
 - B.** Carved out of a mountain, the monument was a great piece of architectural propaganda designed to scare off Nubians sailing north.
 - C.** In the front of the monument are four 67-foot-tall statues of Ramses the Great seated on his throne.
 - D.** Inside the temple were inscribed scenes of captive Nubians, as well as a depiction of the Battle of Kadesh.
- V.** Just as important as Ramses was as a soldier and a builder is Ramses as a family man.
- A.** Ramses's great wife was Nefertari, for whom he also built a temple. An inscription near the entrance to this temple reads, "Nefertari—She for whom the sun doth shine." Nefertari may have died shortly after her temple was completed.
 - B.** Nefertari's son, Amunhirkepshef, was slated to become the king of Egypt. His name means, "Amun Is upon My Sword." This son died before he could become king.
 - C.** Ramses, however, had 52 sons and more than 100 children altogether. Another important wife to him was Istnofret. Her son Khaemwaset was the high priest of Memphis and the first archaeologist in history—he labeled the pyramids for posterity. Khaemwaset also built the Serapeum, burial place of the sacred Apis Bulls.

- D. Our picture of Ramses from these early years reveals a military man, a builder, and a family man, but he was soon to have a “midlife crisis” that would change him completely.

Essential Reading:

K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramses II.*

Supplementary Reading:

Rita Freed, *Ramesses the Great.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What really happened at the Battle of Kadesh?
2. What was novel about the temple at Abu Simbel?

Lecture Eight

Ramses the Great—The Twilight Years

Scope: In the later years of Ramses's reign, his personality seems to have changed from the great warrior/builder to a more sedentary pharaoh. Today, we would call this transformation a midlife crisis. Ramses saw the death of his beloved wife, Nefertari; his eldest son, Amunhirkepshef; and probably others of his children. He erected a beautiful tomb for Nefertari and the largest tomb in Egypt for his sons, as well as a tomb for himself. In this lecture, we will discuss the last 40 years of his reign, highlighting the indications of his transformation and the ways in which these last years differed from his glorious beginning. Finally, we discuss the possibility that Ramses was the unnamed pharaoh of the biblical Exodus.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we discuss Ramses's "midlife crisis," which may have been brought on by some difficult life experiences.
 - A. In year 21 of Ramses's reign, when he was about 41, he signed a peace treaty with the Hittites, who were traditional enemies of Egypt.
 1. The Hittites, weakened by fighting both the Egyptians and the Assyrians, needed the treaty.
 2. The treaty, perhaps the first written in history, contained defense and trade agreements and a nonaggression pact.
 3. The treaty was first written on a silver tablet, then later copied on the walls of the Karnak and Abu Simbel temples.
 4. Ramses did not need the treaty, but he agreed to it nonetheless.
 - B. Another indication of a change in Ramses was his marriage to a Hittite bride in year 34.
 1. He boasted of her dowry, which included exotic goods and horses: "Greater will her dowry be than that of the daughter of the king of Babylon."
 2. The Hittite bride traveled 800 miles with an armed escort, and when she arrived, Hittite and Egyptian soldiers "ate and drank face to face, not fighting," according to an inscription on a temple wall.
 - C. Yet another exchange between the Hittites and the Egyptians indicates friendship.
 1. The Hittite king requested that Ramses send an Egyptian physician to attend to his sister, who couldn't bear children.
 2. Egyptians were known for their skills in "the necessary art," that is, medicine. Herodotus noted that Egyptians had specialists in gynecology and ophthalmology.

- D.** In year 44, Ramses took a second Hittite bride to further cement the peace.
- II.** What brought about these changes in Ramses?
- A.** As mentioned earlier, Ramses's beloved wife Nefertari died in year 20. Further, his first-born son, Amunhirkepshef, died around year 17, and Khaemwaset, the son who labeled the pyramids, also died.
- B.** Ramses abandoned military expeditions and turned his attention from building temples to building tombs. The first was Nefertari's tomb in the Valley of the Queens.
- 1.** Nefertari's is the most beautiful tomb in all of Egypt. Its stark white background accentuates the figures depicted on the walls.
 - 2.** This tomb had been terribly damaged by the effects of time and salt crystals when it was discovered in 1908. It was painstakingly restored by the Getty Institute in the 1980s.
- C.** The most famous tomb built by Ramses, and the largest tomb in Egypt, is KV 5 (for "Valley of the Kings, 5"), erected for Ramses's sons.
- 1.** The tomb was first discovered around 1837, then lost, probably because of rare flooding in the Valley of the Kings. It was rediscovered in 1987 by Dr. Kent Weeks.
 - 2.** The architecture of KV 5 is quite strange. It has at least three levels and hundreds of small chambers; archaeologists may require more than 100 years to excavate the tomb safely.
- D.** Ramses's own tomb reflects his greatness.
- 1.** The workmen's village at Deir el Medineh was supported by Ramses just to build his tomb. From day-to-day information found on potsherds, we know more about this village than about any other ancient town in the world.
 - 2.** We also have information about how the tombs were built. Two teams, one working on the right-hand wall and one working on the left-hand wall, built the tomb simultaneously. Specialists were used for chiseling rock, plastering, marking grids on the walls, and painting and sculpting.
 - 3.** The bronze chisels of the workmen were weighed at the beginning of and the end of the week to ensure that no metal was stolen.
 - 4.** The burial chamber of Ramses the Great probably held more treasure than any other room in antiquity, but it was looted.
- III.** The final event that may have caused the transformation in Ramses was the biblical Exodus. Was Ramses the unnamed pharaoh?
- A.** The Exodus is mentioned more frequently in the Old Testament than any other event and is the most important event in the history of the Hebrews. However, no archaeological evidence exists to verify the occurrence of the Exodus.

- B. According to the biblical account, the Israelites were in bondage, toiling for the pharaoh in Egypt. The pharaoh is not named; indeed, *pharaoh* is not an Egyptian word for “king” but a corruption of two Egyptian words meaning “great house.”
- C. The Israelites were building “store cities,” essentially, warehouse facilities for the army. The cities, Pithom and Pi-Ramesses, actually existed.
- D. As we know, Moses was the leader of the Israelites. The etymology of his name is interesting.
 - 1. According to biblical commentary, *Moses* is derived from Hebrew and means “to draw out”; Moses was “drawn out” of the water by an Egyptian princess. But why would an Egyptian princess speak Hebrew?
 - 2. *Moses* is actually an Egyptian name meaning “birth.”
- E. In response to Moses’s plea to free the Israelites, the pharaoh said that they would be given no more straw with which to make bricks. When the Israelites turned to God, he spoke to Moses in the form of a burning bush, promising that he would free the Israelites.
 - 1. God promised to give Moses divine powers; Moses would, for example, be able to turn his staff into a serpent in front of the pharaoh. The pharaoh, however, was unimpressed, because his magicians were able to perform the same feat.
 - 2. Eventually, the ten plagues were visited on Egypt, but the pharaoh was unmoved by the first nine of these. The last plague was the death of the first-born sons of Egypt.
 - 3. When the pharaoh’s first-born son was killed, he relented and freed the Israelites.
- F. Although it may have been exaggerated, internal references in the biblical account confirm parts of the Exodus story.
 - 1. For example, in the beginning of the biblical story, the pharaoh tells the Hebrew midwives to watch the “two stones,” a reference to Egyptian birthing stools.
 - 2. Further, Ramses’s first-born son, Amunhirkepshef, died around the time of the Exodus.
- G. Ramses died at the age of 86, suffering severe handicaps and, perhaps, defeated by life.

Essential Reading:

Exodus 1–14.

Supplementary Reading:

Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko, *Exodus, the Egyptian Evidence*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What events suggest a change in Ramses's personality?
2. Did the Exodus really occur?

Lecture Nine

The Great Nubians—Egypt Restored

Scope: In this lecture, we discuss, not one king, but a family of five kings who were unique, great in their own way, and are often overlooked in history. Egypt had always dominated Nubia, the land to the south that is now the modern Sudan. In the twilight of Egypt's history, however, the Nubians became independent, fought their way north, and conquered Egypt. They did not come as foreign invaders but as courageous and thoughtful leaders who sought to restore Egypt to her former greatness. For almost 100 years (747–656 B.C.), the Nubian kings ruled Egypt in the tradition of the earlier pharaohs, undertaking building projects and military expeditions. With their defeat by the Assyrians, the Nubian era came to an end, but these kings should be remembered as wise, brave, and pious rulers.

Outline

- I. After Ramses the Great, Egypt began a slow decline.
 - A. Although they took his name, the pharaohs that came after Ramses were not as great as he had been. Indeed, with Ramses XI, Egypt experienced a revolt, and the priests took over as leaders.
 - B. Egypt was invaded by Libyans, who ruled for almost 200 years. Toward the end of Libyan rule, factions fought for control of Egypt, but the Nubians finally reunified the nation.
- II. Nubia and Egypt had a love-hate relationship for 2,000 years.
 - A. The border of Egypt in the south was marked by five cataracts in the Nile. Nubia occupied either side of the Nile at these five cataracts. The area is now the Sudan.
 - B. To the Egyptians, Nubia was Kush or *Ta-Seti*, the “Land of the Bow.” Nubian bowmen were hired into the Egyptian army, and Nubia supplied Egypt with gold.
 - C. For 2,000 years, Egypt controlled Nubia, but when Egypt became weakened, the Nubians were allowed to grow independent. For the first time, the Nubians were unified under one leader, Piye (called “Piankhi”; r. 747–716 B.C.).
 - D. Piye marched his bowmen north into the Delta and took control of Egypt. Along the way, he stopped at Thebes to celebrate the Egyptian religious festival called *Opet*. Piye viewed himself not as a foreigner but as a leader who would return Egypt to its greatness.
 - E. Piye returned to Nubia and erected a victory *stela*, boasting that he had defeated the petty princes vying for power in Egypt. The *stela* also

notes that Piye punished the Egyptians when he discovered that they hadn't taken proper care of their horses.

- F.** Piye appointed his sister, Amenirdis I, as Divine Adoratrice of Amun and sent her to Thebes. There, Amenirdis controlled the treasury. Nubians frequently appointed women to positions of power.
 - G.** Piye continued to rule from Nubia, but he allowed the earlier Egyptian princes to serve as regional rulers in their territories.
 - H.** Piye was buried in Nubia at el Kurru in a pyramid, harking back to the Old Kingdom.
 - 1.** Nubian pyramids, however, were smaller and built at steeper angles than Egyptian pyramids.
 - 2.** Further, Nubian pyramids were solid; they did not contain burial chambers. Nubian kings were usually buried underground, 50–100 yards away from their pyramids.
 - 3.** Inside the tombs, Nubian kings were buried in the custom of their country, on funerary couches. Piye was also buried with his horses, teamed up with his chariot and ready for action. Some Egyptian practices were followed, however, such as burial with *ushabti* (“answerer”) figures.
- III.** In the Nubian custom, Piye was succeeded by his brother, Shabaka (r. 716–702 B.C.).
- A.** Shabaka, himself a religious man and thinker, carved a *stela* that represents the only philosophical document we have from ancient Egypt.
 - B.** The stone is sometimes called “The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest.” Shabaka claimed to have copied the document from an older source. It describes the creation of the world in abstract, almost biblical terms.
 - C.** Shabaka was buried near Piye in the pyramid cemetery of el Kurru, near Gebel Barkal, which means “Pure Mountain.” On one side of the mountain is an outcropping of rock sculpted to resemble a cobra wearing the tall white crown of the pharaoh.
- IV.** A nephew of Shabaka, Shibtiku (r. 702–690 B.C.), was the next Nubian king.
- A.** Shibtiku sent his daughter, Shepenwepet II, to Thebes to become the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, again, to maintain control over Egypt.
 - B.** Shibtiku faced a problem, however: The Assyrians were becoming powerful and were poised to invade Egypt.
- V.** A new king, Taharqa (r. 690–664 B.C.), brother of Shibtiku, would face the threat of the Assyrians.
- A.** Taharqa was probably a great builder, as illustrated by his one remaining pillar at Karnak Temple.

- B. Taharqa traveled north and battled the Assyrians in Judea (modern Israel). We have two accounts of this battle.
 - 1. Herodotus wrote that mice ate the bowstrings of the Assyrians on the eve of battle, rendering them useless to the Assyrians in the morning.
 - 2. According to the Bible (*Kings*), the Angel of the Lord slew many Assyrians. Undoubtedly, Taharqa was victorious.
 - C. The Assyrians regrouped and defeated Taharqa at Memphis in year 19 of his reign. Taharqa fled to Thebes. Ultimately, the Assyrians would prove too powerful for the Nubians.
- VI. The last of the “Fabulous Five” Nubian kings was Tanuatamun (r. 664–656 B.C.), Taharqa’s cousin. He, too, was defeated by the Assyrians, ending the Nubian era.
- VII. For a brief period, the Nubian kings restored Egypt to its former greatness and should be remembered for their courage.
- A. Afrocentrism is a school of thought that holds that much of Western culture comes from Africa, rather than Greece. The ancient Greeks themselves traced much of their culture to Egypt.
 - B. In the context of Afrocentrism, the question is often raised: Were the Egyptians black? The answer is: probably not. But the Nubians, coming from the Sudan, were black, and they ennobled Egypt with their actions. African Americans looking to take pride in their heritage can certainly lay claim to these brave, pious, and thoughtful kings.

Essential Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, chapter XVI.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 190–193.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How did the Nubians view themselves in relation to the Egyptians?
- 2. What did the Nubian kings hope to achieve in Egypt?

Lecture Ten

Alexander the Great—Anatomy of a Legend

Scope: Alexander the Great began 300 years of Greek control in Egypt. We trace his life to understand better these final 300 years of Egyptian civilization. We examine three major stages in Alexander's career: (1) Alexander as a young general, (2) Alexander as pharaoh, and (3) Alexander the Great, the legend. He began his career by continuing his father's fight against the Persians; with their defeat in 333 B.C., Alexander entered Egypt as a liberator. His goal in Egypt was to become pharaoh; he made the difficult journey to the Siwa Oasis to consult the oracle there and have himself declared a god. As pharaoh, he founded the port of Alexandria, distinguished from Egyptian cities by its outward Greek worldview. With other lands to conquer, Alexander marched his army to India, but he became ill and died on the return trip. His body lay in state for years—and was even hijacked—before he was finally buried in Alexandria.

Outline

- I. Egypt was first invaded by Libyans, then Nubians, followed by Assyrians, Persians, and finally, its last foreign rulers, the Greeks.
 - A. A medieval legend held that Alexander the Great was the son of Nectanebo II, the last native-born ruler of Egypt. According to the legend, Nectanebo fled to Macedonia when the Persians invaded Egypt, where he seduced Alexander's mother.
 - B. Alexander's real father was Philip II of Macedon.
 1. Remember that at this time in history, Greece did not exist. The region was populated by independent city-states, such as Athens and Sparta.
 2. Philip tried to unite these city-states as allies against the Persians.
 3. When Philip was assassinated (336 B.C.), Alexander, at the age of 20, took over the Macedonian army.
 - C. Alexander's career (r. 332–323 B.C.) had three stages: Alexander as a military man, as a pharaoh, and as a legend.
- II. At the age of 20, Alexander continued the fight against the Persians and defeated Darius III at Issus (333 B.C.). With the Persians defeated, Alexander entered Egypt as a liberator.
 - A. The Greeks, including Alexander, revered Egyptian civilization and traced their heritage to Egypt.
 - B. Alexander's goal in Egypt was to become the pharaoh—a god. He experienced three major events during his Egyptian sojourn, although

we do not know in what order they occurred: He journeyed to the Siwa Oasis, he was crowned as pharaoh, and he founded the city of Alexandria.

- III.** The Siwa Oasis is remote, in the west, 38 miles from Libya.
- A.** To reach Siwa, it was necessary to cross a desert. One Persian leader lost an army of 50,000 men on this journey.
 - B.** Alexander made this dangerous trek to consult the oracle at Siwa.
 - 1.** Egypt had a tradition of oracles, some of which were represented by statues that were said to speak.
 - 2.** The oracles' decisions on legal questions were just as binding as those issued by a court of elders.
 - 3.** The oracle at Siwa was a priest. The Greeks, of course, were familiar with human oracles.
 - C.** On the way to Siwa, Alexander and his men were lost, but according to legend, he was saved by crows.
 - D.** After the journey through the desert, the lush landscape of Siwa must have seemed amazing to Alexander.
 - E.** The oracle resided in a temple on top of a hill. Egyptian temples were designed to give visitors the feeling that they were progressing into ever-more sacred space.
 - 1.** The entrance was an open courtyard. Just inside the temple was the hypostyle hall, from which visitors ascended a series of ramps to increasingly enclosed spaces.
 - 2.** Only the high priests were permitted inside the holiest of holy places; Alexander probably did not venture this far into the temple.
 - F.** Alexander asked the oracle one question: "Who is my father?" Before Alexander could be crowned as pharaoh, the oracle had to declare that his father was the sun. Alexander received the answer he sought.
- IV.** Alexander launched himself as a legend when he was crowned pharaoh; in essence, he was declared a god.
- A.** Alexander wrote his name in a *cartouche* in the Egyptian fashion and even built a small temple at Thebes.
 - B.** He founded 12 cities named Alexandria, and one became great.
 - 1.** We know a good deal about the founding of Alexandria, including the architect's name, Dinocrates.
 - 2.** According to tradition, Alexandria and Dinocrates walked the land, laying out the city in a grid. They planned the city to take advantage of the Mediterranean breezes.
 - 3.** Thinking like a Greek more than an Egyptian, Alexander constructed a great port from which to sail outward.
 - C.** The new pharaoh, however, did not stay long in Egypt; he had his sights set on other lands to conquer.

- V. Undoubtedly, Alexander was one of the greatest generals in history, partially because of the loyalty he inspired in his men.
- A. From Egypt, Alexander set out with his Macedonian army of 50,000.
 - 1. This army, with its contingent of hangers-on, women, merchants, and others, would have moved very slowly. An expedition with Alexander could take as long as ten years!
 - 2. Supplying this army was a tremendous undertaking. Ships sailing along the coast supplied the troops with water. Movements were carefully planned to coincide with harvests along the route.
 - B. With this army, Alexander marched from Babylon to Susa to India and was never defeated. After his men refused to go on in India, the army began the long march home.
 - 1. Egyptians never mingled with foreigners and never colonized other countries. They believed that to die in another land, away from the embalmers and a proper burial, would be to forfeit immortality.
 - 2. In contrast, Alexander realized that to truly take control of a people, the conquerors must integrate with them. He even encouraged mass marriages between his men and the widows of the men they had killed in battle.
 - 3. As the army traveled home, then, the men would reencounter women whom they had married and, perhaps, with whom they had had children.
 - C. When the army reached Babylon, Alexander became ill. He suffered high fevers for long periods, possibly from dysentery or malaria. It became apparent that he was going to die.
 - 1. His generals gathered around Alexander and asked, "To whom does the empire go?" Alexander's reply was, "To the fittest."
 - 2. After his death, Alexander's generals divided his vast empire among themselves. Ptolemy received Egypt.
 - D. The story of Alexander, however, was not yet over. His body remained in Babylon, lying in state, for a year. Tradition holds that it was preserved in spices.
 - 1. The body remained in Babylon for so long because it was awaiting the construction of a gold *catafalque* for transport back to Macedon.
 - 2. The *catafalque* was in the shape of a temple, and its walls were carved with scenes of Alexander's victories.
 - 3. The *catafalque* was pulled on wheels by teams of mules. Each mule wore a gold bell around its neck to announce the procession's arrival.
 - E. When the procession reached Syria, Ptolemy rode out with his army, ostensibly to salute the body, but he hijacked it to Egypt instead.

1. Ptolemy believed that the body of the legendary Alexander should be buried in Alexandria.
 2. The body lay in state in Memphis for years while the tomb was being built in Alexandria.
 3. The tomb was called the *soma* (Greek = “body”) and was located at the crossroads of the two main streets of Alexandria.
 4. Alexander’s body has disappeared since his burial. Later Greek rulers of Egypt supposedly opened his tomb and replaced his gold coffin with a crystal one. Cleopatra also supposedly showed Alexander’s body to a visitor.
- F. For the next 300 years, Egypt would be ruled by Greeks.

Essential Reading:

Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great*.

Supplementary Reading:

Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How was Alexander viewed by the Egyptians?
2. Why did Alexander go to the Siwa Oasis?

Lecture Eleven

The First Ptolemies—Greek Greatness

Scope: In this lecture, we see the beginning of the end for ancient Egyptian civilization. Under the rule of the first Ptolemies, Egypt was reorganized and run like a business. Taxation was heavy and administration oppressive. The Greeks viewed the Egyptians as existing only to enrich their coffers. The great achievements of the first Ptolemies were purely Greek conceptions: the famous Library of Alexandria and the Pharos Lighthouse. The library was the first institution of its kind to encourage the sharing of ideas among scholars; Egyptian libraries, in contrast, were housed in temples and open only to priests. The lighthouse was constructed to attract trade to Alexandria. These accomplishments, however, did not bring lasting respect to the Ptolemy dynasty; as we see in the next lecture, later Ptolemies were disparaged by the people.

Outline

- I. As we learned in the last lecture, Alexander died in Babylon, and his body was hijacked on its way to Greece by one of Alexander's generals, Ptolemy.
 - A. That general founded a dynasty of 15 Ptolemies in Egypt. The first two or three of these leaders were effective; after that, the dynasty went downhill.
 - B. Macedon was not thought to be as culturally sophisticated as, for example, Athens. Despite this, Alexander was well educated; Aristotle was said to have been his teacher. With Alexander began the tradition of cultured, educated military leaders; Ptolemy I (r. 323–282 B.C.) continued this tradition.
- II. Ptolemy I's achievements were marked by their connection with Greece and the Greek way of thinking.
 - A. He built the famous Library of Alexandria, no trace of which has been found*. It may have been washed into the Mediterranean.
 - B. The library was a milestone in the intellectual history of the world. It was the first "think tank" in history and the first institution to encourage scientists and scholars to work together and exchange ideas.
 - C. This approach to scholarship reflected Greek thinking. Egypt, in contrast, was isolationist in its thinking. Egyptian libraries were housed in temples and were open only to priests.
 - D. According to one account, the Library of Alexandria contained 700,000 "books," or papyrus scrolls. A separate room was maintained just for the works of Homer.

- E. The Library was a complex in which scholars and scientists could live and work under state sponsorship.
 - F. The word *museum* (“place of the muses”) comes to us from the Library of Alexandria.
 - G. Euclid wrote his *Elements of Geometry* (300 B.C.) at the Library. Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the Earth; Hierophilus determined that the brain, not the heart, was the seat of intelligence; and Hero of Alexandria invented the steam engine—all at the Library of Alexandria.
- III. Ptolemy I was called *Soter* (“savior”) after he repelled an attack on the island of Rhodes by one of Alexander’s other generals. Yet Ptolemy I maintained his allegiance to Alexander the Great.
- A. In deference to the memory of Alexander and because two of Alexander’s relations might lay claim to the throne, Ptolemy first ruled Egypt as governor.
 - 1. One of these other relations was Alexander’s half-brother Philip III Arrhidaeus, who was retarded. Ptolemy I built Philip a monument.
 - 2. The second possibility for ruler of Egypt was Alexander IV, the great general’s son with Roxanne, born after his father’s death.
 - 3. Alexander’s mother, Olympias, had Philip III assassinated so that her grandson, Alexander IV, could rule Egypt. This plan was thwarted when both Roxanne and her son were also assassinated.
 - 4. Only after these possible successors were dead did Ptolemy I begin to rule as king.
 - B. To become king, Ptolemy married the daughter of Nectanebo II, the last native ruler of Egypt.
- IV. The Pharos Lighthouse, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, was another of Ptolemy I’s public works projects.
- A. The Lighthouse was meant to attract trade to Alexandria.
 - B. The Lighthouse was built just across from the port of Alexandria on Pharos Island.
 - C. It had three tiers: a square base with an octagonal level and a circular level. It stood about 420 feet tall.
 - D. At the top, a fire was kept burning 24 hours a day, and its light was reflected by a huge curved mirror of bronze. The light could be seen from 30 miles away.
 - E. The Lighthouse was in operation until 1303, when it was destroyed in an earthquake.

- F. This project, along with the Library, was truly Greek in concept. Like the Library, the Lighthouse sought to open the enclosed nation of Egypt to the outside world.
- V. In addition to instituting Greek-style public works projects, Ptolemy I ran Egypt as a business.
- A. He supported the priesthood because its members were literate. Ptolemy needed people who could read and write to run his bureaucracy.
 1. For this reason, Ptolemy built large Egyptian temples. These temples are the most recent and most well preserved in Egypt.
 2. Later Ptolemies continued this tradition of appeasing the priesthood by building temples.
 - B. Ptolemy I also imposed heavy taxation, particularly on grain.
 1. The method of taxation involved measuring the height of the Nile during its annual overflow using *nile-ometers*—marks cut into the rock next to the water.
 2. Under this system, farmers were taxed, not on how much grain they grew, but on how much they should be able to grow.
 - C. The Ptolemies also had a monopoly on the business of making papyrus.
 1. Papyrus was made from reeds, similar to bamboo, that grew wild along the Nile. Thin, oblong strips were sliced out of the center of these reeds, then placed side by side and pounded with wooden mallets to mold them into sheets.
 2. Papyrus was a significant advance over the clay used earlier for writing and a major export of Egypt.
 - D. The Ptolemies also controlled mining of emeralds and gold.
 1. Before the emerald deposits were discovered on the Red Sea, Egypt did not have precious stones.
 2. Prisoners were used to mine emeralds and gold.
 - E. Finally, the Ptolemies took complete control of banking and the flow of money. They introduced coinage to Egypt, replacing the system of barter.
- VI. Despite their successes, the Ptolemies never really assimilated themselves with the Egyptians.
- A. All the Greeks in Egypt—300,000 of them—lived in Alexandria, which became the administrative center of Egypt and was known as “The City.”
 - B. South of Alexandria, the rest of Egypt was largely agrarian and was home to about seven million native Egyptians.
 - C. Greek became the language of commerce and government. Indeed, an Egyptian priest named Manetho wrote a history of Egypt in Greek for

the Ptolemies. This history is called *Aegyptiaka*, Greek for “*History of Egypt*.”

- VII.** Ptolemy II Philadelphus (“Brother Lover”; r. 285–246 B.C.) continued the Hellenizing influence in Egypt.
- A.** He reclaimed land by draining swamps in the area of Fayoum to cultivate more grain for export.
 - B.** Ptolemy II maintained the Library of Alexandria and commissioned a translation of the Hebrew Bible, called the *Septuagint* (“The Seventy”). It was so-called because 70 rabbis were involved in the translation.
 - C.** Ptolemy II married his sister, a tradition going back to Isis and Osiris and, in a sense, an Egyptian tradition. However, intermarriage also kept power in Greek hands and would be continued by the Ptolemies for the next 300 years.

Essential Reading:

Michael Grant, *From Alexander to Cleopatra*.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 208–212.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the major achievements of the early Ptolemies?
2. What did the Ptolemies want from Egypt?

* Archaeologists recently discovered what they believe to be the remains of lecture halls from the Library of Alexandria.

Lecture Twelve

Cleopatra—The Last Pharaoh

Scope: Although Cleopatra is probably the most famous woman in the world, she remains something of an enigma. We don't even know who her mother was. Part of the problem is that history is written by the victors—and Cleopatra lost. We reconstruct her history from ancient records and present three stages of Cleopatra's career: (1) before Caesar, (2) with Caesar, and (3) with Antony. As a girl, Cleopatra was taken to the burial place of the Apis Bulls, and the mysteries of the tomb seem to have made a lasting impression on her; she would later try to resurrect the old Egyptian religion. With Caesar, Cleopatra would lay sole claim to the throne of Egypt and give birth to a son, Caesarion. After Caesar's death, Cleopatra became involved with Antony, and as we know, the two died together in the face of capture by Rome. In many ways, Cleopatra's life paralleled the myth of Isis and Osiris, who were said to have created Egyptian civilization. With Cleopatra, that civilization, encompassing 3,000 years of the great rulers we have studied, came to an end.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we see the end of Egypt as a nation, but its downfall was presided over by a fabulous woman, Cleopatra.
 - A. The later Ptolemies were more interested in reaping the benefits of kingship than in providing effective leadership for Egypt.
 1. Derisive nicknames given to the Ptolemaic kings by the people suggest that the leadership lacked respect.
 2. Cleopatra's father, for example, was known as the "flute player," because he was more interested in that pastime than in running the country.
 - B. Cleopatra is the subject of a great deal of myth. The Romans—ultimately victors over Cleopatra—depicted her as a *femme fatale*, luring Romans to their deaths.
 - C. In this lecture, we look at Cleopatra's life in three stages: before Caesar, with Caesar, and with Antony.
- II. Cleopatra's father, Ptolemy XII, faced tremendous challenges. The people revolted against him, and he had to struggle to stay in power.
 - A. To counteract these problems, Ptolemy XII appealed to Rome to help him retain the throne. Cleopatra took note of these events, which would play an important part in her life.

- B. As a young girl, Cleopatra traveled with her father to the tomb of the Apis Bulls, a unique god in all of Egypt.
 - 1. As we know, the Egyptians were resurrectionists, not reincarnationists, but the Apis Bull comes close to representing a belief in reincarnation.
 - 2. Only one Apis Bull was alive at any time. It was believed that the Apis Bull was born when lightning struck a cow and the cow became pregnant.
 - 3. When the Apis Bull was born, it had special markings: wings on its back and a scarab on its tongue, and its tail hairs were doubled.
 - 4. The Apis was treated as a god. It was kept in a temple, perfumed, and fed, and when it died, it was mummified and buried in a tomb. When the Apis died, the search began for a new Apis, hinting at a belief in reincarnation.
 - 5. Over the centuries, the *Serapeum*—the burial place of the Apis Bulls—became vast. Cleopatra was taken there by her father, probably to attend the burial of another Apis Bull.
 - 6. This journey may have been a turning point in Cleopatra’s life. The mysteries of the ceremony and the tomb must have made a lasting impression on the young Cleopatra. She was the only Ptolemy ever to speak Egyptian, and she later made an attempt to resurrect the old Egyptian religion.
 - C. When he died, Cleopatra’s father left two wills, naming as his successors two of his children, the 17-year-old Cleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII.
 - 1. A politician, a rhetorician, and a eunuch were appointed to make decisions for Ptolemy XIII.
 - 2. The politician, Pothinus, turned the people of Alexandria, who were largely Greek, against Cleopatra. He planted the seeds of doubt that Cleopatra was pro-Roman.
 - 3. Pothinus’s allegations were partially true. As mentioned earlier, Cleopatra had seen that her father stayed in power only because he had Rome’s might behind him.
 - 4. Pothinus instituted a revolt against Cleopatra; she fled the country and raised an army.
- III. Rome was concerned about civil unrest in Egypt, because it wanted Egypt’s grain exports to continue. Egypt fed Rome’s army.
- A. Julius Caesar was sent to Alexandria to settle Egypt’s affairs. When Cleopatra learned that Caesar had established himself in the palace, she knew she had to return before Pothinus could turn him against her. Cleopatra was smuggled into the presence of Caesar in a rug.
 - B. What did Caesar make of this 17-year-old girl? Caesar was a military man, but he was educated and cultured. Nonetheless, he had never seen

a woman like Cleopatra. Roman women were uneducated and confined their activities to the home.

- C. Caesar determined that Cleopatra and her younger brother should rule together. Pothinus, of course, didn't like this decision and started a revolt against Caesar. A sort of "mini-war," the Alexandrine War, ensued, which Pothinus lost.
- D. Cleopatra had Caesar execute Pothinus, and her brother, Ptolemy XIII, was drowned trying to escape. Cleopatra's competition for the throne had been eliminated.
- E. Cleopatra took Caesar on a spectacular tour of Egypt, cruising south on the Nile. Caesar saw the pyramids, mummies, the obelisks in Thebes—nothing remotely similar existed in Rome.
 - 1. By the time they reached Aswan, Cleopatra was pregnant with Caesar's child.
 - 2. They stopped at Hermonthis, near Thebes, and built a *mammisi* ("birth house"), a small shrine commemorating the birth of a god.
 - 3. Their child was named Caesarion, "Little Caesar."
- F. Caesar would have been viewed by the people of Egypt as Cleopatra's consort, but of course, Caesar had a wife, Calpurnia, in Rome. When he returned to Rome, he sent for Cleopatra and Caesarion. The Roman people were outraged!
 - 1. Caesar set Cleopatra up in a villa just outside of Rome. He aggravated the situation by placing a statue of Cleopatra dressed as the goddess Isis in a Roman temple.
 - 2. The Roman Senate became concerned that Caesar wanted to rule Rome as a god. As we know, the senators plotted to assassinate Caesar.
- G. Cleopatra was left alone in hostile territory with a child; her life seemed to parallel the Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris.
 - 1. According to the myth, Isis and Osiris were both husband and wife and sister and brother. They came to Egypt to civilize the nation. From Egypt, all other civilizations spread.
 - 2. Eventually, Osiris was murdered by his evil brother, Seth. Isis hovered over Osiris in the form of a bird and resurrected him.
 - 3. Osiris then impregnated Isis with a child who would become the falcon god Horus, and Osiris himself became the god of the dead.
 - 4. The parallels with Cleopatra's life are apparent: Both she and Isis were widowed by murder, and both had children whom they had to protect.

- IV.** Cleopatra fled back to Egypt, ending the phase of her life with Caesar. Antony would enter next.
- A.** Antony was a general, but he was not cultured, as Caesar had been. He requested an introduction to Cleopatra because he needed her support against Octavian in Rome.
 - B.** The two met at Tarsus, where Cleopatra hosted a sumptuous banquet. According to legend, she dissolved a pearl earring in her wine and drank it. She gave her guests furniture and gold dinnerware as party favors. Antony was impressed.
 - C.** Antony returned to Alexandria with Cleopatra, and the two partied together. Cleopatra became pregnant with twins, Alexander Helios (“the Sun”) and Cleopatra Selene (“the Moon”).
 - D.** Antony then returned to Rome and married Octavian’s sister, Octavia. Cleopatra must have been furious!
 - E.** Several years after he had abandoned her, Antony again needed Cleopatra’s support and requested a meeting. Cleopatra agreed to meet Antony in Syria. She would help him, but only if he met certain conditions.
 - 1.** First, Antony must agree to marry Cleopatra, but Caesarion would rule Egypt.
 - 2.** Second, in return for financing Antony’s wars, Cleopatra would receive Sinai, Judea, Cyprus, and Arabia as her territories.
 - 3.** During this period, Cleopatra also had another child, whom she named Ptolemy.
 - F.** Antony’s wars went poorly, but at one point, he returned to Alexandria to hold his Armenian triumph. Cleopatra appeared on a silver platform, dressed as Isis, and claimed what Antony had promised her.
 - 1.** Caesarion was declared “King of Kings.” Alexander Helios was given Armenia and Pontia [should be “Pontus”] (near Turkey). Cleopatra Selene received Libya, and the youngest, Ptolemy, received Phoenicia and northern Syria.
 - 2.** Rome was infuriated. Antony had celebrated a triumph in Egypt and given away what should be Roman conquests. War was declared on Cleopatra.
 - G.** At the Battle of Actium, Cleopatra’s fleet suffered a major defeat. Antony and Cleopatra fled to Alexandria, and Octavian marched on the city.
 - 1.** Barricaded in her palace, Cleopatra sent word to Antony that she planned to commit suicide.
 - 2.** Antony ran himself on his sword and was brought to Cleopatra, dying in her arms.
 - 3.** Octavian captured Cleopatra, intending to bring her back to Rome for his triumph and parade her in chains. Cleopatra cheated

Octavian by killing herself with the bite of a cobra, the traditional protector of Egypt.

- H. Despite Cleopatra's valiant attempt to resurrect Egypt as a great nation, the country became a province of Rome. It had seen greatness, however, because of the leaders we have studied in this course.

Essential Reading:

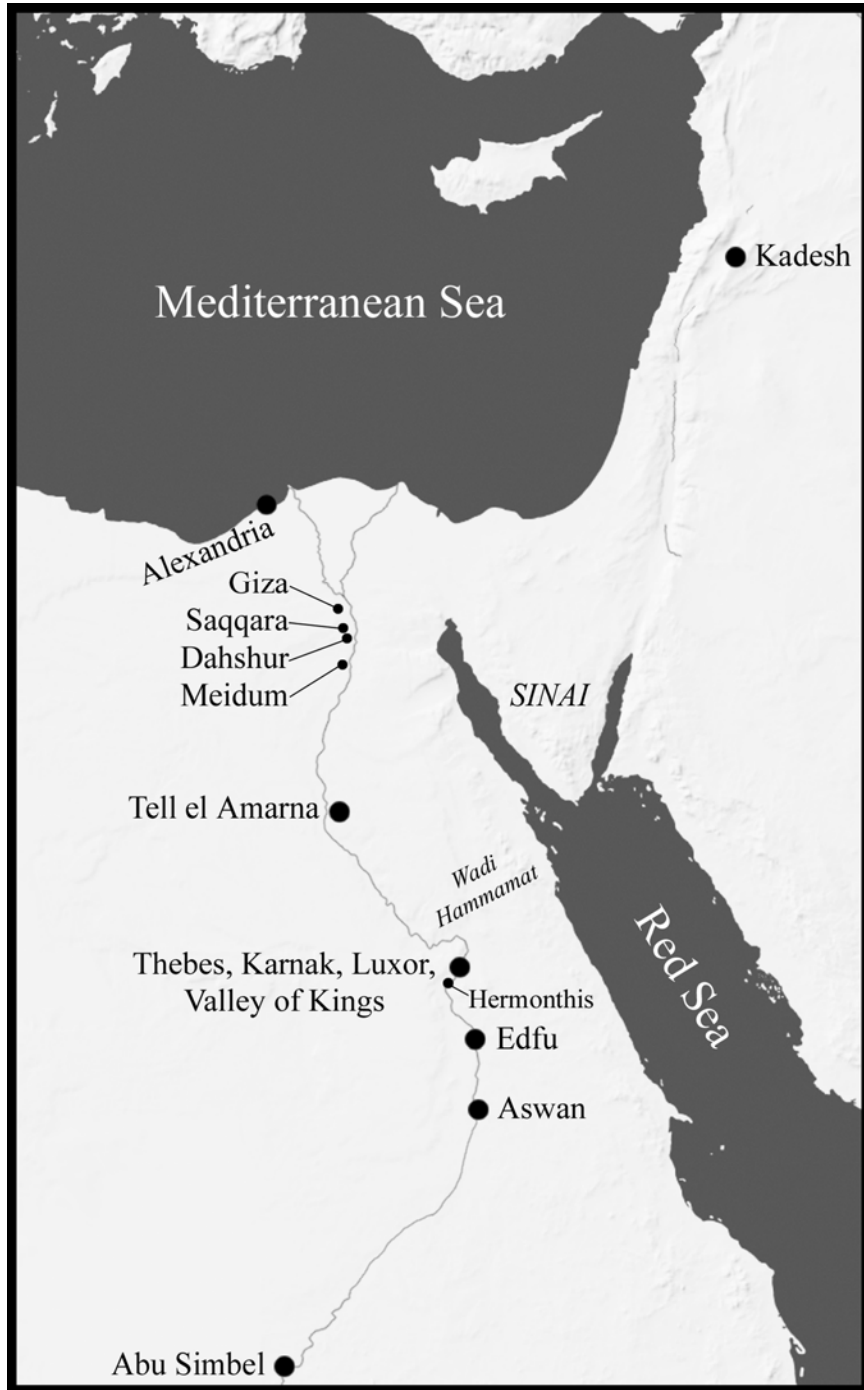
Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra*.

Supplementary Reading:

Robert Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Cleopatra differ from the rest of her family?
2. Was Cleopatra really a *femme fatale*?



Timeline

500,000–3200 B.C.	Prehistoric Period
3150 B.C.	Narmer unifies Egypt
3050–2686 B.C.	First two dynasties
2686–2647 B.C.	Zoser builds Step Pyramid
2613–2589 B.C.	Sneferu builds first true pyramid
2589–2566 B.C.	Great Pyramid constructed
2181–2049 B.C.	First Intermediate Period
2134–1782 B.C.	Middle Kingdom
1782–1650 B.C.	Second Intermediate Period
1498–1483 B.C.	Hatshepsut rules Egypt
1350–1334 B.C.	Akhenaten and the Amarna Revolution
1334–1325 B.C.	Tutankhamen's reign
1279–1212 B.C.	Ramses the Great
747–664 B.C.	Nubians rule Egypt
332 B.C.	Alexander the Great conquers Egypt
323–30 B.C.	Ptolemies rule Egypt
30 B.C.	Death of Cleopatra

Glossary

Book of the Dead: A collection of magical spells and prayers intended to help the deceased resurrect in the next world.

Canopic jars: Four jars used to hold the internal organs removed at the time of mummification.

Cartouche: An oval encircling the name of a king or queen.

Corbel: An inward stepping of the walls of a room toward the ceiling.

Coregency: Two pharaohs ruling at the same time by agreement, usually father and son.

Heb-sed Festival: A ritual intended to be celebrated every 30 years by the pharaoh to ensure his rejuvenation.

Hypostyle hall: A room of a temple with columns supporting a roof.

Kings list: An official list of kings of Egypt, usually carved on a temple wall.

Mastaba: A bench-shaped structure above a tomb, especially during the Old Kingdom.

Mummy: Any preserved cadaver.

Obelisk: A tall shaft of stone, usually pink granite. Obelisks were placed in pairs at the entrances to temples.

Opet Festival: A religious festival during which the statues of the gods Amun, Mut, and Khonsu were taken from Karnak Temple to Luxor Temple.

Oracle: A divinely inspired person who sees the future.

Papyrus: Writing material made from the stalks of the papyrus plant.

Pharaoh: The divine ruler of Egypt, associated with Horus, the falcon god.

Registers: In artworks, different figures placed on different levels, or registers.

Resurrection: The belief that the body will revive and live again in the next world.

Scarab: The sacred beetle. Often an amulet carved in the beetle shape to ensure continued existence.

Serekh: A schematic representation of a palace facade with a rectangle in which the king's name is written.

Stela: A round-topped standing stone carved with an inscription.

Ushabti: A small statue intended to serve the deceased in the next world.

Bibliography

General History and Chronology

Aldred, Cyril. *The Egyptians*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. A concise overview by a noted Egyptologist.

Breasted, James Henry. *A History of Egypt*. New York: Scribners, 1920. Amazingly, this is still one of the most readable histories of Egypt and is still mostly accurate.

Clayton, Peter. *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994. A wonderful dynasty-by-dynasty illustrated history of Egypt.

Dodson, Aidan. *Monarchs of the Nile*. London: Rubicon Press, 1995. Brief descriptions of each pharaoh's reign. More a reference work than readable history.

Gardiner, Alan. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972. A dated work but by a great authority who gives many interesting details based on linguistic research. Not an easy read.

Hoffman, Michael A. *Egypt before the Pharaohs*. New York: Knopf, 1979. The best book on prehistoric Egypt.

James, T. G. H. *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1979. A concise and accurate history by the former Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum.

Mertz, Barbara. *Temples, Tombs, and Hieroglyphs*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978. The first popular book on Egyptology by an Egyptologist and still the most entertaining. The author is also known as Elizabeth Peters and writes murder mysteries set in Egypt.

———. *Red Land, Black Land*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978. The sequel to the above. Not a chronological history of Egypt, but it covers the high points.

Rice, Michael. *Egypt's Making*. London: Routledge, 1995. Detailed, authoritative telling of Egypt's early history from 5000–2000 B.C. Well illustrated.

Winlock, H. E. *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*. New York: Macmillan, 1947. Because it is an old work, some of the details are wrong, but it gives the best feeling for the period.

Art

Aldred, Cyril. *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art*. London: Tiranti, 1965. An old standard combining three of the author's smaller works: *Old Kingdom*, *Middle Kingdom*, and *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*.

Bothmer, Bernard. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1960. An exhibition catalog but also a standard work on the subject. Some of the pieces have recently been attributed to different dates but still an essential reference.

Kischkewitz, Hannelore. *Egyptian Art: Drawings and Paintings*. London: Hamlyn, 1989. Detailed discussions of how ancient artists produced *Books of the Dead* and tomb paintings.

———. *Egyptian Drawings*. London: Octopus, 1972. Covers much the same material as in the work above but not with as much detail.

Michalowski, Kazimierz. *Art of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Abrams, n.d. The most lavish history of Egyptian art. The illustrations are beautiful and the text is important.

———. *Great Sculpture of Ancient Egypt*. New York: William Morrow, 1978. Excellent photos and brief discussions of masterpieces in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Egyptian Sculpture*. New York: Scribners, 1930. A somewhat dated survey, but it contains a great illustration of a carving by a student of a hand with six fingers!

Peck, William H. *Egyptian Drawing*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978. Good survey of the subject.

Rachewiltz, Boris de. *Egyptian Art*. New York: Viking, 1960. A good, solid work frequently found in used bookstores.

Russmann, Edna R. *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989. Discussions of important pieces of sculpture. The text is by a great authority on the subject.

Scamuzzi, Ernesto. *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*. New York: Abrams, n.d. Presentation of a wonderful collection rarely seen by Americans.

Westendorf, Wolfhart. *Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Abrams, 1968. Standard work with good illustrations. Frequently found in used bookstores.

Woldering, Imgard. *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Greystone Press, 1962. A good survey, strong on details of how art was produced.

Building and the Pyramids

Arnold, Dieter. *Building in Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. The definitive work and a great read.

Edwards, I. E. S. *The Pyramids of Egypt*. New York: Viking, 1985. An older work but still the best on the subject.

Fakhry, Ahmed. *The Pyramids*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. A solid work by the Egyptian authority on the pyramids.

Habachi, Labib. *The Obelisks of Egypt*. New York: Scribner's, 1977. The best popular account of obelisks.

Lehner, Mark. *The Complete Pyramids*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997. Written by a real expert, this volume has wonderful computer-generated illustrations.

Mendelssohn, Kurt. *The Riddle of the Pyramids*. New York: Prager, 1974. Interesting reading, but the theory presented is probably false.

Noakes, Aubrey. *Cleopatra's Needles*. London: Wicherby, 1962. A popular account of the modern moving of obelisks.

Tompkins, Peter. *Secrets of the Great Pyramid*. New York: Harper and Roe, 1971. Good for illustrations and occult theories on the pyramid but not much else.

Hieroglyphs

Collier, Mark, and Bill Manley. *How to Read Egyptian Hieroglyphs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. One of the best brief treatments; helps you learn by yourself.

Fischer, Henry. *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979. A delightful book that shows you how to draw the hieroglyphs. Great therapy!

Gardiner, Alan. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957. Still the definitive work; large, not easy to use by yourself, but wonderful.

Quirke, Stephen, and Carol Andrews. *The Rosetta Stone*. London: British Museum, 1988. Everything you want to know, intelligently presented.

Kings and Queens

Arrian. *The Campaigns of Alexander the Great*. New York: Dorset, 1971. A primary source.

Bevan, Edwyn R. *The House of Ptolemy*. Chicago: Ares, 1985. An important source of information on the period and the Ptolemies.

Bianchi, Robert. *Cleopatra's Egypt*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1988. Spectacular exhibition catalog of art from the time of Cleopatra. Also includes much useful historical information.

Bradford, Ernle. *Cleopatra*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1972. A detailed but readable biography.

Brier, Bob. *The Murder of Tutankhamen*. New York: Putnam's, 1998. Theory that the boy-king was killed, but also presents historical background.

Desmond, Alice Curtis. *Cleopatra's Children*. New York: Dodd, 1971. The only work on what happened to Cleopatra's children. Readable and well researched.

Foreman, Laura. *Cleopatra's Palace*. New York: Random House, 1999. A beautiful book tied to a television special but better than the program.

Fox, Robin Lane. *Alexander the Great*. New York: Dial, 1974. A readable, accurate biography.

Freed, Rita A. *Ramesses the Great*. Boston: Boston Museum of Science, 1987. An exhibition catalog but with a concise history of Ramses and good photographs of objects from the period.

George, Margaret. *Memoirs of Cleopatra*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. A monumental, historically accurate fictional biography of Cleopatra. Wonderful.

Grant, Michael. *Cleopatra*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972. Solid biography of the last queen of Egypt.

———. *From Alexander to Cleopatra*. New York: Scribners, 1982. Rich background to the lives of the kings and queens of the Greek period.

Hughes-Hallett, Lucy. *Cleopatra*. New York, Harper, 1990. More a social history of how Cleopatra was viewed than a biography. Quite interesting.

Kitchen, K. A. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1982. The definitive work by the leading Ramses scholar. Highly readable.

Lindsay, Jack. *Cleopatra*. New York: Coward McCann, 1970. Readable, literary type of biography, sans footnotes.

Tyldesley, Joyce. *Hatchepsut*. New York: Viking, 1996. The most recent and best biography of the female pharaoh.

Medicine

Breasted, James Henry. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Hieroglyphs and translation of a papyrus that told physicians how to treat trauma. Fascinating.

Bryan, Cyril P. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine: Papyrus Ebers*. Chicago: Ares, 1974. Translation of a papyrus that includes magical/pharmacological treatments for many ailments.

Estes, J. Worth. *The Medical Skills of Ancient Egypt*. Canton: Science History Publications, 1993. Useful.

Ghalioungui, Paul. *The House of Life*. Amsterdam: Ben Israel, 1973. Written by an Egyptologist/physician, this is one of the best overviews of the medical practice in ancient Egypt.

Nunn, John F. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. London: British Museum, 1996. The most recent and best work on the subject. Illustrated.

Mummies

Brier, Bob. *Egyptian Mummies*. New York: William Morrow, 1999. The basic survey of the subject.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Mummy*. New York: Causeway, 1974. Reprint of a 100-year-old classic. Much is outdated, but it is good for hieroglyphic spells associated with mummification.

Cockburn, Aidan, et al. *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Mummies around the world, but much on Egypt, focusing on high-tech paleopathology.

El Mahdy, Christine. *Mummies, Myth and Magic*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. Popular survey with interesting illustrations, but too many errors to be trusted.

Ikram, Salima, and Aidan Dodson. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. Wonderfully illustrated survey of funerary practices. Much on coffins, canopic chests, and similar subjects.

Partridge, Robert B. *Faces of Pharaohs*. London: Rubicon, 1994. Photos of all the royal mummies and their coffins with brief descriptions. Useful for reference.

Pettigrew, Thomas J. *A History of Egyptian Mummies*. Los Angeles: North American Archives, n.d. Reprint of an 1834 work by the greatest mummy unroller of all times. Gives many references of ancient comments on mummification.

Smith, G. Elliot, and Warren R. Dawson. *Egyptian Mummies*. London: Kegan Paul, 1991. Reprint of the 1924 book that was the basic work on the subject for years. Still useful.

Religion

Frankfort, H. *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. A fundamental work on the topic but very dated.

Hornung, Erick. *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. Excellent essays but a bit technical.

Morentz, Sigfried. *Egyptian Religion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973. A solid work.

Akhenaten and the Amarna Period

Aldred, Cyril. *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988. One of the two or three basic works on the subject by a highly respected Amarna scholar.

———. *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1973. An exhibition catalog that includes important information on the subject.

Amarna Letters, 4 vols. San Francisco and Sebastopol: KMT Communications, 1991–2000. Anthologies of essays by various scholars. Both readable and informative.

Arnold, Dorothea. *The Royal Women of Amarna*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997. Essays by various scholars on the different women of the Amarna period. Beautiful illustrations, important text.

Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane. *Tutankhamen*. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1963. Some unusual theories but offers a wonderful feeling of the period.

Kozloff, Arielle P., and Betsy M. Bryan. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*. Far more than a beautifully illustrated exhibition catalog, this selection includes the best history of Amenhotep III available.

Moran, William. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Translations of the cuneiform letters written to Akhenaten from abroad. Shows Egypt declining.

Murnane, William J. *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Translations of all the major Egyptian documents from the period. An important research tool and fascinating.

———, and Charles C. Van Siclen III. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London: Kegan-Paul, 1993. Translations of all the boundary markers of Akhenaten's city in the desert.

Redford, D. B. *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. An important work by the man who excavated Akhenaten's temples at Karnak and grew to hate the king!

Reeves, Nicholas. *The Complete Tutankhamen*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990. It really is complete! (With wonderful illustrations.)

———, and John H. Taylor. *Howard Carter before Tutankhamen*. New York: Abrams, 1992. Gives a detailed account of Carter's career leading up to the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb.

Smith, Ray Winfield, and Donald B. Redford. *The Akhenaten Temple Project*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1976. The attempt to reconstruct Akhenaten's Karnak temples on paper with the aid of a computer.

Velikovsky, Immanuel. *Oedipus and Akhenaten*. New York: Doubleday, 1960. A crazy theory that Akhenaten was the Greek King Oedipus, but it is interesting to see how the case is presented.

Daily Life

Erman, Adolf. *Life in Ancient Egypt*. New York, Dover, 1971. Reprint of a 100-year-old work but still useful for its illustrations of details of the lives of the ancient Egyptians.

Maspero, Gaston C. C. *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*. New York: Unger, 1971. Reprint of a 100-year-old work but useful.

Wilkinson, J. Gardner. *The Ancient Egyptians, Their Lives and Customs*. New York: Crescent Books, 1988. Reprint of 100-year-old work that is dated in some of its conclusions but includes hundreds of wonderful line drawings from the tombs of the nobles at Thebes.

Miscellaneous

Bietak, Manfred. *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*. London: British Museum, 1996. Excavation report that shows how difficult it is to reconstruct the history of the Hyksos.

Brier, Bob. *Ancient Egyptian Magic*. New York: Morrow, 1981. A broad survey of magical practices.

———. *The Glory of Ancient Egypt*. Millwood: Kraus Reprint Co., 1988. Much information on Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the *Description de L'Egypte*.

Budge, E.A. Wallis. *Egyptian Magic*. New York: University Books, n.d. Reprint of an 1899 work but still contains some useful information.

Frerichs, Ernest, and Leonard Lesko. *Exodus, the Egyptian Evidence*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997. A small book of essays by experts on both sides of the Exodus question.

Herold, J. Christopher. *Bonaparte in Egypt*. New York: Harper, 1962. The author hates Bonaparte, but the book is a wonderful read with great information.

Snadars, N. K. *The Sea Peoples*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978. One of the few books on this important subject.

Societies

The Amarna Research Foundation, Inc., 6082 E. Loyola Place, Aurora, CO 80013. Interested in all aspects of the Amarna period, the foundation's activities center on the current excavations at Amarna headed by Dr. Barry Kemp. A newsletter is published.

American Research Center in Egypt, Emory University – Building A, Suite 423 West, 1256 Briarcliff Road, NE, Atlanta, GA 30306. Organization of professional Egyptologists and laymen interested in all aspect of Egypt, including Coptic and Islamic. An annual conference is held and a journal (JARCE) is published. Several of the local chapters sponsor lectures by Egyptologists and publish newsletters.

Egypt Exploration Society, 3 Doughty Mews, London WC1N 2PG, London, England. Publishes the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, as well as a newsletter, and sponsors several lectures in London each year.

The Egyptological Seminar of New York, P.O. Box 1451, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276. Sponsors lectures in New York by visiting Egyptologists and publishes a journal.

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1155 East 58 St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Sponsors lectures in Chicago, programs for children, and also has a correspondence course in hieroglyphs. A newsletter is published as well as an annual report of the Institute's activities.