ABSTRACT

The article considers the strengthening of the Turkic factor in Egypt after the Mamluk Emirs, natives from the Khwarezm, Turkmen and Kipchak tribes, who came to power in the second half of the XIII century. The influence of the Turkic factor affected all aspects of life in Egypt. Under the leadership of the Turkic Emirs, the Egyptians defeated the crusaders who invaded Egypt in 1248. This defeat of the 7th crusade marked the beginning of the General collapse of the Crusades. Another crushing defeat of the Mamluks led by Sultan Kutuz caused the Mongols, stopping their victorious March through the Arab world. As a result of these brilliant victories, Egypt under the first Mamluk Sultans turned into a fairly strong state, which developed agriculture, irrigation, and foreign trade.

The article also examines the factors contributing to the transformation of Egypt in the 13-14th centuries in the center of Muslim culture after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate. Scientists from all over the Muslim world came to Egypt, educational institutions-madrassas were intensively built, and Muslim encyclopedias were created that absorbed the knowledge gained in various Sciences (geography, history, philology, astronomy, mathematics, etc.). Scholars from Khwarezm, the Golden Horde, Azerbaijan, and other Turkic-speaking regions along with Arab scholars taught hadith, logic, oratory, fiqh, and other Muslim Sciences in the famous madrassas of Egypt. In Mamluk Egypt, there was a great interest in the Turkic languages, especially the Oguz-Kipchak dialect. Arabic and Turkic philologists write special works on the vocabulary and grammar of the Turkic languages, and compile Arabic-Turkic dictionaries. In Egypt, a whole layer of artistic Turkic-language literature was created that has survived to the present day. The famous poet Saif Sarayi, who came from the lower reaches of the Syr Darya river in Mawaraunnahr was considered to be its founder. He wrote in Chigatai (old Uzbek) language and is recognized a poet who stands at the origins of Uzbek literature. In addition to his known the names of eight Turkish-speaking poets, most of whom have nisba “al-Khwarizmi”. Notable changes occurred in Arabic literature itself, especially after the decline of Palace Abbasid poetry. There is a convergence of literature with folk art, under the influence of which the poetic genres, such as “zazhal”, “mavval”, “muwashshah”, etc. emerge in the Egyptian poetry.
In Mamluk Egypt, the genre of “adaba” is rapidly developing, aimed at bringing up and enlightening the good-natured Muslim in a popular scientific form. The works of “adaba” contained a large amount of poetic and folklore material from rivayats and hikayats, which makes it possible to have a more complete understanding of medieval Arabic literature in general.

Unfortunately, the culture, including the fiction of the Mamluk period of Egypt, has been little studied, as well as the influence of the Turkic factor on the cultural and social life of the Egyptians. The Turkic influence is felt in the military and household vocabulary, the introduction of new rituals, court etiquette, changing the criteria for evaluating beauty, in food, clothing, etc. Natives of the Turkic regions, former slaves, historical figures such as the Sultan Shajarat ad-Durr, Mamluk sultans as Kutuz and Beybars became national heroes of the Egyptian people. Folk novels-Sirs were written about their deeds. And in modern times, their names are not forgotten. Prominent Egyptian writers have dedicated their historical novels to them, streets have been named after them, monuments have been erected to them, and series and TV shows dedicated to them are still shown on national television.

This article for the first time examines some aspects of the influence of the Turkic factor on the cultural life of Mamluk Egypt and highlights some unknown pages of cultural relations between Egypt and Mawaraunnahr.

KEYWORDS
Mamluks, Mamluk Sultans, Khwarezmians, Kipchaks, Kipchak-Oguz language, Turkic-language literature, Arab-Turkic dictionaries, Muslim encyclopedias, zajal, mavval, “adaba” literature, Turkic factor.

INTRODUCTION
Central Asia and the Arab East are connected by a common Muslim cultural heritage within the framework of Islamic civilization, although in ancient times these regions served as connecting links of the Great Silk Road, which stretches from China through Central Asia, the Middle East to the West up to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to North Africa. Bright pages in the history of cultural relations between the two regions are observed during the reign in Egypt from the second half of the 13th century to the 14th century, including the Turkic Mamluks, who came from the Kwarazm, Kipchak, and Turkmen tribes of Central Asia.

Under the first Mamluk Sultans, Egypt became a strong state thanks to two brilliant victories: in 1250, over the crusaders and in 1260, the Mongols. Although the sultans often replaced one another on the throne, but a fairly stable life, developed agriculture, irrigation, and trade had been established in the country during their reign. Egypt also became the center of Muslim culture, which attracted numerous scholars and writers who fled from the Mongol invasion. It was with Mamluks in the 14th century, when the first Muslim encyclopedias were created in Egypt, which included information on history, geography, exact
sciences, astronomy, religion, and other branches of science, collected and classified by authors such as al-Umari, al-Nuweiri, and al-Kalkashandi.

THE MAIN FINDINGS AND RESULTS

The goal of writing encyclopedias was to preserve scientific knowledge for posterity, especially after hundreds of Turkic, Arabic, and Persian language manuscripts were lost during the Mongol invasion in Khwarazm, Baghdad, and Damascus. They were burned in fires and drowned in rivers in Iraq. In these encyclopedias of the Mamluk period, enough space is also given to description of nature, culture, cities, and population of Mawaraunnahr. The Department of rare books of the fundamental library of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan has a copy of the 14-volume encyclopedia Shihab ad-Din al-Kalkashandi (Subh al-Asha Fi Sinati-Insha) prepared for publication by Ahmed az-Zaki Pasha and published in Cairo in 1913-1919. The name of the encyclopedia is translated as “a light for the blind in creating a work” and it is intended for secretaries (katibs) and divans (offices), as well as for educated Muslims.

In the scientific world, there are differences in the assessment of the development of Arab culture under the Mamluks. In our view, these differences were due to the lack of knowledge of the culture and literature of this period. Only in the 90s of the twentieth century, there were fundamental works of Arab authors devoted to Arabic literature under the Mamluks. Prior to this, Arab literary scholars persistently argued that under the Mamluk rulers, Arabic literature was in decline (Hanna al-Fahuri, Mahmoud al-Ribdawi, and others). Authors of the 90s, such as Muhammad Zaghlul Salam, on the contrary, believed that there was a noticeable revival in literary life under the Mamluks, new poetic genres appeared, and the “adaba” genre was rapidly developing, combining layers of fiction and popular science literature[1].

The “adaba” genre, which appeared in Arabic literature as early as the ninth century in Mamluk Egypt, it underwent some stylistic changes in the direction of enthusiasm for rhetoric, verbal beauty (mahasin al-Kalam), wordplay and rhymed prose-saj, which corresponded to the aesthetic tastes of the time.

The main theme of the works of “adaba” was information about the world around us – the celestial sphere and celestial bodies, the earth with its animal and vegetable world, different countries and peoples. According to the tradition of the genre, the artistic and literary elements often wedged scientific text, excerpts from poetry or ancient legends, rivayats and hikayats.

A special monograph “Mamluklar davri Arab adabiyoti” [7] in Uzbek by the author of this article is devoted to Arabic literature of the Mamluk period, where it examines the main literary processes of this period, the features of the works of such prominent poets as Muhammad al-Busiri, Safiddin al-Hilli, Ibn Nubat, etc., and gives examples from their poetry, as well as analyzes samples of the “adaba” genre.

However, when it comes to the culture and literature of Mamluk Egypt, there is another aspect that is still poorly understood. It concerns the strengthening in the 13th – 14th centuries the impact of the Turkic factor on all aspects of Egyptian life, including literature and culture in general.

This article attempts to trace some aspects of this impact for the first time, to determine its trends and directions, and to note what role
the Mamluks impact still plays in the historical memory of the Egyptian people.

The first Turkic-speaking Mamluk Sultans did not know the literary Arabic language, but they were the patrons of Arabic language science and literature. When they came to power, of course, the Egyptians’ interest in Turkic languages and Turkic language literature increased. It was during this period that Turkic words entered the Arabic language, especially in its colloquial form. At the first stage of the reign of the Mamluk Sultans, the language of communication in the palace, in the offices - divans, among the soldiers in the troops, was both Kipchak and Khwarazm dialects of the Turkic language, on the basis of which the Kipchak-Oguz literary language of Mamluk Egypt was created. Among the Turkic language literary monuments of this period, including translations from Arabic and Persian into Turkic, it should be noted, for example, the free translation from Persian to Turkic of as-Saadi’s “Gulistan” , carried out by the poet Saif Sarayi in 1394. The translation was called “Gulistan bit-Turki”(Gulistan in Turkic), probably because it is more like a free retelling, in addition, Sarayi included his 5 ghazals and 4 rubai, 2 Farda, as well as 8 ghazals of other Turkic speaking poets, his contemporaries living in Egypt. These poets are Maulana Kazi Mohsen, Maulana Iskhak al-Khwarazmi, Maulana Imad Mawlawi, Ahmad Khoji as-Sarayi (Urgangi) Abd al-Majid, Tugli Khaji Khwarazmi, Hassan son, and al-Khwarazmi. Nothing else is known about the last poet al-Khwarezmi except his nisba, but it is also known that he is the author of “Muhabbatnama”, the famous Turkic-language monument of the 14th century. The author introduces himself to the reader with the following lines:

Kitobat boshladim anjoma etgay
"Muhabbatnama" Misru shoma etgay [15:187].

[I started my work, enough words [for poetry] “Muhabbatname” will reach Syria and Egypt.

The fact that Sayf Sarayi included the works of little-known Turkic-speaking poets in his translation and introduced their names into literature is of great importance for determining the primary sources of Turkic-speaking literature in the Middle Ages. These poets came from Central Asia. Then they moved to Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, which was to some extent the center of Muslim culture in the fourteenth century. Such prominent scientists as Kutbiddinar-Rosi, Masud Taftazoni, Kamoliddinat- Turkmani, Hafiz Ibn Bazzazi, a famous poet Kamoliddin Khhujani, etc. lived and worked here.

Russian orientalists Tolstov S. P., Grekov B. D., and Yakubovsky A. Yu., and the Arab scholar Amin al-Khuly, who specifically dedicated the book “Connections between the Nile and the Volga” to this topic, have noted that fairly developed political and cultural ties between the Golden Horde and Egypt [6] took place at that time.

As a result of the turmoil and civil strife that broke out in the Golden Horde, numerous Turkish-speaking scientists and writers fled to Egypt and received asylum there. Among them was Sayf Safari completed his “Gulistan bit-Turki” in Egypt. If you compare this work with al-Khwarezmi’s “Muhabbatname”, you will notice a great linguistic similarity – both works are written in the Chigatai dialect of the Turkic language, both poets masterfully use its lexical richness, and the similarity of styles indicates the unity of the literary school. Safari himself was a talented poet, a subtle lyricist. A photocopy of the manuscript "Gulistan bit-Turki" with the poet's gazelles included in it is saved in the Museum of literature after Alisher Navoi in Tashkent. You can distinguish Sarayi's gazelles from other gazelles not only by their
handwriting-elegant lyrics, subtle sensitivity, but also by the pseudonym “Sarayi”, which he introduces at the end of each of his poems, such as “Soul”, “Your eyes”, “Moon-faced”, “I have not met more”, “And how many people like me are confused…”, etc.

The concentration of a large Turkic intellectual potential in Mamluk Egypt not only strengthened the Turkic factor, but also contributed to the development of culture in Egypt. Scholars from Central Asia, the Golden Horde, Azerbaijan, and other Turkic-speaking regions teach hadith, mantiq (logic), fiqh, oratory, and other Muslim Sciences in az-Zahiri, al-Saragatmashia, al-Beybarsia, and other famous madrasas in Egypt. Famous scholars Rukn al-Din al-Krimi, Shihab al-Din al-Sarayi, Mahmud Ibn Qutlushah, Mahmud al-Gulistoni, and others create their works in Arabic and Turkic languages equally. As noted above, there is a great interest in the Turkic languages. Arabic philologists write special works on the grammar and vocabulary of the Turkic languages, and compile Arabic-Turkish dictionaries.

One of these first works was “Tarjuman” by an unknown author, written in 1247. It consists of 2 parts-grammatical and lexical. The dictionary part includes Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and even Mongolian words. “Tarjuman” was first published in Leiden in 1894 by the orientalist Martin Gosman. The only manuscript consisting of 76 pages is kept in the Leiden manuscript collection. The manuscript contains 1260 Kipchak words and about 70 Turkmen words. The Egyptian scholar Muhammad Harb notes that this work was published in 1970 in the city of Alma-Ata [9:228].

The work of Asir al-Din Abu Hayan (1265-1344) “Kitab al-Idrak Li lisan al-Atrak “ (the Book of understanding the language of the Turks) has long served as a source for subsequent works. The work is written in Arabic, but examples are given from the Kipchak language. The first part of the manuscript is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, the second part is devoted to the Turkic grammar. Two rewritten copies of the manuscript are kept in the Istanbul library and have been reprinted several times.

Muhammad Harb, a Turkish scholar and researcher of Turkish-language Egyptian literature, mentions 3 more books by Abu Khayyan on Turkish grammar:

- “Flower garden of Turkic grammar”
- “Book of verbs in the Turkic language”
- “Book of internal rules in the development of the Turkic language” [9: 250]

A noticeable phenomenon of philological science in the Mamluk period was the work “The Achievement Book of Expected [in the study of] the language of the Turks and Kipchaks” (“Kitabulgat al-Mushtaq Fi lugatat-turqva-l-kifjak”) by Jamal ad-Din al-Turki. The author of the work sets several tasks in the preface: to classify the lexical composition of the Turkic language, to create a Turkic-Arabic dictionary, to consider some issues of Turkic grammar. A rare copy of the manuscript is kept in the National Library of Paris. The manuscript consists of 71 pages, published twice by the Warsaw (Polish) Academy of Sciences – in 1954 and in 1958.

The work of an unknown author “Kitabat-Tuhfat az-Zakiyafi-l-Lugatat-Turkiya” (“An Exquisite Gift [for learning] the Turkic Language”) was considered to be of great importance in the study of the Turkic language.

The famous Uzbek scientist S. M. Mutalibov translated it into Uzbek and prepared it for publication in 1968 [12]. This monument discusses the main properties of the phonetics,
The author of the manuscript wrote the following about this, "In the book, I mainly relied on the Kipchak language, because it is most used in communication. Only when necessary did I attract Turkmen words and then use the expression “they say” [12:4], that is the author referred to other sources. S. Mutalibov explains the advantage of the Kipchak language as follows, “Since this language is the language of the most ancient and developed Kipchak tribe, which participated in the formation of many Turkic peoples, it occupies a special place in the history of Turkic languages” [12: 3].

Although the author of this work is still unknown, the book indicates that it was written in Egypt in connection with numerous requests from those who wanted to learn the Turkic language. Apparently, the author was quite well known in scientific circles. The style of presentation, the order of placement in the dictionary of words chosen by him, the logic and conciseness of reasoning, and his knowledge of several Turkic languages indicated that he was a leading philologist of his time. The Arabic-Turkic dictionary, which includes more than 3000 words, is divided into several parts. One part consists of verbs that stand in the form of an infinitive. Turkic words contain a semantic explanation. One of the chapters of the book is specifically devoted to the grammar of the Kipchak language.

There is disagreement among turkologists as to whether this work was written specifically in Egypt or in Syria, which is subordinate to it. Uzbek scientists E. Fazylov and M. Ziyaeva believe that the manuscript was written in Egypt, but its author, judging by the style, lived for a long time in Syria, but he probably came from Central Asia. E. Najib clearly believes that the monument was created in Egypt in the 14th century[11: 3].

It is possible to continue the list of works written on the Turkic languages in the 14 - 15th centuries. But the factor of the Turkic element impact on all spheres of life in Mamluk Egypt from socio–political to cultural–literary is very important for us. Amin al-Houli, the Egyptian writer and scholar wrote on this occasion, “We appreciate the Kipchaks and their kindred peoples for their deeds in the field of literature and science. For the fact that for centuries, , they had made a significant contribution to the [cultural development] of the Egyptian population as rulers, meanwhile they directed, pointed out, set an example to follow. They left a great legacy. Only with a correct assessment of their contribution we will have a complete understanding of our literature and science of this period” [6: 98-99].

Indeed, the Mamluk sultans encouraged the development of literature and science, were patrons of scientists and writers, and built madrassas for education. highly educated katibs (secretaries) worked in their divans (offices), from which prominent scholars came out. It was in the 14th century that the first Muslim encyclopedias an-Nuweiri, al-Umari, al-Kalkashandi had been created, as noted above, which incorporated many of the scientific achievements of the Muslim world. It contains a wealth of historical, geographical, and philological information, counting information about the Central Asian region, and including correspondence between Central Asian rulers and Mamluk sultans.

The Turkic element had an impact on all spheres of life in Mamluk Egypt, even on daily life. The Mamluk warrior became the standard of beauty. The writer Amin Khuli recalls that during his childhood, Cairo ladies who wanted to emphasize the pleasant appearance of a man, they said, "Handsome as a Mamluk", and he quotes the poems by the poet Ibn Nabih [6: 74]:

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Allahu al-Kabir, laysa al-husnufi-l-Arab

Kam tahta limmatinzota-t-Turki min ajab.

By the Great Allah, beauty is not in the Arab

How much under the lock of the Turk for a surprise!

Famous historical figures Mamluk warlords such as Kutuz, Oibek, Beybars, Kalaun, the former slaves (Mamluks are white slaves) who later became sultans, became the main heroes of the historical chronicles by Ibn Tagriberdi, al-Makrizi, al-Hanbali, Ibn Iyas, as well as the heroes of the folk novels-seer. The famous Shajart al-Durr, the first Mamluk Sultana came from the Mamluks, because of her leadership the Egyptians defeated the crusaders and drove them out of Egypt.

Shajar al-Durr is such a unique historical figure in Islamic history that it is worth dwelling on her vivid personality in details. Ibn Iyas and al-Makrizi believe that she comes from the Turks, perhaps she raised in the Palace of Turkan Hatun, the mother of Muhammad Khwarezm Shah [4: 10]. After the Mongol invasion, she fell into slavery, went through many vicissitudes, until she became a servant in the house of a noble Turk. She was taken as a concubine to the Ayyubid Sultan Salih and soon became his favorite wife thanks to her extraordinary intelligence and beauty. Sultan Salih was the main contender for the Egyptian throne, and until he finally established himself on this throne, Shajar al-Durr shared with him all the hardships of the struggle for power. The end of the reign of Sultan Salih and his death because of illness coincided with the Seventh Crusade in Egypt under the leadership of King Louis IX. The crusaders who landed at the mouth of the Nile moved up the river and reached the city of Mansour, the capture of which opened a direct route to Cairo. Shajar al-Durr, together with the Turkic commanders Beybars, Aktay, Kutuz, and Oibek, led the fight against the crusaders and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, then imprisoned their leader, the French King Louis IX. In this heavy military atmosphere, other qualities of Shajar al-Durr were also manifested such as sharpness and ability to soberly assess the situation. So she saved the King Louis IX from the massacre of fanatics and released him from captivity, after taking a huge ransom for the damage caused to Egypt by the war. A compromise decision was made since Sultan as-Salih and Shajar al-Durr had no heir, and the Mamluk emirs did not want to invite the Ayyubids princes from Syria to the throne. On the 10th of Safar month, 648, (May 1250), Shajar al-Durr was solemnly proclaimed Sultana on the Egyptian throne, so the Arab medieval historians al-Makrizi and Ibn Iyaz considered her the first Mamluk ruler of Egypt[4: 50]. The name Shajar al-Durr was mentioned in prayers from minbars and minarets, and it was minted on coins, where it was stamped – “highly esteemed highly virtuous Queen of Muslims, mother of Khalil, the Emir of believers” (meaning her son, who died in childhood). One of these gold coins with her name is kept in the British Museum in London [2:119]. Shajar al-Durr officially ruled for only 3 months, since the official proclamation of a woman as a Sultana on the Egyptian throne could not but cause discontent among many, especially religious figures. But the most indignant of all was the Baghdad Caliph al-Mustasim (1241-1258), who, as the head of the all-Muslim community, was asked to approve the Sultan’s authority of Shajar al-Durr, that is, to give a fatwa, which he flatly refused, sending a mocking letter to the emirs and threatening that he would send a worthy man. In this difficult situation, Shajar al-Durr, showing prudence, voluntarily ceded the throne to her vizier Oibek, whom she married. A decade later, another Mamluk Sultan Kutuz, who restrained the Mongol invasion at the borders of Egypt and gave them a battle in the
town of Ain Jalut in Palestine in 1260, secured the success of Shajar al-Durr in the fight against the enemies of Egypt. He completely defeated the Mongol army of Hulagu Khan, throwing them far back. There is a version that Sultan Kutuz is the nephew of the last Khwarezm Shah – Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu, who fought with the Mongols outside Khwarazm until his last days and died in 1231. Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu for ten years restrained the onslaught of the Mongols, not allowing them to move further to the Western lands, entered into battle and won several times. His death opened the way for the Mongols, who moved to the Arab lands. Baghdad (1258), Aleppo (1959), and Damascus (1959) were captured and looted. The same fate awaited Egypt if the Mamluk Sultan Kutuz had not come out of Egypt with an army and won a fierce battle. The fact that Kutuz is the nephew of Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu is noted by the Arab historians Shamsiddin al-Jazari, Rashiddin al-Hamadani and Takiddin al-Makrizi. Al-Makrizi, for example, wrote in his chronicle “Kitab as-Suluklimarifatidual al-Muluk” that Hulagu Khan, the leader of the Mongol army, knew the origin of the Sultan of Kutuz; at the battle of Ain Jalut, he sent him an offensive letter in which he called him “a slave who escaped from the sword of the Mongols” and ordered him to submit humbly, otherwise the Egyptians will experience the fate of the people of Kutuz, that is, the Khwarazmians, when “even children were not spared” [3:110].

Modern Egyptian historian Nuriddin Khalil, referring to the medieval historian Shamsiddin al-Jazari, notes in his book “Sayfiddin Kutuz-the winner of the Mongols” that the real name of Kutuz was Mahmud Ibn Mamdud [3:102]. This is also indicated by academician Z. M. Buniyatov in his book “The state of the Anushtegins Khwarazm Shahs” [5:118]. The academician also refers to the medieval historian Qutbiddin al-Yunani, who in his work quotes the words said, allegedly, by Sultan Qutuz after the victory, “I am the one who defeated the Mongols and avenged his uncle-Khwarazm Shah” [5:141].

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the battle of Ain Jalut for Egypt and for all the Arab countries of that period. This is also noticed by Western historians, especially the famous English historian Stephen Runciman, the author of the famous 3-volume “History of the Crusades” in the West [8]. In particular, he writes, “The Battle of Ain Jalut was one of the decisive battles in history... the victory of the Mamluks was the salvation for Islam in the face of the most dangerous threat directed at it. And if the Mongols were able to enter the interior of Egypt, there would not be a single great Islamic state to the East of Morocco. .... Thanks to Ayn Jalut the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt became the main force in the middle East for the next two centuries” [8:313].

The same was said about the significance of the battle by another historian, David William Chans, quoted by the Egyptian historian Khalil Nuritden in his book “Sayfiddin Kutuz-the winner of the Mongols”, “The battle between the Mongols and the Mamluks in Ain Jalut is one of the most important battles in world history. If the Mongols had succeeded and defeated Egypt, they would have captured all of North Africa as far as Gibraltar. And then Europe would be in an iron grip, surrounded from Poland to the Mediterranean. The Mongols could have attacked from many points, since there was no European army capable of resisting them” [3:157-158].

CONCLUSION
The Egyptians cherish the memory of the Mamluk who drove out the crusaders and the
Mongols. The streets are named after the Mamluk Sultans, as well as holding houses built during their time. Monuments have been erected to them. They became national heroes of the Egyptian people, and popular sira novels were written about them, such as “Sira about Zahir Beybars”, the 4th Mamluk Sultan from the Kipchaks, who ruled in Egypt for 17 years (1260-1277), and he created a strong centralized state that conducted trade with many countries. To this day, in Arab countries, these historical figures are the heroes of artistic works, scientific research, films, plays and TV shows.

The Turkic impact was felt in the military and household vocabulary, the introduction of new rituals, court etiquette, changing the criteria for evaluating beauty, food, clothing, etc. This article considers only some aspects of the impact of the Turkic factor on the political, social, cultural and literary life of Mamluk Egypt. But even this brief review allows us to conclude that the impact on the life and culture of the Egyptians was quite significant and long-lasting, as well as fruitful, which is recognized by the Egyptians themselves.

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