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The third nome was known as Libya ; the sixth is not identified as a Greek nome, but its capital was the eastern Buto; the eighth nome was called Arabia. After this we shall denote the nomes by their numbers in most cases. The earliest stage which we can trace Map i, pl. This is an earlier stage than even the shortest list, that of the Corn-Osiris in A. With four in Upper Egypt these make twelve divisions altogether; earlier than the sites of the fourteen parts into which Set divided Osiris. Next comes the division of the eighth nome out of the seventh, separating the nome Sap of the goddess Neit into the south and north halves. This is the stage of the list A, Map i, which is marked off from all later lists by its ignoring Memphis, and shewing therefore an arrangement of the country older than the dynastic age. In other words the ceremony of making the corn-figures of Osiris comes down from the prehistoric period. The next stage is that of including Memphis, and Busiris in list B. The latter is given as Daddu, which might be confused with Mendes; but in the list of relics of Osiris Dum. III, xliii-liii Daddu is given in the order as the city of the ninth nome, proving its position in the earlier lists. In both nomes the name is an abbreviation of "the city of Osiris lord of Daddu. The figure of a prince, which is the sign of the ninth nome, is that of Osiris. The lists C, of the Feast of Cultivation, and D, of the cities containing the sixteen relics of Osiris, seem to be contemporary. Both of them drop out Koptos and insert Tentyra instead ; both bring in Lykopolis in addition to Kousai ; both drop out Letopolis, which was ousted by Memphis. The nomes up to this stage are shewn in Map ii. The next stage is observable in the Delta nomes, where we can trace twelve of them in regular order see Map iii , as stated in the lists of later times. Then between the western and middle arms of the Nile come iv Prosopis, v Sais, vi Xoïs, and vii Metelis in order. Down the east of the middle, or Sebennyte, arm come x Athribis and xii Sebennytos. Farther east is the line of xiii Heliopolis, xv Hermopolis, and xvii Pakhnamunis. While along the eastern desert lie xviii Bubastis the sanctuary of which was the Iseum at Hat-sera and its subdivision xix the eastern Buto. Thus the whole Delta was divided along five radii, like the sticks of a fan, in regular order down each radius. The total nomes at this point were i, ii, iii, iv, v, x, xii, xiii, xv, xvii, xviii, xix. It should be noticed that xii Sebennytos here first appears, and is substituted for the older ix Busiris which was close to it. The earliest addition to this order seems to have been xvi Mendes, taken out of xv Hermopolis. The relics at Mendes are duplicates of those of older cities, the phallus of Diospolis and the spine of Busiris, both of which occur in the fourteen great relics ; thus marking the secondary position of Mendes by its borrowed sanctity. All of these seem to be claims outside of the main relics. The zerti of Metelis is explained by the list of parts of Sokar in Dum. II, where zer is stated to be pesed, a part of the back, translated "shoulder" by Brugsch. As burdens are said to be carried on pesed, it denoted the upper part, or shoulders in dual, as zerti. This agrees with the relic of the shoulders appearing between the standards of Sais and Letopolis Petrie, Abydos, i, 28 d , and with the attribution of the shoulders to the Metelite nome, as I concluded last year Memphis II, Last of the additions to the nomes seem to be xiv Tanis which had the dad amulet, and xx Arabia which had an amulet of turquoise, mafkat, probably the left uza eye otherwise attributed to it. These nomes seem to have been formed so late that they could not well claim an actual relic. We thus complete the standard list of twenty nomes of the Delta Map iv as given in the ninth dynasty lists at Abydos, which continued as the religious standard till Ptolemaic times. Probably the actual organizing of this list belonged to the eleventh dynasty. Already in the ninth dynasty there was a far closer subdivision in actual use, as seen in hall D at Abydos Mariette, Abydos, i, 14 , which gives thirty instead of twenty nomes in the Delta. Such a list shews the actual condition in the ninth dynasty, while the religious lists of past ages with only twenty nomes, or sixteen or fourteen nomes of the Osiris worship, were perpetuated for ritual purposes down to the end of the kingdom. So sharp a difference between the religious and political lists as early as the ninth dynasty, prepares us to recognise the very early forms of the lists surviving in the late

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documents for religious purposes. The Delta in the sixth dynasty Map v is represented by the following nomes, the names being on the nome standards in the list of Sety I Mariette, Abydos, i, See column J in the table pl.

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Thus, by the chronology which we have before reached, five out of six certain dates of chief occasions of the festival were on the first of a month, or just at the close of a month. That of Hatshepsut is the only exception; the lengths of reigns of the XIth dynasty being too uncertain for us to here include Mentuhotep II. If such agreement were mere chance, not more than one in four of such feasts should fall on the beginning of the month; it is thus fair evidence in favour of this meaning of the "chief occasion," when five out of six agree to it. The cause of the exception in the case of Hatshepsut is unknown to us. Thus we conclude that when the beginning of a month shifted so as to coincide with the observed rising of Sirius before the sun, a chief sed festival was held and when each week, or quarter month, agreed to the rising, there was an ordinary sed festival. The name of this festival is, however, "the end festival," literally "the tail festival"; it commemorated, therefore, the close of some period, rather than a beginning. The principal event in it was the king sitting in a shrine like a god, and holding in his hands the crook and the flail of Osiris. He is shown as wrapped in tight bandages, like the mummified Osiris figures, and there is nothing but his name to prove that this was not Osiris himself. Otherwise, he is seated on a throne borne on the shoulders of twelve priests, exactly like the figures of the gods. In short, it is the apotheosis of the king during his lifetime. We have the near parallel in the Ethiopian kingdom, where, as Strabo says, the priests sometimes sent orders to the king by a messenger, to put an end to his life, when they appointed another king in his place Hist. And Diodoros states that this custom was forcibly abolished as late as the time of Ergamenes, in the 3rd century B. Frazer has brought together other examples of this African custom. In Unyoro the king, when ill, is slain by his wives. In Kibanga the same is done by the sorcerers. Among the Zulus the king was slain at the first signs of age coming on. The same custom appeared in early Europe. Another mode of averting the misfortune of having an imperfect divine king was to renew the king, not only on occasion of his visible defects, but at stated regular intervals. In Southern India this period fixed by the revolution of the planet Jupiter was 12 years, the same as we find quoted for the sed festival under Uasarkon II. At Calicut the custom was that a jubilee was proclaimed every 12 years; a tent was pitched for the ruler, and a great feast celebrated for many days, and then any four of the guests that would, fought their way through the guards, and whichever killed the ruler succeeded him. If none could reach the ruler, then the reign was apparently renewed for 12 years. In Babylonia the custom was to slay a series of annual kings. In later times a condemned criminal was substituted, who lived in enjoyment of all the royal rights for five days before his execution. In Egypt this substitution was familiar in modern times at the Coptic new year, when a mock ruler, with tall, pointed cap, false beard, a peculiar garment, and sceptre in hand, held his court and ruled for three days at his will. This dress was then burnt on the man who personated the king. All of these instances given by Dr. Frazer Golden Bough, i, are summed up by him thus: Now let us learn what we can of the Egyptian festival of the sed heb, in view of the festivals which we have been noticing. The essential point was the identification of the king with Osiris, the god of the dead; he was enthroned, holding the crook and the flail, as Osiris, and carried in the shrine on the shoulders of twelve priests, exactly like the figure of a god. The oldest representation of this festival on the mace of Narmer, about B. Fan-bearers stood at the side of the shrine. Before the shrine is a figure in a palanquin, which is named in the feast of Ra. At one side of this is the procession of the standards, the first of which is the jackal Up-uat, the "opener of ways" for the dead. On the other side of the enclosure of the dancing ground are shown , oxen, and 1., goats for the great national feast; and behind the enclosure are , captives Hierakonpolis, i, xxvi, B. The next detail that we find is on the seal of King Zer B. This jackal is Up-uat, who is described as "He who opens the way when thou advancest towards the under-world. Here, then, the king, identified with Osiris, king of the

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dead, has before him the jackal-god, who leads the dead, and the ostrich-feather, which symbolizes his reception into the sky. This shows an important part of the ceremony, when, after the king was enthroned as Osiris, and thus ceremonially dead, another king performs the sacred dance in the enclosure before him. This new king turns his back to the Osirian shrine, and is acting without any special veneration of the deified king Royal Tombs, i, xv. We do not learn any further details from the published fragments of the Abusir sculptures of the festival of Ra. There are no more scenes of this festival till we come down to the time of Amenhotep III, who has left a series of scenes at Soleb. There we see that the festival is associated with a period of years, as the king and the great priests approach the shrines of the gods, bearing notched palm-sticks, the emblem of a tally of years L. The ostrich-feather is placed upon a separate standard, and borne before the standard of Up-uat The royal daughters also appear here in the ceremonies 86, as in some other instances. We there learn that the king as a god was joined in his procession by Amen, both gods being similarly carried by twelve priests. We also see that the festival, though it took place at Bubastis, was specially connected with Heliopolis, the old seat of learning and science, and probably an ancient capital. On a late coffin with scenes of this festival A. There are also offerings being made to the Osiride king, as to a god. The conclusion may be drawn thus. In the savage age of prehistoric times, the Egyptians, like many other African and Indian peoples, killed their priest-king at stated intervals, in order that the ruler should, with unimpaired life and health, be enabled to maintain the kingdom in its highest condition. The royal daughters were present in order that they might be married to his successor. This was the celebration of the "end," the sed feast. The king thus became the dead king, patron of all those who had died in his reign, who were his subjects here and hereafter. He was thus one with Osiris, the king of the dead. After the death of the deputy, the real king renewed his life and reign. Henceforward this became the greatest of the royal festivals, the apotheosis of the king during his life, after which he became Osiris upon earth and the patron of the dead in the underworld. Such a festival naturally became attached to the recurring one of the weekly shift of the calendar, the close of one period, the beginning of a new age. It was thus regarded not as the death of the king, but as the renewing of his life with powers in this world and the next, an occasion of the greatest rejoicing, and a festival which stamped all the monuments of the year with the memory of its glory. The above text has been checked against the original.

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