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GREAT ONES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PORTRAITS BY WINIFRED BRUNTON
HISTORICAL STUDIES BY
VARIOUS EGYPTOLOGISTS

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THE RELIABILITY OF EGYPTIAN PORTRAIT-SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND AND IN RELIEF

By James Baikie

ONE of the most interesting features of modern historical work is the attempt of the historian, not only to construct a complete and reliable skeleton of fact about particular peoples and periods, but also, when that has been done, to clothe the dry bones with flesh and blood, and to inspire them with life and movement. The dry catalogues of events and dynasties which served as histories in the past no longer satisfy us. We wish to know how people lived, acted, thought, in ancient days, to see them as they wrought their day's work, to follow them into the intimacies of their homes, to know what they believed in and hoped for, even what amused them in their hours of relaxation. Perhaps even more keenly do we desire to realise individual personality, where such a thing is possible, and to be able to form in our minds an actual conception of the men who made history in the past. Our chief aid towards the accomplishment of this end must always be the work of the contemporary artists who saw these men in life, and who have left us representations of them, more or less adequate according to their skill and their opportunities. The period of the Renaissance, for example, would be sensibly less interesting to us were it not for the work of the great artists who have made the notable men and women of that time live for us on canvas or in marble; and our knowledge of the English society of the latter part of the eighteenth century is vivified and made real to us almost as much by the brush of Reynolds as by the pen of Boswell.

But, while it is possible thus to call in art to our aid in the effort to realise the life and the personalities of the past up to a certain limit of antiquity, general opinion has been in the habit of drawing that limit pretty definitely. We have considerable faith in the possibility of knowledge derived from contemporary portraiture as to the personality of the men and women of the Renaissance, but considerably less faith as to any similar possibility for the period preceding. Roman portrait-sculpture, again, impresses us with its entire sincerity and fidelity, so that we believe ourselves able to realise with considerable vividness the personalities of the emperors, good, bad, or indifferent, and of the great men who helped them to control the destinies of the Roman world. Going a little farther back, we find in Greek sculpture a number of outstanding instances in which personality has been realised with a vividness which leaves us in no doubt as to the artist's fidelity to truth and his capacity for recording character. But the Greek sculptor's idealism, and his habit of presenting types rather than individuals, restricts the amount of material surviving to us from this source. And beyond this, general opinion, at least until within very recent times, has been in the habit of saying that there is no possibility of going. It is vain to look for any disclosure of individual personality in any period earlier than that of the maturity of Greek sculpture ; and, if archaic Greek work leaves us nothing that helps us to realise personality, still less can we hope for any aid towards that end in the work of the ages which precede the rise of Greek art.

It would seem, then, if we are to accept the general verdict without question, that it is vain to hope that we shall ever be able to form any conception of the living appearance and individuality of the great men and women who ruled the destinies of the ancient world prior to—shall we say ?—500 B.C., and the impossibility will grow more and more absolute the farther we go back in point of time, until the very idea of seeing with the eye an actual personality in the form of a king, let us say, of 3000 B.C. becomes an absurdity. Egypt, of course, is the one land of the ancient world which might conceivably have contested such a judgment, for in no other land is

there such a wealth, alike of material illustrative of the life and the habit of a people in all ages up to the limit just mentioned, and of sculpture which specifically professes to represent the great men and women of each successive age over a period of well-nigh three thousand years. In addition, Egypt is the only land where the actual physical frames of a number of the great men of the land have been preserved, so that the anthropologist and the artist can study, not only the framework upon which the living personality of the hero was built up, but in some cases, and to a limited extent, the actual fleshly clothing of the framework. Is it, then, possible that Egypt may be an exception to the general rule, and that in this land where so many supposed impossibilities have been realised it should be allowed to us to be able to reconstruct, to a certain extent from the actual bodies, but still more from sculpture in the round and in relief, and also from painting, portraits of the great ones of the past which shall be reasonably accurate in their representation of the individuals concerned as they lived and moved among their contemporaries, 3,000, 4,000, even 5,000 years ago ?

Until within quite recent times, the general answer to that question would have been " No." The average educated person would have laughed at the very idea of the fantastic and almost inhuman art (as it seemed to him) of the ancient Egyptian sculptor being able to convey any impression of individual personality whatsoever ; and the art critic would have agreed with him, though for a different reason. " Egyptian art," he would have said, " only touches living reality in broad generalisations of form and structure. The extraordinarily early adoption of rigid conventions, due probably to religious restrictions, in the representation of the human body, rendered it absolutely powerless to convey any definite impression of living personality and individuality. The actual details which reveal personality were inevitably smothered under the mass of conventions to which the whole had to conform, and, while we have innumerable statues professing to be likenesses of this or that great man, it is impossible to have any confidence in them as being in any sense revelations of individuality. They show us Man, not a man—the

recognised type of certain qualities belonging to the people of the land and the period, not the individual personality which impressed itself upon the period. As for any help being derived from the study of the parcels of dry bones and leathern skin which make up even the best preserved of Egyptian mummies, the thing is a vain imagining. A new miracle of Ezekiel would be necessary before such an idea could become an actual possibility. Egyptian sculpture is impressive —in a sense ; it is interesting for its astonishing mastery over the most intractable materials ; its date makes it valuable to us as a curiosity ; but to talk of it as art, or to expect to be able to reconstruct the personalities of the past from its data, is to speak unadvisedly and to invite disappointment."

Accordingly, we find a late well-known art critic expressing himself thus only a few years ago in one of the most charming and delightful of books on ancient art : " The emptiness of the Sphinx's face is a prevailing trait in all Egyptian sculpture. All Egyptian faces stare before them with the same blank regard which can be made to mean anything precisely because it means nothing. . . . Clearly the idea that art can be charged with, and visibly body forth, the emotions and ideas of the human mind was never grasped by Egyptian sculptors. . . . The truth is, Egyptian sculpture is a sculpture barren of intellectual insight and intellectual interest." Obviously, in the view of Mr. March Phillipps, Egyptian art was not art at all, but merely a mechanical repetition of certain consecrated types. Lord Balcarres (Lord Crawford) is more merciful to the poor Egyptian sculptor, and at least allows that he did produce art, though he was incapable of realising personality. " The massive and abiding art of Egypt ignored the personality of its gods *and Pharaohs*, distinguishing the various persons by dress, ornament, and attribute." To complete the trinity of denunciation, Mr. Weigall has quoted to us the judgment of a friend of his own, " undoubtedly a man of taste." " Egyptian objects have no relationship to real art, as we understand the term ; and therefore the work of the expert is simple. He has only to declare the age of each piece which comes under his notice, and to state whether it be genuine or not. If it is of doubtful

authenticity, it is worthless ; and if it is genuine, it is an interesting curio."

Dr. Samuel Johnson, as we all know, was once asked by a lady why, in his dictionary, he had defined " pastern " as " the knee of a horse." Instead of an elaborate vindication of his definition, he gave the candid but somewhat staggering answer : " Ignorance, madam, pure ignorance ! " It is difficult to see what other defence of these three amazing judgments could have been made by the authors of them (supposing them as candid as Dr. Johnson) had they been requested to vindicate their statements ; for three verdicts more absolutely opposed to the facts of the case could scarcely have been given, and one can scarcely imagine that anyone whose acquaintance with Egyptian sculpture was more than superficial would ever have pronounced judgments so utterly indefensible.

At the same time, it is not difficult to see, not a reason, certainly, but at least an excuse for the extraordinary misconception involved in such judgments. The misconception rests mainly, it would appear, upon two facts ; first, that no allowance has been made for the twofold division and purpose of Egyptian sculpture, and, second, that the superficial conventionality of the less important details in Egyptian statuary and relief work has repelled the critic at the start, and blinded him to the actual individuality and realisation of personality which characterise that part of his work which the Egyptian artist regarded as being of prime importance—an individuality which is precisely the most outstanding feature, and the great charm of Egyptian sculpture.

Take this latter point first. The intending critic enters a gallery of Egyptian sculpture. He sees on every side of him standing figures, which all conform, practically speaking, to a single type, so far as a first glance shows him, and which, in almost every case, exhibit the type in a single conventional attitude. With head erect and eyes looking straight forward, with square shoulders and comparatively narrow waist and flanks, robust and somewhat clumsy legs, and large, flat feet, the man strides forward, left foot advanced, both hands dropped to the sides and clenched. If there is any modification of

the type, it only goes to the extent of one of the hands being advanced to hold a baton. If he turns to the sitting figures, the critic sees the same type of body sitting square upon a solid block of seat, both knees together, and both hands resting upon the knees, with the solitary variation that occasionally one of the hands is open, while the other is clenched. Once in a while, the seated figure may have raised one of its hands, which stretches diagonally across the breast, holding, perhaps, a crook of office or a flower. Everywhere endless repetition of the same two themes, with the least possible amount of variation. Is it to be wondered at, human patience being what it is, that it fails before this interminably obtruded swathing of convention, and that the critic turns away without having taken the trouble to examine further, and to see whether there may not be, after all, real life beneath the swathing? Not unnaturally, but quite prematurely and mistakenly, he goes out of the gallery disgusted, and declares to the world that "Egyptian sculpture is a sculpture barren of intellectual insight and intellectual interest."

Again, to return to the first point, he enters the gallery with a resolute intention to disregard the conventions and to get to the heart of what the Egyptian sculptor has to tell him about the men and women of the past. He finds the whole place overwhelmed by a few domineering figures of colossal size, perhaps even by a single gigantic head, whose coarse and brutal features express nothing but power and self-assertion. In the shadow of these blighting Titans which seem to testify only to a colossal pride and to the efficiency of the stone-hewer who carved and polished them, what chance has anything of lesser scale or less insistent self-assertion to be noticed, or, if it is noticed, to receive its due meed of attention? Mere life-size statues, still more those of lesser size, shrink into insignificance, while as for the delicate and exquisite detail of the portraiture in relief which may adorn the side walls, it might as well not exist. Once more the critic takes his departure, convinced more than ever that Egyptian sculpture has nothing to tell him of the intimate revelation of personality which he looks for, but is essentially barbaric, grandiose, it may be, but never really great. (It is not too much to say, for

example, that the tremendous head attributed to Thothmes III in the British Museum, with its jovial and brutal self-satisfaction, offers a serious hindrance to the appreciation of everything else within range of it. No delicate or intimate work can live alongside it. Its proper place was in the open, in front of a towering pylon ; if it must be placed in a museum, it should have a room to itself.)

In addition to these two main factors, which have prevented the appreciation of the true qualities of Egyptian sculpture, we have to realise a third, essentially, perhaps, less important, but scarcely less disastrously operative in practice. I mean the fact that our representative collections of Egyptian art have almost invariably been gathered, in the first instance, mainly from the archæological point of view. Artistic considerations, if they have come in at all, have exercised only a secondary influence upon the selection of pieces ; and in many instances a sixth- or seventh-hand transcription of what may originally have been a fine statue of a Pharaoh of an interesting period—a piece which has finally lost all the merit which the original possessed—has been preferred, or, at the best, has been placed in a better position than a much finer piece of original work belonging to a man or a period less historically or archæologically interesting.

The consequence, of course, is that our Egyptian sculpture galleries, generally speaking, are a jumble of good and bad work (in the artistic sense), in which the bad mostly predominates. What would be thought of the sculpture of any European country if its best work were hopelessly lost in the midst of a mass of the work of the conscientious stone-hewers who, at the undertaker's order, decorate its cemeteries with urns, broken columns, and drooping mourners ? Once in the history of the race you may get a people whose very stone-hewers are artists as well, and Greek sculpture can stand even being judged by the tomb-steles which mingle with its higher efforts ; but, all the same, the principle of mixing good and tenth-rate art in a representative collection of the art of any nation is radically bad. The art of ancient Egypt, like that of any other country, has a right to be judged by its best, not by a jumble of its

best and its worst. What we have really done with it in most cases is to mix the masterpieces of its great portrait-sculptors with the tenth-rate work of provincial undertakers, turned out by methods anticipatory of our modern mass-production, and then to invite the judgment of the art critic upon the resultant hotch-potch of good and bad. Can it be wondered at, again, that the verdict has so often been unfavourable ? The archæologist is not to blame. He has kept his own aims in view, and has served them ; the pity is that archæology and art have not always gone together in the arrangement.

So far, we have only touched upon the negative aspect of the question, and have done no more than to mention the hindrances which have prevented the realisation of the actual merits of Egyptian portrait-sculpture, and have given rise to the idea that it is impossible to derive from it any reasonably accurate conception of how the men and women who are represented in it actually appeared to their contemporaries. If this judgment be true, it follows, of course, that the most vivid aspect of the life of ancient times—the realisation of the individual personalities who were the moving agents in it—is closed to us, that we have no certainty in our vision of the great ones of the past, and that such attempts as Mrs. Brunton has made with such patient skill and insight, here and in her previous volume, are bound to fail precisely in the quality which is most essential to their value. If the ancient Egyptian portrait-statue, or the equally carefully wrought portrait in delicate relief, cannot be relied upon as a faithful representation of the individual portrayed, and a faithful interpretation, so far as the capacity of the artist went, of his personality, then we have no more ground for believing that we know the individual appearance of Thothmes III, Hatshepsut, or Ramses II, of Senmut, Amenhotep son of Hapu, or Mentuemhat, or that we can read their " mind's construction " in their faces, than we have for believing that we can picture the individuality of any particular monarch or noble among the scores of square-bearded and bulging-muscled Assyrian notabilities who swagger in the scenes from Nineveh or Khorsabad, looking as if they had all been cast from the same mould.

RELIABILITY OF EGYPTIAN PORTRAIT-SCULPTURE

Actually, as anyone who has even the most moderate acquaintance with Egyptian portrait-sculpture knows beyond the shadow of a doubt, the exact opposite is the case. A really good Egyptian portrait-statue, or a really good portrait-relief (for it must not be forgotten that the exquisitely delicate modelling of the best relief work results in portraits quite as carefully searched and as convincing as those of the statues in the round), is as true and as manifest an expression of individuality as any of the portraits of Holbein or Sir Joshua, and far more so than anything that Kneller ever put on canvas. There may be probably a score of merely mediocre, or even positively bad, portraits for a single first-rate one, for the simple reason that every respectable Egyptian who could afford even the most modest work of art felt himself bound, for the sake of his eternal welfare, to provide himself with one or more moderately recognisable simulacra of himself. The results, it is almost needless to say, were in many cases no more works of art or expressions of individual character than are the efforts of the travelling Semite who produces coloured enlargements of the photographs of departed friends for the delectation of their confiding survivors—and his own profit. But frequenters of our own annual exhibitions of painting, familiar with the effigies of civic and county dignitaries in all the splendour of scarlet and ermine, will not feel inclined to cast the first stone at the poor Egyptian sculptor for his sins of commission in this kind. The really good work of the masters of the art stands on a very different plane from these trade productions, and need not fear comparison with that of any school, given an understanding of its purpose, its conditions, and its consequent limitations.

For we have to remember that a doctrine such as the " Art for art's sake " of the modern world would have been the rankest heresy or rather, perhaps, would have been absolutely unintelligible to the ancient Egyptian artist. Like all his fellow countrymen in all ages, he was the most practical of men, and his work, as viewed alike by his patron and by himself, was meant, in all cases, to serve the most directly practical of ends. If he was asked to create a colossal statue of his king, or to carve in relief upon the walls of a temple scenes

from his royal master's wars, or of his intercourse with his fellow-gods, he knew that the great object of his work was to convey an overwhelming impression of the superhuman power and dignity of the Pharaoh. For the attainment of this end, it was not necessary that the resultant statue or relief should be a definite portrait of the particular Pharaoh concerned. It might be so, and probably every now and again it would be so. Occasionally, no doubt, Egyptian art would throw up a sculptor who had not only the technical training and ability to produce the standard type of colossus (such men seem to have been common enough in Egypt, the land of perfectly trained craftsmen), but had also the genius to conceive his colossus as a piece of individual portraiture on a gigantic scale ; and in such a case the result would be a statue which not only fulfilled the common functions of a colossus, but was also an individual portrait of its original. Instances of this double success are to be found in the extraordinarily forceful and individual colossal heads of Senusert III at Cairo, and the dignified and majestic colossal head in grey granite in the British Museum, which is manifestly a piece of very faithful portraiture from the Middle Kingdom, though we may not yet be able to identify its original with certainty.

In the main, however, the sculptor of colossi was satisfied to regard his work as what it really was—an item of a great architectural composition—and to consider that he had gained his end if he succeeded in conveying the impression of superhuman dignity and power. That this end was generally completely attained no one is likely to deny, though at present we only see these great works in a mutilated condition, or detached from the setting in which they were meant to be viewed. But it is partly because these colossi, whose purpose was quite different from that of the normal portrait-statue, have so often been regarded as being typical representatives of Egyptian portrait-sculpture, that so much criticism, mostly entirely wide of the mark, has been levelled against the Egyptian sculptor's art.

The case is quite different with regard to what I have called the normal portrait-statue—the statue, that is, whose object was to be a portrait and nothing else. In the case of the colossus, the main

object might be to produce a type of Pharaonic dignity rather than an individual likeness ; and that this was so is proved by the constant usurpation of royal statues by later Pharaohs, who made the colossus their own by the simple process of putting their own names upon it. In the ordinary course of practice, on the other hand, the sculptor's very *raison d'être* consisted in his ability to produce an individual likeness which should be as nearly perfect as the limitations of human skill and of his material would allow him to make it. For he was not asked to produce an artistic masterpiece for the delectation of his patron and his patron's circle ; he was asked to provide a religious necessity, on which the eternal well-being of his patron might, in the last resort, come to depend.

If we hold the more common and familiar view of the object with which the funerary statues of royalties and notabilities were created, we shall believe that they were, strictly speaking, *ka* statues—alternative refuges provided for the *ka* of the man concerned, against the possibility that in the course of ages his mummy might fall into decay, and become unidentifiable and uninhabitable. If we take the more modern view, of which Professor T. E. Peet has been an outstanding exponent, we shall simply believe that the statue was meant to be a direct substitute for the dead man, in case his body should utterly fall into decay. Either view presupposes the need for accuracy, as absolute as skill could make it, in the delineation of the personality involved ; and Sir Gaston Maspero's statement of the case remains as true now as it was in 1913 : " It is now admitted that such objects of art are above all utilitarian, and that they were originally commissioned with the fixed purpose of assuring the well-being of human survival in an existence beyond the grave."

Such utilitarianism may seem to some to destroy the claim of the Egyptian sculptor's work to be called true art. I do not think it does, any more than the fact that a great cathedral was primarily designed for the equally utilitarian purpose of Divine worship destroys its claim to be regarded as a masterpiece of art ; but whether it does or not matters nothing to our present purpose. The point is that the Egyptian sculptor worked under the compulsion of a motive

even more imperious than the impulse of his own artistic bent, a motive whose dominance over the mind has never been approached in the religion of any other country or age. All his energy and skill were directed to produce a work (whether artistic or not) in which the first, and practically the one requirement that really mattered, was that, for the highest and most vital of ends, as both he and his patron believed, it should be a likeness so faithful and so individual that, if we hold the one view, the *ka* should be in no danger of not recognising it as a true bodily shell for itself, or that, if we hold the other, the statue should be a complete substitute for the dead man's own body.

Therefore, if we are to expect individuality in the work of any school of artists in the world, we must expect it in that of the Egyptian school of sculpture. To create an ideal work, or a type, instead of a transcript of the personality of the man before him, would have seemed to the Egyptian sculptor the merest waste of time, if not a positive sin against the eternal life of the man whose commission he was executing. He was there to create an alternative to the body of the man himself, an alternative so faithful to the original that in the end it might be substituted for the original without any loss. Such, at least, was the theory. No one suggests that it was perfectly attained in practice, for the Egyptian artist had just the same proportion of weaknesses and failings as other men, though his thorough training as a craftsman, apart from any question of artistic genius, usually prevented his work from falling below a certain standard. Second-rate artists produced second-rate work then, as now, in spite of the religious motive under whose compulsion they worked ; lazy men did as much or as little as they imagined would pass muster in a work which was destined to be immured for ever in the darkness of a tomb ; even the best man gave most of his attention to the part of his subject that most vitally mattered, and was apt to be summary, to say the least of it, in his handling of the extremities, which mattered less than the face and head, so that, to take an outstanding early instance, the comely and comfortable countenance of Nefert of the IVth Dynasty is associated with a pair of ankles such as I am sure so gracious a lady never

owned in life, while the less said about the legs which supported the body and the intelligent head of her husband Rahotep, the better.

But, in the main, the result is manifest. No ancient school of sculpture has left us anything that can for a single moment be compared with the astonishing realism and individuality of the best portrait heads which have come down to us from ancient Egyptian workshops. Greece, far excelling Egypt in other aspects of the sculptor's art, has left us nothing to compare, either in quantity or in realism, with the Egyptian work. It is only when we come to the school of Roman portrait-sculpture that we find the Egyptian artist rivalled and surpassed on his own ground. It is needless to multiply instances, which must occur to the mind of anyone acquainted with the elementary facts about Egyptian sculpture. From the Lords Ty and Ranefer, and Prince Rahotep and Princess Nefert of the Old Kingdom, to the great series of royal portraits of the Senuserts and Amenemhats of the Middle Kingdom, the Amenhotep, son of Hapu, of the New Empire, the Mentuemhat of the Ethiopian dominion, and the green serpentine head of the Saite Period in the Berlin Museum, or the amazingly characterised head of an unknown nobleman in the British Museum (37883), we have an absolutely unrivalled series of individual portraits, extending over a period of more than 2,000 years, of the most interesting and attractive race of the ancient world.

So far, then, as regards the funerary portraits which make up by far the most important part of the treasure of Egyptian sculpture, Mrs. Brunton has ground both firm and ample on which to base her work of reconstruction ; for she is dealing with a mass of material which, within the limits of human skill, is entirely unimpeachable, and that for the most cogent of all reasons—religious necessity. How faithful the tradition of individual portraiture continued to be, even down to the last hours of the decadence, has been curiously illustrated by Sir Flinders Petrie's comparison of the plaster model of a man's head on the outside of a coffin of Romano-Egyptian date with the skull of the occupant within. Allowance being made for the necessary differences between the complete head and the bare skull, the agreement between the portrait and the bony framework of the

original head was practically perfect. If even in the last hours of national decay the Egyptian local artist was capable of such exact faithfulness, the reconstructions which have been based on the results of a careful study of the best work of the best masters may be accepted with considerable confidence. One thing is sure—that we are never likely to get nearer to the facts about the living appearance of the great ones of ancient Egypt than we do in Mrs. Brunton's vivid and vital interpretations of their personality.

There remains the question of the royal and other funerary statues which were not destined to be immured in the tomb for the welfare of its occupant, but were dedicated in the temples as votive offerings, or as marks of favour granted by the Pharaoh to deserving subjects. Are we entitled to rely upon them for the same degree of faithfulness in the representation of individual characteristics as can be presupposed in the case of the actual tomb statue ? Unquestionably it is impossible to predicate faithfulness of the whole class of such statues with the confidence with which it may be predicated in dealing with the tomb statue. Each individual case must be judged on its own merits, and there are many cases in which the statue is manifestly conventional, and not to be regarded as a portrait at all. Fortunately, however, the instances in which there can be any doubt as to the class in which a statue should belong, in this sense, are comparatively few. The really conventional statue generally leaves no doubt as to its conventionality, when brought alongside of the living work of the other class.

With regard to the royal statues, we must remember that we have to deal with a fact which, whether we do or do not accept the interpretation of it offered by Sir Gaston Maspero, is quite certain, and must be taken into consideration, and allowed for in all reconstructions based upon such work. " When a Pharaoh ascended the throne," says Maspero, " the sculptors of the city where he then was, Memphis, Thebes, Tanis, or another, hastened to make a certain number of copies of his portrait, full-face or in profile ; these were immediately sent into the provinces, in order that his face might be everywhere substituted for that of the former sovereign on the buildings in

course of erection. . . . The type, once carefully fixed, did not change during the whole of the reign. Ramses II, who was nearly a hundred years old when he died, after reigning for sixty-seven years, kept the features of a young man even to his latest monuments." We know, of course, that a process like this was adopted in respect of the royal titulary, which was officially transmitted throughout the land on the accession of a new Pharaoh, so that it might always be correctly used in documents and inscriptions ; but it is a somewhat large assumption that there was always the creation of such a standard and unvarying type of royal likeness, and such a circulation of it by what we can only describe as means of mass-production. Indeed, Maspero admits that " the rule contains numerous exceptions, especially when it is a question of statues commissioned in one of the capitals of the country, and executed by artists who could see their subject at close quarters and register the changes time produced in his face."

At the same time, there is no question that there was a process of the multiplication of royal portrait statues, not perhaps so official and universal as Maspero supposes, but by no means infrequent. When a master sculptor had created a portrait of his sovereign which was regarded with favour, it was evidently copied and re-copied, either in the master's workshop or elsewhere, until the final result was sometimes very far indeed from being as faithful to its original as the first work which came from the hand of the master himself. On such second-, third-, seventh-hand copies it is obviously impossible to rely with anything like the confidence which we can repose in a work which bears the stamp of originality. Fortunately, discrimination between a work of first-class importance and one whose value is only secondary is not beyond the resources of art criticism in the hands of one who is familiar with the material involved, and, while our main dependence must always be placed upon pieces of undoubted originality, even the secondary ones are by no means devoid of value, though they can bear only corroborative testimony to facts already in evidence.

In spite, however, of all difficulties raised by the question of the

multiplication of copies, and consequently growing distance from the original source, and by the fact that portraits not definitely destined as pledges of immortality in the same sense as those of the tomb are not necessarily so closely bound to individualism of portraiture as are the tomb-statues, we may quite certainly have a reasonable confidence in the accuracy of such as do not manifestly declare their own conventionality. For the Egyptian artist, no matter what were the conditions under which he was working, could not easily free himself from the religious tradition which overshadowed all his work. Whether it was destined for the tomb of his patron or not, each statue of him that the artist created was, in the eyes of patron and sculptor alike, an added chance of immortality for the man who was represented by it. Faithfulness to the individual personality was to be desired in the votive statue or relief only a little less, if at all, than in the works definitely destined for the tomb, because its absence might mean the missing of a chance of eternal endurance. Therefore the difference between the reliance which may be placed upon a tomb-statue or relief, and that which may be given to a votive one, is more a matter of strict theory than of actual fact. In both cases, the artist usually endeavoured, to the utmost limit of his powers, to produce a faithful individual likeness, and in both cases his work may be relied upon with a confidence which is to be measured simply by our estimate of his capacity.

The original material on the study of which Mrs. Brunton has depended for her reconstruction of the portraits of the kings, queens, and notabilities of ancient Egypt, contained in this and her previous volume, is, therefore, of entirely first-class importance, and of unimpeachable authenticity. It is, however, one thing to have the material wherewith to build, and quite another to possess the imagination and the insight which in the result makes the finished building seem a thing inevitable ; and there are few who so combine knowledge, insight, and artistic skill as to be able to clothe with life and individual force the battered relics of the humanity of a past age and race as Mrs. Brunton has done. The great men and women of ancient Egypt live again in her careful drawing and jewel-like colour

far more vividly than they ever can in any reconstruction which depends upon the printed word alone. In these brilliant portrait-sketches, the artist has in a measure achieved the greatest object of the historian. " This is precisely a revocation of the edict of Destiny; so that Time shall not utterly, not by several centuries, have dominion over us. . . . They who are gone are still here; though hidden they are revealed, though dead they still speak."

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

By Winifred Brunton

IN the long procession of figures that file through the ages of Egyptian history there are comparatively few who afford suitable material for reconstructed portraits, or of whose physical aspect we can form any idea. Time, with its chances and accidents, has obliterated nearly all the portrait-statues, of which we can be sure that every person of any importance had at least one to perpetuate his living form and keep his memory alive. Of those that do survive, some belong to persons whose names have utterly vanished, and some of the greatest names live in legend only.

Conspicuous among the latter is Imhotep of the IIIrd Dynasty, perhaps the greatest man in all ancient times. Nothing remains of him but legend and tradition, which tell us that he was vizier, physician, philosopher, and architect, and Scharff brings evidence to show that he may even have been the man who organised or stabilised the Egyptian calendar.

Only one authentic statue is so far known to us of the great line of Vth Dynasty kings, and that is a conventional " official " portrait-head, telling us little of Userkaf except that the physical type had not changed much from that of the IVth Dynasty.

A series of vital studies of individuals comes from Amarneh, but there is nothing to tell us of the originals, and we are left guessing. In the XXth Dynasty mummification reached a high degree of skill, but with few exceptions the bodies so remarkably preserved, and now in the Cairo Museum, are those of inane characterless rulers, or of men whose personalities are buried in obscurity. A few eloquent

pieces of sculpture exist of the XXVIth Dynasty—as works of art only, since we know nothing of whom they represent. Such is the famous green schist head, generally thought to be the portrait of a high priest, but not even the reign in which he lived is known.

So the student finds his material narrowed down to a few examples whose name, life, and status, as well as physical appearance, can be studied within their period to afford a glimpse of their personality.

The first great name in Egyptian history is that of Mena, whose strong will and organising ability finally welded the separate provinces into one kingdom, and held them like beads threaded on a string. Mena was a vague, misty figure until recently, when an impression of a seal on clay was discovered giving his name alternately with the name Narmer in such a fashion that it can only signify that these were two names of one king. Now of Narmer we have several records. These are dealt with in the article by Professor Newberry, so I will here discuss only the material on which I have based my portrait. The first point is that Narmer-Mena was a general and commander of men. In fact, that is the most certain thing about him. *And the carved slate palette dedicated in the temple of Hierakonpolis assures us that he was a king of kings, the head of a coalition of chiefs, whose several standards appear under the leadership of Narmer's own falcon emblem. The conservators of the Cairo Museum most kindly afforded me special facilities for the study of this precious monument, discovered in 1897 by Quibell at Nekhen, the ancient capital of the south country, called Hierakonpolis by the Greeks.*

At first sight the great palette, carved in low relief in the primitive style of this remote period, would seem unpromising material from which to work up the detail of a personal portrait. But careful study impresses a strong sense of its earnest sincerity, and leads to several conclusions.

Narmer is twice represented. The face is almost identical in both figures, and quite different from every other face in the sculpture, with the single exception of the long-haired figure, which has a

profile strongly resembling that of the king, though rounder and softer.[1] When Narmer's features are redrawn as faithfully as possible, but with the unavoidable modern inflection, they recall the Beduin of the Arabian desert—there are the same strong bones, square jaw, aquiline nose, the slightly oblique set to the eye, and noticeably the same forward jut to the beard. That this was a real beard, not the tied-on affair of later ceremonial, is evident. It is trimmed square and narrow, and grows up close to the lower lip, as the sculptor has been careful to show in both figures of the king. I have given Narmer a skin-colour neither light nor dark, but similar to that of the average desert man, and show him as aged between forty-five and fifty. He could not have been much less when the palette was carved. Egypt was not united by him all in a few years, even though his predecessors may have begun the work ; nor would the various chieftains who fought under Narmer's leadership be likely to defer to an inexperienced warrior younger perhaps than some of them. He could not have been much over fifty, or he would be beginning to lose the physical energy necessary to lead armies and to dominate his allies.

As to Narmer's clothing, what there is of it : he wears a straight garment cut apparently all in one from below the breast to mid-thigh, and this is held up by two broad bands sewn to the top edge and brought up to tie on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and breast bare. Much has been written and said about the knot which ties these ends together, and about other knots represented in later times. Such are seen fastening the brace or the girdle in many Old Kingdom reliefs and statues (e.g. Ranofer), and the braces that hold up the straight dresses of the women are tied in much the same way. Some archæologists have postulated a complicated system of two loops manipulated through each other and fastened with a pin. Engelbach has worked out with complete success many of the later knots, but I think the earliest were very simple. Let the reader take a clean, slightly stiff handkerchief and tie the diagonally opposite

[1] The same person is shown on the votive mace-head (fig. 8, p. 53) standing behind the king. He may have been the vizier, perhaps also the son, of Narmer.

corners together in a reef knot, making it as neat as he can, and he will see exactly the knot shown on Narmer's shoulder.

It is not known what the girdle was made of. Leather has been suggested, by analogy with certain fringed leather girdles in Nubia. But this belt is represented in exactly the same way as belts of the Middle Kingdom; and it is known, because actual examples have been found, that semi-precious stones were then set in cloisons of gold to form an openwork design. The hanging thongs are in this case apparently strung with beads, and we know that the short cylinder of blue-glazed steatite was in popular use from the earliest times, and was especially characteristic of the first few dynasties.[1] Professor Newberry thinks that the white crown was originally of plain white felt, and, having great respect for his opinions, I have painted it so in my portrait.

The pear-shaped mace-head came into use long before Narmer's reign, and by the time of the earliest writing it was already the sign for whiteness or shining. Small cups of clear rock-crystal were found at Abydos in the royal tombs of the first dynasties. It would be much simpler to shape rock-crystal into a mace-head than into a cup, and certainly the earliest Egyptians knew of no material more white and shining than clear quartz. The common man's mace was usually of limestone, many examples having come from excavations.

The features of the chieftains whom I have grouped behind Narmer, as he stands reviewing his triumphant troops, have been faithfully transcribed from the Hierakonpolis palette, but I disclaim responsibility for their varying expressions and ages, though these, of course, they must have had.

Meritiotes is included in the series of portraits because we have a statue of her as well as a certain amount of her history, and because she is a convenient peg on which to hang the costume of the period. Unfortunately the statue is the work of an inferior sculptor. Meritiotes

f. Newberry has made a close study of this and similar girdles. Analogy suggests that they were worn by maidens, and that their removal by the bridegroom was an essential part of the marriage ceremony. It may therefore be deduced that Narmer had already married the princess of the Hathor worshippers when the slate was carved.

is the central figure of a triad (limestone with remains of colour) now in the Rijksmuseum at Leyden. The three figures, two women and a boy, are posed with crude rigidity—each has the hands stiffly by the sides and the left foot advanced, and the staring eyes are so striking that Petrie has tried to see in them examples of a special race which he calls " the large-eyed type." It seems likely, however, that it is to the sculptor only that we owe the exaggeration of the size of the eyes, large though these often are in Oriental women, who enhance their effect by a lavish use of *kohl* on the thick black lashes. The dress of Meritiotes, as also that of her female companion, has originally been painted with a blue lattice-work over the white, representing the network of blue cylinder beads so much in vogue among the better classes of the time. The wig is the usual IIIrd Dynasty bob, showing the clipped fringe of the wearer's own hair on the forehead. The statue gives the impression that Meritiotes was a short dumpy woman, devoid of grace or charm, but this may of course be due to the sculptor's lack of facility. I know one living face which the statue much resembles, and, rightly or wrongly, I have followed the lead and painted in the contours and modulations of the living woman. Of course, when working from one statue only, and that not artistically of the first class, one is not on the same firm ground as when there is a series for reference.

In the case of Menkaure such a series exists in the Cairo Museum. His statues differ from one another only slightly, the variation being due to treatment rather than to difference of feature. In one the kingship, the divine man, is stressed, and in another the homely good-nature, but otherwise they are so much alike that they may well all have been the work of one artist. The face is that of a simple-minded man whose mentality was objective rather than subjective, one who acquired a certain dignity from his unquestioning and unquestioned belief in his divine being, far above common humanity.

The lady of the Vth Dynasty is an interpretation of the wooden statue called " The wife of the Sheikh el-beled." It will be found in the wall-case which contains a collection of Old Kingdom statues near the middle of the West Gallery of the Cairo Museum. The

arms and legs of the statue, which is about half life-size, are missing. The dress is the usual one of close-fitting linen, and the discoloration on the neck shows that there has been a painted necklace. The wig is that fashionable at the time. What is quite unusual is the figure and bearing. Instead of the short-necked, dumpy roundness common to figures of the period, we have here a slim muscular body, firm and tense as that of a Russian dancer, and an air of gallant courage. This was no loller in carrying-chairs, but a woman of energy and intelligence.

With Senusert III we are on firm ground. The first step in the task of reconstruction was to make a selection from the many portraits of this great man from which to work. It was a wonderful chance that in the XIIth Dynasty there should be sculptors of genius who had such splendid subjects for their art, and that, too, at a time when personal individual portraits were in vogue. The statues of Senusert III on which I have based my portrait are as follows, in order of age of the man.

1. The black granite head from Medamot, now in Cairo.
2. The black granite statue, also in the Cairo Museum.
3. The three black granite statues in the British Museum (Nos. 684–686).
4. The colossus in the Cairo Museum.
5. The granite head of tragic aspect, also in Cairo.
6. The diorite sphinx, showing the king as an old man, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

In a few cases it is at first sight hard to distinguish between the portraits of Amenemhat III and those of Senusert III. But close study makes clear the differences between the two. Amenemhat III has a broad flat face and a square pugnacious-looking jaw. The eyes are protruding and set well apart, and the nose has a fleshy round tip and a marked bump just below the bridge. There are many portraits of him, evidently the work of inferior artists (second- and third-hand copies of better work), which do not show all these peculiarities, but the flatness of the face, the truculent and jutting chin, are always there. Senusert has a narrower face, the cheekbones

being less pronounced. The eyes are rather close together, with the upper lids broad and the lower lids narrow. In maturity the corners of the mouth droop more than those of Amenemhat, the lips being very thin except in the centre. In all the authentic portraits the grooves of the hollow between the lower lip and the chin are strongly marked, even in the young head from Medamot. The best examples all show the brows coming well forward over the eye-sockets. The ears are noticeably less huge than those of Amenemhat.

Senusert III is the only king whose face we can study from early manhood to old age. The Medamot head shows him as a dreamy, poetic young man, whose lips seem about to curve into a smile. To the general public and to many students it is the famous Berlin head of Queen Nefertiti which is the supreme example of Egyptian art. This is perhaps partly due to the preservation of the colour, which lends such a vivid effect of life to the portrait. Lovely though this head of Nefertiti certainly is, the Medamot head of Senusert III is a much superior work, and shows an even greater knowledge, not only of facial structure, but of the human soul. It has an intimacy unique in Egyptian sculpture, which could only have been obtained by a study from life, and the genius who wrought it has conveyed to us across the centuries a message from his own brain as well as a vision of his royal sitter. It is perhaps the most marvellous psychological study out of Egypt.

With the passage of the years the face of Senusert undergoes a tragic change. The mouth becomes compressed, the sensitive curves straighten into hard lines as in the granite head in Cairo, the lips droop, and the general impression is given of a man who has driven himself almost to breaking-point. Yet always the characteristic humorous twist at the corners of the lips persists. In the Medamot head the eyes are placid, introspective. They open to a searching stare in later life, and take on a seared look. In old age, as represented in the diorite sphinx in New York, the lower lids are drawn up as sight begins to fail. Young or old, it is always the face of a great man.

The portrait of Queen Nefert is made from her statues in the

Cairo Museum. She has the XIIth Dynasty family likeness, but the characteristic bones are in her case covered deep in fat and flesh. Yet the face preserves a certain force and majesty. Plain and heavy though she was, she belonged unmistakably to the same strong breed as the men of her line. The curious wig seems to have connections with the cult of Hathor, to whom so many women of the royal family were apparently specially devoted.

A number of statues of Amenhotep III, that luxurious and opulent king, are available for study, but comparatively little information can be gleaned from them. They are, almost without exception, the conventional impersonal type of work which, turned out by the dozen, were intended to embellish the temples, and, standing in pairs, to impress the spectator with the might and majesty of the son of the gods. In some of the wall-reliefs in the Luxor temple there are figures of the king which, summary though they are, yet give a more personal impression. It is possible, by balancing and combining even these lifeless representations, to arrive at a definite result as to the king's features. The quartzite colossus in the British Museum gives one a little more help. Something emerges of a pleasure-loving, kindly creature, preferring that everyone about him should be happy so only he himself be not bothered. All the sculpture agrees in giving him small oblique-set eyes, wide apart, but rather buried in flesh. Fleshy too is the *retroussé* nose, and the broad cheeks to match. The mouth in youth must have been very sweet, and even the constant pain he suffered in later life never quite turned the corners of the lips down. The only vivid representation of Amenhotep so far known is that on the stele in the British Museum (referred to by Mr. Glanville in his study of the reign), and those who have seen it will at once recognise it as the inspiration of my group of the King and Queen. I have dealt with the character of Queen Tiy in my previous book of Egyptian portraits, so will not dwell on her personality here. In this group I have shown the highy-strung little lady of fading beauty, whose nervous temperament is in strong contrast to the placidity of her easy-going consort.

Smenkh-ka-re was worked up almost entirely from the limestone

head in Turin, which is a sensitive, almost affectionate little work. It shows his unmistakable likeness to Nefertiti. The boy's fresh face, so like his sister's, must have thrown into sad relief her haggard beauty and anxious eyes. In the fragment from Thebes, Smenkh-ka-re holds a fan of two ostrich feathers such as I have placed in his hands in this portrait. The jewellery follows the design of some of the beautiful pieces made for Tut-ankh-amon. I have painted the latter as he may have been on the day the famous iron-bladed dagger was first put into his hands. His love of sport and physical action is well known from his relics, and, had he lived at the present day, he would no doubt have been a good shot with the rifle, gone tiger-shooting in India, and had his box at Wimbledon. His face has striking resemblances to both Amenhotep III and Tiy, the bony structure and the eyes being like hers, while the nose and mouth are Amenhotep's. Mr. Carter's wonderful discovery has provided so many portraits of Tut-ankh-amon that it was a simple matter to make a blend of the most obviously life-like, the gold coffin-lid and the gold mask especially. The portrait of his girl-wife was made from the red quartzite head now in Berlin, the wig, crown, and dress being transcribed from the throne in Cairo. As the many known portrait-heads of Akhenaton's daughters are not named, it is perhaps a little invidious to select any one of them as representing Ankh-sen-amon. But those of the three youngest daughters may be left out anyway, while another head now in Cairo shows a neurotic little subject obviously in poor health, and is almost certainly a portrait of the second daughter, Maket-aton, who died young. We are thus left with two damsels, Merit-aton and Ankh-sen-amon, to account for, and there seems no way to settle, among the portrait heads in Cairo and Berlin, which of them is which. So I have given Ankh-sen-amon the benefit of the doubt, and taken the prettier face, and it certainly bears quite a resemblance to the little lady on the panel at the back of Tut-ankh-amon's throne, and even more to the queen on the ivory casket, a reproduction of which was published in the *Illustrated London News* of July 7th, 1928.

Haremhab has, I think, been commonly misunderstood. It is

general to think of him as a man of flaming energy and pitiless resolution. This is no doubt due to his decree at Thebes, where his ardour in setting his country in order is expressed in his commands to officials, with the ghastly punishments in store for defaulters. The style of bombastic self-praise, so offensive to modern ideas, was customary in those ages, and employed by every monarch in official documents. We must remember that Haremhab came to the throne late in life, that he could not foresee the twenty-five years he had to live, and that reform was urgent. He knew the people with whom he had to deal, and must thoroughly have realised that nothing but fear could effect quick results.

The seated statue now in New York gives, I think, the true key to his character. He is shown there as a thinker rather than as a man of action in the ordinary sense. The round cheeks and plump body indicate a man of sedentary life, and the prayer inscribed on the roll which he holds across his knees asks for benefits to the mind, and is in striking contrast to the usual hard practicality of the ancient, and indeed of the modern, Egyptian. Studying this statue, one notices the slightly aquiline curve to the nose. In later life, when the rigours of military campaigns and anxiety concerning the fate of his country had fined away the fat of the body and face, as shown in the scenes of the rock-chapel at Gebel Silsileh, the beakiness of the nose became more noticeable. Rameses I, who reigned next after him, also had an aquiline nose, and bequeathed it to his successors. I would suggest that this Ramesside nose first makes its appearance, though mildly, in Haremhab, and that he and Rameses I were in fact related, though there is actually no definite evidence whatever of this. The undisputed accession of Rameses I almost suggests that he was the natural heir of Haremhab, possibly a brother or nephew.

Events subsequent to the death of Akhenaton surely throw light on the character of Haremhab. The administration of practical state affairs had been in his hands for some years; if he had been greedy of kingship and wished to usurp the throne he could certainly have set aside the two children whose weak hands successively held

the sceptre. Even when Tut-ankh-amon, the last male of the royal line, died, Haremhab still stood aside, and took the oath of allegiance to Ay. During the few years of Ay's reign Haremhab must have realised that his own occupation of the throne was shortly inevitable, and the only means of saving the country. Whether the death of Ay was natural or brought about by Haremhab we cannot now say ; but when the latter finally assumed the royal uræus he lost no time and immediately put into execution the plan which he had probably long ago formulated. In all his life we can find no real trace of self-seeking ; instead, we see a man with an enormous sense of responsibility, an earnest devotion to duty, and the intellect to conceive, and then to follow out, a plan of action to its logical conclusion.

The black basalt head of Taharqa is a firm and definite guide to a reconstruction of his portrait. The tall feathers, emblems of the god Amon, are missing, but they are shown in one of the reliefs from the Sudan. Similar ear-rings were worn by the Sudanese soldiers who settled in Egypt before the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the leopard-skin is likewise a Sudanese touch.

There are two fine portraits in the round of Mentu-em-hat, the famous governor of Thebes, who guided his city through so many vicissitudes. One of the statues shows him at the age of forty or so, and the other in old age, fat and bald, and with peering short-sighted eyes. In both busts there is a slight unlikeness of the two eyes—the upper lid of the left eye is somewhat lifted, forming an angle (perhaps due to an injury in youth), while the right eyelid has a normal curve. This detail, faithfully given in both cases, though twenty to thirty years elapsed between the two, considerably strengthens one's faith in the reliability of the best Egyptian portraiture.

Queen Amenardes has a full-length alabaster statue in Cairo, and a beautiful piece of work it is. But we know nothing of her personality, and the face of the statue is the sole indication, could we but read it, of her temperament. We can see in her only the queen-priestess, rigidly posed in the conventional attitude, the impassivity of the lovely features suggesting nothing but acquiescence in the duties, and insistence on the rights, of her exalted position.

MENES: THE FOUNDER OF THE EGYPTIAN MONARCHY

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(CIRCA 3400 B.C.)

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY

HERODOTUS, the " Father of History," records that he was told by the Egyptian priests that the first human King of Egypt was named Menes; and Manetho, the native historian of the country, places this king at the beginning of his Ist Dynasty. It was to Menes that tradition ascribed the honour of having founded the Egyptian monarchy. Written in hieroglyphic characters, the name  , Mena, heads the list of kings which is inscribed upon a wall of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos; written in hieratic characters, the name begins the list of kings in the Royal Papyrus of Turin. At the coronation festival at the time of the Ramesside Pharaohs, the statue of Menes preceded all the other royal statues that were carried in procession. The name Menes, therefore, in the minds of the Egyptians themselves, marked the beginning of a great chronological epoch.

Manetho calls him " the Thinite "—that is, " of This," a city near Abydos, in Upper Egypt. Other writers of classical times, all probably quoting from Manetho's writings, say that Menes wrote out laws and regulated the worship of the gods, that he conducted an expedition against the Libyans, that he founded Memphis, built a great temple of Hephaestus in that city, and, after a reign of sixty-two years, died from a wound received from a hippopotamus. These few notices, and the fact that there was a cult of Menes during the later dynasties, contained practically all that was known about this famous King of Egypt up to thirty-five years ago. No contemporary

monuments were known of him or of any of his successors during the Ist or IInd Dynasties, and the Step Pyramid of Zoser (IIIrd Dynasty) at Saḳḳara was regarded as the most ancient of the historic monuments in the Nile Valley. Of the history of the country before it was consolidated into a single kingdom, under the rule of one man, nothing whatsoever was known.

But many of us realised that the monuments of the earliest kings could not entirely have perished; Sir Gaston Maspero said that they must exist in places where we had not thought of applying the pick, and that chance excavations would some day most certainly bring them to light. Sir Gaston's prophecy was nearer fulfilment than even he could have anticipated, for, during the decade that followed, monuments were discovered of nearly every king of Manetho's earliest dynasties, and we had become almost as familiar with the period preceding King Snefru (end of IIIrd Dynasty) as we were with that which had immediately succeeded him. But this was by no means all; other relics were brought to light which were proved to belong to pre-Menite times, and with them came the knowledge that Menes had come at the end, not at the beginning, of a long period of development; that he was not the first king in Egypt, but had been preceded by many others, although the tradition was confirmed that it was he who, somewhere about the middle of the IVth millennium B.C., first united under one sceptre the two or three great principalities into which the country from Aswân to the sea-board of the Mediterranean had previously been divided.

The way in which this vista in our knowledge of the early history of civilisation was opened out is so interesting that a short account of it may be given. Previous to the year 1895, all that was known of the period before King Snefru was confined to a few lists of kings' names written in hieroglyphic or hieratic writing and to the excerpts of Manetho's *Egyptian Memoirs* which had come down to us in more or less corrupt form from the Middle Ages. Then in the winter of 1895–6 it was announced[1] that Monsieur Amélineau had discovered at Abydos some tombs of Thinite kings apparently

[1] E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, Angers, 1896.

belonging to the Ist Dynasty, but no details or identifications of the kings' names were given. In the following year, Monsieur J. de Morgan, then Director-General of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, explored a large tomb of obviously early date at Naḳâda, on the desert edge fifteen miles north-west of Luxor; in it he found many inscribed objects, some of which were certainly related to those Amélineau was simultaneously bringing to light at Abydos. Among these were several of a Horus-king[1] named Aha and of another royal personage whose name was read Neit-hotep. A full description of the tomb and its contents was published that year (1897) by de Morgan,[2] together with an account by Monsieur Jéquier of some monuments of Horus-kings that Amélineau had discovered at Abydos; these included a magnificent stela of one named Zet, two others of Mersekha and Qa-a, as well as some impressions of seals upon clay of Den and Azab, and a fragment of a vase bearing the name Narmer. About the same time, Amélineau[3] published an account of later finds at Abydos giving more inscribed material. Shortly afterwards, Professor Sethe,[4] then of the University of Göttingen, very clearly and ingeniously established the identity of two royal names on objects that had been found at Abydos with the cartouches of the fifth and sixth kings of the Abydos Temple list. These were: (1) Semti, whose name, Sethe showed, had been corrupted in the XIXth Dynasty to Sepati, and in Manetho to Οὐσαφαις; and (2) Merbapa, who is the first king named in the Saḳḳara list and appears in Manetho as Μιεβίς. Sethe thus established the fact that two of the tombs that had been found by Amélineau were contemporary with, if not actually those of, kings of Manetho's Ist Dynasty. Later in the same year, Dr. Borchardt[5] of Berlin announced that he had read the name Men (Menes) on a small

[1] On the Horus-title of the kings see below, p. 44.

[2] J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte, Tombeau royal de Negadah*, Paris, 1897.

[3] E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 2me Campagne*, 1896–7.

[4] K. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XXXV., p. 1.

[5] L. Borchardt, *Sitzungsbericht d. k. Pr. Akad.*, 1897, p. 1054.

ivory label that de Morgan had found at Naḳâda (see fig. 5). This label bore the Horus-name Aha as well as the *Nebti*-name[1] Men. Borchardt therefore concluded that Men (Menes) must be the personal name of the Horus-king Aha, and suggested that the Naḳâda tomb was probably the actual burying-place of the great founder of the Egyptian monarchy. These identifications showed that we had at last recovered monuments that were contemporary with the earliest kings of United Egypt. Further discoveries came in rapid succession.

Some six months after de Morgan's volume on the royal tomb at Naḳâda had appeared, Mr. Quibell, working for the Egyptian Research Account at Hierakonpolis, near Edfu, discovered more monuments of early kings.[2] Among these were some bearing the name of Narmer, the king who was already known from a fragment of a vase found at Abydos, and a very large and elaborately carved mace-head of an Upper Egyptian king whose name was written with a scorpion-sign and who is now generally known as the " Scorpion-King."

In 1898, Amélineau fortunately abandoned his concession of the Abydos necropolis, and it was at once taken up by Professor Flinders Petrie, who was then working for the Egypt Exploration Fund. Scientific exploration for the first time now began in the famous cemetery, and, although the Edwards Professor of Egyptology had only begun work in the winter of 1899–1900, he gave to the world the first part of his great book on *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* in 1900, and the second in the following year. In these volumes were published a mass of evidence which the explorer had been able to glean from the already plundered site relating to the earliest historic age of Egypt. Accepting Sethe's identifications of Semti with Sepati and Οὐσαφάις, and of Merbapa with Μιεβίς, as well as Borchardt's identification of Aha with Menes, he used these three names as a basis on which to construct his list of kings of the Ist

[1] On the *Nebti*-title of the kings, see p. 46.

[2] The first account of Mr. Quibell's discoveries at Hierakonpolis was given by Petrie in the *Archæological Report, 1897–1898*, pp. 6–10, and it was not till 1900 that the first part of *Hierakonpolis* appeared with letterpress by W. M. F. P[etrie].; the second part, by J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, was published in 1902.

King Narmer Menes

Dynasty, with their names, from contemporary monuments. The list as given in his second volume is as follows :

Manetho.	*Sety List.*	*Tombs.*
1. Menes .	. Mena . .	. AHA—MEN.
2. Athothis	. Teta . .	. ZER—TA.
3. Kenkenes	. Ateth . .	. ZET—ATH.
4. Uenefes	. Ata . .	. DEN—MERNEIT.
5. Usafais .	. Hesepti [Sepati]	. DEN—SETUI [SEMTI].
6. Miebis .	. Merbap .	. AZAB—MERBAPA.
7. Semempses	. Semenptah .	. MERSEKHA—SHEMSU.
8. Bienekhes	. Qebh . .	. QA [QA-A]—SEN.

Petrie did not include Narmer in the Ist Dynasty, but placed him immediately before Aha. Among the new material that had been brought to light were several impressions on clay of seals of Narmer, and one of these was found to give that king's name, together with the personal name Men. (See p. 43, fig. 3.) Commenting upon this seal-impression, Petrie wrote,[1] " Were it not for the clear evidence of the ivory tablet from the Naḳâda tomb we should see in this perhaps a reason for Narmer being the name of Menes. There is, however, the possibility that there may have been two kings named Menes, with the *ka* [i.e. Horus-] names Narmer and Aha. If so, it is nevertheless Aha who is the first king of the Ist Dynasty, because of his position in the roll of eight kings recorded whose tombs can be identified in order on the ground." The latter part of this comment is important, and will be referred to again when we come to discuss the question of the identification of the real Menes. Further volumes on the excavations at Abydos were issued by Petrie[2] for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1902 and 1903, giving yet more " gleanings " of inscribed material relating to the early kings.

Meantime, in 1902 there had appeared from the pen of Dr.

[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, Part II , London, 1901, p. 30.

[2] W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos I*, London, 1902 ; *Abydos II*, London, 1903.

Schäfer[1] of Berlin a remarkable study of the inscriptions upon a fragment of stone which had long been in the Palermo Museum but the importance of which had remained unrecognised. Schäfer demonstrated that this document was really part of an official record of the annals of Egypt's earliest monarchs, and that it preserved the names of some of the Delta kings who must have preceded Menes by many generations. Other fragments of these annals have since found their way into the Cairo Musuem, but are as yet inadequately published. The year after Schäfer's monograph appeared, Sethe[2] issued a study of all the early inscribed monuments that had been found up to date, and this work, considerably enlarged in 1905, remains the most important contribution to the subject. He sketched out the history of the Nile valley so far as it could be done from early sources, and showed that the Palermo Stone, when intact, must have recorded about 150 names of pre-Menite kings. He then dealt with the names of the kings that had been found on the monuments from Abydos, Naḳâda, and Hierakonpolis. In the Ist Dynasty he inserted Narmer next after Aha, and omitted Merneit because there was no evidence to show that this name was that of a king.

As the evidence for Menes being Aha rested on the small but incomplete label from Naḳâda, the present writer, in the autumn of 1903, persuaded Professor Garstang[3] to go there and re-explore the site of the royal tomb in the hope of recovering relics that might have escaped the vigilance of de Morgan's workmen. By sifting the sand and debris of the tomb, Garstang succeeded not only in finding the missing part of the Aha label, but also a large piece of a duplicate one, as well as other inscribed objects, including an ivory plaque bearing the name Nar (see fig. 1), and many seal-impressions upon clay of Neit-hotep. These inscribed relics enabled us to determine

[1] H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, Berlin, 1902.

[2] K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, Leipzig, 1903.

[3] Garstang has never published a full account of the work he did at Naḳâda. He has only printed a short paper on " The Tablet of Mena " in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XLII. (1905), p. 61. The present writer possesses notes of the various monuments that were found in the tomb by Garstang.

Fig. 1
Ivory plaque of Nar, found by Professor Garstang in the Naḳâda royal tomb.

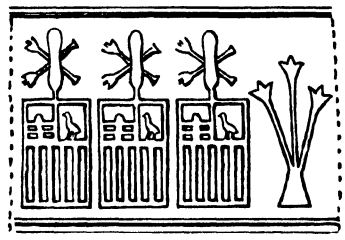


Fig. 2
Impression of a seal of Neit-hotep from specimens in the Cairo Museum and in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology.

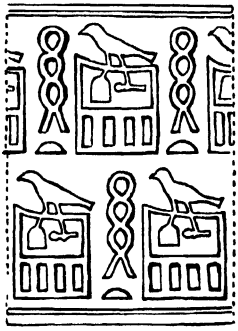


Fig. 3 (*b*)
Impression of a seal of King Aha-Het from the original in the Cairo Museum.

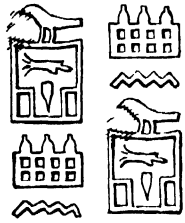


Fig. 3 (*a*)
Impression of a seal of Narmer-Men from the original in the Ashmolean Museum.

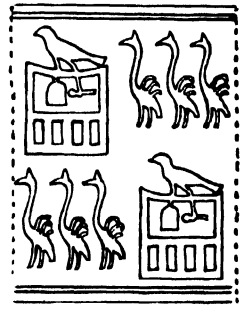


Fig. 3 (*c*)
Impression of a seal of King Aha-Het from the original in the Cairo Museum.

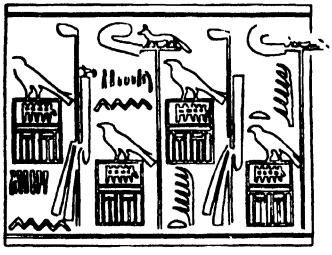


Fig. 3 (*d*)
Impression of a sealing of King Zer.
(Royal Tombs II., pl. xv., 109.)

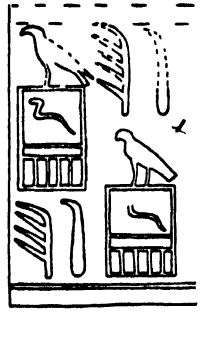


Fig. 3 (*e*)
Impression of a seal of King Zet-Ath from the original in the Cairo Museum.
(Petrie Royal Tombs I. pl. xviii., 2 and 3.)

the fact that the tomb was not built for Aha, but for a queen Neithotep, who was probably Narmer's consort and the Hereditary Princess of the Saite Kingdom[1] (see fig. 2). Since then many other sites[2] in different parts of Egypt have yielded up their secrets regarding Menes and his age, and much has been written by English, French, and German scholars about the period. The identification of the Horus-king Aha with Menes is, however, still adhered to by many historians,[3] although there are some who are inclined to see in the traditional Menes not one, but two kings—Narmer and Aha. As " Menes, the Founder of the Egyptian Monarchy," is the subject of this chapter, it may be well to examine afresh the evidence for his identification with the one or the other.

The earliest kings of the United Monarchy of Egypt bore three titles, all of which were of a territorial character. The one which took precedence of all the others, both at this time and throughout the whole of the Pharaonic period was the Horus-title[4]  , which signified that the king was " of the House of Horus," Horus being the Falcon-god of Hierakonpolis, in Upper Egypt. The sign represents the Falcon-god perched upon the top of the royal palace. Secondly came the double title  , read *Nebti*; this identified the king with the two goddesses, the first  , Nekhebet, the Vulture-goddess of Nekheb (El Kâb), a city

[1] P. E. Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1904, p. 298; on Sais and the Saite princess, see also, *idem*, 1906, pp. 68, seq.

[2] Notably at Turah and at Tarkhân. At the former site excavations were carried out by H. Junker in 1909–10 (*Bericht über die Grabungen der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien an dem Friedhof in Turah*, Wien, 1912); at the latter site by W. M. F. Petrie and G. A. Wainwright in 1911–12 (*Tarkhan I*, London, 1913). More recently, Petrie has explored another part of the First Dynasty cemetery at Abydos (*Tombs of the Courtiers*, London, 1925).

[3] J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (last edition, no date), p. 36–7; E. Meyer, *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, Tome II. (transl. by A. Moret), p. 151; A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, 1927, p. 117. In the tenth edition of his *History of Egypt*, 1923, pp. 10 and 13, Petrie identifies both Narmer and Aha with Menes; and H. R. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I. (1923), p. 267, sees in " the legendary Menes " the Scorpion king, Narmer, and Aha.

[4] On the Horus-title of the Egyptian kings, see P. E. Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1904, pp. 295–9.

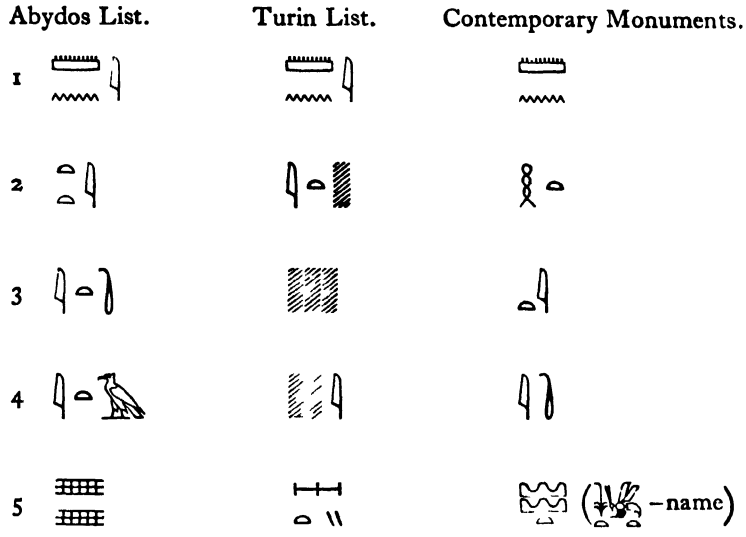


Fig. 4. The first five kings of the Ist Dynasty.

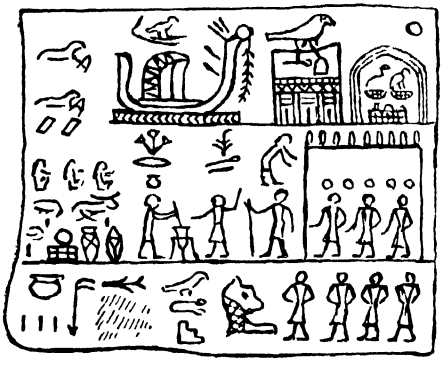


Fig. 5
Ivory label of the Horus King Aha from the original in the Cairo Museum and a duplicate fragment in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology.

Fig. 6.
Ivory cylinder of Narmer from the original in the Ashmolean Museum.

on the eastern bank of the river opposite Hierakonpolis, and perhaps the capital of an ancient Upper-Egyptian kingdom; the second  , Buto, the goddess of Buto, the capital of an early kingdom in Lower Egypt. The third title was also a double one  , read *Nyswt-biti*; this, after the Ist Dynasty, certainly meant "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," but the title  probably originally denoted the king of the region now known as Middle Egypt, and  King of the Saite Kingdom in the Western Delta. Each of these titles was followed by a name—that by which the king was known in the territory indicated by the title. The Horus-names of the earliest kings appear to have been derived from those of living creatures. Thus the ruler who preceded Narmer was called "The Scorpion"; Nar (Narmer)[1] means "The Catfish"; Aha is the name of the Nile perch[2]; Zer, that of a bird[3]; and Zet, that of a snake. None of these Horus-names was copied by the scribes who drew up the Ramesside or later lists of kings. They appear to have used the *Nebti*-names of the first four kings, and then, when the *Nyswt-biti*-name came in with the fifth king, they adopted it as the personal name of the ruler. When these names were copied, some were doubtless corrupted by being transcribed from hieroglyphic into hieratic writing and then back again into monumental hieroglyphic writing; Sethe has shown that this was the case with the first of the *Nyswt-biti*-names, where the original  was mistaken for  .[4] Upon the earliest royal seals the Horus-name of the king is often followed by the *Nebti*-name, and then the two names are given *in the reversed order* (see fig. 3). In (*a*) Narmer alternates with Men; in (*b*) Aha with Het; in (*d*) Zer

[1] The reading of the latter part of this name is not certain; the hieroglyphic sign is a chisel, which can be read either *mer* or *menkh*; in either case, however, it must be an epithet referring to the word *Nar*, "catfish."

[2] W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xii., where there is a figure of this fish, with its name (lit. "the fighter") written above it.

[3] When Osiris was killed by Set at Nedyt, Isis and Nephthys took the forms of *Hat* and *Zert* birds and flew to him. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 1255, 1280.

[4] See further on this subject of misreadings, P. E. Newberry and G. A. Wainwright in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, pp. 148–9.

with Ta ; in (*e*) Zet with Ath. These *Nebti*-names are clearly the originals of the personal names of the first four kings found in the Abydos and Turin lists (see fig. 4).

Here, then, in the seal of Narmer-Men is conclusive evidence that this king was named Men (Menes). Petrie's commentary upon the seal has already been noted as showing that he recognised the possibility that there may have been two kings named Menes—Narmer and Aha. But Petrie went on to say that Aha must nevertheless be the first king of the Ist Dynasty " because of his position in the roll of eight kings whose tombs can be identified upon the ground." One of his " eight kings "—the fourth, Merneit—was long ago proved[1] to be a queen, consequently his first three names should be moved one place down, thus leaving the first place vacant, into which Narmer naturally falls. Professor Griffith[2] has also commented upon the seal-impression which gives the two names Narmer and Men, and he suggested that Narmer might be Menes in the same way as other royal seals give the name Ath as the personal name of King Zet, and Ta as the personal name of King Zer. But he added, " Such evidence is far from trustworthy, otherwise it would prove that Aha was also named both  (Het) and  , whereas the tablet of Naqada clearly gives his name with royal title, viz.  (Menes), or at least some very similar sign." But the name Het may be a variant writing of the three birds (fig. 3 *c*), for Hat is the well-known name[3] of a large bird of prey which is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts and sometimes in later Egyptian literature. The question must now be asked, Does the Naḳâda label really give Men as the *Nebti*-name of the Horus-king Aha ?

A drawing of the little document is given in fig. 5.[4] It belongs

[1] By Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 29.

[2] In Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, Part II., pp. 51–2.

[3] See footnote 3 on p. 46.

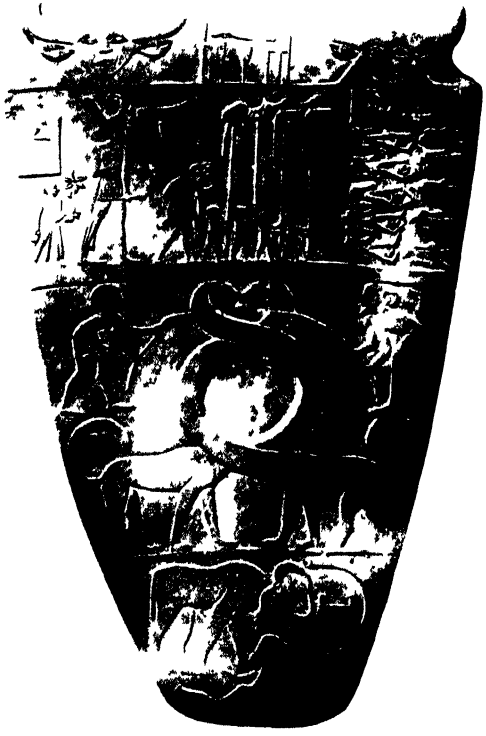
[4] This drawing is based on a study of the original in the Cairo Museum, and of the duplicate found by Garstang, now in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology.

to a series[1] of labels which bear the names of kings of the Ist Dynasty, and were used for tying to unguent jars and various other objects that were deposited in the royal tombs. It is one of the earliest known examples, and is dated to the reign of Aha by the appearance of his name in the uppermost register. From the inscriptions recording the annals of the early kings of Egypt engraved upon the Palermo Stone it is known that the custom of numbering the years of a reign did not come into practice until after the Vth Dynasty, and that during earlier times a name was given to each separate year, this name referring to the chief event or events occurring in that particular year. Each " year-name " in the Annals is bounded on the right-hand side by a " year-sign " ⌠. The same arrangement is found upon several of the early labels. But whereas on the labels of the later kings of the Ist Dynasty the year-names are given in simple hieroglyphic writing, those of the earlier monarchs of the dynasty are represented *pictographically* in the form of scenes. Thus, one of King Den has the year-sign on the right-hand side of the label, then scenes of the celebration of a Sed Festival arranged in four rows, and beyond these to the left comes the name of the king, followed by the names and titles of two of his officials. This label was therefore dated in the " Year of the Sed Festival " of the reign of King Den, and this actual year-name, written in hieroglyphic characters, has been recognised[2] in the Annals of King Den upon the Palermo Stone. The Naḳâda label is of a more primitive type ; it has no year-sign, but only a scene representing a sacrifice in front of a palace building. That the scene is intended to give a year-name is obvious, because this label belongs to the same series as the later examples. The scene depicts some great royal sacrifice, for there are figured a bound ox and trussed birds, wine-jars, and a loaf upon a mat, while above this group of sacrificial

[1] P. E. Newberry, " The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the First Dynasty " in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1912, pp. 279–89, where the meaning and use of these labels were demonstrated for the first time.

[2] P. E. Newberry and G. A. Wainwright, " Udymu and the Palermo Stone," in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, pp. 151–2.

The Slate Palette of Narmer
(*from Quibell, Hierakonopolis*)

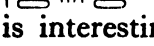


objects are shown three seated women. The scene suggests that we may have here a picture of offerings being made at a royal funeral ceremony; the two officiants in front of the great jar or cauldron appear to be representatives of Upper and Lower Egypt, as the hieroglyphs above them indicate. If this interpretation is correct, then it may explain the curious fact that the *Nebti*-name Men is placed within a booth or building beside the Horus-name Aha. There is no parallel for such a booth or building enclosing a *Nebti*-name on any later monument. The year-name here, in the writer's view, may be rendered "the year of the burial of King Men (Menes)," an event which would naturally have taken place under his successor Aha. No *Nebti*-name is given on other labels of Aha which have been preserved, nor are such names found on the labels of Zer, Zet, Den, or Merbapa, and when they next appear with Mersekha (Semempses) the Horus-name is omitted, while on the labels of Qa-a the *Nebti*-name is written in the reverse way to the Horus-name.

The contemporary monuments of the two kings Narmer and Aha that have come down to us remain to be considered. What light do they throw upon the question of the identity of Menes? Those of Aha record only two historical facts; one that he fought against the Nubians,[1] the other that he visited the temple of Neit[2] at Sais, in the Delta. Both these events form the subjects of year-names engraved on labels that were buried in his tomb, and neither event can be considered of very great importance. On the other hand, the monuments of Narmer that have survived demonstrate that he must have been a very great conqueror. One of them records his conquest of Libya, and this agrees with the tradition handed down by Manetho that Menes fought against the people of that country; another records that he vanquished a king of the north-western Delta, and then, assuming the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, celebrated a great festival of triumph in his enemy's capital. On a third, he is represented in a scene of triumph after a great victory, for the numbers of his prisoners, as well as of the large and small cattle

[1] Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, Part II., pl. xi., fig. 1.
[2] *Idem*, pl. x., fig. 2.

that he captured, is given. The numbers are so large—120,000 prisoners, 400,000 oxen, 1,422,000 goats and sheep—that they must refer to some great extent of country that had been conquered, and this can only have been the north-western Delta and the land immediately west of it, which, up to the time of Narmer, had not been brought under the yoke of a king of the House of Horus. These three monuments, together with the king's seal which gives his name Narmer alternating with Men, are, in my view, conclusive evidence that Narmer and not Aha was the Menes famous in history as the Founder of the Egyptian Monarchy.

The three monuments mentioned in the preceding paragraph may now be more fully described. The first—the small ivory cylinder (fig. 6) found at Hierakonpolis—is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It records the conquest of *Tehenu*-land, Libya, by Narmer. Here the king is shown as a large catfish with human arms, the hands holding a long staff, smiting a number of prisoners with their arms bound behind them. Above the catfish is hovering the Vulture-goddess of El Kab, and to the right, facing it, is the Falcon, the deity of Hierakonpolis. Below the catfish is the hieroglyph *mer* or *menkh*, and to the left is the name of the region  —"*Tehenu*-land."[1] The writing of this place-name is interesting. The word *Tehenu* means "an olive-tree," and this country is figured, with its trees and flocks of sheep and goats, upon a fragment of a slate palette, of about the same date as Menes, in the Cairo Museum. The sign  proves that this country must, even at this early date, have been connected with the manufacture of glaze or glass, the name of which in Egyptian is *tehen*. The two determinative signs  and  prove, further, that the region which was known as *Tehenu*-land contained hilly as well as flat lands. This was the country on the north-west of the Delta, the region about the Mareotis Lake, the Harpoon country mentioned upon the next monument.

[1] On this country see Newberry, "Ta Tehenu—Olive Land," in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 97–100.

The second is the ceremonial slate palette, now in the Cairo Museum (see plate). It is sculptured on both the upper and lower surfaces with hieroglyphs and scenes in low relief, and in the centre of the obverse is a circular depression that was used for containing the mixture of ground malachite and milk that was employed by the Egyptians for painting around the eyes. At the top of both obverse and reverse is the name of the king in a palace-façade sign, and on either side of it are two Hathor-heads with cows' horns. There are three separate scenes carved upon the obverse and two upon the reverse. The uppermost scene upon the reverse shows the king, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt, smiting with his mace a kneeling foe. The king is clad in a low vest held in place by a strap over the left shoulder and extending to mid-thigh ; around his waist is an elaborate girdle, from which hang in front four tassels with Hathor-head knobs, and at the back hangs a bull's tail, emblematic of sovereignty. With his left hand he grasps by the hair the foe, who is naked save for a narrow girdle tied around his waist. To the right of the stricken enemy are two hieroglyphic signs which are believed to give his name, " Washi " ; above is an emblematic group which is thought to mean " The Falcon-god Horus brings to the king 6,000 captives." In after-times the Kings of Egypt were regularly figured in this way on their monuments when they desired to record their victories over foreign peoples. Behind the king is an attendant carrying the royal sandals and a pot, perhaps of water for ablutions. The scene below shows two naked enemies, each with a hieroglyphic sign above him, the meaning of which has not yet been determined.

Turning to the reverse, we see in the uppermost scene the king, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, accompanied by a priest and an attendant, and preceded by four standard-bearers, viewing ten slaughtered men whose bodies are arranged in two vertical rows with their severed heads between their feet. The hieroglyphs above these slaughtered men are obviously descriptive of the scene below. They enable us, in fact, to locate the region conquered by Narmer Menes, as well as the place wherein he celebrated the festival of

triumph in the enemy's land. The hieroglyphs are four in number,  .[1] The first two may be translated " Great Door " or " Port "; the third and fourth signs denote the Harpoon country in the north-western Delta with the Falcon standing upon the harpoon, emblematic of the god having vanquished it. In the " Great Port " we may recognise the name of Egypt's earliest Mediterranean port—an ancient " Alexandria " of a period earlier than 3,000 B.C.—on the Canopic mouth of the Nile. A port implies shipping and trade relations with people dwelling along the coast or across the sea, and this early mention of a Mediterranean port opens out a vista never dreamt of thirty years ago. The scene here appears to record the final stage in the conquest of the Delta, which made it possible for Narmer Menes to establish a monarchy in Egypt.

The last monument to be mentioned is the votive mace-head of the king, which is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 7). It is of stone, carved with a scene in low relief showing Narmer enthroned under a canopy raised high upon a dais approached by nine steps. He wears the Red Crown and holds in his hand the ladanisterium. Above him, as on the ivory cylinder recording his conquest of Libya, hovers the Vulture-goddess. On either side of him is an officer with an ostrich feather fan, like the two that are borne by Papal officers behind His Holiness the Pope at the present day in Rome. Behind are attendants, including the servant who carries the royal sandals and water-jar. In front of the pavilion are three registers: (1) an enclosure with an ox and calf, and four men bearing standards; (2) a figure seated in a palanquin and three bearded men in the act of running; (3) an ox, goat, and prisoner with his arms tied behind his back, with numerals below. What is the significance of this scene? In the view of the present writer it is this. The king is depicted celebrating a marriage festival; he is entering into an alliance with the hereditary princess of the land that he has conquered. The lady in the palanquin may be the Neit-hotep whose name, written in the royal palace-façade sign, has been found in the tomb at Naḳâda. If

[1] The full significance of this group was first pointed out by Newberry, in the *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, Vol. I. (1908), pp. 17–22.

this interpretation is right, then we possess in the three monuments here described the record of the conquest of the north-western Delta by Menes, and of the uniting of the royal families of the rival countries by a marriage alliance. The title  which accompanies Neit-hotep's name on some of her monuments proves that she was more than a king's consort.

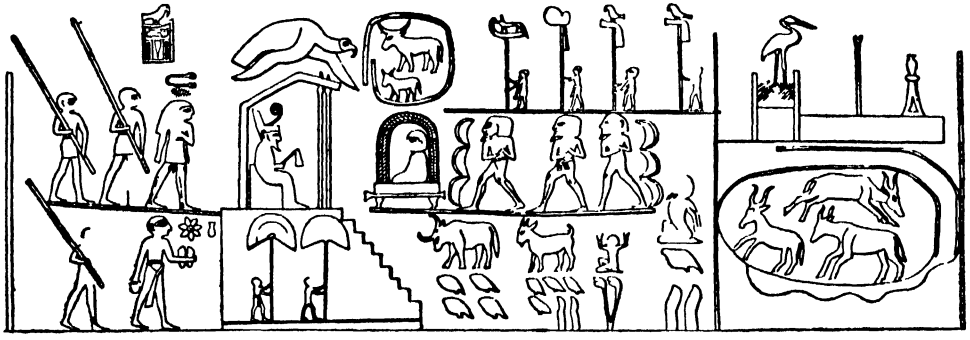


Fig. 7. Sculptured scene on the mace-head of Narmer in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

MERITIOTES

MERITIOTES

(CIRCA 2900 B.C.)

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY

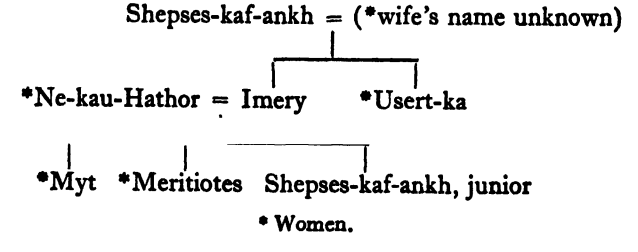
THERE appear to be two women of this name in the Old Kingdom; one was a queen, the other was a lady of the royal court. The name is not uncommon at this period, and means "Beloved of her father"; it can be read either *Mertitefs* or *Mertiotes*, for there are two words for "father" in Egyptian—*tef* and *iot*.

The queen was of no particular consequence in her lifetime, but historically she is of the utmost importance, for the inscription in her tomb gives the names of three kings with whom she was connected. These were the three great pyramid-builders, Snefru, Khufu, and Khafra; and it is from this inscription that the order of those kings is absolutely determined. She was "Greatest Favourite" of both Snefru and Khufu, but in Khafra's eyes she was only "Revered"; hardly a surprising title when Khufu's long reign of sixty years is remembered. Her titles show that she was not of royal birth; she was "the king's wife, his beloved, the follower of Horus, united to the Nebti, greatest favourite of Snefru, greatest favourite of Khufu, revered under Khafra, all that is commanded is done for her." Though she was the king's wife she was not the chief wife, whose daughter would be the heiress; but she was an inferior queen, though her son, if she had one, might succeed to the throne by marriage with the heiress, and so raise her to the rank of "king's mother." This, however, does not seem to have been her fate; and Queen Meritiotes sinks again into obscurity and is not heard of further.

The lady of the statue can hardly be the queen, as she has no royal titles except those of her various offices, which merely show that she was an important official of the court. She was " the King's Adorner, descendant of a King, chief of the *Seh*, Superintendent of the Hairdressing Room." It is very clear that these are not titles which a queen would bear ; and it must also be noticed that she wears none of the insignia of royalty, neither the uræus nor the vulture on the brow ; in fact, no sort of ornament at all on the head. She was a descendant of the royal family, and it is therefore possible that she may have been a daughter or granddaughter of Queen Meritiotes; for, as in modern times, the elder children of a family were usually called after the grandparents, the younger children after the parents.

In the Old Kingdom single names only were used ; it was not until the Middle Kingdom that double names came into fashion. Names in the Old Kingdom have a certain directness and simplicity which distinguish them from those of a later period, such as *Nefert*, Beauty ; *Nekhty*, Strong ; *Mery*, Loved. Sometimes a long and high-sounding name might be given, like *Kha-Bau-Seker* ; in such a case a pet name was always used except on very important occasions ; and the pet name as well as the official name would be recorded on the tombstone. I have already pointed that the name of Meritiotes means " Her father's beloved " ; the boy who stands in the group of the Lady Meritiotes is called Khennu, a curious name to us, as its meaning is " Bag-bearer."

I should like to identify the Lady Meritiotes with the family of Imery, although the genealogy is traceable for only two generations. Thus :



The affection of this family for animals is very prettily shown, for Imery is represented with his dog, Ikeny, lying beside him ; and he called his eldest daughter *Myt*, " Pussy." His own name means " Come, Beloved." Imery had three younger sons, but they were clearly not important ; Meritiotes was certainly her father's darling, for she is represented twice, once as a grown woman with the rest of the family, and once as a little girl with only her parents and brother.

The titles of Imery and his father connect the family with the royal court, and especially with King Khufu, and lend colour to my theory that their ancestress was the lady of the statue, who may herself have been descended from the queen. Shepses-kaf-ankh was " Prophet of King Khufu, libation-priest of the King, steward of the palace, scribe of the House of Books (i.e. the library), and superintendent of the houses of the Royal Children." His son Imery inherited all his offices except the last ; he was " Prophet of King Khufu, libation-priest of the King, descendant of the King, steward of the palace, and scribe of the House of Books."

Besides the name of Meritiotes there is another connection between this family and the lady of the statue. One of the attendants at the funeral of Imery was a man called Khennu, who was the " *ka*-servant." This post could be held by a person of any rank who might, or might not, be related to the person whose *ka* he served. In the group of the lady of the statue, one of the figures is a boy called Khennu, whose titles are " the illuminated *ka*-servant and scribe." The first title shows an inferior rank in a profession, and probably means " under instruction," as might be expected in a boy of that age. If the Meritiotes of the statue were the mother of Shepses-kaf-ankh, though Khennu might be a boy at her death he would be an elderly man at the death of her grandson, and, of course, a fully-fledged *ka*-servant.

The titles of the Lady Meritiotes are peculiarly interesting as showing her position about the King's person. The adornment of the king for state ceremonials was an important matter, for he was not only king, but god, and each item of his toilet was highly

significant. Those who assisted had to know the correct manner of arranging his garments and the correct words or chants to be used during the whole process of donning the robes and jewels, all of which had a religious meaning and were endued with magical powers.

The king's ceremonial costume consisted of a short skirt or kilt which fell from the waist to above the knee, and was held in place by an ornamental belt. The upper part of the body was often, though not always, covered with a fine thin vest. To the belt was fastened a bull's tail, apparently an important part of the equipment in the king's rôle of a deity, for in later times the gods always appear with similar tails. The necklaces were also sacred, and were fastened round the royal neck with appropriate words.

The crowns were the most important and the most magical of all the royal insignia, for they were actually divinities: there is even extant a Hymn to the Two Crowns sung at the king's awakening in the morning, in which they are addressed as goddesses. Later in the development of Egyptian art and religion the crowns are personified as women, each wearing the appropriate headdress, the goddess of Lower Egypt being called by the name of her crown, Neith.

The crowns were originally apparently of cloth ; in other words, a kind of turban. The tall White Crown of Upper Egypt seems to have originated as a small sheaf of corn—wheat or barley—worn by the king on his head to typify his power of giving fertility ; later a white cloth was wrapped over the sheaf, thus giving the crown the continuous outline so well known in the statues and figures in relief. The Crown of Lower Egypt was perhaps also a form of turban of either red or green cloth, probably wrapped over a frame. At the back was a high projection tapering towards the top, and from its base sprang a long spiral. Both these ornaments were entirely distinct from the turban and appear to have been put on separately ; the projection fitted on a little base, and was made either of folds of cloth or of beadwork. The spiral was also of cloth twisted like a rope ; to retain its spiral form it must have been twisted over wire.

The elaborateness of the crowns shows that the King's Adorner

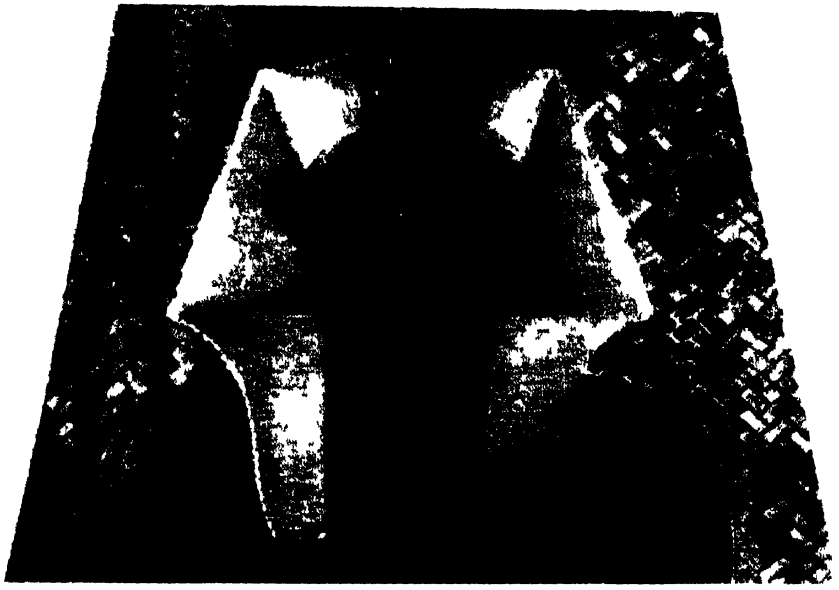
was highly skilled in her art; and her importance can hardly be exaggerated when it is remembered that, in the belief of all concerned, failure in any of the details would be an augury of disaster to the whole country. A great official of the Middle Kingdom proudly states in his biographical inscription that he was "the divine servant of the South Crown and of the North Crown, Creator-servant of the King's Toilet, Fashioner of the Great One of Spells (i.e. the Crown of Upper Egypt), and Bearer of the Green Crown." And in the Old Kingdom another great official held, as one of his highest offices, the position of "Superintendent of the House of the King's Adorning."

At the time of a coronation the ceremonies were gorgeous and splendid, and the symbolism of each act and each object was carefully explained to the assembled multitude. The Pharaoh, robed and decked by the King's Adorner, stood in the sacred barge and was shown to his subjects as the god Horus. The divine insignia were brought out of their shrine and carried in procession, while mimic fights were performed. The king was invested with a necklace of carnelian and faience; then, after much carrying of symbolic objects and the slaying of symbolic animals, green eye-paint and black eye-paint were brought to him, while clouds of incense rose all round; and in the midst of the smoking censers the Guardian of the Two Feathers crowned the king. A great banquet followed, given by the newly made Horus to his relatives and friends. This ceremony, where each object was symbolic, shows how every detail of the king's toilet might bring weal or woe to his land; therefore everyone connected with the decoration of his person must necessarily have been of the greatest importance.

Another title of the Lady Meritiotes was "Chief of the *Seh*." The *seh* generally means a "booth," i.e. a light structure used for various purposes, often for meals. "Chief of the *Seh*" might therefore mean the chief person in charge of food. Khufu's daughter had an official in her service who, among his high titles, had the same title as the Lady Meritiotes, "Chief of the *Seh*"; and in one scene he is shown actually engaged in his occupation of cutting up

joints of meat. Such an official was of considerable consequence at any Oriental court; the possibility of poison being introduced into the royal food was always present. The monarchs, therefore, always had a trustworthy unbribable person in charge of the kitchen, who might have to prepare the food with his own hands. This was probably the office held by the Lady Meritiotes, who was thus so closely associated with the king as to hold his life in her power; for she, as " Chief of the *Seh*," controlled his food. Through the king she was also responsible for the prosperity of Egypt; on her depended, as King's Adorner, the whole of the ritual toilet—the painting of the eyes, the arrangement of the hair, the vesting in the ceremonial garments—for on these preparations his power as the Giver of Fertility largely depended.

MENKAURĒ



MENKAURĒ

(CIRCA 2800 B.C.)

BY BATTISCOMBE GUNN

SOME five thousand years ago there arose in white-walled Memphis a line of kings seen from their surviving works to have been men hardly rivalled in history for combined wealth, power, energy, and talent for organisation. Foremost among these rulers, who according to the grouping of a later Egyptian historian constituted the Fourth Dynasty, stand out the three whose pyramids at Gîza were accounted by the Greeks among the Seven Wonders of the World : Khufu, promoter of the supreme architectural feat of all time ; Khaufrē, his son ; and Menkaurē, of whom I have to speak here.

Menkaurē (the name means " The Souls of the Sun-god are Enduring ") is believed, on the basis of insecure calculations, to have lived about 2,800 years before Christ. Less is known of him, from documents of his own time, than of many other kings of the period. The durations of his lifetime and reign are alike obscure ; one late tradition assigns to him sixty-three years of rule, another, thirty-one, and a third allows him little more than six. The names of Khufu's and Khaufrē's wives and children are preserved ; but not a single name of Menkaurē's family has come down to us. And, while the worship of his two great predecessors continued down to a late period, we have no evidence that any divine honours were paid to Menkaurē after his own time.

The references to him in contemporary records are few. There are some fragments, too broken to be intelligible, of royal decrees relating to his pyramid. An act of generosity is celebrated by one Debehni, a courtier, in the tomb of the latter. " As to this tomb,"

he says, " it was King Menkaurē—may he live for ever—who had it made when His Majesty was staying on the road beside the pyramid-district to inspect the work that was being done at his pyramid." We learn further from the much-broken inscription that a royal decree for the building of the tomb was sent to the king's master-builder ; that fifty men worked on it daily ; and that it was provided with " two extremely large statues." Ptahshepses, another courtier, records that Menkaurē brought him up among his own children in the harîm of the royal palace, and boasts that he was dearer to the king than any other child. Again, according to a high priestly official of Middle Egypt, Nika'ankh, Menkaurē bestowed land on certain prophets of Hathor. Such acts as these are recorded of other kings, and tell us nothing of Mankaurē's character.

But one aspect of Mankaurē's personality we know very well, and that is his face. Quite a number of contemporary statues, agreeing most closely in their presentment of his features, have come down to us, and from these Mrs. Brunton has made the portrait to which these lines are appended. There are in the Cairo Museum a large seated figure of alabaster, three groups in slate-like stone representing the king standing between divine companions, a small seated statue in diorite, and an alabaster head ; and in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is a beautiful group of the standing king and queen. Their sincerity and truth are manifest ; they show us a man who can have had small pretensions to beauty. Except the chin, which is normal, every feature is prominent. The over-development of the frontal sinuses, accentuated by a receding forehead, the protruding eyes, the nose, which not only juts out but is thick at the tip, and the unusually salient cheek-bones, make up a face full of character, and by no means lacking in power, but one in which depth and delicacy are subordinated to curiosity and objectivity—emphatically the face of " one for whom the visible world exists ".

Menkaurē's chief title to fame is his pyramid, called " Menkaurē-is-Divine," the smallest of the group of three. Like those of his forebears, it seems to have been altered within and enlarged without more than once during the building. In some respects the masonry

is equal in quality of work to that of the Pyramid of Khufu, and in one way it excels all the others. Unable or unwilling to emulate, for size, the two mountains of masonry that towered beside the site he had chosen, Menkaurē gave it a character that should yet render it almost as striking as they; for he coated nearly half the surface, not with the white limestone, the ordinary facing of buildings, with which the others were covered, but with the noblest and hardest to work of Egyptian building stones, the granite of Aswân, which had to be brought by boat a matter of 550 miles to the pyramid, and of which the surface could be smoothed only gradually by pounding. However, the pyramid was never finished; the granite facing remained rough, the pavement which should have surrounded the building was never laid down, and the dependent buildings were finished in mud-brick. No doubt a late tradition is correct which asserts that the king died before he could finish his work; his successor, occupied with his own tomb—the great coffin-like structure at South Saqqâra called "Pharaoh's Seat"—would certainly not supply the resources for completing "Menkaurē-is-Divine" in the style intended by its occupant. Even so, it was regarded by later generations as the most beautiful of the pyramids; Diodorus the Sicilian, writing at the time of Julius Cæsar, says that it was remarkable for the art which was displayed in its construction and the beauty of its stonework, and Strabo the Geographer, his contemporary, remarks that although this pyramid is much smaller than the others, it seems to have cost more to build.

Like all the other pyramids, that of Menkaurē was plundered in ancient times, probably during that period of anarchy and invasion, a few centuries after Menkaurē, in which the poets declared: "the king has been dragged forth by villains, . . . the hidden chambers of the pyramids are become empty," and "the divine ones of old who rested in their pyramids, . . . their places are not; what has been done with them? I have heard the words of Imhōtep and Hardedef repeated as familiar sayings, but where are their places? their walls are thrown down, and their places are not, as though they had never been." In vain the carefully concealed entrance, in

vain the granite portcullises which no power could raise, the skilfully locked sarcophagus ; not only were the treasures carried off, but the dead was desecrated : the wooden coffin was broken up and the body cast out and the statues were hammered to pieces, in some great wave of anger that rose against the ancient kings.

At a much later period the interior was put in order, and a new wooden coffin made to contain a body which was believed, probably rightly, to be that of the king. By one of the chances of fate, this body has survived in part to this day, and is to be seen in the British Museum, together with parts of the coffin, bearing the ancient allocution :—

> " O Osiris, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaurē, living for ever ! born of the Sky, conceived of Heaven, beloved heir of the Earth-god ! Heaven thy mother spreads herself over thee by her name of ' Mystery of the Sky,' and causes thee to be a god, and thine enemies are not, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaurē, living for ever ! "

These relics were brought to England ninety years ago ; the beautiful basalt sarcophagus, carved to resemble a mansion of the living, and containing originally the body in its wooden coffin, was sent to England at the same time, but, suffering shipwreck, now lies at the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, only a small fragment surviving.

Later Egyptian records tell us nothing of Menkaurē, and even allusions to him are rare. His name figures in a list of kings' names, and one or two of the magical spells placed in tombs over a thousand years later and known collectively as the " Book of the Dead," have an appendix stating that " it was found in Hermopolis on a tablet of basalt inlaid with lapis lazuli, in the writing of the god (Thoth) himself, under the feet of this god, in the reign of His Majesty the justified King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaurē. It was Prince Hardedef (son of Khufu) who found it, when he was travelling to inspect the temples. . . . He asked for it, in order to bring it as a marvel to the king, when he saw that it was a great mystery, unseen,

unobserved thitherto." It is most unlikely that anything of the kind occurred.

Nevertheless, popular legend must have occupied itself with Menkaurē as with many other early kings, though he does not happen to figure in the native folk-tales that are known to us. For Herodotus, who made a tour of Egypt in the early part of his life, and recorded all that his guides told him, reports more of this king than of the other pyramid-builders.

He was told that after Cheops and Chephren (Khufu and Khaufrē) had cruelly oppressed the land for over a century, Mycerinus (as he calls him), son of Cheops, ascending the throne, reopened the temples that had been closed, allowed the people to return to their occupations and to resume the sacrifices, and proved a supremely just judge and lawgiver ; " the Egyptians praise him in this respect more than any of their other monarchs." Mycerinus was even said to have granted further compensation from his own purse to litigants who complained that he had awarded them insufficient damages in the law-court. But he was not to receive at the hands of the gods that justice which he meted to others. Hardly had he established his character for mildness and equity when his daughter, his only child, died. (One version, however, of the legend had it that Menkaurē had fallen in love with her, and offered her violence, upon which the girl hanged herself.) Overcome with grief, the king yet resolved to entomb his child in an unusual manner, and accordingly placed her body within a cow of gilded wood, which was set above ground in a richly adorned shrine at Saïs, a town in northern Egypt. Herodotus saw this cow, he tells us, and he adds that " every day there are burnt before it aromatic spices of every kind ; and all night long a lamp is kept burning in the apartment. . . . As for the cow, the greater portion of it is hidden by a scarlet coverture ; the head and neck, however, which are visible, are coated very thickly with gold, and between the horns is a golden image of the sun's disk." Once a year, at a season of lamentation for the dead Osiris, it was brought out into the sunlight.—We may be sure than no Egyptian princess was ever entombed in this bizarre manner, and, further,

that the body of a member of the ruling house would not have been removed so far from the capital as was Saïs. What Herodotus saw was a sacred image of Neïth-Hathor, the goddess of Saïs, in the form in which she is frequently depicted, of a cow with the sun's disk between her horns ; the richly adorned chamber, and the burning of spices and lamps, are appropriate to the worship of a goddess, and other Greek writers tell us that at the season of mourning Osiris a gilded figure of a cow was taken from its shrine and carried round the temple. In an adjoining chamber Herodotus saw twenty colossal wooden figures of women ; these represented concubines of Menkaurē according to one tradition, and handmaidens of the entombed princess according to another. Neither version is credible ; but it is hardly possible to say whom the statues may have represented. Curiously enough, a folk-tale current among the Egyptian peasants of today tells how the King of Persia fell in love with his beautiful daughter and wished to marry her ; but she induced him to make her a golden image of a cow, hollow, in which she hid herself from him ; the cow, with the girl inside, was sold to the King of India, whom, after other adventures, she married. It is surmised that this tale is in some way descended from that related to Herodotus.

Next, the Greek traveller was told, Menkaurē was visited by a calamity not lacking in tragic irony. "An oracle reached him from the town of Buto, which said: 'Six years only shalt thou live upon the earth, and in the seventh shalt thou end thy days.' Menkaurē, indignant, sent an angry message to the oracle, reproaching the god with his injustice : ' My father and uncle,' he said, ' though they shut up the temples, took no thought of the gods, and destroyed multitudes of men, nevertheless enjoyed a long life ; I, who am religious, am to die so soon ! ' There came in reply a second message from the oracle : ' For this very reason is thy life brought so quickly to a close—thou hast not done as it behoved thee. Egypt was fated to suffer affliction one hundred and fifty years ; the two kings who preceded thee upon the throne understood this ; thou hast not perceived it.' Mycerinus, when this answer reached him, knowing that his doom was fixed, had lamps prepared, which he lighted every

day at eventime, and feasted and enjoyed himself unceasingly both day and night, moving about in the marsh-country and the woods, and visiting all the places which he heard were pleasant resorts. His wish was to prove the oracle false by turning night into day, and so living twelve years in the space of six."

Thus Herodotus, whose report has stirred to good purpose the imagination of one of our own poets. Matthew Arnold, in an early work containing some fine passages, shows us Mycerinus addressing his people after the second oracle :—

" . . . The rest I give to joy. Even while I speak
My sand runs short ; and as yon star-shot ray,
Hemmed by two banks of cloud, peers pale and weak,
Now, as the barrier closes, dies away ;
Even so do past and future intertwine,
Blotting this six years' space, which yet is mine.

" Six years—six little years—six drops of time—
Yet suns shall rise, and many moons shall wane,
And old men die, and young men pass their prime,
And languid Pleasure fade and flower again ;
And the dull Gods behold, ere these are flown,
Revels more deep, joy keener than their own.

" Into the silence of the groves and woods
I will go forth ; but something would I say—
Something—yet what I know not : for the Gods
The doom they pass revoke not, nor delay ;
And prayers, and gifts, and tears, are fruitless all,
And the night waxes, and the shadows fall.

" Ye men of Egypt, ye have heard your king.
I go, and I return not. But the will
Of the great Gods is plain ; and ye must bring
Ill deeds, ill passions, zealous to fulfil
Their pleasure, to their feet ; and reap their praise,
The praise of Gods, rich boon ! and length of days. . . ."

After the long address, Mycerinus departs and is seen of his people no more ; " girt with a throng of revellers," he withdraws to the palm-groves :

> Happy trees,
> Their smooth tops shining sunwards, and beneath
> Burying their unsunned stems in grass and flowers :
> Where in one dream the feverish time of Youth
> Might fade in slumber, and the feet of Joy
> Might wander all day long and never tire. . . .

Part of the legend on which Arnold based his poem—namely, the oppression of the Egyptians by Khufu and Khaufrē—is doubtless true. Diodorus also rehearses that " the population, crushed with toil, hated these kings for their injustice and violence." It is clear that to build their pyramids must have involved great hardships for the Egyptian people and drain of the country's resources ; and the men who, continuously through many years, spent a great part of the man-power of the country on forced and wholly unproductive labour for their own glory were guilty of a degree of cruelty and crass egotism which can only repel us, however much we may admire the perfection of their achievement and wonder at the dæmonic energy that called it forth. Again, the tradition that Mycerinus was just and mild may well be connected with the fact that he made his pyramid only one-tenth as large as those of his predecessors ; though whether he really did this from consideration for his people, or from lack of resources, or for some other reason, is unknown.

A broken Greek manuscript found in an Egyptian rubbish-mound contains the preface to what is stated to be a translation of a book written by Menkaurē himself on his devotion to Imhōtep, that Vizier of King Zōser who ultimately became a god of healing and whom the Greeks identified with their own Asklepios. We are told that the lost book, which has " a divine power," states that Imhōtep was worshipped " with marks of great reverence " by Menkaurē, and we gather that the latter brought the remains of the deified sage from

Heliopolis to a new tomb which had been prepared for him at Memphis. After other matter, the writer says : " The history is this King Menkaurē, by displaying his piety in the obsequies of three gods, and being successful in winning fame through the book, has won eternal glory. He spent money in abundance on the tombs of Imhōtep, son of Ptah, Horus son of Thoth, and Kaleoibis, son of Apollo, and received as recompense his fill of prosperity. For Egypt was then free from war for this reason, and flourished with abundant crops, since a country prospers by the piety of its ruler, and on the other hand owing to his impiety it is consumed by evils. The manner in which the god Imhōtep bade Menkaurē busy himself with his tomb. . . ." Here the manuscript breaks off. It is most improbable that the Egyptian book, if it ever existed, was written by Menkaurē, or that the wise Imhōtep was already deified in his time ; but at least the statements as to Menkaurē's piety, and the peace and prosperity enjoyed by Egypt during his reign, are in harmony with those transmitted by Herodotus, if they are not indeed derived from these.

Herodotus was well aware that the Third Pyramid of Gîza, which he briefly described, was that of " Mycerinus " (whose name was to be seen upon it in his day), and he dismisses as false the strange legend current among the Greeks that it was the tomb of Doricha, the Thracian courtesan, better known as Rhodôpis, " the Rosy-cheeked." This woman, he says, originally a fellow-slave with Æsop of the fables, came to Egypt to exercise her trade under the protection of one Xanthus, but was detached from her *souteneur* " at a vast cost " by Sappho's brother Charaxus, a prosperous wine-importer. " After thus obtaining her freedom, she remained in Egypt, and, being very beautiful, amassed great wealth for a person of her class, but not enough to enable her to build such a work as this pyramid, on which uncounted treasures, so to speak, must have been expended." Four centuries later the pyramid was still believed by some to belong to Rhodôpis, and to have been built for her by several kings who had loved her. Yet another version, reminding us of the story of Cinderella, is delivered by Strabo. One day, while

the Rosy-cheeked was bathing, an eagle flew off with one of her shoes and dropped it into the lap of the king, who was holding a court of justice in the open at Memphis. He, astonished at the small size of the shoe and the strangeness of the happening, sent messengers to seek out a woman who could wear it ; at last they found Rhodôpis at Naucratis, and brought her to the king, who made her Queen of Egypt and built her the pyramid. But, as Herodotus remarks, enough has been said on the subject of this courtesan.

The tradition was a strong one which ascribed Menkaurē's pyramid to a woman ; Manetho the Historian says it was built by Nitôcris, " most noble and comeliest of her age, the golden-skinned," that queen known to Herodotus as having avenged her brother's murder by flooding suddenly a great underground chamber in which she was feasting those who had in any way shared in the crime, and thus destroying " a vast number of Egyptians."

It has been suggested, very plausibly, that it was these Greek legends which gave rise to the belief of the Arabs that a dangerous female ghost haunted the place. " The spirit of the Southern Pyramid," says the mediæval writer Murtadi, " never appears abroad except in the form of a woman, shamelessly naked, beautiful withal, and who acts in this way : when she wishes to inspire love in anyone, and make him lose his wits, she laughs to him, and immediately he approaches her, and she draws him to her, and makes him mad with love, so that he loses his reason at once, and wanders aimlessly through the land. Many have seen her roving round the pyramid at midday, and at about sunset."

Much was written about the pyramids by the Arabs of the Middle Ages, who, knowing nothing of Egyptian history, were able to indulge their fancies to the full. To have achieved such works was beyond the existing race of men ; it was Saurîd, son of Sahlûk, King of Egypt before the Flood, who, warned by dreams of the imminent cataclysm, built them as storehouses in which the primæval wisdom and culture might be preserved " until the land should bloom again." In the First Pyramid he placed all astronomical figures, and inscribed the records of the past, the dates of future events, and the rulers of

Egypt to the end of time ; in the Second he placed the bodies of the soothsayers, with books relating their marvellous lives and works, also images of all crafts and sciences, and " the treasures of the constellations " ; but in the Third Pyramid " he made thirty chambers of coloured granite, and in these placed all that he could of his treasures and greatest riches : jewels, precious stones, coloured pearls, vases of emerald, vessels of gold and silver, finely wrought statues, artificial waters, strange talismans, implements of precious iron such as unrusting arms, glass pliable as cloth, philosophical laws engendering wisdom, tables of bronze inscribed with various sciences, all kinds of medicinal drugs, as also poisons and mortal draughts such as kings keep by them, with effectual antidotes, and many other things impossible to describe."

Since I am gathering legends of Menkaurē in a book for English readers, may I not recall the fancies woven round him by a modern romancer who, whatever his defects, has yet written the best novel on ancient Egypt ? Rider Haggard's *Cleopatra*, more finely conceived than the *Roman d'une Momie*, with colour and feeling beside which the *Aegyptische Königstochter* reads like a pedantic historical exercise, ingeniously brings together the remote heroic age and the end of the long monarchy by making Menkaurē the ghostly Nemesis of the tragic Macedonian. One does not easily forget the account of the midnight visit of Cleopatra and Harmachis, hereditary holder of its secret, to the pyramid ; the reading of the words on the coffin and of the gold tablet with its threats ; the rending of Menkaurē's mummy and the taking from its breast of the great emeralds, a secret hoard against Egypt's time of dearth ; and the doom which follows the insensate squandering of that treasure : " the hour falls, O Queen, the coming of the curse of Menkau-ra ! "

I have set down facts and traditions regarding this early king, all that I have been able to find ; and what do we learn from them as to his personality ? Nothing, except what his portraits may tell us. Of his attitude to men and to fate, his influence on his time for good or evil, the feelings with which his subjects regarded him, we know hardly more than if no trace of his existence had survived.

So is it, indeed, with most of the figures of Eygptian " history," as it has to be called—a shell of names, records, buildings, statuary, imposing on the surface in its immense perspectives ; but within, empty as an empty house.

RANEFER

RANEFER

(CIRCA 2750 B.C.)

BY JEAN CAPART

LES personnes qui n'ont regardé les statues égyptiennes que d'une manière superficielle et avant de s'été débarrassés de plusieurs idées préconçues, sont surprises de découvrir que Ranefer a l'air franchement européen. Quand cessera-t-on de prendre les Egyptiens de l'Ancien Empire—pour ne parler ici que de cette période de l'histoire—pour des nègres ou des demi-nègres ? Junker a démontré avec toute la clarté désirable qu'il faut attendre les grandes conquêtes du Nouvel Empire pour que les Egyptiens entrent en contact direct avec les noirs. Même à l'époque du Moyen Empire les *vrais* nègres n'avaient pas pénétré en Nubie, et ils n'étaient donc en aucune manière les voisins des Egyptiens.

L'élite à l'époque de l'Ancien Empire était nettement méditerranéenne, bien que les ethnographes réussissent à distinguer plusieurs éléments anthropologiques par l'analyse des ossements et l'étude des représentations figurées. Virchow signalait dès 1888 que le Cheikh el Beled est nettement brachycéphale.

Ranefer était grand prêtre de Ptah à l'époque de. . . . Les uns parlent de la IV^{e} Dynastie, les autres de la V^{e}. On ne voit pas à première vue sur quoi s'appuyer pour décider de l'une ou de l'autre. Mariette Pacha, qui avait peut-être de bonnes raisons pour cela, plaçait le mastaba de Ranefer à Saqqarah dans la deuxième moitié de la IV^{e} Dynastie.

Dans la description reproduite par Maspero (*Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*), on peut lire qu'aux murs extérieurs en talus de la petite chambre de briques qui contenait des statues, s'adosse le

mur extérieur du tombeau d'un Ptah-hotep et " que les pierres du tombeau de Ptah-hotep suivent, en les épousant, tous les contours des briques du tombeau de Ranefer. . . . Ranefer vivait donc avant Ptah-hotep."

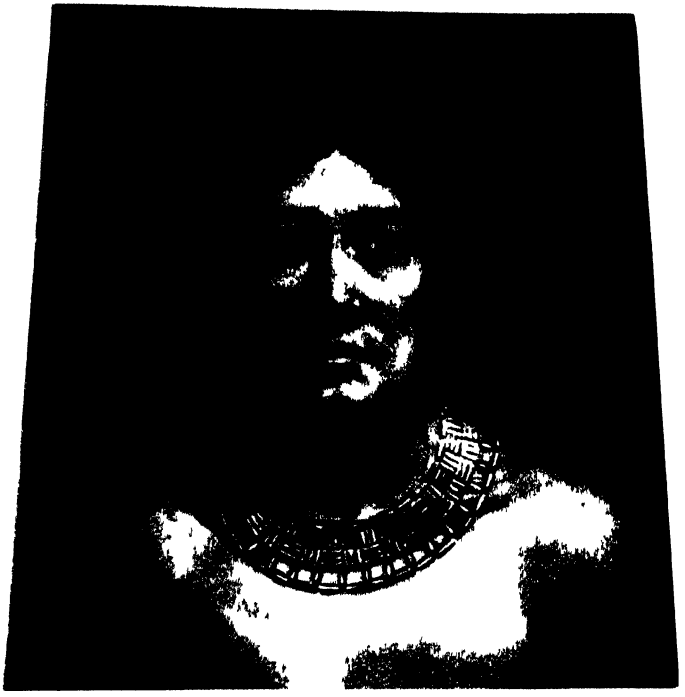
Le personnage en question a voulu intercaler sa sépulture entre celle de Ranefer et celle d'un autre Ptah-hotep, surnommé " le rouge." Ces deux Ptah-hotep étaient vizirs et, si nous pouvions déterminer exactement à quelle époque ils exerçaient leurs fonctions, nous aurions au moins un terme pour dater la sépulture de Ranefer, de construction plus ancienne. Mais le classement des vizirs de la Ve Dynastie présente de réelles difficultés. Mr. A. Veil est fort embarrassé pour ordonner quatre vizirs, appartenant sans doute à une même famille, qui portent le nom de Ptah-hotep. Il propose de les intercaler entre Min-nefer, contemporain de Ne-Ouser-Re, et un autre Ptah-hotep dont les domaines funéraires reproduisent des cartouches royaux allant de Didoufre jusqu'à Assa. Ces considérations sont, dans l'ensemble, de nature à confirmer l'attribution par Mariette, de la tombe de Ranefer à la seconde moitié de la IVe Dynastie.

Le grand explorateur de la nécropole de Saqqarah donne le croquis sommaire d'un grand mastaba de trente-six mètres de longueur, sans aucune chambre intérieure, complété à la partie sud de la face est par une petite construction de briques jouant le rôle de sanctuaire. La porte d'entrée s'ouvrait vers le nord. Dans l'angle, à droite, était une statue de femme portant le titre de parente royale. Son nom était Hekenon. C'est la femme du Ranefer dont les deux statues se dressaient debout contre la paroi du fond.

Ces statues sont très différentes d'aspect[1]; si différentes que l'auteur d'une histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité n'a pas hésité à les attribuer à deux personnages distincts. Pour un autre, il n'est pas douteux que Ranefer ait été figuré à des périodes différentes de sa vie, tant on a peine à s'habituer à l'idée que ces statues des tombeaux de l'Ancien Empire sont bien plus des types d'humanité que des

[1] The differences are those of coiffure and of expression; the actual features are almost identical.—W.B.

The
High Priest Ranefer



images individualisées. Pour le rôle qu'on leur faisait jouer dans la magie funéraire, il suffisait que les inscriptions précisent au bénéfice de quel défunt les prêtres avaient fait sur elles les rites fixateurs des âmes. L'inscription de la base est une véritable pièce d'identité, attachant à l'effigie le nom du personnage. Dans la doctrine, ce nom, comme on le sait par d'innombrables exemples, n'est pas une simple dénomination, c'est un âme dont l'essence spirituelle était à peine différente du fameux *Ka*, ou double.

Je me souviens d'avoir lu dans un livre sur les coutumes funéraires des Chinois un passage dont le sens général était le suivant : " Le fils pieux prendra soin de dresser sur la tombe de ses parents une tablette indiquant avec précision les titres, noms, et filiation des défunts, afin que leurs âmes retrouvent aisément l'endroit où les corps sont ensevelis." De même en Egypte, il faut que l'âme désincarnée de notre Ranefer puisse atteindre sans peine les images funéraires devant lesquelles les prêtres viennent déposer les offrandes. C'est pourquoi l'inscription de la base donnera une énumération suffisamment individualisée des titres portés par le défunt, pour qu'il ne puisse exister aucune confusion avec les autres Ranefer enterrés dans la même nécropole.

C'est pour cela sans doute que l'inscription ne se borne pas à énoncer la haute dignité de supérieur des chefs de travaux, qui est le titre du grand prêtre de Memphis, mais exprime en outre une serie d'autres fonctions rappelant en raccourci le *curriculum vitæ* de Ranefer. La plupart de ces titres se retrouvent dans les textes relatifs aux pontifes de Ptah sous l'Ancien Empire. En voici la traduction, pour autant qu'il soit possible de donner un sens précis à ces dénominations d'une hiérarchie séparée de nous par tant de siècles sans tradition : " Celui qui appartient aux fêtes de Ra—prophète de Sokaris—intendant du temple de Sokaris—offrant royal "—et enfin, un titre qui pourrait signifier littéralement " le directeur des herbages " mais dans lequel j'aimerais mieux reconnaître " le directeur de tous les prêtres Sem."

Ranefer était représenté dans son tombeau par deux statues portant des inscriptions à peu de chose près identiques. Cette

coutume, dont on peut citer de nombreux exemples, illustre le procédé de généralisation, pour les plus hauts personnages, de rites calculés d'abord pour le pharaon seulement. On sait que pour les anciens Egyptiens, le souverain, qui avait reçu des dieux mêmes les couronnes de l'Egypte du Nord et de l'Egypte du Sud, n'a jamais été envisagé comme une individualité simple. Pour tous, du plus humble serviteur au plus haut dignitaire, le pharaon était la double manifestation de l'héritier des deux royaumes dont le sort était lié depuis longtemps sans qu'on ait jamais admis le principe d'une union réelle.

Le roi mort survivra comme souverain de la Haute Egypte et souverain de la Basse Egypte. Les statues de son temple funéraire le représenteront sous ces deux aspects typiques, portant la couronne blanche et portant la couronne rouge. Très logiquement, si, par privilège, les rites royaux sont tolérés pour un Egyptien très haut placé, leur efficacité serait complètement émoussée si on abandonnait le rythme de la dualité personnelle. Il est vrai qu'on n'a pas été jusqu'aux extrèmes limites de la logique dans l'application du système. Si parfois on se risque à peindre à l'intérieur du cercueil, au milieu des pièces du mobilier mis à la disposition du mort, les couronnes royales, les sceptres et les vêtements qui constituaient les " regalia," on ne connait guère d'exemple d'un particulier représenté avec les attributions du roi. La limite extrème est atteinte lorsque, dans la procession des funérailles, on transportait deux figurines, l'une du roi de la Haute Egypte, l'autre du roi de la Basse Egypte. Si, malgré les difficultés issues du respect dû à la personne royale, on voulait suivre la loi de dualité, on recourrait à l'expédient dont l'exemple classique nous est donné par les statues de Ranefer. Chacune de celles-ci nous montre le défunt portant une coiffure et un vêtement différente. Qu'on n'y cherche pas les caractéristiques des fonctions exercées par le défunt. Les mêmes variantes se retrouvent, avec une exactitude parfaite, pour d'autres Egyptiens dont les titres n'ont rien de commun avec ceux de Ranefer et qui appartenaient à des couches sociales moins élevées. Nous avons donc là le jeu typique de statues, tel qu'il a été devisé par l'ordonnateur

des cérémonies funèbres qui eut à résoudre la difficulté d'étiquette que nous venons de signaler.

Il serait aisé de citer de nombreux exemples de tombes de l'Ancien Empire dont les images en relief reproduisent les deux variantes fondamentales. Reisner a même trouvé à Guizeh les restes d'un serdab dont les murs garnis de petites images des statues répètent alternativement l'un et l'autre type. Mais, ici comme en tant d'autres cas, la grande loi d'unification a fait sentir tôt ou tard ses effets et la variante à perruque et à pagne court a fini par faire oublier presque entièrement l'autre.

J'ai cherché longtemps quelle pouvait être la raison de ces variantes et je n'ai pu découvrir aucun indice permettant une solution étayée de preuves solides. En tenant compte de la dualité des deux royaumes, je voudrais proposer de reconnaître, dans le type à perruque et à pagne long la statue de Basse Egypte, dans l'autre, la statue de Haute Egypte. Si l'on me demandait de justifier cette attribution, je répondrais que depuis la Ière Dynastie l'Egypte du Sud a le pas sur l'Egypte du Nord, et que, par conséquent, la variante qui disparait peu à peu ne peut être la caractéristique de la Haute Egypte.

LA BELLE MÉCONNUE

LA BELLE MÉCONNUE

(CIRCA 2750 B.C.)

BY JEAN CAPART

L'HUMANITÉ moderne s'est montrée bien injuste à son égard. Ils avaient atteint, son mari et elle, une très longue vieillesse avant d'être enterrés " bellement " dans leur maison d'éternité de la montagne occidentale, au royaume de Sokaris. Pendant des siècles, leurs prêtres de double étaient venus remplir leurs pieuses fonctions devant les corps d'éternité, magnifiquement sculptés, qui se dressaient dans la chapelle de leur mastaba. Leur mémoire s'estompant petit à petit dans un passé de plus en plus lointain, la sépulture délaissée avait été progressivement envahie par les sables qui avaient fini par la recouvrir complètement.

Au dix-neuvième siècle, au commencement de l'année 1860, les ouvriers d'Auguste Mariette, conduits par le reis Roubi, sous la surveillance de Vassali, déblayèrent la porte de la chapelle. La statue de la femme s'était renversée et avait glissé dans le passage ; une statue de l'homme était encore debout à sa place antique, dréssée dans une niche de la muraille. Les archéologues ne se firent aucun scrupule de séparer l'époux de l'épouse et, tandis qu'ils mettaient le premier à une place d'honneur dans une des salles du musée du Caire, ils reléguèrent la seconde dans un coin d'armoire où peu de visiteurs s'avisent de sa beauté. On se demande ce que doivent penser d'un tel traitement les pauvres âmes désincarnées ?

Et comme si ce n'était pas assez, on a voulu les séparer encore davantage. Malgré les témoignages concordants de tous les écrivains à l'époque de la découverte, malgré l'affirmation du reis Roubi qui confirmait ses dires à Miss Murray dans l'hiver 1903–1904, on a,

sans raison exprimée, nié que le buste de femme provint de la même tombe que la statue d'homme.

Peu d'œuvres des artistes de l'Ancien Empire ont obtenu auprès du public une faveur égale à celle du Cheikh el Beled. C'est un de ces chefs-d'œuvre immortels qui émeuvent les ignorants comme les savants dès le premier abord. Le scribe du Louvre dont la naissance à la vie moderne n'a précédé que de quelques années la découverte du Cheikh el Beled, avait étonné le monde des artistes comme un prodige. La statue de bois prêtée par l'Egypte à l'exposition de Paris de 1867 prouvait que les contemporains des pyramides créaient des séries de chefs-d'œuvre dont il faudrait dorénavant tenir sérieusement compte dans les théories sur l'origine du beau.

On n'a pas manqué de définir la personnalité du modèle. La base portant les inscriptions avait disparu. Par confusion avec un autre monument, on l'a appelé Ptah-Se, puis, par lecture inexacte des signes gravés sur la stèle de la chapelle, Ramke. Les uns l'ont dit gendre du roi, d'autres ont préféré y reconnaître un surveillant des travaux, un contre-maître des corvées qui construisirent la grande pyramide. De même, on a signalé tour à tour son air de noblesse et son apparence de petit bourgeois. Lorsque Miss Murray a déblayé une seconde fois son tombeau et remis au jour la stèle dont Mariette avait relevé déjà l'inscription, elle a pu reconnaître que cet homme était le prêtre lecteur en chef, Ka-Aper.

Ces explications étaient indispensables pour justifier les jugements contradictoires portés par les différents auteurs à l'égard de sa femme. Lenormant, après avoir souligné l'air d'importance administrative de l'homme, avec cependant une allure de bon garçon, trouve que la femme a un caractère différent. Ce caractère a été expliqué de deux façons. Arthur Rhoné rattache la dame à une race plus fine et plus aristocratique que celle de son époux ; peut-être même est-ce une femme étrangère ou de rang supérieur, quelque fille de roi donnée en mariage à quelqu'un de moindre importance. Pour Maspero, au contraire, elle est le type de l'Egyptienne de classe moyenne, aux traits ordinaires. Il la compare aux fellahines de Haute Egypte et suggère qu'elle devait avoir la langue

bien aiguisée à l'égard de son époux comme à l'égard de ses compagnes.

On peut admirer sans doute la fantaisie brillante de telles déductions, à condition de ne pas se méprendre sur leur valeur et de ne pas leur faire une place dogmatique dans des œuvres de science.

Regardons bien le buste original qui, malgré ses mutilations, malgré la destruction complète du léger épiderme de stuc peint, conserve une très grande beauté. C'est presque certainement l'œuvre du maître à qui nous devons Ka-Aper et le beau torse anonyme du Caire que j'en ai rapproché naguère. L'importance du mastaba, la dimension et la technique des images déposées dans la chapelle ne permettent pas de douter de l'importance du personnage. Si l'on pouvait déblayer complètement la partie de la nécropole de Saqqarah où se trouvait la sépulture, comme on l'a fait sur le plateau de Guizeh pour les cimetières de la famille royale et des grands fonctionnaires, il est possible qu'on arriverait à préciser le rang social de Ka-Aper. Il est vraisemblable que sa carrière fut longue avant qu'il atteignît le titre de lecteur en chef, qui se classe parmi les plus élevés. On le donne au fameux Imhotep, grand ministre de Djeser, dans la plupart des inscriptions qui le commémorent. Lorsque Imhotep divinisé est représenté sur les murs des sanctuaires de Basse Epoque, c'est ce titre de lecteur en chef qui est souvent mis en évidence.

Si cela nous fournit une indication sur la fin de carrière de Ka-Aper, cela ne nous permet nullement de nier qu'il pût être d'humble extraction. Les textes bibliographiques nous ont montré que, sous l'Ancien Empire aux pharaons prodigieux, aucune barrière n'entravait l'ascension des bien doués aux postes les plus éminents. Les exemples ne nous manquent pas de ces parvenus qui épousèrent des princesses. Le cas le plus typique nous est connu depuis peu grâce à la découverte, par Junker, de la tombe du nain Seneb, époux d'une parente royale.

Il est donc loisible à ceux qui en auraient la fantaisie, de reconnaître dans la femme de Ka-Aper une fille de haute lignée. Mais l'autre thèse trouverait un argument peut-être dans ce papyrus de Leyde souvent cité, qui contient les plaintes d'un mari : " Je t'ai

prise pour mon épouse lorsque j'étais à l'âge de la conscription. Tu étais avec moi tandis que j'ai rempli toutes mes fonctions. Je restais avec toi, et je ne t'ai pas répudiée."

Si notre homme a commencé modestement sa carrière, il a pu faire un mariage précoce dans son milieu social. La dame, s'élevant avec lui, n'a pas manqué de s'adapter à sa fortune nouvelle. . . .

Enfin, n'oublions pas qu'on s'est bien plus soucié de mettre dans la tombe, à la disposition de l'âme, un beau et bon corps d'éternité, plutôt que l'image fidèle de la vieille épouse du lecteur en chef. Consolons-nous de ne pas connaître la femme de Ka-Aper, si le buste du musée du Caire, ranimé par le talent de Mrs. Brunton, nous apporte l'image typique que se faisaient de la beauté féminine les contemporains de la IV^{e} Dynastie.

SENUSERT III

SENUSERT III

(1887–1849 B.C.)

By Alexander Scharff

Translated from the German by Mrs. H. Frankfort

HERODOTUS tells us in chapter II. of the second book of his history[1]: "Sesostris, the priests said, first of all proceeded in a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian Gulf along the shores of the Erythræan Sea, subduing the nations as he went, until he finally reached a sea which could not be passed by reason of the shoals. Thence he returned to Egypt, where, they told me, he collected a vast armament, and made a progress by land across the continent, conquering every people encountered in his way. In the countries where the natives withstood his attack, and fought gallantly for their liberties, he erected pillars, on which he inscribed his own name and country, and how that he had here reduced the inhabitants to subjection by the might of his arms."

Sethe was the first to prove that the Greek name Sesostris was meant to render the Egyptian name Senusert, "Man of Strength"; the word strength here being the surname of a goddess.

Those who believe that the name of a human being is in some way mysteriously connected with his character and his deeds will find a strong support in the case of Senusert-Sesostris. For all the fame of valour and heroism with which the Ancient Egyptians (by no means a soldierly people) were ever credited by posterity seems somehow crystallised round the name of this one king. Sesostris was for the Greeks—and they only of later people have given us a

[1] After Rawlinson.

good tradition of pharaonic history—essentially *the* conquerer, *the* hero. According to Herodotus, he went to the land of the Scythians on the Black Sea; according to Diodorus, even to India; the enormous rock-cut reliefs in Anatolia, which we now know to be of Hittite origin, were supposed to represent the Egyptian conqueror.

Since, however, Greek tradition is no longer our only source of information, and Egyptian inscriptions have their own tale to tell us, it has become clear that the mythical hero whom the Greeks call Sesostris hardly stands for one Egyptian ruler in particular, but that well-nigh all Egypt's conquests and political expansion, mainly that of the New Kingdom, were, so to say, condensed in this legendary figure. And it is most remarkable that it should not be the name of either Thothmes, Seti, or Rameses which was mythologised, though we now know that these were great conquerors even if none of them ever reached Europe or India, but that it was definitely Senusert, a name borne by three rulers of the XIIth Dynasty. The origin of the Sesostris legend, therefore, goes back to the time of the Middle Kingdom, when excellent political organisation at home rather than great military feats abroad was the main achievement.

We know of wars of some importance only in the reign of Senusert I and III. Under the rule of the former, Lower Nubia was for the first time conquered by the Egyptians, a success which Senusert III safeguarded by building strongholds in the neighbourhood of the second cataract (south of Wadi Halfa). We also have the report of an officer in the reign of Senusert III who joined an expedition to Palestine that went as far as the town Sichem, mentioned in the Bible. Both military feats play a part in the history of Sesostris, and it remains useless to try and decide whether this mythical hero should be identified rather with Senusert I than Senusert III.

We also have evidence of sea-voyages to Punt, in Somaliland, under the reign of Senusert I and Amenemhet II, from two steles in the Wadi Gasus, near the Red Sea, and it is quite possible that these too were reflected in the beginning of the story of Sesostris by Herodotus.

Without the vivid picture drawn by Greek authors as a back-

ground, we should have but little to say about Senusert III, because real knowledge of the character and personality of all Egyptian rulers is but small. The following bare facts of his life are known to us. Unlike his predecessors, Senusert III does not seem to have been co-regent during his father's lifetime. Senusert II died after a reign of only nineteen years, and was buried in the Pyramid of Illahun. His wife, possibly the mother of Senusert III, was called Nefert, the Beautiful. Her personal aspect is alive for us in two exquisitely modelled granite statues from Tanis, in the Delta (now in the Cairo Museum): a noble face surrounded by an almost over-elaborate Hathor-like coiffure; in one of the statues the left hand, with long and delicate fingers, is folded across the chest. We know nothing about the youth of Senusert III, or even at what age he came to the throne. He took on the throne name Kha Kau Ra, " The souls of the Sun God shine forth."

When we review all the historical data of his thirty-eight years' reign we cannot fail to see in Senusert III a singularly energetic ruler. In his reign we suddenly cease to find the tombs of nomarchs, which provide such a rich source of information for the earlier part of the Middle Kingdom. Senusert evidently succeeded in creating a rigorously centralised government for the whole of Egypt, and definitely crushed the power of princes like those of Beni Hasan and Assiut. Of his building activities we know little, because nearly all the temples of the Middle Kingdom were pulled down in the New Kingdom and replaced by greater ones. In Medamot were lately found blocks of Senusert III which had been re-used by the Ptolemies. We know that he was responsible for repairing the Osiris sanctuary in Abydos, from a big stele specially erected for the commemoration of this work and of the subsequent celebration of the Osiris mysteries.

In the south he consolidated in every way the Nubian conquest of his predecessor Senusert I. A complete system of fortresses was built to protect the Nubian Nile valley against invasions of predatory nomadic tribes from the desert. The southernmost of these strongholds was situated near Semneh, in the midst of the rocky country of

the second cataract. There one of the boundary steles was found which Senusert III erected[1] : " Southern boundary made in the year 8 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure, who is given life for ever and ever ; in order to prevent that any Negro[2] should cross it, by water or by land, with a ship [or] any herds of the Negroes ; except a Negro who shall come to do any trading in Iken[3] or with a commission [i.e. as envoy]. Every good thing shall be done to them, but without allowing a ship of the Negroes to pass by Semneh, coming downstream, for ever."

Also a commemoration stele was put up in Semneh in the year 16, wherein Senusert III's deeds are praised to excess, and posterity is finally exhorted not to abandon the frontier. The military feats of this campaign consisted (as the same stele states in a businesslike way) of the king capturing the women, carrying off the men, killing the cattle, and burning the crops. These conquests of Nubia were evidently not the result of genuine warfare against equal enemies, but simply meant raids and plundering in the " miserable land of Kush," as Nubia was called later. Anyhow, they fulfilled their purpose of safeguarding the traffic through Lower Nubia, which was indispensable as intermediary for the commerce with the rich Sudan. Here we find, as far south as Kerma, near the third cataract, close to modern Dongola, the remains of a Middle Kingdom factory.

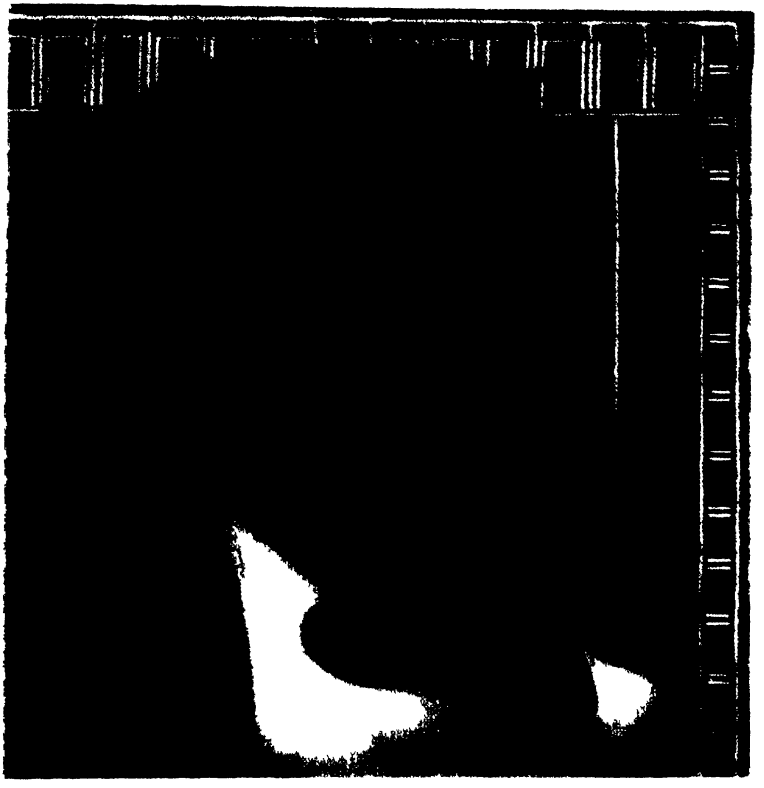
The subjugation of Nubia was also essential for the gold-mines in Wadi Alaki, the mouth of which opened into the Nile Valley at Kuban and had to be protected by a fortress. Senusert III was looked upon by later generations as the real conqueror of Nubia. King Thothmes III therefore made him the national god of Nubia, and erected a temple in his honour at Semneh. This deification must have added largely to his posthumous glory ; even in the

[1] Breasted, Records I. 651 ff.

[2] Negroes does not mean, in those days, the blacks which we have classified as such in modern anthropology, but the Hamitic people of Upper Nubia (Dongola), which are racially akin to the Egyptians themselves. Real negroes are only found in the reaches of the Upper Nile from the New Kingdom onwards.

[3] Iken is probably the frontier-region of Lower Nubia which stood under Egyptian administration, in the neighbourhood of modern Wady Halfa.

Queen Nefert



first millennium B.C. his name was famous and kept sacred, as is shown by the name of Senusert appearing on scarabs of this late period.

We know less of Senusert's campaign in Palestine, as we only possess the fragmentary inscription of an officer, mentioned above, which was found at Abydos. In any case, Senusert III will have been justified when, like so many of his successors, he styled himself the Conqueror of the Barbarians in South and North, on the beautiful pectoral from Dahshur. There must also have existed intercourse with Crete, since on different sites in Egypt sherds of Kamares ware were found, together with monuments of the XIIth Dynasty. It was in this case no doubt a matter of peaceful barter only, and the fact that in goldsmith's art the technique of granulation first occurs in the Middle Kingdom may well be due to the influence of Cretan craftsmen. A new type of ear pendant, specially used in the New Kingdom, and which already occurs in the older layers of Troy (2000 B.C.), may quite likely have been traded down to Egypt already in the XIIth Dynasty by merchants from Asia Minor.

The Middle Kingdom reached the acme of its power under Senusert III. Later generations who, owing to the much more far-reaching conquests of the New Kingdom rulers, enjoyed an infinitely more refined and varied civilisation, looked upon his reign as *the* classical period. This specially holds good for the language, writing, and literature of the XIIth Dynasty. We know from various manuscripts that the works of this period were studied and copied with great predilection in the schools of the New Kingdom.

For the historian the reign of Senusert III is of particular interest, because in it falls the oldest known Sothic date, whereby the king's reign and the XIIth Dynasty are definitely chronologically fixed within a scope of four years. It is not the place here to dwell upon the extraordinary importance of the Sothic dates for Egyptian chronology; as is known, the rise of Sirius can be computed astronomically, and enables us to fix Egyptian dates in absolute chronology. In the old town site of Illahun, where Senusert II had built his

pyramid, were found several papyri from the reign of Senusert II and III and Amenemhet III, which contained important documents from the temple archives, accounts, letters, etc. Amongst these we find, on a sheet certainly to be ascribed to the reign of Senusert III, the copy of a letter from the year 7, in which the superintendent of the temple of Illahun writes to a priest, amongst other matters: "You must know that the rise of Sirius occurs on the 16th of the 4th winter month . . . and see that this letter is put up on the notice board (?) of the temple." This important news, meant for the priesthood, is of far greater importance still to us, because on the basis of this letter the seventh year of Senusert III could, with the rise of Sirius on the 16th day of the 4th winter month, be computed astronomically, and the whole reign of the king fixed with certainty (within the scope of four years) between 1887 and 1849 B.C. The Sothic date of Illahun is the oldest we possess; the whole chronology of the preceding periods depends on the king-lists exclusively, and up to this point lacks complete certainty.

After this digression we return to Senusert III, and, seeing that none of the historical data reveal much of the king's personality, we may attempt, by reviewing all his representations in Egyptian art, to gain more insight into his character. We rarely find the king portrayed in reliefs, and then only in more or less conventional manner, though some exquisite relief pictures of his have lately come to light in the excavations of the Institut Français in Cairo at Medamot, near Karnak.

But the statues and portrait-heads of Senusert are numerous; we possess several colossi from Karnak, now in Cairo; six statues from Deir el Bahari, four of which still have the head intact (three in the British Museum, one in Cairo); a diorite sphinx (in New York); a sitting statue and several heads from Medamot (in Cairo and Paris); the head of a royal sphinx of green slate in Vienna; two small portrait-heads in Berlin, one in red granite, the other in a very hard brownish-green stone; the top part of a brown sandstone head in Hildesheim; and the magnificent obsidian head (MacGregor collection) which it is hard to separate from the green slate

head in Berlin, though some maintain that it is a portrait of Amenemhet III.

What strikes us first as a common trait in all these portraits is nobility and strength of character, sometimes combined with hardness almost, so as to suggest an indomitable energy, sometimes tempered by deep thoughtfulness and almost melancholy resignation. Mrs. Brunton's picture, which renders all the concentrated energy, a noble severity, and a deep reflective mind, gives, exquisitely balanced, the essentials of all his portraits combined.

I do not believe that one could read into the different expressions of Senusert's portrait an attempt to render him at different ages.[1] We can hardly expect this to have been the Egyptian artist's purpose, certainly not in the statues of Deir el Bahari, all alike and yet so different, which were no doubt all made to one single order and only betray a difference in artistic conception and execution, which we might expect to be all the more pronounced in the absence of the living model. It is in the statues of Deir el Bahari for the first time in Egyptian art that we find the king represented in a praying attitude.

Some have tried to explain the peculiarities of the features of Senusert III and his successors Amenemhet III by assuming that Queen Nefert, probably the mother of Senusert, whom we mentioned above, was a foreigner, and that this would account for their " un-Egyptian " type of face. I cannot share this view, and base myself on the important art-critical considerations of H. G. Evers in *Staat aus dem Stein*, a standard work on Middle Kingdom sculpture. First of all, I fail to see anything foreign in either of the queen's statues mentioned above. They belong to the big group of Middle Kingdom sculpture from Tanis,[2] in the Western Delta, where statues of all the XIIth Dynasty rulers were found with the exception of Senusert III and Amenemhet IV. The works from Tanis clearly belong, together with a few other examples found in the Delta (e.g. the statue of

[1] I most respectfully venture to differ from Dr. Scharff on this question.—W.B.

[2] The view, put forward by Daressy, that the Middle Kingdom statues from Tanis are brought there from various regions by Rameses II is, to my mind, mistaken. The style of these statues is much too uniform.

Amenemhet IV), to one definite Delta group, which is conspicuously different from the upper Egyptian work (from Memphis, Thebes, and farther south). The statues of Nefert clearly belong to the Tanis, or rather, the Delta group, as all peculiarities fit in with these. With Sesostris III, however, portrait art, quite apart from the differences of local art schools mentioned above, reaches its culminating point. We might even go further, and say that the portraits of Senusert III and Amenemhet III remain unsurpassed in Egyptian art. Technically this is due to the fact that, contrary to the smooth curves of Old Kingdom portraits, it is the bony structure and tense muscles showing underneath the skin which begin to fascinate the artist, and the result is an entirely new type of face, with harder and more differentiated contours, which nevertheless is thoroughly Egyptian.

A new spirit seems to pervade the portraits of Senusert and Amenemhet. The kings and private people of the pyramid age show an earthbound, healthy joy of living that deeply contrasts with the two great kings of the XIIth Dynasty, spiritual both, and introspective, to whom the bitter seriousness of life seems to have taught that stubborn force was a necessity. It seems, indeed, that the sombre, pessimistic teaching which Amenemhet I composed for his son was the appropriate *Leitmotiv* for the whole of the XIIth Dynasty. There he says[1]: "Trust not a brother, know not a friend, and make not for thyself intimates—that profiteth nothing. If thou sleepest, do thou thyself guard thine heart, for in the day of adversity a man has no adherents."

Yet the devotion and love of the nation to its ruler, however severe he might be, might well relieve these sombre moods, as even we moderns are carried along by the reading of the hymn on Senusert III which was found on a papyrus in the town ruins of Illahun. There the great warrior, whom the later Egyptians doted on, and who became the mythical hero Sesostris of the Greeks, lives for us again. This is the second strophe of the four-strophic hymn[2]:

[1] After Blackman's translation of Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians.*

[2] Partly after Erman-Blackman.

" How the gods rejoice ; thou hast made their offerings to flourish.
How thy children rejoice : thou hast established their boundaries.
How thy fathers who were aforetime, rejoice : thou hast increased their portions.[1]
How the Egyptians rejoice in thy might : thou hast protected the old usages.
How the people rejoice in thy designs : thy might has captured the. . . . .[2]
How the Two Riverbanks[3] rejoice in thy strength : thou hast enlarged that which they need.
How thy recruits rejoice in. . . .[2] thou hast caused them to grow.
How thine Honoured Ones rejoice : thou hast renewed their youth.
How the Two Lands[4] rejoice in thy strength : thou hast protected their walls.
O Horus,[5] who extendeth thy boundaries, mayest thou continue in eternity."[6]

Senusert III, like his forefathers, built a pyramid for his tomb, but of mud brick only ; kings were more parsimonious and had less time in his days. It is situated near Dahshur, where it lies unassumingly to the south of the long imposing row of stone pyramids of the Old Kingdom. Here Senusert-Sesostris, the world conqueror of later history, was buried. Compared with his life as a ruler, his private life, to us, seems almost hidden. Only a few fragments of inscriptions were preserved, containing the name of a queen and of some princesses who evidently died before the king, and were buried there. The princesses were given exquisite jewellery for the life hereafter. These

[1] Endowments for the upkeep of the tombs and offerings.
[2] Unknown expression in the Egyptian text.
[3] Poetical expression for Egypt.
[4] Usual expression for Egypt.
[5] The divine name Horus, with which the king is addressed.
[6] Before the sentence starting with " O Horus " there stands in the original a remark which contains probably an indication for the person who recites the hymn. It may be that this verse was to be used as a refrain after each of the other verses, or that it should be accented in a particular way as final phrase.

jewels are now in the Museum at Cairo, and show the brilliance of the contemporary goldsmith's art.

The king's tomb was already plundered of old. When the sarcophagus room was excavated, the sarcophagus which once contained the mummy of the powerful ruler stood empty.

AMENOPHIS III AND HIS SUCCESSORS IN THE XVIIITH DYNASTY

King Senusert III

AMENOPHIS III AND HIS SUCCESSORS IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY

(1411–1345 B.C.)

By S. R. K. Glanville

THE starting-point for this study has been the problem of the relationship between Amenophis III, his Queen Tiy, and his two successors (after Akhenaten), Smenkhkarē' and Tutankhamon. Although these " terms of reference " omit Akhenaten, it will be at once clear that such an enquiry must take careful account of him also. Moreover, since the question of the relationship of these kings is only of importance in so far as it bears on the political or the cultural history of their country and its neighbours, there need be no apology for enlarging the scope of the essay till it becomes virtually a study of pharaonic policy at the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

It is almost a commonplace that the present day is witnessing a far greater popular interest in ancient history and archæology than has ever been known in the past. It is perhaps not so obvious that this is on all fours with the utilitarian spirit of an age which is marked above all else by its application of scientific enquiry to the need of daily life. It has long been the custom to preach the ideals of ancient politics as examples for modern government; to find a moral in Athenian demagogy as a warning to American democracy, a Roman lesson in Imperialism to bind countries not linked by Roman roads. This view starts with the past, pays it due respect even when critical, and gratefully accepts it as a guide to the present. Thereby the past gains a subtle and unfair advantage. It is vaguely felt to be sound, orthodox; while the present—we are not quite sure of the present; we become its apologists. But the modern view has reversed this.

We start with the present ; with the politics we have grown up with, with thoroughly charted economic systems ; above all, with a social psychology with which we are familiar. Armed with all these criteria of human civilisation, we investigate the past, and, perhaps a little patronisingly, rediscover them there. Thus, linking the past to the present, we lose that sense of the separateness of ancient cultures, to find them integral parts of our own civilisation. Excellent as this is, it has one danger : that we shall interpret ancient history too much in the light of our own. Such has been the case with the " Amarna period " of Egyptian history, largely owing to the " modern " feeling claimed for the art and personality of Akhenaten. Historians are now beginning to restore him to his natural place in the development of the XVIIIth Dynasty ; but if we consider for a moment what would be the impression left on the mind of an Egyptian of Horemheb's reign, for instance, of the history of the preceding hundred years, we shall be compelled to admit that the individual whose figure would have stood out in his mind as *the* great Pharaoh of those days would have been that of Amenophis III, not Akhenaten. To us to-day the cultural contribution, too narrowly ascribed to the latter king alone, especially in the realm of art, is far greater than that of his father : in this paper an attempt is made to show how much he owed to his predecessors, and above all to Amenophis III.

To understand how certain influences, which, as we shall see, played a most important part in the lives of the later XVIIIth Dynasty kings, came into being, we must go back at least as far as the beginning of the Dynasty. This, the most splendid House in the pharaonic line, inherited from its immediate predecessors a policy, the logical and eventual outcome of which was doubtless far from the minds of the courageous Theban rulers who established themselves as the XVIIth Dynasty in Upper Egypt and finally drove the invading Hyksos from the whole country. But it is a natural law, applicable equally to political theory as to biology, that living organisms cannot stand still ; " all that happens, happens in one of two modes "—progress or decay. A century of foreign rule, by a people of little culture, had gradually united the discordant elements

which had assisted in the disintegration of the powerful Middle Kingdom. A new consciousness of nationality, headed by an able succession of princes and making use of the new weapons of the invaders, proclaimed and established Egyptian independence in a world which, for the first time in history, was feeling the competition of strong national powers. In the circumstances, the north-eastern frontiers, which on paper might have been the goal of Kamose's ambition, could, in the event, offer no permanent halting-place for the armies of his successors. They must push on themselves, or once more be driven back. No doubt that Aahmose, the first of them, was prepared to be carried as far into the enemy's territory as the velocity of that outward drive would take him. For over a thousand years Egyptian forces had raided the Sinaitic borders and the Palestinian littoral, and had established commercial stations even in Southern Syria. But it may be reasonably asserted that Aahmose had no inkling of the rôle in the new game of international politics to which he was pledging his House, and no conception of that Greater Egypt which for two centuries was to entice the players.

For times had changed. The Semitic Hyksos had left behind, with the knowledge of horse and chariot, something of their own warlike aggressiveness, and it was not only Pharaoh who would be seen driving furiously across the Palestinian plain. An age of chivalry was to set in, when the schoolmasters would rail at the boy who ran off to become a recruit, and university professors continually warn their charges against the false attractions of a commission in the cavalry. The priesthood throughout the country, but especially at Thebes, enriched by the plunder of successful raids, grew in size and in power, and increased its demands and its claim to be satisfied, thus requiring further and more extensive foreign campaigns. Outside, the increasing foreign competition—due to the rapid growth of the Kassite (Babylonian) and eventually Assyrian and Hittite kingdoms—for trade routes and stations necessitated a permanent hold on country which had hitherto been outside the ambition of Egypt, or at least was subject to mere sporadic *razzias*. Above all,

Byblos, that Syrian seaport which connected the Mediterranean powers with the Mesopotamian, and at the same time was the door to Egypt's wood supply, for centuries a friendly harbour, perhaps definitely an Egyptian outpost since the Old Kingdom, and now more than ever essential to her life, could no longer be held without a complete penetration of the surrounding districts ; and this in the face of powerful dynasts, large and small, on all sides. Thus the swing of the pendulum which took the Hyksos up to Thebes, returning, drew the Pharaohs through Palestine and Syria and to the natural boundary of the Euphrates, and, as we shall see, for a short time even farther. But the moral of it all is that, whereas for the previous 1,500 years of her history Egypt's connection with the great powers of Mesopotamia and Crete had been ephemeral, and of so casual a nature that we are still uncertain as to the actual relations that may have existed between them, from now onwards she began to play a part which, if undefined in many details, is yet sufficiently well documented in its general outlines to enable us for the first time in ancient history to speak of international politics. And this change was due partly to the course of her own national politics, as we have seen, but also to the development of the other powers.

The international tone of politics did not develop at once. Indeed, on the Egyptian side, the sense of Empire did not become accepted till the greatest of all Egyptian rulers, Thothmes III, had completed his great work of the conquest of Palestine and Syria in the middle of the reign. The way had been well prepared under the first Thothmes, but the unwarlike reign of Queen Hatshepsut, who—perhaps by reason of her sex—preferred peace and devoted her energies to magnificent building operations, and whose most elaborate foreign expedition was of a purely commercial nature in the opposite direction from Syria, temporarily held up the progress of Empire in the north-east. At her death, Thothmes III was off like an arrow from the bow, and, by a series of annual campaigns, firmly established for a century Egyptian dominion in Palestine and Syria up to the Taurus and the Euphrates, and during his own reign, at all events, controlled to a considerable extent the Hurri and Assyrians

beyond. It was thus he who brought Egypt permanently into touch with the contemporary powers and who made possible the international character which politics assumed from now onwards. Definite symptoms of the new position appear almost immediately—with the next reign. But already in Thothmes' own time great changes were taking place as a result of his exploits.

Those changes can be traced in every sphere of Egyptological study. The archæologist assigns to this reign the appearance of many new forms, and more than one foreign ware, in the pottery remains from the cemeteries and tombs. And this is but one class of the material witness of a cosmopolitanism which is evident throughout Egyptian culture. With Thothmes, too, began the gradual intrusion into literature of the speech of daily life ; and, still more indicative of the annual campaigns in Syria to the citizens at home, the occurrence in writings of every description of foreign names, and even the spelling of Egyptian words and names with an orthography which arose from the former. This orthography became fashionable, and came to stay. It reminds us that the famous Annals—the " official history of the war "—in Karnak, and all that remains to tell us of these most important campaigns, were merely the digest of journalistic accounts long since lost. Writing from the front, it is no wonder that the military scribes fell to some extent into the language of the army and the accents of the enemy ; nor that, in spite of the conservative traditions of the priesthood at home, the glamour of successful foreign service should lend their new-fangled jargon a grace which caught the fancy of the public. Nor was there lacking opportunity to mark the tone of outlandish polysyllabic words from native tongues. Slaves there had always been since the Old Kingdom Pharaohs plundered Nubia and raided Sinai and Libya. But now the great and continual advances of Thothmes, year after year, brought back to Egypt such a toll of slaves—together with cattle and natural commodities—that every common type of foreigner must have been familiar to the ordinary Egyptian. Hundreds of men were claimed for the royal services, the Government Departments and the large temple estates ; but still the supply was large

enough to allow of a considerable distribution and sale to private owners. And at the other end of the scale were those princes, some of the petty dynasts who had been compelled to accept the overlordship of Egypt, whom Thothmes brought back in honourable captivity to learn the ways of the country, so that they might return in time to rule their own districts in peaceful subjection to their foster-country. It was from a neighbouring land that a Roman general sent home the young leaders of the enemy for the same purpose nearly fourteen centuries later.

Between the highest and the lowest a third type of foreigner now became a regular sight in the capital. This was the army of envoys, ambassadors, and messengers bringing tribute and despatches to the court, alike from small subject towns and great states who thought it wise to seek Egypt's friendship. Their features and dress are familiar to us from the wall-paintings in Theban tombs of this and later reigns. The gifts they brought, admirably depicted by observant artists, are an invaluable complement to the long lists of tribute in the conqueror's Annals. The descriptive legends accompanying the pictures and the records convey, with their disdainful epithets and allusions to the strangers, the official attitude —in accordance with a most ancient canon—of Pharaoh and his people to all who lived outside Egypt. Let anyone look inside his passport and read the grandiloquent phrases with which the Foreign Secretary " requires " for him " every assistance " in foreign lands ; and let him compare with this picture the memory of a difficult passage through a customs house of a country with the language of which he is not familiar ! So, we may be sure, there was a less academic side to the treatment of visitors in Egypt. And indeed, we have a glimpse of it in a papyrus in the Hermitage at Leningrad, of the other side. This document bears on the back a list of accounts, from the end of Thothmes' reign, of food and other supplies for envoys arriving at a Delta town. Here again is a picture of officialdom, but shorn of traditional make-believe and reduced to an everyday realism by economic necessity. With such a regular immigration of foreigners " Government hospitality " had to be organised, as to-day, with

bureaucratic formalities, and clearly the Treasury demanded an exact return of the expenditure from its sub-department.

It is possible that the town in question was Perunufer, which is mentioned in the text. At all events, it was probably close to Memphis, at the head of the Delta, the natural collecting-place for people coming from all directions in the north-east, some overland by the Sinaitic desert, others by sea from the Gazelle's Nose and Byblos ; as well as for those more independent ambassadors from Crete and the Islands. The different envoys would arrive at different times, and doubtless many waited some while, being entertained at the Government's expense until sufficient numbers had arrived to make it worth while for a convoy of some state to set out up the Nile to the capital. Doubtless later this final stage of the long journey was omitted, as in the XIXth Dynasty the Pharaohs came to reside more and more in the Delta. For we do not find many representations of foreigners in the tombs of this period. But in the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty the Delta had not fully recovered from Hyksos rule, and Memphis itself hardly returned to its full glory till the reign of Amenophis III.

Nevertheless, there does seem to have been some sort of royal residence at this same Perunufer, which apparently reached that position of importance in the reign of Thothmes III or his son Amenophis II. Its name appears in half a dozen documents or so of this period, with little more besides to throw light on its function ; and in the tomb of Qenamon at Thebes as a part of one of that official's titles. Still fuller evidence as to its particular character is to be found in an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum, from which it seems likely that Perunufer owed its importance to its dockyard, which was probably the base for Thothmes' sea-going ships. So far as we know, Thothmes was the first Pharaoh who realised the advantage to be obtained by transporting his fighting troops by sea to the base of operations beyond Byblos, and so avoiding the troublesome and delaying march up the coast through Palestine. We should then expect an increase in naval expenditure, and the natural point for a naval arsenal would be in the vicinity of Memphis, where Perunufer seems to have been situated. That it was regarded as an important

place is shown by the fact that the crown prince, Amenophis, was in charge of the arsenal. What more natural, then, that this should also be the meeting-place for the foreign envoys and chiefs ? And, if this was the case, it is clear that Amenophis was likely to have acquired a cosmopolitan outlook and interest in foreign affairs, not to say a sympathy with some of the peoples with whose representatives he came into contact.

The last point is not entirely conjectural. There are two small points of evidence which also lead in that direction. Thothmes by his seventeen campaigns had so reduced the Syrian Empire to organised submission that Amenophis had only to make one thorough round of the frontiers to break for the remainder of his quarter of a century's reign the revolt which had broken out, as it were automatically, on his father's death. Now, as Sidney Smith has shown, Thothmes almost certainly did penetrate well to the east of the Euphrates, and inflicted some sort of defeat on the Assyrians ; and he had effectually stopped the Suburaean tribes to the north-east of the Euphrates and the Habur from uniting into that important political power which appears in the next reign as Mitanni. Amenophis II, however, who is generally considered to have outstripped his father's conquests, did in fact cross the Euphrates, but with less vigorous effect on the far side. On the contrary, he appears to have encouraged the formation of the new state—perhaps with a view to the result which it eventually had of forming a counterpoise to Hittite aggression—and actually to have installed the new ruling family who, with their Hurri retainers, united the local tribes, and so created the kingdom of Mitanni. The new dynasty which he supported was of Indo-Iranian stock, and worshipped gods who have been identified with the Indian Indra and Varuna and others. They were surrounded by a number of loyal nobles, and owed their position as powerful rulers of a small state, in the very cosmopolitan world of the century, chiefly to this solidarity round the court and to their mastery of horsemanship. Their brilliant appearance in history only lasted a short while, but was of the utmost importance at the time, and played a very intimate part in the affairs of Egypt. Whether

King Amenophis III and Queen Tiy

Amenophis II encouraged their rise to political power through weakness or by intention is not clear; but to judge from the series of dynastic marriages which took place under his three immediate successors, it is not impossible that his was the act of a far-seeing statesmanship. At all events, it undoubtedly set a policy which strongly influenced Egypt to the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The second point in favour of Amenophis' foreign feeling is a small one, and has only recently been made obvious by a paper of Professor Schaefer's. It has already been remarked that this was the age of chivalry in Egypt. If Thothmes had been a Napoleon in the magnitude of his imperial projects and their enactment, his son was something of a Cœur de Lion in his personal prowess in the field. He was a man of unusually large build and of great strength, and pleased to boast of it. It has long been known that he possessed a bow—probably several—which none of his comrades-in-arms could bend. Schaefer has collected evidence from two or three different sources to show that he was indeed a " crack shot " with bow and arrow. The statistics given by these documents show that the bow in question could not have been the ordinary one-piece wooden Egyptian bow, but must have been the composite weapon which was introduced into Egypt at about this time from Western Asia. Clearly, then, Amenophis had been so attracted by this new and effective weapon from the East that he had made himself a master at it; and there is great point in the fact that when he boasts of his prowess he distinctly states that not even any of the Syrian chiefs could bend it. Thus he had outstripped the very men from whom he had learnt its use. That an Egyptian Pharaoh should compare himself in a matter of personal skill and strength with a foreigner is in itself sufficient argument of a friendly attitude towards them, and may even indicate that he was not above pitting himself against them either in the chase (in the rich game country of Upper Syria) or in target practice.

Thothmes IV succeeded Amenophis, and shared with him the legacy of an organised realm left by Thothmes III. Only a formal visitation was required to establish the peaceful conditions of

submission which had obtained during the previous reign. He occupied the throne for less than a decade, and there is little to record from his time in respect of our present enquiry. One important fact does stand out. Thothmes married—after having been several times refused—the daughter of the ruling King of Mitanni, Artatama, who had succeeded the founder of the line, Saushatar. Here, then, is one of the first dynastic marriages in history. For that it was not merely the whim of an Oriental ruler accustomed to add to his harîm whomsoever his fancy lighted on is clear from the fact that Thothmes did not obtain the hand of his Mitannian wife till he had asked seven times. He was not, therefore, dealing with a subject-king in Artatama, even if the relationship of Saushatar had been one of dependence on Amenophis II. The princess from Mitanni, whose name as such we do not know, is generally assumed to be the same person as Thothmes' queen, Mutemuia ; the name being accounted for by the fact that such an entirely new procedure as the taking to queen by an Egyptian Pharaoh of the daughter of a foreign house, even if its political purpose was generally apparent, would require some palliative to become acceptable to the conservative views of the Egyptian people and court. Although the foreign identity of the lady was to some extent concealed by her very orthodox Egyptian name, there are signs that she and her friends and retinue at the court were not without influence on the cultural features of her day. It is to this reign that we can trace the beginnings of those important details in the artistic work of the latter half of the XVIIIth Dynasty which have in the past been attributed to the personality of Akhenaten, and more recently been recognised as abounding under the reign of Amenophis III. Here for the first time, too, we notice a change in the *shabti* formula, which, by leaving out all but the name of the deceased, suggests that the old ideas of life in the next world were losing favour at the court, as, indeed, we know they had done entirely by the time of Akhenaten.

Mutemuia, in all probability the Mitannian wife, bore to Thothmes Amenophis, who succeeded his father as Amenophis III, rightly named by Hall " the Magnificent."

AMENOPHIS III AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Amenophis III came to the throne in about 1412 B.C., at the age of fifteen or thereabouts. He inherited the empire of Thothmes III, and when he died, at the end of a reign of thirty-six years, to all intents and purposes he handed on the same territories to his son. Yet in all that time we have no proof that he once led an army on his north-eastern frontiers; and we know that for a period during his reign many of his northern possessions were overrun by rebellious princelings backed by Hittite diplomacy, to be recovered, it is true—thanks to Mitannian opposition—before the end. We have only one recorded campaign of the king's, and that was in Nubia.[1] It occurred in the fifth and sixth years of the reign; was followed by a similar raid in the following year on the part of Merimose the viceroy, who, as usual, was only dealing with rebels; and after that peace came apparently for good. It is true that in one of his great building inscriptions Amenophis is said to have received captives from a number of the important districts and peoples whom his great-grandfather had been wont to chastise in person—the names, indeed, imply that Egyptian conquests were still reaching as far as they had done in the earlier part of the century. Many of them—Keftiu and Assur, for instance—may well signify the origin of ambassadors bringing polite greetings and even tribute. Perhaps some were indeed captives, but not of Egyptian swords; it is very credible that the Mitannian King Dushratta sent prisoners from among the Hittite and Syrian enemies of Egypt whom he successfully kept at bay, with the presents that are a notable mark of his relations with Amenophis. His return, since he got little or no help in arms, must have been Nubian gold, the sop which kept the courts of Assyria and Babylon also friendly throughout this reign.

How, then, were these thirty-six years of Egypt's most luxurious and splendid prosperity employed by the most magnificent of her kings? Unfortunately, we possess proportionately few records.

[1] Though it perhaps carried Amenophis further south than any earlier Pharaoh had penetrated, it does not appear to have been an affair of the magnitude of typical Syrian expeditions, judging from the numbers given in the viceroy's account. Politically, however, it was of importance.

Thanks largely to the commemorative scarabs, to which we shall return later, we have up to the eleventh year an almost annual entry of records of some interest. After that, for twenty years, with one exception—the twentieth, when we have the record of a private appointment—there is no dated monument or fact. Then the closing years of the reign tell of three jubilees in close succession, and the famous dedication of the mortuary chapel of Amenophis, son of Hapu. On the other hand, the mass of the inscriptions of this king are on his great buildings or on stelæ in connection with them—and the latter speak of far more of the former than remain to-day—and are not dated. This is perhaps not unnatural. Of all the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Amenophis seems to have been the greatest builder. The energy and direction which earlier kings had put into fighting he spent on elaborate plans for the architectural adornment of the country and the enrichment of the temples of the gods in Upper and Lower Egypt—in Thebes especially, and in the Sudan. But even the slave-power at the disposal of Amenophis could not have built Rome in a day ; and the flower of XVIIIth Dynasty architecture must have required the greater part of the reign for its completion—such of it, indeed, as was completed. In such circumstances regnal dates would have been out of place. And, in any case, the records that these inscriptions perpetuate were to ensure the everlasting character of Amenophis' achievements.

Amenophis was in his early fifties when he died. Two pregnant monuments of his latter days survive ; his mummy in the Cairo Museum[1], and the remarkable little stela in the British Museum showing him seated with his queen, Tiy, in front of a loaded table. The stela shows a prematurely aged man, corpulent and slightly bent,

[1] The attribution of this mummy to Amenophis III has been queried by Derry, but reasserted by Dawson in the *Asiatic Review* for October, 1927, who shows that the technique used for Amenophis, a new departure at the time, is different from that of the XXIst Dynasty, with which Derry compares it, and is, in fact, dateable to the XVIIIth. Was the packing under the skin in the new process, to counteract the natural shrinkage of the body, one of Akhenaten's first attempts—for his father's mummification would be carried on under *his* supervision—to put into practice his password, " Living in truth," by giving the body of the dead king the greatest possible naturalism in the next life ?

caught in a listless attitude, as if all the delicacies of earth—and they are before him on the table—could tempt him no longer. One arm hangs at the side, the other, elbow on knee, supports the weight of tired head and shoulders. The face is that of a sufferer moodily bearing an accustomed pain. What that pain was we learn from the mummy, in spite of its broken condition—the result of robberies and removals. The head is fairly intact, and from his examination Elliot Smith was able to find all the evidence of severe and—as is always the case with teeth in Egypt—untended abscesses. The luxury which characterised everything the king did, and of which brilliant though fragmentary remains from his palace at Medinat Habu convince us, accompanied by a sumptuous and erotic life, told heavily on a constitution which in the young man had been hardened by vigorous exercise in the chase. The mummy of Rameses II tells the same tale, but at least he lived nearly half a century longer than Amenophis, and the decrepit condition of the man in the mummy must be ascribed in great part to old age. No other than Amenophis has survived in a living portrait with such frank realism.

At this point we may return to the beginning of the reign and review the few records of the personal life of the king. With the exception of his part in the Nubian war, these are all contained on the famous commemorative scarabs which he issued, and which, with the exception of one of Akhenaten, were never made by any other Pharaoh before or since. The earliest records his marriage—so we imagine, since it consists simply in a statement of his own and the queen's titularies—to Tiy. It is undated, but by implication is before year 2, since another of that date mentions her as already queen. Of the importance of Tiy in a discussion of these times there is general agreement; but opinion is sharply divided as to the part she played in them. The scarab states her to be the daughter of Iuia and Tuiu; the discovery of these persons' tomb throws little light on their origin, though we know that he was a priest at Akhmîm, and through his marriage to a lady at the court—Tuiu was in attendance on Mutemuia—acquired higher honours from the king. In an unpublished paper Professor Newberry has made out

a very circumstantial case for regarding Iuia as the same person as Ay of Akhenaten's court, and as the king who succeeded Tutankhamon. It would mean that he was about ninety when he died ; but his mummy is that of a very old man, and this may well have been the case. The mummy also suggests, though it does not require it, a certain amount of foreign blood—not Semitic, but rather Mediterranean—in Iuia's ancestry. His wife, on the other hand, is typically Egyptian ; so that her father is apparently the source of the distinctly foreign appearance of Tiy herself. Can that trace in Iuia have been Aryan Mitannian ? If Mutemuia was a princess from that country, might she, when accompanying her husband on some hunting trip to North Syria, have allowed one of her following to have acquired a husband from her own country and to bring him back to the affluence of the Egyptian court ? We cannot tell. All we know is that her child, when he became king, took a fancy to the young daughter of these otherwise obscure people at the court and made her queen. That Tiy's parents were not of noble origin, though afterwards much honoured by Amenophis, is obvious from the style of the scarab, which mentions her parentage, and then, as if to cover the humbleness of this, says she is the wife of the king-emperor—in not many more words. This is the first instance of an entirely new departure in Egyptian court etiquette, which became the rule in this and the immediately succeeding reigns, namely of giving the queen an almost equal place with the king in the titulary. It was the official seal to a similarly new practice which now sprang up, namely the regular appearance of the queen in public on occasions of state, and also in private, the climax being reached under Akhenaten, when intimate scenes of family life were publicly enjoyed by the king and his family. We may leave the discussion of Tiy's character till later.

In the year 2, Amenophis issued a scarab whereon he recorded a wild cattle hunt in which he had played a conspicuous part. News of a herd of wild cattle moving towards a certain spot, the locality of which is disputed, was brought to the king, who was presumably at Thebes ; he immediately took ship and sailed downstream all

night, in time to start the round-up of the cattle next day. It is interesting to note that the name of the royal barge which carried him was Kha'emma'at, his own Horus name, and one which, as we shall see, is not without significance for the trend of his policy. The local population turned out and drove the cattle into a ringed area, and there the king and his company despatched them. The actual "hunting" took place on two days, and was "on horse," which probably means from chariots. In the interval between the first and second days the horses were rested. The king's total bag was over seventy-five. The importance of the scarab for our present enquiry is that it shows the king's early enthusiasm for field sports, his mastery of the bow—which we may assume to have been the weapon used—and his skill with his horse. It is all the more interesting since we find the next scarab (chronologically) also recording a hunting episode, or, rather, series of episodes. In the first ten years of his reign, it says, Amenophis had killed, with his own bow, 102 lions. It may reasonably be supposed that these animals were shot on annual expeditions for that purpose in the fine game country of Naharin, between the Euphrates and the Taurus Mountains. This is the last record of any active enterprise on the part of the king which survives from Amenophis' reign, and one is tempted to wonder if there is any connection between this sudden change of life and the information on two scarabs of the same and next years respectively.

In year 10 the King of Mitanni, Shuttarna, gave Pharaoh his daughter, Gilukhipa, in marriage, with much pomp and a great retinue and many presents. Thus a third successive King of Egypt secured the continuation of friendly relations with Mitanni by a dynastic marriage with the daughter of the third ruler of that House. It is as well to add here that almost at the end of his reign, when a fourth king, Dushratta, had come to the Mitannian throne, Amenophis again obtained a daughter, Tadukhipa, as wife, whom he later passed on to Akhenaten.

The last of the scarab series is dated in the following year—11. It records the construction of a great artificial lake in connection

with Amenophis' famous palace in Western Thebes. The ruins of the latter and the site of the former are visible to-day. This lake was constructed for his queen Tiy, and as soon as it was ready the king opened it, so to speak, by voyaging on it with Tiy in the royal *dahabîah*, called "Tehen-Aten"—"Aten gleams." And as an Italian prince of the sixteenth century might have celebrated such an event with a fine medal, so Amenophis struck the last of his famous scarabs. (The modern parallel in Egypt is the frequent issuing of special stamps of a highly decorative nature to celebrate International Congresses which forgather in Cairo or Alexandria; bureaucracy, economy, and democracy being responsible for the difference in the type of event commemorated, the cheapness, and the everyday nature of the commemorative object, respectively.) For us this small announcement is significant in several ways. In the first place, the definite statement that the lake was constructed for Tiy recalls the scarab of the previous year in honour of the new queen Gilukhipa, whose train of 317 maids of honour and acknowledged rank contrast sharply with the absence of any laudatory epithets attached to Tiy on her marriage scarab a decade before. That contrast is, however, very informative, for it shows that Tiy's position consisted entirely in her relationship to the king—that of being his "*great* royal wife"; while the honour shown to the princess from Mitanni (incidentally called Naharin on the scarab) is due to her rank—as daughter of a reigning monarch with whom Amenophis was in close alliance. Tiy's children were the legitimate heirs, and the lake scarab has usually been taken as a sign that she had not lost any prestige or favour by the importation of another great lady into the harîm. That her place and her prestige were established there can be no doubt; but that she was still the favourite in the harîm after ten years is open to question, and it may well be that the king found the rivalry between the two ladies embarrassing, and that the palace and new lake in Western Thebes were a separate establishment for Tiy and her children. Thus the scarab would have been issued to put a fair face for official purposes on what might be regarded as a slight on Tiy.

At all events, if we may argue from the absence of evidence,

The
Head of Yew-wood,
a Portrait of Tiy or Sitamon
(from the tomb of Queen Tiy:)

there now comes a change in the king's life. We get no more records of hunting or any form of warlike expedition. On the contrary, to judge from material remains and the witness of one or two stelæ, he seems henceforth to have concentrated on vast building schemes. And the scarabs themselves cease altogether until his son issues one more as Amenhotep IV. That scarab was issued during or immediately after the co-regency of Amenophis IV with his father, at which time Tiy seems to have had some hand in affairs. All the scarabs of Amenophis III mention Tiy in the titulary. It has never been explained why Amenophis chose this entirely new method of celebrating certain personal events in his reign ; could it have been a mere whim of his " great " queen ? It must, of course, be remembered that it may be only an accident that we have five scarabs from the first eleven years and none from the following twenty-five.

Suppose, however, that the remains represent a true proportion of the original issues, there is another point in connection with the scarab of the year 11 which is interesting in itself and which may have some connection with the disappearance of the type for the rest of the reign. The boat on which Amenophis embarked with his queen, we have seen, was called " Tehen-Aten." There is now ample evidence to show that the worship of the Aten as a separate deity, and not merely as a name for the material form of the sun-god, was already flourishing under Amenophis, whatever new attributes his son may or may not have given the god in the fullness of his religious revolution. But there is other evidence for dating that worship under Amenophis III. If these years 10 and 11 were, as seems possible, years of change in the king's outlook, it is highly probable that it was at this point that he definitely countenanced the new cult, and that the opening of the lake on the barge " Aten-gleams " was in some way connected with its inception. Maspero was of this opinion long before the evidence for Aten-worship under Amenophis III had been collected. Certainly it is in the remains from the palace attached to the lake that we find the greatest number of resemblances in art to the typical products of Akhenaten's own town el-'Amarneh. There is, moreover, another piece of evidence which may be

taken in favour of this view. It has been shown by Gunn that, under Akhenaten, events could be dated by the Aten as well as by the king, and that the regnal years of each corresponded. This applies also to their respective *sed*-festivals, or jubilees. Now it is clear that the Aten's regnal dates must have taken their value from the king's ; but, since the latter's first jubilee occurred in his fifth or sixth year (i.e. the fifth or sixth year since he was made co-regent, presumably), and if we are to calculate on the usual assumption that the festival represents a successful period of thirty years of some sort (in this case obviously not actual reign), we must go back for the beginning of the thirty-years period to the king's coronation as crown prince, and place that event in about year 7 or 8 of Amenophis III—allowing for four or five years of co-regency. Then, since we must also suppose that the Aten's jubilee dates were the same as Akhenaten's, we should have to assume that official recognition of the cult dated from that time (cf. p. 123, note). The time between years 8 and 11 would then be the period of its ripening into full establishment. It is even conceivable that Akhenaten took his festival dates from the Aten instead of *vice versa* ; which would dispose at a blow of the disagreement between the medical and Egyptological verdicts, based on his mummy and the festivals respectively, as to the age of Akhenaten at his death.

Before leaving Amenophis III to pass to the consideration of his relationship to the succeeding kings, there is one member of his family, of the mention of whose name we have many examples, who has never been satisfactorily placed. Perhaps the most we can do about her is to ask questions. She was a daughter of the king, called Sitamon. Her name frequently occurs on toilet objects and the like together with the king's ; and sometimes it is preceded by the title " royal wife " as well as that of " princess." In other words, she was a queen as well as being the daughter of one. In these cases the name of both king and princess are followed by signs which show that they were both alive ; therefore Sitamon became a queen before Amenophis died. Now there are not many ways in which she could have acquired the title of queen in those circumstances.

The most obvious explanation is that she married a foreign royalty; but in that case it is almost certain that she would not have had the Egyptian title " royal wife," since that really means " wife of the King of Upper Egypt." There remain only two alternatives : either she married her own father, Amenophis III, towards the end of his reign—a perfectly reasonable proposition in the case of the Egyptian royal family, if not for private people—or else she married Akhenaten when he was co-regent. If the latter supposition were true, she would almost certainly be the same person as Nefertiti ; and in that case the change of name would be difficult to account for, since Nefertiti herself had her name enlarged later on, and the presumption, therefore, is that the shorter form we know was her original name. Moreover, we have already to account for Amenophis III's second Mitannian wife, Tadukhipa, who, as his relict, married Akhenaten, and is held by some to be Nefertiti. We are, therefore, thrown back on Amenophis III as the most likely candidate; the evidence is all in his favour. For the arrangement of his name and his daughter's with their respective titles provides precisely the same form of titulary as we find on earlier monuments—e.g. the scarabs—combining his name with Tiy's. The only difference is the omission of " great " before " royal wife "—a necessary one, since Tiy was still living. The fact that the majority of examples which give the names of Amenophis and Sitamon together occur on *kohl* tubes and toilet objects of that kind lends credence to the idea that this was the relationship between them. It is even possible that it is to their union that we must look for at least one of the three kings who follow.

Amenophis died when he was well over fifty, and was succeeded by Akhenaten, who had presumably been reigning as co-regent for four or five years already. The problems connected with his chronology—the date of his exodus to Akhetaten and of his jubilees—are not finally settled, but they would require a more detailed treatment than is proper here to justify further discussion.[1] One or two

[1] One point which has given rise to much discussion and a repeated examination of ambiguous monuments, and which might have been decisively settled many years ago, is the question of the priority of the date of Akhenaten's (= the Aten's) first

general points must be made, however. His mother Tiy clearly controlled him to some extent until he left Thebes; for, in spite of Amenophis III's later marriages, she had always retained her influence at the court and her connection with foreign affairs. She did not go to Akhetaten with her son, and evidently did not become a fanatical follower of Aten, since her cult was allowed in later times. Davies has pointed out that at this early period of the reign Akhenaten was at his most ruthless in his artistic expression of the new cult, and we may therefore suppose it was the most violent stage of the political persecution which he instituted as an aftermath of his religious zeal. Tiy, trained in the tolerant school of her great husband, must quickly have lost patience with this phase in her son's career. Akhenaten's parentage is certain: Tiy is in several places named as the royal mother in connection with him; while, notwithstanding the principle of female succession, the fact that Amenophis was his father is implied in his easy succession to the throne. It is interesting to find in one of his throne names an indication that he was crowned at Hermonthis, the southern counterpart of Heliopolis. A fragment of stone bearing part of the cartouches of the Aten engraved upon it was discovered by Frankfort during the excavation of tombs of Buchis—" Living soul of Rē "—at Hermonthis in 1928–9. The town evidently had special significance for the royal family at this period, for Tutankhamon often carries the epithet Prince of Hermonthis (Southern On); we may without doubt attribute this to its connection with sun-worship. But if Akhenaten's lineage is clear, the relationships of the other principal

sed-festival over that of his change of name from Amenophis to Akhenaten in year 6. A scarab of Amenophis III's commemorative type in the British Museum (No. 51084), which was first published by Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, p. 302, in 1913, and again ten years later by Budge, *Tutankhamen, Amenism, Atenism, etc.*, p. 104, gives indubitable proof that Akhenaten was still called Amenophis at the time of the first jubilee. The scarab, which was found at Sadenga, in the Sudan, is unfortunately broken at the sides, but enough remains to show that it contained, first, a glorification of the Aten " who is in jubilee," followed by the full titulary of Amenophis and Nefertiti. It looks, in fact, as if it was struck in order to commemorate the Aten's first jubilee. There are no traces of overworking, later additions, or even that the wording of the text was altered in the course of manufacture.

persons in the royal succession open the way for a mass of conjecture.

Akhenaten appears to have married Nefertiti, his queen, at the beginning of, or quite early in, his reign, but probably not before. At any rate, she began to bear him children in his fourth or fifth year, and to continue to so do regularly at intervals of two years till he had amassed six daughters. There were no sons. It has been suggested that Nefertiti was the same person as the Mitannian princess Tadukhipa, whom Amenophis III married towards the end of his reign, and left—as the guarantee of Mitanni friendship—to Akhenaten. But, as Nefertiti's name was enlarged to suit the Aten creed, we may assume that the shortened form in which we first meet it was her own original name ; especially as the Egyptians were now sufficiently used to these foreign marriages to have accepted Gilukhipa by that name, as we see from her marriage scarab. It is also conceivable that Sitamon acquired her queenship as wife of Akhenaten, and that she was afterwards known as Nefertiti, but it has been shown that for similar reasons this is improbable. The very remarkable likeness between Akhenaten and Nefertiti, which allows of no other explanation than that they were brother and sister, is in favour this theory. That would mean that Nefertiti was also the child of Amenophis III and Tiy (this, indeed, we must take as axiomatic if we are to arrive anywhere at all with the genealogy of the Amarna kings). Now Sitamon was also a daughter of Amenophis and Tiy, and, since she disappears from the scene after the succession of Akhenaten to the throne, it would be a reasonable solution that she should have become Nefertiti. It may be possible, however, to suggest an alternative which meets the facts more fully.

It will be best to survey the whole range of individuals whose permutations and combinations have to be resolved before passing on to the next point of enquiry in the reign of Akhenaten. His successor was Smenkhkarē', the most mysterious—from the genealogical point of view—of all the kings of this line ; he was followed by Tutankhamen, and he again by Ay, in whom the dynasty closes, or after

whom it is closed by Horemheb. The last named does not concern us. As to the origin of Ay, we either know nothing, or, if we accept Professor Newberry's very convincing exposition of his equation with Iuia, the father of Tiy, we may see in him the power behind the thrones of four successive kings. In either case, he does not throw any light on the relationship between the other people on the stage. Of these, Tutankhamon is by far the most tangible. He has been very generally considered to be the son of Amenophis III. It is worth while to collect the evidence in favour of this thesis. It was first suggested by Tutankhamon's own reference to himself on one of Amenophis' lions from Soleb, now in the British Museum, where he says that he restored the monuments of " his father Amenophis." Egyptians frequently referred to any ancestor, from their grandfather upwards, as their father ; but the supposition in a case where actual fatherhood is not prohibited by the known facts is that that is what is meant. Certain small archæological details point to this conclusion. Tutankhamon's passion for riding and hunting, exemplified on so many objects from his tomb, recall, not the characters of his two immediate predecessors, but that of his father, whose enthusiasm for those sports has already been discussed. More obviously convincing is the very close facial likeness, particularly when the heads are seen in profile, between Tutankhamon and Amenophis.[1] Finally, in the former's tomb were discovered two relics of Amenophis and Tiy respectively—a gold statuette of the former for suspension round the neck, and a lock of hair of the queen. That one or both were his parents can hardly, then, be denied. In view of the other evidence, the king must certainly have been ; Tiy as mother raises difficult questions.

For the opinion of Dr. Derry is that the mummy of Tutankhamon is that of a young man of eighteen or nineteen, and all the evidence of archæological and historical circumstance would support this

[1] The marked resemblance of the head of the mummy of Tutankhamon to that of Akhenaten recorded by Derry and Carter is, of course, in favour of this close relationship to Amenophis III. Tutankhamon would be either blood-brother or half-brother to Akhenaten, according to whether his mother was Tiy or some other wife of Amenophis III. (See below.)

verdict. There are many things in his tomb reminiscent of his boyhood's days ; and we know that he did not reign for many more than six years, which is the highest figure ascribed to him by the monuments. Allowing for Akhenaten's co-regency with Amenophis and Smenkhkarē' (to which we shall refer again), it is possible to put Tutankhamon's birth in the last year or so of Amenophis' reign. But that reign lasted thirty-six years, and Tiy was already queen at the beginning of it. By the end she must have been between forty-five and fifty, for, since she was not a person of great degree when Amenophis married her, it is clear that he made her queen for her own sake, and that she must therefore have been of marriageable age. It is highly improbable that she bore a son to Amenophis at the age of forty-seven or -eight. Therefore, unless we can shorten the combined reigns of Akhenaten, Smenkhkarē', and Tutankhamon considerably, which is equally impossible whether we take them in relation to each other or to the dates which follow, we must find another mother for Tutankhamon. Unfortunately, there has recently sprung up a general agreement among students that the head of Tutankhamon bears a strong resemblance to that of Tiy as represented by the famous yew-wood head in Berlin. There are two ways out of the dilemma. The resemblance is not to be escaped. Either it is due to relationship, but that of grandmother and grandchild rather than of mother and son ; or the yew-wood head has been wrongly attributed by Borchardt to Tiy. That attribution is at first sight a very convincing piece of work ; but here again there are no inscribed pieces of marked characteristics to go upon ; it is just possible that the lady is not Tiy at all, but another wife of Amenophis'. Tadukhipa may be ruled out of consideration. There remain Gilukhipa and Sitamon, if indeed the latter did marry Amenophis and not Akhenaten. Now Gilukhipa is never mentioned in Egyptian texts after her announcement on the marriage scarab, nor is she even given the title " royal wife " ; whereas, whoever this lady is, she is certainly a very prominent person in the court. If, however, the yew head is not Sitamon but Tiy, as is usually accepted, then the only person we know of who could be the

connecting-link between Tiy as grandmother and Tutankhamon as grandchild—since the resemblance demands a lineal connection—is Sitamon; for she alone fulfils the double rôle of daughter to Tiy and wife to Amenophis, Tutankhamon's father. It is entirely consistent with what we know of Amenophis' religious tolerance that he should call his daughter-wife Sit*amon* while at the same time being very favourably inclined towards the cult of Aten. And there can be no doubt about the strength of his Atenist sympathies, for Tutankhamon was born Tutankhaten, and must have received the name before Akhenaten was in sole power. Tiy's youngest daughter—if, indeed, she is such and not another granddaughter by Sitamon!—also bore a name compounded with Aten, namely Baketaten.

It now becomes clear that we have two distinct series in the Amarneh family, differentiated in appearance and in circumstantial details. There is the facial resemblance between Akhenaten and Nefertiti which is closely linked up by inscriptions with Tiy, giving us a group of three, and the facial resemblance between Amenophis and Tutankhamon, linked up with Sitamon—and perhaps the yew-wood head. With this skeleton tree it may be possible to find a point of contact for Smenkhkarē', to whose relationships with any of his neighbours neither texts nor archæological data give many clues.

Quite recently Professor Newberry has published several new facts about this king, but at first sight they raise rather than solve problems. They give us one important piece of information—Smenkhkarē''s only known year-dating, namely 3. In that year a priest of Amon, in a temple or chapel dedicated to the king in Thebes, inscribed in a local tomb a prayer to Amon. In that year, therefore, Smenkhkarē' was either holding his court at Thebes or at all events on good terms with the city, and encouraging the worship of Amon. At the same time, his name, which appears at the head of the prayer mentioned above, is linked with that of Akhenaten; he is called "Beloved of Akhenaten," a phrase which also occurs after his name elsewhere in several inscriptions. Another curious thing about this

King Smenkhkarē

text is that the king's Nomen is not Smenkhkarē', as it always is at Amarneh, but Nefernefruaten. One other instance of this name for the king occurs on a wooden box from the tomb of Tutankhamon; here again the name is followed by "beloved of Akhenaten," whose title also precedes that of Smenkhkarē' (Nefernefruaten) in precisely the same way as it does in any titulary giving the titles of the king and queen. Now the name Nefernefruaten was the addition which Akhenaten put on to Nefertiti's name after he had moved to el-Amarneh. It means "Beautiful are the beauties of the Aten," a very appropriate name for the wife of the son, and living image, of the sun-disk on earth, since it implies a high compliment. The co-regency between Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē' has always been assumed, but here are signs of a more intimate relationship for which there is corroboratory evidence. A stela in Berlin, until recently supposed to represent Akhenaten and Nefertiti, has now been recognised as an instance of the king's expression of feeling for his young co-regent, Smenkhkarē'; and there are fragments from Memphis coupling their names and showing them standing side by side. Unfortunately, there are no examples of the life-like portraiture so common in the Amarneh period, which can definitely be assigned to Smenkhkarē' by reason of their inscriptions, and it is only recently that scholars have seen fit to look for portraits of this king in the mass of material now available. Simply because they do not fit anybody else, two important objects in Berlin have gradually come to be accepted as representations of him, and there can be little doubt of the soundness of their attribution. One is a stela showing a queen or princess offering a mandrake fruit to her husband, a young, delicate-looking king, who leans on a staff. The girl, by the conformation of her head, is definitely shown to be one of the daughters of Akhenaten, not his wife Nefertiti; the young king is not like the well-known portraits of Tutankhamon, and may therefore be guessed with reasonable certainty to represent the only other man whom we know to have married a daughter of Akhenaten, namely, Smenkhkarē'. The stela therefore portrays Smenkhkarē' and Akhenaten's eldest daughter Meritaten, his wife. The man's face is suggestive of

Nefertiti's; and this is the impression given by the other Berlin object, a bust, which has been variously assigned to Akhenaten, Tutankhamon, and Nefertiti (although it would appear to be a king)—all unsatisfactorily. By exhaustion, therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that it actually portrays Smenkhkarē'; and the likeness to Nefertiti, which the Berlin stela also shows, confirms this view. Finally, there is a small head in Turin of the Amarneh type, which cannot be either Akhenaten or Tutankhamon, and must be Smenkhkarē'. It is probably the best likeness of him that we possess, and it is this on which Mrs. Brunton, who was, I believe, the first person to make the attribution to Smenkhkarē, has based her portrait.

The strong resemblance of Smenkhkarē' to Nefertiti is obviously an important clue to his origin. That he should have succeeded to part of her name, Nefernefruaten, on becoming Akhenaten's favourite in her place, is by itself no evidence of consanguinity, since the name is an allusion to his position in the king's affections (and to his co-regency). But the choice of Smenkhkarē' for this double rôle may well have owed something to his likeness and certain close relationship to Nefertiti. Considering the similarity in ages, we are tempted to see in the two Nefernefruatens a brother and sister, since that is the only relationship likely to account for their facial similarity. Smenkhkarē, therefore, joins the Tiy-Akhenaten-Nefertiti series as the brother of the last two and son of Tiy—presumably by Amenophis. This is corroborated by the fact that Smenkhkarē' was clearly senior to Tutankhamon. Not only did he reign before the latter: he was married to the eldest daughter of Akhenaten, while Tutankhamon married the third (the second had died prematurely); and, still more significant, his name, Smenkhkarē, which must have been given to him before the more personal Nefernefruaten of the Theban graffito and box, is not compounded with Aten, as was the custom under Akhenaten, and under the last years of Amenophis, as can be seen from the examples of Tutankhaten and Baketaten. He may, therefore, be properly included in the senior series of the children of Amenophis III by his "great wife" Tiy, rather

King Tutankhamon

than with those from the end of his reign, and (perhaps) by his later wife Sitamon, or Gilukhipa, e.g. Tutankhamon.

It was categorically stated above that Smenkhkarē' is the older of the two names by which that king—his prenomen in each case is 'Ankhkheprurē'—is known. The reasoning which leads to this conclusion is as follows: Nefernefruaten we know to be the name of Nefertiti given to her by Akhenaten; it is unlikely that her brother owned it simultaneously, but we know that he usurped her place to some extent at least, and it is therefore reasonable that he took on her name at that point. He must have had another name before that, and, since the only other name of his we know is Smenkhkarē', this was presumably it. Finally, whereas we might have supposed that when Akhenaten's co-regent, in his own time or before, came to Thebes and allowed, and even encouraged, the worship of Amon once more, that then, if ever, he would drop his Atenist name and take another; we find, on the contrary, that this is the only period from which we have evidence of the Atenist name, Nefernefruaten. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that Smenkhkarē' was his original name, and that, like Nefertiti, he was compelled, on the assumption of a personal relationship with Akhenaten, to adopt an Atenist sobriquet.

With regard to Nefertiti's disappearance, it is generally agreed now that the evidence of the ruins of the building called Maru-aten at Amarneh are conclusive proof of her disgrace some time after the year 12 (when she still appears with the king in a tomb bearing that date). Her special buildings in the palace were all converted to the use of Meritaten. Now Meritaten was the wife of Smenkhkarē', and it is therefore tempting to suppose that Nefertiti's disgrace was definitely connected with Smenkhkarē''s coming into favour. Frankfort has, further, made a strong case[1] for thinking that great changes took place in year 12, through the arrival of Tiy (hitherto domiciled in Thebes during the Amarneh period) at Akhetaten with her majordomo Huy. He gives evidence to prove, from the cuneiform letters of the period, that Huy was probably an official of Amenophis III,

[1] In a lecture before the Egypt Exploration Society.

and suggests that the appearance of Huy and Tiy was a final effort on their part to rouse the king to a more active foreign policy, and that it succeeded, if only for a moment, as the arrival of foreigners with tribute in year 12, portrayed in Huy's tomb, is the one event of this kind in the reign. Finally, Frankfort suggests that Tiy's arrival, and the great honour paid to her, is connected in some way with the disappearance of Nefertiti. If, indeed, the latter, whose influence over Akhenaten cannot be doubted, was responsible for the hopelessly *laisser-faire* policy in Syria, this may well be the case. If Akhenaten's negligence of his empire is proverbial, his concentration on his religion is equally so, so that we must assume, if Nefertiti was really behind him, that she shared his religious attitude. But although, as has been shown, Tiy was not prepared to follow Atenism to the same illogical conclusion, she cannot have come to Amarneh with any intent to attack the cult; for her own lieutenant, Huy, of all people, actually dates the event in year 12 by the Aten and not by the king's regnal years.

It is indeed probable that these events herald a bigger revolution in the royal arrangements than has hitherto been credited. The history of the end of Akhenaten's reign and the final act at Amarneh has always been a vague and difficult problem. It has been assumed that Smenkhkarē' became co-regent in the last two years; that he survived Akhenaten a few years, and was succeeded by Tutankhaten, who shortly afterwards returned to Thebes as Tutankhamon. But there is no evidence that Tutankhamon ever ruled from Amarneh. That he was king as Tutankhaten is proved, though to judge from the fact that the golden throne from his tomb gives both names, and remembering the small size of the throne and that it was therefore probably made while he was still a boy, it is probable that he became Tutankhamon very early in his reign. But, even as Tutankhaten, the probability is that he ruled from Thebes. Smenkhkarē', as we have seen, combined Amonism and Atenism at Thebes at the end of his reign. The assumption is that he had moved his court thither, or at least visited the old capital regularly. The negative evidence from Amarneh is equally strong. Of the three large palaces there,

none has given us evidence in reliefs or inscriptions of occupation by Smenkhkarē' or Tutankhaten. Meritaten, Smenkhkarē''s wife, alone of this generation claims a place both at Meruaten and at the so-called Northern Palace. But during the early years she held her position as " first lady in the land " either by right of being the eldest daughter of the king and queen in the absence of the queen herself, or by right of her husband's co-regency—in other words, during Akhenaten's lifetime. The evidence for the presence of Smenkhkarē' and Tutankhamon in Amarneh is almost confined to bezels and similar small objects from the houses. The houses in question are mostly situated in the northern suburb of the town, a quarter to the north of the main town site which was built in the early days of Akhenaten's arrival, and the suburb shows a tremendous falling-off in wealth and style in the individual houses, nor has it—unlike the main site—afforded a single name familiar to us from the tombs. The inference from this fact is that the court had left Amarneh quite early during the reign of Smenkhkarē', and naturally with it had gone the great nobles, though many doubtless did not attempt to build new tombs in Thebes. The mass of the population, being poorer, and probably unwilling to uproot themselves, remained at Amarneh, and continued the arts and crafts, on a smaller scale, for which the town is famous, so long as there was no violent demonstration against Aten. That the end did not occur suddenly, as has been usually supposed, is amply proved by the combined Amonism and Atenism of Smenkhkarē' and the tolerance of Atenist furniture in the tomb of Tutankhamon. Indeed, bezels with the name Tutankh*amon* are found at Amarneh.

So much can be stated with reasonable certainty. It is even possible to give some sort of *terminus ante quem* for Smenkhkarē''s leaving Amarneh for Thebes. The evidence for his reign is from Memphis, Amarneh, and Thebes. The remains from the two former places call him Smenkhkarē' ; prove him to have been Atenistic (without giving any evidence of the recovery of Amon) ; and exhibit his co-regency in the phrase " beloved of Wa'-n-rē' " (Akhenaten) at Armaneh and in portraying him with Akhenaten on a

Memphite block. From Thebes the only records call him Neferne-fruaten ; show him to have been Amonist as well as Atenist ; and imply his co-regency. On the evidence before us it looks as if he went to Thebes, either permanently or in preparation for the full return of the court, while still co-regent, i.e. before the death of Akhenaten. Since no evidence of his court is found at Amarneh, we may assume that, by the time Akhenaten died, Smenkhkarē' was permanently established at Thebes. That being the case, the question immediately arises : did Akhenaten himself return to Thebes at the end of his reign ? He certainly relented towards Amon to some extent, since " his beloved " Smenkhkarē' could worship the god. The question cannot be definitely answered ; the only evidence in favour of his return to Thebes lies in the fact that he does not appear to have been buried in the tombs to the north of Amarneh which he prepared for himself but never finished. (His second daughter, Maketaten, who died while still a young child, was probably buried there.) Akhenaten may have continued to rule from Amarneh while Smenkhkarē' propitiated the Amonist faction at Thebes, and he may have joined Smenkhkarē' shortly before he died. We cannot say. But in the light of this theory of the change from Amarneh to Thebes it is reasonable to connect up Tiy's arrival in year 12 with the whole policy of the latter part of the reign. We have every reason to believe that she disapproved of the alienation of Amon in the early years of Akhenaten's reign—Amon, the god who had won the Empire for earlier kings ; and, if her purpose at Amarneh was indeed to make a final effort to save that Empire, she may have persuaded Akhenaten for diplomatic reasons to tolerate the Amonists again.

There was indeed good reason for a conciliatory attitude towards the god of Thebes. Amenophis III had unwisely, but for his own time successfully, given up the policy of his predecessors of leading in person the annual campaigns in Syria and Naharin, in order to assure themselves of submission and a proper supply of tribute. Thothmes III had needed seventeen campaigns to build the Empire ; Amenophis II and Thothmes IV had achieved a satisfactory subjection

Queen Ankhsenamon

of their provinces with a campaign or so apiece. Amenophis III, profiting by the more advanced cosmopolitanism of his day and his own marriage connection with Mitanni, the great buffer state among the contemporary powers, excused himself from this display of force, and preferred the method of the " dole " in order to ensure peace during his long reign. That " dole " consisted of gold which his Southern Empire produced in amazingly large quantities. Now, however much Amenophis himself may have felt attracted to Atenism, he was sufficient statesman to see that to allow that creed to alienate him from the great god of the Empire, Amon, and his tremendous influence in the country would be a political error ; and, in fact, no king did more for Amon, in the way of building new temples and increasing old endowments, than Amenophis III ; and one of the perquisites which he put into the hands of the god's estate was that of the Sudanese gold country, which from this reign for a long time to come became known as the " Gold lands of Amon." How far this description implied that the gold revenue obtainable was at the disposal of the priests of Amon is quite uncertain. It may simply have referred to a tithe which the king handed over to the god's estate in recognition of his help in conquering the country ; on the other hand, it may have meant that the whole revenue passed through Amon's chancellery before it could be appropriated to any external object by the king. At all events, it must be supposed that the gold was in some parts at least controlled by the priesthood of Amon as well as by the king. It can readily be seen, then, that Akhenaten's persecution of Amon must have reacted adversely on his supply of gold[1], and that he therefore had very adequate reason for the ungenerous treatment of his contemporaries in Western Asia, of which we hear so many complaints in the cuneiform correspondence.

Thus if Tiy's appearance at Amarneh was due to political motives at all, it is probable that she came with the definite intention

[1] It is significant that though we have proof of the existence of a viceroy of Nubia, Tuthmosis, under the early years of Akhenaten, *while he was still Amenophis*, we have no evidence that his activities continued after the king's change of name.

of reconciling Akhenaten to the priesthood of Amon. It is most unlikely that she who had been accustomed throughout the long reign of her husband, Amenophis III, to his peaceful policy of the gold dole, should have the intention of urging Akhenaten to a return to the more vigorous methods of his predecessors. She would, on the contrary, attempt to persuade him to sacrifice his fanatical feeling for Aten to the extent of saving his Empire by means of Amon's perquisites. That she was to some extent successful is implied in the history of the end of his reign as reconstructed above. And the trend of events presupposes a change of attitude in the king, now past the flood of manhood and wearied with the disease of which his mummy and portraits give evidence. It is easy to understand that in such a case he should without hesitation turn against the wife who had shared his early but mis-directed enthusiasm, and who had borne him six daughters but no sons, leaving him without a successor at the time when he might well begin to have doubts in his own ability, not only to carry through his personal ambitions, but even to save his kingdom ; and that one who had never been accustomed to do things by halves should turn with such a display of feeling to the son-in-law to whom, in default of a son, he offered the co-regency. So the return to the political *status quo* under Amenophis III was begun, to end in the complete recovery of Amon under Tutankhamon.[1] But it was too late to save the Empire, for in the meantime, chiefly owing to the rapidly growing power of the Hittites, the gradual recovery of Assyria from Egyptian and Kassite domination, and the dissension in the royal family of Mitanni, the whole balance of power in Western Asia was changing. Egypt's apologists may plead " reculer pour mieux sauter " : but the second bid for Empire under the XIXth Dynasty was only a shadow, and a transitory one at that, of the real achievement of the XVIIIth. In spite of its implied threat for the future, Amenophis III's reign thus remained—and probably always will remain—the most magnificent period of Egyptian history.

The central theme of this essay has been to show the steady

[1] It is doubtful if the persecution of Aten began till the reign of Horemheb.

progress of Egypt towards an Empire, first as a reaction to foreign invasion, then through an inevitable urge to take a hand in the international politics of the day, and finally by a consistent policy of dynastic marriages which established a balance of power in Western Asia. That progress reached its zenith under the rule of Amenophis III, and in the confused reigns which followed was almost completely annihilated. The culture which grew up in its course culminated in the moments of imperial destruction. It remains to consider how much this culture owed to external influence—in other words, to the contact with Asia, and especially to the consistent series of marriages through three generations with the royal family of one foreign state. That culture drew its inspiration largely from the worship of the Aten (as we know it at this period), though in fact, through its reaction on art and life, the cult affected every department of life.

Atenism, as interpreted by the kings of the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was a combination of old and new beliefs. In the Old Kingdom, Aten, the name of the sun's disk, had been recognised as a solar deity. The turn which its cult received under Amenophis III and his followers—we do not yet know how far Thothmes IV prepared the way—was doubtless partly due to a wish to give emphasis to the old Heliopolitan sun-worship as a counterpoise to the purely imperial and military bias to which Amon-Rē was rapidly confining himself. It resulted in a greater isolation of the Aten—the disk of the sun—than had previously been customary, so that he became gradually the sun-god *par excellence*. On to this basis, and fostering it to some extent in the beginning, was grafted a body of ideas inspired by contact with the Mitannian royal house, whom we have already seen to have been of Indo-Iranian stock, worshipping Indian gods such as Surya and Varuna. The resemblance between this Aryan sun-worship and that of the Aten has been well described by Budge, the most telling comparison being between the long arms of gold of Surya, and the handed rays of the Aten. Remembering the Iranian origin of the Mitannian kings, it is perhaps not improper also to compare the chief Persian characteristics recounted by Herodotus with some of the marked traits of the late

Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is difficult, for instance, not to be impressed with the unusual emphasis on *maʿat*—" truth," " right "—which is found under Amenophis III in two of his names and in inscriptions of his period, and under Akhenaten, part of whose titulary was " living in truth." The Persians' love of truth is proverbial. Similarly, the latter's fondness for riding and shooting has a marked counterpart in the new taste for these sports displayed by all the Pharaohs from Amenophis II to Tutankhamon with the exception of the invalid Akhenaten and the short-reigned Smenkh-karēʿ. In their religion itself, the Atenists perhaps imported from Iranian feeling that abhorrence of images of the god which is so marked at Amarneh, and the fierce profession of loyalty which introduced the worship of the king by himself under Amenophis III, and the fawning devotion of the Amarneh nobles, with their tombs entirely given up to the devotion and portrayal of the king in his relation either to his god, his family, or themselves. Finally, no phrase could more aptly be applied to these Pharaohs as we see them than that of Herodotus about the Persians : " As soon as they hear of any luxury, they instantly make it their own." However much historians may blame Akhenaten—and as a king he deserves nothing but censure—it is impossible to avoid the feeling that the mischief was done under Amenophis III, whose title " The Magnificent " is in reality a polite way of saying that he was perhaps the most selfish monarch of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

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HAREMHAB

HAREMHAB

(1345–1315 B.C.)

By Alexander Scharff

Translated from the German by Mrs. H. Frankfort

While Akhenaten, the heretic king, lived in Amarneh for the sake of his god, and withdrew from the troubles of a wicked world into his fairy castle, history took its dramatic course: slowly the conquered provinces in Palestine and Nubia began to loosen the bonds of their dependence, and first here and then there parts of the big Empire crumbled away.

However much we moderns may be fascinated by Akhenaten, his monotheistic philosophy and the sensitive delicacy of his art, we must admit that, historically speaking, his reign was a disaster for Egypt. And we can fully sympathise with those who guided Egypt's cause when they, horrified to see the decay of the Empire setting in, began to hate their ruler who for esoteric and to them quite unintelligible reasons adopted a strange cult in a newly built town, and wantonly neglected the affairs of state.

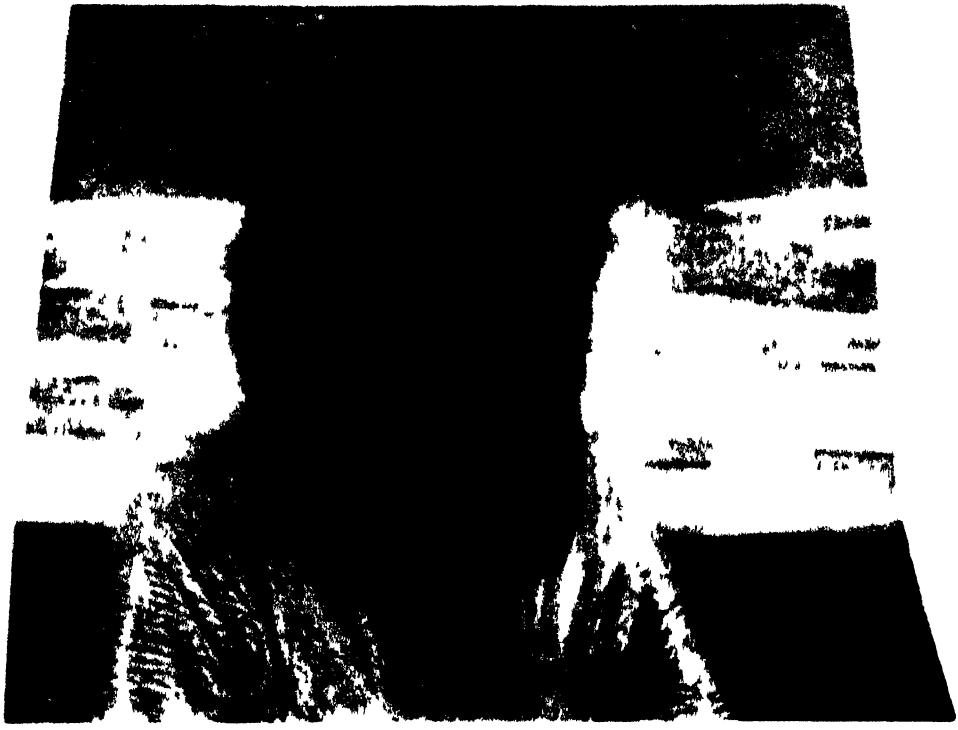
It was to these officials, who, in grave concern, preferred the well-being of their country to a new religious doctrine, that general Haremhab belonged. He came from a small town in Middle Egypt, later known as Alabastronpolis, in the nome of Kynopolis, and was not of the blood royal. In civil and military service he rose to important offices, always bearing the title general as well; political and military careers were by no means incompatible in ancient Egypt.

We have no certain information about him dating from the reign of Akhenaten. But we are probably right in recognising in the " royal scribe, overseer of the buildings in Akhetaten [Amarneh], overseer of the palace of the lord of the two lands, general of the lord of the two lands Pa-aten-em-hab," the general whom we later know as Haremhab. Pa-aten-em-hab had ordered a tomb to be made for him near Amarneh (now registered as No.24) ; it is one of those the work of which was least completed and so does not contain any scenes. It is quite conceivable that Haremhab, though dissenting silently, was compelled by the king to change his name " Horus is in festival," as it contained the name of a god proscribed by Akhenaten, into " the Aten is in festival " ; he would then, following the example of the other courtiers, have started on the cutting of a rock tomb near the new town. But the identification of Pa-aten-em-hab and Haremhab is, we repeat, so far, pure hypothesis.

So much is certain, however : Haremhab was not, as was formerly assumed, related by marriage to Akhenaten's family. His wife was called Mutnezemt, and has nothing to do with Akhenaten's sister-in-law Mutbenert ; the hieroglyphs *nezemt* and *benert*, both meaning " sweet " or " pleasant," were confused by former scholars, and so a family relationship between Haremhab and Akhenaten was supposed. Mutnezemt is pictured at the side of her husband in a statue at Turin ; it is quite uncertain to what family she belonged.

After the death of Akhenaten, the husband of his eldest daughter Meritaten came to the throne as King Sakare (or Smenkhkarē'), and after his premature death, another son-in-law as King Tutankhaten, he who has gained world-wide fame from the discovery of the treasures of his tomb. In his reign the return of the court from Amarneh to Thebes and the reconciliation with the priesthood of Amon took place, the latter fact being expressed by the adoption of Amon instead of Aten in the composition of his name. The extraordinarily rich finds from the king's tomb show that the art of Amarneh existed for some time alongside of the Theban style. Professor Derry has ascertained from the king's mummy that Tutankhamon must have

King Haremhab



died at the age of eighteen or twenty. As he only reigned six years, he must have come to the throne as a boy of twelve or fourteen. This makes it quite probable that it was not young Tutankhamon who on his own account took the momentous decision to return to Thebes, but that older and influential advisers urged, perhaps even compelled him to do so. Here general Haremhab comes to the fore.

He lived in Memphis during Tutankhamon's reign, and evidently from there directed the foreign policy. Memphis was for this purpose a far more suitable capital than Thebes, which was situated at the very south almost of the long stretch of Upper Egypt. In these days Haremhab ordered a magnificent tomb to be made for himself in the Memphite necropolis. This tomb, or rather its reliefs, now scattered amongst several Egyptological museums, give us a clear insight into the importance of Haremhab's position under King Tutankhamon. The tomb, which must have been discovered in the beginning of the nineteenth century, was ransacked in such a reckless way that not even its place is known any more. It is important, however, that the secular scenes, the majority of which are now in Leyden, are executed entirely in the so-called Amarneh style, though Memphis lay far north of the place where this style originated, and though under Tutankhamon, with the return to the old religion, the older style of art was again adopted. Haremhab is pictured there just like the courtiers in Amarneh, when masses of gold chains of honour are showered on him or when he is received in audience by the royal couple. Unfortunately, only the lower part of the royal figures are preserved, and inscriptions are missing; but there can be no doubt that they represent Tutankhamon and Ankhsenamon; on a statue now in Cairo, which came from the same tomb, Tutankhamon is definitely mentioned as Haremhab's lord. The object of the audience was the visit of numerous delegates of foreign people, amongst whom were Palestinians and Indo-European-looking people who, originating in the Upper Euphrates, had settled in Palestine and Syria; and negroes and Libyans as well. Formerly it was assumed that these foreigners, the types of

whom are beautifully rendered, represented people who had come to beg permission to settle in Egypt. But lately another explanation has been given which better tallies with the inscriptions, and seems therefore preferable: the whole scene of the foreign supplicants is, so to say, a pregnant illustration of the petitions contained in the so-called Amarneh letters, where the Palestinian grandees continuously beseech the king to assist them against the Hittites and other tribes that begin to penetrate into their country. The impressive scene of petitioning foreigners in front of Haremhab, who of all people would best understand their needs and transmit them to the young and inexperienced king in pressing terms, throws a strong sidelight on the political situation abroad during the Amarneh period, when, as we have mentioned above, the gradual decay of the Egyptian Empire set in.

The scene is particularly illuminating because negroes and Libyans were added to the group, whether these actually arrived at the same time as the Semites, which seems unlikely, or not. The artist symbolically pictures in this scene the fact that the whole country, not only in the north-east but also in south and west, was getting out of joint.

But Haremhab was the man to cope with this disintegration. When, besides his other important titles (which make it clear that his position was practically that of a ruler), he calls himself: "king's follower on his expeditions in the south and north country," it really means that he conducted campaigns in north and south while the king merely played the part of spectator—even if he was there at all. Several beautiful reliefs, which, according to many scholars, must certainly have belonged to Haremhab's Memphite tomb, show scenes of camp life during war and may well have been meant to illustrate these campaigns. The types of Semitic prisoners are rendered very strikingly. Also the well-known scenes of Semites and negroes bringing tribute in the tomb of Huy viceroy of Nubia, may relate to the same events, the more so as Tutankhamon is mentioned there as the reigning monarch. Haremhab, on the other hand, is not pictured in these scenes; no doubt on purpose,

because the viceroy of Nubia would not care to reduce his own fame with posterity by mentioning the more powerful Haremhab.

Two more pieces of evidence from the time that Haremhab was residing in Memphis are of importance. In the tomb mentioned above a stele was erected on which Haremhab was pictured praying to Harakhte, Thot, and Ma'at. The long text contains prayers to these three gods, and it is interesting to see in the beautiful prayer to the sun-god Harakhte, that, although in form and composition it goes back to the model of the old sun hymns, yet the Aten appears, and with it, quite unobtrusively, the ideas of the Aten religion, just recently proscribed. This beautiful stele is now in the British Museum.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York acquired a few years ago an exquisite statue of Haremhab which, so it seems, had been originally set up in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Haremhab is pictured in the usual attitude of a scribe, with crossed legs, on his knees a papyrus roll on which his gaze is fixed. This pose, by which the artist no doubt only meant to render a professional attitude, strikes us as reverential and devout; the head, thoughtfully bent forward, appears as that of a completely introspective and meditating person, so that a statue in this pose seems particularly suitable as a votive offering to a god. Although the other Memphite gods are mentioned on the statue, the main prayer is addressed to Thot, Lord of the scribes and the spiritual leaders, among whom Haremhab also belonged. This statue is the only one which gives an impression of Haremhab's features in his younger days.

After a reign of only six years, young Tutankhamon died—whether a natural or a violent death we do not know. But even now Haremhab did not consider that his time had come. Ay, formerly a courtier at Akhetaten, became king; judging from the Amarneh reliefs, he seems to have been a zealous Aten believer, and appears an equally zealous renegade; an opportunist, in fact; they occur at all times. Ay only ruled for a short time, and his reign did not leave any lasting impression. After his death, the mighty general and politician Haremhab came to the throne.

As an upstart and founder of a new dynasty—the XIXth—he evidently found it necessary to inform posterity of his rise and career. This he did in a long inscription on the back of the basalt statue in Turin, which represents Haremhab and his wife Mutnezemt, whom we mentioned above. The inscription tells us in poetic style of his youth, of his activities as an official, of his being called to the throne by Horus, the god of his native town Alabastronpolis, and of the fixing of the uræus to his forehead. He later added this symbol of divine kingship to the relief portraits of his Memphite tomb, which, however, was never used. Finally, there exists a coronation inscription which mentions the restoration of buildings all through the country. After the coronation at Thebes the king went to the north ; and we may therefore conclude that he henceforth reigned from Memphis, his previous official residence. From the XIXth Dynasty onward the political centre of gravity undoubtedly lay, as in modern times, in Lower Egypt, Thebes in Upper Egypt being only the religious centre of the country.

Several traces have been found of Haremhab's restorations. On all the monuments of Tutankhamon he put his own surname and throne name instead of that of his former protégé, e.g. in the famous procession scenes on each side of the great corridor in the Luxor temple. On the other hand, he had the name of Ay deeply chiselled out. One can see from the different treatment of the names of his predecessors that he considered the upstart Ay as illegitimate, and wanted to annihilate him completely.

Under his reign the Aten episode was definitely liquidated. It is true that in the art of the XIXth Dynasty, and also in its religious hymns, much would be unintelligible but for the Amarneh period ; the Aten as divinity, however, was finally discarded, and in religion and art tradition completely regained the upper hand. Haremhab erected two pylons on the road connecting the Amon and Mut temples, and used for their construction the blocks of the Theban Aten temple, dating from the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten, who now for Haremhab and his contemporaries passed as the " wretched criminal." Amon of Thebes emerged from the conflict

more powerful than ever. "Woe to him who attacks thee [i.e. Amon]. Thy town remains, but he who attacked thee he is ruined [i.e. Akhenaten]," as it says in a hymn in praise of the Theban king of the gods. On the walls of the pylon Haremhab had his military feats depicted, but little of it has been preserved. The scenes of the rock-chapel at Gebel Silsileh, in an ancient sandstone quarry on the Nile in Upper Egypt, are preserved in better condition. In these Haremhab is seen celebrating his victory over the negro tribes of Nubia and being carried in a richly decorated litter.

It is, however, Haremhab's political reforms, carried through with iron energy, which seem to us still more important than his campaigns. Till late in life this energetic man, thwarted by feeble kings, had been compelled to watch the dissolution of the Empire at home and abroad; now, as a king, there was still just time to check the disintegration. An unfortunately very fragmentary decree of Haremhab was found in the temple of Karnak. There, in the imperial sanctuary at Thebes, he puts his aims as organiser before the people. The occurrences mentioned therein, and the penalties imposed, do not give us a high opinion of the morals in Egypt just after the Amarneh period. The king especially turns against profiteering officials and partial judges. He threatens to inflict punishments such as a hundred strokes and five open wounds, or cutting off the nose, for certain crimes. On the other hand, the inscription ends by stressing the fact that the king travelled round and held audiences everywhere in which the people could submit requests, and that he took special thought for the food-supply of his subjects.

How the king rewarded the people is shown by a scene in a Theban tomb, where the owner, Neferhotep, faithfully recorded the happenings on the important day when he received presents from the king.

From the not very extensive but quite significant evidence concerning his reign we obtain a fairly complete picture of Haremhab's personality. Being of obscure descent, he must have grown up a plain soldier by degrees attaining supreme command. But his

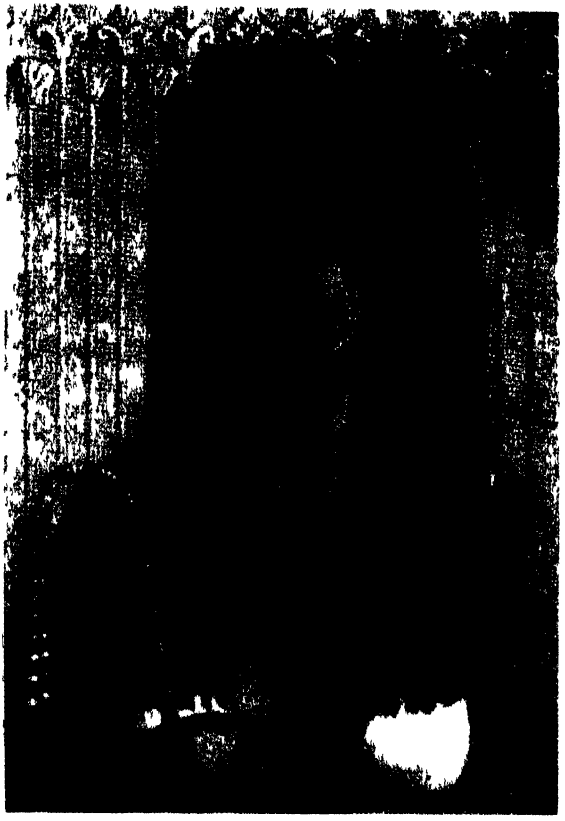
political abilities were also great, and with bitter indignation he must have watched the Aten cult, and what it implied: the approaching ruin of his beloved country, while he himself was unable to intervene. Only at a mature age both politics and good fortune procured him what he wanted: unlimited power as Pharaoh. Justly and severely he carried through his plans, and so prepared the ground for Seti I and Rameses II, who once again re-established the Egyptian prestige.

Unfortunately, the very few statues of Haremhab which we possess hardly contribute towards deeper understanding of a personality which we might briefly characterise as rough and severe but just and tremendously energetic. All Haremhab's statues are conventional, and only render what in his days was the ideal picture of a Pharaoh. The only exception is the beautiful New York statue mentioned above. But that dates from the time before he became king, and is remarkable more because it betrays affinity to the Amarneh style than because it expresses Haremhab's personality.

Haremhab, as we have seen, came to the throne at a mature age, perhaps when he was fifty, and, as he reigned for at least a quarter of a century, he must have died a very old man. He had three tombs made for himself in succession. The first one, in Amarneh, was only begun. The second, in Memphis, was probably nearly finished, but was never used. The third he had made in Biban el Moluk, near Thebes, like his royal predecessors of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is decorated with the traditional representations from the netherworld; in the innermost room the beautiful red granite sarcophagus is still standing, with the four protective goddesses, as was usual in his days, spreading their wings round the four corners. The coffin has been plundered; the mummy has never been found. Haremhab's successor was Rameses I, who came to the throne an elderly man and was perhaps not his relation. His accession to the throne was as far as we know not contested; he became the ancestor of a strong line of kings. For the Egyptians, however, and for us, Haremhab stands as a legitimate ruler at the

head of the XIXth Dynasty. He rose from nothing, and passed away without leaving a son and heir. But the appearance of this solitary-souled, single-minded man, who purposefully steered Egypt into its proper course again, proved a great blessing for his country.

Queen Amenardes



TAHARQA, AMENARDES, MENTUEMHAT

TAHARQA, AMENARDES, MENTUEMHAT

(718–655 B.C.)

By H. Frankfort

THE eighty years which separate the birth of Taharqa, about 730 B.C., from the death of Mentuemhat, form an agitated and momentous period in the history of Egypt. The country, divided for over three centuries, was once more united—if only through foreign interference; for as such the conquest of the Ethiopian kings must be considered, however much they were imbued with Egyptian culture. The Assyrian armies, which had till then scourged the lands on Egypt's Asiatic border without entering the Nile valley, now penetrated as far south as Thebes, till, in the end, the one-time imperial capital went up in flames. And yet this period was one of introspection and concentration, which seemed, for a moment, to foreshadow a revival of Egypt's creative force. Even though the Saitic period did not fulfil that promise, and was pathetic and inglorious in its attempts to hug the past, nevertheless it is of immeasurable importance for the history of civilisation; for towards the end of the period which we are here considering, about 650 B.C., the Greeks crowded into Egypt, and entered upon an apprenticeship which left its mark on their own young culture.

The circumstances preceding the unification of Egypt by the Ethiopians are not clear. Even the origin of the dynasty is uncertain. Professor Reisner believes them to be descended from Temehu-Libyans who overran Libya about 900 B.C., when they also appeared in great numbers in the Delta and in Lower Egypt. Certainly some of Piankhi's commanders have Libyan names. But, on the other

hand, we shall see that the Ethiopian kings act consistently as the representatives of an age-old Egyptian tradition which had become established in Nubia in the past. And the features of the one monarch of whose personal appearance we can form an idea adds to the probability that the dynasty was indigenous. For Taharqa's physiognomy remains strange and isolated in the long portrait-gallery of the pharaohs; the magnificent black granite head in Cairo, as also a couple of small bronzes, show a leader of one of the energetic East African people, cattle-owners and warriors, of mixed Hamitic and negro stock.

Nubia had been thoroughly Egyptianised during the last half of the second millennium B.C. The conquests of Sesostris III in Lower Nubia had been consolidated during the XVIIIth Dynasty, and most of Upper Nubia, up to the fourth cataract, had been added to the Egyptian dominion. Temples to Egyptian gods were founded in various towns of Lower Nubia, and the continuous presence of a large number of government officials, priests, and soldiers, and of the merchants and craftsmen they required, together with a certain amount of intermarriage with the natives, had, to a considerable extent, imparted the Egyptian civilisation to the population of Nubia. Eventually, a special link between Upper Nubia and Thebes was created by the foundation, probably in the reign of Rameses II, of an Amon-temple at Napata, just below the fourth cataract, near the Gebel el Barkal, the " Sacred Mountain." The service and organisation of this temple and of its priesthood were modelled on those of the older sanctuary at Thebes.

The growing power of the priesthood of Amon led to an even closer connection with Nubia, for we find that Amon of Thebes possessed by the end of the XIXth Dynasty Nubian goldmines of his own, ruled by a special governor. In the XXth Dynasty the High Priest of Amon at Thebes bears the title of Viceroy of Nubia, and under the following dynasty this title was borne by the Sacerdotal Princess of Thebes, whose functions we shall have to consider in connection with Amenardes. Even as late as the XXIIIrd Dynasty a high priest records tribute from Nubia with the sacrifices made

to Amon. It is thus clear that Nubia remained under the influence, and largely under the rule, of the Theban priests during the decline of Egypt in the first centuries of the last millennium B.C.

And yet a remarkable difference between Thebes and Nubia is manifest. Nubia, though saturated with Egyptian culture, did not share in the development which this culture underwent in its homeland, or, rather, Nubia shows a parallel development in a much-delayed tempo. About 1090 B.C. the High Priest Herihor assumed the crown of the pharaohs, and we know from Diodorus Siculus that in classical times Nubia had become likewise a theocracy in which Amon interfered in affairs of state by specific oracles, and even indicated who, amongst the royal princes, was to become king; and, when the king was no longer acceptable to the god (or to his priesthood), he was notified of this circumstance and was expected to commit suicide. But by the time the Ethiopian kings conquered Egypt, towards the end of the eighth century B.C., this phase was obviously not yet reached in the south, for those wilful rulers are anything but priest-ridden; they do show, however, a sincere and deeply felt piety, and it seems that the Egyptian beliefs, imparted in Nubia to a young and vigorous people, had remained thoroughly alive, while in Egypt itself they were worn out and had lost their reality, their power to inspire, with the ebbing vitality of the community itself. This difference in the tempo of the development of the same culture in Egypt and in Nubia acquired a peculiar piquancy when Piankhi and his army entered Egypt and the two phases of that culture met; the impression must have been similar to that which the sudden appearance of a band of crusaders would create in our midst. No king had, for centuries, proclaimed himself so insistently and so earnestly of divine essence as Piankhi does in the opening lines of his triumphal stela. No king in the memory of those then living had shown such profound devotion as Piankhi, who instructed his army, departing for the conquest of Egypt, to refrain from violence on reaching Thebes, to bathe, to dress in clean linen, to unstring the bow and to loosen the arrow, and to do honour to the god at his most venerable shrine; and who adds: "Let not the Chief boast as

one who is mighty, for the strong one has no power without Him [Amon]." Thus, for once, we may be certain that exactness in ritual is no empty formalism but corresponds with real religiosity, as when Piankhi, arrived in Egypt himself, insisted on celebrating the Festival of Opet at Thebes ; contemplated alone, as only Pharaoh was entitled to do, the sacred Benben at Heliopolis, and refused to mingle with a number of Egyptian dynasts because they had eaten fish, which was ritually unclean. And thus the paradoxical situation had arisen that the Ethiopians, who cherished as their most precious possession the culture they had received from Egypt, did not worship its country of origin, but despised it as renegade and decadent ; and that the Egyptians, whose jokes about the " miserable Ethiopian " had become commonplaces, were subjected to an Ethiopian ruler who posed as the true defender of their faith and their traditions. It is very likely that the great impression created by this powerful monarch, who must have appeared an archaism to his new subjects, is responsible for much of the retrospective character of the Saitic civilisation which flourished under the succeeding dynasty of Psammetik, but which finds already a typical representative in Mentuemhat, as we shall soon see.

It is not clear why the Ethiopians waited till the last half of the eighth century before asserting their influence in Egypt. It may well be that the interest they took in the country did not extend much beyond Thebes, and the political position of the Theban theocracy was perhaps not realised in far-away Napata ; moreover, the increasing weakness of the Theban state, which resulted finally in complete dependence on the military potentates who succeeded in gaining hegemony in the north, did not prevent the flourishing, notably under the XXIst Dynasty, of a very important theological activity ; and this activity was pre-eminently fitted to be appreciated by the devotees of Gebel el Barkal. Thus Professor Ed. Meyer has recently shown that in this period a most lofty conception of Amonite monotheism was formulated. But the political situation was lamentable. The nobles, especially those of the Delta, the most fertile part of

the country, where they controlled, moreover, the trade with the Levant, were tempted to make a bid for independence as soon as the central power weakened. Already, under the reign of Rameses XII, a noble from Tanis had brought the whole Delta under his influence and called himself king. Thebes, on the other hand, was least of all inclined to submit to the overlordship of princes from Tanis, Bubastis, or Sais, which became alternately seats of usurping " pharaohs," because the most influential collegium at Thebes, the priesthood of Amon, could not but be jealous of the increased honours shown to the gods Ptah, Bastet, or Neith, while their own temples were on the decline. We know of several Theban revolts as a consequence of which Theban families were banished to the oases or fled there, and for our present purpose it is useful to remember that in all probability refugees from Thebes will have reached the congenial centre at Napata as well. Perhaps it was in this way that a certain Pashedenbast, son and commander-in-chief of Osorkon III, came to Nubia. Professor Reisner found, at least, an alabaster vessel inscribed with his names and titles at the Pyramids of el Kur'uw, where the Ethiopian kings were buried. It is likely that the arrival of so important a personage, fully posted on Egyptian matters, able to compare the weakness of his own country under the XXIIIrd Dynasty with the vigour of the young semi-barbaric people of Nubia, and perhaps moved by feelings of revenge, drew the attention of the Nubian monarch to the possibilities which were offered to him by the disorganised state of affairs in the north. Or perhaps Thebes, weary of Delta domination, invoked Ethiopian interference. In any case, we find about 750 B.C. an Ethiopian ruler, Kashta, styling himself Pharaoh and including Thebes in his realm. About 741 B.C. he was succeeded by his son, Piankhi, who, in his twenty-first year, ruled Egypt as far north as Heracleopolis, just south of the Fayum. It seems that Piankhi left the native princes in power, and merely required that they should acknowledge his suzerainty as Pharaoh; Ethiopian garrisons were, however, settled in various towns. The XXIIIrd Dynasty still lingered on, Osorkon III being only master of Bubastis, however. For Tefnakht of

Sais had subjected the rest of the Delta, and had started on the conquest of Upper Egypt, and the commanders of Piankhi's garrisons thought evidently that too much power was by and by accruing to the Saite, and they reported to Piankhi on the matter. At first the Ethiopian did not react, either out of indifference, or to lure Tefnakht yet farther away from his safe retreat in the Delta marshes. But when Hermopolis fell he gave the order to march, and started the campaign which is so vividly described in his great stela. With the details of this interesting monument we are not here concerned. We merely note how significant it is that Piankhi, after having received the submission of all the Egyptian princes, returned to his distant residence at the foot of the Gebel el Barkal. The other foreign rulers of Egypt—the Syrians of the VIIIth Dynasty, the Hyksos, and to some extent the Ptolemies—tried to obliterate their foreign origin and to become Egyptians, thus tacitly acknowledging the essential superiority of the vanquished. The Ethiopians, however, displayed in their actions, with a consistency which amounts to insolence, the conviction that they possessed themselves what was valuable in Egyptian culture, in a purer form, at Napata. But obviously Egypt could not be ruled from so far away. Within two years after Piankhi's departure Tefnakht was once more supreme in Lower Egypt. With Thebes Piankhi had established a somewhat closer connection: he had his sister and wife Amenardes adopted by Shepnupet, the daughter of Osorkon III, who was "Divine Votress," Sacerdotal Princess of Thebes.

We do not know how this remarkable position was created. Under the New Kingdom the queen had been considered Amon's consort, and the wife of the high priest his chief concubine; both functions must have coalesced when the High Priest Herihor became king at the end of the XXth Dynasty. But the dignity of "Divine Votress," which we see emerge from the troubled centuries in the beginning of the last millennium B.C., had, moreover, acquired some of the power of the high priest himself, in that its incumbent seems to have had some influence on the management of affairs at Thebes. This was the last remnant of priestly predominance in that city:

King Taharqa

apparently it had become generally acknowledged that the city was the god's own property, and could not be incorporated into the realm of worldly princes. In reality Thebes was, of course, as much at the mercy of whomsoever could assert power over it as the rest of Egypt. But the theocratic theory was respected in so far that a representative of the god ruled Thebes in conjunction with its worldly overlord. It was perhaps to make this collaboration as easy as possible that the representative of the god, who was suffered to remain in power, was his " Consort " and not his high priest. Yet, as the lady possessed a considerable income of her own, which formed part of the temple endowment, the various dynasties which held sway over Thebes in succession tried to have the income, as well as the influence attached to the office, at their disposal. Now the Divine Votress could only legally be succeeded by her daughter (who was Amon's daughter, according to dogma), and thus the only solution was to have a princess of the ruling house adopted by the Divine Votress. Thus Amenardes came to Thebes.

It was she who, no doubt, saw to it that in the temple of Mut, at Karnak, reliefs were executed which picture the triumphal return of Piankhi's fleet to Thebes with the state barge of Tefnakht of Sais. Her own statue, executed in alabaster, was put up in the temple. But the restrained expression of her placid face does not allow us much insight into the personal character of this daughter of Kashta, who was left behind in a foreign country and started on a career which was to prove eventful and disturbed. For Piankhi's withdrawal from Thebes soon led to a reassertion of power there by the moribund XXIIIrd Dynasty of Bubastis, which put, for the present, an end to Amenardes' activities. Chaos thus continued, as Isaiah saw it (Is. xix. 2).

Only Tefnakht's son Bocchoris stands out as a somewhat superior personage amongst the quarrelsome princelings. The Greek tradition claims him to have been a wise lawgiver, and in Manetho he forms all by himself the XXIVth Dynasty. He also seems to have realised the foolishness of provoking Assyria to meddling with Egypt. But, unfortunately, one of the typically spasmodic interferences

of the Ethiopians was now due, and proved fatal to Bocchoris in the sixth year of his reign. Piankhi had died, but his brother Shabaka, at the head of an army, rushed down into Egypt about 712 B.C. and in his onslaught captured Bocchoris and burned him alive.

Manetho starts the XXVth Dynasty with Shabaka, we do not know why. He showed, like a true Ethiopian, great interest in religious matters, and we owe it to him that one of the most interesting known theological documents has survived, because he had it transcribed from the leather roll on which it had been written in the Old Kingdom, and which had already much suffered, on to a granite stela. It is the so-called "Philosophy of a Memphite priest"—really the text according to which certain scenes from the myths of Horus and Set were enacted by the priests. At Thebes he reinstated Amenardes as Sacerdotal Princess; we do not know whether he himself took so much more interest in Egypt than Piankhi that the building activities carried out at Thebes in his name, and the consequent quarrying expedition to the Wady Hammamat, were done by his specific order, or that Amenardes had them executed. At any rate, Shabaka was buried at Napata, and may well have resided there most of his time. But he left in Egypt, it seems, a nephew whom he had brought in his suite: Taharqa.

From his coming into Egypt in 712 B.C. till his death in 663, Taharqa was closely connected with the one problem of more than local Egyptian importance which the Ethiopian Dynasty had to solve, and in the handling of which it failed signally. Decision had to be made at once, after Shabaka's conquest, as to the relations with Assyria; for Sargon stood victorious in Southern Palestine, and one of the rebel princes of Philistia had fled to Egypt. The readiness with which the Ethiopians gave in this time throws into relief the thoughtlessness and irresponsibility with which they sought the futile conflicts of the next fifty years. And it was Taharqa who, with tenacity and consistent failure, fought the Assyrians throughout this period.

It seems at first inexplicable why the men from Upper Nubia

should combat those from the valley of the Tigris. But the Ethiopians had entered upon the heritage of the New Empire by their conquest of Egypt, and of Egypt's old prestige there was much more left in Palestine and Syria than the actual strength of the country justified. We may understand this a little better since Professor Sir Flinders Petrie's excavations in Southern Palestine have shown on what a big scale Sheshonk I fortified there the points of strategical importance ; and Professor Peet has argued that Sheshonk—the biblical Shishak —subjected both Judah and Israel by force of arms. This may have sufficed to revive the unforgettable impression created by the great warrior-kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, so that their former vassals now turned to Egypt of their own accord to gain support against the Assyrian rule. But it is impossible to understand how the Egyptians ever could be tempted to provoke the strongest military power which the world had yet known. Mr. Sidney Smith has stressed recently the fact that the wars of the great Sargonid kings were of a defensive character, aiming at the consolidation of a well-defined Empire. And Palestine formed the westernmost province of that Empire ; did not Sargon style himself " *subjugator of the land of Judah whose situation is far away* " ? The conquest of Egypt, obviously a difficult and unsatisfactory source of ever-renewed trouble, and in the end doomed to failure, did not form part of the Assyrian programme at all. It would have been easy for Egypt to maintain friendly relations with Assur, and, remaining safely behind the barrier of the Sinai desert, to allow a situation of relatively durable peace to develop in the Near East, a peace of which both empires would have reaped the fruits. But the Syrians and Palestinians, past masters in intrigue, were bent upon enlisting Egyptian support, the efficacy of which they overrated in the light of past experience. And they must have done their utmost with flattery and temptation. Moreover, the towns of the Delta may have been much more deeply involved in Syrian politics—such as the feud between Tyre and Sidon—than we know. It is certain, in any case, that even in the time of greatest chaos in Egypt, when there was no ruler who could lead the country as a whole to war, the Delta princes joined

forces with the Syrians against Assyria. Professor Breasted credits those princes with enough political forethought to foment discontent and revolt in Syria and Palestine in order to help and bring about in this way a series of buffer states between their own territory and Assyria. If that was indeed their intention, they could not have chosen a better method to bring down the Assyrians on themselves.

In 854 B.C. an Egyptian contingent fought at Qarqar against Shalmaneser II. In the reign of Shalmaneser IV an Egyptian " Pharaoh So " or " Sewa " or " Sib'i " instigated Hoshea of Israel to revolt. Some, and Dr. Hall amongst them, have seen in this name a shortened form of " Shabaka," who, it is true, was not yet king in that year, but may well have been commander of troops or governor in the north of Egypt at the time. On the other hand, there is too little certainty in the identification to exclude the possibility that So was one of the local Delta princes who had assumed the pharaonic title, though he does not figure in the list of those who submitted to Piankhi. We know that the result of this intrigue was the fall and destruction of Samaria in 722, while Israel was led into captivity. In 720, Sargon, marching westwards to restore order, found Sib'i again commanding an Egyptian army amongst the confederates of Hanum of Gaza, whom he defeated crushingly at Raphia. In 715, Sargon came once more to the west, and records tribute received from Egypt. The wise Bocchoris had no illusions as to the strength of his new neighbour, and had prudently sent gifts. Soon afterwards Yamani of Ashdod revolted, and, as Sargon said, " *sent gifts to the King of Egypt (a prince who could not help him), and asked him for an alliance*," but on Sargon's arrival Yamani " *fled to Egypt, which belongs to the territory of Ethiopia.*" The Assyrian annalist gives here an exact statement of fact, for Yamani did not find in Egypt the practically independent Delta prince on which he seems to have counted, but Shabaka, who had just arrived from the south. And, whatever the Delta vassals may have desired, the Ethiopians were evidently loth to oppose Sargon at this juncture. Yamani was therefore surrendered, and a clay sealing of Shabaka found at Nineveh shows that some correspondence or gifts were exchanged

between the two sovereigns. Sargon gave his own interpretation: "*The king of Ethiopia, who . . . in the midst of an inaccessible place . . . whose forefathers had not sent their ambassadors since far-off times, since the era of the moon-god, to the kings, my forefathers, to enquire after their well-being, he heard of the power of Assur, Nebo, and Marduk. The fear of the glory of my kingship covered him, and terror came over him. In fetters and iron chains he put him* [*Yamani*], *and to Assyria, a long road, he brought him, to me.*"

Unfortunately for Egypt, this attitude was not maintained; it may be that Taharqa, who seems to have been a soldier at heart, and who remained in Egypt, was responsible for Egypt's change of attitude. In any case, Egypt and Taharqa play a leading part in the events of the succeeding decade, for ever memorable because they form the background against which the gigantic figure of Isaiah appears. For the death of Sargon in 705 led at once to a revolt of the Palestinian and Syrian states, and the alliance of Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab under the leadership of Hezekiah of Judah was supported by Taharqa. During three years Sargon's son Sennacherib was retained nearer at home by the renewed activity of the Babylonian pretender, Merodach Baladan, but in 702 the Assyrian appeared in the west.

Of what followed we are informed by so many sources, that the discrepancies (unavoidable where history was not recorded for its own sake in any of them) have led to endless discussions amongst scholars, and a number of diverging accounts are respectively adhered to. The one which we give here is based on a very careful consideration of all evidence and arguments, starting, however, from the assumption that ancient records are trustworthy as far as they go, unless they can be proved to be wrong; and it has proved possible, without having recourse to artificial constructions, to harmonise the information from the Assyrian annals with that of 2 Kings xviii., xix., Isaiah xxxvi., xxxvii., and Herodotus II. 141. Of course, we refrain from a critical treatment of the matter here.

When Sennacherib came to the west the Philistine cities had joined the rebels, and the Prince of Ekron, Padi, who was

pro-Assyrian, was sent by his townsmen as a prisoner to Jerusalem. Sennacherib marched down the Phœnician coast; the King of Sidon fled to Cyprus; Tyre, impregnable on its rocky island, was blockaded; Sidon and Akko fell, and Byblos, Arvad, Moab, and Edom submitted. It was next the turn of the Philistine cities, but an army consisting of the levies of the Delta and Nubians, or, as Sennacherib puts it, "*of the kings of Egypt and the archers, chariots, and horses of Ethiopia, troops without number*," had crossed the Sinai desert and came to the rescue. At Altaqu, near Ekron, battle was joined. 2 Kings xix. 9 names Taharqa as the commander of the troops; that he was called king thirteen years before his actual accession is a mistake which one may easily forgive the ancient chronicler of such confused times. The advance of these troops was effectively checked, and Hezekiah, left by his allies shut up in Jerusalem—"*like a caged bird*," says Sennacherib—offered submission to the victorious Assyrian while he was encamped before Lachish, the siege of which he commemorated later on in his palace at Nineveh. Hezekiah, to show the honesty of his intentions, sent rich gifts and surrendered Padi of Ekron. Sennacherib accepted the submission, perhaps because he was too much occupied to want to undertake the siege of so strong a mountain-fortress as Jerusalem. But after a while he seems to have realised the danger to the peace of his western provinces of leaving the head of the confederacy in possession of his stronghold and his authority. He sent, therefore, a light detachment under a few high officers to Jerusalem to try whether he could not obtain the capitulation of the city by sheer intimidation. And therefore the Rabshakeh spoke in Hebrew, so that the rank and file, and the people gathered on the walls, could understand him, and we can feel the horror with which the besieged must have thought of their fate at the hands of the Assyrian, who sneered at their strength and their Egyptian ally and offered some sort of clemency if they would submit then and there. "*What confidence is this wherein thou trustest? Thou sayest, but they are but vain words, there is counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust that thou hast rebelled against me? Now behold, thou trustest upon*

the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt ; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it : so is Pharaoh King of Egypt unto all that trust on him." And then the perfect scorn : " *I will give thee two thousand horses if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.*" And when Eliakim and Shebnah and Joah pray him frantically not to speak Hebrew but Syrian, which they understood, the purpose of the undertaking becomes clear : " *Hath my master sent me to thy master and to thee to speak these words ? hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall to eat their own dung and to drink their own water with you ?* " And then follows the loud promise to the people, of grace and deportation instead of starvation, torture, and death, if they will betray Hezekiah and submit. " *And hearken not unto Hezekiah when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. . . . Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arphad? . . . Who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of my hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand ?* "

It was the enormous influence of Isaiah which made Jerusalem hold out notwithstanding the terrifying words of the Rabshakeh, offering a choice between amnesty and the most cruel death. And the Assyrian commander, who had not troops at his disposal to force the entry into the city, had to return to his king, who was now before Libnah. Then rumours reached the camp that Taharqa had returned for a renewed attack, and thus no more troops could be spared to invest Jerusalem. Perhaps a second embassy was sent to the town, but the prolonged sojourn in a country ravaged by war led to the outbreak of plague (2 Kings xix. 35 ; Herod. II. 141), and Sennacherib had to return to Assur. That nevertheless the campaign had been successful appears from the fact that Hezekiah hastened to send the tribute which had been imposed upon him after the king to Nineveh.

Yet Sennacherib may have found food for thought in reviewing the results which he had achieved. Neither Tyre nor Jerusalem had been taken, and, though fear kept the western provinces for the moment in subjection, there was no hope for lasting peace as long

as Egypt could be counted upon to support the rebels. Recent events had shown that the interlude, in and just after Bocchoris' reign, was ended, and that the attitude which had prevailed since 854 was again adopted by Taharqa ; thus the latter's interference in Asiatic matters had won him the animosity of the strongest power of the time.

The remainder of Sennacherib's reign was, however, taken up by Babylonian matters, and what happened in the interval in Egypt is not quite clear. Shabaka died about 700, and was succeeded by Shabataka, whom Manetho calls a son of Shabaka. He reigned till 688, and was then, according to Manetho, slain by Taharqa, who came down with an army from Ethiopia. And certainly some such event may be implied from Taharqa's own account. This is preserved on a granite stela which was erected at Tanis, and contains a number of interesting details. Ostensibly its purpose is the commemoration of the arrival, at Tanis, of Taharqa's mother, whom he had not seen since he left Napata as a young man of twenty, and who was now summoned to Tanis to see her son enthroned in all his glory, and to take her place as queen-mother. The first impression is one of charming *naïveté* with which the affection between mother and son, and the reunion after a long separation, is rendered. But, in the light of Manetho's account, several phrases of the stela take on a deeper meaning. Thus Taharqa starts by commemorating his education with the royal children, loved by the king more than they. Professor Schaefer has rightly pointed out that this phrasing suggests that Taharqa did not belong to these " royal children " ; as he was a son of Piankhi, the royal children can only have been those of Taharqa's uncle Shabaka, at whose court he was educated. And if Taharqa recalls on his stela that Shabaka loved him more than his own children, he seems to suggest that the late king would have liked him, Taharqa, to be his successor, and thus would perhaps even have approved of his putting Shabataka out of the way. Professor Griffith has already remarked, when the stela was discovered, that the insistent comparisons of Taharqa and his mother to Horus and Isis may be camouflaged references to dissensions within

The Vizier Mentuemhat

the royal family. And, indeed, these comparisons would at once suggest to the Egyptian mind the existence of the evil brother of Horus, Seth, whom Horus slew in the end. But, stronger still, the quarrel, thus elevated to the plane of mythology, would, by the consequent identifications, already imply the justification of Taharqa's slaying of Shabataka. Why he waited twelve years before doing it we do not know.

It seems that Taharqa did not rule Egypt from Napata, but actually resided at Tanis. If he preferred this town to Thebes, it can only have been because he realised that the danger which threatened from the Assyrian side (thanks to his own action) was to provide the most important problem of his reign. And, indeed, when the Babylonian situation was saved by the conciliatory policy of Esarhaddon, the western provinces of the Assyrian Empire were once more visited by their overlord; and once more Egypt was allied with Assur's enemies.

In 677, Esarhaddon quelled a revolt in Sidon, while Tyre, never subjected by Sennacherib, made an alliance with Taharqa. In 775 an Assyrian army marched westwards, but had to retire because trouble arose nearer home. In 674, however, the Assyrians invaded the Delta, the entrance into which they seem to have kept guarded throughout the succeeding years. In 674 they reduced some of the fortresses. In the next year Tyre was besieged, but held out. Then followed a year of careful preparations, and in 671 the reward was reaped: the crossing of the Sinai desert could be effected because agreements with the Beduin were concluded; so that the wells were in friendly hands and could be relied upon. Moreover, large numbers of camels were held at the disposal of the Assyrian troops by the allied nomads. Even so, the crossing of the sands was such a perilous undertaking, and so deeply impressed the hardy soldiers from the Zagros mountains, that grim stories about strange stones and double-headed serpents crept even into the official annals of the campaign, alongside of remarks how queerly, under these unwonted conditions, distances which seemed short took a long time to be covered. On arrival in Egypt a battle had

to be fought almost at once, but at Ishkhupru Taharqa was routed, strong proof of the extraordinary power of endurance of the Assyrian troops. Taharqa did not easily lose courage. The entrance into the Nile valley has never been more fiercely contested. Twice again a battle was fought, but fifteen days after the first encounter the Assyrians were before Memphis, which fell after a day and a half; Taharqa retreated to the south, his brother, his wife, his harîm, sons and daughters, and his palace officials were captured by Esarhaddon. The Delta was now garrisoned with Assyrian troops, and some of the native princes were installed as local rulers, under the supervision of the Assyrian officers commanding the garrisons; the most important amongst them being Necho of Sais. Naturally a heavy tribute was imposed upon the country, and on the way back Esarhaddon had a tablet cut at the Nahr el Kelb, next to that of Rameses II, and just above the spot where, latest in a famous series, there is now the record of the conquest of Damascus by the Allies in A.D. 1918. But farther north in Syria, at Senjirli, a huge stela (which is now in Berlin) was erected as a warning to the vassals of Western Asia: there one sees the powerful figure of Esarhaddon holding two ropes in his hand; one runs through the nose of the kneeling figure of the King of Tyre, the other through that of a yet more pitiful personage, a little negro, with fettered legs, wearing a small skull-cap with an uræus: Taharqa!

In Syria this picture may or may not have been accepted as a fair statement of the situation; the fact remained that both the prisoners were still free. Taharqa showed, moreover, a tenacity of purpose very different indeed from the erratic activities of the other members of the dynasty. Within a year he had gathered an army, and Upper Egypt no doubt gladly welcomed him, seeing that a Delta prince, Necho of Sais, had most profited from the Assyrian arrangements. But even the Assyrian garrisons in Lower Egypt were massacred, and Memphis retaken. Then he seems to have demonstrated in the Delta, without quite succeeding in recovering it. Esarhaddon set out from Nineveh to reassert his authority, but died on the way.

With Esarhaddon in Egypt we catch our first glance of Mentuemhat—Mantimankhi, as the Assyrian records call him—ruler of Thebes. The finest portrait we possess of him—a bust, fragment of a life-size statue—is uninscribed. But there is not the slightest doubt that it represents the same person as an elderly man who is portrayed in another granite statue found at Karnak. That shows a strong, middle-aged person, whose features are a little coarse, or seem so to us who know the other portrait, which gives them the subtlety gained in the victory of experience over raw youth. M. Legrain has been able to reconstruct the pedigree of Mentuemhat through five generations. All the men were priests of Amon of Thebes, and in fact the doubt which has sometimes been expressed as to their Egyptian origin is totally unfounded. It is the unconventional way in which he is portrayed which makes his physiognomy appear so strange to us—just as the death-masks and the sculptor's models from el-Amarneh strike us as exceptional.

There is no indication that the earliest members of the family whom we know were people of consequence. But in the third generation we find that Harsiesis, the great-grandfather of Mentuemhat, combined with the priesthood of Amon that of Thoth of Hermopolis and that of Hershefy of Heracleopolis, which town was, in those times, of political importance. And his son Khaemhor appears as first in the line to occupy a position of moment: he was nomarch of Thebes. Of his four sons, two were also nomarchs and moreover filled other high offices. But Mentuemhat's father seems to have been the least important of the four brothers; he was merely city-governor—Omdeh; only one rather poor limestone statuette of his is known, and that was put up by his son. The fact that it is his son, and not one of his nephews, who reached a higher position than any ever filled before by members of this family, seems therefore to be a consequence of the extraordinary qualities of Mentuemhat himself. What these qualities were, no text of course will ever tell us. But his famous portrait shows us a man whose great energy was supported by an indomitable optimism; whose shrewd intelligence was tempered by good-heartedness and humane understanding;

whose formalism was a cloak for idealism, as his sincere belief in what had been great in the past guided his hopes for the future, though neither vitiated by prejudices or abstractions his keen judgment of realities.

Those in power at Thebes had been for long high priests of Amon; they had loudly claimed their independence, assumed pharaonic prerogatives, struggled with other local princes for hegemony, and thus lost always what position they had held. Mentuemhat was, no doubt from an early stage in his career, fourth prophet of Amon. He troubled to improve his position in the most important priestly college, or to dissimulate the low one he occupied, as little as he ever laid claim to independence. These things were to him not essential; in reality he ruled, during a long lifetime, in *de facto* independence, from Elephantine to Hermopolis, a stretch of country 600 miles long, including Thebes, through the successive reigns of five kings, whom he acknowledged with a good grace as his overlords one after the other. He held the sacerdotal supremacy of the country as Chief of the Prophets of all the Gods of the South and the North. But, again, this position was to him merely a means to an end, as it gave him the control of the extensive temple-properties throughout the country. Thus we see emerge from a long period of anarchy, in which preposterous pretensions were used to cover lack of power and ability, a man who is sceptical of high-sounding phrases which find no basis in existing conditions, but who throws in all his energy to improve these conditions, to rule efficiently and justly that part of the country depending on his administration, furthering prosperity, assuming those dignities and functions which were requisite for the exertion of the necessary authority, but no others. It is clear that Mentuemhat, after having worked under Taharqa, could continue under Esarhaddon; but also that he found no difficulty in acknowledging Taharqa again when he returned to Egypt in 671.

The arrangements which Esarhaddon had made before his departure showed that he contemplated keeping Egypt in dependence. That this was a task of immense difficulty is evident if one realises the extent of the country and the awkwardness of its access. Yet

Assurbanipal could not but start by trying to maintain what Esarhaddon had achieved. In 667, at Karbaniti, in the eastern Delta, the Nubians and Egyptians were once more routed. Taharqa immediately retreated from Memphis to Thebes, a manœuvre which succeeded because the Assyrians waited for reinforcements which the Syrian, Phœnician, and Palestinian vassals provided. Memphis was taken, the local princes restored, the garrisons strengthened. Taharqa once more retired to Napata. But Assurbanipal was not content to tighten his grip on Lower Egypt alone. A Phœnician fleet transported the king and his troops up the Nile, and in forty days Thebes was occupied. There was, naturally, no opposition; Mentuemhat submitted, and the town and its population were spared. But the most valuable objects, costly vessels from the temple, gilded statues of the gods, shrines, and doors adorned with precious materials—these were the rightful property of the liege lord who had been obliged to undertake a costly and distant expedition in order to maintain his dominion over the country.

It was Mentuemhat who repaired the damage done, and the importance of this work in his career may be gauged from the fact that Taharqa granted him permission to inscribe the three walls of a small chamber in the temple of Mut with an account of his restorations. On the short wall he had therefore Taharqa pictured, and, immediately behind the king himself, his father and his favourite son Nesiptah. Above figure a number of objects which Mentuemhat restored to the temples. On the two long walls of the rooms two inscriptions record the work in detail. They throw a remarkable light on the nature of the work; nothing is created anew; building activities are not recorded; and everything is, as it were, justified or glorified by the addition of the assurance that Mentuemhat made it again "*as it had been*," or "*as it should be according to the Great Inventory*." Here a spirit becomes manifest which was to prove fatal in the succeeding epoch: the conviction that, as the past had been better than the present, a mere imitation of the past would bring about the longed-for recovery of all that was lost. But in Mentuemhat this reverence for the past did not absorb the sum total

of his capacities ; in fact, the end of this same inscription shows his preoccupation with the future in that it contains the ardently expressed wish that his son Nesiptah, already his collaborator, might succeed him in his office.

The inscription refers only with circumspection, and in a vague way, to the political events : " *I have brought the Southland on the right way, while the whole land was overturned, because of the greatness of my* [*insight ?*] *and of my devotion to my lord who came from the South. . . . I have suppressed the wretches in the Southern nomes.*" It is evident that we have here a reference to the occupation of Upper Egypt by the Assyrians, " *wretches* " being the usual way to refer to opponents of the king. The bowing down to Taharqa is sufficiently explained by the circumstances in which the inscription was cut. In the lacuna there are some remainders of sentences left : " *while I satisfied those who came from . . . who called me, coming from . . . entering and going forth, by night and by day.* [*I took them into*] *the stronghold of my town.*" Professor Wreszinski, to which the last edition of this text is due, reads in these sentences that the return of the Ethiopians was materially furthered by Mentuemhat, that they asked for his support, and received help in no mean degree. It is, indeed, probable that the whole of Egypt, perhaps with the exception of the Delta towns, where trade would flourish when a strong power ruled the Levant and Egypt, preferred the rule of the Egyptianised Ethiopians to that of the Semitic Assyrians. But one very interesting inference may be drawn with certainty from the text, and from the fact that Mentuemhat spent so much in restoring the damage which the Assyrian invasion had done : he was obviously convinced that no repetition of that invasion was likely. And this belief was not only prevalent in Upper Egypt : for in 664 an Apis-bull was buried at Saqqara, and his stela was dated after Taharqa's years. It is impossible to assume that, in the light of their past experiences, the Egyptians had gained this conviction because they believed in Taharqa's ability to defend the country. But it may be that an unusual event had been interpreted as a sign of the weakening power of Assyria, or at least of its waning interest in Egypt. Soon

after Assurbanipal's departure from Egypt in 668 the commanders of his garrisons discovered correspondence with Taharqa which compromised Necho of Sais and another Delta dynast. The faithless princes were sent to Nineveh in chains, but, instead of being flayed alive, as was the traditional treatment of culprits in such a case, they returned after a while to Egypt, where they were reinstated in their nomes. For once Assurbanipal tried whether leniency would gain him loyalty; but, as often in the East, leniency was considered to show that the foreigner became weary of holding the far-away country strictly under his thumb, and that, with a not uncommon laxity, he was inclined rather to keep a servant whom he knew to be unreliable than to trouble to get a new one, who would certainly not be trustworthy either. It was not until 663 that matters went too far. In that year Taharqa, an old man of seventy-six years, residing at Napata, had taken his nephew Tanutamon as co-regent, and this young prince became king after a few months, when Taharqa died. Tanutamon then had a dream, carefully recorded on a stela, which was taken to portend that he was destined to become king of the whole of Egypt. He did assert his authority, but then went so far as to attack Memphis and to massacre the Assyrians there. Necho of Sais seems to have been killed on this occasion, and his son Psammetik, installed by the Assyrians in Athribis, fled to Asia. So now a new situation had arisen. It is true that Assyrian overlordship had been openly flouted in Egypt these many years, and that Assurbanipal had ignored the fact, because the keeping of the Nile valley brought no profit to his otherwise homogeneous empire, while the original purpose of the conquest—the proven worthlessness of an alliance with Egypt—had long been achieved. But no Assyrian king could afford to have his garrisons murdered with impunity. Once more an Assyrian army marched west: Tanutamon, less courageous than Taharqa, seems not even to have fought a battle, but fled south. And the Assyrians now merely came to break the last power of the country, and to take what it could still offer. The Delta, where Psammetik was reinstated, was merely treated as subject territory. But it was Upper Egypt,

reckoned as rebellious, which had to bear the consequences. Mentuemhat's work was thoroughly undone; Thebes was taken and completely sacked, and never recovered. The centre of gravity of the country was now definitely shifted to the north; while Taharqa had built, at Nuri, the greatest pyramid of all the Ethiopian kings, Tanutamon returned to the old cemetery of El Kur'uw, where a poor and insignificant monument testifies as to the poverty in which he left his realm and his house. In Egypt proper he was so little considered that Psammetik of Sais dated his reign from the death of Taharqa, as we learn from an Apis stela.

For it was the Saite, the favourite of the Assyrians, who led Egypt to freedom. He succeeded, gradually and inconspicuously, in removing the Assyrian troops. He did not thereby rely on his own country; but his widespread relations all through the Levant had brought him in contact with Gyges of Lydia, who, now the Scythian danger was past, sent his ally some Carian and Greek mercenaries. Thus, for the first time in its history, Egypt did not free itself. Nor, in reality, did foreign occupation end with the ascent of a native XXVIth Dynasty at Sais. For, throughout, Psammetik based his force on the Greek troops in his pay, just as the rapidly increasing wealth of his city of Sais, as Dr. Hall has pointed out, was based on the new trade with Greece; for the Greeks eagerly exchanged the wool for which the linen-wearing Egyptians had no use, and the corn, which the country produced so lavishly, for their own wine and oil. Close to Sais the emporium of the Milesians, Naukratis, was founded, where the foreigners lived in a community which had its own law and its own government, like the foreign groups in the Treaty-ports of China to-day.

At last, in 655, Psammetik started to extend his authority over the upper country. And when, finally, he sent his daughter Nitocris to Thebes to be adopted by the Divine Votress Shepnupet II, the daughter of Piankhi, she found, at the head of the dignitaries assembled before the impoverished city to receive her, the aged Mentuemhat, who had survived yet this last change of *régime*, a lonely and pathetic figure. His lifework of reconstruction and

reorganisation had been ruined; a stranger, not his son, was to succeed him in his office.

But to us his fate means more than a personal tragedy. For Mentuemhat seemed, for one short while, to personify the whole of his epoch. It seemed that the reflection of a great past, kindled by the disgrace of foreign conquest, had found sufficient energy left in the stricken people to cause a concentration of its forces towards a greater future. For the curious character of Mentuemhat, this happy blend of energy, reverence for the past and realism in outlook, was not merely an individual feature. It is this very spirit which finds expression in the art of the XXVth Dynasty, in the portrait of Taharqa, the statue of Mentuemhat, and, above all, in his magnificent bust. The fact that the new spirit was embodied in works which, for all their strength and originality, remained faithful to the old traditions, seems to vindicate the vitality of Egyptian civilisation. But then, on the very verge of a renaissance, Egypt impotently collapsed. And those works from the Ethiopian period find no peer in Saitic art, where a long array of empty and uniform faces appears fixed in a childish smile of contentment with a past, in the contemplation of which the ignominy of the present could almost be forgotten.